ORIGINAL

ROINN COSANTA.

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY, 1913-21.

STATEMENT BY WITNESS.

DOCUMENT NO. W.S. 1769

Witness

Patrick J. Little,
"Clonlea",
Sandyford,
Co. Dublin.

Identity.

Editor, 'New Ireland', 'Eire', 'Sinn Féin' and 'An Pobhlacht', 1916-1926;
Irish Representative, South Africa and Argentine, 1920-1921;
Parliamentary Secretary and Minister, Dáil Éireann, 1933-48.

Subject.

National Activities, 1904-1922.

Conditions, if any, Stipulated by Witness.

Nil.

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STATEMENT BY MR. P.J. LITTLE,

Clonlea, Sandyford, Co. Dublin.

Background Of Subsequent Developments.

My first adventures in national affairs were associated with my fellow students at University College. In 1904 or 1905, at the conferring of degrees at the Royal University, we made up our minds that we would not have the usual unmeaning rowdy students' rag. We kept very quiet during the proceedings in Earlsfort Terrace. We all came down from the gallery to a subterranean, or side passage, and appeared suddenly on the platform between the organ and the organist, and stopped him playing, "God, Save The King". Those who took part were Cruise O'Brien, Tom Madden (later a doctor in Mayo), John Kennedy (a brother of Hugh Kennedy), Dr. Kerrigan - then a student - and several others. I am not quite sure whether Skeffington was with us that day. I know that he and Seamus O'Kelly took part in subsequent demonstrations, and Tom Kettle, and in other demonstrations later on, in connection with the same event.

The Unionists went out of office in January, 1906. They had a big meeting in what was then the Rink in Earlsfort Terrace, and the Unionists had Walter Long as a candidate. Cruise O'Brien was living in a house in Upper Leeson Street, which had

belonged to a man, named Moore, who had been a K.C. and had been an M.P. as well, at one time I think, and he (Cruise O'Brien) received an invitation, meant for Moore, to go on the Unionist platform. When he told me of this invitation, I said, "Give me that card!" Only one person could get in on the invitation. I got into evening dress, in accordance with the directions on the card. I went on the platform, and sat at the very back. I discovered from Gerald O'Byrne, who was afterwards in the Indian Civil Service, that he had been reading up the financial relations which had been dealt with by a group of Unionists, including Samuel. Samuel was a judge afterwards, and he was a Member for Trinity College. They had concerned themselves with the over-taxation of Ireland which, they contended, amounted to three million pounds per year, in accordance with the Childers Commission of 1895. I was able to gather sufficient to know that there was this over-taxation. So, when Sir Walter Long, who was the candidate at the time, was talking, I shouted out, "What about the over-taxation of Ireland - three million pounds a year?" I may say that Gerry Boland's friends, the I.R.B. people, had already been kicked out of the back of the hall, for making a commotion. You could hear a pin drop when I asked this question. It created a terrific sensation. Walter Long gave no satisfactory answer. Next day, it was the subject of a leading article in the 'Freeman's Journal'. This was the first time I had anything to do directly with political activities.

Of course, I was ejected, under protest about freedom of speech, but without physical violence. The stewards did not know what to make of me. But I had a headache.

I mention these things to show how the younger people were feeling at this time about national issues. Out of that whole group at the University, the Young Ireland Branch of the United Irish League was formed, and the two prominent figures were Tom Kettle and Richard Hazleton, who subsequently became Members of Parliament and of the Parliamentary Party.

Then the University Bill was brought in. To indicate the way the younger people felt, I said to Dr. Coffey at the time, "If you bring your University Bill before you bring Home Rule, you will have an explosion!" It was an indication of the state of mind at that time generally, and Pearse and MacDonagh and Sheehy Skeffington and those who were the product of that period at the University did become the leaders in 1916.

In connection with the administration of the University Act, a committee concerning itself with the compulsory teaching of Irish in the colleges of the University was formed. It held its meetings in No. 12 Dawson Street, which belonged to my family. The big meeting at the Mansion House, at which Douglas Hyde and other prominent persons spoke, was organised from there.

The Councils Bill was brought in around that time, and, from the Young Ireland Branch, under the

influence largely of Rory O'Connor, who was the driving force with his concentration, Cruise O'Brien and Skeffington were put up to speak at the National Convention of the United Irish League, which discussed the Bill, and to press the principle of concentrating on the national issue and subordinating minor matters, because John Dillon and the leaders of the Parliamentary Party were interested in questions of education, agriculture and the administration of the Land Acts. The best Land Act was that of 1903, the Wyndham Act, which was a great measure. There was a subsequent Act in 1909. Anyway, that was the active part that the Young Ireland Branch took at that time. That Convention was held at the time when the Councils Bill was rejected in 1907.

I should say here that the Committee of the Young Ireland Branch included Cruise O'Brien as Chairman, Rory O'Connor, Tom Dillon (subsequently Professor in Galway), Fred Ryan (subsequently editor of a paper called 'Egypt', under Wilfred Blunt), the two Miss Lawlor's (Helen and Isa) whose family had a shop in Fownes Street which was repeatedly raided for years after 1916, Kathleen Sheehy (later to become Mrs. Cruise O'Brien), and Skeffington and myself.

It was a remarkably clever and interesting Committee. You had the driving force of Skeffington and O'Connor, and the discretionary force of Tom Dillon and Fred Ryan. There were other men on the Committee, including Hector Hughes, who is now practising at the English Bar and is a Member of

Parliament for a Scottish constituency. As time went on, James Creed Meredith was on the Committee, and Sir John Robert O'Connell and Tom Fullerton (they both became priests), and Denis Gwynn. The most magnificent meeting of the Young Ireland Branch was when we got Erskine Childers to read a paper on the Home Rule Bill of 1912. He advocated complete financial independence, as he had done in his book, 'The Framework of Home Rule'. He never departed from that position.

I should have mentioned that, the night before the United Irish League Convention which discussed the Councils Bill took place, there was a meeting in a club. Joe Devlin met the members of the Young Ireland Branch in a club which had been formed in No. 12 Dawson Street, after the secession of the Literary and Historical Society from University College. The secession had taken place in 1905 or 1906, because of the attitude of the authorities in the University who had brought the police in to prevent any demonstration by students, such as had taken place the previous year at the conferring of degrees. At this meeting, Joe Devlin wanted to find out exactly what our line of argument was going to be at the Convention next day, and he tried to dissuade us from taking the line we intended to take, but without success. On the other hand, he did succeed in being prepared, by knowing what our line of argument was. At the Convention, the speeches of our two men were not badly received, and John Redmond did not take up a hostile line towards us.

To get an adequate record of the period from 1913 - the date of the founding of the Volunteers - right through to 1921, reference to the formative influences operating on public opinion is necessary. To this record, I believe, 'New Ireland' and its writers made its contribution, as its columns attracted almost all the thoughtful writers of the period. 'New Ireland' was, in a sense, a barometer of thoughtful public opinion and an influence, as it was written and read by those who formed public opinion. Sinn Féin, the Gaelic League and the Irish Republican Brotherhood were sowing seeds which came to fruition much later, when the public had lost all trust in British promises.

The two big factors from 1913 were the Irish Parliamentary Party, which had succeeded finally in placing the Home Rule Act on the statute book in 1914, and the Volunteers. I was on the platform at the first public meeting of the Volunteers in 1913, and noticed the grave differences of opinion at the time which, later, when the Volunteer movement grew strong, were submerged for a short time. The Irish Parliamentary Party, realising the strength of the Volunteer movement, joined up with it, attempted to take it over, and used its influence in the recruiting campaign. John Redmond's Woodenbridge speech, 4th September, 1914, was the beginning of the break away which came on 28th September, 1914. General opinion still supported Home Rule and the Irish Parliamentary Party. It was then the original Volunteers broke with the Redmondite Volunteers, and 'New Ireland' supported the movement as the one sincere, single-

minded and intensely national group.

Our Committee of the New Ireland Branch sent James Creed Meredith as our delegate to the meeting at which the split took place. At the meeting, there was a strong difference of opinion between Pearse and Devlin. This was one of the meetings where the two parties met, to try and hold the two sections of Volunteers together.

The Young Ireland Branch really broke up in 1915 because the members were taking different views. Rory O'Connor had been in Canada as a civil engineer on the Canadian Pacific Railway. He must have been away about two or three years. He actually came back, thinking that the cause of small nations and the Allies was a good cause, and he was thinking of joining up, but, when he got home, he very quickly changed his mind, and came into touch with Tom Dillon and with the Plunketts. He employed me to act as his solicitor in floating a company to set up a factory to make aspirin. We floated the company, in spite of a refusal to allow us to do so, under a regulation of D.O.R.A. (Defence of the Realm Act). On the legal advice of my brother, Edward, I found that D.O.R.A. did not prevail over an Act of Parliament, and proceeded to float our company. We entered into a contract with a firm in Glasgow to supply us with machinery. When the machinery came, we found it to be all junk, deliberately sent to us to prevent us from working the company. We took proceedings. The case never came into court, but damages were settled for two thousand pounds. This led to a

close alliance between Rory O'Connor and the Plunketts, and, instead of a factory for making aspirin, they started a factory for making explosives.

'New Ireland' was floated as a company in 1915. Denis Gwynn, Stephen O'Mara and I put up the money, three hundred pounds. In the first issue appeared a short letter from John Redmond, heartily wishing us success. Lord Monteagle also wrote, cordially welcoming its appearence, "promising an avenue open to Unionists as well as Nationalists for the candid discussion of the problems involved in bringing a workable Home Rule into operation". The first issue also included such well known contributors as D.J. O'Donoghue, Catherine Tynan, Conall Ceárnach, Professor Alison Phillips and Jane Barlow.

The first issue appeared on the 15th May, 1915, three days before the formation of the British Coalition Government whose main function was to fight the war. This Coalition was the first factor in the slow frustration of the Home Rule Act, because the Irish Parliamentary Party now lost the balance of power in the House of Commons. In the second and third issues of the paper, reference is made to the proposal that John Redmond should become a member of the British War Cabinet. An attempt was made to use 'New Ireland' as a "ballon d'essai", to see how public opinion would react towards the proposal, but I intervened and advised the editor to take a strong line against it, which he did. This attitude was strongly supported by Professor Magennis afterwards. Thus, we were already expressing strong differences

with the more pro-British influences in the Irish Parliamentary Party.

As I am dealing mainly with my own experiences, I should mention that my own contributions began in the second issue, and were confined to opposition to anti-Irish influences and advocating the immediate enforcement of Home Rule. The journal generally opposed recruitment to the British Army, by attacking the mooted proposals of conscription. The editor, Denis Gwynn, wrote in this strain, even up to his resignation. He was so greatly affected by the sacrifice of the Munster Fusiliers that he joined the Allied Forces to fight in the war. On his resignation in February, 1916, I became editor.

It was, I think, around September, 1915, that James Connolly made up his mind that there would have to be an immediate rising. Connolly's approach was always to take whatever he could get, and go on to something more. He was different to the Irish Republican Brotherhood in that way. As time went on, 'New Ireland' emphasised the seriousness and the sincerity of the Volunteers and supported their activities.

There was was only one active body, i.e., the Irish Volunteers, or, as they were dubbed - first, by opponents - the Sinn Féin Volunteers. Our articles of warning, in reference to the conduct and lack of an active policy by the Irish Parliamentary Party, proved prophetic. Dublin Castle coercion was denounced and the anti-conscription policy actively pursued. On April 15th, 1916, the last

issue appeared, until June, when it reappeared. The silence was due to our part in the "Document" episode. (See Capuchin Annual, 1942.)*

I became editor of 'New Ireland' on 26th February, 1916, and, very soon after, I told Rory O'Connor that, if at any time he wanted to use it specially for national purposes, I was willing to take any risk. So Rory kept me to my word; and, in the course of March, he told me about certain information that was coming from Dublin Castle in reference to measures to be taken to suppress the Volunteers. He gradually produced the text of what, it was contended, was a document on the files of Dublin Castle, giving what would have been details of effective measures for isolating all the centres and arresting certain persons who might have been dangerous to the British régime. The full details of this episode are contained in an article which I wrote in the Capuchin Annual for 1942. I got the document in printed form. Rory O'Connor spent the night setting up the type himself, I think, at some place where Plunkett had a printing press, probably at Kimmage. When he had half-finished, he knocked it with his elbow, and had to do it over again. It was given to me, without any capitals or punctuation of any sort. For some reason or another, some people attributed the printing of it to Madam Markievicz. There was a suggestion that it had been printed in Liberty Hall. There was quite a number of copies of the document printed, and these were disseminated in various ways to important people, together with a letter, signed by myself. Unfortunately, only seven

* see extracts from "Sunday Press" and "Evening Press" in envelope at end of statement

copies of 'New Ireland' were printed, containing an exposure of this plan. After the seven copies of the paper had been printed, the manager of the Wood Printing Works, Mr. David, not an Irishman, went across to the 'Irish Times' office. They telephoned the Castle. The "brass hats" came down, and they suppressed all reference to the document from my paper. Now, I cannot lay hands on any copy which contained the document. Bulmer Hobson got one. John O'Byrne got one. Laurence O'Byrne got one. Skeffington brought a copy of the document and a letter, signed by me, to Alderman Tom Kelly, and Alderman Tom Kelly raised the whole question at a meeting of the Corporation on the Wednesday of Holy Week. Seamus O'Kelly must have got one. My copy would be one of the originals, but I don't know where it is.

Up to the Rising, we had attempted, whilst remaining strongly National, to keep an open platform where Unionist and the pro-war readers would find friendly opposition on the Parnellite and Davis principles of regarding all Irishmen as of value to the nation. At the same time, our literary contributors continued to write for the journal, and T.F. O'Rahilly's "Dánta Gradha" were appearing for the first time, beginning in the Christmas Number, 1915, in serial form. A matrix of these was kept, and used for the first edition of these poems in book form. Douglas Hyde had contributed an interesting story in June, 1915, entitled, "Brian Brathair". W.B. Yeats, in a later issue, contributed the text of a lecture he had given in praise of Thomas Davis. Padraig Ó Conaire began his series

of stories in 'New Ireland' in the last issue before Easter 1916. P.H. Pearse had contributed an English translation of one of his Irish poems earlier in the year.

'New Ireland' contains the names of some seventy or more writers of distinction - in fact, almost all the prominent writers of the time. Bernard Shaw was a constant and sympathetic reader.

After Easter Week, 'New Ireland' did not appear again for nine weeks, until June 24th, 1916, owing to difficulties caused by its activities before the Rising.

During Easter Week, my digs in No. 4 Wilton Place were raided, but I was not there. I was either in Maynooth, or else in No. 29, St. Mary's Road, with my sister. As soon as I discovered that we had done all we could on the paper, I went immediately to see my friend, Tom Fullerton, who had joined the Jesuits in Tullabeg. I found they were all on retreat there, and no visitors could be received. So I had to cross over to Maynooth College, by train. I stayed in the hotel in Maynooth that night (Wednesday). Next morning, I came out, and somebody indicated to me that Dr. McCaffrey was walking in the street. I told him who I was. Dr. Seamus O'Kelly had sent him the document beforehand. He said, "Are you not in jail yet?" - which was very consoling to me as the news of the document must have received adequate publicity in the daily papers. My name was connected with the document and 'New Ireland' in the subsequent official reports of the Hardinge Commission. Dr. McCaffrey

took me into the College, and put me into the room of Archbishop Healy of Tuam. I stayed with him until Easter Monday morning, when I came back to Dublin and went to Seamus O'Kelly's house, where I met McNeill and Alderman Tom Kelly who were greatly perturbed at the Rising.

There was an episode I forgot to mention that took place early in Holy Week, 1916, either Monday or Tuesday. Eoin McNeill, I heard, had changed his mind about our publishing the document. Rory O'Connor, Skeffington, Seamus O'Kelly and myself took the text out to Woodtown where McNeill lived, and we persuaded him again that it was proper to publish it. He consented. When we came back, I dropped Skeffington at the top of Terenure Road, and I said to him, "Well, I hope that this thing will work out all right and that there isn't any attack on the Volunteers!" Skeffington said, "Please God, it will!" That was the last time I saw him. He was dead within a week, shot owing to his effort to stop looting.

I was in town on Easter Monday, the day the Rising started, and met the Volunteers as they were going to the Post Office. Then I went up to Dr. Seamus O'Kelly's in Rathgar Road.

Rory O'Connor, in Easter Week, had a letter which served as a pass through the British lines, with Birrell's name on it. It consisted of a letter to his father, the solicitor to the Land Commission, and had Birrell's signature. Rory used that to get through the soldiers' lines, and was carrying messages

back and forth. When he was going from the G.P.O. with a despatch, at the top of Grafton Street sniping was coming from the College of Surgeons. A bullet hit a metal box, belonging to the Tram Company, at the top of Grafton Street, and it ricocheted and hit him. He was taken into Mercer Street Hospital, and a soldier, who had been there, was brought in, dead, about twenty minutes afterwards, having been shot by the snipers. That explained his not being arrested during Easter Week, and it was providential because, from that on, he formed a big part in the organisation of the Prisoners' Aid Committee which was the body that was guiding national policy.

Just after the surrender, I wrote a letter, which was apparently read by the military authorities. Sean Lester sent me word from the 'Evening Mail', warning me that I was about to be arrested. Susan Mitchell came across the city specially to warn me. I thought the best thing to do was to stay where I was, in 29, St. Mary's Road, and to wait until the soldiers came. When they came, they arrested me and brought me up to Ballsbridge. The officer in charge there asked me a few questions. As a matter of fact, the officer who examined me and gave me my release had been an old schoolfellow of mine, Captain Cecil Robinson, subsequently an officer in the Board of Works. It occurred to me that he had his instructions, as they were not anxious to have any revelations of how I got the information about the so-called "bogus" document.

I met Colonel Moore some time later. He told me that the vilest of propaganda was being put out against Casement, in order to prevent any effort being made for his reprieve. This was only one episode of a whole series of acts of tyranny commented on in ' New Ireland', which aroused the indignation of the people. By the time of the Longford election in May, 1917, 'New Ireland' was whole-heartedly committed to the new national movement and supported the election of Joe McGuinness. I travelled to Longford to help the election with Rory O'Connor, and we were surprised at the tremendous enthusiasm of the people who cheered for the flag we were carrying, and cried, "Up the Republic!".

When 'New Ireland' appeared again in June, 1916, it had taken up the attitude that the Home Rule Bill should be put in force, but that permanent partition was unthinkable. The Six Counties should be temporarily regarded as a reserved question, and the Irish Members of the British House of Commons should not leave Westminster until the question was finally settled about the unity of the country. This proposal had already been discussed in the daily papers. There was considerable opposition and considerable controversy. I was able to quote from the Unionist papers their opposition to permanent partition. Then the National League came into existence in Derry on 8th August, opposing partition. It was nicknamed the League of Seven Attorneys. The prominent members of it were James Murnaghan, Father O'Flanagan, Kevin O'Shiel, Stephen O'Mara; Sceilg was in it; I was in it. Father O'Flanagan

humorously referred to the National League as a place or state of suffering where some souls suffered before they became Republicans. We advocated the application of complete Colonial Home Rule to Ireland, from that on. Subsequently, when we found that any settlement on those lines was impossible, due partly to the intervention of influences like Lord Lansdowne and Lord Londonderry, 'New Ireland' was the first paper to frankly advocate complete sovereignty for Ireland. The suggestion was also made in the paper that a conference should be held, and, subsequently, that a national council should be established. There were, at this time, Sinn Féin, Liberty Clubs by Count Plunkett, Rory O'Connor and others, and the Nation League, already mentioned. The National Volunteers had ceased to exist. After Griffith came out of gaol, 'New Ireland' advocated, very strongly, the amalgamation of all these groups. This coming together took place at the Sinn Féin Convention, April 19th, 1917.

After the events of Easter Week, 1916, almost all of the potential leaders were in jail, except Rory O'Connor and Cathal Brugha. Redmond and the Irish Party were in the tragic position of being betrayed, on every hand. In spite of this, John Redmond adhered to his pledge to win the war, as the way to Home Rule. He also had in mind, of course, the number of Irishmen whom he had recruited into the British army, and he had to stand by them. The executions, the treatment of prisoners, coercion, the treatment of Casement, the threat of conscription

and complete national frustration left Ireland in political chaos. 'New Ireland' made every effort, with the help of writers of moderate opinion, sometimes even of men who had been Unionists, to plead for a constructive policy, to restate the national case for an Irish-Ireland. According as the hopes for immediate Home Rule vanished, 'New Ireland' asserted her right, first, to Home Rule, and then to complete independence, and this, in spite of the censorship and of a letter from the War Office on the 11th September, warning us that our journal would not be permitted to reach the outside world. We reprinted Casement's speech from the dock, and an article on Casement by a distinguished American lawyer, John Quinn.

The Anti-Partition League was started in Derry, and subsequently became the Nation League. When Griffith was released from jail on the 23rd December, 1916, the Sinn Féin organisation was restarted, and 'New Ireland' advocated a joining together of the Nation League and the Sinn Féin movement.

'New Ireland' welcomed the republication of Arthur Griffith's paper. The Liberty Clubs, which had been organised by Rory O'Connor, Plunkett and Cathal Brugha, and Sinn Féin, all joined together, and a convention took place.

In the meantime, the election of Count Plunkett had taken place, of course, in Roscommon, and, by the time of the Longford election, the convention had taken place. I took an active part in the election in Longford. I travelled up with Rory O'Connor and Mrs. Desmond Fitzgerald.

A certain personal experience should be mentioned, although I cannot fix the date. I think it was shortly after the Rising. Four Russians visited Dublin, and I met them, through L.P. Byrne, who was my leader writer, under the name of Andrew E. Malone, and, sometimes, L.P.B. He was a constant and most faithful writer during that worst period. He was in close touch with the Labour Party, and was employed in the I.A.W.S. This brought him in touch with the Russian co-operative movement, which had an office in London.

There was "Likiavesky", who turned out afterwards to be Meisky, and subsequently the Russian Ambassador in London. During the Stalin regime, he was withdrawn, and, when I asked Russian representatives at an Inter-Parliamentary Union, in recent years, none of them could tell me anything about him. He must have been too moderate for the regime. There was the editor of 'Isvestia', a big daily newspaper in Moscow. He was afterwards killed in the Russian revolution. There was a man who called himself, Yakoff, a leader in Northern Russia, also killed in the revolution, and there was Bubynoff, subsequently the head of a Russian co-operative concern in London. There was one other man whose name entirely escapes me.

They came to Dublin, to study the revoluntion and, especially, the work of James Connolly. Russia had not yet brought about their revolution. They knew former revolutions had been carried out, by manning the barricades in the streets, but the Irish strategy was new. The taking of houses, in key

positions, interested them greatly. The Sidney Street episode in London, where one man, with a gun, held out against a regiment of soldiers and the then Mr. Churchill, had set a new example. These Russians were revolutionaries, and were not pronounced Communists, at the time.

Another experience - and, again, I cannot fix the date - was the expulsion of Count Plunkett from the Royal Dublin Society. The motion was moved by a lawyer, afterwards made a judge, I think, in Belfast. It was opposed, in an able speech, by Father Tom Nolan, S.J., brother of Pierce Nolan of Browne & Nolan's. I was teller for Count Plunkett in the concert hall of the R.D.S. Twenty years later, as Fianna Fáil Chief Whip, I was teller in the same hall, converted into Dáil Éireann (Chamber of Deputies). Plunkett was expelled, and I resigned membership.

Again, another incident. I attacked certain firms for dismissing workers who, as Volunteers, had been out in Easter Week. One firm took an action against me, for libel, owing to loss of trade. I had to settle, as my counsel, Tim Healy and A.M. Sullivan, were against me, as I soon found out. The other firms took no action.

Up to Arthur Griffith's coming out of jail and, indeed, afterwards, I kept in close contact with Rory O'Connor, who was organising, with the Plunkett family, the Liberty Clubs, and using the Irish Volunteers' Dependents' Fund, subsequently amalgamated with the Prisoners' Aid Society, as a cover for very special Republican purposes.

During the Easter Week fighting, a company of soldiers raided No. 22 Eustace Street, where my office, as a solicitor, was. Having smashed the glass in my book-case, they went up to the caretaker, named Mrs. Derrick. They found the family saying the Rosary. They also found a new rifle, which had never been used. Taking Mrs. Derrick's son out to the narrow yard, at the back of the premises, they shot him. The boy had been confused by the conflicting orders about mobilisation, and was advised by a priest to wait at home. Asquith, on his visit to Dublin, visited the place, and I stood about twenty yards away, as I had no desire to meet the gentleman.

Then there was Crawford Neill, a gentle soul, whose forbears had been all Presbyterian ministers in Scotland, for several generations. He was engaged to Gipsey Walker, sister of Máire Ní Shuibhalaigh, the first actress to play the part of Caitlín Ní Houlihan, in Yeats' drama. Crawford Neill was writing very fine poetry for 'New Ireland'. He was shot in Liffey Street, going away from Walker's premises. In spite of the hostility of his family, he had become a Catholic.

Just about the time when the various organisations, including the Liberty Clubs, were coming together, to form one organisation, a meeting took place in No. 6 Harcourt Street, and Rory O'Connor told me what happened. Rory argued the case for the whole national movement declaring itself in favour of a republican policy. Arthur Griffith pressed the case for a less extreme policy, as he had always advocated

the old parliament of kings, lords and commons. The committee decided in favour of the republican policy. Arthur Griffith was very upset, and very angry. It was late in the evening, and it must have been early in the year, 1917, because it was turning dark, but, at that point, the door burst open, and a woman fell into the room, dead. She, apparently, had died of cold and starvation. My comment to Rory was, "What an omen!" But he would not agree with me.

I think I must have had nearly all the good writers in Ireland, writing for 'New Ireland', at this time. There are lists published, in the files - about seventy. One of the difficulties was the advocating of a republican policy, without getting it cut out by the censors, who were pretty difficult to deal with, especially at the beginning, but we succeeded in doing this, by referring to it in general terms, phrases like, "complete freedom" and national independence". By this time, we had completely finished with any support we gave to John Redmond. Our attacks were directed more at Joe Devlin, John D. Nugent and T.P. O'Connor.

After the Longford election, we were pressing the economic policy, the danger of shortage of food in Ireland, and about finances. I should have mentioned that one of my writers was Clarke Sheridan, who was Finance Commissioner to South Africa. He was one of a small group of young men whom Lord Milner had brought out to South Africa. He, of course, had been pressing, at the earlier period, for financial independence and a settlement, on the basis of Colonial Home Rule. He was drawing on his on his previous administrative experience.

Also, from time to time, large quotations were included, from various sources of world opinion, on their sympathy with Ireland during that period. From the time of the first declarations by Woodrow Wilson, referring to the rights of small nations, 'New Ireland' raised the question of the possibility of appealing to international opinion, and, especially, to support from the United States. Later on, these crystallised in a direct appeal to the Peace Conference. Edward Phelan, who was a Waterford man, and was finally the head of the International Labour Office - he told me, in 1932, in Geneva, that the whole Peace Conference was held up, for a period, by Wilson's attempt to raise the Irish question, that they had come to an impasse on the issue, that the big French Labour leader, Albert Tomas, turned to the question of the organisation of the International Labour Organisation, and that it was created then, of which Edward Phelan became secretary.

As time went on, Jack Morrow supplied the paper with very effective cartoons.

The next great election was, of course, in Clare, after de Valera and the other prisoners were released from jail. Larry Ginnell, M.P., had been arrested early on, in connection with some visits he had paid to Frongoch, but was released. He took an active part in the Clare election.

Larry Ginnell was a man of great ardour and very active-minded, and, as an example of his extreme activity, I might mention a little occurrence, when I was sharing a room with him in the Old Ground Hotel in Ennis, at the Clare election. I awoke at five

o'clock in the morning, to a rhythmic sound, like brushing, and I saw a figure, in a long white garment, and this was Mr. Ginnell, polishing his tall hat!

I had considerable experience of Larry Ginnell, much later on, when he was my colleague in Buenos Aires. He was then in very delicate health, and would break down, sometimes, in the office, when we would send him away for a rest, and he would come back, after a few days, with his speech written out, in beautiful shorthand.

Another experience I had of Larry Ginnell was when we were invited to a lunch by the Duggan family, at the Jockey Club, which was the last word in Argentine magnificence. Larry Ginnell sat at the top of the table, looking like a statue, carved in ivory, and he neither smoked nor drank. He certainly lent prestige to the Irish Delegation.

According as the British politicians, and especially Lloyd George, had disappointed the Irish, and declared that partition was to be made permanent, or only to be changed by the consent of the people in the Six-Counties, 'New Ireland' and, of course, public opinion, generally, became more confirmed in their movement towards complete independence. The next British move was the establishment of what was called the Horace Plunkett Convention, which 'New Ireland' was severely critical of, but took up the attitude of seeing whether anything was to come out of it, or not. In due course, George Russell("AE") resigned from it, and George told me that Lloyd George had intervened, at some stage, in order to prevent the Six-Counties

people and our own from coming together, on the issue of financial independence and, especially, the control of customs and excise.

The question of conscription had been looming in the background for quite a long time, and, after the Clare election, it became very acute. In the whole of Ireland, bishops, clergy, the national movements and the people became more united than ever.

I took an active part, also, in the election in Kilkenny, where Liam Cosgrave was elected.

The next election to take place was in South Armagh, where I also took an active part. This was the first defeat of Sinn Féin.

The Waterford election took place on 22nd March, 1918. This was a very hotly contested election, because John Redmond had died, and his son, Willie, was the candidate. It had been John Redmond's since, as a great supporter of Parnell, he had won previous elections. His chief supporters were the cattle men and pig dealers of Ballybricken. I travelled to Waterford with Larry Ginnell, and, at the station, we were met by a company of Volunteers who insisted on protecting us, over to the Metropole Hotel. Ginnell resented very much the necessity for having to be protected at all, by anybody, but, as time went on, we realised the danger of the situation. For instance, a canvass took place in the stronghold of the Redmondites in Ballybricken, and Alice Milligan got surrounded by the women of Ballybricken, and had to be extricated by Bob Barton and others.

Some of us went down to address the workers, in what was then called the creamery, near the de la Salle College, and, coming back from the meeting, which had been pretty stormy, a large brick whistled between the heads of Darrell Figgis and myself. My comment on it, afterwards, was, "It's not a creamery, but a screamery!"

Subsequently, I left Waterford, with Larry Ginnell again, and, as we got to Kilkenny station, he was arrested for the speeches he had made. I questioned the police as to whether they had a warrant for arrest, and Larry Ginnell took up the issue, and made it very hot for the policemen. But he was taken off to jail.

The next election took place in Cavan, where Arthur Griffith was the candidate. During the election, both he and I had occasion to go back to Dublin. I think it must have been for the next issue of our journals. Eamon Duggan was with us, at the time, in the train. We were discussing the latest order issued under the Defence of the Realm Act. It was to the effect that people could be arrested, who were suspected that they were about to commit acts of an illegal nature. I pointed out that Arthur Griffith himself would probably be arrested under it, and, soon afterwards, he was.

At that time, also, de Valera was arrested. It was at the period of the scare about the German plot.

On June 29th, 1918, 'New Ireland' commented on the big victory of Sinn Féin in Cavan, and summarised

the British Government's activities, the threat of conscription, the German plot, martial law, coercion, arrests, deportation of leaders, sentences of penal servitude and hard labour by special crimes courts and courts martial, and further intrigues to split Sinn Féin on the republican issue. All compromise was now out of the question, for the movement, and this is fully expressed in 'New Ireland', and the claim for complete freedom and the republic.

Frank Gallagher was now a constant writer on my staff. He had come to me from Cork, recommended by Alfred O'Rahilly, and remained, continually writing, until he was taken over, with Erskine Childers, much later on, to run 'The Bulletin', when there had been a suppression of most of the national papers.

Viewing the change of opinion, in which 'New Ireland' took a very active part, from 1916, the picture presents a drama of increasing intensity. At first, we could not openly advocate force, but we defended the action of the Volunteers, and used the coming Peace Conference as a means of advocating the republican demand. At this time, the Allies were being hard-pressed for man power, and a further attempt was made to recruit Irishmen to the British army. In 'New Ireland', the literary activities continued, and Alice Stopford Green and many others were carrying on a vigorous campaign for Irish traditions and Gaelic culture.

W.B. Yeats had proposed to me the setting up of a small committee, to have provocative lectures in the Abbey Theatre. I agreed, and Joe Flood,

subsequently District Justice, L.P. Byrne and Professor George O'Brien joined the committee. Subsequently, we had debates, one, on January 18th, being a debate between Stephen Gwynn and P.S. O'Hegarty, on the subject, if I remember rightly, of appealing to the Peace Conference. Campbell, the poet, commented, in 'New Ireland', on the way in which P.S. O'Hegarty defeated Stephen Gwynn in the argument.

There were two other debates, in which G.K. Chesterton and Bernard Shaw took part. They tried to convince us as to the merits of the war, and to operate a kind of recruiting campaign. As I had a certain responsibility, having been on the committee, I felt it necessary to attend and take part in the discussion. Cruise O'Brien had been chairman for the first meeting, and Horace Plunkett, for the next one. When I quoted Connolly, Horace Plunkett tried to stop me, but Bernard Shaw, being a socialist, prevented him. At the next meeting, I attempted to controvert Shaw, by quoting the famous secret treaties which had been revealed by Bullitt, the American, who was one of the secretaries to Colonel House at the Peace Conference. These treaties had been divulged, I think, by the Russian revolutionaries, and the purport of them was to place the Balkan States and the Near East under imperial "spheres of influence". Shaw's only answer was that I must be one of those young men who read newspapers - whatever he meant by that!

On the 29th and 30th October, 1918, I attended the Sinn Féin Árd Fheis, and, commenting on it, in the

notes of 'New Ireland', I wrote:-

" ... In one fell swoop, the whole Executive of Sinn Féin had been deported and imprisoned, yet the organisation of the Irish Republican Movement remains intact and full of vigour. Over six hundred men and women have been arrested and imprisoned, yet the spirit of the movement remains as strong in morale, and more set in determination to achieve its ideals, than at the very start. That is the outstanding feature of the event, and the full realisation of that supplies the key to future political possibilities.

THE LONG VIEW.

The critics who say that Sinn Fein, in relying entirely on the Peace Conference, is really chasing a rainbow, are, as usual, wrong. No party or nation can put all its eggs in one basket, and Sinn Fein does not claim representation at the Peace Congress as the last resort of a party which has exhausted all the other means at its disposal. Sinn Fein has always advocated going to the Peace Congress as the concrete application of the general principle that Ireland as a nation, equal in status to any nation, is in duty bound to take her place in all international affairs, and to have her rights recognised by all other nations. Sinn Féin goes back as of right to the methods of all the great Irish efforts towards freedom. It is only in the most modern times that the John Dillons and T.P. O'Connors have repudiated international action which was relied on by

"great Irishmen like Sean O'Neill and Wolfe Tone. As time goes by, new situations will suggest new opportunities for the application of the principles of Sinn Féin, but one method will never be adopted, namely, the servile beseeching of England at Westminster. It is not well that Sinn Fein should bank all its hopes on the Peace Congress, because a <u>single</u> opportunity in a political struggle must not be held out as the one hope to the people of Ireland. Irish statesmen must be discreet as well as daring, and the Irish people must have, as well as courage, that fortitude which is ready for disappointment at any particular point in the rough road to freedom. The claim of Sinn Fein is that by an intense adherence to the first principles of nationalism at every new situation, new opportunities arise for their application. Sinn Fein, whilst using every means to achieve independence, finally relies upon action in Ireland. For the moment, the fight against conscription absorbed the energies of the organised forces of Irish nationalism, but with the swift change in world politics - changes which <u>do not at all remove the menace of conscription</u> - new plans for agitation arise in Ireland. The General Election supplies the next opportunity, but only after that the real activity will begin. Having said so much, we do not wish to underestimate the importance of using the Peace settlement situation for the freeing of Ireland. We have advocated for a

"long time the necessity of throwing the whole energy of the nation into that effort; but we must be steady in our outlook, realising the difficulties, indulging neither in unrestrained optimism or discouraging pessimism, and, above all, Sinn Fein must be resourceful, always preparing a new move before the present actual situation is even exhausted of its full possibilities. A turn in the wheel of fortune has already brought two empires smashing into fragments. The people can afford to be steady and watchful. Time is on their side, and what the future has in store is not the creation of new empires nor the increase of the imperial domination which remains."

Immediately after the armistice on November 11th, 1918 - in fact, on November 14th - the British Parliament dissolved, and the election declared for December 14th. This election was called Lloyd George's "khaki" election. I was asked to stand for a constituency in Tyrone, and, also, to stand for Rathmines, Dublin. I stood only for Rathmines. I was more concerned with carrying on the work of 'New Ireland', and I felt I could do more at the centre of things, though the chances in Rathmines were very much against us.

'New Ireland' concentrated on advocating the Republic, and with high ideals for Ireland taking part in establishing national harmony and an end of the struggle with England. In the issue of December 7th, I published my election address.

Although our people worked with great devotion, I was defeated in the Rathmines election. Sir Maurice Dockrell got, roughly, over seven thousand votes, I got five thousand, and Mr. Moonan of the Irish Party, about two thousand. Willie Norman had been my legal agent, and Ernest Proud gave me great help. Messrs. Mackey and Doyle were amongst my chief workers in the Rathmines area, and in Dundrum, Alex Cullen. Tim Healy spoke at my meeting in the Rathmines Town Hall, and tried to advocate going back to Westminster, but he was well answered. John O'Byrne (subsequently Supreme Court Judge) and Colm O'Loughlin also spoke.

Going back to November 11th, an episode, regarding Pádraig Ó Conaire, occurred, which I should mention. For quite a long time, I had been publishing his stories, which became so famous afterwards. On November 11th, Chrissie Doyle, who had been a helper in the movement and especially in the elections in Rathmines, came to me, several times during the day, to report progress as to Pádraig Ó Conaire's fights with soldiers in several pubs.

I also published, continuously, T.F. O'Rahilly's 'Dánta Grádha', which became a classic when published in book form.

The first meeting of Dáil Éireann took place on January 21st, 1919, when the declaration of Easter Week, 1916, was adopted, and the Republic established. The week before, I had promised to comment on this event, but the censor cut out everything, and I had no direct reference to it, the following week.

Perhaps, at this point, I should say something about the censorship, generally. Lord Decies was the head, and Captain Richard Herbert Shaw, his assistant. Frank Gallagher could tell a good deal about his contact with them. The conduct of the censorship was very interesting, in many ways. At first, it was very strict, but, as time went on, as they were both Irishmen, the history of the period and the various articles in the paper seemed to have influenced them. It was always difficult to anticipate where the blue pencil would cut. When Father Paddy Browne, who is now Monsignor and President of University College, Galway, contributed a fine poem on Seán MacDermott, Captain Shaw hesitated, and then allowed it to be published, saying that it would be a pity to exclude such a good poem! I told George Russell ("AE") about this, and, later, he told the editor of the 'London Times', and, subsequently, Shaw got a position on the staff of the 'Times'.

On the other hand, on several occasions, the notes and articles were severely cut. Once, the first paragraph in the notes of the week began with the word, "Secondly". Mr. Roger Sweetman came up from Wicklow specially, to know what was "firstly".

Lord Decies complained to me, one time, that I had published a series of articles, attacking England and advocating Irish activity in European affairs, and said that he had got a strong reprimand from London, on account of them. They were, in fact, a reprint of the writings of Roger Casement, but I had left out his name, to get by the censor.

Jack Morrow had got away with his several corrosive cartoons, but, on more than one occasion, the space, where I used to put his cartoon, was filled with the words, "Cut by the censor". Later on, he was arrested, and kept for several weeks in jail, without trial. Finally, he was sentenced to a period of imprisonment, but he started the cartoons again when he came out of jail.

Soon after the declaration of the Republic by Dáil Éireann, the censors were changed. Indeed, I think the Republican propaganda had been too seductive. It must have been a year, or so, later that Lord Decies asked me to meet him in a quiet place, at a time when Lloyd George was putting out feelers in all grades of Irish life. We met in Bewley's of Westmoreland Street, and he asked me what solution did I think would be accepted. I said we would be very friendly with England, if we got the Republic. His next remark was unexpected. He said, "I don't object to the Republic. You know, some of the boys around my place nailed a Republican flag to one of my trees, and I took no notice!" Once, during the censorship, he had commented on the week's issue, and said that I was as mild as a turtle dove. I think he was disappointed, and I was ashamed, but our policy, generally, was to mix the condiments and use honey, as well as pepper and vinegar. The fact was that we always aimed at maintaining a level attitude of reasoning, in order to influence a large body of moderate opinion.

One of the most interesting effects of the censorship was that it forced writers to emphasise

our traditions and to fill in the content, or substance, of freedom and real nationality. For a long time, the word, "republic" was banned, and that prevented it from becoming a cliché. The turning from Westminster and from British politics, and the looking to international influences enlarged the outlook of a generation, grown used to a provincial and West-British attitude, and freed us from the domination of an overwhelming British atmosphere. We grew up to the vision of a nation, with the dignity, equality and sovereignty of any of the small European nations.

'New Ireland' had a continuous series of quotations from world opinion, but, at the same time, the journal emphasised a constructive internal policy, relying on ourselves, and pointing to the meaning of the words, "Sinn Féin". President Woodrow Wilson, at this period, had been making magnificent statements on the principles of international freedom and justice, upon which 'New Ireland' was making a running commentary. In fact, the whole question of Ireland's influence in the United States and throughout the world was very fully discussed by many writers, in the succeeding months. Some writers were discouraged, and criticized this policy, but, generally, the case stated was that, whilst Ireland had to rely upon itself, ultimately, every possible means and every outside influence should be worked on, as much as possible. I have already referred to Edward Phelan's statement to me about the Peace Conference being held up by the Irish claim. The man who brought about the establishment of the International Labour Organisation was Albert Tomas, the great French leader.

I should mention here that, in my subsequent issue of 'New Ireland', a brief interview with Bullitt was published, in which Bullitt formed the opinion that President Wilson really did not press his weight in favour of Ireland, but that he was in a political difficulty, on account of the very prominent American politicians, including Walsh and Dunne, who had gone on a delegation to Paris and had to be received by Wilson.

Incidentally, I should mention that I had published James Connolly's last speech, at his trial, on January 11th, 1919. In the same issue, the notes contain the following remarks:-

> "If President Wilson's appeals are impossible, nothing but anarchy among nations and in life is possible, and all culture and human dignity become impossible in Europe. If Wilson fails, he, as he himself has always said, will be the greatest failure in history."

It is interesting to note that, on January 18th, 1919, a poem appeared in the paper, signed by Edmond B. Fitzgerald of Belfast, "To E. de V.", and the content of it indicates that, by this time, de Valera's reputation was accepted as a great national leader.

It is interesting to note, too, that, at this time, the great missionary movement has started from Maynooth, with the establishment of the China Missions, and 'New Ireland' carried, very often, full-page advertisements. Apparently, the drive by them, on international lines, coincided with this movement.

On March 14th, 1919, we published a statement by Cardinal Mercier on Ireland:-

> "It is inconceivable that Ireland's right to self-determination and nationhood should not be recognised by the free nations of the world at the Peace Conference. Your country, most faithful and venerable daughter of the Church, deserves justice from all mankind, and must surely receive it. The Irish people are the oldest and purest nationality in Europe. Their noble adherence to the faith and nationality, the most glorious record in history!"

This statement is particularly significant, coming from a great Belgian, whom we were supposed to have let down during the war.

There were similar statements from people like Henri de Brouressa who, at that time, was a great French-Canadian leader, and had fought through the war.

The first big clash at arms, in which Dan Breen had taken part at Soloheadbeg, occurred on the same day as the declaration of the Republic by Dáil Éireann. Comment occurs, as far as it was allowed by the censor, from time to time, especially in reference to Hogan, who had been rescued at Knocklong.

I feel that the account I am giving is a mere outline of what should be a much more ample statement of the period. There was a transition going on,

first of all, from 1916 to 1919. My difficulty is to keep the account to the personal account, and to what is reflected in the columns of 'New Ireland' and, subsequently, 'Old Ireland'.

From January 21st, 1919, with the establishment of the Republic and the fight at Soloheadbeg, the die was cast for an uncompromising attitude on the Republican policy. I cannot do justice to the writers and to the articles in 'New Ireland', in a brief account. To me, now, they make the most interesting reading, and could be read from day to day, giving a most lively reflection of opinion in that period.

The phases of development, from 1916 on, may be summarised, firstly, as the frustration of the Home Rule movement; secondly, the attempt to force conscription, the recruiting campaign, the series of arrests and, sometimes, of releases, and the deaths of some of our Volunteer prisoners; and, thirdly, the end of the World War, the consolidation of the national movements into Sinn Féin - the Anti-Partition League, the Liberty Clubs of Rory O'Connor, Count Plunkett and Cathal Brugha - and the election of the First Dáil; then followed the drama around Woodrow Wilson and the Peace Conference. All these are featured in the articles of 'New Ireland'. As well as a programme of internal construction, the paper also advocated the advance of the Irish language, the development of co-operation in industry and agriculture, a fairly left-wing social approach to the problems of housing and poverty, of capitalism and of the British

influences, operating on some of our higher clergy, especially.

Later on, when the people became disillusioned about the principles of the Allies, in 'New Ireland' the policy became more and more left-wing, and the outrages committed on the Russians got great publicity.

We also gave great attention to Belfast and the Six-Counties, and to Labour activities. Reviews and poetry were very much in evidence, but grew rather less and less, as the struggle grew more intense.

The First Dáil had authorised the First National Loan of £250,000, but the prospectus was not published, because it was proscribed. Michael Collins asked me to publish it. Apparently, the Irish Republican Brotherhood, for their own reasons, left the publication to us, and not to the 'Irish World' or 'Saoghail Gael', which was directly under their influence. So, came about the suppression of 'New Ireland'.

After the issue of the 20th September, 1919, I had to go to Glasgow, to publish 'Old Ireland' instead of 'New Ireland'. In the first issue, I stated the policy which covered the ground of the Republican movement, at the time.

From this on, various efforts were made, which we considered would undermine the Republican movement. There had been a Centre Party started by Captain Stephen Gwynn, and, later on, another attempt was made, which was much more dangerous to the movement. It was about this period that W.B. Yeats was living opposite me, in Dundrum. At the moment, I cannot fix the exact

date. We were very friendly, at this time, and he gave me an autographed copy of his "Swans Of Coole". He then made a suggestion to me, which I always regarded as being genuine and well-intentioned. He told me that, if I would turn the policy of the paper to a "moderate, but passionate advocacy of Dominion Home Rule", Lord Wimburne would be prepared to subsidise it, to the amount of £2,000. It sounded very plausible, and I believe that Yeats' interest was an honest one, and that he did not realise the dangers and pitfalls involved. I refused the offer because, however interesting such an offer might have been, two years before, once the Republic had been established and the policy finally determined, any other policy would have confused the people and split the movement.

With the starting of the 'Irish Statesman', which, I think, was merged with the 'Irish Homestead', the controversy on this issue was fully debated, and very closely argued by some of my writers, especially Frank Gallagher. At that stage, Erskine Childers appears, for the first time. With that extraordinary fairness of mind which he had, he, first of all, suggested that there were certain aspects of the case which deserved consideration, but he immediately made it perfectly clear that he was standing by the Republican movement.

With my moving to Glasgow, we had the sympathetic support of the left-wing Labour movement, and our printers were the "Socialist Labour Press" of 50 Renfrew Street, Glasgow. We then had the advantage of getting information which was not in the daily press,

as to the way in which the British were carrying on warfare against Russia; and, throughout the columns, one realises the extraordinary hostility to Russia.

With regard to the Peace Conference, a great deal of the conflict is reflected in the columns of the paper. We kept pointing out that, while we praised these great statements made by Woodrow Wilson, we never relied upon him, or his personal powers, to establish the principles of justice in Europe, or to insist on self-determination for Ireland. The fact that both Houses of Congress had passed a resolution, by an overwhelming majority, in favour of self-determination for Ireland, is commented on. There is a fairly full account of the three Americans who came, Walsh, Dunne and Ryan, of their activities in Ireland, and of their activities, especially, in Paris, at the time of the Peace Conference.

It was about this time that Mr. de Valera went to America to start his great campaign, and to try, as far as the communications would allow, to correct the impressions of the public press. A controversy arose, at that time, over what were called the Cuban proposals. The 'Freeman's Journal' had tried to commit de Valera to a view that Ireland would allow itself to come under the domination of America, but we succeeded in getting a complete statement of Mr. de Valera's, which put the matter right.

I have a few stories about my contacts with Michael Collins, but, at the moment, I cannot put dates on them. I remember meeting him at the foot of Grafton Street, immediately after the break of Russia

with the Allies, at the beginning of the revolution, when we rejoiced together.

The next time, I think it was in connection with information which I had received from a man who worked on the London-Irish mail, and he told me exactly how the van, with the mail, would leave Westland Row station, and go around to the right, down to the sorting office in Pearse Street. He told me exactly how the lever was worked, which opened the mail van, and how the mail could be disposed of, by the I.R.A. About a fortnight afterwards, I took up the newspaper, and found a perfectly accurate account of the occurrence, according to the information which had been given, and which had been carried out, in detail.

On more than one occasion, John Burke, Solicitor, handed me sums of money, in gold, which I passed on to the Dáil Loan office. Michael Collins and I had a talk about the administration of the Land Acts. He wanted to get certain information, which showed that he had great administrative capacity. As well as doing this type of work, he was also helping to carry on the war, as Director of Intelligence.

During the election in Rathmines, I had come to make friends with Miss Delahunty, an elderly lady, in very delicate health, suffering from heart trouble. She sent for me, and told me that a girl had come to her, who was working in Dublin Castle. This girl was able to do her typing and, at the same time, listen to the conversation amongst the generals in the room. Miss Delahunty wanted me to meet her, and I made an appointment to meet her, in a taxi, outside Donnybrook

church. My taximan was a reliable one, from Dundrum. I think his name was Reilly. When we met, we took a drive around the deserted country roads, during which this girl, whose name I forget, told me that she had overheard conversations, and that these generals had decided to hang Kevin Barry. This would have been about a month, or so, before the event took place. I believe that Michael Collins took certain action in the matter, which had the effect, I heard afterwards, of hunting one of the generals out of Ireland.

The only other outstanding instance of interest I had with Michael Collins was during the Treaty debates, when Seán Hales, Collins and myself were talking, at the door of the Hall, where the debate was going on. Hales was pleading with him to change over, not to back the Free State Treaty. He said that, of course, the representatives who had been sent abroad, like myself, had all taken the Republican side. He also said that we did not realise what it was, to meet a powerful and angry man, like Birkenhead, and he blurted out that he should never have been sent to London.

When Dick McKee, Peadar Clancy and Conor Clune were killed in Dublin Castle, in October or November, 1920, I happened to be in jail. Some time previously, I had been instructed by Joe McGrath, who was Minister for Local Government, I think, to go down to Clogheen, to adjust differences that had arisen in the Urban Council in that area. As soon as I entered the gates of the building where the conference was to

take place - I think it was the workhouse - I realised that I was surrounded by British military, but I still went into the building, and met the people there. Then I was surrounded, and closely question. I happened to have some printed papers belonging to the Local Government Board, and I paraded myself as being mixed up with them. I was getting on fine until they searched my back pocket, in which they found a note I had written, comparing the struggle in Ireland with Joan of Arc. So, they arrested me, and took me to the barracks in Clogheen. The two officers were lieutenants. One was Irish, and the other was English. I forget the Irishman's name, but I remember that Smith was the name of the Englishman. Indeed, they were both subsequently killed in the scrap.

They treated me very well. They did not put me into the little guardroom there, because, they told me, there was a drunken Orangeman in in, and they put me in a little room which, they told me, had been occupied by Major Duggan, an Irish Argentine, who was absent, doing some sort of an army course. I think, from what I heard afterwards in the Argentine, that he had been thoroughly fed-up, fighting against the Irish. He was one of the famous Duggans in Buenos Aires. That evening, we had a friendly conversation, in which Smith said to me, "I don't mind fighting you fellows, but I don't like these spies who gave you away!" And he told me who it was. I reported this, subsequently, to Rory O'Connor, and that spy's house was duly burned down.

Next morning, I was offered a horse to ride. As I could not ride, they had to take me to Cahir barracks, in an open trap, and there I was put into the guardroom,with a number of soldier prisoners, who took pity on me and got me a cold, poached egg from the canteen, and told me that they were in process of knocking down the wall, to escape. I told them not to tell me anything about it, as I did not want to get involved, or involve them, in any way.

I was then moved to a cell in the prison. I was interviewed each day by an officer, who discussed politely the issue at stake in the fight. As the argument went on, I used to notice the sergeant, who accompanied the officer, would begin to grin, and I felt that I had better not press the officer too hard. I complained that, if I were an ordinary criminal in Mountjoy, there would be, at least, a bible in the room to read, and they sent me down a copy of Compton McKenzie's "Vanity Market". The regiment were the Gunners, and they had a great sense of the prestige of their regiment. The gaoler, who was friendly, came to me one day, and, with a look of horror on his face, said, "The Black and Tans have come to Clonmel!" The professional soldiers hated the Black and Tans.

In my cell, there was just a "biscuit" mat on the floor, and, at the foot, a hole where I had to keep the rats from coming up. There was no burner on the gas jet, and there was a little window looking out on the gallery, but the glass was broken. My gaoler told me that the man in the next cell to me was going to be tried for his life, because of a despatch which

they had captured. My cell was the second last cell, and the next one was at an angle to mine. Apparently, the glass in his little window was also broken, and, so, I was able to speak to him. The gaoler announced, along the whole gallery, that we could write out, especially if we wanted anything in the way of washing. As soon as I heard the gaol door bang, and I knew the little gallery was empty, I spoke in to my neighbour, whose name, unfortunately, I forget at the moment. I did not tell him that he was going to be tried for his life, because I thought it might upset him too much, but I warned him that, if he was writing out for anything, he should disguise his handwriting. Next day, I overheard a conversation, which was a result of this. An officer went into my neighbour's cell, cross-examined him closely, and his answers were extremely harmless. As a result, he was never tried. Subsequently, when he did get out of gaol, I believe he went to America.

In the meantime, my wife and my sister tackled General Wandless O'Gowan, who lived in Leeson Park. I will tell you how he came into the picture, afterwards. Also, my brother, who had originally been in the Indian army and had been badly wounded in the Mesopotamia campaign in Kut-el-Amara, but, when he came home, he became an active Sinn Féiner - just outside New Ross, where he and his family were living. He was very friendly with a man, named Bede, who started making representations, through Newfoundland influence, with the result that I was let out of jail.

The way in which I came in touch with General Wandless O'Gowan is interesting. Miss Lollie Yeats, the sister of W.B., had, about a month or so before my arrest, come to me, saying that this General wished to meet me. It was another of the feelers, being put out by Lloyd George, at that time, in an attempt to undermine, by personal contacts, the Republican movement. I invited Colonel Moore to the house in Dundrum, and my brother, Ignatius, who had been in the Indian army. The Colonel could not turn up, but my brother did. We were asked by O'Gowan the usual question, about how far we would compromise, and we told him that we would be delighted to be friendly with the English, if we got the Irish Republic.

It is well to note here that the Republic was carrying out various departmental activities of government, at that time, and that I had been instructed to settle a strike at Lafayette's, the photographers, O'Connell Bridge, subsequently, one at Prost's barber's shop, and, later, one at Hafner's pork butcher's shop, at St. George's Ay. We succeeded in settling all these strikes. In the case of Mr. Prost, he told me that he was in the habit of shaving Lord French, and I asked him why did he not cut his throat! We settled the pork butcher's strike by an examination. Any apprentice, who was claimed to be a fully fledged pork butcher, should have to kill a pig.

We followed closely the gradual break between the Americans and the British on the Peace Treaty, and, subsequently, on the demands made by the British, who, at that time, were in financial difficulties, to raise a loan in America.

The censorship office was abolished on the 6th September, 1919. On the 20th September, I published the Dáil Éireann Loan prospectus, and, as I had, no longer, the control of censorship to cut things out, so, my paper was suppressed on that date. I went to Glasgow, and started publishing 'Old Ireland' on the 18th October, 1919. I continued there until the 1st February, 1920. It was the Socialist Press, who published my paper for me. It was under the control of Tom Johnson, who was, subsequently, a British Minister in the Labour Government. I brought the journal back to Dublin, and, from the 7th February until the 6th March, 1920, I published with Cahill. It was again suppressed, because the Chief Secretary, who, I think, at the time, was Hamar Greenwood, had said that, owing to an article in the paper, he had always to travel in an armoured car.

So, I went to Manchester, and published the paper with the National Labour Press, starting on the 13th March, 1920. I think the proprietor's name was Wakeley. He stood by me from that on, and, indeed, afterwards, in 1923 and 1924.

In the issue of October 9th, 1920, 'Old Ireland' published the official report of the results of the First Dáil Loan, amounting to £271,849.1.0., signed by Michael Collins.

I had to dodge between Manchester and Dublin, and used to depend on Paddy Brennan, who was in command of Dundrum Volunteers, to warn me, from time to time. I generally had to come across the fields and into the back garden, to get to the house in Dundrum. On one

occasion, I received a warning, and had to get over the back wall, into Mr. Ryan's house, next door.

During the hunger-strike of Terence MacSwiney, I was sent, to speak at meetings in Wigan and Durham, Leeds, Newcastle and Halifax. Mr. McMahon of Manchester helped me a great deal, at that period.

The columns of 'Old Ireland' reflect the effect of the Terence MacSwiney strike, his death, and that of Fitzgerald, and the hanging of Kevin Barry. Not demoralisation, but high exaltation in the struggle, where the spiritual influences emerge, and where a deep religious feeling is joined to the national spirit of freedom, I think it marked a new joining of religion and nationality, which did not exist before. The assertion of the principle of nationality, as a world-wide principle, to defeat imperialism by force! Subsequent world history proves what a part Ireland played, in establishing, as a world force, the now recognised ethic of national right.

In Manchester, Seamus Barrett was a great help, especially in despatching the papers. He was advanced in years, at the time, but, even then, I had almost to run, to keep up with him in the streets. As a very young child, he had met Stephens, the great Fenian leader. He had been in jail for a short time. He had a shop, where he sold second-hand clothes, but had a very select clientele, because he kept exceptionally good stuff. When he had revolvers and ammunition, he generally put them into big boots, which he had for sale, immediately outside the shop door, so that, when

he was raided, nothing was ever got. He was imprisoned for some time.

I was told that, when he was coming to the end of his sufferings, Terence MacSwiney had a copy of 'Old Ireland' by him.

Seán Ó hUadhaigh became my partner in late 1914, or early 1915. Possibly, the work done by him would not be adverted to, in the Bureau of Military History. Our time together was typical of ordinary people, carrying on their trade or business, not soldiers, but helping in a movement. I had my office in No. 22 Eustace Street, at that time. Ernest Proud joined the firm, at a much later stage.

Seán Ó hUadhaigh had been a member of the Irish Republican Brotherhood, at a very early period, and had been on a committee, with Tom Clarke, in connection with the Wolfe Tone memorial, years before. Seán dropped out of the I.R.B., and concentrated on the language movement and on his profession, to support his family. He was very active in the Gaelic League, and was the prime mover in the then Kingstown Urban Council, in getting the name of the town changed to that of Dún Laoghaire. Seán had changed his name, by deed poll, according to law, from Woods to Ó hUadhaigh. Later on, we acted, as solicitors, defending some of the prisoners, and Con Moloney of Tipperary got us to act for some of those involved in the Silvermines area. That was in 1919, soon after Soloheadbeg.

Just before McKee, Clancy and Clune were killed in Dublin Castle, on November 22nd, 1920, I had been

arrested in Clogheen, County Tipperary, and was in jail in Cahir Barracks. I wrote from jail to Seán Ó hUadhaigh, to ask him to attend to certain urgent matters, and I was foolish enough to make a joke, for which we paid heavily. I changed that famous remark of Samuel Johnson, "Genius is the infinite capacity for taking pains", to "Genius is the infinite capacity for making other people take pains!" As a result, our office files and correspondence were wrecked and scattered, in complete chaos. Apparently, the military took a poor view of my joke.

Seán Ó hUadhaigh was later arrested, and I wrote to the military authorities, protesting at their calling him "Woods", but they took no notice. I wrote again, rebuking them for disregarding their own law, because Seán had changed his name by deed poll. He was released, after some time, but was again arrested, in 1921, and used as a hostage in the lorries by the Black and Tans, whenever an ambush was expected in the city.

Besides having floated the company for the aspirin factory, which was subsequently turned into a munition factory, I also, in defiance of the Defence of the Realm Act, floated the "Film Company of Ireland". Stephen O'Mara and Fitzgibbon of Roscommon were the first directors. It was on the advice of my brother, Edward$, who was a lawyer, that I was able to defy the Defence of the Realm Act, as orders under it could not set aside the Companies Act. That company did produce some documentaries of the Easter Week Rising, which, I think, are still in existence.

Ernest Proud was originally of Unionist stock, and it was only after the 1916 Rising that he came to see the merit of the Republican movement. I owed a great deal to my discussions with him and Rory O'Connor, every day at lunch time, in Bewley's of Westmoreland Street, for what I wrote in "The Notes of the Week", in 'New Ireland', from 1916 until 1920. This was a time when public opinion was very confused and in a very transient condition. Many Unionists were prepared to accept Home Rule, and moderate national opinion, which represented the majority of people - and included the former supporters of Redmond - were becoming strongly Republican.

Rory O'Connor was the son of Mr. O'Connor, who was Solicitor to the Land Commission. He was at Clongowes with me, as a small boy. Afterwards, he became a civil engineer, and took a very active part in the Young Ireland Branch of the United Irish League. We were always in opposition to the Hibernian influence and to John D. Nugent, and we held the balance of power, at the time, between Lorcan Sherlock's group and John D. Nugent's group.

The Committee of the Young Ireland Branch, at that time, had on it, Sheehy Skeffington, Cruise O'Brien, Tom Dillon, subsequently Professor in Galway and brother-in-law of Joe Plunkett, and Fred Ryan, who was subsequently editor of 'Egypt', under Wilfred Blunt. Rory O'Connor's outstanding quality was a capacity for concentrating on the most important issue, and he influenced the Committee so much that Cruise O'Brien and Skeffington were put up, to speak at the

All-Ireland Convention of the United Irish League, which turned down the Councils Bill, about 1907. Rory O'Connor's constant effort was to force the Irish Party, at that time, to concentrate on Home Rule, and to subordinate all other minor measures to that issue. That Committee took an active part in preventing the Dublin Corporation from presenting an address to Edward VII, on his visit to Ireland.

Later, Rory O'Connor went to Canada, as an engineer, I think, on the Canadian Pacific Railway, and, when he returned to Ireland in 1914, he had the intention to join the "Allies" and fight in the War, but he very quickly realised what was the situation in Ireland. He came into very close contact with Count Plunkett's family, especially Joe Plunkett, and it was owing to this association that what was to have been an aspirin factory was turned into a munitions factory.

I have already described, in an article in the 'Capuchin Annual', which is referred to, in the chronology, so I need not go over that again. It refers to my getting the secret communication from Rory O'Connor, covering the military plans, before Easter Week, to seize all the leaders and surround all the centres of the Volunteers and national organisations.

Rory O'Connor was wounded, carrying messages from the G.P.O. to the College of Surgeons in Stephen's Green. He was hit by a richochet bullet, at the top of Grafton Street, and carried to Mercer's Hospital. He had used a letter from Augustin Birrell, the Chief Secretary, to his father, on Land Commission business, as a buckshee passport. Hence, he was not arrested. As he was

not in jail from 1916 onwards, I was able to consult with him, constantly, as to the policy of 'New Ireland'. It was to his mind and Ernest Proud's, both of whom were very clear thinkers, that I owed a good deal of what I had been writing. Rory was in close touch with Cathal Brugha, in reorganising the Volunteers,and in forming the Liberty Clubs with Count Plunkett.

Rory was very active in the Volunteers, and told me about helping the escape of Robert Barton from Mountjoy jail, on the night of 16th/17th March, 1919. He said that, at one stage, a dark figure rushed up, and that he was drawing his revolver at this man, until he discovered that it was Michael Collins!

Rory told me of the attempt to shoot Lord French, on 19th December, 1919, when they put a ladder on a cart, and Martin Savage was putting this across the road, at Ashtown, in order to stop the motor cars. It was then that Martin Savage was shot. He helped to plan this action. He told me he had in mind a certain story, in planning the tactic of surprise, namely: a thief, once, in the eighteenth century, I think, walked into a court whilst the judge was sitting, hearing a case; the man went with a ladder, took away the clock, and disappeared, walking off like an ordinary tradesman!

Subsequently, Rory was arrested, taken into Dublin Castle, and tortured, until he fainted, but the military were amazed at his determination, all the time. He remained absolutely silent, and never answered a single question put to him. Eventually, he escaped from jail.

When Rory and his troops were in possession of the Four Courts in 1922, and before the Civil War started, I was working on publicity, with Erskine Childers, in No. 23 Suffolk Street. One morning, I was late coming into the office, because I was getting a tooth out, and, when I came in, Eamon Donnelly said that I had missed the most beautiful sight of my life, because a gorgeous girl had come to interview publicity. She came in again, later, and, during her interview with me, all the staff came into the office, by the way, to consult the newspapers! This was Clare Sheridan, who was a cousin of Churchill, and she said that she wanted to see Rory O'Connor. She had an assignment from an American newspaper, to go to whatever part of Europe things were most interesting. She had consulted her cousin, Churchill, and Rudyard Kipling, and they told her to go to Dublin as the place where the most exciting events would occur. I rang up Rory O'Connor, and he said to come along. So I brought Mrs. Sheridan to the Four Courts, and we were brought directly to his office. We sat in front of the desk where Rory was sitting. We sat on the other side, near the 'phone. In the course of the conversation, the telephone rang. This was Mulcahy, calling on him to surrender. His answers so impressed Clare Sheridan, as to his courage and determination, that she referred to it, afterwards, in a book which she wrote about the period. After that, I never saw Rory again.

I had been a member of the Sinn Féin Executive, from some time after the election in 1918, and a member of the County Council. Later, as a member of the Council of County Councils, I was a representative of

the Governing Body of University College, Dublin. I proposed the resolution, giving allegiance to the Republic, by the Council of County Councils.

I think, for the purpose of record, I should refer, especially during the period, 1919, 1920 and 1921, to the contributors who continued, as, at that time, the struggle was at its height. I had contributions from Mrs. Hannah Sheehy Skeffington, from Professor Eamon Curtis of Trinity, the distinguished author of Irish history, and from Captain J.R. White, D.S.O., who came in, one day, to the Arts Club, even before the War was over, to say that he had been allowed to leave the Army, because he had become a pacifist, and might be fraternising with the Germans. He joined up with the Citizen Army group in Liberty Hall, and was a fairly constant contributor to my journal, writing both some good verse, and good articles. Subsequently, he and Forbes Patterson, who also was a contributor, and of the same type as White, both from the North, joined me in Glasgow, where they were trying to create trouble between the workers and the police. Finally, White settled down, to inherit his father's estates in Northern Ireland, and became a Conservative.

We reported the speech of Senator Burke Cochrane in America, who took a very prominent part in pressing President Wilson to raise the Irish question, to demand self-determination for Ireland.

Then there was the Reverend Francis Thomas, who was a favourite student of Professor Dowdell, the distinguished Shakespearian authority in Trinity

College. He was a Church of Ireland minister, in Kerry, and took such a prominent part, as a Republican, that his authorities proposed to remove him. The Volunteers came to him, and said they would keep him, by force of arms, but he told them that his career would be ruined, if they did. So he came to Dublin, and contributed constantly, both under his own name and under the pseudonym, "An Gobadan". He once said to me that the curse of Ireland was Protestantism. He had been in touch with the Caldy Fathers. Subsequently, he got a parish in the Isle of Wight, where he died. His wife and daughter became Catholics, and were received into the Church by Father McNabb, O.P. I was godfather to both of them.

Another contributor of verse was Professor Rudinose Browne of Trinity. Another contributor was Mac Giolla Iosa, who wrote on Scottish nationalism. Eily McGrane, afterwards Mrs. Patrick McCarville, who later was Professor of English Literature in University College, contributed constantly, under the name, "Measadóir". Frank Gallagher, of course, contributed constantly, when he was not in jail, or on hunger-strike, and Count Plunkett. Father H.E.G. Rope, an English priest, contributed articles and poems.

We had several articles on the treatment of Russia, from various writers, showing the outrages that were committed against them by the British and the Allies.

We had many articles on co-operation, and had, even, reference to a speech, made by Mr. de Valera, on co-operation and the Republic. We quoted articles by

Frank Harris, that very distinguished American author.

There was William Hard, a very distinguished writer in the 'New Republic', who was actually in Limerick at the time the Lord Mayor, Michael O'Callaghan, was assassinated by the Black and Tans. I had introduced him to Michael O'Callaghan, some little time before, in Dublin.

A contributor, named "Philinte", wrote poems, from time to time, which were extremely good, especially one on the men of Easter Week. It appeared in the issue of November 29th, 1919. I cannot remember his real name.

An Indian, named P.A. Guta, contributed articles on India. F.R. Higgins, the poet, was a contributor. He was afterwards a Director of the Abbey Theatre. I published all his early work.

Alfred O'Rahilly, who was a Professor of Mathematical Physics in Cork University, and had also his doctorate in Theology and Philosophy, and, subsequently, was President of University College, Cork, contributed, both over his own name, and over the name "Lector", controverting various clergymen who were attacking the Republican movement, especially dealing with charges made by distinguished clerics that Terence MacSwiney had committed suicide.

We quoted the work the Irish delegates in France were doing, and articles from the French press, and reviewed Francis Hackett's "Ireland - A Study In Nationalism". We quoted from 'The Watchword', the

Labour paper, and dealt with the question of slums and housing, and constantly advocated the development of the Trades Union movement in Ireland. We reviewed the productions of "The Film Company" in Ireland.

Aodh de Blacam became a constant contributor, especially on the democratic ideals which were in people's minds, at the time.

Susan Mitchell, too, contributed. She had been a secretary to George Russell ("AE") for years, on the staff of the 'Irish Homestead', and, also her sister. After Easter Week, 1916, Susan Mitchell had come across the city, while the guns were still firing, to warn me that I would be arrested.

We also quoted from the 'Osservatore Romano', urging the British to grant self-determination to Ireland.

Jack Morrow, after his release from prison, continued his effective cartoons. He was a brother of George Morrow, the distinguished cartoonist in 'Punch'. He was not a Catholic, nor his wife, who was Dutch, but, after Frank Gallagher's brother was shot, by accident, in a Volunteer practice, he was so impressed by Frank Gallagher's family that he had his youngest child baptised a Catholic, in Westland Row Church. Stella Solomons was godmother, and I was godfather.

James Carty, who was a young writer then, contributed very effective articles on various national and international subjects.

When 'The Irishman' was suppressed, we gave P.S. Ó Flannagan (the editor) a special page in the paper. And, when 'Saoghal Gaedhil' was suppressed, P.S. O'Hegarty became a continuous contributor.

Andrew Malone, after his illness, was contributing once again. Joe Campbell, the poet, contributed, and, also, his wife, Nancy.

We quoted articles, which had been written at an earlier period, of a very national kind, by Dr. Walter McDonald, Professor in Maynooth, who, later, was opposing the Republican movement. A special article we had, on the "Hazel Switch", by Dr. MacDonald, which, of course, was well-known then, in connection with cattle-driving, which had taken place before the revolution, and in which Laurence Ginnell, Member for Westmeath, had taken a very active part.

Mrs. Dryhurst was also a contributor, from time to time. Her husband, too, visited Dublin, and took an enthusiastic interest in the Republican movement. He was a high authority in the British Museum. Sylvia Lynd was their daughter.

Kevin O'Sheil contributed articles, subsequently Judge in the Land Court, and Erskine Childers. Also, Dr. Connybeare, who was a Lecturer in Cambridge University, and a specialist on Eastern languages. He had worked in the Vatican Library, and in remote places in Russia.

Stepehn McKenna also contributed articles, and carried on, for some time, lessons on Irish. He had been the European correspondent to the New York 'Sun',

I think, at a very high salary. Previous to that, he had fought in the Greek war, where his regiment were posted in the Pass of Thermopylae. He was sent to Russia by the American paper, where he interviewed very distinguished people, including Leo Tolstoy. When John McBride became engaged to Maud Gonne, Stephen McKenna made the remark that he thought that it was a tragedy that such a remarkable woman should get engaged to such a rolling stone. This story was reversed, and repeated to McBride, who challenged Stephen McKenna to fight a duel. Stephen, who was always prepared to oblige anybody, accepted the challenge, and they met in a large room, in the offices of the New York 'Sun'. The weapons were revolvers. Just before they started shooting, Stephen asked McBride what the duel was about, and McBride said that he had been told that Stephen McKenna had said that it was a shame that such an honest man as McBride should marry such a person as Maud Gonne. Stephen said, "Quite the contrary! What I said was, it was a shame that such a turbulent rascal should marry such a splendid woman!" And Seán McBride said, "Shake hands, old man!"

Stephen McKenna became enthusiastic about the Irish language, gave up his position in Paris, with its very big salary, returned to Dublin, and joined the staff of the 'Freeman's Journal', at a very low figure. He studied Irish closely, and became a dyed-in-the-wool Republican. He was an expert in Greek languages, and his translation of Plotinus is now regarded as a great classic. He lost heart when

the Civil War broke out, and brought his wife, who was very ill, to Eastbourne, where she died. He himself died, in poverty, years after.

W.B. Yeats' speech, in connection with a meeting with Pearse, appeared in our paper, much earlier. Immediately after Easter Week, by way of a joke, I said to him that I would tell the British authorities that he, with his Kathleen Ní Houlihan, was responsible for the Rising. Later on, this idea troubled him so much, that he referred to it, in one of his last poems. One might under-estimate that influence of the play, which had an enormous effect, previous to the Rising. It is well to mention that, on different occasions, plays seemed to set off a spark of revolution. For instance, John Galsworthy's play, "Strife", was acted in the Abbey Theatre, just before the great Connolly-Larkin strike, in 1913. There are other instances of plays having enormous effect, in Belgium and elsewhere.

The main topics, during these years, in the paper were, first af all, advocating the Republic, and countering the various attempts of people who tried to start movements, in favour of compromise in Home Rule. There were constant reports on the elections and, later, on the local election, when the Republicans swept the country, on various topics bearing on economic democracy, on housing, on trade unionism and on Russia.

We had correspondence, too, from America, quoting articles by Dr. Moloney, who wrote, afterwards, on Roger Casement, and from well informed articles by Kevin Stroma Durbene. Also, P.F. Little contributed anti-imperialist poems. William Dawson contributed

continuously. He was one of the writers belonging to the Tom Kettle-Arthur Cleary group. Madame McBride, Peadar O'Donnell and "Máire" (Seamus MacGríanna), the distinguished Irish writer, contributed.

We also gave a full report on the very prejudiced trial of Jim Larkin, when he was sent to Sing Sing prison in America.

It is interesting to note that we had a big advertisement from the company in Monaghan, which first exploited the gypsum quarries, and which are now so important.

Professor Dillon, subsequently Professor of Chemistry in Galway, and his wife, who was a sister of Joe Plunkett, also contributed occasionally. From the American press, we quoted from the statement by a violent group of pro-British reactionaries, warning Wilson not to support self-determination for Ireland.

In one issue of 'Old Ireland', I reported on Lloyd George's efforts to use the Catholic Church against us, in the struggle. He invited Dom Gasquet, the very distinguished Benedictine historian, to breakfast, and Dom Gasquet, afterwards, told some of his friends that Lloyd George was deeply interested in the Catholic religion. I pointed out that, already, Lloyd George had been a Unitarian, then a Methodist, and then an Anglican, and that, now, I was sure the Orangemen in Belfast would be interested to know that he was coming so close to Roman Catholicism. In the next issue of 'Old Ireland', my first notes consisted of a protest, because the British authorities had

seized all the copies of 'Old Ireland' that they could lay their hands on.

When I was sent to South Africa, I asked Ernest Proud and P.S. O'Hegarty to carry on the paper for me, which they did. I thought that P.S. O'Hegarty's articles were so vehement that there would be no danger of compromise. Whilst I was returning from South America, he was advocating acceptance of the Treaty!

No brief list of contributors, or of isolated references, can give an idea of the drama, reflected in 'New' and 'Old Ireland'. A moving drama of public opinion, from moderate opinion to complete independence outside the British Empire, the intensity of feeling rising to white heat during the closing months of 1920 and onwards, settling down to an exclusion of any but Irish Republic propaganda. Then, after the Treaty, for a week or two, until I came back from the Argentine, P.S. O'Hegarty backed the Treaty. On my return (January, 1922), I stated the policy, clearly, against the Treaty.

In March, 1921, Bob Brennan sent for me, and said that the Government wished me to go to South Africa. When I accepted, he arranged for me to see de Valera. De Valera gave me his instructions, which were that he wanted to get Smuts to raise the Irish question at the coming Imperial Conference, which was to take place in May, so as to give Lloyd George a face-saving opportunity of bringing about a truce. "After we have got the truce", he said, "there will be negotiations, and we can keep our hands free, to accept any decisions which the British might arrive at, so that we can accept or

reject them." I pointed out to him that the Conference would take place in May, and that I would have to hurry up. He told me that I was to hold public meetings, to create a strong public in our favour, but not to contact Smuts, that he was sending Colonel Moore out, to make contact with Smuts, without letting him know that he was, in any way, connected with the movement.

De Valera's plan worked out perfectly. Colonel Moore did his work very well. Smuts raised the question, in London, on the occasion of the Imperial Conference, and the truce was brought about.

Mr. de Valera also said to me, "Two sides of a triangle are greater than a third, and, when you get to South Africa, we may send you on to South America!" He certainly set me a problem, because transport, from South Africa to South America, was very difficult.

Bob Brennan saw me again, and gave me £500, in single notes, which I was to carry in a brief case. I was told that there was a ship, "The Kenilworth Castle", sailing from Southampton, within a week.

My wife and I went to London. On the train, Edward Stephens and his wife were in the carriage with us, but, of course, I did not tell them what I was doing. During the journey, my wife and I decided that we would go to the restaurant car, for a cup of tea. I did not want to carry the brief case with me, as detectives might want to know why I was carrying it, and I placed it on the seat, beside Edward Stephens, and asked him to keep an eye on it. Coming to Crewe,

I decided to get back to the carriage before the train stopped. When I came to the carriage, the train had stopped, and a man was getting out, with my brief case in his hands. My first impulse was to jump on top of him. Instead, I begged his pardon, and said that I thought he was making a mistake. And, right enough, he was! His own case was on the rack. I learned, afterwards, from Stephens that he was worried by the little boy that was with him, and had been very troublesome.

When I got to London, I had directions to go to the house of Mrs. Parry, who was a cousin of Roger Casement. There, I met Art O'Brien, who gave me further directions. I was to sleep, one night, in the flat of a confidential law clerk, in Weltje Street, so that I could use this address as my residence, on the passport. I also got the necessary letter of recommendation from Fr. Hannon, S.J., who was giving a mission in the church, in Maiden Lane. He wrote it on the presbytery notepaper. He was a step-son of Con Moloney of Tipperary. I had met him, by chance, at Mass, that morning. I then thought out all the likely questions I might be asked by the passport officer. When I went to the passport office, fortunately, I was asked these questions, and I had the carefully prepared answers ready for him. I was going to South Africa for my health. I got my passport and my ticket, and my wife saw me off at Southampton.

I left Southampton, on the "Kenilworth Castle", on the 24th March, 1921. I had, in my mind, the

example of Oswald Esmonde, who had spoken too freely, on board ship, going to Australia, and was turned back. So, I was very careful. When people talked of where I came from, I always spoke of Wigan. Later, I discovered that the man, sitting opposite me, Mr. MacArthur, had been a friend of my wife's family in Glasgow. When asked what I was going to do, I said I was thinking of ostrich farming, and I was earnestly warned against it, as both troublesome and dangerous. I also said I was thinking of big game hunting. I was thinking really of twisting the British Lion's tail!

I made friends with two men, on board. One was Shepherdson, who had been one of the secretaries to Colonel House, through the Wilson Peace Conference. He had become engaged to an Irish girl, named Carden, from Tipperary, who was secretary to Lionel Curtis, of the famous Round Table Commonwealth movement. I did not take him into my confidence, but I happened to mention to him that I had some writings destroyed, and he asked me was it by the Black and Tans! I was completely dumbfounded. Afterwards, when I met him in South Africa, he told me that he suspected me, because when I stood up for "God Save The King", on the ship, I did not sing it. He was himself fully aware of the determined and uncompromising attitude of the Republican movement in Ireland. We became close, permanent friends.

The only man I took into confidence was Albert Mallinson, the distinguished song-writer, who was going out, for the purpose of carrying out examinations for music, for the London School of Music. He had

been organist to Lord Hallifax, and came from Leeds. He was a convert to Catholicism. He had told me that the fact that he belonged to a commercialised empire had spoiled his career as a song-writer. If he had been a Dane, like his wife, he would have had a European reputation. On the strength of this remark, I told him what I was doing. Later on, when I was carrying through my campaign, I used to be invited to the convents, which were mostly filled with Irish nuns. I used to ask them if Albert Mallinson was coming for music examinations, and they said he was. So I told them to give him a good time. Subsequently, when I met Albert Mallinson, he told me that he got a royal time in all the convents.

On board, I had time to prepare material, so as to be ready for meetings, as soon as possible. The journey took about three weeks (twenty-one thousand miles, I think). It was very quiet and peaceful. At night, people danced, and I stood, like Rip Van Winkle, looking at the dances, foxtrot, etc., which I had never seen before.

There was a Lady Fitzsimons on board. She and her husband were Irish, from Newry or Dundalk, and, when she talked about Ireland, I always kept silent. She knew, from my accent, that I was Irish, and was ashamed of me, because I said nothing. In the course of my travels, I held a meeting in Port Elizabeth, and I was taken along to meet her husband, Sir -- Fitzsimons. He was in charge of a snake farm, where they took the poison from the snakes, and sent it to the Pasteur Institute, in Paris. It was injected

into horses, and the serum was sent back, to cure snake bites.

One day, while on board ship, some very bumptious people, in the second-class, challenged us, first-class "jossers", to play cricket. One man, who was particularly bumptious, was batting, and I bowled him out, first ball. I used to play cricket in Clongowes. Colonel Rome, who would have thrown me overboard if he knew my work; as he was a great Imperialist, took me off, and stood me a drink. Another old gentleman, Colonel Cruikshanks, who always did master of ceremonies, came up and said to me, "You know, Parnell used to play cricket!" I nearly sank through the deck.

There was another colonel on board, whom I would have loved to have talked to, because he had been chairman of a committee of inquiry into the revelations, made by Roger Casement in reference to the outrages in rubber plantations in Putomayo, but I did not dare to approach him.

When I arrived in Capetown, I made contact immediately with Ben Farrington, who had been a Lecturer in Classics, in Belfast University, and had been writing for my paper. He was a great friend of Frank Gallagher. He had already started a weekly journal, called 'The Irish Republic'. The National Library got the volume of that paper from me, and took a photostat copy of the whole volume. It belonged to the widow of my best supporter in East London.

I tried to learn all I could about the whole position in South Africa. At that time, Smuts was the head of the Government, and General Hertzog was in

opposition.

I went to Johannesburg, where George Mulligan, who was a practising barrister and a K.C. - and a Protestant from Belfast - met me and kept me in his house; and, indeed, kept me as his visitor during my campaign along the towns on the Rand.

My first big meeting was in Johannesburg, where the boys, at the back of the hall, were armed with hurley sticks, in case of a row. The town hall was crowded, and I spoke for two hours. I was supported by a Labour speaker from the gold-mines, named Dunne. George Mulligan was in the chair. Immediately after that, we had a big Aeridheacht in the open country, where all the Irish were gathered. It was attended by some members of the Johannesburg Corporation, including Mulligan, Scott Hayward and Mrs. Crawford, who was Labour Leader and Vice-Mayor of Johannesburg, and all the Irish of the area.

References to the Republican campaign and my work are contained in 'Old Ireland' for 28th April, 1921, 2nd July, 9th July, and from 23rd July to 15th October. This last refers to a meeting in Oudtshoorn, 16th September.

I arrived in Capetown at the end of April, and I have already described our meeting in Johannesburg. After Johannesburg, I had a meeting in Krugersdorp.

On May 5th, I had an excellent meeting in Pretoria, which was very well reported in the 'Pretoria News', but, as it contained some bad errors, it gave me an opportunity of further propaganda, by letter. I

had sent home reports on these meetings, and, in Pretoria, as it was the administrative centre for the Union of South Africa, they had a large Union Jack stuck to the wall, behind the platform. The meeting was a mixed one. One prominent citizen got up, in a rage, and walked out. I heard, afterwards, that he was a prominent banker. My account of the Black and Tan outrages at home was too much for him. As he stalked out, I said, "They got up, and walked out, beginning with the eldest!"

My next meeting was in Capetown, on Friday, the 20th May. George Mulligan, K.C., had me staying in his house, for the whole period of the campaign around Johannesburg, which, later on, covered the whole Rand, the mining area that runs for forty miles from Johannesburg. With Mulligan, I met Colonel Cresswell, Lucas and Kentridge, who were prominent Labour men in Johannesburg.

I reported, at the time, that the Labour Party was losing strength, as, indeed, it did, later on, owing to the growing strength of General Hertzog's party which, at that time, was in opposition. General Smuts was the Prime Minister. Labour was swinging over, more to the Nationalist Party. Lucas and Kentridge had no particular love for the Empire and, so, were very friendly to us. Smuts' party was pro-British and, during my campaign, were not helpful, although some of its members gave us their active sympathy and support. I was very careful not to take part in local politics, or ever to refer to internal affairs.

In Pretoria, I met Republican Dutch Nationalists - Afrikanders. One, in particular, was very powerful and extreme. His name was Tielman Roos. He and Otto Pirow, afterwards Minister for Justice in Hertzog's Government, took me into their confidence with regard to their future plans. At this time, Hertzog had forty-six per cent. of the electorate behind his party. Some years afterwards, I was told that the Irish campaign helped him greatly to get a majority and bring him into power. Cresswell, although imperial, was well disposed to Ireland. Roos and Pirow were both lawyers. I met Hertzog and other leaders, later, in the South African Parliament House, in Capetown, with Colonel Moore. Rowarth was one of the party there. He was not a politician, but a staunch supporter, and we availed of his services, as a covering address. He was a distinguished artist.

I was invited to various convents of Irish nuns in Nazareth Homes and in Mercy, Charity and Dominican Convents, and to colleges of the Marist Brothers and Christian Brothers. These schools had large numbers of Protestant pupils, as well as Catholic. General Hertzog had to take his girls away from a Catholic convent, because of a protest made by his Protestant predicants.

In the election campaign, Smuts had threatened the people that a victory for Hertzog and the Republican ideal would mean civil war, "and plunge us into blood and tears, like Ireland".

The recollection of the Boer War was greatly intensified by the Irish campaign. Out of a

population of 800,000 Dutch, 29,000 women and children had been killed in the concentration camps. I was told that poison, or ground glass, had been put into the food, i.e., into the "mealie pap" - that is, Indian meal porridge - and that a consignment of tinned food was dumped into the sea, when the truce came.

Where the Irish campaign was concerned, there was no political bigotry. I was received by predicants, with open arms, and, sometimes, held meetings in buildings, closely associated with the Lutheran church, or the Protestant churches.

On May 20th, President Reitz, the Chairman of the Senate, presided at my meeting in Capetown, and a great many of the Members of Parliament came, especially those belonging to Hertzog's party. The town hall was crowded, and there were a few interruptions, but I succeeded in persuading them not to throw one interruptor out.

After Capetown, I had a meeting in Kimberley, where a prominent resident Irishman, named Collins, was my organiser, and then in Bloemfontein. I also had an excellent meeting in Durban, where Jack Moran, who now has the Record Shop in Dawson Street, Dublin, was a tower of strength. At Bloemfontein, the son of President Stein took an active part in my meeting. Chris Botha, a close relation of General Botha, also helped me.

In Durban, Jack Moran and others organised a splendid meeting. Someone asked me about Seán MacEoin's arrest, and I ventured to say, at the

beginning of the meeting, that the Truce would not be continued if he was not let out of jail. At the end of the meeting, I was handed a telegram, to say that he had been let out.

In all, I had thirty-five meetings, and thirty-two of these meetings passed my resolution, in favour of the Republic of Ireland. I give the list, later on.

At Pietmaritzburg, where, I think, but am not sure, Gavan Duffy, some years before, had been hunted out of it, we had a highly respectable meeting, where the prominent people turned out, in evening dress. The meeting was a great success, but they would not pass my resolution in favour of the Republic. Professor Lyons was a great supporter of mine, there. Now, he is a Professor of Agriculture in Cork University.

Subsequently, I had meetings in Port Elizabeth, in East London, where Father Curtis was a strong supporter. He was later curate in Glencullen, and is now a parish priest. He and our supporters presented me with a walking stick, of South African wood.

Between the work done by Colonel Moore, in talking with General Smuts, whom I always avoided, and the campaign of meetings, Smuts was influenced to raise the Irish question, when in London, attending the Imperial or Commonwealth Conference, and gave Lloyd George the opportunity of bringing about a truce. This was the main object of my mission, according to Mr. de Valera's directions.

I was able, at that time, to wire Mr. de Valera that nineteen meetings had passed the resolution, demanding withdrawal of British Army of Occupation from Ireland, and the recognition of the Irish Republic on the principle of self-determination. This resolution was passed in Johannesburg, Pretoria, Capetown, Stellenbosch, Bloemfontein, Kimberley, Krugersdorp, Benoni, Roodepoort, Germiston, Klerkesdorp, Kopjes, Vredeport, Parys, Heilbron, Standerton, Ermelo, Witbank, Lydenberg.

It was winter time in the Johannesburg area. Whilst the days were hot, we had up to thirty degrees of frost at night. Johannesburg area was five thousand feet above sea level. My meetings were all at night, and I found the going very severe; but our friends were splendid, and one or two speakers would come with me to the meetings.

In Lichtenburg, I was invited to stay in the house of the late General De Laray, who had been the greatest military mind during the Boer War, greater even than de Wett.

In some places, I had met Irishmen, who had fought against the Boers, and subsequently married Afrikaander wives, and became Republican. They compared notes with the Boers, whom they had been fighting against.

General Delaray had been involved, with de Wett and others, in what was called the Rebellion of 1914, due to their attitude of trying to keep South Africa out of the 1st Great War. Delaray was mysteriously shot, while travelling in a motor car from Johannesburg to Potschefstoorm, which was a military centre.

In Lichtenburg, I was met by a commando of war veterans on horseback. I was told afterwards that this was the greatest honour paid to a visitor. It was assumed that every Irishman was a crack horseman. I was offered a fiery stallion, but, when I saw him at the head of the procession, prancing on his hind legs and pirouetting, I decided that prudence was the better part of valour! I had an excellent meeting there.

In many places, I had to have an interpreter, and I could judge the portion of the audience that could not understand English, when the reaction in the audience only came from the translation. Sometimes, when I would repeat a short sentence, my translator would make a long harrangue, and I used to wonder what indiscretions I was being made responsible for!

I find it difficult, now, to remember the names of our good friends in the different centres.

After Durban, I went to Port Elizabeth, then to East London, then to King Williamstown, and then on to Craddock, where a veteran of the Boer War had been asking Father Cullinane for me to have a meeting there. He had been wounded in the head during the Boer War, and there was a bullet still in his head. This caused his death, the night before I arrived. Father Cullinane, who was a tremendous supporter, dressed me in his tall hat and black coat, and sent me to the Lutheran church, to the funeral.

My next meeting was in Grafreinet, where the Dutch, or Afrikaanders, took me out to see the spot

where Skeepers, who had been wounded, was tied in a chair, and shot. This was because he was regarded as a British citizen, and, therefore, a "rebel", as he was resident inside the Cape Province.

I had a subsequent meeting in Oudtshorn, where I lodged in the Masonic Hotel. The owner was Mr. North, a close connection of Messrs. North, the house agents in Dublin. The parish priest, after much persuasion, agreed to support the resolution for the Republic, and took the chair at the meeting, Mr. North seconding it. Mr. Urguert, the Mayor of the town, wrote, regretting his absence, and, as the people knew that he had been bullied into not coming, all laughed when the Chairman announced his absence. Mr. MacAlister (peach farmer) was our strongest supporter there.

After Oudtshorn came Worcester, and then Parle. The African educational institutions had special meetings for me in Potchestrom, in Parle and in Capetown, for the Afrikaander students, but, especially, in the university centre at Stellenbosch. There, Professor Schmit and all the students adjourned their class, and came to the meeting, which was a crowded one as well.

I should pay a special tribute to Scott Hayward, who, from Johannesburg, was in close contact with the Hertzog party, organising thoughout the country, and who arranged my meetings in the Transvaal, the Orange Free State, Natal, and even in part of the Cape Province.

I was, of course, during all this period, receiving bulletins and propaganda material from Bob Brennan, who was Director of Publicity. I had an address in Paris (France), through which I communicated

and also Mr. Devine, who was an agent for the Armour Meat Company in Dublin, to whom I had sent a report on the possibilities of trading with South Africa, going into details as to the various commodities which could be purchased from South Africa, and suggesting what could be exported from Ireland. That report I asked to have sent on to Ernest Blythe, who was then Minister for Trade. Nothing much came of it afterwards, possibly on account of the civil war.

My last meeting was held on the ~~Kafferkins~~ Koffiehuis, in the City. It was for the university students in Capetown University.

I had a letter from Bob Brennan, who was head of Publicity in Dublin, dated 18th June, 1921, from which I quote the following sentences:-

> "Your reports dated April 14th, April 20th, May 4th and May 13th, all arrived safely. They are all excellent and most encouraging, and they have been of great assistance to us here, particularly in reference to the present business in London. Judging by other reports which have come to hand, the work you have done has been particularly useful. ...
>
> On your further journey, I would ask you to understand that the intention is to have an inspection merely with a view to bringing back a report on general conditions on S.A. You will find L. Brehon there before you. ..."

I also received very encouraging letters from Colonel Moore. A Mr. Donovan had tried to involve him in a statement which would have been indiscreet, to the effect that he was an official representative, but Colonel Moore cleared up the whole matter, and stated to me how glad he was that we were able to work together so harmoniously. He also said he had word, threatening him that he would be arrested when he arrived in Ireland, to which he paid no attention. Nor was he arrested, when he did arrive.

In a letter from Seán T. O'Kelly, at Paris, on 17th June, he said:-

"DÉLÉGATION DU GOUVERNEMENT ÉLU
DE LA
RÉPUBLIQUE IRLANDAISE"

"Grand-Hotel - Paris.
le June 17th, 1921."

"P.J. Little, Esq.
c/o M.B. Farrington,
123, Long Street,
Cape Town,
South Africa.

A chara dhil,

I am asked by headquarters to send you your credentials, and I have great pleasure in forwarding you the documents enclosed herewith.

I have, during the past two months, received several reports from you and your colleague, and I have forwarded these to Dublin. I have just heard to-day that a letter of mine enclosing, I think it was the third of your reports and also that of the Colonel, had to be destroyed by the carrier, owing to a risk of its falling into

"enemy hands; therefore if you think the matter is of importance, I would suggest that you send copies to be forwarded. I regret this misadventure, but I understand there was no means of avoiding it.

I understand that you have been very successful, so far, in your work and I offer you my felicitations. Please give my warmest regards also to the Colonel. If ever either of you meet General Hertzog, please remember me kindly to him. I saw a good deal of him and some of his friends when he was here during the Peace Conference.

With warmest regards and best wishes,

Do chara,

SEÁN T. Ó CEALLAIGH."

Colonel Moore deserves special mention, because he carried out his work as a non-official envoy, with great discretion, and supplied memoranda on the claim for the Republic to General Smuts. It was no fault of his that Smuts reverted to his pro-British attitude, and advocated partition.

Colonel Moore was very well got with the Afrikaanders, because, when he was fighting for the British in the Boer War, he save the families, in the area under his control, from being put into the concentration camps. In fact, he was called by the Afrikaanders, the Boer Colonel. When he would go to a house and enquire whether any of the men folk were

out fighting, to his embarrassment, they always boasted of it. He would say, "Perhaps they are dead, or gone away somewhere", and he would mark that down, accordingly, and the family would be saved from the horrors of the concentration camp. He sent an account of the way the women and children were treated in the concentration camp, to his brother, George Moore, and George Moore got the account published in the English press, I think, even in the 'London Times', in a letter from himself.

It would not be fair not to point out that Colonel Moore played a very important part in getting Smuts to raise the Irish question, when he went to London for the Imperial Conference.

At my meeting in Malmesbury, I had already seen Smuts advocating partition, and, as that was his native town, I took the opportunity of denouncing his proposal. Hugh Boyd, who was with me, told me afterwards that his supporters were very angry and that I had a very narrow escape, but, apparently, my good Afrikaander friends must have protected me.

A word about Smuts may be important. Malmesbury was in the Cape Province, and had always been under the British. Smuts was really a follower of Cecil Rhodes originally, and, being an ambitious and clever lawyer, he was very much, at that time, in touch with the British, but, just before the Boer War, Kruger, who was President of the Transvaal, made him Attorney-General in the Transvaal. When Kruger was asked why he did it, he said that, if he had not captured him, Cecil Rhodes would have. He fought through the

Boer War as a general. His colleagues told me that he was not a military genius himself, like De Larey, but that he could draw the best proposals from his military staff, and make his plans, accordingly.

Many Irishmen, who had fought against the Boers in the British war, had subsequently married Dutch wives and become nationalists, met me. One man told me how, in a particular place, the British soldiers had been put down into trenches - and there was water in the trenches - awaiting the arrival of General Smuts, but, unfortunately, one soldier's gun went off, just as Smuts arrived, and he jumped back on his horse, and escaped.

Another story I heard was the so-called rebellion in Kopjes in 1914, when General De Larey had been shot mysteriously. Both Smuts and de Wet, who were fighting each other, came to the funeral of de Larey, and no hostile action was taken.

Subsequently, when de Wet was surrounded, the Boers made sure that no Englishman amongst their troops would be allowed near, as they were determined to take de Wet alive. The latter story, I heard from young de Wet.

Colin Stein told me of a man, who had an extraordinary gift of prophecy, Van Rensberg, who, during the Boer War, travelled with de Wet, and was able to tell him, in advance, that he saw the British arriving in a particular place. Some of the younger men did not believe these stories, with the result that, when the British arrived, they were arrested. As a

result, de Wet was very often guided by Van Rensberg. Before I left South Africa, I was told that Van Rensberg had said - this was while the Truce was still in existence in Ireland - that he saw blood dripping down from the sky, over Ireland.

I should add another remarkable story about the prophet, Van Rensberg. Colin Stein, who was son of the former President of the Orange Free State, told me that, on one occasion, Van Rensberg told him that he saw a certain town, on a date, a week or two ahead, all draped in black. In the meantime, President Stein died suddenly, in the Parliament House, and, on that very day mentioned, Colin Stein was burying his father in that town.

The following is a list of places, with dates, where I held meetings:-

1.	29th April, 1921.	Johannesburg.
2.	2nd May, 1921.	Benoni.
3.	3rd May, 1921.	Krugersdorp.
4.	5th May, 1921.	Pretoria.
5.	20th May, 1921.	Capetown.
6.	1st June, 1921.	Stellenbosch.
7.	13th June, 1921.	Kimberley.
8.	15th June, 1921.	Klerksdorp.
9.	27th June, 1921.	Bloemfontin.
10.	30th June, 1921.	Kopjes.
11.	1st July, 1921.	Vrederfoet.
12.	1st July, 1921.	Parys.
13.	4th July, 1921.	Heilbron.
14.	8th July, 1921.	Standerton.

15.	12th July, 1921.	Ermelo.
16.	14th July, 1921.	Witbank.
17.	15th July, 1921.	Leydenburg.
18.	16th July, 1921.	Roodepoort.
19.	18th July, 1921.	Germiston.
20.	21st July, 1921.	Pietersburg.
21.	23rd July, 1921.	Lichtenburg.
22.	25th July, 1921.	Potshefstroom.
23.	26th July, 1921.	Brakpan.
24.	27th July, 1921.	National Club, Johannesburg.
25.	28th July, 1921.	Kroonstad.
26.	1st August, 1921.	Durban.
27.	2nd August, 1921.	Pietmaritzburg.
28.	5th August, 1921.	East London.
29.	7th August, 1921.	Kingwilliamstown.
30.	9th August, 1921.	Craddock.
31.	10th August, 1921.	Port Elizabeth.
32.	12th August, 1921.	Graaffreinet.
33.	15th August, 1921.	Oudtshoorn.
34.	18th August, 1921.	Worcester.
35.	20th August, 1921.	Paerl.
36.	22nd August, 1921.	Malmesbury.
37.	23rd August, 1921.	(Meeting of the Irish Republican organisation) Capetown.
38.	24th August, 1921.	Woodstock.
39.	25th August, 1921.	University College Students, Capetown.

Thirty-three meetings passed the full resolution, demanding recognition of the Irish Republic.

One meeting passed a modified resolution for self-determination.

One meeting (Pietmaritzburg) did not pass the resolution.

Ten meetings were held by the Irish Republican organisation.

There was a big picnic given in Johannesburg, and a Feis, later.

Miss Belle Robinson of Kopjes wrote to me, making arrangements for meetings, and saying that Mr. C.J. de Wet, the General's cousin, would preside there, and that de Wet and Osborne would accompany him to Vrederfoert and Parys.

Chris Botha, who was related to General Botha, also assisted me in Bloemfontin, and Colin Stein, son of the late President of the Orange Free State.

I also had a letter from A.F. Strydom, who was, I am pretty sure, lately Prime Minister in South Africa. At that time, he was Secretary to the National Party, W.E. Branch, organising meetings for me.

Before leaving South Africa, I received various communications which, I think, are worth mentioning. On the 21st June, I received a wire from Bloemfontin, which was a copy of one sent to Ireland by the President of the National Women's Party, conveying messages of sympathy and hearty support in our struggle for freedom.

At the end of August, 1921, Hugh Boyd and I boarded the Japanese cargo boat, named "Tacoma Maru", and asked the captain to take me to Buenos Aires. He said he had one hundred Japanese emigrants, going to the coffee plantations in Rio de Janeiro, the cargo of jute, and the full complement of passengers, about six. The captain said that he could take no more passengers. Hugh Boyd whispered a little word to me, and offered him an extra twenty pounds, over the price of the passage. The captain, without blinking an eye, said, "We must not tell any of the officers on board."

I had to sleep on the sofa in the saloon, and get up at six o'clock in the morning, to clear away, for the breakfast. The ship was a small one, five thousand tons. There were two passengers, one, named O'Neill, who was ultra imperialist and had lost touch altogether with Ireland, and the other, Traherne, who was a Cornishman. They drank the ship dry, drinking Japanese saki when the other drinks were exhausted, which included some brandy I had for sea-sickness, and accused me of stealing their whiskey. They suspected that I was an agent of de Valera's, and they spoke to Adolpho Scilingo, who was the Argentinian Consul, returning from Hong Kong. He had been in Japan. The two imperialists told Scilingo that they would throw me overboard, and he told them he would have them hanged, if they did, in the Argentine. I allayed their suspicions, by drinking the health of the Prince of Wales, and by playing the fool when playing bridge. So, they came to the conclusion that I was harmless. My only fear was that, when going to sleep in the

saloon at night, I would talk in my sleep.

When we arrived at Rio, I had many letters to post, both to our friends in South Africa, thanking them, and reporting home. In Rio, I did not understand Portuguese, and I directed the taximan to go to the wrong docks. When I found I had made a mistake, I managed, by gesticulation, to get to the proper dock, where I saw my ship, slowly moving from the quay. The prow was still close to the landing place, and the officers were on deck, waving to me. They threw me a rope, which I could not climb, and then threw me the pilot's ladder. I was greatly relieved, because my one anxiety was my brief-case, full of correspondence and papers.

The following are extracts from letters, which I posted in Rio de Janeiro, on the 10th September, thanking our various friends in South Africa for what they had done:-

"POBLACHT NA hÉIREANN.
DIPLOMATIC MISSION
TÓ SOUTH AFRICA."

"A Chairde,

In departing so quickly from South Africa, I feel it is only right to pay a tribute of praise and of gratitude on behalf of the Irish Republic to the members of the Irish Republican Association and to those friends of Ireland so numerous in the ranks of the Africanders. The fine enthusiasm displayed, both at the public meetings held to spread the truth about Ireland and in the vigorous branches of the Association,

"has already given great encouragement and satisfaction to our people and leaders at home. Your efforts and spirit made us quickly realise how you suffered when your kindred at home were suffering, and how you hold our leaders at home in high esteem and affection. As the representative of the Irish Republic, you have treated me with a generosity and a hospitality, for which it is impossible for me to thank you adequately. Your kindness has made me feel all the more my responsibilities. The thought that all you have done, is done for the good of Ireland is your best reward.

...

I feel bound to thank those Afrikanders and friends of Ireland who have made it possible to hold successful meetings throughout the Transvaal, The Free State and the Cape Provinces. I have been charged with a bias in favour of the National Party. I appealed to all parties alike, and individual members of all parties did help our cause, but only the National party gave organised assistance. I state facts. I draw no conclusions. It would be mean and ungenerous to be silent where a tribute of gratitude is due. I also desire to thank those Afrikander journals which earnestly attempt to put the truth about Ireland before their readers. They know the value of truth to the cause of small nations as a basis of international justice and peace."

We proceeded from Rio to Santos, where Scilingo, Traherne, O'Neill and myself got a taxi to the Casino. I parted from the others until late in the evening, and then met them in the dance hall. Scilingo told me that O'Neill was fairly drunk and was making offensive remarks, looking on, at the people dancing. Scilingo was very angry, and said he would drop O'Neill in some disreputable place, and I told him he was morally responsible for him. I then took a taxi back to the ship. When I was getting into my bunk, I heard two sailors going towards the Liverpool ship, next to mine. They were singing, "If You're Irish, Come Into The Parlour!", and, as they came by my ship, they started singing "The Soldiers' Song". I ran down the gangway, in my pyjamas, but, unfortunately, they had just disappeared into the Liverpool ship. A few minutes later, I hear Scilingo coming in, bringing his charge, O'Neill, safe and sound.

I arrived in Buenos Aires on the 19th September, and made contact with Eamon Bulfin and Mr. and Mrs. Larry Ginnell, on the 20th September. The great centre of Irish activity was the Holy Cross Church, under the Passionist Fathers. They were our best friends. I found that they had already inaugurated the bond drive.

The following is a brief account, with dates, of the work of our Delegation there, from the 22nd June to the 20th September, 1921. This is Eamon Bulfin's summary:-

"1921.

June 22 Obtained at the Argentine Embassy, Washington, a diplomat's passport to Argentine.

July 25 Arrived in Buenos Aires as 'Special Envoy to the Governments and Peoples of South America'. Were met by Monsignor Ussher, Eamon Bulfin and Gerald Foley.

28 To our great surprise, a young man called to tell L.G. (Larry Ginnell) he was officially invited to attend the Te Deum in the Cathedral, in honour of Peruvian Independence. He attended, and viewed the procession from the balcony of the Circulo Militar.

There would seem to be a split among the friends of Ireland in the Argentine also. A.G. wrote, 'I am afraid it is more important than I thought'.

30 Mr. MacConastair, who was in Reading Jail with L.G., called and said the Hotel Savoy was English owned, and that there were likely to be spies here - he also hinted at dictaphones. Mr. MacManus mentioned the same thing,

"1921.

Aug. 2 John Nelson and his son called. John Nelson is a strong Republican, and offered to do anything he could.

4 Mr. Bohen called, about a reception being arranged for us. He is to try to get on the invitation cards, "To meet the Envoy of the Republic of Ireland, and Mrs. Ginnell".

He told us that 'La Nacion' had reserved two columns for L.G. when he came first, but that he, L.G., was a little indiscreet in calling Lloyd George two-faced, and, of course, they could not publish that!

5 Laid a wreath on the tomb of General San Martin, with the inscription, 'El Gobierno y el Pueblo de Irlanda al General San Martin, en cuyas filas se formo la legion irlandesa'. There was some difficulty about the opening of the tomb, which, however, was overcome.

(San Martin was the greatest hero of the war of liberation for South America. His campaign of crossing the Andes and joining Bernardo O'Higgins is one of the great feats of all military history, and his heroic unworldliness showed itself when he retired into very modest circumstances, because, he said, there was no room in South America for himself and Bolivar.)

"1921.

Aug. 12 Got an official invitation to the Te Deum in the San Domingo Church, on the 115th anniversary of the reconquest (from England), where the captured English flags are. The Irish Republican flag was the only foreign flag in evidence, outside the Cathedral.

13 Issued to-day the communication from Dáil Éireann to all members of the Senate and to all Deputies.

14 Officially received by the Passionists at their Holy Cross Church, for High Mass for Ireland. The sermon welcomed L.G., in his official and private capacity.

17 A great social reception given us in the Plaza Hotel by all the important Irish-Argentinians.

18 Had a private audience with the Foreign Minister, Pueyrredon, who was very friendly and courteous. He said that Argentine could not be the first to recognise the Irish Republic, and that bonds could not be publicly issued, without the consent of Congress.

19 Went to see Mr. Nelson, about starting a bond drive. Mr. Nelson was not very favourable, but brought him to

"1921.

see Mr. Lawlor, the man who, it appears, does most of the business for the Irish community. They first called on Dr. O'Farrell, who said that the bonds L.G. showed him (U.S.A. ones) were all right and would sell. Mr. Lawlor thought it was not business at all, and went so far that Nelson had to defend the idea.

Aug.21 The papers to-day carried the English Government plans of what it was going to do, if Ireland did not accept the peace terms.

Mr. MacConastair came to help us to get out a poster, with the British Government's threats. It was with some difficulty the municipality agreed to put up the poster, which was put up all over the city, sent to provincial centres, and put up there, annoying the British Ambassador, who made a speech, denouncing it, and thereby calling more attention to it.

There was a letter, warning us against Lassare (?) - a good worker - and then, in the evening, Lassare called, and told us that Mr. Thorns - another good friend - told him always to carry a revolver, that Mr. Qresada was going to shoot him! All members of the Argentine Committee for Irish liberty!

"1921.

Aug. 27 The poster is intriguing a lot of people. Some say it was got up by MacManus (who, incidentally, does not approve of us), that it has all his fire, others, that it was by the Argentine Committee for Irish Liberty, others again, that it was by the diplomatic mission, and still others, that the diplomatic mission should stop it.

30 Mr. O'Flaherty, whom we met at the reception, had dinner with us. He is going to try to get the Dáil's message read in Congress some day, and to have L.G. there on that day.

Sept. 5 Eamon Bulfin received a cablegram from Robert Brennan that there would be an Irish Race Convention in Paris, or Dublin, on 21st January, and that the Dáil invites five people from Argentina.

17 Got a great reception from the Passionists at Cap, Sarmiento. At High Mass, Bishop Capello preached, and prayed for Ireland."

A cablegram from Dublin authorised the delegation to go ahead with the bond drive on the 24th September.

The further brief report, with dates, gives an idea of the many activities in which we all took part. With regard to the visit to Rosario, I arrived in Rosario a few days before the rest of the party, to

help in arranging a meeting, which took place on the 2nd October, and, at the banquet that evening, mentioned in the report, I also spoke, as the speeches were both in English and in Spanish.

There is one item not mentioned in the report. On the 25th October, we were invited to take part in a celebration by the Basque Club, where they paid us great honours and spoke with great eloquence.

I should mention, as an example of the diplomatic difficulties that we had, that, after our entertainment we had with the Basques, the Castillian-Spanish group objected to our having gone to them, because, of course, there was always hostility between the Basques and the Castillians. Our answer was that we were prepared to accept the hospitality of any group that would give honour to Ireland, and that we would do the same with the Castillians if they wished, but they did not.

The continuation of Eamon Bulfin's report is as follows:-

"1921.

Sept. 20 Mr. P.J. Little arrived from South Africa, to find out all he could about the political situation here and in South America, generally.

24 Cablegram from Dublin, authorising us to go ahead with the bond drive, and asked what additional staff would be required.

"1921.

Oct. 1 Our bond advertisement appeared in 'La Prensa' this morning, while 'La Nacion' refused it. Harrod's, Buenos Aires, who advertise extensively in 'La Prensa', threatened to withdraw their advertisement, if 'La Prensa' gave publicity to our bond drive, but 'La Prensa' took no notice.

2 Visit to Rosario. Miss Anita Bulfin and Mr. Revilla, the new Spanish secretary, came with us. There was a great banner of the Argentine Committee for Irish Liberty facing us at the station, and a great crowd, of all kinds, to meet us. After a while, we got out of the station, and walked up the streets. It was interesting to watch the faces of the people on the sidewalks and in the houses, wondering what on earth it was all about. Miss Bulfin said she felt like a "Salvation lass".

Mass in Fr. Sheehy's church on Sunday, and a kind of reception afterwards in St. Patrick's Hall, which has a photograph of William Bulfin, father of Eamon and Anita.

After lunch, there was to have been a tennis tournament, which did not

"1921.

Oct. 2/ come off, because the players, or their friends, were employed in English houses and were afraid they would lose their jobs, if they appeared.

In the evening, there was a banquet, at which about a hundred guests were present, including the Vice-Governor, the Mayor, the Secretary, representing the Chief of Police, and only four ladies, including Anita and Mrs. G. The table was simply beautiful. Able to speak Spanish, Miss Bulfin sat beside the Vice-Governor. At first, he was a very difficult proposition, because he felt that he should not have come. He 'didn't think it would be so official'. Miss Bulfin said afterwards, 'If I succeeded in making him talk, I think I could make anyone talk!'

L.G. read his speech in Spanish, and it was well received. Some one said afterwards that no Englishman would think of doing that.

7 A cablegram came to Eamon Bulfin from Robert Brennan, saying that his scheme for issuing a bulletin was approved, and that they were cabling £1,000.

"1921.

Oct. 8 Visited Mercedes with Mr. Little, Miss Bulfin and Revilla.

Eamon Bulfin, Mr. & Mrs. Mulgrave and others came in from Buenos Aires, for a hurling match.

11 Decided to have a reception in the Savoy Hotel on the 27th instant, and to try to have Masses for the dead, who died for Ireland, in as many churches as possible on Nov. 2.

12 Fr. Constantine, Provincial of the Passionists, called about the Masses, and said he thought it would be all right.

19 A meeting of the bond trustees and Executive Council. Every possible obstacle that could have been raised, was raised. They wanted the meeting postponed - our Bulletin was a disgrace - a paper should be started, etc., etc.

27 Our reception was held at five o'clock. Everyone said it was a great success.

A.G. wrote: 'The more I see of Argentine, the more I realise how well it is to have anyone of the name of Bulfin connected with us'.

"1921.

Oct. 29 Public meeting in the Teatro Coliseo, to launch our bonds. Messrs. Dowling, Moore and Nelson called at the office, in the morning. None of them wanted to go on the platform for the meeting. Mr. Little is to act as Chairman.

Father Flannery returned his box, at the very last moment, without even a 'thank you'. (This was due to the fact that our big poster suggested that it was socialist propaganda, and, apparently, he felt that he could not be associated with it.)

The speakers were: L.G., Mr. O'Sullivan, Fr. Nepal(?) and Dr. Quesada. Col. Oliden read a resolution.

Mr. Little said something about forming a new organisation, and the Circulo - which mustered about five men, all told - said that, if a new organisation was formed, it would be a challenge to them, and that it was up to everyone to join the Circulo.

Nov. 2 Attended a Solemn Requiem Mass in Holy Cross for those who died for Ireland. The altar was beautiful, and there was a coffin, draped with the Republican colours.

"1921. '

Nov. 2/ Fr. Ephraim O'Connell preached - a very useful sermon, which ought to have some effect on the weak-kneed. None of the trustees was in a place of prominence.

There were Requiem Masses all over Argentina, for the dead who died for Ireland.

5 Went to San Antonio de Areco, where we were most hospitably and kindly received. Stayed with "The Blue Sisters".

7 Mass in the parish church, draped in purple, with the inscription over the sanctuary, 'A las vistimas de la tyrannia inglesa'.

8 Mr. Ganly resigned from the 'Circulo Irlandes', in disgust.

16 'La Union' has changed its policy. It does not see that it does itself any good, by attacking England.

19 A play, in the Teatro Florida, given by the Bulfin's, Mulgraves and a few others - 'The Singer' and 'The Rising Of The Moon'. The whole thing very creditable and successful.

"1921.

Nov. 26 The Smilers' Dramatic Society gave a little dinner, which was very nice, and Mrs. G. was formally made President.

27 At their meeting yesterday, the St. Joseph's Society decided not to send delegates to the first Irish Convention in the Argentine.

29 First Convention of the Irish Race in the Argentine, held in the Irish Girls' Home - about ninety delegates present, and, 'all things considered', might be said to be a success. Mr. William Morgan was Chairman.

A Standing Committee for a new organisation was appointed, consisting of the trustees and Irish members of the Consultative Council, Irish Diplomatic Mission, Frs. Victor Carolan and Ephraim O'Connell, S.Ps, Messrs. Grehan and Kelly, Mrs. Walsh, Mrs. Moore, Mrs. Bohen, Mrs. Mulvihill and Miss O'Doherty.

Mr. William Morgan bought a 500-dollar bond.

Dec. 1 First meeting of the new Standing Committee.

2 L.G. not at all well.

"1921.

Dec. 3 Mr. and Mrs. Ginnell left for San Antonio de Areco, for a rest for L.G.

7 Eamon Bulfin 'phoned that Ireland was to be the 'Free State of Ireland' and that the oath of allegiance was to be to the Free State of Ireland and to King George!

The House of Commons and Dáil Éireann have to ratify the terms.

8 In honour of Mr. Little, we had a dinner in the Galleria(?).

At the dinner, some one sang a 'rebel' song. Either Miss Bulfin or A.G. said, 'We can give up singing those songs, now!', at which Mr. Little said that, if that is the way the women of Ireland feel about the Treaty, it would not be much of a success.

9 A cablegram came from Mr. Robert Brennan, 'Await instructions - make no pronouncement - Dáil meeting, 14th December'.

Mr. Nelson called, to say that he sent his telegram of congratulation to L.G. before he saw the terms, but that now he withdraws it, and that he did not agree to his name being put to the

"1921.

Dec. 9/ cablegram, sent by Santiago O'Farrell to Lloyd George and de Valera, and that he would repudiate it in tomorrow's papers.

11 L.G. distributed prizes in Cap. Sarmiento. The address of welcome to L.G. was very good, almost pledging support to de Valera.

Father Victor told L.G. that he would have to say something about the present position. L.G. said merely that he had every confidence in the man who had guided Ireland's destinies for the past years, and that there were two powers in the world - the power of light and of darkness - and which would prevail; though there might have to be more lives lost, he hoped it would not be so.

17 We returned to San Antonio, giving up our rooms in the Savoy Hotel.

20 No decision arrived at, by Dáil Éireann yet. After deep consideration, and not wishing to disobey the instructions, regarding making no pronouncement on the Treaty question, and still wishing to show where he stood, L.G. cabled:

'I vote against ratification.'

"1922.

Jan. 8 The Treaty was accepted by Dáil Éireann, by sixty-six votes to fifty-seven.

30 The whole office staff has been paid off, except Eamon, who will remain for another month.

Mar. 2 A letter from Gavan Duffy, stating that representatives abroad will still represent the Republic, but that their position will be somewhat different. He also said that L.G. was to abstain from propaganda, either for or against the Treaty, until the people, at a general election, had decided whether they would accept it, or not, but that the machinery should be maintained until then, so that, in case England broke her treaty, Ireland would be ready to resume her former position at once.

The letter also said that the Bulletins were to be continued.

What a pity we did not know of the policy of maintaining the machinery before everything was broken up!

17 Mr. Revilla got our passports, per s.s. 'Darro', leaving on April 4th.

The emergency certificate, issued us by the British, says that we must go

"1922.

Mar. 17/ home direct, giving the name of the boat.

27 A cablegram from Gavan Duffy that the Chilean trip was approved, and that it was important to get connection with the Pacific Coast.

L.G. told Eamon Bulfin to do the best he could about it.

April 4 Mr. and Mrs. G. sailed for home, on the s.s. 'Darro', from Buenos Aires to Liverpool."

As it would have been impossible, from the point of view to time or expense, to have covered all the countries mentioned, namely, the Argentine, Chile, Peru, Bolivia and Brazil, I decided that the best way to carry out the instructions, given me by Bob Brennan, was to draft a questionnaire, based on my experience in South Africa. I sent this questionnaire to our friends in Chile and in Bolivia. (I am handing in a copy of the questionnaire, headed, "QUESTION SHEET", to the Bureau.) I was told that they knew no one in Peru. On my return journey, I met Buckley in Rio de Janeiro.

In Chile, there was a very reliable man, named Egan, who had been deeply involved in the land agitation in Ireland, many years before, and who had emigrated to Chile. He answered my questionnaire fully.

In Bolivia, I was in touch with the Nichdls family, related to George Nicholls, and we were in communication with him too.

We were in close touch with Uruguay, through Mr. Morgan.

On the ship, the "Brabantia", I met Signor Aldonati, who was appointed Ambassador for Chile to Madrid, and he gave me letters for Larry Ginnell, who was still in the Argentine, introducing him to the President of Chile. Unfortunately, Ginnell's health was not very good, and, besides, the signing of the Treaty interrupted all further propaganda.

Whilst Bulfin and Ginnell worked at the bond drive, raising £1,600, I confined my activities to producing the bulletin, which we sent out every week to the countries where we had any contacts. From time to time, we received copies of their newspapers, with banner head-lines, quoting from our bulletins as their direct correspondents from Dublin. Miss Anita Bulfin assisted me in this work - she was very clever - and Revilla translated them into Spanish for us.

The work in the Argentine was much more difficult, because we were dealing with the very rich Irish there, who were owners of large estates and land, and raised cattle and sheep. It required diplomacy, to prevent them from getting offended by statements of a very democratic nature. We organised a big meeting in the largest theatre in Buenos Aires, the Teatro Coliseo. Our secretary, Revilla, produced an enormous

advertisement, which was hung across one of the main streets in the city. In one column, there was a list of the services rendered by the Irish to the Argentine, and, in the other column, a list of what we believed were the injuries done by the British to the Argentine. On the morning of the meeting, John Nelson called us together, in his office, to protest against the poster which, he said, was socialist propaganda. He refused to take the chair, but asked me to take it instead. He went into a prominent box, but did not come on the platform.

The meeting was a great success, although we had considerable difficulty with one of our orators, named Quesada. The other orator, I had briefed beforehand, because he knew a certain amount of English. His name was Gulierimo O'Sullivan. He came, dressed in immaculate evening-dress, and, when he spoke, he was able to raise the audience to a pitch of enthusiasm, quite beyond the capacity of any Irish orator. This, of course, was due to his Spanish temperament. At the same time, he refused to propose my resolution, demanding recognition of the Irish Republic, but we got one of the other speakers to do that.

British influence, of course, was very strong, and they had great influence over some of the daily papers there. When we denounced the Treaty, we were accused by 'La Nacion' of being agitators. I suggested to Eamon Bulfin that, as he was the soldier in the party, he should, according to Argentine custom, fight a duel with the editor, with sabres, but Eamon did not think that was in his official instructions!

The news of the Treaty reached us, immediately it was signed. Santiago O'Farrell, the president of a big railway company, who was also President of the Argentine Province at one time, wrote a letter to the papers, approving of the Treaty, and putting John Nelson's name to it also, without his permission. With a little persuasion, we succeeded in getting Nelson to repudiate the signature.

My own conviction was, when I heard the terms of the Treaty, that it would split the Irish nation for a generation, at least, because many would accept it, for what was favourable, and many would reject it, because of the fact that it did not give us full freedom.

Santiago O'Farrell was a personal friend of Lord St. David, the big Welsh coal owner, and St. David was a friend of Lloyd George. The Argentine railways depended on Britain for their supply of coal, as there was no coal in the Argentine. John Nelson was a brother of Sir William Nelson, who was the head of the big shipping company, The Nelson Line. He had gone out to the Argentine, not very well-off. He was married to one of the Duggan family, another member of which was married to Lord Curzon. Nelson had been a great personal friend of Roger Casement, when Casement was British Consul in Rio de Janeiro, and used to take his holidays in Buenos Aires. The result was that, although Nelson's social atmosphere was unfriendly, he remained very staunch all the time.

We also organised a reception in the big Savoy Hotel, which was a great success, and we had a great many very prominent people present.

It is interesting to note the difference between the work in South Africa and in the Argentine. In the Union of South Africa, the work was a straightforward campaign of public meetings to a sympathetic public, in direct conflict with the Imperialists. The audience, except in the larger centres, were the Boer farmers and the workers, and were a simple people, as compared with our public in the Argentine. A good example of this was a comparison between a funeral in Craddock of a veteran of the Boer War, in the Lutheran or Calvanist church, with its sheer austerity and simplicity, and the spirit of fatherliness in the preacher, in contrast to the most elaborate decoration, of electric lights and candles, and the richly dressed congregation at a Spanish wedding in the Catholic church of Mercedes, in a very fashionable parish in Buenos Aires.

In Buenos Aires, there were several types of opinions and convictions. There were the rich Irish land owners (estancieros) - the Duggans, the Nelsons, the Bohens, the Gahans, and Walshs and many other families. These all gave us their loyal support, although they were extremely conservative and with pro-British tendencies, for serious economic reasons.

There was another Irish section, not of the same type, not the propertied class. They were more national and democratic, and regarded the Nelsons,

etc., as "shoneens". A Mr. MacManus was the most prominent of this group, but they were not friendly with the Bulfin group, who were closely associated with the 'Southern Star', a weekly, founded and edited originally by Senor Bulfin, deceased, who had been the most eminent Irishman in the Argentine. He was the author of "Rambles in Erin", and had been in touch with the older leaders, like Rooney and Arthur Griffith. His son, Eamon, was educated in Pearse's school, St. Enda's, & fought, along with Pearse, in the General Post Office in 1916. He was then deported to the Argentine by the British. He, and his sister, Anita, were the most reliable and active workers.

When Mr. and Mrs. Ginnell arrived in Buenos Aires, Eamon Bulfin was one of our accredited representatives, along with Ginnell, and ran the office in the Galleria Guemes, with the Spanish secretary, Revilla. I also received my official document, appointing me as a representative. My main work was enquiring into conditions in various countries in South America. I also wrote the weekly bulletin, with the assistance of Miss Bulfin, and Revilla as translator.

Some Argentines, non-Irish, got into the earlier organisation, who, we discovered, were out for their own interests, and only caused trouble. I urged that these should be dropped, and that we should rely purely on the Irish. We then organised the Irish Convention, representing all the Irish institutions, the convents, the colleges, the hurling

clubs, the tennis clubs and the outstanding Irish people. That organisation, I was told recently, is still in existence.

There were strong economic reasons why these Argentine people relied on the British. Firstly, their existence depended on their cattle and meat production. This industry was exploited, to their detriment, so long as the United States' interest had a monopoly of the freezing plants and storage (frigarificos). When the English set up their freezing plants, they released the trade from the "skin game" of the United States' interest, by creating a competitive market.

Then, again, the British banks were much more reliable, and had all the qualities of the traditional conservative British bank, whereas the American financiers rang the changes on the fluctuations on the money rates, and, owing to speculation, sometimes went burst. There was a remarkable contrast between the British political unreliability and, even, hostility, when it suited them, and the solid banking tradition which maintained the standards of financial integrity. The railways too were under British control. This was important for the cattle trade. The British also had given large loans to various undertakings in the Argentine.

The result was that we could not work up hostility amongst the workers in the docks, after the example of what had been done in the United States. Our delegation, in the eyes of many, was too democratic and too frankly hostile to the British.

On the whole, our anti-British propaganda proved to be effective, as I have learned from outside people, in official positions, afterwards, and the British were under a cloud with the Argentines, so long as we were in activity.

Good examples of the sympathy and respect of the purely Argentine public opinion are as follows: When Terence MacSwiney died - without any strong Irish influence, for it was before the Irish Delegation, with Mr. Ginnell, arrived - there was a Requiem Mass for Terence MacSwiney, and the large Franciscan Church, holding several thousand people, was crowded. There was an overflow gathering, outside the Church, that filled the street. I was told that the total number were about seven thousand.

Owing to Larry Ginnell's ill-health and sudden return home, in connection with the Treaty Debate, his visit to Chile was cancelled.

The following is a copy of an extract from a report which I wrote, on board the s.s. "Brabantia", on the 30th December, 1921, while on my return journey home:-

"...

Now, I have had great good luck since I came on the Brabantia.

I found a friend of mine, named Adolpho Scilingo, on board, travelling to London. He was Consul to the Argentine in Hong Kong, and I met him first on boat (Japanese) coming

"from Hong Kong to Capetown, S. Africa. On this boat, the 'Tacuma Maru', I travelled with him to Buenos Aires. We became good friends, and he rather protected me from two Englishmen of violent anti-Irish views, who drank heavily on the voyage, and, several times, wanted to throw me overboard. I lost sight of Scilingo in Buenos Aires, but now he is on his way to London, to take rank as Vice Consul in the Consulate General there.

He introduced me to the following: Don Luis Aldonati, Chilian Minister to Madrid, who spends the next two months in Paris. He is very rich and, in politics, very influential. He is a close, personal friend of the President of Chile, whose name is Arturo Allesandri. Aldonati was Minister for Foriegn Affairs, in 1919-20, in the Chilian Government. Now, he goes to establish Embassy in Madrid, where he will be first Ambassador. From what Scilingo told him, and from chatting with him, he has become very friendly. I asked his advice on Chile and Ireland, and, as a result, he gave me three letters of introduction to Amando Jaramillo, Minister for Justice & Public Instruction, Cornelio Salvedra, State Councillor, and Deputy Hector Arancibeo Leso, Senator, Prime Minister, recently. These letters are for Mr. Ginnell, and, with

"them, he will get to have an interview with the President. Don Luis Aldonati is writing to the President, privately, to ask him to receive him. I have sent letters to Mr. Ginnell, with full details. L. Ginnell may not see these people till end of March.

I also made friends with Santa Cruz Wilson, who is one of the secretaries of legation to Adldonati. He is a young fellow, and a very good sort. He talks fair English - not so, Aldonati. He is of Irish extraction (Wilson); he is entirely out of touch with his Irish traditions. I invited him to attend Paris Conference, as a distinguished person of Irish extraction. ..."

SIGNED: Patrick J. Little

DATE: 25th March 1959.

WITNESS Sean Brennan Lieut-Col

Conclusion.

NOT ALL SOLDIERS.

There is an aspect of the Irish-Anglo war, waged from 1916 to 1921, which is apt to be ignored. Yet, it is a vital part of the struggle of the whole nation against the superior forces of a great empire, emerging victorious in the 1914-1918 European War.

It would have been extremely difficult for our armed forces to have carried on, without a war of ideas, encouraging them and helping to form general public opinion. The war of ideas, the work of the writers and the propaganda of nationalism, played an essential part in the life of the people. Without the ideals of an independent Irish nation and of democracy, which emerged with the stress of the sufferings and heroic resistance, the struggle would have no great significance and no relation to the world-wide aspirations of small nations. This contribution to the history of the period being a personal one, can only cover a portion of the services rendered by the writers and thoughtful propagandists of the time.

In 1916, the general public was not familiar with the ideals of the Irish Republic. The impossible heroism of Easter Week was, at first, misunderstood, but the ruthless repression and unscrupulous deception, practised by Lloyd George, helped to develop the full ideals of the country. The effect of this was to arouse a vivid perception of Irish tradition and of the dignity of Irish sovereignty and unity. It fell

to the lot of our writers and speakers to give expression and guidance, in principles, to this intense national feeling that tempered the steel of determination, and gave inspiration, by example, to the oppressed nations of the world. This is not an exaggeration.

The growth in content and intensity of the Republican ideals expressed by these writers must have brought more moderate or less informed opinion into complete understanding with the leaders who were released from British jails, and with the Volunteers. Eamon de Valera, who had emerged as a strong leader in jail, confirmed this Republican conviction. His condition to stand for election in East Clare in June, 1917, was that the issue must be a free Irish Republic, and this was finally asserted at the first Árd Fheis of Sinn Féin in the following October. But the task of propaganda was only then entering into the most intense struggle to establish the first Dáil in 1919, and to maintain the united effort till the Truce was declared, and after.

On my return to Dublin, I stated the policy of 'Ár nÉire' ('New Ireland') in the issue of January 21st, 1922:

"NOTES OF THE WEEK

An Announcement.

After an absence of nine months I feel obliged to depart from the usual course of impersonal journalism and explain to the readers of Ár nÉire that I have just arrived, having completed the work which I was directed to do

in South Africa and South America. I return at the end of the first great controversy which has taken place in Dáil Éireann, a controversy in which the destiny of the nation is involved. It is so fundamental in principle that there can be no compromise. But before discussing the present situation my first duty is to express my very deep sense of gratitude to those who at great trouble and risk kept Ár nÉire, or as it was then known, "Old Ireland", in existence during my absence. Some prefer that I should not mention their names, so with this scanty word of praise I hope that now, in the new situation Ár nÉire may justify its existence, and prove to those who made its continuous publication possible through the most severe stress of the Irish fight, that it is worthy of their devotion.

A Declaration of Policy.

A declaration of policy will be expected and I have no trouble in giving it. Ár nÉire old-style Irish Republican. It stands by the declaration establishing the Irish Republic of 1916, and for the constitution of Dáil Éireann under that Republic. Not doctrinaire, not theoretical, we stand by the historic reality of that Republic, and feel bound that its existence must be defended at all cost. Any compromise which does not involve a compromise of the first principles of nationality can be discussed and dealt with but the fundamentals of Irish nationality must remain intact. Harmony between neighbour nations is common sense, complicity in Empire and its acts is common degradation."

I followed that up in the Notes Of The Week for January 28th, 1922, in a special reference to the Race Conference, which was then about to take place in Paris: -

"THE IRISH RACE CONGRESS".

The interesting event of the week is the Irish Race Congress in Paris. The idea of this Congress emanated from South Africa: when first mooted the Irish war was at its height, and it was thought that if the Irish race of its own initiative were to hold a congress exposing the British treatment of the Irish people and demanding the recognition of the Irish Republic, a great work of propaganda would have been done for the Irish Republic. Under war conditions it would have been impossible to hold such a congress in Dublin, so naturally Paris was chosen.

As the anti-Republicans are at the moment in power, a demand for recognition of the Republic is not permissible. The situation has changed so entirely that it is no longer necessary for this Race Organisation to take a predominantly active part in the political struggle. In fact, it is not advisable. The great work to be achieved now is to draw the race together, and this can only be done by the call of the blood, the magnet of kinship, and the common ideals and traditions of the Irish people. We must make Ireland the centre of attraction for the race,

through a sentiment of great family, through the nobility of Irish standards of life, and through Ireland being an intellectual and artistic centre for the Irish race. Ireland, in a word, must be the spiritual home of the race.

As our people are so scattered over the world, it would not be possible, with their local differences, at the widely-parted ends of the earth, to hold together in one organisation unless the centre of such was the special care of some department of the Irish Republic. The main work of such organisation will be educational and economic. The latter has an enormous importance, because the Irish race is strong individually, but because it has never been organised economically it has never realised to the full its strength.

We have in this Congress the beginning of a great movement which will work with great freedom and in diversified ways, but inspired by the same spirit - that spirit renewed by the ideals of 1916, and by the sacrifices of our heroes and martyrs. Or, perhaps, it is something even deeper, if that were possible - the impulse which drove Pearse and MacSwiney forward is surely behind the Irish race to-day."

I will conclude by quoting the first Notes Of The Week for February 4th, 1922, pointing out that we were still maintaining our attitude, and hoping for great results from the Race Conference, now called "Fine Gaedheal": -

"Fine Gaedheal.

The first Congress of Fine Gaedheal has been held, and has proved to be of greater importance to the destiny of the Irish race than was ever anticipated. If this Congress had taken place in a time of less stress, the strength and vitality of the Irish spirit would not have been put to such a test. The result has been an inspiring victory for Irish unanimity. The cross current of political feeling ran high throughout the session, and the merits of each proposition were difficult to decide on because of this feeling. Yet there has been complete unanimity on several important points. First, as to the name: Fine Gaedheal exactly hits off the dominating feeling and conviction of the whole Irish race. We are all of one kindred, of the same blood. Fine means a group of families closely related. There is under this name plenty of room for variety and liberty of action. It has no mere passing significance, nor does it suggest the artificial machinery of a merely political or a merely learned society. There is room for all, provided they are inspired by the love of the wide scattered race. It does not wield a political power, nor does it aim

at that. It stands for the living, the dead, and the future generations of the Irish race. The motto chosen for Fine Gaedheal could not have been happier or more powerful for good. It is from the ancient Gaelic, and the correct Gaelic form is yet to be supplied by the scholars. Here is the English rendering as adopted: 'Greater than all telling is the destiny God has in His mind for Ireland".

NOTES OF REFERENCE.

The following reference may be useful: -

The files of 'New Ireland' and 'Old Ireland'; and, again, after the Truce, the paper was called 'New Ireland' - I have complete files of these.

There are also fairly complete files in the National Library.

There is also a complete photo-stat copy of the South African weekly, called 'The Irish Republic', edited by Ben Farrington, in the National Library. In it, there are references, from time to time, to my meetings.

Patrick J. Little.
25th March 1959

Witness. Sean Brennan Lieut-Col.