

DUPLICATE

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY 1913-21

BURO STAIRÉ MILEATA 1913-21

NO. W.S. 1698

ROINN



COSANTA.

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY, 1913-21.

STATEMENT BY WITNESS.

DOCUMENT NO. W.S. 1698.

Witness

Liam de Róiste,

No. 2 Janemount,

Sunday's Well, Cork.

Identity.

Member, Coiste Gnotha, Gaelic League.

Member, Dáil Éireann, 1918-1923.

Subject.

National Activities, 1899 - 1918.

Irish Volunteers, Cork City, 1913-1918.

Conditions, if any, Stipulated by Witness.

Nil.

File No S. 452.

Form B.S.M. 2

STATEMENT OF LIAM DE ROISTE.

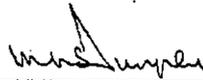
CERTIFICATE BY THE DIRECTOR OF THE BUREAU.

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

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

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

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



DIRECTOR.

(M. McDunphy)

27th November, 1957.

DUPLICATE

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

STATEMENT BY LIAM DE ROISTE

2. Janemount, Sunday's Well, Cork.

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

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

His statement is recorded hereunder:-

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1899. Cork Young Ireland Society founded.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

.....

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

.....

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

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

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

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

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

Immediate means proposed were:-

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1902.

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

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

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

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

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

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

1902.

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

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

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

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

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

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

1902.

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

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

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

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

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

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

1902.

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

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

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

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

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

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

1902.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Our Cork resolutions were the principal matters before the Convention.

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

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

1902.

He proposed as an amendment to the Cork resolution:

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

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

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

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

1902.

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

1903.

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

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

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

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

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

Some discussions took place at the organising committee

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1903.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1903.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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October 13th.

Bulfin could not come to Cork.

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

October 21st.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The whole matter was adjourned for six months.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Lord Mayor of Dublin was also present.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

November 10th.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

There seems to be a confusion between our various organisations.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

December 5th. The Conservative Government in England has

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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January 3rd. Meeting of the Celtic Literary Society.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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to govern Ireland.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Liberals are "sweeping the polls" in England.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

National Archives Act, 1986, Regulations, 1988

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WS 1698 Westminster Lines de Roiste p 73
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J. Moloney
Name: (J. Moloney.)

Grade: Col.

Department/Office/Court:

Date: 7 March 2003.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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This is the story:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

April 1st.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

It is published with the quotation:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Griffith and John Daly departed together by the night train.

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

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

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

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papers have also published articles that appeared in it.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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the organisation, in response to invitations he received.

He has no formal sanction from the Executive.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

January 23rd.

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

February 14th.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The O'Brienites voted against this "Budget".

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

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

1910

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1910

111.

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

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

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

1911.

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

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

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

1911.

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

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

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

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

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

1911.

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

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

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

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

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

1912.

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

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

1912.

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

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

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

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

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

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

1912

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

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

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

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

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

1913.

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

1913

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

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

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

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

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

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

1913.

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

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

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

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

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

1913.

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

FOUNDING OF CORK CORPS, IRISH VOLUNTEERS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We decided to call the meeting by ticket only. Bundles

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

The invitation on the cards was as follows:

"Leanfám go díoth do chláir sinnsir. Irish Volunteers.

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

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

Míscaill do mhísneach a Bhanba".

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Tomás MacCurtain secured the services of a man named

1913

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

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

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

1914.

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

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

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

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

1914

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

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

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

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

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

The Volunteers, as a body, took no part.

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

1914

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

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

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

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

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

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

1914

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

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

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

April 2nd. It was reported in the press that "a Women's Auxiliary" to the Volunteers - Cumann na mBan - had been formed in Dublin.

April 5th - Sunday. There was a parade of the Volunteers in the Cornmarket. About 100 paraded. A route march to Blarney had been decided on. Photographs of the corps were taken. (Published in the "Cork Examiner" next day and subsequently on postcards. The picture of the Volunteers was the first mark of "Examiner" friendliness). The morning was exceptionally wet, yet a huge crowd awaited us in Anglesea St. As we swung out of the gates of the Market, cheers were raised. Our reception through the city was splendid; we were then the "men of the hour". The roads were sodden; the march was real hard work. The evening cleared. At Blarney, when we halted, a few of us (Thomas MacCurtain, P.S. O'Hegarty and myself) spoke off a table, and a Blarney Corps was started.

We returned to the city by "the rising of the moon", hugely pleased with ourselves, feeling we had justified our existence so far, despite all opposition.

Some Fianna boys also took part in this route march.

(At this time, Eoin MacNeill, Roger Casement and O'Rahilly were in London making arrangements for the purchase of rifles for the Volunteers. There they met Darrell Figgis and Erskine Childers. Consultations took place in the home of Mrs. Stopford-Green.

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MacNeill and Casement also had an interview with John Rodmond, who then suggested he should have the right to nominate representatives on the Dublin Provisional Committee.)

April 24th. "Larne gun-running". A large consignment of German Mauser rifles was brought into Larne for the use of the Ulster Volunteers. This was done in defiance of the British Government proclamation of December 1913, prohibiting the importation of arms into Ireland. No action was taken by the British navy, by coastguards or police to prevent the landing. Sir Edward Carson accepted full responsibility for what was done. The Government took no proceedings against him.

April 29th. A meeting, under the auspices of the National Council of Sinn Féin, was held in Dublin to protest against the exclusion of Ulster from the Home Rule measure. Alderman Tom Kelly presided. Arthur Griffith and W.T. Cosgrave were the principal speakers. Cork was represented by Tadhg Barry.

May 24th - Sunday: Cork Corps, Irish Volunteers, paraded in the Cornmarket. On the invitation of J.L. Fawsitt, acting for the Executive Committee, Captain Talbot-Crosbie attended the parade and, informally, took command of the Corps.

May 22nd. Reported in the press that there had been a seizure of arms by the Customs Officers at North Wall, Dublin. The consignment was addressed to a Mr. Tallon.

May 25th. The Home Rule Bill passed Third Reading in the British House of Commons, with a clause suspending its operation until an Amending Bill, providing for the exclusion of Ulster, was introduced.

A Volunteer Corps was established in Bandon, consequent upon a public meeting addressed by J.J. Walsh and Peadar O'Bannracha, n.

A corps was also formed in Middleton about this time.

(Subsequently, corps were formed in Bantry, Skibbercen, Dunmanway, and other towns in Co. Cork, by J.J. Walsh and

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Captain Talbot-Crosbie. Difficulty was found in getting Redmondites and O'Brienites to combine in the Volunteers).

June. Members of the Irish Parliamentary Party and leading supporters of theirs became active in forming Volunteer Corps throughout the country. Mr. John Redmond had been in negotiation with Eoin MacNeill and Colonel Maurice Moore, demanding a controlling representation on the Dublin provisional Committee by the co-option of 25 men to be named by him, on the committee.

On June 9th, he made this demand publicly in a letter to the press.

The Provisional Committee was, at this time, arranging for a National Convention and some members of it, with the Committee's authority, were negotiating for the purchase of rifles.

A majority of the Provisional Committee decided to accede to Mr. Redmond's demands and co-opted the men named by him.

In Cork, a number of Redmondites were also co-opted on the local Provisional Committee, but did not form a majority. The position was different here from elsewhere, owing to the action of the Hibernians at the inaugural meeting and the existence of the O'Brienite Party, who were also represented on the Committee.

June 5th. Report in the press that British torpedo boats were around the coast of Kerry and had called into Fenit. The purpose was understood to be the prevention of landing of arms for the Irish Volunteers.

The effect of the endorsement of the Volunteer movement by Mr. Redmond and his supporters was that large numbers of men now joined in, in all parts of the country. The great majority of these were staunch supporters of Mr. Redmond and the Irish Parliamentary Party.

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Colonel Maurice Moore became Inspector-General. Captain Talbot-Crosbie was "Chief Inspecting Officer" for Co. Cork. Large scale reviews were held. Public men who had been bitterly opposed to the Volunteers now professed sympathy.

To arm the Volunteers became a pressing question. The Ulster Volunteers had obtained further consignments of rifles.

It was understood by those in Cork who originally founded the Volunteers that arrangements were being made to procure arms, and a "rifle fund" was opened for which subscriptions were obtained and to which the rank and file contributed weekly sums. Collections were also taken at the church doors. This fund was officially announced from Dublin by the Provisional Committee on 24th June, to be opened on 12th July as the "Defence of Ireland Fund".

July. From Saturday, July 11th, to Saturday, August 1st, I was in London, attending a course of lectures at the London School of Economics. (One of the lecturers at this school was Mr. Clement Atlee).

John F. Burke, who had been a fellow-student of mine in University College, Cork, was also attending the London School at this time. Through him, I met several Corkmen in London. I got in touch with some members of the Gaelic League, the Irish Literary Society and the Four Provinces Club. I found that an Irish Volunteer Corps had been recently organised. On Saturday, July 18th, I was taken to see them drilling in the German Gymnasium, a large hall, not far from where I was staying in Desmond House, Great Ormond St. It seemed to me to be a well-drilled corps.

On Monday, July 20th, through Mr. John P. Boland, Member of Parliament for Kerry, whom I had met previously, I secured a ticket of admission to the House of Commons. There was to be a further debate this evening on the Home Rule Bill. It was, however, postponed. The announcement had been made that the

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King was calling a conference in an endeavour to have the Bill enacted by consent of all parties. (This was "The Buckingham Palace Conference"). It seemed like an acceptance of the policy advocated by Mr. William O'Brien; General rumour was that the King was acting on his own initiative a desired a settlement of the question. The Queen, it was said, was entirely on the side of the Carsonites.

The Home Rule Bill, not being before the House, the proceedings appeared very dull.

Thursday 23rd. Meeting Augustine Roche, Member for Cork City, I got from him another ticket of admission to the House of Commons. The debate on this occasion was also dull, except for some flashes of wit by Mr. Lloyd George.

During these days, everywhere one went among the London-Irish the talk was of the Irish Volunteers. A young Limerick girl whom I met told me she had taken over some rifles from London to Limerick.

Friday 24th. I received a letter from Sean O'Sullivan, Commandant, Cork Corps, asking me to procure a tent and some drill books for the Fianna. Also, if possible, any other equipment I could manage.

I had, in fact, decided for myself to secure a rifle. Before I left Cork I had suggested the possibility of securing rifles in London and had discussed ways and means of bringing them in. For one reason or another, the suggestion was not favourably received.

Sunday 26th. At midnight, as I was in my room preparing to retire, the lady of the house where I was staying, Mrs. Power, a Co. Limerick woman, excitedly rushed up the stairs and knocked at the door. When I opened it, she handed me the evening paper, saying to me: "There's terrible work in Dublin. They're killing and shooting all the people there: 'tis murder!"

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The headings in the paper were lurid indeed - "Liffey St. runs red in blood". It had only a short account of the gun-running at Howth and the subsequent shootings at Bachelor's Walk. It was difficult to know what had really taken place, or if the Volunteers were in action against the military. As given, it seemed ghastly.

Monday 27th. The general feeling of any Irish people I met was one of exultation at the coup of the Volunteers and the successful landing of the rifle consignment, with strong condemnation of the Asquith Government, the military and police in Dublin. This feeling was general also among the liberal-minded students at the School of Economics. Some, particularly those from Scotland, Wales and Lancashire, were loud in expressing their opinions and they offered those of us from Cork congratulations on the one hand and sympathy on the other.

The evening papers announced that the affray in Dublin was to be discussed in the House of Commons tonight. I had tried to get in early, but failed. I tried on a second occasion, but with no success. I accosted Maurice Healy, Member from Cork City. He told me every seat in the public galleries was occupied and was likely to remain so. There was exceptional excitement in and around "the House". Hundreds of people were desirous of getting in. John Redmond, T.M. Healy and other Irish members were coming out and re-entering. The war in Europe was coming into discussions, as well as the Dublin shootings and the Home Rule Bill.

Tuesday 28th. A colleague of mine from Cork at the School, who took little interest in politics, had succeeded in getting in for the debate in the House of Commons. He said it was painful for any Irish Nationalist listening to John Redmond speaking on the occasion. His attitude was tantamount to an apology for what had occurred and an excuse for the soldiers who had shot the people on Bachelor's Walk. The same view was expressed by others I met who had been listening to the debate.

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Thursday 30th. By this time it was known no agreement had been reached at the Buckingham Palace Conference; Carson not budging from the position he had taken up, though Redmond and Dillon were willing to have Ulster excluded from the Home Rule Bill for a period. It was said the international situation in Europe was assuming grave proportions and was affecting the position as regards Home Rule.

(The official announcement of the breakdown of the Conference was published on Saturday).

Friday 31st. In a general dealer's store in the East End of London (a Jewish concern, of course), I got the tent for our Cork Fianna boys and had it conveyed to Desmond House. Then, with one of my London-Irish friends, I went and purchased a rifle in a gunsmith's shop; a new German Mauser rifle. (I could have obtained half a dozen were I in a position to purchase them). I brought it to Desmond House, well wrapped up in paper. That night, in my bedroom, I tied the rifle securely to the pole of the tent, wrapped the canvas round the pole, also securing this with the rope of the tent, attached labels with name and address and brought "the parcel" down to the hall. Next day (August 1st), I had my parcel conveyed to Paddington Station, booked it as passengers' luggage to be conveyed to Cork via Fishguard-Rosslare, by which route I was travelling. That evening, I left London, reaching Rosslare next morning (Sunday, August 2nd). Casually watching, I saw that my "parcel" was duly taken into the luggage van. The train reached Cork after midday. I got my parcel into the parcels office. That evening, I called to the Volunteer headquarters, Fisher Street, gave the parcel office ticket receipt to Tadhg Barry. He and another went to the railway station and returned with the tent and the rifle.

During the last days in London, there was general talk everywhere, in shops, restaurants, on the streets, concerning

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the war in Europe; fears expressed that Britain may be involved; hopes that she may be able to keep out of it. During the week there were failures on the Stock Exchange. Then the Exchange closed. On Friday, the Bank of England stopped the issue of gold coins. This was regarded as the most serious indication of Britain entering the war. It affected everyone, as weekend payment of wages and salaries were being made and preparation advanced for August holidays. Excitement was very noticeable as the various editions of the newspapers appeared.

On July 10th, in the British Parliament, in reply to a question, Augustine Birrell, Chief Secretary for Ireland, stated that police estimates of the number of Volunteers in Ireland were: 132,000 Irish Volunteers; 85,000 Ulster Volunteers

Monday, July 13th. Captain Talbot Crosbie had a letter in the Cork papers to say he had been authorised from headquarters in Dublin to organise Co. Cork Volunteers in brigades; East Cork, Mid Cork, West Cork, North Cork. He also stated a County Convention was to meet in Cork on August 16th to elect a Committee of Management of the Volunteer Corps of the county and city.

The "Cork Constitution" was endeavouring to incite a "split" in the Volunteers by quoting various speakers at Volunteer meetings. There was a basis for its propaganda. Colonel Maurice Moore had said: "the spirit of the Volunteers was the spirit of the Fenians". John Dillon had said the Volunteer movement was a spontaneous uprising in support of the Irish Parliamentary Party. Padraig Pearse had said that, but for the Gaelic League and its inspiration, the Volunteer movement could never have arisen. The "Constitution" quoted the "Gaelic American" of John Devoy as evidence that the Volunteers were inspired by the Irish Republican Brotherhood.

On Tuesday, July 28th, at a parade of the Cork Corps in the Cornmarket, addressed by Talbot Crosbie, J.J. Walsh and

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others, cheers were raised for the Dublin Volunteers on their success in the Howth gun-running.

July 31st. A public meeting, called by Lord Mayor Henry O'Shea, was held in the Council Chamber of the Cork Corporation to inaugurate a special fund for the equipment of the Volunteers. It was a varied meeting of representative city men - O'Brienite, Redmondite and Sinn Féin sympathisers being present.

Alderman James Sincor proposed the resolution inaugurating the fund, Coroner William Murphy supporting it. (The former was a supporter of O'Brien, the latter of Redmond).

Councillor Butterfield proposed the following as treasurers: Captain Talbot Crosbie, Michael J. Nagle, J.P., John J. Horgan, solicitor, Seán Jennings and Liam de Roiste.

My co-treasurer of the Corps, Sean Jennings, gave particulars of the amount collected for equipment ("The Rifle Fund") up to this date, showing a credit balance of £436.1.6.

Some others present at this meeting, not previously associated with the Volunteers were: George Crosbie (of the "Cork Examiner"), R.A. Atkins, William Kelleher, T.C., Jeremiah Lane, T.C., Frank J. Daly, Lennox Robinson, J.F. O'Riordan, Con Mallany, Con Buckley, T.A. Kinmouth, Barry M. Egan, T.P. Dowdall.

Some time during July, J.L. (Diarmuid) Fawsitt, acting chairman, Cork Provisional Committee, brought a small number of Lee Enfield rifles, with ammunition, to Cork from Dublin. He obtained them from The O'Rahilly. The rifles were stored in the cycle shop of D.T. O'Sullivan, Marlboro St.; the ammunition in Blackthorn House, Patrick St., the manager of which was M.A. Ryan. A fire took place in Blackthorn House. The Ryan family were not in residence there. Members of the Fire Brigade entered the shop and police watched the premises. Fawsitt came on the scene and insisted on entering. Fortunately the fire was not serious and did not penetrate to where the ammunition was stored.

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August 3rd - Monday.

In the British House of Commons it was announced that Britain was entering the war in Europe, allied with France and Russia against the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Germany. One ostensible reason given was the violation of Belgian neutrality by Germany.

Mr. John Redmond declared that Ireland would be wholeheartedly on the side of Britain in the war; that the British forces in Ireland could be withdrawn; that the Irish and Ulster Volunteers would defend Ireland against Germany. Thereupon, the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Edward Grey, declared that Ireland was "the one bright spot".

August 3rd.

It had been announced that the Cork Volunteers were to travel to Skibbereen on this August Monday. Special trains had been engaged. At the last moment the project was abandoned.

It was understood that a consignment of rifles was being brought into Crockhaven; a consignment arranged for by supporters of Mr. Redmond at headquarters.

August 4th. War declared by Britain:

A parade of Cork Volunteers was held in the Cornmarket at night. About 500 were present. To the surprise of all, Captain Talbot Crosbie announced that he had sent a telegram to the British War Office offering the services of the Volunteers for the defence of Ireland. This announcement of his was considered by the committee of the Cork Corps and I wrote him asking on what authority he made the offer.

August 6th.

A letter from him appeared in the press. In it he put the question - "Are we prepared to stand by the British Empire or not?" He said he put the issue before the Volunteers in Cork on Monday morning (3rd) and they gave an answer in the affirmative. "I am now informed the Committee of the Cork City Corps desire to dissociate themselves from my action and I have been asked by Mr. L. de Roiste, Treasurer, to give this statement publicity".

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August 6th. Eoin MacNeill has a letter in the press to the effect that Volunteers should apply themselves solely to military training and should not discuss public questions.

August 8th. It is announced that Colonel Moore has appointed "Inspecting Officers" for the various Volunteer Corps throughout the country. Talbot-Crosbie has been appointed for Cork city and county.

August 15th. A Defence of the Realm Act (D.O.R.A.), having been passed by the British Government, it is announced there is to be a censorship of news.

From August 10th to 17th, I was in Dublin to attend lectures in connection with a Civic Exhibition being held. It was sponsored by Lord and Lady Aberdeen. Mr. Augustine Birrell, Chief Secretary, had spoken at the opening ceremony. Mr. T.P. Gill, Secretary of the Department of Technical Education, was identified with it and had arranged for the teachers under his Department to attend.

Notwithstanding that war had broken out, the general atmosphere of the Exhibition was an expectation of Home Rule being enacted and put into operation. There were lectures on Civics and Regional Survey.

An American lady, a guest at the Viceregal Lodge, had written a song for the Irish Volunteers and at one of the gatherings, at which Lord and Lady Aberdeen were present, she sang it, to a stirring air with accompaniment. Afterwards, she gave me a copy of the song, written on Viceregal notepaper!

During the stay in Dublin, Sean Milroy and myself had several conversations and discussions regarding the political situation and the Volunteers. We concluded that, at some stage, the latter would be forced to take action. He promised to let me know from time to time the trend of affairs in Dublin, referring to the development as "Civics". He had been in the Howth gun-running and gave me a vivid account of it.

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August 19th. Dublin Provisional Committee of the Volunteers issue a statement to say that there has been no agreement with the British War Office and no offer made by them to the British Government on behalf of the Volunteers. They are prepared, however, to carry out Mr. Redmond's undertaking to join with the Ulster Volunteers for the defence of Ireland.

August 24th. Having invited Captain Talbot Crosbie to a meeting of the Finance Committee of our Cork Corps, I got a reply, in the course of which he wrote: "there are questions of absolutely vital importance which will have to be settled during the next few days". He had appealed for subscriptions for the Defence of Ireland Fund and he stated he was "most distinctly annoyed" at this.

(I knew of course that the "questions" to which he referred were whether the Volunteers were to be taken over as an army unit by the British War Office and were to be equipped by the British Government).

August 29th. A letter from Talbot Crosbie appeared in the press in the course of which he said the Cork City Corps of the Volunteers must make their decision "next Sunday" (30th). His letter was called forth by an article which appeared in the "Irish Volunteer", repudiating any offers of the Volunteers for service under the British War Office or assistance to the British in the war.

A telegram was sent to Eoin MacNeill and he replied to Tomás MacCurtain: "With reference to letter of Captain Crosbie in today's newspapers, questions regarding policy cannot be proposed by anybody to Volunteers on parade or answered by them".

A leaflet was hastily printed, headed "Volunteers, stand fast!" It put the issue as between the Dublin Provisional Committee and Captain Talbot Crosbie.

August 30th - Sunday: Parade of Cork Volunteers in the Cornmarket. None but members of the Corps were admitted.

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The leaflet referred to above was handed to each man as he entered. This was in reality a political meeting. It was addressed by Captain Talbot Crosbie, J.J. Walsh (acting as Chairman), Tomas MacCurtain, J.L. Fausitt, Sean C'Hearty and P. Ahern, Harry Donegan, solicitor, and Thomas Byrne. The latter two spoke from the Redmondite-Hibernian point of view. There was much excitement and at times it looked as if a dangerous situation would arise.

A question was put to Talbot Crosbie by Thomas Byrne - "Does Captain Crosbie want to commit the Cork City Corps to offer their services to fight in any part of the world that Great Britain wishes to send them to or does he stand by the offer made by Mr. Redmond that you are prepared to defend our shores against all comers?"

Crosbie replied that he would not do more than Mr. Redmond had done. This satisfied the Redmondite supporters in the Volunteers. He led them away and afterwards dismissed them. The number who remained loyal to our original Provisional Committee were a minority.

During the month of August over 100 rifles had been brought from Dublin: £600 having been sent to headquarters and £100 to Mr. John E. Redmond. They were chiefly the "Howth" rifles.

September 1st. John J. Horgan, solicitor, writes to Tomas MacCurtain, as Hon. Secretary, to say he had learned from Sean Jennings, Hon. Treasurer, that the terms of the resolution passed at the public meeting on July 31st, naming himself and others as treasurers of the Fund for the equipment of the Volunteers had not been carried out and wanting to know "where we stand"!

Having heard from Sean Jennings that Mr. Horgan had made the inquiry, I had called to the Munster and Leinster Bank and had confirmed that no moneys of the Cork Corps were to be paid

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out except on the authority of our Finance Committee and over the signatures already accepted at the bank: J.J. Walsh, Tomás MacCurtain, Seán Jennings and myself. (I considered a break was coming in the Volunteers and that the question of the moneys subscribed publicly for the Defence of Ireland Fund would become of importance).

September 2nd: Public meeting in Cork City Hall, called by William O'Brien and Maurice Healy, Parliamentary representatives for the city, to stimulate recruiting for the British army. Lord Bandon presided and the meeting was addressed by Lord Barrymore, Dr. Dowse, Protestant Bishop of Cork, as well as by O'Brien, Healy and some of their prominent supporters. The Redmondites boycotted it. (A great number of O'Brien's supporters ceased to follow him after this meeting. Most of these came into the Sinn Féin Movement).

All efforts were now being made to get men to join the British army. Reservists had been called up. In the north, it was stated on behalf of the Ulster Volunteers that they were ready to engage in the war. Notwithstanding his professions of loyalty, Mr. Redmond was being derided by the Unionists. They declared his supporters were not joining up in the numbers expected. Huge advertisements appeared calling on Irishmen to "fight for King and Country".

September 10th. I had invited Captain Crosbie and Mr. John J. Horgan to attend a meeting of our Finance Committee. Captain Crosbie replied to say he had many other matters to attend to. I then heard he had, in fact, resigned his command of the Cork Volunteers. In order to regularise Mr. Horgan's position, I handed a notice of motion to Tomás MacCurtain that Mr. Horgan and Mr. M.J. Magle be co-opted on the committee. Having notified Mr. Horgan of this, he sent me a note - "At present I could not see my way to act, so I will kindly ask you not to proceed with your notice of motion".

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(There ensued a long correspondence in the "Cork Examiner" between Mr. Horgan and myself regarding the money subscribed for "the Rifle Fund" as a result of the public meeting on July 31st. The legal position was, that all the moneys subscribed belonged to the Cork Corps, Irish Volunteers, the body which existed before the Redmondite supporters joined it, and was under the control of a Finance Committee which the original Provisional Committee had appointed).

The Dublin Provisional Committee again issue a statement denying that any arrangements existed with the British War Office for utilising the Volunteers as part of the British armed forces September 15th.

The Home Rule Bill, with a clause suspending its operation for the period of the war, passes Third Reading in the House of Commons. It is "placed on the Statute Book". Carson calls it "treachery".

September 17th. Mr. Redmond terms the Home Rule Act "a great charter of freedom". He calls for the formation of an "Irish Brigade" to fight with the British forces against Germany.

September 18th. The King has signed the Act: "The Royal Assent". The Irish Parliamentary Party sing: "God save the King" in the House of Commons, and Mr. Redmond cried out "God save England".

Mr. William O'Brien refers to it as "so-called Home Rule" in a letter to the press.

Mr. Joseph Devlin, addressing a Volunteer meeting at Middleton, had said that nothing could ever displace the Act from the Statute Book. It was there for all time.

Terence MacSwiney issues a weekly journal, "Fianna Fail". He has asked me to contribute to it, so I gave him some articles. Edward Mooney, of Shandon Printing Works, refused to print it lest he should lose the patronage of his pro-British customers. The Eagle Printing Works printed the first issue, then refused

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to continue the printing; the same influence operating as in the case of Shandon Printing Works. Terence had to go to P. Mahon, Dublin, for the publication of further issues.

September 20th. Mr. John E. Redmond's speech at Wooden-bridge, calling on the Volunteers to fight the Germans "on the battlefields of Europe".

September 21th. The Dublin Provisional Committee repudiate Mr. Redmond and expel his nominees from the committee. They place guards at headquarters premises and issue a manifesto, re-affirming the original purpose of the Volunteers. Colonel Moore advises the Volunteers to follow Redmond.

September 21th. A meeting was held in the Grogg Hall, South Mall, Cork, under the auspices of the Protestant Young Men's Society, to form a "Cork Volunteer Officers' Training Corps".

September 25th. Recruiting meeting for the British army held in Mansion House, Dublin, addressed by Prime Minister Asquith, Chief Secretary Birrell, John E. Redmond, John Dillon, Joseph Devlin. "Old animosities between us are dead" said Mr. Asquith, at which statement there was "loud and prolonged cheering". At the conclusion, the whole audience sang: "God save the King" and "God save Ireland".

September 26th. Leading article in "Cork Constitution" notes the Volunteers "have arrived at the parting of the ways, as has been anticipated".

September 28th. Carson and Bonar Law addressed Ulster Volunteers in Belfast. Carson declared: "We have plenty of guns and we are going to keep them". He declared that when the war was over he would summon the "Ulster Provisional Government" and have the Home Rule Act repealed as far as Ulster was concerned".

Letter in "Cork Constitution" headed "Sinn Féin Volunteers"
The suggestion is made that we are being supplied with "German

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money". (From this on, the term "Sinn Féin" was generally used for all who were not pro-British. "Pro-German" was also used and the charge of receiving "German gold" was made frequently, not alone by Unionists but by responsible members of the Irish Parliamentary Party and their followers).

The "Constitution" also carried a report of a parade of Cork Volunteer Officers' Training Corps to the Protestant Cathedral on the preceding day (Sunday).

On the 30th, this "Officers' Corps" marched to Blackrock and were there joined by a number of the Redmondite Volunteers.

Owing to the withdrawal of Mr. Redmond's supporters from our Cork Volunteer Corps, the number of members of the Corps was much reduced. About 180 paid a weekly subscription of sixpence. On the 12th and 26th September, I laid before the Executive (Provisional) Committee a detailed statement of account "in view of decrease of weekly income and increasing calls for expenses".. Prior to the City Hall meeting of July 31st a sum of £402 had been received for "the Rifle Fund", subsequently £371; a total of £773. The amount in the ordinary (running expenses) account of the Corps was £27, on 25th September. It was decided to have the accounts audited by a public accountant. (This was subsequently done by Messrs. Stapleton and Co., Incorporated Accountants, and their audited statement was issued on the 12th October).

A Branch of Cumann na mBan had been formed in the city. Miss Mary MacSwiney was President, Miss Eora O'Brien, Hon. Secretary. Among its members were Misses Susan and Annie Walsh, sisters-in-law of Tomás MacCurtain; Maria Murphy, Sile Fennell, Midge O'Loary, "Peg" Duggan, Maire ni Chuill and my wife.

The branch organised a course in "First Aid" which was given in the "Grianin", Queen Street, and was conducted by Dr. Sexton and Dr. Murphy-O'Connor. It also organised a collection

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for the Defence of Ireland Fund and handed a sum of £30 to our Cork Corps of Volunteers.

October 1st. Some members of the Ancient Order of Hibernians (Redmondite), who had been in the Volunteers, raided the headquarters in Fisher Street and carried off a number of Howth rifles which had been stored there.

October 3rd. Patrick Corcoran, printer, issues a weekly journal "The Cork Celt". I contributed some articles. It was a mixed production, as far as literary material was concerned, but its tone was definitely anti-British.

October 4th. A Cork City "Regiment" of the Irish National Volunteers (Redmondite organisation) was formed. Some negotiations took place with the (Protestant) Officers' Training Corps, but the bodies did not amalgamate.

Harry Donegan, solicitor, became colonel of the "Regiment", John J. Horgan and Thomas Byrne, captains; Coroner William Murphy, President of the Cork County Volunteer Board, The "Cork Examiner" was, of course, entirely favourable to this organisation and gave no further publicity to our Corps.

October 15th. An offshoot of the "Freeman's Journal" entitled "The National Volunteer" was published in opposition to the "Irish Volunteer", edited by Larry de Lacy, which had been the organ of the whole Volunteer Movement.

October 25th. First Convention of the Volunteers was held in the Abbey Theatre, Dublin, Eoin MacNeill presiding. Cork Corps was represented at this Convention by (I think) Seán O'Sullivan, Commandant of the Corps, and Tomás MacCurtain, Secretary of the Provisional Executive Committee.

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January 3rd. At present there seems a possibility, not very great, of the United States being involved in the war.

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It has addressed a Note to England protesting against the detaining and searching of American ships.

We are to have a new Lord Lieutenant, Lord Wimborne, who was a Tory. He comes to Ireland with the good wishes of the Liberals and of the "Daily Mail". Mr. William O'Brien says he is a friend of Joseph Devlin. So, William does not welcome him.

January 5th. A sensational bit of news in the papers! The "Evening Echo" states that the inhabitants of Crosshaven and district were disturbed on Sunday night (3rd) by practice firing of big guns from Fort Carlisle, at the entrance to the Harbour. Shells struck near the coastguard station at Crosshaven, near the convent, on the Myrtleville road, in Hoddersfield, in Fountainstown and near Coolmore. They did not explode; no damages done; yesterday morning, soldiers came, took them up and threw them into the sea! The "Constitution" notice board has it that the shells ricocheted from the water! The "Examiner" today, in large headings: "Harbour sensation. Suspected submarine. Forts in action. Shells in Crosshaven". In the news column beneath: "On Sunday night at the entrance of Cork Harbour, Forts Camden and Carlisle opened fire on a suspicious object in the water, believed to have been a German submarine Nothing is known of the fate of the submarine".

January 9th. The English Lords devoted some time yesterday to a discussion on "sedition" in Ireland. They argue that we are not as "loyal" as Mr. Asquith and Mr. Redmond say we are.

Yet, the Redmondite Volunteers are guarding the bridges in Cork (against German submarines?), providing 'copy' for O'Brien's newspaper, and some amusement for the citizens in general.

Kuno Mayer's name was struck off the "Roll of Freeman" of our city yesterday, on the motion of a Redmondite Councillor, supported by a Unionist. 24 for; 3 against. There are 56 members in the Corporation.

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January 14th. Our Cork Corps of Volunteers are taking new premises in Sheares St., larger and more suitable than the Foster St. stores, from a social point of view. Just at present to be a social club is as much as the Corps can be. But "a revival" is bound to take place, notwithstanding D.O.R.A. censorship, and threats of courtmartial and the whole pro-English propoganda. A rallying centre for nationalism in Cork is needed. The Volunteers can provide that. We cannot say we are truly a military force; properly organised, trained, armed. We have no trained military leaders. But some little work of a military, or semi-military, nature is being done. Sunday last there was a route-march to Blarney; where the Blarney and Courtbrack "boys" were assembled. The latter were described as "fine fellows", ready for any adventure.

Apart from our (provisional) Executive Committee, a "military council" has been formed, though the members of the Council are also members of the Executive.

To stimulate recruiting for the Corps, the Military Council has decided that we are to march, with rifles, next Sunday.

January 16th. The people on the whole south coast of Co. Cork are much perturbed. The police have intimated to them that, in the case of a German invasion, the military orders are, they must "at an hour's notice", move with all their portable possessions to Mallow and destroy what cannot be moved! The first intimation was given in Ballincollig. Then, it was posted up outside the "Cork Constitution" office on a War Notice Board. No doubt, the notice is only precautionary. But, the common instinct of the people, protestations of loyalty notwithstanding, is to distrust English military orders as having something politically sinister behind them.

January 17th - Sunday. Route march of our Cork Óglaigh (Volunteer Corps) to Bottle Hill (in the direction of Glenville). Rifles were carried. An improvised "ambulance" accompanied the Corps. It was a strenuous day.

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There are rumours of the possibility of the Volunteer rifles being seized by the police, or military, but no thought is given as to what attitude is to be adopted in such an event.

There was a parade of the Redmondite Volunteers in the city. They were addressed by Sir Harry Vane. He proclaims himself a nationalist. He would like Irishmen to join the British army, but would not have compulsion. His method of recruiting is one of argument, reason and persuasion: a subtle method, for the unthinking.

Mr. Joseph Devlin has been speaking also around Cork. In Fermoy, he addressed men of the Connaught Rangers and Munster Fusiliers (forming the so-called "Irish Brigade"). The burden of his address is the same as usual since the war began: we are "Irish and proud of it"; part of the British Empire; one of the family of nations that make up the Empire; the war in Europe is a just war (for "the Allies") against (German) barbarism, savagery and force; a fight for small nations; poor Belgium; little Belgium; distressed Belgium; Catholic Belgium. The fighting Irish race is winning laurels in the war and will win more. This is the "Curve" - T.P. O'Connor's word - Irish Nationality, as preached by the Irish Parliamentary Party, has taken these times.

January 20th. The "Cork Examiner" endeavours to reassure the people of the south that the recent notices to quit their homes in the event of a German invasion are only precautionary. It impresses on us that "the whole United Kingdom is at war". Then, it says there is not even "an infinitesimal chance" of a German invasion of Ireland.

But, there are scares and rumours around the coast towns. A German submarine was supposed to have been sighted off Kinsale Harbour this evening. Word reached the military and the garrison was alerted.

One result of the scares is likely to be a run on the banks and a hoarding of money.

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January 23rd. Tonight I was co-opted on the Ard-Choiste of the Gaelic League and appointed Hon. Secretary. This was on the urging of J.L. (Diarmuid) Fasait. The position now carries with it membership of the Cork City Technical Instruction Committee and Cork Free Library.

January 31st. Election of a new Executive of our Cork Corps of Volunteers (Óglaigh) took place today. I was detailed to count the votes. Our Provisional Committee now ceases. I did not allow my name to be put forward for the position of Hon. Treasurer.

Fasait is chairman of the new Executive. Terence MacSwiney vice-chairman; Sean Jennings, Hon. Treasurer; Liam Shorten, assistant Hon. Treasurer; Pat Ahern, Hon. Secretary; Sean Nolan, Assistant Hon. Secretary; with an "Equipment" Hon Treasurer and a committee of eight. The "Military Council" is a permanent institution, and Fasait tells me it considers itself the supreme body, in accordance with an organisation scheme issued by headquarters. It may be better thus, but it seems to me we are not quite clear as to whether we are a military or civil organisation. The problem will probably settle itself in time.

February 2nd. A young man from Bruree, Co. Limerick, by name Guiney, was sentenced to 112 days' imprisonment by court-martial at Cork Barracks yesterday for having "uttered words prejudicial to recruiting". He used some sarcastic remarks, it seems, about a "Captain" Larry Roche, a well-known athlete, who is now a recruiting agent.

The papers carry news that Irish prisoners of war are being well-treated in Germany. Also, that Sir Roger Casement is still in Berlin and has considerable influence with the German authorities. (Next day, it was stated Sir Roger is practically a prisoner in Berlin!)

The "National Volunteer", Redmondite organ, bitterly attacks the Gaelic League. This has a good effect in stimulating the interest of non-Redmondites in the language movement.

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"The Marquis and Marchioness of Aberdeen and Tara" arrived in Cork today and were presented with the "Freedom of the City" by the Corporation. Only a small section of the Redmondites and Redmondite Volunteers attended the function.

February 4th. Vessels trading between Ireland and England were prevented from sailing yesterday. The cause stated was, the activity of German submarine in the Irish Sea. A large number of ships is held up in English ports. It is not quite what Mr. Asquith wanted it to be: "Business as usual".

More courtmartial! Men from Millstreet and Bruree districts are being tried. "The One Bright Spot" is not quite as bright as Sir Edward Grey and Mr. Redmond thought. There are still Irishmen who do not believe England's war is Ireland's war.

There were some legal difficulties regarding the taking of Sheares St. premises for the Cork Óglaigh Corps and giving up possession of Fisher St. John J. Horgan was solicitor for the landlady of Sheares St. house and he was inserting some impossible clauses in the agreement. Fasait took "the high hand" and the solicitors on both sides capitulated. So, with Fasait, Jennings and Tomas MacCurtain, I signed the agreement today, as a Trustee for the Corps.

February 5th. Fred Cronin was co-opted on the Cork Board of Guardians yesterday by 25 votes to 5. The five were Hibernians, the same who were among the leaders who endeavoured to break up out City Hall meeting for the founding of the Volunteers. As Fred is known to be a staunch, uncompromising nationalist, his co-option is a sign that all our public men are not pro-British.

February 6th. Alderman Tom Kelly was a candidate for the Lord Mayoralty of Dublin yesterday. He was not elected.

February 8th. "The Bridge Guards", as William O'Brien calls them, have been relieved from the duty of guarding the

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bridges, by order of the Officer Commanding Cork Harbour, given to them through the County Inspector of the Royal Irish Constabulary. Correspondence is published in the "Examiner" giving particulars. The kernel is: "Civilians can no longer bear arms in Defence of the Realm". "Captain" Donegan, solicitor, on behalf of the Redmondite Volunteers, replies that they are prepared to obey any orders of the Officer Commanding, to perform any duties he assigns to them.

Does the order mean a general intention of disarming all the Volunteers?

Brigadier General Cecil Hill is the Garrison Commander who has issued the order for Cork.

February 15th. Monday: Saturday night our Cork Óglaigh held an all-night dance, in conjunction with Cumann na mBan. It was the first occasion on which some of us appeared in full Volunteer uniform.

Further news of Sir Roger Casement is in today's newspapers. An account is given of an attempt by the British Consul in Norway to have him assassinated! Perhaps all the details are not quite accurate, though they are very circumstantial, but that there is underlying truth in the story seems certain.

February 16th. Liam O'Buachalla, of Millstreet, was tried by courtmartial in Cork Barracks yesterday for, as alleged, "having obstructed a recruiting sergeant". The recruiting sergeant was instructor of the Redmondite Volunteers in Millstreet. Frank J. Healy, B.L., defended Liam, on instructions of Maurice O'Connor, solicitor, and charges that political bias was at the bottom of the case. He also challenged the jurisdiction of the Court, citing a recent debate in the English House of Lords regarding trials by courtmartial; maintaining that the Civil Courts still had power to try such cases, that is, charges against civilians. Liam was acquitted. The

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evidence was flimsy and contradictory. A Major Magan of Dublin was President of the Court and he appeared rather lenient towards Liam O'Buachalla.

Last Saturday, in the train from Bantry, were two men. One, an old man, 76 years of age, a respectable-looking farmer; intelligent, good-humoured, talkative. He was speaking to a young man, and I listened. The old man's memory stretched back to the famine days when people died of hunger by the roadside. Bands of men went out at night time to seek food for their families, "and who would blame them if they took it from those who had it and would not give to the poor". He had no doubt but the English Government was responsible for the Famine, though the blight on the potatoes was God's will. Then he talked of the days of the Land War. "The Irish landlords were the worst men that ever cursed a country". They deserved their fate to be wiped out. His own father complained to his landlord of the high rent he had to pay. "'Tis not high enough", said the landlord, "if it were, you could not wear that coat you have". His father was wearing a decent coat at the time. Landlords thought Irish farmers should only wear rags. But, the landlords had English law, police and soldiers on their side. They are gone now, thank God. Well, the English deserve anything they get now. The wheels turn and God knows how to punish the proud. The Germans are a great people to fight the world.

The younger man agreed with all and remarked: "You can't believe a word in the papers. No doubt, the men who own them are bribed to publish the news that is published." And so on.

(Two "pro-Germans" apparently, but their remarks are typical of many I hear on my train journeys.)

February 20th. Rumours of German submarines being seen off the coast near Youghal. News of a race into Cork Harbour by the "Lismore" of the Cork Steam Packet Company. The Newry

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Steamship Co., it is stated, is to fly the Irish flag on its vessels. The purpose is to influence Irish-American opinion against Germany should the Germans fire on the Irish flag.

Some sailors were in my compartment in the train last evening. One said he was in a ship of the fleet off Lough Swilly when the "Audacious" was torpedoed. The ship he was on had a narrow escape; was saved by being "skewed around". They saw the German submarine and saw the "Audacious" sink. They were cautioned not to speak of it. The sinking of the "Audacious" has been "officially" denied.

As a stimulant to recruiting in Ireland, much prominence is given in the papers today to the exploits of an Inchigeela man, named Mike O'Leary, who was awarded the Victoria Cross. He belongs to the Irish Guards.

FEBRUARY 22nd. A strenuous day yesterday (Sunday) with our Cork Óglaigh, in Donoughmore direction, taking part in fairly large-scale manoeuvres. It was interesting and no mere amusement or child's play, on this occasion. Some one hundred of our Cork troops took part and twenty of a Courtbrack corps.

Tom Curtin is now commandant of the Cork Corps and we were divided into four companies, each under a captain.

Ernest Blythe, whom I know by his writings in "Irish Freedom" and "Sinn Fein", was with us. He is now an organiser of the Óglaigh. He thought our numbers small for Cork. I think them good, considering all the circumstances.

The "Independent" today carries news of James Larkin. He was ordered out of Ireland by the military authorities on twenty-four hours' notice. He is not to be allowed back. If he come back and is caught he is to be deported again. There is a rumour that he has returned from America, disguised. Search has been made for him, but so far he has not been found.

Owing to trouble caused by Redmondite Hibernian representatives on St. Patrick's Day Celebration Committee of last year,

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by the introduction of politics, the Árd-Choiste of the Gaelic League has decided to organise this year's celebration itself. It means additional work for me, as secretary of the Árd Choiste

February 24th. A big "review" of Redmondite Volunteers is to be held in Dublin on Easter Sunday. Judging by press reports, scores of companies are being "manufactured" throughout the country. Resolutions of confidence in Mr. Redmond and the Parliamentary Party are being carried. Some of the resolutions at those Volunteer meetings make curious reading. In normal times, they would appear ordinary. In present circumstances they seem very muddled. Political affairs are somewhat asleep at present, but the Volunteer meetings give an opportunity to Members of Parliament to touch on politics. The anti-Carson racket still works a little. Open threats of fighting him are not wanting. But, what puzzles is how the Redmondite Volunteers will be able to fight Carson's army if they all go to "the Front", as, according to their Leaders, it is their duty to; and why, seeing "Home Rule is on the Statute Book", "the victory won", and so on, it should be necessary to talk of fighting? Anyway, why is so little reliance, after all the assurances, placed in the goodwill of the English Government? Have not the leaders said: "England will be grateful" and will enforce the Home Rule Act, despite Carson's threats? There are loud protestations of loyalty to England, yet mistrust of England is expressed. In fact, some Redmond supporters seem to be preaching the "wicked" Sinn Féin doctrine that Ireland's only hope is in her own strength.

February 25th. Calling at the City Hall this morning to see the City Engineer regarding the erection of street names in Irish, I was accosted by a Mrs. Ahern: "What are you going to do about Jack?" she asked. I was a bit taken aback. Then I discovered she is the mother of Seán and P.S. O'Hegarty. She told me there was news in the morning newspapers that Sean had

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been arrested in Enniscorthy and taken to Dublin for trial by courtmartial. She said she would see a solicitor and I promised to find out what Dublin headquarters intend doing.

The charge preferred against him is stated to be "distributing seditious literature". Other reports state rifles, ammunition, dynamite, explosives and fuses were found in the house. The general impression is that he will be severely dealt with; yet, there are others who consider him "a fool to get into trouble"! After so many other cases, the seditious literature charge does not appear a grave one. Judging by debates in the English Lords and Commons these days, trial by jury is to be re-established. Possibly, Soan can claim this right, if he choose. Under the hurriedly passed Defence of the Realm Act, the military authorities were all powerful, up to the present.

February 26th. Another arrest in Enniscorthy reported: James Bolger. He did not inform the authorities that rifles etc. were kept in the house where he lodged. That is, he is charged with "not being an informer"! The house is Larry de Lacy's, editor of "The Irish Volunteer" before Eoin MacNeill took it over.

February 28th. A Limerick man, a Poor Law Guardian, has been fined £10 - reduced to 10/- - by a bench of magistrates for carrying a revolver without a licence! That is another "crime" very common in Ireland at present and has been since the Carsonites led the way in the bearing of arms.

After meeting of Gaelic League Ard Choiste last night, I called to Óglaigh H.Q., Fisher St. A squad was there preparing to take the last of the rifles and other equipment to the new headquarters in Sheares St. We marched through the streets with the rifles on our shoulders.

At Sheares St. I was called into a meeting of the Executive Committee and informed I had been co-opted a member of it. There was a hot discussion over a letter which Fasait had received from a young man in London, a Cork medical

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student, and which he had sent on to Eoin MacNeill with an invitation to the latter to come to Cork on St. Patrick's Day to review the Óglaigh. I had seen this letter in Fasait's office, but did not pay much attention to it, as, from my knowledge of the young man who wrote it, I did not take him seriously. His letter was in Irish and what he said was that there were plenty of Italian guns in London which the Oglaiigh could obtain and there were "certain people" who would help to get them over. (Germans, it was understood). Eoin MacNeill, it seemed, thought the letter a very foolish one, or else that it was a "plot" and, resenting its being sent to him, had not replied to the invitation to come to Cork.

March 2nd. William O'Brien's "Free Press", editorially has been, and is, pro-British and intensely anti-German. But today, it contains some very stirring pieces of verse, such as Father Ryan's "Green Flag", which are not very "conciliatory" towards Old England! It is a halfpenny paper now, so should have a good circulation in country districts.

"We'll battle the Briton through danger and dread
Till the thrust of our steel and the shock of our lead
Will prove to the foe that we meant what we said,
That we'll lift up the Green and we'll tear down the Red".

Not much of "Conference, Conciliation and Consent" in such lines as these, published in the "Free Press".

March 3rd. "Cork Examiner" reports that the offices of "Scissors and Paste", in Middle Abbey St. Dublin, and of Mahon, the printer, were raided by military and police yesterday. "Scissors and Paste" is prohibited publication.

Alderman Condon, M.P., at a meeting of Redmondite Volunteers in Tipperary, says he has arms and ammunition in his home which he will give them for the Easter Sunday review in Dublin. His place will not be raided by police and military, such as de Lacy's place was. Nor will there be any such raids in the north to discover the arms of Carson's Volunteers, to which Mr. "A. Newman" (Herbert Pim) of Belfast draws attention in a letter to the press. Yet, Brigadier-General

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Hill says: "civilians can no longer bear arms in defence of the realm".

March 4th. A Mr. Fallon of Dublin, probable parliamentary candidate for mid-Cork constituency, at a meeting of the United Irish League in Bandon, yesterday, stated "the Volunteers are for the defence of Ireland and Ireland alone". He was referring to the Redmondite Volunteers. Yet, most of the Redmondite leaders are boasting of the numbers of these Volunteers who have joined the British army and thus proved that "Ireland is loyal". Things seem a bit mixed among the parliamentarians!

March 5th. Two meetings were held in the city yesterday, under the chairmanship of Lord Mayor Henry O'Shea. One was "to honour Michael O'Leary, V.C.", the other to form a Recruiting Committee for Cork city and county, so as to stimulate recruiting for the British. The recruiting meeting was attended by leading city business men. A military captain was also present. The majority of the business men are professing nationalists. An intensified campaign of recruiting is projected.

March 7th. In Dublin yesterday, at a meeting of a committee of the Technical Teachers' Association of which I am chairman: by chance, I met in O'Connell St. Sean MacDiarmada, Arthur Griffith and others. General impression from our conversations - Dublin is not at all as "West British" as one would infer from the newspapers. The nationalist forces there are strong; the Oglagh sound, and other nationalist anti-British organisations healthy.

Sean MacDiarmada thinks "a big case" will be made of Sean O'Hegarty's capture. Mr. T.M. Healy, M.P., has been engaged for his defence.

An instructor has been sent from Dublin H.Q. to conduct a week's course of military training of our Cork Corps of the Oglagh. (This was Captain O'Connell).

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March 9th. "The London Times" of today declares quite emphatically that it is not for Belgium's sake, nor for the sake of any other nation, but for its own sake, England is in the war against Germany. The pro-British in Ireland must be shocked! They have assured us it was "to defend small nations" England went to war, and so, it was a just and righteous war.

March 11th. Last week, as Secretary of the Gaelic League & Árd Choiste, I had a note from the Hon. Secretary of the "Cork City Regiment, Irish National Volunteers: Headquarters, Cornmarket. (President, Mr. John E. Redmond, M.P.)", to say the "Regiment" would take part in the St. Patrick's Day Demonstration. Today, he writes saying he made a mistake, they will not take part. In report of Árd Choiste meeting I sent to the press, I included some remarks of our chairman, Seoirse MacNiocaill, M.A., praising both bodies of Volunteers in Cork for coming together on St. Patrick's Day, under Gaelic League auspices. The Secretary of the Redmondite Volunteers also says he is writing to the press explaining why the "Regiment" cannot take part.

(I find that from this on, I refer to our Volunteers as "Fianna Fáil" as well as "Óglaigh".)

March 12th. A poster that our Oglagh Corps has got posted up, calling on young Irishmen to join the Volunteers, has been torn down, in places, by the police. There was nothing that could be termed "seditious" printed on it, but we are seeing curious actions done by the "authorities" these times.

The newspapers report today that O'Hegarty and Bolger are to be tried by a civil court, not by courtmartial.

March 15th. Collections for the Irish language fund at church gates yesterday realised more than last year. This, too, is a sign of the times: a quickening of national spirit in protest against the rant of imperialism. The "Freeman's Journal", the "National Volunteer", other Redmondite organs

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and most of the big men of the Parliamentarians have been attacking the Gaelic League, openly or covertly, for some time past. The attacks have stimulated supporters of the language movement to greater efforts to help the Gaelic League.

Captain "Ginger" O'Connell gave our Cork Corps an excellent talk last night in Sheares St. Hall. It was a review of the military situation in Europe, as disclosed by published dispatches and maps. The men are loud in praise of his course of training during the past week.

Recruiting meetings for the British army were held in the city yesterday, addressed by local business men. I heard thirty men promised to join up, as a result, but I doubt it.

March 16th. Mr. John E. Redmond spoke in Manchester on Sunday; still appealing for recruits for the British army. His statements regarding Ireland's duty to the Empire are not in accord with statements of John Dillon in Belfast on Sunday week. He also gave figures of the number of Irish recruits. These are not the same as given by British Ministers in Parliament.

Kuno Mayer's name was taken off the "Roll of Freeman" by Dublin Corporation yesterday, by 30 votes to 22.

Last week's issue of "The Irish Volunteer" was printed in Belfast. This week's issue will not be forthcoming. A paragraph in the "Independent" informs us that the military authorities there have "warned" the printers.

March 19th. The St. Patrick's Day Demonstration, under the auspices of the Gaelic League Árd Choiste was a huge success. Some consider the procession was as large as any seen in years past. The day being fine, there were immense crowds on the streets.

Our Óglaigh made a fine display, marching in military formation, some in Volunteer uniform. The City Corps was augmented by contingents from Blarney and Courtbrack. There

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were over 300 marching. "Croppy pikes" were carried by twenty or thirty.

The Redmondite Volunteers were not in the procession, but I heard that about 60 of them accompanied the Municipal procession to the Cathedral from the City Hall.

Eoin MacNeill arrived in Cork, Tuesday night (16th). There was a good muster of the Óglaigh to meet him. A public meeting was held, following his address to the Volunteers. It had not been advertised, so was not largely attended. His speech is well reported in the "Cork Free Press".

On St. Patrick's night, we had a dinner with him in the Imperial Hotel; that is, the Executive Committee of our Corps. Most of us were in uniform on the occasion. A number of English military officers were also in the hotel.

Eoin MacNeill informed us that the Government is considering taking over the Ulster and (Redmondite) National Volunteers as a territorial force for home service; thus "legalising" them. Some reports in the "Free Press" convey the same information. According to Eoin, John Redmond, in his Manchester speech, made a new offer to the Government, which means, in effect, offering his Volunteers as territorials. It is fairly certain many of his own followers will be surprised at his offer and will not be too desirous of becoming "territorials".

Probably an effort will then be made to disarm and suppress our Óglaigh. That will mean a fight, for resist we must unless we are to swallow all our declarations.

March 22nd. O'Hegarty and Bolger are to be tried by judge and jury, in accordance with terms of amendment to the Defence of the Realm Act passed last week. Larry de Lacy's name is mentioned in the charges, which are published in full; but he has evidently escaped. Summarised, the charges are - posting up "seditious" literature - (to wit, advising people not to leave their homes should the Germans land in Ireland, as the

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Germans will come as friends); having "seditious literature" in the house (this consists of articles published in "Irish Freedom", written by Sir Roger Casement and now in the pamphlet form); having arms, ammunition and explosives in the house; and not informing the authorities they were there.

Now, the charge of having arms and ammunition could be brought against many thousands of men in Ireland - Ulster, National (Redmondite) and Óglaigh Volunteers. It could have been brought against myself on St. Patrick's Day - I had a rifle on my shoulder in the public street on that day. We know it is "illegal"; yet a policeman helped me to keep the procession in order on that day! Was he condoning an illegal act?

Further recruiting meetings for the British army were held in Cork yesterday (Sunday). Among other speakers was one of the three Hibernians on our Provisional Volunteer Committee who forced the "split" of the Volunteers in Cork. He is now a "lieutenant" in the Redmondite "regiment". A prominent O'Brienite also spoke. Like Carson, Redmond and O'Brien, they could not unite for Ireland, but can unite for England!

A brother of one of our Volunteers passed a Civil Service examination recently, with honours. He was refused an appointment. Commenting on the circumstances, the London Correspondent of the "Cork Examiner" says: "evidently no more Sinn Féiners are to be accepted in the Civil Service". And, at home, some employers are endeavouring to force their employees into the British army.

A Post Office clerk in Waterford was arrested on Saturday on a charge of tearing down recruiting posters. Seditious! March 23rd. More "sedition"! Two tough characters were going over St. Patrick's Bridge. One of them went up to a recruiting agent and was taken to a recruiting office. The other followed. Number one was tested for his sight, which was found to be bad. The two then began to abuse the British army and the recruiters; denounced the government for the

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paltry separation allowances given to the dependents of soldiers, and finally assaulted the recruiting agent and the clerk in the office. They were brought up at the Police Court yesterday. The District Inspector of Police wants to make a case of "sedition" out of it! According to the recruiting agent the "boycos" said: "Why should they fight for England; what did England ever give them?"

March 24th. Another "pro-German" case at the Police Court yesterday. A young man shouted "Up the Kaiser" as he was passing a policeman on the street. Resident Magistrate Starkie, at the Court, said he ought to go to the country he had admiration for. "I'd get justice there anyhow", says the boy. He was placed in the dock at once. Finally, however, he was "bound to the peace".

Somewhat similar cases are being tried in many other parts of the country. The least expression of opinion, even uttered jocosely, is likely to land a man in Court; that is, any man who can be easily struck at. General French can pay a tribute (as he has done) to German bravery and German patriotism, but "Paddy Murphy" date not. It is not pro-Germanism" the authorities fear, but the old Irish spirit of resistance to English rule.

March 27th. Thomas Walsh "stated to be a native of Enniscorthy", at Dundalk Petty Sessions, was sentenced to three months' imprisonment, with hard labour, for the following expressions, to which he gave utterance: "Speak the Irish language; if you are buying a pair of old boots, let them be Irish. Be Irishmen and not English, and I will advise you all not to join the British army". To a Captain Bellingham he is reported to have said: "Don't join the British army. Fight for your own country. Fight for Ireland. The British soldiers are the worst in the world".

"Home Rule is on the Statute Book"; "Ireland is the one

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bright spot". The Irishmen who have joined the British army are "the free gift of a free people". So say our "nationalist" leaders.

"Adjutant" Daunt of the Cork City (Redmondite) National Volunteers has a list in today's papers of "Officers and men" of that body who have joined the British army or navy. The first name on the list is that of Captain Maurice Talbot Crosbie! The second is Captain Roberts of Passage. The names of sixty others follow.

Commenting on the number, the "Cork Constitution" is quite unkind. Sixty-four, in all, it says, out of a thousand! Six per cent. and the list does not show how many were reservists. It might have said 64 out of 3000 or 4000; for when the supporters of Mr. Redmond left the Cork Corps Irish Volunteers and organised their own, we were told 4000 had "signed on" - "an overwhelming majority" against us, it was claimed. Actually, about 500 was the limit of "active" Volunteers in Cork city at any time.

Our own Óglaigh Military Council and Executive Committee, at the moment, seem to be taking things easy. An instance - an organising committee was formed recently. It worked. Sixty four recruits were secured for the Corps. When the recruits came to the hall there was no one to drill them! March 28th. A cutting from the "New York American" of Sunday, March 14th, has come into my hands. It had a large heading - "German paper tells of British plot to kidnap Sir R. Casement. Surpassing Dime Novel Fiction. Valet asked to betray him, says letter. Remarkable document alleged to have been sent to Sir Edward Grey accusing Minister to Norway of trying to bribe servant".

The paper carried the full text of the letter of Roger Casement in reference to the plot to have him assassinated, while passing through Norway. The letter had also been published in the "Berliner Tageblatt".

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March 31st. A controversy as to the number of Redmondite Volunteers in Cork who have joined the British army is continuing in the "Cork Constitution". "Adjutant" Daunt said yesterday that the Redmondite Volunteers in Cork "never numbered more than 500, of whom only about 300 were effective". He gives their case away completely in saying this. Naturally, some "Constitution" correspondent takes it up and expresses astonishment that all the previous statements regarding thousands of Redmondite Volunteers in Cork were so incorrect. He insinuates that this admission of "Adjutant" Daunt gives the truth regarding the Redmondite Volunteers all over the country, that the numbers were wildly exaggerated for political purposes.

The Church of Ireland Young Men's Association, having also been challenged in the course of the controversy, they give a long list of their members who have joined the British army.

Rumour says there was a row in Kilkenny between the Óglaigh and the police. The latter were beaten and the military had to be called out. It is stated in the press that the Royal Irish Constabulary police are to call to people's houses to urge young men to enlist in the army.

April 1st. The news regarding police calling to people's houses is "explained away" today. They are to call, so it is stated, to tell soldiers' wives and dependents about increased "separation allowances" to be given them!

April 2nd. Cork Board of Guardians adjourned yesterday without transacting any business. A Mr. John Dorgan, in rather outspoken language, complained of the number of unmarried mothers in the Union Hospital. He said the city was never in such a state, morally, as at present, owing to the presence of British soldiers and "officers of Kitchener's army".

The chairman, Mr. Michael McCarthy, called Dorgan a "pro-German" for saying this! Discussion was closed.

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April 3rd. William O'Brien is perturbed over the Review of the (Redmondite) National Volunteers to be held in Dublin tomorrow (Easter Sunday). What is the purpose? The greater the numbers taking part, the clearer it will be shown how many of the Redmondite men have not joined the British army.

Is it a mere display of strength? Is it a threat to Carson and the British Government? Is it to be a demonstration of loyalty to England? It is said they will carry rifles. This is "illegal" of course, under the ordinary law and under the Defence of the Realm Act. O'Hegarty and Bolger are in prison for such an "offence". Things are a bit confused in Ireland those times. A Home Rule Act is on the Statute Book of England, with the King's signature to it. An Amending Bill, to split up Ireland, is there also. A Suspension Act is somewhere near them and is the one actually in force. William O'Brien wants a new Bill, to be carried by Conciliation and Consent and prevent the mutilation of Ireland. Some Redmondite supporters are also speaking against the Amending Bill and the splitting of the country. While the wild group, called "Sinn Féiners" or "pro-Germans", distrust all English Governments, their "Acts" and "Bills" and stand for the old tradition - "The Irish Nation supreme in Ireland".

The law regarding the bearing of arms is defied by the Old English Garrison, by the new English Garrison, and by nationalists of the unconquered tradition. How will it all end? Withal, we go about our ordinary avocations serenely.

April 7th. The (Redmondite) National Volunteers Review was held on Sunday last, in Dublin. It has, naturally, aroused much newspaper comment. The numbers taking part are variously estimated; Mr. Redmond's own estimate of 20,000 to 25,000 being accepted mostly by the Unionist and English papers, whose purpose was to magnify the number of "stay-at-home" National Volunteers. The "Cork Free Press" correspondent most positively

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asserts the exact number was 10,000. There were no speeches, but Mr. Redmond was interviewed afterwards. He said there were 50,000 Irish Volunteers in the British Army - 25,000 National Volunteers and 25,000 Ulster Volunteers. Counting reservists, regulars, who joined pre-war, Irishmen from Great Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and the ends of the earth, there are, he says, a quarter of a million Irishmen fighting for England. He takes credit to himself and to Ireland for the lot!

A Convention was held on Monday: the first, of the Redmondite Volunteers. Redmond and Dillon spoke. It is not quite apparent even yet what the purpose of the Review was. Dillon is opposed to "partition" and is for fighting "Ulster". Redmond is not very explicit on this. Dillon expects, when the war is over, a big increase of veteran soldiers in the National Volunteers. (Does he expect the British army authorities will allow the National Volunteers to fight the Ulster Volunteers?)

There was nothing said about "Sinn Féiners", or "pro-Germans at the Convention.

The new recruiting campaign for the British army is having some results apparently. More recruits are joining up.

April 8th. The "O'Hegarty and Bolger case" is reported in the papers this morning. At preliminary trial yesterday, a "True Bill" was found against them by the Grand Jury.

The scene is Green Street Courthouse, Dublin. Mr. Justice Kenny occupies the bench. He congratulates the Grand Jury on the state of the city of Dublin. Only five small cases are to come before them; five trivial cases of larceny - an unusual record. ("All the blackguards are gone to the Front") is what the people say!

April 8th. "But, there is one unusual case for you to decide, Gentlemen of the Grand Jury, a case under the Defence

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of the Realm Act". His Lordship explains the legal aspect of the case. He has the reputation of being a fair Judge. O'Hegarty and Bolger were found in the house of "a man named de Lacy". They were found sleeping together in one bed. In that bedroom and in an adjoining room was found - dynamite, gelignite, gelatine, fuses, ammunition, seditious pamphlets, and - a German dictionary! Both accused are charged in connection with those terrible things. But, O'Hegarty is also charged that he did write certain notices which were posted up in the district, advising people that they need not be afraid of the Germans should they come to Ireland, and advising them not to be alarmed at the police notices to quit their homes and land.

April 10th. Sean Hegarty was found "not guilty" on the charge connected with the explosives. He is to be tried again on the charge of writing "certain notices". Bolger is to be tried separately. Larry de Lacy is made to figure big as "the culprit". The whole affair has now dwindled to small dimensions. "The Crown" was out to uncover a conspiracy. It found none. I hear the newspapers were asked not to make too much of the case. The Liberal Government does not want it to appear there is "trouble" in Ireland.

Mike O'Leary, V.C., is being worked for all he is worth in the recruiting campaign; and for more than his worth. He has almost become a mythical hero; greater than Fionn Mac Cumhaill! Many curious stories are going round regarding him.

There is no doubt but the recruiting campaign is now producing results; in Cork city at least. The fact we should face is that the pro-British of Ireland are numerically as strong as those who are anti-British; perhaps stronger. And they have wealth and power and efficient organisations; press, publicity and force. It would be surprising if they did not obtain recruits for the British army. The "New Garrison" and the "Old" are at one in the drive.

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The present policy of the Oglagh is to drill, arm, become efficient and await developments. But, what if the Government strike and disarm us? What will be the end of it all? Freedom or further submergence of the Irish Nation?

April 11th. "Brutality of Germans. How they treat their prisoners. Protest by Sir Edward Grey". Such are headings in the "Independent". The British Government has issued a White Paper dealing with the treatment of prisoners of war. It appears the French and Russian prisoners are well treated; the English are not. As for Irish war prisoners, here is the report: "Major Vandeleur quotes a number of officers for the statement that all the Irishmen at his Camp were collected together and harangued by the Commandant, who stated that the Emperor was aware of the town-trodden state of Ireland, and now wishes that the Irishmen should be placed in a separate camp, where they would be better fed and treated differently from the Englishmen". The report adds: "Subsequently they went in a body to the Commandant and said they did not wish to have any different treatment from their compatriots".

How much truth is in all this?

Meeting of Oglagh Executive Committee last night. Complaints that few now attend drill practices or appear on parades; subscriptions are decreasing; there is only £20 in the Defence of Ireland Fund and little likelihood of making a collection for the Fund this year. The Battalion Council assert the Executive is only existing on sufferance; it has no part in the scheme of organisation drawn up by headquarters. There seem to be causes for complaint in general: a slackness; indecision. A policy of passivity seems to be the order of the leaders of the Volunteers at present.

April 12th. Cork Harbour and Berehaven are closed, as ports, by order of the British Admiralty and all lights that may be seen from the sea are prohibited around the whole Irish coast.

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Here is how the Great War appears in our daily newspapers and to our nationalist (?) public speakers: Principal actors - England v Germany; secondary actors - France v Germany; minor actors - Russia v Austria and Germany.

England is fighting for - 1. Belgium ("Poor Belgium; distressed Belgium; little Belgium; harassed Belgium"); 2. Religion; 3. Civilisation; 4. Small nationalities; 5. The World's freedom; 6. The Irish Language (Mr. T.M.Kettle); 7. Irish freedom (Recruiting speakers in Cork); 8. Home Rule (Recruiting speakers in Cork); 9. "Right over Might"; 10. "Ireland's beautiful churches, its homes, its women, its children"; 11. Freedom from taxation on land of Ireland; 12. Defence of Irish priests and nuns; 13. Land purchase; 14. Labourers' cottages.

April 14th: O'Hogarty's case was tried on Monday (12th). The jury, as anticipated, disagreed. His case and Bolger's are put back till June. Application for bail is to come on again. The "Daily Mail" calls it a serious case. The "Independent" terms it an "Irish State Trial".

Further trials reported: one in Belfast of a man who asked some questions in the course of conversation with a few sailors in a publichouse; another, in Tipperary, a man tore down recruiting posters; a third, in Cork city, a boy who made some remarks to an old recruiting sergeant, who was at one time a drummer in the Volunteers. Deserters from the army are being brought almost every day before Cork Police Court and handed over to the military authorities.

April 16th. Recruits for the British army are, no doubt, being secured, but, in my travels through the country, I find "public opinion" considers the recruiting campaign is failing; also, that England is not as strong as it was supposed to be. English prestige is lessened considerably in Irish minds.

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No one, for instance, believes that England could have stood up alone to Germany. Standing alone, it would have been smashed. That is the common opinion; but not in the newspapers.

April 18th. The young man who made some remarks to the recruiting sergoant (ex-drummer in the Volunteers) was tried at Cork Police Court yesterday and sentenced to a month's imprisonment. In the course of the case, a good deal was said about "the Sinn Fein Volunteers", "the Split", etc. Two of the magistrates disagreed with the verdict; one, an O'Brienite, the other, a son of Sir Edward Fitzgerald. The O'Brienite magistrate made a speech at which "there was applause in Court, which was immediately suppressed". He expressed the opinion the case should never have been brought on; it was too trivial.

The Chairman of the Bench, Starkie, R.M., said we must not joke about the war or about recruiting: 'tis a serious offence. The old recruiting sergoant swore he never belonged to the "Sinn Fein Volunteers" and that at the time of the "Split" he did not side with them. It was a false oath. As a matter of fact, he saved the flag of our Volunteer Corps from the A.O.H. "raids" the night they came to Fisher Street and stole our guns and band instruments. The young man who was sentenced was never in the Volunteers, nor in Sinn Féin, so far as I know.

In Limerick, a young man was charged with tearing down a recruiting poster, on which was a picture of Mr. William Redmond, M.P. The case was scouted out of court; the Crown witnesses contradicting each other.

Up in the north of Ireland, an old man was heavily fined for endeavouring to rescue his son from a recruiting agent.

Yesterday, my wife was speaking to an old country woman. A son of hers joined the army in Canada and had come to England with a Canadian Volunteer Force. The old woman was bewailing the disgrace of having a son of hers join "the English army".

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The son had come home. She knew first he was coming. She dared not tell the father. But, when she actually saw the son, in khaki, coming towards the house, she told the old man.

"He fell back in a weakness" at the thought of a son of his so disgracing the family. Her first greeting to the son was: "Oh! indeed, is this how you have treated us and after all we did for you?" So, she told my wife, and then said: "Sure, I suppose we'll never see him again, Glory be to God; but he'd be no credit to us now at home".

Another country woman, though of the money-making type and perturbed as to what would happen her bank account if the Germans win, says of her husband, who is much older than she and a "hard man" - "Wisha! he do be telling us that the English are only getting now what they deserve. He do be tracing "genealogies" about what the English did long ago and says "the devil's cure to them now"! Yet, he has his farm purchased; is pretty well off and has money in the bank.

In the train the other day, a schoolgirl who speaks Irish to me, asked me abruptly: "Mr. Roche, do you like soldiers?" I gently hinted to the contrary, so she vehemently declared she hated them. While she was expressing her ideas, two country women came into the compartment. One of them lectured the girl - "What would we do only for the soldiers? The Germans would kill us only for them; 'twas the soldiers were saving us" and so on. The young girl blushed, but said nothing. I must have looked amused when the harangue was finished; changing her tone, the woman addressed me and said - "Wisha, Sir, sure that's what they're saying. We don't know are the Germans so bad as they say; we never reads the papers; but they do be telling us only for the sojers we'd be all killed". My schoolgirl shrewdly remarked to me in a low tone: "'Twasn't herself was speaking first, but the whiskey!" Her volte-face was certainly amusing.

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There used to be, till recently, an election chorus in Cork, as follows:

"Up the Hollies, hurray, hurray!
Up the Hollies, hurray!
O'Brion will be shot and Home Rule will be got
Up the Hollies, hurray!

Walking down by Ballintemple last evening, wife and myself heard the familiar air of this chorus, but the words now were:

"Up the Germans, hurray, hurray!
Up the Germans, hurray!
John Bull is near done; he is now on the run,
Up the Germans, hurray!

Were the boys chanting this one before Mr. Starkie, he would probably give them six months' imprisonment.

In my journeyings by train, I meet soldiers home on furlough. Their news of the war and their views on it are interesting. One I met today (April 19th) had been in the fighting line at Mons and La Bassée. He had been wounded. He showed me the wound, now healed to a scar. Will have to go back; does not like the idea at all. It was awful at Mons; fearful, dreadful; murder and slaughter. They buried some of their men by walking over the dead bodies. The papers are not giving any of the truth about the slaughter. If they did, recruits would not be got. Hard on a man like himself to have to go out again when so many fellows in the new army want to go to the Front. German prisoners say they know Germany is beaten, but they will "give hell to the English" before the war is finished. Ireland ought to be better treated when the war is over; the Irish soldiers have done their share, first in the charge and last in retreat. He belonged to the Connaught Rangers.

April 21st: Evidence is accumulating that the police are watching the movements of "Sinn Feiners" closely. For what particular purpose at present is not clear. In Dumanaway, I was informed that my own movements are being looked into: whom I meet and whom I associate with. It is an honour: undeserved in my case!

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April 23rd. Bail was refused O'Hegarty and Bolger.

"The Crown" is again taking a serious view of the case against them. Mr. Justice Kenny made the curious statement that it depends upon where a prisoner is tried as to whether he is found guilty or not. (A suggestion that if they were tried in Belfast they would be convicted). Judge Dodd calls Sean O'Hegarty a criminal - "the more probable criminal" - and this before conviction.

April 25th. The Great War has contributed a good deal to the fund of humour there is in life in Ireland. The recruiting campaign supplies many humorous stories. The "shadowing" of Gaelic Leaguers, Sinn Feiners and Irish Volunteers by the police provides others. The war itself, ghastly as it is in many aspects, and the tall yarns of improbable deeds contribute their share.

Mike O'Leary's father was prevailed upon to speak at a recruiting meeting in Macroom recently. The poor man, of course did not know quite what to say, so apparently he made some queer remarks and then began denouncing England and the English, when he was stopped! So, many good stories are going the rounds.

All is not serene with the British Government. It is evident there are serious differences in high places. Prime Minister Asquith, last week, stated "all was well" with regard to the supply of war munitions. Lord Kitchener and Lloyd George had stated there was a serious shortage and that it is caused by "strikes and drink". Lloyd George has changed his attitude. He does not now agree with Asquith. There is a furore in the English press. The "Daily Mail" publishes matter that would be "seditious" in Ireland.

April 26th. Last night, at the house of a friend, I met the Councillor who was the chief mover in having the name of Professor Kuno Mayer taken off the Roll of Freemen of Cork city.

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A genial humbug! During the course of conversation he gave expression to the following opinions: "He hoped England would get a good thrashing in the war. The Germans were a great people; a 100 years ahead of all others in education. He would not ask any Irishman to join the English army and would not go on a recruiting platform. Ninety-five per cent. of the public men of Ireland were of the same opinion on this matter. He had no respect for King George V."

In public, the Councillor poses as a man thoroughly loyal to the King and to English interests!

April 30th. Chancellor Lloyd George, in the English Commons last night, outlined drastic measures to deal with the drink problem in England. He also prepared heavy tax duties on spirits and beer. These will affect Irish breweries and distilleries adversely. The drink interests in Ireland were already "up in arms" against the proposed increases. John Redmond protested against Lloyd George's taxation and then withdrew. The O'Brianite group forced a division in the Commons, the first in the British Parliament since the war began. They were, of course, outvoted. In fact, they stood alone, the Conservatives supporting the Liberal Government in the matter.

In the course of the debate, Lloyd George asked why should Ireland get any separate treatment from the rest of "the United Kingdom" (seeing the Irish leaders have declared Ireland is one with England in the war).

May 1st. The question of the taxation on drink is looming large in Ireland. There is much shouting and writing about the "injustice". But where is the injustice if Ireland be really a part of the United Kingdom and the Empire, as our leaders have declared it is? Yet, it is those who have been proclaiming loyalty who are now shouting loudest.

More Defence of the Realm cases. One in Cappoquin dismissed. "A drunken rowdy", as the evidence showed him to be, lodged a charge against a cooper in town, because the latter, citing Irish history, spoke of what the English did in Ireland in the past. A police sergeant swore the cooper was not a Sinn Féiner. The "rowdy one" quoted extracts from speeches from Messrs. John E. Redmond and John Dillon to justify himself.

The number of real Sinn Fein adherents in Ireland is small, but, I am now convinced, the majority of the Irish people are not pro-English; notwithstanding all the declarations of loyalty by the political leaders and the press. Evidence accumulates of the watchfulness of the police over the Uglagh. There is no interference with our personal liberty, but we are "shadowed from afar".

May 3rd. Still they grow - Realm Act cases. A farmer in Schull arrested for tearing down recruiting posters. A farmer elsewhere convicted for "uttering words likely to prejudice recruiting". Nasty words indeed: "To hell with England!" Will the Mayor of Limerick be prosecuted for uttering words "prejudicial to recruiting"? He uttered them at a public meeting in Cork City Hall last Saturday, called to protest against Lloyd George's taxes on drink. Lord Bandon, His Majesty's County Lieutenant, presided at the meeting. "Had we Home Rule, this could not happen", says Mr. Augustine Roche, M.P. But, it has been proclaimed from the housetops by the Parliamentary Party that we have Home Rule (on the Statute Book) and because of that, we should shed our blood for England! What a muddle it is!

T.P. O'Connor, Joseph Devlin, the Lord Mayor of Dublin and others were in Paris recently to assure the French people Ireland was with them in the war. They banquetted with M. Viviani: he who declared he "had put out the lights of heaven" in the schools of France; a "big noise" in the Grand

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Orient Freemason Order and one of the most determined anti-Catholics in the French Ministry. The war has produced queer combinations, but the Ancient Order of Hibernians and the Grand Orient hand in hand is one of the queerest.

"T.P." is an admirable stage-manager. Some American papers came my way today. In the "Montreal Star" is an account of an "interview" "T.P.", as a journalist, had with Joseph Devlin, as a Member of Parliament. In the course of the "interview", "T.P." makes "J.D." say, in a tired sort of way - "There are no Sinn Féiners outside of Dublin and even there they are a very minute faction; more Larkinite than Sinn Féin".

May 5th: Chancellor Lloyd George introduced his Budget in the British Parliament yesterday. Along with the leaders of the Tory Party, William O'Brien and T.M. Healy, Mr. Redmond was critical of some of his proposals. By the force of public opinion in Ireland regarding taxation, he has been made to line up with the opposition to the Liberal Government.

Part of the Chancellor's statement is very interesting. He said "the Allies" must determine what part England is to play in the war. There are three courses for her: 1. To supply munitions and keep the seas clear. 2. To finance the Allies. 3. To raise a huge army. If England takes the third course, she cannot act on the first and second. He broadly hints the first and second are the part England wants to play. He says while there is need for more men for the army, they are not going to hamper work, industrial or productive, for the sake of a huge army. (That is, let Russians and French, Belgians and Serbians fight and sacrifice their lives. "Business as usual" must be England's motto!)

There was a cutting in the "Cork Free Press" from a Liverpool paper to the effect that Sir Roger Casement was to be nominated as Member of Parliament for College Green division, at present vacant. This is denied today from Sinn Féin sources in Dublin.

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J.J. Walsh, who was transferred from Cork to Bradford recently, has been dismissed from the Post Office Service in consequence of a letter he wrote to the Cork Corporation, protesting against the Freedom of the City being conferred upon Lord Lieutenant Wimborne.

In a private letter to Pasait, he says he is coming back to Cork. I doubt if he will be allowed. If allowed, he will be a marked man. There was criticism of his action in accepting the transfer to Bradford and then asking the Cork Óglaigh to protest against his transfer.

May 6th. "Huns off the Cork Coast" is a heading in the "Examiner" this morning. A ship was sunk by a German submarine off the Old Head of Kinsale. It is not the first one. German submarines, in fact, have been very active around the south and west coasts of Ireland.

A lady in Dublin was prosecuted for tearing down a recruiting poster. "Her glove caught in it" was her "explanation"! Not convicted.

Police are calling to all houses distributing leaflets dealing with soldiers' "separation allowances". A constable, with a half-apologetic attitude, handed one to me. He seemed to be in a great hurry.

May 7th. As I had anticipated, J.J. Walsh was not allowed to come to Cork. "Examiner" reports he was met at Mallow last evening by a military commander, Captain Dickie, by police and detectives. He was handed a document under Defence of the Realm Act regulations, giving a list of places where he may not reside. Cork, apparently, was on the list. He was ordered back to Dublin by the next train, under threat of immediate arrest. The report states he accepted the alternative and returned to Dublin.

The Cork Corps of the Óglaigh had gone to the Glanmire Terminus to meet him. They heard from passengers on the

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train that he had been arrested in Mallow. They then returned to Sheares St. and a public meeting of protest was held; very largely attended. Fasait made a strong speech, denouncing "the authorities" for their action and condemning the whole British regime in Ireland. He expects arrest in consequence.

Walsh would probably have been allowed to come to Cork but for the Óglaigh preparations for his reception. Captain Dickie and a detective named Young motored from Cork late in the evening to meet the train at Mallow.

11 p.m. Drimoleague. Rumour, wild, vague, mysterious, has it here this evening that the liner "Lusitania" has been attacked by a German submarine off the south coast. First account - she was sunk in nine minutes; 300 passengers drowned. Later account - she is being towed into Kinsale, having struck a mine. That seems false; a vessel of her size could not get into Kinsale Harbour.

Warning was given in America last week that she would be attacked, as her cargo included munitions. Our sapient newspapers, on "inspiration", dismissed this warning as German braggadocio. Now, rumour has it, the German submarine which was waiting for the "Lusitania" on the Cork south coast was itself rammed or destroyed in some mysterious way. What the Germans said they would do they have done.

May 8th. For once, rumour minimised. The story of the "Lusitania" is bigger than rumour had it. She was hit by torpedoes from a submarine yesterday, about 2.30 p.m., some 10 miles S.S.W. from the Old Head of Kinsale, in broad daylight, in a calm sea, with a clear sky. Estimated loss of lives, 1200; 600 or 700 supposed to be saved by various craft; numbers admitted to be yet inexact.

The action has created a huge sensation. The English papers are violent and wild. "America must come in now. America must join the Allies in the war". That is the cry.

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There is an air of suppressed excitement in Cork. A general question arises - "What is the English Fleet doing? Where was it yesterday? Are the English being beaten off the seas? For days past we all knew German submarines were a round the Cork coast. They had to come to surface, here and there. A story was told that the crew of one had chatted with the crew of a Waterford fishing boat and bought fish from them! Did the British Admiralty deliberately let the "Lusitania" unguarded in order to force the United States into the war against Germany? One of the Vanderbilt family is supposed to have been lost. Stocks have fallen. There is consternation in London; joy in Berlin.

Our Óglaigh are to have a concert in Cork Opera House tomorrow (Sunday). Fasait heard today that police called to the Manager of the Opera House requesting him to cancel the hiring agreement. Though an Englishman and a Conservative, he refused. Then they informed him they will have a force outside the Opera House "in case there should be a disturbance". I can hardly credit all this. There is no likelihood whatever of "a disturbance" unless the police themselves have instructions to create one. We live in exciting times.

May 9th. The impression that Germany will win the Great War is strong at present; a fortnight ago the opposite was the case. Such is the variation of public opinion.

The official organ of the Vatican had made a strong appeal to the Italian Government to keep Italy neutral; to remain at peace and make terms with Austria. Some of our Catholic "leaders" in Ireland must not like that. They want Italy to join "the allies" to beat "the Huns".

The Óglaigh concert was a huge success. I under-estimated the strength of the sympathy which exists in Cork for our Volunteer Corps. It was a pleasant surprise to see such a large attendance as there was. There was no interference and no display of police. J.L.F. must be an alarmist!

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Was speaking to Mrs. Sean O'Hegarty. She has been in Dublin for some time since Sean's arrest. She counsels prudence for all of us, if we are to retain our liberty.

May 10th. From the "Evening Echo" - "P.A. Foreign Special, New York, May 9th "The only elements of the population (in the United States) venturing a feeble apology for the German policy are recently-arrived Germans and a few Irishmen - whose sympathies hark back to the Fenian days". (This was apropos the sinking of the "Lusitania".

May 11th. Coroner John J. Horgan, solicitor, and a Kinsale jury yesterday found a verdict of wilful murder against the Kaiser, the German Government and the submarine officers, after an inquest on some of the drowned of the "Lusitania". The jury acted on the coroner's advice and no doubt the coroner acted on the advice of "the authorities".

Coming in the train this morning were seven or eight Kinsale women - "pro-Germans" apparently, from their conversation, as "pro-German" is understood in Ireland. They seemed to lay the blame for the "Lusitania" affair at the door of the British Admiralty. They expressed astonishment at the capability of the Germans. "The English were too sure of themselves" said one. Another: "Father - says 'a lot we'd care what the English would get in the war if the Irish were out of it'".

A third: "The English were very bad to Ireland in the past; they're getting their reward now". And much more in the same strain. Which shows that the coroner's verdict does not express the opinion of all the people, even of Kinsale.

Many stories are being told regarding the visits of German submarine crews to villages on the coast and their conversations with crews of fishing boats. Most of them have a touch of humour. Members of one submarine crew came to land the other day; entered a publichouse, treated everyone and then took with them a barrel of porter! A "Cork Examiner" correspondent

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in Skibberreen relates that a submarine came into Castlehaven and spoke to men on the pier, telling them "to inform Sir Edward Grey (British Foreign Affairs Minister) that they had some surprises in store for him". No Irish fishing trawlers have been interfered with by the Germans while they have sunk trawlers on the east coast of England. There are no English warships around our coast and the patrol boats are unable to cope with submarines.

The captain of the "Lusitania" was one of those who gave evidence at an enquiry that Cork Harbour was not large enough to accommodate the liners of the Cunard Company. The Cunard Company boycotted Cork Harbour, as a result of the enquiry. Then, they influenced the Government to prevent German liners calling to the harbour and thwarted Sir Roger Casement's efforts May 12th.

All the propaganda, following the destruction of the "Lusitania" has, so far, failed to bring the United States into the war against Germany. President Woodrow Wilson is reported to have said: "There is such a thing as being too proud to fight. One's cause may be so right that one may scorn to resist attacks upon it". A cynic may say he says this because America is unable to fight at present. And opinion seems very divided in the States - pro-British and pro-German.

Yesterday, Bulmer Hobson published some letters in the "Independent" which show that no Civil Servants can belong to the Óglaigh - "the Volunteers under Mr. MacNeill's Committee". They may join Carson's or Redmond's.

May 14th. Mr. Laurence Ginnell, M.P. asked a question in the British House of Commons and Mr. Birrell, Chief Secretary, replied, to say Civil Servants cannot be members of the Irish Volunteers, as "Mr. MacNeill's Committee" is against recruiting for the British army. He could give no specific instances and had no evidence to show that "Mr. MacNeill's Committee" had spoken or acted against recruiting.

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President Wilson's statement about being "too proud to fight" has, naturally, been much ridiculed in England. As much consolation as possible is being drawn from a protest he has sent to the German Government.

May 17th. Mr. William O'Brien had a public meeting on the Grand Parade yesterday (Sunday) to crow over the defeat of Lloyd George's taxation proposals on the liquor trade in Ireland. Walking around with my wife, we stopped for a short time at the meeting. Though William himself was speaking, the meeting was remarkably undemonstrative.

"The Free Press" reports it in superlative style today; the "Examiner" dismisses it with half a column on a back page. In the "Press", I see my name mentioned as one of the audience, along with many others, Gaelic Leaguers, Sinn Feiners and even Redmondites!

One item of William's speech, as reported, is striking to me. It is, that "the day of the old leaders" in Ireland is over; "the day of the plain people has come". "The people" have asserted their power in the defeat of the taxes proposed, where "the leaders" were failing.

O'Brien did not say it, but the fact is, since the Volunteers were founded, new ideas are abroad, new minds active. New leaders will arise. New policies will appear. The day of Sinn Féin may yet come.

May 18th. Sean MacDiarmada has been arrested, after delivering a speech in Tuam. So the "Examiner" reports. No charge is stated.

A young man in Dublin was given fourteen days imprisonment for writing the words "Remember '98" across a recruiting poster.

A persistent rumour has been going round for the past week that Eamon O'Neill of Kinsale, or some member of his family, has been arrested, courtmartialled, even shot! for supplying the Germans with petrol. The rumour has spread far and wide, but Kinsale people tell me there is not a word of truth in it.

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Rumour is busy these times. It is easy to get one going.

May 19th. There is a political crisis in England, at the centre of government. It appears to have developed suddenly, though there have been indications of tension for some time past. The culmination is apparently in differences between Mr. Winston Churchill, as First Lord of the Admiralty, and the First Sea Lord, Fisher. The war has been too big a problem for the Liberal Government. Indications go to show that the crisis will be got over by a re-arrangement of the Cabinet and the formation of a Coalition Government of Liberals, Tories and probably Labour representatives. Tory criticism of the Liberal administration will thus be stopped. Strikes, riots and the open discontent which have been common recently will be sternly dealt with, no doubt. Changes bound to follow a Coalition are indicated. One is conscription. There is every likelihood now of a conscription Act being passed. Lord Kitchener says he wants 300,000 more men. He is unlikely to get that number on a voluntary basis. The solution is - conscription. England's prestige is shaken. The war is not going according to plan. It is not at all certain "the Allies" can win.

What England does to safeguard itself is not of consequence to Irish Nationalists, except in so far as actions taken by the British Government affect Ireland. And the formation of a Coalition Government will affect Ireland. Names hinted at, as members of such a coalition, include Sir Edward Carson and Lord Lansdowne. John E. Redmond's name has also been mentioned, but it is said he has declined to join the Cabinet. We may expect "coercion" and rigid enforcement of the "Roalm Act" from a Coalition Government; probably a disarming of the Óglaigh and of the Redmondite Volunteers, unless they take an Oath of Allegiance. Then, we may have conscription enforced when we are disarmed.

And what of the Home Rule the Redmondites wish for?

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May 20th. The Coalition Government in England seems to be a fait accompli, and Carson is a member of it!

The "Cork Examiner" favours Redmond joining the Cabinet, but London correspondents of the Irish papers say many members of the Parliamentary Party are opposed to such an idea. Notwithstanding all the protestations of "loyalty", mistrust of the English appears to be in their minds. Some of the English papers consider the Coalition as "the end of the Radical Government". It probably means that. A week ago, Asquith declared a coalition "impossible and undesirable". Yesterday, he recanted. The "Daily Mail" practically calls Lord Kitchener himself a liar: his statements regarding the war situation and supplies of munitions on Tuesday do not correspond with statements made by him a month ago. Did any Irish paper say what the "Daily Mail" has said, it would be promptly suppressed. Colonel Lynch, M.P. called attention to the different treatment accorded to Irish and English papers by a question in the House of Commons. "No answer was given".

May 21st. The London correspondent of the "Examiner" writes: "The new Cabinet will be a National Cabinet. For an Irish member to accept a seat in the Cabinet would be to assert the national identity of England and Ireland and, therefore, to deny the national differentiation of the islands. But the whole argument for Home Rule depends upon the statement of this national differentiation. In the deepest sense, therefore, the presence of an Irish member in the new Cabinet would be a denial of the principle of Home Rule".

There was a fair here (in Drimoleague) yesterday. Recruiting agents attended and got three or four recruits; not sober. So, the man of the house where I say, an ex-policeman, tells me. He is surprised they got any, for the people, he says, do not like England, though the "Lusitania" sinking has changed the opinion of some regarding Germany. Coming down the street

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tonight, I heard a man, not quite sober either, shout "Up the Germans", evidently to annoy the police on patrol. They did not interfere with him.

Yet, the penalty for this "crime" in a recent case was six months' imprisonment, with hard labour! And no penalty was inflicted on a man who, recklessly driving a motor car, killed a girl.

According to a recent return, there are 10,287 police in Ireland. There are probably over 100,000 soldiers. A goodly number to keep us quiet, should we become "nasty".

From an economic point of view, we are not badly off. Prices are rising indeed, but this is to the advantage of the farmers. Food is plentiful. There is little unemployment. Emigration has almost ceased. And, the country is peaceful, notwithstanding D.O.R.A. operations.

May 22nd. I could not get a copy of the "Daily Mail" in Cork today. It has made a frontal attack on Lord Kitchener. "He is a failure; inept; effete. He is criminally wrong and hopelessly blundering. He must go!" No Irish suppressed paper said half as much "to hamper recruiting and the success of the British army" as the "Daily Mail" and the "London Times" have said. Kitchener and French are at loggerheads. Churchill and Fisher are at loggerheads. There is muddling and confusion at the heart of the British Empire. "England is done" - so one hears on many lips. "Tá réim Sheain Bhuidhe caithte" is what an Irish speaker said to me.

But "Seán Buidhe's" regime in Ireland is not finished. Friend J.L. Fasaitt has got notice from the military commander (Hill) at Queenstown to quit Cork county by Wednesday next (26th). He got it late last night. Detective Sergeant Young appears to have been the prime mover. The "Cork Constitution" had it displayed on its War Notice Board. So far, the line of action I have advised him to take is to obey the order, because of his wife and family.

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May 25th. Events rush and run and gallop. I can note only a few.

Saturday night (22nd) there was a meeting of the Executive of the Cork Óglaigh. Discussion at much length on the notice to Fiasait. Some were for his "making a stand", getting a trial, fighting it out with the military authorities. The majority were in favour of his obeying the order. No decision was come to, one way or the other. He was not present himself.

In the course of the discussion, I learned that the evening papers had news of the arrest of my friend, Sean Milroy. He was arrested on Friday night. I had not known of it and, on Saturday afternoon, had sent a short note to Sean telling him of Fiasait's notice of banishment from Cork. Milroy was arrested and lodged in Mountjoy because of a speech he delivered on the previous Sunday.

Whit Sunday (23rd). Accompanied by my wife and some friends, I went with out Cork Óglaigh to Limerick to take part in a hosting of the Volunteers. There were corps from many centres. There was a march through the city. It was a thrilling sight. I reckoned the number taking part was about 2000. Heard there was some slight disturbance while the men were passing "Irishtown" quarter: the "separation allowance" women viewing them unfavourably. We thought nothing of it.

After dinner, wife and I and two friends had a drive to Castleconnell. Coming back, our jarvey told us of disturbances at the railway station. We reached the station before 7 o'clock. A large crowd was there; an unruly crowd of women. Police in helmets guarded the entrance to the station. The gates were closed. We drove up, got into the station, but were not permitted by railway officials to board the train which was just leaving. There were confused and conflicting accounts of "riots"; stone-throwing; bottle-flinging; scuffles with police; with infuriated women, the soldiers' "ladies" of Irishtown; of

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fights for flags; of country corps breaking discipline and charging the crowd; of confusion and wounds. "Were the Corkmen safe?" "Oh, yes, the Corkmen marched through the crowd like seasoned soldiers and had entrained".

The Dublin men trooped into the station. They seemed a trifle excited and some did not appear as disciplined as might have been expected. They departed by train. Our little group of friends came out to the front of the station platform. The crowd outside the gates were being appealed to by a priest and the Mayor of Limerick. Said a man to me: "He is the most influential priest in Limerick, Sir, but has the reputation of being a Sinn Féiner and so can hardly influence that crowd". But the people were now quiet.

Had a word with Bulmer Hobson and Liam Mellows, who were on the platform also. We were all then ordered outside the gates. Our Cork train was not to leave till 11 o'clock. We had a walk around the city. Everything was quiet, so far as we saw. Two or three other Cork people joined us. We got back for the late train, came home by way of Limerick Junction, arriving in Cork at 3 o'clock in the morning - a glorious summer morning.

May 25th. Later accounts from those who were in it show that the "row" in Limerick was serious enough at times, got over by good temper and discipline on the part of the Volunteers; an affair now to be laughed at. "Cork Examiner" report is excellent: the reporter informed me he had orders to report impartially.

A meeting of the Executive of the Industrial Development Association, of which Fasait is secretary, was held today. George Crosbie presided. He was quite sympathetic to Fasait (who had gone to Queenstown to see the military commander). I offered to do the secretarial work during Fasait's absence

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- long or short. (I have been Hon. Secretary since the Association was founded in 1903). This was accepted, but, as I also am "suspect", it was agreed to appoint M.A. Ryan, nominally in Pasait's place. He is not connected with any political party.

George Crosbie thinks I will probably get "notice to quit" shortly. Also, he thinks many, if not most, of the industrialists who support the Association would rather see it broken up than support it with a "Sinn Féiner" as secretary.

Pasait saw a Captain Dickie at Queenstown. No charge would be formulated against him. He was not to be tried. If he did not obey the order, he would be forcibly taken outside Co. Cork. If he came back, he would be "interned" in a detention camp.

(In Dunmanway). A bank accountant, who stays in the hotel where I also put up, informed me that last Wednesday night the Head Constable of police himself "shadowed" me from the Technical School to the hotel, there having been some little neglect of duty by the police previously regarding my movements.

All hotel-keepers have now to give information to the police regarding people staying in the hotel. I had to fill up a form. The police were waiting downstairs for it.

May 26th. The names of the members of the new English (Coalition) Government appear in the newspapers this morning. It is predominantly Tory; though Asquith is still Prime Minister. To Irishmen, the spiciest bit of news is the appointment of Sir Edward Carson as Attorney General! He who defied all English law for the past few years is now chief law officer!

Redmond was offered a post in the Cabinet. He refused it. "The Party" have backed him up in this. But how does Home Rule stand now? Evidently the Party see all is not well. And what is their advice at this critical juncture? They remind the Irish people that self-reliance has always been the motto!

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Oh, ho! That is Sinn Féin! They remind us that "the success" of the Party's efforts has been due to independent action in Parliament. The man who dared say that not so long ago was a "factionist". They resolve to reorganise the United Irish League. So, back again to that, though "Home Rule is on the Statute Book of England". And so this is the end of Irish Parliamentary agitation for Home Rule. The end.

Fooled, tricked, humbugged by the English Liberal Government checkmated by the Tories and Orangemen. It should be clear as day to them now. And what can Ireland do? In the light of today's news, how wrong Redmond's and the Party's actions have been in connection with the Volunteers and Sinn Féin.

But, there's no use bemoaning the past. The harm is done, it was regrettable for poor Ireland's sake. We can only build again. The struggle now will be hard, very hard. Our best hope for Irish freedom lies now in England's defeat in the Great War.

May 27th. Lieutenant D.D. Sheehan, O'Brienite Member of Parliament, had a recruiting meeting here (in Drimoleague) yesterday. He got no recruits. The farmers' sons are wary and my ex-policeman host says it is because they hate England.

Resolutions of confidence in Mr. Redmond are being passed by branches of the United Irish League. Had he joined the British Cabinet they would have passed the same resolutions.

F.E. Smith ("Galloper Smith" of the Orange Volunteers) is Solicitor General. The old pro-British papers (Unionist) are jubilant over the composition of the Government; the new pro-British (Parliamentarian Nationalist) are, to put it vulgarly, "scratching their heads". Some English papers are also puzzled, it would seem. "John Bull", edited by one Horatio Bottomly, hints broadly at scandals; scandals in war contracts, scandal regarding the "Lusitania" and the absence of a convoy, and other scandals in high places. Bottomly says an apology is due to America and it seems the United States

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Government is demanding an explanation from Sir Edward Grey.

May 30th. The non-Sinn Féin members of the Industrial Association are willing, even anxious, I think, to send Fasait to the United States, on condition that he speak there on behalf of Irish industries and refrain from politics. A fund has been organised for this purpose. M.A. Ryan has written to him, asking him to consent to this action.

May 31st. Fasait has consented to go to America. George Crosbie (who is President of the Association), in a letter, laid down a condition that he is not "to preach pro-German or Sinn Féin principles". I protested to Ryan about any specific mention of Sinn Féin. Not to speak on political matters should be enough; entirely in keeping with the work of a representative of the Industrial Association, which is non-political. (And yet, only for Sinn Féin there would have been no Industrial Development Association!)

Meeting of Executive of the Association tonight; unusually large attendance. I was told the Hon. Treasurer, W.B. Harrington, wanted the Association to disown Fasait. This was not listened to, and it was decided to send him to America as representing the Association. After the meeting George Crosbie told me "the authorities" would let Fasait go, on the conditions mentioned in his own letter; otherwise they would not let him go.

Announced today that Hilroy and Sean MacDiarmada are to be tried at once. O'Hegarty and Bolger trial is also coming on. Also, Sheehy-Skeffington was arrested on Saturday last (29th). So, it goes on!

June 1st. There was a day in English history which they call "the Glorious First of June". Well, on this First of June, 1915, the news comes of the long-threatened Zeppelin air-raid on London, in the early hours of this morning. A very guarded statement appears in the papers and they are warned by the

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Press Bureau against publishing more than is officially sanctioned. So, the question arises: "What is happening in London?" What is happening? Rumours fly in all directions, painting lurid pictures of fires and destruction, wild rumours on the wings of the wind. Events crowd upon each other.

The times are exciting.

Another bit of news; of vital interest to the Redmondites. Mr. J.H. Campbell, a bitter Orangeman, legal adviser to Carson's "Ulster Provisional Government", is to be appointed Lord Chancellor of Ireland. Even the tamest of the parliamentarians seem to be kicking at this. Now they seem to be getting some realisation of the fact that the Liberal Government of England, nominally pledged to Home Rule, is ended, and that the Orangemen and anti-Irish bigots are high in power again. The plums of office are plucked from the Redmondites. What a reward for their "loyalty" and all their efforts to secure recruits for the British army! Poor, deluded Irishmen.

"Oh! never fear for Ireland, for she has brave hearts still".

Cases under the Defence of the Realm Act mount up day by day. Some are interesting, some amusing, a few ludicrous. Also, day by day, the list of deserters from the British army mounts.

The "London Times" itself has been prosecuted under D.O.R.A. It had an article by a retired militia major in which it was stated the last French reserves had been called up and there were thousands of able-bodied "shirkers" in England.

There was a ridiculous case at Douglas Petty Sessions Court yesterday. On Whit Monday, a man on a bicycle passed a police sergeant and a constable and "uttered words" which the sergeant swore were "Remember Fawsitt", but which the man himself said were: "You have lost it" - meaning catching men who were playing bowls on the public road. So, the sergeant

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had him up for being drunk and disorderly! Sir Edward Fitzgerald, Bart., was Chairman of the Bench. In his wellknown fatherly way, he advised the young man: "Go home, boy: go with the times and leave Fawsitt and his like alone!" The case was dismissed. Naturally.

June 2nd. Cork (Board of Erin) Hibernians have passed resolutions: 1. A vote of confidence in Mr. Redmond. 2. Viewing with indignation the appointment of Sir Edward Carson as Chief Law Officer in England and the proposed appointment of Mr. J.H. Campbell as Lord Chancellor of Ireland. 3. Expressing renewed faith in "parliamentary agitation".

Cork City "Regiment of the National Volunteers" utters a protest at the organisation of a new Volunteer Corps in Cork; one on the lines of volunteer corps in England which have been recognised by the War Office. The officers of the "Regiment" state they were willing to do anything Lord Kitchener required, so there should be no need for a new formation, they think. Yet, their own Lord Mayor O'Shea presided at the meeting to form the new corps; which is a "classy" one and is formed of men too old to enlist in the regular British army, but who want to show their ultra loyalty to England.

Mr. Tom O'Donnell, M.P., and a Mr. O'Connell and many others of the "New English Garrison" have been saying "nasty" things about Sinn Féiners; such as that they ought be shot or imprisoned!

"Sinn Féiners" seem now to have sprung up all over Ireland, if the "New Garrison" men are to be believed. Yet, not so long ago the same men loudly denied there were any Sinn Féiners, except "an insignificant few in Dublin".

Prior to the Great War, Sinn Féin meant the policy of national self-reliance and passive resistance to English rule in Ireland, formulated by Arthur Griffith. Now, the term "Sinn Féiner" - alternatively, "pro-German" - which they use as a term

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of opprobrium - is applied by the old Unionists and the new Unionists, the followers of Mr. Redmond, to all who are not pro-British, to men of varying opinions on many subjects, but who put Ireland's interests before England's, or before the interests of the British Empire. And, I would say these now constitute half the population of Ireland.

June 3rd. Said farewell to Diarmuid Fasait today. He starts for America, via Liverpool, tomorrow.

There is a definite change of opinion among supporters of Mr. Redmond and the Parliamentary Party. Even hitherto very tame men seem to be plucking up courage to criticise the English Liberal Government, consequent upon Carson and Smith being in the Cabinet. Even Mr. John Dillon says Prime Minister Asquith has not shown any reason why the Coalition should have been formed. There is a hint of conscription, as recruits for the army are not being got in the numbers required. Opposition to the idea is strong; very strong in Ireland; advocated only by the "Old Garrison Party". Our parliamentarians are in a bewildered state of mind.

Sean Milroy and Sean MacDiarmuid were brought for trial before a magistrate in Dublin yesterday. T.M. Healy, K.C., engaged for the defence. He asked for an adjournment. The Crown Prosecutor opposed. But Mahony, R.M., granted "Tim's" request.

A man at a recruiting meeting in King's County asked: "What did the English do to Irish priests in '98?" "Sim Feinism"; pro-Germanism". A policeman took charge of him.

June 4th. Lloyd George, Minister of Munitions, made an "eloquent" speech at Manchester yesterday. He foreshadows conscription - when the Government deems it advisable.

An interesting article appears in the "Examiner" today, copied from the "Irish News" Belfast. It has verbatim extracts of pro-German utterances of Carson and other Orangemen prior to

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the war. But now, they are the "governors of the Realm" and it is a "crime" for an Irish Nationalist to speak as they spoke.

June 5th. Though "Sinn Féin" and other papers have been suppressed, there is again no lack of patriotic literature. There are "Tracts for the Times" published by Óglaigh headquarters; "The Volunteer", run by Eoin MacNeill; "The Catholic Bulletin"; the halfpenny "Spark", openly seditious. "The Leader" while not Sinn Féin, is not pro-British. There is a little sheet called "Na bac leis". And, I learn today, that James Connolly has a new workers' paper going: "The Workers' Republic". And, a few of the bolder parliamentarians are publishing letters in the "Independent" strongly critical of the Coalition Government and commenting on the suicide of the Liberal Ministry.

A question is arising in some minds - Does the English Government wish to drive us (the Óglaigh) into insurrection? A partial and easily suppressed rising would give them an excuse for breaking all their promises regarding Home Rule and an excuse for martial law.

June 6th. At Executive meeting of Cork Óglaigh last night there was a long discussion anent Fiasait's departure for America. Some criticised him severely; others approved of his action. There is no general order or advice as to what should be done. If leading men are to be taken up, imprisoned or deported one by one, what is to be done? Resist or submit? No decision arrived at.

June 8th. Sean O'Hegarty is free. He was acquitted after trial before Mr. Justice Dodd and a jury in Dublin yesterday, Tim Eoaly, M.P. defending. The jury was not "packed".

The English Parliament met yesterday. John Dillon made what is termed "a militant speech" against the Government. He spoke of newspapers being suppressed in Ireland for publishing matter far less damaging to the war effort than that "The Times" and "The Daily Mail" have published.

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At the time of the suppression of "those miserable rags", as Redmond called them, John professed gladness. It is said the Cabinet is split over the Campbell job and that Wimborne is to go from the Lord Lieutenancy. Does the English Government mind what our parliamentarians say?

We must not joke about recruiting. It is a serious offence. The Resident Magistrate in Tralee gave a stern warning to this effect, in a case brought before him.

June 9th. The Irish Parliamentary Party say conscription will meet with their strenuous opposition. They think it unnecessary. They denounce those who are interfering with voluntary recruiting for the British army. This attitude towards conscription is, of course, due to the driving power of Irish public opinion and they must know conscription would be forcibly resisted while the Óglaigh remain.

June 10th. Trials of Milroy, MacDiarmada and Sheehy-Skeffington took place yesterday before Mahony, R.M. at Green St. Courthouse, Dublin. Milroy's case adjourned to ascertain what the practice is, in England, in some legal aspects of the case. T.H. Healy defended and referred to Carson, his illegal gun-running and the like. Poor Sean MacDiarmada got four months with hard labour. Hard on him, indeed, as he is not robust. His is a dauntless soul in a frail body. Skeffington got six months, hard. In the eyes of Mahony, he aggravated the matter by glorying in what he said, for which he is charged. He made an excellent statement before sentence. He announced he would go on "hunger-strike" on the lines of the suffragettes. There was "great applause" in Court at this announcement. There was "convulsion in Court" at Sean MacDiarmada's sentence.

Answering Laurence Ginnell, M.P., in the British Parliament on Tuesday, Chief Secretary Birrell stated that 50 men had been sentenced under D.O.E.A. in Ireland since the war began. There are others in custody unsentenced. Some very stinging

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questions are also being asked about the difference in practice in England as compared with Ireland; different treatment noted out to Irish and English papers; differences of treatment to Carsonites and to Irish Nationalists. All Ireland knows there is one law for the "mere Irish" and another for the pro-British in Ireland.

There is a very general feeling among sections of the parliamentarians that Ireland has been "sold" by Asquith and the late Liberal Government. "New Ireland", a Redmondite weekly, recently founded, this week puts it bluntly that "Home Rule is dead" and it advocates a re-uniting of the Volunteers. Its first number, a few weeks ago, had the benediction of John E. Redmond himself. Now, it is speaking as any "miserable pro-German rag" may speak. Truly, the parliamentarians are in a muddle.

William O'Brien wants "the people" to lead themselves. But William and his Lieutenant, D.D. Sheehan, M.P. have done their utmost to get as many of "the people" as possible to join the British Army. The pity of it all!

But the English Coalition Government seems to be in as big a muddle as our parliamentarians. Its members cannot agree among themselves even in the midst of a Great War.

June 11th. The "Campbell affair" is settled on the lines of a compromise. Campbell is given another post. An Orange-Unionist, Gordon, is made Attorney General for Ireland. Wimborne remains as Lord Lieutenant and Birrell as Chief Secretary.

The Irish Parliamentary Party congratulate themselves on knocking Campbell out of the Chancellorship; state that, in view of "the Act on the Statute Book" the principle of Coalition should not be extended to Ireland; "in view of the extraordinary dangers of the present crisis" they "abstain from taking any hostile action against the new Government" and declare all is

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well with the Home Rule Act. It will come "into operation on the conclusion of the war", "provided always that in the meantime the people perfect and keep intact the national organisation and preserve the essential unity of the country". That is their "assured conviction". They further declare: "In our opinion the only real enemies of Home Rule today are those professing nationalists who create feelings of panic and seem desirous in a moment of difficulty to weaken the hands of the national leaders and to discredit and injure the National Party and the national organisation".

So, this is the highest wisdom of the Irish Parliamentary Party. All is well.

Among others, the Limerick County Council must now be branded as "real enemies of Home Rule". At a meeting yesterday, a Councillor Barnett said: "recent history showed that they were too ready to respond to the demands of the English tax-gatherers by submitting to the increased taxation of this country in the hope that English promises - always broken - would be fulfilled. These promises were broken now Public spirit was re-awakening and there were men in Ireland still prepared to do something for the sake of nationality". (At which there was applause).

The Chairman (Gubbins, J.P.) - "What the Irish people should have done at the outbreak of the war last August was to demand a substantial Home Rule Bill, without an Amending Bill, and on that condition promise the Government enough recruits. They should have gone further and stipulated that if a Home Rule Bill of that nature was not given they would call upon their representatives to withdraw from Parliament and promise no assistance in the way of recruiting.

Mr. O'Shughnessy: "the Government might force them to resort to old times. There was a limit to human endurance". (Further applause).

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All of which reeks of "Sinn Feinism" and is a "crime" under the Defence of the Realm Act!

General Friend has prohibited the erection of a tablet at Bachelors Walk, Dublin, to commemorate the shooting of citizens by British soldiers there last July. It would "interfere with recruiting".

There is some suggestion, from some source, of reuniting the Óglaigh and the (Redmondite) National Volunteers. Desirable, if possible. But it cannot be unless the Redmondite Volunteers abandon their attitude of loyalty to England through thick and thin. Their President has pledged them to England and the Empire.

In Cork, the Óglaigh are not strong in numbers, but are stronger than the Redmondites. These have almost ceased to exist as a force. The Redmondite leaders counted on overwhelming our Volunteers, or smashing them. They did not succeed.

June 12th. Lt Sean O'Hegarty in Patrick St. today. Was at Sheares St. Hall last night and is going to Ballinacary tomorrow where, within a radius of ten miles, he is at liberty.

Mr. Lloyd George appears to be aiming at the Premiership in Britain. He is a pushing man and is likely to win, backed by the Tories. Asquith is likely to be "pushed". What will the Irish Parliamentary Party then have to say regarding Home Rule?

The United Irish League in Cork last night almost apologised (to the British Government) for the Party's attitude on conscription. It was stated by some of the principals that, if the Government considered it necessary for the safety of the Empire to enact conscription, they (the United Irish League of Cork) were sure the Irish people would gladly acquiesce!

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Colonel Maurice Moore "reviewed" the remnant of the Redmondite Volunteers in the Cornmarket last night. Captain John J. Horgan, solicitor, apologised for the small number. He explained it by saying that for every man there, there were two comrades "at the front". Fifty per cent. of those present were too old to enlist. "They will keep the organisation going till their comrades return from the war".

Alas for the return! It is reported that at the Dardanelles, as at Mons, Irish regiments - Dublin and Munster Fusiliers - were in the forefront and were decimated. The Ulster Division is still in Ulster.

June 14th. At meeting of Executive of the Óglaigh yesterday morning, Terence MacSwiney was elected chairman. There was another long discussion on binding the military and civil officers of the corps to remain in Ireland; or be guided by headquarters' decision on the matter. The question arose primarily over the going away of J.J. Walsh and Pasait. The officers were willing to be bound, so it was carried as a decision of our Executive.

After the meeting, we went on a route march, about 20 miles in Cloghroe direction. There were about 30 marching and 12 or 14 cyclists. It was a broiling day. Being acquainted with some people in the district, I had a chat with some young men about forming a Volunteer Corps. It is difficult to get country boys to take an initiative. I urged it would be for their own preservation, if conscription were to be applied to Ireland.

Lloyd George is certainly in favour of conscription. He will be Prime Minister shortly and head of a Coalition Party. Such a party will be under no obligation to make Home Rule operative. It may not repudiate it altogether, but will partition Ireland by the Amending Bill. And it may force a premature rebellion in Ireland, which could be made an excuse for dropping Home Rule and framing an argument that the Irish people themselves killed Home Rule. The rebellion, should it

STATEMENT OF LIAM DE ROISTE.

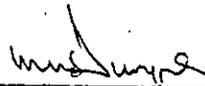
CERTIFICATE BY THE DIRECTOR OF THE BUREAU.

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

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

The break between the two sections occurs in the middle of a sentence, the last words in section I, on page 199, being "should be", and the first in section II, on page 200, being "be forced".

A certificate in these terms, signed by me as Director of the Bureau, is bound into each of the two parts.



DIRECTOR.

(H. McDunphy)

27th November, 1957.