

ORIGINAL

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY 1913-21

BURU STAIRÉ MILEATA 1913-21

No. W.S. 1526

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BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY, 1913-21.

STATEMENT BY WITNESS.

DOCUMENT NO. W.S. 1526.

**Witness**

Dr. Albert Thomas Dryer,  
Polding St.,  
Bossley Park,  
New South Wales, Australia.

**Identity.**

Founder & Secretary, Irish Nat. Association,  
1915 - 1925.

**Subject.**

History of the Movement in Australia  
for the Independence of Ireland  
1915 - 1925.

**Conditions, if any, Stipulated by Witness.**

Nil.

File No S.2250.

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THE INDEPENDENCE OF IRELAND

SOURCE MATERIAL

FOR THE

HISTORY OF THE MOVEMENT

IN

AUSTRALIA.

compiled by:

Albert Thomas Dryer,  
Bossley Park,  
New South Wales.

Your reference S.2250.

*With the Compliments  
of  
The Embassy of Ireland*

*Canberra, A. C. T.*

TEL. WETHERILL PARK. L 474

ALBERT T. DRYER

POLDING STREET,  
BOSSLEY PARK

21st. August, 1956.

To/

The Director,

Buro Staire Mileata 1913-21,

26 Raedh na nIartharach,

BAILE ATHA CLIATH,

EIRE.

Per favour of the Embassy of Ireland,

Canberra.

C H R O N O L O G Y .

- 1915 - 21st. July. Irish National Association founded in Sydney.
- 1916 - 24th. April. Easter-week Rising.
- 1917 - 7th. March. Resolution favouring "Home Rule" adopted by House of Representatives and the Senate of the Commonwealth Parliament.
- 1918 - 28th. March. Regulations under the War Precautions Act gazetted to control Sinn Fein and to prohibit the advocacy of the dismembership of the British Empire.
- 1918 - 17th. June. Internment of seven members of the Irish National Association.
- 1918 - 28th. November. Rev. Dr. (later Monsignor) Patrick Tuomey prosecuted for seditious utterance.
- 1919 - 3rd. November. Irish Race Convention in Melbourne.
- 1920 - 3rd. March. Mr. Osmond Thomas Grattan Esmonde deported after being prohibited from landing.
- 1920 - 13th. November. Mr. Hugh Mahon, M.P. expelled from Federal Parliament for disloyal utterance.
- 1921 - 26th. February. Irish Self-determination League of Australia launched in Sydney.
- 1923 - Rev. Fr. M. O'Flannagan and Mr. J.J. O'Kelly deported.
- 1925 - 16th. February. Misses Kathleen Barry and Linda Kearns for Republican funds.

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ORIGINAL

THE INDEPENDENCE OF IRELAND.

THE MOVEMENT IN AUSTRALIA.

The ratio of the Irish to the non-Irish portion of the Australian population during the period under review (1913-1921) was as one to three. Since then Irish blood has been more and more dispersed and the Australian population as a whole has been diluted by the influx of just over a million migrants since 1945. Only a relatively small proportion of the migrants were of Irish origin.

Up until at least the second decade of this century Irish blood was in purer form than it subsequently became and consequently there was a more vivid consciousness of relationship to the Motherland.

Prior to 1916, and for some little time after the Rising, the national policy for Ireland in Australia, as in other parts of the world, was "Home Rule." That policy had been quite warmly championed in Australia, not only by Irish people, but also by many of their friends. It secured the support of even some Australian governments and of non-Irish public men (as indicated in the within account).

The Irish independence movement was initiated by the Irish National Association, which was founded in Sydney on 21st. July, 1915. In the following two years branches were established in Brisbane and Melbourne.

As will be apparent in the following account, "Home Rule" continued to be advocated by many until well into the year 1919 and even later. The Irish elections of December, 1918, may be said to have hastened the ultimate disintegration of the "Home Rule" policy in Australia, as elsewhere.

The names of the various Irish organisations in Australia during the period under consideration may here be listed:-

Sydney: The Irish National Association, founded 1915; still (1956) in existence, was the only Irish organisation Sydney with the exception of - Cumann na mBan set up as a ladies' auxiliary to the Irish National Association in 1919 by Mr. Liam MacGuinness. It was active until about 1921; and

The Irish Self-determination League set up in Sydney and in other Australian centres by Miss Kathryn Hughes on 26th. February, 1921. Meetings were called in a large number of cities and towns. It did not survive for more than a year or so.

Melbourne: The Irish National Association, founded by Messrs. Francis J. MacKeown and Maurice Dalton on 14th. September, 1917. It did not survive after 1920. (It has been revived this year, 1956).

Young Ireland Society set up at the end of 1916 (exact date not now ascertainable) to promote ideals of Irish-Ireland and independence. It also did not survive after 1920.

The United Irish League, a constitutional organisation which had been in existence for years. It exhibited active hostility to the ideal of independence and ceased to function when that ideal was vindicated.

St. Patrick's Society, which was largely a social organisation, endeavoured also to foster Irish culture. (No information is available regarding the date of its foundation or its duration, but it has not functioned for many years).

The Gaelic League, founded by Mr. Francis J. MacKeown in April, 1912. It carried on for only a relatively brief period.

The Shamrock Club. This was a small club mainly of a social character.

The Celtic Club was in existence for many years prior to 1916. It was constitutionalist in character and during the critical period failed to associate itself with the separatist movement. It had its own premises with a liquor licence. Its membership was fairly extensive. It still flourishes. At the instigation of Dr. Thomas J. Kiernan, during his ambassadorship in Australia, it is supporting financially the establishment of a Chair of Gaelic Studies in Melbourne.

The Irish-Ireland League of Victoria. The multiplicity of Irish organisations in Melbourne led to disunity. This League represented an attempt to rectify the position. It comprised the following organisations:- St. Patrick's Society, Irish National Association, Young Ireland Society, Shamrock Club, Hibernian A.C.B. Society, Irish National Foresters, Catholic Young Men's Society, Australian Catholic Federation and the Catholic Workers. It was not successful.

Brisbane. The Irish National Association. This was established by Messrs. George McKitterick, T. Fitzgerald and W.J. Fegan on 10th. September, 1916. Its objects were identical with those of the Sydney branch. It ceased to operate after the death of Mr. Fitzgerald about 1921.

The Queensland Irish Association is the counterpart in Brisbane of the Celtic Club in Melbourne.

Adelaide. The Irish National Society was founded in 1918. There is no information to indicate the period of its existence. In its first annual report (30th. June, 1919) it stated: "The Society has completed its first year of existence. It came into being as the result of onslaughts made upon the freedom of Irishmen and their descendants in the Commonwealth. We are pleased that the Irish section of the citizens of South Australia were not subjected to such fanatical treatment as was meted out to the members of their race in the other States."

Throughout the whole period of the war a rigorous censorship was exercised and it was directed as rabidly against Ireland as against England's overt and active enemy, Germany. In 1916, when a Gaelic sports carnival was held in Sydney on 2nd. August, 1916, the handbill issued said: "Please contribute to the Irish Relief Fund initiated by the Irish National Association for the relief of those who so gallantly fought freedom's fight in Ireland recently." The Censor thereupon issued a peremptory warning with a threat of prosecution for any repetition of such an offence.

After the internment of the seven members of the Association on 17th. June, 1918, the Victorian Censor interdicted any press reference to the incident and forbade any public criticism of the Government's action.

About 1917 (exact date uncertain) Senator Pearce, Minister for Defence, censored a photo-play, "Ireland a Nation," on the ground that "it was not wise to resurrect the times of Robert Emmet in these days of stress, as it might cause disaffection among His Majesty's subjects."

The anti-Irish animus was manifest as early as 14th. January, 1916, when the "Sydney Morning Herald" said: At the close of the play, in response to recalls, he (Mr. Gerald Griffin) sang "The Wearing of the Green," which in present circumstances was scarcely tactful."

During the period under review (exact date not known), Rev. Fr. J.A. Roche, a Sydney priest, was fined £5 at Auckland, New Zealand, for saying that the Germans were better civilised than the English.

In December, 1918, Rev. Dr. P. Tuomey was fined £30 in Sydney for advocating independence for Ireland. (Details later in this record).

In December, 1917, Mr. William J. Fegan, of Brisbane, was arrested and interned in Darlinghurst Gaol, Sydney, after he had been found guilty of "a seditious utterance" in a letter addressed to the press. He was released on 19th. December, 1918.

In June, 1918, Mr. Michael Kiely, of Warrnambool, Victoria, was also arrested and interned in Darlinghurst Gaol, Sydney. He was in a state of ill-health and had been holidaying in Tasmania. He was denounced by one, John Luck, a hotel-keeper in a northern Tasmanian town where Mr. Kiely was temporarily quartered. He stated that the only pretext that could have been employed against him was that he had warmly defended Archbishop Mannix.

Other incidents, which are referred to in greater detail later on in this account and which are illustrative of the temper of the times were the internments on 17th. June, 1918, the deportation of Mr. Osmond Thomas Grattan Esmonde on 3rd. March, 1920, the expulsion of Mr. Hugh Mahon from the Federal Parliament on 13th. November, 1920 and the deportation of Rev. Fr. M. O'Flanagan and Mr. J.J. O'Kelly in 1923.

Every effort was employed by the authorities to suppress authentic news from Ireland. All correspondence was heavily censored. Irish and Irish-American newspapers of a national character, such as "Nationality," "Young Ireland," "The Gaelic American" and "The Irish World" were not permitted entry into Australia. Irish books of a national character were also in the category of prohibited imports.

Drastic regulations were gazetted on 28th. March, 1918, which, in effect, banned Sinn Fein and forbade the advocacy of the "dismemberment of the British Empire," i.e., the separation of Ireland.

The attitude of the Hierarchy to the principle of Ireland's independence was unfavourable until long after the Rising. The exception was Dr. Mannix, who, insofar as the Hierarchy was concerned, was the first to appreciate its real significance. Prior to the Rising, there was no evidence, outside the ranks of the I.N.A., of support for such a principle.

Generally, it would appear that the pattern of Irish thinking in Australia resembled that in Ireland. The course of the independence movement ran

(closely.

closely parallel in both countries, although it was naturally modified by the fact that in Australia the Irish race was living in a predominantly British environment.



(A.T. Dryer,  
Polding Street,  
Bossley Park,  
New South Wales).

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY 1913-21  
BURO STAIRE MILEATA 1913-21  
No. W.S. 1,526

CURRICULA VITARUM.

VERY REV. MONSIGNOR PATRICK TUOMEY, P.P., D.Ph., S.T.L.

11th. September, 1885. Born at "Iremore," near Listowel, Co. Kerry.

18th. February, 1955. Died at Sydney, New South Wales.

Educated at St. Michael's College, Listowel; Carlow College and the Irish College, Rome.

19th. May, 1909. Ordained at Rome. Graduated as Doctor of Philosophy.

November, 1909. Arrived in Sydney.

March, 1910. Professor of Dogmatic Theology, St. Patrick's College, Manly, Sydney.

December, 1911. Assistant Priest, St. Benedict's Church, Broadway, Sydney.

December, 1916. Priest-in-charge, Parish of Mittagong-Bowral, New South Wales.

May, 1922. Parish Priest, Erskineville, Sydney.

November, 1935. Parish Priest, Dulwich Hill, Sydney.

In the history of Irish-Australia the Very Rev. Monsignor Patrick Tuomey occupies a niche of unassailable pre-eminence. His work for the cause of Ireland's independence was carried out mainly through the medium of the Irish National Association, of which he became a member immediately after its foundation in July, 1915, and with whose ideals he was in perfect accord. In that organisation his intense zeal and dynamic personality promptly established him as an inspiring leader.

At a point in history when advocacy of such a principle as the right of Ireland to absolute independence was held to be not only quixotic but subversive and evil, he dedicated himself unreservedly and devotedly to that doctrine. Under the spell of his excelling oratory, multitudes were led from the prevailing concept of "Home Rule" as the ultimate expression of Irish freedom to a full realisation of Ireland's fundamental national right. During the nine months preceding the Rising, that is, from the time of the foundation of the Association, his voice alone, among the clergy, was raised to assert that right.

Throughout the period of the war and until the world commenced to adjust itself to the idea of an Irish Republic, the defence of Ireland's freedom demanded courage in Australia, as it did in Ireland. In a war-crazed community, Dr. Tuomey suffered from ecclesiastical disapprobation for the course he was following. The entourage, lay and clerical, of the Archbishop of Sydney, the Most Rev. Dr. Michael Kelly, was strongly imbued with the ~~Irish~~ loyalism of the time, and the influence of this group upon the Archbishop induced in him a spirit of hostility to the ideal of Irish independence. Dr. Tuomey's transfer, as Priest-in-charge, to the parish of Mittagong-Bowral, eighty miles from Sydney, was held to have a definite relationship to hierarchical sentiments.

In the field of Irish patriotic endeavours, Dr. Tuomey was a central figure. He was regarded by competent judgment as one who ranked amongst the very greatest. Certainly, his firmly-held convictions, expressed by oratory of the most excelling eloquence and power, were probably the most fruitful and effective factor in New South Wales in moulding opinion in favour of complete Irish freedom.

The success of his efforts extended beyond the tolerance of the military authorities, for, after an address given on the 4th. September, 1918, he was prosecuted and fined £30.

In defending the cause of Ireland he was forthright, vehement and direct, although his character was gentle, kindly and charitable in a conspicuous degree. His manliness and courage, under testing circumstances, never faltered when Ireland's rights or honour were at stake. In the tradition of the greatest of Irish patriots, he never counted the cost to himself. His was indeed a life of selfless devotion, and the most eloquent language of praise could not adequately assess the real character of this pre-eminently noble and patriotic priest.

REMARKABLE IRISH PRIEST MOURNED.

The best-known and perhaps the best-loved of the remarkable band of Irish priests who came to Australia upwards of 40 years ago and developed the vigorous Faith characteristic of Australian Catholicism today, died peacefully at Lewisham Private Hospital last Friday (18/2/55).

He was the Very Rev. Monsignor Patrick Tuomey, parish priest of Dulwich Hill, extraordinary apostle of charity and one of the most loyal sons of Ireland ever to carry the torch of the gospel to distant lands.

His loyalty to Ireland was equalled only by his love of Australia, which found expression in his positive hatred of social injustice and the alien tyranny of communism, which he saw as the greatest menace to Australia's future.

A Cardinal, four Bishops, 300 priests, the State Premier and more than 3000 Catholics attended his funeral from St. Paul of the Cross Church, Dulwich Hill, on Monday morning. It was one of the most impressive tributes ever paid to a priest of the Archdiocese of Sydney.

Patrick Tuomey was born at "Iremore", four miles from Listowel, County Kerry, on September 11, 69 years ago. Two brothers, Eugene and John survive him in Listowel and two sisters in Ireland. He had not long returned from a happy year with them when the first signs of his fatal illness showed.

He had sisters and brothers in the service of the Church in U.S.A. One sister - a nun in Texas - accompanied him to Ireland. The other sister has a son a priest and a daughter a nun in America. Of his two brothers who were priests in U.S.A. one, Father James, survives him in the Diocese of Rochfort. The Tuomey name is well in keeping with the proud tradition of Listowel. It has given more priests and religious to the Church and more scholars to Christendom than any town in Ireland - "and that's saying a lot" as "The Doc" would say.

The academy with chief credit for this achievement, St. Michael's College, Listowel, is still going strong. From Listowel he went to Carlow College where he studied from 1902-06, and thence to the Irish College, Rome, for theology. Patrick Tuomey blazed through a brilliant scholastic career. In Rome, where he was ordained on May 19, 1909, he won his Doctorate of Philosophy, and came to Sydney in November of that year.

He was stationed at St. Mary's Cathedral until March 1910, and from that time, when he was appointed a young Professor of Dogmatic Theology at St. Patrick's College, Manly, he was affectionately known to all as "The Doc."

His manliness, his fearlessness, his utter unselfishness soon made him a personality among the priests of Sydney. His virtues were apparent in explosions of sterling piety and faith.

He came to Sydney in stirring days when bigotry was more articulate than now, and favoured frequent onslaughts on imaginary enemies in Rum, Rome and Ireland. Dr. Tuomey was in great demand for public occasions when he used his fiery eloquence and ready wit to great effect. The going was not always easy, and at times he found himself at loggerheads with authority. But he was first and always a man of God and of kindness, and his difficulties only enhanced his esteem with bishops, priests and people.

From Manly, in December, 1911, he went to St. Benedict's, Broadway, as assistant priest.

His fame became Australia wide in the anti-conscription campaigns and the controversies aroused by Easter Week in 1916. Ireland and Australia had an unfailing champion in Dr. Tuomey. He identified himself with the foundation of the Irish National Association; he graced many a hectic meeting and was the first sought and the first to greet every distinguished visitor from Ireland, from de Valera and Frank Aiken to Father Peyton and Sybil Connolly.

His helping hand and pocket were ever out to help young Irish migrants in their early days in a strange land.

In December, 1916, a new parish of Mittagong-Bowral was established with Dr. Tuomey priest in charge. There he built his first presbytery and he put his personality into that as he did in Erskineville (Sydney) and Dulwich Hill (Sydney) later. The house he built must be like himself, big hearted, generous and open - a house of hospitality.. His good humoured kindness won people of all shades on all sides.

Sydney welcomed him back to Erskineville in May, 1922, when he succeeded Father Kerwick. Here in the heart of industrial Sydney "The Doc" was at his best. He was the friend, the father, the counsellor of the poor far beyond the boundaries of his parish.

(The presbytery.

The presbytery was not big enough for him, for his work, and his multitude of callers in distress. He built a new one and a worthy one to remedy that. He became identified with the work of the Brothers of St. Vincent de Paul and used his eloquence for every important appeal.

His name will ever be revered in the Matt Talbot Hostel which he helped to found and endow; in the Buckingham-street "Our Lady's Home" where the good Franciscan Missionaries of Mary have lost their Father Bountiful. His name was a household word in the homes of the poor in the surrounding districts which felt the full brunt of two depressions in his time.

In November, 1935, he began his fruitful pastorate at Dulwich Hill. Here he had full scope for new enterprises of zeal, for new conquests in militant charity. He was elevated to the rank of Privy Chamberlain with the title of Very Rev. Monsignor in 1950.

He first enlarged the presbytery to make it open door for many visiting prelates, for priests from far and near, for callers of every calibre from Cabinet Ministers to job seekers, of every age from the children who adored him to the aged to whom he was an earthly Guardian Angel. Sunday after Sunday he inspired his people with his infective generous piety and Dulwich Hill led Sydney in appeals for special charities extending as far afield as the Islands of the Pacific,

Father Peyton made it his first port of call; the Mass, the Rosary, the Stations of the Cross were the enthusiasms in piety of Dr. Tuomey. He used no book when leading the Stations. His prayer at every scene was a sermon in itself.

He was pre-eminent in encouraging and helping Australian vocations for the priesthood. His greatest help was silent and unseen. The Bursary Fund at Manly had no more earnest advocate.

With all his goodness and bubbling generosity wherever "The Doc" appeared there was a genial diffusion of earnest hilarity. His presence was besought at every ~~major~~ function of major importance in Australia from Perth to Cairns; he counted prelates like Archbishop Mannix and Archbishop Duhig amongst his close friends and his own Cardinal Archbishop has paid many public tributes to his worth and example.

His last public appeal was at the blessing of the new church at Ashbury for his close friend Father Dan Galvin. This was appropriate for the founder of that parish was the closest friend of Dr. Tuomey - the well beloved Father Ted McMahon.

Monsignor Tuomey, Irish of the Irish among the priests of Sydney, was always distinguished for his predilection and affection for young Australian priests, Dr. Tuomey was also a Judge of the Diocesan Tribunal for Matrimonial Causes.

He had made three trips to his homeland and was looking forward to another, but death intervened.

Monsignor Tuomey's funeral last Monday morning was one of the biggest in the metropolitan area for some years.

The Church of the Immaculate Conception and St. Paul of the Cross at Dulwich Hill was crowded an hour before the Requiem Mass, which was celebrated for the repose of his soul by Very Rev. Monsignor P. Flanagan, P.P. (Earlwood).

Hundreds of people who could not gain admittance knelt in the church grounds.

His eminence Cardinal Gilroy presided at the Mass and gave the Final Absolutions. Also present on the sanctuary were Their Lordships Bishops Norton, of Bathurst, Fox, of Wilcannia-Forbes, McCabe, of Wollongong, Brennan, of Toowoomba, and Carroll, Auxiliary Bishop to His Eminence. Hundreds of clergy in surplices and soutanes chanted the music of the Mass.

All sections of the community were represented at the Mass and those present included the Premier (Mr. J.J. Cahill, M.L.A.).

Deacon was the Rev. Father W. Murray (Dulwich Hill) and sub-deacon the Rev. Father E. Burton (Rockdale). Master of Ceremonies was the Very Rev. Monsignor M. Cronin (Summer Hill) and master of ceremonies to His Eminence was the Rev. Father H. Kennedy (St. Mary's Cathedral).

The funeral was to Rookwood Cemetery, where Bishop Fox officiated at the graveside assisted by Bishops Brennan and Carroll.

A very large number of clergy were present at the Solemn Office of the Dead, which was chanted for the repose of his soul in the Dulwich Hill church on Sunday evening. Those in the sanctuary included The Lordships Bishops Fox, Lyons (Auxiliary Bishop to His Eminence Cardinal Gilroy), Brennan and Carroll.- R.I.P.

*J. J. Higgins*  
52 Cross St.,  
Guildford, N.S.W.  
15th. August, 1956.

*Alger*  
Polding St.,  
Bossley Park,  
N.S.W.  
15th. August, 1956.

VERY REV. DR. MAURICE JOSEPH O'REILLY, C.M., D.D.

1866. Born at Cobh, Co. Cork.

25th. September, 1933. Died at Sydney, New South Wales.

Educated at St. Colman's College, Fermoy (where he was a classmate of Archbishop Mannix), St. Patrick's, Maynooth, and Vincentian Seminary at Blackrock.

November, 1892. Arrived at Melbourne, Victoria.

1894. Went to New Zealand.

1903. President, St. Stanislaus' College, Bathurst, New South Wales, until 1914.

1915. President, Castleknock College, Dublin, for three months.

September, 1915. Recalled to Australia to become Rector of St. John's College within the University, Sydney. He retained this office until his death.

1926. First Provincial of the Australian Province of the Congregation of the Missions.

The Very Rev. Dr. Maurice O'Reilly was a great priest, a profound scholar, a notable linguist, ~~a notable linguist~~, a refined, cultured gentleman, a poet and an ardent patriot. As an orator he was known throughout Australia, especially in the eastern States. When the truths of religion were assailed and when he encountered injustice, the qualities of his mind were manifested in memorable controversies. The sincerity of his commanding and powerful personality compelled the respect even of those who differed from him, and he was for years a public figure. The Rectorship of St. John's College within the University added to his stature.

His immediate reaction to Easter-week was one of bitterness and condemnation, but within a few weeks he reversed this attitude. Thereafter his championship of the cause of the Irish Republic was a feature of the public life of Sydney.

*J. Higgins*

*R. Ryan*

JOHN TIGHE RYAN.

1870. Born at Milltown, Clonoulty, Co. Tipperary.

20th. September, 1922. Died at Sydney, New South Wales.

Came to Australia in early boyhood.

On staff of "Daily Telegraph," Sydney.

Australian representative of "Pall Mall Gazette," and later of the "Westminster Gazette."

Later on became editor of the "Gundagai Times," New South Wales.

1897. Appointed editor of the "Catholic Press," Sydney. He held the appointment until the day of his death.

John Tighe Ryan was regarded as one of the ablest journalists in Australia. Through the instrumentality of the "Catholic Press," which was a large weekly journal, he exerted a powerful influence on the public life of Australia.

He was possessed of great gifts of mind and it was fortunate for the cause of Ireland that he employed them as he did. It would indeed be difficult to overestimate the tremendous influence which he exerted in moulding Irish opinion. For year after year, and especially during the critical years from 1916 until his death in 1922, a very considerable proportion of the pages of the "Press" was intensively devoted to the presentation of every facet of Ireland's problem. Week after week enlightenment and information on Ireland poured forth from its pages. The truly enormous amount of vital information he thus purveyed to the public mind - restricted only by the rigours of a censorship exercised by the hibernophobic Professor G.G. Nicholson - marked Tighe Ryan (as he was familiarly known) as one of the very greatest exponents and champions of Irish republicanism in Australia.

Amongst those placed in a position to exercise the power of the press, he was the first to realise, almost instinctively, the real significance of Easter-week. If he was assailed at first, briefly, by some doubts - the almost inevitable effect of lack of knowledge of the plans and purpose of the men of 1916 - amends in full measure were made as he went on to magnificent achievement through the instrument which Providence had placed in his hands, so that now, thirty-four years after his death, the tradition he established then still persists.

He died suddenly from cerebral haemorrhage at the age of fifty-two, literally worn out in the service of Ireland.

*J. J. Higgins*

*Robert*

ALBERT THOMAS DRYER.

1st. March, 1888. Born at Balmain, Sydney.

19th. January, 1893. Death of father.

Ancestry: Mother, Mary Cusick, native of Poulmagoona, Co. Clare.

Father, native of Sydney.

Paternal grandmother, Catherine O'Farrell, native of Co. Laois.

Paternal grandfather, Caspar Dryer, native of Bremen, Germany.

Educated at various primary schools in Singleton and Sydney, New South Wales.

1908. Joined Commonwealth Trade and Customs Department.

1913. Graduated in Arts, Sydney University.

1914. Very strong interest in Ireland enkindled by Mrs. Alice S. Green's "Irish Nationality."

21st. July, 1915. Founded the Irish National Association in Sydney to propagate the principle of independence for Ireland and to foster Irish tradition and culture. Was first secretary for about six years.

17th. June, 1918. Interned in Darlinghurst Gaol, Sydney, with six other members of the Irish National Association (including two from Melbourne and one from Brisbane).

11th. February, 1919. Released.

1926. Graduated as Associate of the Sydney Technical College in (1) Science and (2) Biology.

29th. April, 1933. Married Elizabeth Ellen Haynes, a direct descendant of Tiernan O'Rourke. Issue: a son, Albert Benjamin.

1938. Graduated in Medicine and Surgery, Sydney University.

1st. June, 1948. Chairman to Mr. de Valera's meeting in Sydney. 13,000 present.

1948. Secretary to the Australian League for an Undivided Ireland.

1953. Acted for Dr. T.J. Kiernan, Ambassador of Ireland, who initiated the Lectureship in Irish Studies at Sydney University. Series begun by Professor Myles Dillon.

1954. Acted similarly for Professor D.A. Webb.

Albert Thomas Dryer was the first person in Australia publicly to advocate the independence of Ireland and the ideals of an Irish-Ireland.

After the death of his father, before reaching the age of five, he resided with his maternal grandmother at Singleton, New South Wales, where he spent his childhood and youth. There was a strong Irish element in the local community, but national ideas received no emphasis.

In 1914, Mrs. A.S. Green's "Irish Nationality" provided him, for the first time, with insight into the authentic history of Ireland. The advance from knowledge of the elementary facts of that history to its corollary, Ireland's right to independence and the cogency of the recovery of her Gaelic civilisation, was inevitable and spontaneous. Imbued with these ideals, he founded in the following year (21st. July, 1915) the Irish National Association, an organisation destined to assume a historic character.

This was the genesis in Australia of the movement for the independence of Ireland.

His dynamic labours and high ideals were recognised as preponderant factors which led to the degree of success manifested in the powerful and fruitful influence exerted by the Association in infusing into the public mind the ideal of Ireland's independence.

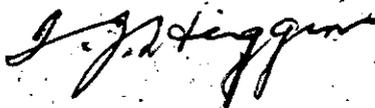
On 17th. June, 1918, he was arrested with six other members of the Association and incarcerated in Darlinghurst Gaol, Sydney. He was released on 11th. February, 1919 - about two months after his companions - and simultaneously dismissed from the Department of Trade and Customs.

He is distinguished as the only Australian ever to have been in gaol in Australia for the cause of Ireland.

A long period of the severest adversity ensued upon his release, which did not terminate until 1938, when, at the age of 50, he graduated in Medicine and Surgery at Sydney University. He pursued his studies in this faculty under conditions of incredible hardship.

In a life dedicated to the cause of Ireland since 1914, he accomplished his work with quiet determination and unobtrusiveness, fortified by a deep knowledge of her history and culture. During the vital period both preceding and subsequent to Easter-Week, his personality and energy became the heart and impulse of the independence movement in New South Wales.

The fact that he is not of actual Irish birth has evoked comment when consideration is given to his intense love of and sacrifices for Ireland during his very distinguished career in the service of her cause.



LIAM MacAONGUSA.

(William MacGuinness).

10th. April, 1889. - Born at Belfast, Ireland.

1893. - Death of father.

1904. - Joined Fianna na hEireann in Belfast, after meeting Bulmer Hobson with whom he was to be associated for long afterwards.

1904. - Joined Dungannon Club (Bulmer Hobson, president). Met O'Donovan Rossa there.

Later played part of Patrick in "Cathleen ni Houlihan" (Yeats) in the Ulster Literary Theatre.

(In 1916, in Australia, played part of Michael in the same play, produced by the Irish National Association in Sydney.

1905. - In caste of "Deirdre" (A.E.), produced by Ulster Literary Theatre.

Was associated in Belfast with Francis Joseph Bigger, Herbert Hughes, Joseph Campbell, Jack Campbell, Josephine Campbell, Lena Hughes, Jack and Frederick Morrow, Robert Rutherford-Mayne, Robert Lynd, - McBurney, Fred. Gordon, Cathleen Campbell and Denis McCulloch.

1906. - Sworn in to the Irish Republican Brotherhood at Belfast.

Gave Sean MacDermott his first book of Sinn Fein or Republican writing - a volume of Fintan Lalor's - when he came from Manorhamilton, Leitrim to Belfast. The book belonged to Bulmer Hobson.

June, 1907. - Met Roger Casement in Belfast.

1909 to 1911. - Thereafter frequently met Roger Casement with F.J. Bigger, Bulmer Hobson and members of the Ulster Literary Theatre at feiseanna. At these feiseanna at Cushendun, Cushendall, Ballycastle etc. met many Abbey Theatre personalities, Padraic Colum, Maurice Joy, Tom Kettle, also Countess Markievicz, Alice Milligan, Robert Johnson (father of Anna MacManus)? Dr. Patrick McCartan, Joe McGarrity and Seumas MacManus.

Was a member of the Gaelic League and of the Gaelic Athletic Association.

1910.- When Bulmer Hobson was going to Dublin to edit an Irish-Ireland paper, it was arranged that Wm. MacGuinness should accompany him, but at this time his mother insisted upon going to Australia to join her son. He was, very reluctantly, obliged to accompany her.

January, 1912. - Arrived in Sydney.

August, 1915. - Joined the recently formed Irish National Association. Thenceforward for years, until he left Sydney for the country, he was an active executive official of the Association.

1917. - Re-joined the Irish Republican Brotherhood in Sydney.

17th. June, 1918. - Interned in Darlinghurst Gaol, Sydney, with six other members of the Irish National Association.

19th. December, 1918. - Released.

1919. - Founded Cumann na mBan in Sydney.

1919. - Delegate to Irish Race Convention, Melbourne.

1922. - Cast in role of "MacDara" in "The Singer" (Pearse), Sydney.

23rd. November, 1923. - Married Mary Dunne. (Issue: a son, Brian).

During his career in Australia, as a member of the Irish National Association, Liam MacAongusa maintained the intense and unremitting devotion to the cause of Irish-Ireland that characterised him in Ireland. In all departments of Irish activities his wise and sustained enthusiasm proved a very significant factor in promoting the cause of Ireland's independence, as well as of her culture. His associates regarded as inspiring his personality and labours for the cause. In the unusual qualities of his character, he maintained the very highest traditions of the race.

ANDREW and MATTHEW ORGAN.

ANDREW ORGAN:

Born 25th. November, 1887, at Cork, Ireland.

MATTHEW ORGAN:

Born July, 1885, at Cork, Ireland.

Prior to the entry of America into the first World War, it was vitally necessary for those committed to the cause of Irish independence to maintain communication with America and, through that country, with Ireland. This work was carried out almost entirely by Andrew Organ aided by his brother, Matthew.

They were both seamen engaged on the Pacific route between Australia and America.

Andrew Organ was a man of intelligence and resource and a most ardent patriot. Among his contacts in the United States were Rev. Fr. Peter C. Yorke, of San Francisco, and Mr. Laurence De Lacey. His was the key position in maintaining the lines of communication between Australia, on the one hand, and America and Ireland on the other, and he was instrumental in obtaining most of the material used by the Irish National Association for propaganda. Correspondence inwards and outwards was handled by him, as were also Irish and Irish-American journals (which at this period were prohibited imports into Australia). In this regard he was also the trusted agent of prominent people, such as Very Rev. Mons. Tuomey and Very Rev. M.J. O'Reilly.

Throughout much of this time, Andrew Organ was under police surveillance. Once when a well-known detective was travelling to New Zealand, the crew were ordered to the upper decks, ostensibly for "boat drill." Upon returning to their quarters, the brothers Organ found that their personal belongings had been disturbed during the interval.

Upon another occasion a loyalist crew refused to sail with Andrew Organ from Sydney.

His work was quite invaluable and through him the Irish National Association was able to apprise its members and, through them, the public regarding the progress of national affairs abroad, and great credit is due to the brothers for their efficiency and zeal.

*J. Higgins*

*Andrew Organ*

EDMUND MCSWEENEY.

1st. January, 1861. Born at Burncourt, Co. Tipperary.

24th. February, 1929. Died at Sydney.

Educated at National School and St. Michael's College, Listowel.

Founded branch of Land League at Ballydonohue, Vo. Kerry.

1882 or 1883. Was in England for a brief period.

1883 (approx.). Came to Melbourne, Victoria; thence went to Auckland and Wellington, New Zealand.

1889 or 1890. Came to Sydney where he resided during the remainder of his life.

Was a foundation member of the Shamrock Club, Sydney.

10th. October, 1892. Married Elizabeth Mary Teresa O'Connor (a second cousin of The O'Rahilly) - (a son, William).

The 'Ninety-eight Mausoleum erected to the memory of Michael Dwyer (the "Wicklow Chief"), in Waverley Cemetery, Sydney, is considered to be one of the most striking monuments to Irish patriotism in the world. Edmund McSweeney was secretary to the committee which initiated and carried out the project in which his role was very prominent.

August, 1915. Member of the recently founded Irish National Association. Soon became an executive member, and was for a period its president.

1917. Member of the Irish Republican Brotherhood, Sydney.

17th. June, 1918. Interned in Darlinghurst Gaol, Sydney, with six other members of the Irish National Association.

19th. December, 1918. Released.

1921. Member of the Self-determination for Ireland League, Sydney.

Edmund McSweeney was very deeply versed in the history of Ireland and lectured upon the subject before the Irish National Association, Sydney, as he had already done before the Irish National League in Auckland, New Zealand.

He was equipped with a sound knowledge of Irish music, literature and culture generally.

Throughout his life, from his youthful days when he was associated with the "Moonlighters" in Kerry, until the last, he was devoted with unusual ardour and singleness of purpose to the cause of Ireland. He was associated with every Irish movement in Sydney and was a foremost advocate of independence for Ireland.

Earnestness and sincerity were prominent marks of his character.

*J. Higgins*

*[Signature]*

FRANCIS JAMES MacKEOWN.

23rd. March, 1884. Born in England.

31st. May, 1944. Died at Melbourne, Victoria.

Resided for an extended period in Dundalk, Ireland.

Ancestry: Father, James MacKeown, Dundalk;

Mother, Brigid MacCarthy, Galway.

17th. March, 1912. Arrived in Australia. Resided in Melbourne.

April, 1912. Founded branch of Gaelic League in Melbourne.

5th. August, 1916. Married Fodhla Quilligan.

Issue: Pearse Enda, Enda Colbert, Maeve Maura, Terence Patrick and Nesson Eugene.

14th. September, 1917. Co-founder and secretary of the Melbourne branch of the Irish National Association.

17th. June, 1918. Arrested in Melbourne and interned in Darlinghurst Gaol, Sydney, with six other members of the Irish National Association.

19th. December, 1918. Released.

1922. Co-founder of Terence MacSwiney Branch of the Gaelic League in Melbourne.

Francis MacKeown, an ardent separatist throughout his life, employed all his faculties in the cause of Ireland. He completely surrendered himself to the work of promulgating the ideal of a Gaelic Ireland and laboured with sacrificial zeal for the Irish language.

The great warmth of his unaffected character endeared him to all his associates.

*J. J. Higgins*

*[Signature]*

THOMAS FITZGERALD.

1876 (approx.). Born in Dublin, Ireland.

1921 (approx.) Died at Brisbane, Queensland.

10th. September, 1916. Co-founder of Brisbane branch of the Irish National Association.

17th. June, 1918. Arrested in Brisbane and interned in Darlinghurst Gaol, Sydney.

19th. December, 1918. Released.

Was secretary to the Irish National Association, Brisbane, from 1917 until his death.

1917. Became a member of the Irish Republican Brotherhood.

Zealously devoted to the cause of Ireland's independence for which he laboured very energetically in Queensland and in that regard he very conspicuously ~~majaxraks~~ played a major role.

... ..

MICHAEL MAUGING.

1876 (approx.). Born at Westport, Co. Mayo. Still living (1956).

17th. June, 1918. Interned in Darlinghurst Gaol, Sydney.

19th. December, 1918. Released.

Was an official of the Irish National Association, Sydney, almost from the time of its foundation.

A native speaker of the Irish language.

One of the very greatest exponents of Irish dancing in Australia.

... ..

MAURICE DALTON.

1843 (approx.). Born in Ireland (probably Tipperary).

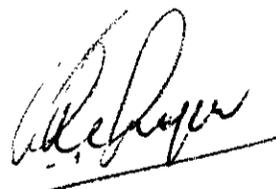
1920 (approx.). Died in Melbourne, Victoria.

Was a member of the Irish Republican Brotherhood in 1865 or 1867 in Ireland.

1917. Initiated the organisation in Australia.

13th. September, 1917. Was co-founder with Mr. F.J. MacKeown of the Irish National Association, Melbourne branch.

... ..



"HOME RULE."

H O M E R U L E .

24th. February, 1883. "The Freeman's Journal", Sydney. (Catholic weekly).

Arrival of Mr. J.E. Redmond, M.P.

On Monday (19th. February, 1883) Mr. J.E. Redmond, M.P., the delegate of the Irish National League, accompanied by his brother, Mr. W.K. Redmond and Mr. J.W. Walshe, the League representative, arrived in Sydney direct from Adelaide.

3rd. March, 1883. "The Freeman's Journal."

The first address was given in the Academy of Music on Thursday, 22nd. March, 1883.

10th. March, 1883. "The Freeman's Journal."

At a meeting held in the Protestant Hall on Tuesday (6th. March, 1883), Sir Henry Parkes moved: "That this meeting emphatically protests against the mission of Messrs. Redmond." In the course of his remarks, Parkes said: "We have met this evening to protect the purity of Australian public life."

(Note: Sir Henry Parkes, a prominent member of the Orange order, was Premier of New South Wales. He was the author of the Education Act which made education in New South Wales "compulsory, secular and free." This was directed against the interests of Catholic schools).

December, 1901. Visit by Mr. William O'Brien, for health reasons.

17th. March, 1905. Mr. William Redmond was present at St. Patrick's Day function.

19th. October, 1905. "Catholic Press," Sydney. (Catholic weekly).

Mr. H.B. Higgins (afterwards Mr. Justice Higgins) moved in the House of Representatives, on the 12th. October, 1905, the following resolution:-

"That an humble address be presented to His Majesty as follows-

May it please Your Majesty:

We, your Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the members of the House of Representatives, in Parliament assembled, desire most earnestly in our name and on behalf of the people whom we represent, to express our unswerving loyalty and devotion to Your Majesty's person and Government.

Enjoying and appreciating as we do the blessing of Home Rule here, we would humbly express the hope that a just measure of Home Rule may be granted to the people of Ireland. They ask for it through their representatives - never has request more clear, consistent and continuous been made by any nation. As subjects of Your Majesty we are interested in the peace and contentment of all parts of the Empire, and we desire to see this long-standing grievance at the very heart of the Empire removed. It is our desire for the solidarity and permanence of the Empire, as a Power making for peace and civilisation, that must be our excuse for submitting to Your Majesty this respectful petition."

The motion was supported by Mr. Alfred Deakin, the Prime Minister. It was carried by 30 votes to 21.

Senator Dawson moved a similar motion in the Senate, which was carried by 16 votes to 11.

2nd. August, 1906. Messrs. Jos. Devlin and J.T. Donovan arrive in Sydney from Melbourne.

October, 1910. Visit by Mr. William Redmond.

1911/12. Visit by Messrs. Donovan, R. Hazelton and W.A. Redmond.

June, 1914. Monster Home Rule meeting in Town Hall, Sydney.

1915.

THE IRISH NATIONAL ASSOCIATION.

## A New Deal For Irish Culture In Australia

**T**HE Irish Cultural Centre, which is being erected by the Irish National Association in Devonshire-street, near the southern end of the Central Railway Station, is to be opened on Sunday, September 16.

The Irish National Association is an organisation which enjoys historic status by virtue of the fact that it was the pioneer advocate in Australia of the national independence of Ireland, as well as of those Gaelic-Ireland ideals connoted by the term "the Irish Renaissance." Founded by Dr. Albert T. Dryer on July 21, 1915, its voice alone in Australia was raised in defence of Ireland's full national rights.

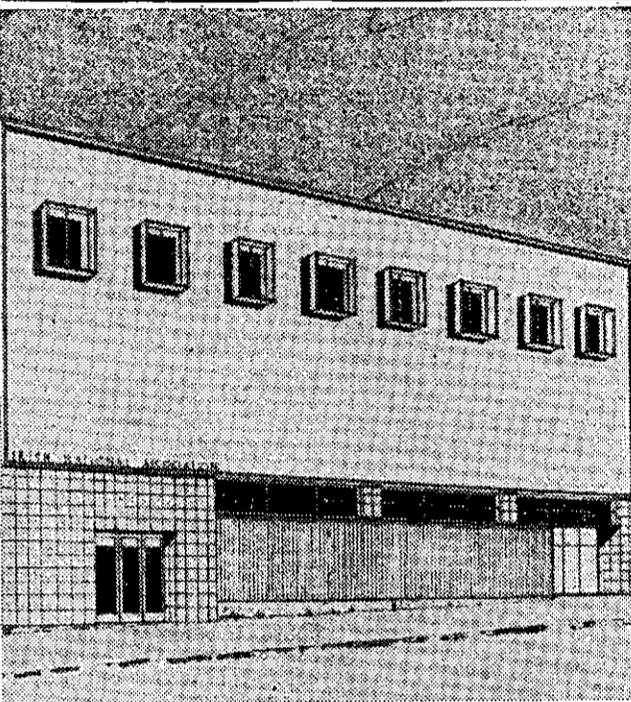
At its foundation meeting its chairman was Mr. John O'Brien. The proposal to establish it was moved by Dr. Dryer (who became its first secretary) and seconded by Mr. Peter Burns. Eighteen people were present, including Mr. C. C. Lazzarini, M.L.A., and Mr. P. O'Loughlin, president and secretary, respectively, of the H.A.C.B. Society. Survivors of that meeting are Messrs. P. Burns, A. Dryer, Michael Prendergast and Joseph Quinn.

At the time of its establishment, nine months prior to the Easter Week Rising of 1916, the popular attitude to Ireland's status as a nation was a readiness to accept, as a final settlement, that devolution of limited powers of government known as "Home Rule."

That cause had been vigorously advocated and supported in Australia by most people of Irish blood, as well as others, and even by some Australian Governments. As the minds of the majority were then conditioned, it appeared to be a worthy cause, but it led that majority to rationalise their attitude to such an extent that separatism was held to be quixotic and impossible and, by some, to be even vaguely immoral.

When the ideal of complete independence for Ireland was projected into such a milieu and presented to a community of war-conditioned mentality, the evocation of hostility was inevitable. It was accordingly vehemently denounced. Not until long after Easter Week was the association's doctrine of Ireland's basic right to absolute freedom completely vindicated.

By a Special Correspondent



Artist's drawing of new Irish Cultural Centre

### Irish revival is aim of new Sydney centre

Irish independence was the prime object of the association, but, as a corollary to that, it endeavored to extend the influence of Irish ideals, traditions and culture and to foster the study of the language, history, literature, music, art and dancing of Ireland, as well as of her sports and pastimes.

Notwithstanding the limitations imposed upon the activities of the association by the lack of adequate facilities, it developed its objects with very great success.

Firstly, it sought at its weekly meetings, by means of lectures, readings and discussions, to imbue the minds of its members with the basic and authentic principles of Irish nationality. Prior to the entry of America into the first World War, the lines of communication with that country and, through it, with Ireland, were maintained through the offices of Messrs. Andrew and Matthew Organ, who were engaged on trans-Pacific liners. The information thus obtained enabled the association to counter much false

and anti-Irish propaganda.

In expounding its ideals the association was served by a number of lecturers, some of them notable orators. Pre-eminently the Rev. Dr. (later Monsignor) Patrick Tuomey stood forth. Dr. Tuomey's great mind and greater heart were devoted to Ireland with a devotion of which self formed no part.

His sincerity, his magnificent personality, his overwhelming and impassioned oratory dominated the whole miseen-scene of Irish affairs, especially in the earlier, more difficult days of the association's history. His exalted sentiments fired the zeal and inspired the souls of thousands. The cause of Ireland is a permanent debtor to him.

To his name are added those of the Very Rev. Dr. M. J. O'Reilly, C.M., Rev. Dr. P. Gearon, O.C.C., the Rev. Fathers T. O'Farrell, C.M., M. D. Forrest, M.S.C., J. Brown, Misses Amy Ryan, Hearn, S.J., T. Fitzgerald, O.F.M., M. A. Sheehy, D. O'Sullivan, J. Rohan, J.P. O'Connor, Sheridan, Messrs. H. E. Kelly, A. T. Dryer, E. McBurns, J. F. McGuinness, S.

Sweeney and Dr. Hanrahan.

**A** CLASS for the study of the Irish language was directed for several years by Messrs. P. and J. Geraghty. Under Mr. A. R. Welch, a war-pipe band functioned also for a very long period. Amongst its members were several notable exponents of Irish dancing, in which regard the Misses F. and J. Gillespie and Mollie McCabe were prominent. A dramatic group performed "Cathleen ni Houlihan," by W. B. Yeats. Numerous concerts were presented by the association, not only in Sydney, but in eight or ten country towns in Queensland and New South Wales.

The music, songs and dances brought to public attention by these functions preserved the authentic Gaelic idiom in a notable degree. They culminated in the concert in the Town Hall, Sydney, in 1947, which was presented in the form of a cavalcade of eight tableaux depicting important events in Irish history, which Mrs. Kiernan, wife of the Irish Ambassador in Australia, pronounced to be the greatest she had ever witnessed.

One historic incident in which the association was involved served to identify the spirit of the association with that of resurgent Ireland. This was the incarceration of seven of its members in Darlinghurst Gaol in 1918-19. There were four from the Sydney branch, Messrs. A. Dryer, W. MacGuinness, E. McSweeney, and M. McGing, two from Melbourne, Messrs. F. MacKeown and M. Dalton, and one from Brisbane, Mr. T. Fitzgerald. They were charged with the despatch of money to Ireland, through America, for the purchase of arms for the military forces of the Irish Republic.

The first president was Mr. John O'Brien, a very elderly man, who, after a severe accident, was compelled to resign. His office was filled by Mr. P. O'Loughlin, then District Secretary of the Hibernians. Mr. John Sheehy held the office for years, and for more than two decades Mr. Sean Kennedy has been president.

Other prominent executive officers during the earlier years were Mrs. Mary Ryan, Misses Amy Ryan, Bertha Harrison, S. O'Grady, and K. Manning, Messrs. G. O'Sullivan, J. Rohan, J.P. O'Connor, Sheridan, Messrs. H. E. Kelly, A. T. Dryer, E. McBurns, J. F. McGuinness, S.

O'Dwyer, J. F. Donovan, J. A. Murphy, Wm. Bourke, M. O'Brien, W. Organ, T. O'Dea and M. MacGing.

Other members who gave prominent service included Rev. Dr. Hayden, the Rev. Fathers J. Breen, E. Teehan, T. Barry, W. Barry (later Archbishop), H. Morris, T. Dunlea and D. O'Sullivan, Misses M. Organ, M. Sheehy, M. Maloney, E. Hayes, E. M. Hanly, A. Quinn and E. Duffy, and Messrs. W. Stack, D. Minogue (now M.H.R. for West Sydney), J. O'Shea, A. Doherty (ex-Deputy Lord Mayor of Sydney and secretary of the association), Mr. and Mrs. T. Higgins, P. Dolan and P. O'Halloran.

In June, 1919, the constitution was amended to provide for the amalgamation of all branches of the association. The Victorian branch has recently been revived by Mr. Leo Port. As the movement extends, the closer unity of the Irish race in Australia will be effected.

During Dr. T. J. Kiernan's term of office as Ambassador of Ireland, he initiated at Sydney University a Lectureship in Irish Studies. Professor Myles Dillon, of Dublin, probably the world's foremost Celtic scholar, was the first lecturer. He was followed by Professor D. A. Webb, also of Dublin, and by Dr. Kiernan himself, who has carried out important research into Irish-Australian history. The I.N.A. was Dr. Kiernan's instrument for negotiating the project with the University.

**SOME** seven or eight years ago, upon the initiative of Dr. Albert Dryer, it was decided to establish a reference library of Irish books. During that period he has gathered an important collection of volumes which will meet with discriminating approval.

It includes a photostat copy of the famed Book of Kells, as well as other rare and valuable works. A large number of books in the national language is also included. The library is designed for serious scholars and occupies a pivotal position in the scheme of things. When the financial position justifies it, a lending section will almost certainly be installed.

A conference will later be sought with the University authorities with a view to the establishment of a Chair of Celtic Studies upon lines so successfully adopted by Dr. Kiernan in the University of Melbourne, where such a faculty will be set up within a measurable period. Many books in the I.N.A. library will be available to students pursuing studies in that faculty.

**THE** new cultural centre will be the headquarters of the association and the centre of Irish life and thought in Sydney. It is being erected at a cost of more than £80,000 and is a splendid achievement of the architects; Messrs. L. P. Burns and T. M. Maloney, and the builders, Messrs. T. C. Whittle Pty. Ltd.

Its worthiness will be manifest when it takes its place amongst the important projects carried out in this city. It will be a source of pride and satisfaction to the Irish community.

The ceremony of formally and publicly opening the centre will be performed by Mr. Daniel Minogue, M.H.R., on Sunday, September 16. Mr. Minogue has for many years given unremitting devotion and intense zeal to the magnificent project, which will reach its culmination in that day.

The most advanced architectural conceptions are incorporated in its design. It consists of two full floors and a mezzanine, together with a flat roof extending over the full dimensions of the building.

**O**n the ground level is the auditorium, which seats 600 persons. The floor is specially designed and constructed for dancing. A fine stage is installed in the auditorium.

A most felicitous result has been achieved in the interior decoration and finish of the auditorium, which is chaste and restrained. Indeed, a very high degree of refinement is inherent in the whole conception of the centre.

On the first floor above the main auditorium there is situated another hall of ample, but more moderate proportions, which will accommodate smaller functions—lectures, meetings, social gatherings, and so forth. The extensive library is also on this floor; this is comfortably furnished for the convenience of readers. Three large offices on this floor will house the administrative departments.

#### Cherished Ambition

The realisation of this project has been a cherished ambition of the I.N.A. for many years. For much of that long period it was the dearest hope of the late Monsignor W. J. Hurley to see that ambition realised. His death in Ireland a few short weeks ago, on the very eve of the opening of the Centre, has, with tragic irony, cheated him of beholding the fulfilment of his dream. This is, indeed, a circumstance fraught with a

rare degree of sadness. Most strenuously did he strive and plan to accomplish the great enterprise.

With his name must be joined those of Mr. Daniel Minogue, and the late Mr. Michael O'Brien. To Mr. Minogue is due much of the credit for acquiring the site and he was a vital force in the financial affairs of the project. In this regard, too, Mr. P. O'Loughlin achieved an important individual financial result. The secretary of the building committee, Mr. John Pollock, has veritably performed prodigies of labor in his exacting and responsible office.

The efforts of the individual members of the committee have been generously expended upon every aspect of the undertaking. The members are: President, Mr. Sean Kennedy; vice-presidents, Messrs. J. McBride and Ald. E. Drew; secretary, Ald. A. Doherty (ex-Deputy Lord Mayor of Sydney); assistant secretaries, Mrs. N. Gallagher and Mr. J. Pollock; treasurer, Mr. M. O'Callaghan; wardens, Mrs. N. Mitchell and Mr. L. Gallagher; trustees, Messrs. D. Minogue, M.H.R.; P. Lenihan, and P. O'Loughlin; committee, Mrs. K. Fordham, Messrs. A. B. Dryer, M. Sheahan, W. Rae, T. Mannion, C. Dinan and Dr. A. T. Dryer.

#### Opening Date

The opening of the Irish Cultural Centre on September 16 will be a most memorable event, indeed, a landmark in Irish-Australian history. It is probably the only edifice in Australia devoted essentially to cultural purposes, and it is doubtful whether any other building exists in the Commonwealth devoted specifically to such a purpose as the implementation of the Association's national and cultural objectives, as expressed in its constitution.

Ireland's sentiments and traditions and influence must not be permitted to perish from Australia. To frustrate the forces which make for their annihilation is the supreme task of the Irish National Association.

A considerable sum is yet required to complete the financing of the building. The association, therefore, makes an earnest appeal to all people of Irish sympathies to help to liquidate the remaining debt, thus to remove a heavy incubus which would fetter the important work of the association.

A new chapter in Irish-Australian history opens; another era begins. The occasion is here now when we can unitedly co-operate for the glory of God, the benefit of Australia and the honor of Ireland.



# Irish National Association of New South Wales

338 Elizabeth Street,

Sydney, 12th June, 1916.

Dear Sir or Madam,

By direction of the IRISH NATIONAL ASSOCIATION we respectfully appeal to you for the dependents of those who lost their lives in the recent struggle in Dublin and elsewhere in Ireland.

For that event, to apportion praise or blame on those who are now beyond the reach of both is not our function. It is, however, our duty—as indeed it is the duty of every person of Irish descent or sympathy—to alleviate the distress of the unhappy parents, wives and children of the men whose gravest offence was loving their country—as millions before them loved it—more than they loved their lives.

When it became known that a large part of Dublin was destroyed, a movement of the Irish people sprang up to alleviate the wants of the sufferers.

At a mass meeting in New York, the three American Cardinals—Cardinals Gibbons, Farley and O'Connell—showed sympathy with the movement by speaking in favor of and monetarily assisting it. Even the London "Times" prominently published a letter from the Lord Mayor of Dublin, Alderman Gallagher, to the Irish in Great Britain for pecuniary aid.

Recent Irish newspapers assert that upwards of 40,000 people are in absolute destitution in Dublin city.

All moneys received will be transmitted to Archbishop Walsh, of Dublin, for distribution in accordance with the terms of this appeal.

The Treasurers will greatly acknowledge donations, with the names of the donors, in the "Catholic Press" and the "Freeman's Journal".

We would ask you to kindly make known this appeal as widely as possible. All communications to be addressed to the Hon. Secs., Irish National Association, Hibernian Hall, 338 Elizabeth Street, Sydney, and cheques and postal notes to be crossed and made payable to the Hon. Treasurers.

On behalf of the Irish National Association,

We are,

Your obedient servants,

E. McSWEENEY, Chairman.

Rev. P. TUOMEY, Ph.D. }

G. P. O'CONNOR }

Mrs. M. BROWN }

Hon.  
Treas.

A. T. DRYER, B.A. }

J. O'DWYER }

P. BURNS }

Hon.  
Secretaries

1916.

THE MOVEMENT FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF IRELAND

IN AUSTRALIA

.....

EXCERPTS FROM THE PUBLIC PRESS.

28th. April, 1916. "Evening News," Sydney: Archbishop M. Kelly, Sydney.

"We must regretfully consider the Sinn Feiners - in policy irreconcilable, in methods unwisely unpractical - as a standing antagonism to sound national policy.

"The Government by following hesitating lines of action regarding the Home Rule Bill, furnished an occasion for the propagation of disaffection. The rebellion, if the Dublin disturbance deserves the name, is but an untimely ebullition of rankling, misconceived patriotism. Hired suborners will have procured this deplorable disaster. I think that at such the arm of law and order should strike.

"Personally I am confident that the Irish in Australia promptly disown every deed of disloyalty in the present war, and they stand behind the national organisation headed by Mr. Redmond and his colleagues."

28th. April, 1916. "Evening News," Sydney. Archbishop Carr, Melbourne.

"Evidence of Irish loyalty is abundant. When the secret history of this movement comes to be written, it will be found to be the result of German intrigue, or support from some Irish-Americans, of hostility to the Irish Nationalist Parliamentary Party and to the role assumed by a small knot of desperate irreconcilables. From every point of view I regard the disturbance as an outburst of madness, an anachronism and a crime."

28th. April, 1916. "Sydney Morning Herald." - United Irish League, Melbourne.

Cable to John E. Redmond: "The Irish in Victoria view with abhorrence the outbreak at Dublin of futile and meaningless rebellion, and sympathise with the Irish National Party in its cruel struggles against the criminal efforts of an insignificant minority to thwart the noble objects of peace and reconciliation which had almost been accomplished. Such fanatics betray gross ingratitude for the benefits Ireland received through the long agitation and generosity of the Irish abroad, as well as the valuable help rendered by the British and other democracies. Brave Irish soldiers are dying at the front that their country may prosper. Their nobility of sacrifice should shame all wreckers of Ireland's future. The guilt of this horrible bloodshed at Dublin be in the heads of the misguided leaders of the outbreak."

28th. April, 1916. "Sydney Morning Herald." - Queensland Irish Association.

Cable to Redmond and Asquith: "Queensland Irishmen condemn and deplore the disturbances in Ireland and re-affirm their confidence in the leadership of the Irish Parliamentary Party. Irish soldiers in the present war, by their valour and devotion, have demonstrated their loyalty to the Empire."

28th. April, 1916. "Evening News," Sydney.- Hibernian Australasian Catholic Benefit Society, Melbourne.

At the annual district meeting of the H.A.C.B. Socy., Victoria district, a motion was agreed to unanimously deploring the "disturbing efforts of the misguided and insignificant portion of people in Dublin, and expressing its earnest desire that the faction will meet with its deserts, and loyalty of Ireland's sons will remain unsullied."

28th. April, 1916. "Sydney Morning Herald," - Dr. Chas.W. MacCarthy.

Cable to Mr. John Redmond: "Sectional pro-German rioting disgusts Home Rulers here. Take heart. Our race with you and gallant countrymen at front."

28th. April, 1916. "Evening News," Sydney. - Dr. N.M. O'Donnell, Melbourne.

"Dr. N.M. O'Donnell, president of the United Irish League, stated that he believed there was a nest of Sinn Fein men in that city, whose interests were in common with those of the Sinn Fein Society in Ireland. They dissociated themselves from any activities of the Irish bodies and refused to march in the St. Patrick's Day procession on the ground that the processionists stopped outside Parliament House and sang "God Save the King." Such men must not be associated with the Irish cause."

29th. April, 1916. "Sydney Morning Herald." - Celtic Club, Perth, W.A.

"The Committee of the Perth Celtic Club has despatched the following cablegram to Mr. John Redmond, M.P.: 'Irishmen of Western Australia regret the Dublin affair. They have confidence in you. Reply, enlightening us.'"

1st. May, 1916. "Sydney Morning Herald." - Archbishop Kelly, Sydney.

"Speaking at the opening of a new wing of St. Joseph's Hospital, Auburn, on 30th. April, 1916, Archbishop Kelly alluded to the disturbances in Ireland. Dr. Kelly said that, speaking of hospitals, one naturally thought of disease. There was diseases of the body and there were political diseases. The Sinn Fein was a political disease and he had to condemn it. Ever since he had first heard of it he had condemned it . . . . When they read of rebellion and the efforts of the irreconcilables to put in opposition north and south and west, they condemned those who had taken an active part in a disturbance that had caused a scandal throughout the world. Taking the matter from the point of either religion or sentiment, there was no reason in it - it was only doing harm and causing bloodshed. Violence should never be resorted to against the powers that be. In resisting the Government, they were resisting God, and the fruit would do more harm than good. On the points of reason and of sentiment, he would condemn it as a scandal against decency, against good sense and reason."

1st. May, 1916. "Sydney Morning Herald." - Archbishop Mannix, Melbourne.

"He said that the outbreak was truly deplorable, but they must not lose sight of the facts of the situation. People must expect to reap what they sowed, and, knowing, as he did, what had been going on in Ireland before and since the outbreak of the war, he was not altogether surprised at the lamentable things that had occurred, sequence and response, as it were, to the campaign of armed resistance and civil war which the Carsonites had been allowed to preach and prepare for within the past few years. Their leader, instead of being sent into prison, was taken into the British Cabinet. He was quite clear in his mind that the British Government, by its failure to deal with the treason of the Carsonites and by its shifty policy with regard to Home Rule, had - unwittingly, he supposed - led up to the result which they must all deplore. He hoped that the immediate trouble was over or that it soon would be, and he hoped, too, that those who were already calling out for execution would first pause and try to fix the responsibility for the outbreak before condemning the misguided leaders of the movement to be shot. They should remember that the leaders of another movement were taken into the British Cabinet. (applause)."

1st. May, 1916. "Sydney Morning Herald." - Archbishop James Duhig, Brisbane.

"Speaking at a recruiting meeting held in Albert-square, Archbishop Duhig said that the hearts of Irishmen were in the right place. . . . They were particularly gratified that the arch-conspirator, Sir Roger Casement, was now in the hands of justice. He (Casement) had become a traitor to the Empire."

1st. May, 1916. "Sydney Morning Herald." - Archbishop Clune, Perth.

"I think that I shall be speaking for the whole of the Irish by birth or sympathy when I say that we look upon these recent development with deep regret - even with shame and abhorrence. I feel that the vast majority of those with nationalist sympathies and aspirations have had no part to play in this insane work."

1st. May, 1916. "Sydney Morning Herald." United Irish League, Hobart.

(Cable to Mr. John Redmond): Stating that the Tasmanian friends of Ireland deeply deplore the fanatical rebellion in Dublin, and assuring him of their entire confidence in Mr. Redmond and his National Party triumphing for Ireland and Empire. M.M. Ryan, president.

2nd. May, 1916. "Sydney Morning Herald." - Very Rev. M.J. O'Reilly, C.M., Sydney.

"That there should be a small irreconcilable minority in Ireland need excite no surprise. The amazing thing to me is that the great bulk of the people should have buried their old hates, even while Home Rule, like Mahomet's coffin remains suspended between earth and heaven. In South Africa, where Home Rule was granted, the authorities had to deal not with a riot but with a rebellion. Nobody seems to have emphasised the fact, out of 85 home rule constituencies, not a single seat was ever even seriously contested on the Sinn Fein ticket. And the Parliamentary representation must be held to reflect the opinion of the people.

I left Ireland on my return journey to Australia only just ten months ago, and it is only seven months since I made the public statement that, after

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three months spent in Ireland, it was plain to me that three-fourths of the people accepted Home Rule as a final settlement, and were heart and soul with the Allies in the world-war. I see no reason to modify that estimate now. I am not surprised to find that all our representative Irishmen in Australia, who have so far spoken, have been painfully shocked by the recent riots in Ireland. It is horrible to think of the numbers of wretched dupes whom a misguided patriotism has led into the shambles. A dreadful responsibility lies on the shoulders of the leaders.

It is something to know that Casement is an Ulsterman and a Protestant, if only to show that the rebels numbered amongst them the fools of all parties. But the stupidity of the attempt is not its worst feature. Nothing could well be more criminal."

2nd. May, 1916. "Sydney Morning Herald." - Celtic Club, Wellington, N.Z.

(Cable to John Redmond): "Deepest sympathy with you in your present trouble. The unfortunate occurrence in Dublin tends unjustifiably to cast disgrace on our country and to discredit us abroad."

(Cable to Mr. Asquith, Prime Minister of England): "Irish here regret painful occurrence on the part of a misguided section of the people, and feel that firm and prudent administration by the British Government will secure an early re-establishment of order. They express appreciation of and gratitude for the splendid services of the Government to Ireland, and feel assured that the administration of Irish affairs is in capable and tactful hands."

3rd. May, 1916. "Sydney Morning Herald." - Australasian Holy Catholic Guild and Irish National Foresters, Sydney.

(Cable). "Executives Australasian Holy Catholic Guild and Irish National Foresters representing ten thousand members in conference assembled, deplore the uprising of the irresponsible minority and express entire confidence and support to the Irish Parliamentary Party and ultimate success of British arms. J.E. Burke, T.E. Avery, secretaries, Castlereagh Street, Sydney."

9th. May, 1916. "Sydney Morning Herald." - H.A.C.B. Society, Broken Hill, N.S.W.

The Sacred Heart Branch of the Hibernian Society has carried the following resolution: 'We Hibernians assembled at Broken Hill view with abhorrence and disgust the rebellious spirit prevailing in Ireland and convey to Mr. J.E. Redmond our deepest sympathy, and pledge moral support and unswerving loyalty to the Irish National party under his leadership.' This has been cabled to Mr. Redmond."

10th. May, 1916. "Sydney Morning Herald." - Political Labour League Conference, Sydney.

"At the Political Labour League Conference on 9th. May, the following resolution was carried on the voices on the motion of Mr. J.D. Fitzgerald, M.L.C., Vice-President of the Executive Council: 'That this Conference desires to associate itself with the appeals for mercy which are being preferred on behalf of the misguided Sinn Fein leaders and their followers to the Prime Minister of England. That the foregoing be cabled to Mr. Asquith through the High Commissioner for the Commonwealth.'"

11th. May, 1916. "Sydney Morning Herald." - Archbishop Duhig, Brisbane.

"Archbishop Duhig this evening sent the following telegram to Dr. M.M. N.M. O'Donnell (president of the United Irish League) of Melbourne:- 'Congratulate you on Celtic Club's cable to Mr. Redmond, urging clemency. Assure you Irish Queenslanders, who have loyally and generously supported the cause of the Empire and the Allies, grievously disappointed and saddened by the hasty executions. The Imperial Government should know we believe General Maxwell's policy is calculated to do an immense injury to recruiting, at a most critical time, and is certain to be used for enemy propaganda purposes. People are already contrasting the wholesale death sentences on the Irish revolutionary leaders with the clemency extended to rebels and mutineers elsewhere in the Empire'".

13th. May, 1916. "Sydney Morning Herald." - Dr. C.W. MacCarthy, Sydney.

"The following cable was yesterday forwarded to Mr. Asquith by Dr. C.W. MacCarthy, chairman, New South Wales Home Rule Executive:- 'Our countrymen here bitterly resent execution of Skeffington and others. Such unequal treatment, compared with that of Boer rebels, is disastrous to good feeling.'"

17th. May, 1916. "Sydney Morning Herald." - H.A.C.B.Society, Melbourne.

"The following motion was agreed to at a meeting of the National Directory of the Hibernian Society today and was ordered to be cabled to Mr. John Redmond, leader of the Irish National party: 'The Hibernians of Australasia, representing 600 branches, in interstate conference assembled at Melbourne, in union with His Grace the Archbishop of Melbourne (Dr. Carr), in renewing unswerving loyalty to yourself and party, publicly condemn the late lamentable folly of extremists in the old land, but deeply deplore the ruthless retaliatory measure of the Home Government.'"

Undated, but about this time. H.A.C.B.Society, Sydney.

(From Annual Report): "Your Board regrets exceedingly that it should be necessary to close this report with a reference to the truly lamentable occurrences which have just been reported by cable. As members of the representative Irish society of the Commonwealth of Australia, we feel inexpressibly grieved at the outbreak of disturbances which from every point of view are deplorable in the extreme. The conference will doubtless take an early opportunity of voicing its abhorrence of such an utterly misguided course of action. .... We look forward with unshakable confidence to the complete triumph of Allied Arms."

17th. May, 1916. "Sydney Morning Herald." - Irish National Foresters, Broken Hill, N.S.Wales.

"At a meeting of the Wolfe Tone Branch of the Irish National Foresters, Broken Hill, the following motion was carried: 'That this branch of the Irish National Foresters learned with the deepest indignation and regret the lamentable occurrence in Ireland; and that in view of the fact that the leader of the Irish party had succeeded in getting the British Government to acknowledge the right of the Irish people to govern themselves, any attempt on the part of the Sinn Fein or any other body to thwart the legal efforts of Parliament, and of the majority of the Irish people, in bringing the Home Rule measure into operation after the war, is disapproved of by every fair-minded loyal Irishman.'"

17th. May, 1916. "Sydney Morning Herald." - Mr. P. McGarry, Member of the Legislative Assembly, New South Wales.

"Mr. P. McGarry, M.L.A., stated yesterday that, as an Irishman who had fought for the Nationalist cause for the past 35 years, he entirely condemned the Sinn Fein rebellion. .... He felt that no true Irishman could have the slightest sympathy with the outbreak, fomented as it had been by German agents."

18th. May, 1916. "Catholic Press," Sydney.

(Mr. John Dillon had said in the House of Commons that "The rebels had been foolish, but he was proud of them"). The following letter was published by the "Catholic Press" from the Hon. John Meagher, Member of the Legislative Council, New South Wales:-

"Sir, I congratulate you with all my heart on your articles on the Irish rebellion, but it was only what I expected from you. (Note: Mr. John Tighe Ryan, editor). I was never so disgusted as when I read the sycophantic messages cabled to Mr. Redmond by our self-appointed Irish leaders and some of our so-called Irish societies in Australia and particularly in Sydney and Melbourne. If I know anything of Irish opinion in Australia, it is not to be found in the timid counsel of Dr. MacCarthy and Dr. O'Donnell, but by the denunciation by the fearless John Dillon of General Maxwell's blood assizes in the barrack yards of Dublin. We all deeply deplore the rebellion, but the battlefields of Europe and Gallipoli should have taught General Maxwell that death is the last thing an Irishman fears, and that the hasty shooting of the leaders of the late rising is not the best means of allaying discontent and restoring peace in Ireland. .... I regret the rebellion as much as anyone; I have for years ardently hoped for a genuine union of English and Irish hearts. ....

I repeat that the rebellion was a mistake, but the ruthless execution of the leaders is a greater blunder, while De Wet and his fellow-South African rebels are allowed their freedom on parole. If I know anything of our people, they have already put the men who lost their lives last week in the barrack-yard of Dublin alongside Emmet, Wolfe Tone, the brothers Sheares, Father John Murphy, Lord Edward Fitzgerald and William Smith O'Brien in the gallery of Ireland's immortal dead.

Yours etc.

John Meagher.

Legislative Council, Sydney, May 15.

18th. May, 1916. "Catholic Press," Sydney. - Hon. John Meagher, M.L.C.

"The Hon. John Meagher, M.L.C., has sent the following cable message to Mr. John Dillon, M.P.: 'Australia appreciates your humane condemnation of tyrannical despotism. You are ever the true friend of Ireland.'"

1st. June, 1916. "Catholic Press."

"Sir, More power to the Hon. John Meagher for his strong right-arm swing on the anvil of truth and justice. .... Further, it's for the Irish in Ireland to say when and how they are going to manage their personal interests free from the sycophantic messages from any self-appointed leaders in Australia.

Yours etc.,  
Paul Russell,

"Eskbank", Wharf Road, Brisbane.

(Note: Mr. Russell was a private citizen).

29th. June, 1916. "Catholic Press."

"Sir, According to the latest cables, Messrs. Redmond, Devlin & Co. have agreed to the partition of Ireland. Irishmen the world over have been looking with anxious eyes to the leaders of Ireland to see what they would do in this, the latest crisis, and, alas! what is the result? An admission that Carson & Co., the Orangemen of Belfast, have beaten them. Was it for a mockery of this kind that the Irishmen and women of Australia and their friends (not to mention America) have for years parted with their hard-earned money to envoys or chosen delegates sent here to plead the cause of a national Parliament for a united Ireland? .....

"To sum up the situation, John Redmond and his party failed utterly when the supreme test came.

Yours etc.,  
Neal Collins.

Sydney, June 27, 1916.

Note: Mr. Collins was a member of a reputable legal firm, Collins & Mulholland, and had been for long prominently associated with the Home Rule cause).

6th. July, 1916. "Catholic Press." - Excerpt from editorial.

"It is difficult to see how the bloody repression of the rebellion could scarcely have had peace for its object. The Government must have known that by such methods it would only succeed in spreading deep-rooted anger and distrust. England must realise by now that the opinion of the whole civilised world is against the ruthless conduct of General Maxwell, for human nature is more moved with indignation by the cold-blooded execution of a few men, accused of political crime, than by the bloody hecatomb of thousands of soldiers who fall on the field of battle."

13th. July, 1916. "Catholic Press."

A Requiem Mass will be celebrated by Rev. Dr. P. Tuomey, D.Ph. at 8 a.m. on Sunday, 16th. July, at St. Benedict's for the men who died in the Dublin rebellion."

20th. July, 1916. "Catholic Press." - Excerpt from editorial.

"Interest in the Irish tragedy deepens every day. There are signs that Mr. Redmond has at last been stung into revolt. The most constitutional and the most conciliatory of Irish leaders, it seems that he is now awakening to the fact that his friendliness has been mistaken for weakness. When the war broke out he trusted the Government absolutely, and he offered up Ireland's sons on the altar of Empire. In return he expected gratitude. He has received gibes and insults. Irish history is repeating itself with a vengeance. .... Imagine the condition of Ireland now under the heel of General Maxwell, and taunted by a member of a Government to which it had looked for liberty. Coercion, as it always did, is naturally begetting disturbance and outrage, and indeed it would not be surprising if the people were driven to despair."

27th. July, 1916. "The Daily Telegraph," Sydney.

"The Home Rule question was considered by the members of the East Woollahra (Sydney) Labour League at its last meeting, and the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to:-

"That the Political Labour League Executive be requested to call a meeting of the delegates from the metropolitan leagues to consider the following resolutions:

((1) That the.

'(1) That the Federal Government be asked to communicate with Mr. Asquith, British Prime Minister, and protest against the continued delay in granting self-government to Ireland; also to protest against the extreme measures adopted by General Maxwell in suppressing the Irish Democrats.

'(2) That the Minister for Defence be requested to communicate with the Imperial authorities and ascertain if Australian soldiers, while on leave, volunteered and fought against the Irish militant workers, while the said workers were endeavouring to secure self-government for their countrymen; and if such proves to be the case, that the Federal Government be asked to notify the Imperial Government that such action on the part of our soldiers is not considered to be in the best interests of a self-governing Dominion such as the Commonwealth of Australia.'

29th. July, 1916. "Sydney Morning Herald."

"Mr. T.J. Ryan, Premier of Queensland, who was interviewed in Dublin, said that the view of self-government in Australia was that the Irish question must be settled in the interests and efficiency of the Empire. 'Australia,' he added, 'did not want the Empire impaired by discontent and unrest in Ireland.'"

24th. August, 1916. "Catholic Press," Sydney.

"Archbishop Mannix, speaking at the laying of the foundation stone of St. Joseph's Church, Northcote (Melbourne), on Sunday, 20th. instant, said a lot of money had gone out of the country for relief funds, and there was one suffering people that had been forgotten. They had remembered the Russians, French, Servians and Montenegrins, but there was a people more closely allied to them than the Montenegrins.. He referred to the sufferers in Ireland, and in Ireland's capital, Dublin. They had been disappointed that no effort had been made to send relief to those sufferers. It was no use going over the horrors that had occurred in Dublin. They were wiser now as to the course of events than they had been a day or two after the rising. They had read of the men who were placed against the wall and shot in cold blood. Then there had been no word in defence or palliation of the action of these men. They were wiser now. There were those who believed in the undertakings of the British Parliament and the promise of ~~that~~ justice from those who held the destinies of Ireland in their hands. On the other hand, the Sinn Fein men said they had no confidence in the British Parliament and British justice until it could be wrung from its leaders. They knew now who were right. They knew that those who reposed their trust in the British Parliament were wrong, and those who distrusted were right. It could be seen from the latest events that they never knew when the question of Home Rule would be settled, and what the fate of Ireland would be in the future. They know of the men who had given their lives for faith and fatherland, and in that rising there had been innocent victims of barbarism and horrors that had never been surpassed in any theatre of the present war. Many of those were now suffering in Dublin. The people in Australia would be very glad to have an opportunity of sending something to relieve their necessities, and give expression and voice to their horror of those who had shot sterling Irishmen in Dublin. He had subscriptions, and they would go to such a fund or be forwarded direct. It was another burden for them to bear, but while they did their duty to Australia they should do their duty to Ireland as well. (Applause).

7th. September, 1916. "Catholic Press."

"Speaking at Flemington (Melbourne) on Sunday last, the 3rd. instant, the Coadjutor-Archbishop of Melbourne (Dr. Mannix) said: The people were told by the "Argus" that he had condoned rebellion; that he was practically disloyal. If they could not be loyal to the Commonwealth (of Australia) - he had perhaps better speak for himself - if he could not be loyal to the Commonwealth and to the Empire without forgetting his own people in Dublin and Ireland, then he was no longer loyal to the Commonwealth; no longer loyal to the Empire. The hypothesis was, of course, absurd. Catholics could be loyal to the Commonwealth and loyal to their own people. His loyalty went all round. Ireland was a portion of the Empire, and before he gave his unqualified loyalty to the Empire he had to ask for loyalty to Ireland. He thought it necessary to say that he abided by every word he said about raising a fund to assist the sufferers in Dublin. The appeal that had gone forth was already assured of success, and the response clearly indicated that Catholics were not going to take their ideas of loyalty from the 'Argus' office."

ASQUITH COERCES IRELAND.

The treachery of the Asquith Government towards Ireland is now complete, and another dark chapter has been added to the history of the relations between the two Kingdoms. The Irish people had reposed absolute faith in Mr. Asquith. Since he came into office the Irish Parliamentary Party have been his most faithful followers. In order to meet his wishes they ceased to be an independent party, and became merely the silent supporters of every measure submitted by the Government. Their patience and fidelity knew no limit, until, Mr. Devlin now confesses, "the Government seemed to think Irishmen were good for nothing except to walk into the division lobby." When the war broke out, the Nationalists threw the whole weight of Ireland on to the English scales, and, to the astonishment of the world, Ireland's sons responded to the call of their leaders. The Home Rule Act was on the Statute Book. Ireland was at last to be governed according to Irish ideas; her rights as a small nation had been recognised, and Irishmen rushed to the colours to lay down their lives for that sacred principle. There were those who doubted the English Government's sincerity; there were those who warned Ireland that history had shown that, where she was concerned, the promise of an English statesman was no more trustworthy than a dicer's oath.....

After two years we discover that the prophets of evil were right. The trust of the Irish and the sacrifices made by them have gone for nothing; and we find the Irish National Party abandoned by Mr. Asquith under the heel of a military satrap whose deeds have shocked the civilised world.....

In Australia sympathy with Ireland is an all-pervading and powerful element in our national life. Time does not weaken or overshadow it. Of all the Imperial or international questions, the Irish problem holds the paramount place in the hearts and minds of the people. It is the one Empire question that has always been a question of practical politics, not only for the statesmen but for the man in the street. The character of public men is estimated by their attitude towards Home Rule, which has been the deciding factor in the career of many of our politicians. Enormous sums of money have been sent from Australia to help the Irish people at home in their struggle for freedom; and every phase of that struggle has been as closely watched and discussed as if the battle were being waged in our midst. When Home Rule was at last won, and put on the Statute Book, over the signature of the King, the heart of Australia throbbed with joy, and felt that it was not only a triumph for Ireland but a triumph for the Empire, an act of justice which had at last silenced England's enemies, and removed a bar to the perfect unity of all the people living under the English flag.

The world has marvelled at the response the Dominions have made to the call of the motherland since the war broke out two years ago. How far the belief that Ireland had at last been liberated was an impelling force in that epoch-making uprising of the Empire's sons in the cause of freedom can only be measured by the bitter sense of disappointment which has now taken possession of our people by the refusal of the English Government to put the Home Rule Act into operation. God forbid that the Irish in Australia should blame the people of England, or lose interest now in the common cause for which we are fighting. They do nothing of the kind, for they cannot forget that, election after election, Scotland and Wales stood unitedly behind the Irish Nationalists, and the majority of the English electors eventually made the cause their own.....

AUSTRALIA AND IRELAND.

WIDESPREAD INDIGNATION.

There is evidence on all sides that the continuance of Martial law in Ireland is breeding deep discontent throughout Australia. The reason why no public meeting has so far been called to give expression to Irish-Australian indignation is because our people desire to do nothing that would divert attention from the war. Thousands of Irish-Australians have gone to the battle-fields of Europe; many hundreds have already given their lives in the cause of freedom, and their kith and kin are loth to believe that while they are risking everything in defence of the liberties of small nations, a small nation within the British Empire, dearer to them than any other spot on earth, can long be deprived of all its constitutional rights, and subjected to a military despotism similar to that of the Germans in Belgium. They know that this is foreign to the spirit of the British Empire. They know that the people of Great Britain are in no way responsible for it; but that it is a revival of the evil spirit of English Toryism, which, in the past, had made the Government of Ireland a reproach to England throughout the civilised world. The Parliaments of the British Dominions have repeatedly protested against the enslavement of the Irish people. The Parliaments of the Australian Commonwealth and of the Dominion of Canada have petitioned the King to remove the infamous disabilities that cripple the Irish people and bring world-wide disrepute upon the Empire, and to grant to Ireland a constitution similar to that which every other dependency of England enjoys. The whole sentiment of Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa is in harmony with Ireland's aspirations, and against the brutal, antiquated Tory spirit, of which Ireland is the last victim. Through that spirit we lost the American colonies a little over a century ago. If it had had its way, Canada would now be either an independent nation or part of the United States; Australia would still be a convict settlement, and South Africa a Republic. The principle of self-government has always been repugnant to the Tories. Their policy has been, and is, to put down discontent by brute force. They are the junkerthum of England, and they are as stupid and merciless as their prototypes in Germany. Thanks to the American colonists, who beat them on the field of battle, the other British colonies escaped from their influence, were granted autonomy, and became self-governing nations within the Empire; but Ireland has remained their playground to this day. They seem to take a savage joy in torturing the Irish people. Their motives no one can understand.....

The matter vitally concerns us, more so now than at any other time in history. What is the use of talking of the rights of small nations, while the Habeas Corpus Act is suspended in Ireland, and the country, in which there is no ordinary crime, is under martial law? What is happening there no one knows, for the people are gagged; but we get glimpses in the English papers.....

There can be no manner of doubt that if the Coalition Government cannot find any other means of governing Ireland, the results will be disastrous. The futility of it all! Yes, and the tragedy of it all, for the reactionary policy which is responsible for it occurred at a time, when the democracies of the two nations were reconciled, when they were fighting under the same banner in defence of a principle sacred to both of them, but now withdrawn from Ireland. The Irish people do not doubt for a moment the good will of the English people, whose generous intentions have been frustrated by the ancient enemies of both democracies. And they look to the Dominions for a renewal of that sympathy and help which has never failed them. We feel sure that, in the midst of their horrors and miseries, they will not look in vain to Australia.

7th. September, 1916. "The Catholic Press," Sydney.

Sydney's Great Demonstration of Sympathy With Ireland.

Speeches by Federal and State Ministers.

Watching the steady stream of human life as it converged towards the Sydney Town Hall, last Monday (4/9/16) night, one could realise how instant and universal is the call of Ireland upon her children. The impending fall of mighty Empires cannot drown their interest, the unprecedented drain of world-war upon their resources cannot dry their charity. Ireland is in distress. Ireland's hopes have been denied. With ready voice and open hand they bid her call upon the children of the far-flung Gaels for sympathy and support.....

Among those present on the platform were His Grace the Archbishop of Sydney, the Right Hon. R.D. Meagher (Lord Mayor) and the Lady Mayoress. (Then follows a long list of the clergy-, the Hon. W.A. Holman (Premier of New South Wales), Senator Gardiner (Assistant Federal Minister for Defence), Hon. J.D. Fitzgerald, M.L.C. (Vice-President of the Executive Council), the Hon. G. Black (Chief Secretary, New South Wales), Hon. John Meagher, M.L.C., K.S.C.G., Mr. P. McGarry, M.L.A., Mr. G. McGirr, M.L.A., Mr. P.J. Minahan, M.L.A., Sir Thomas Hughes, M.L.C., etc., etc.

"This magnificent and representative gathering of citizens in the chief city of the Commonwealth," said the Lord Mayor, the Right Hon. R.D. Meagher, "is a splendid demonstration of the unquenchable love of country in the hearts of the Irish race and its descendants, no matter in what part of the habitable globe they are situated. The mother State of the Commonwealth has on every occasion in days gone by responded nobly and generously when appeals have been made either for funds for fighting the battles of constitutional freedom or when the gaunt figure of famine has thrown its shadow across the land. Today the great masses of the Irish people are in a sorely-stricken condition. They are without the necessaries of life - they are without food, clothing or shelter - and their appalling condition calls aloud not only to their more fortunate countrymen, but to the universal instincts of humanity.-

"This position is due to circumstances beyond their control. Primarily, to the gross breach of faith by a vacillating British Government in failing to carry out the compact made in regard to Home Rule. Secondly, due to Dublin Castle maladministration, which before the war kept Ireland in misery and wretchedness, and obtained for Dublin the unenviable notoriety of being one of the worst examples of slumdom amongst the cities of Europe.

"While at this great crisis we deplore the rash act of the misguided men which culminated in laying part of Dublin in ruins - I say not in palliation, but by way of comment, that it is a realisation of the old adage, that 'those who sow the wind must reap the whirlwind.' A Government which stood supinely by and permitted Sir Edward Carson, 'Privy Councillor and Generalissimo of the Ulster Volunteers,' and other insurrectionists, armed with rifles made in Germany, to rise with absolute impunity in open rebellion against the authority of the British Crown, must not be astonished to reap the whirlwind of this evil toleration when impetuous young men in patriotic and hysterical zeal seem to combat broken promises, and in their view a constitutional betrayal of Home Rule, by following the diabolical example of this leading and responsible statesman and Privy Councillor.

"Bad in all as the Dublin riot was, worse still are the after brutal atrocities which even the blue pencil of the censor has failed to prevent from leaking through, as shown by the report of the cables in Saturday's 'Sydney Morning Herald.' Has these deliberate and cold-blooded murders by a responsible officer been committed in Brussels or in Lemberg, the world would have rung with angry protestations.

"We Irish people and their descendants pass as rapidly as possible these sad incidents with pain. We only have one desire in our hearts and in our minds - to end this dreadful war, with Great Britain and the Allies victorious; and to end it we will concentrate our energies and stifle our emotion, and throw a cloak of charitable silence on these sad happenings - happenings for which the leading British papers have expressed their shame and sorrow. And while we are prepared to take advice from our friends and consider the true perspective of events, we also must ask our friends to keep some of the tears they are shedding for the small nations - for Belgium, for Servia and for Poland; tears for the mutilation of liberty and justice - we must ask them, I say, to keep a few of those tears for dear old Ireland, the blood of whose sons has on every battlefield, in every century, and in every clime cemented the cornerstones of the British Empire; who today, from her poverty-stricken land, has sent 300,000 gallant warriors into the front line of battle, and who in the British army and the armies of the dominions has today a million of her breed fighting for British civilisation and liberty.

"We have

"We have had heavy drains upon our finances for various funds, but we will always have a shot in the locker for the 'old sod.' Here in this land of plenty, we are wrapped in the pleasant robes of an early Australian spring. Then let us not forget the pitiable plight of the Irish people who are facing chilling autumnal winds and the rigours of the approaching winter. Let us not forget that Ireland is within the grip of martial law, with her few tattered liberties torn from her, with breadwinners dragged from their families purely on suspicion; workers dismissed; industries closed; thousands of unemployed and penniless people making the horrors of the Dublin slums cry aloud in clarion tones for succour and alleviation. This cry has gone across the Atlantic and has been magnificently responded to by the Republic of the West. It has been borne to our own land, and I am sure it will be answered as in days of yore - Australia will not fail!"

His Grace the Archbishop of Sydney (the Most Rev. Dr. Michael Kelly) then moved "That an appeal be made to all the friends of Ireland to provide funds to alleviate the acute distress now prevailing in many parts of Ireland, and more especially in Dublin." Every pound and every shilling they gave in answer to that appeal, said his Grace, substantiated their condemnation of the misgovernment of Ireland under actual and past British rule. Nature had endowed Ireland with fertile soil, a temperate climate, splendid harbours and rivers and lakes and mountains. The Irish were a perfect race. Her sons prospered everywhere. Why, then, did her children not prosper in Ireland? Because of English misgovernment. A bad parent should be coerced. So should a bad government. We would have Ireland for the Irish as they wished to have England for the English. Until that happened there would be no peace for England. The rebellion in Dublin lately and the sympathetic strike in Dublin about three years ago would not have occurred had there not been distress. When a man was hungry you must feed him. You must not preach to him. When a man was naked or a child was naked you must clothe them first. Until that was done they should not wonder if they were cursed. Why had not Dublin its own Parliament? In answering this appeal they were protesting against the betrayal or attempted betrayal of the Home Rule cause, won by 50 years' peaceful agitation. In answering the appeal they were protesting against the suspension of all liberty in Ireland. "There are many individual Englishmen who are better men than ourselves," proceeded his Grace. "They are wiser, more practical, and many men in England did not sympathise with the treatment of Ireland." His Grace was once asked by the most eminent person on earth - Pope Leo XIII - "Why are the English so hard on Ireland?" His Grace answered candidly, "When you injure a man you easily come to hate him." In conclusion, his Grace made a stirring appeal for funds to help the distressed in Ireland. We had to build St. Mary's Cathedral yet, and had to do a great many other things, such as the building of churches and convents; yet on this occasion we would put our hands in our pockets and help our utmost.

The Hon. J.D. Fitzgerald (Vice-President of the Executive Council) seconded the notion. There was a burning desire at the present moment, said the speaker, to do justice to small nations, and that was one of the purposes for which they were assembled there that night - to see that justice was done to Ireland. As far as her territory was concerned, Ireland was one of the smallest nations in the world; but there was also a greater Ireland beyond the seas. Whenever an appeal was made to Irishmen for Ireland it was always most generously answered. There was a duty owing to Ireland. When war broke out Ireland had sent her sons to fight for the cause in expectation that England would give her what she deserved. Ireland's reward was the proclaiming of martial law in that country. This great gathering had assembled for the purpose of protesting against such treatment. It was a democratic gathering composed of representatives of all classes of the community. It was a gathering which spoke for the democracy of Sydney, and as such registered its protest against the betrayal of Ireland in regard to Home Rule and the establishment of martial law there. We made our protests as calmly as possible under the circumstances, and protested firmly against the conditions which were created by English misgovernment.

The Hon. W.A. Holman, Premier of New South Wales, then rose, amidst great cheering, which lasted for some minutes. The Premier moved the following motion: "That, with a view to the achievement of complete Imperial unity in this great national crisis, this meeting requests the home Government as a matter of special urgency to treat the question of Home Rule, so that Ireland, as one of the smaller nations, may be raised to the status of an autonomous dominion, and take her place beside the sister dominions of Canada, New Zealand.

New Zealand and Australia. There was a special reason, said Mr. Holman, why a victorious cause should be fought for. The Home Rule measure had been passed, but for reasons which he (Mr. Holman) had no doubt were good reasons, immediate effect had not been given to it. "I say those reasons were good reasons," he continued, "when acted upon two years ago. Our position tonight is that we demand that those reasons must now give way to better ones. The moment has arrived when the clear solution of any difficulty that has arisen today in Ireland is to put into operation some scheme that will secure autonomy for the Irish people. The Executive Government of Ireland was the weakest Government in the world, because it was imposed upon a free-minded people, and was not responsible to those people themselves. Today the Executive Government of Ireland was an alien Government responsible to another Parliament, responsible to another nation. As a result, the sentiments of the people had been turned into hostility against the operations of the Dublin Castle. The great majority of the Irish people were opposed to the recent rebellion, which really consisted of a few hundred people, supported by a small number of sympathisers throughout the length and breadth of the Green Isle. The vast majority of the Irish people had no sympathy with physical force, or desired to take away the leadership of Mr. Redmond. For generations the people of Ireland had known that it was no business of theirs to carry information to Dublin Castle Government. He believed that Mr. Birrell was a friend of Ireland, but, at the same time, he believed that if Mr. Redmond had been in Mr. Birrell's place we would never have seen the streets of Dublin running in blood. There was only one remedy for the perpetual writhings of certain sections of representative Irish thought. That was to give to the Irish people the same right of self-government as we enjoy in Australia today. We in Australia were 12,000 miles away, but the voice of that meeting would doubtless be heard by the Imperial authorities at home. Some settlement ought to be arrived at at once. In the recent crisis in Ireland it had been said that the Government had displayed the courage and resourcefulness of a tame rabbit. The Government sat silent, and when the eruption took place the soldier was introduced and martial law was proclaimed over the length and breadth of the land. In conclusion, Mr. Holman expressed the hope that, as a result of the deliberations of Mr. Devlin, Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Redmond and Sir Edward Carson, some scheme would be devised whereby Home Rule would become an established fact.

Senator Gardiner, in seconding the resolution, said that on that occasion they looked forward to an early victory for Home Rule. The recent sad happenings in Ireland and the misguided actions of certain men were deplored by ninety-nine out of every hundred Irishmen. These things, perhaps, might have made more careful men than himself refrain from attending meetings such as the present one. But he would say that in his public life he had never yet, and never would turn his back on friend or foe. The granting of Home Rule to Ireland for which she had been for so many years asking, impressed itself upon his mind as merely an act of simple justice and today it was the best thing to bring about that Imperial unity which we all desired and which was so necessary. He recognised that it was a daring thing to do to send requests to Governments at times like these when they were labouring under the strain and ~~the~~ stress of anxiety caused by the war, but within a few hours this resolution would be flashed to the Imperial authorities, and he hoped that they would give it their favourable consideration in view of the splendid and noble manner in which Ireland had responded to the call of Empire.

The Hon. John Meagher, M.L.C., who ~~was~~ received quite an ovation, said it was cheering to see that Ireland had so many friends in Australia and throughout the world.

The Hon. George Black (Chief Secretary of New South Wales) said that if there had been no drilling on the part of the Carsonites in the North of Ireland, there would have been no drilling of the Sinn Feiners in the South. The one called for the other ..... What was wanted was a united Empire ..... Ulster would have to be included in Home Rule. The Irish flag must have a shamrock in each of its corners. There would be one for Ulster, one for Munster, one for Leinster and one for Connaught. That was the desire of every lover of liberty.

Dr. Chas. W. MacCarthy emphasised the need for unity of action.

7th. September, 1916. "The Catholic Advocate," Brisbane:-

(Note: The Queensland Irish Association mentioned herein functioned as a club. In policy it advocated Home Rule, but it manifested strong imperialistic sympathies).

"In response to a requisition signed by over fifty members of the Queensland Irish Association, a special general meeting of the members was held in the association's rooms on Saturday last (2/9/16), to consider the following proposals:-

(1) That a sum of money be voted from the funds of the association to assist in relieving the serious distress at present prevailing in Ireland, consequent upon the unfortunate rebellions rising which took place there recently.

(2) That a subscription list be opened by the association for the collection of further sums of money from sympathisers for the same purpose.

The president, Mr. P.J. McDermott, I.S.O., occupied the chair. Most of the distinguished Irishmen of the metropolis were present, and the members were present in large numbers. . . . .

The Hon. J. Fihelly, who received a most flattering reception, was obliged to wait a considerable time for the applause evoked by his appearance to subside. His expressed sentiments were evidently spontaneous, and came straight from the heart of a true Irish Australian patriot. In the course of his philippic against the causes of the trouble in Ireland, Mr. Fihelly in impassioned words declared that no Irishman, after recent events in Ireland, should be ashamed of his nationality or have the impertinence to apologise for the rebels.

Unfortunately the Irish were too prone to be apologetic. Those who had died at the hands of the military chiefs and satraps of Britain had expiated their offence, and in doing so had achieved immortality. Before very long their graves would be visited like those of Wolfe Tone and other Irish rebels whose memory was sacred to the Irish race throughout the world. Personally, and this this could not be too strongly emphasised, he had no quarrel with England, and believed that for a long time to come the destiny of Ireland was wrapped up with that of England. "The Gael could mix with the Saxon."

As for John Redmond, in his opinion he had failed miserably, and he would refer to him later on. With regard to Hughes (the Australian Prime Minister) and others who were endeavouring to force constriction of human life on the people of Australia, they should be reminded that Irish Australians were not being attracted to the recruiting station by the mailed fist policy of Prussianism operating in Ireland. The opinion is held by many young Australians that every Irish Australian recruit means another soldier to assist the British Government to harass the people of Ireland. The army garrisoning Ireland should be diverted to Flanders. It was good to let the authorities know these sentiments without any equivocation. Only recently he had heard an Englishman in the Queensland Parliament say, "Lord deliver us from cant." England was the home of cant, humbug and hypocrisy. Why, at the very time we heard such pious expressions of horror at the Irish rebellion, a Bohemian insurrection was being engineered in London. A good deal was heard about the cases of Captain Fryatt and Nurse Cavell, accompanied by denunciations of the Germans, who, after all, had only done such things against alien enemies, whereas England had murdered people whose compatriots were fighting for her by the hundred thousand. Irishmen would be lunatics to conceal their abhorrence of the perpetrators of such acts as the shooting of Skeffington and mere boys, which were not only worse than the Fryatt and Cavell crimes, but also were useless and stupid. They could be understood if thereby the Allies had gained another 100 feet of ground in France or Flanders, or if they prevented the evacuation of Gallipoli, where thousands of good Australians lost their lives through the bungling and ineptitude of British military chieftains. There was nothing wrong with the English people, but the English governing classes had refused to understand Irish sentiment and the spirit of Irish nationality. The rebellion in South Africa was far more serious, because there England had granted self-government, which was refused to Ireland. Both did not get orders to shoot the insurgents. That kind of treatment was reserved for Ireland. England showed hypocrisy by pretending to enter the war for the smaller nationalities, and then acting as she had done.

The conduct which was denounced and treated so severely in Ireland, won applause in the case of Cromwell and Washington, in the case of Roumania about 30 years ago, and in Serbia and France, and President Lincoln resolutely refused to permit one man to be shot after General Lee's surrender in the American Civil War. The leaders then took the same risk as Pearse and his followers and had done precisely the same thing which he attempted. Sir George Reid had recently made remarks offensive to Irishmen, and for this purpose had used a position he obtained through climbing into the House of Commons over the bodies of Australian soldiers who died through English blunders at Gallipoli. The Irish intellectuals did not die in vain. They had re-discovered the soul of Ireland.

They were.

They were misguided because he (the speaker) could not understand how they could sit down to a table and plan to achieve their purpose, but probably they knew the hopelessness of their objective, and knowing, died to instill the spirit of nationality into Ireland.

Redmond had arrived at such a stage that he was useless. He had got too much money in subscriptions from Australia and America, in addition to which he and his party had their £400 a year. He and his party were mentally unable to interpret the spirit of their country. The Irish national party was corrupt and impossible - corrupt from a political point of view and impossible as regards the enactment of reforms. Redmond and Devlin were too near and friendly with Asquith and Lloyd George. They had received too many favours, too many perquisites of office, too many kisses of friendship, and too many marks and tokens of esteem, and they were utterly demoralised. In the past he (the speaker) would not deny that Redmond and Devlin had done magnificent work for Ireland. They had reorganised her political forces and worked assiduously for her advancement towards her crowning hope and glory, but now, despite any sympathy begotten of past services, they should be scrapped because they had failed.

Redmond had failed miserably. He should have said to the Government - 'Give us Home Rule at once, and I and my party will spread ourselves over the Kingdom on a recruiting mission, before which the average recruiting mission will pale into insignificance' - and why not when it had been sanctioned by the people in three elections? Redmond should never more get one penny of support from Australia. Although he had done good work in the past, nevertheless the material and national prosperity of a nation must not be allowed to be put aside by the individuality of any person.

It was more urgent to give to the Dublin Relief Fund than to patriotic funds here, however worthy, such as the Returned Soldiers', Red Cross or other funds. There was no idea in Australia of the misery and poverty prevailing in Dublin. In London there was poverty also, but it was accompanied by unexampled and waste such as could not be found in Dublin, where they could imagine the result of thousands of deportations, without any semblance even of regard for those women and children dependent upon the expatriated, who were left behind. In Australia the case was also different - as all knew - if the individual suffered, then the Government looked to it. If they thought of contributing to local patriotic funds, they should, instead, for the immediate present, divert the money to relieve the distress in Ireland. Those present should ponder on the fact that England stuck to Jamieson and his raiders, who were the attackers, and almost went to war over the affairs, which was worse than the Irish affair. Irishmen should stick to their brethren. The shooting of Fryatt by the Germans was no worse than the shooting of Skeffington. In conclusion he hopes that no member of the association would be so impudent and offensive as to apologise for the rebels, who had paid nobly the penalty of their misguided ideals.

The Hon. W. Lennon said that he admired Mr. Fihelly for his outspoken utterance. The time had come when the Irish should speak out and refuse to allow their country to be the doormat of England for ever. He did not agree with all that Mr. Fihelly said about Mr. Redmond

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Under the same date, the "Catholic ~~Kandxxx~~ Advocate" published a leader, under the heading "No Apology For Rebels," which said, in part:-

"There is nothing of the "Yes-No" evasiveness about the Hon. Jack Fihelly, Assistant Minister for Justice, He does not fear to call a spade a spade. When he has a thing to say he does not go outside and whisper it to the wind..... It was like inhaling a breath of fresh air to hear his speech at the Irish Association room last Saturday night.....

The keynote of his moving address was contained in his declaration to the effect that "no Irishman, after recent events in Ireland, should be ashamed of his nationality or have the impertinence to apologise for the rebels." .....

A great service has been rendered by Mr. Fihelly's speech which will long be remembered as the epoch-making declaration of an intensely patriotic Irish-Australian. They form a slogan which has in it a lesson for all of us." .....

"No Apology For Rebels."

There is nothing of the "Yes-No" evasiveness about the Hon. Jack Fihelly, Assistant Minister for Justice. He does not fear to call a spade a spade. When he has a thing to say he does not go outside and whisper it to the wind. To the school of thought which turns out wind-trimming politicians like Sir George Reid, he is a total stranger. It was like a breath of fresh air to hear his speech at the Irish Association rooms last Saturday night.

To hear him declaiming against injustice to Ireland, with his own Irish eyes flashing fire, was a revelation. Coming under the spell of his magnetic personality, his hearers could have employed the remark uttered by Robespierre about Mirabeau.- "That young man believes what he says; he will go far." Nobody could doubt his sincerity when he roused all present to a pitch of enthusiasm that was good to see. His love for the land of his forefathers was demonstrated in the fashion in which Irishmen worthy of the name love to see it manifested. His speech was one long thrill.

The keynote of his moving address was contained in his declaration to the effect that "no Irishman, after recent events in Ireland, should be ashamed of his nationality or have the impertinence to apologise for the rebels." Bit by bit we are hearing some of the details as to the treatment of the Irish prisoners. Those details all tend to bring out more and more forcibly that Mr. Fihelly emphasised. "A good deal," he said, "was heard about the cases of Captain Fryatt and Nurse Cavell, accompanied by denunciation of the Germans, who, after all, had only done such things against alien enemies, whereas England had murdered people whose compatriots were fighting for her by the hundred thousand. Irishmen would be lunatics to conceal their abhorrence of the perpetrators of such acts as the shooting of Skeffington and mere boys, which were not only worse than the Fryatt and Cavell crimes, but also were useless and stupid."

We do not agree with Mr. Fihelly in his remarks regarding Mr. Redmond. Like the Hon. W. Lennon, we are of the opinion that his fault in the matter of Irish leadership, though grave, was not intentional. There is but one way of showing strength; there are many ways of falling into error through weakness at the critical moment. Mr. Redmond did not take the narrow path that would have made him the strong man; he failed to pierce the mists that lay ahead of him. Mr. Lennon brought out this point strongly. He also displayed his strong spirit of patriotism when he said that "the time had come when the Irish should speak out and refuse to allow their country to be made the doormat of England." That is plain speaking, but it is plain speaking that is required at a time like the present.

While disagreeing with Mr. Fihelly on this point, however, we cannot refrain from giving full praise for his fiery denunciation of injustice to Ireland and the Irish. Let the man among us who apologises for the so-called "rebels," after hearing all that has taken place - let that man no longer boast of his Irish blood. He is a poltroon, worthy only to be used as a doormat. The Rev. Father O'Flynn put it in a nutshell when speaking at the Dublin Relief meeting. While the enemies of Ireland, he said, lauded to the skies the patriotism of the small nations - Belgium, Poland and Servia - they would sink the patriotism of ~~the small nations~~ Ireland, the small nation at their own doors, to the bottom of the seas. Why should the Irishmen of Queensland care whether their motives ~~were~~ were misinterpreted and misconstrued?

Over in West Australia the other day the same sentiments were expressed at the monster Home Rule demonstration. Politicians on both sides of the State House vied with each other in demanding justice for Ireland. The distinguished speakers there were not afraid to hit out. Mr. W.H. Carpenter, M.L.A., commenting on the report of the Commission inquiring into the revolt, said that "if it was wrong to make seditious utterances, and to drill men after the war had broken out, why was it not equally wrong before the war, and if they could hand the leader of one rebellion during the war, why should the leader of a rebellion which had taken place before the war be rewarded by being put into the Government?" Yes, why? That is what the Irish people the world over fail to understand.

A great service has been rendered by Mr. Fihelly's fine speech, which will long be remembered as the epoch-making declaration of an intensely patriotic Irish-Australian. His words ring clarion clear. They form a slogan which has in it a lesson for all of us. Instead of apologising for the so-called "rebels," let us be proud of what they have achieved. When the epitaph of the lion-hearted Robert Emmet can be written, but not till then, can we write the epitaphs of the martyred heroes of Easter-Week.

At a public meeting in the Town Hall, Melbourne, Archbishop Carr presiding, which was called for the purpose of inaugurating the Irish Relief Fund in Victoria, Archbishop Mannix thus addressed the audience:-

"An Irishman is proud on a night like this to live and work for Australian Catholics. I am not expected to speak at any length tonight, but I have been asked to announce to you the result of the appeal for the suffering people of Ireland, so far as it has gone. I think that you will be as surprised as I am that the total to this moment is, as near as we can get the figures, £4,400. You cannot be half as proud of that result as I am. I am counting no promises, only cash in hand. Now, you have come here for a noble purpose - to give sympathy, aid and hope to the suffering Irish people. Your generosity tonight and in the days to follow will bring comfort to these poor people who are crouching amidst the charred ruins of O'Connell Street, and this great meeting and your unbounded sympathy will give heart and hope to all those Irishmen, living and dead - because patriotism is not buried in the grave - who love Ireland, and who, even in Ireland's darkest hour, despair not of the future of their country.

"I think it was a happy inspiration that this meeting of Australians should be addressed by Australians. Nobody in the hall, nobody in Melbourne, or indeed in Australia, wants to know what I think of British misrule in Ireland. Nobody wants to know how my heart bleeds for the suffering people. Now, politically, Ireland is at the present moment passing through a grave crisis. We are too far away, and our information is too meagre on this side of the globe, to be able to pass a prudent judgment on a situation which is changing and shifting from day to day. There may be differences of opinion on Irish policy amongst Australians, but I am glad that at this great meeting tonight no hard word has been said against any Irishman, who loves his country and loves it well. (Loud applause). Irishmen and the descendants of Irishmen are not likely to forget all that Ireland owes to the Irish Parliamentary Party for the long and successful struggle which they made, and for the constitutional victory which they achieved, for they have achieved a victory according to all the rules of constitutional warfare. Mr. Redmond deserved better treatment from the British Government than that he should be thrown over at the bidding of a few Orangemen in Ireland, and a knot of Freemasons in England. (Loud applause). But, while Ireland cannot fail to regret Mr. Redmond's betrayal and his failure, I hope that Ireland will never be unmindful of his services. (Applause).

"I am glad, too, that no harsh word has been spoken of those brave men who, according to a British Prime Minister, fought a clean fight, and who, in the recent rising, loved Ireland, not wisely, perhaps, but too well. Their lives have been scrutinised from the cradle to the grave, and in them was found nothing sordid or selfish. (Loud applause). Whatever may have been their faults, they died the death of Christian men. In the time to come, as an English writer has said, Ireland will take them to her bosom, as she took Robert Emmet and Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and every man who gave her his love and his life. (Loud and continued applause). It is not, therefore, for you or for me, however we may regret their errors, if there were errors, to darken their names, or refuse aid to their widows and orphans. We have enemies enough and, if we want to say hard words, let us keep them for our enemies. Let us now and always deal gently with our friends.

"It is thirty years almost to the day since Gladstone, the greatest Englishman of his century, asked the House to pass Home Rule. He used on that occasion these memorable words: "Ireland stands at the bar of your House, expectant, hopeful, almost suppliant. She asks for a blessed oblivion of the past, and that blessed oblivion is of greater interest to England than to Ireland." Those were noble words and they deserve to be remembered. But a generation has passed away, and Gladstone has gone to his reward, and Ireland still stands at the bar. She is still hopeful, expectant; I do not say suppliant. (Applause). She stands there bleeding, sensitive, exasperated. The blessed oblivion that Gladstone prayed for has not yet come.

"Only the other day it was again vetoed by a knot of Orangemen and Freemasons. Yet, people talk about Irish disloyalty. Some people even talk about mine. (Loud laughter). If I were to recite for you tonight the Lord's Prayer according to the Authorised Version, somebody would find treason or sedition among the petitions. Yes, our loyalty is freely questioned. The answer is that Irishmen are as loyal to the Empire to which, fortunately or unfortunately, they belong, as self-respecting people could be under the circumstances. I, at all events, am free to confess that deep down in the hearts

(of Irish.

of Irish people and their descendants is a wealth of loyalty and a wealth of affection that the British Empire has never deserved or won. And I am here to hide nothing, but rather to proclaim openly, in my own name, and I think in yours, that those depths of loyalty in Irish hearts will never be sounded, that that rich affection will never be won, until England grants to Ireland that measure of self-government that we are here tonight to plead for and to demand. (Loud and continued cheering).

1917 .

15th. March, 1917. "Catholic Press," Sydney.

In the Federal Senate on Wednesday evening last week (7/3/17). Senator G. Henderson (Western Australia) moved:-

"That an humble address be forwarded to His Majesty as follows:-

'May it please Your Majesty:

'We, your Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the members of the Senate of the Commonwealth in Parliament assembled, desire most earnestly in our name and on behalf of the people whom we represent, to express our unswerving loyalty and devotion to Your Majesty's person and Government.

'Enjoying and appreciating as we do the blessing of Home Rule here, we would humbly express the hope that a just measure of Home Rule may be granted without undue delay to the people of Ireland.

'In this crucial hour, when the might of your Empire is being wielded to maintain the right of self-government for small nations, we feel confident that the whole people of Ireland would be most grateful, loyal and enthusiastic supporters of that high policy through the gracious endowment by Your Majesty of the same right to them. They ask for it through their representatives - never has a request more clear, consistent and continuous been made by any Nation.. As subjects of Your Majesty we are interested in the peace and contentment of all parts of the Empire, and we desire to see this long-standing grievance at the very heart of the Empire removed. It is our desire for the solidarity and permanence of the Empire, as a Power making for Peace and civilisation, that must be our excuse for submitting to Your Majesty this respectful petition.'

The motion was seconded by Senator M.A. Ferricks (Queensland) and carried by 29 votes to 2.

Ayes.

Bakhap, T.J.K.,  
Baker, S.,  
Barnes, J.,  
Blakey, A.T.H.,  
Buzacott, R.,  
Earle, J.,  
Ferricks, M.A.,  
Findley, E.,  
Gardiner, A.,  
Givens, T.,

Grant, J.,  
Guthrie, R.S.,  
Henderson, G.,  
Keating, J.H.,  
Lynch, P.J.,  
Maughan, W.J.R.,  
Mullan, J.,  
Needham, E.,  
Newland, J.,  
O'Keefe, D.J.,

Pearce, G.F.,  
Russell, E.J.,  
Senior, W.,  
Shannon, J.W.,  
Stewart, J.C.,  
Storey, W.H.,  
Turley, H.,  
de Largie,

Noes.

Millen, E.D.,

Gould, Lieut-Colonel Sir A.J.

Senator Millen opposed the motion. "I am not," he said, "going to be a party to any motion in favour of Home Rule which implies coercion of the six counties."

9th. April, 1917. "Catholic Press."

"At the Easter Week Commemoration held by the Irish National Association, Sydney, on Easter Monday, a Celtic memorial cross was dedicated to the memory of the heroes of that immortal event, and was unveiled by Rev. Dr. P. Tuomey, who delivered the panegyric for the occasion."

15th. June, 1917. "The Courier," Brisbane.

At a large gathering of members of the Irish National Association of Queensland on Wednesday evening last it was unanimously decided to forward the following cable: "Lord Mayor, Dublin. Irish National Association of Queensland repudiate Redmond. Support Plunkett and independence. Fitzgerald, secretary."

21st. June, 1917. "Catholic Press," Sydney.

At the meeting of the Irish National Association, Sydney, on the 11th. instant, the following resolution was carried: "That the members of this Association request the President and Government of the United States, His Holiness the Pope, and Governments of all other neutral nations, to insist upon Ireland's right, as an independent nation, to be considered and decided at any Peace Conference between the belligerent nations in conformity with the declaration of the Allies to uphold the rights of small nations."

5th. July, 1917. "Catholic Press," Sydney.

Many were unable to gain admission to the lecture given under the auspices of the Irish National Association by the Rev. Dr. P. Tuomey, D.Ph., on the 25th. June, on the subject of the men and women of Easter Week.

5th. July, 1917. "Catholic Press," Sydney

A cable in the following terms was despatched a few days ago to Count Plunkett, Dublin: "Irish National Association here sends sympathy and congratulations to self and party.- Dryer, secretary."

19th. July, 1917. "The Telegraph," Brisbane.

(On behalf of the Irish National Association, Brisbane branch), Mr. Thomas Fitzgerald, honorary secretary, stated that the following resolution was, on the 18th. July, enthusiastically adopted: 'That this association heartily congratulates Commandant de Valera, of the Irish republican army, on his victory in East Clare, for Ireland's independence, and the consequent vindication of the heroes of Easter Week, and that we congratulate the people of Clare for proving that theirs is still the banner county.' It also resolved that copies of this resolution be sent to Commandant de Valera and to the Australian and Irish press.

21st. July, 1917. "Sydney Morning Herald."

"At a meeting of the Protestant League (Brisbane), held last night (19/7/17), the following motion was carried: 'This League desires to express its unswerving loyalty to King and Empire, and its determination to uphold our national honour, integrity and solidarity. It especially deplores the disloyalty evinced by the Irish National Association when they passed a resolution congratulating de Valera on his association with a so-called Irish republican army, and for his efforts for Ireland's independence. We further deplore that any body of our citizens should speak of the Dublin rebels of Easter week as heroes, notwithstanding that they are the men who virtually stabbed in the back our faithful soldiers at the front, who are fighting for them and us.'

26th. July, 1917. "The Bulletin," Sydney.

(Excerpts from editorial headed "Sinn Fein").

The Sinn Fein movement in Ireland, which last year made martyrs and now makes members of Parliament, has a force and significance which, far from being confined to one northern island, is world-wide in its sweep. Though the words are Irish their meaning has gained a firm grip on all the peoples. "Ourselves alone" is practically the watchword of every nation of men worthy of the name; and the 'rights of small nations' for which the tremendous Allied forces bleed and battle is the practical acknowledgment of the principle behind that watchword on the part of the peoples that have been touched by natural democratic evolution. .... In fact every big movement of the time that seems to possess anything in the way of decent purpose is at heart a Sinn Fein movement. .... Now the universal uproar of a great war has blown away a thousand obscuring non-essentials of human government, and as the dust begins to settle it becomes clearer that nationality is about the one thing that really does count. .... The State can only advance by the development of its individual citizens; the world can only advance by the development of its individual race families.

26th. July, 1917. "Catholic Press," Sydney. - Editorial.

#### The Irish Convention.

"There appears to be very little ground for hope that the secret Irish Convention, which met yesterday, will solve the problem of Irish self-government. Of all the tragic blunders of English statesmanship during the past three years that of Ireland is the greatest.

(Then follows a review of the political events leading up to the Convention).

It is not an elective or popular convention like the conventions which drafted the Australian and South African Constitutions. It does not get its life power from the people. It is largely appointed by the English Government. Above all, it is not in any sense representative, for the minority has delegates out of all proportion to their numbers. Again, the Ulster irreconcilable representatives enter it pledged to reject its decisions if these decisions are not in accordance with their preconceived views. And Lloyd George has not publicly abandoned the extraordinary theory that in Ireland the minority must be allowed to thwart and frustrate and overrule the majority. ....

Still there is just a chance that the rise of Sinn Feinism and the victories of the Sinn Fein candidates at North Roscommon, South Longford and East Clare may have awakened Lloyd George and his friends to the fact that there is another party in Ireland which must be considered as well as Sir Edward Carson's

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braves. Up to now all the concessions have been made to "Ulster". The Nationalists did not count. But the Young Ireland of today threatens to be more formidable than the Covenanters and the principles for which they are fighting are much more difficult to dent in view of the human and material sacrifices we are making for the rights of small nations on the continent of Europe."

13/9/17. "The Daily Standard," Brisbane.

"At a council meeting of the Irish National Association of Queensland, held on Wednesday last (5/9/17), the following resolution was carried: 'That members of this Association tender their sincere sympathy to the relatives and friends of the late Mrs. Muriel MacDonagh (widow of Commandant Thomas MacDonagh), of the Irish Republican Army, who was executed for Ireland in May, 1916, on the loss that they and Ireland have sustained owing to her tragic death by drowning.'

17th. November, 1917. "Sydney Morning Herald."

(Note: The Second Conscription campaign was in progress in Australia at this time.)

Cootamundra, New South Wales,  
16th. November, 1917.

The Premier, Mr. W.A. Holman, struck out on entirely new lines tonight in his address to a large and appreciative audience. He made a special appeal to the Irish community, in the interests of Home Rule, to support with might and main the necessary re-inforcements in the Australian army.

He said: "I desire to make a special appeal to my old friends and constituents who are of Irish birth and descent to consider closely the course into which they are being urged by some of their so-called leaders. . . .

When this war is over whether it ends with victory or failure for the Allies - and no one knows which way it is going to end yet - if it is clearly demonstrated that Irish influence has been exerted to hamper the operations of the Allies and prevent the necessary re-inforcements being sent to the front, Ireland will lose her claims to the support of the Allied races. . . .

On the other hand, if the Irish community follows the mad leadership of blind guides, who have brought every cause they have touched in Australia to ruin in the past, they will ruin in turn the cause for which Ireland has been fighting so long, and the fruits of which are now within her grasp."

NO JUSTICE FROM LLOYD GEORGE.

Why Sinn Fein Grows In Ireland.

Reading between the lines of the cables which have been describing the situation in Ireland, we can only conclude that the outlook was never more unpromising, and that the All-Ireland Convention has poor prospects of unravelling the dangerous tangle which has been the result of the English Government's subserviency to Sir Edward Carson and his party. It is evident that the Sinn Feiners are much stronger than their critics would have us suppose, and that they have captured the imagination of the country much more completely than the English newspapers have ever admitted. We have ourselves pointed out from time to time that the Irish Parliamentary party is now largely discredited; that it is under the suspicion of having become almost completely Anglicised; and that its leaders have lost touch to a great extent with the very Ireland they were supposed to represent at Westminster. But the very boldness of the Sinn Fein campaign recently, especially in East Clare, the nervousness of the authorities, and the candid assertion of Mr. de Valera's supporters that the Sinn Fein policy is "to make Ireland free and independent," should convince most Australians that there has been a complete change in the temper and attitude of the Irish people on the question of Home Rule since the suspension of the Home Rule Act after its enactment, and more especially since that Easter week and its bloody aftermath.

His Grace Archbishop Mannix assuredly speaks the truth and nothing but the truth when he declares that the rebel leaders *sis* not die in vain. Much as we may deplore the Dublin revolution, it would be foolish indeed to deny that it has had an awakening effect on the soul of Ireland and that the present insistence of a large portion of the Irish people on Home Rule in the fullest sense has been the outcome of it. Constitutional methods having failed, and conciliation having been tried to the limit without success by the Irish Parliamentary party, it is not to be really wondered at that the young bloods and hot-heads of the country should find a larger audience and following. No wonder statesmen view the future with alarm. We hope ourselves that even at the last moment the Convention may effect a settlement, but we are not afraid to say that if it is abortive and the next chapter in the story of the Home Rule struggle is more turbulent than the chapters which preceded it, Mr. Lloyd George will be much to blame. For it is he - and his advisers - who are responsible for the conviction so widespread in Ireland that, Convention or no Convention, Ulster is to remain English, that Ireland is to be dismembered, and that 17 per cent. of the population of Ireland in its north-east corner is to block indefinitely the national aspirations of the other 83 per cent. of the people. When some people among us - they are few, but still they exist - marvel at the exasperation and distraction in Ireland over the Ulster attitude, they might ask themselves what they would think if, in the proposed liberation of Poland, the negligible minority of Poles, who may be adherents of the Russian Government or the German Government, should upon their own insistence be partitioned off and permitted to retain their former connection with its special privileges as against the great majority of the Polish people? We venture to say that they would not hear of Russia or Germany making such an arrangement.

In considering the Irish question, the clear vision of quite a number of excellent folk is sadly affected by the consideration that the Empire is at war. Under such circumstances, they profess to believe that Ireland should really be contented with any form of settlement that would enable Mr. Lloyd George to retain the affection of his Ulster friends, and allow England to go forward with the campaign relieved of this distinctly demoralising semi-domestic embarrassment. And as for talking of freedom and independence in connection with Ireland - well, that is black-hearted treachery in the third degree, even if it is merely bad taste in the case of South Africa. Many Irish Nationalists who have flocked to the Sinn Fein banner probably would remind their critics that for nearly forty years they agitated for Home Rule, which was a peace measure, designed to ameliorate conditions which had become intolerable. Those conditions are still intolerable. In fact, since the war began they have become distinctly worse. The bad faith of the English Government over the Home Rule Act, the Easter happening, the executions and transportations, the promulgation of martial law, the increased taxation, the poverty and distress in Ireland - these things are more or less directly connected with the war, and there is no sanity in the contention that what could be

(remedied should

remedied should not be remedied while the war is on. If there are men in Ireland talking of freedom and independence, instead of Home Rule in homeopathic doses, they probably would argue that the whole world is talking in the same strain - that the British Government itself has declared that it is fighting for the freedom and independence of the small nations - of which Ireland is surely one. They might argue, too, that if this declaration were truthfully uttered, there is nothing to prevent the English Government from making an honourable beginning, by conceding to Ireland what Canada and Australia enjoy - instead of saying "Come into Convention and we will concede to you whatever measure you can agree upon," whilst being satisfied in advance that Ulster will not agree. In this connection it must in all fairness be remembered that Ireland has never abandoned her claim to the status of a distinct and independent nation. She has every mark of one, geographically, racially, and in national ideals. Indeed, Ireland might be regarded as a typical small nation - a nation which has furnished statesmen, teachers, and warriors to the whole world from time immemorial - a nation which has never surrendered its language, its customs, its religion, or its ambitions. Why, then, should Ireland be blamed for pushing her campaign for complete self-government at a time when her problem has the world's attention centred on it, and when the enemies of Ireland's nationality can do least harm?

There can be no doubt that the Sinn Fein movement received considerable encouragement from the attitude of the United States of America, when it asked England in very plain terms to settle the Irish question. Mr. Lloyd George's proposals were very badly received across the Atlantic, and, in a country that is accustomed to plain speaking, some very plain speaking was done. Not only is the Home Rule Bill condemned as being quite insufficient and the proposed Convention as a piece of clever trickery, but Mr. Lloyd George is taken to task for dulling the enthusiasm of America by leaving Ireland in much the position of Poland, Serbia, or Belgium. Public men in the States are declaring that the question of Irish Home Rule ceased to be a domestic affair the moment their Congress declared war. They are claiming that it is now an affair of the United States as well as England, and that it will continue to plague both England and the United States until their respective Governments have squared their deeds to their words. English statesmen may contest this view, but the fact remains that the Sinn Feiners have many enthusiastic supporters in the Great Republic of the West, and that they are prosecuting their campaign in Ireland fortified by the knowledge that England must now study American opinion. If the situation in Ireland were not more than usually strained and critical, and if there were not possibilities of grave trouble, his Eminence Cardinal Logue and the Irish Hierarchy would scarcely have issued their recent manifesto. Yet Mr. Lloyd George still arranges his Convention and dallies with a question that cannot wait, whilst the friends of liberty the world over wring their hands. It is indeed strange that the English Government, which has done many great things during the present war, continues to muddle through with the Irish situation.

IRISHMEN'S DEMONSTRATION.

Disagreement Among Societies.

Mr. M.P. Jaguers, president of the United Irish League, yesterday made the following statement in reference to the meeting of Irish residents - to be held in the Exhibition Building on 5th. November:-

"The Sinn Fein or Republican party is now making a desperate attempt to usurp the position long held by the United Irish League as the official mouthpiece of the Irishmen of Victoria. That league, having 37 years of successful service in the Home Rule cause to its credit, refuses to surrender its outpost of the Home Rule army at the demand of a number of youthful revolutionaries of little standing in the community. These youths are banded together in the Young Ireland Society. The absurdity of the whole situation created by them is shown by the fact that these youths hired the Exhibition Building and proclaimed the purpose of their 'monster meeting' without even consulting the Irish citizens of Melbourne, in whose name they professed to act. As a matter of fact they acquired the idea of a 'monster meeting' with limelight effects from the newly-formed Irish National Association, a professedly republican body, which had previously expressed its intention of hiring the Exhibition for a similar purpose.

"The United Irish League of Victoria is the pet aversion of all such reactionaries on account of - (1) its defence of the Irish constitutional movement; (2) its loyalty to the Commonwealth; (3) its sympathy with the cause of the Allies; (4) its efforts to assist in the conciliation of Ulster; and (5) its refusal, in common with the parent body, to desert the democracies of the Empire, now engaged in their death struggle with the enemy. The proposed 'monster meeting' at the Exhibition Building cannot possibly improve matters, for it will neither influence the Irish party, the British Cabinet nor the Irish Convention, all of whom have the one object in view. On the contrary, it will destroy that splendid spirit of unity which prevailed amongst the Irishmen of Victoria and their Australian well-wishers, besides reacting upon Irish interests generally. It is easy to recognise that the perspective of Sinn Feiners resident in Ireland, and unduly influenced by the lamentable incidents following the outbreak in Dublin, would become distorted, and that it would be much different to those of wider vision living abroad.

"Paradoxical as it may seem, the Sinn Fein promoters of the meeting are being assisted by such distinctively Catholic societies as the Catholic Workers' Association, the Catholic Young Men's Society and the Catholic Federation. Why such bodies should intrude themselves, for the first time, into the Irish political arena for the purpose of assisting in the attack upon the Irish Parliamentary party and the constitutional movement is a mystery to everyone but themselves. The Hibernian Catholic Benefit Society's action in supporting ~~the~~ Sinn Feiners is stranger still, considering that it is pledged to support Home Rule, and has already selected a delegate to attend at the opening of the Irish Parliament. The extraordinary action of these four Catholic societies becomes further inexplicable from the fact that the Catholic hierarchy of Ireland unanimously support the Irish Convention, and are represented thereon by four delegates.

"It can thus be seen that the leaders of the Catholic societies referred to are recklessly encouraging Sinn Feiners to flout such convention. Then again the Melbourne branch of St. Patrick's Society sent its two delegates to the Sinn Fein conference without even consulting its president, who is a strong constitutionalist, whilst the executive, or governing body, of the society is of the same political belief as the president referred to. The Shamrock Club has also countenanced the Sinn Feiners, though so far as is known no vote of the whole of the members of that club, or of the four Catholic societies referred to, has been taken to justify their respective leaders' action in rushing to the standard of Sinn Fein. It is very evident from the general mixup of matters, almost amounting to comedy, that many of those concerned know very little about the difficulties of the Irish political question. They have been attracted more by the romance attached to the revolutionary movement rather than by its realities. As all the societies referred to possess an overwhelming proportion of Home Rulers within their ranks their misguided leaders may yet have to account for their indiscretion.

The United Irish League is loyally supported in its defence of the constitutional movement by the executive of St. Patrick's Society, the Irish Pipers, the Celtic Club, the Irish National Foresters' Society and the Irish Hurling Association, and consequently the whole of these bodies and their respective supporters disavow any connection whatever with the proposed 'monster meeting of Irish citizens'."

25th. October, 1917. "Catholic Press," Sydney. Editorial.

(Subject) Home Rule meeting in Melbourne, 5th. November, 1917).

It is true that a small section of Irishmen have endeavoured to block the movement, and have gone so far as to engage the support of the venomously anti-Irish Melbourne "Argus. These objectors call themselves the "United Irish League" and "the official mouthpiece of the Irishmen of Victoria." The "league" bases that claim on "(1) Its defence of the Irish constitutional movement; (2) its loyalty to the Commonwealth; (3) its sympathy with the cause of the Allies; (4) its efforts to assist in the conciliation of Ulster; and (5) its refusal, in common with the parent body, to desert the democracies of the Empire, now engaged in their deadly struggle with the enemy."

While they claim to have a monopoly of these patriotic virtues, they describe the friends of Ireland who do not kow-tow to the "league" as "revolutionaries." We trust no self-respecting Irishmen will enter on a controversy with the old gentlemen concerned, whose egregious vanity has evidently been wounded. They declare that no one will be allowed to usurp the position which they have so long held, a position which is known only to themselves. After the forthcoming meeting they will discover that they have only the sympathy of the Melbourne "Argus" and the people the "Argus" represents.

We confess that it has been a surprise to us that of late there was no active demonstration of Australian sympathy with Ireland. Last year great gatherings were held throughout the Commonwealth, and many thousands of pounds were raised for the relief of distress in Dublin. The Federal Parliament has since petitioned the King to grant to Ireland her national rights. But that is all. Yet there is no manner of doubt that interest in everything that relates to that unhappy country is paramount in Australian thought. The Premier of New South Wales declared in Dublin the other day that the treatment of Ireland by the English Government "had in all probability postponed the intervention of the United States in the war for one or two years. To continue what Mr. Devlin has called this canker at the heart of the Empire, and to leave it without cure will do more to weaken the Empire than anything else that could happen." It will be seen, therefore, that the question is one that intimately concerns us, and that those who urge its settlement are the truest friends of democracy and of the Empire.

It is a vital question, and it is Australia's duty to let English statesmen know that while our sons are dying in the trenches for the freedom of humanity, Ireland cannot be held in thralldom. Mr. Lloyd George must be told that when he reminds us of Belgium, Servia, Roumania and Poland, we cannot forget Ireland. When Russia had overthrown the Czar, and freedom dawned upon the Empire, one of the first questions put to England by the revolutionary leaders was in regard to Ireland. And Ireland is the greatest war problem in America. With Ireland denied self-government and under martial law, President Wilson has made the difficulties of his position very clear to the English Government. The few Pecksniffian Irish in the community would have us bury our heads in the sand, but that is not the way to a solution of the question. By no strategem can the Irish question be brushed aside. What Gladstone called "that cloud in the west" appears at the most inopportune moments. The problem must be faced. And there is no time like the present, when every other Power on earth is standing up against Germany for rights of small nations and of all peoples to govern themselves. Must we remain silent in regard to Ireland while we weep over the sorrows of the small nations that are under the ruthless heel of Germany?

We do not forget that the responsibility for the condition of Ireland rests not with the English people but with the English oligarchy. The Irish have no quarrel with the English people. The democracy of Great Britain has time and again declared for the liberation of Ireland; but the ruling families have been more powerful than the people, and have succeeded so far in thwarting their will. It is absurdly contended that any impatience shown by the friends of Ireland is a reflection on the Nationalist Party, as if the Irish are the only people in the world who are not free to criticise, not to say change, their political leaders. Leaders rise and fall in other lands. Why should Ireland be the exception? Everyone acknowledges the good service rendered by the party in the past; but there can be no denying the fact that they have got out of touch with the Irish people, and that Ireland has awakened only in time to save her national interests.

It is to be feared that the Parliamentary Party, with the very best intentions, sacrificed Irish interests to the interests of the Liberal Government. When the Government, fresh from the polls for the second time in 1910, was about to apply itself to the drafting of a Home Rule Bill, the party agreed to the request of Lloyd George that the Insurance Bill should have precedence, notwithstanding the fact that it was the Irish vote in Ireland and

(Great Britain.

Great Britain which had saved Mr. Lloyd George's budget and his own future. From this time the situation was mishandled. By its own advisory committee, the Government was recommended to grant Ireland full fiscal autonomy; but Mr. Redmond declared that the Nationalists did not expect anything of the kind. While the Bill was going through the Commons it was so emasculated by the Ulster discontents and every other crank that it became a mere mockery of self-government, a sham constitution that no self-respecting people could accept. Bad as it was it was hung up with the consent of the Irish Party, until such a time as the ill-conceived measure could be still further mutilated in the interests of the irreconcilable minority in Ulster.

The Ulster Unionists were allowed by the Government to organise armed resistance to Home Rule, to engage in gun-running on an immense scale without punishment or even prosecution. But when the Nationalists followed their example they were shot down in the streets of Dublin. The Irish party acquiesced in the dictum of Mr. Asquith, that "the coercion of Ulster is an absolutely unthinkable thing," which means the abandonment of the essential principles of majority rule, upon which the politics of the British Empire is based, in order that the physical force party in Ulster might enjoy a privileged position. Then when a coalition Government was formed, Sir Edward Carson, the leader of the Ulster rebels, who a few months before had been dining with the Kaiser, was appointed Attorney-General of England!

Was it any wonder that many of the Irish people came to the conclusion that the constitutional movement had exhausted its possibilities, and that consequently a revolution broke out in Dublin? What followed did not tend to encourage the Irish people to restore confidence in the present English Government. Very few Englishmen can be found nowadays to defend the Maxwell regime. Then came the plot to partition Ireland, in which Mr. Redmond and his followers unfortunately were involved. It is quite clear that it is not the Irish people who have abandoned the constitutional principle, but the Lloyd George Government, for if they had been faithful to constitutionalism Ireland would have had a full measure of Home Rule long ago.

Even now the Government is once more pledged to violate the constitutional principle, inasmuch as they have declared that even if a majority of the delegates at the Convention should decide in favour of Home Rule for all Ireland, no matter how large the majority may be, the recommendation will not be put into operation as long as the minority of Ulster Unionists - the minority of a minority - hold out for exclusion. That is the position of affairs in Ireland today. The Convention, it should be remembered, was nominated by the Government and not elected by the people, and there is ground to suspect that the object is to fool Ireland and the friends of Ireland throughout the world. For this, if for no other reason, Australia should make her voice heard distinctly and bring much-needed pressure on the Government and the Convention. We can show, at any rate, that we are not hoodwinked, and that we understand the position. The Australian people would not stand such treatment from an outside Government, nor would any other people in the world whose civilisation has gone beyond the stage of serfdom. Imagine a Federal Constitution drawn up for Australia by a body nominated from Downing Street, and so framed as to meet the wishes of a small alien minority in the country? Or think of the liberty of the Commonwealth depending on the whims of an insignificant minority of its settlers! We expect great things from the Melbourne meeting, and we feel sure that it will only be the first of many similar demonstrations in Australia and New Zealand.

GREAT HOME RULE MEETING.

IN MELBOURNE.

The great Home Rule meeting, which created so much excitement was held on Monday evening (5th. November) at the Richmond Racecourse. Ever since the meeting was projected the foes of Ireland attempted to stop it. The "Argus" tried hard to create a split between the United Irish League and the other Melbourne organisations of Irishmen, and the Orange section, after failing in an effort to have the meeting prohibited, brought pressure to bear upon the trustees of the Exhibition Building, which had been engaged for the evening.

On Thursday a deputation of Orangemen, including Dr. Leeper, Dr. Rentoul, Alderman Cabena and O.R. Snowball interviewed the Premier (Sir Alexander Peacock), and urged that he should take steps to prevent the meeting. They said that they would wait on the Exhibition trustees later in the day, and if necessary they would ask the Federal authorities to prohibit the meeting under the War Precautions Act regulations. Sir Alexander Peacock said that the application should be made to the Exhibition trustees.

After waiting in a room near the trustees' office for nearly an hour the deputation, as members afterwards stated, was informed by the trustees that it would not be admitted to the meeting, as an application by the other side had been refused. Something more was conveyed to the visitors, which they declined to state, but they made no secret of the fact that they were well satisfied, and one of them declared that there would be no meeting on the 5th. inst.

At a later stage the secretary of the trustees announced that they had decided to cancel the contract for the use of the building in the 5th. inst.

Having failed to secure the use of the Exhibition Building for holding a meeting to discuss the Irish situation, the executive supervising the arrangements on behalf of the several organisations interested, decided to hold a demonstration on Monday night on the Richmond racecourse. A deputation from the Irish societies waited on Mr. John Wren, lessee of the Richmond racecourse, on Friday, and requested permission to use the course for the meeting. They submitted a copy of the resolutions proposed to be presented to the meeting. Mr. Wren granted the request.

The next incident was the clearing up of the misunderstanding between the United Irish League and the Young Ireland Party. The League explains that the first misunderstanding occurred because the Young Ireland Society had not consulted the Archbishop or the Irish societies prior to launching the project. The old time rule of preliminary conferences, followed so successfully by the pioneer Irishmen of Victoria, had in this case, and for the first time, been departed from, and with deplorable results. The League recognises that, primarily through the good offices of Archbishop Mannix, a considerable modification of the original terms of the three resolutions to be proposed to the meeting has been made by the representatives of the societies concerned. Such modification now brings them so close to the opinions held by the Irish Parliamentary Party that, as its local representative, the United Irish League, sees no objection to them.

Speaking at St. James' Presbytery, North Richmond, his Grace the Archbishop said: The Exhibition trustees in solemn conclave came to the sapient conclusion that to hold the proposed meeting would lead to great bitterness, and they cancelled the arrangement that had been made for the use of the building. Some of those who were anxious to avoid bitterness have the use of the Town Hall to the Protestant Federation, one of whose planks was to exclude every Catholic from Parliament and every public position, as far as possible. The resolution of the trustees of the Exhibition Building was unanimously adopted by those who were present, and he hoped that fact would be remembered. The meeting was going to be held in spite of the trustees. If the decision of the trustees was a fair sample of their intelligence they were not fit to be trustees of a Punch and Judy show. From some of them he did not expect anything else, as they were Orangemen or well known to be sympathisers with Orangemen. However, there were others who did not pose as Orangemen or sympathisers with Orangemen, and he regretted to say that some of those had just as much backbone in them as a stick of boiled asparagus. The trustees had done a silly and futile thing. When the meeting was over they would look possibly sillier than they did now. What had happened would not help recruiting very much. People who had been hustled out of the Exhibition Building would not be very anxious to go and listed to the same people on the recruiting platform.

The Meeting On Richmond Racecourse.

Though the night was cold and unpromising, a crowd, estimated at 60,000, gathered at the Richmond Racecourse on Monday evening..... When Archbishop.

bishop Mannix mounted No. 1 stand as chairman at 8 o'clock there was a strong demonstration in his favour. Two mounted troopers and a body of foot police forced a passage through a cheering crowd for the Archbishop to reach the platform. The visiting clergy from all parts of the State included Bishop Foley, of Ballarat, who, with the administrator of the Cathedral (Rev. Father J. Barry), accompanied Dr. Mannix to the platform.

Dr. Mannix, who was received with cheers, addressed the audience as "Men and women of Australia, and friends of Ireland every one," and said that they were present first to vindicate the right of free speech. There was a faction here, as there was in Ireland, which, for political purposes, would be glad to stifle every opinion but their own. The men and women of Australia had given their answer that night. They had been asked pertinently that morning whether they had changed their attitude since the meeting was projected. They had not changed their sentiments in the least nor the expression of them by one iota. Their original purpose was to stand behind one of the small nations - Ireland. They had been called upon over and over again in the recent past to rush to the rescue of Belgium and other small nations, but there was one of the small nations whose wrongs they would not be allowed even to discuss if the political party he had referred to were to have its way. Through that influence those present had been turned out of the Exhibition Building. There was another nation whose scars were deeper than Belgium's scars. There was another nation that they feared might still remain in slavery and servitude when the Peace Conference had righted the wrongs of Belgium. That was one of the reasons for their gathering, and another was that the present condition of Ireland was a standing disgrace to the whole British Empire. It had made England and the Empire the laughing stock of the nations, and even the Russians were able to cast opprobrium in their faces. What was the Empire that they heard so much about? Did it belong to England alone, or Scotland alone, or did any part of it, or any of its achievements, belong to Ireland and the Irish people? He would answer in the words of one of the greatest soldiers England ever possessed - an Irishman, of course - the late Sir William Butler. Of the British Empire Sir William Butler said: "If it had not been for the blood, brain and brawn which Ireland had given to England, neither England nor her Empire would be what she is today. I doubt, indeed, if the Empire as distinct from England would have any existence at all." They could echo another passage, "Ireland has seldom been thanked for her work," and another sentence appropriate to them that night was, "It is time for Ireland to think of giving service to herself." They were told that they were raising strife in Australia, and that Irishmen were raising strife all over the Empire, and they were asked by certain plausible people to give them time - after hundreds of years they wanted a few days - and everything would be well. According to Englishmen they should wait and see. Ireland was tired of waiting, because during the years of waiting she had been depopulated, her harbours emptied, her trade ruined, her people scattered, and her life-blood had been flung away. He was convinced that the people who told them to wait were opposed to Home Rule now, and if the war was over would snap their fingers at the Irish people.

His strong advice to the Irish people was to say, "Now or never." They had an opportunity now that they were not likely to have again, and which they would certainly have forfeited when the war was over. If they did not get Home Rule during the war they had faint hope of getting it when England was out of her present difficulties. But, it was said, is not a Convention sitting in Ireland? That Convention was a sign and symbol of the bankruptcy of British statesmanship. Because they were afraid to face, as they should have faced, one little corner of Ireland in the north-east, with which they were so familiar, they had been peddling with the question, and failed to solve it. They told the Irish contending parties to go into convention and settle amongst themselves the form which Home Rule should take. The people who had sent them to that Convention had a shrewd suspicion that nothing would come from it, and would not have called it but for President Wilson and the people of America. It was America's price for coming into the war, and he hoped that President Wilson and the people of America would see Home Rule through, in spite of the opposition. The driving power of that Convention was not within the walls around the Convention, but was out in the hillsides of Ireland amongst those people that called themselves Sinn Feiners.

Here in Australia they had not the least idea what Sinn Fein meant. It simply meant that the Irish people were aiming not at revolution, but to have government of Ireland by the Irish people in the interests of Ireland. They were determined that Ireland was no longer to be ruled by Englishmen and in the interests of England, because when any question regarding Ireland turned up the determining factor in the minds of the powers was, "Will this serve the interests of the British Empire?" The men of ~~England~~ Ireland today were determined that the paramount consideration in the judgment of every question (should be

should be, did it or did it not serve Ireland?" It is the same principle you have here," said Dr. Mannix. "You are Sinn Feiners, the more luck to you." Australia was first. He knew it would be said that it was sedition, and that he was disloyal. He was glad that his type of loyalty was different from that of his critics. He was glad that his loyalty to the Empire, such as it was, did not prevent him from being loyal in the first place to Australia, his adopted country, and to Ireland, the land of his birth. Australians, as Sinn Feiners, could sympathise with those in Ireland who were determined to wrest, if they could, the government of the country from English hands, and to set up in Ireland people who would govern Ireland with Irish ideals and ~~with~~ for Irish interests. Ireland in the recent past lost her opportunity. Mr. Redmond had the ball at his feet and lost the game. Has Mr. Redmond taken the stand of his predecessor (C.S. Parnell), he (Dr. Mannix) believed that long before now that stain would have been wiped out, and Ireland and England would have been saved the tragedy of Easter Week. If the Convention succeeded, and he prayed it would, the reason of its success would be because those at the Convention knew, and were made to feel, that if they came to an agreement that did not give satisfaction to the Irish people, they, no longer slaves, would tear it into scraps. If the agreement was satisfactory, he, at all events, would go down to his grave thanking Easter Week and those responsible for it. But if the Convention did not succeed, or failed to arrive at an agreement satisfactory to Ireland, what then? His advice to them was to shake the dust off their feet in the British Parliament, and try to do what they could to build up the Irish nation without any reference whatever to Westminster. The tragedy of Easter Week had not been lost to Ireland, though she had lost some of her bravest, best and most brilliant sons. Ireland had knelt over their graves, and a new soul had entered into the country. She was claiming that Ireland should not be thrown on the dissecting table of the British Parliament, and that the Dark Rosaleen of all her years should not be carved in sections in order to please the miserable rabble in the north-east. "God Save Ireland" was sung as Dr. Mannix resumed his seat.

Mr. D.G. Carter, president of the Young Ireland Society, moved the first motion as follows:

That, whereas Great Britain is the guardian and champion of small nations, and whereas she and her Allies have entered upon the present war in Europe to vindicate, against the might of an alien aggressor, the right of small nations to live their own lives, this mass meeting of Irish-Australians requests that the rights of the Irish nation be acknowledged and respected, and that, in the event of the failure of the Irish Convention now sitting, duly accredited representatives of Ireland be invited to any International Conference which may assemble to end the present war, and to provide for lasting and universal peace.

Mr. T. Finnegan, of Sale, seconded the motion..... The thunders of assent could be heard a mile away.

Mr. E. Adams, president of the Catholic Workers Association, moved the second motion as follows:

That this meeting of Irish-Australians stands for an undivided Ireland, and protests against any proposal that would place any part of Ireland outside the control of the Irish Parliament which we hope and pray may be soon opened in the capital of Ireland.

Mr. T. Landrigan, of the Irish National Foresters, seconded the motion. The motion was carried unanimously.

The Rev. Father Merner, of Mansfield, moved the third motion, as under:

That this mass meeting of Irish-Australians requests the British Government, the representatives of a Christian people, to grant permission for the exhumation of the remains of the victims of the Dunlin tragedy of Easter Week, 1916, so that they may be given Christian burial in consecrated ground.

This was carried in silence.

(Note: The following quotation is taken from the book "Archbishop Mannix" by Cyril Bryan. It refers to the ~~sixth~~ second Australian referendum on conscription, which was taken on 20th. December, 1917)

Prime Minister Hughes' Manifesto to the Australian Soldiers Serving Abroad.

Soldiers of Australia:-

Australia is entering upon what promises to be a very bitter fight to secure the necessary reinforcements for our four divisions. The Government has submitted to the electors a proposal which is moderate, but effective, and you will be asked to vote upon it.

The Government appeals to you to vote in the affirmative. It declares to you that the voluntary recruiting system has failed to produce the requisite number of reinforcements. Voluntarism has failed and it cannot now be looked upon to supply the steady stream of recruits required to keep your battalions at effective strength on General Birdwood's estimate.

The Government considers that, with authority to raise 7000 men per month by compulsory ballot, to the extent that voluntarism fails to supply that number, it can maintain this flow of recruits, which is necessary, but without that power will not continue to shoulder the responsibility with which you entrusted it when you placed it in power on a straight out-and-out "win-the-war" policy.

It considers this power essential to the good government of the country, and the fulfilment of its obligation to the Empire. If you refuse to endorse its policy on this question, then it will have no option but to hand over the reins of government to the extremists who are opposing it in this fight. These extremists have already made their policy clear.

Archbishop Mannix, who has assumed the position of leader of the Government's opponents in this fight, has preached sedition in and out of season. You who are near the vortex of world affairs know what Sinn Fein means. You know its disloyalty, its insatiable hatred of Britain. Yet Dr. Mannix declared: "You in Australia are Sinn Feiners, and more luck to you."

The Sinn Fein, which has gotten German gold to do Germany's dirty work, declared that every man who wears khaki is a traitor. Dr. Mannix, owing to his episcopal position, holds a commission in His Majesty's forces as Chaplain-General, but, in his anxiety to escape the stigma which this commission would place upon him in the eyes of the Sinn Feiners, he declared recently that people need not worry themselves about his disgrace and obloquy, as he had not a uniform to wear.

It is Dr. Mannix who, now that Britain has set her back to the wall, and is fighting for her existence against the enemies of liberty and democracy, declares that Ireland would seize her opportunity and strike for independence. His disloyal utterances have moved prominent Catholics in Australia to public protest. Mr. Justice Heydon, whom you all know by repute, declares that Dr.

Mannix has proved himself to be, "not only disloyal as a man, but untrue to the teaching of a Church of which he should be the guardian."

Mr. Justice Duffy, of the High Court, and Sir Thomas Hughes, both prominent Catholics, have followed Justice Heydon in his defence of the loyalty of Catholics generally. They protest against the Archbishop endeavouring to "lead his flock along the path of sedition."

Behind Dr. Mannix are arrayed the Independent Workers of the World and the reckless extremists responsible for the recent strike, the pacifists, and the pro-Germans. It is this type of ~~men~~ men who are urging you to vote "No" on this referendum. Think what they stand for.

The passionate loyalty which led you to risk your lives so willingly can have nothing in common with this hatred of the Empire. Behind the "No" campaign are all the Sinn Fein, I.W.W., and anti-British influences in our midst. What they urge you to do is what Germany would wish you to do. Refuse to play Germany's game. Vote "Yes."

W.M. HUGHES.

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Note: 1. The result of the referendum was:-

Yes .....1,015,159  
No .....1,181,747.

2. Mr. Justice Duffy (Frank) was a son of Charles Gavan Duffy of "The Nation."

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1918.

28th. February, 1918. "The Advocate," Melbourne. (Catholic weekly)

At the half-yearly meeting of the Irish National Association, Melbourne, held recently, the following resolution was adopted:

"That this meeting of the Irish National Association, representing Irish public opinion of this State, demands the exhumation and restoration to their kindred of the Irishmen shot during and after the insurrection in Ireland in 1916, by order of the British courts martial.

28th. February, 1918. "The Daily Standard," Brisbane.

At a meeting of the Irish National Association of Queensland, representing Irish public opinion in this State, and in conjunction with our Association in New South Wales and Victoria, demands the exhumation and restoration to their kindred of the bodies of the Irishmen shot during and after the insurrection in Ireland in 1916 by order of British courts-martial. And we express abhorrence at the action of a so-called Christian Government in refusing to do so.

6th. March, 1918. "The Worker," Sydney. (Secular weekly). Excerpt from leader.

The case for Ireland is IRREFUTABLE. It is established by the struggles and sacrifices of generations; by a long line of martyrs and heroes; by the insistent demand of a people whom no persecutions have intimidated or silenced. But the diplomats comprising the Peace Conference will not permit that case to move them. To do so would jeopardise the Balance of Power - that evil creation of their secret diplomacy, which the League of Nations is not going to supersede, but merely to disguise. So it will be discovered that the Irish problem is none of the world's business, but just a little household difficulty which England must be left to deal with in the way that seems to her best. And the devil of hypocrisy will hover over the Peace Conference with a smile upon his face.

I do not doubt that Ireland will win. But it won't be with the assistance of the diplomats in Paris. No. She will win because already SHE HAS SELF-DETERMINED HER DESTINY; and because her own genius and courage, backed by the sympathy of awakening millions in every land, will suffice for the consummation of her cause.

H.E.B. (H.E. Boote).

25th. April, 1918. "Catholic Press."

At a meeting of the Sydney Labour Council, Mr. E.E. Judd, Secretary of the Municipal Employees Union, moved: "That a cable be sent to the Prime Minister (Mr. Lloyd George) stating that, as the enforcement of conscription in Ireland would be unjust and calculated to create grave complications, the Sydney Labour Council respectfully urges your Government to reconsider its decision." The motion was carried unanimously.

30th. April, 1918. "The Daily Standard," Brisbane.

A big meeting of protest against the imposition of conscription in Ireland was held last night in Centennial Hall, Brisbane. Senator Myles Ferricks, amongst others, spoke. Mr. (later Senator) J.S. Collings, an Englishman, called for three cheers for Sinn Feinism.

26th. May, 1918. "The Daily Mirror," Sydney. (Excerpt from special article).

"Is there such a thing as Sinn Fein in Australia? The question was discussed recently in the Sunday Mirror, and interest in it has been revived by the disclosures recently made regarding another pro-German plot in Ireland.

"The general opinion appears to be that Sinn Fein, as an organised body, does not exist in the Commonwealth, although there are undoubtedly individual sympathisers with the objects and ideals of the Irish body.

"There are unquestionably organised bodies of Irish Nationalists, who have striven, with their fellow-countrymen in Ireland, for the attainment of the Irish ambition of autonomy, which has been the aim of the majority of Irishmen for over a century. They must not, however, be confused with the disloyal, lawless section which has figured so prominently in recent events, and they repudiate and resent any attempt to associate them with that body."

19th. August, 1918. "Daily Telegraph," Sydney.

An interview with Mr. Hughes (Prime Minister of Australia) appears in the Rome "Ideal Nazionale." He states that one of the essential peace terms is the freeing of the Trentino and Trieste from the tyranny of Austria. Unless the right of self-determination is established for subject races, all the sacrifices will have been in vain.

11th. December, 1918. "Sydney Morning Herald."

The Very Rev. M.J. O'Reilly, C.M., delivered an address in the Sydney Town Hall last night entitled "Ireland's Case for the Peace Conference" . . . . There was never such a united Ireland as had been occasioned by the stupid malignity of its enemies. The soul of Ireland was safe. The Irish people took the rebels to their hearts, not because they broke the law, but because they considered, rightly or wrongly, in a period of great injustice, that they alone represented all law, viz., equal rights for all. Referring to the Peace Conference he said that his hopes for Ireland were not too rosy. If any were to say to him what was to be the hope of Ireland he would reply "the indomitable spirit of the race." He added that he was not an optimist with regard to the Peace Conference.

CONNRAÐ AONTUIGÍTE na nGAÉDEAL.

(United Irish League)

Victorian Branch,  
Australasian Division,  
C/o Celtic Club,  
62 Swanston Street,  
MELBOURNE.

Dear Sir,-

May 1st, 1918.

I beg to inform you that the United Irish League has now completed its arrangements for the holding of another "VICTORIAN IRISH CONVENTION," which will be held at the Cathedral Hall, Brunswick Street, Fitzroy, at 8 p.m., on Friday, the 10th. May. The following will be the composition of the assembly:-

Chairman: His Grace the Archbishop of Melbourne.  
Supplementary: The Bishops of the Victorian Province  
and the Members of the Diocesan Council.

SOCIETY DELEGATES.

Four from each of the 12 Irish National Societies, and  
and 4 from each of the 3 Catholic Associations, 10 from the  
Secular Clergy, 10 from the Regulars, 8 from the Religious  
Brotherhoods, and 5 from the Catholic Press.

METROPOLITAN DELEGATES.

To be selected from all classes of Irishmen, but  
limited to those who have hitherto taken a sympathetic interest  
in Irish affairs. The classes alluded to are the University,  
the Learned Professions, Science and Art, Mercantile and In-  
dustrial Pursuits, as well as Political, Municipal, and  
Social Groups, all without distinction of creed.

COUNTRY DELEGATES.

Invitations will be sent throughout the State to sur-  
viving members of previous Conventions, and to those of every  
class who have more recently identified themselves with Irish  
affairs. We have advertised in the columns of the "Advocate"  
and "Tribune" that any country district desirous of sending  
Delegates may do so, and that the names and addresses should be  
sent to us before the 6th inst. Cards of admission will then  
be issued to the persons so nominated. As far as we can at  
present judge, the Convention will probably consist of at least  
250 members.

The subjects for discussion are:-

- (1) The Conscription of Ireland;
- (2) Consideration of the Home Rule scheme to be sub-  
mitted by the British Cabinet.
- (3) The restoration of unity amongst local political  
groups hitherto divided on the Irish question.

If you are agreeable to attend the Convention and thus  
help on the cause, will you please send us your full name and  
address, not later than the 7th inst., and we shall forward a  
card of admission. If you wish to nominate another person, of  
whose attendance and sympathy you are certain, please advise us  
accordingly.

With the fraternal greetings of the United Irish League,

I am, Sir,

Yours faithfully,

M.P. JAGEURS,

President.

REGULATIONS GAZETTED UNDER THE WAR PRECAUTIONS ACT

to

CONTROL SINN FEIN

and to

PROHIBIT ADVOCACY OF IRISH INDEPENDENCE.

(1918)

REGULATIONS MADE UNDER THE WAR PRECAUTIONS ACT  
(AUSTRALIA) DIRECTED AGAINST SINN FEIN AND THE  
ADVOCACY OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF IRELAND.

(Title not official)

THEY WERE PUBLISHED IN THE COMMONWEALTH GOVERN-  
MENT "GAZETTE" ON 28th. MARCH, 1918.

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Any person who by word of mouth, or in writing, or by any act or deed - (a) advocates, incites or encourages disloyalty or hostility to the British Empire, or the cause of the British Empire; during the war; or (b) advocates the dismemberment of the British Empire, or who says or does anything calculated to incite, encourage, or assist such disloyalty or hostility, shall be guilty of an offence against the Act.

Any person who wears or displays any badge, flag, banner, emblem, or symbol purporting to be the badge, flag, banner, emblem, or symbol of a country with which the King is now at war, or of any body or association which is disaffected to the British Empire, or the society, association, or movement known as Sinn Fein, shall be guilty of an offence against the Act.

The Minister may by order in writing direct that any premises used as a place of public resort, or as a club, the use of which in his opinion is prejudicial to public safety or the defence of the Commonwealth, shall be kept closed, either altogether or during such hours, or for such purposes as are specified by him, and if the premises are kept open in contravention of such direction, the occupier or person having control of the premises shall be guilty of an offence against the Act.

Where any premises have been closed in pursuance of this regulation the occupier or person having control of the premises shall not occupy or control other premises as a place of public resort, or entertainment, or as a club, without the consent of the Minister.

Any officer of police, and any person authorised in writing by the Minister, may, for the purpose of enforcing the provisions of this regulation, enter, if need be by force, and search and occupy any premises in relation to which a direction has been given.

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THE INTERNMENTS.

( 1918 ).

THE IRISH INTERNEES

in

DARLINGHURST GAOL, SYDNEY

1918-19.



Sitting - L to R: Edmund McSweeney, Maurice Dalton,

Albert T. Dryer and Thomas Fitzgerald;

Standing - L to R: William MacGuinness, Francis J.

MacKeown, Michael MacGing, and William J. Fegan.

... ..

THE INTERNMENTS.

The report by Mr. Justice Harvey sets out most of the salient facts connected with this event, A few other relevant documents are enclosed.

It was known in 1915 that the Irish National Association was under police surveillance. The first overt moves in the episode were not made until March, 1918, when the raids commenced on the homes of some of the members in New South Wales, Victoria and Queensland.

On the 25th. March, 1918, members of the military and of the civil detective forces entered the homes of the president of the I.N.A. (Mr. John Sheehy), the honorary secretary (Mr. Albert Dryer), in Sydney, Mrs. Mary Weber (mother of the latter) in Lithgow (100 miles from Sydney) and Mr. William Muir, in Sydney. Various books, letters and other documents were confiscated.

The office of the I.N.A. was raided on the 23rd and 24th May, 1918, and the register of members names, card index system, butts of receipt books, as well as other documents connected with the Irish Relief Fund were seized.

On the latter date, the homes of the following members of the I.N.A. were entered and material seized:- Messrs. W. MacGuinness, E. McSweeney, M. McGing, Jos.A. Murphy, T. O'Dea, T. Neylon, P. O'Halloran, Jas. Brennan, T. Mee and J. McVeigh. The home of Mr. G.P. O'Connor, treasurer of the Association, was raided on the 25th. May.

In Melbourne the homes of Messrs. M. Dalton, Wm. Butler, F.J. MacKeown and T. Clarke, and in Brisbane the home of Mr. T. Fitzgerald were all similarly raided.

A few days later, Mr. Albert Dryer was called before a stipendiary magistrate to be interrogated, in camera, regarding the activities of the I.N.A., the existence of Sinn Fein in Australia and Irish activities generally. The results were, of course, barren.

The arrests of the seven members of the Association were effected on the 17th. June, 1918. They were lodged in a wing of the gaol hospital (converted for the purpose) in Darlinghurst Gaol, Sydney. Mr. William J. Fegan, of Brisbane, who had been in the Gaol since the previous December and Mr. Michael Kiely, of Warrnambool, Victoria, who arrived at the end of June, were associated with them.

The matter was referred by the Government to Mr. Justice John Musgrave Harvey to conduct an inquiry into the affair. This began on 7th. August, 1918, and lasted until the end of that month. The report was submitted to the Government in September by Judge Harvey. The Government decided not to release the prisoners.

The war having terminated on the 11th. November, 1918, six of the I.R.B. men, Messrs. Wm. MacGuinness, E. McSweeney, M. McGing, T. Fitzgerald, F.J. MacKeown and M. Dalton, together with Mr. W.J. Fegan, were released on 19th. December, 1918. Mr. Michael Kiely was released in January, 1919 and Mr. Albert Dryer on 11th. February, 1919.

Exceedingly great public interest was created by the arrests, not only in Australia but in countries abroad. Very much space was accorded to the event by the whole of the public press of Australia. (A few brief notices are appended hereto). Many public meetings were held in the cities. For the support of the dependants of the internees a public fund was opened in Sydney and a sum exceeding £1,400 was collected.

On 26th. June, 1918, His Grace, Archbishop Mannix, stated in Melbourne at a public function that his whole heart and soul was with the Irish National Association which he congratulated upon its stand. He was cheered for several minutes for his reference to the internees.

It was definitely known that at one stage the Government contemplated bringing a charge of high treason against Albert Dryer. The Crown Prosecutor, Mr. A.G. Ralston, K.C., also alluded to the matter before Judge Harvey.

A number of young men in Australia were anxious to give military service to Ireland. After Sean O Deorain (John Doran) reached America, he corresponded with Albert Dryer with regard to this project, but it was found not to be feasible in the circumstances.



(A.T. Dryer,  
Polding Street,  
Bossley Park,  
New South Wales).

20th. June, 1918. "The Daily Telegraph," Sydney.

AN IRISH REPUBLIC.

AIMS OF A BROTHERHOOD.

Association Alleged To Be A Cloak.

Acting-Prime Minister's Statement.

Melbourne, Wednesday (19/6/18)/- "It has recently come to the knowledge of the Government," Mr Watt said to-night, "that an Australian division of the organisation known as the Irish Republican Brotherhood has been formed in Australia.

"This body has been secretly and systematically organised, and its object is the establishment of an Irish Republic, independent of Britain, during the war. An emissary inaugurated the movement in Australia, and then withdrew to another country, from which his efforts have since been directed.

"Part of the plan of the organisation was to enrol volunteers, who were to be despatched from Australia to America, and thence to Ireland, to aid an armed revolution. The organisation in America was in touch with Germany, and money for hostile purposes was remitted from Australia.

"The members of this brotherhood in certain cases have been active forces in the Irish National Association.

"Whilst the declared objects of this association are quite consistent with loyalty and the employment of constitutional principles and methods, it is clear from some branch reports that sinister attempts have been made by the republican extremists to pervert these objects.

"These extremists have been using the Irish National Association as a cloak, apparently without the knowledge of the bulk of the members of that association.

"The facts having been ascertained and carefully considered, the Government decided to take prompt and decisive action this week. It simultaneously arrested seven of the ringleaders in this conspiracy and interned them. For the fuller information of the people, and in the interests of justice, a public inquiry, as prescribed by the War Precautions Regulations, and presided over by a judge, will be held. While the Government feels that it should inform the people of its action and the reasons taken for the precautionary steps taken, it wishes to assure them that there is no occasion for alarm."

27th. June, 1918. "The Catholic Press," Sydney.

A considerable sensation was caused on Thursday by a statement made to the press on the previous evening by the Acting-Prime Minister, that "an Australian division of the Irish Republican Brotherhood had been formed," and had "been secretly and systematically organised; and its object was the establishment of an Irish Republic independent of Britain." The Prime Minister added that the Government had "simultaneously arrested seven of the ringleaders of this conspiracy and interned them." Later on, Mr. Watt prohibited the publication of the names of the interned men, or any comments on the charges until such time as "a public inquiry, as prescribed by the War Precautions Act, and presided over by a judge, would be held." Every fair-minded citizen who has had experience of the dreadful prejudice against accused persons caused by sensational and partisan newspapers will commend the action of the Acting-Prime Minister; but, with all due respect due to the Minister, it seems to us that he has himself committed the offences which he has striven to avoid.

For in the statement which he has published broadcast he alleged that the "plan of the organisation was to enrol volunteers who were to be despatched from Australia to America, and thence to Ireland to aid armed revolt. The organisation in America was in touch with Germany, and money for hostile purposes was remitted from Australia." We submit that these statements, according to the wise rule laid down by Mr. Watt, should have been withheld until the trial, for they are certainly calculated to create prejudice against the accused in the minds of those who will later have to deal with them. In these heated times, how many persons will realise that the above statements are not "facts" until they have been produced by witnesses in the presence of the accused, who will then have the right of cross-examining and rebutting the charge.

Then we have the Irish National Association dragged into the charges, although Mr. Watt admits that only "in certain cases" were the members of the brotherhood connected with the I.N.A. According to the daily press, one of the accused has been connected with the University; but, as far as we know,

(this institution.

this institution has not been implicated. The Irish National Association has certainly a just cause of complaint against the introduction of its name into this matter.

We also think that the highly-coloured account of the Irish Republican Brotherhood in connection with the Easter week "insurrection," which appeared in Saturday's Melbourne and Sydney dailies, should have been prohibited. We can gauge from these comments how wise Mr. Watt is in preventing discussion of the pending charges. We are quite satisfied that, given a free rein, there are journalists in Australia who would be quite capable of curdling the blood of our citizens with lurid accounts of the terrible risks we have escaped, in spite of the Acting-Prime Minister's assurance that there "is no occasion for alarm."

The men who were arrested will suffer, but we must not leave their families without bread. So, until such time as the inquiry is held, we will be glad to receive subscriptions for the support of those dependent on them. Such subscriptions will be acknowledged in the "Catholic Press."

29th. June, 1918. "The Advocate," Melbourne.

Quite a sensation was caused in Melbourne last week when it became known that arrests had been made under the War Precautions Act of seven persons, who, according to the Prime Minister, are accused of being members of a society that has been guilty of intriguing with the enemy. We are not allowed to give the names, though we may state that the seven arrests are spread over the whole Commonwealth. The men arrested in Melbourne belong to an Irish society the declared objects of which, as stated by the Prime Minister, "are quite consistent with loyalty and the employment of constitutional principles and methods." The wife of one of the interned men assures us that there is absolutely no grounds for accusing her husband of being engaged in any practices inconsistent with the declared objects of the society. Mr. Watt says "there is no occasion for alarm." This, of course, means that the conspiracy - if there is a conspiracy, which has not been proved - has not spread to any extent. We should be very glad to find that the whole thing is, as we believe it to be, a false alarm; and in the interests of the law-abiding Irish citizens of the Commonwealth, who have proved, and are proving, their loyalty to the Empire, it is to be hoped that the inquiry promised by the Acting Prime Minister will proceed without further delay, and will be thorough and searching.

4th. July, 1918. "Sydney Morning Herald."

INTERNED IRISH

ALLEGED CONSPIRACY.

DR. MANNIX WANTS MEETING OF PROTEST.

The Irish national bodies have opened a fund to provide comforts for the families of the seven men who were recently interned by the Federal Government for alleged complicity in the movement to found the Irish Brotherhood in Australia. The sum already subscribed includes £25 from the Irish National Association.

At the recent annual smoke concert of the Catholic Young Men's Society, Archbishop Mannix said that he would be behind the organisations is a meeting of protest took place. It is understood that the Irish national bodies are likely to convene a public meeting for the purpose of discussing the position of the internees and the circumstances connected with the action taken by the Government.

27th. September, 1918. "The Daily Telegraph," Sydney.

Melbourne, Thursday.- The Acting-Prime Minister announced tonight that the Minister for Defence had submitted the report of the Royal Commissioner on the Irish internees to the Cabinet today.

The Cabinet had decided that the detention of the internees be continued. Because of the advanced age of Dalton, the Minister for Defence would obtain a special medical report as to his physical condition.

26th. December, 1918. "The Catholic Press," Sydney.

The Federal Cabinet has decided to take the momentous risk of releasing the interned Irishmen - Edmund McSweeney, Michael McGing, William MacGuinness, Maurice Dalton, Frank MacKeown and Thomas Fitzgerald. Albert Thomas Dryer's case is put back for further consideration. Thank goodness, we have a Cabinet that is able to take a serious view of its responsibilities. Michael Angelo

(said that.)

said that trifles make perfection, and perfection is no trifle. The Cabinet gives this matter more attention than it ~~gives~~ allows Parliament to give to the hundred million budget.

The following telegram was sent to Mr. Glynn, Minister for Home and Territories: "Released Irish internees demand release A.T. Dryer, and protest against victimisation. Signed on behalf of the released men, McSweeney." As the Irish prisoners were to be interned "for the duration of the war," and as Mr. Watt declared that they were not kept in durance as punishment, the continuance of Dryer's internment savours very strongly of malice.

2nd. January, 1919. "The Catholic Press," Sydney.

The Interned Men.  
Welcomed In Brisbane.

Upon the arrival of the Sydney mail train at central station an enthusiastic welcome home was given to Messrs. Thomas Fitzgerald and W.J. Fegan upon their return to Brisbane from Darlinghurst Gaol, where they had been "guests" of the Federal Government for some considerable time. Irish colleens were present in large numbers, all wearing the Irish tricolour, and they showered confetti of the same happy blend upon the two men, and gave them a thoroughly Irish welcome, cheering loudly. Both men looked well, and were apparently much embarrassed by the enthusiastic and unexpected welcome. They were dispatched to their homes in motor cars amid ringing cheers. Mr. Fegan has just completed 14 months' incarceration, while Mr. Fitzgerald had been six months interned. Who said Buckshot Foster was dead? If so, his ghost must surely have arisen in the Antipodes.

13th. February, 1919. "Catholic Press," Sydney.

Despite the fact that only a couple of hours' notice of his intended release was given, more than 50 members of the I.N.A. and friends, among them many ladies, were waiting at the gate of Darlinghurst Gaol on Tuesday at noon, when Mr. A.T. Dryer, B.A., the last of the "Irish internees," was set at liberty. Mr. John Sheehy, president, and Mr. George O'Connor, treasurer, were the first to greet him; and as he was carried shoulder high to the waiting car he was deluged with showers of "Sinn Fein" confetti. Cheers were given for the Irish Republic as the car moved off, decorated with the Irish tricolour. On its journey through the city to Mr. Dryer's residence, many people cheered the flag. In the evening a large party of friends met at his house to congratulate him, and to express pleasure at the good condition he had put on in "Pearce's Rest Home." Arrangements will be made for a big demonstration of welcome to all the internees as soon as conditions will permit.

COPY.

Register,  
Bank Pass-book,  
Irish Relief Fund Subs. List,  
Relief Fund Receipt Book,  
Pay in slips.

Taken possession of on 23rd May, 1918.

(sd) W.E. Truskett  
Detective.

---

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24 - 5 - 18

See Caretaker.

We have taken the two cabinets and they are  
now at the Detective Office.

(Initd) W.R.

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(Note: The above statements refer to  
materials removed by members of the  
civil detective force during their  
raids upon the office of the Irish  
National Association, Station House,  
Sydney).



COPY.

AUSTRALIAN MILITARY FORCES . - 2nd MILITARY DISTRICT .

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CENSORSHIP OFFICE,

MG.

POSTAL BUILDING,

In reply please quote

CENTRAL RAILWAY SQUARE,

No. C.S. 44597.

SYDNEY,

31st. July, 1918.

Messrs. O'Loughlin Brothers,  
Printers,  
342 Elizabeth Street,  
SYDNEY.

Gentlemen,

Please furnish me immediately with three copies of any leaflets printed by you in connection with the meeting held on 24th instant at the Town Hall relative to interned members of the Irish National Association.

Also please supply me with an explanation why these leaflets were not submitted.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your obedient servant,

(sd). G.G. NICHOLSON

Censor,

SYDNEY.

## NOTIFICATION OF THE MAKING OF A REGULATION.

ORDER.

Commonwealth of  
Australia to wit.

W.E. Davidson,  
Deputy of the  
Governor-General.

By His Excellency, Sir Walter Edward Davidson,  
Deputy of the Governor-General in and over  
the Commonwealth of Australia.

WHEREAS by the War Precautions Act 1914-1916 it is, among other things enacted that the Governor-General may, by Order published in the Gazette, make provision for any matters which appear necessary or expedient with a view to the public safety and defence of the Commonwealth, and in particular for requiring any person to disclose any information in his possession as to any matter specified in the Order, and for appointing officers to carry the Order into effect, and for conferring on such officers and the Minister such powers as are necessary or expedient for the purpose of the Order, and for conferring on such persons as are specified in the Order such powers with respect to the administration of oaths, arrest, detention, search of premises and persons, inspecting, impounding, or retention of books, documents and papers, and otherwise, as are specified in the order:

And whereas by Regulation 56A of the War Precautions Regulations it is provided that where, in the opinion of the Minister, for securing the public safety and defence of the Commonwealth, it is expedient in view of the hostile origin or associations of any person that he should be detained in military custody, the Minister may, by warrant under his hand, order him to be detained in military custody in such place as he thinks fit during the continuance of the present war:

And whereas by Regulation 56B of the War Precautions Regulations it is provided that where the Minister has in pursuance of Regulation 56A of the War Precautions Regulations ordered a person to be detained in military custody in any place during the continuance of the war, the Governor-General may, if he thinks fit, by order published in the Gazette, authorize any person (in Regulation 56B referred to as "the authorized person"), to inquire and report what facts and circumstances disclosed at the inquiry might, in the opinion of the authorized person, properly be taken into consideration by the Minister in deciding whether, for securing the public safety and the defence of the Commonwealth, the continued detention of the person in military custody as aforesaid is expedient, and that for the purposes of the inquiry the authorized person shall have such powers with respect to the summoning of witnesses, the administration of oaths, arrest, detention, search of premises and persons, inspecting, impounding, or retention of books, documents, and papers, and otherwise, as are specified in the Order:

And whereas the Minister has, in pursuance of the provisions of Regulation 56A of the War Precautions Regulations, by warrant under his hand, ordered that the following persons, namely:-

Albert Thomas Dryer,  
Edmund McSweeney,  
Michael McGing,  
William McGuinness,  
Maurice Dalton,  
Frank McKeown, and  
Thomas Fitzgerald

be detained during the continuance of the present war in military custody in some place appointed for the accommodation of persons detained in military custody:

And whereas it is expedient to make provision for the undermentioned matters in the manner herein appearing:

Now therefore I, Sir Walter Edward Davidson, Deputy of the Governor-General aforesaid, acting with the advice of the Federal Executive Council, do hereby provide as follows:-

1. I authorize the Honourable John Masgrave Harvey, a Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court of New South Wales, to inquire and report what facts and circumstances disclosed at the inquiry before him might, in his opinion, properly be taken into consideration by the Minister in deciding whether, for securing the public safety and the defence of the Commonwealth, the continued detention of

the following

No.118 - 3rd. August, 1918.

Commonwealth Gazette.

the following persons, namely:-

Albert Thomas Dryer,  
Edmund McSweeney,  
Michael McGing,  
William McGuinness,  
Maurice Dalton,  
Frank McKeown, and  
Thomas Fitzgerald,

or any of them, in military custody as aforesaid is expedient.

2. I confer on the said the Honourable John Musgrave Harvey the following powers for the purposes of the inquiry-

- (a) the power to sit at such time and place as he deems desirable in relation to the subject of the inquiry;
- (b) the power to give such notice or notices of any sitting as he deems necessary or desirable;
- (c) the power to hold the inquiry in public or in private, or partly in public and partly in private, as he thinks fit;
- (d) the power by writing under his hand to summon any person to attend before him at a time and place named in the summons and then and there to give evidence and to produce any books, documents or writings, articles or other things in his custody or control which he is required by the summons to produce;
- (e) the power to examine witnesses upon oath or affirmation or to reduce to writing any answers made by a witness or to direct that any answers made by a witness be taken down in shorthand by a shorthand-writer approved by him;
- (f) the power to direct that any particular question or questions asked or answer given by any person at the inquiry, be not published in any newspaper, periodical or pamphlet published in the Commonwealth; and
- (g) the power to inquire into the matters referred to without regard to technicalities or legal forms, to obtain or receive evidence submitted to him without being bound by any rules of evidence, and to inform his mind on the matters referred to in such manner as he thinks just.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Commonwealth at Sydney, this second day of August, in the year of our Lord One thousand nine hundred and eighteen, and in the ninth year of His Majesty's reign.

By His Excellency's Command,

W.A. WATT,

for Minister of State for Defence.

Judge's Chambers,  
Supreme Court,  
Sydney, 6th. August 1918.

Sir,

In pursuance of the powers conferred upon me under the provisions of the War Precautions Act 1914-1916, and the War Precautions Regulations 1915 by the Order of His Excellency Sir Walter Edward Davidson, Deputy of the Governor-General, made the 2nd day of August 1918, which Order authorizes me to inquire and report in accordance with the terms of the said Order, and a copy of which Order is attached hereto, I beg to give you notice as one of the persons mentioned in the said Order detained in military custody that I intend to sit in No.2 Equity Court, Supreme Court Buildings, Elizabeth Street, Sydney, at 10 a.m. on Wednesday next, the 7th. August instant, in relation to the subject of the inquiry.

Yours faithfully,

(sd) J.M. HARVEY

TO Albert Thomas Dryer,  
Military Detention Barracks,  
DARLINGHURST.

COPY.

MILITARY FORCES OF THE COMMONWEALTH

2nd MILITARY DISTRICT

---

Victoria Barracks, Sydney,  
Intelligence Section, G.S.

(Date) 11th. September, 1918

PERMANENT PASS  
-----

PERMISSION is hereby granted to Miss Elizabeth Haynes, whose signature appears hereunder, to visit Mr. A. T. Dryer, subject to the Rules and Regulations and as convenient to the Officer Commanding, Detention Barracks.

SIGNATURE (sd) Elizabeth Haynes

(Sd) W. S. Hinton

CAPTAIN,

INTELLIGENCE SECTION, GENERAL STAFF, 2nd. M.D.

# IRISH PRISONERS' RELIEF COMMITTEE

197 CASTLEREAGH ST.,

SYDNEY, \_\_\_\_\_ 191

CHAIRMAN :

Very Rev. M. J. O'Reilly, C.M.

TREASURERS :

Rev. T. Barry,  
St. Benedict's Presbytery,  
George St. Sydney.

G. P. O'Connor.

COMMITTEE :

Hon. John Meagher, M.L.C.

Rev. Father O'Farrell

Rev. Dr. Tuomey, Ph.D.

John Doyle, M.L.A.

P. S. Cleary

Neal Collins

P. J. Minahan

John Sheehy

P. O'Loughlin

S. McCormack

F. J. Anglin

P. Burns

M. Muir

T. O'Shea

J. D. Moran

SECRETARIES :

W. Lillis

J. Murphy.

Dear Sir,

You are probably aware that eight members of the Irish National Association, against whom no charge has been formulated, are at present confined in Darlinghurst Gaol. They are being denied a trial, though they are all anxious to be confronted with their accusers.

It has seemed to those who are working on their behalf that liberty, like charity, should begin at home, and that Australians would be loth to come back from the blood-stained battle-fields of Europe in order to find that their rights as freemen had been filched from them during their absence.

Hence the Town Hall has been engaged for Wednesday, 24th inst., for the holding of a Mass Meeting, which will be addressed by prominent speakers from this and other States of the Commonwealth, the object of which will be to urge the Federal Government to bring those men before a judge and jury.

The Committee in charge of the Meeting will esteem it a great favour if you will be so good as to bring it under the notice of your people, and the obligation will be enhanced if you will recommend them, by their attendance, to make it as big a success as possible.

I am etc.,

*M. J. O'Reilly*  
C.M.

P.S.—Sympathisers who are unable to attend the Meeting can send contributions to the Hon. Treasurers, by whom they will be duly acknowledged.

1917-18

THE PARLIAMENT OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.

IRISH REPUBLICAN BROTHERHOOD

INTERNEES —

REPORT ON CASES BY MR. JUSTICE HARVEY.

Presented by Command; ordered to be printed, 26th September, 1918.

(Cost of Paper.- Preparation, not given; 862 copies; approximate cost of printing and publishing, £5)

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R E P O R T .

To HIS EXCELLENCY THE RIGHT HONORABLE SIR R.C. MUNRO FERGUSON, P.C., G.C.M.G.  
Governor-General of the Commonwealth of Australia.

May It Please Your Excellency,

I have the honour to report that, in pursuance of the order of His Excellency Sir Walter Edward Davidson, Deputy of the Governor-General, dated 2nd day of August, 1918, and published in the Commonwealth of Australia Gazette of the 3rd day of August, 1918, No. 118, I held the inquiry therein directed on the 8th, 19th, 20th, 21st, 22nd, 23rd, 26th, 27th, 28th, 29th, and 30th days of August last.

I beg to report that the following facts and circumstances disclosed at such inquiry may, in my opinion, properly be taken into consideration by the Minister in deciding whether, for securing the public safety and the defence of the Commonwealth, the continued detention of the following persons respectively, viz.:-

Albert Thomas Dryer,  
Edmund McSweeney,  
Michael McGing,  
William McGuinness,  
Maurice Dalton,  
Frank McKeown, and  
Thomas Fitzgerald,

in military custody, as provided by Regulation 56A of the War Precautions Regulations, is expedient.

Albert Thomas Dryer. This internee was a second-class locker in the Customs Department at Sydney, and a B.A. of Sydney University. About the beginning of August, 1916, Dryer was enrolled as sub-centre of the first New South Wales sub-circle of the Australian Division of the Irish Republican Brotherhood. This brotherhood, the members of which are commonly called "The Fenians," was formally organized in 1868, and has from that date been the principle organization aiming at securing complete independence of Ireland from Great Britain by the use of physical force. "Force is the cardinal principle of our organization, and an Irish Republic as the end towards which all our efforts are directed." It has always been a secret society; its principal place of operation has been America, where it or a closely allied organization is known as the Clan na Gael. One, John Devoy, the editor of the Gaelic American, has been for many years its leading spirit in America. There was, so far as appears, no formally constituted organization of the I.R.B. in Australia prior to 1916, though there were a number of men here who had at different times been members of old circles elsewhere. The Australian branch, when founded, professed to be "bound by the closest ties of friendship and community of purpose with a similar organization in Ireland and America; the two work in complete harmony and are practically one organization." The Australian branches adopted the organization and ritual of the Clan na Gael for their own use.

In Ireland, at the time of the rebellion of Easter, 1916, "this brotherhood consisted, so far as is known, of a small knot of violent men, of whom the principals, T.J. Clarke, of Dublin, and James Daly, of Limerick, had, in connexion with the dynamite outrages of 1883, been sentenced to penal servitude. These men worked with great secrecy, never appearing on public platforms or in the press, or making themselves in any way amenable to the law. With some members of the Executive Committee of the Irish Volunteers, and with the leaders of the Citizen Army, they constituted an inner circle by which the plans for the insurrection were no doubt matured. The Irish Republican Brotherhood was certainly in close communication with the Clan na Gael organization in America and received funds from them." (Statement by Sir Matthew Nathan, Under Secretary for Ireland, before the Royal Commission on the Rebellion in Ireland.)

John Devoy and other members of the Clan na Gael, or I.R.B. in America, were the principal intermediaries for communications between the promoters of the Irish Rebellion of 1916 and the authorities in Germany. These communications are stated, in the report of the above-mentioned Royal Commission in June, 1916, to have been at that date matters of common notoriety. Details of these communications are given in the Press Bureau statement, Sydney Daily Telegraph, 27th May, 1918, and the Chief Secretary for Ireland, in making a statement to

(the House.

the House of Commons on the 25th June last, said:-

"I think I am justified in stating that no one to-day can doubt for a moment that the unfortunate rising at Easter, 1916, was fomented, and, certainly to some extent, financed by Germany." (London Times, 26th June, 1918).

The proclamation of the Irish Republic by the rebels of Easter week referred to their "Gallant allies in Europe," obviously referring to Germany.

The Australian branch of the I.R.B. was apparently started in Melbourne in 1916. The interned man, Maurice Dalton, professes to be a member of an old circle of the brotherhood, and to have been concerned in the Irish Rebellion of 1867, which was, in fact, organized by the brotherhood. There seems no reason to doubt this statement. One, John Doran, was an influential member of the Shipwright's Union in Melbourne. He was an American citizen of Irish origin, and he was residing in Melbourne in 1909. He was greatly interested in Irish affairs, and one of the principal persons in the Gaelic League of Victoria. There was no evidence brought before me to show whether he was or was not associated with the physical force party before 1916. In the first half of that year Dalton and Doran purported to found a branch of the I.R.B. in Melbourne; there is no definite information produced before me to show who the other members were, with the exception of one William Butler.

On the 8th July, 1916, Doran sailed from Melbourne and arrived in Sydney on the 11th. He remained in Sydney for two months, till the 13th September, 1916, when he sailed as ship's carpenter on the Cacique, bound for San Francisco. During his stay in Sydney Doran was actively engaged in founding the Sydney branch of the I.R.B. By the 4th August he was able to inform Dalton that two sub-circles of ten men each were completed, and the names were conveyed to Dalton in invisible ink. The first two names of the first sub-circle were those of the interned men Dryer and McSweeney. The first two names of the second sub-circle were those of the interned men McGuinness and McGing. Doran also busied himself in getting the I.R.B. started in Brisbane, and on the 16th August he was able to report to Dalton that T.F., of 50 Melbourne-street, Brisbane, meaning the interned man Fitzgerald, had "taken shares in the company," and was "doing his best to establish a strong branch in Brisbane." This without question refers, as do other similar business references in Doran's letters, to the I.R.B. organization.

On the 22nd August, 1916, Doran in a letter addressed to John Devoy, the head of the organization in America, states that "the I.R.B. has been on foot here for some time in Melbourne. A start has also been made in Sydney and Brisbane, and the young Irishmen, especially in Sydney, are flocking to the banner in a very gratifying number."

At the time of the foundation of these branches the intimate nature of the connexion between the Irish physical force party and Germany was probably not so notorious as it afterwards became, but I think there can be no question that it must have been known to the persons who joined the I.R.B. in Australia in 1916 that such a connexion existed, and by the end of 1916, or the beginning of 1917, it was known to everybody who took any interest in passing events.

John Doran left Sydney for America in September, 1916, Dryer informed Dalton that he (Dryer) had been left by Doran in charge of the "regulars"; by which expression he meant, no doubt, the members of the I.R.B. When conveying this information to Dalton in November, 1916, Dryer also states that the conscription question has taken up all his time, but he "will try to make strides now. How are these affairs progressing with you? We have about 50." From this it would appear that the Sydney sub-circles had by November, 1916, increased to about five from the original two at the beginning of August. He also states that "in Queensland they have a very good man, I believe, Mr.F." This, in light of all the other correspondence, appears to me to point unmistakably to the interned man Fitzgerald.

Doran on his arrival in America evidently came into close contact with Devoy and his physical force associates, and was recognised unofficially as "the representative of the Australian wing." Writing from San Francisco in December, 1916, to a correspondent in Melbourne, he says, "there are great things on foot over here which I dare not even hint at just now, but which will all be known to the world in due time. I can only say this much, there will be another Easter week before the war ends, and it won't be 3,000 men against 20,000 this time." In this letter he promises to keep "our old friend (Mr.D.

Mr. D. (no doubt Maurice Dalton) informed through Sydney of the trend of events." A system was established by which communications between America and Australia were conveyed across the sea by hand, and it is evident from such letters as have been produced that many communications passed between the members of the I.R.B. in Australia and America.

America came into the war in April, 1917, and, no doubt, this put difficulties in the way of the extremists of the Irish Party in America. On 16th~~th~~ July, 1917, Doran wrote to Dryer a letter from which an excerpt was found in Dalton's possession, which showed that Doran was actively working in America, though disappointed in his Irish associates regarded as "a fighting unit." He adds, "there is every sign of coming trouble in Ireland again." On 17th September, 1917, a letter was written from San Francisco by Doran to Dalton, sent by hand on the Sonoma to Sydney, and posted there on the 10th. October. This letter was signed "X.Y.Z." but it is in Doran's handwriting. This contains the following passages:-

"America's entrance into the war is a blessing in disguise. It has thrown the Irish and Germans in this country into a united mass . . . if you have any subscriptions for guns &c., send them to Sydney (you know who I mean) along with a list of names, and they will be transmitted here and through the proper channels to Berlin or Hamburg by direct messenger. Keep the boys in good heart for the outlook is very bright."

The same messenger brought a letter to Dryer from Doran. Dryer is, no doubt the person in Sydney referred to in Doran's letter to Dalton, as Dryer had been left in charge of the "regulars" by Doran.

In a letter to his mother, dated the 18th October, 1917, Dryer send her a message from Doran; he also says "there is certain to be another rebellion in Ireland before long. The British are trying to provoke a rebellion before the lads are ready, but we are not going to bite at the bait until our own time comes."

In the latter end of 1917 the members of the brotherhood set themselves to collect moneys for arms in view of the anticipated fresh rebellion in Ireland. As before mentioned, the sub-circles in Sydney adapted for their own use the constitution and the ritual of the Clan na Gael. Copies of these publications with an imprint of 1916 were found in Dryer's possession, and also typewritten documents adapting them for Australian use. An "initiation fee" for each member of 10s., and weekly "dues" of 3d. per member was fixed. The Sydney "due book" of the brotherhood was found in McSweeney's possession, giving the names of three sub-circles of ten men each, headed respectively by Dryer, McGuinness, and McSweeney, and two incomplete sub-circles. The book itself is only entitled "due book," but, in my opinion, everything points to the fact that it is due book of the I.R.B. The object of the initiation fees and dues, as shown in the constitution and ritual, is to defray the expenses of the organization, and to procure "war material." It is shown that from this fund McSweeney handed to Dryer in December, 1917, a sum of £20 5s. 5d., and that Dryer on the 8th. January, 1918, despatched £20 to Doran in San Francisco. The receipt of this money was acknowledged by Doran in April, 1918; he states that he invested the money as required, and that the amount received from Dryer made a total of 194 dollars 80 cents. There is every reason to believe that this money was despatched to Berlin or Hamburg, as indicated in Doran's letter to Dalton of September, 1917, for the purchase of war materials for the Irish physical force party.

That the connexion between the Irish physical force party and the Germans which existed in 1916 continued into the year 1918 was definitely stated by the Under Secretary for Ireland in the House of Commons on the 25th June, 1918, and is definitely shown by Doran's letter to Dalton of the 17th. September, 1917.

It is in my opinion impossible to resist the conclusion that the Irish physical force party represented by the Irish Republican Brotherhood, the Clan na Gael, and de Valera's military organization in Ireland, had during the present year "hostile associations" in the sense that they were through their accredited agents in communication with persons in Germany to further their own military ends and to prepare for a renewal of their armed rebellion against the British Government on the first favourable opportunity. This is not ~~for~~ from any love for Germany, but because any means are in their view justifiable (to injure.

to injure Great Britain, whom they regard as the enemy and oppressor of Ireland.

In his private correspondence, where Dryer may be assumed to disclose his real sentiments, he rejoices over the successes of Germany and the reverses of Great Britain and her allies; one most cherished desire is to see Great Britain and her allies worsted in the war. He regrets that he cannot do something "practical."

Edmund McSweeney. This internee was stated to be a canvasser for a leading insurance company. It is, in my opinion, proved that Edmund McSweeney is a member, probably a sub-centre, of the Irish Republican Brotherhood, and the treasurer of their funds. He was privy to the despatch of the moneys to Doran. There was found in his possession a printed copy of the rules of the North of England Division of the Irish Republican Brotherhood. This document appeared to be many years old. Doran informed Dalton that McSweeney was an old member of Irish circles. It is significant that since his internment an attempt was made through the instrumentality of Mr. G. O'Connor to smuggle into the detention barracks to McSweeney a cipher key of the alias type. Among the items for which the cipher provides an alias are the following:- Doran, Dalton, Dryer, Devoy, McGuinness, McSweeney, Clan na Gael, Circle, Irish Republic. From a letter of Doran's to Dryer of the 10th April, 1918, he was apparently using a similar cipher, as is shown by the use of the name "Bosanquet" for "Fegan."

Michael McGing. This internee was until the late stroke employed on the road staff of the Tramway Department. He did not regain his employment and at the time of his internment was employed as a gardener at Lewisham Hospital. It is in my opinion shown that he was a member of the Irish Republican Brotherhood in 1916. He has shown himself an active member of the Irish National Association, a public society formed to advocate the complete independence of Ireland from Great Britain and to combat the supporters of the Parliamentary party of Mr. Redmond. He may or he may not have remained a member of the brotherhood until his internment; his name does not appear in connexion with any of their activities at the close of 1917 or during the present year. If I am right in drawing the conclusion that McSweeney's "due book" is the due book of the Irish Republican Brotherhood in Sydney, the absence of McGing's name from the book would indicate that he was no longer a member of it. ~~This~~ There is, however, no question that he did once belong to it. This is shown ~~by~~ both by Doran's letter to Dalton of the 4th August, 1916, giving McGing's name as Number Two of the second sub-centre, and also by a document of uncertain date found in McGuinness' possession. This was a circular issued by the Irish National Association for subscriptions to the Irish Relief Fund. On the front of this circular was Doran's name, with an address in San Francisco. On the back was a list of names headed "No. 2 Dancing Class." A number of names appear on it, some of which are struck through; at the bottom is a list of ten names in pencil, marked "complete," with the letters A to J against them. In the adapted ritual of the organization it is stated: "each member is assigned to a sub-centre which consists of ten members. Each sub-circle is numbered, and each member of the sub-circle has a letter assigned to him. It is by this number and letter that the members are known at the meeting." I think in the absence of any explanatory evidence there is a strong presumption that this represents the names of the No. 2 sub-centre of the Irish Republican Brotherhood at some date in 1916. In this list McGuinness is the first name and McGing's is the second.

From the absence of any reference to him in the correspondence, I should infer that McGing was not a very influential member, though he was a warden of the Irish National Association. As warden he signed the half-year's report ended the 31st December, 1917, which deplored that a large number of the members had not reached a comprehensive realization of the needs of the Irish nation. This report contains the following passage, which may be taken as typical of the attitude of the officers of the Association:-

"On the soil of Ireland is marshalled, under Eamon de Valera, an Irish army, perfect in arms, order and discipline, standing pledged to redeem that right without which all other advantages are futile. Are we fully conscious of the tremendous significance of this fact, the whole future of Ireland and the Irish race? Are we in speech and action inspired by this consciousness that when Ireland achieves her hard-won liberty, as more than one German statesman has promised to assist in obtaining for her at the European Peace Con-

(ference, the.

ference, the gigantic task of reconstruction will confront the nation? As members of the Irish race we must conceive it to be our sacred duty to join in this task, and to qualify in all possible ways for participation in the work of re-erecting from out the ruins wrought by England a nation worthy of her great traditions, worthy of the blood of Tone, Emmet, Pearse and Casement."

To the uninitiated this might appear to be mere political and patriotic propaganda. In reality it was, so far at all events as the members of the brotherhood were concerned, an attempt to get support from the Irish National Association for the physical force party which they knew was in communication with German agents.

William McGuinness. This internee was a salesman in a Sydney boot shop; he was undoubtedly an original member of the Irish Republican Brotherhood in Sydney. He was an old member of the brotherhood, according to Doran, and he continued to be the sub-centre of the second sub-circle until his internment. There was found in his possession a prohibited publication entitled *The Crime against Europe*. With McGing and Dryer he signed the half-yearly report of the Irish National Association to which I have referred above. Though, presumably, not a man of the same education and ability as Doran and McSweeney, he was active in the formation and carrying on of the Irish National Association.

Maurice Dalton. It is to this man, who is 75 years of age and an old-age pensioner, and to John Doran, that the country owes the organization in its midst of branches of the Irish Republican Brotherhood. An old rebel himself, as he proudly boasts, he endeavoured to inoculate all the young Irishmen he came in contact with with his views. He evidently exerted himself to promote the physical force movement, and he found younger and more active men ready to carry his teachings into practice. He was the head of the branch of the brotherhood in Melbourne, and continued to actively interest himself in it, although he knew the American branch was in communication with the enemy. It does not appear whether any money was actually sent from Melbourne. He furnished John Doran with his credentials for America, which, though not strictly in order, secured his unofficial recognition as "representative of the Australian wing" of the Irish Republican Brotherhood.

Dalton had in his possession a prescription, in his own writing, evidently intended to be the "fire dope" used by the I.W.W. in Sydney for the destruction of buildings. It was called "recipe for a severe cold." What his object was in obtaining this recipe was not explained; his counsel suggested that it was mere curiosity. Bearing in mind the past record of members of the Irish Republican Brotherhood, I think there is grave suspicion that he obtained it on the chance that it might come in useful for himself or his associates.

Frank McKeown. This internee was a bricklayer residing in Melbourne. He was an intimate friend of Dalton, Dryer, and Doran. He was the first secretary of the Irish National Association in Melbourne, and a strong Irish separatist. His real sentiments are shown in cards written in Gaelic posted to Fitzgerald and Dryer respectively, in which he expresses the sentiments "To h--- with the King" and "The Germans on top and Ireland free." In a letter written apparently to Dryer, on the 26th November, 1917, he says he was obliged to resign as secretary to the newly-formed branch of the Irish National Association in Victoria because they would not make it sufficiently Irish. He confesses to having no interest in Australia, and evidently Ireland occupied the whole of his thoughts. There is, however, nothing directly showing that he was a member of the Irish Republican Brotherhood, or that he subscribed or collected any moneys knowing they were to be sent for the purchase of arms from Germany. It might possibly be inferred that he was a member of the Melbourne sub-circle of the Irish Republican Brotherhood from the fact that Dryer speaks of him as "Brother" McKeown. In writing to Dalton on the 21st August, 1917, he says, "Be not down-cast with regard to U.S.A. 'Brother' Doran is not idle. . . . As a final word for this occasion, let me exhort you and 'Brother' Butler and 'Brother' McKeown not to be discouraged in any way," &c. At this time there was no branch of the Irish National Association in Melbourne. Doran and Butler were both members of the Irish Republican Brotherhood. This is very slight evidence.

Thomas Fitzgerald. This internee was a bookseller residing in Brisbane. He is the head of the branch of the Irish Republican Brotherhood founded in that city, and an energetic man in Irish circles. He took an active part in collecting moneys in Brisbane for de Valera. He became secretary of the local branch

(of the.

of the Irish National Association in April, 1917. He was a great agitator for "Ireland's Sovereign Independence" and an uncompromising opponent of Great Britain.

Generally.- There appears to be no evidence that any of the interned men had any connexion with any enemy persons in the Commonwealth. Such of the internees as were members of the Irish Republican Brotherhood had by virtue of that membership hostile associations through German agencies in America. They collected moneys in Australia for the purpose of assisting armed rebellion in Ireland against the British Government on the first available opportunity. This money was expended in the purchase of warlike material from Germany, with which country the leaders of the movement were in communication. In Australia they made use of the Irish National Association to further their aims, but it is not shown that the rank and file of the association had any knowledge of their connexion with Germany.

In conclusion, I may state that the evidence tendered before me was almost entirely documentary. The internees themselves put forward no evidence to explain away any of the suspicious circumstances disclosed by the documents, in spite of my published statement that no person would be required to answer any question which he feared might tend to incriminate himself in any way. Although my powers under the Order authorized me to compel any person to give evidence, I did not think it advisable under the circumstances to summon any person as a witness, as the internees themselves did not elect to give evidence. The only really material matter upon which I was assisted by evidence called on behalf of the internees was the identity of John Doran and the nature of his employment in Melbourne between 1909 and 1916.

J.M.H.

11th September, 1918.

VERY REV. MONSIGNOR PATRICK TUOMEY, P.P., D.Ph., S.T.L.

IRELAND'S WRONGS.

DOCTOR PATRICK TUOMEY.

Charge At Paddington Court.

A case under the War Precautions Act was mentioned in the Paddington Summons Court yesterday.

Dr. Patrick Tuomey, of Mittagong, was proceeded against on the information of Thomas Andrew Walker, a private of the Garrison Military Police, for having, it is alleged, at Paddington on September 4 last, "by word of mouth discouraged disloyalty to the British Empire" by stating as follows:-

"Ladies and Gentlemen,- It was with some fear and trepidation that I came here tonight to lecture in this citadel of loyalty on such a subject as Ireland. Lecturing a week ago on the same subject, I thought it would be the last occasion of repeating this lecture before the Sedition Bill came into force. I am glad that, owing to a fierce opposition, it has not come into force yet, and that although I am informed that there are here tonight a few detectives that are closely associated with the I.W.W. cases, I am going to have another go while I have time.

"I need not tell you how greatly surprised I am tonight to such a body of Sinn Feiners in this hall. Perhaps it is with some compunction of heart that the detectives have come here tonight to change policies and perhaps to become Sinn Feiners. However, considering that there are so many conspiracies - at least alleged conspiracies - if we get them into the Sinn Fein Society they might do some good underhand work for us, and Father McNamara might be able to give them a little out of the proceeds of tonight for any little obligation they might put us under in that respect.

"Before I go too far let me make a statement that will obviate any misunderstanding, and save me from wounding in any way the feelings of the people in this hall who are neither Irish by birth or extraction and who have perhaps a love for the country that is responsible for the misgovernment of Ireland. I have no idea whatever of wounding the feelings of another nationality, because I know there are many staunch friends of Ireland in England, and I do not blame them - or I do not intend to blame them - in any way except insofar as they are in sympathy with or may wish to co-operate with the English Government in the treatment that it has meted out consistently to Ireland for the past 750 years.

"Sir Roger Casement, in an article he wrote in 1911, said: "The mentality of England is such that whatever she does she believes to be inspired by Divine Providence - whether it is the stamping out of a small nation or merely the sinking of a ship, her hymn of action is ever 'Nearer My God to Thee'". If Sir Roger Casement had lived until the fifth year of this colossal war he would have learned that, at any rate amongst reasonable Englishmen, the hymn of action at present - or rather the hymn after action - is 'It's a long way to Germany; it's a long way to go.' However, there is no obsession that has so paralysed all England and Englishmen generally as the fact that Ireland is, or ~~xxxxx~~ought to be always, a nation of slaves and that Almighty God meant this great inspired power under all circumstances, even when fighting for the freedom of the Serbs, the Czecho-Slovaks and many others whose names I could not pronounce, Ireland must still be under the tyrannical heel of England. And tonight, ladies and gentlemen, let me tell you without any exaggeration that the treatment that England is meting out to Ireland is no better in any respect than the treatment Germany is meting out to Belgium. The papers turn up their eyes in holy horror - if I might such an expression, when they tell us of the deportation of Belgians. How many Irishmen, leaders of the nation, men approved of the people, have been deported out of Ireland and are in English dungeons tonight? It is not lawful, so they tell us, to meet in assembly in Belgium; it is high treason to meet in public assemblage in Ireland tonight; it is disloyalty and illegality to play the national game, and, as I said last week in giving this lecture, to be found with hurling sticks in your hand is a proof of undoubted German conspiracy.

"In the year 1698 the manufacturers of England passed a law to annul the Irish ~~xx~~ woollen manufactures. The following year they passed a law to the effect that 4s. per lb. weight be put upon woollen manufactured cloth in Ireland. Now, wool was sold for 5d per lb., so you can readily understand how that additional 4s put on the manufactured article, for which the raw material merely cost 5d - how that duty paralysed the woollen manufacturer in Ireland.

"I might go through every one of the Irish industries, but we come down now to modern times.

("There is.

"There is scarcely an industry in Ireland today, because England will not tolerate the growth of any Irish industry. Perhaps you may think I am exaggerating. In the year 1915 Mr. Ford, the great American manufacturer of motor cars, determined to build an enormous factory for the manufacture of traction engines in the vicinity of Cork. The English manufacturers got busy straight away with the Government, and they boldly expressed in their periodicals and magazines their astonishment that the English Government would allow such a desecration to take place, to allow an avenue of competition to be opened up in Ireland that would lower the profits of the profiteers who were living on the blood shed in this war,

"Could Ireland become a great manufacturing country? Yes; Ireland was a great manufacturing country before England rose to fame - or infamy, if you like.

"The only reason why Ireland does not progress today is because the blight and curse of English misrule is hanging over that Ireland that was once the metropolis of civilisation.

"England has never allowed a survey of Ireland to take place, or if it has taken place she has kept it concealed in her own archives. Hence it is that we have to depend on scraps of information that have been delved here and there by Irishmen who have in recent times studied the history of their country with a view to putting England to shame before the world and winning back their national freedom in their appeal, not to England, but to the conscience of the world.

"Now, in spite of the fact that Ireland's industries have been paralysed, and will not be allowed to be built up as long as the tyrant rule of a tyrant power is grinding down that country that is so much in the affections of everyone in this hall - while her industries have been paralysed, while there is no hope of building them up, while the population of Ireland is being drained until during the last 50 years Ireland has lost 5,000,000 of her people who have been scattered to the four winds of the world, Ireland today is the most heavily taxed country in Europe.

"Again, let us take another aspect of the question. In the year 1800 - the last year that Ireland had any semblance of liberty in her own Parliament - the national debt of Ireland was only £5,000,000. A few years afterwards when the cursed union that bound Ireland to England - a few years after it was £18,000,000. Bonar Law a few months ago said that the national debt of Ireland next March would be £329,000,000, and that debt has to be put upon us for buying islands, for shooting down the Boers, and taking from them their little republic.

"Some of it was used by Kitchener when he shot down the poor blacks, and to enslave the Irish people by martial law, to keep that army of 100,000 soldiers (who ought to be at the front under a tyrant like French) to terrorise the men and women of Ireland.

"Now, these are a few of the facts that occur to my mind as I go along. There are more terrible facts that I might mention if I went back only a few years. There was the fact that when the people were dying of the famine of 1847 England came over to alleviate their sorrow by passing a Coercion Act. There was a parish priest in my days whose mind was unbalanced because, in 1847, he had gone into the tombs to search out the dying, amongst the corpses, to administer to them the last Sacrament - and England came over and passed a Coercion Act on the dying.

"Is it any wonder that Irishmen have a hatred for the tyrant? No matter what her profession may be on the field of battle in Europe - and if her professions are such, why does she not grant to Ireland that liberty for which she professes to be fighting in Europe? Ireland is the only country in Europe at present that England has had it in her power to grant freedom to. She could grant freedom to Ireland in the morning - and possibly to her own advantage - but we may detect her motives.

"Tonight the leaders of the Irish nation are in prison. The leaders of the Irish nation! We cannot quibble with the truth. The leaders of the Irish nation are de Valera and the rest of the men who are in prison tonight. Whatever may be our feelings - you may be Sinn Fein or not - but you cannot get away from the fact that wherever Irishmen have got a chance of declaring their policy they have declared for the policy of Sinn Fein and de Valera."

It was further alleged that in referring to some pictures exhibited upon a screen, the speaker said:-

"They have been murdered by the tyrannical British Government for their part in the Irish rebellion of Easter week, 1916, and their wives and families are at the present time paying for their husbands' loyalty in British dungeons."

Referring to the men interned in Sydney in June last whose pictures were screened, Dr. Tuomey said:

"These men - Albert Thomas Dryer, McSweeney and MacGuinness - have been interned simply because they thought as I think. If it is right to intern them I should be interned. Their principles are my principles. What they advocate, I advocate. What they stand for, I stand for."

Mr. Bathgate appeared for the prosecution and Mr. Neal Collins was present for the defence.

Subsequently a fine of £30 was inflicted upon Dr. Tuomey.

1919.

23rd. January, 1919. "Catholic Press," Sydney.

At a meeting in Cathedral Hall, Melbourne, on 20th. January, 1919, held to celebrate the victory of de Valera and the Sinn Fein Party, the following resolutions were adopted:- "That this meeting of Irish-born and Irish Australian citizens, in conveying fraternal greetings to Commandant de Valera and party, heartily congratulates them on the magnificent victory obtained at the recent Irish elections, notwithstanding the fact that freedom of speech and action was denied them during the campaign.

"That this meeting, deeming it advisable to exploit every opportunity to secure independent government for Ireland, demands that sufficient opportunity be given to the accredited representatives of Ireland to present their case at the forthcoming Peace Conference."

At this meeting Rev. Father Rafferty said, in part: "The Sinn Fein movement had swept through Ireland with irresistible force, and the Nationalist party had been practically annihilated. Constitutionalism had failed, and the time had come for other means to be tried in Ireland. . . . Sinn Fein truly represented the feelings and aspirations of the Irish people."

13th. March, 1919. "Catholic Press."

At the meeting of the Irish National Association, Sydney, held in St. Patrick's Hall, on the 3rd. instant, the following resolution was passed un-animously:

"That this meeting of the Irish National Association considers that the time is opportune for giving expression to the opinion of the Irish race in Australia regarding Ireland's claim to self-determination, and that the committee be requested to take the necessary steps for that purpose."

27th. March, 1919. "Catholic Press."

His Grace, Archbishop Michael Kelly, presided and delivered the address of the day at the St. Patrick's Day celebrations. His Grace said, in part, that Australia was regarded as a larger Ireland. God grant that in true nationhood Australia would follow the lead of Ireland - always true to God and country. It was said that Ireland was lawless, that the Irish would not do their duty at the front, that the Irish wanted a republic. Thus opinion was poisoned. . . . Ireland must have a head, and then stick as one man behind him by every lawful means and practical. Do not talk about unlawful things - murder and those kind of things. If you do, God is against you. Don't talk of impracticable things. You must stand on the ground and get what was within your reach - what is lawful and practicable. Stand together, and you will conquer in the cause of nationhood and triumph in the cause of religion. The world cannot do without England. And she is stronger than ever. Catholic properties have had better protection from the Union Jack than even the Italian flag or the Stars and Stripes. Glory to England for what she is worth and glory to the English who are standing now by the religious cause of Ireland.

A resolution moved by Lance-Corporal Kenny, V.C. and seconded by Private Leary, V.C., in the following terms, was carried: "That this meeting of citizens representative of Irish-Australian sentiment in New South Wales, expresses its strongest desire to have the principle of self-determination immediately applied to Ireland."

27th. March, 1919. "The Bulletin," Sydney. Excerpt from editorial.

The Irish Republic.

It is not worth while to speculate whether the Irish Republic will come to pass this year or next. The outstanding fact is that events are shaping to make it inevitable. The Peace Conference is at work mapping out a scheme by which no white nation in all the world is to be attached against its will to another nation. The great Peace League of self-determined nations is at the same time being formed. And it can't well be used to prohibit one, and only one, of the most clearly defined peoples from being self-determined. A race which has been scattered all over the earth and still preserved its identity isn't of the undefined or disappearing sort. Nor can Britain remain in the invidious position of being the one white slaver left and the chief apostle of liberty of liberty at the same time. The laughter of the world would make an end of the anomaly, and it would be cackled to death. The only possible plea for letting things slide is that the Irish people don't want separation. The recent election settled that matter. Rightly or wrongly, wisely or unwisely, with a marvellous unanimity the Irish in Ireland, as distinct from the alien commercial and land-owning garrison which Britain has put in the country, threw over the demand for mere autonomy inside the empire, and demanded the Real Thing. They ask for independence and nothing else.

3rd. April, 1919. "Catholic Press," Sydney.

Bishop Hayden, at a St. Patrick's Day celebration at Broken Hill, New South Wales, said, inter alia:- "Captain William Redmond rushed to the colours in the hope of breaking down Toey prejudice against Ireland. He fought and fell with the sword in his hand fighting for England, and thousands - tens of thousands - of Irishmen and men of Irish blood have fought on the battlefields of France and elsewhere in this way, and their only reward is to see Ireland still in chains, still persecuted, still misgoverned.

It would seem that things are not much changed since the year of the terrible famine in black '47, when the people died by starvation on the roadside, and the English Government made no attempt to help them. Nay, even it would seem that they would be glad of it, for after this famine a determined effort to exterminate them was made. The London "Times" could not conceal its malignant joy. "In a short time," said the "Times," "a Catholic Celt will be as rare in Ireland as a Red Indian on the shores of Manhattan."

No wonder then that the Irish Republican Brotherhood rose in rebellion in Easter Week, 1916. They were goaded into it; they were driven to desperation; and while I do not want to advocate armed rebellion as a proper means to right the wrongs of Ireland, still I think it will have to be admitted that Ireland never got much from England except through rebellion.

Patrick Pearse and his associates did not die in vain. They at least brought the real Ireland before the world. They unmasked the hypocrisy of British rule in Ireland, and that is something to have achieved.

The political situation in Ireland has changed since the last elections; I think the change is for the better, and I expect good results from the Sinn-Feiners. After John Redmond's unpardonable plunder at the beginning of the war, the old National Party became disorganised, and lost its punch; the people lost confidence in the party, and when de Valera appeared on the scene he was received as one sent by Providence to save the situation. All Ireland is behind this party and it is the prayer of ninety per cent of Irishmen that God may strengthen their ranks to fight for the rights of their country.

22nd. May, 1919. "Catholic Press."

In Paris, at a dinner held to celebrate the feast of Ireland's patron saint, the Australian representative was the Hon. J.A. Fihelly, Minister for Railways and ex-Minister for Justice for Queensland. In reply to a toast to his health he said that Australia had declared that the liberty of all small nations should be secured. That included Ireland. He would be a poor person, indeed, who struggled for the liberty of other small nationalities such as Belgium and Poland, and yet declined to hope for the freedom of his own. Personally, he thought that Ireland would be satisfied if she had a similar system of government to that which they enjoyed in Australia - that was complete autonomy. Ireland had contributed more than her fair share of soldiers to fight in the recent war for the freedom of small nationalities, and urged that in so fighting they were at the same time fighting for their own small nationality. He protested against the system which allowed representative men in Ireland to be arrested and deported without trial. Ireland could not sit by and see such things occurring. He could only hope that the desire to do justice would prevail at the Peace Conference, and Ireland would get her right of self-government. The Labour Parliament of Australia had definitely determined that Ireland should have the right of self-determination. Ireland should be able to direct her own destinies. The incredible stupidity that governed all the actions of the ruling classes in Ireland was, in his opinion, responsible for all the trouble that had occurred in the past. He, for one, hoped that the influences of these governing classes would disappear, and that Ireland would soon enter into her own.

22nd. May, 1919. "Catholic Press" - Excerpt from editorial.

Many letters reach the "Catholic Press" every week enquiring why demonstrations in support of Ireland in this great crisis have not been held in Australia since St. Patrick's Day. About the warmth of Australia's sympathy there can be no doubt. The influenza restrictions which have prohibited public gatherings in the great centres of our population are the explanation. No meetings have been possible for some months past. Now that the danger of pestilence has passed, and the restrictions have been removed, the opportunity has come, and we feel sure the leaders of Irish thought in the Commonwealth will not miss it. Australia has never failed Ireland and she will not fail her today.

24th. July, 1919. "Catholic Press."

The following resolution was carried at the annual meeting of the Irish National Association, Queensland, on 16th. July, 1919:-

"That we, the members of the Irish National Association of Queensland, in general meeting assembled, pledge our support to the Republic of Ireland, and declare that our race cannot consistently take part in any Peace celebrations while English troops continue the invasion of Ireland."

30th. October, 1919. "Catholic Press."

The following resolution was unanimously carried at a meeting of the Irish National Association held in St. Patrick's Hall, Harrington St., Sydney, on Monday, the 27th. instant:

"Whereas Ireland is by historical, geographical, ethnographical and moral right a sovereign, independent nation, and a free people;

"And whereas one of the objects of the Irish National Association is the preservation of the ideal of Ireland's sovereignty;

"Be it resolved that this meeting of members of the Irish National Association pledges its support to the Irish Race Convention to be held in Melbourne on the 3rd. November, 1919, in its efforts to secure the international recognition of the Republic of Ireland, established by the army of the said Republic in Dublin on Easter Monday, 1916, and solemnly ratified by the representatives of the Irish people constitutionally elected on the 14th. December, 1918;

"And be it further resolved that our delegates to the said Convention shall act in accordance with this resolution."

At a representative meeting of the parishioners of Kogarah, in the Archdiocese of Sydney, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"(1) That this meeting of the people of the parish of Kogarah declares its unswerving support and fidelity to Ireland's claim for self-determination as expressed by that nation at the recent elections, and views with approbation the decision to hold an Irish Race Convention in Melbourne whereat the expressed opinion of the friends of Irish freedom in Australasia can be heard, to serve as a beacon light in these days of deceit and duplicity, when insidious attempts are being made to defame the oldest nation in Europe and decry her liberty-loving children in the most remote corners of the earth.

"(2) That this resolution be forwarded to His Grace, the Archbishop of Melbourne and to the Catholic papers."

At a special meeting of the St. Joseph's branch (Murrurundi) of the H.A.C.B. Society, held recently, it was resolved:

"(1) That this Branch of the Hibernian Society whole-heartedly sympathises with and pledges its word and financial support to the claims of Ireland for self-determination.

"(2) That Bro. John Kelly, Past President, be selected as delegate from this Branch to the Irish Convention to be held in Melbourne on the 3rd. November, and

"(3) That the foregoing resolution be tendered to His Grace, Br. Mannix, Archbishop of Melbourne."

4th. November, 1919. "The Sun," Sydney.

The Irish Race Convention called by Archbishop Mannix made its appeal to the public at an open-air meeting last night in Richmond Town Reserve. A bleak night did not thin the large expected audience. The reserve was black with thousands of supporters of Irish independence, and the air was thick with brogues.

There was only one platform, and the voices of the speakers failed to carry far. The result was that the cheers of those who heard were echoed by the much larger portion who did not hear.

All that the crowd saw was a sea of faces and a continuous fluttering of green Irish flags, while on the platform were a row of scarlet birettas flashing under the electric lights.

Archbishop Mannix's voice floated thinly over the crowd as he spoke evenly and without gesticulations. Owing to the impossibility of hearing, the meeting was a reasonably quiet one - for an Irish convention. The eagerly expected Mr. Ryan did not appear.

By 8.30 the outskirts of the crowd began to melt away. The night was too cold for people to stand and watch a distant figure crowned with scarlet addressing a crowd much too big for it to hear.

14th. December, 1919. "Truth," Sydney - A secular weekly newspaper.

The cruelty, oppression and hypocrisy exercised by the British Government in Ireland ought to be generally known in Australia. Unfortunately the daily newspapers, being influenced by Imperialism and by those who are monetarily interested in Imperialism, take good care to say practically nothing about the matter. The ferocious attack upon a small people that is now going on in Ireland is as bad as some of the things done by the governments of Germany or Austria. It was worse, in some respects, than what was done by the two powers mentioned to some of the small nations that were at their mercy. Some of the British papers do, however, speak out against the conduct of their Government with regard to Ireland.

THE IRISH RACE CONVENTION.

in

MELBOURNE.

(1919).

THE IRISH RACE CONVENTION IN MELBOURNE.

Melbourne will long remember the Irish Race Convention. Thousands of delegates assembled from even the remotest parts of Australia and interest in the Irish question almost overshadowed the great racing carnival. (Note: This refers to the Melbourne Cup carnival on 3rd. November). Every hotel and boarding-house in the city and suburbs were crowded with Irish delegates and racing enthusiasts. Sinn Fein favours were worn and one heard the case of Ireland discussed everywhere and at all hours. Archbishop Mannix summoned the Convention at the request of the Hierarchy and the Irish societies of Australia, and he took care that it should be held on a grand scale. Interest in the Convention spread and deepened every day. In the Convention headquarters - the Catholic Federation rooms - some twenty clerks were engaged until late in the evening and the rooms were crowded all the time with visitors - Bishops, priests and laity, Mr. Joseph M. Sheedy was the Archbishop's right-hand man, and he proved himself to be an able and courteous organiser. The great event was staged without a hitch.

Nothing of the kind has ever been attempted in Australia before. There have been State Conventions to meet the visiting delegates of the Irish Parliamentary Party; but, generally speaking, these gatherings were concerned more with the organising of the funds than with stating principles. Thirty-six years ago, however, when John and William Redmond made their historic visit to Australia, feeling ran high, and an Australian-Irish Convention was held in Melbourne. It met at St. Patrick's Hall in Bourke-street,, one of the noteworthy landmarks in the southern capital. Delegates were there from New South Wales, South Australia, Queensland, Tasmania and New Zealand. Among those who came to meet the brothers Redmond was Dr. Kevin Izod O'Doherty, the rebel of '48, who had settled down in Queensland, with his wife "Eva" of the "Nation." Hugh Mahon was there, a new chum, who had earned his spurs as a political prisoner in Kilmainham with his chief, Charles Stuart Parnell. Most of the big figures at that gathering ~~at~~ have gone - Jim Toohey, Frank Freehill, Joseph Winter, Dr. O'Doherty and the stalwarts who stood firmly and calmly by the Redmonds while the howling dervishes raged against Ireland and the Irish in the metropolitan press, and the municipal and other authorities refused to grant them the use of the public halls.

The first acts in the Convention took place on Sunday, when High Mass was celebrated, at which the members of the young men's societies of Melbourne received Holy Communion at St. Patrick's, crowding the great cathedral. Fully two thousand young men approached the altar rails. At the breakfast which followed, Archbishop Mannix, Archbishop Barry and other visiting prelates delivered patriotic addresses. In the afternoon a unique scene was witnessed in Fitzroy Gardens, near the Cathedra., where fully 20,000 people assembled to hear selections from St. Augustine's famous band, under the baton of Mr. Percy Jones. Presently the music was silenced by tumultuous cheers and Archbishop Mannix, accompanied by Archbishop Redwood, Archbishop Barry, Archbishop Duhig, Bishop O'Connor, Bishop Hayden, Monsignor O'Haran and other prelates entered the gardens. As Dr. Mannix moved among the people, the huge crowd swayed to his direction, kneeling for his blessing, cheering and waving. Sinn Fein flags. Parents put the children on their shoulders to give them a glimpse of their beloved prelate, whose magnetic influence instead of waning is growing day by day. No monarch ever received a more loving demonstration from his subjects. On Sunday evening hundreds were unable to get into the Cathedral where Father Lockington, S.J., preached an eloquent sermon on the Irish race and the Archbishop gave Benediction.

The Convention was timed to begin at 11 o'clock in the Auditorium, but at 9 o'clock the delegates began to assemble and the great hall was soon packed. There were many lady delegates in the galleries. It was the most representative gathering ever seen in Australia, the delegates having come from every part of the Commonwealth and New Zealand. It included nearly every member of the Hierarchy, the Archbishops of Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane and Adelaide, the Co-adjutor Archbishop of Hobart, the Bishops of Wagga, Wilcannia, Forbes, Ballarat, Sale, Port Augusta, Rockhampton, Cooktown, Goulburn and Lismore were represented by leading priests from each diocese and the Archbishop of Perth was held up on the way to Melbourne by a railway strike. As the prelates, led by Dr. Mannix and accompanied by Mr. T.J. Ryan, the Federal Labour leader, entered the hall, they received an immense reception. Archbishop Kelly came late, the boat having been delayed and he, too, was received with the greatest enthusiasm.

(St. Augustine's.)

St. Augustine's Boys' Band played selections all the morning and at the close of the Convention, when the Irish National Anthem was sung.

THE CONVENTION OPENED.

Archbishop Mannix's Address.

Intense enthusiasm prevailed when his Grace, Archbishop Mannix, as convener, rose to address the gathering. His Grace said: Our first duty is humbly and reverently to raise our hearts to the God of Freedom and of Justice, and to ask his light and guidance for this historic gathering. The prayers of Ireland's scattered children, the prayers of her living and her dead are with us and God will not fail to hear.

My Lords and ladies and gentlemen, I will not, for more than a few moments, stand between you and the practical work of this great Convention. The circumstances in which I took it upon myself to call you together are well known, and they will be, I trust, my sufficient apology for taking the initiative in bringing about this great gathering of Ireland's loyal friends under the Southern Cross. We are here for a declared definite purpose, to support Ireland's claim as expressed at the last general election in Ireland, and to support her chosen leader, Eamon de Valera. This is no time for halting words or balanced phrases. We are with the Irish people or we are against them. We help them openly or we leave them to their fate.

I venture to say that no more representative body has ever met in Australia. I, therefore, thank you all, and in Ireland's name I thank Australia and New Zealand for this striking proof of loyalty to the old land. It will give hope and heart to Irishmen at home to find you share their passionate devotion to justice and to freedom, and that your love of Ireland is as deep and true and tender as their own.

Not for Hatred, But for Love.

We are not here through hate of any land or any people, no matter how deeply we and our fathers have been wronged. We are here for love of Ireland. But, in pleading Ireland's cause, we claim, and we know, that we are helping to remove the blackest stain upon the Empire to which these southern lands belong and for whose honour and existence they have fought. We know that this Irish question is not a mere Imperial matter, much less is it a domestic question for British politicians to temporise with and wrangle about. It is, and they know it is, a question in which America and the nations are vitally interested. It is a question with which the lasting peace of the world is very intimately bound up.

We, the delegates to this great Convention are engaged, therefore, in no petty, paltry quarrel. We do not intrude in a matter with which we have no concern. Ireland has done much for Australia and New Zealand.

Ireland's Links with Australia.

I need not dilate upon this topic for you know the history of your country, and the presence of your distinguished chairman will recall the names of other Irishmen who have passed into Australian history. Of Mr. Ryan himself, I may say that Irishmen and Irish-Australians have no reason to be ashamed of him, either as Premier of Queensland or as the prospective Prime Minister of the Commonwealth. Yes, Ireland has every right to look to Australia for sympathy and help and she will not be disappointed. And England is equally bound by every obligation of honour and gratitude to listen when Australia and New Zealand demand for Ireland. They fought side by side with England for the Empire. They fought for the freedom of the Belgians and the Poles and the Jugo Slavs, but 60,000 Australians and other thousands of New Zealanders did not give their blood and their lives that Ireland's chains might be more firmly riveted than ever.

I must not, however, pursue that topic. This is not the time or the place for words of heat or passion. Our case is strong and, therefore, it befits us rather to be calm, cool and logical, if, at the same time, resolute and unflinching.

To Support, Not to Dictate.

We are not here to dictate Ireland's policy, we are here to support her policy. It has always been the prerogative of the people of Ireland to frame and to modify their national policy, and the policy they adopted has always received the support of Ireland's loyal sons in Australia and New Zealand. Irish Australasia, therefore, is on historic and broad traditional lines when we gather together, <sup>to support</sup> not some line of action that might seem tactful or promising or effective to this or that individual or section, but to support the

(policy.)

policy which the Irish people at home adopted deliberately and with striking unanimity at the last general election in Ireland. For us to attempt to revise that policy, to suggest any alternative of our own, would be an impertinence at any time; but especially now, when self-determination - which is really Sinn Feinism - is on everybody's lips.

Ireland has defined her aims, she has chosen her leaders. She claims the right to live her own life and shape her own destiny without interference from outside. She stands apart in blood and race, and soul and ideals. Man, indeed, has vainly sought to join what God has put asunder, but we, I hope, in this hall, are on God's side. It matters not to us that President Wilson has failed to apply his lofty principles to the case of Ireland and that the Peace Conference has so far failed to give Ireland a hearing. For Ireland's right to walk her own way unfettered did not come from President Wilson or the Big Four, and it cannot be taken away from Ireland either in Paris or in Washington. It is a God-given right to Ireland as to other nations, and that right Ireland has never surrendered.

#### Persistent Tyranny.

One may well doubt whether any generation of Irishmen could have the right to mortgage the country's future and part with her nationhood, but, at all events, Ireland never did, and Ireland under English rule never had any inducement to do so. Her faith was banned, her trade was stifled, her people impoverished, buried in paupers' graves or driven as exiles to the ends of the earth. She was ruled with a rod of iron in the interests of a petted community, alien blood and faith and sympathy. When I was a boy I remember that one of the first things I learned was that for almost a hundred years, almost every year had brought a new Coercion Act to Ireland. Was it any wonder that, in these circumstances, every generation in Ireland had its own armed uprising, in which Ireland fell back bled and exhausted, yet not subdued or repentant, but sullen and expectant of another opportunity and a better day.

At the present moment we are told that the King's writ does not run in Ireland and that the Irish people are no more reconciled to English rule than they were in the days of Oliver Cromwell, of pious memory. At the present moment it takes 100,000 troops, with their tanks and machine guns, to keep up the pretense of maintaining English rule in the country, and in face of this, what is England's answer? Either more tanks and machine guns, or else the promise - a promise from those ~~frankly~~ by whom she has been many times betrayed - of paltry concession, provided that it meets with the approval of that small minority in whose interests Ireland is held and tortured. How long, I ask, will the Empire, to start with - how long will the Empire look upon that scandal and how long will the nations stand by and see that long-drawn tragedy of the oldest nation of them all? English rule - and I say it without fear of contradiction - in Ireland is condemned by its fruits. Those who know the true significance of Easter Week and of the present military domination of Ireland will be ready to say, although they have no special sympathy with Ireland, that the time has passed when the world should tolerate this tragedy of English rule in Ireland.

#### Ireland Turns Her Back on Concessions.

Ireland has turned her back upon beggarly concessions and halting and blundering attempts to mitigate the evils of foreign and hostile rule. Her objection is - this, too, I say deliberately - not really to bad government from outside, but to any government from outside. Her motto is: "Ireland a nation, self-governed, peaceful, reliant, progressive, friendly to all nations without exception, seeking no quarrel with any of them, but brooking no interference from them in her own national affairs." That was the substance of her claim at the Peace Conference, and that is the claim, I hope, we are going to make here today. Ireland has kept - whatever doubt other people may express - scrupulously within the four corners of the ethical principles paid down by the Pope and, after him, by President Wilson. It was President Wilson himself who said there should be no peace, and there ought to be no lasting peace, that "does not accept the principle that Governments derived their just powers from the consent of the governed." That, at all events, is Ireland's case in a nutshell. On that principle Ireland bases her claim for self-determination, and bases her claim, too, for the indictment that she lays against England, and to that indictment England has yet offered no answer but the rattle of English guns. Must it be said that, in spite of all our preaching to the Central Powers, in spite of all our godly posturing, that, after all, might is still right when might is in British arms and Ireland has no stronger weapon than a righteous cause.

(Ireland Looks.

Ireland Looks To The Peace Conference.

It may have been that some interested people were able to raise technical difficulties about giving Ireland a hearing at the Peace Conference, but they cannot raise the same difficulties before the League of Nations. The Powers represented at the Peace Conference made little account of the points of honour or procedure or technical obstacles when they had their own interests to serve. The real obstacle was that England, knowing that she had no case, barred the door of the Conference against Ireland. Once again "might was right", and that at the Conference which was to end all wars as well as the martyrdom of the weak nations. One is tempted to speak the words of truth and give rein to one's indignation, but in the atmosphere of this assemblage, it is better to leave unspoken the words that come to one's lips.

When English politicians are in desperate straits, they pretend to think that Ireland is not a nation. It is a futile pretense. For more than 700 years England has been made to feel that Ireland is a nation. English politicians have tried every means to extinguish the national spirit, but, on their own confession they are no nearer to success than in the days of Oliver Cromwell. They are so solicitous for Ireland's welfare that they fear that Ireland could not alone, that Ireland could not do without her fairy god-mother - who has been squandering her own wealth to support her poor relation - so they say. Ireland has counted the cost, she will take the risk, and relieve the fairy godmother of her self-imposed task. They pretend to believe that in an independent Ireland the Protestant minority would be made to suffer. Their susceptibilities for minorities elsewhere are not so keen and tender, but, in any event, Irish Catholics have this to their credit that they have never persecuted their fellow-countrymen for conscience' sake. They then tell us that it is not united and that Irishmen do not know what they want; but Ireland has made her mind clear and she is politically more united than England herself or any nation, old or new, in Europe.

The English Principle: "Might is Right."

Finally, they say that England cannot tolerate at her very door the setting-up of a free and independent and probably hostile State. That argument we can also understand however we may marvel at their audacity in bringing it forward. It means, of course, once more that, where England is concerned, might is right, that, being a strong nation, she has the right to seize any territory that she thinks or pretends to think will give her greater security in her home or in her far-reaching dominions. It would give her the right to seize, if she were able, and fortify the Belgian and French coasts, as well as the Irish. That would be nice commentary upon President Wilson's famous - but almost forgotten - Fourteen Points. But, in reality, there is no reason for thinking that even an independent Irish Republic would be hostile to England or to any other nation. Even if she were, those who were so insistent on the League of Nations and so hopeful of its results, might have had the fairness to admit that a League that was going to keep the whole world in order would be able to shield England from the attacks of her little neighbour and to keep that little island in the Atlantic in order.

But, of course, the fact is - and it is a manifest fact - that Ireland, like Australia, is a peace-loving country. All Ireland wants is to be left alone, to live her own life and develop her own resources. England and Ireland were meant by God to live in neighbourly friendship; man, by drawing them into a false and unnatural Union, has in all things that matter driven them poles apart. Is it any wonder, therefore, that an able and distinguished writer, himself an Englishman, advocates in the English press self-determination for Ireland without any limits, and suggests the establishment of an independent Irish Republic. His name is Major Erskine Childers.

Ireland Is Outside The British Constitution.

I know that people will blame this English writer for suggesting and the Irish people for adopting what they call an unconstitutional policy, but I venture to say that Ireland has already been put outside the pale of the British Constitution, and that by England herself. I do not refer to the fact that Ireland has never enjoyed the benefits of the British Constitution as they are to be found in England and Scotland and Wales. My point is that England, or rather, that English politicians have repeatedly and deliberately laid down the principle that Ireland cannot, despite the King, Lords and Commons, have the benefit of any Acts for the better government of Ireland, unless that Act has the approval of a certain small minority in the north-east corner of Ireland. By adopting that principle, or because so many of England's politicians adopt it, England has put Ireland outside the British Constitution, and, having done so, England is

(surprised.

surprised that she is taken at her word. At all events, Ireland has taken her stand and chosen her leader. She has sent her representative to America to explain her policy and to seek for aid. And, in America, de Valera has got a reception such as no monarch or statesman has ever received in the great Republic of the West. It is for us here today to say whether we are with Ireland or against her. I, at all events, have no fear of the result.

I will now ask the Hon. T.J. Ryan to take the chair. His loyalty to the Empire no man may question. But no matter what position the future may have in store for him, he will never have an opportunity of doing a more signal service to the Commonwealth or the Empire than that which he renders to both by throwing in the weight of his influence for a final settlement of the Irish question.

He asked Mr. T.J. Ryan to take the chair.

#### MR. T.J. RYAN'S ADDRESS.

##### An Australian on Ireland's Case.

Mr. T.J. Ryan was received with great applause on rising to speak. He said: I feel deeply sensible of the very high honour that has been conferred on me in asking me to take the chair at this representative gathering of the Irish race. I am not here, ladies and gentlemen, as representing any political party, but as a citizen and as an Australian of Irish descent. No one will deny the right of all citizens to hold their own views on any particular question without involving the political party to which they belong. His Grace has said that this question should be approached from a calm, cold, logical aspect. I agree with him. This is a matter to which well-balanced facts should be brought to bear and this is a time when we should speak in language which not only can be understood but which cannot be misunderstood. There are some facts that stand out and the first is this - that since the rights of the Irish Parliament, or the Irish people, were treacherously taken away by the Act of Union, the government of Ireland has been a dismal failure. There have been a series of rebellions and a series of famines and half the population of Ireland has been driven across the seas. Ireland has always claimed the right to self-government, but experience has led to a universal distrust of the British Government with regard to proposals which have been put forward for the bringing about of self-government.

##### Why Ireland Cannot Trust England.

I have had an opportunity recently of visiting Ireland and I had an opportunity of seeing de Valera. I suppose the public of Australia know all about it now. And I had an opportunity of meeting other public men in Ireland, and there was one thing they were unanimous upon; they mistrusted any proposals that were put forward by the British Government. I find that what accentuated that distrust was the fact that armed forces had been allowed in Ireland for some considerable time which were not under the authority of the Executive Government but which were under the authority of a small minority of the people. It was more accentuated still by the fact that when proposals were brought forward for self-government and that when the Convention was sitting in Dublin simultaneously proposals were brought forward to impose the shackles of conscription on Ireland. I found, too, that Ireland was practically under military occupation and that there were barricades in the streets of Dublin. I visited Liberty Hall, the Labour headquarters in Dublin, which were covered by barricades through which were holes for rifles. Reading the press recently we see illustrations - undeniable illustrations seeing the source from which they come - of the unjust manner in which that military rule is being carried out.

##### Not a Religious Question.

The war, we are told, was fought for the right of small nations. There are small nations in Europe that have been granted self-determination - complete self-determination - by the Peace Conference and upon the basis that the majority should have the right to decide. Ireland is denied that right. Ireland is the only country in the world where a minority is given the right to decide what her form of government shall be. The question is not a religious one. One need only read the history of Ireland's cause to know that. The long series of public men who have devoted their services to Ireland show that the question is not a religious one, although there are some who would have us believe that it is in order to suit their own purpose and their own ends. I know, ladies and gentlemen, and I cannot be unaware of it, that in the position before Australia today an effort will be made to make it appear a religious

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one. It is not our intention and it is not our purpose in interfere in the internal policy and say what particular form of government shall be carried on - that is a matter for the people of Ireland themselves. But we can do a lot - I am satisfied that we can do a great deal - to secure the application of the principle of self-determination to Ireland and then leave Ireland to work out her own destiny.

British Democracy in Favour of Ireland's Claim.

I know that the democracy of Great Britain - the democracy of ~~Eng~~ England and Scotland - are not opposed to giving the right of self-determination to Ireland. I think it right that I should say that, because I know it is a fact. I have been through England and through Scotland and I know the democracies of those countries stand for giving the same right of self-determination as is given to other countries. I had an opportunity of being at a Labour Conference at which there were representatives of the British Labour Party and of the Irish Labour Party. Mr. Arthur Henderson, Mr. Ramsay McDonald and Mr. O'Shanon were present, and a resolution was passed with their concurrence affirming the right of the Irish people to political independence and requiring that this determination should be expressed by a democratic decision, that is to say, by equal and secret adult suffrage, apart from all military, political or economic influence and equally free from limitations or restrictions imposed by any government.

The more we use, and are prepared to admit, that we rely upon the support of these democracies, and that we require their support, then the more we bring about that state of public opinion that will compel the British Government to conceive what Ireland is asking for.

I think this great meeting here today will be able to do something to help forward the cause of Ireland and to help to bring about what we all wish her to be -

Great, glorious and free,  
First flower of the earth, first gem of the sea.

ARCHBISHOP REDWOOD.

An Englishman Who Loves Ireland.

His Grace, Archbishop Redwood, of Wellington, New Zealand, moved the following resolution:

1. We, the delegates of the Australasian Irish Race Convention, assembled in Melbourne, affirm the right of the people of Ireland to choose their own form of government and govern their country without interference from any other nation; we endorse Ireland's appeal to the nations for international recognition; and we pledge our support to Ireland's chosen leader, Eamon de Valera.

He said: I am glad to be here to propose the resolution just read to this crowded and distinguished audience. I am an Englishman and, in more than one respect, I am proud of my birth and my country and of the great world-wide British Empire. But, in regard to the Irish question, in regard to Ireland's inalienable right to self-determination and her right to follow unto national independence her most able, cultured, statesmanlike and valourous leader, de Valera, I am, by conviction and sentiment as Irish as the best Irish themselves.

And why am I so? Because I know Ireland, because I spent ten of the best years of my life in Ireland, because I know the history of Ireland and consequently the lamentable story of her wrongs and woes for many centuries at the hands of the misgovernment of England. By England I mean the Government, not the English people at large and especially not the great English democracy. For what do the vast majority of Englishmen know about the true history of Ireland? Very little indeed and that little mostly lies. They have been craftily and systematically kept in the dark regarding Ireland. They are the helpless victims of a false tradition, of accumulated lies and misrepresentations for centuries and centuries. At the back of the misgoverning gang in England there has been a corrupt press, misleading the people, as it does today in America, Australia, New Zealand, everywhere.

An Honest Englishman's Indignation.

When, like any other honest, fair-minded and enlightened Englishman, I consider this long misrule seriously, I am filled with mingled indignation, sorrow and shame. -Indignation at the long list of injustice, tyranny, cruelty, corruption, persecution and calumny; sorrow at the irreparable losses sustained by England throughout those ages of misgovernment and particularly in modern and more recent times; shame at the sight of my country made the

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derision and disgrace of the civilised world. I feel what a loving and dutiful son would feel, were he to see his beloved and venerable father misled by evil counsellors and wicked surroundings into a series of ignominious crimes.

How can England ever adequately atone for her crimes and misdeeds towards Ireland? How can she repair the loss incurred by her unwisdom? Just think of it for a moment. Ireland at the beginning of the nineteenth century had a population of eight millions; today she has only four millions. Millions of Irishmen sadly left their dear native land to cross the broad ocean into exile, all animated, justly animated against England, all burning with righteous indignation against their pitiless oppressors and persecutors. At their tearful departure the misleading organs of English public opinion, like the London "Times," exulted at their going and said: "The Irish are going with a vengeance, and the day is not far distant when an Irishman will be as rare on the banks of the Shannon as a Red Indian on the shores of Manhattan." Those millions sent abroad by English misrule, those millions grown into many more millions, would, under a better government, have been still in Ireland at the outbreak of the war. What a magnificent array of defenders of the Empire would have been forthcoming. No need of conscription then and all its woes. Germany would never have dared to challenge the British Empire with such a multitude of able, valiant, enthusiastic and invincible defenders. Who, then, can calculate the losses to the Empire of those exiles of Erin, losses in every direction, national, commercial, military, scientific, literary and artistic?

#### Irish Nationality.

But, did not Ireland long ago lose her nationality by conquest? No; might is not right or else no ~~the~~ God of Justice rules the world. Conquest does not necessarily involve the destruction of nationality. One can conceive that when a conquered nation - after the conquest - has met with a wise, a just, a conciliatory government, it may become reconciled to its fate and accept the nationality of the conqueror, in short, exchange its nationality, and then the free consent of the governed - that fundamental democratic principle of legitimate power - gives to the conqueror a rightful title to the allegiance of the conquered. But that has never been the case in Ireland.

She has never had from her pretended conqueror a wise or a just or a conciliatory government, but only continuous tyranny, coercion, robbery and forced union with the conqueror. A century and more of that disgraceful alliance, miscalled Union - one of the most detestable instances of bribery, corruption, and tyranny that ever polluted the pages of history - a century of futile attempts to govern Ireland, has most ignominiously failed. The fact is patent to the world. And why? Because England has had the mania of wishing to govern Ireland by Englishmen, in English ways, for English interests and English ideals; whereas Ireland requires to be governed by Irishmen in Irish ways for Irish interests and Irish ideals. And that is the meaning of Sinn Feinism. All good Australians, all good New Zealanders are, or ought to be, Sinn Feiners. Their motto is: Australia for the Australians, New Zealand for the New Zealanders, just as Ireland's motto is: Ireland for the Irish. Yes, Ireland is a nation and deserves the treatment of a nation. Her nationality is the oldest in Europe. She was a nation when the inhabitants of Britain were ignorant and gross barbarians and she helped to Christianise and civilise them.

#### What Cardinal Mercier Says.

As Cardinal Mercier - a man of world-wide fame, great learning and consummate virtue - says in his address of thanks to Ireland: "It is inconceivable that the nationality of Ireland, the oldest and purest in Europe, should not be recognised by the League of Nations." At the outbreak of war our ears were incessantly dinned with the loud and emphatic assertions of the most representative speakers and exponents of public opinion in England that we were fighting for the freedom and independence of the small nations to self-determination. Where is the fruit of these words now? Were they, then, but sheer mockery and hypocrisy? We were told again and again that the object of the war was the utter destruction of Prussianism, and lo! today the small nation at England's door, the nation whose nationality is unequalled in Europe for duration and dignity, is the goaded victim of the most barefaced and outrageous Prussianism, as the world at large now knows through the United States Commission composed of unexceptional and distinguished citizens and officials of the great American Republic. Their report, their irrepressible report, is a standing and crushing condemnation of the present policy and action of England's misgovernment of Ireland, and, for any man of commonsense and honesty, it dispenses with any further argument. Further arguments, however, abound. Take, for instance, the late action of the United States Senate, which, by a ~~majority~~

(majority.

majority of 60 to 1. passed a resolution claiming a hearing at the Peace Conference for the representatives of the people of Ireland. Remark that this is by a greater majority than that which ~~declared~~ declared war on Germany and that party lines in the Senate were carefully obliterated.

#### Notable Testimonies.

A prominent American says: "This is easily the most important and significant action taken by America in opposition to England since our forefathers declared against the rule of George III."

Listen to the comment of the "Manchester Guardian": "We have all been unpleasantly reminded of this fact, that unsettled questions have no respect for the peace of nations' minds by the almost unanimous adoption in the American Senate of a resolution unmistakably sympathetic to Sinn Fein."

Listen again to the declaration of the "Daily Herald" (the Labour organ in England): "It will not do for the English people to assume that the Senate vote does not matter. The fact that it was passed by 60 votes to 1 is sufficiently astonishing, but we have in addition to note that the House of Representatives passed a similar resolution last year, that Congress now has a Republican majority, and that party lines were obliterated in the Senate vote."

The English Tories are dumbfounded at the vote. How different from what they expected, considering the vast sums spent on anti-Irish propoganda in the States and the rank and prestige of the man sent over to combat the growth of Irish feeling there. So, let no one despair; there are better times coming. Demonstrations like this great Irish Race Convention are eminently calculated to defeat the conspiracy of silence and lying and to bring about the reign of justice, "which exalteth a nation." Ireland is a nation whose nationality has proved itself indestructible by any weapons that the wit of man can devise, a nation in every sense of the word, geographically, politically, socially, morally and historically, and, therefore, as such, she has an inalienable right to self-determination and complete self-government.

#### MR. FRANK BRENNAN, M.H.R.

Mr. Frank Brennan, M.H.R., supported the resolution, and, on rising to speak, was greeted with cheers. Though time is pressing, he said, I think you will all agree, at all events in regard to the eminent speakers who have preceded me, that you would not wish to have lost a single word or sentence from what they had to tell us. But perhaps it is fitting that we should endeavour, in this vast representative gathering, to make abundantly clear that the cause for which we stand today is not a cause alone for eminent churchmen or for eminent statesmen, but it is one that enlists the support of the rank and file of every justice-loving community.

The first part of this resolution deals with the age-long claim of Ireland to self-government, and especially to those who, in recent years, have received so many pointed lessons from unexpected quarters in the groundwork of democracy.

The second part of the resolution deals with the international claims of the Irish people, and in this regard Ireland presents herself at the door of all the free nations of the world and says to them: "We claim from you your recognition of us as a nation. We claim it for a thousand reasons; but we claim it because, through our representatives and our race, we have illuminated your patriotism the world over, we have strengthened and brightened your statesmanship and we have sweetened your life with the ardour of our religious fervour. And, because we have done these things for you, we ask from you not anything done because of the feelings of your generosity, but the bare right of your recognition of Ireland a nation."

The last part of the resolution deals with our support of the eminent man, the representative of Irish thought in Ireland, de Valera. Our message to Ireland is: "Remembering your history and your tears, we in these southern seas send you our message of support, telling from the bottom of our grateful hearts, whatever your ascertained policy is, that policy will receive the endorsement and support of Irish-Australians wherever they are."

#### Unfair Objections.

They say that Ireland is not fit to govern herself - she does not know what she requires. There are people, my friends, who demand a measure of unity from Ireland which they have not always seen manifested in Australia or Great Britain. But although majority rule may not be a perfect rule, it is the only method we have of ascertaining popular demands, or a people's requirements,

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and, therefore, we are content to say, and we are historically correct, that there never has been a nation more insistent, more consistent, more coherent in its national demands than the people of Ireland have been.

Further, we say to our critics that we made proposals to you for a kind of Dominion Home Rule, which you rejected with scorn in circumstances which were peculiarly offensive to us. You misread the tone and temper of the Irish people if you thought that when you turned their proposal down with scorn, they would come asking for something less. Nay, it will be rather for something more.

#### SOUTH AUSTRALIA'S REPRESENTATIVE.

Mr. J.T. Murphy (South Australia) said that this Convention was the product of Irish love for Ireland. They were assembled for the chief purpose of supporting self-determination for Ireland. Self-determination was the policy which actuated 350,000 Australian citizens to enter the recent world conflict. It was to free European nations from despotic rule, and they enlisted freely and voluntarily and simultaneously to keep Australia free and self-determined. We, therefore, Australians of Irish birth, will stand loyal to the sacrifices of our fellows and see, if it is in our power to do it, that Ireland is granted the same privileges for which Australians fought and died. Can we not feel that we are honoured by being permeated with the same blood as those martyrs which now courses through our veins? I think that we can honestly support the resolution, and, on behalf of the State of South Australia, we give our whole-hearted support to this Convention and to the resolution.

The chairman put the resolution which was carried amidst repeated cheers and hurrahs, the vast audience rising to its feet.

#### ARCHBISHOP KELLY.

##### Moves The Second Resolution.

The Most Rev. Dr. Kelly, Archbishop of Sydney, moved:

2. That an Australian Irish Fund be opened to help the people of Ireland to press to a successful issue their legitimate claim to self-determination; that the Archbishop of Melbourne, the Hon. John Meagher (Bathurst, New South Wales), and Count O'Loughlin, K.C.S.G. (Victoria) be treasurers of the fund, and that the Dominion of New Zealand and States of the Commonwealth be invited to organise local efforts to support the central fund.

There will be some practical suggestion, he said, that we make this collection universal, a central fund; that we make it State by State, and, if you will, parish by parish. There is also the department of trustees for the central fund. At my right hand we have a Daniel. He will be treasurer. We will associate with him the great-grandfather of Irish nationality and Irish dominion in Australia, the Hon. John Meagher. We complete the trinity with the name of Count O'Loughlin.

For the success of Ireland's cause in a national aspect two things are necessary and those two things will be sufficient for triumph. We must be united and let Ireland and Irish opinion be the centre of unity. Then we want the means; we want the funds. There will be no difficulty about the funds, and I would be much open to censure if I were to speak to you about practical unity of action. Keep your own honest views in private, but in public act together or stay at home. Now money will be required. The presence of his Grace of Wellington shows us that Ireland is already morally in the Australasian sphere. The right of Irish nationality is justified before the world; but it has not yet been an acknowledged right, so that we have not now in Ireland, in Dublin, an independent Irish Parliament. We have the Castle and the Castle is connected with Downing-street; and, as Cardinal Logue said, let there be a tap on the Orange drum in Belfast, and the word of order passes to Downing-street and to the Castle, and you are compelled in the name of law and order. Thus you have the oppression of the Irish people. It will require an exorcism to drive these influences from the shores from which St. Patrick drove the snakes. It must be applied to the Castle; it must be applied to some English politicians, and, therefore, funds are necessary. It is really incredible that a nation like England, holding a high head amongst the nations and claiming to fly a flag that is a meteor, which radiates liberty amongst all people, has for seven hundred years, according to historic record, acted as

(an oppressor.

an oppressor, as a treacherous tyrant and as an incorrigible enemy to self-determination to the children of St. Patrick.

"Shame on the Big Four!"

Some people say: "Yes, Home Rule for Ireland," but we must not forget the planted party of ascendancy in certain parts of Ulster; we must not forget the officials and their dependants including the spies and police of Dublin Castle. Yes, and they were heard in the League of Nations. Shame on those Big Four! Shame on the man who won the admiration of the world by his phrase that the basis of legal authority was to be the consent of those for whom the authority is exercised.

Certain it is that through the English language and the Irish faith we planted the Kingdom of Christ and the standard of the Cross all through the world. We have won the battle of religious liberty; we have won it for England and for all the British Empire. God grant to the prayers of St. Patrick that our enemies may be permanently afraid and that Ireland will possibly enter a historic and glorious nation amongst the League of Nations, which some time ago was on the horizon, but is now obscured by mists that have arisen. God grant it. Funds will be necessary - even if they were not necessary, our generosity as children of Ireland or children of Ireland's children, would make us very glad to open our very heart's blood for Ireland. We are not called on to die for Ireland. We would die for her if it came to us as a duty - and die gloriously. Men have died and men will die, if necessary, again to show that the Irish question is a real question. We are called on to live for Ireland, to act together for Ireland and, as a pledge of our earnestness and devotion, to constitute a fund to be subscribed by all the Australian people, State by State, district by district. Thus we will have fulfilled our whole duty, and we will say to the Americans, "we admire, we thank you, but we will not only imitate, we will better your example."

THE HON. FRANK McDONNELL.

The Hon. Frank McDonnell, M.L.C., of Queensland, seconded the resolution. Mr. McDonnell on rising to speak was received with cheers and applause. He said: Let me say at the outset that I wish here, on the part of the Queensland delegates, to say how proud we are to be privileged to take part in this great and historic meeting. We desire here to offer our gratitude and appreciation to the great Generalissimo of the Irish race, his Grace, the Archbishop of Melbourne. The time was ripe for an opportunity for the Irish people of Australasia to express an opinion on the great Irish question of the day, and, to his credit be it said, that that opportunity has been taken. By the resolution that was carried this morning a clarion note has been sounded which will go over the whole world from Australia and the resolution that has been affirmed here this morning will be ratified in every city and in every town of this great continent.

We have this morning affirmed the right of Ireland to self-determination. But, after affirming that principle we must now turn to the practical duty of carrying that principle into effect. Archbishop Kelly has pointed out that it will be necessary to have funds in every State. Australia and the Irish people of Australia have never been ~~called upon~~ behind when called upon for Ireland. This was particularly so after that memorable Easter Week when men died knowing that it was almost impossible to achieve what they desired, but by shedding their life-blood. On that occasion, my own city - the Queen city that I am proud of - took the initiative in organising a Dublin relief fund for the families of those who suffered on that memorable occasion. I am proud that we have here on this platform this morning our beloved Archbishop, Dr. Duhig, who had put his heart and soul into that movement, with the result that little Queensland was able to send at least £6000 home for the relief of the Dublin sufferers. Anything that Queensland did so well then, I feel certain that she will maintain, and we have the enthusiastic support of men from all parts of that State and the hearty co-operation of the Bishops. We have here today Bishop Shiel of Rockhampton and Bishop Heavey of faraway Cooktown. Ladies and gentlemen, I feel that when this fund is taken up and that when we in Brisbane and in other towns throughout Queensland follow the lead of this great meeting, I feel that, as far as our State is concerned, that Queensland will give a good account of herself. If I may say so, there is one great and distinct feature of this great and memorable gathering this morning, and that was its complete unanimity. We shall be able to go back to Queensland and say that the great resolution declaring the right of Ireland's free-

(-dom was.

dom was accepted in this magnificent gathering without one dissentient voice. We are asked at this period to do our share; some of us are Irishmen; but the majority are Irish-Australians who have been born in this land of freedom. Let us do our share to help Ireland secure those rights of freedom that she, for centuries and centuries, has been struggling to obtain.

#### WESTERN AUSTRALIA'S VOICE.

Mr. James Dowling (Western Australia) said: By your action today, by your unanimous acceptance of the resolutions, you have told those throughout the Empire, and in every land, that Britain's treatment and her humiliation of Ireland have roused the stormy spirit of the Irish race. I wish to make one little reference and that was to a matter so ably referred to by his Grace, Archbishop Mannix, the case of Ireland at the Peace Conference. Ireland at the Peace Conference was looked down upon and spat upon. Yet we see that the sons from Japan, and that the Bedouins, the wanderers and nomads of the desert, the dusky sons of India, each found a footing there, and surely to God, Ireland was entitled to sit there. She was denied it.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Archbishop Mannix, who was received with great cheering, said: Now that I have been appointed treasurer, I am entitled to say that I have got a subscription handed to me by Mrs. Ryan (wife of the chairman of this meeting) and it is for £100. I cannot do less myself. I have also a promise made to me by the Archbishop of Sydney, and his promise was also for £100. Of course, there are other subscriptions; Bishop Carroll stated that he was very sorry that he was not able to come to the Convention, but he sent me £25. No appeal has so far been made to anybody. These are spontaneous offerings, and I merely mention them in order to allow the chairman of the meeting and the Archbishop of Sydney to give a lead to Australia and New Zealand. I also wish to state that I have ~~just~~ just been handed another £100 from Mr. & Mrs. B. Slattery, well known in Melbourne.

#### THE THIRD RESOLUTION.

##### Message to de Valera.

Mr. J.H. Scullin (Victoria) moved:

3. That copies of the foregoing resolution be sent to Eamon de Valera.

The resolution that I have been asked to move is that the previous resolutions we have carried should be conveyed to Mr. de Valera. I am sensible of the fact that previous messages from Irish gatherings in Australia, under our beautiful democratic government, have been stopped, but the management of this meeting intend that they will get this message to him and we will leave it to them. These resolutions will hearten up the leaders of the Irish nation to keep alive the spirit that was roused in the Irish people when the soul of Ireland was saved by the blood of her martyrs on Easter Week. It is a responsibility on those who stand for democracy to see that Ireland gets the right of self-determination and how much more must it be to us whose fathers were driven out of the land of their birth and who laid the foundations of democracy in Australia. We in Australia who enjoy democracy and every true democrat of the nationalities send our message across the leagues of ocean to tell de Valera and the people who support him that we stand behind them in that great cause of freedom that we are fighting today.

#### MR. M. MEAGHER.

Mr. Michael Meagher (Bathurst) seconded the resolution and said that one would think that it is hardly necessary to carry such a resolution at all, because it follows that such resolutions should be sent to the leader of the Irish people; just as in '86 or '88, when resolutions of this kind may have been carried, they would have been sent to Parnell, because at that time Parnell was the leader of the Irish people. Later the same message would have been sent to John Redmond. Why? Because John Redmond was the leader of the Irish people. One might mention, in passing, that if the fact that both of these men were in gaol - as they were at different times - on account of their leadership, nonetheless we would have sent the message to them just the same. So today, if de Valera is the recognised leader of the Irish people, and we, the sons of Irishmen or grandsons of Irishmen, as the case may be, are proud to know that Ireland was never more united than she is today in following their great leader, de Valera.

(TASMANIAN.)

TASMANIAN SUPPORT.

Mr. Charles O'Connor (Tasmania) supported the resolution and said: We here, enjoying the full fruits of self-government and living 16,000 miles away from Ireland, get the true perspective of Ireland's self-determination, and we can render a service to the Empire by using our weight and influence in endeavouring to heal the running sore that exists in the centre of the Empire.

ARCHBISHOP MANNIX'S CONGRATULATIONS.

His Grace, Archbishop Mannix, in conclusion, said: I have two announcements to make. One is that the Hibernian Society of New South Wales will contribute one hundred guineas, and I have another announcement to make and that is that a moment ago I was labouring under a misapprehension when I said that Mr. Ryan (the chairman) had given me £100 for this fund. It appears that I am indebted for that £100, and so is Ireland, not to Mr. Ryan, who does not wish to do anything of the kind at the present moment, for obvious reasons, but to Mrs. Ryan. I want to congratulate the chairman and the whole meeting on the success attending the Convention. We have done what we came to do. Having done it, we are not going to say any more about it. We will conclude the meeting by singing "God Save Ireland."

The meeting concluded with the singing of "God Save Ireland" and three cheers for the chairman (Mr. Ryan), Archbishop Mannix and Ireland.

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19th. November, 1919. "Sydney Morning Herald."

The Church and Loyalty.

Mr. Justice Heydon's Views.

Sir,- A wise rule prescribes that Judges shall take no part in politics. But there is a distinction between politics and loyalty. Where the latter is concerned, and where the loyalty not of a man but of a body of men is brought under suspicion, the fact that one of that body holds, by the favour and confidence of his fellow citizens, the responsible and honourable position of a Judge may even make it his duty to speak, if possible, with the tongue of a trumpet in vindication of his fellows and of himself. Such a situation is created for me by the utterances of Archbishop Mannix, a prelate (I am ashamed to say) of the Church to which it is my highest and deepest blessing to belong. No man likes to appear in public opposition to a clergyman of his own denomination whose office he profoundly respects, but it may become a duty from which it would be cowardice to shrink. In proclaiming his sympathy with Sinn Fein, in urging us to put Australia first and the Empire second, the Catholic Archbishop of Melbourne has shown himself to be not only disloyal as a man but (I say it emphatically, Archbishop though he be and simple layman though I be) untrue to the teachings of the Church of which by his office he should be a guardian. Private assurances of this by Catholics to their fellow-citizens have little weight; they say to each other naturally: "If Catholics do not agree with him, why do they not repudiate him." And so infinite harm is done, and Catholics walk among their fellow Australians, whom they respect and by whom they desire to be respected, with a brand upon them.

For a Catholic Archbishop to lead his flock along the paths of sedition is to disobey the clearest teachings of the Catholic Church. Obedience to and loyal co-operation with duly constituted authority and all its lawful commands (for there is, of course, a domain of conscience where no human laws can intrude) is by her most earnestly instilled. The political entity to which we belong is the Empire, of which we are a part as essentially as Victoria is part of Australia, and as Melbourne is a part of Victoria and as Archbishop Mannix is a part of Melbourne. The final issue of such ~~such~~ teaching is that a man may put himself before his country, and such a man we call a traitor. He may do so if he chooses, but let there be no mistake about it, the Catholic of the British Empire who tramples the Empire underfoot, tramples upon the teaching of his Church with it. The Catholic Church utterly reprobates treason and strongly inculcates loyalty. The hierarchy of Ireland has recently reaffirmed what all Catholics know, that the temporal authority of our rulers comes from the same Divine source as the spiritual authority of the Church itself. Cardinal Mercier, in maintaining the resistance of his Belgian people to the German invaders, has taken the ground - the demonstrably just ground - that the Germans are not, in Belgium, a lawful authority, but a set of bloody and cruel and tyrannical invaders and treaty-breakers. Will Archbishop Mannix dare to say that the Empire stands in that relation to Australia? Let us turn for a moment from the call of duty to that of gratitude, and from the call of gratitude to that of self-interest; and what shall we find but the most overwhelming reasons why we should be faithful to our fellows, who, all over the world, shelter with us under the glorious Union Jack? Of whom are we the child? Who gave us this great country of ours, as large as the United States? Who protected us through war and peace, in the most profound calm, so that never once has an enemy fired a shot within our boundaries, or even against our shores, for now 129 years? Who did this, during nearly the whole of the time, without charging us a single penny, and even while spending large sums amongst us? And it was done for us, even now a mere handful, living in the great prize country of the world, the only great empty country remaining, which of ourselves we could never have held, and could not now hold. It was done for us all: Irish, Scotch, Welsh and English - wherever our fathers came from. The arms of the Empire were round us all; and we were safe and in that cradle grew up to be the Australian people, and now there is a man amongst us (but, thank God, not an Australian) who can tell us that in this war we should put Australia above the Empire. Or rather (let us be absolutely fair to him) above the British Empire, our parent, our nurse, and our protector, the home of our fathers. As for that other Empire, the German, which would tread out in blood our language and our nationality, we are to come under that; and indeed if we listen to him, most richly shall we deserve it. Truly there are hatreds which ask for very costly foods to glut them.

I say in protection of my fellow Catholics who already suffer and will suffer more through the indignation which is rightly felt at such teaching,

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this: That such hatreds and such treasons, though they may be cherished by individuals are no part and no fruit of Catholic teaching, but have their root quite elsewhere. In America we have seen Monsignor Cassidy, the son of a Fenian, addressing Catholic soldiers of Irish descent, telling them that their cause was freedom, liberty and righteousness. If that is true in America, outside the Empire, is it less true in Australia, within the Empire? Can Archbishop Mannix alter a single one of those words? And, if not, will he still tell us that Australia should put herself above freedom, liberty and righteousness? Perhaps he will. It is only in a country as free as Australia that freedom can be abused and such things be said. What would be done in Italy at this moment were some Sicilian Bishop to have the audacity to rear his head and tell his flock before all the world that they ought to put Sicily before Italy and Italy beneath the Austrian? Would his life be safe? Yet, what would be the difference between his teaching and that of Archbishop Mannix?

I might say something of the time chosen to inflict this stab in the back of the Empire; this time of strain and difficulty, with heavy clouds of disaster lowering round and a special call for unity of counsel and effort; but perhaps it would be better not to enlarge on that. If I said what suggests itself I do not think that Daniel Mannix the man is also an Archbishop of my Church. I will only say (speaking generally and without any reference to current controversies) that if Australia accepts his doctrines, and holds herself free to give anything less than the fullest fidelity to the Empire, she would indeed have made the great refusal. History will be unable to point to any example of more faithless disloyalty or blacker ingratitude or more enormous folly. And nothing in the teaching of the Church, I will not say prescribes it, but even permits it.

I am &c.,

CHAS. G. HEYDON.

Boreen, Darling Point. Nov. 17.

23rd. November, 1919. "Sydney Morning Herald"

Sir,- As an Australian Catholic, please allow me the privilege of publicly endorsing in its entirety the letter of Mr. Justice Heydon, as published in your columns of Monday last.

No Catholic layman in Australia today is more entitled and fitted in every respect - by reason of the high public position he holds in the life of the State, his great ability and experience, and as one of the most devoted adherents to the Faith, of which he is so great an ornament, to place before the public of the Commonwealth the views of the Catholic community.

That a man occupying the position of an Archbishop of the Catholic Church to be allowed it to be for a moment inferred that he has even the slightest sympathy with a secret society, such as Sinn Fein, is most astounding to members of that Catholic body. The remarks of Dr. Mannix regarding Sinn Fein baffle all understanding.

Dr. Mannix is reported as saying that in his opinion neither the letter nor Judge was worth any reply. The plain unadulterated truth is - the Judge's letter is unanswerable.

Regarding the righteousness of the war, Cardinal Mercier and the Irish hero, the late William K. Redmond, M.P., must surely in the opinion of all Catholics - whether English, Irish, Scotch or Australian - be more qualified to form a true estimate than a sympathiser with Sinn Fein - a secret society and one aided and abetted by the German Emperor and the enemies of the Empire.

(Sir) Mark Sheldon.

Dalton House, November 21.

SINN FEIN.

Sinn Fein, which put its case before the Australian editors who were lately in Dublin, doesn't seem to have made any new friends thereby. True most of the executive are in gaol, and those who are left to do the talking may or may not represent the brains of the movement. Yet those who spoke ~~are~~ represent the brains that are left to carry on the movement; and as there was no confusion among them as to what they were after, they are probably true interpreters of the thing as it stands today. They confess, freely and frankly, that they aim at a republic - that and nothing else. Home Rule, no sort of Home Rule that a British Parliament would give them, would satisfy them. To get a republic they must have arms; and they are prepared to accept arms from anybody - Germany included. Put it to them that Germany has shown that it is no respecter of small nations, and they are satisfied with the reply that Britain has shown itself no respecter of the rights of their small nation either. They want independence, complete independence. What will happen after they get it they are content to leave to the future. If they make alliances, they must have the right to choose their allies, though they will go this far - that Britain being their next-door neighbour, other things being equal they would naturally turn to Britain first. The men who speak for Sinn Fein now are young men, poets and dreamers, fired with an enthusiasm and a spirit of self-sacrifice which compels admiration; and it would be good to be able to believe that, smarting under a sense of what they believe to be a wrong done to the national cause in the execution of the leaders of the rebellion of 1916, they overstate the aims of the movement. But it is impossible on the evidence to believe anything of that sort. The manifesto of "the Provisional Government of the Irish Republic to the People of Ireland," issued on the eve of the rebellion of Easter, 1916, ran:-

We declare the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies to be sovereign and indefeasible. The long usurpation of that right by a foreign people and Government has not extinguished the right, nor can it ever be extinguished, except by the destruction of the Irish people. . . . Standing on that fundamental right, we hereby proclaim the Irish Republic as a Sovereign Independent State, and we pledge our lives and the lives of our comrades-in-arms to the cause of its freedom, of its welfare and of its exaltation among the nations.

Though the enterprise ended in disaster, there is no reason whatever to believe that that failure changed the spirit of the present movement any more than ~~any~~ many previous failures had changed previous similar movements. On the contrary, it is very sure that certain actions of the British Government and its servants - some of them dreadful blunders without a doubt - rekindled the fire which had died out or almost died out in many an Irish home. Had the condition of Ireland gone on improving as it had certainly been improving for some years prior to 1913, and had the promise of Home Rule been loyally honoured, the old-standing Irish Question would soon have ceased to be a question of any consequence at all. The problem of land-settlement was being solved, and agriculture was being vastly improved, as well as the housing of the people. The 1916 rebellion has unhappily played into the hands of the recalcitrant North; and what that didn't do the subsequent attitude of the people of the South and West towards the war has done. In modern times, at any rate, the North never had so strong a case for standing out of Home Rule; but the right of Ulster to decide how it shall be governed doesn't impair the rights of the rest of Ireland - provided always that the safety of the rest of the British islands is not imperilled. On the other hand, a condition which can produce, in the midst of a life-and-death war, such a rebellion as that which Ireland witnessed in 1916 is surely as great a peril almost as any that can be conceived. If Home Rule can remove such perils as that, then even British safety calls for its prompt introduction.

IRELAND FROM THE OUTSIDE.

Both the British Government and the Irish Nationalists showed during the Parliamentary dispute over the O'Donnell case that they misunderstood the way Australia looks at the situation in Ireland. This country's feelings were not "outraged", as Joseph Devlin opined they would be at the unlucky padre's treatment: "outrage" carries an implication of astonishment, and most Australians have lost the capacity to feel surprised at the imbecilities of the English officers whom the Government selects for some of the nation's most delicate jobs. Members of the A.I.F. met them by the score at the different bases. (Note: A.I.F. - Australian Imperial Forces). Elaborately genteel, perfectly futile and complacently scornful of "Colonials," Yankees and most of the Irish, Scotch and Welsh, they were the despair of the best in England of every rank and class. Winston Churchill seemed anxious to prove to Australia (meaning really to the world outside England) that, whatever errors tactless subordinates might have committed, yet the heart of Downing Street was sound; it would not deny even an Irishman justice. Few Australians who were in Ireland during the war will take him seriously. Ireland struck most of them as a place where the members of one caste can still steal horses with impunity while members of the rival caste are liable to be arrested for looking into the loose-box. A Father O'Donnell is put under close arrest on suspicion of having at the worst mildly doubted the national value of the Sovereign; nothing happened to the Ulsterite who some time back put his name and address to the following in the Manchester Guardian:-

As for our present Royal Family, to tell the truth we loyalists of Ulster have very little respect for them. And we have no right. The mother of our present Sovereign, Alexandra, was a supporter of the vile separatist policy of Gladstone, and I am afraid we must place King George and his wife in the same category.

Before trying a batch of alleged rebels in Cork the other day the Judge charged the Grand Jury in these words:-

The offence is complete is preparations are made for rebellion or warfare, even though that rebellion or warfare never takes place. Sir Edward Carson formed, drilled and armed whole battalions of rebels in Ulster when the present Home Rule Act was under discussion; he established a hospital to receive the wounded in the impending clash; and in a notorious speech at the Criterion Restaurant (London) he said: "I intend when I go over there (to Ulster) to break every law that is possible." The Irish rebels were hanged: some of the Anglo-Irish ones became members of the War Cabinet.

Yet Australians have no time for Sinn Fein, and they don't believe in the dream of an Irish republic. Neither, probably, do 90 per cent of the Irish, the latter being hard-headed people beneath their surface air of genial irresponsibility, and the possessors of keen eyes for the main chance. Ireland today is the most prosperous agricultural country in Europe. Its manufactures are booming, and they will boom more when conditions are stabilised and the country's great river power is harnessed. It has plenty of food and it is lightly taxed. Sinn Fein's attitude to England is much the same as the attitude of the I.W.W. here and in America to capital. "Curse your palliatives," the Sinn Feiner hisses - "your 1902 and 1909 Land Acts under which rural Ireland has become a country of affluent farmer land-owners! Curse your concessions under which, throughout the War, Irishmen were freed from the grip of the Military Service Act! Curse also such prosperity as has come to an agonised country through the pockets of English taxpayers and tourists! We want you to get out." No sensible worker believes that his class would be benefited by the withdrawal from the country of Capital. There are other ways of dealing with the fabled oof-bird than by wringing its neck. Similarly while a few Hibernian Lenins and Trotskys might score if England have up Ireland as it did the American colonies, thousands of the rank and file know that they would be ruined. At the same time as they lost markets for their goods they would have to tax themselves exorbitantly for defence on land and sea. Complete independence is not worth it at the price, assuming that real freedom can be got by less drastic means.

There is a vague sympathy in this part of the world - and probably elsewhere - with England in its recent efforts to settle the old Hibernian trouble. Kipling, who hates Ireland, wrote:-

The sins that ye do by two and by two  
Ye shall pay for one by one.

(His own.)

His own country is paying now for its sins against Ireland - for a dark career which began before Cromwell, and which is still going strong under George. The difference is that, while in the past the ill-used heroine of the piece was deliberately starved, assaulted and disowned, the obvious intantion today is to make the honourable amend to her. England as a nation plainly wants to do the right thing by Erin, short of committing suicide to humor her; and it is only failing through the idiocy of its officials, as in the O'Donnell case. The opinion of Australia - which, broadly, is no different from that of the rest of the world - will be crystallised for years to come in accordance with the events of the next few weeks. The world looks for a combination of reasonableness and courage in all three parties to the dispute such as the Campbell-Bannerman Government showed when it decided to give the Boers self-government. It doesn't expect England to agree to separation which would be equivalent, strategically, to opening the front door to the world's burglars. But it does expect Ireland to be offered the same national status as Australia, including the power to impose a tariff against English goods - if the Irish feel like it, which they probably will not, in view of the fact that four-fifths of the raw products on which the Irish manufacturers depend come from England, and practically all their exports go there. The Nationalist Irish (most of whom have in desperation become temporary Sinn Feiners) are expected to shelve the remembrance of what occurred in '98, and the Ulsterites to drop talking about the Boyne Water. The world is as weary of these ancient grievances as of a worn-out music-hall song. Australia has particular cause to be sick of them, having a greater population, proportionately, of people of Irish descent than any country but Erin itself. A humane audience bears with the lamentations of the wronged female so long as there is a stiff-necked refusal on the part of her oppressor to give her a reasonable chance. If she goes on lamenting after she has had the chance, she becomes what Carlyle once unjustly compared Ireland to - a haggling shrew. Will England justify herself before the jury of the world in the Home Rule Bill it has promised "before Christmas"? Will Ireland forget its old and new wrongs provided the Bill offers full nationhood inside the British Empire, and settle down to talk sense and business as men like Smuts and Botha did? That rather than isolated episodes like the O'Donnell case is what exercises the minds of countries such as Australia at the present time.

1920.

January, 1920. A Sydney daily newspaper (unidentified).

Cheers for Sinn Fein were given at a meeting of Roman Catholics at East Maitland to consider the proposal to help the Irish people. The following resolution was carried: "That this meeting sympathises with the Irish people in the hour of their repression, and hopes that the dawn of liberty is near." It was also decided to open a fund to assist the Irish people in an effort to gain self-determination. After the resolutions were carried cheers were given for the Sinn Fein and Ireland while God Save Ireland was sung.

27th. October, 1920. "Evening News, " Sydney.

The general secretary of the Irish National Association notified that the following cablegram was yesterday despatched to Mrs. MacSwiney, widow of the Lord Mayor of Cork: "The Irish National Association, Sydney, Australia, sends deepest sympathy. Terence's martyrdom will achieve his dearest wish, which will be your greatest consolation under God. - Sheehy, President; Dryer, Secretary."

4th. November, 1920. "Catholic Press," Sydney.

Early in October, Messrs. John Sheehy (President of the Irish National Association), P.S. Cleary and Chas. Lawlor (of the Catholic Federation) waited upon the Lord Mayor of Sydney with the following requests from the Irish National Association:-

Resolution 1: "That the Lord Mayor be requested to call a public meeting of citizens to consider the present state of affairs in Ireland.

Resolution 2: "That this meeting of the citizens of Sydney views with horror the savage atrocities committed by the police and soldiers on the defenceless people and towns of Ireland; and calls upon the British Government to denounce the abominable doctrine of General Macready that it is humane and possible for soldiers to slay indiscriminately and without orders. It appeals for the immediate withdrawal of the British Army of occupation, in order that negotiations may be arranged with the Irish people for self-determination.

Resolution 3: "That this meeting demands the liberation of the Lord Mayor of Cork and the other prisoners who are in gaol under military law."

(Note: the request was refused by the Lord Mayor of Sydney).

8th. August, 1920.

Archbishop Mannix was removed from the "Baltic" by a British destroyer on the high seas.

1st. April, 1920. "The Catholic Press," Sydney.

THE SPIRIT OF IRELAND TODAY.

A Stirring Lecture.

By A Young Australian Priest, Rev. Father M.A. Sheehy.

A very large audience assembled on Monday evening, the 22nd. ultimo, in St. Patrick's Hall, Sydney, to hear the lecture which was delivered under the auspices of the Irish National Association by Rev. Father Sheehy, of Wollongong.

In the course of his lecture Father Sheehy said: "I am an Irish-Australian, and I am here at the call of the blood. For it is blood that constitutes nationality, and the inspiring thought of a lifetime has ever been to me that in my veins is the blood of Irish chiefs and Irish martyrs - aya! and Irish 'felons,' too.

Most people in Australia are hopelessly in the dark with regard to what is happening in Ireland. Arthur Griffith once said that England had erected a paper wall around Ireland, on the inside of which she writes what she wishes the Irish people to believe about the rest of the world, and on the outside of which she writes the calumnies that are often only too successful in depicting Ireland as the Ishmael of the nations - to men who cannot see. When it is a question of news of Ireland, the press of England and the Empire is not merely 'yellow'; it is absolutely jaundiced! A two-penny-ha'penny street brawl, or a shot at a policeman who didn't happen to be there, is given a double column under the ominous heading 'Sinn Fein.' There has never been aught but abuse for the policy that, for its wisdom and far-sightedness, has evoked the encomiums of the best brains in Christendom, and for the men whose place in history awaits them, scholars, poets, patriots, whose souls were set above the things of earth, and whose young and beautiful faces bent low to kiss the bleeding feet of Kathleen ni Houlihan, when she trod the winepress alone.

Be it said at the outset that a new spirit thrills Ireland today. Ireland's battle-cry today is an 'Irish Republic'; it used to be 'A Nation Once Again.' Today Irishmen are Sinn Feiners; they used to be 'Nationalists.' But yesterday their colour was green, today it is the tricolour that was consecrated in the blood of Easter Week, the green, white and gold! And yet in spite of her changed watchword, ensign and battle-cry, Ireland's principles are today the old, old ones - the principles Robert Emmet held when he raised the flag of revolt in Dublin City; the principles of The O'Neill when he battled with Elizabeth; the principles of St. Laurence O'Toole, when he urged the Irish chieftains to crush the invading Normans; the principles that Ireland belongs to the Irish, to have and to hold. Sinn Fein, therefore, is a new policy rather than a new principle. It came into the nation's life in the nation's direst exigency. The land had become plethoric. The ideals of a century ago no longer counted. Irishmen were fast being Britonised. Smooth words and fair promises - above all, an insidious influence at work in education sapping the very foundations of nationality - had conspired to make the 19th. century by far the most disastrous in the seven that had passed since England first essayed the impossible task of destroying the Irish nation. For while Ireland, as the 19th. century wore on, grew more vocal about political freedom, all the essentials of nationality - language, culture, memory - faded away into the highland and islands of Kerry and Donegal. The end of the century saw the Irish 'Nationalists', the country's chosen champions of freedom, tacked on as a mere tail to an English party, to be wagged at John Bull's pleasure.

But, thank God, the end was not yet! Eagle eyes had seen from the watchtower the stealthy spread of West Britonism, and to a few young men was given the broader vision - to ask themselves: 'What can a nation give in exchange for its soul?' They founded in 1893 the Gaelic League, which was the turning point in modern Irish history, and the inevitable result of its de-Anglicising influence is the spirit that thrills Ireland today - the spirit of a nation conscious of its destiny, the spirit of "Ourselves alone," the spirit of Sinn Fein.

The lecturer then referred to the growth of the Gaelic League, and to the manner in which it prepared the nation for "the policy of national self-respect and self-reliance that is known today as 'Sinn Fein'".

"Sinn Fein is founded on the faith the Irish people have that they can manage their own concerns without outside aid of any description, least of all from the benevolent lady next door. Against the shibboleth of 'freedom by legislation,' Sinn Fein sets the policy of 'freedom by national self-development.' The philosophy of Sinn Fein is essentially constructive; it aims at the reconstruction of Ireland from within. It would look for no favour from an English Parliament. Standing on the indefeasible principle of the rights of nations to self-determination, it denies the moral authority of an English

(Parliament to.

Parliament to legislate for Ireland at all. For if England has any right to legislate for Ireland she must ascribe it to one of two things - the Act of Union of 1801 or the right of conquest. Sinn Fein recognises neither. With regard to the Act of Union she has no need to repudiate it, for self-respecting Englishmen themselves have long ago done that. Fox characterised it as - 'atrocious in its principles and abominable in its means!' And Gladstone said of it: 'I know no blacker or fouler transaction in the history of man than the making of the union between England and Ireland.'

The successive attempts made by England to effect the conquest of Ireland were then treated of by the lecturer - the efforts of Henry II, of Henry III, Elizabeth, James I and the monster, Cromwell. The iniquities of the Penal Laws and other instruments whereby England sought to establish the right of conquest were referred to in more or less detail.

"England's claim to moral authority," proceeded Father Sheehy, "is repudiated by Sinn Fein utterly and irrevocably. The fount and the source of lawful authority in Ireland is, under God, the Irish people's will, and the only way in which the British Government could acquire lawful authority in Ireland is by the free consent of the Irish people. That free consent has never been given and it never will. Forced acquiescence is not free consent. Ireland has not ceased to voice her protest against the English usurpation. Six times in the past 300 years she has asserted it in arms; a few years ago she asserted it in arms once again, and the principles for which the men of Easter Week, 1916, shed their blood are the principles that have led Irishmen in every age to face death joyously for Ireland, secure in their faith that the God-given right to liberty is Ireland's - a right that was never lost, never fore-sworn, a right that is the basis of her claim today, to be recognised among the nations of the world as a sovereign and independent Republic!

Father Sheehy then proceeded at some length to show the manner in which Sinn Fein dealt with the problem of national education in Ireland. Where possible it transferred scholars from the so-called 'National' schools to those of the Christian Brothers, and it established independent schools, of which the most famous was that of St. Enda's, founded by the learned and cultured Padraic Pearse, first President of the Irish Republic, who aimed, he said, at 'making good men rather than learned men, and men truly learned rather than persons qualified to pass examinations.' Sinn Fein also considered the whole series of economic and commercial problems that faced their impoverished country. And here, said the lecturer, what a legacy of English tyranny and spoliation confronted them. He then went on to describe Ireland's high status in the commercial world and the manner in which that status had been reduced by English legislation. Sinn Fein began with the policy of protection by appealing to the individual throughout the country to support Irish manufactures, and the policy was acted on the people, with such good effect that English-made goods began to be spuriously sold as of Irish manufacture. Sinn Fein countered with the 'Made in Ireland' trademark.

Through the individual also, proceeded the lecturer, Sinn Fein pursued its policy of assuming control of the general administration of the country. Inch by inch it gained ground in the County, Urban and District Councils of Ireland, and thus became a potent influence in utilising much of the wealth of Ireland for the Irish-Ireland cause. Father Sheehy then spoke of the immediate occasions of the rising, and gave character sketches of the principal leaders. He also read excerpts from those wonderful and intensely human documents, the last letters of some of those leaders to their loved ones, and described their last hours. The big audience was plainly moved by the recital.

The lecturer concluded: "Only a fool would pretend to see the full significance of events of contemporary history. It is only retrospective, however, to say that the events of Easter Week, 1916, have done more to galvanise the spirit of the Irish nation than anything since '98. When the intellectuals of a nation turn from the flowery paths of fame to tread the way that leads to the gibbet, simply for an ideal; when women of beauty, wealth and position handle a musket shoulder to shoulder with their less favoured sisters, fighting for the same ideal; when a boy of 15, with his back to the wall, and an English pistol clicking in his ear, tells a brutal officer to 'shoot away', since he will not budge an inch; the nation that bred such a race of heroes cannot be dead, neither has the spirit of its manhood departed. Ladies and gentlemen, this is the spirit of Ireland today."

The Right Rev. Minsignor Collins, P.P. proposed a vote of thanks which was seconded by Mr. William MacGuinness and carried with enthusiasm.

15th. April, 1920. "Catholic Press," Sydney.

An Irish-Ireland concert, to commemorate Easter Week, was held in the Town Hall, Sydney, on the 12th. April, 1916, under the auspices of the Irish National Association.

After the interval, the Very Rev. Father M.J. O'Reilly, C.M., addressed the audience thus: "Brother and sister Sinn Feiners, for we are all Sinn Feiners here - (tremendous applause) - I am glad to see so splendid an assembly in honour of self-determination for Ireland. They were all watching with the deepest interest the noble struggle of the men and women of Ireland for freedom, and they were quite confident about the result. 'We are not down-hearted,' said Father O'Reilly, a statement which brought out a thunderous "No."

Irishmen who appreciate the irony of a situation were delighted to learn from that morning's papers that the Russian Soviets had resolved to decorate Clemenceau and Winston Churchill - (groans) - with the highest decoration in their power - the order of the Red Flag - for the help these statesmen had given to the consolidation of Russia. In the same spirit he would like cordially to thank Lloyd George for making every Irish man and woman worthy of the name a Sinn Feiner. If it had not been for the characteristic British perfidy of Asquith and Lloyd George, we might have had Home Rule today - and we don't want Home Rule. (Loud applause.) We want "something more exquisite still." (Laughter and applause.)

We are told by the "Pommy" press, and he called it the "Pommy" press, because it certainly is not Australian, that we should not concern ourselves with the troubles of Ireland. Well, he said, in reply, set the examples yourselves. (Applause). Day after day, the "Pommy" press was filled with lying cables and reports about Ireland, and so long as the press published lies about Ireland they would find members of the race ready to stand up and refute them. Yet these papers, like Ireland's British persecutors, had done good service to Ireland. They had made the term "rebel" a title of honour. Every Irishman worthy of his salt during the past was a "rebel." They had sought to create religious divisions in Ireland, but many of the most distinguished of these rebels, like Robert Emmet, whose immortal dying speech had been so well rendered this evening, was a Protestant.

The "Pommy" press had endeavoured to make out that Ireland was a land where murder and crime had become popular habits; but even at the present time he was sufficiently patriotic to back Sydney against Ireland for the "Murder Cup," and the betting was 6 to 4 on Sydney. Sir Charles Wade had just returned from England to sit on the Bench, and in his first sitting he had 16 capital cases listed. Quite recently it was recorded that there were 50 murders committed in England in one week, some of them of the most brutal character. But the "Pommy" press was silent about these matters. He was an Australian in spirit; but every drop of his Irish blood tingled with shame and indignation at the calumnies heaped upon Ireland in the propaganda work of the "Pommy" press.

But things were going on nicely, giving point to the expression in the recitation they had just heard:

Thou art not conquered yet, dear land!  
Thou art not conquered yet.

.....

(Note: "Pommy", an Australian slang term, meaning an immigrant from Great Britain. Derivation: Immigrant - pomegranate - "Pommy.")

.....

SINN FEIN IN AUSTRALIA.

In the last number of "The Contemporary Review" is a fine article by Professor Gilbert Murray, in which he deplores "the spirit of Satanism, the spirit of unmixed hatred towards the existing World Order" that seems to be rampant everywhere. It is "the spirit which rejoices in any wide-spread disaster to the world's rulers, which is more rife today than it has been for over a thousand years." Especially is it noticeable where the British Empire is trying to meet the new conditions of peace with a larger mind and a more vigorous will on behalf of the weaker races. "It is felt to some extent against all ordered Governments, but chiefly against all Imperial Governments; and it is directed more widely and intensely against Great Britain than against any other Power." While we feel this to be true wherever German agents are at work and where Russian propaganda is being forced - in Nearer and Further Asia, and among the Mahomedans everywhere - here in Australia we are watching its development in connection with Sinn Fein and the alleged wrongs of Ireland. This is not a matter of recent growth. While the war was raging Australia was made a battleground for this issue. Very largely the fight for conscription was used by the Sinn Feiners in our midst to make confusion of the Empire's call, and to pour contempt upon our good name within and beyond the Empire. But now that peace has been proclaimed, Ireland is still being used by the enemies of the Empire to continue a conflict ended in Europe. We have the same gospel of hatred preached in our midst. Dr. Mannix has left Australia with the plaudits of a considerable minority of the population ringing in his ears and stimulated by his evil speech. Associated with him in the last functions of farewell were the Lord Mayor of Sydney and two Ministers of the State Cabinet, and very markedly were the usual loyal toasts omitted. All this, up to a recent date, prompted such a letter as Dr. Leeper wrote to the London "Spectator" which appeared in its issue of April 3rd, and is reproduced in our columns this morning. The whole question resolves itself into hatred of Great Britain, and becomes in fact a determination to break up the Empire. It is not necessary at this point to do more than indicate the facts, because we are now concerned with something very much wider and deeper than politics or the aims of a minority in Australia to upset the existing order. Our questions begin with Professor Gilbert Murray's article, and the spirit of Satanism to which he directs attention. This desperate hatred of the existing order is what we are bound to watch and think over; because unless within ourselves, as a community, is its antidote, the well-organised forces of disunion will prove our undoing. Any minority, if sufficiently disciplined, armed, drilled, determined, and unscrupulous, can keep down a majority unready and without efficient leadership; but beyond everything is the venomous hatred which Germany first exploited, and which now is being turned upon Australia and the Empire.

It will, no doubt, be urged that this has become primarily a question in which the Church of Rome is directly concerned, not as outside and anxious, but as inside and energetic to foment strife. Has not Dr. Mannix been feeding the flames of hatred in our midst? Are not the great majority of his associates in the hierarchy and the priesthood of the Roman Catholic Church in Australia actively engaged in keeping the fires of enmity against Great Britain alight? Does not Sinn Fein stand for Ireland against the Empire in every quarter of the globe - in America no less than in Australia - and does not this mean war wherever our flag flies? These questions are crucial, we admit, but we do not propose to answer them categorically at the moment. If our politicians were asked to discuss them they would probably say that Sinn Fein alone is ~~enough~~ enough to account for all the mischief that has been done in Ireland and is being attempted in Australia. Moreover, our cablegrams show that the authorities of the Church of Rome are much perturbed about the position in Ireland. It is getting out of hand. Their own influence is being threatened, if not denied; and the Church, after all, does not believe in anarchy and confusion. Its very existence is based upon order. But leaving this phase of the subject, what is our own attitude as a community, loving order and good government, towards this gospel of strife? Are the Protestant Churches united, or are they likely to be so in the near future? The signs are good, but is action towards hearty co-operation likely to be immediately fruitful? What of industrial warfare? Are our classes ready to close up their ranks for the common welfare? Is there not as much tendency towards misunderstanding in one sphere as in the other? The argument could be extended in several directions; but the occasion calls for another note. Deep down in the heart of the community there is a feeling of comradeship and a readiness for co-operation (if the right.

if the right note is struck. It has been sounded in Canada and New Zealand, and is now being heard in Australia. Our loyalty to the Empire has been proved upon the battlefields of Europe, and as against Sinn Fein there should be nothing to say. But the Prince of Wales now comes to give us the opportunities of putting a seal upon our fealty to the Empire. We are showing in State after State what we feel, and we are proving again that a substantial majority is true to the Empire, and to the Throne upon which its marches turn. This is undoubtedly better than many words and much continued asseveration as a reply to Dr. Mannix and his associates; but it will not go very far in the event unless we meet Sinn Fein with the enthusiasm of a high purpose carried into daily life. This means leadership. It calls for a spiritual crusade taken into every walk of the country's activity; and it must be as truly felt by the Churches as by the classes - by the Church as a whole, and therefore carried into the classes. At present we are a people divided. Our leaders are watching the crowd; they are students of the cult of the jumping cat; and meanwhile the great gospel of hatred is being preached to our undoing. Surely never before was there so great a need for the preaching the gospel which the lowly Nazarene set forth in His life and died to justify; and now is Church's opportunity.

Saturday, June 19, 1920.

SINN FEIN IN AUSTRALIA.

The correspondence in the "Herald" on the subject of Sinn Fein in Australia has revealed the existence of two distinct and irreconcilable schools of opinion. One holds to certain concepts and codes of behaviour which are old-fashioned, it is true, but only in the sense that they have always appealed to the finer instincts of mankind. Loyalty is not an obsolete idea. Decency imposes certain obligations on all who choose to live under the protection of the British flag and benefit by the very spacious freedom in word and deed which it confers. It is not becoming for those who enjoy these privileges to abuse them; it is unpardonable when they take advantage of them to sow dissension in the British Empire, to aid and abet those who are avowedly hostile to Britain, to misrepresent Australian feeling, and to endeavour to antagonise Australians among themselves in a matter which is not Australia's concern. The offence is the greater in proportion to the position and influence of the offenders. Those who hold high ecclesiastical or public office have a heavier responsibility. The one should remember that the militancy of the Church was never intended by the Church's Founder to extend to the political sphere; the other that acceptance of office under the British Crown or the taking of the oath of allegiance implies, at the very least, the observance of the outward forms of allegiance. There are many of the Australian sympathisers with Sinn Fein who have utterly forgotten these self-evident facts. They, with their followers, have sought to justify themselves by various arguments, none of them in the least convincing, and many of them mutually inconsistent. They have endeavoured to carry the warfare into their critics' camp by complaining that the "sectarian issue" is being raised.

But who raised it first, and who gloried in the translation of the whole controversy into terms of sectarianism? Who began a systematic campaign of insults to the Empire and to the soldiers who helped to save it, and then when, as human patience has its limits, the latter protested, who began to whine? The privilege of receiving hard knocks in silence is apparently to be left to the Diggers; "they were 'paid' to get hurt, and many of them returned with more money than they ever had in their lives." When the other side is hit even by a dialectical weapon we hear the querulous squeal. But as a matter of fact the sectarian issue need never have been raised at all. It has been carefully avoided by writers such as Sir Charles Rosenthal, who, while they felt a legitimate resentment against the tactics of a section, were more appreciative than some of the dignitaries, spiritual and secular, of the fine loyalty by many Roman Catholics during the war, and their splendid service on many a field. The Church of which Cardinal Mercier is a member gave greatly to the success of the Allied cause, and no one would belittle or forget the services of its sons in the British Empire and among our Allies. The feeling that found expression in the recent correspondence had nothing to do with religion on the one side; it was directed simply and solely against the political activities of a certain group whose aggressive disloyalty to the British Empire, be it remembered, has been denounced by resolutions passed by co-religionists. Only through the manipulation of the apologists of this group did the controversy assume a sectarian colouring. But, after all, facts speak for themselves. It is impossible to escape the conclusion that here in Australia is a force which works steadily for mischief, which seeks ever to bring about disruption and schism, and which has lately become insolently outspoken with regard to its ambitions.

Whose was the voice that declared the war to be "a sordid trade war" on the Allies' part? Who insisted in season and out that "Australia had done enough?" Who were associated with the movement which in the Allies' darkest hour should come to terms with the enemy? What of the plot, conclusively established before a Royal Commission during the war, to send money to Ireland to help the rebels? What of the constant attempts to palliate the outrages committed by Sinn Fein in Ireland, and the statement that "even if a few policemen are shot it won't do much harm?" It is little wonder that the loyal Irish-Australians are disgusted with the conduct of some of their compatriots, and that public opinion, usually so tolerant in this country, has at length been stirred to indignation. Australia is part of the British Empire, and is proud to be a member of this great commonwealth of nations. We know that our destiny will best be fulfilled within the Empire in which the Imperial tie is compatible with the fullest and freest development of the national sentiment of each dominion. We know, too, that our security depends upon the maintenance of the Imperial connection. We honour the Australian flag, we also honour the British flag, and will not have it mocked and insulted by a noisy minority, who, while quite content to live under its protection, reserve to themselves the right

SINN FEIN IN AUSTRALIA - "Sydney Morning Herald", 19/6/1920.

right)  
of engaging in anti-British propaganda. There is no room for disloyalty in Australia, and the sooner that that is recognised by the disloyalists the better for all. There is no room for the perpetuation of old-world feuds; here we are all Australians, whatever the land of our birth. If any section or clique finds the atmosphere of goodwill to Britain unpalatable, let it remember that, after all, it is not under any compulsion to remain in Australia; there are other climes which will doubtless prove more congenial. If the malcontents cannot give expression to their opinions without offending our most cherished convictions and sowing strife in our midst let them be silent. The vast majority of Australians are "King's men," irrespective of creed or politics; they are weary of this sedulous endeavour to foment discord and prejudice the unity of the Empire.

EXPULSION

of

Mr. HUGH MAHON, M.P.

from

THE FEDERAL PARLIAMENT.

(1920)

Mr. HUGH MAHON.

Member of the House of Representatives.

Federal Parliament of Australia.

(Mr. Hugh Mahon represented the constituency of Kalgoorlie (Western Australia) in the Federal Parliament for about twenty years. In former Labour Administrations he had been Postmaster-General, Minister for External Affairs and Acting-Attorney General.

He had been in Kilmainham Gaol, under the "Buckshot Forster" regime about ~~twenty~~ thirty-nine years previously.)

11th. November, 1920. "Catholic Press."

On Sunday, the 7th. November, more than ten thousand people were present at a huge public meeting held under the auspices of the Irish-Ireland League of Victoria, at the Richmond Reserve. The meeting was presided over by Mr. Hugh Mahon, M.H.R., President of the League. On the platform were Messrs. Frank Tudor M.H.R., Parker Maloney, M.H.R., Frank Brennan, M.H.R., M. Considine, M.H.R., Cunningham, M.H.R., G. Prendergast, M.L.A. (Leader of the State Labour Party) and J.L. Murphy, M.L.A.

Mr. Mahon said the meeting had been convened to express sympathy with the relatives of the late murdered Lord Mayor of Cork, who would live in Irish history with Emmet and Wolfe Tone. . . .

There was one absentee who could not be replaced that day - his Grace the Archbishop of Melbourne. He knew the mention of the Archbishop's name would be received with cheers. The outrage committed upon the Archbishop ~~and his~~ English authorities would never be forgotten by the Irish people of Australia. It was one of the most damnable outrages ever committed upon a free man in an alleged free country. The very hypocrites who pleaded with young men to go to the war and who told them of the terrible sufferings of Cardinal Mercier in Belgium were the brazen hypocrites today who had virtually gaoled the Archbishop of Melbourne and refused him the right of entering his own native land and paying a visit of affection to his venerable mother. Whatever the Germans did in Belgium was committed during the war, but it should be remembered that the gang of English hypocrites was ruling Ireland and committing awful atrocities when the world was supposed to be enjoying peace. What the English authorities had done to the Archbishop of Melbourne was an infinitely greater outrage than the Germans had done to the Cardinal Archbishop of Belgium. The Germans had the excuse that the war was raging at the time, but the English authorities could find no excuse for their unjustified action. It was these people who had the impudence and audacity to reproach young Irishmen and Irish Catholics for not sacrificing themselves to uphold rule of the kind. He was sure they felt, as he did, the utmost indignation against the gang that gaoled the Archbishop. This feeling of indignation should be handed down to their children.

They had next to express sympathy with the widow and family of the late Lord Mayor of Cork, who was irreproachable in his domestic and private life and had been elected to the highest public offices. What sort of a Government that placed in a felon's cell a man of such attainments and intellectual gifts? Alderman MacSwiney was a true patriot and he gave his life for his country.

Never in Russia under the worst rule of the damnable Czars was a crime of more infamous character committed than the action of the English Government in subjecting to a lingering ~~and~~ painful death such a noble man and true patriot as Ald. MacSwiney. They read in the papers that his poor widow sobbed over his coffin, and, as there is a just God in heaven, that sob would reach round the world, and, growing in volume, would one day shake the foundations of this blood and accursed despotism.

He was reproached the other day that the police were being shot in the back in Ireland. If they were shot in the back, it must be because they were running away. But there were no police in Ireland. They were spies, informers and bloody cut-throats. It was satisfactory to know that the rotten English Government could not get uniformed soldiers to do their dirty work in Ireland, but had sent across the seas the scourgings of the English cities - the Black and Tans. Many of these undesirables were gaol-birds. Some of these thugs, the murderers of innocent men, women and children, have been sent to their account. Their souls, if they had souls, are probably in hell, which made it fitting that their carcasses should go to where they came from. I would not have the sweet pastures of holy Ireland poisoned by their carrion clay. . . .

(The following.

The following resolutions were carried at the meeting:-

"That this meeting expresses and extends its profound sympathy to the relatives of the late Lord Mayor of Cork who was brutally done to death by the Lloyd George Government; and assures them that his prolonged martyrdom, which has kindled the indignation of the whole civilised world, will assuredly hasten recognition by the nations of the Irish Republic to which Alderman MacSwiney devoted his noble life.

"That this meeting earnestly invites the attention of free Australia to the complete destruction of civic liberty in Ireland by the action of an English Government; it denies the right of England to impose her will upon the Irish people in view of the fact that Ireland by an overwhelming majority approved of the establishment of an Irish republic; and it condemns the saturnalia of murder, arson, plunder and destruction indulged in by the foreign army of occupation, with the clear connivance and approval of the English Government.

"That this mass meeting of Australian citizens, in view of the policy of oppression and tyranny pursued by the English Government in Ireland which has brought eternal disgrace upon the whole British Empire, of which Australia forms part, pledges its support to any movement for the establishment of an Australian republic."

13th. November, 1920. "Sydney Morning Herald."

EXPELLED

Mr. MAHON M.P.

Kalgoorlie Seat

Declared Vacant.

After an all-night sitting the House of Representatives early this morning agreed to the motion which had been moved by the Prime Minister, Mr. Hughes, expelling the Member for Kalgoorlie, Mr. Mahon, from the House for having "by reason of seditious and disloyal utterances been guilty of conduct unfitting him to remain a member of this House."

(The voting was 34 to 17).

18th. November, 1920. "Catholic Press."

In the course of an interview with a representative of the "Catholic Press," Mr. Mahon said: "No regret or sympathy need be wasted over my exclusion from the present Parliament. If anyone thinks that I regard it as an indignity & they quite misunderstand my feelings. The indignity attaches to the garroter not to the victim."

1921.

## The Treaty.

8th. December, 1921. "Catholic Press," Sydney. Editorials.

### Ireland a Free State.

#### Peace at Last.

There was intense feeling of relief throughout the civilised world yesterday when it was announced that a Treaty had been agreed upon between Ireland and England. As we write, the terms have not been made public; but we have no manner of doubt that Ireland has at last secured her independence. The news of the agreement came to the public as a surprise, for, on the previous day, we were told that the conference had broken down.

15th. December, 1921. "Catholic Press."

### The Treaty

#### Will Ireland Accept It?

As we go to press it is difficult to form an opinion on the proposed Treaty between England and Ireland. Dail Eireann met yesterday and the result should be known today. Whatever Dail Eireann decides on the Irish the world over will loyally support. If they decide to reject the Treaty well and good. We shall be with them. If they accept it they will do so without putting any boundary to the progress of the nation, and we shall rejoice with them. It is for Ireland to determine. And so far the voice of Ireland is not known.

It is significant that England has received the bulk of the congratulations. The Treaty is regarded as an English victory. That fact alone is enough to make the Irish suspicious. The Treaty if accepted by Ireland means for England peace with the world. It may mean, too, an Anglo-American Alliance which would spell security and prosperity for England. It would go far towards restoring England's good name among civilised peoples. England in exchange for these favours could afford to be generous to Ireland. No one who reads the Treaty carefully can say that she has been. She has not given Ireland even a full measure of justice. There is no mention of reparation for the wrongs done since the Union and for the ruthless destruction of cities, towns, villages and homesteads of Ireland during the past five years. Ireland is to be asked to pay her share of England's national debt, in the incurring of which Ireland had no responsibility or benefit. And there is no mention of a refund of the £300,000,000 of overtaxation since the Union.

It is provided, too, that a representative of the Crown shall be appointed to Ireland in like manner to the Governor-General of Canada and Australia. Now in Canada and Australia no objection can in reason be raised to the presence of the Governor-General. It is true that under the Constitution he has tremendous powers; but as a matter of fact these powers are never exercised, and he is satisfied to be a social ornament or a mere figurehead. No Act can become law until it has the vice-regal assent, but England gives the King's representative to understand that he must bow to the wishes of his advisers. In fact, Australia and Canada are free states. But is Ireland as likely to be as free? There is every reason to doubt that if the Irish Parliament passes Bills that are thought to affect English interests, which are so contiguous, the Royal assent may be withheld. The Governor-General will be within speaking distance of Downing-street, and Ireland has sufficient experience of England to fear the worst. The presence of the Governor-General, therefore, may be taken to endanger Irish independence.

Ireland also is asked to pay compensation to judges, officials, police and other English servants discharged or retired in consequence of the change of Government. No price, perhaps, should be considered too great to get rid of the English garrison; but as these officials are doing England's work, it would have been a gracious act on England's part if she took the burden of the compensation on her own shoulders. As for the arrangement with North-East Ulster, it is difficult to understand the clauses of the Treaty. We presume, at any rate, that if the Northern statelings is to last, it must be reduced to four counties, for two of the six counties are Sinn Fein. ....

While awaiting the decision of Dail Eireann, we, therefore, hope for the best, understanding that while England has good reason to rejoice over the settlement, Irish rejoicings are somewhat mixed, if not premature or impossible.

15th. December, 1921. "The Freeman's Journal," Sydney - Editorials.

The Irish Treaty.

If Dail Eireann Ratifies It.

If Dail Eireann ratifies the Treaty which was arranged by the representatives of the Irish Cabinet and Mr. Lloyd George the world will rejoice as greatly as it did when the signing of the armistice brought the end of the Great War in sight. But should the unexpected happen and a majority in Ireland seek better terms, it is not for the overseas friends of Ireland to quarrel with such a decision. Self-determination can mean only one thing - the right of a nation to the precise form of government the majority of that nation desire - and it is for Ireland and not for us to decide whether it will follow the policy of Arthur Griffith or Eamon de Valera.

22nd. December, 1921. "The Freeman's Journal." - Editorial.

The Empire's Christmas Box.

An Irish Settlement.

An Irish settlement would add considerably to the happiness of the Empire at Christmas time and the cables of the last few days have given some reason for optimism. But, unfortunately it is quite apparent we have been receiving only one side of the story. There is a strong flavour of Downing-street propaganda in everything we have read and we might be pardoned for suspecting that Mr. Lloyd George believes he has scored a diplomatic victory and that he is creating an "atmosphere" which will make it very hard for Dail Eireann to consider the treaty with an open mind. The political astuteness of Mr. Lloyd George has never been questioned. Therefore, when we find him "rushing" the Irish agreement through the Lords and Commons we can conclude that England's interests are well safe-guarded.

29th. December, 1921. "The Catholic Press." - Editorial.

Lest We Forget.

The Martyrdom of Ireland.

Although there is world-wide gladness today over the peace in Ireland, the memories of the English Terror are so fresh in the minds of the Irish people that from Ireland itself we hear little news of rejoicing. The concessions gained from England were won at an immense sacrifice, and the only question in the minds of the people is whether the Treaty is worthy of those who gave their lives for Ireland. A time comes in the life of a nation, as in that of an individual, where all material considerations, and even life itself, fade into insignificance in the presence of a noble ideal. That is the state of Ireland today. Her people, men, women and children, have been tested by fire and they have come through the ordeal with renewed strength. They have seen their sons and daughters shot and their towns and rural homes and factories ruthlessly destroyed, and yet they have not wavered for an instant. And while the enemy is rejoicing over peace, they are wondering in silence if they have received the full reward of their victory.

THE IRISH SELF-DETERMINATION LEAGUE

OF AUSTRALASIA.

(1921).

The Irish Self-determination League  
of Australasia.

The League was established in Sydney by Miss Kathryn Hughes, of Alberta, Canada.

Its aim was: To secure organised support for the right of the people of Ireland to choose freely, without coercion or dictation from outside, their own Governmental Institutions and their political relationship with other States and peoples.

18th. February, 1921. Provisionally formed in Sydney.

President: Mr. Neal Collins;  
Secretary: Mr. Jas.F. Donovan;  
Organiser: Mr. D. Nilon.

26th. February, 1921. Formally launched in Sydney Town Hall.

4th. October, 1921. State Convention met in Sydney.

In New South Wales, 119 branches were formed. In Victoria more than 200 meetings were held.

DEPORTATION

o f

MR. OSMOND THOMAS GRATTAN ESMONDE.

( 1 9 2 1 )

MR. OSMOND ESMONDE.

12th. January, 1921. "Sydney Morning Herald."

Mr. Osmond Thomas Grattan Esmonde who was a passenger by the R.M.S. "Makura", which arrived from Vancouver yesterday, is at present detained on the vessel, having been refused permission to land by the Customs authorities.

The reason for the detention has not yet been publicly stated, but it is understood that the Customs authorities believe that he is here on a diplomatic mission associated with the republican movement in Ireland. . . .

When seen on the "Makura" last evening (presumably reporter's interview), he said:- "I am not on a diplomatic mission at all. It has been reported to me that one or two passengers accused me of insulting the King. The Customs officials accused me of being an official representative of the Irish Republic. That accusation was made when the boat arrived at Watson's Bay (Sydney). I have neither affirmed nor denied it. They want me to sign a document. If I sign it I will be deported and if I don't sign it I won't be allowed to land. This is the position as I understand it, and I am writing for official confirmation as to whether this is their attitude or not.

I am taking legal proceedings so I do not wish to say much without consulting my solicitor. I think I may inform you, however, that I am here in connection with Irish affairs."

13th. January, 1921. "Sydney Morning Herald."

Mr. R.D. Meagher, legal representative of Mr. Esmonde, states that Mr. Esmonde desires the following message to go out to the public:

"I am a natural-born British subject, travelling on British passports, properly vised and authenticated, and in these circumstances I refuse to submit to the indignity of being required to take the oath of allegiance as a condition precedent to landing at any port in the Empire.

"I hold a passport from Lord Kedleston, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and on this passport I have travelled through the United States and Canada and the Canadian Government have vised the passport to travel to Australia.

"My brother made the supreme sacrifice at the battle of Jutland in 1916, and in the previous year I offered myself for enlistment in the Northumberland Fusilliers but was rejected as medically unfit.

"I, therefore, prefer not to land in a country which places a law upon its Statute Book imposing such humiliating conditions me as a British subject."

14th. January, 1921. "Sydney Morning Herald."

On this day the "Sydney Morning Herald" published a "photograph of visiting card said to have been obtained from a fellow-passenger of Mr. Esmonde."

OSMOND GRATTAN ESMONDE

Irish Diplomatic Mission.

15th. January, 1921. "Sydney Morning Herald."

Up to this afternoon, the Minister for Home and Territories, Mr. Poynton, had not heard of any further development in the case of Osmond T.G. Esmonde, who had been refused permission to land from the steamer "Makura" in Sydney, because he declined to take the oath of allegiance. "If he likes to take the oath," said the Minister, "he can land. If he does not he must stay where he is."

3rd. February, 1921. "Catholic Press," Sydney.

Extraordinary scenes of enthusiasm were witnessed on Thursday evening last (27th. January, 1921), when hundreds of the Australian friends and sympathisers of Mr. Grattan Esmonde paid a visit to the "Makura" as she lay at anchor in Rose Bay (Sydney). A large and commodious ferry-boat, the "Lady Rawson," had been specially chartered by the Irish National Association for the occasion. . . .

The ferry-boat was manoeuvred right alongside the huge liner, so that Mr. Esmonde was able to address the passengers on the ferry. He said he knew perfectly well that the Australian community had no voice in preventing him from visiting this country. His exclusion from Australia was the work of a few foolish busy-bodies whom accident had placed in power. . . . Their action would be noted with intense amusement in America, in Canada and even in England, where he was free to come and go where he liked. . . . But his trip had achieved a greater success than he had hoped for, because it brought home to the people the reckless lengths to which jingo tyranny will go to maintain its

(ascendancy. . . .

ascendancy. . . .

Australians could do much to help the cause of Ireland. Let them keep cool, continue to educate the public in Ireland's great cause and counter the deadly work of the imperialistic press organisation, which was spending millions in lying propaganda. The Irish people and the Irish race abroad solidly united. They had public opinion with them in America, Canada, France and Italy and he hoped also in Australia. The feeling of horror at the atrocities committed in Ireland with the tacit approval of the British Government was growing in intensity and would, as sure as the sun rises in the east, obtain the right of self-determination for Ireland.

The leaders of the Irish people were great men. Eamon de Valera (loud and prolonged cheering) was a great organiser, a cool, calm man who would never be diverted from his great objective. With him were able, loyal lieutenants, whose names would shine for ever in the golden roll of history.

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(Note: Mr. Esmonde left Sydney by the "Makura" on 3rd. March, 1921, the vessel having been delayed by a maritime strike. Mr. Esmonde was under guard whilst on board).

1923.

26th. April, 1923. "Catholic Press," Sydney.

In the course of an address, Archbishop Mannix said:-

"To support the London treaty was to haul down the Irish flag, and I thought, and think, that that was not for me, but the the Irish people to do, if it had to be done.

"I offered no advice to the Irish people as to the acceptance or rejection of the Treaty. They know, or should know, what acceptance or rejection meant, and I left the responsibility to them, who were to be the chief gainers or sufferers."

DEPORTATION

of

REV. FR. M. O'FLANNAGAN

and

MR. J. J. O'KELLY.

(1923)

13th. March, 1923. Arrived in Sydney and proceeded to Victoria.

20th. April, 1923. Returned to Sydney.

21st. April, 1923. Meeting of protest was held in Sydney Town Hall under the auspices of the Loyal Orange Lodges.

22nd. April, 1923. Fr. O'Flanagan and Mr. O'Kelly addressed an overflow meeting in the Hippodrome, Sydney. Rt. Rev. Monsignor Collins, P.P., presided.

30th. April, 1923. Fr. O'Flanagan and Mr. O'Kelly, as well as Mr. John Leo Francis Clancy, were arrested at Waverley, Sydney, when about to address a meeting from a private front lawn. Released on sureties given by Miss Amy Ryan and Mr. Christopher Boland (members of the Irish National Association) and Mr. John Sheehy.

1st. May, 1923. Appeared at Central Court, Sydney, on the following charge:  
"That on the 22nd. day of April, 1923, and on divers other days thereafter at Sydney in the State of New South Wales in the Commonwealth of Australia, they did unlawfully engage in a seditious enterprise, that is to say, an enterprise undertaken in order to carry out a seditious intention of exciting ~~seditious~~ disaffection against the Government of that part of the King's Dominion called Ireland, contrary to the Commonwealth statute made and provided."

13th. May, 1923. A huge meeting of protest was held in The Domain, Sydney. Various other meetings were held about the same time.

5th. June, 1923. At the Conference of the Australian Labour Party held on this date the following resolution was carried unanimously:-

"That this Conference, recalling the struggles and sacrifices of the Labour movement in the past, condemns the act of the authorities regarding the Irish envoys and declares that the contemplated deportation of these men constitutes a grave menace to the liberty of the Australian workers and a gross violation of British justice and that Messrs, Charlton and Dunn and Senator Gardner be deputed to lay the resolution before the proper authorities, also that the matter be referred to the Labour Council of New South Wales for its full co-operation."

7th. June, 1923. "Freeman's Journal," Sydney. (A weekly Catholic journal). (Editorial).

Father O'Flanagan and Mr. J.J. O'Kelly have been discouraged in well-informed circles in Australia because it is understood that, no matter the academic attractiveness of the Republican ideal, over ninety per cent of the Irish people really want the Free State to function freely, are satisfied with the Treaty, and believe that once de Valera is put in his place Ireland will be on the high road to the greatest prosperity and fullest nationhood the most ardent patriot could desire. . . . It is doubtful if ~~Mr. de Valera~~ Mr. de Valera has two percent of responsible Ireland behind him. His so-called war against the Free State has been unfortunate from the beginning, for the one reason - that Irish sentiment was satisfied by the Treaty no matter what its imperfections may be. The fact that Mr. de Valera is the toast in Ulster - yes, success to de Valera is, we are assured, seriously drunk by the Orangemen - gives some idea of the demoralising influence of a movement that can achieve nothing but the perpetuation of a hopeless and cruel war. It would be strange indeed if ~~the~~ patriotism of Ireland is centred in a gentleman who is condemned by the Irish Hierarchy and adored by the bitterest enemies of Irish unity.

Archbishop Duhig and the Queensland Catholic clergy refused to co-operate with the mission of Fr. O'Flanagan and Mr. O'Kelly.

Both of them were deported from Australia.

IRISH DELEGATION.

There seems to be something in the atmosphere of Ireland which distorts the perspective of a section of the people. Things are said and done there which would be simply incredible in any <sup>other</sup> part of the world. The most sordid and revolting crimes are committed, forsooth, in the sacred name of liberty; black treachery is invested with all the attributes of a crusade. Nowhere else, surely, would gunmen, dynamiters, incendiarists, and saboteurs, drawing their pay from their country's deadliest enemies, posture as martyrs and saviours of that country. Nowhere else would rebels against the duly-constituted Government of the land have the effrontery to despatch emissaries to sister dominions with the object of organising opinion against that Government. The calm impertinence of the proceeding almost takes the breath away. If during De Wet's short-lived rebellion in South Africa he had sent agents to Australia to conduct a campaign of propaganda against Botha and Britain indiscriminately we should have thought, to put it very mildly, that they displayed but little tact, and we should have given them a decidedly cool reception. But the Republican "envoys" and the audiences who lend an attentive ear to their lucubrations in Melbourne are surprised and hurt at the storm of protest which their unwelcome activities have aroused. These two gentlemen, one of whom, by the way, is a priest, have recently visited America in the interests of the Republicans. But there their appeals seem to have fallen rather flat. The Americans refused to become excited over the alleged grievances of the Republicans. Their attitude was that since Ireland has acquired the status of a dominion, a status that confers, in effect, all the rights and privileges of independence without the corresponding burdens, she has no further ground for complaint. Disappointed at the extremely luke-warm response of America, the delegates have come to Australia, hoping for better luck, and presumably remembering the unsuccessful efforts made by a local organisation during the war to send money to the Irish insurgents. That Dr. Mannix should take them under his wing was only to be expected. In introducing them to a gathering in Melbourne on St. Patrick's Day, he said that their mission was one of peace and enlightenment. But the Doctor was speaking with his tongue in his cheek. How can their mission be one of peace when its aim is to stir up disaffection in the British Commonwealth of Nations, and to extend and perpetuate the discord which alllicts Ireland? How can it be one of enlightenment when we are to be treated to a repetition of the same old calumnies and untruths which constitute Republican propaganda?

And what does this previous "enlightenment" contained in the public utterances of Father O'Flanagan and Mr. O'Kelly amount to, after all? We were to hear the other side: What have we heard? We are told that at this time of day no one pays any regard to majorities. Certainly this is news to Australians, who are still old-fashioned enough to consider that the will of the majority should prevail. But the envoys are not even consistent in their undemocratic faith, because, next, we are told that if the Irish were permitted to give free expression to their desires tomorrow an overwhelming majority would vote for a republic. Even if this were so the anti-Republican minority would on the Republicans' own showing be justified in endeavouring to impose their policy on the majority by force of arms. But what warrant is there for the assertion? None. Less than a year ago a general election was held in circumstances which favoured the Republicans. Yet the overwhelming majority supported the Treaty. Again, we are regaled with the familiar fiction that the Treaty was signed under duress. To this allegation the late Michael Collins has repeatedly given the lie direct. No pressure, he affirmed, was brought to bear upon the Irish plenipotentiaries. They acted upon the dictates of their conscience and judgment. But wite the most illuminating information in the "enlightenment" was Father O'Flanagan's statement that Britain had exempted the north-eastern counties from the Free State in order to use them as a base for a general attack upon Ireland. The speaker insults the intelligence of Australians if he really expects them to take this sort of thing seriously. We hardly need Mr. Cosgrave's warning to make us discount the envoys "revelations." We doubt whether for all their eloquence they will gain many converts in Australia; the cheers that greet their distribes against Britain and the Free State Government come from the few who were already convinced. Indeed, hitherto the principal achievement of the mission has been to consolidate opinion against Irish Republicanism and all its works. Many who are compatriots of our visitors and co-religionists have come forward to repudiate their sentiments. They have insisted that the audiences who acclaimed the envoys do not represent the views of Irish-Australians as a whole. With Father O'Flanagan on the one

(side.

side and on the other Cardinal Logue, with the entire Irish hierarchy and nineteen out of twenty Roman Catholic archbishops and bishops of Australia, the choice was not difficult to make. Out of evil sometimes cometh good, and by eliciting such an emphatic declaration, the visit of the Republican mission has served at least one useful purpose.

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MY MISSION FOR THE REPUBLIC.

By Rev. M. O'Flannagan.

I left Ireland in October, 1921, six weeks before the Free State Instrument was signed in London. There was a truce at the time between the Irish Republic and the British Imperial Government. Negotiations for peace were in progress. The five delegates of the Irish Republic, with Arthur Griffith at their head, were in London, conferring almost daily with Lloyd George and the other members of the British Delegation.

President de Valera conveyed to me the unanimous request of his Cabinet that I proceed to the United States of America to address public meetings on behalf of the Irish Republic.

One of the most important questions in dispute in London at the time was that of Irish citizenship. The Government of the Irish Republic claimed that I was a citizen of the Irish Republic, and I, of course, agreed with that claim. The British Imperial Government would have me willy-nilly for a British subject.

From my own Government I procured a Republican passport. Inasmuch as the Irish Republic had not been formally recognised in America, it would be necessary, under international law, for the United States Government to treat me as a British subject. Therefore, my Government, through its liaison office, asked the British Government for a British passport for me. As an instance of how anxious the British Government were to accommodate us in minor matters at the time, I may mention that the passport was brought to me in person at my hotel in Dublin by the Under-Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant, the head official of the entire British Governmental Establishment in Ireland.

President Cosgrave of the Irish Free State, was a member of the Irish Republican Cabinet that unanimously requested me to go to America. So were Arthur Griffith and Michael Collins. Mr. Cosgrave had many opportunities of knowing at close range what kind of a man I was for over four years at the time. I wonder why he now professes - or should I say pretends? - to regard me as an utterly reliable person.

Before leaving Ireland I said to President de Valera:- "You are asking me to go to America to speak upon an Irish Republican platform. I'm afraid that while I am in America Michael Collins and Arthur Griffith will pull that platform from under my feet." I said the same thing to Cathal Brugha, the most trusted friend I had in the Cabinet. Both of them assured me that there was no danger, because the delegates had no authority to sign anything without first submitting it to the Cabinet and getting its approval.

Five weeks after my arrival in America my fears were realised. Collins and Griffith not merely signed without the consent of the Cabinet, but supported and indeed urged on and finally, directed by the British Imperial Government, they split the Cabinet, the Dail and the country in their mad effort to hack their way through to success.

I spent the whole of the year 1922 in the United States, addressing meetings organised by Irish Republican societies there. Towards the end of the year I was joined by Mr. J.J. O'Kelly and Mr. Joseph O'Doherty, both Republican members of Dail Eireann. My original commission was still in force. While Arthur Griffith was president of the Irish Republic, from January till August, 1922, neither he nor any member of his Government ever sent me any communication or asked me in any way to desist from my activities. I was still doing the work which I was commissioned to do by the Cabinet of a united Dail.

At the time of the general election last June it became clear to the English Cabinet and their supporters in Ireland that they were unable to establish the Free State Government by constitutional means. Then they started to establish a Mussolini Free State by force of arms. Michael Collins dropped the pretence that he was keeping the Irish Republic in existence until the vote of the people decided to abolish it. Within two months Arthur Griffith died and Collins was killed in a skirmish.

In February Mr. O'Kelly wired to me to join him in New York and when I arrived he showed me a letter from President de Valera, asking him to go to Australia and to invite me to accompany him.

We arrived in Sydney on March 13th, and proceeded at once to Melbourne. We addressed

addressed public meetings in Victoria for a period of five weeks. Orange Lodges and kindred societies held meetings and passed resolutions, protesting against our presence in Australia and demanding that we be deported. Neither the State Government of Victoria nor the Commonwealth Government took any action. Mr. Bruce was reported in the public press as having said that we had violated no law of the Commonwealth.

On 20th April we arrived in Sydney. Next evening a small meeting of protest was held in the Town Hall. Inflammatory sectarian speeches were made against our mission. Both Mr. O'Kelly and myself were present for a time at the meeting. We did not imagine that any Government would take any notice of the ranting we heard there that night. For eight days we spoke to large audiences in Sydney.

On April 30th we were arrested by the New South Wales State authorities on a charge of sedition. Next day we were brought up before a police magistrate. Both sides agreed to a remand of a fortnight, and we were allowed bail.

A few days afterwards I was served with a notice to appear before a board appointed by the Minister for Home and Territories to the Commonwealth Government to show cause why I should not be deported.

A similar notice was served on Mr. O'Kelly in the State Police Court when he appeared there to answer bail.

When the State case for sedition was called the representatives of the Crown asked for a remand on the ground that the Commonwealth case was pending. Our counsel objected. A remand of three weeks was granted in spite of our objection. At the end of the three weeks we were met by another application from the Crown for a further remand on the same plea that the Commonwealth case was still pending. Again we objected. Again a remand of three weeks was granted in spite of our objection. Mr. O'Kelly was so filled with just indignation that he refused to give bail and went to gaol as a protest.

At the end of the third period of remand, eight weeks after our arrest on a charge of sedition, we were brought up for the fourth time in the police court. Again the Crown representatives asked for a further remand of a week. The magistrate at last grew ashamed and refused to grant it. After some dispute he granted a remand of two hours. The magistrate went through the empty formality of allowing us out on our own recognisances without bail.

Before we could leave the courthouse we were served with deportation orders and taken into custody on the authority of the Commonwealth by the very same policeman who had arrested us eight weeks before by the authority of the State. The deportation orders were then a fortnight old.

At the end of the two hours we were brought into court again for the final act in the carefully planned, but very unconvincing, little play. Again the Crown pleaded for the week's remand. At the end of eight weeks the evidence was not ready.

It had been repeatedly stated that the evidence was to be the same before the court and before the board. It had already been rehearsed three weeks ago, and Messrs. Macfarlane, Manning and Stinson had recommended our deportation on the strength of it. The Minister had acted upon it. Our deportation orders were signed on June 12th, yet the Crown Solicitor pretended that he was not ready to produce it. Then the magistrate played his little part. He refused to grant the remand and dismissed the case.

There are only two possible explanations, neither of which is creditable to the Government of New South Wales or to that of the Commonwealth. Either the State case by which we were put to the humiliation, trouble and cost of appearing four times in a police court was a deliberate pretence from the beginning, or else the evidence which was considered by three men of the type of Messrs. Macfarlane, Manning and Stinson good enough to deport us, was not considered by the law office of the Crown good enough to produce at a preliminary hearing in a police court.

Meantime we were investigated before the Commonwealth deportation board. Here the principal evidence produced against us was a pamphlet, "Ireland Fights On - Why?" What was the nature and origin of this pamphlet? It was a compendium of a speech delivered by me in San Francisco in September, 1922, three months before the Bill constituting the Irish Free State was enacted into law. Apparently I was engaged in the task of overthrowing an established Government not merely before it was established, but even before it was enacted. And I am to be punished for doing so by the friends and admirers of Sir Edward Carson, the famous author of hypothetical rebellion. The pamphlet was printed in Australia without my knowledge and before my arrival in this country. Yet this pamphlet was admittedly the principal evidence, not merely against me, but against Mr. O'Kelly, who was in Ireland when the San Francisco speech was delivered.

The other evidence consisted of reports made by police shorthand writers of our speeches delivered in Sydney. It is notorious that such reports are liable to be full of errors. There were 118 typewritten foolscap pages of these reports. When I asked for two or three days to study these reports and to procure witnesses that would correct their misquotations, a member of the board blurted out that two or three hours was the most I could be allowed. Finally they gave me a day.

The Crown.

The Crown could get remand after remand for eight weeks from a court of law to prepare a case against me. After eight weeks they were still unprepared and the case fell through. When I asked a mere board for two or three days to prepare a reply to the same case I got one day. When I declared myself unable to go on, I was ordered to be deported, and here I am in gaol, while the Commonwealth is searching under difficulties for some shipping company that is willing to risk the odium of taking me away.

Mr. O'Kelly and I addressed over twenty public meetings in Victoria before we came to Sydney. We made ten speeches each in Queensland after the Federal proceedings for deportation had commenced. We concluded our tour with two meetings in Newcastle three days before the final sittings of the board at which the evidence was first presented. We certainly spoke as strongly in favour of the Irish Republic in these places as we did in Sydney. They are all equally within Sydney within the jurisdiction of the Commonwealth Government. Yet not a word spoken outside of Sydney was ever used against us or even referred to at the trial. Does not that prove that while we were apparently dealing with the Commonwealth Government, we were really dealing with a group in Sydney that is able to brow-beat the Commonwealth into action.

No better object lesson could be given to the Australian public of how makers and administrators of law bring themselves and their law into contempt. The Prime Minister of Australia in consultation with his law officers examines our speeches and decides that we have broken no law of the Commonwealth. The law authorities of the State of Victoria come to the same conclusion. Then we come to the State of New South Wales, where the people at the last election allowed themselves to be saddled with a gang of politicians returned on a wave of sectarian bigotry. As Mr. Ness has publicly boasted, he cracked the Orange whip, and Acting-Premier Oakes promptly came to heel.

The latter caused us to be arrested on a charge of breaking not a law of New South Wales, but, if you please, a law of the Commonwealth. We were charged with sedition. Our rooms were raided in the hope of getting some evidence against us. They got two diaries of mine, giving intimate details of my daily movements and even of my thoughts from January, 1922, till I left Victoria late in April, 1923. They could not find a single sentence in these diaries that they could produce. Yet they have out of pure spite held on illegally to these diaries down to the present moment.

Although they knew from the start that they had no case against us, they kept up the wicked farce of asking for remand after remand, until that pretence was worn threadbare, giving them a sorry exit from their difficulties by assuming righteous indignation, refusing to grant a further remand and dismissing the case. They needed no further remands. For in the meantime they had intimidated the weak and vacillating Commonwealth Premier to move a convenient made-to-order Commonwealth machine against us.

If these things be done in the green wood of British Imperialism in Australia, what must be done in the dry wood of British Imperialism in Ireland? Our treatment here will do more to teach the Australian public the truth about Ireland than if we were permitted to talk unmolested for years. It was the excesses and enormities that grew out of the degradation of law to the position of a mere tool of sectarian animosity that finally roused the red blooded manhood of Ireland till they rose in their might and burned British court houses and British police barracks, and wiped ~~the~~ from the face of the land the pollution of British hypocrisy and British "law."

Let us hope that Australia will do by Peaceful means what Ireland at the cost of so much suffering was compelled to undertake by violence.

M. O'FLANAGAN.

1925 .

19th. February, 1925. "Catholic Press."

There were scenes of unrivalled enthusiasm in the Sydney Town Hall on Monday night (16th. February, 1925) when Miss Kathleen Barry and Miss Linda Kearns, the delegates of the Irish Relief Mission, opened, in the presence of a huge gathering, their campaign for the raising of funds to ameliorate the distress and desolation that have come upon Ireland in the recent period of civil conflict and, more recently, owing to the failure of the harvest and the ruining of the turf by rain. . . .

His Grace, the Most Rev. Dr. M. Sheehan, presided.

(Present also were the Lord Mayor, Ald. P.V. Stokes and several members of Parliament).

(In the course of her address, Miss Kathleen Barry said):

"We make no excuse for appealing for the Republican prisoners and their women and children, because they gave all they had for the love of Ireland, and now they want in exchange just a little to stay in Ireland. During the two years after the outbreak of civil war in June, 1922 - and I would remind you that the Republic was not the side that started it, for, since the cease-fire sounded in April, 1923, no shot has been fired by the Republican Army - 15,000 men were taken from their homes and their work and put in gaol. . . ."

(Miss Linda Kearns also addressed the meeting. It has not been possible to ascertain the amount collected by these ladies in Australia, but it is known to have been a considerable sum).

173, Botanic Road,  
Glasnevin, Dublin,  
May 24, 1930.

Miss Bertha Harrison,  
Gen. Sec., I.N.A.A.,  
630a George St., Sydney.

Dear Miss Harrison,

During my absence from the office through a fit of illness that confined me to bed since Easter, a letter came there from you, with a draft of £200, and an intimation that you were writing me by the same mail. That letter has not since been delivered, and as our old friend, the enemy, has been very active - raiding my home twice since Easter - it is just conceivable that the letter has been confiscated in the mail. The draft has just been ~~arranged~~ dealt with as you directed; but I am at a loss to know whether the letter which has failed to reach me contained any suggestions as to how ye wish the money administered.

I feel confident it is the wish of the Association, which has always been so generous, that I should use it in the interest of the Government of the Republic and the bodies that continue to support it loyally according to the urgency of their respective needs. One of the matters in which we have been badly handicapped is publicity, and I should like to be free to use some of it in that direction. Pending receipt of your new letter of advice - in the event of the other having miscarried - I feel ye will not object to my using my own judgment as to the purposes to which it might most appropriately be applied. Meanwhile, speaking for myself and my colleagues and comrades, I wish to express our heartfelt gratitude for this renewed evidence of your adherence to the Republic and your appreciation of those who have remained faithfully to it and are determined to remain faithful unto death.

With warm personal regards to the Sydney friends whose steadfast kindness I can never forget and the best of good wishes for your signal success in all your undertakings.

Yours very faithfully,

(sd) J.J. O'KELLY.

P.S. I am sending this under cover, for greater safety, to Mr. O'Brien, who will give you such news as I have been able briefly to convey to him. For greater safety also, it may be well to address your next letter to me in duplicate, sending one, under cover, to

Mr. L. Paul,  
45, Pembroke Road, Dublin,

and the other, under cover also, to

Mr. D.K. O'Sullivan,  
89 Emmet Road,  
Inchicore, Dublin.

You are to address the inside smaller envelopes sealed to me, and the outside envelopes as directed above, without any external indication as to where they have come from or for whom intended.

Monday, May 26, 1930.

On reaching my office today I was handed your cable, asking whether your draft had been received. Yes. A corresponding cheque was passed to me last week on my return after my illness.

There is little to add to what I wrote you on Saturday evening, except to thank you again, to ask you forward me a copy of the letter that should have reached me by the same mail that brought the draft, and to address me as set out in the earlier part of this letter, which I was fortunate in not having mailed. Even if your earlier letter has not been seized, I am afraid the cable will help to centre suspicion on the firm for the moment, and it is, therefore, better not to expose them further to the danger of having all their business letters opened and scrutinised. Could another cable have been sent some considerable time ago.

... ..

(Note: The writer is identical with the Mr. O'Kelly, who was deported from Australia, with Rev. Fr. O'Flannagan, in 1923).

DR. ALBERT T. DRYER

POLDING STREET,  
BOSSLEY PARK  
New South Wales,

2nd. November, 1956.

The Director,  
Buro Staire Mileata 1913-24  
26 Raedh na nIartharach,  
BAILE ATHA CLTAETH.



A Chara,

Adverting to my letter of the 27th. August regarding the source material for the history of the Irish independence movement in Australia, I would advise that Mr. Skentelbery, Chargé d'Affaires, the Embassy of Ireland, Canberra, informed me that he had sent, per his diplomatic bag, this document through the usual channels to you. I trust that it was duly received.

Enclosed with this is a copy of the indictment by the Crown Prosecutor at the Commission of Inquiry into the internments. I referred to this in my letter to you mentioned above. There are several minor errors in his address to the Inquiry, but none of much consequence.

Perhaps reference should be made to Mr. Ralston's efforts to discredit the internees when he endeavoured to link Mr. Maurice Dalton with the incendiarism of the I.W.W. people in Sydney. When we, the internees from Sydney and Brisbane, met Mr. Dalton for the first time when he was lodged with us in Darlinghurst Gaol in Sydney, we discovered that he had a slight academic interest in socialism and was a great admirer of James Connolly not only for his patriotism but also for his social ideas. But

(to associate.

DR. ALBERT T. DRYER

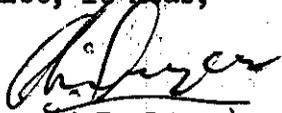
POLDING STREET  
BOSSLEY PARK  
New South Wales,

.2. . . . . 2 . . . . . XI . . . . . 1956.

to associate Mr. Dalton with any intent to commit arson (as twelve members of the I.W.W. organisation in Sydney were convicted of doing) would, we felt completely warranted in asserting, be preposterous in the extreme. Indeed, his "Recipe for a Severe Cold" was to us a subject for mirth and levity. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that Senator Donald Grant (one of the convicted I.W.W. men) has been a member of the Commonwealth Parliament for very many years. Maurice Dalton was not incapable of perpetrating a practical joke. For instance, during our internment, he found some decayed wood, powdered it up, wrapped it in a small piece of paper and placed it in a ventilator in the room where we were lodged, remarking: "That will set them thinking when they discover it." He had labelled it "Powerful explosive."

The reference to Mr. Dalton, who, by the way, was a fairly aged man, is on pages 18/19 of the indictment.

Mise, le meas,

  
(A.T. Dryer).

INQUIRY UNDER REGULATION 56B OF  
THE WAR PRECAUTIONS REGULATIONS, 1915.

Before The Honorable Mr. Justice Harvey: A Puisne Judge of the  
Supreme Court of New South Wales.

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WEDNESDAY, 7th. AUGUST, 1918.

(The Inquiry was opened at No. 2 Equity Court, Supreme Court  
Buildings, Sydney, at 10 a.m.)

The following were present in military custody:-

Albert Thomas Dryer,  
Edmund McSweeney,  
Michael McGing,  
William McGuinness,  
Maurice Dalton,  
Frank McKeown,  
Thomas Fitzgerald.

HIS HONOR: The Order under which the Inquiry is held will be read,

(His Honor's Associate read the Order).

MR. RALSTON, K.C.: I appear with my learned friend, Mr. Bathgate, instructed by the Commonwealth Crown Solicitor, for the Minister for Defence, to place evidence before Your Honor and to assist the Inquiry in any other way that I can.

MR. MACK: If Your Honor pleases, I appear, with my learned friend Mr. E.A. McTiernan, on behalf of Albert Thomas Dryer, Edmund McSweeney, Michael McGing, and William McGuinness.

MR. McTIERNAN: If Your Honor pleases, I appear for Thomas Fitzgerald, and with Mack for the first four.

MR. MULHOLLAND: If Your Honor pleases, I appear for Brennan & Rundle, of Melbourne, on behalf of the other two persons, Dalton and McKeown. Mr. Brennan himself will be over at a later stage of the Inquiry.

HIS HONOR: I have appointed Mr. Abbott and Mr. Baker, Shorthand-writers, to take the Inquiry and I have administered the oath to them that they shall truly, faithfully, and without partiality to any person and to the best of their ability take, write down, transcribe, and engross the complete record of the proceedings in this Inquiry.

MR. MACK: Might I ask Your Honor, on the appointment of a shorthand-writer, that we be allowed to have our shorthand-writer also. I suppose there can be no possible objection to that?

HIS HONOR: You mean privately employed by you?

MR. MACK: Yes.

HIS HONOR: Certainly. Are they at the table now?

MR. MACK: I do not know but at any rate he will be available - and, of course, we would like a copy of the official notes when required.

HIS HONOR: That is a matter which the parties can arrange, I suppose. They can make their own arrangements with the Shorthand writers to provide them with a copy of the notes.

MR. MACK: Thank you. I have to make an application to you before my learned friend enters into the case, and that is that before we are called upon in any way, or before we are in a position to go into this case, that we should be supplied with some particulars of the charges against us. At present, Your Honor sees, we are in this position - it is inevitable from the scope and the nature of the Act - that we are totally unable to know what the particulars of the complaints are against us. I am not complaining at present that the Military have acted improperly at all, and I am not making the suggestion - it is quite immaterial at present - but their (the men's) legal advisers are in the position that they have never had an opportunity of seeing these men, and we are here without having the slightest idea of the nature of the charges made against them.

HIS HONOR: I am in the same position.

MR. MACK: I am sure that Your Honor in those circumstances will sympathise with us. I would like the particulars of the overt acts.

HIS HONOR: If I may say so, what I suggest is this, that I should ask Mr. Ralston to make a statement as full or as big as he thinks fit - I should like it as full as possible - of what evidence he has, from which you would be able to gather what you describe as the overt acts. I do not know whether that is an accurate expression but at any rate you will find from that substantially what I should understand to be the evidence on which the Minister has acted.

MR. MACK: I have no doubt that would be even fuller than I have applied for.

HIS HONOR: I think in justice to your clients that should be done at once and then possibly, if you wished, there should be an adjournment.

MR. MACK: That is what I was going to suggest - Your Honor has anticipated me. There are several other consequential applications which I shall make, but not at present.

HIS HONOR: Applications for access?

MR. MACK: Yesm and certain documents. But I shall make them later on.

HIS HONOR: Will that meet with your ideas Mr. Ralston?

MR. RALSTON: Certainly, Your Honor.

HIS HONOR: Very well, I will ask you to make a statement.

MR. RALSTON: I propose to make a very full statement, both for the assistance of Your Honor, to enable Your Honor to follow the evidence as it comes out in detail, and also for the purpose of informing my learned friends of the full strength of the case which induced the Minister to take the action which has been taken.

HIS HONOR: It would be a convenience to me if these gentlemen would not mind answering their names. I understand that they are sitting in the front row behind you.

MR. RALSTON: Yes, they are arranged in order, beginning with Dryer.

(Messrs. Dryer, McSweeney, McGing, McGuinness, Dalton, McKeown, Fitzgerald, each answered to their names when called).

MR. RALSTON: The seven persons whose names have just been called were arrested on the 17th. June of the present year. The first four, Albert Thomas Dryer, Edmund mund McSweeney, Michael McGing, and William McGuinness, were arrested in Sydney, where they resided and had followed their occupations prior to their arrest. Maurice Dalton and Frank McKeown were arrested in Melbourne, where they had resided up to the time of arrest, and Tom Fitzgerald was arrested in Brisbane, where he resided and carried on business as a bookseller in Melbourne Street, Brisbane.

Following on the arrests, the Acting Prime Minister made a public statement, making it public that the arrests had been made and stating, though not in detail, the reason of the arrests, and stating that the persons arrested were charged with being members of a secret society known as the Irish Republican Brotherhood. I will explain exactly what that Society's objects are directly. The Acting Prime Minister concluded his statement by saying that for the fuller information of the people and in the interests of justice a public inquiry, presided over by a Judge, would be held, and it is in compliance with the statement then made and carrying out the statement then made that the Order under which Your Honor is sitting was issued.

Now, I want to begin by stating exactly how the Commonwealth Government came to investigate and finally to take the action which has been taken. In the beginning of last year, 1917, it came to the knowledge of the Defence Dept. of the Commonwealth Government that branches of the Society which I have mentioned, the Irish Republican Brotherhood, had been formed in New South Wales and in Victoria, and that a branch was also being formed, or had been formed, in Brisbane. Having that knowledge, of course the Commonwealth Authorities pursued a very careful investigation, and it was not very long before it was discovered that the seven persons about whom this Inquiry is being held were interested in a greater or lesser degree in the various branches of this Irish Republican Brotherhood. It was ascertained that in the years 1915 and 1916 and up to apparently the month of September, 1916, an Irishman named John Doran, had been in the Commonwealth, interesting himself in forming branches of the Irish Republican Brotherhood; that a branch had been formed for some little time in Melbourne, perhaps even before John Doran came to the Commonwealth, and that two branches at least had been formed in Sydney, and under the auspices of John Doran and the Sydney branches, Thomas Fitzgerald was forming a branch in Brisbane. The information which came to the knowledge of the Commonwealth officials during the investigation showed that Doran had gone to America about the month of September, 1916. The investigation showed showed such a state of affairs that it was deemed ~~ka~~ advisable to issue search warrants, and on 25th March of the present year, search warrants were simultaneously executed in Melbourne, Sydney, and Brisbane, and the places of residence, and in some cases the places of business too, of these seven persons were searched and a number of documents taken possession of. ~~The result of the information which had already been~~  
A further search was made of some of the same premises and other premises on the 23rd May of the present year. The result of the information which had already

(been obtained.

been obtained and which was obtained on those searches was such as to make an almost absolutely complete case as against these seven persons, as well as other persons within the Commonwealth whose names will crop up during the evidence, a case showing that these persons along with John Doran, whose name I have already mentioned, had been for about three years, some of them during the whole period and some for lesser periods, engaged in a conspiracy of a highly treasonable nature, dangerous to the Commonwealth, dangerous to the Empire, possibly, and injurious to Britain and her Allies. The evidence furnished by these documents of which we obtained possession is such almost without any other evidence at all to prove conclusively my statement as to there being a treasonable conspiracy; in fact, the evidence as regards Dryer and Dalton, at any rate, is of such a nature as to fully justify their being placed on their trial for treason. The evidence obtained also discloses - documentary evidence - that persons engaged in this conspiracy were about to form other branches in other parts of the Commonwealth, and the matter had reached such a stage that it was absolutely necessary in the public interests that the step which has been taken by the Minister for Defence should be taken, and that the further activities of these people should be put a stop to.

Now, before going on referring to documents, I want to add that the documentary evidence shows that while the man John Doran was within the Commonwealth he was communicating with a man in America named John Devoy. It is quite clear from the evidence which we have that Jno. Devoy was a leading member of an association in America known as the Clan-na-Gael, an association allied with the Sinn Fein Association in Ireland, and with the Irish Republican Brotherhood in Ireland, and allied apparently directly with German agents. When Doran left here he took credentials from Maurice Dalton to John Devoy, and Dalton kept a copy of the letter which he sent, recommending Doran as representing the Australian-Irish Republican Brotherhood; he kept a copy of the letter which he sent to John Devoy, and in that letter he describes himself as having been a member of old Irish Circles since 1867. He describes some of the parts he took in Fenian disturbances of 1867, and describes names of the persons with whom he was, and the places where he was in Ireland at the time of these disturbances. In another letter written ~~by Dalton to~~ to Archbishop Mannix by Dalton, congratulating the Archbishop on some public address which he had delivered, Dalton signs his name, and below his name puts "An old campaigner of 1865-1867." So that we are in a position to show the establishment of a branch of the Irish Republican Brotherhood in Melbourne, the establishment of two branches in Sydney at least, and the establishment of a branch in Brisbane, and to show that those branches were in correspondence with one another and working together, and that through their agent John Doran they were connected with John Devoy, and through John Devoy with the leaders of the rising which took place in Dublin during Easter week in 1916.

Now to proceed with the consecutive narrative of the workings of these people, I will begin with the months of June or July 1915. In either June or July 1915 an association was formed here in Sydney, called the Irish National Association of N.S.W. The Association adopted a certain constitution, which showed, first of all, its name, and then its objects. The objects of that Association were, on the face of them, perfectly innocent. The first object mentioned is (a) to assist Ireland to achieve her national destiny; then (b) to preserve the ideal of Ireland's sovereignty; (c) to extend the influence of Irish ideals, traditions and culture upon civilisation; and several other objects of a harmless character. At the end of the booklet which contains the constitution, standing orders, and by-laws, we find this

"The Irish National Association. There are possibly no greater nationalists in the world than those of Germany. I have said that many of the movements before the public are in a sense national, but when they admit the supremacy and acknowledge the right of a foreign law in Ireland they cannot claim to be the national ideal."

Now, although, as I say, from this booklet containing the constitution, the objects appear to be comparatively harmless yet, taking the evidence as a whole it would appear that this Association was simply a sort of cloak for an interior Secret Society, the Irish Republican Brotherhood. It was a sort of recruiting ground where people could be tested as to whether they would form reliable members of the Inner Society. Now as to the real objects of the Association, we are in the fortunate position of having seized, among other things, at the time of the execution of the search warrants, various half-yearly reports of the Irish National Association. These were found, I may mention, at the place where Dryer resided, 91 Cavendish Street, Stanmore. The first half-yearly report is dated 31st. December, 1915. It is typewritten and is signed by a person who is not before us at present, P. O'Loughlin, as Chairman, Edmund McSweeney, one of the persons here, and finally by A.T. ~~Doran~~ Dryer. Now, that report deals somewhat fully with the starting of the Association, with the way in which the various social matters connected with it

(have been.

have been carried out - Gaelic classes, classes for Irish Dancing; but in the fifth paragraph we find this:-

"But in pursuance of this object, the real purpose for which the Association was instituted has by no means been obscured. One of the most interesting and instructive features of the meetings was the series of lectures delivered by a few members of the Association. The subjects of these have been brought into direct relation with the grand theme, the goal for which above all others we strive - Irish nationality and its emancipation.

The initial lecture on Irish nationality treated of the reasons which compel us to exert ourselves in the grand cause. The second, on the Fenian movement, instanced one of the noblest efforts in that cause. The third, on the Irish race overseas, dealt inter alia with Irish efforts outside the Homeland; and the fourth told us a lot about him whom the lecturer rightly claimed as one of the greatest apostles of the Irish national creed, Thomas Davis."

Then another paragraph further down is:-

"Now, having witnessed the Association placed upon a secure basis, spiritually, financially and organically, we may hopefully anticipate that the future will afford us every opportunity of propagating those principles which are born of the true, earnest, self-sacrificing Irish spirit, for on the existence, preservation and advancement of these principles depends the existence and advancement of the Irish nation. Accordingly, something of a modification of our policy may be expected in the near future, inasmuch as greater stress will be paid upon our real task at the expense maybe of its more ornamental adjuncts."

Then another paragraph says:-

"We are witnesses of the wave of anglicisation submerging the wrack and ruin of a great nation. The impending blow of Fate can be parried by one means - organised effort illuminated by the light of our great past and the determination to assert our ~~right~~ just rights. Be the consequences what they may, Ireland a free and independent nation is our ultimate goal. To strive for any less exalted object is treason. Every Irish man and Irish woman therefore owes it to Ireland to constitute himself and herself an apostle of Irish nationality and to acquire a fuller knowledge of those matters concerning ~~Ireland~~ the life of Ireland which alone will enable them to know their duty and do it. The I.N.A. hopes to provide facilities for the accomplishment of this object and we shall then experience the happiness of knowing that our efforts, however humble, however slight, tend towards the materialisation of our dreams, so that from out the desolation and destruction wrought by the foreigner we may yet erect an Ireland not in travesty but in deed and truth a nation once again."

That is the first half-yearly report, which fairly shows the real object and intention of the formation of this Association. I shall refer later on to other half-yearly reports - we have not got them all, we only obtained possession of a few of them.

The next document in order of date to which I wish to refer is the letter written by Doran to Dalton on 22nd July, 1918. This was taken possession of at Dalton's in Melbourne, and it is the original. It is written from Sydney:-

Saturday, July 22nd, 1916.

M. Dalton Esq.,

Dear Sir,

I herewith beg to report progress of business to present day. During the short delay here again through change of vessels, I am taking advantage of the opportunity to submit goods for the inspection of interested parties and I can say that the results so far are most gratifying. The sales are increasing daily and I have no doubt that in a short time and with a little energy they will be supplied to every young man in Sydney who has need of them. In fact, several whom I have met were looking for just such an article and wondering how they could get it. I have disposed of them to some of the leading young Irishmen in Sydney and I was delighted to meet a young Belfast man who had been supplied at Home five or six years ago with the same article. As I do not propose to stay here a day longer than I can help owing to the desirability of submitting samples to American buyers as soon as possible, it will soon become necessary to appoint duly authorised agents for this district. If you wish, I will try and arrange for one or two to pay a short visit to Melbourne, with letter of introduction to you, or you might prefer to send some one over here. I will await your instructions and advice. Hoping you are well and with regards to all, I remain,

Yours sincerely,

J. Doran."

(That letter.

That letter might on the face of it be an innocent business letter, but taken with the following letter which I am going to read and with the whole of the evidence, it conveys one thing only and that is that Doran had supplied either possibly arms, or it may only have been seditious literature, to persons in Sydney; but the suggestion that a young Irishman had been supplied with the same article five or six years ago suggests the supply of arms of some kind.

The next letter is also a letter from Doran to Dalton, written from Sydney:-

"Sydney,  
Friday, Aug. 4th, 1916.

Mr. M. Dalton,  
Dear Sir,

Yours of July 25th to hand and I note what you advise re issue of certificates, one of which I also received safely. I have to report the successful completion of No. 2 section, with brilliant prospects for more, and have practically secured co-operation of a Reverend gentleman as Chaplain. The formal appointments of subs. for No. 1 and No. 2 will take place about next Tuesday or as soon after as I can arrange meeting.

I am enclosing copy extract from System of Organisation, which was typed out for me by one of the boys. It is based on the old system, I believe, with improvements adopted in recent years by the I.V. and C. Army. "I.V. and C." means the Irish Volunteers and Citizen Army.

"and it is a good guide for us to get things into shape. It is impossible for me to say with any degree of certainty when I may be leaving, that depending on circumstances which I cannot control, but being now employed by the U.S.S.Co, which runs a regular line to San Francisco, I am sure of a job on one of them sooner or later, whilst at the same time watching for a chance of anything which may be going direct to New York which of course would be better still. Having got a wire from W.B. last week,"

I may mention incidentally that "W.B." means William Butler, who is, I think, the present Secretary of the Irish National Association in Victoria.

"I expect him over soon. I am also in touch with G. McK., Brisbane, and have arranged for him to interview a business gentleman there whom I have heard of by one of "ours" here and who may be of great assistance in working up the Northern State. If we only had a man like McK. in each State, able to talk and demonstrate where desirable, we would soon have the whole country behind us."

The letter concluded with some words in Gaelic. Those words we have managed to find a person able to translate, and when translated they meant "Hold this paper over a lamp and there will be other things for you on the other side." The paper was held over the lamp and has now been dealt with by a chemical which makes the writing on the other side permanent, and this is the writing on the other side:-

"I.R.B., Australian Division. N.S.W. sub-circle No. 1, Sydney:-

1. Albert T. Dryer, sub-centre, 91 Cavendish St., Stanmore, Sydney.
2. John E.P. O'Dwyer, 21 Stanley Street, Sydney."

I may mention that when we attempted to search O'Dwyer's place we found that unfortunately he had become ill and is at present confined in a mental asylum.

3. Edmund McSweeney, 92 Cathedral Street,
4. Eugene Cowhig, 224 Elswick St., Leichhardt.
5. James Brennan, the same address. (American citizen, Clan-na-Gael.)
6. James Doyle, 112 Burke St., Redfern, Sydney.
7. Tim Clifford, 18 Austin St., Woollahra.
8. Patrick Joseph O'Halloran, 106 William St., City.
9. William Stack, 13 Woolcott St., Darlinghurst.
10. James Murphy, 148 William St., City.

No. 2 Section:-

1. William McGuinness, sub-centre, (his address is given).
2. Michael McGing,
3. Denis Clifford,
4. Thos. Mee
5. Thos. Neilon,
6. Denis Griffin,
7. Jas. D. McVeagh,
8. John Chloran,
9. Charles O'Connor
10. Peter Burns."

Then there is a note at the bottom "McSweeney, McGuinness and Brennan are old members of Irish Circles."

(Reference is.

Reference is made in that letter to an extract from the System of Organisation. This was also found at Dalton's in Melbourne and it explains fully what the centre or circle means, consisting of ten members, and what a sub-centre is. It is headed "Extract from System of Organisation" and says:-

"The foundation of the system is the individual member who, desirous of enlisting others, obtains permission from his superior officer to become a recruiter. Authority to enlist is given to group members on their application to a sub-centre or higher officer, but where doubt exists in the leader's mind as to the capability etc. of the applicant, he may cause each respective recruit to be brought to him before admittance. Recruiters transmit all instructions to their members, collect their contributions, and are responsible for them in general. When a recruiter has enlisted nine members and those form a sub-circle, ten, he earns the rank of sub-centre, and may authorise any or all of his sub-circle to recruit others. A sub-centre presides at all meetings of his sub-circle or section, transmits all instructions to it from Superior Officers, and collects its contributions, and keeps it up to full strength in case of departure or promotion of any of its members, and is responsible for its general efficiency, and that of all partial sub-circles which are growing out of it.

When two or more sub-circles are to be formed, the first is known as No. 1, the second as No. 2, and so on, the sub-centre of No. 1 being the presiding sub-centre until five sub-circles have been formed. When five sub-circles have been completed, the sub-centres meet and elect one of their number to the rank of temporary Chief Sub-centre."

There is some more dealing with the formation of centres and circles which will all be before Your Honor, I take it; then at the bottom we have:-

"Promotion by merit. A member may earn promotion by enlisting others, as follows:- When he has enlisted nine, his rank equals sub-centre; when he has enlisted fifty, chief sub-centre; one hundred, centre; five hundred, chief centre; a thousand, grand centre."

So there we get the System of Organisation of this Brotherhood. I may mention also that a copy identical with this was found also in Dryer's possession.

The next letter is a letter from Doran to Dalton, dated from Sydney, Wednesday, August 16th, 1916:-

"Mr. M. Dalton,

Dear Sir,

Wm. B. (that is Butler) arrived here safely on Saturdaylast and I have introduced him to several of our members here. I have to report further increase in the family and will soon have thirty regular customers. I am pleased to say that everything is working splendidly. As most of our staff here are in fairly good positions, being men above the average, I do not think that any of them are available just at present for the purpose of organising and putting life into matters down there, though I know that a good energetic man is badly wanted there, from what I have heard. It would be a pity if Melbourne fell behind Sydney owing to lack of men with some brains and ability, after starting the business. Wm. B. will be going back soon, I suppose, and perhaps G. McK. may come back from Brisbane shortly and ~~shaka~~ may shake things up a bit. I think Sydney is the place to take pattern by and if I can manage it I will arrange for one of our staff who is young and energetic and was in business in a big way in Belfast with the heads a few years ago, to take a run over there when he gets his holidays in the summer, and help build up the connection. I think my next report will be final from this district, as I will soon have three branches completed and managers and assistant-managers engaged who are well qualified to run the business and report direct to you. If Wm. B. keeps his eyes open well here he will learn a few points which will be useful, though a visit from a man with some talent would naturally produce much better results. With all good wishes, I now conclude, Yours sincerely,"

And then he signs himself with the Gaelic form of his name "Sean O Deorain."

"P.S. I have managed to get into communication in Brisbane with T.F., 50 Melbourne Street."

That is Fitzgerald and that is his address.

"and have arranged for McK. to call on him. I have just got word that he has taken shares in the Company and is doing his best to establish a strong branch in Brisbane."

The next letter is a week later in date and is from Doran to John Devoy, New York, United States of America. This letter is either a draft or a duplicate of the original and was found in Dalton's possession at the time of the search, and is in the handwriting of Doran:-

("Sydney, Australia.

"Sydney, Australia,  
Tuesday, Aug. 22nd. 1916.

Mr. John Devoy,  
New York, United States of America.

These lines are being written in the hope that your eyes will be the first to see them after leaving the writer's ~~hand~~ possession. It was originally intended that the writer should proceed to New York to deliver personally to you the two enclosed notes and a sum of money which has been collected here for a certain purpose. The notes will explain themselves; they were written by an old '67 man residing here and were to serve as credentials.

Owing to the great restrictions imposed upon the liberty of ordinary citizens, especially in the vicinity of docks and wharves here, it has been found impossible to leave the country up to the present time. As it is desired to open up communications with you at as early a date as possible, recourse is being had to another method, namely, entrusting this letter to the care of a reliable person who is travelling to San Francisco, thus eluding the British-Australian Postal Censor here; the letter to be mailed to you from San Francisco.

As one of the enclosed notes says, the I.R.B. has been on foot here for some time in Melbourne. A start has also been made in Sydney and Brisbane, and the young Irishmen, especially in Sydney, are flocking to the banner in a very gratifying manner indeed. We realise however that beyond the being banded together for the Cause and helping financially we cannot do much whilst living here. There is not one man in the movement here who would not pack up and leave the country tomorrow if they could do so with a reasonable chance of getting Home to Ireland to fight for the cause of freedom, or of getting across to U.S.A. to augment the armed forces of our countrymen preparing there for the same purpose. Do you think it worth while to consider rescuing us from the bonds which hold us prisoners within the confines of these shores? We are prisoners in common with all males of military age here as no passports are issued to neutral countries excepting under exceptional circumstances. Could not one or more of the Masters of the Luckenbach liners now plying between here and San Francisco be approached? We have enough money to pay our fares or would be willing to work our way if we could get a little friendly co-operation. As I stated before, it is almost impossible to get on board a vessel at the docks or wharves, but a party could hire a boat and meet a vessel at any point on the coast between Melbourne and Brisbane, if pre-arranged. We will soon be 200 strong and are all anxious to be doing something practical. I will not elaborate any further on the idea now but sincerely hope that you will consider it favourably and let us know what you advise.

Now, regarding correspondence, as all such must pass through the hands of the Postal Censors here, we suggest that messages and news of importance be written in invisible ink on the back of each sheet."

Then he goes on, but perhaps it is not in the public interest to give the prescription for secret writing. He says:-

"We have experimented with - so-and-so - and find it satisfactory and something has to be done to make it apparent. The Censors are not likely to have this at hand when examining ordinary letters. Every letter received from us which has the top righthand corner torn off will bear a message on the back in above ink and we will look for the same signification on any letters received from you. To render detection of any messages on letters almost impossible, I enclose a rough chart by means of which code messages may be transmitted on the back of the letter in invisible ink instead of ordinary writing. A key word must first be mutually agreed on."

Then follow some Gaelic words which translated read as follows:-

"Let our code word be "Saoirse" which means freedom. Do you understand?

"We are anxious to be kept in touch with Irish opinions in U.S. but as no doubt you are aware very papers reach us except those from Park Road. A fine of £20 is imposed on any person attempting to bring your paper into Australia. The same applies to all other Irish-American and German-American papers.

Another matter on which we should be grateful for opinion and advice is the System of Organisation of the I.R.B., of which we gave an incomplete knowledge but which we are anxious to carry out in its entirety, if it is at all possible. I hereby append text of pledge which we have adopted and desire to know is same is in accordance with authorised version:-

'I, A.B., believing in Ireland's unquestionable right to sovereign independence, do hereby solemnly swear that I will be true and sincere to the

(principles.

principles of the Irish Republican Brotherhood and government of the Republic of Ireland and that I will forward these principles, civil and military, in the interests of and for the independence of Ireland, to the best of my ability, even to the last sacrifice, in the execution of my duty as I may be directed by the Supreme Council through its duly accredited agents and officers. So help."

You will find enclosed a copy of Temporary System which we have adopted here, on which we would like your opinion

Hope to hear from you or whomsoever you entrust with the task of reply soon, and with best wishes, I remain,

Sean O Deorain."

and then addresses were enclosed for replying to. There is some Gaelic which translated means "Your friend for ever in the cause of Ireland."

Apparently in response to that request, copies of the constitution of the Clan-na-Gael were sent out here, and when the search was made at Cavendish St., Stanmore, where Dryer resided, a copy of that constitution was found and taken possession of, and also a copy of a ritual - it did not say what it was a ritual of, but it is a pamphlet with the word "Ritual" and underneath "Adopted, 1916." It is clearly though, I should say, from connection with internal evidence, the ritual of the Clan-na-Gael Association. The constitution is a printed pamphlet, and it appears to be the constitution of the Clan-na-Gael.

"Constitution. Declaration of Principles.

This organisation has for its object the complete independence of Ireland and the establishment of an Irish Republic. It is the undoubted right of the Irish people to regain their freedom by armed revolution. Neither this organisation nor its members shall give any support to any movement having for its object the final settlement of the Irish National question except on the basis of complete national independence."

I do not propose to read the whole of it, but pick out salient parts. Its objects are, first to aid the people of Ireland in securing complete national independence under a republican form of government. The only policy which it believes will attain that end is physical force.

A person, to be eligible for membership, must be 18 years of age or over; of good moral character, of Irish birth or descent through either or both parents, and must not be a member of any organisation antagonistic to the principles of the V.C. Now, what the V.C. may be there is some doubt about. I think from various matters that I will be able to place before Your Honor it really means the Volunteers Committee; it appears to be the head directing agency of both the Irish Republican Brotherhood and of the Clan-na-Gael. Then I will come directly to another letter of Doran's, written when he got to America, in which he says that he cannot be admitted to the Brotherhood until he has served a sort of novitiate for at least a year, but that he is accepted in all Circles as the accredited representative of the Australian Branch. Now, this throws some light on the idea of having to wait a year; this is sec. 3 of Membership:-

"The proposer must have known the candidate at least one year immediately preceding the proposal, and give the Camp satisfactory references as to his character and personal history."

and what the evidence appears to indicate is that the Irish National Association in N.S.W., with all its innocent apparent intentions was really the recruiting ground where people were sounded and after a year's knowledge of them were admitted to the inner Brotherhood.

Then Article 3:-

"The D.A. (that means District Association). The Organisation shall be composed of camps and districts, and the governing body shall be known as the D.A."

Article 3, Section 2:-

"The executive power of the V.C. shall be vested in a body known as the D.A., consisting of Secretary and Treasurer and seven other members, all of whom shall be separately elected by the direct vote of the majority of the delegates present and voting at a convention. The nine members so elected shall select as Chairman of the D.A. any member of the V.C. having the necessary qualifications prescribed in the Constitution.

Section 3:-

The D.A. shall be the absolute governing body except when the General or Special Convention is in session. Five of its members shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

The duties of the D.A. shall be divided among its members by the appointment of committees on foreign relations, finance, military, and good of the Order.

Section :-

The names of the D.A. shall be known only to the delegates attending the Convention and to the District Officers, except in the case of Secretary and Treasurers, whose names will be known to the S.G's and J.G's (that is Senior Guardians and Junior Guardians).

Section 12: No member of the Organisation shall be eligible to a position of D.A. unless he has been in good standing for five consecutive years prior to his election."

Other sections provide that any member divulging the time and place of holding a Convention shall be expelled.

"Brigade and Regimental Commanders are entitled to act as delegates to the Convention with all the privileges of regular delegates, provided they comply with Regulation 5, Sec. 2 of the Constitution and are approved by the D.A. Expenses of the said delegates shall be paid by their respective Military Organisation, and provided further that each Brigade or Military Commander has no less than six companies under his command."

Then:-

"The Board of Officers shall consist of the D.O. (District Officer, I think that means), S.G's and J.G's and the ranking officer of the Military in the district, or an alternate provided by him."

Then it provides for election in cases of vacancies. Then:-

"The D.A. shall act on Military matters in connection with the Military officers designated by the Adjutant-General under the direction of the D.A."

Section 9 of one of the divisions of this Constitution reads:-

"The D.A. shall furnish weekly to every member on the roll a copy of the Gaelic-American free of charge."

"Section 11: The public name of the Organisation shall be the Clan-na-Gael. The use of the public name of the Organisation in towns or cities where there are two or more Camps, without the consent of the Brothers of the said Camps, is prohibited."

Then there is provision made for offences and penalties, and one of the matters of misconduct is opposition to the policy of the V.C. as contained in the Declaration of Principles.

Then Section of 13 is:-

"Any member who speaks of the affairs or workings of the Organisation in any public place of resort or publishes or causes to be published in any newspaper or other publication anything pertaining to the Organisation, except by order of the D.A., shall be expelled.

Section 2: Any member divulging any of the names of the members of the D.A. shall be expelled, never to be re-admitted.

Any member who shall wear a badge or other emblem likely to expose the existence of the Organisation shall be suspended for six months."

Then comes: "the form of oath for candidates at initiation, or of officers at installation shall be as prescribed in the ritual;" so there is a reference to the ritual. Then dealing with the Military:-

"The Military shall be a special department under the direct and supreme control of the D.A., which shall provide for the appointment of the necessary officers and enact such laws for its government as it may deem necessary. The Military Board of Officers, with the sanction of the Civic Board of Officers, are empowered to raise the necessary funds to arm and equip the troops of their respective districts, and all arms so provided shall remain the property of the Civic Organisation."

The ritual provides for the admission of candidates and gives a diagram showing where the different officers of the Association are to be placed. and it says this:- "Key to foregoing diagram" and one of the things is "Centre table draped with green, white and orange flag." Now, the green, white and orange colours are the colours of the Irish Republican Brotherhood; they are also the colours of the Irish National Association of N.S.W., of Victoria, and of Queensland. The ritual is based apparently on the military idea, because the divisions are called Camps in America - where we have centres here they apparently have camps. This is a part of the opening ceremony:-

"The Senior Guardian: Officers and Brethren. We meet to perform a sacred duty. The cause of Ireland has been entrusted to our keeping and we are here to protect and advance its interests; to rid Ireland of English rule, establish an Irish Republic. By force alone can we win."

and so on. Then there is a system of balloting for candidates, and when the candidate is presented, he is asked - 'Do you believe in Ireland's right to be a separate and independent nation? As Ireland's independence can only be achieved by physical force, are you willing to work for the winning of Ireland's independence by that means? Then again in an address from the Past Guardian:-

"We are banded together to free the land of our fathers from English rule and to make it an independent Republic. We take no man into our ranks who is not fully in sympathy with this object. Every man in our Order has taken a solemn oath, binding himself to aid and accomplish it. It is an oath which does not conflict with duty."

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Then the obligation:-

"I (then the name if given) do solemnly swear that I will labour whilst life is left to me to put an end of English rule in Ireland and to establish an independent Republic on Irish soil and to elevate the position of the Irish race everywhere; that I will obey and respect the Constitutional laws of the V.C. and all orders coming from the proper authorities. I finally swear that I take this oath without any mental reservation whatever and that I will keep it in letter and spirit until death."

Then there is an address by the Senior Guardian:-

"The name of this organisation is the V.C. Its local subdivisions or branches are styled Camps and each camp is known by a number. This camp is number so-and-so and its public name is so-and-so. Each member of a camp is also assigned a number and is known by that number at each meeting. Force is the cardinal principle of our Organisation and an Irish Republic is the end towards which all our efforts are directed. The mission of this Organisation is to combine and concentrate the efforts of the Irish race in America for the support of the struggle for independence in the Old Land."

Then it goes on:-

"Irish independence is supreme. The colours of our Organisation, green, white and orange."

Then:- "We are all soldiers of Ireland's army and every soldier must stand by his comrades in difficulty and danger."

Then there is a provision:-

"You will preserve the strictest secrecy in regard to it and you will never mention the name of the V.C. or anything in connection with its inner working to anyone whom you do not know to be a member in good standing. Before proposing any man for membership, you will first assure yourself that his sentiments and opinions are in accord with the policy of the Organisation. Then propose him in Camp without informing him of the fact. If he should be elected, you will then approach him casually on the subject, using only the public name of the organisation, and if you find him anxious to join you can inform him that he has been proposed for admission."

Here is an obligation for a retiring or resigning member:-

"I do hereby propose and swear in the presence of God and the members assembled that I will during my entire life keep absolutely secret the names, workings, and purpose of the V.C., and all things that I know and have learned in relation to the same, and that I will never be a party to the injury of the Organisation or any of its members."

Then there is an oath of secrecy administered to a delegate to any Convention, and then a final pledge of secrecy closes the ritual.

Both in Dalton's and Dryer's possession were found typewritten copies adopting that ritual. It is headed "Opening". It begins with "Opening" and then repeats practically the salient parts of what I have read in the former ritual. "Force is the cardinal principle of our Organisation and an Irish Republic is the end towards which our efforts are directed." And then it says "The mission of the Organisation is to combine and concentrate the efforts of the Irish race in A (which unquestionably stands for Australia) for the support of the struggle for independence in the Old Land. We are bound by the closest ties of friendship and community of purpose with a similar organisation in Ireland and America." So that I am right in saying that "A" refers to Australia. "The two work in harmony and are practically one organisation. We have no connection or affiliation with any other organisation or movement." Then it goes on "The colours of our organisation green, white and orange, are emblems of its principles and express a desire for union of the Irish race." Then it says, "You will preserve the strictest secrecy in regard to it." Then about admitting, "Provided you have known him for at least twelve months" so that the twelve months novitiate is adopted there. The next letter I propose to read came into the possession of the Defence Dept. It is unquestionably in Doran's handwriting and is addressed to Dalton. It is from San Francisco, dated September 17th, 1917:-

"Perhaps you may think that I have forgotten my trust because I have not written direct to you before now, but such is not the case. I would have communicated long ago but that there was considerable risk and nothing of grave importance to communicate. I have been in touch with local affairs since my arrival here, but as a probationary period of at least one year is insisted on in the case of every one not provided with a regularly endorsed transfer, I am not yet initiated although recognised unofficially as ~~one~~ representing the Australian wing.

Just now a great deal of excitement is in the air here owing to the editor of the "Leader", Laurence de Lacey, H.C. for Pacific Coast, and Lieut. Dan

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Harnedy of the local Irish Volunteers, having been arrested for an alleged Fenian conspiracy to liberate Franz Bopp, German Consular-General, and Lieut. Baron von ~~XXXX~~ Schack, from the local internment Camp, and help them to get home to Germany through Mexico. The boys have been found guilty through the evidence of a Carey named Patrick O'Connor, but are appealing for a new trial. The spirit among our people here is very good and every one is unanimous ~~xx~~ regarding Ireland and war. There is every evidence of a terrible and bloody revolution coming in this country. Today 30,000 iron ship builders walked out on strike in and around San Francisco, thus stopping all Government contracts on War vessels. There are strikes and riots all over the country, and men are being shot dead in the street here every day. The Government is trying to stamp out the I.W.W., which is regarded here as a German paid union, but every arrest they make only embitters the feeling. A little while ago a white mob burned a negro alive. Do not worry about America's entrance into the war. It is a blessing in disguise, the best thing that ever happened. It has thrown the Irish and Germans in this country into a united mass, and the pro-Ally element like Roosevelt and Company are getting such a dose of English rule and English diplomacy that a reaction is beginning to set in. If you have any subscriptions for guns, etc., send them to Sydney - you know who I mean - along with list of names, and they will be transmitted here and through the proper channels to Berlin or Hamburg by direct messenger. Keep the boys in good heart for the outlook is very bright. I hope to be able to keep you posted on the state of affairs regularly from now on. I will send books and papers as soon as I find means. My messenger is loaded up this time and they are risky to get through. Hope you are keeping well and with best wishes."

He also send enclosed in it a leaflet showing the non-commissioned officers of the Irish Brigade, Berlin. I think it is a similar leaflet to one which was put in on the trial of Casement for treason.

I went rather ahead in date - there is another letter, from Dryer to Dalton, which was found in Dalton's possession, and which is dated 14th November, 1916:-

There is one matter I forgot to mention. I referred to a letter from Doran to Dalton, and Your Honor sees there is a reference in that letter to a "messenger." We have the envelope as well as the letter, and that letter was posted in Sydney, so it evidently came by messenger from San Francisco to Sydney, and then was posted in Sydney and reached Dalton in Melbourne. Through a great deal of this correspondence it is evident that they developed a system of sending things by hand, and I will come to more of that directly in one letter in which they speak of having practically a complete system of communication.

This letter from Dryer to Dalton is dated 14th. November, 1916 and begins in Gaelic:-

"A Chara (which means "friend"),

I feel I owe you many apologies for the indecent delay in replying to your two letters which were duly received. I can only plead that the great amount of work entailed by what we have set out to accomplish does not permit me much leisure at all. There is a good deal of correspondence to be dealt with in several spheres, but I shall at all times endeavour to keep in close touch with yourself. This is typewritten in order to be more legibly read and more rapidly written, but in writing to a friend I do not like writing in anything else than manuscript; however, in the circumstances, I hope you will excuse me. The amount forwarded by you on behalf of W.B. I have handed to Mrs. L. She desires me to thank you very sincerely for your great kindness. She states that her husband cannot be convicted of the crime alleged against him."

That is a man named Peter Larkin, who was one of the I.W.W. men convicted of incendiary conspiracy, and is still in gaol and who appears from some of these letters which I will be able to place before you in evidence to be the brother of a man named Larkin who was at the head of the strike which took place in Dublin I think in 1913. The letter goes on:-

"And judging from her statement and in the light of the attendant circumstances, I feel quite sure he is innocent of the charge of sabotage. Her address is 37 Sophia Street, Surry Hills, in case you may desire to communicate with her. Mr. L's home at once gives us the impression of a man attached to his family and home.

I regret to say I have not yet received any communication from Sean D. (that is John Doran) since his departure from the country some weeks ago. I fear his letters have been intercepted. He commissioned me to take charge of the "regulars" before leaving, as I suppose he has already informed you. Letterly, of course, we have not been able to give consideration to anything appertaining to this matter, with the shadow of conscription overhanging us, but we shall try to make some strides now. How are these matters progressing with you? We have

about 50. I would be pleased indeed to see you, Mr. Dalton, if it is possible at all for you to come this way. Sean did not have any great details in his possession, as we are more or less cut off from Headquarters. Over in Queensland they have a very good man, I believe, Mr. F. I have made several unsuccessful attempts to get in touch with him but so far without avail. By good fortune I expect to see tonight a gentleman from the States, who has had some experience, from which we hope to derive some profit. If so I shall place same at your disposal."

That gentleman was a Mr. Clark, who had been in the Tramway employ in Melbourne and had taken a trip to the United States in some representative character in connection with the labour movement, and had returned, and some of the correspondence I will put in tends to show that he brought back with him, among other things, a receipt for some moneys which had been sent over.

HIS HONOR: What was Mr. Dryer's employment?

MR. RALSTON: Dryer, I regret to say, is a Bachelor of Arts of the Sydney University; he was employed for some years prior to his arrest in the Customs Department of the Commonwealth of Australia as what is known as a second-class Locker; that is to say, a person who is responsible for the safe custody of a bond. I may say that as a Customs officer he in all probability would have access to shipping, although not necessarily so, because he was attached to a Bond, but he would have access that other persons might not be able to get, and it is quite apparent, taking the correspondence as a whole, that some system of communication between America and here by messenger had been adopted, and that moneys were sent in that way.

HIS HONOR: Did Mr. Dryer remain in the Customs until he was arrested?

MR. RALSTON: Yes - I may say there was a very good reason for that.

HIS HONOR: I was only asking.

MR. RALSTON: While I am on the matter, perhaps U had better mention that Mr. McGuinness, one of the other four arrested in N.S.W., was employed as a salesman in a well-known boot shop in Sydney. McSweeney was employed as a canvasser in one of our leading Insurance companies. McGing had been employed by the Railway Commissioners in the Tramway Dept., on the road staff until the recent strike. Since then he has apparently been in temporary employment and at the time of his arrest was employed as a gardener at the Lewisham Hospital. Dalton, as far as we can gather, has no permanent occupation and draws an Old Age pension. McKeown is by occupation a bricklayer. Fitzgerald carries on business as a bookseller in 50 Melbourne St., Brisbane. I was reading about their expecting to see a gentleman from the States. Then he goes on:-

"I think Sean mentioned that a certain code he had in his possession was obtained from you. Two alphabets are used in it; one running vertically and the other horizontally with the letters Fein (??). Do you recognise the one I mean? A keyword is employed also, as an additional safeguard."

And then there is a reference again to an invisible ink preparation. "If you happen to see W.B. kindly tell him that I intend writing him very shortly. I shall be glad to know how things are progressing in Victoria at all times and particularly on this special venture upon which we are embarking. Yours fraternally"

Then there is some Gaelic "And in the cause of Ireland."

The next is a letter of 1st. November, 1917, from Dryer to Dalton. It is a typewritten letter and is signed with some Gaelic letters which are "A.T.D." but at the top of it, in red ink, over the very beginning of the letter, is a postscript which is in Dryer's handwriting. I will read the postscript first:-

"91 Cavendish St., Stanmore,  
Sydney,

1st. November, 1917.

P.S. As there may be a raid at any time it may be well to destroy any letters of a compromising character, or at least very very carefully conceal them.

A Chara.

Your welcome letter of the 29th to hand. In this morning's local news rag I observed that Jageurs"(who was a member of an Irish Association in Victoria, which I may designate as a perfectly harmless one) "and the jingoes have succeeded in having the Exhibition withdrawn for the purposes of the meeting, but I suppose this would not defeat those who are convening the meeting. Do you know, a chara, that I really believe it would be better for the Cause if the whole of our forces were thrown together to defeat him and them. After all, it is for the same sacred cause that we are all working and as divisions are our perdition, as Davis puts it, it would be better to eliminate them in a great crisis such as this is. If the Hibernians or any one else were to get up a Sinn Fein meeting, which is not very likely, I would support them to the death. I know what a contemptible trick the Y.I.S. served you" (That is the Young Ireland Society) "and as Plunkett says 'patriotism is the last refuge of scoundrels oftentimes,' but how the enemy is rejoicing at this division in our

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ranks. If the I.N.A. joined in with or without invitation it would certainly strengthen its status and influence. Always look at the enemy's view of it. I think I would go any length to beat him. I saw Jageur's vitriol in print and sent the enclosed reply to the "Age" which did not reach publication. As to a meeting here I do not think it would be possible without the aid of Dr. Mannix. We have very few laymen capable of addressing such a meeting here. There are a number of clerics who, they say themselves, could not take the platform publicly on account of the attitude of that old contemptible seoinin, Archbishop Kelly, a notorious recruiting sergeant. Anyhow, I am not going to let the matter rest. Perhaps a meeting may be arranged in one of the big grounds here. Anyhow, I feel that something must be done. The ~~of~~ Catholic Press here is crying out for a meeting and I am sure that a seoinin one will be called sooner or later. We must try to frustrate it.

More bad news. Wm. Fegan was on Wednesday week arrested in Brisbane without any charge whatever being made against him and with six weeks of his bond to run."

William Fegan was one of the Vice-Presidents of the Irish National Association of Queensland, and has been interned under somewhat similar provisions.

"He entered into bond to keep the peace for three months at the time of his trial. He was sent down here on Tuesday of this week and interned. I was at the station to see him but could not speak to him. I will know him again wherever I see him. Fitzgerald, the secretary in Brisbane, says he thinks his turn will come soon. The enemy is very active and we shall all have to remain solidly together. Solidarity is the watchword. I do not know what the latest developments are with regard to Fegan's case or what position his wife and seven children are in but if any meeting is to be held on Monday try hard to get this matter ventilated. Fitzgerald says the Order to intern him came from headquarters in Melbourne. Of course, I know that public meetings for the purpose would do little good. The best thing is political influence. If you know any politicians likely to favour the cause, try to get them.

The news from Italy anyhow is not calculated to make us very downhearted; at any rate there is something of satisfaction in the consideration that they cannot intern the German army or put them before the firing squad, or suppress German newspapers, or batter Berlin to pieces. We do not know from day to day when our turn will come but I suppose we must be ready. We are in the game and must take what we get for the grandest cause in the world. Irish patriotism has been amply demonstrated to thrive on persecution and if they are going to adopt it here, I hope they will do it in a wholesale fashion. The reaction these days to suppression, depredation, imprisonment and propagation of the vilest lies and slander and so forth that have characterised

this Government would, one would think, make the tamest white-livered slave revolt, but I think there are too many British in this country for it ever to do any good - accepting anything their masters will give them, so long as their vanity and jingo spirit are pandered to; but that is their concern. Ours is Ireland and her liberation. How are you progressing with the I.N.A.? Get the good old fight going. I am seriously considering the question of a journal and will let you know developments. Kindly remember me to the boys. I must write to Bill Butler soon. Brother Beacham seems to be a very fine character. What a pity you lost him. If there is any time, it may be possible to start a branch there. Write soon."

And then some Gaelic.

I come now to the other half-yearly reports of the Irish National Association. The next half-yearly report we have in our possession is a year later than the one that I referred to; that would be 31st. December, 1916. This was found in the possession of Dryer, but bears no signature. There is reference here to some lectures. It says:-

"Dr. Tuomey's lectures must be regarded as the principal agency in the creation of a very definite, very patriotic spirit in the Association, a spirit in absolute harmony with the ideals expressed in the constitution. They have done much to counteract the Anglicising influences which are in eternal antagonism to the true Gaelic spirit.

In conclusion, the Committee makes an earnest appeal to members to continue to uphold the dignity of the Association and its ideals, and to labour for the extension of its influence, power and prestige. It shall at all times avoid the shoals of local politics and sectarianism, a point which cannot be too strongly stressed. It aims at the concentration of the efforts of the exiled children of Erin and their descendants, to assist by every means at their disposal in the achievement of Erin's freedom. It is not a social club nor designed to provide amusement for Irish people, but a serious attempt to co-operate in the world-wide movement which has become known as the Celtic Renaissance, a movement which is co-ordinating, organising and concentrating every effort of the resurgent Gaelic spirit upon its supreme task,

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the vindication for Ireland of what in the eyes of God and all just men is regarded as the right of every nation - independence. As such, the Irish National Association claims the support and allegiance of all truehearted Irish patriots who yearn to see Erin removed from a position of degradation and slavery beneath the vile, cruel and tyrannical hand of the power we hate - England - and our hatred we regard as a virtue - to her rightful position amongst the free nations of the earth."

The next half-yearly report is the 30th. June, 1917. That report is signed by John Sheehy as President, A.T. Dryer as Honourary Secretary, and some Gaelic as Assistant Honourary Secretary - O'Dwyer. There are a lot of references to social matters and teaching; then I come to the middle of a long paragraph, which says:—

"The Irish National Association is in full sympathy with all organisations which aim at the complete independence of Erin, the only true national aspiration of the Irish race. Other aspirations are unnational and are representative only of a certain section of Irish persons, now happily in a hopelessly small minority, who fail to appreciate that Erin is at last waking from the lethargy of centuries, and that constitutionalism with its concomitants, servility, slavishness, sycophancy, and treason to Ireland's true freedom, meets only with contempt and scorn of all disinterested, just and right-thinking men and even of our enemies. To create dissensions in the ranks of the Association being therefore the sole means of causing disunion among the Irish portion of the community here, the presence of all disruptive and disturbing forces must be rigidly eliminated. Let us all work together for the common good. To all those, be they lay or ecclesiastic, who under whatsoever pretext seek to divide the Irish race or to divert it from its true goal - independence we say 'Ye are wolves in sheep's clothing, ye shall not set limits to the onward march of the Irish nation.' Our cause is a just one and must prevail. The Irish race throughout the world is moving with an ever-increasing speed to its goal. Shall we, the Irish people of New South Wales, neglect our duty to assist in the great work? Shall we regard the stupendous event with apathy? The mission of the Irish National Association is primarily one of education along the lines of our true duty to our nation, and to judge by its achievements hitherto it has amply justified its existence, but much yet remains to be done. We are living in an age fraught with the profoundest consequences to Ireland. Her very existence as a separate nation is at stake. We therefore exhort all to pay due regard to the seriousness of the situation."

Then it finishes up with - "And she shall yet stand forth before the world a free nation, under the green, white and gold."

The next half-yearly report is dated 31st December, 1917. It is signed by John Sheehy as President, G.P. O'Connor as Treasurer, A.T. Dryer as Secretary, James Donovan as Assist. Secretary, McGing as Warden, and some Gaelic characters which I will be able to show are William McGuinness, as Warden too. I have a letter which shows that at this period McGuinness was Warden, and there are apparently two wardens, one McGing and one McGuinness.

"The readings and lectures have been exceptionally well attended and a goodly number of members manifested interest in the proceedings, though the presence of a more irresponsible section, that is perhaps an inevitable concomitant of such a large organisation as the I.N.A., has been in evidence. These have not yet reached a comprehensive realisation of the needs of the nation and the existence of the most extreme crisis in her history, and their duty to the nation whose blood courses through their veins. Ireland, our country, first, last and all times, has been despoiled of her independence. That stolen right must be restored before any genuine peace can be entertained. On the soil of Ireland is marshalled, under Eamon de Valera, an Irish army, perfect in arms, order and discipline, standing pledged to redeem that right without which all other advantages are futile. Are we fully conscious of the tremendous significance of this fact, the whole future of Ireland and the Irish race. Are we in speech and action inspired by this consciousness, that when Ireland achieves her hard-won liberty, as more than one German statesman has promised to assist in obtaining for her at the European Peace Conference, the gigantic task of reconstruction will confront the nation. As members of the Irish race we must conceive it to be our sacred duty to join in this task and to qualify in all possible ways for participation in the work of re-erecting from out the ruins wrought by England a nation worthy of her great traditions, worthy of the blood of Tone, Emmet, Pearse and Casement, worthy to rank among the courts of the nations in spirituality, art, industry and commerce. Distance or the geographical accident of birth in a foreign land in no way diminishes our complete psychological and spiritual identity with the Irish race, nor minimises our responsibility; and let it be stated at once that so far as Australia is concerned the Irish National Association will endeavour to conserve the interests and rights of

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Erin and afford a major number of opportunities to the million or more Irish residents of Australia of doing their duty by their race." Then the third paragraph from the end says:-

"During the half-year a branch of the Association was established in Victoria, but, owing to adverse conditions and the more baneful influence of organisations which still adhere to Redmondism, it has not made such progress as its more fortunately situated sisters in Sydney and Brisbane."

In the possession of nearly all these people, and some other members of the Irish National Association, we found a leaflet bearing the colours green, white and orange. I do not know that there is anything very serious in the leaflet, as far as I can remember at present. There were also found in the possession of several of the persons here - Dryer, McGuinness, McSweeney, and, I think, Fitzgerald - circulars addressed apparently to the Irish clergy and collecting slips. The collecting slips are headed - "Irish National Association of N.S.W. Fund to assist Eamon de Valera and his followers to win the next general elections in Ireland or to be used otherwise at his or their discretion." There is no date on the particular one that I happen to have. "This collection sheet is to be handed to the secretary not later than Monday, 15th. April, 1918." But they all bear dates, I think, generally about March, 1918. In McSweeney's possession there was also found a draft of part of this circular letter which was addressed to the Irish clergy. The whole letter was typewritten and bears signatures in multigraph of John Sheehy, Chairman of Committee, A. Dryer, B.A., McSweeney, Lillis, Hon. Secretaries, Rev. Patrick Tuomey, G.P. O'Connor and J.E. Murphy. I do not propose to read this document in full - no doubt my friends will be able to get a copy of it without any trouble, but the draft in McSweeney's handwriting contains all the matter except the first and the last three small paragraphs. The last paragraph in the draft and in the typewritten copy is:-

"Sinn Fein is the road and Eamon de Valera is the man. Now or never. Now and forever."

And it is asking the clergy to appeal to their flocks for subscriptions to the fund which I have just mentioned in the circular. There was also found in McSweeney's possession portion of a typewritten letter signed by Dryer - it is the torn off bottom part of a typewritten letter, and the part we can make out is something about - "Bring £20.5.0 tonight for despatch to D." That is clearly Doran. "Two intimate friends of his arrived last boat en route for Melbourne." That is the Clarks. "And they brought a receipt for the last amount. Everything is go maith." I suppose that means well. "The money is going to the best possible destination, which I will explain to you personally. The 'Sonoma' leaves on Wednesday and the M.O. must be sent out tomorrow." That has a date in ink, 19.12.'18, but of course that cannot be so and it is either intended for 19.1.'18 or 19.12.'17. We traced the M.O. for £20 and that is dated 8.1.'18. There is an application for a money order for £20 to Sean Doran, San Francisco, signed "Albert Dryer" with Dryer's usual signature, so that there is a sending of some moneys, and we have had, in one of the earlier letters which I have mentioned, the suggestion that Dalton should send moneys to the man in Sydney that were collected for guns etc., and they be transmitted across.

We are also in possession of a copy of a letter, which I may say was taken by official authority, and I shall prove the copy - a letter from Doran to Dryer, dated San Francisco, 10th April, 1918. I am only reading part of the letter:-  
"Received your welcome note of January 8th, likewise £20, which will be invested by the firm in accordance with your wishes, making a total of 194 dol. 80 cents to your credit. I trust that business is good with you. It is certainly very brisk with us on this side. I understand that our New York staff is working overtime, and our local manager here has several foreign orders on hand also, chiefly for South America and Mexico."

When a search was made at 91 Cavendish Street, Stanmore, on 25th. March, Detective Serg. John Ramsay made the search accompanied by another member of the Detective Force and by the Military Police. He found that there was a Sinn Fein flag hanging over the mantelpiece - green, white and orange - in the front room downstairs. He found by enquiry and also by observation - because he was employed to watch Dryer's movements and the places where he went to - that 91 Cavendish St., Stanmore, was occupied by Dryer and was also occupied by a man named Cusick, who is an uncle of Dryer's and who is employed in the State Justice Department; by a man named Quinn and his wife, Quinn being employed in the Maroubra State Quarries. I think I am right in saying that Quinn's wife was a half sister of Dryer. There was also residing in the house a Miss Kathleen Weber. She spells it W-e-b-e-r and it is commonly pronounced Weaver, although the name itself has somewhat of a suggestion of German origin. I may say that Dryer himself is by descent partly of German extraction. His grandfather on the paternal side was Caspar Dryer, who was born in Hamburg, Germany. On the other side he is of Irish descent. A search was made also, I think on the next day, the 25th. March - at any rate on the 25th. or

(26th. March.

26th. March - at the residence of Dryer's mother. She had married a second time a man named Weber - he calls himself Weber apparently - and she resided at Lithgow, and until some time in last year her husband had been employed as a storeman in the Small Arms Factory at Lithgow. There were found at Mrs. Weber's place various letters from her son containing references relevant to this Inquiry. One of them is in manuscript, I think, and the others in typewriting, and signed with his Christian name in his handwriting. With regard to these relations and connections of Dryer's, I think I am right in saying that all of them, except possibly Miss Kathleen Weber, were members of the Irish National Association. When the offices of the Irish National Association, which were in Rawson Place, near the Railway Station, were searched on the 23rd May, the Military Authorities took possession of a cabinet containing the names of all the members of the Association. The names number somewhere about 1100 or 1200, among them being a great number of women. The collection was in a ledger also, in one handwriting, and the complete system in the cabinet of the names, on the card system, giving the names of the seconder and proposer of the members for the Association, and containing the signature of the person proposed. Among those persons will be found Cusick, Quinn and Mrs. Weber.

The first letter found in Mrs. Weber's possession is dated 25th September, 1917 - I am not reading it all:-

"91 Cavendish St., Stanmore,  
26th.9.'17.

Dear Mum,

We have started a branch of the I.N.A. in Melbourne at last, formed up last Sunday week. That is very good news indeed. Frank MacKeown is secretary. He has a little son a fortnight old. News in Ireland is very bright indeed. Every man is drilled and well armed and equipped and another revolution is freely talked of, so we can expect it at first favourable opportunity. I wish I were there."

That is signed "Your affectionate son, Albert." That I can prove without question is Dryer's handwriting. The second letter we have is dated 18th. October, 1917, from 91 Cavendish Street, Stanmore, and it reads:-

"Dear Mum,

We had a personal messenger from Sean Doran who sent a letter and a number of newspapers. He says the people of America are dead against the war. I have written to Arthur Griffith, the Editor of <sup>the</sup> Sinn Fein paper and the founder of the movement, and to other organisations in Ireland, so there should be some word in a few months at ~~latest~~ latest. There is almost certain to be another rebellion in Ireland before long. The British are trying to provoke the rebellion before the lads are ready but we are not going to bite at the bait until our own time comes."

This is also signed "Albert". Then there is a letter which is not dated, from 447 Eddy Street, San Francisco, United States of America. It is addressed to Albert Dryer, B.A., and introduces Clark, whom I have mentioned, giving him his Irish name, which I hardly feel competent to pronounce, but it reads Tadhg O Cleirigh, and his son, Leon Cleirigh, and that is signed "Sean O'Doran." There is nothing important in it except as showing the connection between Doran, and afterwards Dryer sends a letter introducing these people to Dalton in Melbourne. There is this in it: "I will just say Cleirigh is about the most competent gent I know of to impart much information from our point of view and will tell you the plain unvarnished truth about everything." That information is regarding social conditions etc. in the United States of America and a postscript is "I will deem it a favour if you will introduce O' Cleirigh to Willie, Sean O'Dwyer, McSweeney and the rest of the boys."

When McGuinness' place was searched there was found a copy of a letter which was the cause of Fegan getting into trouble. It is a printed copy. Also an account in the newspaper of Fegan being convicted and fined £10 on a charge of prejudicing recruiting and of his being warned by the Magistrate. There was also found a copy of a book called "The Crime Against Europe" by Sir Roger Casement, which is mentioned in the Casement trial and is a prohibited publication prohibited from introduction here. He was also in possession of photographs of the various persons who were arrested and, after investigation, executed in connection with the Rebellion in Ireland in Easter Week, 1916; also a photograph of the Countess Markievicz, who was imprisoned in connection with that Rebellion. There was also a portion of a letter which I shall tender later on for various purposes, but it is not material to read it - it is in Dryer's handwriting. There was also found this rosette, green, orange and white - the white happens to be in the middle. Also a subscription list of the Irish Ireland Fund; a letter of 27th. July, 1917, signed by Dryer, dealing with matters in connection with the Irish National Association showing the connection between them. I have stated that one of the half-yearly reports, which contains seditious matter, was signed in a Gaelic name, and that name is opposite to the word "Warden." I am in a position to show that the name is McGuinness, and here is the warden's badge. Apparently after the Irish National Association was formed here which began apparently

(in June.

in June or July, 1915, the Irish National Association, as mentioned in letters, had been established in Melbourne in 1917, and an Irish National Association was formed in Brisbane in 1916 or 1917 - I will refer to that particularly later because we have the minutes. When those branches had been formed, there was a proposal that there should be a union of all the branches of the Irish National Association, and a constitution was apparently drafted to bring about the union of the whole lot and make it one association with different branches. The draft constitution for that purpose was found in McGuinness' possession and in Dryer's handwriting written on it is "Come to the meeting tonight" - evidently in consideration of this constitution. Then there is one of those circulars about the Irish Ireland Fund, and there was also found a typewritten circular of the Irish National Association of N.S.W., 338 Elizabeth Street, Sydney, dated 12th June, 1916 - an appeal for assistance for the relations of those people who had been in any way brought to distress as the outcome of the Rebellion in Ireland in Easter Week, 1916. Now, that appeal was perfectly legitimate, I am quite prepared to say. There can be nothing wrong about making an appeal for people who were in distress at that particular time, but I want to point this out in that connection, that in the search made at the rooms of the Irish National Association on the 23rd May of the present year we found that the moneys which were collected for that purpose were sent through apparently legitimate channels and openly, in contrast to the way in which the other moneys collected for de Valera's purposes, whatever they might be, election or otherwise, were apparently sent. These moneys in relief of the Irish Distress Fund were sent by bank draft to Archbishop Walsh in Dublin. But this document is material in several ways. It has on it the address of Doran. It is wrongly spelt "Segan Doran", 1945 Howard Street, San Francisco, Cal., U.S.A. But on the back of it are some rather interesting memoranda.

HIS HONOR: What is this document?

MR. RALSTON: A circular.

HIS HONOR: Where was it found?

MR. RALSTON: This particular copy was found at McGuinness' place. As I say, we cannot object to their appeal for subscriptions for that purpose - that was legitimate - and we find the subscriptions go through their legitimate channels, openly. I may mention that the persons who signed the appeal are McSweeney as Chairman, Rev. Tuomey, G.P. O'Connor, Mrs. M. Brown, Hon. Treasurer; Dryer, O'Dwyer and Byrnes as Hon. Secretaries. Then there is an address of John Doran's and on the back are the words "No. 2" and then "Dancing Class" but it is quite clear what it means. It means No. 2 Circle, of which we had evidence in a former letter. It means Irish Republican Brotherhood. (a) Wm. McGuinness, (b) Michael McGing, (c) Patrick O'Donnell, (d) Jas. Brennan. That is the James Brennan who was a member of an old American circle. Then various other names and we get names crossed out - I cannot make out whether one is intended to be crossed out or not, but if it is not crossed out we get the ten names of the Cicele. Then below, in pencil, are other names again ~~completing~~ completing a circle, apparently. Some of the same names and some other names. Then there is a leaflet asking people to join the Irish National Association; it is signed by Dryer and deals really with the attractions from the social point of view of the Association, except as to this:-

"Its Constitution does not permit the discussion of religion under any circumstances, nor of politics, excepting those relative to the welfare of Ireland."

There was also a copy of the Victorian Sinn Fein leaflet found at McGuinness', having the colours green, white and orange at the top of it, signed by Dalton as President and Frank McKeown as Secretary. "Rally brothers and sisters to the banner of the I.N.A."

Edmund McSweeney, as I have shown, appears as No. 3 on the N.S.W. sub-circle No. 1 of the Irish Republican Brotherhood. No. 1 is Dryer, No. 2 is O'Dwyer, who is at present in Callan Park, No. 3 is McSweeney. He is a member of the Committee of the Irish National Association and he is one of the signatories for the first half-yearly report, from which I have read extracts. That torn portion of a letter signed by Dryer, referring to £20.5.0 to be sent by money order was found in his possession and he also had in his possession a Dues Book, rather roughly kept. As I have mentioned, the circular to be read by the clergy asking for the subscriptions for de Valera was apparently drafted in his handwriting down to the part which says "de Valera is the man. Now is the time. Now or never." He also had in his possession a copy of the printed rules of the Irish Republican Brotherhood, North of England Division. The North of England Division comprises the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Durham, Lancashire, Derbyshire, Staffordshire and the whole of the northern counties of Wales. Then it deals with enlistment:-

"1. No man can be admitted into the I.R.B. or recognised as a citizen and Soldier of the I.R. until he has taken the oath of allegiance to the I.R.

No man known to be a member of the Ribbon Hibernian or other similar non-republican or factional Association to be enlisted until he has broken off his

(connection with.

connection with such Association.

Every member of the I.R.B. in employment is required to pay the sum of not less than 9/- monthly towards the procuring of war materials.

Every member is bound to protect the secrets and guard the I.R.B. Any member speaking of its secrets outside its ranks or neglecting to report a brother member so doing to his knowledge, is liable to be expelled from the ranks of the I.R.B."

Then there are the divisions into circles, election of officers, etc.

"Each circle shall be divided into sections to consist of not more than ten men including each officer, who shall be entitled A.C. Every circle shall be governed by an executive of three, Centre, Secretary and Treasurer."

Then the duties of officers:-

"Sixteen. The duties of a Centre are to receive all information and instruction for the Circle, to conduct all correspondence, to settle disputes, to be responsible for the safe-keeping of all arms required for the use of the Circle.

A black list of all traitors, spies, swindlers and other criminals against the I.R.B. shall be placed in the hands of each Centre, who shall read it to all members of his Circle. Any member known to hold correspondence or intercourse with any man whose name appears on the Black List to be immediately expelled and never re-admitted into the I.R.B.

Any Centre or other member losing or mislaying any dangerous document such as the Rules, the Constitution, or communications from the Executive, to be for ever expelled from the ranks of the I.R.B."

There are also various books or publications which were found in his possession and which I may or may not put in later on.

With regard to McGing. As I have pointed out, McGing is No. 2 man of the second Centre, N.S.W. Division. He apparently moves from place to place and we could not find him at the address which we obtained, and when he was found he was found in a temporary position as gardener at Lewisham Hospital. No documents were found in his possession but he is referred to in various documents with which I have dealt and he signed as an office-bearer one of the seditious half-yearly reports.

Dalton would appear to be possibly the moving spirit in connection with this matter. When Doran refers to a branch of the Irish Republican Brotherhood having existed in Melbourne for some time, it is quite evident, taking the whole of the documents together, he was referring to Dalton and some connection which Dalton had established in Melbourne. In Dalton's possession were found a number of documents to which I have already referred. When the first search was made at Dalton's, it was made by a member of the Victorian Police Force, names Sainsbury. When he went to the residence of Dalton, he read him the warrant and said "We want to see all your correspondence." Dalton said "I have very little correspondence." Sainsbury said "You are President of the Sinn Fein Organisation and it is the correspondence relating to that we want." Dalton said "There is no such thing as Sinn Fein here. I was the President of the Irish National Association; in fact, I was the founder of it, but I am now resigning owing to younger members coming along with different ideas." Sainsbury said to him "Who is the President now?" and he said "O'Donnell, and Dick Scott is the secretary." Sainsbury said "Frank McKeown was the secretary with you?" Dalton said "Yes, and when he resigned, Mr. Wm. Butler became secretary." Sainsbury said "Where are the books of the Association?" Dalton said "Dick Scott has them," Sainsbury said "Where are the headquarters of the Association?" Dalton said "At Sydney and Mr. Dryer is the President." Then there were some questions asked about his association with Miss Pankhurst and others of the Socialist Party, in connection with the anti-conscription campaign, which does not enter into the matter at all. Sainsbury then said "Is it not a fact that your bone of contention is that you want to dis sever from England and establish a government of your own and you do not care what means or methods you use in getting it?" Dalton said, "Yes, and they will have to give it to us." Then on searching the premises a number of documents I have referred to were found and there was also found a document which was headed "A Recipe for a Severe Attack of Cold." There was also found a rough scrap of paper having some memoranda on it and among these memoranda was a memorandum containing what I might call a prescription. Your Honor sees that this is a rough piece of paper which anybody might carry about and put on it when they thought fit different memoranda, and among the memoranda taken down rather roughly is the prescription which afterwards appears copied out in Dalton's writing on this note which bears the heading "A recipe for a severe attack of Cold." Now, that recipe consists of three ingredients. I am not going to give them because I do not think it is in the public interest to do so. Those ingredients taken themselves I doubt if they would cause any effect but if for one of them you substitute a somewhat similar sounding ingredient; if, for instance, instead of sulphuric acid, as put down here, and as it might be taken down by a person who did not quite understand the difference, you put sulphide, or as it is commonly called, bi-sulphide

(of croton.

of croton (??carbon), you get a mixture of the same character as was used by the I.W.W. men in connection with the fires which took place in Sydney prior to their conviction. After setting out these three ingredients, it says this, "Those things require experimenting with in order to observe the effect. Medicine bottles are easily carried, beer bottles are too bulky." Your Honor will remember the I.W.W. used the small medicine bottles to carry their particular mixture. When Sainsbury found this document, he said to Dalton, "This is a peculiar thing for you to have; it is the formula used by the I.W.W. men to destroy property in Sydney. Where did you get it from?" He said "I picked it up in the street." Sainsbury said "But it is in your handwriting?" I am referring now to the recipe for a cold, to the rough memorandum at all. He then said it was given to him. Sainsbury said "By whom?" Dalton said "Jock Wilson." Sainsbury said "He was a member of the I.W.W.?" Dalton said "Yes." Sainsbury said "Why did he give to you?" Dalton made no reply. Jock Wilson was not one of the twelve men but was a man who served a sentence for being a member of the I.W.W. Brotherhood - I think his sentence has expired.

Now, there were some other things which were found and I do not want to make too much of them, but I feel it my duty to place them before Your Honor, because these things would be before anybody who had to deal with this matter. There are a couple of rough diagrams, apparently showing a clock face, and apparently showing at the side which could be let loose or be set in action at some time or other, and I am told that one of these diagrams, at any rate, is quite capable of roughly representing a type of infernal machine. But I cannot make the evidence any stronger than appears from the thing itself and I do not want to unduly press anything arising out of it, although I feel it my duty to place it before Your Honor.

Now, it appears that Dalton was at one time engaged in mining, and Sainsbury asked him about that and he said "Yes." Sainsbury asked him whether he had ever used synamite or gelignite, and Dalton said "Yes, he had done so when he was engaged in mining. Sainsbury asked him had he any knowledge of electricity, also taking possession of a rough diagram showing a place at Merri Creek in Victoria, it appears there is some mining, this diagram showing the position of a magazine and of various battery workings. Sainsbury said to him "This appears to be a plan to blow up a magazine." Sainsbury says that when he said that Dalton made no reply. Sainsbury also asked Dalton whether he had any knowledge of invisible inks. Your Honor will remember one letter from Dryer to Dalton. Dalton said "No." Sainsbury said, referring to the paper, "This appears to have been treated with acids for developing invisible inks." Dalton said "My son who is in New Zealand once tried experiments for invisible ink and I suppose he left this paper behind." One of the letters which I have already read has a reference made in it to invisible ink - it is the letter from Doran whilst he was still here, to Devoy in America. That is in Doran's handwriting and was found in a big book in Dalton's possession. Sainsbury referred to this letter, which was found by another constable, who apparently brought it in and the conversation took place in the presence of Sainsbury. The other constable said "I have found this letter, do you know anything about it?" Dalton looked at it and said "I cannot see without my glasses." The constable then read portions of that letter to Dalton, who said "I know nothing about it."

(At 1 p.m. the Inquiry was adjourned until 2 p.m.)

On resuming at 2 p.m.:-

MR. RALSTON: I was dealing, I think, with Dalton. There are one or two matters that I have still to mention in connection with him. I mentioned that a copy of a letter was found in his handwriting in which he recommended Doran to Devoy. That letter is dated 14th. June, 1916, and reads:-

"Melbourne, Victoria,  
June 14th., 1916.

Mr. J. Devoy,  
Sir,

The bearer of this, Mr. Doran, has been a member of the I.R.B. Society formed here now some time ago. As we are cut off from news of our people in Ireland and especially from America, by the severity of the Censor placed in position by our paternal, imperialistic, jingo Government, seeing we cannot get any news of what is passing through America except through poisoned sources and from a poisoned, jingo, British press. I take this opportunity of trying to reach you. Now, you will want to know who I am. I am an old centre of the F.B.Sn., introduced by Denis McGrath in 64 Centre at Bansa, Tip., then and recognised afterwards by Michael O'Neill Fogarty, of Thomastown, Kilfeacle, who was in strict confidence to and from the Irish

(people office.

people office of Parliament in Dublin. I was with Owen Fogarty at Kilfeacle the day before and with General T.F. Burke on that morning of 5th March '67 at Ballyhirst. 'I was a young man then, I am now advanced in years, but I never gave up' says C.J. Kickham, but I would see perfidious Albion humbled to the dust. I therefore recommend Mr. J. Doran for your advice and direction for this far-away Australia. Give him powers to act. I remain, Yours sincerely,  
M. Dalton."

The C.J. Kickham appeared in the investigation into the Fenian troubles in '65 and '67 but I really forget the connection - he had something to do with these matters.

HIS HONOR: I do not understand that allusion.

MR. RALSTON: It appears to be a name "C.J. Kickham" and I have some knowledge of it at the back of my mind, of having come across it in reading about these troubles.

Mr. McTIERNAN: Kickham was a poet.

MR. RALSTON: Then there was a copy of the code that was referred to in one of the letters which I have read from Dryer to Dalton, where they had adopted a double system of a cross-coded letter. Then there is a ticket of membership of M. Dalton in the Irish National Association, issued by F. McKeown, and at the bottom is "Our aim is Ireland free." It is only interesting to show what kind of a ticket it was, with that at the bottom.

I think those are the most material matters found in Dalton's possession. There are others which I shall probably put in but in opening for my friend I think I have opened everything that is most material.

Then on a search at McKeown's place, tickets of membership were found, bearing at the bottom of them "Our aim is Ireland free." Then there was also found in his possession a list headed "Ireland's Roll of Honour. Battle of Dublin, Easter Week, 1916" being a list of the men who were tried and executed in connection with that rising. Then there were various Sinn Fein designs and emblems found at his place and also a newspaper "Irish Freedom" June 1913, containing an article "Fragments of Fenian History" by John Devoy. Then there is a letter of September 4th, 1917, from Dalton to McKeown, dealing with matters of the Irish National Association in Victoria, showing the connection between the two of them - one is the President and the other is the Secretary. There is a leaflet to which I have already referred, Your Honor, setting forth the objects of the Association in Victoria.

The, Your Honor, there came into possession of the Defence authorities at one time two postcards, they were enclosed in envelopes and while they were in our possession we had them photographed - the envelope with the address on it and the internal matter upon the postcard. One of these postcards was addressed to Mr. T. Fitzgerald and the other to Dryer. The addresses on the envelopes which contained those postcards are in the handwriting of McKeown. The internal matter of each of them was in Gaelic and we have had a translation since made of them. The internal matter is signed "McGoian" but it can be identified with other signatures of McKeown's, and also, so far as the handwriting is concerned, it can be identified - it is in the same handwriting - so that the internal matter is, I think, without question, McKeown's. The one addressed to Fitzgerald appears to be dated 8th November, 1917. It is addressed to Mr. T. Fitzgerald, Hon. Secty., I.N. Association, Moore's Chambers, Queen St., opp. G.P.O., Brisbane. The internal matter, translated, is this:-

"Faithful friend, God and Mary be with you, Friend. Have you any news? The Germans on top and Ireland free. Do you quite understand what that is? To hell with the King, and Ireland forever. I trust you are very well. Your friend forever,  
F.S. McKeown."

The other one was addressed to A.T. Dryer in the same handwriting, McKeown's, and the internal matter, translated, is:-

"My dear friend. May God bless you and I hope you are strong. I am thinking you have" - there is some doubt about one word whether it means "ease" or "comfort" -- "when you read the paper each day. The Germans are walking through Italy without any stay whatever. This is true, and to hell with the King. Do you understand that? Your friend to the end, P.S. McKeown."

There were various other ~~papers~~ less material matters in McKeown's possession. Then we have seen in various letters of Doran's, Dalton's and O'Dwyer's, mention of Fitzgerald; he is mentioned as Mr. F., and as a man to take shares in the business. It is remarkable, if we are acquainted with the workings of the Republican Brotherhood in Ireland that there, when in correspondence with one another, they referred to the matter as a business, as if talking of a business deal. Fitzgerald was the secretary and practically formed the Irish National Association in Queensland. In his possession we found the minutes, showing the formation of the Association and various resolutions carried by them, and those in themselves are sufficient to show what the intention of forming an Irish National Association up there was. I put it to Your Honor without a question that it was to be a cloak and a cover for the more

(intimate.

intimate activities of the Brotherhood and as a recruiting ground to furnish members for the Republican Brotherhood. The date is 27th August, 1916; Minutes of meeting at some number in Melbourne Street, Brisbane, held by Messrs. T. Fitzgerald, M. O'Connor, Cunningham, Cashin, McCormick, Woolf, Wm. Fegan and W.J. Fegan. One of those Fegans, I forget which, is the man who was interned about a year ago and was one of the Vice-presidents. Fegan took the chair and explained the objects of the meeting, viz., to form an Irish National Association, where they could discuss matters of national importance. It was resolved to form the Association and those present were formed into a committee, with power to add. W.J. Fegan was appointed hon. secretary. A further meeting was fixed for 10th. Sept. Then we come to the 10th Sept. "Meeting at Kent's Buildings":-

"John Kennedy was elected to the chair. Mr. Fegan explained the objects of the Association. Mr. Maroney addressed the meeting. Mr. Crofton on his own, and on behalf of the Age, offered to supply 5000 copies circulars explaining the objects of the Association. The offer was accepted.

The following resolutions were carried unanimously: 'That this meeting of citizens of the Republic of Ireland and Irish-Australians emphatically protests against any attempt being made to apply conscription to Australian workers and particularly to Irishmen and their sons, having regard to the fact that English conscription laws do not apply to Irishmen.'

'That while affirming our loyalty to the Commonwealth of Australia we hereby declare that we are prepared to sacrifice our lives if necessary rather than be compelled to assist England in any way.'

'That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the Premier of Queensland, the Hon. Frank McDonnell, M.L.C., Hon. J. Fihelly, M.L.A., Senator Myles Ferricks, Senator John Mullan, Hon. John Meagher, M.L.C., and the Prime Minister of Australia.'

A resolution was carried fixing the subscription for membership.

Resolutions were also carried appointing A.E. Williams, J. Kennedy, Mr. Sweeney, Thomas Murphy members of Committee."

The next is the meeting of 17th September:-

Present: J. Kennedy in the chair, T. Fitzgerald, T. Cunningham, T. Cashin, A. McCormack, William Murphy, W.J. Fegan and the Secretary.

Correspondence included letter from Fihelly dated 12.9.'16, and a draft reply was approved. John Kennedy was appointed Chairman of Organising Committee and McCormack Treasurer. It was resolved to distribute 500 circulars and the name of the Association was altered to read 'Austral Irish National Association of Queensland' and the Committee then settled the rules and by-laws."

September 24th. Meeting of Association:

"Correspondence included letter from Sen. Mullan, endorsing the resolution on conscription. Mr. John Markwell addressed the meeting and said the objects of the Association had his entire sympathy.

Mr. P.W. Maroney gave a recital of Irish history of the 'Black Forties' and showed how the experience of those days could be applied to present day events and recited Biggy's "The Saxon Shilling." Mr. D.M. O'Flynn expressed his admiration for the organisation. Subsequently to the above meeting the Committee met and adopted the Commonwealth Bank as the bank of the Association."

Then there is a gap in the minute book from pages 5 to 8, pages 6 and 7 being missing, which is rather interesting in view of the fact that it was suggested that a raid might be possible and Mr. Fitzgerald thought he might be interned. At the top of page 8 the minute book records part of a meeting of the Association at which it was resolved to institute funds for relieving distress in Dublin and McCormack read a letter from an Irish prisoner in England describing the treatment meted out to him there.

On October 8th, 1916, there was a meeting of the Association and nominations were received for the position of president and officers.

On the 15th. October, 1916, meeting:-

"Officers elected: President, John Kennedy, Vice-presidents, J. Donovan and M. O'Connor, Hon. Sec., Wm.J. Fegan, Treasurer, Andrew McCormack, Auditors, D.M. O'Flynn and J. McBride, Trustees, J. Kennedy, M. Ryan and Wm.J. Fegan.

Committee: Miss Burke, Mrs. Williams, Miss O'Connell, and Miss Cunningham.

Stewards: Messrs. Fitzgerald and O'Hanlon.

Committee: Messrs. Conway, Wm.P. Murphy.

Discussion took place in connection with the Governor's reported action in refusing to sit with the Hon. J.A. Fihelly on the Executive Council."

On 22nd November, 1916, it was decided that the proceeds of the euchre tournament be forwarded to Frank McDonnell for remittance to Dublin - that is apparently quite innocent, in connection with the Distress Fund.

On 29th. October there was a meeting but nothing of special importance was recorded. On 1st November the Committee agreed that 2000 copies of the rules of the

(Association.

Association be obtained. On 8th. November there was a meeting of the Association:-

"Mr. Kennedy in the chair. Correspondence included a letter that the secretary had received from Dublin refuting the lies circulated by the "Irish Times" Mr. Maroney referred to Irish activity in America and the need for Australian Irishmen to carefully watch the trend of events."

On 20th December, 1916, the President announced his immediate departure for the Northern Territory and the Association placed on record its regret at the departure of the President and it was resolved to present him with a token of esteem.

On February 21st, 1917, Messrs. Cunningham and Cashin were elected members of the Committee. I propose to refer to a letter received from Cashin, which was found on Fitzgerald's premises. It was not to or from Fitzgerald but Cashin apparently lived on the premises and was a member of the Association.

On the 28th February it was moved that the invitation of the St. Patrick's Day Celebration Committee be accepted, but the secretary reminded members that the toast list of the function would probably include a toast objectionable to Irishmen, and the above motion was then withdrawn.

Then on 28th March, 1917 - meeting:-

"Mr. Fegan announced his resignation as Hon. Secretary and it was resolved to send out circulars and call a special meeting for the election of a secretary. April 11th, 1917: Special meeting of Association. Art Union for Dublin Relief Fund was brought to a close.

Mr. Fitzgerald was elected secretary. Mr. Williams was elected President. Mr. McCormack was elected Asst. Secretary. Resolution carried requesting the Russian Consul at Sydney to forward Provisional Government at Petrograd a request that they will use influence with British Govt. to procure release of 'that noble and brave woman, the Countess Markievicz.'

April 25th, 1917: Meeting. Resolution carried that a letter of congratulation be sent Dr. Mannix on behalf of the Association.

May 9th, 1917: Meeting. Following resolution proposed by Mr. Fegan, seconded by Mr. Corry, was carried unanimously:-

'That the members of this Association call upon the President and Government of the United States of America, His Holiness the Pope, and the Governments of all the neutral nations to insist upon Ireland's right as an independent nation being considered and decided at any Peace Conference between the belligerent nations in conformity with the declaration of the Allies to uphold the rights of small nations, and in recognition of the fact that Irishmen have in every generation made armed protest against England's continued forcible armed occupation of Ireland.'

June 13th, 1917: Meeting. Proposed by Fegan, seconded by McCormack and carried unanimously by over 200 members present that the following cable be sent:

'Lord Mayor, Dublin:

Irish National Association of Queensland repudiate Redmond support Plunkett and independence. Fitzgerald, Secretary.'

June 20th, 1917: Meeting. Father O'Leary addressed those present and proposed to unreservedly withdraw the cable of previous week. An attempt was made to postpone the motion to a more representative meeting, but this was defeated by 26 votes to 14, and in a further discussion it was agreed that a message of sympathy be sent to Mrs. Redmond instead of withdrawing the cable..

June 21st, 1917. Committee meeting. Resolution carried that cable passed at previous meeting (20.6.17) be not sent and that Father O'Leary be asked to attend meeting on 27th. June.

June 27th, 1917: Meeting. Resolution carried that action of Executive in not sending the cable is approved. Resolution carried asking Father O'Leary to reconsider resignation.

June 18th, 1917. First Annual Meeting of the Association. Resolution carried unanimously 'That this Association heartily congratulates Commandant de Valera of the Irish Republican Army on his victory in East Clare for Ireland's independence and consequent vindication of the heroes of Easter Week, and that we congratulate the people of Clare for proving that theirs is still the 'Banner County.'

The officers were elected for the year and amongst them were W.J. Fegan as one of the Vice-presidents, and Thos. Fitzgerald, Secretary.

On October 17th, at a Committee meeting, W.J. Fegan was selected to represent the Association at a Monster Meeting in Melbourne on the 5th. November, 1917.

There was also in the Minute Book a loose minute which reads as follows, and which is apparently in Fitzgerald's handwriting:-

'The time has arrived for a representative from this Association to proceed to Sydney to interview our comrades there re closer amalgamation and the future prospects of the I.N.A., with the idea of giving Ireland all the help possible in this critical period of her history, as you know that this is the main object that the I.N.A. was formed for.'

(Then there is.

Then there is a reference also to get details re a newspaper at the Sydney branch which was going to issue shortly, as regards advertising, distribution, subscriptions and contributors, also the forming of branches throughout Australia, if possible a branch in every district, Brisbane to be the headquarters for the whole of Queensland. "Arrange re combined movement with Sydney and Melbourne to release our comrade Bill Fegan and if possible secure the services of Dr. Tuomey and one or two others for the purpose of coming to Brisbane to a big meeting. Also to get an insight of the working of Sydney branch, which may benefit us here."

There were also found further rough minutes in the same book:-

"Further to our interview of Tuesday last. Shall be pleased if you will make all effort to secure us some members for our Association, and shortly one or more of us will go to Warwick to formally open a branch of the I.N.A. if the people there so desire. The annual subscription is 5/- for Gents. and 3/- for Ladies. I need hardly inform you that we want no weak-kneed Irishmen. Irishmen in our organisation must have the welfare of Ireland at heart and stand for absolute independence. On receipt of subscription and your recommendation will at once forward membership card."

Then on the back of this, in manuscript, is - "Advised today, 27th. December, 1917" and then there a number of names - ten names of men and eight names of women. There is also a memorandum dealing apparently with some entertainments and means of raising money, "We want singers, musicians; we want a number of girls to start and make Sinn Fein badges right away." Of course, under the War Precautions Regulations these Sinn Fein colours are illegal ~~hugg~~ badges are illegal badges and not allowed to be used.

HIS HONOR: What is the date of that memorandum? Is it dated?

MR. RALSTON: No, I do not think so. I will look into that further.

There was also found at Fitzgerald's a letter addressed to "Dear Tom" and signed "Car," and enclosing an autograph of de Valera:-

"The Lord Mayor has not received cablegram. Commandant de Valera did not receive congratulatory message, neither did the Irish Press. Both the cablegrams and the resolution were evidently held up and destroyed by the Censor. Dear Tom, I got a great deal more done for you than I anticipated, thanks to K's kindly thought, so I enclose de Valera's autograph. I am also sending "Nationality" this week. Will you let me know by return if you receive this, as it will be satisfactory to know that it got through. Hope you are quite well. Believe me, Sincerely, Car.

By the way, I believe there is a clergyman over here at the present time and he knows you very well. By accident I have heard off him but do not know his name. C.

18.10.17."

I propose also to read a letter which begins "Dear Eugene" and is signed "Tom." It was found at the place where Fitzgerald carried on his business and resided. It is addressed C/o Mr. Fitzgerald, Bookseller. By the way, at the top, in the left-hand corner, is written "Be careful to throw this letter in the fire when finished."

"C/- Mr. Fitzgerald,  
Bookseller,  
Melbourne St., Brisbane.

25th Oct., 1916.

I know very well that you will forgive me for not writing to you long ago but as nearly everything else is upside down I am feeling a bit that way myself and so I put off writing to you from day to day and from week to week.

By Jove, Eugene, but aren't things turning a bit upside down. Really this conscription business has put everything else out of gear and I am a bit afraid about the final result yet. This reporting to the military for examination prior to being passed into camp for home service has proved a regular farce so far as Brisbane is concerned. There are thousands, and many of them are Irish, who have not reported themselves, and I am sure you will not be surprised to hear, knowing how much I love poor old England, that I am one of those disloyal fellows who have not reported. I have not reported and so far they have not interfered with me. If they wait until Doomsday they would not get some of those Sinn Fein Irishmen to report. They would be damned glad now to get the mere Irish and Popish fanatics to fight for them but even if we were forced we will not try to do much good for these holy religious English who are now so fond about howling and crying about Catholic churches being blown by Germans in Belgium and France. No, they would not do anything like what those German Huns did, but we have only to look back to the Boer War and we will see how these same English who are now bawling about justice and small nationalities, respect for women and children, acted towards the Boers in South Africa."

Then there is reference to names.

"If Australia passes conscription, they will get a taste of what Ireland has suffered for centuries past. So far as I am concerned they will wait a damned long time before I will shoot a single German or do anything else that will help the British Empire in this war."

There is a deal more. It finishes:-

"England's defeat is Ireland's freedom and I will do all in my power to see my country enjoy the freedom for which so many gave up their lives."

There is more of the letter but I have read the more material part. Then there has also come into our possession another letter -

HIS HONOR: Of course, under my powers under the Order, I can direct that certain things shall be kept private. I assume unless you say anything to the contrary the Commonwealth has no objection to anything you are referring to being published?

MR. RALSTON: I would not like to go as far as that. Some of these matters, I think, had better not be published - some of these seditious statements that are necessary to put before Your Honor and which it seems necessary to me to open so that my friends may understand the case.

HIS HONOR: I think it is quite proper that Mr. Mack should have these things before him, but the question is what should be allowed to be published, and that is a question that must arise.

MR. RALSTON: There is a great deal in that last letter which I read which I think ought not to be published.

HIS HONOR: You see, I am not running the censorship. I could direct that all the press reports should be submitted to the censorship, so that the general policy of the censorship may be observed. I am not running the censorship and I do not know the policy of the Censor, naturally - it has nothing to do with me.

MR. RALSTON: May I ask Your Honor to make an order that all reports before publication be submitted to the censorship?

HIS HONOR: Reports no doubt have already appeared to a certain extent. Probably not much of your opening because they have not had much opportunity to get to the press with much.

MR. RALSTON: I think in all probability most of the matter, if not all, has been submitted to the censorship, but they would like the benefit of an order from Your Honor.

HIS HONOR: I suppose Mr. Mack has no objection to that?

MR. MACK: No, Your Honor.

HIS HONOR: I shall direct that all press matter shall be submitted to the Censor before publication.

MR. MACK: Of course, that does not affect in any way our rights.

HIS HONOR: Oh no, Mr. Mack.

~~MR. RALSTON: I am opening somewhat fully in consequence of my friend's application - somewhat more fully than I would otherwise have done.~~

HIS HONOR: This Order is made at a quarter to three, that all press matter is to be referred to the Censor before publication.

MR. RALSTON: There came into the hands of the Defence Department a communication addressed in the usual way, in an envelope, from Mrs. M. McDermott, Kinkora, St. Helens, Mackay, to the Irish National Association, Moore's Chambers, Brisbane. It is a pledge, enclosed in an envelope:-

"I.N.A. Pledge. I, the undersigned, do hereby declare that I am eligible, by Irish birth, or descent, for membership in the Irish National Association of Queensland. I pledge myself to advance its interests and objects, and I hereby undertake to obey and hereby subscribe to the rules and objects of the Association, to assist Ireland to achieve her national destiny and to foster the Irish spirit amongst the Irish and Irish-Australian portion of the community.

I proclaim Ireland to be a separate nation and assert Ireland's right to freedom from all foreign control, denying the authority of any foreign parliament to make laws for Ireland.

Name: Margaret McDermott,  
Address: Kinkora, St. Helens, Mackay.

If born in Ireland, state town and county: Oranmore South, Galway." I put that in to show what people who join the Association sign and return. We have not come into possession of any similar document when searching the Association rooms.

I think I have now presented all the most material evidence that we are in a position to place before you. There may be other matters but they are either on the same lines as what I have already dealt with, other correspondence and

(documents.

documents and other matters that are of less moment than the ones I have drawn attention to, and I think that my friend can gather very clearly the nature of the evidence against these people as a whole and what is really the evidence against each one of them individually.

MR. MACK: I cannot complain. On that, there are some applications I would like to make now.

---

(NOTE: The rest of the proceedings during this first day of the Inquiry consisted of legal argument on various issues, e.g., the warrants for the arrests, the order under which the warrants were issued, access to the prisoners by their legal representatives, the matter of adjournment etc.).

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RELEVANT DOCUMENTS

taken from the

Official Bureau File S.2250

which contain correspondence

between the Bureau

and

Dr. A.T. Dryer.

S.2250.

12 Samhain, 1956.

A chara,

I am desired by the Director to thank you very much for your letter of 2nd instant, enclosing a "copy of the indictment by the Crown Prosecutor at the Commission of Inquiry into the internments", and to state that this document, together with your covering letter, has been associated in the Archives with the file of documents entitled: -

The Independence of Ireland

Source Material  
for the  
History of the Movement  
in Australia.

which was received on 18th ultimo from Mr. Skentelberry through the Department of External Affairs.

In this connection I am enclosing a copy of a letter of acknowledgement sent to you by the Director on 24th ultimo.

The Director desires me to again express his sincere appreciation of the manner in which you have co-operated with the Bureau in its work.

Mise, le meas,

RÚNAÍ.

Dr. Albert Thomas Dryer,  
Polding St.,  
Bossley Park,  
New South Wales,  
AUSTRALIA.

(P.J. Brennan)

By Hand

S.2250.

26 Deire Fómhair, 1956.

Registrar,  
Department of External Affairs,  
Iveagh House,  
Dublin.

I am desired by the Director  
to send you herewith one letter for  
dispatch by way of the Diplomatic Bag,  
to Michael L. Skentelberry, Esq.,  
Charge d'Affaires, Embassy of Ireland,  
Melbourne Buildings, Canberra,  
Australia.

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
(P.J. Brennan)

RÚNAÍ.

By Diplomatic Bag.

S.2250.

26th October, 1956.

A Chara,

I am desired by the Director to acknowledge receipt of material on the Irish Independence Movement in Australia prepared by Dr. Albert Dryer, which you have so kindly forwarded to the Bureau by surface bag on 6th ultimo.

I am enclosing for your information a copy of a letter which the Director has addressed to Dr. Dryer.

The Director desires me to express his sincere appreciation of the assistance which you have given to Dr. Dryer and to the Bureau in this matter.

Mise, le meas,

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
(P.J. Brennan)

RÚNAÍ.

Michael L. Skentelberry, Esq.,  
Charge d'Affaires,  
Embassy of Ireland,  
Melbourne Buildings,  
Canberra,  
AUSTRALIA.



EMBASSY OF IRELAND  
CANBERRA



AMBASÁID NA hÉIREANN  
CANBERRA

6th September, 1956.

D/48



A Chara,

With reference to your letter of the 5th June regarding material on the Irish independence movement in Australia I wish to state that I have now dispatched this by surface bag.

Mis, le meas,

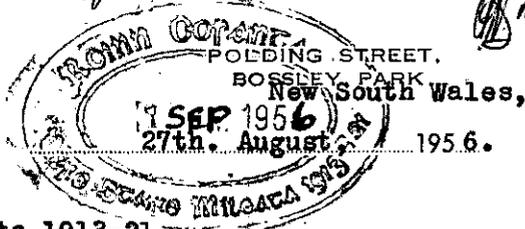
*M. J. Keogh*  
Charge d'Affaires a.i.

F.J. Brennan, Esq.,  
Rural,  
Bureau of Military History 1913-21,  
26 Westland Row,  
DUBLIN IRELAND

*Await receipt of material from Dept of  
external affairs before writing to Dr. Dryer.*

TEL. WETHERILL PARK. A 474

DR. ALBERT T. DRYER



The Director,  
Buro Staire Mileata 1913-21,  
26 Raedh na nIartharach,  
BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH.

A Chara,

The source material for the history of the Irish independence movement in Australia, which I was honoured by being asked to compile, is now, I am very happy to say, on its way to the Buro. It is being taken down tomorrow by Mr. Daniel Minogue, M.P., to the Embassy at Canberra and Mr. Skentelbery, Charge d'Affaires, has very kindly offered to forward it to you in his diplomatic bag.

The long delay I most sincerely regret and I hope your arrangements have not been inconvenienced thereby. The task has proved an unexpectedly long one. As one proceeds in such an undertaking the vista appears constantly to widen.

I am only too well aware of the shortcomings of the result, but I do sincerely hope that it can provide some knowledge of, at least, some of the basic facts regarding the independence movement in this country. The scope of my work was to a considerable extent restricted by the fact that I had to confine my field of operations to Sydney. This is not to say, of course, that there was not a tolerably large amount of information, e.g., press cuttings, facts of personal knowledge, available regarding at least two other States, Victoria and Queensland, which made it possible to set out the salient facts of the movement in those States, as well as in New South Wales. In the other States, South Australia, Western Australia and Tasmania, I have no doubt whatever that the pattern of public reaction to the Rising and its

outcome.

DR. ALBERT T. DRYER

POLDING STREET,  
BOSSLEY PARK

.2. 27 . VIII . 1956.

outcome would follow upon the same general lines as in the three Eastern States, though upon a more limited scale, since these three States, South Australia, Western Australia and Tasmania, have a combined population of only 20% of that of Australia.

In preparing this material I have endeavoured to be as unbiassed as I could. I do not know whether I am submitting either too little or too much, but I am confident that perusal of the document will enable historians to acquire a fairly accurate view of the state of affairs here.

If you desire further elucidation of any aspect of the story, please regard me as a willing co-operator. It is lamentably true that practically all of the prime movers during that heroic era are no longer with us.

In my desire to get this material into your hands as early as possible at this late stage I have not paused to copy the indictment of the Crown Prosecutor before the Commission of Inquiry into the internments. This gives much more detail regarding the episode than is to be found in Judge Harvey's report. It runs to about twenty-five pages of foolscap, single-space typewriting. If you regard it as relevant, I shall be happy to send a copy with all haste.

I truly feel my own inadequacy to deal with such a vital and important matter as this, but again I express the hope that some use may be found for the report I am submitting and again I say that I feel honoured in being asked to make the attempt.

Sincerely yours,



S.2250.

10 1611, 1956.

Dear Dr. Dryer,

Thank you very much for your letter  
of 4th instant.

I am very pleased to hear that you have  
made such progress with the recording of your  
experiences and that I may shortly expect to  
receive your completed story.

With renewed thanks.

Yours sincerely,

DIRECTOR.

(M. McDunphy)

Dr. Albert T. Dryer,  
Polding St.,  
Bossley Park,  
New South Wales,  
AUSTRALIA.

DR. ALBERT T. DRYER

POLDING STREET,  
BOSSLEY PARK  
New South Wales,

4th. July, 1956.

The Director,  
Buro Staire Mileata,  
26 Raedh na nIartharach,  
BAILE ATHA CLIATH.



A Chara,

Adverting to your letter (S.2250) of the 16th. April last and previous correspondence, I now write to say that I expect to have my statement on the Irish Independence Movement in Australia completed within the next two or three weeks. I have been engaged on the research during all available time for the past few months.

Mr. M.L. Skentelbery of the Embassy of which he is Charge d'Affaires, has kindly undertaken to send you the report in his diplomatic bag. This is considered a safer procedure. I shall write further when it is completed.

Mise, le meas,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'Albert T. Dryer', written over a horizontal line.

S.2250.

5 Meitheamh, 1956.

Registrar,  
Department of External Affairs,  
Iveagh House.

I am desired by the Director  
to send you herewith, as arranged,  
one letter for dispatch by way of  
the Diplomatic Bag, to Michael L.  
Skentelbery, Charge d'Affaires,  
Embassy of Ireland, Melbourne  
Buildings, Canberra, Australia.

---

(P. J. Brennan)

RÚNAÍ.

By way of Diplomatic Bag.

S.2250.

5 Meitheamh, 1956.

A Chara,

I am desired by the Director to thank you for your letter of 23rd ultimo, enclosing a copy of a letter dated 19th ultimo, which you have received from Dr. Albert T. Dryer and to state that he will be looking forward to receiving Dr. Dryer's statement, through you, when it is completed.

The Director desires me to express his appreciation of the assistance which you are giving to the Bureau in this matter.

Mise, le meas,

  
RÚNAÍ.  
(P.J. Brennan)

Michael L. Skentelberry,  
Charge d'Affaires,  
Embassy of Ireland,  
Melbourne Buildings,  
Canberra,  
AUSTRALIA.

EMBASSY OF IRELAND  
CANBERRA



AMBASÁID NA hÉIREANN  
CANBERRA

48.

23rd May, 1956.



A Chara,

Further to my letter of the 7th February, regarding correspondence with Dr. A. T. Dryer (your reference No. S 2250), I enclose a copy of a letter I have received from Dr. Dryer to which I have replied stating that I should be very happy to transmit his report to you.

Mise, le meas,

  
Charge d'Affaires a.i.

P. J. Brennan, Esq.,  
Rural,  
Bureau of Military History 1913-21,  
26, Westland Row,  
DUBLIN, IRELAND.

Enc.

COPY.

Dr. Albert T. Dryer.

Polding Street,  
Bossley Park,  
Via Fairfield, N.S.W.

19th May, 1956.

McL. Skentelbery Esq.,  
Charge d'Affaires,  
The Embassy of Ireland,  
CANBERRA,

Dear Mr. Skentelbery,

D/48.

Before leaving for the country nearly three weeks ago, I had completed a tolerably large part of the report on the Irish independence movement. As I am aware that the Bureau must soon be closed, a very earnest effort is being made to finalise it. The job is a broader one than I at first expected it to be, and will require a good deal of time to complete it.

When ready, would you prefer that I should send it to the Bureau through you? If so, I could either post it to you or ask Mr. Minogue to deliver it to you. I thought, firstly, that you may be interested in seeing it, and, secondly it may be a safer way to send it.

If I had Dr. Kiernan's address in Bonn, I would like to send him a copy.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

(signed) A. T. Dryer.

S.2250

16 April 1956

A Chara,

I am desired by the Director to thank you very much for your letter of 8th instant and to state that he will be looking forward to receiving your story of the Irish Independence Movement in Australia together with the report by Judge Harvey.

With renewed thanks,

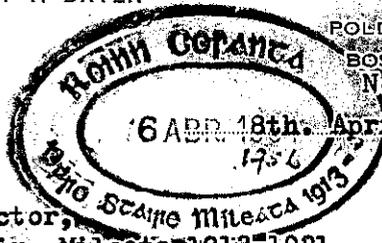
Mise, le meas,

  
(P.J. Brennan)

RÚNAÍ

Dr. Albert Thomas Dryer,  
Polding Street,  
Bossley Park,  
New South Wales,  
Australia.

DR. ALBERT T. DRYER



POLDING STREET,  
BOSSLEY PARK  
New South Wales,

16 APR 18th. April, 1956. 1956. 1956.

The Director,  
Buro Staire Míleata 1913-1921,  
26 Raedh na nIartharach,  
BATTLE ATHA CLIATH.

A Chara,

Thank you for your letter of the  
21st. January (S.2250) and enclosures.

I assure you that the matter of re-  
cording the story of the Independence movement in  
Australia (insofar as I am able to make a con-  
tribution) has never been absent from my mind.  
By way of personal explanation, perhaps I should  
mention that since my enforced retirement from  
practice three years ago, on account of ill-  
health (although I am now, thank God, quite re-  
covered), I have been greatly preoccupied with  
many matters and have been absent from Sydney  
a great deal. But for the past three weeks or  
so I have been exploring all sources of material  
in order to finalise this task, and I shall not  
now desist until it is completed.

The report by Judge Harvey to which  
you refer is in my possession and enquiries from  
Government Departments make it evident that this  
is almost certainly the only copy extant. A  
copy of the document will be included with the  
rest of the material which I feel honoured to be  
asked to send.

Mise, le meas,

(A.T. Dryer).

EMBASSY OF IRELAND  
CANBERRA



AMBASAID NA HEIREANN  
CANBERRA

D/48

7th February, 1956.



A Chara,

In reply to your letter (No. S.2250) of the 21st January regarding correspondence with Dr. Dyer, I wish to state that I wrote to him on receipt of your letter and he has now replied to the effect that he is in direct correspondence with you.

Mise, le meas,

  
Charge d'Affaires a.i.

P.J. Brennan, Esq.,  
Ruai,  
Bureau of Military History 1913-21,  
26 Westland Row,  
DUBLIN .. IRELAND.

DR. ALBERT T. DRYER

POLDING STREET,  
BOSSLEY PARK  
New South Wales,

2nd. February, 1956.

An Runai,  
Buro Staire Míleata 1913-1921,  
26 Raedh na nIartharach,  
Baile Atha Cliath,  
IRELAND.



A Chara,

Although it would appear that I have culpably neglected the matter of recording the story of the Independence Movement in Australia, the truth is that the circumstances in which I have found myself have precluded all possibility of dealing with the subject as adequately as its importance warrants.

The matter has now become an urgent one and within a couple of months I fully anticipate a better opportunity for making an effort to finalise it.

I am most conscious of the importance of this record and I shall do my utmost to obtain as much information as possible. I feel honoured to have been asked to do so.

Mise, le meas,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'A. T. Dryer', with a horizontal line underneath.

S.2250

21 January 1956

D  
R  
D

Registrar,  
Department of External Affairs,  
Iveagh House.

I am desired by the Director to send you herewith, as arranged, one letter for dispatch by way of the Diplomatic Bag, to Michael L. Skentelbery, Charge d'Affaires, Irish Embassy, Melbourne Buildings, Civic Centre, Canberra, A.C.T., Australia.



RUNA f

(P.J. Brennan)

D  
L  
C

*By way of Diplomatic Bag*

S.2250

21 January 1956

A Chara,

I enclose a copy of a letter which I have sent today to Dr. Albert Thomas Dryer, Folding Street, Bossley Park, New South Wales.

I would be grateful if you could do anything further to assist in the matter.

Mise, le meas,

RÚNAÍ  
(P.J. Brennan)

Michael L. Skentelberry,  
Charge d'Affaires,  
Irish Embassy,  
Melbourne Buildings,  
Civic Centre,  
Canberra, A.C.T., Australia.

*Copy of Bureau  
Leaflet enclosed.*

8.2250

21 January 1956

A Chara,

I am desired by the Director to refer to my letter of 1st December 1954, a copy of which is attached, and to state that he hopes that you have by now found it possible to complete for the Bureau the story of your association with the Movement, in Australia, for Irish Independence.

The work of the Bureau will shortly be coming to a close and it would be regrettable if, when that stage is reached that there should remain unrecorded any important material which is part of one of the most vital periods of our history. For that reason, the Director trusts sincerely that your recollections of the events and developments in Australia with which you were associated, or which were within your personal knowledge, will have been received in the Bureau, together with any relevant documents which may be in your possession or at your disposal.

I am enclosing a copy of the text of a recent broadcast talk on the Bureau by the Minister for Defence which may be of interest to you.

Included in the list of documents received by the Bureau on 4th June 1954, through our Ambassador, Doctor Kiernan, was one entitled: "report by Judge Harney". That document was not, in fact, received in the Bureau and the Director wrote to Dr. Kiernan asking him to see if he could trace it.

Unfortunately, Dr. Kiernan has now left Australia. I wonder if there is anything you can do in the matter.

If the original has been mislaid, perhaps you could send me a copy.

Mise, le meas,

(P. J. Brennan)

RÚNA Í

Dr. Albert Thomas Dryer,  
Polding Street,  
Bossley Park,  
New South Wales,  
Australia.

S.2250.

1 Nollaig, 1954.

A Chara,

I am desired by the Director to thank you very much for your letter of 16th ultimo; and to state that he is looking forward to receiving from you the full story of your association with the Movement in Australia for Irish Independence.

With regard to the question of a time-limit the Director desires me to say that within reason there is no pressing urgency, but he is aiming at completing the work of the Bureau in the next two years and he is particularly anxious that he should have your statement within that period for inclusion in the Archives.

With renewed thanks.

Mise, le meas,

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
(P.J. Brennan)

RÚNAÍ.

Dr. Albert Thomas Dryer,  
Polding Street,  
Bossley Park,  
New South Wales.

Polding Street,

Bossley Park,

New South Wales,

16th. November, 1954.

An Rúnai,  
Buro Staire Míleata 1913-21,  
26 Raedh na nIartharach,  
Baile Átha Cliath.



A Chara,

It is long since I received your letter (S.2250) of the 6th. May last. May I explain that, during the last year or so, I have been beset by problems which have demanded close and constant attention. During the interval since the receipt of your letter I have been anxious and eager to comply with the request by which you have honoured me, namely, to set out a record of events in Australia related to the movement for the independence of Ireland.

I sincerely apologise for the delay in replying to your letter. Insofar as I am able at present to foresee, it will be two or three months before I can set about dealing with the matter as its importance merits. I shall then search all records available. It is sad to say that very few of the people who could materially contribute to the story are now in life.

The matter which at present concerns me very much is the question as to whether there is a time-limit to the period during which matter can be accepted by the Bureau.

I am exceedingly grateful for the Chronology which you sent me through the hands of Dr. Kiernan. It is a most striking document comprising an extraordinary amount of detailed history and a sine qua non for all concerned with the history of the period. It will be of very great value to me.

I beg to assure you, a chara, that I shall devote myself to carrying out the assignment as early as possible and to the best of my ability.

Mise, le meas mór,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'A.T. Dryer'.

(A.T. Dryer).

5  
By hand

S.2250.

4 Meitheamh, 1954.

Registrar,  
Department of External Affairs,  
Iveagh House,  
DUBLIN.

I am desired by the Director  
to send you herewith one letter for  
dispatch by way of the Diplomatic Bag,  
to His Excellency, T.J. Kiernan, M.A.,  
Ph.D., Ambassador Extraordinary and  
Plenipotentiary, Irish Embassy,  
Canberra, Australia.

  
RÚNAÍ  
(P.J. Brennan).

*Forwarded by way of Diplomatic Bag.*

S. ~~1439~~<sup>2250</sup>

5th June, 1954.

My dear Kiernan,

Thanks very much for your letter of the 24th ultimo,  
D/48.

The supplementary statement by Dr. Albert T. Dryer,  
dated 18th idem, is of considerable historic importance,  
and I am having it placed in our archives.

The Press comments following the Rising of 1916 are  
of particular interest and, if we could have others of a  
later period showing the gradual modification or hardening,  
as the case may be, of opinion in Australia, they would be  
very acceptable indeed.

In the second last paragraph of his statement  
Dr. Dryer refers to an enclosed copy of a report by Judge  
Harvey. I can find no trace of that enclosure; it appears  
to have been omitted through some oversight. If that  
particular copy cannot be found, perhaps he could get  
another one for me. It is an important document.

When that point has been resolved, I shall send an  
acknowledgement direct to Dr. Dryer.

I am very gratified at the interest shown by His Grace  
Archbishop Mannix in our work, and am extremely grateful to  
him for his promise to prepare some notes. I realise that  
it is an unkind burden to impose on him at his great age, but  
a statement by him would be a priceless contribution to the  
historic records of the period with which the Bureau is  
concerned.

With renewed thanks,

Yours sincerely,

DIRECTOR

(M. McDunphy)

His Excellency T.J. Kiernan, M.A., Ph.D.,  
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary,  
Irish Embassy,  
Canberra,  
Australia.

*A copy of this letter has been  
placed on Most Rev. Dr. Mannix file  
D.2165. MB.*

EMBASSY OF IRELAND  
CANBERRA



AMBASÁID NA hÉIREANN  
CANBERRA

D/48

24th May, 1954.

2001  
Michael McDunphy, Esq.,  
Secretary,  
Office of the President,  
Arus an Uachtarain,  
Phoenix Park,  
DUBLIN. IRELAND.

My Dear McDunphy,

To supplement the information given by Dr. A.T. Dryer (my letter to you of the 20th of April, 1954), I enclose a statement dated the 18th May, 1954, which he has prepared for the archives.

I saw His Grace, Archbishop Mannix, again last week. He has the volumes of Chronology on his library desk and promised to prepare some notes for the Bureau. He remarked that if you had asked him ten years ago, when he was only 80, his memory was fresher. He kept no notes of the 1920 or any other period.

Yours sincerely,

J. J. Keenan

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An extract of paragraph 2 of this letter has been made and has been placed on Dr. Mannix file S. 2165.

6th May, 1954.

A Chara,

I am desired by the Director to inform you that he has received from the Irish Ambassador at Canberra, Dr. Thomas J. Kiernan, the following items which you so kindly gave him for presentation to the Bureau, and that they have been placed in the Archives:-

- (a) typed copy of Australian Parliamentary Paper No. 103 of 1918 entitled "Irish Republican Brotherhood Internees - Report on cases by Mr. Justice Harney";
- (b) contemporary photograph, taken in internment, of the eight men mentioned in the Report, including yourself.

The Director desires me to express his sincere appreciation of your kindness in making these documents available to the Bureau. It is clear from them that you were closely associated with the movement for the restoration of the National Independence of Ireland, and the Director would be grateful if you could see your way to set on record the full story of your experiences in that regard and to present a copy to the Bureau and, if you could induce others to do likewise.

The story which you have to tell can be told in any manner you choose, and can take the form of a single statement or any number of statements. The essential thing is that whatever you set down should be a record of the facts as they are known to you. It should be told with as much detail as you can remember, including dates, persons, places, etc., as incidents which appear to be of minor importance may, in the view of historians have a real significance.

Statements, when received in the Bureau, are carefully covered and bound to ensure their preservation and protection as historic documents, and for that reason it would be appreciated if you could arrange, when drawing up your statement, to use one side of the paper only, and to leave a margin of about one inch on the left, so that none of the text may be obscured in the binding.

At Dr. Kiernan's request I am sending him, for you, a copy of a Chronology prepared by the Bureau covering the whole period into which the Bureau is

enquiring/

enquiring. In consulting this document it is important, of course, to bear in mind its limitations as set out in paragraph 2 of its foreword viz:-

"The entries have been selected exclusively from published sources. It is realised, of course, that some of this material is not wholly accurate or complete, as the conditions of the time frequently operated against accuracy in press reporting and publication, while other published material, whether contemporary or of later issue, is not always reliable on the facts."

Mise, le meas,

  
Rinaf.

Dr. Albert T. Dryer,  
Polding Street,  
Bossley Park,  
Sydney,  
N. S. W.

for file S.2250.

Forwarded by way of Diplomatic Bag

S.2165.

6th May, 1954.

Dear Kiernan,

Thanks very much for your letter of the 20th ultimo, D/48, with its enclosures.

I am very gratified that His Grace, Archbishop Mannix, intends to prepare some notes for our Archives, and I hope that he will make them as full and as comprehensive as possible and that he will send us, through you, any documents, or copies thereof, which may be relevant. The part played by him in our fight for national independence is an inherent part of that phase of the history of Ireland, and the story of his experiences in that struggle, as related by himself, will be of great value to historians of the future.

The copy of the Australian Parliamentary Paper No. 103 of 1918 and the contemporary photograph, which were given to you by Dr. Albert T. Dryer, are very acceptable, and I am having them placed in our Archives, together with a copy of your letter by way of explanation. The Secretary of the Bureau has written to him and I enclose a copy of his letter.

I am sending you under separate cover four copies of our Chronology, to be used by you as you think best. In consulting this document, it is important, of course, to bear in mind its limitations, as set out in paragraph 2 of the foreword, viz.:-

"The entries have been selected exclusively from published sources. It is realised, of course, that some of this material is not wholly accurate or complete, as the conditions of the time frequently operated against accuracy in press reporting and publication, while other published material, whether contemporary or of later issue, is not always reliable on the facts."

I am very grateful to you for what you have done and are doing for the Bureau, and I hope that we will have the pleasure and honour of getting His Grace's story and any other historical material which may be available in Australia.

With renewed thanks,

Yours sincerely,

DIRECTOR

(M. McDunphy)

His Excellency T.J. Kiernan, M.A., Ph.D.,  
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary,  
Irish Embassy,  
Canberra,  
Australia.

The original of this letter issued on  
file S.2165 - Most Rev. Dr. Mannix, Archbishop  
of Melbourne. M/6/54.

COPY.

EMBASSY OF IRELAND,  
CANBERRA.

D/48.

20th April 1954.

Michael McDunphy, Esq.,  
Secretary,  
Office of the President,  
Arus an Uachtarain,  
Phoenix Park,  
DUBLIN. IRELAND..

My Dear McDunphy,

Archbishop Mannix told me recently that he intended soon to prepare some notes for the archives of the Bureau of Military History 1913-1921. I cannot very well press him as he continues to perform his full duties as Archbishop of Melbourne. Meanwhile, I had asked Dr. Dryer of Sydney for some information concerning the circumstances of the internment of himself and other Australians in 1918, and he has given me the enclosed copy of Australian Parliamentary Paper No. 103 of 1918 and a contemporary photograph, taken in internment, of the eight men mentioned in the Report. I have not been able to obtain a copy of the original print of this Paper. You might send an acknowledgment to Dr. Albert T. Dryer, Folding Street, Bossley Park, N.S.W. He is Secretary of the League for an Undivided Ireland in Sydney.

Could you send me two more sets of the Chronology. I already have one in the Embassy's library and Archbishop Mannix has one. I would like to give one to Rev. W.P. Hackett, S.J., Director of the Central Catholic Library in Melbourne and another to Dr. Dryer, both of whom may be able to get further material.

With kind regards,  
Yours sincerely,

Sgd. T.J. Kiernan.

*The original of this letter is  
on file S. 2165. Most Rev. Dr. Mannix.*

*5/5/54*

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY 1913-21  
BURO STAIRÉ MILEATA 1913-21  
NO. W.S. 1526