

ORIGINAL

Volume 2, pages 144 to 280,
and 2 Appendices.

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY 1913-21

BURO STAIRÉ MILEATA 1913-21

No. W.S. 1,765

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BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY, 1913-21.

STATEMENT BY WITNESS.

DOCUMENT NO. W.S. 1,765.

Witness

His Excellency, Seán T. O'Kelly,
Áras an Uachtaráin,
Phoenix Park,
Dublin.

Identity.

Speaker, Dáil Éireann, 1920;
Irish Representative, Paris & Rome, 1920-21;
Minister for Local Government & Finance, 1932-45;
President of Ireland, 1945-1959.

Subject.

National activities, 1898-1921.

Conditions, if any, Stipulated by Witness.

Nil.

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ORIGINAL

144
A series of 32 articles by Mr. Kelly covering his association with the National Movement as published in the "Irish Press" DREACHT/A. 2. July-August, 1961. is attached in a separate folder. *JB 12/10/61.*

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY 1913-21

BURO STAIRÉ MILEATA 1913-21

NO. W.S. 1765

After the landing of the guns and ammunition at Kilcoole probably the next important event ^{for us} would naturally be the declaration of War by Great Britain. This, naturally, had a serious effect on our lives, activities and aspirations. All of us active in the Republican ⁱⁿ Movement at once realised that with the coming of war in Europe the time of action for us had also arrived. This was to be the ~~texting~~ ^{testing} time especially for the members of the I.R.B. Our gospel always had been that independence could only be won through a fight. Force must be used to drive the English out of Ireland. We felt all along that the British would betray the Irish Parliamentary Party and the people in Ireland who supported that Party and the Home Rule movement. We believed, therefore, that it was our duty to step in and to organise the youth of the country for a fight which we felt must take place before the war now beginning in Europe would have come to an end.

I think I can say with truth that the announcement that war had begun in Europe was welcomed with real joy, certainly by the men of the I.R.B. Their feeling generally was that now their time had come. The opportunity for which they had hoped and prayed for so long was now theirs, and it was, they felt, up to them to see that they were ready and willing to make the fullest possible use of that opportunity so as to win complete independence for Ireland.

They were, of course, interested in watching closely the developments with regard to the Home Rule Bill then, as recently ^{already passed} stated, on the Statute Book. The Bill had passed before the European War broke out. It was enacted but the date of its ^{implementation} operation had not been announced. Much has been written and published about the Buckingham Palace Conference called by King George V of England who tried to get agreement between the British Government, the Irish Parliamentary Party, and the spokesmen of

~~what was called~~ "the Ulster Unionist Party". The result of ~~that~~ Buckingham Palace Conference is well-known and ~~the failure~~ that resulted from it.

The fact that the Home Rule Party led by Redmond had agreed to the introduction of Partition in Ireland under the Home Rule Act, whether the partition ~~as was stated at the time~~ was to be only "temporary" or not and ~~whether the number~~ ^{whatever number of} counties were to be cut out ~~of the control of the proposed Home Rule government in Ireland~~ ^{was to be four or six} had its effect on our people here ~~at home~~. We went all out to convince particularly the youth of the country that the Irish Parliamentary Party had, as usual, been betrayed by the British Government. We used every possible opportunity, press and platform, to denounce this betrayal, and to express our belief that the Home Rule Act would ~~not~~ ^{never} be put into operation. We believed that the outbreak of the war in Europe would be used by the British Government as an excuse to postpone the putting into operation of the Home Rule Act. We urged on the youth to join the Irish Volunteers, train and arm themselves for a fight that we were urging was the only means of bringing an end to British domination in Ireland.

I think one result of the outbreak of the European war was to bring a great accession of strength to the Volunteers' movement. I do not know if any records exist to bear out what I say, but my recollection is that immediately after the outbreak of war definitely new Companies of volunteers were established all over the country.

We of the I.R.B. all watched anxiously to see what policy would be adopted by the Irish Parliamentary Party on the question of the war in Europe. We hoped earnestly and prayed that the Redmond Party would be, as we would put it, strong in their dealings with Great Britain and refuse to have hand, act or part in the war on England's side so long as Britain refused

to put into operation the Home Rule Act already passed. We thought that this outbreak of war in Europe would give Redmond and his Party ^a the real chance to force England to grant Home Rule for the whole thirty-two counties of Ireland. We undoubtedly had fears that Redmond and his friends might go over ^{to} the British side in the war after they got their Home Rule Act put into operation. We feared that they would even accept partition though we thought they need not accept ^{it} partition now because the British were in such great difficulties and would be so happy to get Irish support in the war that, if pressed, we felt they would agree to the hardest terms that John Redmond and his Party could demand.

Volunteers

Some of our I.R.A. and I.R.B. people felt all through this period that Redmond ^o ~~must~~ certainly, being a weak man, ^{might} ~~would~~ give way to the British demand for his support in the war. They felt that Redmond and his most intimate colleagues in the Parliamentary Party were too anglicised and too pro-British to stand up strongly for Ireland's rights at this difficult moment when England was in such serious trouble. Many of them felt that Redmond and Devlin and Dillon had indeed ^{to such} already succumbed to British influence and pressure. They had certainly surrendered on the question of, let us say "temporary" partition, and many felt that they would surrender again on the question of joining up with Britain in the war against Germany. There was, undoubtedly, a difference of opinion in our own ranks as to what was likely to be the policy to be adopted by the Irish Parliamentary Party. Some people thought even that Redmond and Dillon and Devlin might be so pro-British as to join with Britain in that war with ^{the} ~~the majority of the rank and file of the~~ Party, although some members ^{of the Party must have known} knew that the people in Ireland would not stand for or approve of such a policy. So we, ~~all of us~~ whatever view we took on the possible outcome of the

consultations then going on amongst the members of the Irish Parliamentary Party, watched anxiously to see if Redmond and his Party would join the British in the war. I do not remember now the date that Mr. Redmond made his declaration in the British House of Commons announcing that the Irish Parliamentary Party would stand by Britain in her hour of trial, ^{it was} but ^{his} as a result of this statement by John Redmond announcing his support of the British in the war that Sir Edward Gray made ~~his~~ ^{a famous announcement} ~~the statement in the course of which he said that Ireland was~~ "the one bright spot" in this crisis.

Redmond's statement of policy, which was, as far as we knew, accepted unanimously by the Irish Parliamentary Party, cleared the air so far as we were concerned. We knew now exactly where we stood and the heavy responsibilities that lay ^{upon} us. Shortly after this statement in the British House of Commons Redmond came back to Ireland and after a few weeks called a public meeting ^{of supporters of} for the Party at Woodenbridge which is close ^{to where he then lived} ^{where he lived} at Aughavanagh, Co. Wicklow. At this meeting at Woodenbridge which was held on the 20th September 1914, Redmond announced ~~the fact~~ that he and the Irish Parliamentary Party favoured recruitment for the British Army. He urged the young men of Ireland to join the Army and fight for England in the war now in progress. This attitude towards recruitment for the British army by the Irish Parliamentary Party came as a shock to a great many people, even including some of Redmond's own most enthusiastic supporters ~~in Ireland~~. ^{Now he} ~~of course~~ for almost a century there had been at all times many Irish who through want, poverty or unemployment had been, or felt they had been, obliged to join the British army. Others with pro-British tendencies, Catholics as well as those of other faiths, joined the British army as officers in pretty large numbers also.

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We of the I.R.B. and ^SWinn Fein, and the members of Fianna Éireann had, over a good many years, carried on a pretty active and sometimes a ~~pretty~~ vigorous campaign against recruiting for the British Army in Ireland. At all times recruiting for the ~~British~~ ^{Army} had been actively conducted by agents of the British Army in every part of the country. It was a common thing to see recruiting sergeants at fairs and markets. The recruiting sergeant usually had red white and blue ribbons in his cap, and he was a familiar figure generally around the country. At fairs he was usually well supplied with money and he would invite young men to join him in a drink. Free drinks were offered to ~~anybody~~ ^{all young men} who would accept them and when they were well supplied with alcohol the recruiting sergeant would go ^{off} sometimes, having recruited anything from 10, 20, or 30 young men according to the size of the fair or the importance of the occasion. Though numbers of young men joined the British army I think it is correct to say that there was ~~nowhere~~ ^{nationalist family} in Ireland, North or South, where it was not looked upon as a disgrace to ~~the family~~ to have one of their children join the British army, certainly up to the outbreak of the first ^W world war when recruiting for the British army was formally approved of and ~~indulged in~~ ^{promoted} by the Irish Parliamentary Party. The ordinary people in Ireland, in town and country regarded enlistment in the British Army as something to be ashamed of. All this was to be changed now if Mr. Redmond and his party had their way. ~~As soon as Mr. Redmond~~ ^{he} had given the lead and announced that the policy of the Party ~~was to be~~ in favour of the war and in favour of helping Britain in every way to win the war even to the extent of encouraging the young men of Ireland to join up and offer their ~~services~~ ^{lives} in British military service, ~~All this~~ ^{with the help of the Army promoted} caused great searching of hearts among the nationalist people of the country.

by the Parliamentary Party

It should be remembered that the Irish Parliamentary Party still had a very strong hold on the minds of the vast majority of the Nationalist people of Ireland. It must be remembered, too, that the subsidiary organisation of the Irish Parliamentary Party known as the Ancient Order of Hibernians was also a strong and most influential body in the country. ~~The two great organisations supporting the Irish Parliamentary Party, that is~~ ^{etc} ~~the United Irish League and the A.O.H.,~~ united in enthusiastic support of Redmond and Devlin and the Irish Parliamentary Party people even to the extent of backing recruitment for the British Army in the war. Recruitment for the British Army was popular amongst the poorer classes of people in city and town from this time on because there were generous allowances paid every week to the wives and families of the men who enrolled in the British Army. Some poor families whose headwinners had not known regular employment for ~~many~~ years when their husbands or their sons joined the British army under the influence of the Irish Parliamentary leaders, found themselves in comparatively affluent circumstances and, of course, this had its effect in ^{encouraging} ~~getting more~~ recruits ^{and} in making the families ^{living} at home enthusiastic in support of recruitment.

^{another} John Redmond announced a public meeting to be addressed by him in the Bull Ring in Wexford for Sunday the 4th October. This event, judging by the wide publicity this meeting received, was intended to be an important meeting, where ~~important~~ ^a declarations of policy would be made by Redmond, and everything was done to secure as large an attendance as possible ~~at this gathering.~~ Special trains were run from Dublin and from Waterford and Kilkenny and thousands of people travelled in these trains. Everything possible was done by the Irish Parliamentary Party and the A.O.H. to show by the size of the meeting ^{and} ~~the~~ enthusiasm that was to be worked up there that the Irish people were wholeheartedly in support of the new policy of the Irish Parliamentary Party.

The holding of this meeting at Wexford was discussed by the I.R.B. ^{authorities} people and it was decided that an effort should be made to try to smash up the Redmond meeting if this could be done at all, of which there was grave doubt, because Wexford town and district was ^a the place where the Redmond family on account of their long and intimate association with Wexford ^{the town} had always received enthusiastic backing. However, it was decided that an effort should be made at any rate to disrupt the meeting, if it could not be completely broken up. The I.R.B. people felt that meetings in support of recruiting should not be allowed to pass off quietly and peaceably, but that the young men of the country should be shown that there was still an element of the country who objected strongly to recruitment for the British Army in Ireland.

As a result of this consultation I was sent for and told that as I knew Wexford well and was personally acquainted with the young men of the town and district of Wexford I should go ^{there} to Wexford a few days in advance of the ^a Recruitment meeting (4th October) ^{to} and try to organise these young men, many of whom were members of the I.R.B., to break up the meeting.

I discussed the matter in great detail with MacDermott and Tom Clarke and gave it as my view that Wexford was one of the ^{had least of any} worst places where we could hope to organise opposition to John Redmond. From my knowledge of Wexford I felt that Redmond was certain of a most enthusiastic reception. The vast majority of the people of that part of the country were still ^{loyal} enthusiastic followers of Redmond and the Home Rule party. I felt that any attempt by a small band ^{the of Sinn Féiners} that existed in Wexford ~~I thought I might be able to encourage to try~~ to interrupt the meeting would get short shrift from the masses of the people who would be present at ^{it} the meeting. However, I was ordered to try to see what I could do ^{to} and do everything possible I could to smash up the meeting. ^{and if} If that was not possible, to

cause as much disturbance as possible so that notice would have to be taken by the Press that there was considerable opposition to Redmond's recruiting policy in the country.

I cycled to Wexford two or three days before the meeting and called on my I.R.B. friends ^{not very} who were moderately numerous in and around the town of Wexford and most of whom I had recruited into the I.R.B. myself, and they bore out my view that it would not be possible to smash the Redmond meeting. Eventually, under strong pressure, Bob Brennan, Ned Foley, R. Browne, J. Synnott, ^{the Ryan brother} Walter Foley, and their friends, some I.R.B. and some not in that organisation but still opponents of recruiting, agreed to make an attempt to cause trouble at the meeting. We got placards printed with slogans like "No recruits for the British Army" and phrases of that kind on them. These were printed on cardboard which we nailed to sticks, and our intention was to get 50 or 100 men to go into the middle of the gathering and as soon as Mr. Redmond would be announced to speak, to raise these placards, and, if possible, to get them under the eyes of the cameramen and to shout out these slogans and repeat them and ^{this} interrupt Redmond as much as possible. That was about all we thought we could do, and ~~we~~ did succeed in getting 50 or 60 men who agreed to carry these placards, even though they knew that they were going to be running the grave risk of at least a bad hammering once they declared themselves and raised the placards amongst the Redmond followers who would, of course, take vigorous action against such attempts to interrupt ^{their leader} Mr. Redmond.

already

When the meeting actually began ~~I knew that~~ our men had been placed as arranged at suitable spots in and around the meeting. We were to wait until Mr. Redmond ^{Came} stood forward to address the meeting before declaring ourselves, ~~but~~ ^{our} arrangements were upset to our surprise by the intervention of a lady who, just as Redmond, having been introduced by the Chairman, was

however

about to step forward, stood up on a box right in the middle of the meeting and in front of the platform, calling on the people to repudiate Redmond and ^{his} ~~repudiate~~ ^{policy,} recruiting. We did not at first realise who the lady was because she was heavily veiled, but after she had spoken a few words she threw back her veil and there was revealed to us Mrs. Sheehy Skeffington. She was not allowed to say very much, but we realised that this to a certain extent took the wind out of our sails. We got our men to raise their placards and to try to press into the meeting to support Mrs. Skeffington, but very few of our men got very far, and Mrs Skeffington was left ~~alone~~ ^{and a few of our men} with two or three women ~~just~~ ^{around} her. She was ^{pulled} ~~torn~~ from the box; her ^l ~~clothes~~ ^{almost} were ~~torn~~ off her; she was ^{severely} ~~badly~~ maltreated, and ~~an effort was made by a group of men who~~ handled her very roughly, ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{big} ~~shouts were raised at once to~~ "throw her into the harbour", ~~and efforts were made by these men to drag her along, tearing her clothes, and hurting her as much as they could, and carry her to the harbour which was only a very short distance away, and if the police and others had not intervened, Mrs Skeffington would have been thrown in by that bitterly hostile crowd into Wexford harbour. However, after she had been carried a considerable distance from the meeting, the police and ^{some of the public} ~~others~~ intervened and much battered and torn and, I am sure, very much bruised, Mrs Skeffington was rescued.~~

all

In the meantime, our men had received severe handling ~~also~~. Some of them were pretty big and ~~hefty~~ ^{big} men and were fairly well able to defend themselves against ~~these who it may be~~ ^{the} ~~said were a hundred per cent Redmond,~~ ^{the crowd who attacked them} ~~and they made themselves felt in the way they handled any of our men who succeeded in raising their placards at that meeting, as many of them did, I am glad to say.~~

Certainly the harmony of the meeting was disturbed, but credit for this goes more to Mrs. Skeffington and her work than

to anything we succeeded in doing. Redmond went on with his meeting. I am sure he felt a shock because of the disturbance that had taken place but nevertheless his meeting was an enthusiastic success and he could say that he had the support of the vast bulk of the people that day for the policy that he declared should be ^{henceforth} the policy of ~~the~~ Ireland in this crisis.

26.3.52.

Dreacht #.21

I think I should next deal with an important meeting which was called at the suggestion of some members of the I.R.B. Supreme Council. I was consulted by Clarke and Mac Dermott as to whether it would be convenient for me to allow an important meeting, which was proposed should be held to consider the new situation created by the war in Europe, to take place in my office at 25 Parnell Square. They explained that they wanted a meeting of representatives of the different National bodies whom they regarded as anti-War, and they wished this to take place as secretly as possible, and they thought that the Library of the Gaelic League which I used as an office would be a suitable place if I consented to have it held there. I agreed, and they asked me at once if I would consent to attend the meeting. I asked what the purpose of the meeting was and they said to try to get the heads, or at any rate the influential leaders amongst their sections, of progressive National organisations together to consider what actions could jointly be taken by them in view of the outbreak of the European War. From my conversation with these two members of the Supreme Council of the I.R.B. I gathered that it was their intention to try to organise the progressive - or as others might call ^{them} the extreme Nationalist - element to work together to promote certain activities that they had in mind towards achieving independence while the war continued.

~~As I say,~~ I consented to the meeting being held in the Library of the Gaelic League and I agreed to attend the meeting. I was told then that a number of important men in the Volunteers would be invited to attend and that others to be asked would be important people in the I.R.B. and in Sinn Féin. I personally had nothing to do with the organising of the meeting. I do not know who issued the invitations to the various people who afterwards did attend the meeting, but I presume they were informally invited by Seán MacDermott acting

for the I.R.B. SUPREME Council.

In his book entitled "LABOUR AND EASTER WEEK", William O'Brien the Labour leader, in the introduction gives an account of this meeting and says that the Conference was arranged by Eamon Ceannt. Eamon Ceannt probably was responsible for inviting William O'Brien to that meeting and maybe James Connolly, but I am certain that the whole meeting was first thought of and convened at the instigation and by the direct actions of Tom Clarke and Seán MacDermott.

The meeting assembled at 25 Parnell Square at about 7.30 or 8 p.m. in September, three or four weeks after the outbreak of the European War. William O'Brien in his note in the book already referred to gives the date as the 9th September. This maybe correct, I am not sure and have no means of checking ~~up~~ the actual date. I remember well Clarke and MacDermott being present, also Arthur Griffith and Major John MacBride. Padraig Pearse also was present as was Thomas McDonagh and Joseph Plunkett. I certainly remember William O'Brien being present, but I am very hazy as to the presence of James Connolly whose name is mentioned by Mr. O'Brien as having been present at the meeting. There was one other man whose name is not mentioned by Mr. O'Brien and that is a man named Seán Tobin. Tobin was, I think, then Chairman of the Centres' Board for Dublin of the I.R.B. *I have an idea that Sean McGarry was also present.*

The meeting was a long one and as I try to recollect it now it was opened by a statement made by Tom Clarke. Clarke went on to describe the world situation at the moment, ~~the~~ Gt. Britain being engaged in a war and ~~the~~ efforts ~~that were~~ being made by her to recruit young men into ^{her} the Army to fight for her and for her allies, and the necessity for the Nationalist forces to take ^{united} action ~~as a whole~~ to prevent recruiting, and ~~secondly~~ ^{finally} ~~to take steps~~ ^{the} ~~to make use of~~ ^{that should be taken} ~~the~~ ^{war} situation that ~~now~~ existed to endeavour to secure the independence of Ireland.

Clarke then invited discussion and asked everyone present to express his opinions on what should be done to take the best advantage of the ~~political situation that then existed~~. Everyone in turn gave his views, and as I remember, all agreed that a joint effort by all the progressive Nationalist organisations that favoured independence, should be made before the end of the war to do everything possible to secure independence. All present fully accepted this policy. All the I.R.B. people present were most anxious to hear what Arthur Griffith would say, and Griffith expressed fully ^{agreement} consent with the policy of getting all the progressive Nationalist forces to work ^{together} unitedly ~~and to make the fullest possible use of the present situation~~ to win complete independence before the end of the war.

It is just as well to call attention to the forces that those who were present at that meeting represented. ~~As a whole it was for the I.R.B. that~~ Clarke and MacDermott spoke. There were, of course, other I.R.B. men at the meeting like Pádraig Pearse and Seán Tobin and myself, but I imagine that Clarke and MacDermott should be regarded as the official spokesmen of the I.R.B. Pearse was not generally known at that time as a member of the I.R.B. He was known first of all as a Gaelic Leaguer and then as an important man in the Volunteer movement, but I think few outside the leading people in the I.R.B. knew of his membership of that organisation. Tobin was known to certain members of the I.R.B. in and around Dublin as an I.R.B. man but he was not a public figure in any sense. Connolly, ^{was} if he were there, and William O'Brien could represent and speak for the Labour movement. They could certainly speak for the progressive Nationalist element of the Labour movement in particular. Connolly, of course, also could very definitely speak for the Citizen Army which, though not numerically strong, was a force to be reckoned

with in the City. Griffith represented, and could certainly speak for, Sinn Féiners all over the country. MacBride was, of course, particularly well-known because of his former membership of the Irish Brigade in the Boer War. He was also all his life known as a worker in favour of separating Ireland from England. He frequently lectured on this subject in different parts of the country. I presume he was a member of the Volunteers but I do not think he ever attended parades or other Volunteer activities. MacDonagh and Plunkett were known as members of the Volunteers. MacDonagh in particular was very active in organising for the Volunteers. He was out frequently addressing public meetings all over the city of Dublin, and in activities at Volunteer headquarters he was a particularly well-known figure. I think very few knew that he was a member of the I.R.B. I may have been aware of it at that time but I do not recollect now when he became a member, or if he was a member at all before the foundation of the Volunteers. It is probable that he and his friend, Joseph Plunkett, joined ~~up~~ in or about the same time. Éamon Ceannt had been for long an active worker in the Gaelic League though I do not think he was a member of any political organisation. ^{Here} He I knew personally to be strongly in favour of complete separation from England. He may have been a nominal member of some Sinn Féin Club but so far as I recollect he never took any active part in Sinn Féin activities. Immediately on the foundation of the Volunteers he joined up and became very active in that movement. ~~When he joined the I.R.B. I do not remember.~~ From the time he joined the Volunteers he became a close and intimate friend of Cathal Brugha.

After protracted discussion - speaking now from recollection - the meeting unanimously agreed that an effort must be made to win complete independence for Ireland before the European War was brought to a close. It was agreed

Conest
Plunkett

also that it would probably be necessary to ^{for} join those of the forces that were represented at that meeting to work together to bring about the expulsion of the British from Ireland by force if necessary. It was agreed, as I recollect it, that all the forces and all the organisations with which the members present were associated should get all the organisations they represented or all those whom they could influence, to fight conscription if the British attempted to enforce conscription in Ireland at any time during the war. It was agreed that the British should be resisted with force if they attempted to disarm the Volunteers. It was agreed that if the Germans made a landing in Ireland that the ^{bodies} ~~forces~~ represented at the meeting should ~~agree~~ to work with the Germans provided a formal and satisfactory statement could be got from the Government of Germany pledging themselves if they landed in Ireland only to land there so as to help the Irish to expel the British from Ireland and to win complete independence.

If such a declaration could be got from the German Government ~~It was agreed that~~ a German armed force should be welcomed in Ireland to help to end British domination. It was certainly agreed that ~~maximian~~ on no account would the Germans or ~~should the Germans~~ be helped unless an open declaration was received from them through their Government that they did not intend to land in Ireland and ^{in order to} ~~take Ireland~~ and occupy it permanently. Lastly it was agreed that should it appear that the war was coming to an end and that so far none of these other things already mentioned had happened, an effort should be made by all the organisations represented at the meeting to organise insurrection in Ireland to drive the British out and end British government ^{of} the country. Thus we should become combatants in the war, and could claim as combatants a hearing at the Peace Conference that must follow when the war came to an end.

There may have been other things agreed to and decided upon at the meeting but I have set down here all that I remember, ~~that was agreed upon or decided upon then.~~ I took no note at the time and have no other source of information to guide my recollection of what then took place.

DREACHT
D.1

It was announced some time late in September that Mr. Asquith, Prime Minister of England, would come to Dublin to address a meeting in favour of recruiting for the British Army in Ireland. Presumably he had been invited by Mr Redmond, Leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party, to come so as to give a filip to recruiting for the British Army in Ireland.

When this announcement was made it naturally created a bit of a sensation at any rate amongst the anti-recruiting element in the City of which the I.R.B. would be the spearheads. I remember having several talks with Tom Clarke in his shop during the week before the recruiting meeting was due to be held. Presumably a meeting of the heads of the I.R.B. took place about that time to discuss what effective action they could take to block the Mansion House Meeting. It is also certain, though I have now no clear recollection of what happened, ^{that} but certain important I.R.B. people got in touch with leaders of Sinn Féin ^{and certain labour leaders} and the Irish Volunteers ^{insuring} to seek their co-operation in procuring that the Mansion House Meeting would not be a success.

Covered the sentence

I have a vague recollection of a meeting being held, I think *R* in "The Irish Freedom" office, D'Olier Street, to discuss plans for obstructing the Asquith recruiting meeting. I remember this much fairly clearly that I was asked, as one knowing well most of the officials of the Dublin Corporation, if I could find some official connected with the Electricity Department who knew the lighting system in and around the Mansion House, and if I could induce this official to secure that the electric light in the Mansion House would be cut off just before the meeting was due to begin. That was one plan that was discussed and agreed upon. I did get a man whom I knew well and who was associated with Sinn Féin; as far as I remember I do not think he was in the I.R. I think his name was Moran. This man to whom I suggested the operation agreed that it could be accomplished. I may as well

say here that when the time came he did not carry out the operation. He came to me a day before and pointed out a great many difficulties in his way that he had not seen earlier. He also pointed out that special detectives had been told off to watch the Mansion House from inside and outside. He promised to see what he could do but he did not hold out much hope of carrying out the project. As I have already stated the project was not executed.

Another plan that was mooted, discussed and was eventually decided upon was that one hundred men, armed, should take over the Mansion House the morning of the day of the meeting and hold it until after the night of the proposed meeting. It was agreed that the I.R.B. Volunteers and ~~certain~~ members of the Citizen Army should take part in this operation. Details of this plan were finally worked out and the necessary number of armed men were mobilised to be at 41 Parnell Square (the Forfeesters' Hall), I think it was the night before the meeting was to be held, but I am not certain. I was there amongst the number and I remember that James Connolly, ^{the} Labour Leader, was there and I think General Richard Mulcahy was one of the men who assembled there that night. All assembled there were men who were known to me to be active spirits in one or other branch of the movement in favour of complete independence. I feel sure that Seán MacDermott and Harry Boland would be amongst the number but I have not a clear recollection of seeing them there, but I have a distinct recollection of talking to Connolly that night in the Forfeesters' Hall.

A great number of men - probably about 100 - were assembled in the Forfeesters' Hall that night waiting for orders to march on the Mansion House. All the time we were there various rumours were being circulated about what was happening in the Mansion House. Some people said that a couple of Companies of some regiment of the British Army had taken over the Mansion

House and were assembled in the garden at the back. It was known that the Mansion House was ~~was~~ being specially watched by not alone the Detective Branch of the Dublin police but by uniformed men as well. Of course, the police would not have been any great barrier to the operation that my friends had proposed, but it would be a different story if the Mansion House were occupied by military. Whether there was any foundation for the rumour about the military being in possession of the Mansion House or not I do not at this stage remember. All I remember now is that after some hours of waiting at 41 Parnell Square the order to dismiss was given and we scattered to our homes very disappointed that the operation had not been attempted to be carried out as originally planned.

When Asquith arrived, of course, a big crowd turned out to welcome him. These would be the pro-British element and a considerable number of the supporters of the Parliamentary Party, members of the U.I.L. and A.O.H. When the procession formed, I do not now remember from where, to escort Asquith to the Mansion House there were big crowds in the streets, some cheering and a considerable number booing and shouting unfriendly cries. A considerable number of the opposition party was made up of the women suffragettes element. They were certainly most active and most vocal and they followed the Asquith carriage all the way through the streets shouting unfriendly words at him. One woman threw a hatchet at him, and I think the hatchet actually fell into the open carriage in which he was driving probably accompanied by John Redmond, M.P. Of course the supporters of the Irish independence movement were not inactive. Great numbers of these lined the streets to demonstrate their hostility to Asquith and to the recruiting that he came to promote.

Another activity that was promoted about this time was the foundation of an organisation which we called "The Neutrality League". This arose out of our talks at that meeting that I have already described that took place in the Library of the Gaelic League, 25 Parnell Square, where we discussed the action that we should take before the end of the War.

We discussed there the possibility of doing active propoganda against the war and, of course, spread pro-independence propoganda. Somebody suggested then that any organisation of that kind that we would establish would be suppressed. That was generally accepted and we decided that even if one organisation was suppressed we could immediately try to establish another and keep the propoganda going. We had agreed that public meetings against the war and against participation by Ireland in the war and against recruiting for the British Army would be necessary. It was also agreed that it would be necessary to keep the weekly newspaper ^{Sean Fionnán, if possible} or more than one weekly newspaper going to promote our objects. Connolly I remember declared that he would see to it that "The Irish Worker" would be kept going as long as he could get the printer to print and publish it for him.

had the 2nd or 3rd Dec 1914
~~I think it must be about this time~~ that Sinn Féin, the weekly organ of the Sinn Féin movement, edited by Arthur Griffith and of which I was Manager, ceased publication, ^{Therefore it was decided} that a weekly newspaper of some kind should to be edited by Griffith should be kept going. That decision was come to at that meeting that I have referred to. Actually the Sinn Féin paper did continue for perhaps two or three months after this meeting. ^{The money for the new weekly which was called "Nationality" was provided by the G. R. B.} Arising out of our discussions that night it was decided that an organisation to be called "The Neutrality League" would be called into existence and it was agreed that James Connolly should be its President or Chairman, and that I should act as Secretary. We advertised the fact that this "Neutrality

League' was being founded, in the weekly papers "Sinn Féin," "The Irish Worker", "Irish Freedom" which was a monthly, and in other newspapers that we could get to publish our statement.

Our initial meeting was held in the Ancient Concert Rooms. I cannot now remember who were on the platform besides Connolly who presided, and ~~I~~^{myself} who acted as Secretary and also spoke at the meeting. Dr. Neans Wyse-Power was at the meeting. Connolly in his address to the meeting made one of the finest speeches I have ever listened to. He spoke that night as an Irish nationalist claiming the right of Ireland to full and complete independence and giving in vivid and eloquent language his reasons for the faith that he held as an Irish nationalist and an Irish separatist. The meeting was very well attended. I think the ~~Ancient Concert Rooms~~^{Hall of the}, which probably does not hold more than 1,000 persons, if so ^{or} may, was crowded.

We held other meetings in the weeks that followed in different parts of the City. I do not think we held any public meetings outside the City of Dublin. All our meetings were well attended of course by people who were associated with Nationalist and separatist movements. We did discover that a good many people who were not in any way associated with the nationalist movement or the Volunteers attended our meetings because they favoured the idea of neutrality in the war. We also got support from some who were against war at any time or for any cause - people who were of the Quaker type. Also amongst them were some who were pro-German in the war. The Quakers, when they discovered that we were prepared to make war on England to secure Irish independence did not give any further support to our "Neutrality League". Now, as far as I remember the neutrality organisation did not last more than two or three months. I cannot recollect clearly at the moment how the Society wound up, but I think it was suppressed by order from Dublin Castle - that is my recollection.

I was not at any time an official in the volunteer organisation. I have described already my part in the founding of the ^{it} volunteers. But I remember well being closely associated with Seán MacDermott about the days when the Volunteer Convention took place at the end of October, 1914. I remember assisting him in his activities in this connection. He, as representing the I.R.B., was out to see to it that the right type ^{of volunteer according to his ideas} ~~as he was recruiting~~ the Executive Committee - ~~would join the Volunteers.~~ He was busy all this time then interviewing delegates from all over the country instructing them as to how they were to secure that the I.R.B. element would be well represented on the new Executive Council of the Volunteers. I am sure I did something in assisting him in this direction. It think it was probably only a day or two before the Volunteer Convention took place in the Abbey Theatre that it was decided that the full report of the Convention should be published, and I remember it was decided that the best way of having the full report of the Volunteer Convention published would be to found a paper, and I think the I.R.B. provided the funds to found "Éire" and so this paper came into existence. The first issue was given over entirely to an account of the ^{Volunteer} Convention. I think it continued publication for some weeks - I am not clear now whether it continued publication as a daily or as a weekly, but I don't think it would have continued publication very long as a daily as the cost would be more than the funds available would reach to.

The Editor of "Éire" in its first issues at any rate was Seán MacDermott, and I assisted him ⁱⁿ seeing it through the press.

On Sunday October 25th 1914, the first Convention of the Irish Volunteers was held in the Abbey Theatre, Dublin. I do not remember that I was an official delegate at the Convention. I certainly attended the Convention all day and took part in its proceedings, I cannot recollect now in what capacity. I do remember, however, that a couple of days before the Convention I was asked by Seán MacDermott to have arrangements made for the publication of a paper which would print a full report of the Volunteer Convention. He and all of us of the same political mind believed that the Convention would not be likely to receive fair play from the daily newspapers of that time. It was necessary, therefore, that we should produce our own paper so that a true and full account of the proceedings of the Volunteer Convention might be available for our friends and supporters throughout the country. My recollection is that the funds for the purpose were to be provided by the I.R.B.

This is largely repetition of previous page

In his pamphlet entitled "The Secret History of the Irish Volunteers", The O'Rahilly probably has given an account of how the Irish Volunteers broke away from the Volunteer Provisional Committee which had been in control for about ~~a year~~ ^{some time} and of which Mr. John Redmond's nominees were members, in fact were the ~~dominating~~ ^{only} members of the Committee being greater in numbers than the original Provisional Committee. I have not read this pamphlet of The O'Rahilly recently so I am not sure whether he has dealt with ~~the~~ ^{side} aspect of volunteer history or not. Anyhow it is true that ~~at~~ ^{at} that time after Mr. John Redmond had made his recruiting speeches ~~that~~ ^{that} is recruiting for the British Army - some of the members of ~~the~~ ^{the} original Provisional Committee, probably in consultation with ~~the~~ ^{the} I.R.B. ~~at least some of them would surely have consulted with~~ Clarke and MacDermott, decided to withdraw from the National Volunteers, and set up a new organisation to be called "The Irish Volunteers". This body was to be separate and distinct from the ~~National~~ ^{new} Volunteers then dominated by the Redmond party.

Some of the members of the original Provisional Committee, I

^{also} feel certain, ^{had} did not approve of this move, but I cannot recollect at this stage their names. They would probably have been people like Laurence J. Kettle, Colonel Moore and a few others of their political viewpoint who ^{had} joined the original Provisional Volunteer Executive.

These members of the first Volunteer Provisional Executive took new headquarters ^{in Kildare St}, and so far as I remember they gave orders to ^{Trub} have taken away from the old National Volunteer headquarters, the records and have them in Kildare Street. I remember a few days after this move word was sent around Dublin ordering a number of I.R.B. people to assemble at the new headquarters in Kildare Street to defend the premises against a raid which we were informed, the Dublin Castle authorities proposed to make that day or that night. We were told ~~that~~ ^{when} we assembled at the Headquarters that the Castle wished to get the records of the Volunteer organisation which as we knew had been taken away. Whether they wished to restore them to Mr. Redmond's nominees or not we did not know, but we were told that the getting hold of the records was the purpose of the proposed raid by the Dublin Castle Forces.

We stayed in the Kildare Street premises for the best part of forty-eight hours but nothing happened and we dispersed, and I think the records, most of them at any rate, were taken away and hidden in the houses of private persons. ^{I think} Most of the records of the ^{Irish} National Volunteers came into the Headquarters.

^{reconstruction of} The ~~foundation of this new organisation~~, the Irish Volunteers, caused a big increase in recruitment. Volunteers who had fallen away as many did after the Provisional Committee agreed to accept the Redmond nominees on its executive, came back in considerable numbers, certainly in Dublin. It is certain that the division in the ranks caused a loss of members of both types, both supporters of the Parliamentary Party and the supporters of the extreme Nationalist wing were grievously disappointed at the division in the ranks and many of both types fell away. It is probably true that all of those of the extreme Nationalist type who ^{had fallen} fell away

returned when the Irish Volunteers' ^{were} ~~new~~ ^{ed} organisation was founded, and many others, new members joined up.

(As already stated)

I joined the Volunteers the first night the organisation was founded when the big public meeting was held in the Rotunda Rink. Membership cards were circulated and those present were asked to fill them in and sign them and hand them to the stewards.

When I joined the Volunteers I was, like everybody else, asked to state what particular area I would associate myself with. I joined "B" Company of the First Battalion which had its headquarters at 25 Parnell Square, and this Company met usually on Sunday mornings at 11 o'clock for drill for an hour or two hours. Sometimes when the membership grew as it did grow considerably in the first few weeks, a second meeting was held ~~in~~ one night during the week for drill purposes also. Our first drill instructor was an ex-N.C.O. of the British Army whose name was Magee. That is about all I can remember about him. We were visited occasionally during the time I remained an active member of this Company by Captain Monteith who came on rare occasions to inspect us. We were visited a few times by another instructor whose name was Kerrigan. All I remember about him was that he was an ex-officer or N.C.O. of the British Army, and he was a brother of J.M. Kerrigan, the well-known Abbey actor of that period.

Already dealt with

See Page 118

It is just as well to state here that all these British N.C.Os. who were active in the Volunteer organisation and who gave good service as drill instructors, and some in other capacities, were called up for active service in the British Army as soon as the European War broke out, and with very few exceptions all of them answered the call and of course the Volunteers never saw them again.

I remained an active member of this Company of the Volunteers up to the Rising of 1916. I was asked in the very early stages to allow my name to go forward as a candidate for election as Company Captain, but I refused because I had very little interest in strictly military affairs and there were a good many men members of

pages be inserted on page 118 where indicated

the Company who were the makings of excellent officers and in fact some of the best known officers of the Volunteers who later took a very prominent part in all the military activities of the Volunteers were members of this Company. One of the most notable was Commandant General Ned Daly.

15 Deire Fómhair, 1952.

Irish Volunteer activities continued, I think one could say with great intensity, certainly in Dublin City, and during the Autumn of 1914. Recruiting went on apace. Public meetings would be held in different parts of the country and would be addressed by members of the Provisional Committee. Strenuous efforts were made to build the re-organised Irish volunteer movement. This was specially so in the hopes of having a Convention, which was held on the 25th October, a representative one. The Convention was regarded as successful and it certainly gave a new impulse to the re-organised Irish Volunteers. Others who took a more intimate part in the organisation of the Volunteers from this time forth than I did, can speak with greater authority as to the activities of the organisation from this time forth.

Perhaps it would be just as well at this point to give an account of one ^{incident} ~~instance~~ ^a ~~the~~ proposed purchase of arms in which I was concerned. I think it would probably be about the second week of August, 1914 that Seán MacDermott received from, I think, Tom Cotter news that a brother of his, James Cotter, then living in London had found someone in London, a Belgian I think, who was said to have in his control, or could secure control of, a number of machine guns. Cotter wrote urging his brother to get in touch with some I.R.B. people here with a view to purchasing these machine guns for the Irish Volunteers. I believe he said in his letter that he felt he could purchase these machine guns at about £50 or £60 each. I do not remember if he said how many machine guns were supposed to be available for purchase.

Anyhow MacDermott asked me to go to London to see Cotter whose address he gave me and to purchase as many of these machine guns as the Belgian was prepared to sell to us. I accepted the commission, but for some reason or another that I do not remember now, I was not able to go to London for a day or two. In the meantime MacDermott received from Tom Cotter another message from James Cotter in London asking saying that the matter was most urgent: that if we did not immediately make contact with the Belgian and make a firm offer for

for the guns, others who were interested would take them up. He added also, which was a bit of a shock to us, that the Belgian would not take in payment for the guns anything but gold.

How to get gold then was a bit of a problem. I was given this task also and I ^{had} sought of ways and means of changing the £1,000 which MacDermott had given to me for the purchase of the guns into gold coins. I consulted a number of people as to the possibility of getting £1,000 of gold from some of the Dublin banks. Eventually I was given a letter of introduction by Mr. P. J. Little, then editor of a weekly paper called "The New Ireland", to a man named Campbell, Manager of the College Green Branch, which was also the headquarters of the Hibernian Bank.

This gentleman Campbell, I think his name was Henry Campbell, but I am not ^S sure, had been interested as a Home Ruler in the foundation of the Volunteers. I think Little told me that he had actually joined the Volunteers and was at some period ~~I think~~ also a member of the Young Ireland Branch of the U.I.A. At any rate Mr. Little thought he would be sympathetic and thought that he would provide the £1,000 in gold sovereigns that I was looking for.

At this time all the banks were closed by Order of the British Government because a moratorium ^{had been} was declared. The payment of all debts was held up until such time as the British Government would issue another Order allowing the banks to continue their normal business. I do not now remember accurately how long this moratorium lasted, in other words how long the banks were closed, but I think it lasted for about a fortnight. However, I called at the Hibernian Bank, College Green, and although it was closed for business I expected to find there Mr. Campbell the Manager. I was admitted and found Mr Campbell and gave him my letter of introduction from Mr. Little and explained to him my business. I told him that I wanted £1,000 in gold and I told him exactly the purpose for which I required it. It must be remember ^{ed} that the division in the ranks of the volunteers had not then taken place.

Mr Campbell heard me with interested^{ed}, ^{and} asked me a number of questions. We discussed together the question of the Volunteer movement and the development of the Carson Volunteers in the North. The result was that Mr. Campbell ^{he} told me that if I would call at the same hour next morning he would have the £1,000 in gold for me.

I called next day and Mr. Campbell called for a porter who carried in to his office from some place outside the parcel containing the thousand sovereigns. I handed over my cheque and was given the parcel in exchange.

Then I discovered that the parcel was quite a heavy one and that it would not be easy for me to carry it through the streets to my home. Campbell recognised this, and smiled when he pointed to the parcel and said: "Now, there is your £1,000 in gold, you can take it with you". I found that the parcel was too much for me to carry, so at his suggestion a cab ^{was} called and I took the parcel home in ^{it} a cab.

Next I reported progress to MacDermott and told him that I was prepared to go to London that night by boat and train, but I said I was not prepared to go off to London carrying £1,000 in gold without somebody with me to help me to guard the money. MacDermott agreed ~~that~~ this was necessary, and in addition he suggested that I should provide myself with a revolver. I rather hesitated at this. I had never handled a revolver in my life and was not very keen on being armed, but MacDermott insisted that it was essential. We then discussed who should accompany me and it was decided that we should ask Seán McGarry if he would undertake the task. We saw McGarry and he agreed, and the two of us started off for London that night. Before starting off ^{we} went to Keegan's gun shop on Ormond Quay and bought two small Belgian automatic pistols, one for McGarry and one for myself with about 100 rounds of suitable ammunition. McGarry had a friend in London whose name I do not remember now and we went to his house and left our parcel in this friend's house. I do not remember now whether we told him what was in the suitcase that we

safe keeping However, handed to him for his custody but ~~before~~ we left the parcel with him and asked him to mind it carefully while we went in search of Cotter.

We found Cotter and we discussed the subject of the machine guns with him. He was not by any means as definite and clear as to the possibility of securing the guns as we were led to believe. We went with him to the address where the Belgian was supposed to be found. The Belgian could not be found there and other addresses where we might get in touch with him were given to us. We spent the day searching these other addresses and as far as I remember without success. I think it was probably the second day of our search that we eventually located the Belgian. When he was asked by me about the possibility of purchasing the machine guns that were supposed to be under his control he told us that he had already disposed of them. We took him into some bar, in what neighbourhood of London I do not now remember, and talked with him for an hour or so, and both McGarry and I agreed at the end of our talk that this Anglicised Belgian never possessed machine guns of any description and that all our journey and trouble arose out of loose talk of some kind which Cotter placed too much confidence in.

We returned as soon as we could, carrying back our £1,000 in gold which I handed over to MacDermott. I presume it was eventually used for some other purpose connected with the I.R.B. part of the movement.

The ~~daily~~ newspaper "Éire" continued ^{to a daily} after the Convention of the Irish Volunteers up to the beginning of December of that year. About this time, that is about the 4th December, by orders of the Government the printing houses of Mr. Mahon, Printer, Yarnhall St. and of the "Irish Worker" and also the printers of "The Irish Volunteer" at Cork, were ~~visited~~ ^{visited} by police and military and ordered to cease publication of the various newspapers. In fact, to make sure that the papers could not be printed essential parts of the printing presses were ~~ceased~~ ^{seized} and taken away, presumably to Dublin Castle. As a result of this the publishers of "Éire" decided to cease publication. They, of course, were forced to this decision because the printers could no longer print them. My recollection is that "Sinn Féin" was printed by its own printers the head of which was a Mr. Denis Devereux, the printing offices being situated at 49 Middle Abbey Street. I was Manager up to the end of the "Sinn Féin" newspaper as I had also been Manager of the "Sinn Féin" daily newspaper while it lasted. The "Sinn Féin" weekly ceased publication at the same time for the same reason.

After the cessation of "Sinn Féin", "Éire", "The Irish Volunteer" and "The Irish Worker" newspapers it looked as if we were not going to have any newspaper that could voice the opinions of the anti-British and the pro-Irish element in the country. I remember attending a meeting which was held, I think, in the Irish Freedom Office, No. 12 D'Olier Street, at which Tom Clarke, Seán MacDermott, Arthur Griffith and myself were present to discuss the situation about a newspaper. As a result of this discussion it was decided on the suggestion of Griffith that perhaps we could get away with the publication of a weekly paper which would not publish any editorial while it would be made up of news and statements extracted from British newspapers. Griffith thought he could arrange the news in such a way as would to some extent, at any rate, effectually expose British propoganda and would in reality give the public an idea of the anti-British viewpoint. He thought this was worthy of trial. It would be necessary, he said

to put headings of his own to the news but he would try to do this in a way that, in the beginning at any rate, would not too greatly anger the British so that we might be able to continue to publish the paper.

We all agreed this was a very good idea and that it should be tried. The I.R.B. agreed to provide money for this experiment. Griffith hit on the name "Sissors and Paste" for this weekly journal. It started publication about ^athe week after the suspension of the other newspapers and it continued for about three months, the last issue was dated February 27th, 1915.

"Sissors and Paste" was then suppressed in this way. I well remember the incident. I am nearly certain it was Inspector Campbell, D.M.P. calling ^{that} ~~at~~ with a detective ^{to} ~~in~~ our offices in Abbey Street. It happened that I was the only person present when they called. The Inspector read out for me a proclamation issued by order of, I think, the Chief Secretary, suppressing the newspaper "Sissors and Paste". I remember trying to start an argument with Inspector Campbell as to the reason for the suppression. I pointed out to him the fact that there ^{were} ~~was~~ no editorial views of any kind expressed in the paper, therefore, it could not be said that editorially we were hostile to the British. I pointed out also the fact that all the news published in our paper had already been published in some newspaper or weekly journal in Great Britain, but of course all this had no effect. Campbell was very good humoured. He said he was ~~xxx~~ just an official carrying out his orders and that I could disobey the order at my own risk. That was the end of "Sissors and Paste".

I do not know what period of time elapsed, but some weeks ^{elapsed} ~~after~~ before we had another newspaper and then, again provided with money by the I.R.B., we started "Nationality". We could not get a printer in Dublin to take the risk of publishing such a paper, so we went to Belfast and there ^{we employed} a man named Davidson who had a good sized

printing establishment with suitable printing machinery which could turn out our paper weekly - as many copies as we wanted. I explained to him what we wanted and he was prepared to do the job at a price. We paid him his price which was not very much in excess of the printing rates in Dublin at that time. Davidson was well-known to the police authorities. He was a loyal Orangeman, one hundred per cent pro-British, but as the newspaper was for him a profitable business he took his chance and continued loyally printing the paper for us up to, as far as I remember, the Rising of 1916 when, of course, the paper ceased publication.

We had, however, great difficulty from time to time with the paper in sending our copy ^{for the paper} to Belfast. We made use as frequently as we could of friends travelling to Belfast to whom we gave a copy for the issue and asked these friends to hand ^{it} the copy in at the printer's personally. We did this because we had discovered that a copy addressed to the printers was frequently detained in the Post Office intentionally and some of it was sent on to the local censor and never reached the printer. Some of it from time to time reached the printer in a mutilated condition. This, of course, was often a considerable source of worry and trouble.

In the early days ^{of} "Nationality", and I think this lasted for some weeks if not some months, ^{Herbert} Harold Moore Pim, who write under the name of A. Newman used to act for us as sub-Editor in Belfast. He contributed something or other every week to the paper and in addition we paid him I do not know what sum, but not very much, for acting as sub-Editor and seeing the newspaper through the press.

It happened on more than one occasion that when the paper actually was published ~~that~~ ^{Herbert} almost the whole issue was filled with Harold Moore Pim's own contributions. When we investigated this we discovered that on some occasions ^{the main part of copy from the paper} at any rate it was not actually due to the action of the British, ^{but} though ^{but} the copy which reached Pim he ^{thought} his own ^{contribution} ^{valuable} stuff was more important, suppressed Griffith's and published his. I think, ^{own} speaking from recollection, that he even admitted this, that ^{thinking} he thought his own stuff was superior to Griffith's.

The result was that we had to get rid of Pim and then I was obliged to go to Belfast every Tuesday morning. I had to ^{catch} get a train at 6.5 a.m. at Amiens Street on a Tuesday morning to Belfast to see the paper through the Press. I discovered on more than one occasion that very little of our material had arrived from Dublin when I landed in Belfast and I had to sit down and fill up the paper as best I could with the printers waiting at my elbow for copy in an effort to get the issue out in time.

It must be said to the credit of Davidson the printer ^{though} that he was warned a good many times by senior police officials of Belfast police headquarters he continued to print the paper and promised us that he would loyally abide by his contract as long as he possibly could do so. He did this up to the very end and continued to print despite the threats, and said he would print until an actual order from the Government was given to him to cease publication, which order so far as I remember he never received.

Harrell's Visit to Bob Brennan at Wexford.

Bob Brennan who was a journalist in Wexford had been for many years a close friend of mine. I took him into the I.R.B., as already stated, in the year 1905 and we had remained close friends ever since.

He came to me ^{one} some day soon after the outbreak of the first World War and told me that when he got home one evening after having been, I think, away in Ennissorthy attending Courts for the day, his wife had informed him that a gentleman named Harrell of Dublin had called asking for him, and she said he was most anxious to see him. She told Harrell that her husband was away and that he would not be home until late that evening. Harrell said he would call again. My recollection now is that Harrell called the next day and Bob was home. Bob's story of the interview could best be recorded by himself, but my recollection is that he told me that Harrell said he had got Bob's name from the Chief ^{Reporter} ~~Editor~~ of "The Irish Times"

I remember well the Chief Reporter of "The Irish Times". He was at that time a man named Phillips who was ^{the} most bitterly anti-Irish person you could meet. He was ^{pro-} ~~if one could~~ described him as ~~such~~ more than one hundred per cent British in his outlook and wickedly anti-Catholic at the same time. He was, naturally, a very high up Freemason. I knew him well and had many a talk and argument with him. He was always anxious and willing for an argument, ^{for} for an opportunity to denounce people like myself who had anti-British views.

Then Harrell told Brennan what his mission was: that he was an Intelligence Officer for the British Navy and was anxious to secure the help of men who would be in a position to hear any gossip or news that was going round especially in coastal districts about the possibility of German vessels calling at Irish ports. My recollection is that Harrell seemed to have been instructed that German submarines or other vessels would try to keep in touch with

anti-British elements in Ireland and that the British, therefore, were anxious to keep a strict watch on any such activities. For this purpose they were setting up a network of Intelligence Officers all around the Irish coast. This was why he called on Bob Brennan and he asked Bob to assist him in this work for which, of course, Bob would be suitably remunerated. It was, of course, as the local reporter for the "Irish Times" that he got in touch with Brennan.

Brennan came to me and asked me my opinion as to what he should do. I think, speaking from recollection, that ^{he} Brennan was inclined to accept the work holding that in this way he would get information that might be of use to us. He was amazed at the idea of Harrell coming to him. Everybody one might say in the County of Wexford knew Bob Brennan's political views. He had been for a good many years prominent in Sinn Féin and spoke in every part of the County in favour of Sinn Féin at some time or other. He was prominent in the Gaelic League and all other Irish-Ireland activities. He was probably an officer in the Sinn Féin organisation as well as an officer in the Volunteers. How this could escape the notice of Harrell it is difficult to imagine. Harrell, it should be mentioned here, had been Assistant Commissioner of the police in the Dublin Castle Service. He, therefore, should have known all the prominent men in the Sinn Féin movement. One finds it difficult to understand how he could have failed to know of Brennan's record and Brennan's anti-British activities over a long number of years especially in the County of Wexford.

However, whatever the reason Harrell seems not to have connected the Bob Brennan of the Intelligence movement with the Bob Brennan the local Reporter for "The Irish Times".

I should also have mentioned in speaking of Harrell that he had been dismissed from his post as Assistant Commissioner of the Police after the Howth Gunrunning and the attack by the King's Own ^{Borders} Scottish Regiment on the Irish Volunteers at Clontarf, and later the firing of the same regiment on the people who were demonstrating

against that regiment at Bachelors' Walk. The fact is that Harrell was made a scapegoat by the British Government to satisfy the Irish Parliamentary Party who had ^{initiated} ~~raised~~ ^{a discussion on the} talk through ~~that~~ question in the British House of Commons.

My advice to Brennan was not to have anything to do with Harrell. I thought it wise for his own personal safety that he should not attempt to agree to Harrell's proposition. I felt that at some time or other if he accepted Harrell's commission no matter from what motive, people, at a later date, would charge Brennan with having been a British spy. I think I did not convince him and he went to discuss the matter with others, probably Tom Clarke, maybe with Griffith and perhaps Seán MacDermott. Again speaking from recollection, I think some of the I.R.B. people did seem to ~~have thought~~ ^{think} it might be useful to have Brennan in touch with Harrell. ~~For one~~ reason it seemed to be a good idea was that Harrell would supply Brennan, as he had already promised to do, with ^a British code which was to be used in the sending of news to Harrell's office in Dublin. I am not sure now if the code was a telegraphic one or not, but being able to get hold of a British Secret Service code at that time would have been useful, it was thought, by some of these I.R.B. people.

I think Brennan saw Harrell two or three times and did not for some weeks at any rate definitely decide against agreeing to Harrell's proposition, but finally I think ^{he} Brennan did make it clear to Harrell that he would not ~~join his organisation~~ ^{accept the assignment}. This, I gather was on the advice of Tom Clarke.

It is difficult to understand how a man in Harrell's position could think of approaching R. Brennan to ask him to help him in his secret service work. Was it sheer stupidity or could he have thought to induce Brennan by bribing to join him? I am sure it could not be the latter.

It is possible, of course, that Harrell wished to trap Brennan, and if he once got him into his organisation then ^{threaten to} blackmail him and ^{try to induce} cause him to act as an agent for the British Government in Ireland. My own personal view ~~of this~~ ^{is} entirely due to Harrell's ignorance or stupidity ~~or both~~.

From the time that the Irish Volunteers decided to rid themselves of the Redmond nominees on their Executive Committee and to reconstitute the Irish Volunteers much time was spent in organising work throughout the country. I was sometimes asked to go to different parts of the country to address Volunteer meetings. Most of my time, however, was taken up with newspaper work. I think I could say that I was only called on to do work for the Volunteers when they were short of a speaker for some particular meeting. I was, of course, in close touch with Tom Clarke and Seán MacDermott all through this period. From ^{this} time on I think I had lunch most days of the week with Seán MacDermott and Arthur Griffith. We would lunch in the restaurant of Mrs Wyse Power in Henry Street and sometimes in the Red Bank Restaurant, D'Olier Street, which was just across the street from MacDermott's office ~~which~~ was then situated at 12 D'Olier Street.

Every day we would have problems of one kind or another relating to the Volunteers or the newspapers to discuss.

Perhaps I should say that frequently at lunchtime we would have with us at the luncheon table, Major John McBride, Henry Dixon and Paddy Gleeson, Draper of O'Connell Street. I think it is correct to say that we had Major McBride with us almost every day that we visited Mrs Wyse Power's restaurant. Major McBride was at this time an employee of the Waterworks Committee of the Dublin Corporation. This post had been secured for him through the influence of ~~such people as~~ Alderman Tom Kelly, Councillor P.T. Daly and myself.

I cannot say when exactly the heads of the I.R.B. or at least a certain section of the I.R.B. Supreme Council made a decision that a Rising should take place at a date not too far distant. It would appear, however, that ~~a section of~~ the I.R.B. Supreme authorities did make such a decision. It is probably ^e that this decision was arrived at as a result of a recommendation made to them by the Military Committee or Council of the I.R.B.

Some member of this Military Council still alive has probably set down his recollections of the activities of the Military Council ^{or of the Supreme Council} at this period. I was not a member of the Military Council, at any time so I cannot give any authoritative statement on this particular matter. Why I introduce it now is because I was asked in early March 1915 by Seán MacDermott if I would undertake a journey to the U.S.A. ~~for~~ and on behalf of the I.R.B. ~~Supreme~~ authorities. I agreed to do so and was later brought to a room over Tom Clarke's ~~shop~~ in Parnell Street where I was informed by Tom Clarke and Seán MacDermott of the purpose of my visit to the U.S.A.

I think MacDermott did most of the talking, Clarke joining in now and then to clear up a particular point. I was informed by MacDermott that a Rising had been decided upon. I do not think at any time that I was given a date or that I was told that a date had already been determined. I was told that I should go to New York and get into touch with John Devoy, Editor of "The Gaelic American", and Judge Cohalan, head of the Clann na Gael in the U.S.A. I should also make it my business to get into communication with Joseph McGarrity of Philadelphia, another member of the Supreme Council of the Clann in the U.S.A.

While, as I say, no date was given ^{then} ~~yet~~ to me as having been fixed for the proposed insurrection, detailed plans evidently had been discussed and agreed upon for the seizure and occupation by the Irish Volunteers of Dublin City. The plans for Dublin, as agreed upon by, presumably, the Military Committee, were that Dublin Castle should be seized and held; the General Post Office, O'Connell Street, Dublin, to be seized and held; the Irish Volunteers should seize and occupy all the railway termin^{ations} in the City of Dublin. On the South side of Dublin Boland's Mills should be held and the railway line from that area of Dublin into Dublin city strongly occupied and defended. Beggars' Bush Barracks in this Boland's Mills area should be occupied and held. If sufficient forces were available, Dun Laoghaire Pier and harbour should be held and defended.

On the ^{Western} eastern side of Dublin, Jacob's biscuit factory should be occupied and held because, like Boland's Mills on the ^{Eastern} western side of Dublin, stocks of ^{the} ^{Stores} foodstuffs in these two places could be very useful not alone for the use of the forces but for the population if the Rising in Dublin lasted for a protracted period. In the ^{South West} East side also the South Dublin Union should be occupied.

On the northern side of the City the North Dublin Union buildings were to be occupied and used as headquarters for the area. The Four Courts buildings were to be occupied and held with a view to confining the military in the Royal Barracks and the Marlborough Cavalry Barracks ~~and~~ also the North City Flour Mills on the Royal Canal. When Dublin Castle was mentioned as a place to be occupied and held it was also mentioned to me that the Municipal buildings and the City Hall, Dublin, should simultaneously be taken over and held.

I was told that the Military Committee were working out plans for the rest of the country and that I was to say to the people in New York that they would be informed of these plans at a later date. I was not given any instructions or authority to discuss these plans ~~with~~ nor was I in any way competent to discuss these ^{plans} ~~plans~~. My mission was just to ^{hear} ~~hear~~ these plans from MacDermott and Clarke and to convey them as given to me to the people whose names I have already given. I was also instructed to ask Devoy and Cohalan for as much money as they could give me to help in the work of arming the Irish Volunteers here, and was instructed to urge them to ^{continue to} ~~make~~ all possible efforts to secure as large a sum of money as possible and to send it to Ireland with all possible speed.

It is probably proper to note here that it was possible to buy a good quantity of arms, ammunition and equipment during this period so long as money was available. Every day of the week some members of the Irish Volunteers were purchasing rifles and ammunition and revolvers from British soldiers. Some

of these soldiers would be home on leave from the War, others would be British soldiers stationed in the various barracks in and around Dublin City. I know this was a common practice in Dublin and presumably something of the kind went on with the British Army of Occupation in other parts of Ireland as well.

I think I spent altogether about five or six weeks away from Ireland, probably about a month of this was spent in the U.S.A. I left Dublin on March the 18th. It was, of course, essential that I should get out with ~~all possible~~ ^{the} secrecy. It had been, as long as I remember, the custom for all principal railway stations in and around Dublin to be watched at all times by detectives. Detectives also kept a close watch on the ports and the ships leaving Dublin docks and leaving or arriving at Dun Laoghaire Pier.

It is a well known fact that none of the people prominently connected with the independence movement ever left a railway station without the knowledge of the Detective Division of Dublin Castle. All of us were followed by detectives wherever we went in and around the City and wherever we travelled. If we took a train the detective would go to one of the checkers before we left the railway station and he would instruct that checker to examine our ticket and report to him the name of our place of destination. The Railway guards and checkers often informed us that they were under instructions from their authorities to give the police every help in their work. When we would arrive at our place of destination we would be met by a detective and closely followed and watched during our visit to that town or district. It is just as well to note here that not alone were we of the independence movement closely followed and watched at all times but those we met in the streets of Dublin or in restaurants or other similar places and those we met or contacted in different parts of the country were noted and reported to Dublin Castle.

All of this was confirmed in my case, at any rate, when ^{while} years ^a ~~in~~ ^{presented} ~~in~~ ^{England} ~~in~~ ¹⁹¹⁶ afterwards I was examined by a Committee set up by the British House of Commons to examine Irish prisoners then in custody in

various prisons in England. The Chairman of this particular Committee was Lord Sankey. ^{a judge of the High Court, I think afterwards Lord Sankey} I do not remember the names of the other three or four members of this Parliamentary Committee, but one name ^{do} I remember was Mr. Joseph Mooney, M.P. Mooney was ~~the~~ a Member of the Irish Parliamentary Party and the proprietor of a number of public houses in Dublin and London.

As I was brought up before this Committee at Wormwood Scrubs Prison in London I discovered that each member of this Committee had in front of him a copy of a detailed account of ^{my activities} me. They asked me many questions about my activities ranging over a period of 20 years or so. I think the various notes about me must have started about the time I joined the I.R.B. or at any rate soon after that period. It is certain that they had notes about me from a very early ^{date} period. They asked me questions about my visits to various parts of Ireland which I visited at that time as a voluntary organiser for the Gaelic League and a ~~voluntary~~ organiser for the I.R.B. The members of the Committee would ask me was it true that I visited the town of Wexford on such a date, let us say August 1903, and was it true that I spoke at a meeting in the Square of the town and that I made certain remarks which they would quote? They would travel then to maybe Belfast or Galway or Limerick and each time ask me if it were true that I addressed meetings and that I was accompanied by such and such persons and that I made such and such remarks of an anti-British nature. They were very well informed on my activities and I only note my case as an example to show how accomplished the British were in keeping us all under close observation all these years from let us say at any rate the 1898 period onwards.

I have got away from the visit to the U.S.A. but I thought ^{would be} it ~~was~~ of interest to tell of these activities of the British Government and their watchfulness in our regard.

To get away to America, it was most important for me that I should be able to escape from Dublin and from Ireland without the knowledge of the British police authorities. The plan I adopted

was this. I just packed one bag or suitcase and this I gave to a younger brother of mine ^{brother} to take on a tram from Dublin to Dun Laoghaire. Here he was to board a train and meet me with the suitcase at Kilcoole Railway Station on the Dublin South Eastern line. I cycled from Dublin and ~~waited~~ the arrival of the train at Kilcoole. ^{On the arrival of the train} My brother handed me the suitcase and I gave him over the bicycle. I went on by the same train to Rosslare. I selected Rosslare as a possible place where the watch might not be so strict and that there might ~~not~~ be a possibility of my ^{embarking} shipping there without being seen by the usual detective who should be there.

On my arrival at Rosslare I took my time about getting out of the train in order to see if I could escape unknown to the detective. Eventually I got out on the wrong side of the platform, made my way to the dockside and after watching for the detective noticed that at any rate at the time I arrived there there seemed to be no detective in attendance. I hopped on board the boat and was satisfied that I had got there without being noticed by the police.

I went then to visit a sister of mine at Farnborough, Kent. I thought it would be a good idea to go there as my sister was at The living ~~xxx~~ Royal Engineer Military Barracks, Farnborough, her husband being an officer in the British Royal Engineers and then occupied in training men in ^{aviation} navigation. I spent two days there keeping an eye out all the time to see if I was under observation and it appeared to me that I had completely escaped from the observation of the Irish ^{and} ~~or~~ British police authorities, ~~and~~ then I made my way to Liverpool and had no difficulty in securing a berth on a boat which, I think, was the St. Paul. There was no ^{such} thing as a passport required at that time. One could travel anywhere in the world, even then in 1915, ~~or~~ long after the outbreak of the World war. My recollection is that the only place requiring a passport then was Russia. I boarded the "St. Paul" a few days after having left Dublin and had a most uncomfortable

and disagreeable voyage in ^{at} ~~the~~ Third Class cabin with five other
persons, ^{all} ~~or~~ emigrants from Ireland going to the U.S.A.

5.11.52.

The cabin I shared with, I think, five others on the boat was a most uncomfortable place. It was down in the lower regions of the boat somewhere near the engines and the heat there made it most uncomfortable and the smells were most disagreeable. This obliged me to spend most of my time on deck. Even at night-time I would rather stay on deck and face the discomfort of sleeping on benches on the covered deck ~~rather~~ than suffer the discomforts of the cabin. I think I did not sleep in the cabin any night after the first,

I cannot say I slept in the cabin the first night either. I spent the night in my bunk there but sleep in the conditions that existed was not possible.

I kept strictly to myself on board the boat. One young fellow I made the acquaintance of. He was a young man named Frewen from Co. Tipperary: I do not know what part of Tipperary. His brother was partner in a ^{draper's} establishment in L^r. O'Connell Street, Dublin; the name of the firm was Frewen and Ryan. I think this fellow had a brother a priest in the Dublin diocese. He was the only person I spoke to during my six days on board that boat.

I had no difficulty in getting through the customs as I had very little luggage, as I have already stated, and I was treated as were many others - just as an ordinary Irish immigrant, and passed through without any difficulty. I made my way to a hotel in Lower Broadway. I cannot now remember the name, ~~of the Hotel~~. I got the name ~~of this~~ ~~hotel~~ from a newspaper advertisement. I had a look at ^{it} ~~the hotel~~ first to see if it would be a very costly place, as I could not afford ^d to stay at a ^{ostly} ~~luxurious~~ hotel. However, I found the hotel though ~~a large one~~ was not ~~a costly one to stay in~~ so I booked a room and then went to a nearby cafe, looked up the telephone number of The Gaelic American Office and rang there. I told the person who answered who I was and that I wanted to see somebody from the Office. The person who answered the phone seemed greatly taken aback when I gave him my name. "Surely", he said, "it is not Seán T. of the Dublin Corporation." I said "Yes", and he asked me "Where can I see you".

I gave him the name of the cafe where I was and he said he would be with me within 10 or 15 minutes as the Office of the Gaelic American was then at William Street, Lower New York, and was not very far away. When the gentleman from The Gaelic American arrived I discovered he was an old friend. His name was Matt Harford who had been active in the Sinn Féin movement. He was a member of a branch of Sinn Féin on the South side of the city, I think in the Ussher's Quay Ward. I think he had also been a member of the I.R.B. He had emigrated a year or two before to the U.S.A. and had been employed for some time in the Gaelic American newspaper office.

Just as a matter of interest perhaps I might mention that my recollection is that Harford got into trouble at some ~~Sinn Féin~~ ^{election when} meeting where he was charged ~~and charged~~ with impersonating and was convicted and got something like a week in prison. This probably was the cause of his having to emigrate. Again, just as a matter of interest I heard many years afterwards that when the U.S.A. came into the European War as it did in 1917, Harford joined the army and later attained the rank of Colonel. I believe he now lives in Chicago and is engaged in business and is well known in Irish activities there.

I had, of course, a long and friendly conversation with Harford. I told him that I was anxious to see John Devoy and would like him to ~~go and~~ make an appointment with Devoy for me. I thought it wise ^{not} to visit the Gaelic American office as it was quite possible that the British kept ~~the Gaelic American office~~ ^{that} and all visitors there under observation. Also I was not desirous of taking any risks ^{of being} ~~that I should be~~ recognised or identified ^{as} having association with John Devoy. I had never met John Devoy personally, though I had been in regular communication with him for a number of years. I used occasionally to send contributions to his paper which Devoy always gladly received and published.

Harford saw Devoy and told him of my arrival and arranged

that Devoy and I should lunch together that day. Devoy gave Harford the name of a restaurant which he did not usually frequent and we made detailed arrangements about recognition. I, of course, would have no difficulty in recognising Devoy whose picture I had often seen, but Devoy might have some difficulty in recognising me. We met anyhow as arranged and had luncheon together and then I discovered one awkward factor about Devoy ~~and~~ ^{that} limited all conversation with him in public places and that was his deafness. He was very deaf and one had to speak in a very loud voice to make him hear and understand and he, as is well known of deaf people, always spoke in a loud voice.

However, we spent a long time together and Devoy, needless to say, asked many questions about conditions in Ireland. I thought it unwise to open up on my mission in a public place so we waited until night-time and Devoy took a room in a hotel called The Ennis on 42nd Street and in this room ~~in the Hotel Ennis~~ I met Devoy again that night and went over my whole story with him. Devoy was not satisfied until we had talked at least half a dozen times, sometimes at luncheon, but more frequently in the evenings after he had finished his work at the office we would meet ^{in a private room} in the Ennis Hotel and discuss the subject of my mission. ~~in a private room.~~

Devoy did not appear to be surprised at the message I had to give him. He, of course, regarded it as of the greatest importance. He asked me innumerable questions as to the possibility of the success of a Rising. He asked me very many questions as to the arrangements for the Rising, most of which I was not able to answer. I gave him all the information I could as to conditions in Ireland. He asked me, I am sure, as to the date, ~~that~~ ^{that} I was not in a position to give him, but I assured him that he would be fully informed before the big event would take place. He asked many questions about the numbers of men in the Irish Volunteers, the numbers in the I.R.B. the quantity and quality of equipment that the Volunteers possessed. He asked in particular about supplies of ammunition. He asked also many questions about the possibility of getting the whole country to rise. He asked also about the strength of the organisation in

different parts of the country.

When Devoy had satisfied himself that he had got all the information from me that I could give him, he promised to arrange a meeting with Judge Cohalan. He brought me ~~then~~ by appointment to the Judge's chambers one evening after the close of the court business and there I had two or three hours talk with the Judge, going over the same ground very largely that I had covered with Devoy. ^{had given} It was evident to me that Devoy had seen the judge and ~~given~~ him the information that I had already given to Devoy before I met the judge. It was evident that Cohalan was consulted in all matters of importance as regards affairs in Ireland. I think I met Judge Cohalan once again before I left New York.

It was probably the second week of my stay in the U.S.A. that I met Joseph McGarrity of Philadelphia. I had met McGarrity before when he came some years earlier on one of his numerous visits to Ireland. I had met him in Tom Clarke's shop and we were introduced there by Tom Clarke himself. I remember I had to go to Pennsylvania Railway Station in New York to meet McGarrity. I remember McGarrity by letter asking me to wear a white chrysanthemum in my coat so that he would recognise me at the railway depot. On meeting McGarrity we went to a restaurant the name of which I do not know remember, and in a quiet corner of the restaurant I went over the whole story again of my mission to the U.S.A. ^{with him.} ~~with McGarrity.~~ I had, of course, been told before I left Ireland that I was to tell McGarrity what I told Devoy.

Afterwards at the invitation of McGarrity I went to Philadelphia and stayed there with him two or three days. During my stay with him I attended a meeting of the Centres of the I.R.B. from the Philadelphia area. There I first made the acquaintance of a man whose name had been very well known for many years, Mr. Luke Dillon. Luke Dillon had only a short while before been liberated from prison ^{in Canada.} He had been, I think, sentenced to life imprisonment and had spent 15 or 16 years in prison in Canada where he had gone on behalf of the Clann na Gael with others to

endeavour to blow up the Welland Canal.

12.11.52.

When I met Luke Dillon that is in the last week of March or the first week of April, 1916 I think he should have been perhaps sixty years of age, maybe not quite so old. He looked, however, a much older man. This was probably due to his long imprisonment. It will be remembered that some time in the Eighties, I am not sure of the date, the Clann na Gael of America organised an attack on the Welland Canal. The Canal I think was somewhere near the border between the U.S.A. and Canada and I think it is an important connecting link for commerce between the two countries. My recollection is that the Clann na Gael did this as a reprisal against the British for their imprisoning of a number of American members of the Clann na Gael who had been sent by the Clann na Gael to do destructive work in England. One of those to come over at that time on the instructions of the Clann na Gael to use explosives against the British public institutions was Tom Clarke. Several of these members of the Clann na Gael who came to England to do this work were captured and all of them got long terms of imprisonment.

It was as a protest against this that the Welland Canal expedition was organised by the Clann na Gael.

Dillon made a deep impression on me as a gentlemanly, courteous dignified person of great culture. He had been in the banking business before his imprisonment. He looked at this time just as one would expect a prosperous banking director in one of the largest banks of the U.S.A. to look. He was deeply and widely read in Irish history and also in international affairs and was a most interesting and instructive man to talk to.

It is interesting to remark that immediately he was released from prison he renewed his contact with the Clann na Gael and ^{for} many ~~more~~ years later he was one of the most active members of that organisation and was I think soon after his release elected on its Executive Committee.

Another person I met at that same meeting during my visit to

Philadelphia was Mr. Liam Pedlar. So far as I am aware Pedlar was the only man to come to Ireland from the U.S.A. with the deliberate intention of taking part in the 1916 Rising. Pedlar was a native of Belfast and was very active in Clann na Gael work in the Philadelphia area. I have an idea he was employed by McGarrity in his Wholesale liquor business before Prohibition put a stop to that trade. One other person well-known in Irish affairs both in the U.S.A. and in Ireland who was also for a number of years an employee of McGarrity in his liquor business was Patrick McCartan. Patrick McCartan returned to Ireland about 1908 or 1909 to study Medicine. He qualified in Medicine at the College of Surgeons. During his time there as a student and afterwards he took an active part in the I.R.B. organisation. He also on behalf of the I.R.B. stood as a candidate for the Municipal Council of Dublin and was elected a member of the Dublin Corporation for the Rotunda Ward of the city. Some time after his return to Ireland in ~~1916~~ he was also elected a member of the Supreme Council of the I.R.B.

The next place I met Liam Pedlar of Philadelphia was in the exercise grounds in Wandsworth Prison, London. I was deported from Ireland somewhere I think at the end of May 1916 and was sent to this prison where already there were two or three hundred deportees from Ireland imprisoned.

Joseph McGarrity of Philadelphia was when I met him probably about fifty years of age. He was a native of Co. Tyrone. He had entered the liquor business soon after his arrival in the U.S.A. and ~~in a general way~~ he established himself in Philadelphia and made a wonderful success in this trade. He owned several "saloons" as they are called in the U.S.A., and in addition ran a wholesale liquor supply establishment. He was a man of powerful physique, tall and distinguished looking with the build of a heavyweight champion. He was married and had I think at this time nine or ten children. I think his wife was a native of the U.S.A.

For one who had from his youth been employed so actively in looking after his own business he was a wonderfully well-educated man. He had a deep interest in books. He was the possessor of a ~~marvelously~~ large and varied library containing books dealing, of course, with Irish history, American history, and to my astonishment I found that he possessed a ~~wide circulation~~ ^{good selection} of books on Anglo-Irish, English, French and German literature. I tried him in the speaking of French and German. His speaking knowledge of French was not good but he could make himself ~~well~~ understood ~~in speaking~~ in German and had a good reading knowledge of this language, ^{also}. He loved to write poetry and wrote many ballads some of which were published in a newspaper which he founded and owned - a weekly paper called "The Irish Press" of which I think he made Patrick McCartan Editor-in-Chief at some period after McCartan had returned to the U.S. ^A in 191⁷. He showed me piles of manuscript copies of his poems and ballads. I often urged him to give his manuscripts to some competent literary person with a view to their being edited and published, for at this time he was too busy a man to attend to publication himself. I do not know what became of his manuscript material but it would be a great pity if it has all been mislaid or destroyed.

I heard in the last year or two that he left in his will an order that a considerable number of his books relating to Irish ~~history~~ and American history were to be sent to a library I think of an Ecclesiastical Institution in the Philadelphia area. I cannot remember now the name of the place but I do remember that a couple of years ago I was asked to write an appreciation of Joseph McGarrity for the Catalogue of this Library on the occasion of the formal opening of the McGarrity Section of the Library in this Ecclesiastical College.

In 1915 when I visited the U.S.A. the liquor trade was still in full activity. I think it was in 1918 that the Prohibition Law came into operation. The enactment of this Law put Joseph McGarrity

as well as many thousands of others out of business and he, like all others who obeyed the law, had to try to find other means of livelihood.

McGarrity had I think by this time amassed a considerable fortune as the liquor business must have been worth a considerable sum of money, & all this was wiped out by the Prohibition Law. So far as I am aware no compensation was paid to any of those engaged in the liquor trade for the destruction of their trade and commerce. McGarrity at this time also had a large and still young family to provide for. He refused absolutely, though I understand many tempting offers were made to him, to engage ~~illegally~~ in transactions ⁱⁿ ~~with~~ ^{the} ~~liquor~~ ^{alleged underground} trade. Though no one in Philadelphia could have known the liquor trade better than he did, he was a law-abiding citizen and obeyed the Prohibition Law as he obeyed other laws but the Prohibition Act hit him ^a very hard blow financially, speaking. In this matter as in other matters with which I am more directly concerned he showed himself to be very positively a man of principle.

I have no idea what business activities McGarrity turned to after Prohibition came into operation but I do know from my own personal experience in 1915 and from what I heard from other friends of mine who visited the United States between that time and 1924 when I again came into close and intimate association with McGarrity that he gave a great part of his time, probably a major part of his time, to Irish affairs. He, I believe, travelled to New York almost every day of the week and that is a journey of ninety miles, ^{even} though special trains run between New York and Philadelphia and do the journey in about 1½ hours this was a heavy imposition on McGarrity. He left his home shortly after 8 o'clock in the morning and was not home again before 10 o'clock at night. In New York he would spend his time with Devoy or Cohalan or other leaders of the Clann na Gael organisation, discussing Irish affairs and looking after the interests of Ireland

through the Clann na Gael organisation. It should be mentioned somewhere, and it is just as well to mention it here now as it came into my mind, that in all the years that McGarrity devoted time, intelligence and energy to working for Ireland, in travelling for this purpose, ^{over} a great part of the U.S. and before the Rising in travelling to Ireland, McGarrity never accepted one cent from any organisation for the expenses he incurred in his work for Ireland. Every cent that he spent in his daily travel from Philadelphia to New York and back and in every other activity of his connected with the Irish movement came out of his own private resources. In addition to this no man that ever I heard of in Ireland or America was more generous in helping every kind of Irish political organisation out of his own pocket.

McGarrity was a truly remarkable man and there never was a man who was more single-minded in his devotion to the cause of ~~Ireland~~ Irish freedom. Morning, noon and night during the years that I knew him I am aware that his thoughts were centred on how best he, as one man, could help those who were organised in the movement to end English domination in Ireland. He devoted himself whole-heartedly to this ^{object} ~~purpose~~ and did it with an energy, intelligence and a devotion that are rarely met with even in this movement of ours.

21 Samhain, 1952.

In the course of my frequent talks with John Devoy on the subject of the fight that was to take place in Ireland, the name of Roger Casement naturally cropped up. I learned more from Devoy than I had ever learned at home as to Roger Casement's activities. I gathered from Devoy's remarks that, whatever the reason, he was no admirer of Roger Casement. He seemed to be on every occasion very critical of everything that Casement did. On the contrary, looking back on it now, I definitely remember that McGarrity was an enthusiastic admirer of Casement. Casement, in McGarrity's eyes was simply a hero. I did not discuss Casement with Judge Cohalan nor do I remember his making any remark on the subject of Casement to me.

I had no instructions from the people at home to discuss anything relating to Germany or German association with the Rising nor was there any reference made in the instructions on the Rising as to the possibility of our receiving help from Germany. Therefore, I did not raise this subject with Devoy or McGarrity. Devoy, however, spoke several times to me as to the possibility of our receiving assistance from Germany when the Rising would come off. It would appear from his talk that he very definitely had in mind to try to secure that Germany would in some way help Ireland to secure independence if and when the Rising came off.

It is worth noting, in the light of after events, that Devoy never mentioned the subject of Joseph Plunkett's visit to Germany. I do not know whether Devoy knew at the time I met him in 1915 about the visit of Plunkett to Germany and his talks with Casement. If he did know he did not mention the matter to me. I, personally, was not then aware of Plunkett's expedition to Germany.

I knew that plans had been made sometime before that to get a messenger out of Ireland to Switzerland with a view to getting into Germany - I presume that I was told this. The object of the visit to Germany would be to try to get into touch with the German Government with a view to discussing with them the

possibility of securing help for Ireland in case Ireland made an attempt to liberate herself during the course of the War. I know this because I was asked to try to secure a medical certificate for a gentleman named Mario Esposito. He was a friend of a number of people associated with the Movement. Esposito was, if I remember correctly, ~~the~~ son of Signor Esposito who was the Musical Director of the Royal Irish Academy of Music. I think ^{Mario} Esposito afterwards married one of the Dockrell's of St. George's Street.

I remember discussing with Seán MacDermott various doctors who would be, we thought, nationally minded but still would not be suspected by Dublin Castle. It was necessary to get a doctor whose name would not be in the Dublin Castle books as being associated with our movement in any way, to give a certificate to Mario Esposito who was said to ~~have been~~ suffering from tuberculosis which I believe was true. He had, of course, his own doctors but I gathered that, whoever his doctors were, their certificate would not be acceptable to Dublin Castle and that was why I was asked to make an effort to get a suitable certificate from some other doctor whose name would pass through the police scrutiny. I do not now remember what names of doctors we discussed but eventually we decided upon asking Dr. James Meenan who then lived in St. Stephen's Green. Dr. Meenan was, I think, then Professor of Medicine in U.C.D. I had a slight acquaintance with Dr. Meenan and decided to try him for the certificate for Esposito. I met Meenan and told him exactly my mission and explained to him what I needed, that I wanted to get this man abroad for purposes of the Movement. I did not mention anything about his going to Germany but rather suggested to him that it was for propaganda abroad. I told him that of course I would send the man to him and that he could see for himself that ~~the man~~ ^{he} was a consumptive and that a period in Switzerland would be a natural and proper prescription in his case. Meenan refused point blank to have anything to do with such a project. Esposito in the meantime was asked to see for himself if he could try some

medical people with whom he was associated and who would probably be of the Unionist type. He eventually secured the necessary certificates from some such friend and found his way some months later to Switzerland. Whether Esposito went on ^amissions to Germany I never heard and I cannot now say.

Devoy at this time was keenly interested in the possibility of securing German help for Ireland. Of course America had not then come into the War. I think America came into the War in May 1917, ~~that would be~~ more than two years later. So that from the purely legal standpoint there was nothing improper in Devoy's carrying on discussions with pro-German people in the U.S.A. [Even though America was not in the War at this time, nevertheless the American Government kept a strict watch on all activities of the German Legation and its associates. Devoy was aware of this and was also aware that not only were the officials of the United States Intelligence Department keeping the closest watch on the activities of all official and unofficial German representatives in the United States, but he knew ^{also} too that the British Government Intelligence Department had many hundreds of agents actively employed in watching all pro-German activities in the U.S.A., official and unofficial. I learned all this from Devoy during the course of my talks with him. I also learned from him that he had managed to have frequent conversations with an official agent of the German Embassy by the name of Von Skal. Von Skal was certainly an official of the German Embassy but what his exact rank was I do not now remember. It is quite possible, however, that he was not one of the officials whose names would be on the official police list of officers of the German Embassy. He would probably be an unofficial member of the Embassy or perhaps even a Secret Service emissary of Germany in the U.S.A.

That Devoy and Von Skal met fairly frequently I learned from Devoy. How and where and when they met I did not know but I do remember once being taken to lunch in a German restaurant ~~in~~ somewhere in Broadway, I cannot now remember its name but it was a very

well-known place and Devoy and I had luncheon there on a few occasions and on each of these occasions Devoy met Von Skal. Sometimes he would have just a passing word with him as he ^{went} ~~made~~ to his table. Sometimes they would meet in a cloakroom or lavatory for a few minutes' talk. On one of these occasions I met Von Skal through the introduction of John Devoy and later on, shortly before I left America, in a similar way Von Skal arranged with Devoy that I should meet one of his chiefs who later turned out to be the famous von Pappen.

I was brought to an apartment house by Devoy late one night where we met Von Skal and von Pappen and had about an hour's talk about conditions in Ireland. While in their company there was only just vague reference to the possibility of German help, ^{for Ireland} but there was reference made to the possibility that Germany might be of assistance to Ireland ^{and} her fight for independence. Von Skal and Von Pappen asked me many questions about conditions in Ireland, but so far as I can remember, there was certainly no direct or definite word of any kind from them as to the possibility of Germany doing anything for us in the way of military help at any time.

Not long after this I read in the newspapers that Von Pappen was recalled, probably through the influence of the British Government acting on the American Government. I remember, too, reading in the papers, I think I was in prison at the time, ^{when} that ~~his~~ his boat came close to England it was brought into some English harbour and that there Von Pappen was closely questioned by the British and his papers closely examined. I was hoping at this time that my name would not appear in any of von Pappen's papers as I was in the hands of the British and it would not have been any help to me.

Before I left the United States I visited Washington. I was given the name of one man there, I think ^{it} ~~his name~~ was Mulcahy; if I am not mistaken the name was Denis Dowling Mulcahy. I had said that I would like to see Washington, and having completed my mission I

I was free for some days. Devoy arranged that I should take an excursion train to Washington. He told me he had money to send home with me but that their Treasurer was not yet ready. I think I had about two weeks to spare. One of these, or the best part of one week I spent in Washington looking around the City under the guidance of this man Mulcahy. I did not discuss any political affairs or the subject of my mission with Mulcahy though I presume he was probably one of the heads of the Clann na Gael in the Washington area. I also visited cities in New Jersey and Connecticut. I would have liked, and thought I would have had an opportunity, of visiting Boston but did not succeed in getting there though I met a couple of prominent Clann na Gael people from Boston during my time in New York. I also met one or two prominent Clann na Gael people from Chicago. I remember the name of one of the Chicago Clann na Gael men was Major Enright, the names of the others I do not now remember. Enright was most anxious that I should visit Chicago but Devoy decided against.

I cannot at this moment remember the exact date of my departure from New York, but I probably left early in May. The day before I left New York I met in the Ennis Hotel in 42nd Street for the first time the Treasurer of the Clann na Gael whose name was Denis A. Spellissy. Spellissy had been collecting money from the various branches of the Clann na Gael round the country to be sent home with me on my return. When I met him in the company of John Devoy he had a large handbag with him in which he had 2,000 pounds in gold sovereigns. The gathering of this sum in gold was one of the causes of the delay in my return. Spellissy was most anxious that English gold should be collected for the purpose of buying arms to help to drive the British out of Ireland. He had a sentimental notion that it was suitable retaliation to pay the British back in their own coin, so to speak. He had gone to great difficulties in collecting sovereigns in small sums from different banking friends of his in New York and in

New Jersey and in the end he had amassed this amount. It was a great source of disappointment to him when I refused to take the money home with me in gold. I ~~had already told him~~ my difficulties in carrying £1,000 in gold from Dublin to London in 1914 for the purchase of arms, ^{and} having had this experience I ~~was determined that~~ I was not going to run the risk of being held up and having my bag examined at Liverpool on my return. The £2,000 in gold was a terribly heavy weight - at least to me it seemed frightfully heavy and a heavy bag would be sure to attract the attention of both the customs and the police authorities at the port of disembarkation. I explained all this to Spellissy who saw the point at once but was greatly chagrined that his little plan of using British sovereigns to destroy British power in Ireland was not going to come off. I suggested to him to get British £50 or £100 bank notes and that it would suit his purpose equally well if ~~British~~ Bank of England notes were used instead of British sovereigns and that Bank of England notes could be much more easily carried or concealed if necessary. He agreed, but it meant that he had to return the gold to the banks and secure bank notes and this meant delay. However, I still had a day before my boat was due to sail but it was only about an hour before I was due to leave for the boat that Spellissy and Devoy came along with the money and the formal document which Spellissy insisted that I should sign as a receipt to him for this sum of money which was subscribed by the ordinary members of the Clann na Gael of America to help Ireland to end British domination of her country.

I received, therefore, bank notes representing the sum of £2,000 and was instructed to give £1,000 to Eoin Mac Néill as head of the Irish Volunteer Organisation, the other £1,000 I was to hand to Tom Clarke or Seán MacDermott for the I.R.B. Denis Spellissy was a superior officer of the Clann na Gael. He was also Treasurer of the Irish Volunteer Association in America. They called their organisation "The American Committee Irish National Volunteers". They used also the Irish title on their

notepaper which was "Fianna Dáthach na hÉireann" (National Army of Ireland). This body I presume was a subsidiary of the Clann na Gael but there probably were members in it and subscribers to it who would not be members of the Clann na Gael. I presume it was most certainly controlled wherever it existed by Clann na Gael officers in the usual way that such affairs were arranged in America as well as in Ireland *when the I.R.B. would be the controlling body.*

Spellisey was very insistent that I should sign the formal receipt for the money he was giving to me to be handed over to the Volunteer Organisation in Ireland. I happily managed to preserve this receipt and I have given it to the Bureau of Military History. For the £1,000 that I was given to hand over to the I.R.B. I was not asked to sign any receipt nor did I get any receipt from Tom Clarke or Seán MacDermott to whom I handed it ^{on} the morning after I arrived in Dublin.

To close this part of the account of the American visit I may say that I ^{encountered} had no difficulty whatsoever, ^{during my journey} and when the boat arrived at Liverpool I walked off with crowds of other people returning from America, British and Irish. I am sure there were police officers at the end of the gangway scrutinising everyone of us as we passed through but I was not ~~stopped~~ stopped or questioned in any way either by them or by the customs officials except the ^{usual formal questions by the Customs officials as I passed through} ~~the Customs~~ ^{the Customs}. I presume, but I do not remember now, that I was asked to open my suitcase which I did and it was cursorily examined and I was let through. I had the money in a belt with pockets which I had bought specially for the purpose and wore next my skin. It was easy enough to carry, the bank notes were in the small purses attached to the belt, but of course if I had been ^{searched} ~~closely~~ examined this belt ^e would not have passed unnoticed.

Coming back to Ireland I came through Liverpool in the usual way but, ^{on arrival at North Wall} I stayed on board the boat pretending to be asleep until hours after the boat had arrived and until I thought the police

would have disappeared. When I landed there was no sign of any of the detective officers about. It is strange that the detectives had not taken the precaution of looking around the boat before they went off duty, ^{but} if they had made any search or enquiry I would have been ^{deserved} caught. However I made my way from the boat ⁱⁿ ~~an hour or two~~ ⁱⁿ after the usual time of the arrival of the boat. ^{landed}

26 Samhain, 1952.

I do not remember the exact date of the arrest of Denis McCullough and Herbert Moore Pim in Belfast but I have a distinct recollection of getting instructions from the I.R.B. in Dublin-who sent me the instructions I cannot now remember - to go to Belfast and to take Charles Wyse Power, B.L. with me. Power was a delegate to the Ard Fheis of the Gaelic League at Dundalk at that time. And the two of us were to join Seamus O'Connor, Solicitor who had also been given instructions by the I.R.B. to take charge ^{of the} in-defence of the trial of these two men.

McCullough and Pim had been served with an order to leave Ireland and go to reside somewhere in England. This Order was served under The Defence of the Realm Act which was a law passed specially to deal with anybody whom the British wished to put in prison or to dispose of otherwise as an undesirable person during the War.

Power and I met O'Connor whom, I think, came to Dundalk to discuss the defence of McCullough and Pim with us and it was decided then, or maybe it had been decided earlier, that Henry Hanna, K.C. afterwards Judge of the High Court should be engaged ~~also~~ as Senior Counsel if he would agree ~~to act~~ to defend these two men. I remember that among the instructions we received from the I.R.B. was that the line of defence to be employed by Counsel should be ^{such} as would get this law action as much wide publicity as possible in Ireland and abroad.

O'Connor, Power and I went to Belfast, I am not quite sure what day of the week it was. We left Dundalk ^{early on the morning} ~~an hour or two hours before~~ the trial came off. We met Henry Hanna and discussed with him the line of defence. Hanna seemed very pleased to have been engaged for the case. He gave his view as to how he thought he could best serve his clients so as to secure them as short a sentence as possible for their refusal to obey the order to leave Ireland. Acting on instructions ^{we} we were not interested ⁱⁿ as ~~to~~ securing a short sentence for the prisoners, ^{As} already stated, our desire was to

secure publicity. We explained all this to Hanna who seemed hesitant about conducting a case on such lines. However, we persuaded him.

When the case opened in the Belfast Magistrates' Court Henry Hanna made a number of legal ^{objections} statements as to the constitutionality of ~~the~~ D.O.R.A. He had quite a number of legal points to raise but, of course, they were all turned down by the magistrates ~~at once~~ one after the other. Then, seeing that he was not given a hearing for his various legal points Hanna started his speech for the defence and spoke as a most ardent and patriotic Nationalist. He made ^{the} a most fiery anti-Government speech possible with the result that the audience, the Court being literally packed to suffocation, cheered him enthusiastically at frequent intervals. After ~~two~~ ^{two or three} warnings ^{times} by the ^{Presiding Judge & Barneys} magistrates, that, if the public interrupted the proceedings again the Court would have to be cleared, Hanna ~~became~~ ^{became}, if possible, even more enthusiastically ^{Nationalist} in his views so, ~~of course,~~ ^{to ensure} as to ~~secure~~ that the crowd would cheer and the Court would have to be cleared, thus securing for us the publicity we were looking for. When there ~~would be~~ ^{was} now and then an interruption and some remarks of admonition ^{when addressed} by the magistrate addressed to the public, Hanna would turn to me and say: "How am I doing, am I doing all right?". O'Connor and I sat behind Hanna and Power in the legal benches in the Court. The clearing of the Court of course made a long interruption, many of the people resisted being thrown out and dozens of police had to be brought in with the result that it was a field day for the newspapermen. The magistrates were very displeased that their Court was treated by the public with such contempt. The result of this, I imagine, was that Denis McCullough got a heavier sentence than he might have got if this line of defence had not been adopted. McCullough was sentenced, as far as I remember, to four months imprisonment and Pim, for some reason or other, was let off with three months.

The remains of O'Donovan Rossa were brought to Ireland sometime at the end of July 1915. Previously it had been decided by the I.R.B. that a public funeral of the most impressive character should be organised for the burial of O'Donovan Rossa's remains in Glasnevin Cemetery. I was instructed to select a spot somewhere near the O'Connell circle in Glasnevin Cemetery and to have a grave opened there, The money to be paid for the grave being given by me by Tom Clarke. The I.R.B. nominated a Committee to take charge of the organisation of the public funeral. I was nominated as a member of the Committee. The Committee was divided into sub-Committees to deal with the various aspects of the organisation of the funeral. I do not remember now on which of the sub-Committees I was asked to serve. A booklet dealing with the funeral in all its aspects was published some ~~months~~ ^{time} after the funeral. In this booklet a full list of the many members of the O'Donovan Rossa funeral Committee as well as the names of the sub-Committees and those who served on each of them ^{was given}.

The funeral was one of the biggest public funerals that I have ever seen. It was probably the biggest that ever took place in Ireland with the exception possibly of the funeral of Charles Stewart Parnell in October 1890. As well as all the branches of the I.R.B. the whole Irish Volunteer Organisation was mustered to take part in the funeral and the occasion was used by the Volunteers as an opportunity for showing their strength. As far as I remember the Volunteers marched in uniform, as many of them had uniforms. The funeral procession on that day was certainly most impressive. As well as the Volunteers public bodies of all kinds sent strong delegations from all parts of Ireland to take part in the funeral. Public bodies like County Councils and Urban Councils, and Corporations and other bodies of that kind officially took part in the funeral procession. Luckily the weather was particularly kind with the result that

many thousands of people stood on the sidewalks to watch the funeral procession pass.

Pádraig Pearse was asked, presumably by Tom Clarke to deliver the funeral oration and, as would be ^{well} remembered, he made ~~it~~ one of the great speeches of his life. I very well remember the profound impression that Pearse's speech (on that day made). I was standing alongside ~~of~~ him when he spoke and we all felt very proud of his impressive oratorical achievement. He evidently had his speech, which was not too long, well memorised for he used no notes on ^{the} that occasion.

After Pearse's oration the firing party, which had been quietly and privately arranged for by either some Volunteer Committee or the I.R.B. Committee—I do not now remember which, were called and they fired their volleys over the grave. This must have been one of the first if not the very first occasion on which this military demonstration took place in our lifetime and this too in its way made a deep impression not alone on all who were present but on all who read the report afterwards. The I.R.B. and the Irish Volunteers were very proud of having been able to accomplish this military demonstration despite the orders of the British against the carrying of arms.

17 Nollaig, 1952.

As far as I can recollect now I was occupied mostly during the latter half of 1915 in looking after the weekly newspaper "Nationality". Incidentally I am sure I had many other odd jobs to do for Seán MacDermott and Tom Clarke. They were always calling on me for duties of one kind or other and I was always at their disposal.

I remember in this connection on one occasion being sent to Glasgow to interview a man whose name I do not now remember who was a member of the Supreme Council of the I.R.B. He was employed in an iron foundry outside of Glasgow, I am not sure of the name of the district. My instructions were to find that man and to swear him out of the organisation. It appears that he had disagreed with the policy of the majority of the members of the Supreme Council of the I.R.B., in particular, as far as I remember now, he disagreed with their intention to have a Rising. He differed so vitally from them that they decided not alone to put him off the Supreme Council but to put him out of the Organisation altogether. I was sent over to see him and to insist on his taking an oath to preserve secrecy with regard to what he had learned when he was a member of the organisation and of the Supreme Council. I found him at work in the foundry and had him come outside with me and we walked to a quiet spot in the neighbourhood of the foundry. I explained to him the purpose of my visit. He recognised me as he had seen me in Dublin some time, he told me, and was quite willing to do what I was instructed to request. He took the oath and we parted on good terms.

It may be as well to set this down at this point just for the record. Soon after the state of war had been declared in Europe word reached Tom Clarke through some official of the Post Office ~~that~~ with many of whom he and other members of the Supreme Council of the I.R.B. were in touch that a revised list had been supplied to the Department concerned ~~in~~ the Post Office of the names of persons whose correspondence was to be

closely watched. It should be remembered that at all times the British Government had on their list in Ireland a number of persons whose correspondence was watched, that is to say was taken up by special orders brought to ^{certain} ~~special~~ officials of the Headquarters of the Post Office, opened expertly by special machinery, the correspondence read and scrutinized, and the envelope again closed in such a fashion that it would not be easy to recognise that the ~~envelope~~ ^{it} had been opened. Before the War, the list, as we were informed, was not a very long one, but the names of practically all of those who were members of the Supreme Council and others like myself who were prominent in the Sinn Féin or the independence movement in general, were on it.

Evidently there was somebody who was ^{probably} actually one of the confidential officers in charge of this particular aspect of the British espionage work, who was sympathetic to our side, ~~at~~ any rate a copy of the ~~new~~ revised and much enlarged list of the names of persons whose correspondence was to be thus closely scrutinized, was given ~~to us~~ either to Tom Clarke or MacDermott ~~or both~~, I ~~do not now remember~~. Clarke at any rate was my informant in this particular matter. He told me that of course my name was on the list and that I should be careful of my correspondence and warn my friends. He gave me the names of a long list of other people, most of them living in or around Dublin but others living in all parts of the country, North, South, East and West. In the case of those people living outside Dublin, their correspondence would have to be taken out of the local Post Office and forwarded in special sealed envelopes to the officer in charge of this particular special branch in the Post Office.

One new name that appeared on the revised list shown to Clarke was the name of ^a man who had not so long before been elected a member of the Supreme Council of the I.R.B. He was a Protestant named Séamus Deakin. I remember Deakin well ^{from the time he} ~~being~~ the first to ~~join~~ ^{to} join the Sinn Féin movement when we had offices ~~and rooms~~ over No. 11 Lower O'Connell Street, a house at the corner of O'Connell Street and Lr. Abbey Street. In these premises ^{we} ~~to~~ used to have

lectures every Monday night and after the lectures discussions ^{on} arising out of the lecture ~~and~~ various aspects of Irish history, took place. It was here that I first came across Deakin who was then employed I think as Manager of a big wholesale and retail chemists and druggists establishment, I think the name was Hoyte & Co. of O'Connell Street. What induced him to come into the Sinn Féin and independence movement I do not now know, but he was a regular attendant at the Sinn Féin lectures in O'Connell Street and later was recruited, by whom I do not now remember, into the I.R.B.

Tom Clarke ~~of course~~ informed Deakin that his name was ~~now~~ on the list of suspects whose correspondence was to be watched. This came as a great shock to Deakin and I think that soon after this Deakin resigned from all activities associated with the national movement. He later had a ^{chemist} shop on the North Circular Road near Blackquiere Bridge.

It is well to put on record somewhere how closely all of us who were of any prominence in the Movement were watched by the Special Detective Department charged with political spy work. This Branch of the Detective Department was known as the 'G' Division. My circle of the I.R.B. met where most of the Dublin circles met, in ^a the house belonging to the Irish National Forfeaters' Organisation, 41 Parnell Square. This is a large house with many rooms and it was used as the Dublin Headquarters of the National Forfeaters which was a sort of benevolent ^{society} organisation. Some of the members of the Executive Committee in control of that organisation were members of the I.R.B., particularly one, James Stritch. He was employed as an overseer I think in the Paving Department of the Dublin Corporation and had many men under his control, most of these he had recruited into the Forfeaters' Organisation and probably a good proportion of those also into the I.R.B. Stritch devoted ~~all~~ his spare

time to these two organisations, the I.R.B. and the Forfeesters. He was a very hard-working, strict, honest and God-fearing man. He was, I think, personally responsible for the success of the Forfeesters' Organisation in running that house and he collected ~~or amassed~~ a considerable sum of money for the purpose of carrying out big extensions and improvements to that building. Amongst other things he built a large hall at the back of the house which was used for all sorts of purposes. It would probably seat ⁴700 or ⁵800 people. It had a ^{good} beautiful stage and here concerts were frequently held and dramatic performances given by amateur dramatic societies from all parts of the City, and of course occasionally for special meetings of the I.R.B.

Because of James Stritch's association with the I.R.B. this building might be regarded as the local I.R.B. Headquarters for Dublin. It is certain that almost every night of the week some ^{circle} branch, sometimes two or three ^{circles} branches of the I.R.B. held their meetings in the house. A good deal of money was derived from the rents paid by the various organisations, the I.R.B. included, for the use of these rooms to James Stritch on behalf of the Forfeester's organisation.

Of course it very soon became known to the Detective Branch of the Dublin police that the I.R.B. used this house regularly as a place of meeting and as a result every night of the week there were ~~always~~ ~~present~~ at least two members of the Detective Branch outside the door. These men presumably made notes of the people who passed in and out. They, of course, would not know who were attending the Forfeesters meetings or who were attending Gaelic League ^{classes} lectures because some branches of the Gaelic League were in that building also, or who were attending the I.R.B. meetings. Probably the 'G' men were soon able to pick out for themselves, because of their knowledge and experience, the people associated with the ^{different} movements who attended ~~all~~ the ~~different types~~ ^{in the building} of gatherings. It is certain, however, that there must have been very full accounts given every day or every

night to the Chief of the Dublin police of the names of the individuals and the numbers who were attending meetings of this kind.

Another place that was used in a similar ^{way} ~~was~~ for I.R.B. meetings as well as for meetings of other societies was 41 York~~er~~ Street, ^{then} known as the Dublin Workingmen's Club. What I said with regard to 41 Parnell Square applied equally to 41 York~~er~~ Street which ^{house} was constantly under observation by the Detective Branch. I do not think the police ever paid such close attention to the Headquarters of the Gaelic League, 25 Parnell Square or 24 Upr. O'Connell Street.

Now, with regard to the Irish National For~~est~~ers' Organisation. I have no idea ~~of~~ how or when this organisation came into existence. I have an idea that there existed a similar organisation in England and it was probably originally intended for Irish members as a branch of this organisation in England or merely as a similar organisation mainly composed of workingclass people. In my time, so far as I have been able to observe, its purpose was purely benevolent. So far as I am aware it had no~~t~~ political activities. The organisation I think was called the Irish National For~~est~~ers, ^{The} members, being generally of working-class type would all be ~~fully~~ connected with the Home Rule Movement, probably 90% ~~or more~~ ~~even 100%~~ of the members of this organisation would be supporters of the Home Rule Movement, ~~and many of the members acted in working in connection with it.~~

When I first was elected to Dublin Corporation a prominent member of that body was Mr. Joseph Hutchinson, afterwards for, I think, a couple of years Lord Mayor of Dublin, ~~was~~ was then the General Secretary of the For~~est~~ers' Organisation. The For~~est~~ers collected weekly contributions from their members for benevolent purposes. So far as I know they did not use their funds for anything in the nature of political work.

Their organisation was strongest in the days before social services such as Lloyd George introduced, became operative. However, their work to provide this for people of the working class during illness, during unemployment and for funeral expenses of deceased members and their families was in those days helpful. I think the Forfeesters' Organisation was one of the many ~~similar~~ organisations that were later absorbed in the National Health Scheme which Lloyd George brought into existence ^{in Ireland} when he was in control of Finance in the British Government.

Because of the fact that the Forfeesters' building at 41 Parnell Square was used so frequently by the I.R.B. ^{many} people may have formed the impression that the Forfeesters' Organisation had some close association with the I.R.B. and its activities. It should, I think, therefore be made clear that as an organisation the Forfeesters had no official connection with either Sinn Féin or the I.R.B. It is quite possible that ^{some} many ~~of the members or at any rate some~~ of the members of the Forfeesters would have been members of ^{either} both Sinn Féin ^{or} the I.R.B. ^{or both} My impression is, however, that the vast majority of the members of the Forfeesters would not be associated with the I.R.B. although some of their leading members like James Stritch were active in the Independence movement.

21 Eanáir, 1953.

I am asked if I can remember anything about the disappearance of Joseph Connolly for three or four days in January, 1916.

I well remember hearing the talk that went on in our circles about the disappearance of Connolly but I am not in a position to offer any explanation or theory on the subject.

At that period I was a daily visitor to Tom Clarke's shop and to Seán MacDermott's office at 12 D'Olier Street, and I would hear, naturally, all the gossip that was going on with reference to our movement. I well remember that we had talks on the subject of Connolly but I have no recollection whatever now as to the details of what was said to me or the explanations that were offered to me to account for the absence of Connolly from his own office for a number of days. I am sure I was told at the time what was known to Clarke and MacDermott on the matter but anything I was told has completely escaped my memory.

I think it was on Sunday the 9th April, that ¹⁹¹⁶ MacDermott ^{Saw} asked me to go with him to Woodtown Park, Rathfarnham, where he said he was anxious to have a talk with MacNeill. He suggested that it would be a good idea if we got two girls to accompany us just to throw off suspicion in case detectives were watching us as they surely would be. So we hired a taxi, and I got Min and Phyllis Ryan to accompany us and we went out to Woodtown Park which place I saw ^{for} for the first time.

MacDermott went in and spent, as far as I can remember, a half an hour or three-quarters of an hour in talk with MacNeill. We did not leave the car. When MacDermott came out to rejoin us he seemed in the greatest possible good humour. He told me later, after we had parted from the ladies, that he was very happy over the result of his interview: that he had a full, free and frank discussion with MacNeill as to coming events. He did not give me any further information as to what ^{he} meant by the "coming events". He, I think, referred a number of times in the course of his talk to the "manoeuvres arranged for Easter Sunday". So far as I can now remember ^{he did not} ~~there was no use~~ of the word "Rising" or "Insurrection" at any time in the course of our talk.

Perhaps it is as well to stress here the point that at no time did Clarke or MacDermott, with whom I was always on the most friendly and perhaps I could say intimate terms, ever tell me definitely that the Rising was to take place on Easter Sunday. We rarely spoke of the subject but if we did there would be vague references to "manoeuvres" or "the arrangements" that were to take place at Easter. Some words such as these, vague and indefinite, were, I think I could say, practically always used.

Of course, Clarke and MacDermott knew that I was aware of the decision made in September ~~on October~~ 1914 for a Rising to take place under certain conditions as I have already said, and, furthermore, they, in March 1915, sent me to America to give verbally a detailed account of the plans for the ^{Coming} Rising, at least as far as Dublin was concerned, ^{which they had imparted to me} ~~whenever it came off~~. Therefore, I presume Clarke and MacDermott when they did ever discuss this matter with me took it for granted that I knew exactly what they referred to, and what was in their minds, but at no time did either one or other of the two ever say to me that a Rising will take place on either Easter Sunday or Monday, 1916. I had to deduce that for myself.

On the following Sunday - that would be April the 16th - the Sunday before the date arranged for the Rising, again MacDermott asked me to accompany him on a visit to Eoin MacNeill's house at Woodtown Park, Rathfarnham, Co. Dublin. He suggested that we do as we had done the last day and take two lady friends with us on the journey. I hired a taxi and arranged that this time instead of Phyllis Ryan with her sister Min, we would take Min Ryan and a friend of hers, Miss Bridget Doherty, ^{now Mrs. Matt Hession,} who was on holidays in Dublin over from England where she was engaged teaching in some College in London.

to Woodtown Park

We made the journey and again MacDermott went alone into the house and, presumably, had his talk with Eoin MacNeill. Again when he rejoined us he was in excellent ^{honour} good honour. Before leaving the ladies we had tea somewhere, I cannot now remember where, and then MacDermott and I went off. What I do remember is that MacDermott went into great detail with me describing his talk with MacNeill. He said that MacNeill had been ^{giving} given a great deal of trouble; that he had changed his mind several times: that when he had seen MacDermott on the previous

Sunday, MacNeill had accepted in full the programme that had been drawn up for Easter but that during that week others had discussed the matter with him and had persuaded him to change his mind. I think it is probable that MacDermott mentioned the names of some of those who, he had learned, had been in consultation with MacNeill, but I cannot now remember accurately who ^{he} mentioned, so I think I had better mention no names. I do remember, however, that MacDermott was fierce in his denouncement of people ~~whom~~ he said were interfering and putting MacNeill "on the wrong track" as MacDermott described it.

I well remember that MacDermott said to me: "I have discussed everything with MacNeill: every detail of the arrangements for Easter Sunday, and he has accepted all our plans. I hope to God that he does not run away again during the coming week. I'll have to see what we can do with those fellows who are interfering and influencing MacNeill and putting him in the wrong direction. I'll have to do something about ^{it} ~~him~~."

I can say definitely that ~~all~~ ⁱⁿ that Sunday ^{afternoon} evening MacDermott was in the most happy good humour confident of the fact that he had satisfied MacNeill, and that he had got MacNeill's promise to join in the arrangements for the mobilisation and take his part as Chief-of-Staff of the Volunteers in directing the manoeuvres.

The following week, Holy Week, was a busy week for all of us in the movement. One would meet members of the Volunteers everywhere around the City who would tell one of their plans to arm and equip themselves so as to make as good a show as possible at the manoeuvres on the following Sunday. Shops like Lawlor's of Fownes Street ^{which} made a specialty of selling Volunteer equipment were full from morning till night with Volunteers seeking to purchase equipment of various kinds. I visited the

Concent ^{will}
after ^{the} ~~the~~
Parade ^{is} ~~is~~ on
to be ^{at} ~~at~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~the~~

Volunteer Headquarters in Dawson Street a couple of times with messages to O'Rahilly. He was there working like a slave doing his job, which was to find arms and ammunition to equip the various companies of Volunteers and various officers who were bombarding him daily with requests to purchase arms and ammunition for themselves and their men.

The week, as I say, was an extremely busy one for all of us connected with the movement. Everywhere one went, in practically every street, every shop and in the various restaurants which were the rendezvous^s for people of our type the subject of the manoeuvres was actively discussed, and people would raise questions as to what was behind the manoeuvres. Was there something more serious intended? The suggestion generally was that something very serious was afoot, but its effect in general seemed to me only to make the volunteer element and certainly the I.R.B. element ~~only~~ more and more active and enthusiastic. So far as my recollection goes of my many conversations with friends and people I knew in the movement during that week there was nothing but the greatest enthusiasm and, of course, ~~some~~ excitement as to what was going to happen.

Other ~~rumours~~ rumours were afloat and were frequently discussed, but only in the most confidential way among the what one might call "higher ups" of the movement. These were rumours of a division in the ranks. It was freely said that some of the leaders were divided and I think it was known to a number in Dublin that certain well-known people had been sent to different centres in the country some said by Hobson, others said by MacNeill, to warn the Volunteers against taking part in the manoeuvres. Gossip of this kind was going on certainly from about the Wednesday of Holy Week.

I have no recollection of what part, if any, O'Rahilly

took in the comings and goings of that week. I have a recollection of seeing and speaking to O'Rahilly, I think it was that week, in the Headquarters' Office in Dawson Street, but as far as I remember my talks with him would be early in the week, but as to what part O'Rahilly took, or whether he took any part, or whether he travelled round the country, as has been suggested somewhere, carrying messages for MacNeill or Hobson during the course of that week I have no knowledge.

Certainly the city was full of rumours and full of gossip and full of stories and full of excitement, but the work of arming and equipping the Volunteers went on at fever heat right up to the last moment.


For my own part I had decided to get a uniform made for myself for the manoeuvres, and as I had been appointed by Pearse as Captain on his staff I was told I should have bright yellow tabs on my collar to indicate my staff rank. I ordered this suit from Gleasons, Upr. O'Connell Street.

If I have not already mentioned it, I should mention that it was about Christmas time, either shortly before or shortly after Christmas, 1915, that Pearse asked me one day if I would be willing to join his staff when certain big events which we did not go into detail about, would take place. I said: "Certainly, I would be glad to join your staff", and he said: "Well, then you will join my staff as Captain, your appointment only to take effect when we start operations."

At the same time and on the same occasion he asked me if I could procure from any of my friends in the offices of the Dublin Corporation, plans of the sewerage and water ^{supply system} works of the city. He said he had already arranged with somebody else to get for him plans of the mains where the

electric cables were laid. He was getting these, he said, but he also needed plans of the sewers and water mains and asked me if I could procure these for him. They would, he said, later be perhaps of great value to him. These plans I secured and gave to Pearse probably in the month of March ~~or February~~, 1916.

11 Feabhra, 1953.



(To be inserted on page 219 over last paragraph)

I have referred already to the rumours that were afloat during the week or ten days preceeding the Rising. Some of these rumours concerned supposed differences amongst the members of the Volunteer Executive, and probably also leaders of the I.R.B. One thing that was probably responsible for giving rise to a lot of these rumours was, words used by Hobson in an address which he gave at a concert held in the Forresters' Hall, Parnell Square, on Palm Sunday night. This concert was organised, as far as I can remember now, by the Cumann na mBan to raise funds for their ^{Volunteer} organisation.

Bulmer

I was not present at the concert nor did I hear Hobson's address, but I certainly have a vivid recollection of the vigour of the denouncements of Hobson and of his words made to me when talking to Seán MacDermott and others of our circle.

Hobson, it appears, warned those present against certain people who were working to drag them into action. I do not know if Hobson's words have been reported anywhere in the press, it is quite possible that some account of them maybe found in the "Evening Telegraph" of that week, but certainly in Volunteer circles and in I.R.B. circles there was much discussion of what was regarded as the "strange" words used by Hobson.

I do not particularly remember any of the phrases used by MacDermott, or probably also by Tom Clarke, but I have a definite recollection that they were both very interested in the words used by Hobson and were surprised that Hobson had got such an opportunity to address a gathering of the kind and to sow seeds of suspicion and dissention amongst the Volunteers and their supporters.

Others will probably have given a full account of the big parade of all the battalions and companies of the Irish Volunteers which was held on Patrick's Day, 1916. I was not present at this parade as I was in Waterford speaking at the Gaelic League Public meeting held either inside or outside the Town Hall, Waterford, I am not sure now which.

October
In ~~April~~ 1915, I was appointed General Secretary of the Gaelic League and from that time on I avoided attending public meetings or functions or parades of the Volunteers. This I did because the Executive Committee of the Gaelic League was, politically speaking, a very mixed body and there were certainly members of the Coisde Gnotha who would dislike very much the idea of the General Secretary of the Gaelic League taking a prominent part in such a definitely party-political organisation as the Irish Volunteers. It did not mean in reality that I was less active in the national movement. I did as much work as ever on the quiet for Clarke, MacDermott, Pearse and for the Volunteers and the I.R.B. when I could do so without coming into the limelight.

Another matter that gave rise to very widespread discussion and certainly caused consternation was the publication of a document said to have been purloined from the Secretary's Office, Dublin Castle, and which gave detailed instructions to the police and military as to the ^{proposed} arrest of many important and well-known public men and the raiding of the homes and residences of certain other people, all distinguished in the City, amongst them being the Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. William Walsh.

A meeting of the Dublin Corporation was held on the Wednesday of that week at the City Hall. I do not now remember what the purpose of the meeting was but it may have been to strike the rate for the coming financial year. Usually for this purpose a special meeting of the Corporation would be summoned and I think this meeting at which the document I referred to was read must have been a special meeting of the Municipal Council because as I now recollect, it was held on a Wednesday, and usually the Corporation meetings were held on Mondays. However, at this meeting this document was read out by Alderman Tom Kelly. He accepted the document as authentic and seemed to be wholly satisfied that it was in every way reliable, and he, I think, spoke of the responsible persons who had given him the document and expressed ~~I think~~ his conviction that this was something that should be taken very seriously indeed. He warned, as I now remember, the Government and the authorities against taking the action that was forecast in this document and said that if they attempted to carry out the plans as presented ~~that~~ ~~that~~ would result.

The document and the speech by Alderman Tom Kelly certainly made a profound impression on the members of the Dublin Corporation. Alderman Tom Kelly was regarded

by all parties in the City as a very responsible, worthy citizen. He was not himself a member of the Volunteers though he was one of the founders of Sinn Féin and one of its principal spokesmen at all times. I think it is true to say, therefore, that even his most vigorous ~~and strong~~ political opponents always had the highest respect and regard for Alderman Tom Kelly, and anything ~~and everything~~ he said in his public speeches would be taken serious notice of by everybody.

The fact that he was responsible for giving publicity to this document certainly secured for it notice that, if read by others, it might not have received. The evening papers in Dublin published the document under big sensational headings.

After the first sensation over the publication of this document by Alderman Kelly, the pro-British element including in that the Home Rule element ~~as~~ amongst the members of the Corporation and, of course, the Unionist element all pooh-poohed the document and gave it as their view that the whole thing was a complete fabrication; it was a bogus document; it was something that had been put together by extremists in the national movement. Their view was that it was not worthy of attention. Some of the Unionists, also ~~of these~~ ^{of the} some liberal or Home Rule element I remember at that time said that they had had enquiries made in the proper quarters which, of course, ~~referred to~~ ^{was sent} Dublin Castle, and the Chief Secretary's Office, and they maintained that they were satisfied with ~~the findings they had received~~ that no such document ever existed in the Chief Secretary's Office ⁱⁿ Dublin Castle. They further stated that there was never any intention to arrest the people mentioned in the document, and most certainly not

to raid the houses of the prominent people including the Archbishop, whose names were also given in the document. They were so strong in their repudiations that they ~~had~~ succeeded in persuading many of our people that the document should be taken cum grano salis.

I remember going with Alderman Tom Kelly after the meeting to his place of business in Sth. ^{William} ~~Ann~~ Street and we had long talks about the document and the step that Alderman ^{he} Kelly had taken. ^{in publishing it.} He was fully convinced at the time of the authenticity of the document and he said he took the opportunity to read it at the meeting of the Dublin Corporation so as to show up the Dublin Castle element, give warning to the people whose names were mentioned in the document, and thus to secure that the plan, being exposed in this way in advance, would never be carried out - that was his purpose.

I remember, too, discussing with him and one or two other members of the Corporation who dropped in to talk with Alderman Kelly on this subject, the possibility that Alderman Kelly himself might be arrested that evening for exposing this document. Some advised ~~him~~ that he should not stay at his home that night, that surely he would be arrested and ~~certainly~~ prosecuted and probably deported, as others had been in recent times. We had long talks with Alderman Tom Kelly on this subject but he firmly resisted any suggestion that he should do anything but carry on his normal daily life. I really believe that if it had been myself or any other member of the Corporation who had taken the action that Alderman Kelly had in reading that document, the police would have arrested any of us, but Alderman Tom's reputation was so high in the City and his character for honesty was so highly respected that the police and the authorities generally in Dublin Castle decided that they would not arrest him, and that their attitude also would be to scoff at the document and throw as much cold water as possible on it and induce the public to believe that it was an entire fabrication.

I cannot recall with any precision anything of the various activities that certainly kept us day and night working with all the energy we possessed to be fully prepared for the big event due to take place on Easter Sunday. I know I was fully occupied doing odd jobs of all kinds at the request of Clark sometimes, McDermott other times, to assist them in their operations. I would see these two men several times each day. I would be back and forward from the Gaelic League office to see Tom Clarke in his shop in Parnell Street, and from there would go to the "Irish Freedom" office 12, D'Olier Street, and it is true to say, I think, that every time I would meet Clark or MacDermott they would have some bit of work of some account to suggest to me to do. In these two places, too, one would meet during the few days before Easter people prominent in the movement from all parts of Ireland and from England and Scotland also. Probably it would be correct to say that most of the visitors - those of them active in the Volunteer organisations certainly - were in Dublin for the purpose of trying to secure arms for themselves or their colleagues in the Volunteers. I am sure that the Volunteer Headquarters was a very busy place these days also, but except for one visit to see The O'Rahilly early in the week I do not think I visited the Volunteer Headquarters at all.

I remember meeting one of the men who went on the journey to Kerry in connection with the fitting up of the wireless, a man named Keating who had come over from, I think, London some day during that week. I saw him on the day he started off for Kerry, and I remember his good-humoured talk about the pleasant trip that he and his companions were going to have. I did not know much about his project, I was not present when he was receiving his instructions from MacDermott, but speaking with him in the "Freedom" office

he seemed to take it for granted that I knew the nature of the work that had been entrusted to him. I cannot now remember when it was that I heard the sad news of the drowning of Keating and some of his companions at Kilorglin. I may have heard that on the Friday evening but I am not now sure, but, of course, that disastrous bit of news was much discussed and canvassed amongst us certainly during that Saturday of Holy Week.

On the Saturday of Holy Week I was crossing O'Connell Street near the G.P.O. and Nelson Pillar - I cannot now say exactly what time of the day it was but I think it was about noon - when I met a man who was fairly well-known to me as a sympathiser with our movement. He was a journalist by the name of T. F. O'Sullivan. I think he came from some part of Co. Kerry. O'Sullivan stopped me and asked me if I knew where he could find Eoin MacNeill or Seán MacDermott. I told him where Eoin MacNeill lived and said if he wished to see him he would probably have to go out to Woodtown Park, Rathfarnham, and added that I was going direct to MacDermott's office and expected to meet him there, and that if he had any message he could come with it and probably would see MacDermott. He then told me that he was on some mission for his newspaper, that he was in a great hurry but that he would be grateful to me if I would convey to MacDermott an important piece of information that he had just received. He then said that shortly before, whether he said that morning or the night before I cannot recollect, an official from the Military Headquarters had called on the Editor of the "Freeman's Journal" with instructions to warn him that on no account was there to appear in the "Freeman's Journal" or any of their newspapers any report of the arrest of Roger Casement. He told the editor that Roger Casement had been arrested in Tralee on

the Friday and had been sent a prisoner to London. He gave the editor this news but again warned him that it must not appear in any newspaper. Similar warnings, he said, were being given to the editors of each of the Dublin newspapers.

This, of course, was certainly news and I went with all speed to find MacDermott. My recollection now is that when I met MacDermott and told him the news he showed no surprise and added that unfortunately he knew that what I said was true. I think we talked about the arrest of Casement, by what route he was to be taken, or had been taken across to England. As far as I can recollect now MacDermott did not appear to be aware of the route that had been taken by the police or military to conduct Casement to London. The further details of Casement's arrival on the coast and the arrest of Stack and Con Collins, I think the latter was later in the day, ~~that is~~ that is on the Saturday, all these things together with the news of the arrest of Casement and the drowning of the men in the river Laune near Killerglin ^{were} regarded as not only unfortunate but disastrous by us.

Naturally all this news spread like wildfire and was the general subject of discussion with everyone one met anywhere.

The next thing I remember on the Saturday is making a call to Gleeson's in O'Connell Street where I had an appointment to try on for the last time the beautiful new uniform which I was going to wear for the first time on Easter Sunday. I remember being much disappointed that I was told in Gleesons that the uniform was not ready and that I would have to come back again that evening, ^{when} they promised that my uniform would be finished that night.

The next thing I did was to go to a barber's shop

kept by a man named Ridgeway in the basement of Purcell's tobaccoist's store at the corner of Westmoreland Street and D'Olier Street. I think this would be about 2.30 or 3 o'clock after lunch. When I went into the barber's shop to get my hair cut I spotted Arthur Griffith in the barber's being shaved, and before he had finished I was called into a chair to have my hair cut and I sat beside ^{Griffith} Griffith. Before I got into the chair I said to Griffith that I would like him to wait for me until I was finished, that I had something important to tell him. Griffith waited and when we got outside the shop I told him the news I had received from T. F. O'Sullivan. This was the first that Griffith had heard about the Casement arrest. He was greatly shocked and wondered what the meaning of it was. Walking up Westmoreland Street Griffith made a bitter complaint to me that he had, ~~he said~~, been promised at the time that the agreement was come to in September, 1914, as to working together, ~~he had been promised, he said~~, by Clarke and MacDermott that he would be kept fully informed of what they were doing and what steps they were taking to carry out the agreement that had been arrived at. He said that there were many things happening these times - things of importance - not one of which he had been consulted about or informed of. He said that he felt very hurt that Clarke and MacDermott had not taken him, according to their promise, into their confidence.

that were We talked about the "manoeuvres" - as they were termed - to take place on the Sunday and he asked me what I thought was afoot and I told him that I believed that something serious was intended. He said that he thought so too, but this latest news about Casement together with the news of the drawing of the men at Kilgerlin and other news that *of things that were* was happening round the City convinced him that there was

much more behind the "manoeuvres" than the ordinary people suspected.

Griffith then suggested that MacNeill should be given the information that I had received. I agreed. I told him that T. F. O'Sullivan had asked me if possible to give the information to Eoin MacNeill as well as to MacDermott. I ^{asked} said to Griffith: ~~"Will you come with me to MacNeill's?"~~ He said he would. I took a taxi from College Green and we drove to Woodtown, Rathfarnham.

I am not certain as to the hour at which we arrived at Woodtown Park. It was dusk if I remember rightly. I had been to Woodtown before as I have already recounted. I knew where the house was but the driver stopped at a gate and said that this was Woodtown Park. I doubted it and get out of the car, looked at the name on the gate and it was not the gate of Woodtown Park, this was another 100 yards or so ~~up~~ further up. I was turning back to get into the taxi when who came along but Seamus O'Connor, then a well-known figure in the national movement as well as in the Gaelic League. I expressed surprise at seeing Seamus there. I told him that I was looking for MacNeill's house, that Griffith and I were going there. Seamus, as I now recollect it, seemed rather ^{taken aback} excited and I think a bit ^{surprised} taken aback at being met by me there and he ^{asked} said to me that I was not to tell Clarke or MacDermott or anybody else that I met him there, as, he said, he had been out to see MacNeill but he would rather that this should not be known.

Griffith and I ^w say MacNeill. I gave MacNeill the news I received from O'Sullivan. With John MacNeill was his brother James. I must say, however, before we met Eoin MacNeill we had to wait in another room where James MacNeill was sitting. ^{He was then engaged with the} He greeted us and showed us a co

of an Order made out by Eoin MacNeill which, ~~which~~ he said, ~~his brother Eoin~~ had already sent out by some messengers ^{for it} copies of to different parts of the country. ~~This Order~~ ^{was made} ~~He~~ was making with his own hand copies of for signature by Eoin.

~~I remember in the Order was that it was telling the~~ ^{that} ~~Volunteers that the "manoeuvres" arranged for Easter Sunday~~ ^{was an instruction to} were to be called off, ^{James MacNeill did not say} and according to James MacNeill, ^{how many} ~~some copies of that Order had already been dispatched,~~ ^{to whom} We were perhaps fifteen or twenty minutes in the room with Jas. MacNeill, ^{before} Eoin MacNeill being engaged with other visitors ~~before he was free to see us.~~

I gave MacNeill my message which he said he had already received. He knew of the arrest of Casement, he said, but further than that he did not go. I remember he remarked: "This confirms news that I have already received and it shows us that I must consider very seriously what action I should take". MacNeill then called Griffith aside and as I saw that he wanted to have a private conversation with Griffith I left the room and went back to where James MacNeill was and chatted with him for another ten or fifteen minutes until Griffith and Eoin MacNeill came out and we said good-bye. Griffith and myself were about to get into the taxi when MacNeill told us, as if it were ^{an} kind of afterthought, that he had arranged to have a meeting with Pearse, MacDermott, MacDonagh and some others ~~whom he hoped to meet~~ at Dr. Seamus O'Kelly's house at Rathgar Road about 9 o'clock that night. He said he had sent word to these three, Pearse, MacDermott and MacDonagh asking them to meet him there, and he said he would be greatly obliged if Griffith and I would go there also. I said I would turn up and that I would probably see Pearse in the meantime, as I expected to meet ^{him} Pearse at home when I got ^{home}.

I returned in the taxi from Woodtown Park, Rathfarnham, I am not sure of the time but I imagine it must have been half past six or 7 o'clock. We dropped the taxi in O'Connell Street and I went into Gleasons, Drapers & Tailors, O'Connell Street, for the second or third time that day to see if my uniform was ready for the final try-on. I talked there with the proprietor, Paddy Gleeson, and I have a vague recollection that I met there too Paddy O'Keefe, later General Secretary of Sinn Féin. I remember that the uniform jacket was shown to me in a very unfinished condition, and I was asked to come back again about 9 o'clock at night and that it was possible it might then be finished. I am mentioning the uniform just because I think its absence had a certain importance for me afterwards, especially when I was taken prisoner. If I had had a uniform and especially if it carried, as it was intended to carry, yellow tabs on either the collar or on the shoulder, indicating the wearer as a Staff Officer, I think the results for me would probably have been serious. To finish with the uniform, however, it is just as well to say here it was never finished and I did not, of course, ever wear it which was all to the good.

I went home to have supper there and hoped to meet the Pearses. The only ones at home were my mother and sister, my brothers were all out, they had been in to supper and had gone. The Pearses had come, my mother told me, about 4 o'clock in the afternoon on bicycles. They wore the then common kind of showerproof coat of kaki colour and when they ^{had} entered the house, ^{they} removed their coats they were both seen to be wearing Volunteer uniform. Both had Sam Brown belts, and Pádraig Pearse in particular wore in addition a double ^{revolver} bandolier of/ammunition.

When they arrived at our house they were offered a cup of tea and took it, saying they were in a hurry, they would be back later for supper, that they expected to meet me - that is they would be back round about six or half past six.

I had told my mother I would try to arrive home about that hour in order to meet them. They went to their room and took off their equipment, going out very soon afterwards on their bicycles. They had not arrived when I got home, probably round about 7, ~~nor did they turn up again at the house~~ ~~except for a short visit somewhere about 10 o'clock at night by Willie Pearse.~~ My sister told me next day that Willie Pearse had turned up somewhere she thought about 10 o'clock at night and had taken all the equipment with him. He then said he hoped that they would be back later. He apologised for ~~not having turned up for supper and asked had I been there.~~ They did not come back, and certainly so far as my information goes, they did not sleep in our house that night.

When I left home I went to 19 Ranelagh Road and there met Jim Ryan and the late Father Paul Walsh, who was I think at that time doing a course in Celtic Studies at *Aberystwyth* University and was home for the Easter vacation. He was staying then as he had often done before at 19 Ranelagh Road, the house of Miss Ryan. Liam Ó Briain turned up some time during the night when I was there.

I told them of my activities of that day. The Misses Min and Phyllis Ryan were also in the House. I told them of the invitation I had received from Eoin MacNeill to go to Dr. Seamus O'Kelly's house. We discussed the whole situation frankly and thoroughly, and wondered what the meaning of it all was. As a result of our talks we all went to the house of Dr. Seamus O'Kelly in Rathgar Road. I probably was responsible for inviting them. I don't think Phyllis Ryan came with us, she probably stayed at home, but the others of us went, that is Miss Min Ryan, Father Paul Walsh, Liam Ó Briain and Jim Ryan.

I suppose we got there somewhere about 9 o'clock but I am not sure as to the hour, and I am not accurate now, ^{ca.} ^{be certain} I think about who we met there. I met, of course, Dr. Seamus O'Kelly

Eoin MacNeill, I think Colm Ó Lochlainn and I think Seán Fitzgibbon. Griffith turned up some time and did not stay very long. Paddy Gleeson and Paddy O'Keefe turned up somewhere probably about 10 o'clock at night. Thomas McDonagh also turned up.

~~xxxxxx~~ Eoin MacNeill welcomed us, and he seemed in a great state of perturbation. He told us that as a result of the information that had reached him as to the happenings in Kerry and the arrest of Casement ~~that~~ he had decided to call off the manoeuvres, that in fact he had already sent out messages to that effect to various parts of the country.

I remember going with him then into a back room, probably Dr. O'Kelly's study, and there he told me that he had ^{sent for} ~~asked~~ Pearse, McDonagh and Plunkett, and had asked them to meet him in Dr. Seamus O'Kelly's house at that time (round about 9 o'clock) and that he was ~~waiting~~ waiting their arrival: that he wanted to have a full and frank talk with them as to the happenings of the last few days and what should be done arising out of ^{them} ~~it~~. He did seem to be anxiously awaiting the arrival of Pearse, McDonagh, McDermott and Plunkett - these names he certainly mentioned when he was talking to me. We sat there in that room for the best part of an hour talking about the state of affairs, and waàking in and out of the other room where there were about seven or eight people including his brother James who had by this time arrived. Another who turned up at a late hour was The O'Rahilly.

All this time James MacNeill, brother of Eoin, was engaged writing out further copies of this document countermanding the manoeuvres.

I think it must have been about 11 o'clock, but I am not certain, when Thomas McDonagh turned up, and again I am not absolutely certain ~~whether~~ ^{where} the conversation took place, whether

it was in the front room or in the back room or study, that is the conversation between Eoin MacNeill and Thomas McDonagh. I was present. Whether there were others present at it or not I cannot now remember, but anyhow McNeill told McDonagh he was very glad he came and told him what he had decided to do, and in fact had, as far as many places in the country were concerned, ~~had~~ already done. That is, that he had sent out orders countermanding the manoeuvres.

McDonagh then, in my hearing, said to him that he, McNeill, had full knowledge of all that was intended to take place that week, and that he had accepted and agreed to the arrangements that had been made, and that in his opinion this was now no time, at this late hour to start upsetting what had been agreed to and arranged with his, McNeill's, full knowledge and consent. I remember he turned sharply and angrily to McNeill and said this was a dastardly thing to do. Anyhow he said to MacNeill: "It does not matter what you do or what you have done, the arrangements made will go ahead - we are determined that the manoeuvres as arranged will take place. We do not mind about your orders that went out to-day. The Volunteers of the country have a greater faith and trust and confidence in Pearse than they have in you". He then used ^a the phrase, ^{to} of the exact words, ^{of which} I cannot swear, ^{It is something like} "The fight is on and it is up to you to decide now whether you are in it or not." He turned angrily and left MacNeill and went away.

MacNeill was very upset. He walked up and down the room talking to himself and talking to us. I well remember that he turned to me and asked me did I think it likely that the Volunteers would accept Pearse's orders rather than his. I remember answering that I could not speak for the Volunteers in the country, I did not know what they would do, but that I felt certain that the Volunteers of the City, those of them who were members of the I.R.B. or under I.R.B. influence would accept Pearse's orders. He seemed surprised at this, greatly

^{asked}
 surprised. He said what was my view. I said that whatever
 Pearse would order them to do ~~that~~ they would do. The
 O'Rahilly was present when these matters were discussed, but
 I cannot remember what attitude the O'Rahilly took, but I do
 remember that he ^{consented} ~~accepted~~ to carry MacNeill's order to
 Limerick. He went in a motorcar about half past eleven or
 twelve o'clock at night, carrying MacNeill's orders.

I am not sure what time the messengers started to leave
 Dr. O'Kelly's house carrying MacNeill's countermanding
 order to different parts of the country, but I think they did
 not start to leave until after 11 o'clock at night, and I
 think it was after the rather stormy interview between
 MacNeill and McDonagh.

Among those who carried MacNeill's dispatch to different
 parts of the country were:- Father Paul Walsh, who got a
 motor-car from somebody, I don't remember whom, and went, I
 think, to ~~the Mullin~~ ^{the Mullin}, but I am not certain now. Liam Ó
 Briain went to Tullamore. I think Paddy Gleeson took the
 message somewhere. I imagine that Colm Ó Lochlainn and
 Seán Fitzgibbon carried messages that night, and I think also
 Miss Min Ryan went to Wexford and Jim went to Cork with
 James MacNeill in the latter's car. I do not remember if
 there were any others.

I sat on there with MacNeill after he came back from
 the "Independent" newspaper office where he went himself about
 12 o'clock at night or close on twelve to ask the Editor
 personally to publish his countermanding order.

it was

I think ~~who~~ after MacNeill came back from the
 "Independent" office that ~~Cathal Brugha and Eamonn Ceannt~~
^{left the Seamus O'Kelly's house. Cathal}
^{Brugha and Eamonn Ceannt met me shortly after some time later, I think as I was on my way}
~~arrived, and MacNeill saw them as far as I recollect in Dr.~~
^{back to Ranelagh Rd. They were on bicycles but they walked some}
~~Seamus O'Kelly's study. I was not present at the interview,~~
^{distance with me. Ceannt asked me to tell him}
~~but I left the house with them and walked down towards~~

Ranelagh Road and they walked with me for some distance. I
^{what had happened. I have no recollection}
^{of having seen Cathal Brugha at Dr O'Kelly's.}

~~that night~~

~~do not know where they were going to, they were not going the whole way to Ranelagh Road.~~ Ceannt was firecely denunciatory of McNiall and McNeill's ^{and} attitude, and stated definitely that if he had full authority, ~~in his view~~ MacNeill should be shot ~~as a traitor~~. Cathal Brugha added some words - "Aontuighim le sin" or words like that. They were both very greatly upset about what had taken place.

It transpired during the course of that night in my talks with MacNeill that he had come to this decision about calling off the manoeuvres early on Saturday morning because he had sent out Ginger O'Connor, ^{all} I am not sure where to, not later than Saturday morning to carry the countermanding order and to see that it was executed in different parts of Sth. Leinster and Munster. I think he had also given similar instructions to Seán Fitzgibbon. To whom he had sent these orders I do not know, but it seems evident to me that these countermanding orders had reached many parts of the country early on Saturday.

~~I went back~~ After leaving Eamonn Ceannt and Cathal Brugha and went back to 19 Ranelagh Road and I stayed up some time talking and probably went to bed at about two or three o'clock in the morning.

I am very vague about the happenings of that ^{Sunday} Saturday. I stayed at Ranelagh Road Saturday night, and Sunday morning presumably I went to Mass, probably in Rathmines Church, and had breakfast at Ranelagh Road with the Ryan girls. I probably went home then and made enquiries about Pearse. I do not recollect meeting Pearse on Sunday morning or any other time on Sunday. I do remember trying to find Clarke or MacDermott. I have a sort of recollection of calling at Kissane's house in Hardwicke Street where somebody told me that Seán MacDermott had been staying ~~there~~. The Kissane's house was one with which I was very familiar as I was a frequent visitor there, but I certainly have no recollection of having met MacDermott there, nor did I meet him at all that day. I could not get any information about him, nor could I find Tom Clarke. I was anxious to give them both a full description of what happened on the Saturday night.

I remember going to Liberty Hall sometime shortly after lunch and looking for information there. That place was full of activity, men and women coming and going, members on foot and on bicycles, seemingly actively engaged carrying messages to and fro. I heard that various ones of the important people like Pearse, Clarke, MacDermott and Mac Donagh had been seen in and out of that building, but beyond that I could get no reliable information as to where I could talk to them. I hung around Liberty Hall for, I am sure, a couple of hours. I remember seeing the Citizen Army, or a large section of it, being mobilised right in front of Liberty Hall. I saw them being exercised by I, think, ~~it must have been~~ Mallon, and then I saw them going off on a route march, probably round the city. I do not remember being there when they returned.

What I did that night or where I went I cannot now recollect. I do know that I slept in 19 Ranelagh Road.

I have a hazy recollection now of Liam Ó Briain returning from his despatch-carrying journey to Tullamore and that area

and calling at 19 Ranelagh Road sometime on the Monday morning, but somehow my recollection of the happenings of Sunday night is completely gone.

I left Ranelagh Road after breakfast on Easter Monday morning and went to the Gaelic League office arriving there probably about 10 o'clock. After a short time there I walked home to Rutland Street, saw my mother and sister, and came back sometime later to the Gaelic League office where I think I arrived before noon.

I remember going down to O'Donnell Street, probably having learned that the Rising was to start there about noon, and I arrived just in time to see a group of perhaps two or three hundred men, not more, march into the Post Office. ~~As I~~ ^{then} walked down O'Donnell Street I started running to see what was happening. By the time I got to the door of the G.P.O. a big crowd ^{had collected} ~~was round~~. I had to push my way in, and the majority of the people standing around were just mere spectators. ^{having} The Volunteers ^{by} had already gone in ~~at~~ this time and ~~were~~ clearing the staff out. I made my way through the building, seeing, of course, numbers of Volunteers that I knew, and eventually found myself in a room upstairs with Tom Clarke, Seán MacDermott, and Joe Plunkett, who was stretched ^{out} on a mattress ^{on the floor} ~~in the same room~~. There was great confusion everywhere. Officers were stationing men at this time all over the building. I remember being taken by somebody up to the roof of the Post Office and having a look over the city from there. Volunteers were stationed all round the top of the building. Men were stationed also on all sides of the building and they got orders to smash out the glass of the windows which they began to do. I remember well the strange impression this smashing of the windows left on me. It was one of the first things ^{that} ~~and~~ made one realise what a very definite revolutionary act was being ^{done} ~~enacted~~. The smashing of the glass, and ^{the sound of} ~~the falling of the glass~~ on the pavement ^{where it was smashed to smithereens} ~~below~~ ~~smashing~~ again, seemed symbolic of what was being done to

British authority in Ireland that day.

I talked with ^{Pearse} Pearse and Willie Pearse and walked round the building with Pearse ^{Pearse} for a while ~~and~~ ^{we} I discussed with him the happenings of the Saturday night. He asked me questions about the people who were there and the messengers who were sent out, but as far as I can recollect now he made no comment beyond seeking information.

I think it must have been somewhere round about 3 o'clock that James Connolly called me as I was standing near him talking to some friends and instructed me to go to Liberty Hall and to go to a certain room in the building in which there was a press which he described to me. In that ^{press} room he told me I would find two flags, one of green and gold and the other a tricolour. They would be parcelled up, he described to me, and I was to get them and bring them back to him. I did as I was told and brought back the flags and handed them to James Connolly.

Later these flags were mounted on poles and raised over the G.P.O. building, one flag was raised over the Henry Street corner of the building, and the other over the Princes' Street end. I was on the street below and actually looked at the flags being raised, by whom they were actually raised ~~now I cannot~~ remember, but I have been told since that Gearóid O'Sullivan carried out this operation, but that I do not remember, nor do I recollect accurately which of the two flags was flown on the Henry Street corner, but I ~~think~~ ^{that} have a sort of a notion that it was the green flag, and ^{that} the tricolour was flown over the Princes' Street corner of the building, but I could not swear to this. My recollection is vague on the subject.

~~Some time later~~, I do not know how long a period elapsed between my return from Liberty Hall and the receipt of ^a ~~this~~ second command from Connolly. James Connolly called me

again and instructed me to go to Liberty Hall once more and tell, I think he called him "Captain" MacGowan, whom I would find in a certain room which he described, to wind up his job of bomb-making and come with his companions and all his bombs and other material to the Post Office. I remember going to Liberty Hall, finding the room just as described by Connolly. I distinctly remember that when I found the room - a small room off a narrow corridor - I found my friend Captain Seamus MacGowan seated on the floor with five or six other men and each of them with material for bomb manufacture in front of him or ^{side} behind him on the floor. One man had a tin or cannister like a coc~~o~~tin - there were hundreds of these in the room, some already filled, and some ~~waiting~~ waiting to be filled. One would take a tin and put certain scraps of iron and other metal into it, it was handed to another man who put a different variety of metal into it, a third man had something else to put into it, and eventually one of them put in a little wire through a hole in the tin, and somebody else fitted percussion caps. Somebody else was stacking the finished tins in a corner. I have a very vivid recollection of that scene.

McGowan knew me and accepted my order. I had no written instructions for him but he knew me and, therefore, accepted ~~my order~~ the fact that I had full authority. He gave the order to his men to stop working, and the next thing was that they had to get some sort of transport for the quantity of bombs already prepared. Somebody was sent out, I do not know whom, to get a cart, and after a while a farmer's cart with a horse was secured, and into this the men who had been making the bombs each carried a load in his arms and loaded them carefully into the farmer's cart. I stood by while this operation was performed and then walked with ^{Seamus} Sean McGowan and some of his men, while others sat up on the cart, and we marched, a group of 7 or 8 ~~or 10 men~~ of us, back to the Post

Office, took the horse and cart ^{by} into the back entrance to the Post Office up Princes' Street. The cart was unloaded and the men carried the bombs into the back of the Post Office building.

job completed
Having seen that I took MacGowan with me and ~~having~~ found Connolly somewhere round the building, ^{he} reported the operation carried through as ordered.

4 Meitheamh, 1953

A few items that escaped my memory when I was dictating earlier notes on the happenings previous to Easter Week that might be of interest I set down now.

One relates to a conversation I had with Tom Byrne, known as "Boer" Byrne, who was later Captain of the Guard in Dáil Éireann. I think it was on the afternoon of the Saturday that I met Tom Byrne in O'Connell Street and he stopped me for a talk. I remember well we stopped just outside *Madras Street* shop. Byrne asked me if I knew where he could locate either Tom Clarke or Seán MacDermott. He had been looking for them both for some time and had failed to find them. He then told me he wished to report to them on a matter of some importance. He had been instructed, I don't know when or by whom, maybe he told me but I do not now recollect, to go to a certain spot between Lucan and Leixlip where he was to meet a number of men, members of the Volunteers of that district, who were to blow up some part of the railway line in the Leixlip area, the certain spot having been indicated to them. My recollection is that Byrne told me he was directed to go there to see that the operation was carried out as ordered. He told me he had been at the spot at the time that was fixed, but that the Kildare men had not turned up - not one of them, he said, turned up. He had waited some hours and eventually decided to return to Dublin and report. We discussed the situation generally and he left again to make further searches for either Clarke or MacDermott.

Just as Tom Byrne left me I remember meeting at some spot two men, one of whom had occupied a prominent position for many years in the I.R.B. The men were, first, Jack O'Hanlon who was a foreman bricklayer employed by the Port & Docks Board as far as I remember. For many years he had been a member of the Supreme Council of the I.R.B. He was I know

also a close and intimate friend of Fred Allen. I believe, too, that he had always been a supporter of Fred Allen insofar as the I.R.B. and the Supreme Council ^{was} was concerned. The man with him was Paddy Ryan who was the caretaker of 41 Parnell Square, and who was always known as a trusted member of the I.R.B.

O'Hanlon at once asked me if I knew anything as to the meaning of the great activity in I.R.B. and Volunteer circles these latter days. He asked me directly was it true that a Rising was intended. I do not recollect now the answer I gave him, but I am sure I tried to put him off that I was not aware of what was intended. He launched out into a vigorous denunciation of the foolishness of such a thing as a Rising at that time. He seemed to be very well aware of a number of things that had taken place, and had made up his mind that the indications were that a Rising had been determined upon. He was most definite in his view that such action was most foolish and could lead to nothing but disaster. My recollection is that at this time O'Hanlon was not a member of the Supreme Council. Whether he actually resigned or was put off I cannot say, but I imagine that it was a year or two before, about the time that Allen was forced off the Supreme Council, probably O'Hanlon was forced out simultaneously.

Another item that I forgot when I was dictating earlier my recollection of the events of the Monday of Easter Week, I should have mentioned that I witnessed the charge of the Lancers down O'Connell Street.

I remember hearing some noise as of shouting or cheers in the distance away up towards Parnell Square side, and some others and I rushed out of the Post Office to the front of the building in O'Connell Street. I arrived just in time to see a number of the Lancers charging down O'Connell Street and

and being fired on from the Post Office building. How many were in the Company of lancers that charged I cannot now say. I think it was something in the region of twenty or thirty men but it may have been twice that number. They certainly looked a striking and interesting force carrying their lances on the horses at the charge. There were certainly some cheering and some booing, and most decidedly great excitement in the street. When the firing on the lancers began in O'Connell Street, there was an immediate clearance of the streets. People ran into doorways, shops and anywhere they could take shelter. Many of them lay down on the pathways and on the roadway. In a very brief time the streets seemed to be clear of people. I watched the scene from behind one of the pillars of the Post Office. I saw three or four lancers fall off their horses. I think two horses were killed. So far as my recollection goes later in the day I saw one horse lying badly wounded in the roadway nearly opposite Lawrence's shop. I was told that later somebody came along and shot the poor animal in the head to end his suffering. I think there was a second horse lying in the street, but of that I am not certain. The ~~head~~ ^{Certainly in front} of the Lancers charging reached to within a short distance of Nelson's Pillar, but after they had seen some of their comrades fall the rest of them turned sharply and galloped back again the road they had come.

I cannot now remember whether any of the lancers themselves were killed. I remember distinctly seeing one lancer as he turned gave a lift to one of his comrades who had been ~~on horse~~ ^{unhorsed}, the second man sat on the horse at his back and the two of them galloped back O'Connell Street towards Parnell Square. This is all I recollect of that incident.

Some time on Monday evening, I am not sure of the hour, perhaps about five or between five and six o'clock, I was called by James Connolly and told to take twenty or thirty men, if I could get them, and go to Fairview where it was reported some British military from the Bull Wall were in action against the volunteers who had occupied houses along the Fairview front. It was said that our men needed reinforcements, and that I should take out these twenty or thirty men to assist them in holding the position against the British.

I had never commanded any number of men in the Volunteers. I had never acted in a military way as an officer commanding a Company or even a Section. I was nominally a Captain - Staff Captain to Pádraig Pearse, but I had no experience or knowledge of how to take charge, from a strictly military viewpoint, of a Company. I looked, however, for somebody who had military training and I found one man whom I had already known through the Gaelic League, a Liverpool Volunteer named Thomas Craven. Craven had been Captain of a Company in Liverpool. I asked him to come with me and help me to pick out the men. He picked out all the men, a number of whom he had known. He had been stationed at "Larkhill", Kimmage with English refugees from conscription who had installed themselves in "Larkhill" ^{field} a house with grounds which belonged to the Plunkett family. I think that most of the men that Craven selected to come on this expedition were from amongst these refugees. I remember telling Craven to line the men up in front of the G.P.O. and give them the necessary marching orders. Craven carried out these instructions. I placed myself at the front of the men with Craven, and we marched through Earl Street and Talbot Street to Fairview. When we reached the red brick building, the offices of some Manure Company, we stopped there, and we were not long standing there when some volunteers from ~~some~~ ^{some} houses came and told us that some time before ~~some~~ ^{some} military had come in from

the Dollymount direction and there had been a slight skirmish or activity of some kind. Shots had been exchanged ^{and} but the British military had retired. We stayed there some time. I sent one man back to report to Connolly that there seemed to be no activity now; that the British military were no longer in the district, and asked for instructions. I think we were probably standing about an hour in the Fairview area when we were told to return with the Fairview volunteers to Headquarters. One of the men of the Fairview volunteers that I remember meeting and speaking with after we arrived at Fairview was Frank Henderson. I think Frank Henderson was afterwards at a later period Adjutant of the Dublin Brigade. Another man I have a vague recollection of meeting for the first time at Fairview was a man who was afterwards shot in O'Connell Street in the course of the fighting, and his name was ~~Mafer~~.

8 Idil, 1953.

Others will tell of the arrest of the President of Sinn Féin, De Valera, the Vice President, Mr. Arthur Griffith and other import officials connected with the Sinn Féin and Republican Movement of the period. These arrests took place on the 17th and 18th May, 1918. The arrests are supposed to have been made because of the implication of Sinn Féin leaders in a supposed German plot - a plot to help the Germans in the war. Of course there was no foundation whatever for that.

Perhaps it is as well to record that a person was landed on the coast of Clare from a German submarine. He was later arrested by the police and was brought to England and was tried there. So far as I recollect now his name was Dowling. He tried to get in touch with the leaders of the Republican Movement in Co. Clare and some of the local Sinn Féiners. I was told of this at the time. My recollection is that this landing took place entirely without the knowledge of or any co-operation on the part of any official person connected with the Republican Movement. They were all, as far as my memory goes, greatly surprised when the news was brought to Head Quarters here that such a man was landed. They were greatly interested and sought to get in touch with the man, and some friends did get to speak with Dowling but there was a sort of suspicion all the time about Dowling, and my recollection of the incident is that certainly the military people, that is, the Irish Republican ⁱⁿ Military people, here were rather sceptical about having anything to do with Dowling or using him in any way.

For some weeks before these actual raids and arrests took place there had been rumours of coming arrests, but I distinctly remember receiving a telephone call from Michael J. O'Lehane, T.C., then Secretary of the Irish Drapers' Assistants Association, to meet him one afternoon, and when I met him urgently at his request he gave me a message that he had a short time before received

De Valera's message

from a detective friend of his from Dublin Castle, that a long list of names of people connected with the Sinn Féin and Irish Republican Movement had been prepared and that the people on that list were to be arrested inside the next twenty-four hours.

Michael O'Lehane and I discussed this at length and we were both aware that similar rumours and reports had been circulated before in recent days. O'Lehane, however, was very definite that this information that he had received was absolutely reliable. He thought I should see Mr. De Valera and Mr. Griffith as soon as possible and warn them of what the British proposed to do.

I went early the afternoon of that day to 6, Harcourt St. I saw both De Valera and Griffith and told them of the information I had received. De Valera rather pooh-poohed the matter. He said he was sick and tired of getting warnings of that kind. He had got so many of them he was not prepared to place any confidence in them. I told him that I was satisfied this information was absolutely reliable but he seemed to doubt it. Griffith took greater interest in the matter and said he would discuss the question of what they should do later with De Valera, when he would get a chance to speak to him.

Later that evening I saw Michael Collins and Harry Boland and gave them my message and told them of the sources. Both of them had already received similar messages and both said they intended to take serious notice of this and they certainly would not stay at home that night, and they advised me to do the same. I did not stay at home either. All our houses were raided that night and ^{about a} some hundreds were arrested in Dublin and all over the country.

It may be of interest to record something that I was told happened in connection with the arrest of De Valera that night on his way home to Greystones where he then lived. De Valera travelled by train from Harcourt St. to Greystones. What I was

/told

told was that when the train stopped at Bray the driver of the engine or his assistant came to the carriage in which De Valera had taken a seat and told him that two detectives had got into the train at Dublin and that they were in a compartment a few carriages or so behind him and that they felt ^{sure} that their intention was to arrest De Valera that night at Greystones. They said that they would slow down the train coming into Greystones before they arrived at Greystones station at a certain point which they indicated to De Valera and they advised him to jump out of the carriage on the off-side and that he could easily get away, and afterwards they would put on speed. De Valera thanked them for their information but did not take any action on the advice offered. It appears that when De Valera stepped out of the carriage at Greystones the two detectives approached him and put him under arrest.

When these arrests took place the Sinn Féin Organisation was of course left without a considerable number of its most active officers. As soon as possible after the arrests a meeting of the members of the standing committee of Sinn Féin who were still free was called. I think the first meeting was held in Mrs. Wyse Power's premises. I do remember that for some weeks meetings of the standing committee used to be held at fairly frequent intervals in and around the City. I remember a meeting being held in the G.A.A. premises at Corke Park. I think I remember a meeting being held in Alderman Walter Cole's house, 3, Mountjoy Square. Other meetings were held at different premises.

I had been elected a member of the standing committee of Sinn Féin at the Árd Fheis of Sinn Féin held in October, 1917. Michael Collins was also a member of the standing committee. At one of these meetings it was decided that substitute directors should be appointed in place of those who had been arrested. I was then General Secretary of the Gaelic League. Though I had

/been

been elected on the standing committee of Sinn Féin I had not been taking much part in Sinn Féin work because I was fairly fully employed in Gaelic League work, but I was urged by the standing committee to take on the post of Acting Director of Organisation and in the circumstances I did not think it proper to refuse. I remember that Seán Mulroy was appointed acting Director of Elections. There were one or two other acting directors appointed but I do not recollect who they were at this moment.

We had to take charge, first of all, of the arrangements for the by-election in Cavan. This election campaign was in actual progress at the time of the arrest of the principal officers of Sinn Féin. One of my first jobs was to do a tour of the Cavan constituency and see that the Sinn Féin Organisation there was put into proper order. Arthur Griffith was the candidate. It will be remembered that Griffith was elected by a fairly substantial majority.

After the ^{Cavan} ~~General~~ Election the standing committee decided that as it looked that the European war was probably going to come to an early conclusion, ~~that~~ it might be wise to prepare the country for a general election. At any rate they felt that this would give the Sinn Féin organisation something to do and help to organise the country by giving them a definite objective.

Paid organisers were appointed for different parts of the country. I remember appointing as one of the first of these paid organisers Eamonn Donnelly who was recommended strongly to me by Michael Collins. He had been an official of the County Armagh Board of Guardians and I think had a short time before been dismissed for some political activities. On Collins' recommendation I appointed Donnelly and that was his first official connection with Sinn Féin. Another organiser I appointed about this time was a man named Thomas Craven, a ^{Liverpool} ~~Limerick~~ man, whose acquaintance I had made in the Post Office in 1916. Craven now lives in Cincinnati, Ohio, U.S.A. I appointed other organisers, but I do not remember their names now.

Robert Brennan was then Director of Propaganda and did a wonderful job. He was arrested something I think in ^{time} ~~October~~ ^{November}, 1918 just before the general election took place, and deported to England. He was a big loss to us then but we found a good substitute in Frank Gallagher. ^{James} J. O'Meara had been elected director of Finance in 1917. He was brought in from outside by De Valera though he had not been a candidate for election on the standing committee and therefore had not been elected. He was brought in by De Valera and made Director of Finance.

From this time on all the activities of the organisation were directed towards having everything that could be thought of done to ~~have the~~ ^{be} organisation in the best possible condition to face a general election whenever it should come.

The voters' lists were of course very much out of date. During the war nothing had been done to bring these lists into proper order, but every voter on every list, I think I could say with truth in every constituency, certainly in every constituency in Munster, Leinster and Connaught, was canvassed. Whether the voter whose name was on the list was for or against Sinn Féin instructions were that every individual voter should be canvassed. This was done also in many ^{constituencies} ~~counties~~ in Ulster, but there were a good many ^{constituencies} ~~counties~~ there where the Unionists were in the vast majority where such a canvass was not feasible.

By the time the General Election was ^{announced} ~~proclaimed~~, it is just as well to have it clearly stated here that the Sinn Féin election machine was in perfect working order. I think it could be said that if anybody called on Sinn Féin Headquarters, and wished to know the possible result of a vote in any electoral ^{division} ~~district~~ in almost any constituency in Ireland, a book could be ^{produced} ~~turned out~~ which would show what the result of the canvass in that particular district was, ^{would be} how it was estimated that the voters would vote and what the probable result would be. I think it could be said with truth that records of that kind were

available at Sinn Féin Headquarters for the vast majority of the electoral ^{districts} districts of Ireland.

It is certainly true that before the General Election took place we were certain at Headquarters that we could and would elect most certainly at least 70 of our Sinn Féin candidates. Sometimes we placed the possible figure at 74 or maybe 75 seats but we regarded that as an objective figure. We always said that we would elect a minimum of 70 members. The final figure was, as will be remembered 73 Sinn Féin members. It could have been 75 only for the pact arranged at the last minute with the Redmonite Party in ^{regards to} certain constituencies in Ulster.

In reference to the constituencies in Ulster about which there were certain negotiations between Sinn Féin and representatives of the Parliamentary Party, perhaps I should state here that I was one of the two delegates - the other was Eoin Mac Néill - appointed by the National Executive of Sinn Féin to meet the Irish Parliamentary representatives in the North. *Some representatives of the Unionists were also present*
 The purpose of the meeting was to see if it would be possible to come to an agreement with the U.I.L. or Parliamentary Party people whereby contests between Sinn Féin and Parliamentary Party candidates could be avoided. It was taken for granted that if in certain constituencies candidates of the two pro-Irish parties were nominated and contested these particular constituencies, the nationalist vote would be split and a Unionist candidate would almost of a certainty win the seat. The purpose of the meetings was to see if the position could be safeguarded for one or other of the Nationalist candidates.

Eoin Mac Néill and I met certain representatives of the Parliamentary Party in the North, *Dungannon* perhaps in ~~Bublin~~, but I am ~~not certain now exactly where we met~~, and we had a very long and difficult discussion with them over the constituencies in question. *on 30th Nov 1918*
 The particular constituency names I cannot now *as were S. Down, E. Down, F. Donegal, S. Armagh, N. W. Tyrone, N. E. Tyrone, S. Fermanagh, and Strry City* recollect.

So far as I can now remember we did come to an agreement *about the eight* ~~with four~~ constituencies to which what I have said already would apply as to the danger of losing to the Unionists. Four constituencies were allotted to Sinn Féin and four to the Irish Parliamentary Party, thus we felt certain that these eight constituencies at any rate would be safeguarded for the Nationalist cause.

When the result of our conference and the nature of the agreement and the names of the constituencies were published in the newspapers the next day it would appear that certain of the

Parliamentary Party's supporters were dissatisfied. From later information it appears to me that some of these people thought that Sinn Féin should not have been allotted four of these constituencies. They were of opinion that two more of the eight constituencies should have been allotted to the Parliamentary Party.

I reported the result of the Conference to the Standing Committee of Sinn Féin and the action of our delegates was approved of. Later it appeared, however, that certain influential people in close touch with the Parliamentary Party and maybe some members of the Parliamentary Party itself, called on Cardinal Logue and impressed him with their views that if Sinn Féin candidates were permitted to contest two of these particular constituencies they surely would lose the seat to the Unionists. It would appear that the Cardinal was so impressed that he got into contact with Eoin Mac Néill, and somehow or another the then Lord Mayor of Dublin Laurence O'Neill was brought into the matter and between them pressure was brought on Mac Néill to agree in the name of the Sinn Féin Standing Committee that two additional seats should be allotted to the Parliamentary Party, namely, two of the seats that had already been allotted to Sinn Féin should be taken from Sinn Féin and placed on the Parliamentary Party side. Eoin Mac Néill agreed to this and later the matter was reported to the Sinn Féin Standing Committee but by the time the report came to the Standing Committee it was then too late to re-open the matter.

In spite of this breach of the Danganman agreement
~~thus two seats which should have gone to Sinn Féin were lost to the Republican side.~~ *Sinn Féin won three of the four seats*
~~the Republican side.~~ *being allotted to it at the Danganman meeting*

Many years later in conversation with the Right Hon. James McMahon who was under-Secretary for Ireland in the service of the British Government, talking on this very topic James McMahon told me that he was one of the persons who was responsible for persuading Cardinal Logue to intervene in this matter and he himself admitted to me that acting in the name of the Cardinal and describing himself over the 'phone as Secretary to the

Cardinal Logue he induced Lord Mayor O'Neill to throw his weight in on the Parliamentary Party side and between them it was that they persuaded Eoin Mac Néill to agree to their suggestion that the two additional seats should be allotted to the Parliamentary Party. *Nevertheless the Party only won one of these*

I was disgusted when I read of the new allotment of seats. I was not consulted in the matter. What Eoin Mac Néill did he did behind my back though I was his fellow delegate to the convention in the North, and so far as my information goes he also did ^{it} behind the back of the Standing Committee of Sinn Féin.

I was selected as Sinn Féin Candidate for the College Green division of Dublin in the General Election of 1918. The candidate of the Parliamentary Party was Coughlan Briscoe, T.C. Sinn Féin had an overwhelming victory. Coughlan Briscoe had no organisation and very little support in the constituency. The constituency was so good from the Sinn Féin point of view that I had ^{no} ~~been~~ able to devote my time and attention to the work of directing ^{election} organisation in general ~~for Ireland~~. I was kept extremely busy during all this period travelling to different parts of the country and addressing meetings for others. My own constituency was left in the hands of the local committee. In addition I was responsible for a fair share of the propaganda material that was issued in the weeks preceding the election. Practically all our propaganda material had already been drafted and in great measure printed, or at least arrangements for printing made before Robert Brennan's arrest ~~had~~ took place about three weeks before the election. I was, however, responsible for the manifesto issued in the name of Sinn Féin. The Manifesto was in English and in Irish. I think the Irish was done by Piaras Béaslaí but it is quite possible that my namesake, J.J. Kel (Sceilg) had a hand in it also.

It may be no harm to mention at this stage that when we came to the question of getting an Irish title for the Republic ~~that~~ Sceilg, Piaras Béaslaí, Eoin Mac Néill and Pádraig O'Máill

for a long time could not agree as to how ^{the word} 'Republic' should be
 translated into Irish. ^{I recall that} However, at some stage ~~I recall that~~
 these four were nominated as a committee to discuss this ^{and}
^{Other} question ^{relating to the Irish language} of how ~~the Republic should be described in Irish~~
~~amongst other matters~~, and their final decision was that the
 words 'Saor Stát' ^{who} were the proper equivalent of the English
 word 'Republic'. This is interesting in view of how the
 words Saor Stát ^{who} were used afterwards, especially by
 Mr. Lloyd George in negotiating with ^{the} delegates sent ^{to London} over there
 in July or August 1921. I recall that some like myself ^{who} would
 not be regarded as competent to decide a matter of this kind
 as my knowledge of Irish and the knowledge of some of those
 who agreed with me would not be at all equal to the knowledge
 of the members of the Committee that we appointed. ^{Some of us} ~~we~~, however,
 felt that the word 'Poblacht' might be a proper equivalent, but
 we were completely overruled.

MW/

*(to be inserted after
bottom) at end of 175th line from
Page 60*

Amongst other matters often discussed and debated in the weeks preceding the General Election, when the Standing Committee of Sinn Féin met, was the question of getting the Sinn Féin candidates to sign a pledge binding themselves to accept the policy of abstention from Westminster if elected. My memory is vague now on these discussions, but I do know that such discussions took place; but it would seem that the final decision was not to submit any such pledge to the candidates.

At some time later after the General Election and after the meeting of the 1st Dáil on January 21st 1919, a decision was arrived at ~~to~~^{insist} on the members of Parliament making a declaration of allegiance to the Republic.

I went away in early February, 1919, and therefore I am not aware of the date of this decision or of how it was arrived at. Whether it was a decision by the then acting Government or whether it was a decision of the then Standing Committee of Sinn Féin, how it was arrived at, I do not know, but it is certain that such a decision was taken and it is also certain that the pledge of allegiance to the Republic was administered and taken publicly by the members as a body when they met later in 1919 and 1920. This fact will be borne out by looking at a photograph that was taken at a meeting of the 2nd Dáil held in the Mansion House, Dublin, some time, I think, in August, 1921, over which I presided as speaker. There it shows all the members standing with their hands raised and I, as speaker, administering the Oath to the body.

The question has been asked in documents submitted by the Bureau of Military History: "In what circumstances it was decided that a Parliament should be set up here at home and a Government appointed. Also it has been asked, what body decided this matter and when the decision was made.

It had always been a definite part of Sinn Féin policy, ever since Arthur Griffith first expounded that policy, that when opportunity arose a parliament should be set up in Dublin. It will be remembered that a fundamental part of Sinn Féin policy was to secure the abstention of elected ⁱⁿ Members of Parliament for Ireland from attendance at Westminster.

When the reorganised Sinn Féin movement was got going in October 1917 this part of Sinn Féin Policy was accepted and adopted as a matter of course. I do not think there was any formal discussion at any time on this aspect of Sinn Féin policy or as to whether it should be adopted by the new organisation or not. At any rate the matter was pretty definitely fixed and decided when the first ~~Bye~~^{by}-elections were ^{contested and won} decided by Sinn Féin candidates^s in 1917 and 1918.

The first ^{by}-election ~~I think~~ was the one that occurred in County Roscommon where Count Plunket was put forward as the candidate for Sinn Féin. I have an idea that in the beginning Count Plunket himself personally was not firmly convinced that abstention was the right policy. It is certain, however, that those who were responsible for selecting him and the principal workers in that ^{by}-Election were practically unanimously in favour of abstention from Westminster. I think it would be found, however, that in his public statements ^{after} the election, he declared openly against attendance at Westminster. ^(Insert here some page number)

After the General Election of December, 1918, and when the elected M.Ps., as they were then called, ^{assembled} associated at the Mansion House, the policy of abstention from Westminster was taken for granted. So far as my recollection goes, not one member raised

Some weeks before the General Election of December 1918 there was raised, at the Ordinary Meeting of the Standing Committee of Sinn Féin, the question as to whether a certain number of seats should be allotted to the Labour Party. It is probably Harry Boland and maybe Michael Collins - these two were generally pretty close to the Labour people - who had had discussions privately with some of the Labour leaders on this matter. It is probable also that one or other of these two was responsible for raising the question at the National Executive.

The subject was discussed and debated at length and eventually a decision was arrived at on the proposition made by myself, that Sinn Féin should put up its own candidates in all ^{constituencies} counties. This meant, of course, that there would be no allocation of seats in the Labour Party.

Later we were obliged to consider the question of the situation in certain Ulster counties. It was believed that there were certain constituencies in some of the northern counties where Sinn Féin might not be certain of having its candidates elected and ~~later on~~ it was decided that conversations should take place with representatives of the Parliamentary Party as to the allocation of seats in ^{those} that area. *S*

the question as to whether he or any elected member should go to Westminster when he received the summons to attend at the opening of the new British Parliament.

It will be remembered too, I think, that there had been for some months I imagine considerable discussion in the Press on this particular issue; also the matter had been raised inside the Councils of Sinn Féin by Cathal Brugha, Austin Stack and others who tried to insist that Sinn Féin should declare itself openly and publicly in favour of the establishment of a Republic in Ireland. Griffith for a time was not in favour of such a declaration but eventually he gave way and joined with all the other members of the standing committee ^{of Sinn Féin the setting up of a} in accepting ~~Republicanism~~ ^{republican} as the declared object of the Sinn Féin Organisation and Movement.

Sinn Féin, as will be remembered, finally won 73 seats in the General Election of December, 1918, that is 73 out of a total of 104⁵. The Unionist Party won the rest ~~apart from~~²⁶ and 6 which were held by the Irish Parliamentary Party.

The final result of the count was not made known officially until the 28th December because of the British Government's decision to allow the soldiers in the army to vote. ~~The decision was~~^{results were} held up until the votes of the British army men scattered all over Europe then could be collected and counted.

As soon as the General Election work had been completed and anticipating the result of the General Election the Sinn Féin standing committee began to discuss the question of the measures necessary to be taken for the calling together of the elected members of Parliament so that these newly elected Irish representatives would be enabled to decide what they should do. At some stage it was decided that those who, it was anticipated, would be among the elected members of Parliament who were members of the standing committee of Sinn Féin should meet as a sub-committee to discuss procedure. I think it may be taken for granted now that at no time was it ever considered that any one of the newly elected Sinn Féin members would think of answering the summons to attend the House of Commons in London. I cannot remember that we discussed this point formally at any time. Perhaps we did, but I do not now recollect it. I think it may be taken for granted that nobody would have thought that a discussion on this matter was necessary. Perhaps I should mention here that this sub-committee of the probable members of Parliament in consultation with their colleagues of the Sinn Féin standing committee decided some time early in December that a deputation should be sent over to London to endeavour to get an interview with President Wilson when he landed in London on his way to

Paris for the Peace Conference. I cannot recollect now the date of the arrival of President Wilson in London, but I remember this much, that the four of us who were appointed as a delegation to go to London to endeavour to get in touch with President Wilson - Robert Barton, Michael Collins, Gavin Duffy and myself - were in London on the night the results of the General Election were published.

We endeavoured to get into touch with President Wilson. We called at the American Embassy and we saw there the Secretary to the Ambassador who received us in a courteous and friendly manner and explained to us the great difficulty he thought we would experience in getting an interview with President Wilson. He, however, promised to put our proposition before the Ambassador. The first time we saw the Secretary the four of us were together, but later two or three times, once with Robert Barton and once with Michael Collins I called on the Secretary to discover what answer if any he had for us. We never got any formal reply to our request as far as I remember but we were told on each occasion by the Secretary that he thought it would be impossible for President Wilson to receive us.

We intended if we had been received by President Wilson to ask him to assist us in getting a hearing for the delegates whom the new Irish Parliament would nominate to put Ireland's case before the Paris Peace Conference.

While we were waiting for a reply from the American Ambassador or from President Wilson it was suggested to us that it would be wise to call on some of the editors of the principal English newspapers. Robert Barton and I were nominated to call on Mr. Scott the Editor of the Manchester Guardian. We went to Manchester and saw Mr. Scott by appointment, and had a long interview with him in the Manchester Guardian office one night. We found Mr. Scott deeply

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interested, most friendly and courteous. He discussed Ireland's affairs with us at considerable length. He seemed greatly distressed as far as I remember when we told him that in all probability the new Irish Parliament would not have any further association with the British House of Commons. When we informed them that it would be our intention to declare Ireland's complete Independence he seemed, as I remember, greatly distressed and warned us of the difficulties which we would be up against.

It is certain that the standing committee of Sinn Féin or at least those members of it who were free met frequently during the period between the General Election and the 21st January, 1919, when the first Dáil assembled. I remember that a Committee of Arrangements was set up and that I was made chairman of this body. We were to discuss procedure and arrange for the summoning of the members of Parliament, arrange for place of meeting and all the other essential details. I was also at this time chairman of the Foreign Affairs sub-committee of the Sinn Féin standing committee. It was this latter body that decided on sending the delegation to London to endeavour to interview President Wilson. There devolved on me in my capacity as chairman the work of arranging details of the meeting at the Mansion House. We had no difficulty in getting the use of the Mansion House for our Parliamentary assembly as the then Lord Mayor, Laurence O'Neill was most friendly and sympathetic and helpful at all times. He had been for many years a very close and intimate friend of mine. I took charge of his election campaign when he was first elected to the Dublin Corporation. He was not a member of the Sinn Féin Party. He retained his Independence of all parties at all times during his public career.

A summons was sent out to the elected members to assemble at the Mansion House for a preliminary meeting to be held on January ¹⁴th. I think the summons was sent out in the

name of the Secretary of Sinn Féin but I am not certain. I think Cathal Brugha presided at this preliminary meeting. I think about 27 or 28 members attended. All the elected members who were free were summoned but all were not present. The date of the meeting of the first Dáil and procedure thereat was here discussed and decisions taken. I remember that I proposed that every elected member of Parliament for Ireland to whatever Party he belonged should be invited. There was at first some objection to this by some of the elected members. I remember distinctly that Eoin MacNéill took up my proposition most enthusiastically and backed it, so did Cathal Brugha and eventually there was a unanimous decision that an invitation should be sent to every elected representative. It will be remembered later that when the roll was called the name of every person returned as elected for an Irish constituency was called by the Clerk to the first Dáil.

Sub-committees were set up to draft various documents which it was decided at this meeting of January 6th or 8th should be brought before the Parliament at its first meeting. It was here decided first of all that the elected members should meet as the Parliament of Ireland and the Parliament should be called Dáil Éireann. It was decided that a formal proclamation of Independence should be adopted. It was also decided that an appeal to the nations of the world for support of this Declaration of Independence should be made. It was also decided that a Declaration of Policy on Social and Economic questions should be made. The drafting of these various documents was entrusted to the Sub-Committee of Arrangements which had already been set up. The principal persons concerned in the drafting of these documents were Cathal Brugha, Gavan Duffy, Robert Barton, J.J. Walsh, Michael Collins, Harry Boland and myself. I remember that at a certain meeting the Declaration of Independence and the address to the nations of the World were

read and approved of and and passed to the Translation Committee for translation into Irish. Piaras Béaslaí, P. O'Máille, Sceilg and Eoin Mac Néill were the active people with regard to the translations. I think, as a matter of fact, that it was Piaras Béaslaí who did most of the work, but I do remember that in all cases his work was certainly submitted to the others for their criticism or approval.

X I remember well that on the evening before the meeting of the first Dáil the Declaration on Social and Economic matters, afterwards known as the Democratic Programme was under discussion by the sub-committee. Harry Boland as secretary, had been in communication with ^{me} William O'Brien and Mr. T. Johnston of the Labour Party and had been consulting them as to the lines on which this document should be drawn. Documents were before the Committee that evening which Boland had received from these members of the Labour Party. These documents were read to the sub-committee but were not ^{fully} acceptable, and nobody on the Committee was ^{impressed} prepared to undertake the task of ^{drafting} producing the document. We discussed it at great length and eventually at about eleven o'clock at night, no agreement having been reached, all the papers and various suggestions which had been received from others besides the Labour Party were thrown at me because I was Chairman and I was told to draft the document whatever way I thought proper and that the Committee would stand over my work. I took home with me the document and had great difficulty in a house that was crowded with people who were out ^{T.D.'s and others} for ^{in high spirits} amusement that night, in getting a quiet place to retire to do the important job. I think it was about four o'clock in the morning before I finished writing the Democratic Programme. Early the following morning I took it to ^{Michael D. Fogarty's} Michael Foley's office and there type-written copies were made for distribution to the Dáil. ^{The final draft} It was not submitted to any Committee before it was read in Dáil Éireann. I used in the drafting of this document to the fullest extent that I felt I could, the notes given to

me by the Labour Party, but some of their proposals I had to leave out because of the objections that ^{had been} ~~were~~ raised at the sub-committee. It has been stated by certain members of the Labour Party, Cathal O'Shannon amongst others, that the Democratic Programme was written by William O'Brien of the Labour Party and others have stated that it was written by Thomas Johnston. I here have given the facts and I do not think anybody could deny that it was the sub-committee of Sinn Féin that had the final decision with regard to the Democratic Programme as also with regard to the other documents put ~~together~~ before the first meeting of Dáil Éireann. ^{and adopted}
by it.

MW/

A private meeting of Dáil Éireann was held again in the Mansion House, Dublin, on January 22nd, the day after the first public assembly. At that meeting Cathal Brugha announced the names of those whom he had asked to be members of the Cabinet or Government of Dáil Éireann, he himself having already been formally proposed and seconded as Acting President. I cannot now remember who made these formal motions, but I do distinctly remember Cathal Brugha announcing to us the names of those who would form his Cabinet, and during the course of the meeting he called me up to him when he was in the chair and asked me if I would consent to be nominated speaker. I consented and before the meeting dispersed he announced that he desired to nominate me as Speaker of the Dáil, which was accepted without demur by the members present.

As after two or three weeks I was sent away to Paris I cannot give any information about what happened later with regard to the activities of the various Airí or Ministers nominated as the Government of the Republic.

It may be well to state here, however, at this point that it was fully understood I think by every member present and assuredly by all those who were nominated to Office at this meeting of the Dáil, that the Government or Cabinet that was here set up and the ministers who were nominated were only to act temporarily, that is, until such time as a full meeting of the Dáil could be assembled after the liberation of the many members who were at this time prisoners in England or Ireland.

Some time, I cannot give a date, but it probably can be ascertained from the newspapers, it was decided that as President Wilson was coming to Europe, and would stay with the British Royal Family during his visit to London, as a number of important citizens in England and Scotland had passed resolutions offering President Wilson the Honorary ^{down}Freemanship of their cities, it was thought a good idea that Dublin should do the same.

I think it was Michael Collins who suggested this idea to me and asked me to put it before the Lord Mayor, Laurence O'Neill. Collins also pointed out that as I had been appointed to go to Paris to endeavour to get President Wilson to secure a hearing for the Irish delegates to the Peace Conference, I would probably find difficulty in getting a passport. Collins thought of this idea of offering President Wilson the honorary ^{domi}freemanship of the City of Dublin, and he said that we could get the Corporation to get a mixed committee of members as a delegation to go to Paris to ask President Wilson to receive the freedom of Dublin and that I should be one of the members of such delegation. He thought this was the best way of securing that I would not be refused a passport to France by the British Government.

I saw the Lord Mayor and put this suggestion to him which he adopted with enthusiasm. A big meeting of Dublin Municipal Council was called, I think on ^aSunday night, and held in the Round Room in the Mansion House. The public were admitted so that the hall was crowded to capacity. I do not now remember who it was ~~asked~~ to propose the motion that the honorary freedom of Dublin be conferred on President Wilson, but such a motion was moved ^{probably} ~~by Alderman Tom Kelly, if not by the Lord Mayor himself~~ and seconded and spoken to by a number of members of the Council, and finally adopted, I imagine, unanimously. Also at the same meeting the names of the delegates to go to Paris to put this proposition to President Wilson ^{with my thanks} was submitted and adopted. The deputation, so far as I remember now, consisted of the following members of the Municipal Council:

- Alderman Sir Andrew Beatty
- Alderman Corrigan
- Councillor P. T. Daly and myself.

I think the Lord Mayor was also made a member of the delegation but I am not certain of this. All of these members consented to be put on the delegation. The next step was to secure passports to Paris for the members of the Delegation. This task was undertaken by the Town Clerk on the instructions of the Lord Mayor. The Town Clerk applied to the Under-Secretary, Dublin Castle for the
passports/

passports for the delegates. I remember we were told then that Alderman Sir Andrew Beatty already had a passport so that passports were only necessary for the other members. By this time President Wilson had already arrived in London and gone to Paris and was taking part in arrangements for the setting up of the Peace Conference. In the meantime, too, I had already been appointed by Cathal Brugha, Príomh Aire, and with the consent of the other members of the Government, to go to Paris. I think there was some question as to Piaras Béaslai's being appointed also at that time, or maybe instead of me, but finally the decision was that I should be appointed. I was appointed and only awaited the receipt of my passport to go to Paris.

Some weeks, I think, elapsed, or maybe perhaps it was only a question of a week or ten days, but I was anxious about the passport and saw the Lord Mayor nearly every day and asked him to put pressure on the Castle about it. All the time I was very doubtful as to whether I should ever receive a passport and was considering other ways and means of getting to Paris without the British passport. Getting impatient at not having got any reply from Dublin Castle I remember the Lord Mayor suggested to us that we should visit the Military Head Quarters at Park Gate and interview the Chief Intelligence Officer there, who was named, I think, Major Price, as the Lord Mayor had been told by somebody in the Castle that the final decision as to whether or not passports should be given to us, rested largely with him.

One morning the Lord Mayor, Councillor P. T. Daly and myself drove up in the Lord Mayor's carriage to Park Gate Military Head Quarters. We were shown into a large room and it was interesting to notice that this particular room which was occupied by two officers in British military uniform, was like a museum - something like one of the rooms in the present Dublin Museum that is devoted to showing ^{mementos of the period} 1916-1922. All over the room were hanging on the walls pictures and posters of Ireland and Irish events, of public meetings in support of the Republic to be held in various parts of the country, ^{at present} bills for subscriptions ^{to} for Sinn Féin or the

appeal

I.R.A., ~~hills~~ for subscriptions for arms. In one corner would be two or three uniforms or parts of uniforms of the I.R.A, a Howth gun or two and flags and banners and bannerettes. We were very much amused going around the room while we were waiting, examining all these mementoes of our Movement. The officers present were very courteous and walked around with us and talked of the various objects of interest, showed us the Howth rifle, discussed its merits, and demerits one might say. There ~~was~~ ^{were} also one or two old pikes that must have dated from the 1798 period and some posters and documents going back over a long period - certainly 40 or 50 years - and having ~~some~~ connection with some aspect of the Movement for Irish freedom. The officers offered us cigarettes and chatted pleasantly while we were waiting for Major Price.

When the Major arrived the Lord Mayor addressed him and introduced us, and he was friendly and courteous. The Lord Mayor told him the purpose of our visit and he invited us to sit down while he told us of the difficulty of ~~issuing~~ ^{issuing} passports ^{for} to people who had such records as Councillor P. T. Daly and myself, ~~and he~~ ^{he} asked questions as to what we proposed to do when we got to Paris. The Lord Mayor did most of the talking - he had advised us earlier to keep our mouths shut. The Lord Mayor answered that the purpose of the delegation was to endeavour to see President Wilson and to convey to him the Resolution of the Municipal Council of Dublin conferring on him the ~~Honorary~~ Freedom of the City, and to ask him when it would be convenient for him either to come to Dublin or, if he could not find time to come to Dublin, when it would be convenient for him to receive a delegation from Dublin in Paris, so that the ~~honorary~~ Freedom of our ^e City could be conferred on him.

It was evident from the talk of Major Price that this business of the conferring of the ~~honorary~~ Freedom of the ^e City of Dublin on President Wilson raised an awkward problem for the British ^a Authorities ~~here~~. Other cities in the British Isles were doing the same as Dublin and the British ^a Authorities ~~here~~ did not at that

time dare to refuse, ^{openly} outright at any rate, to allow a delegation to go to Paris, ^{for fear of offending the President of the Council.} If they could find a convenient excuse to do so they would be glad to do so, but they found it difficult to refuse passports for the delegates nominated by the Municipal Council. If the personnel of the Council had been of a different character, probably there would be no difficulty, but a delegation including P. T. Daly and myself made things rather awkward for them.

I remember that in the course of the talk with Price he somehow or another brought in the name of Eoin MacNeill and talked of the scandalous way in which he had been calumniated by MacNeill. It will probably be remembered that it was stated that Price called ^{had been published by MacNeill in his book} on Eoin MacNeill when he was a prisoner in 1916 before his trial, and, ~~as was said at the time,~~ tried to induce MacNeill to give evidence implicating certain members of the Irish Parliamentary Party in ~~one way or another~~ in the 1916 Rising. Of course MacNeill refused to do anything of the kind. ^{to} It ~~was~~ ^{is} certain ^{is true} that none of the leaders of the Irish Parliamentary Party were implicated in the remotest way in the Rising of 1916.

He made a vicious attack on Eoin MacNeill ~~and~~ ^{ing} called him a liar and accused him of maligning himself. I lost my temper with him and had some very hot words with him which ended up in his making, as I thought, an attempt to ^{grapple with} charge at me for something, perhaps wicked, which I had said to him, with the result that I ⁱⁿ lifted an inkpot and let ^{it} fly at him, ~~and~~ the officers present and Laurence O'Neill intervened and separated us and Price left the room, calling me all sorts of unpleasant names. ^{That ended our} ~~interview and~~

~~We~~ made our way out, ~~and~~ ^{he} as soon as we got into the Lord Mayor's carriage the Lord Mayor abused me for not having kept my temper. "Now" he said "whatever chance we had before of getting passports, we may now give it up; our hopes are gone for ever". Notwithstanding this scene, a week ^{later} or so passports for P. T. Daly and myself arrived. The Lord Mayor and Alderman Corrigan had received theirs ^{some} about ~~ten~~ days before.

^{About} Some, perhaps, ten days or so before I left for Paris I met in

the vestibule of the City Hall, Dublin Castle, P. T. Daly, who to my surprise was accompanied by a man in the uniform of the French Army. I was interested to see who was P. T. Daly's friend and I approached him and discovered that the man in the uniform of the French Foreign Legion was ^{nick-named} McWhite. His uniform was that of a sous-officier (N.C.O.). It appears he held the highest N.C.O. rank ^{in the French Army} and this was described as sous-officier. I had known McWhite well as he had been a close friend of Arthur Griffith, and when he resided abroad, a very frequent correspondent of his. I learned then from McWhite that he had joined the French Foreign Legion as soon as the European War broke out. Before that for some years he had been engaged in teaching English in Berlitz schools in various parts of the Continent. He told me he was then residing in Paris and expected to be demobilised from the army in a few months. He was here in Dublin on vacation for a week or ten days.

Knowing that the publicity on the Continent for our Dáil proceedings had not been good, I asked McWhite if, when he was returning to Paris he would take with him copies of the Declaration of Independence, the Address to the Nations of the World and the Democratic Programme, and if he would have copies of these documents printed and circulated to all the news agencies ^{and principal newspapers} of France and the different cities of the Continent. I undertook to get money from Sinn Féin for him for this purpose. McWhite undertook to do this and I gave him, before he left Dublin, the copies of the documents and I forget what sum of money I got from Sinn Féin, but I handed ~~all~~ this to him and he undertook to see that, at any rate, a further effort should be made to get wide publication for all these documents. I told him that I expected to be in Paris in a couple of weeks' time and asked him for an address where I might find him. I also gave him the address of a friend of mine a W. O'Mahoney, who was for many years on the staff of the Irish Independent, but who had ~~a good many~~ years before established himself in Paris as a Press correspondent. I gave him the address of this O'Mahoney and

told him that if I had any further communication for him before I got to Paris I would address it to O'Mahoney's house for him. I also gave him a letter of introduction to O'Mahoney. I know that he made O'Mahoney's acquaintance when he returned to Paris and became a great friend of ^{him and his wife} ~~Mr. and Mrs.~~ O'Mahoney, and for some weeks stayed with them in their flat in Paris. I am sure McWhite made an effort to secure for us the publicity that we desired for these documents, but I do not think the results were very substantial.

I left Dublin on the morning of February 7th I think it was, for London on my way to Paris and the Peace Conference.

MW/

I travelled to London, by boat from Dun Laoghaire to Holyhead, and the usual route to Euston, London. I have very good reason to remember ^{my} ~~the~~ arrival at London and the difficulties that confronted me there. When I arrived at Euston at 6.30 a.m. the first difficulty was that there was no such thing as a railway porter to be had and I had two heavy suit cases to carry. The next thing was, there was 2nd if not 3rd ^{inches} of snow on the ground. In my visits to London which had been fairly frequent during a few years before that period I had always stopped at the Russell Hotel, Southampton Row. There being no porter and no such thing as a taxi to be got for love or money, I had to start like everybody else who got off the train that morning, and walk, carrying my suitcases down to the Hotel, ^{where I had to stay,} which was, I think, a good mile or more away. The ground was not alone snowy but icy, and every step of the road was dangerous. Eventually, however, I managed to reach the Hotel and there again I was up against difficulties because I was told there was no such thing as a room available. However, I left my suitcases there and later in the day met the head porter of the Hotel who had known me from previous visits and who was a native of the West of Ireland. I have forgotten his name. Through his influence, before nightfall, I secured a room.

After breakfasting at the Hotel I made inquiries as to where I should call to secure the necessary visas or permits to travel to France. Not alone was it necessary to have a visa, but military permits for travel on the trains from London to Dover, and also other permits to travel by boat to France and to travel by train in France should be, I was informed, secured from the Military Authorities. Having secured this information I went as early as possible to the Military Permit Office which was situated, so far as I can now remember, on Bedford Square. Being fairly early I was one of the first interviewed. Already there was a queue ^{forming} before I got ^{to be admitted to the office} to the office. I think it must

/have

have been about ten or shortly after it that I was ushered into one of several offices in the building where military or naval officers, or at least persons in military or naval uniform, were examining people applying for permits to travel.

I was shown into an office where there was seated behind a desk a gentleman in naval uniform. He was very pleasant and courteous, invited me to sit down, and when I gave him my name and address and he discovered I was Irish, he seemed to take the deepest interest in my case. I am sure I was examined and cross-examined by him for more than an hour. He, in the course of his conversation with me, told me that he was in private life a barrister, and that he had taken on this work during the War as part of his ^{war} service. He also told me that he had been a supporter of the Liberal Party and was a Home Ruler and had great admiration for Mr. John Redmond and his Party. He asked me very definitely if I were a supporter of Redmond and I truthfully told him that I never had been but that I was always *an opponent of that party* and ^{and} supporter of Sinn Féin. This interested my interrogator greatly and we had quite a long argument on the merits and demerits of the Parliamentary Party and on the merits of the Home Rule Bill that the Liberals had passed.

Then we got on to the subject of my proposed visit to Paris. He asked me many questions on this and I emphasised all the time that the purpose of my visit was as a member of the Dublin Municipal Council to seek an interview with President Wilson for the purpose of offering him, on behalf of the Lord Mayor and Municipal Council of Dublin, the freedom of the City of Dublin. ~~Most definitely~~ ^{very closely} this gentleman did cross-examine me as to whether I had any other purpose in view, but these questions I tried to parry, and I think did so successfully.

I remember quite definitely that this official asked me if I were an Irish Republican and I told him I was. He asked me if I had taken any part in the Republican Movement and I told him I had. I remember that I was asked then to sit in another room and wait

a while, while ^{he} ~~this official~~ made some inquiries. After an hour or so I was called back into the room by this gentleman and told that I probably would not get an immediate answer as in his opinion my case should be submitted to higher authorities. Eventually he told me when lunch time came near that I should go away and have lunch and come back at about three o'clock. He said that during lunch time he would endeavour to see some of his superiors and that he proposed to discuss my case with them. He added, I remember quite clearly, that if he had his way I would not get a permit to travel, but he said "I know that my superiors may decide otherwise, but I personally would not think it wise to let an Irish Republican like you go to Paris on such a mission at such a time." I tell you quite frankly that that would be my recommendation to my superiors, but there still may be hope that you will get the permit. Come back anyhow at three o'clock and I hope then to be able to give you an answer". I came back at three o'clock, was received at once by my friend of the morning who announced to me with a smile that he had received authority to give me the military permit. He again assured me that if the decision had been left to himself he would not have given a permit, but he said "I know that some of my superiors were doubtful about it but they decided that it would not at present be wise to refuse you".

I got, there and then, the documents from him and he gave me notes to other offices where I had to call and receive permits from various other military and naval British and French Authorities. As to these there was no difficulty once I showed the military permit that I had received in the afternoon.

I arrived in Paris late on the night of the 8th February and was lucky to secure a room at the Grand Hotel.

It was probably on the next day that I called on my friend W. O'Mahony^e at his residence, I forget the name of the street, up close to the Etoile. I was glad to discover then that as a result of my having given a note of introduction to McWhite he had made the acquaintance of Mr. O'Mahony^a and was a frequent visitor there. McWhite was actually still in the French Army and still wearing uniform at this time. I think he was not discharged from the Army for another six months or so. Though he lived in barracks and to a certain extent, subject to discharge^{exhine}, he seemed to be free to do anything he wished all day long.

I met McWhite then at O'Mahoney's house in the course of day or two and asked him if he would be willing to join my staff as a Secretary, which he consented to do.

I also had on my staff for some months Victor Collins who left Ireland a few weeks before I left and had gone to Switzerland to see his daughter who was in a sanatorium there. Before it was arranged that if I got to Paris he could join me there and he said he would be free to stay for some time at any rate help me in my mission. He had formerly been a journalist. for I don't know how many years, a representative of the "New York Times" in Paris and therefore knew Paris well, and seemed to have acquaintances in many of the Government and Police offices.

Having arranged with the hotel people for the use of two offices in the hotel, I installed myself in one and had McWhite and Victor Collins as staff in the other office.

The first official thing I did was, as far as I remember, put out a note to the principal newspapers in Paris announcing the fact of my arrival in Paris as a representative of Dail Eireann and I fixed an hour on an afternoon for a Press Conference, and invited the Press to send representatives.

Very few representatives accepted my invitation. I remember that the Paris edition of the Daily Mail sent a man, as did also the Paris edition of the New York Herald & Tribune and the Chicago Tribune, which at that time also published a Paris edition

Neither The Temps nor the *Journal des Debats* two principal political daily newspapers in Paris at that time, accepted my invitation. I think a representative of *L'Intransigeant* did turn up, and maybe one or two others representing papers of less importance, but I am not now certain how many actually called. All these ^{which} ~~papers~~ published ⁱⁿ English in Paris did publish a paragraph announcing my arrival in Paris and later this paragraph appeared in some other Paris daily newspapers. They merely mentioned the fact of the arrival in Paris of a representative of the newly-elected Parliament in Dublin.

One result I distinctly remember of this publicity, such as it was, given to me by these newspapers was that from that time on I was kept under the strictest ^{all} surveillance by the French Sûreté. I think practically all the time I was in Paris there was a man (sometimes two) of the French Detective Force seated on the landing close to where my rooms were and beside the lift, keeping an eye on me and endeavouring to find out too, if he could, who were my visitors and what was their business with me. I gathered long afterwards that the hotel management had given instructions to the staff to facilitate the police in their work in every way.

I think Victor Collins stayed with me for perhaps about three or four months. He wasn't really of very much help, not as much as I expected he would have been. He was very difficult to manage because he had his own very definite views about everything and everybody and disliked taking instructions from me - I was so much his junior. Also, Victor had been during the War an ardent pro-German, and I unfortunately had to warn him several times after I had heard him discuss the subject of the War with French visitors, that he should, at any rate as far as the French visitors were concerned, try to moderate his ardent admiration for the recent chief opponents of the French in the War.

I invited as many journalists as I could, of the principal newspapers, to lunch ^{or} and dinner in an endeavour to break down their hostility which was always noticeable and to endeavour to get something of Ireland's case published in the papers. To these luncheons I invariably invited Victor Collins and McWhite.

McWhite was always, of course, most acceptable to the French, wearing as he did the uniform of the French Foreign Legion. Frequently, however, I had to notice that as soon as Victor Collins had taken a glass or two of wine, he let his tongue wag on and gave forth enthusiastically words of admiration for the Germans. This led a few times to angry retorts from the French, so that my purpose was largely defeated as long as he was around. Eventually I had to write home to Griffith whose great friend Victor Collins was, to recall him.

Through some friends I got invitations to a number of the ~~the~~ ^{important} principal members of ~~the~~ ^{professors of the} staff of the Sorbonne.

I called on quite a number of these important people in the educational and cultural world and generally was welcomed, but on a few occasions I was quite openly informed that Ireland was not any longer regarded as a friend of France, ^{who} the view of those ~~to~~ took this attitude being, as they expressed it quite openly and frequently to me, that they regarded Ireland as having stabbed France in the back

Rising of 1916.

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY 1913-21
BURO STAIRS MILEATA 1913-21
No. W.S. 1765

POINTS IN THE LIFE OF SEÁN T. Ó CEALLAIGH.

Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh was born at Lower Wellington Street, Dublin, on August 25th, 1882. He was the eldest son of Samuel and Catherine O'Kelly. His mother's maiden name was O'Dea.

He was first sent to school at the Convent of the Sisters of the Holy Faith, Mountjoy Street. Next he went to the Christian Brothers' Schools, St. Mary's Place, and some years later was a pupil, for a short time at the O'Connell Schools, North Richmond Street. At the age of 15 he was, after an examination set and conducted by the late T. W. Lister, M.A., Chief Librarian of the National Library, secured employment as a Junior Assistant in the National Library in the year 1898. He remained in the service of the Library until 1902. He resigned the Library post because he felt - having joined the I.R.B. - that he should not continue to hold a position which was remunerated out of British Government funds. During these years he was a regular reader of, and an occasional contributor to, the "United Irishman", a newspaper founded by a small group of young Irishmen believing in the gospel of complete independence for Ireland.

Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh began his study of Irish in the St. Mary's Place Schools about the year 1894, when he was beginning his studies for the Preparatory Grade Examination.

From the time he left school he continued his interest in the Irish language and every week attended one or two classes in the Irish language in the Ard Craobh Gaelic League. He continued his membership of the Ard Craobh and attendance at classes and lectures there for many years. About the same time he became a regular visitor to the Gaelic Literary Society where lectures and debates on various aspects of Irish history and related to matters of Irish interest generally were held every week at their premises in Lower Abbey Street. At these gatherings he made the acquaintance

first of William Rooney and Arthur Griffith. There, too, he first heard Maud Gonne (Mrs Gonne McBride) who frequently spoke at these gatherings.

Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh joined the Archbishop McHale Branch of the Gaelic League about 1902. In that Branch he acted as teacher of Irish and lectured on Irish history frequently. After some years he became its Honorary Secretary and later its President, which post he held for many years.

In 1900 he was associated with the late George Clancy - who will be remembered as the Mayor of Limerick who in 1920 was murdered by the Black and Tans - in founding the Confederate Literary and Debating Society, a subsidiary of which was the Confederate Hurling Club of which he was also an active member. The late Eamonn Duggan, T.D., was also an active member of the Confederates and its Hurling Club.

Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh became Honorary Secretary of the Dublin Coisde Ceanntair of the Gaelic League about 1909 and later was Chairman of the same Body for several years. This Body had charge of the arrangements for the annual Gaelic League procession or demonstration through the streets of Dublin, which demonstration inaugurated the annual collection for the Gaelic League for many years.

In 1903 Padraig Pearse and Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh became respectively Editor and Manager of "Clíabh Soluis", the weekly journal of the Gaelic League. They worked in close and intimate association on that paper and in the Gaelic League and Irish-Ireland Movement generally until 1909. This year Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh was appointed Secretary of the Sinn Féin Printing and Publishing Company and Manager of the daily "Sinn Féin". In that capacity he worked in daily association with Arthur Griffith until the Sinn Féin paper was suppressed some time after the outbreak of the first Great War. After the suppression of "Sinn Féin" Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh worked with Griffith on other weekly

journals such as "Eire", "Nationalist" and "Scissors and Paste", the life of all of which was short, they being suppressed one after another by order of the British Government.

In 1909 Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh was elected a member of the Coiste Gnotha of the Gaelic League. He was re-elected each year until 1915, in which year he became, in succession to Pádraig Ó Dálaigh, General Secretary of the Organisation.

He joined the Bartholomew Teeling Circle of the I.R.B. in 1900. The centre or chairman of that Circle when he joined was a man named Nally from Balla, Co. Mayo, who was then employed as pharmacist to the Mater Misericordiae Hospital, Dublin. Nally was either a brother or a first cousin of the Nally who died while a political prisoner in Mountjoy about that same time. From the time he became a member of the I.R.B. Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh was an active organiser and worker in that Organisation. He was frequently sent to address meetings about it and travelled in its name to many parts of Ireland as well as to England and Scotland.

He devoted all his time from about 1900 to about 1905 to working for the spread of the Irish-Ireland ideas, teaching the language in various Branches of the Gaelic League and lecturing to I.R.B. Clubs and the many Clubs which sprang into existence after the centenary celebrations of the '98 Insurrection. He tried assiduously to spread the separatist idea among the young men and women attached to all these groups and was engaged in many hard-fought wordy battles with the supporters of the Home Rule ideal and the followers of the Parliamentary Party who were everywhere in a vast majority among the Irish people of that time.

He was one of the relatively small group who, at the invitation of John Sweetman, Arthur Griffith and Edward Martin, attended a Convention at the Round Room, Rotunda,

Dublin, in 1905 to assist in founding the Sinn Féin Organisation. There was considerable difference of opinion among the members of the I.R.B. at that time as to whether or not the Sinn Féin Organisation was worthy of support, but Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh was one of those who decided to help Sinn Féin. He assisted in founding Branches in Dublin and in other parts of the country. In 1908 he was elected to the National Executive of Sinn Féin, and that same year was made, jointly with the late Alderman W. L. Cole, its Honorary Secretary. He was re-elected to this latter office on several occasions. Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh remained closely associated with Sinn Féin through all its vicissitudes and changes and was continuously a member of its Standing Committee up to the year 1925.

January, 1906, was the first time that Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh sought as a candidate for public office. In that month he was selected by the Inns Quay Ward Branch of Sinn Féin to be their standard bearer to contest a seat in the Municipal Council in the Sinn Féin party interest. After a very severe contest he was elected by a small majority over a candidate who was a supporter of the Parliamentary Party. Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh on entering the Corporation immediately joined the newly founded Sinn Féin Party in the Dublin Corporation. He became Secretary and, after some years, also Chairman of the Party. He was re-elected every three years as a member of the Corporation for Inns Quay Ward. In the year 1921 he was elected Alderman of the same Ward. He continued to represent that district on the Municipal Council, with the exception of the short period when the Corporation was suppressed, until the year 1932 when, after the General Election of that year, he was nominated Minister for Local Government and Public Health by President de Valera.

During his membership of the Corporation he took a

keen and active interest in all aspects of municipal work. He and his colleagues while using the Corporation as a platform to spread the political ideas which they held worked simultaneously for reform in public administration and endeavoured at all times to preach purity and efficiency in public life and public administration. The Sinn Féin Party were pioneers in preaching also social reform and in working strenuously for the elimination of slums and bad housing conditions in Dublin City and for the erection of proper housing conditions for the working classes.

During his membership of the Corporation Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh was elected Chairman of several of the important Standing Committees on the Municipal Council. In 1908 he became Chairman of the Finance Committee and later was, from time to time, also Chairman of the Improvements Committee, the Cleansing Committee, the Waterworks Committee and the Libraries Committee. It is interesting to recall that while on the Cleansing Committee he was responsible, with the late Fred. Allen, Secretary of that Committee, for inaugurating the making of the new beautifully laid-out Park at Fairview.

In 1915 he was elected Chairman of the Dublin City Technical Education Committee. Owing, however, to his imprisonment in 1916 and the clash of other public duties later he was not in a position to give much attention to the work of Technical Education after 1916.

Improvements in housing conditions in North Dublin owe a great deal to the pioneering activities of Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh. He it was who was primarily responsible for clearing the Church Street, North Anne Street and Ormond Market areas of their slums. His activity succeeded in clearing that large district of the unhealthy tenements that covered it. He secured the erection of the workmen's

dwellings that now occupy that large site and the district surrounding the Green Street Courthouse as well as the building of other new working-class dwellings at the rear of the Four Courts. He was also primarily responsible for the scheme of workmen's dwellings in the Linen Hall Street area.

In 1908 he was selected by the Dublin Corporation to be one of a Delegation of members of the Municipal Council to go to Rome to present His Holiness Pope Pius X an Address of Congratulation on the occasion of his Episcopal Jubilee. Ó Ceallaigh was selected by the Corporation as a delegate because of his knowledge of Irish, as the Corporation wished that the Address to His Holiness should be read in Irish. It is interesting to recall that it was on that occasion that the late Eamonn Ceannt, who was later executed by the British as one of the Leaders of 1916, played the Irish war pipes in the great Throne Room of the Vatican in the presence of the Holy Father and the hundreds of Irish pilgrims assembled there.

About 1909 Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh was nominated by the Dublin Corporation to be a member of the Board of Technical Education for Ireland. He remained a member of that Board for a great many years and in that capacity did his share in promoting technical education throughout the country. He was also appointed to represent the Dublin Corporation on the Grangegorman and Portrane Mental Hospitals Committee as well as on the Boards of the National Maternity Hospital, Holles Street, and Jervis Street Hospital.

As a member of the Industrial Committee of the Gaelic League he was one of the founders of the Dublin Industrial Development Association.

He was invited by Eoin MacNeill to the small meeting which was responsible for the bringing into existence in 1913 of Oglagh na hÉireann (the Irish Volunteers). He

was later appointed by Eoin MacNeill to take charge of and preside at the overflow meeting which assembled in the large Concert Hall of the Rotunda on the night in November, 1913 on which the Irish Volunteer Organisation was formally and publicly founded in the Rink, Rotunda Gardens, Dublin, under the Chairmanship of Eoin MacNeill.

Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh became an active member of the Irish Volunteers on the foundation of the Organisation. From this time on, and especially after the outbreak of the first Great War, he worked in close association and intimate daily contact with Tom Clarke and Sean McDermott in various activities connected with the Volunteer Movement. At the request of these two he undertook important missions to different parts of Ireland and Great Britain. In August, 1914, he was sent by them to purchase machine guns and ammunition which it had been reported to them were available for purchase in London. In March, 1915, he was sent by these two to New York to inform Judge Cohalan, John Devoy, Joseph McGarrity and other heads of the Clann na Gaedhael in the U.S.A. of the intention to promote a Rising in Ireland during the following year. He was given an outline of the general plans as then conceived for the capture and holding of Dublin City by the Irish Volunteers and the I.R.B. and he was instructed to make these plans known to the above-mentioned heads of the American Clann na Gaedhael.

During his stay in the U.S.A., which lasted five or six weeks, he visited several important centres of the Clann in company principally with Joseph McGarrity and, occasionally, John Devoy and Luke Dillon. It was there he first made the acquaintance of Liam Pedlar. They met at a meeting of the Heads of the Clann na Gaedhael in Philadelphia. The next time Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh and Liam Pedlar met was about a year later when they came across each other by chance in the exercise yard of Wandsworth

Prison, London.

On leaving New York to return to Ireland, Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh received from John Devoy a sum of £2,000. He was instructed to give half of this sum to Tom Clarke and Sean McDermott for the use of the I.R.B. and the other half was to be handed to Eoin McNeill for the use of the Irish Volunteers.

Shortly after the outbreak of War in 1914, Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh was one of the prime movers in bringing into existence in Dublin the Society known as the "Irish Neutrality League" of which he became Honorary Secretary, the President of the Organisation being James Connolly. This Organisation had not a long life. After a couple of months of publicity work in favour of Ireland's remaining neutral during the Great War, the Neutrality League was suppressed by order of the British Government.

About December, 1915, Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh was invited by Padraig Pearse to act when the rising took place some time in the following year, as was anticipated, as Staff Captain to the Commander-in-Chief, Padraig Pearse. On accepting the invitation he was instructed that no-one should be told of the appointment and that the rank should not be assumed until the Rising actually took place. Between this time and Easter, 1916, Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh was ordered by Pearse to get from the Corporation plans of the main drainage and sewerage systems of the City, plans of the gas mains and the lighting system. He was able to secure most of these through the assistance of officials of the various Departments of the Dublin Corporation. He was also asked to do intelligence work in other directions by his Chief and for this latter work he was fortunate in being able to use a number of officials of the Dublin Corporation and, in particular, members of the Sanitary Staff whose duty brought them every day to all corners of the City and

who had special power and authority to visit any buildings anywhere in the City at any time of the day. The information obtained through the agency of these officials was often of great value.

When the Rising took place on Easter Monday, 1916, Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh joined Padraig Pearse in the G.P.O. After the surrender, with other Volunteers he was imprisoned in Richmond Barracks and was retained there for about six weeks. He was then deported to Wandsworth Prison in the vicinity of London. While there he fell ill with pneumonia and thus spent about six weeks in the prison hospital. He was then transferred to Woking Military Prison where he spent a few weeks and was then changed to Wormwood Scrubbs Prison for a brief spell. From there he was sent to Frongach Camp in Wales and, after about three weeks there, he was transferred to Reading Jail where he had as fellow-prisoners the following among others:- Terence McSwiney, Tomas McCurtain, Arthur Griffith, Darrell Figgis, Earnan de Bligh, Padraig Ó Máille, M. J. O'Reilly and Denis McCullough and many others since prominent in the public business and professional life in Ireland. He was released when the general release of Frongach and Reading prisoners took place on Christmas Eve, 1916. His liberty was brief as he was arrested again in February, 1917, and, with about 30 others, was for a day imprisoned in Arbour Hill Military Barracks and then was deported to Oxford and later to Fairford, Gloucestershire, England. From this place he, with one or two other deported colleagues, took French leave and returned to Ireland to take part in the Parliamentary Election in Longford at which Joseph McGuinness was elected a Member of Parliament in the Sinn Féin interest about June, 1917, Joseph McGuinness being then a convict imprisoned in England for his part in the Rising of 1916.

Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh was an active worker and speaker

at all the Parliamentary Elections which took place from this time onwards. He directed organisations and was given charge of certain areas during the contests in Armagh, Tyrone, Waterford, Clare, Cavan, etc., during the 1917 - 1918 period, which period witnessed such striking successes for the Sinn Féin cause.

Perhaps it should be mentioned here that the first time Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh took part in a Parliamentary Contest was in the Election in the Constituency of North Leitrim in 1908 when Charles Dolan, who had been a member of the Irish Parliamentary Party, resigned from that Party and resigned his seat and contested the Constituency again as a Sinn Féin candidate.

Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh was among the few Sinn Féin Leaders to escape the police net when so many of his best-known friends and colleagues in the Movement were arrested in the early part of 1917. It will be remembered that at that time the British Government claimed to have discovered what was called "The German Plot" in Ireland. They used this alleged plot as the excuse for rounding up as many of the Irish Republican Leaders as they could get. The arrested men included Eamonn de Valera, and Arthur Griffith.

Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh took a leading part in organising resistance to the attempt of the British to conscript Irishmen into the British Army in the 1917-18 period. He was intimately associated with Lord Mayor O'Neill, Dublin, in planning the work of the Mansion House Anti-Conscription Committee which was brought into existence about that time.

Shortly before the British Government announced that a General Election would be held immediately after the end of the War Bob Brennan, now Irish Minister at Washington, had been appointed Director of Publicity at Sinn Féin Headquarters, 6, Harcourt Street, by the Standing Committee. About the same time James O'Meara had been appointed Director

for Finance, or it may be that O'Meara was appointed before De Valera was arrested in connection with the German Plot. Similarly Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh was appointed substitute Director of Organisation.

Immediately the prospect of an early General Election seemed certain the Sinn Féin forces got ready to take full advantage of the opportunity offered by the General Election to turn it, as it were, into a plebiscite of the people on the question of the independence of the country. Sinn Féin decided to make the issue one of for and against complete independence and cutting adrift from England. He was a member of the Sub-Committee of the Standing Committee appointed to select candidates for the various constituencies. He himself was selected candidate for the College Green Division of Dublin, in which Constituency he was elected with a sweeping majority. He was the author of the manifesto which was issued in connection with the Elections and addressed to the electors published that year.

He was appointed by the Standing Committee of Sinn Féin to be Chairman of the Sub-Committee to make arrangements for the calling into existence of Dáil Éireann. He was also appointed Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of Sinn Féin.

All the work of organising the new Irish Parliament and the drafting of the "Declaration of Independence", the "Message to the Free Nations" and the Standing Orders or Constitution was done by these Committees. Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh himself was given the task of making the final draft of the "Democratic Programme" which was, with the other documents mentioned above adopted unanimously by Dáil Éireann at its first meeting in the Mansion House on January 31st, 1919, when it met under the Chairmanship of Cathal Brugha.

When President Wilson, of U.S.A., announced that he

would come to Paris to attend the Peace Conference, the Sinn Féin Standing Committee appointed Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh as Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, together with Robert Barton, George Gavan Duffy and Michael Collins, also members of that Committee, to seek an interview with the President on his arrival in Europe. They were instructed to ask the President's assistance towards having Ireland's claim to independence raised by the Peace Conference. Accordingly, as soon as President Wilson arrived in London these four Sinn Féin Delegates crossed to London and presented to the President at Buckingham Palace, where he was staying as the guest of the King of England, a request for an interview for the purpose of carrying out their Mission. Their claim for the President's assistance was, of course, to be based on the President's own Fourteen Points.

The Delegation made several efforts to get in touch with the President but the latter refused to see them. Finally, before leaving London to return to Ireland, the Delegation sent to the President a strongly worded request that he should support Ireland's claim for a hearing at the Peace Conference, when such claims would, as was hoped, be formally presented to the Conference at Paris. No reply, or acknowledgment even, of this communication was ever received by the Delegation.

During the two weeks the Delegation spent in London trying to meet President Wilson, the results of the General Election in Ireland, as well as in Great Britain, were announced. It was while in London that the Delegates learned that the Sinn Féin candidates had won an overwhelming victory. Each of the four Delegates had the gratification of learning that he had headed the poll in his own Constituency.

While in London the Delegation received much help from

Art Ó Briain, then well-known in Gaelic League circles. On returning to Dublin, the Delegation recommended to the Sinn Féin Executive that Art Ó Briain should be asked to take up the post of Irish Envoy in London which recommendation was eventually adopted by the newly elected Government.

As Count Plunkett was the first republican Member of Parliament elected it was in his name that the new Sinn Féin Members of Parliament were summoned to come together for the first time. They met in the Mansion House, Dublin, on January 7th, 1919, to discuss what the next steps should be. Cathal Brugha was called on to preside. At this meeting it was decided that Dáil Éireann should assemble as the Parliament of the Republic of Ireland on January 21st, 1919.

The summons to meet as the duly elected Parliament of Ireland was, after full consideration by the Standing Committee, issued to every person elected for an Irish constituency. The few members of the John Redmond Party who survived the rout were invited to attend just as were the members of parliament who adhered to Carson's Party in the North.

The assembling of the new Irish Parliament was awaited with keenest excitement everywhere. The big questions on the lips of everyone these days was "What would happen? Would the British try to prevent the meeting? Would they use force to do so?"

The appointed day came and the Parliament assembled as arranged. The Agenda as drawn up was carried through with solemnity and dignity. All the proceedings - except the reading of one or two documents - were conducted in Irish as were the brief opening remarks of the Chairman, Cathal Brugha.

The roll of all those elected to represent an Irish constituency was called. It was then seen that no member of the Redmond Party or the Party of Carson attended. Only members of the Sinn Féin Party answered the call and only

about half their total number were present, the absent ones, about 33 in number, being held in British prisons.

When the public session of the new Parliament concluded a private session was held that same afternoon and another the next day. It was at the first private session that a Provisional Government was appointed and at this session also Sean T. Ó Ceallaigh was appointed Chairman or Ceann Comhairle. About this time also it was agreed that Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh should try to get to Paris with a view to endeavouring to secure for Eamonn de Valera, Arthur Griffith and Count Plunkett, Delegates of the Provisional Government of the Irish Republic a hearing by the Peace Conference of Ireland's claims for recognition of the independence she had declared.

When President Wilson announced he would come to Europe for the Peace Conference important British cities decided to invite him to accept honorary citizenship by becoming a Freeman of the respective City or Borough. Michael Collins made the suggestion to Seán T. that it might be helpful if Dublin did the same. Seán T. consulted Lord Mayor O'Neill and the matter was arranged. A big public meeting was held in the Mansion House and the Corporation formally adopted a resolution offering President Wilson the Freedom of Dublin and inviting him to come to Dublin for the conferring.

The President's Secretary later announced that he could not come to Dublin and then it was arranged that a deputation of members of the Corporation, consisting of the Lord Mayor, Alderman Sir A. Beatty, Alderman Corrigan, Councillors P. T. Daly and Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh, should be sent to Paris to read the address to the President and convey the greetings and good wishes of the Municipal Council. For this purpose the Corporation asked Dublin Castle to provide for the Deputation the passports and visas necessary to get to Paris.

Eventually, under pressure from the Corporation, the British Government provided the passports and visas but Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh was the only member of the Delegation that proceeded to Paris. He was provided by the Corporation with all the necessary documents, sealed copies of the Corporation's resolution conferring the Freedom of Dublin on President Wilson, etc. for use in case the President would consent to see him.

Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh left Dublin for Paris about February 4th, 1919, and after a difficult journey and having wangled military visas out of the British and French Military controls in London with no small trouble, arrived in Paris on February 8th.

Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh's first task after arriving in Paris was to try to interview President Wilson so as to carry out the Mission entrusted to him by the Dublin Corporation. So he lost little time before he called at the President's headquarters. Having there announced his mission he was told the President could not see him. Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh then sought the influence of highly placed personages from several lands then in Paris for the Peace Conference in an effort to induce the President to alter his attitude but without success. Some time in April, 1919, there arrived in Paris a Delegation, consisting of Messrs. Frank P. Walsh, Governor Dunne, Ex-Mayor of Chicago and Michael J. Ryan of Philadelphia, who had been sent from the federated Irish Organisation of the U.S.A. to assist Ireland's delegates in Paris to have Ireland's claim heard by the Peace Conference. President Wilson found he could not ignore this important American Delegation so agreed to meet them soon after their arrival in Paris. When he had heard their statement he told them right away that he could give no assistance towards having the claim of Ireland to Independence raised at the Peace Conference. When pressed

for a reason he said that, in his opinion, the Irish question was a domestic one for Britain and should be settled directly between the British and the Irish.

Under instructions Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh remained in Paris and carried on a vigorous propaganda in favour of Irish Independence first among the numerous delegates to the Peace Conference from all parts of the globe, and later, as more money became available, expanded his work. Eventually Paris became the centre for propaganda for all Europe.

In April, at the request of Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh, the Government sent over George Gavan Duffy to assist him in his heavy work.

A statement of the case of recognition of Irish Independence was drawn up at home. Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh had copies of this statement translated into many languages printed in Paris and handed to all the delegates to the Peace Conference. Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh and George Gavan Duffy called personally to their offices and presented copies to all the principal delegates. A copy was also handed to the Secretary-General to the Peace Conference with a request that it be placed on the Agenda of the Conference.

The members of the Irish American Delegation were most helpful and it was evident that the British found the work of this Delegation so influential that they decided the wisest course would be to get them away from Paris. Lloyd George, therefore, personally offered the American Delegates to make the road easy for them to go on a visit to Ireland. After consultation with Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh the Delegation accepted this offer. Many in Ireland will remember the wonderful impression made by these Delegates when they addressed the specially convened meeting of Dáil Éireann and when they addressed meetings in different parts of Ireland.

The Irish Delegation established particularly friendly relations with similar delegations then in Paris representing Egypt, India, South Africa, Poland, Slovakia, Lithuania and representatives of many other nations.

During this period also the Irish Delegation entered into close and friendly contacts with Cardinal Cerreti, who represented the Vatican in Paris and also with Archbishop Pascal Robinson, now Irish Nuncio, who was then a member of the Vatican Delegation which accompanied Cardinal Cerreti.

At the urgent and special request of Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh the Government at home agreed to send to Paris Erakine Childers as Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh was of opinion that a visit from him to the editors of the principal French newspapers would be of special value in view of Childers' war service.

The Irish Delegation during all this period was kept employed receiving the journalistic representatives not alone of numerous important French papers but of journalistic and other representatives from Italy, Germany, Spain, Switzerland, Denmark and Belgium. The Members of the Delegation and their small staff had to supply material for articles about Ireland which were in constant request from almost all the countries of Europe. In addition to this a weekly Bulletin was compiled and issued by the Delegation. This Bulletin was most valuable in bringing to the notice of the foreign members and foreign statesmen the behaviour of the British in Ireland, details of which, of course, were suppressed by the British News Agencies.

Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh sent in his resignation to the Government in January, 1920. He went to Rome to visit his friend Rt. Rev. Mgr. Hagan, Rector of the Irish College there before returning to Ireland. The day of his arrival in Rome he fell seriously ill and was obliged to spend some months in bed in the Irish College. He was just able to

move about just as the Irish Bishops and other representative Irish men and women began to arrive in Rome to be present in St. Peter's on the occasion of the Beatification of Oliver Plunkett.

During his illness Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh received orders from Arthur Griffith, then Minister for Foreign Affairs, and later from Eamonn de Valera, then in the U.S.A., to resume his diplomatic work as soon as his health would permit. They told him that they thought it would be a mistake for the Government to accept his resignation and that, in their opinion, he could do better work for Ireland by remaining abroad for the present.

During the early months of 1920, Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh was frequently called on to pay visits to Cardinal Cerretti, Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs at the Vatican, to discuss with him the position in Ireland. Arising out of these talks Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh was on several occasions received in audience by His Holiness Pope Benedict XV also for the purpose of discussing the serious situation then existing in Ireland. British influence then, as at other times in our history, was very powerful in Rome. Strong efforts were being made to influence the Holy Father to issue denunciations of Sinn Féin or Dáil Éireann or the I.R.A. It is possible that Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh's presence in Rome and the influential assistance he received from Cardinal Cerretti and the fact that he was able to give reliable information to the Pope himself prevented the British succeeding in their efforts. Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh returned to Paris about September, 1920, and resumed his diplomatic and journalistic work there. About this time he established a sub-bureau for propaganda in Fribourg, Switzerland. He succeeded in obtaining the services of two distinguished Irish ecclesiastics then students at Fribourg to take charge of the work locally. One of these was the

late Father Gibbons of Ossory Diocese, the other being the Most Rev. Dr. Staunton, now the Bishop of Ferns.

He continued his work in Paris until the Truce when he returned to Ireland and attended the meetings of Dáil Éireann. In September, 1921, he resumed his work in Paris, staying there until the news of the signing of the Treaty in December, 1921, reached him when he returned and took part in the meetings of Dáil Éireann eventually being one of the 57 who voted against the Treaty.

He returned to Paris and attended the Irish Race Convention which was held there about the third week in January, 1922.

Before finishing up his work on the continent he returned again to Rome and gave to the Italian press, as he had already given to the French press, interviews expressing his opinions on the Anglo-Irish Treaty. During this next visit to Rome he had the privilege of being received for the first time by the new Pope, Pius XI, to whom also he expressed his views on the changed Irish situation.

On returning home he took part with other members and non-members of Dáil Éireann in many efforts to preserve peace and unity in the national ranks.

A month or so after the outbreak of the Civil War he was arrested and was imprisoned in Kilmainham and Gormanstown until about a week before Christmas, 1923. Immediately after the decision was taken on the Treaty he, with the Very Rev. Dr. P. Browne, Liam Mellows and Joseph McDonagh founded "An Poblacht" which after a short career as an independent republican weekly was taken over as the organ of the Republican Party.

In August, 1924, he was sent to the U.S.A. as Envoy of the Irish Republican Party. He spent the next two years touring the U.S.A. He spoke at hundreds of meetings in many of the States of the Union, travelling from New York

to Los Angeles and to Seattle, Washington. During his absence, but with his full knowledge and consent, Fianna Fáil was founded and to the building up of the new organisation on his return home he devoted much of his time. To help Fianna Fáil also he founded, in 1927, "The Nation", a weekly newspaper which continued its existence up to the date when "The Irish Press" was first published in 1931.

In the General Election of 1932 he was once more re-elected in the North Dublin area. It may not be amiss to mention at this part that in the General Election known as "The Pact Election" of 1922 he was the only deputy among those who voted against the Treaty who retained his seat in the City or County of Dublin.

After the General Election of 1932, when Mr. de Valera formed his first Government, Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh was nominated Vice-President of the Executive Council by Mr. de Valera and Minister for Local Government and Public Health. He continued to occupy this ministry until the war broke out in 1939 when for a short time he first acted as Minister for Education and later was appointed Minister for Finance.

After the new Constitution came into operation he was nominated Tánaiste by the Taoiseach. In 1933 he was nominated by the Taoiseach to head the Irish Delegation to the League of Nations Conference of that year. He was given the task of inducing the Health Committee of the League of Nations to withdraw certain recommendations distasteful to Catholics which appeared in their Annual Report on Public Health of the year before and being successful in this mission was later nominated, by Pope Pius XI, Grand Commander of the Order of St. Gregory the Great. In 1934, and again in 1936, he was sent on work of special importance on behalf of the Government to the U.S.A.

The last mission of this kind was when in May, 1939, he was sent as substitute for Mr. de Valera to formally open

the Irish Pavilion at the New York World Fair of that year. During this last visit to the U.S.A, he had the privilege of meeting and discussing Irish Affairs and world problems with the then President of the U.S.A., Franklin D. Roosevelt.

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY 1913-21
BURO STAIRÉ MILEATA 1913-21
No. W.S. 1765

DOCUMENTS PRESENTED TO THE NATIONAL LIBRARY

by

SEÁN T. Ó CEALLAIGH, PRESIDENT OF IRELAND

September, 1952.

I. Letters

Author	To whom written	Date	Language	Script
1. Padraic Pearse	Sean T. Ó Ceallaigh	6/12/1911	Irish	MS in ink
2. do	do	8/11/1903	English	do
3. do	do	1/1/1904	do	do
4. James Connolly	do	6/6/1915	do	do
5. Roger Casement	do	18/4/1914	do	do
6. Sean MacDermott	do	27/10/1915	do	do

II. Booklets & Pamphlets

Author	Title	Number presented
1. A. Newman	(Tracts for the Times No. 8 (What it feels like	1
2. -	John Bull's other Empire	4
3. Very Rev. Dr. Yorke, D.D.	Irish Bishops usurp Papal Rights	1
4. Arthur Griffith	(Tracts for the Times No. 4 (When the Government Publishes (sedition	1
5. Eoin MacNeill	(Tracts for the Times No. 6 (Daniel O'Connell and Sinn Fein	1
6. A. Newman	(Tracts for the Times No. 9 (Why the Martyrs of Manchester (died	1
7. Padraig Pearse	(Tracts for the Times No. 10 (Ghosts	1
8. do	(Tracts for the Times No. 11 (The Separatist Idea	1
9. do	(Tracts for the Times No. 12 (The Spiritual Nation	1
10. do	(Tracts for the Times No. 13 (The Sovereign People	1
11. do	The Bodinstown Series No. 1 How does She stand	1

Author	Title	Number presented
12. Pádraig Pearse	The Bodenstown Series No. 2 From a Hermitage	1
13. do	The Bodenstown Series No. 3 The Murder Machine	1
14. T.M. Kettle, B.A.	The Philosophy of Politics	1
15. -	(National Council Pamphlets - B. (The Sinn Féin Policy	1
16. Charles Russell	Should the Workers of Ireland support Sinn Féin?	1
17. -	National Council Pamphlets No.6 How Ireland is Taxed	1
18. -	(The Resurrection of Hungry (A Parallel for Ireland	1
19. A. Newman	(Tracts for the Times No. 5 (Ascendancy while you wait	1
20. -	(<u>Une tentative d'escroquerie,</u> (Le Home Rule Act, ou (Loi D'Autonomie Pour l'Irlande de 1920	1

III. Miscellaneous

- (1) A Mss. by Arthur Griffith on "Nationality". Eight pages in indelible pencil.
- (2) Document entitled "General Election, Manifesto to the Irish People". It is a second edition and is in Irish and English.
- (3) Leaf from diary of Arthur Griffith, 1916. It is in manuscript and in pencil.
- (4) Official form (L.1) in Irish with translation in English on which members subscribed a declaration at the first meeting of Dail Eireann 7th January, 1919.
- (5) A drawing from Life by Frank Leah of Erskine Childers.
- (6) Permit in Irish signed by Diarmuid O hEigeartaigh and Eamon de Valera granting permission to attend public sessions of Dail Eireann, 16th August, 1921.
- (7) Ticket entitled "Ticead Teachta" made out for Seán T. O Ceallaigh. Session 25th April, 1922.
- (8) Formal card of invitation (in Irish and English) for Speaker of Dail Eireann inviting persons to reception at Mansion House, 21st January, 1919.
- (9) Two cards bearing the inscription "Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh, Président du Parlement Républicain Irlandais et Délégué du Gouvernement de la République Irlandaise, Grand Hotel Paris.
- (10) Document supporting candidature of Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh - Polling Day - Saturday December 14th, 1918.

- (11) Letter in French from French Consul in Dublin to French Consul in London dated 3rd February, 1919 regarding a visa for Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh in connection with his visit to France.
- (12) Photograph of Irish Envoys to Paris 1919, i.e. Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh and George Gavan Duffy with Governor Edward Dunne of the State of Illinois, U.S.A. and Frank P. Walsh sent to help Irish Envoys from U.S.A.

DOCUMENTS PRESENTED BY MR. SEÁN T. O CEALLAIGH,
PRESIDENT OF IRELAND TO REV. BR. ALLEN, C.B.S.
SCHOOLS, NORTH RICHMOND STREET, DUBLIN.

September, 1952.

- (1) Four Sinn Féin stamps.
- (2) Note to Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh in handwriting of Michael Collins.
- (3) Souvenir, Anniversary Mass, Paris, 23rd April, 1919.
- (4) Postcard in Irish from Padraig Pearse to Sean T. Ó Ceallaigh.
- (5) Cheque dated 15th July, 1913, for £3 drawn on Pádraig Pearse's Account in the Hibernian Bank, Lower Sackville Street, Dublin and payable to himself.
- (6) Letter, in English dated 7th January 1904 from Padraig Pearse to Sean T. Ó Ceallaigh.
- (7) Letter in Irish undated from The O'Rahilly in his own handwriting to Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh.
- (8) Page 3 of the European Edition of the Chicago Tribune dated 3rd November 1919 which carried an appeal to all lovers of Peace and Justice, by the Government of the Republic of Ireland.
- (9) Booklet entitled The Resurrection of Hungry: A Parallel for Ireland.
- (10) Envelope bearing inscription "American Commission for Irish Independence, Grand Hotel Paris.

*Copy of an article in the Irish Press
on page 37 of draft statement*

(Some date in June 1931)

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY 1913-21
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It is mentioned in the course of an article on the Beatification of the late Pius X in to-day's "Irish Independent" that I met Pope Pius X about 37 years ago. This is not correct.

I was nominated as one of a delegation of members of the Dublin Corporation to go to Rome to present an Address to His Holiness Pope Pius X in October 1908, when certain ceremonies were to take place in Rome in celebration of the Sacredotal Jubilee of His late Holiness. The Dublin Corporation at that time decided that the Address to His Holiness from the Dublin Corporation should be in Irish, and I was put on the delegation as I believe I was at the time the only speaker of Irish amongst the members of the Corporation.

I went to Rome with, I think, seven or eight other members of the Corporation, or maybe more, who joined in a Pilgrimage to Rome organised by the Catholic Young Men's Society, of St. Kevin's Parish, South Circular Road, Dublin. The chief organiser of the Pilgrimage was a Mr Daniels, then an official of the Dublin Corporation who is still alive and an active member of the Catholic Young Men's Society.

Among the members of the Corporation who joined in the Pilgrimage were Councillor Nannetti, M.P., Councillor Patrick Shorthall, Councillor Union, Councillor Gallagher, Councillor Hatch. There were four or five others, but I cannot at this moment recall their names. It was on this same Pilgrimage that the late Éamon Ceannt who was executed in 1916 travelled and had the privilege of playing his Irish bagpipes before His Holiness and the assembled pilgrimate in the large Hall of Audience at the Vatican.

The members of the Dublin Corporation who composed the official delegation were received by Pope Pius X in his study, and there I had the privilege of reading the Address to His Holiness. A translation of the Address in Latin had been prepared and was in the Pope's hands while I was reading the Address in Irish. After I had finished reading the Address, the Address itself was handed to His Holiness by Councillor Nannetti, who was acting for the Lord Mayor of Dublin. His Holiness thanked me, speaking in French, in a few

words, and asked me a few questions about myself and conditions in Ireland, which I was luckily able to answer in the same language.

Part of the functions held to celebrate the Pope's Sacredotal Jubilee were a series of gymnastic and athletic contests which were held in the gardens of the Vatican. Teams of gymnasts and athletes came from many countries in Europe. The Irish contingent which was under the direction of two members of the Executive Committee of the G.A.A., Messrs Dan McCarthy of Dublin and J. Fitzgerald of Kildare, included a number of distinguished athletes, some of whom were champions in their own special activities. One day I distinctly remember that created a great sensation among the thousands who witnessed his performance was a hurdle racer, I believe his name was Burke and he came from Cappawhite, Co. Tipperary. We had high jumpers and long jumpers who held their own against the best European champions at the time, and gymnasts who were able to hold their own against the best teams in Europe. One of the leaders amongst the gymnasts was Mr Lemass, who I believe is one of the directors of the Smithfield Motor Company.

After the reception by the Holy Father of the delegation in his own study, where the Address of congratulation on behalf of the Dublin Corporation was read to him, ~~a procession on behalf of the Dublin Corporation was read to him,~~ a procession was formed through the Papal chambers to the Grand Hall where the general body of pilgrims who came from all parts of Ireland, and with these were joined in this reception all the Irish in Rome. It was at this point that there occurred the playing of the pipes by Éamon Ceannt.

Each evening during the five or six days the pilgrims remained in Rome, all the pilgrims were welcomed by the then Vice-Rector, the Right Rev. Monsignor Hagan, at the Irish College which was then situated in the Via Mazzarina, behind the Bank of Italy in the Via Nazionale.