

ORIGINAL

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY 1913-21
BUIO STAIRÉ MILEATA 1913-21
No. W.S. 1698

ROINN



COSANTA.

Pt II

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY, 1913-21.

STATEMENT BY WITNESS.

DOCUMENT NO. W.S. 1698.

Witness

Liam de Róiste,

No. 2 Janemount, Sunday's Well, Cork.

Identity.

Member, Coiste Gnotha, Gaelic League.

Member, Dáil Éireann, 1918-1923.

Subject.

National Activities, 1899-1918.

Irish Volunteers, Cork City, 1913-1918.

Conditions, if any, Stipulated by Witness.

Nil

File No S. 452.

Form B.S.M. 2

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be forced, will be branded as a "Sinn Fein" "pro-German" one, financed by "German gold", so as to alienate Redmondite and O'Brienite sympathy and confuse the facts and issues in Ireland and abroad. I am not alone in my opinion, I find. Letters in the "Irish Independent" hint that there may be "another '98" in Ireland.

The real Sinn Féin policy of past years - national self-reliance - was the wise one to prepare for Ireland's freedom as against the futile policy of parliamentarianism. But, the majority of the Irish people followed the Parliamentary Party. The Sinn Féin attitude will be justified, but it may be too late.

June 16th. Sheehy-Skeffington has been released under the "Cat and Mouse" Act. He is reported as being very weak after hunger strike.

Sean MacDiarmuda is in hospital, it is stated. Sean Milroy is being tried today. I learn he is in good health and spirits. Prosecutions still continue - two in Belfast, two in Galway, one in Tralee reported today.

A Mr. Lundon, M.P., Co. Limerick, says the chief concern of English politicians is "jobs, jobs, jobs"!

June 17th. Sean Milroy got three months with hard labour. The Magistrate, Mahony, said: "Mr. Milroy was an intelligent and honourable man, but mistaken in his policy". (So. three months, hard). From "Independent" report: "Mr. Milroy, when sentenced, struck the rail of the dock with his hand and said to the magistrate: "You have power to send me to jail, but you have no power to make me a criminal". The remark elicited applause in Court "which was immediately silenced". (Cheer up, Seán! We shall yet win).

June 18th. At its meeting yesterday, the County Cork Technical Instruction Committee adopted a curious procedure, ostensibly to cut down expenditure. It decided to dismiss its four Commercial Teachers:- John Cummins, Terence MacSwiney,

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C.P. McCarthy and myself, and, later on, to reappoint three of the four. Who is to go? Cummins is six or seven years in the service of the Committee; I am four and a half; Terence about three, and McCarthy, nine months.

June 20th. "New Ireland" though supporting the Parliamentary Party, this week strongly emphasises the fact that the suspension of the Home Rule Act lasts only till September 17th next. If by that time the Great War has not ended, "His Majesty by Order in Council" must further postpone the operation of the Act. The paper urges that Ireland press for putting the Act into operation in September. A good idea, I think. But, it should be the Act for all Ireland. There should be no breaking up of Irish Territory. If the Coalition Government repudiates the obligation to put the Act into force, the Irish people in general should know where they stand. Carson and "Ulster" will yet be the cause of smashing the British Empire. They have done a great deal to arouse a nationalist spirit in Ireland. They will do more. If Eoin MacNeill should take up the idea of "New Ireland" he would make a great score, whichever way the result went.

"New Ireland" also states it is "credibly informed that within the last ten days between three and four hundred men have joined Mr. MacNeill's Volunteers in Dublin alone, and that the Irish Volunteers - far more than the National Volunteers - are recruiting faster than ever before".

There are obvious reasons for this and many evidences of it. The popularity of "seditious literature" is one sign. Anything savouring of "sedition" is eagerly sought after. And, notwithstanding the suppressions, many other "seditious" papers are being published. "Nationality", edited by Griffith, is out this week. The general tone is humorous and sarcastic; laughter at John Bull, sarcasm regarding his "good" intentions.

The "Cork Free Press" ceased publication as a daily

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yesterday. It went out with a sigh. The "old men" could do no more. The fate of Ireland is now in the hands of the young men. True for Mr. William O'Brien. And the young men are not doing badly for Ireland - going to jail, facing many threats, losing their positions, being shadowed by police, being denounced by the pro-British; also, thinking, writing, working, arming and drilling; even speaking publicly, though D.O.R.A. threatens them. Irish nationalism seemed to have been submerged last August. There is no fear of it now. It will survive and conquer.

June 23rd. Letters, showing the questionings in many minds regarding Home Rule, the intentions of the British Government in respect of Ireland, the policy of the Irish Parliamentary Party, and so on, are appearing in the papers. One such from a Father Holland was in the "Examiner" yesterday. His conclusion was - armed Volunteers, whether Redmondite, O'Brienite or Sinn Séin, were Ireland's only safeguard now.

And what is now penetrating the minds of the "New Garrison" is that the recruits from the south, overwhelmingly Catholic, are being sent to the war fronts with celerity, while the Orange regiments of the north are being kept at home.

June 24th. A short article of mine, signed "Seanachán", which I sent to the Dublin "Leader", is published in that paper this week. It was inspired by the suggestion in "New Ireland" that a demand be made for having the Home Rule Act put into force in September. Not that I like the paltry thing, but to make the demand is a challenge to Redmond and his Party and to the British Government. Ireland has been told the war is being fought on the English-French side for "the rights of small nations". Last year, Mr. Redmond said: "It is a time to test men's souls". Well, here now is a test for Mr. Redmond and the British Government.

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June 28th. "Huns" off the Cork coast - south of Youghal - yesterday. Several ships torpedoed, it is said. The cross-channel steamer "Lismore" had a narrow escape. This seems to tally with the tale of a tramp in Castletownbere last week - he is now in Cork County Jail - who told a romantic story in a publichouse of how he was drinking with a German submarine crew in Waterville and was informed by them the Germans were to land a force in Youghal shortly!

A "National Register" Bill is being introduced in the British Commons. This is, of course, preliminary to some form of conscription. Will it apply to Ireland? All Ireland has practically sworn against conscription. Its enforcement here will mean a fight.

Had a note from my friend, Fasait, written on board the liner in New York Harbour, a fortnight ago.

June 30th. O'Donovan Rossa is dead. A brave old man. An indomitable spirit. Ten years ago he was here and I found him a likeable man; humorous, simple, with a fund of stories which he told in Irish or in simple country-idiom English. Beannacht Dé le n-a anam.

Three men in Belfast - one a solicitor - were sentenced, under D.O.R.A., one to six months, the other two to three months' imprisonment for toasting in a bar: "To hell with the British Empire and the English Crown".

The "Evening Echo" lifts from the "Daily Chronicle" portion of an article which appeared in some Berlin papers on the situation in Ireland. The article is highly coloured but, in substance, true. For instance, it is stated Ireland is under martial law. Technically incorrect, but actually, for large areas, under the Defence of the Realm Act, it may be termed martial law administration.

July 4th. Friday night (July 1st) our Cork Óglaigh carried out some military operations in Bishopstown district.

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Today they are gone to Blarney to meet Courtbrack and Blarney corps. though the latter corps, as such, has been "suppressed". News is now coming of the formation of other country corps. Ballinadee, near Bandon, has an excellent corps; Courtbrack is considered good, while Cloghroe and Kilmona are being formed. The general prospect for others is reported bright.

Judging by debates and questions in the English Parliament and articles in English papers and reviews, there is bungling and incompetency; there are violent disagreements in high places in England. Inefficiency is acknowledged and a shortage of munitions for the army. It is almost beyond credence to those who had implicit trust in England's invincibility and who were overawed by England's prestige.

"Ah! but", a friend of mine, an old man whose one great desire is to see England get a good hammering, says, "they have the devil's luck. They will win because they have the wealth".

In figures, England appears very wealthy. And we have been taught it is the wealthiest country in the world and that the resources of the Empire are stupendous. But, how much of the wealth is paper? Frantic appeals are being made to the people to economise, to save, to hoard. This shows how insecure the "paper wealth" is. Parsimony is being lauded as a virtue. Income is but a fraction of war expenditure. Foreign investments cannot be easily liquidated now. The new war loan will only mean changing one kind of paper for another. High interest is offered. Money capital will be withdrawn from productive industries and the product of war industries will be blown away unproductively. The war is destroying a large portion of England's real wealth: tangible things. The paper money must necessarily decrease in value; devaluation of the currency. For England, the outlook is anything but cheerful.

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A man named Downey of Tower, Blarney, has got two months in jail for talking too much in a railway carriage in which there was a policeman in plain clothes. He told a lady in a carriage not to believe all that was in the papers about Germany. He went further and said the English murdered priests, women and children in Ireland in times gone by. Rank "sedition" to recall history like that. So, O'Hara, R.M. sent Downey to jail for two months.

A man of Larkin's Citizen Army in Dublin was "up" for having a rifle and ammunition in his possession. His solicitor naturally pointed out that if the man were a "criminal" for that thousands of men in Ireland were "criminals" for a similar offence. He pointed out that thousands carried rifles, with ammunition presumably, at Redmond's review in Dublin, Easter Sunday. No action had been taken against them. The argument did not avail.

It is reported, apparently with truth, that the British Government have "borrowed" rifles from Carson's Volunteers: "illegal rifles". A Citizen Army man may go to jail; Carson is made a Cabinet Minister.

John E. Redmond is getting old and tired. So I conclude from some speeches he has been making at banquets in Dublin recently. He has taken to telling stories; one of them how he was offered the job of Cabinet Minister, the last stages of the offer being that an emissary from Dublin Castle hunted him through the country, came upon him at two o'clock in the morning, and how his cook, "poor old soul", slammed the door in the emissary's face, "thinking of old times".

There are many in Ireland "thinking of old times", but Mr. Redmond does not seem to know it. All he has to say of Ireland's position now is - Don't criticise, don't cavil, don't think; trust the Party; trust the Government; all goes well; Home Rule is certain at the end of the war. Simple, trustful John E. Redmond!

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He also says: "Up to June 16th, 120,741 from Ireland had gone to the army. Of these, 71,494 were Catholics and 49,247 Protestants. 24,871 were "Irish National Volunteers".

The Hamburg "Fremdenblatt" has a different view of Ireland to that of Mr. Redmond's. Here is an extract from an article in it, published in the "Irish Independent" yesterday, July 3rd. "Today, with faltering steps, Ireland is seeking her place among the first-born of Mother Earth. Those steps, so faltering at this moment, will before long be guided and supported by Germany, who has set herself the task of liberating this people from its enslavement do not fear, people of the green island, your deliverance is at hand. Germany is awake".

Portion of the "New York Times" of June 15th reached me today. It was sent by Fasait. The major portion is missing, purloined by the Censor, I suppose. There are, however, accounts of the sinking of British ships, including battleships, by German submarines. It says the English blockade of Germany is to be tightened. Presumably the German blockade of England will also be "tightened".

July 5th. The "Irish Volunteer" of Saturday reports a speech of Eoin MacNeill. He asserts he has details of a plot by the English Government to set the Orangemen of the north on the Catholics, so as to cover their perfidy in respect of Home Rule.

A copy of New York "Irish World" of June 19th came my way. Accounts of the prosecutions in Ireland under D.O.R.A. are given much prominence. The account of Fasait being ordered out of Cork is given. Judged by the "Irish World" the overwhelming majority of Irish-Americans are "pro-German", not in the Irish sense of the term, but absolutely in favour of a German victory in the war.

Yesterday, got a pencilled note from Seán Milroy, written

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in the Bridewell after his conviction. There was a delay in delivery. Advises me "to keep out of jail, if possible"! Yet, "to keep the flag flying". The Old Celtic Literary Society of Cork has much to answer for, he says. (Certes: it kept the old flag flying in unpromising times. The seed then sown is now growing goodly crops that are ripening in the fulness of time).

July 8th. The "Leader" this week has a note referring to my article in its issue of June 26th, stating: "We now learn that a member of the Dublin Corporation has taken up this matter and forty members have signed a requisition for a special meeting at which this resolution is to be proposed and discussed". My suggested resolution was: "We demand, as the right of the Irish Nation, that the Home Rule Act, agreed to and accepted by the English Government and signed by His Majesty, King George V, be put into operation for all Ireland on September 17th next". If the Dublin Corporation carry this resolution and send it to other bodies, there will be some vigorous thinking and vigorous talking. Home Rule is not my idea of Irish freedom, but the resolution may put some backbone into the parliamentarians.

"New Ireland" is still strong on the idea and the "Leader" has now made it its own.

July 9th: The Registration Bill has passed the English Commons. It is optional as regards Ireland. Chief Secretary Birrell said: "the Irish Government had already all the information necessary to fill up the Register, as it knew practically everything about the individual Irishman that is required". We know it well. The spy system is excellent, from the English Government's point of view. Carson said the Lord Lieutenant has power to apply the measure to Ireland, or any part of it, he desire. Consequently, Orange amendments were withdrawn. "Ulster" can come into accord with "the rest

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of the Kingdom". (That was not what the Orange members wanted, but the coercion of the rest of Ireland).

July 12th. In Ballingearry yesterday at a meeting of Colaisde na Mumhan Committee. Went by car from Macroom. Coming back, nearing Kilbarry, a man - ordinary small farmer type - was walking along the road: "Good evening, Con", said my jarvey. "Good evening, kindly", said Con. The jarvey to me: "That's Sergeant O'Leary's father, sir". "Oh, indeed", said I. "He's like the pictures of him I have seen in the papers. I suppose the Sergeant got a number of recruits here?" "No, indeed, sir. He nor his father wouldn't advise anyone here to join the English army. He's in the north and in England doing that. There's the spot he was born. There was a house there once. His father has three or four acres of land thereabouts".

Sounded rather interesting, as I had read, "Mike" himself was in Hyde Park, London, yesterday; Mr. T.P. O'Connor, M.P. doing the honours.

Got another few pages of the "New York World" from Fasait. Its correspondent in London states no foreign newspaper correspondents are allowed into Ireland. Those who came to Queenstown to report the sinking of the "Lusitania" were arrested. The same regulations as are in force in England in respect of munition areas apply to all Ireland.

The "Irish Volunteer", dated for next Saturday, is out today, fast on the heels of last week's issue. Sean O'Sullivan (Commandant of Cork Óglaigh) tells me this means that "Nationality", Griffith's paper, is about to be suppressed. "The Volunteer" seems to intimate there is to be a fight of some kind shortly. I judge this must be so. The English Government can hardly let us (of the Óglaigh) continue. We are gaining strength and power from day to day. In fact, it is extraordinary how the Volunteers are progressing throughout the country (in view of the opposition against them).

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"Independent" of yesterday has requisition signed by members of Dublin Corporation to the Lord Mayor to discuss the resolution embodied in my article in the "Leader". The resolution is also given. There are 39 names signed to the requisition.

July 13th. Prosecutions under D.O.R.A. still continue. Saturday: "Patrick Sheehan, Fenit, Co. Kerry, was arrested for spreading false news". Dreadful! If everyone who has spread or is spreading false news, newspaper men and all, were taken up, where would the jails be found to contain them all! If every liar were taken, who would be the guardians?

July 14th. "Evening Echo" report of Dublin Corporation meeting today. Press Association telegram: very short. The debate was proceeding when telegram was sent. Result given in "late news" column. An amendment to the resolution was carried by 30 votes to 22. Amendment in general terms to trust John Redmond and the Irish Parliamentary Party as to when the Home Rule Act is to be put into operation. Speakers to the amendment said they accepted the Act only as an instalment of Irish freedom; but, also, if Ireland was to be kept "loyal", the Act must be put into force.

Heard from a printer in the "Examiner" office that P.T. Daly, in the course of the debate, said he stood, like his father and grandfather before him, for an Irish Republic.

Liam Mellows and Ernest Blythe have been ordered out of Ireland, not to return, by General Friend. They must clear out by Saturday next. Blythe has been in Tralee and Mellows in Athenry, organising the Volunteers.

July 15th. When amendment was carried at Dublin Corporation yesterday, there was a row. Some members got into hand-grips. It was a lively affair apparently. Several declared they had no confidence in Mr. Redmond. Some accused the mover of the amendment of trickery as, they said, he himself had

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drafted the resolution. The "Cork Examiner" has two notes about the matter. It is puzzled. It does not know whether resolution meant support for Mr. Redmond or not.

Herbert Pim ("A. Newman") has been ordered to clear out of Ireland. Others, names not given, ordered not to reside in certain areas within Ireland.

It is stated Mellows and Blythe will refuse to obey General Friend's order.

July 17th. Terence MacSwiney, Cummins and C.P. McCarthy were re-appointed Commercial Instructors by Co. Cork Technical Instruction Committee at its meeting on Thursday. I was not re-appointed. The statement was made that I had not got a "Diploma" from University College, Cork, which was a condition of my original appointment. The statement was absolutely incorrect, as, in fact, I have the University Certificate that was required and attended the University Commerce Courses for several sessions.

July 19th. Denis McCullough has also been ordered to leave Ireland. Herbert Pim has been arrested, consequent on a speech he delivered.

July 20th. Comments are appearing in the press on the differences between the enforcement of the Defence of the Realm Act in Ireland and in England. There is much comment in "parliamentary and other circles in London" concerning it. There are pro-Germans in England apparently, working an open propaganda; there are "Stop-the-war" Committees; there are conscientious objections and opponents to recruiting. But, there are no prosecutions, no orders of banishment, no limitations of residence. To those who think Ireland and England are one "United Kingdom" it must seem puzzling. Even the "Cork Examiner" thinks the Realm Act is being brought into disrepute owing to recent ridiculous cases. Such cases are recurring every day and afford no amusement.

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A farmer at a fair in Midleton said to two policemen who were officious: "Pity the Germans wouldn't catch ye". He was "had up". John and Julia Cole were being taken to Tralee Jail as vagrants. On the way they "uttered seditious language". That was worse than vagrancy, so they were tried under the Realm Act.

July 21st. John E. Redmond has a long letter in today's newspapers. It is a reply to the vote of confidence in him which the thirty members of Dublin Corporation passed the other day. General trend of the letter is - all's well, if Irishmen are loyal (to England), are good boys and don't talk or do anything but help "the Allies".

Notwithstanding which, discussion about Home Rule in September continues. Barrell Figgis has a letter about it in the "Independent".

It appears there is a general opinion in the United States that the war will end in a few months' time. No reason given except the vague term "economic pressure". The war is costing England over three millions a day. Asquith moved for more money in the Commons yesterday, bringing expenditure up to one thousand and twelve million pounds.

July 23rd. The Dublin Corporation resolution and the amendment to it have attracted much attention and Mr. Redmond's letter has helped to focus that attention. Certainly, there is a confusion among the Redmondites regarding the matter. Though Redmond has spoken, speeches and resolutions at public boards indicate that many have doubts about all being well with Home Rule.

Ginnell continues his questioning in the English Parliament concerning banishment orders and other matters. T.M. Healy took a hand in yesterday and suggested that men ordered out of Ireland would be far more dangerous (to the Realm) abroad than at home. Tennant, Under-Secretary for War,

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replied that the Defence of the Realm Act was being used with judicious care and careful discrimination!

July 24th. MacCullough and Mellows have been arrested.

No news of Blythe. Mr. Birrell, our amusing Chief Secretary, in reply to Ginnell, says he doesn't care "two straws" what their political opinions are. Everything is in the hands of "the competent military authority". So, he washes his hands of it.

The Óglaigh Executive (Dublin Headquarters), on Saturday (17th), issued a statement dealing with the matter of the deportations. The purpose is to steady opinion and fix Birrell for responsibility as a political partisan; to show that the actions taken are political and not real Defence of the Realm actions. The authorities are not afraid of "the Realm" being overthrown. They are afraid of the spirit of Irish nationality. They know the Óglaigh cannot fight the English armed forces in Ireland with hope of success. But, they fear the strong spirit of Irish nationality aroused by the Óglaigh.

Lord Lieutenant Wimborne has begun to apply the Registration Act in Derry, Antrim, Down and the city of Belfast. Only the other day the "Freeman's Journal" declared the Act was not to be applied in Ireland.

I have material of a pamphlet ready for publication. It is somewhat on the lines of "Tracts for the Times" which are being brought out in Dublin. I intend to call it "Voices of the Past", made up of quotations from Davis, Mitchel, Tone, Lalor, Emmet, Swift, Grattan and others; from Irish poets and English travellers in Ireland, over the centuries. It is highly "seditious".

July 26th. Cork Óglaigh had an excursion over the South Coast railway line yesterday. Some went to Bantry and Glengarriff. The group that my wife and I went with journeyed to Lough Ine. We enjoyed ourselves immensely.

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Ernest Blythe was arrested on Saturday (24th) in a Parish Priest's house in Co. Monaghan. The four under orders of deportation are now in custody.

Today is the anniversary of the Howth gun-running and the shooting at Bachelors Walk by the Scottish Borderers. Our Cork Óglaigh intend to commemorate it by a route march, with rifles on their shoulders; asserting the right to bear arms in defence of Ireland without allegiance to any foreign King or Government.

There were great days last year: the tyranny called the Defence of the Realm Act is heavy on the land this year.

July 28th. The Corps made a good muster last night in a march through the streets, our pipers' band playing; our Green Flag; rifles gleaming in the soft moonlight. A crowd awaited us outside the Sheares St. Hall and accompanied us, swelling to large dimensions and returning with us. The attitude displayed was friendly.

At the Hall, Tomás MacCurtain spoke for a short while, saying we stood now as from the beginning for the defence of the rights and liberties of Ireland. He invited recruits to join. A number did so.

What struck me most was the large number who, despite cajolery, intimidation, threats, fear of imprisonment or banishment, or loss of employment, showed sympathy towards us.

And throughout the country, as we hear, corps of Volunteers are being reorganised under the Óglaigh banner.

The remains of O'Donovan Rossa have been brought to Dublin. Next Sunday, the funeral procession will take place.

July 29th. Requiem Mass was celebrated for him in the pro-Cathedral yesterday morning, Óglaigh forming a Guard of Honour. Later, the remains were removed to the City Hall and there lie in state. Father Michael O'Flanagan delivered an oration after the coffin lid had been opened by Mrs. O'Donovan: a strong, stirring oration, vigorous and virile.

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Mrs. O'Donovan had a letter in the press yesterday denying the charge that Rossa had in any way changed his nationalist principles or ideas or weakened in his hatred of English tyranny in Ireland. Some Redmondites are desirous of claiming Rossa as a parliamentarian in his later days. Why this? Except that they know Ireland still honours the Fenians - recent pronouncements notwithstanding.

Ginnell's questions in the English Commons are amusing and interesting; full of "point" from the Irish side. "Do the military authorities contemplate removing the Treaty Stone of Limerick under the Defence of the Realm Acts as likely to cause disaffection and prejudice recruiting for His Majesty's forces?" "Or, '98 monuments?" "Has Chief Secretary Birrell considered the advisability of hanging offenders under the Act?"

Mr. Pat O'Brien, M.P., said yesterday, the Irish Party would resist conscription to the bitter end. What will he do if the Coalition Government considers it necessary "for the safety of the Empire"? Or, if Mr. Redmond considers resistance "a false step".

The Oireachtas and Árd Fheis of the Gaelic League are being held in Dundalk this week. Eoin MacNeill has been elected President in place of Douglas Hyde.

July 31st. Herbert Pim, in Belfast, has been sentenced to three months' imprisonment and Denis McCullough to four months for disobeying the order of banishment from Ireland. The trial was a farce. Liam Mellows, in Dublin, got three months. The authorities would not reveal who moved in the matter of deportation: Dublin Castle or General Friend: but "Nationality" this week charges that it was Dublin Castle on the information of Joseph Devlin, M.P.

Mr. Muldoon, B.L., delivered a lecture at a United Irish League Branch in Dublin last night, on John Redmond, his Party and his critics. According to the reports given, he was

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"frequently interrupted by physical force advocates". Ex-Lord Mayor Sherlock, who presided, had also to interrupt him, as Muldoon had said it was young priests who were criticising Redmond and many of these were policemen's sons. Sherlock also pledged his reputation that Home Rule would soon be attained. There are various rumours that the British Government are in a fix over Ireland. The Rossa funeral must be a bit of a puzzle to it at this time. Perhaps they will be asking Eoin MacNeill next what he wants, in order to keep Ireland quiet! It must be known to them that Redmond and his Party do not now represent the mind of the country. And, the war is not going quite to their liking.

August 3rd (Tuesday). Saturday evening last, with my wife and some friends, travelled to Dublin for funeral of O'Donovan Rossa. Left Cork at 6 p.m. Reached Dublin about midnight. The train was crowded with holiday-makers. Night was one of torrential rain. Early morning hazy. Cleared about 10 a.m., then a gloriously hot summer's day with brilliant sunshine. Mass at Inchicore. Afterwards, to City Hall to view the remains of Diarmuid Ó Donabháin Rossa. The face was uncovered beneath a glass shade. Calm, peaceful face of the old man, not much changed since last I saw him alive in Cork in 1904-5. A natural thrill at the look on that face of the dead; sorrow for the dead, hope for the future, strengthening of faith in the principles of Irish nationality, resolve to work on for Irish freedom.

There was a constant stream of visitors. Arrangements were perfect, carried out by men who are pledged to the ideas of Fenianism.

Then I went to Kingsbridge Station to meet the Cork Corps of the Óglaigh. Crowded trains arriving - Kilkenny, Waterford, Limerick, Cork. Limerick Óglaigh, a good contingent; Cork even better. Sean MacEoinin (Jennings) had brought my Mauser

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rifle. I took my place in the ranks. We marched to James's St. and stood in position there. A long wait, before the order to advance came. Bulmer Hobson, not in uniform, alone, passed by. Had a handshake with him and a greeting in Irish. Then the order to march, to the sound of muffled drums and the sad music of the Dead March, with slow steps and arms reversed. By York St., St. Stephen's Green, Dawson St., Nassau St., College Green, O'Connell St. to Glasnevin. Crowds, dense, immense, enormous, lined the streets. Quick march from College Green till nearing Glasnevin. We were not in a position to enter the cemetery; the contingents were too vast; so had to return by a circuitous route, a goodly array. The Cork boys made an excellent show down O'Connell St. We were dismissed, for a time, on the quays. As I was remaining in Dublin, I here fell out of the ranks. The Corps re-assembled and marched on to Kingsbridge. They left Dublin about 8.30 p.m. and arrived in Cork about 3 o'clock yesterday (Monday) morning.

The funeral demonstration was almost beyond description: it was stupendous, overwhelming; extraordinarily significant, considering the times we live in. "The Freeman's Journal" gave the best report in an endeavour to claim all the credit of it for the Redmondites! "The Irish Times" computed that 7,000 men, at least, "of military age" carried rifles in the procession. I suppose there were 10,000 or 12,000 Volunteers - Óglaigh, National (Redmondite) Volunteers and Citizen Army (Larkinite) men. There may have been 200,000 spectators. The Parliamentary Party leaders did not appear. The carriage of the Lord Mayor of Dublin was in the procession, but, I heard, he would not be allowed to appear himself. Lord Mayor O'Shea of Cork was present, but not "in state". (He is expecting a knighthood, as the Lord Lieutenant is coming to Cork next week.) The Dublin National Volunteers did not carry rifles. I heard there was some friction among them as to whether they would

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take part or not. They were all in uniform, however, and looked a fine body of men.

A good number of priests, mostly young priests, attended the funeral. Prayers were recited in Irish at the graveside and Padraig MacPiarais delivered an oration in Irish and English an excellent one, judging even by the meagre reports of it.

August 6th. (Notes translated from Irish) - In O Tuama's house, Tooreenduv, Ballingeary. Wife and self have come here for a short holiday. There were many priests and public men coming to Macroom in this train from Cork. Canon Murphy, Parish Priest of Macroom, was being interred.

Terence McSwiney is also in Ballingeary. We met him in the village and went with him to "the Lodge". Afterwards the three of us walked across the hills to the cottage where Sean O'Hegarty and his wife are staying, in Tooreenduv locality.

The Great War in Europe does not trouble anyone here. Even the happenings elsewhere in Ireland seem far off. It is quiet, peaceful and happy; and yet, there are activities also. Sean O'Hegarty is well watched by the police. Some of the people have been warned from associating with him. Across the hills a few days ago a youth of our Cork Óglaigh came to him with a rifle. There are memories of fighting in this district. Maire Bhuidhe has immortalised the "Battle of Ceim an Fhiaidh", an incident of the Tithe War, in her poem. There is no Volunteer Corps, however, in the parish or district.

August 8th. Joseph Devlin, M.P., had a letter in the "Freeman's Journal" last Sunday (August 1st), protesting that a "base insinuation" was made that he, or some members of the Irish Parliamentary Party were responsible for deportation orders; stating that the Party protested (privately) against prosecutions; asking for a new trial for McCullough and Pim, so that he might be afforded an opportunity of refuting the "vile insinuations" made. His letter is addressed to Birrell.

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But Birrell has denied responsibility, in Parliament, saying "the competent military authority" was responsible.

Everyone knows it is Dublin Castle at its old game against Irish Nationalists. Birrell is not believed. "The One Bright Spot" of August 1914, has become very clouded!

A few days ago, as a Gaelic League representative, I received an invitation from Lord Mayor O'Shea to a garden party he is having to greet Lord Lieutenant Wimborne, who is visiting Cork. This is amusing.

August 11th. A pleasant chat today with Father Matt Ryan of Dundrum, Tipperary. He is known as "The General" since Land League days. He was in prison. Though now over 70 years of age, he is attending the College here (in Ballingearry) as a student; his textbook in his hand like the youngest. He is a Vice-President of the Gaelic League. He has a keen sense of humour. He is out and out "pro-German" and has a fine hatred of England. He is a strong man and to meet him is a tonic. Yet he is simple and unaffected.

There are some fine characters here, either as students or as visitors. There are what John Redmond, or his press, would call "Cranks, Factionists and Soreheads". These stir the police to unusual activity. They probably have orders to watch every Sinn Feiner or Óglach who comes. Among these is Father Dominic of the Capuchins, one of our staunchest supporters.

August 17th. Returned home to Cork Sunday (15th). I have decided to enter business with Sean O'Cuill, on a partnership basis. We have been associated in the Gaelic League, in Colaiste na Mumhan and on the Executive of the Volunteers; also in some small publications.

August 20th. Events, in the war, crowd upon one another. Transatlantic liners are being torpedoed by German submarines, one off the Fastnet. What will America do? That's the

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question in England. Will it declare war on Germany? Judging from an American paper I got last week from Diarmuid Fasait, it will not. It was a New York "one-cent" evening paper. In glaring headings it reported how the United States Government had protested strongly to England against the holding up of American ships by British vessels since the beginning of the war.

At yesterday's meeting of the County Cork Technical Instruction Committee, the secretary acknowledged he had made an incorrect statement at the previous meeting, regarding my academic qualifications as a Commercial Teacher. I had a solicitor (Maurice O'Connor) at yesterday's meeting. On my instructions he stated I was not seeking re-appointment, only a vindication respecting qualifications.

Terence McSwiney had sent in his resignation. This was against the wishes I had expressed to him. His resignation was accepted and I was then re-appointed by the committee, on the proposal of Very Rev. Canon Thomas Barrett, supported by Very Rev. Canon Cohalan (brother of Bishop Cohalan).

Terence considered I had been unjustly treated, but I did not wish him to resign on that account. He has decided to become an organiser of the Volunteers.

Mr. Muldoon was right! Many young priests are on the side of Sinn Féin. I have met some recently who expressed strong nationalist opinions. Canon Cohalan, mentioned above, and not so young, is of a quiet nature, but from conversations with him I know he is not pro-British and not a supporter of the Parliamentary Party. He strongly favours the Gaelic League and the language movement and has been an earnest worker in the movement for years.

Chief Secretary Birrell has replied to Joseph Devlin regarding the imprisonment of Herbert Pim and others. His letter is obscure, but he does say the Irish Parliamentary Party

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had nothing to do with the prosecutions, orders of banishment and imprisonments. There will be no re-trial. Devlin has written further: if there is to be no re-trial, he demands the immediate release of the four prisoners - McCullough, Mellows, Pim, Blythe. What is happening behind the scenes?

There was a very interesting discussion on military tactics at Sheares St. Hall last night, arising from circumstances of manoeuvres last Sunday. Discussions such as this should be productive of good discipline.

General opinion among our Óglaigh is that the people are now veering strongly towards us. The "public mind" is not pro-British. Desertions from the British army are many and there is a widespread feeling that "Shán Buidhe" is in a bad way.

August 21st. Met Terence MacSwiney today. He urges me to accept appointment as Commercial Teacher under the County Technical Instruction Committee. His own resignation is final. Organising for the Volunteers is more congenial to him than teaching.

Last night, our Óglaigh had "night" operations" in Gurranebraher direction, on the hill ridge near the "Croppies' Grave". It was a glorious moonlight night. There were attacking and defending sections. I was with the latter. The actual spot to be "defended" was the "Croppies' Grave". We laid ourselves down on the sward there, no sentries, each man at an interval of some yards. There was complete silence. The attack never came off! There was misunderstanding as to the actual place, and the attacking force did not discover us before the time arranged for discontinuing operations. It was all very pleasant and good exercise. We marched back "at the double".

August 23rd. A glorious day yesterday (Sunday). Went with vice-Commandant Seán O'Sullivan, a pipers' band and some of

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our Óglaigh to a Feis at Millstreet, via Macroom, to accompany P.H. Pearse back to Cork. He is to speak at a public meeting from the Hall, Sheares St., tonight. He spoke at the Feis and spoke well. He was not expecting to speak at a public meeting in Cork, only to our Óglaigh. He has been warned to be very careful (as he is being closely shadowed by the police). This, I presume, is consequent upon his oration at Rossa's funeral. Some of us had a chat in Millstreet with a group there to urge them to form a Volunteer Corps. On return journey to Macroom with Pearse, we stopped at Carriganima and also had a talk with some young men of the locality.

(My conversation with Pearse was chiefly in Irish. I had met him previously at meetings of the Coiste Gnotha of the Gaelic League when he was editor of the "Claidheamh Soluis".)

August 25th. Pearse's oration on Monday night, though restrained, was good. The public meeting was a large one. The Volunteer turn-out, with full equipment, was excellent. Many recruits joined. After the meeting there was some disturbance caused by soldiers' dependants, who had received their separation allowances on Monday. Some vile language was used and questions asked, such as, "Why don't ye go and fight for England"? These were from some soldiers who appeared to have egged on the women, none too sober. The police left when the disturbance began. Our boys, as usual, took the affair good humouredly.

The police throughout the country have received instructions to compile a register of able-bodied men, but they are to do it secretly. Does this mean paving the way for conscription in Ireland?

August 30th. There is a rumour that the four Óglaigh organisers are to be liberated. A Limerick Corporation resolution, protesting against the deportation orders, is going the round of public boards and is being adopted generally.

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Even Cork Corporation last Friday accepted it. They had another epistle from J.J. Walsh in which he lashed them unmercifully (for their pro-British attitude). There was no comment on it, but Alderman J.C. Forde, a strong supporter of William O'Brien, rubbed it in that the deportations would never have taken place if the Corporation had protested against Walsh's removal at the beginning. In which there was some truth, I believe.

The adoption of those resolutions, the changed tone of the (Redmondite) "National Volunteer" and other signs seem to show that the Irish Parliamentary Party and the Hibernian leaders are mending their hand a little. They now realise, perhaps, how opinion is going in Ireland. Devlin is emphasising that the Party are only the servants of the people. He and others are devoting a great part of their addresses to the "cranks and factionists" and the "mosquito papers" published in Dublin. Which shows they are feeling the growing influence of the said "factionists" and the "mosquitoes". Indeed, the country is swarming with "cranks, factionists and soreheads", that is, people who are not pro-British.

Another remarkable sign of the times is the attitude of so many of the priests, particularly the young priests. Numbers of them are strongly "pro-German"; that is, they are expressing nationalist opinions, not pro-British ones. Older priests who supported the Irish Parliamentary Party have not taken "the Curve" of T.P. O'Connor's, identifying Ireland's interest with England's in the war.

September 1st. (In Bandon. On my rounds again, as Teacher under the Technical Instruction Committee).

In Cork today, a Post Office Clerk, a telegraphist, crossed the street to speak to me. "Were you in Macroom last Sunday"? he queried. "Yes", I replied, "in Ballingearry, in fact". "I suppose you know you are being shadowed by the police?"

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"Yes, I am aware of it". "That's all right then. You were shadowed on Sunday". I thanked him. As it happened, quite accidentally, I met Piaras Beasley on Sunday evening at Macroom railway station, and we came back to Cork together. Piaras is being watched much more carefully than I am. Our meeting may have appeared to the police a concerted plan for some purpose. Irish Nationalists are not trusted by "Dublin Castle".

September 2nd. Had a letter today from Sean Milroy to say he has left "Tir na nÓg" (Mountjoy Prison) and is in good spirits.

The man, Grimes, pleaded guilty at Cork Police Court today to distributing "seditious literature". His solicitor, MacCabe, made an apology for him. He was, however, sentenced to a month's imprisonment. One police constable swore he found one of the "leaflets", or documents, in Sheares St. "near the Irish Volunteers' Hall". Rumour has it "the authorities" are very perturbed over the existence of "Sheares St. Hall".

September 3rd. (In Drimoleague. Came here from Bantry this morning). At the railway station, as I was leaving Bantry, a policeman accosted me: "Where did you spend last night, Mr. Roche?" "At Boucher's", I told him. "Did you sign a registration form?" "No. I intended reminding them of it, but forgot. Dont be too hard on them!" "I told them about it a few days ago. 'Twill be all right, I suppose. Are you coming here again?" "Yes", I replied, "I'm coming here again and will be coming two nights a week during the winter. I'm now going to Drimoleague and will stay there tonight. Is that enough?" All said very politely and agreeably, as if we were old friends. Poor chap! I suppose he lost track of my movements last night.

William O'Brien, M.P., fears for "the constitutional movement" in Ireland. He fears the young men are tired of it and are looking more to Germany than to England for freedom.

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He appeals to them to pause and consider. Mr. O'Brien is mistaken. Nor on Germany, not on England do the young men of Ireland lean. The trust in the invincible spirit of Irish nationality - which Mr. O'Brien himself once had trust in - and in their own strength. They know, as he knows and has often declared, in the past, "England's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity". He is hopelessly in error if he thinks it is a change of masters the young men of Ireland, to whom he appeals, look for. Mr. O'Brien should think again. The parliamentarians, himself included, have killed what they call "the constitutional movement" because they trusted England and did not rely on the will power of the Irish people and the self reliance policy of Sinn Féin. Mr. O'Brien's argument at the beginning of the war was "England will win and England will be grateful" (for Irish help). It is not at all certain these very days that England will win (the Russians are being smashed by the Germans). And, it is absolutely certain, whether she win or lose, England will not be grateful to Ireland. (He should pause and consider, "the leopard does not change its spots").

September 4th. Last night, our Óglaigh marched to Tranton and "bivouacked" there around camp fires. I was unable to go, but heard those who went were very pleased with themselves. This week's "Volunteer" has a good deal of space devoted to accounts of the activities of our Cork Corps. Terence Mac Swiney is fully engaged in organising the county. There is a strong corps in Ballinadee (near Bandon) and a promising one at Ballinamona (Mallow direction). It is now as easy to get Corps started as it was in the early days of the Volunteers, but it is not easy to keep them active. In some districts the police are busy in form of intimidation to keep young men from joining; in other places, priests are not sympathetic. The Redmondite Volunteers are defunct in nearly all districts

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in Co. Cork where they were in existence a year ago. In Cork city they still exist nominally.

Much space in the press these days is given to news and views on the possibility of peace. The news comes chiefly from America. The Pope has been endeavouring to make peace between the warring nations. It is stated he is in touch with the rulers of Austria and Germany for the opening of peace negotiations. He has asked Cardinal Gibbons to call on President Wilson.

The United States press is divided in sympathy as between "the Allies" and "the Central Powers". The "New York World" has some sarcastic remarks about the English. It says: "Whenever an Englishman's head is punched, the English press rises on its dignity and asks: 'What is America going to do about this atrocity?'"

September 8th. Lord Northcliffe, through the "Daily Mail" and the "London Times", has been vigorously urging the need for conscription. But, the English Trades Union Congress has declared strongly against it. It has also declared for (English) nationalism as opposed to internationalism (the Socialist creed).

September 10th. The "Cork Examiner" leading articles on many occasions clearly indicate what the "Sharp Curve" of the New English Garrison in Ireland leads to. There is frequent mention of Our Empire, our glorious military record, our fleet, our trade and commerce. It uses the terms Britain and British to include Ireland and Irish. Yet, it is muddled at times, for the force of a separate nationality breaks through in some of its comments on public affairs.

September 13th. Our Cork Óglaigh had a very successful recruiting tour yesterday in Donoughmore district. They were welcomed there with enthusiasm and two companies were formed. The tide is still rising steadily in our favour.

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A large meeting of protest against arrests and deportation orders was held in the Phoenix Park, Dublin, yesterday. Among other speakers was my friend Sean Milroy.

"German agents", it is said in the press, "are at work in the United States, getting up a fund to help in resisting conscription in Ireland." "German agents" also, so the papers tell us, "are tampering with Irish soldiers in the British army, trying to sow dissension among them."

September 14th. And now, "German agents, according to today's news, are endeavouring to organise strikes in America and most of the labour leaders there are Irishmen, we are told. They were helped by Mathew Cummins (of Bandon family), one-time President of the Ancient Order of Hibernians in the States, but were foiled by another Irishman, T.V. O'Connor.

September 16th. The English Parliament re-opened on Tuesday (14th). There was a short discussion on conscription. Mr. John Dillon spoke strongly against it; the English army Members of Parliament for. Old man Asquith deprecated any discussion.

Yesterday, John Dillon again asserted that men had been put in jail in Ireland and newspapers suppressed for saying far less than Northcliffe and the "Daily Mail" had said. Quite true, but what then? All Ireland knows of the differentiation made in the operation of the Realm Act here and in England. But, what of it? It only shows English rule in Ireland is what it ever was. The effect is all to the good in stirring up the spirit of Irish nationalism.

September 17th. The operation of the Home Rule Act has been postponed "to the end of the war" by Order in Council. That is probably the last of it. The Coalition Cabinet is not pledged to Home Rule and the Coalition will probably soon give place to another, in which the Tory and military elements will be predominant. And who can say when the war will end or how it will end?

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There was a Gaelic League meeting in the City Hall, Cork, last night. It was very successful and it is well reported. An t-Athair Peadar O Laoghaire was the principal speaker. Some propagandist "literature" which I had got printed for it was widely distributed.

"The "murder" is out in "Merrie England"! J.H. Thomas, M.P., has disclosed that Lloyd George is trying to oust Asquith and become Prime Minister himself. He is hand -in-hand with Northcliffe. George wants an immediate general election to test English opinion on conscription. Asquith wanted to cloak discussion on it. Thomas, railway workers' representative, declares that on the day conscription is passed, the railwaymen will strike. The "Daily Mail" is attacking Kitchener, Churchill, Asquith and other members of the Government and army chiefs. It does not believe Germany is in a poor strait. It says talk of "the Russian Steam Roller" is nonsense. It assumes the Russians are practically beaten. It laughs at Churchill's glib talk of "digging the rats (the German Fleet) out of their holes" and of "near victory" in the Dardanelles.

All of which is interesting to a "Sinn Féiner". England's prestige is being shattered.

A story has appeared in the press that, when Irish regiments took up positions in the front line trenches in France and Belgium, German musicians in "the enemy's trenches" played "The Wearing of the Green" and other Irish tunes.

September 18th. Today was the day appointed under the Home Rule Act "on the Statute Book" for the setting up of an Irish Parliament. We may regard that incident closed in Irish history. It was merely a "Scrap of Paper". It was a poor Act and a mean Act, but even on that the English Government did not keep its promise. The Irish people today seem quite indifferent to its fate. No one is willing to fight for such a mean thing. Yet, were Ireland ready to fight now, or in the

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near future, the falsity of the English Government in this matter would be sufficient cause and sufficient justification for fighting. Parliamentarianism has failed. Parliamentary "agitation" is dead.

The old, unconquerable spirit of Irish nationality is seeking freedom. The soul of the nation has been saved. But, what then? What is to be done? There are many strong souls in Ireland today willing to suffer martyrdom for the Old Land. But - the time should now be ripe for success as well as martyrdom: ripe for victory.

September 20th. Mahony, the Resident Magistrate, who sentenced Milroy and Sean MacDiarmuda, is dead. He died suddenly on Friday (17th).

Sean MacDiarmuda was released from prison on Saturday, having finished his term of imprisonment.

Heard from Sean MacEoinin (Jennings) today, in a casual way, that there is a likelihood of a raid by police on Sheares St. Hall for the capture of rifles. The information he got may be true, or may not. It all seems very casual. There is no plan as to what should be done in such an event. As things are, nothing could be done but let the police take the rifles. If the police call to the homes of Volunteers, it is a case of each individual acting as he sees fit, which could lead to tragic results in some instances, as some would defend themselves to the last. Our military leaders have given no instructions on the matter.

Casually also, from an outside source, my wife heard that some circulars were sent to prominent people all over Ireland on Wednesday last (15th). She was told all the details concerning them, how they were enclosed in (apparent) business envelopes of wellknown firms. White, Tompkins & Co. have an advertisement in today's "Independent" offering a reward of £100 for information leading to the conviction of anyone who sent out "seditious" literature in envelopes of theirs to people in Ulster.

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September 21st. Another advertisement, offering a reward, in the "Independent" today, from a Dundalk firm. A note also appears, in that paper and in the "Cork Examiner": complaints of a number of firms. They are mostly "loyalist" business firms. The envelopes were specially printed with the firms' names on them: Cork, Dublin, Waterford, Limerick firms.

The "Independent" says the pamphlet enclosed is - "Ireland, Germany and the Freedom of the Seas", which was printed in America in 1911. It is pretty well known this was written by Roger Casement.

I got a copy of the pamphlet from Fred Cronin. No author's name or printer's name is given. It has attracted some attention in the English press.

September 26th. My own pamphlet, "Voices of the Past", is now on sale. It is not a commercial proposition. It is propaganda. I received help in getting it out from Sean Jennings, Pat Ahern and others.

Had a chat with Terence MacSwiney yesterday. Things seem to be going well in the matter of organising Óglaigh corps. No doubt now of the nationalist soundness of the country. The police keep a close watch on all organisers' movements. The old wants are again appearing; want of funds and capable leaders.

I ask again, what is to be the outcome of all our military preparations? What are the plans for the future? No one can answer me.

September 28th. A heading in the "Evening Echo" - "American Consul-General accused of pro-Germanism". The name was St. John Gaffney. Interesting news. In some way, Daniel Spellissy, Treasurer of a Committee in the States formed to provide funds for the Volunteers, was discovered sending dispatches to St. John Gaffney at Munich, not through the regular diplomatic channels at Washington, but privately.

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What the purport of the dispatches was does not appear.

Gaffney is a Co. Limerick man; was a supporter of Parnell; is said to have helped every good Irish movement; is an author, a traveller and a learned man. A great deal more is said about him.

Further on is a paragraph, dated 15th instant, from New York, to the effect that collections are being made in America for the Defence of Ireland Fund. (Such collections were made openly in Ireland last year, Mr. John E. Redmond and the Party co-operating, or seeming to). Now, the English Press correspondent has discovered "the trail of the serpent". The collection cards for the Fund in America have been traced to a German source. The paragraph bears all the evidence of having been "cooked" before being released by the English Censor for publication in the Irish papers.

Collections are to start in Ireland for the Defence Fund next Sunday. Perhaps the paragraph is intended to raise more strongly the cry of "pro-Germanism" here, hoping it may hamper the collection.

September 29th. A letter in the "Examiner" today, signed "Nationalist, Limerick", to discredit the collection for the Volunteers- Defence of Ireland Fund. The writer says the Óglaigh are opposed to Redmond, hence are at one with Carson. Strange logic.

A small paragraph in the "Independent" states that St. John Gaffney, American Consul-General in Munich, recently gave a public dinner to Sir Roger Casement.

October 1st. Mr. John E. Redmond has had an interview with Lord Kitchener. There are to be sweeping changes in the recruiting system in Ireland very shortly.

This item of news is probably to be read with another: that Asquith and Kitchener attended a conference of Labour leaders the other day. The information given is, that the

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voluntary system of recruiting is getting its last chance; the Labour men are to engage in a "raging, tearing" campaign of recruiting for the army. If this fails to get the number of men required, then - conscription.

October 7th. Ernest Blythe is out of prison. But General Friend warns him if he "gives any cause for suspicion" in future, he will be dealt with summarily under the Defence of the Realm Acts.

No private individuals are to send Irish newspapers to neutral countries in future. The papers must be sent only from the newspaper offices. Private individuals' papers will be confiscated.

October 9th. I have not noted prosecutions under D.O.R.A. for some time. They have become commonplace. But now, a member of our Cork Volunteer Executive and of the Gaelic League Árd-Choiste, Sean Nolan, has been served with a summons this morning. He is to be tried in Macroom for a speech of his made some five or six weeks ago at Carriganima. He had been going out there each Sunday, drilling and organising.

October 11th. On Saturday (9th) I offered to go to Macroom to start a Volunteer Corps there. Sean (Nolan) did not think it necessary. He went himself and reports that in Macroom and Clondrohid corps had been started.

The Cork Óglaigh Executive is prepared to bear expenses for his trial. I wrote to Frank J. Healy, B.L., and he has replied to say he will take the case, if it is desired he should at a small fee. I saw Maurice O'Connor, solicitor, this morning in reference to arrangements for defence.

Mr. William O'Brien, M.P., is to deliver a lecture on Thomas Davis at the "All for Ireland" Club this week. I sent him a copy of my pamphlet "Voices of the Past", underscoring a quotation from Davis: "The office of supplying England with recruits - - shall not be our destiny".

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Collections outside church gates yesterday for the Óglaigh (Defence of Ireland Fund) totalled about £45, which is regarded as very satisfactory. It is not far short of last year's collection, when all was unity. We judge from it a majority of the people of Cork are with us.

A soldier, who is a prisoner in Germany, has been giving the "Freeman's Journal" some account of the efforts of Sir Roger Casement to form an Irish Brigade from prisoners captured by the Germans. His story is: only 40 or 50 from the camp where he was a prisoner joined the Brigade, and these as an alternative to starvation. Casement said to them they would join the Clann-Gael and come to free Ireland from English rule; but "they hissed and booed and cursed Casement". Such is the tale as published.

From the "Independent" - "The London 'Sunday Herald' says that since the war he visited Ireland to meet Sinn Feiners" ("He" is Mr. St. John Gaffney) he recalled United States Ambassador in Munich, who, it is said, intends opposing President Wilson in his campaign for re-election".

October 12th. "The Spark" points out this week that the meaning of the paragraphs in the "Freeman's Journal" about Consul-General Gaffney, Mathew Cummins, the Defence of Ireland Fund, and so on, is that the "Freeman" has got a tip from Dublin Castle to felon-set the Irish Volunteer leaders by trying to connect them with German propaganda.

The English authorities would like to get rid of the Óglaigh leaders. They think a safe way of doing this is to get the public to believe the Óglaigh are secretly in touch with the German Government. 'Tis an old game.

October 13th. Captain Roberts and a Captain O'Mahony have been interviewing Tomas MacCurtain. This is the second talk Roberts has had with him. Their object, I learn, was to "sound" him. What do the Volunteers want? What are their

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real aims and objects? What are their views on conscription? They, themselves, are against conscription, but their Colonel (named East) is in favour of it. I take it they are only "fishing".

Seán Nolan was acquitted. He was tried before a Bench of Magistrates at Macroom today. Five voted for acquittal and four were against. The chief police witness said he considered the "disloyal" part of Sean's remarks was when he said the Volunteers were pledged and armed against conscription. Frank Healy, for the defence, quoted from English publications and Carson's pre-war pronouncements.

While Carson's arguments as to the right of armed rebellion were being used in an Irish Petty Sessions Court there was high excitement in the English Commons regarding the same man. There had been an English Cabinet meeting. 'Twas known the question of conscription was being debated. Carson was not present at it. He was in the smoking-room of the Commons. He looked excited. The rumour rose and ran that he had resigned from the Cabinet over the conscription issue. He himself denied it. But, there was much speculation, it appears.

A colleague of mine under the Technical Committee, an art master, a Yorkshireman, tells me that from what he learns from his own people in Yorkshire, the workers in England are only awaiting the opportunity of conscription to declare for socialism. They believe the "upper classes" wish to force conscription in order to keep the workers in check, as some, like the Welsh miners, have been defying the Government.

October 14th. A new "mosquito" halfpenny paper was out yesterday, issued from the same office as "The Spark". We have now - weekly: "The Irish Volunteer", "Nationality", "Workers Republic", "Hibernian", "Spark", "Honesty", "Leader" - definitely anti-English - "An Claidheamh Soluis" and "New Ireland", as auxiliaries. Monthly - "Fianna", "Catholic Bulletin", "The Quiz", "Irish Fun".

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An interview with John Redmond has been published in the "New York World". It is evidently a counterblast to interviews with some Irish-Americans which appeared in the "World" recently.

"Ireland is in a state of profound peace", says Mr. Redmond. "No meetings are suppressed or have been suppressed". "Freedom of speech has not been interfered with". "Three or four men have been imprisoned for short terms for open pro-German declarations, for which in similar cases they would have been shot in Germany". "Every Corporation, County Council, District Council and every elected body of every kind has declared itself in sympathy with the Irish Party view of the war". "The position of Home Rule is absolutely secure. That Act will come into operation at the end of the war, if not before". "The total of Irish recruiting figures to August were: 130,264, and recruiting was still going on at the rate of from 4,000 to 5,000 a month". (The figures included Carson's followers). "And he added to this, 115,000 Irishmen in Great Britain and the Colonial Irishmen".

October 15th. Tomás MacCurtain gave an account of his talks with the military Captains (Roberts and O'Mahony) to the military Council and some members of the Óglaigh Executive last night. As I surmised, the Captains were only "fishing". He answered them plainly and directly as to the aims and objects of the Óglaigh. He is to report to Dublin Headquarters.

Sean O'Sullivan, now Commandant of the Cork Corps, had guards mounted at the Hall, Sheares St. last night.

October 19th. Herbert Pim was released from jail suddenly and secretly, over a week ago. The daily press was forbidden to publish notice of his release.

Monaghan, another Volunteer organiser, was arrested last Saturday (16th) in a village in Co. Cavan. The Óglaigh turned

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out with rifles. There was much excitement, but no conflict with the police; so the daily papers report.

Desmond Fitzgerald, who was forbidden to reside in the Dublin area, was arrested yesterday in Bray.

The new recruiting scheme for Ireland, which was adumbrated when Redmond visited Kitchener, was launched last Friday (15th) at a meeting in the Viceregal Lodge. A conference was held at which were present: Redmond, Lord Londonderry, Sir Nugent Everard, the Lord Mayors of Dublin, Cork and Belfast. According to English papers: "the proceedings were private". But a long report of them is given in the Irish papers. General Friend (our "friend" of the Deportation Orders) gave official statistics of recruiting in Ireland - the first published officially. 81,000 Irishman have joined the English army since the war started. Recruits are now wanted from Ireland at the rate of 1,100 a week. (And the "Daily Mail" says there are 700,000 men of military age in London who could be easily spared.)

Carson has resigned from the British Cabinet.

Redmond addressed a United Irish League "secret" convention in Dublin yesterday. He fears a general election. Home Rule is secure - but the League and the National Volunteers must be reorganised. Ireland had done magnificently by England in the war. It must do more. He deprecated allusions to "Carson's army", hoping they would fight shoulder to shoulder with his own men" to beat the Huns". He said nothing about taxation. That is rather a sore question to touch on.

("Cheers for Carson" - that caused John's supporters in Cork to howl down Eoin MacNeill at the inauguration of our Volunteers here. It is John's own cry now. How time brings changes!)

Second collection for the Óglaigh last Sunday (17th) realised about £30.

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Terence MacSwiney was with me on t rain to Bantry yesterday. We had a chat with some men there last night, with a view to reorganising the Volunteers in the town. The corps was broken up when Redmond got control of the Volunteers, as Bantry was a stronghold of O'Brien's. They may get going again. The conscription argument tells with many.

October 25th. Had a strenuous day yesterday with the Óglaigh at Bealnablah, near Crookstown. It was a fine, dry day with a bracing north-east wind. Part of the operations of the company to which I^{am} attached was charging up a steep hill from the road through a furze brake, over rocky, rough, uneven ground. We were exposed to view from the top. If an "enemy" had been there, not one of us would have escaped! But all of us reached the top. It was fine exercise.

There were men from various corps around the district taking part and a new corps for Crookstown centre itself was formed - some 80 men being put through preliminary drill, after short addresses to them by Tomás MacCurtain and Terence MacSwiney.

As is usual on such occasions, the proceedings were watched on behalf of the Empire by two policemen.

Paragraphs are appearing in the Irish press, as copied from some obscure American papers, to the effect that the leaders of the Óglaigh in Ireland are in the secret pay of the German Government and that Irish Nationalist (anti-British) propaganda is a secret German propaganda.

Terence MacSwiney was here (in Bantry) with me again tonight to get the Óglaigh corps under way.

October 28th. Alf. Monaghan, Óglaigh organiser, has got three months' imprisonment for "endangering the Realm". The poor Realm!

November 1st - Monday. Returned from Dublin today after attendance at the Second Annual Convention of the Óglaigh.

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On Friday morning I got a card from Adjutant Daihi Barry to say I was requested to represent Mourneabbey Corps at the Convention. Travelled up on Saturday evening with fellow delegates.

Nearly all of us were in uniform. Four or five of us put up at Wynn's Hotel, Abbey St. Terry MacSwiney was there before us.

We arose early. Had Mass at the pro-Cathedral. Others of the Cork delegates came to Wynn's. Most of us went to visit J.J. Walsh in Blessington St.

Then to the Convention in the Abbey Theatre. Milroy came there to see me. A strict scrutiny of delegates' credentials. I estimated there were about 150 delegates present, representatives of "live" corps only, of some time standing.

Eoin MacNeill presided. Proceedings lasted from 11 a.m. to 7.p.m. A business-like gathering, so much so as to be almost dull at times. Most of the time was occupied in details of the activities of corps throughout the country. Tomas MacDonough was beside me. MacNeill read a well-reasoned statement, general in character. Aims and objects of the Óglagh were re-affirmed, along with a statement, previously published, expressing a strong attitude in regard to conscription. Cases of victimisation for adherence to the Volunteers, in various parts of the country, were mentioned. No definite line of action on that, or on any other matter, was proposed. The underlying spirit, showing strength and firmness, was, however, apparent now and again. (The limit of patience at persecution for the expression of Irish nationalist opinions may soon be reached).

O'Rahilly, Hon. Treasurer, submitted an audited financial report. He said there were some accounts which he considered it was not desirable to make public, even at the Convention, so he suggested that the Convention select three men to whom he would give the particulars. This was accepted and, on the

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proposition of Sean MacEoinin (Jennings), I was named one of the three. We retired to a room behind the stage. O'Rahilly gave us all the particulars of the Defence Fund, which showed large sums received for arms and ammunition; how they were dealt with and how disposed of. Some particulars were necessarily incomplete, but I had no doubt they were, in the main, correct. Up to a certain date, as he explained, they were absolutely so, but there has been "raids" on his sister's house, which showed, he said, "the authorities" were more anxious to get the account books at present than rifles. Neatly ruled statements were difficult to make out, under the circumstances. The accounts showed definitely and clearly the absolute falsehood of the "German gold" canard.

O'Rahilly gave us some interesting information regarding the number of the Óglaigh throughout the country who had got arms and ammunition through Dublin Headquarters. It was not startling, but, to me, it seemed satisfactory, considering the difficulties that had to be got over and the opposition.

On behalf of the three scrutineers, I made a short statement to the Convention on the lines that we were perfectly satisfied with the accounts the Hon. Treasurer had put before us.

Eoin MacNeill was re-elected President amid acclamation.

A motion by a delegate from Scotland - a typical "stick-at-it" type of North of Ireland man - to have Roger Casement elected Vice-President, was allowed slide, after the delegate had been spoken to by Seán MacDiarmuda.

The proceedings ended with the singing of national songs.

At night we had a ceillidhe in the Gaelic League Hall, Parnell Square, given by Cumann na mBan. Herbert Pim spoke of his prison experiences; a pleasant speaker, of striking appearance, rather like Parnell. I was introduced to him by Milroy. Blythe, Mellows and Sean MacDiarmuda were also at the ceillidhe.

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Desmond Fitzgerald, unpaid organiser of the Óglaigh, who was to have been at the Convention, was, at Bray on Saturday, sentenced to six months' imprisonment. There were six magistrates on the Bench at his trial, all, but one, military officers. The one civilian did not agree with the verdict. The portions of Fitzgerald's speech, for which he was being tried, read in Court, were cheered and applauded by those present. They were clear, definite expressions of Irish nationalist principles - the clearest so far for which anyone has been prosecuted under the Defence of the Realm Acts. Fitzgerald's portrait is in the papers today; it displays a literary or artistic face.

November 2nd. Saturday morning last, in common with many others, I received by post a printed circular, addressed "Mr. F. Roche", and signed Kitchener and Wimborne; also a form to fill up, to state if I am willing to enlist in the British army for the period of the war. A stamped envelope was enclosed for reply. This is part of the new recruiting scheme in Ireland, of which Lord Lieutenant Wimborne is Director. The circulars have been sent broadcast and have occasioned much discussion and not a little commotion in country districts. From what I hear, however, there has been much muddling. One woman got two circulars for two sons who were killed in the war. In another case, half a dozen were delivered where there are only two small boys. Others, unmarried men of military age, have got none. And so on. There is nothing to prevent a man filling up a form with another man's name and address on it and sending it to the central recruiting office. Wimborne wants 50,000 Irishmen to join before the end of November and 1,100 a week after.

Those circulars will give a great fillip to the Óglaigh. The scheme here and in England is called "Voluntary Compulsion".

Mr. John Dillon says there will be no conscription in

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Ireland - thanks to the Irish Party - and "the Irish Volunteers are only as fleas in Kitchener's eyes". But Mr. Lundun, M.P. says if conscription is passed the Irish Party will take to the hillsides and fight with hayforks! A priest, at a United Irish League meeting, at which Joe Devlin, M.P., was present and spoke, said he would not become a recruiting sergeant for England; while another priest, a Capuchin, in Cork, at a retreat for soldiers, stated he felt in the presence of a hero when in the presence of a man in khaki. A doctor in Macroom, at a recruiting meeting, deliberately charges the Volunteers - naming Sean Nolan especially - with receiving "German Gold" and being "Germany's Volunteers". Rather mixed views!

November 3rd. Prime Minister Asquith made a long statement in the English Commons last night on the war situation,

On Conscription: He has no objection in principle to conscription. If there is substantial unity on the question and if the present recruiting effort to the time limit of November 30th fail, he will accept conscription.

Carson followed Asquith and took up an opposition attitude of criticism. It looks as if he means to form an Opposition Party. That man will yet smash the British Empire.

Then Redmond spoke. He has strong complaints to make about the War Office not availing of the service of his Volunteers. He said there was "a small section" in Ireland opposed to recruiting. He put them on the same level as the small section, Socialists, Conscientious Objectors, etc., in England.

November 8th. Some English papers having had "scare headings" regarding emigration of young men from Ireland and some parts of England, for fear of conscription, Mr. John E. Redmond wrote to the papers, giving emigration statistics of last year and this year, in an endeavour to show the "scare" was based on falsehoods. He spoke for Great Britain as well, he said.

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Since his letter appeared, the "Irish Independent" has been proving by figures that Mr. Redmond's statistics are false. Its correspondents all over the country have been sending it particulars of numbers of young men leaving country districts to get to America. It quoted what some young men said: "We will join the Clan-na-Gael and fight for the Germans". The truth of the "Independent" news was forthcoming on Saturday (6th). Some 650 men, who had booked passages to the States, were to sail in a Cunard liner from Liverpool on that day. They were only part of a much larger number going by other liners. An English mob gathered around the men at Liverpool and hurled insults at them. The crew on board the ship threatened to strike if the Irishmen were allowed to sail. The Cunard Company Directors promptly cancelled the bookings. It is stated the passage money was returned to the men. They were harangued in Liverpool by recruiting agents, but, "the papers regretfully state", not one of the men would join the English army. The "Independent" more or less suggests to the Government to take steps to prevent Irishmen of military age leaving the country.

Yesterday I attended a meeting of the "Manchester Martyrs' Day" organising committee - a miscellaneous kind of gathering. Many of the usual "Old Guard" present. Representatives of the city bands also. It appears Captain Roberts has been going around to the bands to get them to assist the recruiting campaign. Their representatives at yesterday's meeting considered it a slur and a slander on them to have the rumour in the city that they would help recruiting. One of the representatives said the men of his band had declared they would burn their instruments rather than help "England's dirty work".

November 10th. Mr. Redmond says the emigration of young men from Ireland, for fear of conscription, is "a purely West

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of Ireland affair". Fifty or sixty men have gone from Bantry district. Bantry, I suppose, is in "the West of Ireland" to Mr. Redmond.

The Cunard and other steamship companies announce that they will refuse to book passages for young men of military age to America.

"Sinn Féiners Raid for Arms" - such is a heading in the "Independent" of Monday (8th) over a short paragraph. Some unknown men in a motor-car called to a house in Co. Dublin, where rifles belonging to the National (Redmondite) Volunteers were supposed to be stored. The rifles were not there and the men drove away. "The Cork Examiner" and "Constitution" have big headings over the same news. The men, however, are referred to as "criminals".

Over 100 recruits have joined our Cork Corps of the Óglaigh within the last few weeks. But, there are recruits joining the British army also. Some 60 of them paraded the streets of Cork yesterday.

There was a remarkable article recently in an English weekly, "Ideas", about Germany's intentions regarding Ireland. The writer declared that in the mind of the German Government the "Freedom of the Seas", for which they are fighting, is bound up with the freedom of Ireland. (Roger Casement's contention for years past). The Germans, so the writer stated, would wish to see a Republic set up in Ireland. There were intentions of aiding Irishmen to establish a Republic, but they have been given over for the present. "But", he says, "the Teuton" is not easily diverted from his purpose and there is need for England to be careful. The article is well-written and it seems to me to be written by a man who knows some of the facts.

November 11th. God bless Edward Thomas O'Dwyer, Bishop of Limerick! A letter of his, in connection with the insults

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of the Liverpool mob towards the intending Irish emigrants is published in today's "Cork Examiner". It is the clearest and strongest statement of an Irish Nationalists's feelings yet published from the pen of any Irish ecclesiastic. He defends the poor, would-be emigrants. He slashed "the Party" because they joined the English mob in decrying the boys who wanted to emigrate, foolish though these may be. He says these emigrants, naturally, do not want to fight England's war. The present war is not Ireland's, but England's. And what has England done that Irishmen should fight for her? He refers to T.P. O'Connor's "New Brigade"; to English slackers; to "the simulacrum of Home Rule".

No Sinn Féin supporter could put the case better than the Bishop of Limerick has done.

After teaching my class here (in Bantry) I went to the Town Hall to a meeting of the reorganised Óglaigh Corps. The numbers were not large, but the men seemed earnest. Terence MacSwiney and Peadar O'Hannrachain were present and had addressed the meeting.

Lord Lieutenant Wimborne's second appeal for recruits for the British army is now being sent out. The blind, the lame, the aged are getting them; young children are receiving envelopes addressed to themselves; priests, Christian Brothers; parents for sons dead in France; wives for husbands long since dead; mothers for sons long since left home. A man has a letter in the "Independent" to say his wife got two copies of the appeal asking her to enlist, the envelope having been addressed to Mr. Kathleen _____!

But, the opposition to recruiting seems growing stronger. There are accounts now of active opposition of crowds, here and there: in Carrickmacross the other night, and in Galway. Many priests, too, are now taking a stronger stand against recruiting

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November 17th. The present strength of the Royal Irish Constabulary is: 190 Inspectors, 9,865 Head Constables, sergeants and men. Dublin Metropolitan Police, 1,158. Total police, 11,213. 579 of all ranks have joined the army. "It is not desirable to reduce the forces as they are engaged in military work in Ireland".

(The above information was given in answer to queries in the British House of Commons).

November 18th. Father Power, of University College, Cork, lecturing at the Catholic Young Men's Society, on Irish ballads, speaking of Davis's "Fontenoy", pointed out that the choice offered to Sarsfield's men after Limerick was - enlistment in the English army or emigration. They chose emigration. He further pointed out that the Irish Brigade fought for France against England. His remarks were greeted with applause.

The application of the moral to conditions today was apparent.

November 22nd. Saturday (20th) was "Language Flag Day" in Cork. It exceeded all expectations. 10,000 of the little badges were sold. The money collected was about £55. There is an apparent revival of interest in the language movement.

The "Daily Sketch" calls Bishop O'Dwyer a liar and a traitor. An Irish Crown Solicitor follows suit. Limerick Corporation has condemned these attacks on the Bishop. The "Examiner" is now allowing a debate in its columns on recruiting and on the Bishop's letter, and some telling points, from a nationalist point of view, are being made.

John Dillon also, recently, after the Bishop's letter, plucked up a little courage to express some indignation at the treatment of the Irish boys in Liverpool. But, 'tis all the fault of the wicked "factionists"! If the advice of the "Irish Party" had been taken, there would have been no emigration rush. Dillon writes as if he, and not Redmond, were the leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party. There are rumours around that things are tending ~~the~~ that way.

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November 24th. Jeremiah O'Mahony, Member Cork Co. Council, one-time strong supporter of Redmond and "the Party", has a letter in the "Examiner" today severely criticising Devlin, Dillon, Redmond and the Party over recruiting and their attitude towards conscription. His letter is a sign of the times.

In the British Parliament, Alfred Byrne, recently elected a member for a Dublin Constituency, asked a question about conscription and "did the Prime Minister know that conscription would be resisted by armed and drilled forces in Ireland?" Asquith would not answer the first part of his question and "deprecatd the threat contained in the last part".

November 26th. A new order by General Friend, today, prohibits the importation into Ireland of all kinds of arms and ammunition, except by special permit.

November 29th. The Manchester Martyrs celebration was held in Cork yesterday (Sunday). It was an astounding display of nationalism, an overwhelming success. The present times are not ordinary; hence, the great significance of this demonstration. To be an Irish Nationalist of the old tradition is to be guilty of "an offence against the Realm". Tens of thousands in the streets of Cork yesterday openly declared themselves Irish Nationalists.

Cork Battalion of the Óglaigh paraded at 8.30 a.m., about 150 strong. To 9 o'clock Mass at the Cathedral. On parade again at 11 o'clock in Sheares St. Sections were coming and going, escorting country corps from the railway stations and other points. About 1.30 we got on the move. Estimates of numbers on the march vary from 1,200 to 2,000. The platform was near the National Monument. From the platform we could see an immense throng, closely packed, along the whole length of the Grand Parade and down the South Mall.

Sean MacDiarmuda was orator of the day. He was accompanied by Herbert Pim. Both had been at Sheares St. on Saturday night.

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Barrett, secretary of the Demonstration Committee, had asked me to draft the resolutions for the meeting. I drafted two: the principal one pledging the mass meeting to the principles of Fenianism; a second, endorsing the letter of the Most Rev. Dr. O'Dwyer. There were other resolutions commending the language and industrial movements.

Along with MacDiarmuda and Pim, Peadar O'Hannrachain spoke and, as requested, I spoke in a vote of thanks to the others. We returned to Sheares St., a guard of honour accompanying the speakers and a large number of young men, not Volunteers, following.

Cumann na mBan had organized a "Flag Day" for the Volunteer Funds. That, also, was an immense success - some £80 was realised. Those who had no badges were the exceptions in the vast throng. It was made quite plain what the money was for by "Lieut.-Col." Donegan of the Redmondite Volunteers, in a letter to the "Examiner" and "Echo". He "warned" the public the collection was not for Mr. Redmond and the National (Redmondite) Volunteers.

In the evening there was a concert in the City Hall. Standing room only, a large number unable to enter. Again, immense enthusiasm.

A Ceilidhe in the "Grianán" ended the day.

The reports in our city newspapers are quite amusing, particularly a speech of "Lieut.-Col." Donegan's to the National (Redmondite) Volunteers. Eighty of them had gone to 12 o'clock Mass to the Cathedral. They could not take part in the procession, he said, as they were not in charge of it. The veracious (?) "Constitution" says "the proceedings ended in pandemonium".

December 2nd. "Drastic regulations regarding emigration" announced. No one can leave Ireland from this on without a passport, and to get a passport, a reason that will satisfy

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"the authorities" must be given. In effect, it means no man of military age will be allowed to leave the country.

Among other "Realm" cases of recent occurrence, a man in Roscommon was, on Tuesday, sentenced to a month's imprisonment for having got a number of young men together to pledge themselves to resist conscription - if it be applied to Ireland.

December 6th. Lieutenant T.M. Kettle, M.P., Professor in the National University, spoke at a recruiting meeting in Cork yesterday. Judging by "Cork Constitution" report, his address consisted wholly of denunciations of "Sinn Féiners" and imaginary "pro-Germans". He adduced no arguments as to why Irishmen should join the British army. "The Germans", he declared, "who had no friends elsewhere, had some in Cork When the 'Lusitania' was sunk, the 'pro-Gers' in Cork cheered for the Double Eagle". And so on, in a farrago of imagination. The purpose of the "Constitution" is to get the British Government to arrest and imprison the alleged pro-Germans, indicated by Kettle, under the Defence of the Realm Acts.

December 7th. Disturbances renewed last night at a recruiting meeting in Cork, Kettle being the object for hissing and hooting, when he launched out into a further tirade of abuse of Sinn Féiners. One young man, given an assurance that he would not be prosecuted, was permitted to speak from the recruiting platform (a wagonette). He was not a good speaker, I heard, but when he came down, the crowd cheered lustily, raised him on their shoulders and again marched to the National Monument. Here, a university student addressed them. The police did not interfere.

It is rumoured today that a military force will be present at future recruiting meetings. Lively times anticipated.

News is also leaking out of lively times in other parts of the country. Action has been taken against Volunteers in Ballaghaderreen because Lieutenant Mike O'Leary was hooted at

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a recruiting meeting there. Ginnell asked a question in Parliament about this, stating the Volunteers were not at the meeting, but were on a route march. The "Daily Mail" reports the question and Birrell's answer.

December 9th.

J.L. (Diarmuid) Fasait is back in Cork.

Met him yesterday in the Industrial Association offices. He was in very serious humour. I had disagreed with his leaving Cork; but he now told me he was informed "Volunteer headquarters" had advised he was to obey the military order to him to leave the city. When the offer was made to him to go to America he accepted it. When he got there, he found that Clan-na-Gael leaders had been informed it was not with any authority from "headquarters" in Dublin he had gone.

The Irish in America are as divided in opinion over the war as we are at home: pro-German and pro-British. The Germans in the States are not a strong political force, nor united. Certain Irish organisations are energetic on the German side. Larkin is active in the States. The Germans will not help Ireland very materially, nor will the pro-German Irish in America; unless the Irish people declare themselves openly on the German side in the war. They know this may mean bloodshed in Ireland. The amount of money got for the Volunteers was not very large. Casement's endeavour to form an Irish Brigade from prisoners of war in Germany was a fiasco; it was known to be such in America. He is an accredited representative in Berlin of the Clan-na-Gael. Fasait considered Americans in general were on the German side, owing to English interference with American ships and consequent hindrance to commerce.

He brought back some money for the Óglaigh Headquarters in Dublin, but he finds himself coldly treated by Óglaigh leaders in Cork.

T.M. Kettle, on Monday night, denounced the Bishop of Limerick along with "Sinn Féiners". Voices in the crowd

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shouted they were not "pro-Germans" but were "anti-English". He then said he was the same till the war broke out.

Lieutenant Maurice Healy, "young Maurice", is also on the recruiting stunt. So, our warring political partisans unite for England's sake!

December 10th. From the "Irish Independent": "The Chief Secretary told Mr. Ginnell in Parliament yesterday that the evidence that the Irish Volunteers have endeavoured to foment disloyalty in Ireland was voluminous. 'Much of it', he added, 'must be known by the hon. member from the utterances of the leaders of the organisation, from the articles and letters in its official organ, and from the reports of the proceedings against its officers and organisers, to which the hon. member has himself at various times made reference'".

For twelve months or so, it suited the Government's policy to pretend all Ireland was loyal to England. Now, they can no longer hide the fact that there are what they term "disloyal" elements in Ireland. In other words, Irish Nationalism is not yet suppressed.

December 11th. "He hoped there were no Sinn Féiners there that night - (cheers) - because they were a d_____ side (!) worse than the Germans - it was all underhand work with them. The Germans were not traitors, they were fighting for their country, but these d_____ Sinn Féiners - well, bad luck to them. He was sorry to use such strong language in the presence of ladies, but he could not say less. They were traitors to their country, and traitors were always the cause of Ireland's misfortune". Lieutenant Mike O'Leary, V.C., at a recruiting meeting in Cork last night, as reported in the "Cork Constitution".

The Bill to "recognise Volunteers organisations, introduced in the British Parliament, is not now likely to apply to Ireland. Carson opposes it as it would 'recognise'

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the "Nationalist Volunteers - Redmond's 'section', and the Sinn Fein 'section'". The "Cork Constitution" is perturbed over "the Sinn Féin Volunteers". It would like the British Government to take action against "that body".

December 13th. It seems to me "the authorities" and the Óglaigh are coming near a clash. How near it is not easy to determine, but signs of it are not wanting. "The gravity of the situation in Ireland", with "sedition" and "disloyalty" is being written up in the English press. "The London Times" had a two-column long article last week, from its Dublin correspondent. He sums up the situation very fully and clearly as between the different bodies of Volunteers. He mentions the other bodies that are not pro-English - Sinn Féin, Fianna Boy Scouts, Gaelic League, Cumann na mBan, Citizen Army, and so on.

The "situation" seems also to be attracting attention in other countries. From Rome, per English press agency, comes an account of an interview with Cardinal Bourne, in which he speaks of Home Rule being an accomplished fact and of England and Ireland being like two sisters who had a quarrel but are now united against an outsider.

Further evidence of "the gravity of the situation" :-
An order of Major-General Friend, C.B., Commander of the English forces in Ireland, prohibits the manufacture, sale, transfer or disposal of all kinds whatsoever of arms, ammunition and weapons - shotguns included - except by special permit from Dublin Castle or through a District Inspector of Police. The "Independent" has a note from the "London Times" to say this order is meant for "the Sinn Féiners and Irish Volunteers" "It is understood", writes the "Independent", "that the authorities have information of serious things going on behind the scenes".

It seems to me General Friend's order is an indication

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that the Government intends to disarm the Volunteers; and, so far as I know, there are no definite plans for coping with such an eventuality.

December 14th. "It is not in the public interest to disclose the steps being taken to counteract the efforts of the Irish Volunteers to promote 'disloyalty' and interfere with recruiting in Ireland". That is the substance of a reply of Birrell's to Ginnell in the English Parliament, as reported in today's press. We all know the public "steps". What are the ones "behind the scenes"?

December 18th. Nearing Christmas, things seem so normal, I wonder if I am judging things aright in thinking that we are approaching a crisis in Irish history. People are going about their business in an ordinary manner. Food is plentiful enough; prices are high, but money is abundant. There does not appear to be more than the usual winter stress for the poor. The war news is at present dull and war seems far away. The call for recruits for the British army goes on, with some results.

On the other hand, it is clear the Government desires to strike at the Volunteers, to disarm them; to arrest and imprison the leaders. What prevents it? Policy, or fear of the result? Eoin MacNeill, in the "Volunteer" continues writing in his usual calm strain, exposing Birrell's plots and his endeavours to make a case for the suppression of the Volunteers. But, what if the Government strikes? There do not appear to be any plans on the Volunteer side to meet that situation.

All letters going through the Post Office are now liable to be opened, This is being done by a military staff. A slip "Opened by Censor" is pasted across the letters that are opened. A note appeared in the newspapers to the effect that there may be a delay in delivery of letters.

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December 20th. Do I really think there is a serious probability of an armed rising in Ireland? I do. But, it seems to me to depend more on the action of the British Government than on any deliberate intention of the leaders of the Volunteers. These will apparently wait till the Government strikes.

It has been hinted now and again by the English and pro-English press that "the Sinn Feiners" expect a German force to land in Ireland. This, I would say, is untrue. It is unlikely that any responsible men in the Óglaigh expect a German armed force to invade Ireland. A rising in Ireland may have some effects on the course of the Great War. Germany, no doubt, would make the most of it in her own interests. But, I do not think a German army is likely to land in Ireland.

Do I really think there is a chance of "a rising" being successful? Having analysed, to my own satisfaction, the forces for and against, I do.

By 10 votes to 9, Kilkenny County Council refused to appoint a recruiting committee. Hard words were spoken of John E. Redmond. Said the Chairman: "Instead of voting for recruiting, they should endorse the Bishop of Limerick's letter" The Council's decision is typical of the present situation. The voting is typical of the opinion of the whole country: 10 of every 19 persons being now, as far as possible, openly anti-English. The Bishop's letter has unloosed the tongues of our public men. To endorse his remarks is not yet regarded as "sedition".

I have got some letters "Opened by Censor". Ordinary correspondence. But, a friend of mine, yesterday morning, received a recent copy of the "Gaelic American" in an unopened letter.

December 22nd. The Irish Parliamentary Party have reiterated a resolution of theirs against conscription.

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But, in the English Parliament, yesterday, Mr. Redmond spoke with two voices. He was utterly against conscription, not on principle, however, but as a matter of expediency. If a clear case was made out for it, as far as he was concerned, that settled the matter - he would accept it. You can take his speech either way and the newspapers do take it either way. John Dillon was firm against.

December 29th. The principle of conscription for single men was accepted by the English Cabinet at a meeting yesterday. There will be some resignations of Ministers, it is said. The "Daily Mail" is jubilant at the result of its seven months' campaign for conscription.

Will it apply to Ireland is being asked on all sides?

A writer in yesterday's "Mail" argues thus: If Ireland is as enthusiastic about the war as Mr. Redmond says it is; if it wishes "the Allies" to win; if it is now one with England (and the writer believes it is, as Mr. Redmond has said so), then, of course, it will welcome conscription, if the Government decide that this is necessary to win the war. If Ireland resist conscription, Home Rule will be damaged. All this is quite logical, if Mr. Redmond and his Party have been truly representing Ireland. If we are as loyal to England as they have proclaimed, then we should accept conscription. If we do not accept it, then we are not "loyal". That is the logic of the position.

December 30th. "The Cork Weekly Free Press" wakes up a little. Mr. William O'Brien writes an attack on Redmond and Dillon.

"Ireland stands to win nothing out of this war except crushing taxation and crippled markets". To England, victory "will mean vast additional territories and new markets of immense worth". Yet, Mr. O'Brien was one of the first "Irish Nationalist" Members of Parliament to advise Irishmen to join hands with England in the war.

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"He (Mr. Redmond) ties the all too few young men of this country on to the coat-tails of the swarming unmarried men in England who have refused to fight for a victory which to them, at all events, will mean vast prosperity?" Much more in this strain appears. But, everyone knows Mr. O'Brien also wanted to tie all Ireland to the "coat tails" of England. He has learned a lesson.

December 31st.

Eoin MacNeill still counsels patience. Connolly, in the "Workers' Republic", reprints Fintan Lalor's article in the "Felon" (1848), scorning those who would forever postpone the day of "striking the blow". Patience may be best. It looks like wisdom, but, if there is no serious intention of making a bid for Irish independence, while England is at war, we are wasting our time in the Irish Volunteers.

The pro-English papers in Ireland have awakened to the fact that the English Cabinet has decided on conscription. They have no views on the matter. "All is safe in the hands of the Irish Party".

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Notwithstanding all the efforts made by the Old Garrison and the New to identify Ireland's interests with England's, even English newspapers recognise a national distinctiveness between the two countries. The matter of conscription emphasises the distinction.

The "Daily Chronicle" says of the compulsory proposal that its consequences for national unity depend very much upon how questions like that of Ireland are handled". "The natural thing, it says, is to leave Ireland out as she did not come under the Derby scheme and throughout her recruiting arrangements the fact has had to be recognised that her economic, as well as her political conditions are quite special. He will be a very bad patriot who, for the sake of bad blood or

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political capital tries to make Ireland a subject of controversy". (Quotation from the "Independent").

In the "Daily Chronicle" eyes, the Unionists of Ireland must be bad (English) patriots! Irish newspapers report:

"The following resolution has been adopted by the Executive Committee of the Irish Unionist Alliance - 'That this Committee, representing the Unionist opinion of the three southern provinces desires to place on record its opinion that in the event of a scheme of national service being introduced by the Government, it would be a national disgrace if Ireland were excluded, or any differentiation were made in regard to this country". So, they are more English than the English. Why did they even say "this country"? Logically, they should have said: "this part of the United Kingdom", or "this part of Great Britain".

Another quotation: "The 'Nation' says: "It (i.e., the political crisis) has been precipitated and led up to with much art. It seems to be little short of a betrayal of Home Rule to force Mr. Redmond to insist on the inclusion of Ireland from conscription under penalty of exposing him to the retort that in doing so he reveals her essential disunity from the Empire". This is where the Redmondites have landed themselves in their over-fervid declarations of loyalty to England.

"The Dublin correspondent of the 'London Times' says that 'the majority of Irish nationalists are anxious to win the war, but all their plans and opinions are coloured by the prepossession of Home Rule If Ireland is excluded from compulsion and the rest of the Kingdom accepts it, the enemies of Home Rule will be furnished with a powerful argument against that policy".

Quite so. But, Mr. Redmond has said: Home Rule is safe: 'tis on the Statute Book of England.

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The New Year "Honours List" is published today. General Friend is made a member of the Irish Privy Council. This seems a linking up of the military and civil administration of Ireland. The Lord Mayor of Cork has got a knighthood, along with others who have been active in recruiting.

January 3rd. The British Lion is howling over the loss of the P. & O. liner "Persia". It was torpedoed by a German submarine in the Mediterranean. An American Consul was on board the ship and was drowned. The Lion is screaming to the American Eagle to come to his aid.

German submarines are again busy off our south coast and in the Irish Sea. Cross-channel steamers are said to be in danger.

"Extraordinary Censorship. Convents and Bishops suspect". Thus a heading in today's "Independent". Bishop Mangan, speaking at Mass in Killarney Cathedral, stated his own letters and letters addressed to nuns in the convent had been "opened by censor". "While safe conduct was offered for their letters to Rome, their letters in Ireland were ruthlessly opened by irresponsible officials. They never heard that the Germans opened the letters of German Catholic Bishops. Were the British War Office officials to add another to their many grave blunders?" The "Examiner" has more fully reported the Bishop's protest. "Hitherto, according to the measure of my lights, the present government had my sympathy and support in this dreadful war. Is this the return they give to me and my Catholic people?" His Lordship refers to "our brave soldiers, the Munsters" and asks again is the return to be insults from the British Government. His remarks are nearly "pro-Germanism". Their effect must be to discourage recruiting and cause "disaffection".

Mr. John Dillon, denouncing "factionism", says "the danger of conscription being applied to Ireland is now past, owing to

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the stand made by the Irish Party". But, the English Press Association says the Conscription Bill to be introduced into the House of Commons on Wednesday will apply to the United Kingdom generally and there will be no exception in the case of Ireland".

January 5th. The Press Association recants. It states definitely this morning that conscription will not apply to Ireland. Ireland was included in the draft of the Bill, originally, but was subsequently struck out. Why, one may ask? The Volunteers armed and the national sentiment of the Irish people is the answer. One English paper has stated it would never do to have bloodshed in Ireland at present. A recognition of the fact that there are men in Ireland who would resist in arms.

The Orange group of Members of the British Parliament have passed a resolution of protest against Ireland's "proposed exclusion". They profess to regard it as a disgrace that conscription is not to be enforced here. The Protestant Bishop of Armagh is of the same mind. He expresses his views in a long letter to the press. These people should know the enforcement of conscription would lead to bloodshed. Do they wish it so? Or, are they only playing a political game?

January 6th. Ireland is out of it! There were cries of "why" in the House of Commons when Asquith said the Bill would apply only to Britain. "Because the Derby scheme did not apply to Ireland". In substance, that was his argument. It is not an answer. The "Derby scheme" was not applied here because the Government knew that, too, would be resisted.

A German paper, "Lokal Anzeiger", is reported as saying "Prime Minister Asquith dare not enforce conscription in Ireland".

To provoke a rising in Ireland would not suit English policy at the moment, evidently; though there are many high in authority who would favour the provocation.

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Redmond and Dillon took different lines in the debate on the Bill, though both sought to prove Ireland's loyalty to England.

Herbert Pim, at a recent meeting in Mullingar, suggested that an Irish Provisional Government be set up. This idea has been in other minds as well. It is doubtful wisdom, however, to mention the matter publicly at the present time.

An obscure paragraph in the papers gives "Irish pre-war and post-war tax", a reply of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to Mr. Ginnell:

"1913-14, aggregate total, £9,627,000.

"1914-15, aggregate total, £17,457,000".

The whole basis of Home Rule finance; the whole Unionist argument against Home Rule; the whole Parliamentary Party argument for Home Rule, in money matters, was that Ireland could not support itself and that the very utmost limit of taxation had been reached in 1913-14! And Mr. John Dillon says "The Irish Party" have saved Ireland from crushing taxation.

To prove how loyal we are to England and show what help we are giving her in the war, Mr. Dillon, in the English Parliament yesterday, gave figures of the number of Irishmen in the British army:

In the regular army before war broke out: Catholics, 14,000; Protestants, 6,000. Special reservists, Catholics, 6,000; Protestants, 3,000. Up to December 15th last, 91,555 recruits "have joined Kitchener's army" - 50,196 "Roman Catholics" and 41,353 Protestants. "The number of reservists who joined the colours in Ireland was 12,000 Catholics against 5,500 Protestants" ... "The total number going from Ireland and serving in the army at the present moment, without allowing for casualties, was 142,000". (The figures as given are somewhat discrepant).

January 8th.

A special (English) Trades Union Congress

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met on Thursday last (6th). Nearly two million votes were recorded as against conscription; 783,000 in favour of it. The "Red Flag" was sung instead of the National Anthem. The "Daily Mail" reports: "The words England or Britain were never once uttered during the long day's talk". But, will the democrats of England stick to their avowed principles?

All this unrest in England and confusion at the centre of power should be Ireland's opportunity of striking for independence. Week by week, the "Workers' Republic" is emphasising that the chances of Irish freedom are greater today than at any period of Irish history. It is so outspoken this very week that the surprise is that it is not suppressed. Either the Government does not think it politic to suppress it, or is not ready to take drastic action. But also, so far as I know, there are no plans at Volunteer Headquarters to take action such as Connolly urges. Will '48 and '67 be repeated?

January 10th. Rumours again that Mr. John E. Redmond may shortly resign chairmanship of the Irish Parliamentary Party and Mr. John Dillon take his place. Dillon is keeping closer to the facts of the present situation in Ireland.

A typical instance of how recruiting meetings are faring at present is shown by occurrences at one in Cork yesterday. The meeting was a large one. A local large employer of labour was speaking. He was enlarging on what "the Huns" would do if they came to Ireland. "They could not treat us worse than you treated your workmen a few years ago", shouted a voice in the crowd. That finished the speaker. A National Teacher, who is also a Justice of the Peace, spoke. He was heckled and howled down. A professor of University College tried to speak. He uttered the word "Remember" and paused. "Remember '98", someone called loudly. Then the crowd began singing: "Who fears to speak of '98". They continued singing other national songs. The speakers were silenced. When they sung "God Save Ireland" the military band came out and played the air! But the crowd

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marched away, still singing; came to the National Monument and then dispersed.

Some English papers are getting "nasty" regarding Ireland and the actions of the Irish Parliamentary Party in voting against conscription. The Party's protestations of loyalty to England are treated with scorn. The papers know, of course, what is happening in Ireland, but do not find it diplomatic to speak too plainly at present.

Mr. Redmond and the Irish Party are being thanked by their supporters for saving Ireland from conscription. This was inevitable.

January 12th. The English Tory papers were correct in forecasting that the Irish Party would not continue its opposition to the Conscription Bill. Their threats must have had effect. Mr. Redmond has discovered that it is "a purely British Bill". He hopes it will pass quickly. William O'Brien took up that attitude at the first reading and was denounced for doing so. The breach between Redmond and Dillon grows wider. It is definitely stated Redmond is about to resign and retire from parliament. Mr. Dillon "wanted to force him into an attitude inconsistent with his declaration at the outbreak of the war". And the "Sinn Feiners" are going strong! His followers must pass new votes of confidence in him. Last week's ones are out of date.

More figures. Mr. Birrell, in the House of Commons, yesterday:

"Number of men between 19 and 41 in each of the provinces of Ireland on August 15th last, approximately: Leinster, 174,597; Ulster, 169,489; Munster, 136,637; Connaught, 81,392. (Total: 562,115)". "Up to December 15th, there had enlisted in the army and navy approximately: Leinster, 34,458; Ulster, 49,760; Munster, 14,190; Connaught, 3,589." (Total - 104,997)

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"There are now 400,000 unattested single men of military age in Ireland; 250,000 are engaged in agriculture and are not to be spared; 25,000 in munition works and shipyards, and 10,000 on railways and in seafaring work. Taking away the unfit, estimated for England at 40 per cent., the final reservoir of Irish recruits is about 80,000 men".

Lord Newton gave other figures in the House of Lords, though "it was against the public interests to give the figures for Great Britain".

Ireland is looming large in discussions in the English Parliament Houses and in the press. The real spirit of Ireland, the real facts of the situation, are barely touched on; are, in fact, avoided as much as possible.

Carson appeals to Redmond to come "the one step further" to accept conscription for Ireland. The Irish Unionist group are to press amendments to the Bill in Committee to have Ireland included.

Birrell has let the Irish Party down! He stated (what was already in the press) Ireland was included in the original draft of the Bill. The Cabinet discussed the draft. "There was no communication with any Nationalist Member during the progress of those Cabinet discussions". There was no pressure on the Cabinet to leave Ireland out and no bargaining. (So, no thanks from their supporters are due to the Irish Party) Then he gave a nice little lecture: "Patriotism in Ireland was much too local an affair, and the wisest course for statesmen was to extend that local patriotism, to introduce into it a real Empire patriotism. They had to consider in a country like Ireland how they could help, and not hinder, the slow, but gradual, progression that was noticeable there, whereby its somewhat narrow patriotism was gradually extending. It was the most potent mixture the world had ever seen, but it was a mixture! It was the oddest compound! It was made up of

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prejudice, of passions, of memories, of little scraps of history imperfectly taught for the most part, and partly remembered and frequently completely misunderstood (loud laughter)" Patriotism "widened and widened" beginning at home, until it contained within its glorious ambit far distant lands and populations long since emigrated from their own shores but still retaining much of the old feeling". (What a lovely lecture! It could equally apply to "little Englanders" And what of the Belgians? If there is a Birrell in Germany he could say: "Patriotism in Belgium is much too local an affair; the wisest course is to extend it to a real (German) Imperial patriotism".

Then he spoke of "sympathetic treatment" - (General Friend's treatment, is what we know of). "They had had difficulties in the way of recruiting in Ireland; obstacles there were; jarring notes had undoubtedly been struck; but who, remembering Irish history, but must rejoice at the success they had obtained? (cheers). They were not face to face with failure in Ireland. They were still getting 1,000 recruits a week. The flow stopped for a time, but it had now recommenced and was going on - he would not say extraordinarily well - but most encouragingly well".

Clever Mr. Birrell. Fine talk. We have heard something like this lecturing before. One can judge he does not want bloodshed in Ireland. His policy is that of the spider with the fly. But, what of D.O.R.A. and the military authorities?

Answering Ginnell, Mr. Birrell stated Kenny's advertising agency had got £10,000 for advertising the recruiting campaign in the Irish newspapers. It was not a bribe. No.

January 13th. There was a public meeting in Cork City Hall last night, under the auspices of the Óglaigh. It was a meeting of protest against "economic conscription"; that is, victimisation in employment, over-taxation, and the reduction

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of the educational grants. Father Michael O'Flanagan was the principal speaker. Father Pius, O.S.F.C., also spoke. Father Seamus Ó Floinn sent a letter of apology. I also sent a letter, as I could not be present. The point of it was that while the English Government rules in Ireland we will have "grievances"; therefore, to get rid of the grievances, the only way was to end English rule in Ireland.

The meeting was a tremendous success, I heard. The City Hall was packed; the vestibule was also crowded; there was an overflow meeting on the quay outside the Hall. Enthusiasm ran high. Father O'Flanagan, having spoken inside the Hall, had to address the meeting outside also. The "Constitution" gives him much space; more than the "Examiner" or any of the Dublin papers give him; its purpose is to twist his remarks as "pro-German". Father Pius is a quiet-spoken man, but it seems he was roused to enthusiasm also and hit hard at those who seemed honoured at receiving knighthoods and English titles for their recruiting activities.

Alderman Jeremiah Kelleher, a labour leader, whom I met, and who is not, most emphatically, a supporter of Sinn Féin, told me he had never seen a meeting so large, in and around the City Hall, or one so enthusiastic and unanimous. He had been present as an onlooker.

Is Ireland a nation, or a country, distinct from England? Our parliamentarians are not quite clear on the matter, apparently. Mr. Dillon in the British Parliament, for instance: "The Prime Minister had declared that each soldier cost the country £300 a year. If one and a half million of men were added to our army that would mean the expenditure of £450,000,000 a year Hewas sorry to see the distinction which had been made between Ireland and the other countries of the United Kingdom". Then he spoke of the danger of plunging "the country" into an election, in the face of the enemy. The Conscription

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Bill "for the first time introduced - he would not say an element of discord, but of apparent disunion, between the two countries".

It seems rather mixed. The "New Garrison" are muddled, beyond doubt.

January 14th. Morning newspapers reports that friend Terence MacSwiney was arrested yesterday and is in Cork Gaol. No charge stated. I was speaking to him on Wednesday evening (12th) on my way to railway station. He had no idea then that he was to be arrested.

Thomas Kent, of Castlelyons, Fermoy, has also been taken up. His arrest, it is stated, has caused much surprise. I remember him as being present at the Óglaigh Convention in Dublin; a straight, strong countryman, who was outspoken.

Mr. Birrell is "nourishing the tender plant" (of loyalty to England) in fine fashion.

Terence was arrested yesterday morning, early. He had learned the previous night it was to take place. In consultation with others, he decided not to evade it, or resist. I imagine his own inclination would have been otherwise. Good reasons for non-resistance must have been advanced. Six or seven police and detectives came to the house. They searched it, but not exhaustively. My wife went to see his sisters last night. There were rumours this morning that he had been removed from Cork. I called to Jeremiah Lane, J.P., to get a permit to visit the prison. He referred me to Alderman Kelleher who is a Visiting Justice. Kelleher gave me a note to O'Connor, the Governor of the gaol. On the way, I met Tadhg Barry, who told me Terence would see no one. Still, I went to the prison. Very politely received by the Governor, who asked me if I were a Visiting Justice myself! He put himself out of the way to oblige, but Terence would not see me. The Governor said his refusal was to meet people in the ordinary room in which untried

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prisoners can see friends; that is, through a grating. Governor O'Connor knows nothing of the charge against Terence. He awaits instructions from the military authorities.

Another man was waiting in the outer hall of the prison. I saw a resemblance to Kent; so spoke to him and learned he was his brother (David). Having thanked the Governor, I left. He seemed puzzled over MacSwiney's attitude. David Kent remained to see his brother. I met him in the city later. He says Tom is going on hunger strike till a charge is made against him. He was in prison before, in Land League days, some twenty-five years ago. He says the probable charge against Terence and his brother is for speeches delivered near Castlelyons a few weeks ago.

The temper of even the pro-British is rising against the Government's withdrawal of education grants. They are illogical, of course, but learning "loyalty" does not pay. Educational grants in England have been increased. So, they are forced to regard Ireland and England as separate entities, while still proclaiming "we are all one", and speak and write of "Our Army, Our Navy, Our Empire".

January 16th. Rumours of further likely arrests were prevalent yesterday. They became a joke by the evening.

Commandant Sean O'Sullivan went to Dublin to learn the mind of Óglaigh Headquarters regarding arrests. I sent a letter by him to Sean Milroy, expressing the opinion that some plan of action ought be decided on in Dublin. He should be in touch with responsible leaders.

Wednesday night's great meeting is still a subject of conversation. It has apparently put beyond all doubt the strength of Irish Nationalist opinion in Cork. But I believe the whole country at present is strong in its nationalist faith.

A Co. Kerry Member of Parliament asked a question in the English Commons the other day about the censorship of Bishop

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Mangan's letters. The chief point of the reply was that censorship is necessary to prevent "information reaching the enemy".

In the course of the reply it was stated: "Cork has not been exceptionally treated in the matter of censored letters". Why Cork was thus mentioned is not clear, but we know here the censorship in Cork has been exceptional, in that, at times, all letters have been "opened by Censor". We have not heard of this happening elsewhere.

At annual meeting of the Gaelic League tonight, Sean MacEoinin (Jennings) informed me that he had heard my name was on a list before "the authorities" at Queenstown, probably, he said, with an intention to order me out of Cork, or out of Ireland. He heard this incidentally, but regards it as reliable. Such an order is an honour!

January 19th. The Orange Members' amendment to the Conscription Bill in the English Commons, to have Ireland included, was not accepted by the Government spokesman, Bonar Law, and was consequently not pressed. Mr. Law explained clearly why Ireland was not included, too clearly perhaps for the comfort of the "New Garrison" (Irish Parliamentary Party).

"On a question of principle it was impossible to justify the exclusion If there were a permanent system of national defence, Ireland could not be excluded..... The question resolved itself into one of what they should gain and lose by attempting to force the Bill upon Ireland. It has been said there was no real opposition to the Bill in Ireland. He was unable to agree. Looking at Ireland as it was, he strongly believed that it would not be possible to put that Bill into effect in Ireland without the exercise of a considerable amount of force. It was no pleasure to him to emphasise the fact that Ireland was different from England,

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but it was, and he believed that even from a material point of view the Government would lose more than they would gain by trying to force the Bill on Ireland".

That is a tribute to the strength of the Óglaigh and of the nationalist spirit in Ireland. But, Mr. John E. Redmond had something to say: "To put the Bill in operation in Ireland would most undoubtedly paralyse the efforts of himself and others who had worked unsparingly, and not altogether unsuccessfully, since the commencement of the war, and it would play right into the hands of the contemptible minority amongst the nationalists of Ireland who had tried, and tried successfully(?) to prevent recruiting, and to undermine the position and power of the leaders of the Irish Party because of the action they had taken". ("Tried successfully" is in the "Independent" report. The "Daily Mail" has "tried unsuccessfully", which is no doubt correct, in the context).

Mr. Redmond, as usual, is illogical. If the majority of the Irish people are with him, "the contemptible minority" could not prevail. If the enactment of conscription would "play right into the hands of what he terms "the contemptible minority" it is because the great majority of Irish nationalists are not as loyal to England as he said they were. Even the expressions of opinion regarding the cutting off of education grants are not couched in terms of loyalty to England, nor do they show any regard for England's troubles. Bishops and priests have been using "strong" language about the English Government. Rev. Professor Corcoran, of the National University spoke at a meeting in Dublin on Monday night, called by the Gaelic League, Eoin MacNeill presiding. "Sneak thieves" was his term for the English Treasury and Dublin Castle officials. "Loud and prolonged hisses" were indulged in when Mr. Redmond's name was mentioned; "jeers and derisive laughter" at the mention of the Irish Parliamentary Party.

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The "London Times" is convinced that "money from the enemy" - German gold - is responsible for the flood of papers, pamphlets, leaflets, periodicals, flowing over Ireland: that are not pro-British.

The list is now a fairly long one, weekly, monthly, serious, comic - "Nationality", "Irish Volunteer", "Workers' Republic", "Leader", "New Ireland", "Claidheamh Soluis", "The Spark", "Honesty", "The Hibernian", "Fianna", "Irish Fun", "Catholic Bulletin", "Goblin", "The Irishman" - varying in their outlook, catering for different tastes, but at all events all for Ireland as a nation.

January 20th. Must the "Cork Examiner" be classed among the comics? It writes: "Since the war commenced Ireland's taxation has increased by eight millions sterling a year. That enormous sum has been cheerfully paid".

January 21st. Again the "Workers' Republic" writes strongly and outspokenly: The opportunity for making a bid for Irish freedom is now. It points a moral from the fatal delays in '98, '48, '67. It lays blame for present delay in taking action on some of the leaders of the Volunteers. The publicity seems to be unwise; it seems like "warning the enemy"; unless action is intended immediately. Yet, perhaps, it is inevitable. It would not be well if Connolly forced action, which was not backed by the general body of Volunteers. My opinion, indeed, is the same as that in the "Workers' Republic", the present is the opportune time to make a bid, in arms, for complete Irish independence. But I know of no preparations towards that end on the part of the Óglaigh.

January 23rd. There is a special Óglaigh muster today; field operations under the command of Captain ("Ginger") O'Connell of Headquarters. He is to conduct a course of training here for the next few weeks. Is this routine, or are we preparing for action?

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January 24th. While at breakfast at home this morning there was a knock at the door. My wife opened it and ushered in a young man. She thought he might be an emissary from "the competent military authority". He was not unlike a detective. However, he said to me he represented an American paper and wished for views on Irish affairs. He gave me his card: "Mr. Henry West Suydam, The Brooklin Daily Eagle". He had obtained views of the Unionist side; he wanted Sinn Féin views. He was quite impartial, so he said. Wished to report what he heard or saw and let his readers take it or leave it. "But", said I, "how did you get here? You know no American correspondents are allowed into Ireland. "Yes, but I am here under the protection of the British Foreign Office". "Everything you write will be censored?". "Oh, yes, it will be censored in England". "You know one cannot speak openly. That may mean banishment or gaol. What exactly do you want?" "Well, say, conscription. Would that really be resisted? I heard in Dublin it would, but I hardly believed it". (He smiled at this). "Yes, absolutely so. It would be resisted That's public property, not just a personal opinion". "But how?". "Well, some young men would leave their homes; others, who have firearms, would undoubtedly shoot. It would take 200,000 English soldiers to enforce conscription in Ireland". "Yes, what I want is to get the views of the intellectuals as to Ireland and the war. The Sinn Féin movement was originally what you call an intellectual movement?" "Yes". "What exactly was it?" "A national self-reliance movement. It was attacked chiefly on its demand for withdrawal of Irish Members from the English Parliament: a logical demand. It is by virtue of the Act of Union of 1801 the Irish representatives are in Parliament Their presence there is an acknowledgment of the Act of Union, which has always been declared to be unconstitutional". "I see", and he smiled. "But", I said, "people, I suppose,

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do not act logically". "How is it, as I hear, Sinn Féin has increased its membership so much lately?" "Oh, every Irish Nationalist now who is anti-English is called a Sinn Féiner. Sinn Féin has not now the same connotation it originally had. It was a policy between the Parliamentary one and physical force - a policy of passive resistance to English rule in Ireland". "Has Mr. Redmond acted in a statesmanlike way during the war?" "No. What some of his own followers seem to blame him most for is that at the outbreak of the war, when he made his famous speech, he did not insist upon Home Rule being put in to operation. He could have done so". "But was a time of war the proper time for that?" "Well, would it not have been worth while for the English Government to have redeemed its promise, if it wanted Irish help in the war?" "Will Mr. Redmond have the same influence in Ireland after the war?" "No; certainly not. Even many of his own followers no longer trust him". "Why was Terence MacSwiney arrested?" "Ah! how should I know. There is no charge against him". "Is not that queer, to arrest a man without a charge?" "Well, that's the way of British government in Ireland. Outsiders do not understand those things, I suppose. Every Irish nationalist understands. MacSwiney is arrested because he is an Irish nationalist. But that will not be the charge against him. Outsiders reading reports of such a trial do not suspect that the British Government in Ireland stoops to such mean tactics as putting up a false charge". "But, why is Father O'Flanagan not arrested?" "He's a priest, and if he were arrested, 'twould have an influence contrary to what the English authorities would like and they know this". "Did a layman say what Father O'Flanagan has said, he would be taken up?" "I think so". "What do you think of Sir Edward Carson?" "A strong man, but, of course, his point of view and an Irish Nationalists's point of view are utterly at variance".

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Mr. West Suydam took no notes. He wrote down nothing. He stated he would mention no names. He asked if he could see anyone else. After some hesitation, I gave him the name of Tomás MacCurtain.

On the train to Bantry I met an acquaintance, an Excise Officer, a Protestant, a Unionist, I suspect an Orangeman. I heard he had enlisted in the army. He had not. "All bluff for Parliament", he said, "about Civil Service men volunteering". A question is put as to why the Government expect employers to force men to enlist while its own servants are not forced. Reply is, such a number have offered their services and have been accepted. Nothing is said about the fact that such offers are conditional. I thought my acquaintance would be a Jingo. He was not. He expressed the opinion that the Germans would not be beaten; also, that what is in the papers about the war is "all lies". He surprised me.

I got into another compartment at Drimoleague Junction. A soldier was in it. Three other men came in. "Hallo, Jur, back from the front?" said one. "Yes", Jur replied. "Is that the mud of France on your boots?" "Yes". (His boots were muddy and his puttees dilapidated). "Are you wounded?" "No. Home for a week. Left Armentieres district last Friday. Must be back next Sunday. If I could get out of it, I'd never go back. I wouldn't mind joining some other crowd now. Ye read in the papers, I suppose, about a great advance. Umph! It might be a mile. We're in the same place since last October"

And so on, in quite an aggrieved tone of voice.

A pamphlet is being circulated in America, stated to have been written by the German Count Reventlow. The substance matter of the pamphlet is said to be that the freedom of the seas depends upon the freedom of Ireland. England's command of the seas depends upon her holding Ireland. Were Ireland free it would mean freedom for Europe and America from English

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naval tyranny. It is remarkable to have all this admitted and emphasised in America.

More important news, however: A raid was made late on Saturday night (22nd) by a force of police and detectives, 40 in number, it is said, on the house of Countess Markievicz and on other houses. The search is for "arms, ammunition or other military or treasonable equipment". (What is "treasonable equipment?") Seven guns and a small printing press stated to have been seized; the guns in a house in Great Brunswick St., the printing press in the Countess's house. "Enquiries go to show that the raid was not directed against the Irish Volunteers". "It is believed that the houses visited were under suspicion for some time, and that the police and military authorities were in possession of reliable information of grave developments in connection with a certain extreme section of Nationalists in the city. The movements of all such persons are being carefully watched and their letters opened. Anything of a sedition character is carefully noted and sent to the Intelligence Department of the military headquarters for future reference". The extracts are from today's "Independent".

Apparently it is the Citizen Army is being struck at. Will the "Republic" be suppressed? No arrests were made, it seems, and no resistance was offered to the police. I suppose the Volunteers will take no action. The fundamental declaration of the Volunteers is "to guard the rights and liberties common to the whole people of Ireland". Inevitable, perhaps, that declarations cannot be adhered to in practice, by force of circumstances. But, events are moving to the point where some action must be taken.

January 27th. Ginnell put a question regarding MacSwiney and Kent, in the English House of Commons on Tuesday (25th) Mr. Gordon replied: "Messrs. T. MacSwiney and T. Kent were arrested by order of the competent military authority for

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breaches of Regulation 27 of the Defence of the Realm Regulations in respect of speeches made by them at a meeting at Ballynoe, Cork, on the 2nd instant. Since their arrest other matters connected with these men have come to the knowledge of the competent military authority and have had to be considered by him in respect of other charges. The C.M.A. has decided that Kent shall be tried by a court of summary jurisdiction, but has not yet determined how MacSwiney shall be dealt with. The matter is one entirely for the C.M.A."

"Mr. Ginnell: For what cause were they arrested?"

"Mr. Gordon: They know perfectly well the charge on which they were arrested".

On Sunday last Miss Mary MacSwiney told me she had written to the competent military authority about Terence. He had replied to her to say he was awaiting instructions from Dublin Castle. This does not quite tally with Gordon's replies to Ginnell. (Dublin Castle is the civil authority, so it would seem the matter is not one entirely for the military authorities).

January 29th. (Saturday).

In the English House of Commons on Thursday: "Major Newman asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he could give any details as to the present numbers of the various bodies of Volunteers in the three southern provinces of Ireland; do these bodies possess any rifles or ammunition; have any of them taken an oath of allegiance to the Sovereign, and for what purpose have they been called into existence?"

Mr. Rea replied: "The National Volunteers were established under the direction of the Irish Parliamentary leaders in the early part of 1914, in circumstances which it seems scarcely necessary to recall to the memory of the House. The section which seceded from them, and which have, under the guidance of their Committee, endeavoured to obstruct

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recruiting and foment disloyalty in Ireland have called themselves Irish Volunteers. It does not appear to be in the public interest to furnish the details asked for by the honourable member. As my right honourable friend is aware, none of the Volunteers in Ireland has taken an oath of allegiance to the Sovereign.

A question was also put, in reference to the recent Óglaigh meeting in Cork. Reply: "The incident appears to have been greatly resented by the loyal people of Cork, but it has not been thought desirable to take any action against the speakers, who were only seeking notoriety by their speeches on this occasion". A reply to provoke our laughter.

Cúis gáire chughainn!

Another paper, "The Gael" has appeared, printed in Dublin, edited from Tipperary.

February 1st. Official report of Lord Lieutenant Wimborne on recruiting in Ireland. On 1st August 1914, there were 20,780 Irishmen in the English army; and 30,266 reservists. Total number of enlistments, 2nd August 1914, to 8th January 1916 - 86,277. In Cork area, the enlistments were 6,519, a surprisingly small number considering the efforts made to enlist men, and enlistments do not mean effectives. Many have been rejected and many have deserted. Ulster is credited with a larger number of recruits than the other provinces combined, so Mr. Redmond and the Parliamentary Party might as well not have taken the "Sharp Curve" to prove their loyalty to England. Though, indeed, Carson's 100,000 Volunteers have shrunk very considerably also, when it comes to enlistment in the English army. Belfast area is credited with 26,883 recruits between 2nd August 1914, and 8th January 1916. In a competition of proving loyalty to England and the Empire, the Old Garrison will still beat the New, in England's view.

February 3rd. Diarmuid O'Connor, solicitor, Dublin, was

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in Cork yesterday to see Terence MacSwiney in connection with his case. Presumably he was sent down by Óglaigh Headquarters. So far, Terence refused to have anything to do with legal defence. That is quite in keeping with his ideas. Many think it is a mistake. He agreed, however, that a public agitation may be got up, for his immediate trial. Trial or release ought to be demanded. O'Connor said he saw the report of the speech delivered at Ballynoe, and, as things are now in Ireland, it is undoubtedly actionable. A trial may scotch the rumours regarding communications with Germany and the receipt of "German gold".

Lord Lieutenant Wimborne, Chief Secretary Birrell and Mr. John E. Redmond were together on a recruiting tour in Galway yesterday. Redmond's son, also a Member of Parliament, has been promoted from Lieutenant to Captain.

February 7th. Friday last (4th), the "Cork Constitution" had a concocted story, nearly a column long, designed to call the attention of "the authorities" to the Cork Óglaigh. The story was written around some insignificant incidents in connection with a military funeral given to a boy of the Fianna the previous Sunday. On a par with it, is the report of the "discovery" of bombs at Leixlip, Co. Dublin. The "Con." attempt is what used to be termed "felon-setting". Eoin MacNeill, in the "Volunteer" is steadily warning the Volunteers against "plots" calculated to get Irish public opinion against them.

February 9th. The "Constitution" has a sub-leader today calling on the Government to take action against the Óglaigh. It refers to some military manoeuvres carried out by the Dublin Volunteers. Terms it uses are: "Sinn Féin antics", "disciples of Sir Roger Casement"; "pro-Germans".

Then it has a news paragraph headed "Sedition in Co. Galway". From the account, the "sedition" consisted of some masked men

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taking horses from under the vans of a mineral water manufacturer, who is a recruiting agent in the district.

In Sligo, there is more "sedition" - some young men are drilling in a country district. In Killarney, while a recruiting meeting was in progress last Sunday, some football teams and their supporters, headed by a pipers' band, marched past the meeting. This called forth an outburst from Mr. Tom O'Donnell, M.P., one of the recruiting orators. Judge Drumgoole also spoke. Then, the same judge went to Tralee and tried a case against a young man for the supposed crime of uttering "Damn the King". The young man had been tried before, sentenced to three months' imprisonment; case was appealed; the case before Drumgoole was the appeal. As might have been expected, the recruiting judge confirmed the sentence. He did more: made a speech from the bench; thought the government entirely too lenient to "this sort of thing". For the young man's defence, a sergeant in the British army, home from Flanders, swore that the young man was in his company and never uttered the words attributed to him by the police. It did not avail.

It is apparent that certain elements high in authority, or influential, want the Government to suppress and disarm the Volunteers. In the south, the "Cork Constitution" expresses their mind. On the other hand, Birrell and his friends want to minimise the strength of anti-English feeling in Ireland, and pretend to the world that Ireland is "loyal". Mr. Redmond, of course, says it is only a "miserable minority" are not with England. So we see the two policies in operation: coercion and diplomacy. Óglaigh headquarters may have plans we know not of to strike for independence, before suppression and disarmament come. No one here seems to know anything of such plans.

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February 10th. Claude Chevasse of Oxford University, at Macroom Petty Sessions, yesterday, was fined £5, with the alternative of a month's imprisonment, for speaking in Irish in Ballingearry. That's splendid! Sergeant Appleby asked Chevasse some questions. Chevasse replied in Irish, so the sergeant arrested him. District Inspector Egan, in the Court, said Chevasse was an Englishman and it was his fellow-countrymen made the laws and regulations. The case was brought under D.O.R.A. (The Justices of the Peace in Macroom have no sense of humour).

February 15th - Tuesday. Terence MacSwiney and Tom Kent are released on bail till next Monday. They were before the Cork Police Court magistrates today. The "trial" was a farce. The whole proceedings leading up to it were a farce.

Last week, Terence's sister Mary had a communication from General Friend to say the trial would take place at an early date. But, no notice of the time was given; hence, it seemed, no chance of a legal defence. Yesterday, Miss MacSwiney called on Wynne, solicitor and Crown Prosecutor. He said that perhaps only an hour's notice may be given of the trial. Some idea arose that the trial may take place today. So, arrangements were made to have Frank Healy, B.L., of Cove, for the defence and some representations were made, it seems, to "popular" Justices of the Peace.

Having heard from Diarmuid O'Donovan, one of our Óglaigh, in Sean Jennings' business place, that Terence was being tried, I hurried to the Police Court. On the bench were Jerry Lane, T.C., Alderman Jeremiah Kelleher, the redoubtable baronet, Sir Edward Fitzgerald, O'Brien, J.P., Lord Mayor Butterfield and Starkie, Resident Magistrate, presiding. At 11.45 "Terence J. MacSwiney" was called. He came to the dock, with Kent.

Wynne opened proceedings. Four or five counts against

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MacSwiney. Two were - words in a speech delivered at Ballynoe, Conna, and the possession of certain papers (a code, as it appeared later). Against Kent - saying at the same meeting, "Better die in Ireland and be buried here than be thrown into a hole in Flanders", and for having a revolver, with ammunition, in his possession. Wynne suggested the case should be one for summary jurisdiction by a Resident Magistrate and applied for an adjournment of the case. Frank Healy sprang up to say he appeared for the prisoners. He spoke splendidly. Ridiculed the whole proceedings; but, he was quite prepared to go on there and then. Sir Edward and Jerry Kelleher queried: "Did Mr. Wynne mean to say they had no rights there as magistrate? Was the Lord Mayor of Cork not a fit person to adjudicate on that bench in that case? There was then some palaver. Healy insisted on the case going on. Evidence of arrest and finding of documents and the revolver was given by the police. Healy: "Are not these gentlemen as much entitled to arms and ammunition as the other Volunteers in Ireland? Let Mr. Birrell and Attorney General Gordon come out straight in the matter. We know what you (Wynne) would do if you had the power. Trample the people of Ireland. Is '98 to be gone over again? Are we back to the days of Louis XIV of France and lettres de cachet?" and so on, in general argument against the whole Dublin Castle administration.

The sergeant gave evidence of finding a secret code.

Wynne: "This code may be used for giving information about His Majesty's naval and military forces?"

Healy: "An utterly unfair question. That's the kind of humbug we have to meet. Was it the police code, sergeant? Do you bet? There's a betting code, I believe. I suppose the City of Cork Volunteers have a code too". (This was the Protestant Corps and most of the leaders, and Wynne himself, were probably Freemasons or members of the Orange Order: hence the sting in Healy's remark).

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Their worships consulted. Then Starkie said: "I will allow bail". Case to be tried Monday next. So the farcical trial ended. Terence and Kent were freed. They looked pleased. Kent was smiling. Outside, he remarked: "Yerra, I was in before. What do I care about them? Their day is done". Up to the time of the trial, I was under the impression Terence was to make his own defence. He would have made it too serious, whereas Healy poured ridicule on the whole proceedings. Tomas MacCurtain and Fred Cronin went bail "for the prisoners". Alderman Paddy Meade was in Court. I heard it was he who influenced the Lord Mayor to attend.

Saturday last, I heard Claude Chevasse was in Cork and at the Presentation Brothers' College. I went along the street towards the College. On my way I saw him - easily recognisable, as he is tall and wears kilts. I introduced myself. Asked him to come to a meeting of the Ard Choiste of the Gaelic League that night. He came, and it was decided to hold a public meeting of protest against his arrest. The meeting was suggested to me by Adjutant Sean Murphy of the Óglaigh. Among others, I have invited Eoin MacNeill to the meeting, though he is hardly likely to come. I have no doubt about the success of the meeting. The times are stirring and exciting.

February 21st - Monday. As anticipated, the meeting in Cork City Hall last night was a huge one. The Ard Choiste considered it desirable to have a priest to preside. So I called on Father Dominic, O.S.F.C. He told me all the Capuchins have been warned not to attend public meetings at present. It seems secular priests have also been advised to the same effect. I had, therefore, to preside at the meeting. On Saturday, Piaras Beaslai came from Dublin to speak as representative of the Cóisde Gnótha of the Gaelic League. Yesterday, he, Chevasse and Peadar Ó Hanracháin went to Ballingeary and addressed a meeting there, the Parish Priest,

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Father O'Leary, presiding. They were late in returning and only arrived as our Cork meeting had begun. Half an hour before that, the City Hall was filled. Edward Sheehan, M.A., on his own account, proposed a resolution to demand that the Cork Corporation confer "the freedom of the city" on Chevasse. If they did not, Edward said they should be "swept away" by an Irish-Ireland party. The "sweeping away" was received with applause, but friend Tadhg Barry, white with excitement, stood up to propose an amendment to the portion referring to the "freedom of the city". I knew what was in his mind - the "freedom" was no honour since the Corporation had expunged the name of Kuno Mayer from the Roll. So, as Chairman, I changed Sheehan's resolution to read that we, as citizens of Cork, then and there conferred the "freedom of the city" on Chevasse, This, of course, was received tumultuously, and satisfied both Tadhg and Edward.

After the meeting, led by the Volunteer Pipers' Band, a section of the crowd went to the hotel where Chevasse was staying and were again addressed by him and by Peadar Ó Hannrachain.

Terence MacSwiney and Tomas MacCurtain went to Dublin on Saturday. Terence and Kent are being tried today, but I had to come on here to Bantry on my work. I asked Diarmuid O'Donovan to send me a telegram as to result of the trial. It reached me about 8 p.m. "Terry fined shilling, costless". This seemed a more ridiculous ending than could be imagined; making the case still more farcical.

February 22nd. The report of the trial yesterday occupies a large space of both the "Constitution" and "Examiner" today, and yet, I believe, is not complete. The trial lasted from noon to 7 p.m., with adjournments for lunch and some private consultations of the magistrates. The Court was crowded and there was much enthusiasm; pointed passages being cheered or

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laughed at as appropriate. The "Constitution" is very vindictive over the verdict. The magistrates refused to state a case for appeal and the reason for the shilling fine was to prevent possibility of an appeal. Starkie, R.M., of course, dissented from the finding of the other magistrates. Wynne made the case purely political, with the usual assertions of pro-Germanism. Terence was charged for statements made in his speech and for being in possession of a code and Wynne put in as evidence against him, letters and articles received by him while he was running his weekly "Fianna Fáil"; matters unconnected with this particular case and hence illegal as evidence. Amongst others, I was told, an article of mine

in "Fianna Fáil" was read. My name was to it. Wynne made some attempt at pronouncing it. Frank Healy sarcastically complimented him. The opening of Terence's speech at Ballynoe was in Irish. Wynne admitted he did not know what it was. Laughter in Court at this. He made much of alleged statements that Redmond ought to be shot, or O'Brien ought to be shot!

Chevasse came into the Court during the trial. He was greeted with applause. The "scenes" were "scandalous" - so thought Wynne and Starkie: not, indeed, said the latter, because of the contempt shown for the Court, but because of the sentiments (in the indictment) that were applauded - "We are ready to fight England". At the conclusion of the trial "the boys" sang "God Save Ireland" and other patriotic songs till the magistrates left the bench. Then they sang in the street. Later, they marched through the city.

Kent's case is adjourned till Monday next. The verdict in Terence's case is a reflex of public opinion. The "popular" magistrates knew they dare not convict, if they would retain popularity.

February 25th.

Cork Board of Guardians yesterday unanimously passed a resolution condemning the arrest and

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imprisonment of men without a charge or trial; also, the Macroom magistrates for convicting Chevasse. (A song was made, later, about "The J.P.s. of Macroom". Tadhg Barry, I think, was the author).

The "Cork Constitution" asks its readers to send copies of that paper, containing reports of "Realm Act cases" to "influential people" in England: in order, of course, to show the said people what a turbulent and "disloyal" lot the Irish are. The old, old game of the Garrison.

February 28th - Monday: Saturday night the second annual ball of the Cork Corps of the Óglaigh was held. Like all functions the Óglaigh undertake, it was a great success.

March 6th. All shipping between Ireland and England is stopped. Cattle dealers and other exporters have got notice to this effect. A liner was sunk off Brow Head yesterday. German submarine war is in full swing and these are some of its results.

The Lenten Pastorals of the Bishops are published today. An outstanding one is that of Bishop O'Dwyer of Limerick. He deplores the horrors of war but does not accept the common political cant that one side is fighting for religion and civilisation and the other side are "Huns". He groups, London, Paris, Berlin and St. Petersburg together as centres which, in the days before the war, were devoted to the worship of materialism. He refers to the efforts of the Pope for peace and how the suggestions for peace have been treated by English statesmen. He quotes words which are probably John Redmond's.

March 8th. Leaving Cork this evening, Sean Ó Cuill met me and handed me a letter. It is from Walter Cole, Dublin, in reference to organising a protest meeting against the huge increase in taxation. There was one in Dublin last week. It was a great success, Cole says, though reports in the daily

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papers were poor. I judge the originators in Dublin want the meeting to be an "all-party" one; not specifically Sinn Féin.

March 10th.

The matter of organising the St. Patrick's Day demonstration is usually interesting. This year it promises to be more than usually so. Soon after his election in January, Lord Mayor Butterfield had a letter in the press announcing his intention of taking charge of this year's demonstration. The Gaelic League has been organising it for several years; including last year. The Lord Mayor did not communicate with the *Árd-Choiste* and refused to see a deputation from that body. He has called a meeting and, notwithstanding his action, the *Árd-Chóiste* sent delegates to the meeting. The Organising Committee that was formed was of a very composite character - "all sorts". As a compromise regarding speakers, it was agreed that the Lord Mayor only would speak on St. Patrick's Day. Our *Árd-Chóiste* delegates proposed that, at least, a vote of thanks should be spoken to _____, in Irish. Denis O'Mahony, T.C., - a member of the Celtic Literary Society in years past - was one of the *Árd-Chóiste* delegates. He is, however, unable to speak Irish. So, some "joker" - I heard it was John J. Horgan, solicitor - proposed that, as the Gaelic League wanted a speech in Irish, Mr O'Mahony himself do what was required! All seemed well and good, though there were some doubts as to whether the Protestant Young Men's Society, their Boys' Brigade, or the "Old Fogies" Training Corps may not bring Union Jacks or other emblems of the Empire in the demonstration.

What I, more or less, expected has happened. As I was leaving the city on Tuesday evening (7th) a Volunteer on a bicycle met me, to secure that as many delegates as possible from the Gaelic League attend the Organising Committee on Wednesday night, as it was rumoured that English regiments from Victoria Barracks were to take part in the demonstration.

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Wednesday evening I met Peadar Ó Hannrachain and asked him to get to work on the matter. I heard no more, not being in the city yesterday; but as I was leaving Bantry this morning, read a report of Wednesday night's meeting in the "Constitution" - a kind of report, rather.. The "Con" also had a leading article - "Sinn Féin again". The proposal to have the soldiers - 6,000 of them, it says - in the procession was defeated. It further says, there are to be 2,000 "Sinn Féin Volunteers" and some 1,500 "National Volunteers", "which is very creditable seeing that nearly 300 of these have joined the army". (This is sarcasm). It again trots out a story about a machine gun. The leading article ends in a threat; that of a separate demonstration. In the report, it is stated followers of Mr. Redmond and Mr. O'Brien were in favour of having the soldiers in the procession.

In town, I learned more about the meeting. George Crosbie of the "Examiner" proposed that the garrison be invited. He was supported by John J. Horgan, solicitor. Seeing the feeling of the meeting was strongly opposed, Crosbie withdrew the resolution. But, it was understood, I am told, there would be no opposition to soldiers, as individuals, in the procession. It was left to the Lord Mayor to make the "individual welcome" known to the military. The "Irish Times" has a similar report to the "Con".

March 11th. More news in reference to St. Patrick's Day demonstration appears in the "Constitution" - report of a sub-committee. At Wednesday night's meeting, the following supported the resolution to invite the military :- George Crosbie (representing the Industrial Development Association), John J. Horgan (National Volunteers), William Kelleher (All-for-Ireland League), Harry Donegan (National Volunteers). Those who opposed were:- Thomas Lyons (Grocers' Assistants Association), Thomas Dooley (Co. Board G.A.A.), John O'Callaghan

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(All for Ireland League), John Good (Cork Trades Council), Tomas MacCurtain (Óglaigh), Tadhg Barry (Industrial Development Association), Domhnal Óg Ó Callaghan (American Alliance A.O.H.), Richard Barrett (Young Ireland Society), Rev. Brother Rahilly, Alderman J.C. Forde, Patrick Bradley. (No Gaelic League representative appears).

Delegates from the Church of Ireland Young Men's Association and the Young Men's Christian Association were present at last night's (sub-committee) meeting. They stated the report of the previous meeting in the "Constitution" was incorrect.

The Lord Mayor has gone to London to interview Lloyd George about munition work for Cork. A letter from him appears in the press in which he says soldiers and sailors will be welcomed in the demonstration by the committee in charge of it. This was agreed to, I am told. Terence MacSwiney argued yesterday that we ought to encourage nationalist ideas in the rank and file of the Irish soldiers in the British army. They may be useful later.

March 14th. Edward Sheehan and his "Consumers' League" are taking up the matter of organising a public protest against taxation. Walter Cole wrote to Fasait also and the latter spoke to Sheehan. I showed Cole's letter to Terence MacSwiney and some others of the Óglaigh. Terence said in effect "Let somebody else act on it; we have too much to do."

It is somewhat strange to record now (considering all the signs I see) that there is apparently no intention of a fight for freedom on the part of the Óglaigh. The whole attitude seems to be: "if the Government does nothing, we'll do nothing". Of course, if the Government strike, the armed men of Ireland, in absolute self-defence, must act, as the manhood of Ireland have always resisted coercion, armed or unarmed. The feeling that there will be no fight is general at present: unless the Government force the issue.

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March 15th. Developments? A five line paragraph in the "Examiner" this morning informs me that there were police raids yesterday morning in Cork on some of the Irish Volunteers. Full, and more than necessary, information was in the "Constitution". It had half-a-column of a villainous article. The whole purpose of the "news" it gives is to provoke a conflict between the Redmondite Volunteers and the Óglaigh. It states the Redmondites "set the police in motion against the Sinn Féin Volunteers". It says people are disappointed because the Redmondite Volunteer leaders and their President do not speak out more strongly against the "sedition" of the Óglaigh. It says feeling is running high between the two bodies of Volunteers and people are afraid of what will happen if they come together, armed, on St. Patrick's Day. (These are palpable lies). The "Con." is at this game of "felon-setting" for some time and matter has been lifted from it into the "Irish Times", Dublin "Daily Express", London "Globe" and other London papers.

But, to what actually happened. The police raided Tomás MacCurtain's home, Sean Jennings' residence and shop, Liam Shorten's house. They got documents at Tomás's place, not of particular importance; a revolver and some ammunition at Jennings', nothing at Shorten's. In the "Independent" report "several stands of arms and many rounds of ammunition" were stated to have been captured. The farther from the centre the larger the story grows.

I called to Jennings' business place about noon. Tomás MacCurtain was there. "Should we take action about the "Con" article?" he asked. I thought not, but that the Redmondites ought, as the charge was against them. I suggested he might see some of their leading men and urge them to act. Liam Shorten came. Then Terence MacSwiney. He called Tomás and both of them departed.

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March 16th. Letters in the "Examiner" this morning from "Lieutenant-Colonel" Donegan of the National Volunteers, repudiating the "Constitution" insinuations, and from Tomás MacCurtain, expressing kindly feelings of the Óglaigh towards the Redmondite Volunteers.

Report of St. Patrick's Day Demonstration Committee meeting also published. At it, Tomás expressed the same feelings as in his letter.

The "Church of Ireland" Young Men's Association and the Y.M.C.A. wrote to say they will not take part in the demonstration.

The police authorities also, in the "Con." itself, repel its suggestion that it was the Redmondite Volunteers gave information about the Óglaigh men. This disclaimer is in an obscure corner.

It is also in the news that a raid was made on Dáhi Barry's home in Glanworth. Dáhi had been Adjutant of the Cork Óglaigh Battalion. He is now organising in the county.

The "Cork Free Press" comments on the absence of news of the Irish Convention in America, held recently, and reads into this absence of news what I have read also, that the Convention must have been a success. It quotes from the "Irish World" matter dealing with the objects of the Convention. The objects appear to have been very clear, namely, to consider how an Irish Republic may be established. The "Press" pooh-poohs this idea; not on grounds of principle, but of expediency. "England is not yet defeated; it has suffered least of all the combatants in the great war; it has an invincible navy and four millions of an army"; therefore "our few thousand obsolete rifles" have no chance of winning a way to Irish freedom. That is a fair basis of argument, but it is an argument against the facts of history and is the coward's argument. It condemns every Irish armed movement as a foolish enterprise. There are

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many things to be considered besides the number and quality of the rifles on either side, when considering a country's freedom. The "Free Press" has forgotten the lessons of the Boer War.

Is not the mention of an Irish Republic, at the present time, alone a proof that all the talk of a New Era, One Bright Spot, Ireland one with England, and so on, is humbug?

March 21st. So all the commotion about St. Patrick's Day demonstration in Cork in 1916 has died down! The day passed without incident. There was the usual procession, larger in numbers and in representation than on many former occasions. There was less "oratory". Also, less signs of drunkenness than on many other days.

The Óglaigh numbered something over a thousand; the Redmondite Volunteers, 135 all told, with ropes held along their lines, marking vacant spaces, supposed to be for those of them at the war fronts! Alas! poor ghosts!

The "Constitution" on the morning of St. Patrick's Day, after its villainous felon-setting, assured its readers that there was no fear of a fight; and on Saturday (18th) it gave a glowing account of the order, decorum, sobriety of the crowd and of those in the procession and exaggerated the numbers of both Volunteer bodies.

The Lord Mayor was the only speaker; a non-committal speech. Seoirse MacNiocaill, of the Gaelic League Ard-Chóiste, speaking in Irish only, proposed a vote of thanks, and Diarmuid Fasait seconded.

The Gaelic League Flag Day collections realised more than ever before: double that of last year. In fact, this year's amount was the greatest ever, in Cork, for the language fund. The Concert in the City Hall, also, was well attended, though the performance was not a very attractive one.

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Mr. Hughes, Premier of Australia, is at present in England. He is saying things that cannot be too pleasant to English rulers. He foreshadows a scheme of "Imperial Federation, to be put into operation when the war is over".

What is of interest is, a plain declaration of his that England is not the Empire; even Great Britain is not the Empire; the colonies - Canada, Australia, South Africa - are practically independent states that can leave the Empire, if they choose, or demand a share in the control of the Empire. That is very significant at the present time. Can it be that the people of Canada and Australia feel they have been drawn into the war by England without their consent? It looks as if they are not going to let England "boss" them in the future.

No explanation of the object of the raids last week on MacCurtain's, Jennings' and Shorten's appears. Nothing has transpired as a result of the raids.

Another letter from Walter Cole regarding the agitation against taxation. The Cork Consumers' League is dealing with this in Cork. Had a conversation with Edward Sheehan, who is chief leader of the League. He intended inviting Members of Parliament of the city to a protest meeting to be held. I pointed out to him that probably they would want to send a deputation to the English Chancellor of the Exchequer and this would not be in accordance with the ideas of the promoters of the protest in Dublin, who are supporters of Sinn Féin. They stand on the principle that the English Parliament has no right whatever in Ireland, for taxation or any other purposes. Some public boards are passing resolutions of protest, but not on principle.

Jerry Lane, T.C., has been deprived of his position as Justice of the Peace; his "J.P.-ship": by the Lord Lieutenant. The reason given - his having said at a meeting of the Cork Corporation that "as long as Ireland was bound to the accursed

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Empire we would be on the verge of starvation". Lane was one of the Justices on the bench in the MacSwiney and Kent cases. Little actions like this of Wimborne's are a help in strengthening Irish Nationalist opinion.

March 22nd.

Tullamore looms large in the news today. So large, that it has crushed out war news headings on the placards. The cause - a fight between the Volunteers and the police in that town. Of the police, a County Inspector, District Inspector, Head Constable and sergeant were wounded, the latter seriously; so it is stated. From the reports the following appears: a crowd gathered in the street outside the Volunteer and Cumann na mBan rooms; a hostile crowd, waving Union Jacks and shouting: "Down with the Sinn Féiners". Stones were thrown at the windows. Some members of Cumann na mBan were assaulted. Volunteers from inside fired revolver shots. The police burst in, demanded names, were ordered to seize the revolvers and search the place for arms. The Volunteers resisted; some shots were fired at the police; others of the men inside used any weapon at hand; hurleys are mentioned. The police arrested four men, charging them with wilfully and feloniously attempting to shoot. Thus the general fact, as reported.

An interview with Bulmer Hobson is published. Report of the Volunteer officers in Tullamore states that the police made no effort to disperse the crowd. Volunteers protected Cumann na mBan girls proceeding home. Some of the Volunteers were injured. There is to be a Flag Day for the Volunteers in Tullamore on Sunday.

Who gathered the crowd? Was it the police urged them on?

The "Constitution" has a leading article on the affair. It exonerates the "Sinn Féiners" by acknowledging they were not the attacking party, but it wants to know what the Government

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is going to do. If the Government does nothing, "loyal citizens" must take matters into their own hands and this will lead to "civil war". The "loyal citizens" for whom the "Con" speaks hate Irish Nationalists far more than they do the Germans. They would have Dublin Castle disarm the Óglaigh at once. The "Constitution" thinks the Tullamore affair will be magnified in Germany to the extent of showing that Ireland is in rebellion.

Will there be any result in Ireland? What is Headquarters view? Is there to be a repetition of such affairs all over the country, but no decisive plan of action?

What of Dublin Castle? The effect may be an attempt at disarming the Volunteers.

An impression was being created in Cork that Lord Mayor Butterfield was opposed to recruiting for the British army, but he presided and spoke at a recruiting meeting yesterday. He has been trying to please all sections; an impossible position, and particularly so in Ireland at the present time.

March 24th. Nine more young men have been arrested at Tullamore and the police are searching for arms there. Other boys are "wanted" by them. Police orders have been issued that no motor cars are to be hired out or loaned to "Sinn Feiners". The papers state there is much excitement in the town. It seems to me the whole affair was organised by the police officers, which would explain why a County Inspector, District Inspector and Head Constable were all in it at the same time. It may be a forerunner of like raids elsewhere. Do the Dublin Castle authorities consider the time has now come for them to take general action against the Óglaigh, as our "Cork Constitution" has urged.

Questions by Ginnell in the English House of Commons yesterday about the police raids in Cork and the removal of

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Jeremiah Lane from the magistracy. A short debate on D.O.R.A. cases in Ireland. All came to nothing, of course, beyond giving publicity to those matters. Birrell's attitude still is that things are not serious in Ireland.

Protests against increased taxation are growing strong. The Irish Parliamentary Party have not yet moved. There is some talk of Members' salaries being cut. If that be proposed it will make them vocal.

It is rumoured that since Father Pius spoke at the meeting here on January 13th, the Capuchins have been "muzzled" from Rome. They certainly, as we know, have been advised, or ordered, not to speak at public meetings of a political nature. But, from Rome? That seems doubtful. It does not seem true that all secular priests have also been cautioned. Some of them are speaking out bravely on the side of Irish Nationalism.

March 27th - Monday.

On Friday last, police and military removed the printing plant of the Gaelic Press, Dublin, printers of "The Spark", "Honesty", "The Gael", "Gaelic Athlete". Reason given - a revolutionary article appearing in "The Gael". Newsagents' shops in Dublin were raided and copies of the paper taken. At the Co-operative Stores attached to Liberty Hall a revolver was presented at a policeman and he was told clear out. He came later with a number of other policemen and a search warrant. He was then allowed to search the premises, but found nothing of importance. It appears the police also attempted to enter Liberty Hall - Headquarters of James Larkin's Transport Workers' Union and of the Citizen Army - but the Citizen Army were mobilised quickly and fifty armed men barred the way. So, no raid was attempted there. It appears also, armed guards are placed in defence of the Hall since.

They, at least, are meeting the police attacks in the only way now left to preserve liberty.

Ernest Blythe and Liam Mellows have been again arrested;

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Blythe at Athea, Co. Limerick; Mellows in Athenry. Charges against them not stated.

A man in Limerick has been taken for "uttering seditious statements". He tried "to seduce a soldier from his allegiance to the King".

Things are stirring. It looks as if the Castle authorities are about to act decisively. The Óglaigh still wait on. However, Commandant Sean O'Sullivan, last night, expressed to me the opinion that he expected "serious trouble" to take place in three or four weeks, at the outside. He must have some grounds for this opinion. I think we are keyed up for it now. But, are there preparations for a successful outrising? It seems to me there are only preparations for defence.

March 20th. (On the train from Drimoleague) - The struggle between the British Government and the Óglaigh is coming nearer. It may be only days ahead; at most, it looks as if it can be only weeks, as Sean O'Sullivan said.

A Manifesto from the Óglaigh Council Headquarters, issued yesterday, published in the morning papers, makes the issue clear enough. It contains a challenge.

(In the city): I have tried seven shops for a city edition of the "Cork Constitution" but failed to get one. Its poster has: "The Sinn Féiners: Astounding Reports". The news in the country edition consists of: 1. The Manifesto. 2. Orders of deportation on Blythe and Mellows, who are in prison, and on Alf. Monaghan, who is not yet in prison apparently. They are to be forcibly deported. 3. Arrest in Tipperary of a District Councillor for "uttering seditious statements". 4. Account of Volunteer manoeuvres in Clonakilty district last Sunday. A recruiting meeting was held in Ballinadee and the Óglaigh from there marched into Clonakilty. 5. A strong, insulting, impudent letter from John E. Redmond, condemning in violent terms the agitation against over-taxation; denouncing as pro-

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Germans those who are organising that agitation and asserting Ireland is willing to bear any taxation for the war. 6. An account of the preliminary trial of the Tullamore boys.

The challenge in the Manifesto is contained in the statement that we deny the right of the Government to disarm us and that if disarmament is attempted, it can only lead to bloodshed. That is clear. If the Government takes up the challenge, the struggle must be near.

The "Freeman's Journal" and "Irish Independent" have no notice of the Volunteer statement. They have small notices of the deportations. The "Freeman" has Redmond's letter and one from John Dillon, and a long leading article denouncing all and sundry who dare to say Ireland is over-taxed by the British Government. They are "pro-Germans", "Sinn Féiners", "Crank", "Nobodies", "enemies of the Irish Party", "anti-recruiters". We had thought some of these terms had been killed by ridicule, but it seems this is not so in the "Freeman" office.

Had a chat with some of our Óglaigh leaders in Cork. Terence MacSwiney was in Dublin on Sunday last. From the conversation, I gather there is no intention (at headquarters) of an organised fight. Things are to be allowed take their course as they will. Every man to do the best for himself; avoid arrest, if possible; fight, if he has opportunity and inclination. What I heard is, in a way, almost a denial of the Manifesto. Heading it, one would think great deeds are in contemplation. Such I learn is not the case. Whether the deportations will be allowed proceed without protest, or not, no one knows. It seems they will, and then a political "grievance" made of them.

But, things were nearly coming to an armed conflict in Dublin last Friday night. When the police were refused entrance to Liberty Hall, the military got orders from General Friend to be ready. They would have acted, so runs the story, but

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Chief Secretary Birrell countermanded the order. Major Price, who is usually in command in Dublin, and is credited with being "liberal-minded", was away and General Friend is not "liberal-minded".

The prospect for any successful action by the Óglaigh seems dark. One of the men I was talking to expressed very depressing sentiments. He is depressed at the apathy of the people in general. I did not agree there. Nationalist sentiment is strong. If there be a failure now, it will be due to the leaders of the "physical force" movement not acting quickly enough, as has occurred in the past. If the Government be allowed choose its own time and way to disarm the Óglaigh, there is little hope of a successful struggle on our side.

March 29th. Further arrests and trials under D.O.R.A. for "wooing soldiers from their allegiance". Pádraig Ó Conaire arrested in Donegal at the house of Mrs. Gavan Duffy for speaking Irish to a policeman.

A short paragraph in the "Independent" today about the cancelling of the order to the military in Dublin, on Friday, bears out what I heard yesterday.

A ship was torpedoed off Baltimore by a German submarine and there are rumours of three or four sunk off Cork Harbour.

April 1st. - Saturday. Events crowd thick and fast. I can only record a few.

There was a meeting, or series of meetings, of protest against deportations in and around Dublin Mansion House on Thursday night. The Lord Mayor's locum tenens presided. Strong speeches were delivered by Eoin MacNeill, Alderman Tom Kelly and others. Two priests spoke at the meeting. Many other priests sent letters or telegrams. Afterwards, a crowd paraded the streets, and it is reported revolver shots were fired. Very few Volunteers, as such, were on the streets apparently. Most of the papers yesterday wrote up the

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"scenes of disorder" on the streets rather than the meetings; the "Cork Constitution" excelling them all in lurid descriptions thereby increasing its circulation enormously.

Birrell, as shown by replies to Ginnell in Parliament, re the breaking up of the type of the Gaelic Press, is getting "nasty" - more and more cynical.

A prohibition against sending revolvers by post has been published; an indication that this must have been taking place.

Mr. Asquith has gone to Rome and it is reported he is to have an audience with the Pope.

The submarine war continues. The ship sunk off Baltimore the other day was Russian. Her crew were taken on board the submarine. Later, the latter hailed a Baltimore fishing smack and transferred the crew to it. They were brought into Skibbereen and photographed.

April 2nd. Our Cork Óglaigh are under orders to be ready and "stand to arms" for thirty-six hours. Naturally, no explanation is given. My own opinion is that it is only a trial "mobilisation".

April 3rd. The orders to stand to arms are off. No developments ensued.

There was another, open-air, meeting in Dublin on Saturday (1st) to protest against the deportations. The speakers, Alderman Tom Kelly, Tomás MacDonagh and others, deprecated the use of revolvers on the streets, among an undisciplined crowd.

There is also a big strike of workmen in Dublin.

By chance, I have been able to get a copy of the "Irish World", New York, of early February, and of the "Catholic Sun" of March 10th. Seeing how strict the censorship is, it is surprising to find how well-informed of the situation in Ireland the "Irish World" is. It has minute particulars of the arrest of Terence MacSwiney. It has a good cartoon depicting

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John Redmond and William O'Brien as recruiting agents grovelling before John Bull, offering Irishmen as recruits, while "Bull" holds out his hands and says: "Bless you, my children".

The "Catholic Sun" has a pretty full report of the great Convention of Irish-Americans of March 4th and 5th. An organisation, called "The Friends of Irish Freedom" was established, and a long, temperately-worded statement was issued from the Convention. The Irish Parliamentary Party is repudiated; its attitude in regard to England and the British Empire condemned.

It is stated there are 2,000 delegates present and it is interesting to note some of the names. Of course, John Devoy was there, but there were also men like Humphrey O'Sullivan, a successful manufacturer, who, the last time he was in Cork, gave £100 to George Crosbie of the "Cork Examiner" for the Volunteers.

The Convention declared strongly that Ireland's claim to independence must be considered when terms of peace are being laid down at the end of the war. It was also strong in a declaration for American neutrality.

The news of the gathering is heartening at the present time.

Mr. Asquith visited the Pope. His Holiness is endeavouring to make peace. One suspects Ireland will also be discussed by Asquith.

April 4th. Reports appear in the press today of another meeting in Dublin, held last night in connection with the deportations. Also of a Volunteer recruiting rally, at which The O'Rahilly stated that, despite proclamations and all the Government actions, rifles were being brought in: apparently, large number of recruits are joining the Óglaigh in Dublin. There appear to be lively times in the city and there are many

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rumours here in Cork of activities there, not reported in the newspapers, such as shooting at policemen and the throwing of soldiers into the Liffey. Most of the rumours are probably false ones. What they show, however, is a spirit of unrest and expectation of things likely to occur. Anything may occur, suddenly and dramatically.

One rumour that is likely correct is, that the military authorities want to move against the Volunteers, but that the civil authorities deem it inadvisable at present to move on a large scale. The Government does not mind defiant words.

"The Party" political machinery has been got to work with regard to the Taxation agitation. The majority on the public Boards will have nothing to do with an agitation organised by "Sinn Féiners" and "pro-Germans". Everything is safe in the hands of Mr. Redmond and the Irish Party. That's the cry.

But those "representative men" do not now represent the nationalist spirit of the mass of the people.

April 5th. The "Independent" has a small paragraph today, headed: "What does it mean?" The paragraph is to the effect that two military majors have been appointed magistrates for Dublin city and county. Majors Sirr and Swan of '98 reincarnated?

Volunteer Captain Brennan, at Sixmilebridge, Co. Clare, has been sentenced to two months' imprisonment, with hard labour, by the Resident Magistrate, for saying to the Volunteers, on St. Patrick's Day, that they should guard their weapons with their lives, that to shoot, when an attempt is made to disarm them, is not murder, but self-defence; that conscription would never be enforced in Ireland while they had weapons. This was "Disaffection to His Majesty the King". The "judicial" remark from the bench was: "These fellows ought to be soldiers and not tin-pot warriors".

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The sentence against Claude Chevasse was confirmed at the Quarter Sessions in Macroom last week. There was a tie between the magistrates - four for conviction, four against. County Court Judge Haynes said he took that as affirming the conviction. He stated, in the course of the case, that he would convict any witness who gave evidence in Irish.

Yet, Padraic Ó Conaire was acquitted, though charged with the same "offence".

The English Chancellor of the Exchequer, McKenna, introduced his "budget" in the British Parliament yesterday. Figures were colossal; hundreds and thousands of millions.

William O'Brien, T.M. Healy and Larry Ginnell made a case for special treatment for Ireland. The "watchdogs" of the Irish Parliamentary Party were silent. Arguments in Parliament will not avail a jot. O'Brien and Healy may argue, as they did, that Ireland is willing to do what it can to win the war (for England) but is unable to bear the financial burden. The British Treasury must get money, little or much.

April 7th. Major Newman, in the British Parliament, is to ask the Chief Secretary for Ireland "whether, with regard to the recent seizure of arms and arrest of leaders of the Irish Volunteers, he has evidence to show that, before receiving arms, members of the force are compelled to sign a sworn declaration not to surrender their arms to any authority in Ireland; and whether the Irish Government intends to proceed with the disarmament of the force?"

Also, "whether he is aware that, of a consignment of ammunition recently sent to the military at Haulbowline, Co. Cork, 1,500 rounds were missing when the consignment arrived at Queenstown; and whether this ammunition has since been recovered?"

Birrell's answer was what might have been expected. It is inadvisable in the public interest to say what steps are being

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taken against the Irish Volunteers, but that body is getting close attention.

The further report of Brennan's trial is more interesting than the short summary of it, already noted. His sentence was three months, not two.

Moran, solicitor for Brennan, "submitted the prosecution was grossly unfair and unjust, as similar language had been used in the north of Ireland by "Galloper" Smith and Sir Edward Carson and the Government has made no attempt to prosecute. Sir Edward even threatened the Government that he would bring the Kaiser over".

"Chairman (McElroy, R.M.) - If you bring Sir Edward Carson before me and prove your case, I'll be delighted to convict him and so would the other magistrates".

"Mr. Studdert - He would get 'socks' (laughter)".

"Mr. Moran said his client only gave right and legal advice to the people, to keep their guns, to retain their own property".

"In the course of a lengthy judgment, the Chairman quoted the stirring words of the great Prelate, the Archbishop of Tuam, a great Irishman, against whom even Mr. Brennan would not be so presumptuous as to put his opinion, in the appeal in his pastoral to rally to the flag of the country in the great crisis. He also quoted a speech of Mr. John Redmond, the Leader of the Irish people and a great statesman".

"Here the defendant laughed".

"The Chairman said he noticed that Mr. Brennan laughed at the mention of Mr. Redmond's name. That was an outrageous thing for any Irishman to do in any assemblage of decent Irishmen"

"Brennan said he obeyed Headquarters and would obey Headquarters. He did not retract one word of what he had said".

The Chairman said "that the Headquarters that gave such

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advice to young boys should be prosecuted".

(So, three months, hard, in Limerick Gaol).

From this case, which is a clear issue, it emerges:

1. To advise Volunteers to stick to their guns is a "crime".
2. To obey the Headquarters of the Óglaigh in giving that advice, or acting on it, is a "crime".
3. Irish Volunteers have not the same right as Sir Edward Carson had (a) to preach resistance to the Government; (b) to arm and train men; (c) to express opinions on political affairs.
4. It is outrageous to laugh at Mr. Redmond's name.
5. An Irish Volunteer has no right to his opinion regarding the war and no right to his property, if it is a gun.

The issue could not be clearer. It may be said things have been laid down by a Petty Sessions Bench of Irish Magistrates; but "the Crown" ordered the prosecution and all Ireland knows "the Crown" would back up the Magistrates verdict.

April 11th. From yesterday's newspapers: Mellows and Blythe have been deported to England. The Volunteers in Dublin, 1,300 strong, including 500 recruits, assembled in Parnell Square, on Sunday (9th) and marched through the city, carrying a banner, indicating that the parade was "Dublin's reply to the Banishment Order".

Speaking at a concert, Eoin MacNeill "referred to the deportation of certain Volunteer organisers, as, for the present, casualties".

"Sinn Féin". More defiance. Motor car seized. Rifles in parcels, seized by Police". Headings in yesterday's "Cork Constitution" over the account of "an incident" which occurred in Dublin on Sunday. A motor car was held up in College Green by the police. There were two men in the car -

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Joseph Doyle and Patrick Kenny of Ferns, Co. Wexford. The car was searched and, as it appears in this morning's papers, "eight new U.S.A. shotguns, 110 rounds of ammunition, 50 rounds of revolver ammunition, 10 home-forged bayonets, some revolvers and other ammunition and papers, including a copy of the "Irish Volunteer" were discovered".

Police Court proceedings yesterday. The car is owned by a Father Murphy, C.C., Wexford, but "he did not know the purpose for which it was being used". The young men were taking the guns, etc. from Dublin to Wexford. From statements made in Court, they seem to be very simple-minded young men, though one of them had three revolvers on his person, two loaded. (The simplicity may be assumed).

Who gave the police information? There appears to be efforts to induce them to give more information.

A great protest meeting against taxation was also held in the Phoenix Park on Sunday, Walter Cole presiding.

The Right Honourable James Campbell, K.C., K.P., of the "Orange Brigade" has been appointed His Majesty's Attorney-General for Ireland. Mr. John Gordon of the same Brigade has been made a Judge.

Campbell is the gentleman who was so obnoxious to the legal hangers-on of the Irish Parliamentary Party when it was proposed some time ago that he be appointed Lord Chancellor. What have they to say now to their friends Asquith, Birrell, Wimborne? Nothing, apparently.

April 12th. Belfast "Northern Whig" reports that 500 unfinished bayonets, consigned from a Sheffield firm, per a Belfast firm, to a cutlery house in Dublin, were seized by the police,

Police have visited newsagents' shops in Cork and Dublin and read sections of the Defence of the Realm Act warning them that if they sell "seditious papers" they are liable to be prosecuted and the papers confiscated.

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Mr. Justice Kenny is perturbed over "the spirit abroad" in Dublin. Opening the Assizes there, he has practically no criminal cases before him, but he delivered a lecture on "the spirit abroad": a spirit of sedition, anarchy and what not. The failure of recruiting for the English army perturbs him. The posters of the Irish Ireland papers perturb him. "Every decent citizen" would welcome drastic action.

The "Daily Mail" quotes his remarks pretty fully.

Mr. Prime Minister Asquith, replying to a speech of the German Chancellor, Bethmann-Hollweg, makes statements that sound like humbug and cynical hypocrisy to an Irishman, or afford us amusement.

Specimens: "As the result of the war we intend to establish the principle that international problems must be handled by free negotiation on equal terms between free peoples and that this settlement shall no longer be hampered by the overmastering dictation of a Government controlled by a military caste".

A fine principle. What are Asquith's bona fides to speak thus? He has said the Irish people are a free people. He said that in Dublin. He, or some members of his former Liberal Government, acknowledged in Westminster that the Irish people are a nation. Will he then favour the admission of representatives of this "free people", this nation, to the peace conference? We know he will not. We know what his Government would say and so; if they can prevent representatives from Ireland appearing, they will.

And regarding dictation by a military caste: two years ago (it seems like an age long gone) - there was the affair known as "the Curragh mutiny". That was not German militarism.

"There is another aspect of the war to which we have from

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the beginning attached capital importance. We are, in this struggle, the champions, not only by treaty rights, but of the independent status and free development of the weaker countries".

"In those circumstances, cynicism could hardly go further than in the Chancellor's claim that it is for Germany, of all Powers, to insist, when peace comes, upon 'giving the various races the chance of free evolution along the lines of their mother tongue and of national individuality'". (Which is the cynic - Bethmann-Hollweg or Herbert Henry Asquith?)

Mr. Asquith is horrified at the attempt to "Germanise Prussian Poland" and to plant "German speaking farmers" in Posen.

Another German iniquity in his eyes: "The use of the Polish language in the schools was restricted until it was only allowed for religious instruction, and, finally, even this concession was withdrawn, and the little Polish children had to learn to say their prayers in German". (Horrible and awful! fearful and frightful! Such things could never happen under the English Government - in "Poland").

Asquith's speech indicates terms of peace. There are many activities, many discussions, conferences; resolutions, articles in various papers and journals in England, which seem to point to expectation of an early peace. There is opposition to certain taxes. Such opposition, in Ireland, is "pro-Germanism" and might "pamper Mr. Redmond and the Irish Party".

Bishop O'Connell of Raphoe, however, a supporter of "the Party", counsels less consumption of taxed commodities. That is rank Sinn Féinism. It was one of the planks of Sinn Féin and was laughed at by all good Parliamentarians.

April 13th. As we suspected about Asquith's visit to the Pope: From "La Croix" (Paris) - "Rome, 3rd April. According to information from a most reliable source, in the audience

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which the Pope accorded to Mr. Asquith, the English Prime Minister drew the Pope's attention to the role which the Catholic Bishops of Ireland could fulfil in an opportune manner, by intervening with the people to bring about a union, so desirable at present, with the other parts of the British Empire. Mr. Asquith assured the Pope, among other things that, after the war, the Home Rule question would be settled in an equitable manner".

The "Freeman's Journal" is perturbed over the Campbell appointment. It anticipates "coercion" as a result. As if there were no coercion up to this. And the "Freeman" has favoured coercion against "Sinn Féiners" and pro-Germans". What it fears is the spirit of Irish nationality, no longer supporting parliamentarianism "Coercion" arouses that spirit.

April 14th. The Wexford men arrested in the motor car in Dublin last Sunday got three months' imprisonment; a light sentence. The police sergeant, to their solicitor, said he knew of nothing against them. Then, to prosecuting Counsel, on a hint, apparently, from the magistrate, he said they were "utterly disloyal". They were so, because they were Irish Volunteers.

April 17th. It is reported in the press, per a Stockholm paper, that Roger Casement has been arrested in Germany. No reason given. Some time since, it seems to have been reported that he was taking steps to become a German subject, on the fanciful supposition that when the Allies got to Berlin (!) he could plead German citizenship as a refuge from being hanged as a traitor by the English! These are fanciful stories, I suspect.

An incident of, perhaps, some significance took place in Dublin yesterday. The Citizen Army, in a solemn manner, raised a Green Flag over their headquarters at Liberty Hall. I take this to mean that they wish to show all and sundry there is one body in Ireland, however small, who stand for a free Irish Republic.

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Since Larkin went to America, James Connolly is in command of the Citizen Army and the Transport Workers' Union. Connolly, I believe to be a sincere Socialist Republican and a determined man. The men he leads are also, beyond doubt, a determined body of men; dock labourers and other workers called "unskilled". The work of Larkin, Connolly and others at Liberty Hall has aroused their intelligence and done much to educate them. What I, personally, dislike about Socialist education is that it has a strong strain of contempt for religion.

There is another "crisis" in English State affairs. Conscription is again the crux. "Lord Derby's scheme" and partial conscription have been a muddle and a failure, it is said. Sir Edward Carson is leading for universal conscription. The group for whom the "Times", "Daily Mail" and "Morning Post" speak support him.

The Munitions Act is being invoked against workmen on strike by Dublin building employers. This is part of the Defence of the Realm regulations to prevent men striking.

There is a fine statement of Cardinal Mercier, replying to General Von Bissing, German Governor in Belgium, published. The French, English and pro-English in Ireland use it, of course as an anti-German argument. "Scathing rebuke for Von Bissing" is the Cork "Echo" heading. They do not realise that statements like the following may be "dangerous" in Ireland; "seditious" for an Irishman to apply them to English rule here:-

"Even though we may be smitten with admiration at the panoply of war surrounding you, and at the brilliant staff that, like King Saul, you have attached to your person, we should preserve entire freedom of judgment. In the troublous times through which our country is passing, we cannot, and will not, alienate this liberty". His Holiness, Leo XIII, "has freed us from obeying the civil powers as soon as they give orders contrary to the law of God and man". "As soon as a Prince ceases to be just, we owe him neither obedience, respect nor devotion". "We can give you the silent homage due to force,

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but we preserve, closed against your attempts, the sacred domain of our conscience, the last refuge of oppressed right".

Those are brave and splendid words, applicable not alone to Belgium, but to all oppressed countries, not least to Ireland. Every effort is being made in Ireland at present to stifle expression of free opinion, not alone by the British Government, but by those of our own people who support that government.

April 19th. From the "Irish Independent" of yesterday: "Drastic Action". Sinn Féin Movement. In the event of Sir Edward Carson pressing his motion to a division (in the British House of Commons) it is doubtful (says the Parliamentary Correspondent of the "Daily Telegraph") if the Irish Nationalists will be able to support the Government in full strength. Mr. Redmond and the leading members of the Party have been regular in attendance at the House of Commons, but a great many of the rank and file are absent, not having been specially summoned for the occasion. Unfortunately, a very unsatisfactory state of affairs prevails in Ireland. The Sinn Féin movement is growing to such an alarming extent that the Government may find it necessary to take drastic action at once".

Something of the same import as the latter portion of this news paragraph appears in the "Cork Examiner" today, quoting the Belfast Northern Whig".

April 20th. Holy Thursday. Sensation at the heart of the British Empire! Prime Minister Asquith informs the House of Commons that the Cabinet was hopelessly split up. Unless a compromise be arrived at, the Government must break. The question is, universal conscription or not. There are possibilities of a general election. The Tory, military caste want conscription, strong measures, iron rule, coercion. They want to push out Asquith and his Liberal friends. If they win, it is likely to be serious for Ireland. The "drastic action", already adumbrated, is likely to be taken and without much delay.

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The "Daily Mail" says the Conscriptionists in the Cabinet have practically won and the only question is whether conscription is to be enforced at once or in a few months time.

Evening news: "Political situation. Crisis ended. Proposals to be submitted to a secret session of the House of Commons on Tuesday next".

I have noted English Government affairs, but affairs in Ireland are looking serious also (perhaps?) and are likely to be serious at once, if the military crowd win in England. We will be faced, beyond all doubt, with an attempt at disarmament of the Volunteers and the enforcement of conscription.

Yesterday, a document of a grave character was in the hands of some of our Volunteers in Cork. As a consequence, the Easter manoeuvres, which are announced publicly, tend to become serious. The document is published in the press today. I learn it is regarded seriously. I am in some doubt about it. It is not quite like a Dublin Castle document. It will, anyhow, probably become historic. It was read by Alderman Tom Kelly, at a special meeting of Dublin Corporation called to pass the Poor Rate, which included the police tax and which, as a protest against Judge Kenny's remarks, the Corporation refused to levy last week. Alderman Kelly read a letter from Mr. P.J. Little, editor of "New Ireland" which, the Alderman explained, truly, is not a Sinn Féin organ. Little stated that the document he enclosed was portion of one of the files in Dublin Castle.

It gives "precautionary measures" which, it says, "have been sanctioned by the Irish Office, on the recommendation of the General Officer Commanding the Forces in Ireland". All preparations to be made to put the measures into force immediately on receipt of an Order issued from the Chief Secretary's Office, Dublin Castle, and signed by the Under

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Secretary and the General Officer Commanding the Forces in Ireland. Then follows a list of persons to be placed under arrest - not by names but associations; houses and offices to be taken possession of, premises to be isolated and the city to be placed under martial law.

It appears that the military authorities were shown the document and they declare it to be "utterly bogus and without foundation from the first line to the last". Certainly, some of the things in it would seem to indicate that it is bogus, but from what I heard today it seems the chief Óglaigh men in Dublin and here in Cork yesterday believed it to be trustworthy and seriously meant.

Whether bogus or not, the effect of the publication of this document may have good results on the public mind in the strengthening of public opinion in favour of the Volunteers. Dublin Castle, however, is unlikely to move drastically until affairs are settled at the heart of the Empire. It would not suit the politicians, even though desired by the Tory military caste. There is a long letter in the "Constitution" urging the Castle authorities to take "drastic action". It expresses the Tory-military mind.

My belief is: no rising, insurrection or "trouble" will take place unless the Castle authorities force the issue; as the attitude of most of those at headquarters of the Volunteers seems definitely to be to wait till attacked.

April 21st. Good Friday. Feeling somewhat disgruntled today. I am under orders to go out with my Volunteer Company on Sunday. I am told we may not come back to the city; at least, not till Easter Monday night. We are to be fully equipped. Now, there is to be a meeting of Coláiste na Mumhan Committee on Monday at which, as secretary, I should be present. If serious action is intended by our Volunteers, that meeting does not matter. But, no one can tell me what is intended.

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We all feel there is something more to happen than Easter "manoeuvres". But, our leaders do not say we are to undertake some serious work. They only say that, perhaps, "the enemy" will do something. It is all very vague. And, as I judge affairs generally, for myself, I do not think anything will occur on Sunday or Monday, unless the Óglaigh themselves act. The Government is unlikely to strike within the next two or three days.

I was in Sheares St. Hall a little while ago. Terence MacSwiney and Sean Ó Sullivan were there. They now remain in the Hall day and night. Terence was in a very serious mood. He was disinclined to talk. Other officers came in, including the captain of my own company. I mentioned to him about Coláiste na Mumhan meeting, to ascertain if we were really taking action and not returning on Monday. His reply was: "Oh! I suppose you are one of those who will not be there when "the day" comes! The remark cut me to the quick. I call to mind Wolfe Tone's motto, "'Tis but in vain for soldiers to complain".

Some of the day's news: "There is reason to believe that the settlement arrived at by the British Cabinet means that Mr. Lloyd George, Sir Edward Carson and Lord Northcliffe have won, and general compulsion will follow, though not immediately! General conscription, no doubt, will include Ireland and Redmond may accept it.

Lord Lieutenant Wimborne intends going to Belfast "to discuss questions with business men there concerning trade after the war". But, the business men have met and have told Wimborne they cannot discuss "trade after the war" unless they are assured as to the position of Home Rule. They will not have Home Rule. The South Antrim Constitutional Association declare they are "just as determined as ever, (to resist Home Rule), if not more so; to resist it to the utmost. So far

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as their Association is concerned, there is not the slightest change of feeling on the part of any of its members. Our Covenant still holds good".

And such are the men who, supporting England, are supposed to be fighting for the rights and liberties of small nations!

A new clause of the Defence of the Realm Acts makes provision for prohibiting police meetings. The power for carrying out the arrangements in Ireland is in the hands of the Lord Lieutenant.

Athy Urban Council has protested strongly against the increase of taxation and denounced Mr. Redmond for calling those who protest "pro-Germans".

There is a need of more priests among the Irish soldiers fighting in France and Belgium. A Capuchin in Cork, who is a convinced Sinn Féin supporter, has volunteered as chaplain, This is true Christian heroism.

April 22nd. Holy Saturday. From whatever cause arising, there is a feeling that we are near stirring events in Ireland. Looking back, it seems to me that, since Christmas, it was touch and go as to whether Dublin Castle or our Óglaigh were to begin armed action. There seemed indeed to be no great inclination on the part of our leaders to take the initiative; the attitude has been one of waiting. It is still the attitude, but we really seem now to be near to action, on one side or the other; how near, and in what manner it will come, we cannot say.

Here's news that may precipitate it - news that seems highly coloured, but appears to have a substratum of truth. Off the coast of Kerry, near Tralee, the Ardfert police have arrested a man; a stranger to the district, name not given, who was in charge of a collapsible boat containing arms and ammunition. He was arrested on the strand at 4 o'clock yesterday morning. Nationality unknown; ownership of the arms

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and ammunition unknown. Such the morning "mystery". "Irish Independent": late news: three Dublin men have been arrested in connection with the affair. Later: placard outside "Cork Constitution" Office - "great excitement in Tralee. The military, naval and police forces are co-operating".

I consider the story really means something very important. If the news of the collapsible boat is correct, it means some kind of a ship, large or small, off the Kerry coast, and perhaps a submarine or several of them. Hence the "naval forces". My guess would be, that the affair means Irish-American aid for the Óglaigh. The government authorities may pretend it is a German landing. I do not think there is a present likelihood of that. The whole thing may be a small affair, just an ordinary endeavour of the Óglaigh to obtain arms. Dublin Castle may wish to make it big, to justify action against the Volunteers. The air is just a little charged with excitement. We must await developments.

Evening. Sensational occurrences drawing near according to all signs and information received. The papers have been forbidden to make any reference to, or publish, any news of Kerry affair. Significant. But there is news of "three gentlemen" in a motor car going out of Killorglin about 10 o'clock on Thursday night having been drowned. The driver got safe. It appears the car went over the bank into the river. Tralee correspondent of the "Evening Echo" says this tragedy is believed to be connected with the "sensational affair in this country". Names of the men unknown. It is a said affair; very sad if connected with the Óglaigh activities.

Latest rumour: a general attempt is to be made, probably tonight, to disarm and arrest all Volunteers! As things are, it could be true, though contrary to all procedure, even by the Dublin Castle Government. There is yet supposed to be some constitutional procedure about notification.

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Anyhow, there is a fine spirit here among the men and boys of the Volunteers.

April 23rd. Easter Sunday: After Mass, our Cork Corps of the Volunteers paraded outside the Hall in Sheares Street. The corps was divided into companies, a captain in charge of each company. From Cove, East Cork and Ballinadee came other companies. (Ballinadee under charge of Sean Hales). The number of men parading was about 200. We were told we were to proceed to Macroom. The main body was to travel by train to Crookstown; the cycle corps to proceed on bicycles. Having a bicycle, I asked permission of my company captain to start before the others. This was given. William Phillips, an oldish man, said he would accompany me. The two of us set off before the main body moved, rifles strapped to our bicycles and otherwise equipped. Phillips had also a large military revolver. He was not in uniform, but had a bandolier across his shoulder. I was in full uniform. We also had "rations".

We went by the northern road: Inniscarra, Dripsey, Coachford. Somewhere near Leemount, Tomas MacCurtain and Terence MacSwiney passed us in a motor car.

As we went along, seeing no others of our corps behind us (they had gone the Crookstown road), I remarked to my companion that we seemed to be "casualties". "'Tis all right", said he, "we'll meet them in Macroom". "I wonder are we coming back" said I. "We are", said he, "didn't you hear it announced before we left? We're coming back tonight". I had not heard the announcement and I still wondered, as I felt certain important events were about to occur and that we would be precipitated into them.

As we neared Macroom, rain began to fall, lightly at first. We entered a restaurant to have a meal. We were not long there when others of our Corkmen arrived. The rain had come down

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heavily and some of them were drenched. Many were discontented, dissatisfied, loud-complaining; a few angry and loudly critical. These felt they had been fooled, in some way or other; they had expected a different ending to the Easter "manoeuvres". I rather sympathised with them.

What had happened? The main body had come by train from Cork to Crookstown, as arranged. Near Lissarda they were joined by other Volunteer companies. They had marched from Crookstown to Macroom in heavy rain. The cycle corps had proceeded on bicycles. Commandant Sean O'Sullivan was in charge of the whole body. In the square at Macroom, before he gave the order to dismiss, the men were addressed by one of the company captains, a member of the Military Council, and told they were to return to the city by the next train from Macroom.

After tea, we all got to the railway station and entrained. Many still expressed discontent and dissatisfaction; others were silent. Few, I think, really expected to return to the city that night - notwithstanding the announcement of the morning - if only in view of the fact that next day (Easter Monday) was a holiday.

When I got home, my wife informed me that she had known we were returning that night, as she, with other members of Cumann na mBan, had been in Sheares St. in the morning and had heard the announcement that "manoeuvres" were off. They had also information regarding "messengers" from Dublin, who had notified the Cork leaders of Eoin MacNeill's order.

April 24th - Easter Monday: Where shall I begin? Shall I record the latest rumour, or certainty, or shall I record further the experiences of yesterday? Serious, in regard to the rumours; ludicrous, for the experiences. I know not, at the moment, if arrest by the police awaits me, as every other Irish Volunteer in Cork, if I go to our headquarters in Sheares St. (Two police, on bicycles, followed the men on march to

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Macroon yesterday). One rumour, hot on the heels of another, is more amazing than the other. Last night, even early this morning, I could laugh at our adventures of yesterday. Now, it is hard to say whether one had better laugh or take the news seriously. There has been something like blundering, or confusion, in Cork Óglaigh affairs. It has now come to the situation of every man acting on his own judgment.

Well, to the latest. Rumour of fact? "Larkin's Citizen army are "out" in Dublin. Padraig MacPiarais has assumed chief command. Bulmer Hobson has been arrested by the Citizen Army. No news of Sean MacDiarmada. Eoin MacNeill has "ratted". That's how I heard it. I am certain, however, the idea conveyed about Eoin MacNeill is not correct. I feel sure his attitude, rightly or wrongly, is that the Citizen Army outrising is premature. A small paragraph in today's "Independent" seems to give colour to the rumour regarding him. It states Eoin issued an order on Saturday that there were to be no parades, or "turn-out" of any kind, by the Volunteers. (Some time ago, Sean Milroy, in a letter, intimated to me there was likely to be an outrising. But, I understood in some manner, Eoin MacNeill was not likely to be the leader of it).

So far Dublin.

What has happened, or is happening, in Tralee? Rumours; counter rumours. Reports of arrests; then of police scattered and beaten. Munster Fusiliers ordered out; refused to obey orders; fights between the soldiers themselves. Rifles that were landed last Friday secured by the Volunteers, Yes? No?

Thus we are this morning. What does it all mean? One is inclined not to believe anything one hears.

(Later). In the city, the most persistent of the rumours is that the Citizen Army has risen in insurrection in Dublin. They have possession of the General Post Office; possibly of the Bank of Ireland, and are attacking Dublin Castle. Trains

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from Dublin to Cork are stopped and communications cut.

A "neutral" informed me an accident has occurred and that this is the cause of the stoppage.

April 25th. Tuesday - Morning. Are we fooling ourselves?

Are we being fooled, or are some serious things happening?

The opening sentence of the leading article of the "Daily Mail" yesterday, referring to the secret session of the English Parliament, being held today, is the most apt to describe affairs here: "Today begins a week of mystery and consequently a week of rumours." So many, so strong, so persistent the rumours and so deep the mystery here, since Friday last, I do not know if I, as many others, am to go on with my ordinary avocation today or not. I do not know whether, at any moment, I am to receive "a call to arms" from the Volunteers, or "a call to prison" from the police!

Happy the man of no imagination!

No Dublin papers have arrived in the city this morning. This, at least, confirms the information that trains are not running and more than an "accident" has occurred.

(Later) - As I went down the street, about midday, I met Fred Cronin. He is the nearest friend and confidant of Terence MacSwiney. He said: "Connolly has forced the pace. The 'better men' were against a rising. Pearse and others have gone over to the 'Connolly crowd'. The men here had decided to obey Eoin MacNeill". (Terence MacSwiney and Tomas MacCurtain were understood as "the men here". Their decision explained the cancellation of our "manoeuvres" on Sunday.

(Information given me by Michael O'Neill) - Adjutant Sean Murphy was in charge of the Volunteer Hall on Easter Monday. About 1.30 p.m. he informed Michael O'Neill and Donncha MacNeilus that "they were 'out' in Dublin". He appointed O'Neill and a man named O'Connell, from Cove, to take up positions at the opposite side of Sheares St., from the Hall; an attack by the

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British military from Cork Barracks being considered a possibility. The two were armed with short Winchester rifles. They remained thus on guard till evening, when they got the order to dismiss. They had nothing to eat or drink since morning.

Late that evening, going home, O'Neill noticed a military sergeant accosting all soldiers he met on the streets. After a time, he heard what the sergeant was conveying to them: "Go back to barracks and stand to arms". From this he inferred the British garrison in Cork had had no information of occurrences in Dublin until that late hour).

(One of our Cork Volunteers, Michael Ó Cuill, disappointed and dissatisfied at what had happened in Cork, boarded a milk train (early Tuesday morning) bound for Dublin. The train got as far as Sallins. From there, he walked to Inchicore and was promptly arrested by the British military. He was armed with a revolver. He was thrown into a cell in Richmond Barracks and told he was to be shot in the morning! He was subsequently deported, with the general body of prisoners, to Frongoch.)

Tuesday - Evening. As I had to leave the city, in the ordinary course of my rounds of teaching at various centres, I called to Volunteer headquarters, Sheares St. to ascertain whether I was needed in the city, or, going to the country, if I could be of any assistance in conveying messages or information. (I thought we may yet have to take action). Terence MacSwiney was there; very serious, very perturbed and strained-looking. I proffered my services. My destination that night being Innishannon, he asked me to go to Hales, Ballinadee, to tell them take no action; if possible, to get also to Tadhg O'Shea, Dunmanway, and deliver the same message.

Went to Innshannon on my bicycle, taught my class for an hour or so, then set out for Ballinadee. I did not know the way and had to make inquiries, which led to subsequent

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developments in my regard. It was a wet, dark evening. Parts of the road were shaded by trees, dripping wet. In places, the road was rough and hilly, and I was compelled to walk. Met one or two people. At a crossroads I had again to make inquiries as to the way, from a man who was passing. I was directed on a road, or boreen, impossible for cycling. High hedges of furze on both sides. It seemed, in the darkness, to be a wild uninhabited district.

At last, I arrived at an avenue leading to a farmhouse of good appearance; knocked at the door. It was not opened, but someone spoke from a window above me. Yes, it was Hales. After a few questions, I discovered it was not the Hales I wanted. The man of the house came down and came with me to his namesake's place. They were not relations. It was some time after 10 o'clock. I had not known the Hales previously. There were two or three young men there. Mrs. Hales was busy around the house. They took my coming as a matter of course, showing no surprise. I believe it was Tom Hales to whom I spoke. Delivered my message, saying, I, personally, did not agree with a policy of inaction, but was obeying orders. They told me they had sent someone to the city that afternoon to learn what the situation was, but he had not yet returned. I think it was Sean Hales who had gone. While I was there, he came in and had the same message as I have given them. He remarked:

"It will be as in '98 when Wexford fought and got no help".

"The weather is always against ye", remarked Mrs. Hales.

I asked to be lodged for the night. Though nearing midnight, some of the young men began manufacturing "bombs" in the kitchen, breaking an iron pot into pieces. I went to bed and slept.

April 26th. Wednesday. The morning was wet and drizzly.

Intended getting an early train from Bandon, going on to Bantry. I was told Bandon was only half an hour's cycle ride from Ballinadee. There was some delay. When I reached Bandon, I was late for the first train.

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The news in the Cork morning papers regarding events in Dublin was meagre.

As I walked the platform, waiting for the second train, a policeman came up to me, the usual railway station policeman. He asked my name; more particularly asked where I had stayed the previous night. (Someone of whom I had inquired the way to Hales had given information, was my thought): I was a little flurried, not knowing what this questioning portended. So, I told a plain lie, that I had stayed in the hotel at Innishannon (of which I didn't even know the name).

Got into the train, taking a bicycle ticket for Bantry. For myself, I had a season ticket over the line.

While in the train, I reasoned thus: the police from Innishannon must have telephoned to Bandon to have me questioned. They must have learned I was inquiring the way to Hales. Hales to them are "bad boys"; what communication had I for them? My questioner at Bandon station will report when he returns to his barrack; a telephone call will be made to Innishannon; the police there will find out I did not stay at the hotel; this will make my movements look more suspicious; a message will be sent on to the next police station on the line to have me questioned further, perhaps apprehended. Ballineen was the next station where there is usually a police patrolman. But, there are two little stations intervening at which there are not patrols.

So, I got out at the little station of Desert, bringing my bicycle with me. The railway guard was surprised, but I made some excuse. I crossed to the north, having in my mind to get to Ballingeary, by some route. I had a revolver in my possession, of no utility, as I had no ammunition.

A man breaking stones on the road, of whom I asked the way, gave me directions how to avoid the police barracks. He seemed to suspect I required such information. He also advised

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me to be careful whom I talked to, as I was in "a Protestant district". He wished me safety.

Notwithstanding the good advice, which I should have heeded more, in a house where I had something to eat I got talking to a farm labourer. I must have said something about the Volunteers and the Dublin rising. "Ye are well paid for this" he said.

Farther on, I met a policeman, cycling, coming towards me. I went up to him as asked the way to Crookstown. He gave me various directions, so I then knew the roads better. He was guarding an "evicted farm".

As Ballingearry was some considerable distance to reach that night, I bethought myself of old friends of mine near Lissarda - Murphy's, Crossmahon House. So there I went.

One of the men in the house, Jack, at one time a medical student in Cork University, had been with the Lissarda Company on Easter Sunday morning and had marched to Macroom.

Nearby, lived another Murphy family, one of the girls of which is married to Michael O'Callaghan of Limerick. Two younger girls are university students and travel to Cork each day. They brought news from the city and what could be learned there of Dublin affairs. Their young brother was also a Volunteer.

I still thought the Cork Óglaigh would be forced by circumstances to come out from the city and that they would probably come in Macroom direction. The alternative to leaving the city was plain: general disarmament by the police and military, arrest and imprisonment of all known and suspected Volunteers. So, we waited and waited, though all reports were that the city was quiet and normal. There were some rumours of activities in other districts, not in Co. Cork.

April 30th. Sunday. My wife came out to Crossmahon and I returned home with her. "It was all over", she said. She was one of the officers of Cumann na mBan. Their President

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had told them "Casement was a traitor" and "It was only the scum of Dublin - Larkin's crowd"- who were fighting.

She and others deeply resented those remarks, but the majority were influenced by them.

(So far as we were concerned, Easter Week, 1916, was ended - with heart-burnings, disappointments and some bitter feelings. The hour had come and we, in Cork, had done nothing. Many were ready, strung up to the point of making a supreme sacrifice and, as we saw the situation at the time, the leaders of the Volunteers had failed).

May 4th - Thursday. It is almost impossible to set out the happenings of the past ten or eleven days in any order, or to record the numerous details narrated. There have been many rumours, some true, some false. Most newspaper accounts grotesque; some containing the substance of truth but dressed up so as to give a false picture of events.

P.H. Pearse, Thomas Clarke and Thomas McDonagh were executed yesterday. The body of O'Rahilly was found near the burnt-out General Post Office.

Police and military are now "rounding up" all "Sinn Féiners" and Volunteers. It is officially reported from London that Cork County and City and quiet. True, there is no fight here, as in other districts, but it is hardly peace.

An agreement come to in Cork City on Monday night has been broken. The outside report of it is thus: Through the intermediary of Most Rev. Dr. Cohalan, Auxiliary Bishop, and Lord Mayor Butterfield, acting with Captain Dickie on behalf of the military authorities (Queenstown Headquarters) and Tomás MacCurtain and Terence MacSwiney, on behalf of the Irish Volunteers, a meeting of some of the Cork City Corps of the Volunteers was held on Monday night (May 1st). A majority decided to give up their arms and ammunition. The common information is, they were to be given up to the Bishop, who was

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to hold them for the present. Negotiations were going on last week-end. MacCurtain and MacSwiney were given a military permit to go around to country corps to see what those bodies of Volunteers would do. According to the reports, there were threats that, if the city Volunteers did not give up their arms quietly, the city would be shelled. It is stated the military have taken possession of the Hall in Sheares Street and machine guns placed in positions overlooking it. Effective resistance was, apparently, out of question. The alternative to a useless struggle was the surrender of arms. It is also stated that, if the Volunteers gave up their arms quietly, no further action would be taken against them. This is what the Bishop was authorised to say on behalf of the military authorities.

Most of the rifles were taken to Cork City Hall to be in the Lord Mayor's custody. From here, the military took them. Others were stored in a store in Hanover St. A man named Herlihy came with a horse and cart and conveyed them to Berrings.

Then, on Tuesday, starting about 11 a.m., armed batches of police went around and arrested numbers of Volunteers and the President and Secretary of Cumann na mBan. As the story goes, this was done by the police on their own authority and about 1.30 p.m. it was countermanded by the military authorities. The police batches, however, it is said, not having heard of the counter-order, continued arrests till well into the evening. Then, about 8 p.m. almost all who had been arrested were set free. It seems a muddled business, as between police and military.

Tuesday night and all yesterday, arrests were being made all over the county; probably all over the country. There is no hint of this in the newspapers I have seen.

I hear the city was disturbed last night by crowds of

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women and boys jeering and booing at police and soldiers. Cheers were given for Dublin and "the rebels". The recruiting office was smashed and stoned. So was the "Cork Constitution" office. The police were also stoned.

Among others arrested in the county was Terence MacSwiney.

Tom Kent, his brother, David, and other members of the family have been taken. Kents resisted when police came to their house, near Castlelyons. A District Inspector of police was shot. The military from Fermoy had to be called. It is stated the two brothers were wounded.

There is a rumour that some of the boys in Ballingearry district have "taken to the hills" to escape arrest.

In other parts of the country Volunteers have been in conflict with police and military; a successful one for the Volunteers, it is said, at Ashbourne, Co. Meath. The Republic was proclaimed and a force of police - 50, it is stated - were either killed or captured.

(From the "DAILY SKETCH" London) - "Three other leaders were sentenced to three years' penal servitude". Who are these? Chief Secretary Birrell has resigned. There is to be an inquiry "at an early date" into his administration in Ireland. "He admitted, in Parliament, he made an untrue estimate of the Sinn Féin Movement".

Rumours in Cork last night. All Sinn Féin adherents and Volunteers throughout Ireland to be arrested immediately; a number of German transports on the way to Ireland; portion of an English battle fleet destroyed. Verdun taken by the Germans.

(From the daily press) - Two million pounds worth of damage done in Dublin during the fighting. Some women and children were killed. Questions are being asked in English papers: "Why did the Irish rebellion occur?" (The answer is as old as the days of Henry VIII. One of his officials in

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Ireland wrote: "Liberty is the only thing the "Wilde Irishe" continually seek after.") Some Irish papers and public men are denouncing Sir Edward Carson as the cause of an armed rising. Only partly true. He and his Ulster Volunteers gave the opportunity to Irish Nationalists to arm.

5 p.m. Just heard that the two brothers Kent were shot this morning in Cork Military Prison. 10 p.m. That news is contradicted. It is not true.

May 5th: Friday: 12.30 p.m. "The names of the men sentenced to three years are McDermott, Ceannt and Plunkett". Thus Mr. Asquith in the House of Commons on Wednesday, as reported.

"The following report from Viscount French, Commander-in-Chief of the Home Forces, was issued: 'Dublin, Wednesday, 7.20 p.m. The situation in Ireland is reported as quiet. The collection of arms and the arrests of fugitive rebels progress satisfactorily. A strict cordon is still maintained. Galway: The police barracks at Oranmore was attacked by parties of rebels, but held out until relieved. In the West Riding of Galway the police report that the situation is well in hand and that the rebels have been dispersed. The south of Ireland is quiet. The situation in Ulster is normal".

4.25 p.m. A good fight was made in Enniscorthy, apparently. The Volunteers there proclaimed the Republic and raised the tricolour flag - green, white and orange. They took possession of the town, Thursday, April 27th, and did not surrender till allowed to go to Dublin and learned of the Dublin surrender. ("Daily Sketch" account).

The accounts of trials and convictions and executions are conflicting. Asquith, in Parliament, stated Pearse, Clarke and MacDonagh had been shot and three others sentenced to three years' penal servitude. "Cork Examiner" states the "three others" were Ceannt, MacDiarmuda, Plunkett. "Cork Constitution" says the following were shot on Thursday morning: Joseph

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Plunkett, Edward Daly, Michael O'Hanrahan, William Pearse. In a list of 15 sentenced to death, commuted to ten years penal servitude, is the name of our friend, J.J. Walsh.

Further trials are proceeding.

"Daily Sketch" of today reports of the following:
 James Connolly, now officially reported to be ^awounded prisoner; "to be accounted for - Edmund Kent (who called himself Eamon Ceannt), John McDermott (or Sean MacDearmada), and Joseph Plunkett, all signatories of the Republican Proclamation, who have yet to be heard of; and The O'Rahilly (a leader who did not sign the Proclamation). His body has been found in Moore Lane, near the General Post Office. Search is being made for three missing leaders". All this is a bit confusing. "It is officially denied that rebels have been shot after surrender without trial".

All is quiet in Cork City.

All arms and ammunition in possession of members of the Irish Volunteers, Sinn Féin organisation and of the "Citizen Army" must be handed into the nearest military or police barrack by tomorrow (May 6th). Order of Sir John Maxwell, Commander-in-Chief of the English forces in Ireland.

It is stated, on the authority of Bishop Cohalan, and through other sources, that Cork City prisoners of Tuesday last were only out of prison about an hour when a further order came - from Maxwell - that they were to be retained.

May 6th. Saturday. Rounding up of Volunteers throughout the country continues; in most instances, now, it is stated, without "incidents". There are many thrilling and pathetic stories of the Rising. One of these is the marriage of Grace Gifford to Joseph Plunkett.

Rumours again about the Kents of Castlelyons not accurate. Cork City Volunteers' rifles given into the custody of Lord Mayor Butterfield have been taken from him by the military.

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He protested that the agreement come to was that he was to retain them until all was quiet. He was peremptorily told that if he did not hand them over, he would be placed under arrest. So he gave them up, some 95 of them, I heard.

According to a statement by Asquith, my friend Piaras Beaslai, along with others, has been sentenced to three years' penal servitude.

Sir Mathew Nathan, Under Secretary to Dublin Castle, has resigned.

Carson has offered the services of his Ulster Volunteer "Army" to the Government and, it is stated, they have been accepted.

What Birrell stated in Parliament was: he knew of Sinn Féin activities very well, but never expected a Rising. Mr. John E. Redmond took responsibility for this. He had advised Birrell on those matters. Carson said no true Irishman would wish for vengeance "on the mass of the insurgents".

But, the ghastly procession goes on - executions, deportations, imprisonments, martial law.

There is no news, so far, of Eoin MacNeill. It is reported that James Connolly and Countess Markievicz are in prison. Roger Casement is in the Tower of London and to be tried for high treason.

While "the authorities", between Dublin Castle, the military and the Government in London seem to be unsettled in policy, I heard there is a sort of stupor among the Volunteers. This is not to be wondered at. Now, perhaps, it is dimly seen what might have been done throughout the country. But, Dublin was left fight practically alone. Cork failed. Over which many heartburnings.

The "Irish Independent" of Thursday is to hand today. It is very bitter in its leading article, but contains one of the best and most exhaustive accounts I have seen of the events in Dublin.

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It states Tom Clarke was declared President of the Republic, Pearse being Commander-in-Chief of the army. In all other papers, it appeared as if Pearse were the President.

Among the names of the executed men, published today, is that of Major John McBride. I met him years ago at a Cumann na nGaedheal Convention.

Thousands of troops passed through Cork City today - horse, foot and artillery. Object: terrorism probably. Destination: not known to my informant.

Successors to Birrell and Nathan have already been appointed.

Reported by Maxwell, Commander of the British Forces, that the handing in of arms of the Volunteers is proceeding satisfactorily.

May 9th. - Tuesday. Still the orgy of blood continues. Still, the "rounding up" of "Sinn Féiners", Volunteers and sympathisers.

Eoin MacNeill is in prison; Arthur Griffith in prison; Alderman Tom Kelly in prison; Henry Dixon in prison; John Sweetman in prison - men I have known and often associated with. James Connolly, wounded, in hospital, under custody.

Countess Markievicz, sentenced to death, commuted to penal servitude for life. F. Sheehy Skeffington, with two others, taken prisoners, shot in cold blood - on which "an investigation is to be held". (Captain Bowen-Colthurst, who shot them, is from near Carrigadrohid).

Eamon Ceannt, signatory to the Republican declaration, shot yesterday with three others (Con Colbert, Michael Mallin, Sean Heuston). Eamon Ceannt's name was confused with that of Kents of Castlelyons. Tom Kent was executed this morning in Cork Military Barracks.

Executions to date - 12. Penal servitude and imprisonments - 67. No exact numbers of deportations, of those await-

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ing trial, or of the dead in the fighting. Must number four or five thousand.

The business men of Dublin are concerned about their destroyed property. They want Government compensation. "No one has come forward to give us any consolation" - William Martin Murphy. ("Oh! my ducats!")

Mr. John E. Redmond, following the lead of some English papers, is afraid that further executions will cause the whole Irish people to sympathise with "the Sinn Féiners". But Mr. Asquith, in Parliament, says Sir John Maxwell has full power. "What to do with the rank and file of the rebels is causing the Cabinet much anxiety". Indeed! If rumour speaks true there are weightier things than crushing Ireland causing it anxiety. Last Friday's "Daily Mail" was suppressed because, it is said, it gave information of a naval battle in which the English were defeated. Any connection with Irish affairs? An American liner reported sinking off the Fastnet. German submarine action? Rumours fairly persistent, yet no doubt false, of German troops landing in the west of Ireland.

Search parties of police and military visited houses in Cork city yesterday and today. Some arms and ammunition found and arrests made. The net is catching all kinds: men, women, children. Father O'Flanagan, now of Ringsend, has been arrested. Frank Healy, B.L., Queenstown, deported. According to press report, men in Co. Galway, as in other places, have "taken to the hills".

"Peace and quietness reign under the firm rule of Sir John Maxwell". Very much to be queried. The end is not yet. In Wexford, pikes that had been used, or were supposed to be used, in 1798, were captured.

Exciting times: confused times: conflicting ideas. Bishop Kelly of Ross considers "the rebels" murderers:

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those who kill in unjust warfare are guilty of murder. Priests in Dublin and Cork offer Masses for the repose of their souls and pray for them, even mentioning the "murderers" by name and calling them heroes.

Appeals to Asquith - Deal leniently with the rank and file; not for the sake of mercy, but as a matter of policy. Other appeals: crush them; stamp them out; dismiss any of them left in the country from employment; take action against their sympathisers.

Mr. Asquith says: "All will come within the scope of the inquiry to be held".

(Personal: In the city I stayed some nights in the houses of friends, not likely to be under suspicion. One day, during the days of searchings, my wife and I were returning to our home. When near it, a tram conductor who lived nearby came across the street to us. He informed us there was a military party outside our door and an officer had been knocking. We, thereupon, retraced our steps and, informing my wife's relations, went for a long walk into the country. When we returned in the evening there was no sign of military or police and they did not return. I retained my rifle. After a fortnight or so, I resumed my teaching rounds in the county under the Technical Instruction Committee. I learned from the guard on the train that, on the Wednesday of Easter Week, the police at Ballineen railway station had been making inquiries regarding me. When I got to Bantry, on my usual round, the people of the house where I stayed told me the police of that town had been making inquiries. They replied that they were not expecting me in Bantry during that week, being holiday time).

May: (A few comments and notes on the Rising, from a survey of the events written at this time). Things are seemingly returning to normal. Seemingly only; for we know not what

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forces have been unloosed. We are too near the event to judge in proper perspective This much we can judge: never again can we get back to the conditions that existed before the storm burst; its effects will remain, either in the shaping of facts or the stimulation of inspirations. Ireland can not be the same.

There is much discussion as to the cause of the Rising. As usual, in the discussion of such events, all the subsidiary and minor causes are given much attention. The cause that goes to the heart of the matter is almost ignored. However, a writer in the London "Daily Mail" of Monday, May 15th, in the course of an article, has got near the heart of the thing in these words:

"Calmly reviewed, what were the causes of the rebellion? Quite frankly, the leaders sought separation from England and the creation of an independent Ireland".

It is argued by many that there was no justification for this armed rising. The Irish Parliamentary Party issued a statement last week. It recounts all the great improvements that have taken place in Ireland during the past thirty years. The Party claims credit to itself for having effected all those improvements. Then, why the rising? The Party do not seem to see there is something deeper, stronger, more earnest and intense in Irish Nationality than the desire for "improvements"

Some of Mr. Birrell's statements to the Commission of Enquiry into the causes of the rising ought enlighten them and all others. Here are his words as reported in the "Irish Times" of Saturday, May 20th: "The spirit of what today is called Sinn Féinism is mainly composed of the old hatred and distrust of the British connection, always noticeable in all classes and in all places, varying in degree, and finding different ways of expression, but always there, as the background of Irish politics and character This dislike,

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hatred, disloyalty (so unintelligible to many Englishmen) is hard to define, but easy to discern, though incapable of exact measurement from year to year. You may assume it is always there and always dangerous".

Disregarding his terms, Birrell has got to the core of the matter. The spirit - Irish Nationalists call it nationality, patriotism, desire of liberty; Irish Unionists, hatred, disloyalty - is always there; always awaiting the opportunity of England's difficulty to strike for Ireland's independence.

And nothing can satisfy the desire for independence, except independence itself.

June 8th. - Thursday. The Irish Republic has been. Crushed in blood and fire and murder. The Prime Minister of England comes on the scene. Talk now of "a settlement of the Home Rule question", on the lines of a partition of Ireland. A new "Pale" to be set up; this time around Belfast. The Commission of Enquiry into the Rising has brought to light remarkable evidence. Trial of Sir Roger Casement: highly dramatic evidence. Trial of Captain Bowen-Colthurst for murder.

Friday last, June 2nd, late in the evening, as a thunder-clap, news of a great naval battle in the North Sea; news of a great English fleet having been defeated. "Explanations" since: but, that was the first news, from English sources themselves.

Then, on Tuesday evening last: Kitchener and his staff drowned! Exciting news. Stirring times.

June 10th. Saturday: Controversy over "Home Rule settlement" and partition of Ireland growing more and more acute. The Irish Parliamentary Party have accepted partition, but, at present, they are mute. Carson, too, has accepted it, but is putting things off. Voices in Ireland loud against partition.

Martial Law continues. And courtmartial.

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Wild rumours go around: Maxwell shot: Redmond shot: Carson shot. And from London: Lloyd George shot in Ireland! Authorities, it is stated, taking precautions against another rising; or against a German landing. Persistent rumours of Orange attacks in Belfast.

June 11th. Whit Sunday: Captain Bowen-Colthurst found guilty of the murder of Sheehy Skeffington, but insane. Volunteers who took action during Easter Week, near Dundalk, being tried for murder of a policeman. The widow of Head Constable Rowe, killed in the attack on Kent's house, Castlelyons, made application for compensation the other day before the Recorder of Cork. Result - no compensation, as Recorder, while complimenting police, held there was no personal malice proved.

The Irish Parliamentary Party held a secret meeting in Dublin Mansion House, yesterday. "Independent" says most of the spectators witnessing the arrival of the members were detectives and plain-clothes policemen. Feeling is running very high against the Party; particularly against Redmond. This, notwithstanding votes of confidence of Hibernians and some public bodies.

Martial Law prevents free expression of public opinion, but it is easy to feel the undercurrents. The sacrifice of the heroic dead has stirred the heart of the nation.

A National Aid Association has been formed. In its appeal it states: "Three hundred slain during the insurrection; fifteen executed by courtmartial; 134 condemned to penal servitude; 2,650 deported without trial, and about 400 awaiting sentence by courtmartial. In all, there have been, to this date, 3,200 cases of imprisonment, now diminished by 200 cases of released captives adjudged innocent....."

In addition, there are those who are "on the run".

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June 23rd. Mr. Augustine Birrell went to Spain recently. It is said he did not get there and has returned to England. One rumour has it that Spain recognised the proclamation of the Irish Republic and that this was the cause of his going. Doubtful. The Kaiser had sent a present to the King of Spain: forestalling Birrell.

June 25th. Friday last (23rd) a meeting of Redmondites of "Ulster", from the counties proposed to be excluded from the Home Rule Act, was held in St. Mary's Hall, Belfast. By 465 votes to 265 they agreed to Lloyd George's scheme for the Partition of Ireland - Redmond, Dillon and Devlin strongly recommending acceptance.

Under the scheme, a Dublin Parliament (so-called) will deal with some of the affairs pertaining to 26 counties of Ireland. Six counties will remain outside the jurisdiction. This, legally, means that Ireland is no longer one nation. The Redmondites say the arrangement is only temporary and that they would not accept it if it were to be permanent. The Carsonites say it is permanent, No one in Ireland professes to love the idea. The argument is used that it is the only alternative to martial law. That is not true. If it go through, it just relieves the English Government of a present difficulty.

William O'Brien and Maurice Healy, Members of Parliament, called a meeting in Cork City Hall on Friday night to protest against partition. Sinn Féin supporters took possession of the meeting almost from the beginning. William was hardly listened to and Healy was not heard at all. Songs were sung and there were cheers for the Irish Republic. The Republican flag was prominent. Crowds paraded the streets afterwards in the same mood.

O'Brien and Healy were heckled because of their recruiting activities and advocacy. Redmond and Party were also denounced.

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O'Brien seems to think the end of the "constitutional movement" has come. So it has. And the ending, as might have been expected, is very miserable.

June 29th - Thursday. Roger Casement found guilty of treason and sentenced to death. May God strengthen him. He nailed the "German Gold" lie. But, lies die hard.

July 1st. Here is the picture, as seen from newspaper accounts: Witnesses in Casement's trial:- John McCarthy praying at a holy well at 3 o'clock on Good Friday morning; Mary O'Gorman, "the Irish colleen"; men of the Royal Irish Constabulary; a "smart boy" who picks up a code; soldiers of the English army; a diver, and others. Judges, jurymen, men of the law; much legal palaver. And, Daniel Julian Bailey is set free.

Treason? Roger Casement is to be hanged because he would set Ireland free.

John Daly of Limerick is dead - aged 71. God rest his soul.

July 5th. The National Directory of Redmond's United Irish League, with two dissentients, accept the partition of Ireland "as a means to an end"; - "as a means to continue the fight for self-government and a united Ireland". But, we had all been assured "the fight" for Home Rule was over two years ago when the Act was placed upon the Statute Book of England.

The general proposals are, a Home Rule Parliament of some kind for twenty-six counties; six counties of Ulster - Antrim, Down, Armagh, Fermanagh, Tyrone, Derry to remain under direct rule of the London Parliament. This arrangement to continue till one year "after the war". The whole question to come up again at an Imperial Conference to be held "after the war".

Carson, selling some of his own people, accepts the arrangement.

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Reasons advanced for forcing the matter now: 1. "The Rebellion" convinced Prime Minister Asquith some "settlement", giving certain sections of Irishmen responsibility for government, was necessary. 2. Strong feeling in America and other neutral countries against England. 3. Only alternative to some such arrangement is Martial Law.

Reasons one sees, that are not mentioned here, are:- To prevent the claims of Ireland being brought forward at the Peace Conference that must take place when the war ends. To counter the action of Irish societies in America to have the Irish Republic recognised at that Peace Conference.

Bishop O'Dwyer has spoken out bravely again. He refers to Sir John Maxwell as "that brute Maxwell".

A branch of the Irish National Aid Association was formed in Cork last Thursday (June 29th). I was elected one of three Hon. Secretaries, the others being Sean O'Sullivan and Donal O'Callaghan (of the Óglaigh). All political parties in Cork are represented on the committee.

(The Hon. Presidents were: Most Rev. Dr. Daniel Cohalan, Bishop of Cork; T.C. Butterfield, T.C., Lord Mayor; M.K. Barry, Chairman Cork Co. Council; William O'Brien, M.P.; Maurice Healy, M.P.; Treasurers:- Very Rev. Martin Canon Murphy, Adm. Cathedral; Alderman J.C. Forde; Edward Sheehan, M.A.; Seán Jennings. Committee: Rev. D.M. O'Flynn, C.C., Alderman P.H. Meade; Coroner William Murphy, solicitor; Jeremiah Lane, T.C.; T.J. Murphy, J.P., M.C.; P. Lynch, President, Cork Trades Council; John Good, Secretary, Cork United Trades and Labour Council; F.J. Cronin, P.L.G.; D.T. O'Sullivan, P.L.G.; Patrick Crowley, Maurice Conway, John A. O'Connell, Seán Ó Tuama, J.F. Fawsitt).

There is some little confusion as between the National Aid Association and the Volunteer Dependents' Fund. The latter was formed by widows and relatives of men executed to aid prisoners' dependents.

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July 19th. (In Ballingeary). Among students of Coláiste na Mumhan here at present are: Maighr ad de Br n, sister to Rev. Dr. P draig Browne of Maynooth, who was with Sean MacDiarmuda the night before his execution. Both of them were here previously. Maighread is studying for Master of Arts degree, writing a treatise on Irish saints. Se n Synge, Trinity College student, nephew of Synge, the dramatist. Sean Beaumont, also a Trinity student. He tells me he was ready to take part in the Rising, but some circumstances prevented him. He was well acquainted with The O'Rahilly and some of the other leaders. Here is a poet from Limerick, who has a good poem on the men who died for Ireland, in the "Catholic Bulletin". Also Father Burbage of Carlow; Father O'Regan, Vincentian, from Cork; Michael Moore of Limerick; Sean O'Connor from Co. Clare, and others, who would be regarded as "disaffected" under D.O.R.A.

Another, not in the College, is Michael Cremin, whom I have known for many years, a Cork city man. He was working in the Post Office in Dublin before Easter Week, and joined in, in the Rising, having been in the Volunteers. He was under P draig Pearse. He gives me a vivid description of the fighting, in his own casual way, and of how the men fared till the building went on fire and they evacuated it. He escaped capture. On Saturday night last (15th) he and I sought out Se n Hegarty in a hiding place in the hills near Tuirindubh, being led thereto by one of the   Tuama family. To Se n, as to myself, Michael Cremin's story of the Rising was the matter of greatest interest; dramatic, told on a hillside at the fall of night.

Politically, everything in Ireland at present is in a state of flux. The Lloyd George proposed "Settlement" has unsettled most things in Irish politics. George himself has gone to the War Office.

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July 24th. The opposition to partition has grown strong. Extremes have met regarding it: official "Nationalists" and Die-Hard Unionists opposing it now, from different angles; the latter wanting to keep Ireland one under British rule. The Bishops of "Ulster" are very active; big meetings are being held; strong words are being uttered against Redmond and his Party; their resignations are being called for. A new organisation, an anti-partition League, is being formed. As many of his followers in the north are repudiating Redmond, so, some of his own crowd are repudiating Carson. Redmond and the "New Garrison" Party leaders are apparently preparing a way out for themselves. The duplicity of the English Cabinet may have deceived them - (or were they willing tools?) - but the Irish people, in general, have not been deceived. Asquith, the other day, had the impudence to talk of the rights of small nations, Belgium in particular, but such talk of the English Premier "cuts no ice" in Ireland now, even with the New Garrison Irishmen.

Meanwhile, we have martial law, a Coercion Act, trial by removable magistrates, the jury system abrogated, Defence of the Realm Acts, no right to hold demonstrations to honour "rebels". The report of Generals Friend and Maxwell on the military operations in Dublin tends to blacken the character of the men who fought and the Óglaigh.

July 29th. The "Partition Settlement" is knocked on the head! The Irish Party is in opposition to the Government since last Monday (24th)! Public opinion has forced them. Redmond seized on comparatively small points to reject the Government proposals; pretending to see something new in the reduction of Irish members at Westminster. Archbishop Walsh of Dublin has written strongly against the Party, following the lead of Dr. O'Dwyer.

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John Dillon, now in "opposition", is to ask a question in Westminster, Monday next, as to what the English Government's plans are for the future government of Ireland. It seems ludicrous now. We are living, practically, under military dictatorship. To shout "Up the rebels" is a crime, rendering one liable to six months' imprisonment or £100 fine. To welcome returning "rebels" in public meeting is forbidden. There is confusion, however, as to what future developments may be. The Gaelic League, Gaelic Athletic Association, National Aid and Dependents' Fund Association, the Industrial Associations are working on, in their various spheres. The United Irish League and Ancient Order of Hibernians are in a muddled frame of mind. The anti-Partition Association in the north has pledged itself to "passive resistance" should partition be enforced. M.J. Judge and others have a little paper "The Irish Nation" which advocates "Repeal of the Union". "New Ireland" takes the line that "Home Rule is on the Statute Book" and must be brought into operation as it stands. An Irishwomen's Council has written to President Wilson to say that Ireland ought be represented at the Peace Conference as a separate nation. Certainly. But, how can that be brought about? Will the Irish-Americans see to it? They may, but an effort must be made in Ireland itself to have some body speak on behalf of the Nation. The original Sinn Féin idea, if acted on, can achieve the desired result, of an organisation and a policy.

Roger Casement is to be hanged on August 3rd. There are appeals for clemency. No motives of justice, clemency or mercy will stir the British Government. International political considerations alone may influence them.

But English propagandists are at an old game. They are besmirching the character of Casement. He is now discovered by them to have been guilty of unnameable crimes. The police

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have "discovered" a diary of his in which he is supposed to have admitted himself guilty of these crimes. They are not satisfied with hanging him; they must blacken his character.

And, Maxwell takes the same line regarding the men who fought for freedom in Dublin. His report on the fighting there was published on Saturday last; not a military dispatch, but a political diatribe. General impression sought to be conveyed - his soldiers were saints; the "rebels" were devils. All Dublin knows it to be a lying document.

August 1st. Sir Francis Vane testifies to the clean fighting of the Volunteers in Dublin and controverts Maxwell's report. Dr. C.M. O'Brien endorses what he says in a letter in the "Independent".

Irish prisoners in Reading Jail number 34, including Griffith, Blythe, Terence MacSwiney, Denis McCullough, P.T. Daly, Seán T. O'Kelly, Walter Cole, Pim and Seam Milroy.

"Following an unfavourable report by the Foreign Relations Committee on a resolution requesting clemency for Casement, the United States Senate, on Saturday, by 46 votes to 19, asked President Wilson to transmit to Great Britain an expression of hope that clemency would be exercised in the treatment of Irish political prisoners". (Reuter).

Debate in the English Parliament last evening on Mr. Dillon's motion. Dr. Duke, a Unionist, has been appointed new Chief Secretary; Sir Robert Chalmers, Unionist, Under Secretary. "Dublin Castle rule" again. Asquith lauds Maxwell. Mr. Dillon still loyal to England, Mr. Redmond more so. Mr. Devlin foreshadows his own resignation.

Asquith says, in reference to Irish prisoners: "Out of 1,841 cases dealt with, 1,272 persons have been released and 569 have been interned".

"The state of Ireland at this moment, taking the country at large, is, from one point of view, very disquieting.

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It is satisfactory, in this sense, that there is general prosperity, both agricultural and industrial. Further, I am glad to say there is a remarkable absence - I am not sure it is not an unprecedented absence - both of ordinary and agrarian crime There has been undoubtedly - and there is at this moment - in many parts of the country a considerable recrudescence of the Sinn Féin movement in its most aggressive form. There have been in some places deplorable manifestation of sympathy with Germany and the enemies of the country. There is no fear of anything in the nature of open rebellion. The force of police and soldiers now in Ireland is quite sufficient to prevent the possibility of anything of the kind - anything more than mere sporadic or isolated outbreaks".

Bonar Law: "In my view, sentiment rules the world more than any other quality. (hear, hear)". (That was a remarkable remark of Bonar Law).

Two Irish-Americans named Kelly, coming to superintend the distribution of National Aid Funds, contributed to by Irish Americans, have not been permitted to land in Ireland "because the Government had information that they were engaged in business hostile to England".

August 2nd. Meeting of National Aid Committee, Cork, last night. There are numbers of men "on the run". Application for assistance was made on behalf of some of them in Co. Cork and granted.

I have been talking to some friends regarding the possibility of resuscitating the original Sinn Féin policy of national self-reliance and passive resistance. Got no encouragement. Not "advanced" enough for some. Informed that Cork is now headquarters for the Óglaigh of Ireland. Organising and drilling are to be continued.

August 3rd. "Casement was executed in London this morning" - Press Association news in "Cork Evening Echo".

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He had become a Catholic. Rev. James McCarroll, of Eden Grove, told a Press Association representative that Casement went to his death strong and erect, like the man he was.

The priest said a prayer and Casement replied: "Into Thy Hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit!" A noble and edifying death.

August 14th. Monday. (In Dublin from Saturday, 5th August, to Saturday, 12th). On Sunday, 6th, hearing there was to be a "demonstration" at O'Donovan Rossa's grave in Glasnevin, my wife and I and some Cork friends went there. On the way we passed some 25 or 30 "Clan na Gael" Girl Guides, neatly attired in green uniforms. Some men and women walking on the footpath went with them. They placed wreaths on graves in Glasnevin. That was all the demonstration.

We went to the grave of O'Rahilly. In the red earth around with, as yet, no distinguishing marks, we were told were buried 17 or 18 of the men who fell in Easter Week.

"Most of the revolutionaries, Fenians and others, are buried in this section" we were told by an old man who had probably been a Fenian himself. We viewed the graves of Rossa, O'Leary, Stephens and others.

In the afternoon, Michael Cremin, with a companion, called on me. We went with them to the Dublin mountains where Micheal resides in a tent. The companion's name was O Cleary (or Clarke). His face was marked and he was slightly lame. He was with Cremin in the G.P.O. and was wounded from the explosion of a shell. He told us a story of our friend, J.J. Walsh. "You know", said he, "'twas hard to prevent J.J. from making speeches. When the Post Office was blazing, with flames rising up behind him, just before we left the place, J.J. jumped up on a sorting table and made a speech to cheer us up. 'Twas a great sight and we cheered".

Michael Cremin had been wounded also and was taken to hospital. The military came to arrest him, but he escaped through a window at night time and so avoided prison.

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Monday, 7th August. Gaelic League Árd-Fheis at 25 Parnell Square. Father Cathaoir Ó Braonáin, now of Beara, presided. Over 200 delegates were present.

Monday night, ceilidhe in the Mansion House. Father Tomas Wall of Drumcollogher - one of those whom General Maxwell wanted Bishop O'Dwyer to remove from that parish - acted as chairman. Father McGrath, S.J., delivered the customary oration. Father Lynch, uncle to Fionan Lynch (now in prison) recited. Amongst others on the platform was Larry Ginnell, M.P.

Tuesday 8th. Gaelic League Árd-Fheis continued, Father Ó Braonain presiding. The Presidency of the League was the most important matter before the meeting. We all know Dr. Douglas Hyde was unwilling to continue as President. It was decided to have open voting. An t-Athair Peadar Ó Laoghaire was proposed by Pádraig MacSuibhne of Fermoy. Risteard Ó Foghludha proposed Father Wall. (Risteard is Acting Hon. Secretary for Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh, who is in Reading Gaol.) Father Wall refused to go forward. The Chairman proposed Eoin MacNeill (now in Dartmoor). Father Wall seconded. Some delegate said Mrs. MacNeill did not wish Eoin to be put forward. (My wife later informed me the reason for this was that Mrs. MacNeill knew there is a strong feeling against Eoin MacNeill amongst some of the relatives of men executed in Easter Week). Father Ó Braonain spoke strongly in favour of Eoin MacNeill, so he was elected unanimously and with much applause. The Vice-Presidents elected were - Father Matt Ryan, Father Wall, T.P. MacGinley and Seán Ó Ceallaigh ("Sceilg").

Thursday 10th. Around the streets where marks of the fighting of Easter Week are to be seen.

Liberty Hall bears evidence of bombardment, but stands out prominently, notwithstanding. Learned it was evacuated by the Citizen Army on Easter Monday and was untenanted during the week. Newspapers gave a different impression. There is havoc at eastern side of Lower O'Connell St., but no marked traces of fire and, at present, does not look desolate, as we were

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told the place looked after Easter Week. The walls of the G.P.O. stand and appear remarkably solid. The rubbish from within is being removed. Of Clery's big warehouse, marble pillars, backed by iron, stand. Behind the Post Office, portion of Henry St. is in ruins. Many houses have been completely destroyed, only debris remaining. The bombardment was from the river near the Custom House. All the buildings in the line of fire from there to the Post Office were hit and most of them demolished. A whole big block between Abbey Street and Eden Quay is gone. The Four Courts dome has been pitted by bullets or shrapnel. Whelan's, Newsagent, Ormond Quay, has evidence of fierce fire. North King St. to Church St. has the marks of fiercest rifle firing: every house front for some hundreds of yards having bullet marks on walls and windows. Linenhall barracks was burned out, having been set on fire, I was told, by the Volunteers before they left it.

Common report in Dublin puts English casualties as, at least, 2,000. Opinion puts actual number of Volunteer and Citizen Army killed at about 50; but a few hundred civilians, whether with arms or not, were wounded. We were told by men who were fighting in the Post Office that only one man was killed there. Opinion also puts number of Volunteers fighting in Dublin at about 1,500.

Friday, 11th August. Spent about four hours with Father Augustine, O.S.F.C., in the Priory, Church St. Father Augustine was in the thick of the fight during Easter Week, with others of the Capuchin Order - Fathers Albert, Aloysius, Jarlath. Heard from other sources Father Augustine was the man of men among them all in attending to his priestly duties, while men were dying or in danger of death. From my long acquaintance with him as friend and comrade, this is what I would expect. I cannot record all he told my wife and myself. To him the week was thrilling, heroic, inspiring, a manifestation of the divine in human souls. He told of men who had

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been careless in religious practices converted in the face of death; of one non-Catholic who desired to be baptised and became a Catholic.

There were people in Dublin during that week who would have "torn" 'our boys' asunder" - so Father Augustine put it. Feeling was strong against them. It was not till the executions that that attitude changed.

It was Father Augustine who took word to Tomás McDonagh that Pearse had been compelled to surrender. McDonagh was surprised. Then, Father Augustine arranged a meeting between General Lowe and McDonagh. Lowe was a perfect gentleman. Not so Maxwell and others. McDonagh asked if there were any terms. "I am afraid there is nothing for it but unconditional surrender" was Lowe's reply.

Lowe (or some other General) put a question to Father Augustine. He was told he need not answer if he wished not to do so. The question was: "What do you think will be the effect if the leaders are executed?" He replied: "You know, General, what Carlyle said: 'The world is not governed by logic but by sentiment'. If those men are executed all Ireland will be with them". He expressed the same opinion to Maxwell, whom he described as an ordinary, matter-of-fact soldier, who would sign an order for the execution of any number of men, while smoking a cigar.

Father Augustine told us he saw Eoin MacNeill in his cell after his trial. The position of MacNeill, in connection with the Rising was thus - He was President of the Volunteers, but was not in the secrets of Pádraig Pearse and the others. Things affecting the Volunteers were being done without his knowledge. On Spy Wednesday he was told a Rising was about to take place and was ultimately made to believe success was certain. He was very much opposed to action, at first; then was partly brought to consent, apparently, however, against

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his judgment. Subsequently he reverted to his original opinion; hence his order cancelling all mobilisation of Volunteers on Easter Sunday. (Though Father Augustine did not state it definitely, I judged Eoin must, in the meantime, have heard of the events in connection with Casement's landing and considered the whole plan that made for success had miscarried. I heard from another source, not from Father Augustine, that on Wednesday of Easter Week, Arthur Griffith went to MacNeill to urge him to cancel his order of Easter Sunday, but MacNeill refused).

There are many curious stories about Bulmer Hobson which are a surprise to me. He was regarded as garrulous, hence not to be trusted with secrets. Before the Rising, on Easter Monday, he was arrested and kept in custody by the Volunteers. He was released some time during the week. His description is in the "Hue and Cry", but he was not arrested, though the military authorities knew where he was; so Father Augustine told me.

Father Augustine saw Austin Stack in Richmond Prison. Stack told him Casement came to stop the insurrection at Easter. Monteith brought that information. Stack would not act on it without learning it from Casement himself. When they went to meet Casement, he had been arrested.

In Casement's trial, the journeys of Stack, Monteith and Bailey are mentioned.

Where we stayed in Dublin we met a man named McInerney from Limerick. He told me it was his brother who had driven the car that went into the river near Killorglin on Holy Thursday night. It was a pure accident. His brother was interned, but had been released recently.

On Friday evening, after leaving Father Augustine, I called on Dr. Michael Davitt at his residence, in connection with some cases for National Aid assistance. He said he would

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wish to have a long talk with me, but was engaged with Madame O'Rahilly and others in reference to amalgamation of National Aid Association and Volunteer Dependents' Fund. The amalgamation had taken place that day. (This I knew, as I had heard an Irish-American named Murphy had come to Ireland with a considerable sum of money and would not give it to either Association, but insisted on amalgamation). On my informing Dr. Davitt that I had to return to Cork next morning, he took me into his office and we settled our affairs easily.

August 13th. Sunday evening. Micheál Ó Cuill, who left Cork on Tuesday of Easter Week to take part in the Rising in Dublin, called to our home and told the story of his experiences. Micheál is a wonderful story-teller and his account was of deep interest.

The glamour of romance is already being thrown over some of the tales of Easter Week.

Dublin Castle rule is re-established. Wimborne has been appointed Lord Lieutenant. A man named Duke is Chief Secretary. The rigours of martial law, however, are being relaxed. The English Government is again trying to win Irish goodwill; but in the press and in certain quarters in England, hate is being displayed.

Efforts are being made to keep the Volunteers together as an organisation; not an easy task in Cork, in consequence of the debacle of Easter Week.

August 21st. Additional Defence of the Realm regulations have been published. One of them practically prevents anyone from coming into Ireland.

August 22nd. Sir Thomas Esmonde, M.P., has a letter in the press protesting against "the campaign of hate" which is being conducted in England against Irishmen. "The great deeds of Irish soldiers" in the war seem to have no effect on English opinion, Sir Thomas says. Did he think they would?

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There was a "scene" in Westminster Parliament yesterday. Mr. Landon, M.P., made some remarks about Sir John Maxwell. "He was understood to say Maxwell was a bigger murderer than the rebels". He was "called to order".

September 3rd. The Skeffington inquiry ended on Thursday (August 31st). The plea of the Attorney-General (Campbell, M.P.) for the Government was - "Sorry for what occurred, but in times of excitement and stamping out rebellions 'mistakes' will occur. Blame no one but the madman, Colthurst".

I noted the other day that, so far as I know, there were no such 'mistakes' on the Volunteers' side. Captain Stephen Gwynne, M.P., member of the "Irish Party", grandson of William Smith O'Brien, as he boasts, is of a different opinion. He charges the Volunteers with wholesale murder; every man in khaki on the streets of Dublin, he says, was fired at, whether the man was armed or not. Even wounded soldiers "home from the front" were fired at. The "Independent" comments: "He praised his 'grandfather's' insurrection, but condemned that of 1916". Another charge of murder made is that of the shooting of the policeman guarding Dublin Castle gate.

Have seen some American papers of August 10th and 11th. Comments on Casement's hanging are very scathing against England. The general tenor of about a dozen extracts from various papers is that Casement's execution was a crime against humanity. All British excuses for it are blown to atoms. No one in Ireland has dared to use the language that is in the American papers.

James Connolly's daughter has gone to America. An interview with her is published. (His wife will not be allowed to go).

The treatment accorded to the delegates from the National Aid Committee of the United States coming to Dublin for relief

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of distress is detailed at length. They came from Liverpool in a liner, were not allowed to land and had to go back to the States on the same ship.

Reports from the Argentine are also published. They show a strong spirit among the Irish there.

Considering the strict censorship, the amount of news getting abroad is very surprising.

The papers I saw are more pro-ally than pro-German, but their attitude towards the war situation is entirely different to that of the pro-British in Ireland.

September 24th. Many events have had to go unrecorded by me. At present, I find most people are somewhat bewildered as to the course of events in Ireland. No one can say what is likely to happen. Conscription, however, is the matter most discussed. The English "die-hards" are again endeavouring to have it applied to Ireland.

The language movement seems progressing. There is talk of the Peace Conference which, it is assumed, will meet after the war is ended; and the view is growing that the freedom of Ireland should be made a matter for discussion at that Conference. But who can speak for Ireland now? The Irish Parliamentary Party does not favour an appeal to the Peace Conference and the Volunteers are broken, as an organisation. According to reports, the "Irish Nation League" is gaining strength in the North, but it seems only a replica of the United Irish League. M.J. Judge has a weekly paper and a "Repeal League", but it looks as if he were alone in the League! The Orangemen are quiet at present, as they well ^{may} be, having things their own way. The Coalition Government rules in England and the war continues as fierce as ever.

October 13th. Sensation at the beginning of this week - German submarines off the North American Coast. A number of

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English ships torpedoed. According to the "Daily Mail" of Tuesday last, October 10th, (in a note taken from "New York World") "U 53 carried away from Newport, U.S.A., the flag of the Irish Republic, presented to the U-boat commander by sympathisers. Lieutenant Wacker received the flag and, as the boat cleared, shouted: "When we sink a British ship, we will hoist this in honour of Ireland".

Conscription for Ireland is again being hotly discussed. John E. Redmond spoke in Waterford last Friday. Admission to his meeting was by ticket. He was guarded by police and there was close police surveillance. Notwithstanding, there were "rows" in the hall where he spoke. "Sinn Féiners" were mauled, assaulted, thrown out. So the news reports say. Girls who wore republican flags got rough treatment. So bad was the scene that a priest spoke from the pulpit on Sunday regarding it.

According to Mr. Redmond, the Irish Parliamentary Party are in opposition to the Government "on all questions but the war". They are opposed to conscription - "it would be fought out in every village in Ireland". It is difficult to understand Redmond's attitude and the attitude of the Party. They assert Ireland is one with England in the war. Logically then, they ought to accept conscription.

The Party is trying to make all the political capital it can out of the Rising. The policy now is: the Rising was a disaster - but the men who fought were brave men; the men in prison ought get good treatment; martial law ought be withdrawn. The latest tale is that Mr. Redmond, per Mr. Dillon, per Mr. Devlin, saved "49 rebels" from being shot!

November 18th. Maxwell is gone, but martial law is still in force, nominally. He received honours from King George V for his "excellent work" in Ireland - his regime of death and terror. He is succeeded by General Sir Bryan Mahon. There is

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still talk of some humbug of Home Rule. One thing stands out strikingly since Easter Week: Ireland is a nation governed against its will by overwhelming military force. As the "Morning Post" puts it, "England cannot afford to let Ireland go".

There are some curious anomalies. Men are prosecuted for singing "Felons of Our Land"; for shouting "Up Dublin". The "Southern Star" is suppressed for something or other, quite insignificant; yet, other papers and other songs of a much more "seditious" nature are not noticed by the authorities.

According to what I hear, the military people fear, or pretend to fear, another rising. I have heard young officers talking, as if in deadly fear, of the danger of walking the streets of Dublin. A nice young fellow, the other night, remarked: "One never knows what may happen there". It has an amusing aspect. There was a courtmartial on an officer in Cork military barracks last week, reported in the Cork papers of Saturday, 11th. He was charged with being drunk on the night of October 5th. In the course of the case, it was stated the military in Ballincollig had received information from the police there was to be a rising in Cork that night! There is again a suggestion of pressing the police into the army.

It is quite apparent they do not want to leave Ireland. They may be deliberately creating scares; "pulling the leg" of the military authorities to save themselves from joining the army.

December 3rd. Sunday. There was to be a meeting of "An Fáinne" today. It was not held. After it, a meeting of the Cork District Coiste of the Gaelic League. Only four or five attended. We remained talking till half-past two.

Last night, I heard from Sean O'Sullivan and from Domhnall O'Callaghan that there was also to be a meeting to establish a branch of Sinn Féin in Cork, at 2 p.m. today. I was undecided as to whether I would attend this meeting or not,

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chiefly on account of the débacle of Easter Week in Cork. As I was passing the door of the room in which this meeting was being held, in company with Michael Ó Cuill, Denis O'Neill, T.C., accosted us. "Come to the meeting", he said, "you need not remain long". I went with him. The meeting had not commenced. There were fifteen or sixteen present. I was proposed as Chairman! I refused to act. Domhnall Ó Ceallacháin was then proposed. He also refused. I was appealed to a second time and, after hesitation, consented. After some discussion, a working executive was appointed. Sean Nolan, Chairman; Liam de Roiste, Hon. Treasurer; Sean Conlon, M.A., and Patrick Barrett, secretaries; Domhnall O'Callaghan, Seán Good (Secretary, Cork Trades Council), Seán Jennings, Maurice Conway, Liam Murphy, Denis O'Neill, members of the executive. Seán O'Sullivan refused, as he said it was better that officers of the Volunteers should not be on the Sinn Féin Council. Sean Ó Tuama also refused. It appeared to me that, while it was desired to establish the branch, few were prepared to work for it. Thus, was Sinn Féin re-established in Cork, and I would say it was not too promising a beginning.

December 5th. The war is going heavily against England and its allies. There is almost a state of panic. A real crisis has arisen in the British Government. All the Ministers have resigned. "Reconstruction" is taking place. There is dissension and disunion in high places. Ginnell, recently out of prison, put a question to Asquith yesterday: would he not consider the advisability of applying to Great Britain the principle the Government was applying to Ireland - no government till the people agree! Food is becoming scarce and food prices are soaring. Ruling authorities in Russia are said to be pro-German and deserting their Allies.

Martial Law is now a dead letter in Ireland. It exists,

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but is not being enforced. On Sunday week last, the Manchester Martyrs' Demonstration was held, as in former years, and without interference by the police. The British Government is probably too preoccupied to take note of affairs in Ireland. Anyhow, there is liberty of speech.

December 16th. Asquith has been thrown out; Earl Grey also; and their supporters. Lloyd George is Prime Minister; Carson, First Lord of the Admiralty; Bonar Law, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Balfour and Cecil, though fiercely attacked in the Northcliffe press, are in the new Government.

December 20th. Some progress is being made in the establishment of the Sinn Féin organisation in Cork. New men have joined it. Some of them were active in an election in West Cork propagating Sinn Féin ideas. The present plan accepted for the city is quiet organising and recruitment of new members. A summary of aims and objects which I drafted has been printed as a leaflet and widely distributed. A number of things has recently been said and done in the name of Sinn Féin with which I do not agree. They are not in line with our original Sinn Féin policy.

The "Cork Free Press" has ceased to exist. O'Brien himself ordered the close-down. After Easter Week, when the "Press", guardedly, lauded the men who fought in Dublin, the circulation increased by leaps and bounds. During the West Cork election, William rounded on the Sinn Féin men who interfered with him. Since then, the circulation of his paper has declined. The All-for-Ireland League is defunct. There is really no place now for O'Brien. His "conference, conciliation and consent" ideas are not wanted. He is probably disgusted and may again retire from public life.

Tadhg Barry was arrested on Sunday morning (17th) and is at present in the military detention barracks. The arrest is probably due to statements made by him at the City Hall

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meeting on Manchester Martyrs' Day. He said that what Sinn Feiners really stood for was an Irish Republic. He was taken after coming from 7 o'clock Mass and was not permitted to have breakfast. Tadhg was attached to the "Cork Free Press", but was dismissed a fortnight ago on account of his criticisms of O'Brien during the West Cork election.

Another man, a van driver, O'Keefe by name, was arrested on Monday. Charge is believed to be: endeavouring to purchase military equipment. Apparently a trap was laid for him. From what I hear, a good deal of such equipment has been purchased by the Óglaigh in Cork recently. The military authorities are on the track of the equipment and of those who purchased it.

Prime Minister Lloyd George made some vague references to Ireland in a war speech in the House of Commons yesterday. The English Government regard "some kind of settlement of the Irish question" as of paramount importance in the present war situation and its international complications. Redmond made some of his usual remarks. The Irish Party will do nothing to hinder His Majesty's Government in the successful prosecution of the war.

December 24th. Sunday. Prisoners in Frongoch have been set free and have been coming home in batches since Friday last. Chief Secretary Duke stated in the English Commons on Thursday that the Government had considered "the advantages and disadvantages" of setting the prisoners free, and came to the conclusion that the advantages outweighed the disadvantages. No question of justice or magnanimity in the action. He paid tribute to the Irish Parliamentary Party for keeping Ireland "quiet" during the past few months. And now, the Party and their supporters are making capital for themselves (as they think) from the liberation of the prisoners.

President Woodrow Wilson has sent a "Peace Note" to the

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warring powers. It is almost a direct invitation to "small nations and weak states" to lay their case before the United States Government.

Thinking over it, Saturday night last, as to how it may be used to Ireland's advantage, I decided to begin by getting a resolution passed at Cork Sinn Féin Executive Committee. I looked up points in Lloyd George's speech of Tuesday and speeches of the French, Russian and Italian Ministers on Germany's peace offers. The idea of Ireland being represented at the Peace Conference has been in the air since Easter Week. Wilson's "Note" brings the matter to earth and gives an opportunity for action.

So, on Saturday night, I drafted a resolution:

"Whereas, Great Britain, Russia, France and Italy have declared they entered the present European War to defend the rights of small nations; and Whereas, the present Prime Minister of Great Britain recently stated the war 'is a struggle for international right, international honour, international good faith for the protection of the weak against the strong', and Baron Sonnino, Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs, has stated: 'they all desired a lasting peace, but it must depend on a just equilibrium between States and respect for the principle of nationality' and

Whereas, President Wilson has stated that 'the objects which the statesmen of the belligerents on both sides have in mind in this war are virtually the same, as stated in general terms to their own people and to the world'

"Each side desires to make the rights and privileges of weak peoples and small states as secure against aggression or denial, in the future, as the rights and privileges of the great and powerful States now at war", and "the interest of the United States in the means to be adopted to relieve the smaller and weaker peoples of the world of the peril of wrong and violence

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is as quick and ardent as that of any other people or Government", and that the people of the United States "stand ready and even eager to co-operate in the accomplishment of these ends, when the war is over, with every influence and resource at their command",

Now, this Executive of the Sinn Féin organisation in Cork is of opinion that the Irish people, as one of the "weak peoples and small states" which needs "security against aggression" and guarantees against "denial of its rights and privileges", ought be represented at the Congress of Nations and have its claim to national liberty considered.

We respectfully ask Irish public bodies to endorse this opinion and to appeal to His Holiness the Pope and to President Wilson to ensure that Ireland's voice be heard at the Peace Conference and its claims considered thereat".

The resolution was adopted at the meeting of the Executive; a small meeting. Donal Óg Ó Ceallacháin was Chairman, and others present were: Seán Conlon, M.A., Maurice Conway, Pat Barrett and myself.

I sent the resolution to Herbert Pim for insertion in his paper, the "Irishman", and an article on the matter of it to Shan Ó Cuiv for "Irish Opinion". Councillor Jerry Lane handed in a motion at Cork Corporation on somewhat similar lines to my resolution. I spoke to Alderman Sean Cronin of this and he said, as a member of Redmondite Party, he would have a better chance than Lane of getting the resolution carried by the Corporation. So, I gave him my resolution. I am sending it also to various public and representative people throughout the country and to Wesley Frost, American Consul at Cove.

Major General Doran, C.B., Commanding the Southern District, has prohibited the holding of a concert by the South Parish Branch, Gaelic League, on St. Stephen's night. He

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fears it may lead to "grave disorder".

Christmas Day - 7 p.m. Have just heard that Terence MacSwiney and Tomás MacCurtain arrived home about 4 p.m. today.

They were imprisoned in Reading, so I suppose their release means that Griffith, Milroy, Peadar O'Hourihane and all others who were in Reading are freed as well.

December 29th. All the prisoners who were not tried by courtmartial have been released. They were officially designated as "Irish Prisoners of War". Those sentenced by courtmartial have not been so designated. His Majesty's Government seems to be muddled as to their status.

Wednesday evening (27th) my wife and I visited the MacSwineys to greet Terence. He looks well. He has nothing particular to say as to his adventures. Our conversation was on ordinary topics. A brother of his, Peter, is home from America. I gathered from him that the Irish-Americans in the States are divided, as at home, but that the Redmondite United Irish League is dead there. The "Tammany Hall Irish", according to him, care little about Ireland; they merely use the cry of "Ireland" to get votes. Opinions among Irish-Americans were divided over the Presidential election, many doubting Woodrow Wilson's sincerity. Most of the Irish are not pro-German. The pro-English papers condemned the "Rebellion"; the Hearst group of papers gave good reports of it. All the papers, including the pro-English, condemned the executions. The Clann-na-Gael will probably endeavour to have Ireland's case brought up at the Peace Conference, but a very general opinion is that this will be difficult, owing to the fact that the Rising was not general, being practically confined to Dublin.

Miss Louise Gavan Duffy was present at our conversations. She is staying with the MacSwineys at present.

1917. January 3rd: I have sent Sinn Féin Executive resolution re Peace Congress to Cardinal Logue , in the hope that he may transmit it to the Vatican; to Jeremiah O'Mahony, Member Cork County Council, asking him to bring it before the Council; to P. W. Kenny, Waterford. The latter has a letter in the "Independent" today to say the matter is to come before the "Supreme Council" of the "Irish Nation League". Many public bodies are now beginning to express their opinions on somewhat similar lines to what is conveyed in our resolution.

Patrick Corcoran, printer, was arrested on Monday morning (January 1st). Two employees of his came to me and said his arrest is due to the printing by him of a circular setting out the aims and objects of Sinn Féin. His name was appended to it and also a statement that it was issued by authority of the Sinn Féin Executive in Cork. The men who called advised me to "plank" any copies I had. By a clever ruse on the printer's part, the MS. of the circular was burned while the police were searching Corcoran's premises.

General opinion is that he was arrested for printing a booklet of songs - "Songs of the Rebels", though it was not generally known he was the printer of this. I have heard the compiler is An t-Athair Tomás de Róiste.

January 9th: The resolution re Ireland's representation at the Peace Conference was carried unanimously at a meeting of Cork County Council, last Thursday (January 4th), on the proposition of Jeremiah O'Mahony. There was a full meeting of the Council. It was ordered to be sent to the Bishops of County Cork dioceses, for transmission to the Pope and also to the American Ambassador in London.

I received a very courteous letter from Wesley Frost, American Consul at Queenstown. He says he has sent our resolution direct to the Secretary of State at Washington and a copy to the American Ambassador in London.

Relations between the Cork Volunteer Battalion Council and the Sinn Féin Executive are a source of some annoyance at present.

The meeting held on 3rd December last to establish a branch of Sinn Fein was called together by prominent 1917 leaders of the Volunteers. It was their initiative. Commandant Seán O'Sullivan explained, however, that it was inadvisable that those in responsible positions in the Óglaigh should be members of the Sinn Fein Executive. At the end of last week I heard that this view had been endorsed by the Battalion Council, which had made a definite order on it. A result was that Seán Nolan, who had been Chairman of the Executive, resigned. A serious view was taken of this. It seemed the throwing over of Sinn Fein by members of the Volunteers. Desirous to know the root cause of the attitude of the Battalion Council, a Deputation from the Executive was appointed to wait on them.

On Thursday night last, (4th), there was a general meeting of the Volunteers. There were about 200 present. Terence MacSwiney and Tomás MacCurtain spoke. The attitude towards Sinn Fein was entirely friendly. Later, Battalion Council meeting was held. It was explained that those in responsible positions in the Óglaigh have enough to do to carry out their duties efficiently and so are unable to devote time to the Sinn Fein organisation.

It seems to me, however, that "military work", in the minds of some, is regarded as much more important than political work and that this is the real cause of partial withdrawal from Sinn Fein.

January 10th: Report of part of courtmartial trial of Tadhg Barry is in today's papers. As reported, the proceedings are almost farcical. The charge against him is for statements in his speech at the Manchester Martyrs' meeting. But, documents found in his house were put in as evidence against him. The principal one is our circular, "Aims and Objects of Sinn Fein". Another, a ballad sheet, "Easter Week". John Good, Secretary Cork Trades Council, who presided at the meeting, was a witness for the defence. From

statements of his, it would hardly be surprising if he himself were now brought up for "trial". Other cases are pending.

1917: January 20th:

I have had to put my notebooks away, for safe keeping. The following are translated from Irish:

Cork Corporation (12th instant), on the proposition of Councillor Jeremiah Lane, adopted the resolution urging representation for Ireland at the Peace Conference. It was adopted unanimously. Alderman, Sir Edward Fitzgerald, presided. Some of the Redmondite Party wished to amend the resolution, but Sir Edward would not permit them.

Another resolution was adopted protesting against the military order prohibiting a Gaelic League concert on St. Stephen's night. Two members of the South Parish Branch and myself attended the Corporation meeting and explained the circumstances. Alderman John Hogan (Redmondite) contended that the Gaelic League is a political organisation.

Saturday night last (13th), Cumann na mBan had an entertainment, particularly for the men from County Cork who had been in gaol and had been released recently. A great number were present, from all parts of the county. During the night, those of them who were Volunteers, held a meeting, chiefly, as I heard, to discuss the happenings in Cork during Easter Week. There were many complaints, criticisms, and disappointments expressed. At one period it looked as if recriminations would become too heated. My friend, John Murphy of Lissarda, (who told me what happened at the meeting) proposed that another meeting be held a fortnight hence, when matters could be discussed more calmly. His proposition was accepted, so good feeling was restored.

Later, I was speaking to Séamus Hannigan, of Mitchelstown Óglaigh. He, too, felt strongly because Cork had failed to act in Easter Week. He asked me if it were true that Tralee Volunteers had refused to rescue Casement because one of their leaders had said an attempt at rescue would be a declaration of war on the British Government. I had heard this, but did not know if it were true or not. That Casement came to stop the Rising is now well known. It was said in Cork, by responsible people in the Volunteers, that Casement was a traitor!

December, 1916.

SINN FEIN:

ITS

Objects & Means

WATCHWORD:

NATIONAL SELF-RELIANCE.

Published for the Cork Executive of Sinn Fein, by
Patrick Corcoran, 21, Sullivan's Quay, Cork.

SINN FÉIN.

OBJECT.—The object of the Sinn Féin movement is the re-establishment of Ireland's sovereign independence.

As Thomas Davis put it: "The Irish Nation must be **SUPREME** on this island A mockery of Irish independence is not what we want. The bauble of a powerless Parliament does not lure us. . . . The office of supplying England with recruits, artizans, and corn shall not be our destiny."

MEANS.—To achieve our country's independence Sinn Féin proposes, among other things, as the nation's work—

1. The unity of Irishmen on the broad national principle that Ireland is a distinct nation with a nation's right to freedom; not a province begging for concessions.

Repudiation of the right of the English Parliament to make laws for this nation. The right of the Irish Nation to be bound only by its own laws was acknowledged by the English Parliament in 1783. "The Act of Union is a nullity which no man in Ireland is bound to obey," said Lord Chancellor Plunket.

3. Passive resistance to English law in Ireland. As the Act of Union is "a nullity," and was carried by "treachery and fraud," every English law in Ireland is immoral, unconstitutional and illegal. It is thus not only a right, but a duty, on Irishmen to resist English law in Ireland.

4. The withdrawal of Irish representatives from the English Parliament as the definite means of repudiating the right of that Parliament to make laws for Ireland, and as the complete repudiation of the Act of Union.

5. The establishment of a National Council to direct the affairs of the nation.

6. The building up of Ireland industrially by consistent support of Irish products, goods, manufactures, industries, and the development of Irish resources.

7. Support of the Irish language movement, and reform of Irish education so as to make it thoroughly national and suitable to Irish needs.

Encouragement of Irish games, amusements, pastimes, and characteristics. Discouragement of all things tending to anglicise Irishmen.

8. Resistance, as far as practicable, to taxation imposed by the English Parliament, and non-consumption, as far as practicable, of articles paying duty to the British Exchequer.

9. National self-development through the recognition of the rights and duties of citizenship on the part of the individual, and by the aid and support of ALL movements originating from within Ireland, instinct with national tradition, and not looking outside Ireland for the accomplishment of their aims.

10. An Irish social policy which would ensure good conditions for the working classes, for the aged and infirm, and would tend to the prosperity of the country.

11. The maintenance of the Irish Volunteers.

12. Sinn Féin will endeavour to have Ireland's right to freedom considered at the International Conference to be held at the close of the present European war.

The watchword of Sinn Féin is National **Self-Reliance**. Sinn Féin repudiates the begging attitude of Parliamentarianism as un-Irish, unmanly, and disastrous to our country.

If you wish to join the Sinn Féin organisation, get in touch with the Hon. Sec., Cork Branch, at 13, Great George's Street:

ÉIRE NEAMHSPLEADÁC ÉIRE SAOR !

1917:

January: Prohibitions of the military authorities of Gaelic League entertainments and criticisms of the league by public men, in which accusations were made of its being a "Sinn Féin" political organisation, led to greater activity in the league itself and to greater support from sympathisers of the language movement.

Count Plunkett now came into prominence in politics. On January 20th he was expelled from the Royal Dublin Society. He was nominated as a candidate for a parliamentary vacancy in North Roscommon and was elected, February 5th.

He did not get in touch directly with any of the leaders of Sinn Féin or the Volunteers in Cork, but with Jerry Lane, Town Councillor, whom he had known when Secretary of the Cork International Exhibition of 1902. It was not known if he would adopt the Sinn Féin policy of abstention from the British Parliament, but, as the father of Joseph Plunkett, he was regarded as representing the general views of those who took part in the Rising and as anti-British. So it was arranged in Cork that Jerry Lane and Alderman P.H. Meade be sent to Roscommon to help in the election campaign.

After election he was given the "Freedom of Sligo" and there intimated he intended calling a convention of representatives of public bodies and national organisations in Dublin. This appears as "a new movement".

March 17th: Plunkett's circular letter to public bodies with invitation to attend the convention appears. He has adopted the idea of an appeal to the Peace Conference and uses excellent arguments. The Redmondite supporters in general on the public bodies are in opposition to the ideas of Count Plunkett and personal abuse of him is indulged in.

April 6th: The United States declare war on Germany.

April 19th: "Plunkett Convention" in Mansion House, Dublin. There was a very large attendance. I attended as delegate from Cork Sinn Féin Executive. It was apparent there were many cross-currents of opinion among those present as to the line of action to be taken and to the personnel of an Executive that may be formed. There was a clash between Count Plunkett and Griffith. It was apparent, however, that there was no general support for the Count as leader of "a new movement". Griffith advocated the old Sinn Féin policy of "passive resistance", but this did not commend itself to certain militant sections whose only idea was that of "physical force" through the Volunteers. Also, Griffith was said to have been opposed to the Rising. There was unanimity regarding the presentation of Ireland's case at the Peace Conference.

April: Election in Longford. Sinn Féin organisation had decided to contest parliamentary elections. The old policy of non-recognition of the English Parliament and non-attendance there had been accepted.

Joe McGuinness, imprisoned for his part in the Rising, was put forward as a candidate. Seán Milroy was Director of Elections. He drew a picture of a man in prison which was widely displayed. Printed beneath it was the catchy slogan "Put him in to take him out". He sent me a postcard picture of this drawing of his.

May 9th: Polling in Longford. After recount of votes, McGuinness was declared elected by 37 votes of a majority; a close victory, but regarded as very satisfactory. After election strong protests were made against Partition of the country.

June: Prime Minister Lloyd George has called a Convention to, once more, "settle the Irish Question". It is to be representative of all parties in Ireland. Sir Horace Plunkett is appointed Chairman. Sinn Féin, naturally, refused to send representatives to this Convention. The international purpose is, chiefly, to placate some Irish-Americans.

June 17th: All Irish prisoners in English jails are released. Again English policy towards Ireland wavers. There is an air of freedom now that there has not been since 1914. Some say it will not last, but at all events, it gives us an opportunity for present work to strengthen the Sinn Féin organisation and some liberty to express our ideas.

July 10th: It is the day of the polling in Clare election. De Valera is the Sinn Féin candidate, one

of the leaders in Dublin in Easter Week, sentenced to death, commuted to imprisonment and recently released. The opposing candidate is Patrick Lynch, King's Counsellor, "Crown Prosecutor". He is backed by the "Irish Party" and by all the pro-English forces.

For the past week, some of us in Cork have been as busy regarding the election as if we were in the thick of the campaign. Thursday last (5th) I journeyed to Limerick to meet Seán Milroy, who is Director of Elections; to arrange regarding motor cars from Cork. Saturday I got a wire from him to "come early" to Ennis. I went there on Saturday night.

Among others whom I renewed acquaintance with, or met for the first time were: Countess Markievicz, Joe McGuinness, Larry Ginnell, Count Plunkett, Darrell Figgis, de Valera, Alice Milligan, Walter Cole, T.P. Smyth, Dr. MacNabb, Fr. Gleeson. Some I met were old friends of the days when Sinn Féin was in its infancy; others have sprung into prominence recently. At the meeting I attended on Sunday at Ruan, there was a police cordon between the opposing crowds to keep them from fighting. The Parish Priest was on the Sinn Féin side. I got talking to an old man who recalled for me the days of the Land League, when landlords were shot and police stoned. Returning to Ennis that evening on outside cars, stones were thrown at us. At night a rowdy crowd tried to break into the hotel. They failed, but broke a number of windows. Notwithstanding such demonstrations of Lynch supporters, it was pretty certain in my mind that de Valera would be elected.

Yesterday morning coming home I happened to meet Arthur Griffith in Limerick. Two priests were with him. They were proceeding to Ennis. Griffith was unable to come earlier, as he had to have "Nationality" published during the week end. In the course of conversation, from some question I put, he intimated to me that de Valera was to be the future leader of the Sinn Féin organisation. I expressed the opinion that from my observations and conversations in Co. Clare, de Valera was practically sure of election there.

July 11th: 6 p.m. Result of Clare election: -
de Valera, 5,010; Lynch, 2,035, majority, 2975.
The most sanguine estimate of majority before the count was 1,500.

The Lloyd George Convention continued its sittings. One was held in University College, Cork. It got a good deal of publicity, but it was evident the members of it were out of touch with present public opinion in Ireland. No result was expected from it.

August: Sinn Féin contested an election in Kilkenny. Cosgrave won by 722 votes to 392 for the "Irish Party" candidate.

Larry Ginnell withdrew from the English Parliament and joined Sinn Féin. He had spoken for Sinn Féin in the Clare Election. There were now five parliamentary representatives who had adopted the Sinn Féin policy of abstention from the British Parliament and appeal to the Peace Conference.

August: Notwithstanding the English Government's desire to create a "peace atmosphere" for the Convention, arrests of Sinn Féin supporters were taking place and proclamations against the holding of public meetings. Among others arrested were Thomas Ashe, Fionán Lynch and Austin Stack. They were brought before a military court and refused to recognise its right to try them. They were imprisoned in Mountjoy. Along with other prisoners there they went on "hunger strike" (September 20th). An attempt was made to "forcibly feed" them. On September 25th Tom Ashe was removed to the Mater Hospital and died there. His death created a tremendous sensation.

Max Green, son-in-law of John Redmond, was Chairman of the Prisons Board at the time.

October 25th: Sinn Féin Convention in the Mansion House, Dublin. A large attendance of delegates from cumainn all over the country, something over 1,200. De Valera, Griffith and Count Plunkett had been nominated for the Presidency of the organisation. There had been canvassing in Cork, as elsewhere, to have de Valera elected as President. From what he had told me in Limerick in July, I was aware that Griffith did not intend to oppose de Valera. So at the Convention he withdrew his own name and proposed de Valera. Count Plunkett then also withdrew. Griffith was elected Vice President almost unanimously, getting 1,197 votes. Fr. O'Flanagan got 780 votes, defeating Count Plunkett.

The Secretaries appointed were Darrell Figgis and Austin Stack, and Cosgrave and Ginnell were elected Treasurers.

For the Executive Council, the larger number of votes were cast for the older members of the Sinn Féin organisation (pre 1916).

It was decided to contest all parliamentary seats at the next general election and then set up a National Council or assembly.

The decision to appeal to the Peace Conference was confirmed.

The organising of Sinn Féin cumainn was continued intensively throughout the rest of the year 1917 and spring of 1918. There were public meetings and gatherings at which the Sinn Féin policy was explained. It was becoming apparent that general public opinion was on the side of Sinn Féin and that the policy of parliamentarianism was being discredited.

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Yet, in February 1918, Dr. McCartan as Sinn Féin candidate, was defeated in a parliamentary election in South Armagh; in March Captain Redmond beat Dr. Vincent White, and in April Seán Milroy was beaten by a man named Harbison. The register was an old one and the franchise of the time was limited.

April: The announcement by Prime Minister Lloyd George that conscription was to be enforced in Ireland changed the situation to the great advantage of Sinn Féin.

On April 16th the Conscription Act passed the British House of Commons. The Irish Parliamentary Party withdrew from the House in protest and it seemed for a time as if they would adopt the Sinn Féin policy of abstention.

1918. April 9th:

The menace of Conscription is overshadowing all other affairs in Ireland. This evening Prime Minister Lloyd George is to introduce a new "Man Power Bill", one clause of which is to have compulsory military service applied to Ireland.

The report of the Home Rule Convention, which has been sitting for the past eight months, is to be presented to Parliament.

Yesterday, Dublin Corporation, passed a resolution condemning Conscription for Ireland. It asked the Lord-Mayor to invite De Valera, Griffith, Dillon, Devlin and Trade Union leaders, to a meeting to consider steps to be taken to meet the situation. The attitude of the Redmondite Home Rulers is illogical, but they know the majority of the people are strongly opposed to Conscription.

It is stated the Convention made no recommendations. It is left to Lloyd George and his Government to act, or not to act, on the report. Lloyd George wrote to the Convention outlining what he proposed. It is much as the Home Rule Act of 1914. Arthur Griffith gave me a copy of this letter when I was in Dublin, last month. The London "Times" says Conscription must be enforced, whether a Home Rule Act come into operation or not.

April 19th: Things move quickly and change suddenly these times. Lloyd George and his Cabinet have achieved a miracle in Ireland! They have united the country in a way it was never united before. Even the arguments of the Orange Party show that Ireland is not a province, or part, of Great Britain.

Yesterday, Thursday 18th., the leaders of Sinn Féin, of the Irish Parliamentary Party, of the O'Brienite Party, and of Irish Labour

organisations, met in the Mansion House, Dublin, under the chairmanship of Lord Mayor O'Neill, to consider means of opposing Conscription. At the same time the Hierarchy were meeting at Maynooth. The civil leaders sent a deputation to Maynooth to confer with the ecclesiastical authorities. Both bodies have issued statements: excellent declarations, condemning Conscription.

May 17th: A proclamation of the British to the Arabs affords us much amusement. They refer ^{to} "ye people of Bagdad", to foreign tyrants, of twenty-six generations, setting house against house, hurrying young men away to wars not of Arab making. "These things are abhorrent to Great Britain and its Allies"!!! So the proclamation. Fine - for the Arabs: perhaps.

May 18th: Quick strokes of the Government last night and early this morning. The action was not unexpected. There were rumours during the week of likely wholesale arrests and deportations. De Valera, Griffith, Cosgrave, Milroy, Figgis, Madame Markievicz and many others have been arrested. Also, arrests through the country. Peadar O'Hannrachain is one who has been taken. So far, in Cork city, only Tadhg Barry has been caught. Others were looked for, but were not found.

A ridiculous proclamation is issued by the Lord Lieutenant and Chief Secretary. Even a fool should see through it. It is to the effect that "a German Plot" has been discovered! A few, very few Irishmen are in it. "The Plot is an insult to Ireland and its military glory and its good name; therefore, the Government has decided to try voluntary recruiting before resorting to compulsion, and expects all loyal subjects of His Majesty to help it in crushing this German Plot by getting Irishmen to join the Army". Seems a bit mixed, but there it is! Do the British Government, or its advisers, really think they are clever?

In an interview, Chief Secretary Shortt refers to the "very few" in the "Plot"; but the wholesale arrests are due to the fact that others "might, unknowingly, become corrupted" !

Is it intended to make the Volunteers take the field in precipitate action, so that the military could crush them? As a political measure, it is excellent - for Sinn Fein: a fool's act for the British Government; as everyone knows it is based on a lie.

May 19th: The full list of those arrested has not been published. The Sinn Fein and National Aid Offices in Dublin were raided. The chief men working for Griffith in Cavan election have been taken. He is opposed by a supporter of the "Irish Party". A late announcement is that no meetings are to be held in Cavan today even by the "Party" supporters. Will they go on with the contest?

1918: The Act is unanimously accepted as a declaration of war on the Irish Nation. The only question is what is the most effective means of defeating the enemy. "Any means consonant with the law of God", declare the Bishops. "Any means that will be effective", is the general opinion. The issue is clear. English military power versus the unanimous will of the Irish Nation. But, there are international and diplomatic considerations also to be reckoned with by English statesmen; chiefly because of their war declarations. Griffith was right when he said, "The day England entered the war declaring it was fighting for the liberty of small nations that day the Lord delivered her into Ireland's hands". And the war situation is not going in England's favour.

April 20th: Last week there seemed to be a strain among people in general because of the Conscription threat. This week there seems to be a calmness and almost an exultation in some minds. The Mansion House Conference has decided to send Lord Mayor O'Neill to Washington to put Ireland's case against Conscription before President Wilson. Dr. MacCartan is in Washington as Ireland's Ambassador and he has been returned unopposed as Member of Parliament for Offaly, which is considered as a form of endorsement of his position in the United States.

Another decision of the Conference was the organising of a National Defence Fund: Archbishop Walsh and Lord Mayor O'Neill to be Trustees. The priests, with local Committees, are to take charge of the funds throughout the country. Tomorrow, all over Ireland, Masses of intercession are to be celebrated, after which priests are to ask the people to sign an anti-conscription pledge at the church doors. This pledge denies the right of the English Government to enforce compulsory service in Ireland and pledges each person to the other by ^{to defeat it} the most effective means.

May 17th: The London correspondent of the "Irish Independent", usually well-informed, states that the Government have decided to make another big attempt at voluntary recruiting in Ireland! If true, this means postponing Conscription.

But, Dr. Arthur Lynch had a talk with ^{George} Lloyd and "got the impression that the Government means to go on with its "Irish policy".

1918: May 19th: Mr. William O'Brien, M.P., in the "Sunday Independent", suggests that Griffith ought not be opposed. He is expressing a general opinion. But, he has no influence with Dillon's party. No one believes there was, or is, "a German Plot".

Carson, the week before last, stated the Government had evidence that Sinn Fein was connected with German intrigues! This was a suggestion for action to be taken. Then, some time since there was a story of a man in a collapsible boat landing "on the west coast". His name was given as O'Brien and it was stated he was from Clonakilty. Little attention was paid to the tale and no one in Cork knew anything of such a man. Again, there was a story of "two men in a boat" taken in Dunleary Harbour. They were tried in London yesterday and the evidence showed they were 'two' out on a pleasure trip in the harbour.

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A Mr. Malcolm Lyon has drawn up a document to which he has got signatures of prominent people, such as Mrs. Green, ^{and} Dr. Douglas Hyde. It has also been endorsed by George Crosbie, of the "Cork Examiner", and Coroner John J. Horgan, Solicitor. One form of it is an appeal to the Mansion House Conference to accept the idea of having Ireland's case submitted to an international tribunal of representatives of the United States, and neutral countries of Europe. Mr. Lyon says Japan endorses it! Well, at least, it is a recognition that "the Irish Question" is a matter of international concern: not an English "domestic one". As Sinn Féin has been pressing the claim of Ireland to be presented before the Peace Conference, perhaps one of the objects of the Government in arresting our leaders is to prevent that claim being made. I judge peace is not far off. It may come this year - within a few months. With Sinn Féin crippled, the English War Cabinet may consider it can bargain with the other political parties in Ireland and thus prevent an appeal to the Peace Conference.

There are English men and English papers that do not believe the story of the "German Plot". They are criticising the Government's action.

General Smuts, a member of the English War Cabinet now, has also been talking about Ireland. He spoke at Glasgow. He asks Ireland not to appeal to the Peace Conference, but to appeal to what he calls "the highest court of appeal" - the Imperial Conference: whatever that be: there seems little reality about it at present.

May 20th: "The Daily Mail" not only accepts "the German Plot" as proved, but adds to the story. To impress on its readers what type of Irishmen are pro-German, it has a picture of a murderous, villainous, cut-throat face and labels it - De Valera!

1918.

Ireland's demand for freedom is due to "German intrigue", at a time when there is to be a new great offensive on the French battle front.

The "Mail's estimate of the number arrested and taken to England is one hundred.

Forestalling arrests, the Standing Committee of Sinn Féin had arranged for a "first line" of substitutes of officers. They are Father O'Flanagan, Vice-President, Mrs. Wyse Power and George Nesbitt, Hon. Treasurers; Alderman Tom Kelly and P. Sheehan, Hon. Secretaries. Eoin MacNeill and Tom Kelly have been appointed delegates to the Mansion House Conference.

There are also substitutes for all officials of executives and cumainn throughout the country.

In Co. Cavan yesterday there were no Party meetings, but Sinn Féin held a meeting at Cootehill: Father O'Flanagan and Rev. Dr. Patrick Browne speaking there. This is the first public appearance of Pádraig Browne on a Sinn Féin platform. I knew him in Ballingearry as a student some years ago - a fine character.

Count Plunkett was arrested on Saturday evening and Madame Conne-MacBride yesterday. So far, Tadhg Barry is the only one taken in Cork city.

The English press seems to be confused as to whether the Government intends to enforce Conscription or not. Lord French has appealed for voluntary recruiting. It is now accepted this will fail; particularly because of the arrests. They are also confused in other matters. One journalist says Sinn Féin has been dealt a mortal blow, as Eamon De Valera did not fight his captors! On the one hand, the military and

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Civil Governors of Ireland seem desirous of provoking an armed struggle: on the other hand, it seems the English Government does not want this.

The original Sinn Fein policy should be the one for Ireland: passive resistance. The time is opportune for it. But, it is a very hard policy, requiring moral courage of a high order. And, the blood of young men is hot: Irish people are always roused by a physical struggle.

"Passive resistance" does not appeal to them.

May 21st: Last night a friend called in to me to say he had heard I was to be arrested. Today, from another source, I heard the same. It may be true; but so far, the police have not called to my house. I sleep elsewhere at nights when in the city.

News of today is that the men deported have been taken to Frongoch. There are calls for a trial and production of evidence of "the German Plot": now, however, termed "the Sinn Féin Plot", by the "Daily Mail". I surmise there will be no trials, but the Government will publish a little story of its own, as "portion of the evidence", but "without giving information to the enemy".

The "Belfast Newsletter", an Orange organ, challenges the Government to face the straight issue:- the Sinn Féin demand for Sovereign Independence and repudiation of the English Parliaments right to make laws for Ireland. The Government will not do so. It must needs go off with the German plot fable. It may proclaim the Sinn Féin organisation illegal. It seems afraid to come to close quarters with the Volunteers.

There are strong rumours of further arrests. Some of the police are getting restless, it seems. In Bandon, two constables refused to act for the arrest of Seán Hales: who escaped. They have been dismissed from the force.

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May 25th: Mr. Lloyd George made a speech in Edinburgh yesterday and spoke of "the sad, very sad" story of "the German Plot" in Ireland. And, today is published the Government "evidence" of the "Plot", but wild horses wont draw the "full evidence" from the Government fiction, story! The "Daily Mail" has a leading article, headed: "The Sinn Féin Plot. Danger to American Transports". The latter is a new bit of adornment to the fiction story. On another page it has "Sinn Féin Plot with Germany. The Proofs. Money, arms and U-Boat Bases. Another Rising just averted". Wonderful! The Government story is, in reality, portion of the record of events before Easter 1916. There are some tales of activities in 1917: very meagre and meaning little. Then, the assertion that there was to be another rising in 1917! "For some considerable time it was difficult to obtain accurate information as to the German-Sinn Féin plans, but about April, 1918, it was definitely ascertained that the plan for landing arms in Ireland was ripe for execution and that the Germans only awaited definite information as to the time, place, and date. The British authorities were able to warn the Irish Command regarding the probable landing of an agent from Germany from a submarine. The agent actually landed on April 12 and was arrested . . . ". So! there is "the Plot". We know it to be a concoction. Mr. William O'Brien, M.P., puts it on a par with Titus Oates' "Popish Plot" and the forgeries of "Parnellism and Crime".

Last year, Mr. Lloyd George invited the leaders of Sinn Féin to the Plunkett Convention. This year, he puts them into prison. Why the change of policy? Primarily, I think, because of national unity on the Conscription issue. And, peace may be near. By splitting Ireland, there could be no effective appeal to the Peace Conference.

May 28th: Wednesday last (22nd), I had a three hours' conversation with Mr. Hathaway, American Consul at Cove. I met him at his own request. He has, apparently, been instructed by his Government

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to get the views of different people in Ireland regarding the present situation here. With reference to "the Plot", he said the ordinary American, like the ordinary English, view would be that the Government must have good evidence and good reason for taking the action it did. He could not conceive, however, that the men charged would not be brought to trial. He considered they would get a fair hearing before English judges in England. I discounted the whole story vigorously.

"But, how are you going to get your view accepted?" he asked. "That indeed is most difficult", I replied. "Would you not act thus?" said he. "Declare that if any man is found guilty of plotting with Germany, you will ~~disown~~ him. Then the Government will be anxious to bring the men to trial". (Very clever, thought I). Aloud, I said: "That would not do. We know there is no 'Plot' To declare as you suggest would mean telling the English Government to find the prisoners guilty: which they are capable of doing on perjured evidence and concocted stories". "I see", said he, "but, even so, would not the truth out in a short time?". "Yes", said I, "but it would be too late to save men executed in the meantime, for, in the English view, those men should be executed if found guilty, according to their case, of treason".

He doubted me when I expressed the opinion there would be no trials, in fact, but that the men would be kept in prison or internment; that the Government would simply issue a statement and Mr. Lloyd George make a speech, as in "the Maurice affair".

He must be wiser now as this is what has actually happened, so far.

We talked of many other matters, including the American Revolution. He agreed Washington and those with him would have been hanged had they been caught by the British.

Saturday night (25th) Cork City Comhairle Gearantair appointed Pat Brady, Seán Jennings and myself to draw up a declaration of Sinn Féin

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views on present affairs relating to the "Plot" and to interview Mr. George Crosbie, of the "Examiner", with a view to its publication.

We met Mr. Crosbie yesterday. This interview was also interesting, in its way. Mr. Crosbie has always been a strong supporter of the Irish Parliamentary Party. He had trusted England, he told us. He believed English politicians really meant to do justice to Ireland by granting Home Rule. He really believed England was in the war for liberty, democracy, the rights of small nations, against German militarism and the rule of force. He felt he and those who thought like him had been horribly deceived. The Conscription Act had done it. Germany could hardly do worse. Carson did not plan the game fair. He said men like himself had far more reason to be bitter against "the bloody British Government" than the supporters of Sinn Féin, who had never trusted the Government. As regards our declaration, he agreed with most of it; but he should submit it to the Censor. Until recently, he was not himself sure that there were not "pro-Germans" in Ireland. Now, he was satisfied that men he thought "pro-German" were not so. He thought the English would welcome a declaration that Sinn Féin was not pro-German. We did not agree with him in this, as we said it was the present policy of the Government to label no "pro-German", in order to confuse the issues.

George is, to a great extent, a pacifist and hates all war and armed strife, in Ireland and elsewhere.

May 31st: Yesterday I heard a curious theory of "the German Plot" put forward. It was that there may have been a real German "plant", with propaganda from the German Government as to a landing in Ireland, in order to force the British to keep a large number of troops here! Not altogether far fetched, perhaps.

1918:

The "London Times" is urging the Irish Parliamentary Party to break away from the Mansion House Conference, "to break from Sinn Féin" and return to Parliament.

The Prince of Wales has been visiting the Pope. The "Times" will probably be soon urging the Bishops of Ireland "to break away from Sinn Féin".

June 1st: "C.O.S." (? Cahal O'Shannon) suggested to some of us here that we approach William O'Brien, M.P., to get him to move for the writ for East Cavan. He said this suggestion was on instructions from Dublin Standing Committee of Sinn Féin. We had an unofficial meeting to discuss it: Pat Brady, Seán Jennings, Con Collins, T. O'Tuama, and myself. We agreed unanimously such an action would be inadvisable. We, in Cork, do not wish Sinn Féin to be identified with O'Brien and his supporters, in politics, for any purpose. So we intimated to Cahal.

Sunday last (May 26th), there was an Aerideacht at Cullen, near Millstreet. I was to have been there, but was unable to attend. Two members of our Cork Executive of Sinn Féin were there and addressed the meeting. Professor Stockley, of University College was also present. While the meeting was in progress, seven English military aeroplanes flew over the place of meeting and dropped a kind of small "bombs". Two or three of the 'planes came down to within some yards of the platform; so low that an officer leaned over from one machine and shook his fist at the crowd. A thatched house was set on fire, but the fire was quickly put out. One of our speakers made a joke of the performance of the military and this had the effect of raising a general laugh. The action is part of the new "terrorist" campaign of the British forces in Ireland.

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Shaw, Commander of the forces, has issued a proclamation applying to Limerick and part of Tipperary. It is to the effect that if drilling (of the Volunteers) will not cease in those districts, he will proclaim martial law in the area.

An article, in the form of a letter, signed "Sinn Féineach", which I sent to the English "Labour Leader", is published in this week's issue. It is a comment on an article from Dr. Arthur Lynch, M.P., which appeared previously, under the heading, "The Ferment in Ireland". It was in sarcastic strains on Lynch's article. Then, I put the Sinn Féin view of affairs.

June 17th: A new proclamation to encourage voluntary recruiting for the British Army has been issued by Lord French. He wants 50,000 men between this and 1st October and two or three thousand a month after that date. He offers the men land when they return from the war! The proclamation is not worded in official manner. The real significance is that it means the postponement of enforcing Conscription: at least until October 1st and much may happen in the war situation before that.

At the same time, we are under a militarist-coercion régime. There has been a subtle change in policy since French came to rule. Previously, there was a tendency to court the goodwill of "Centre Parties" in Ireland. Now the old "Ascendancy" element are in power.

Anyone charged under the Realm Acts, if suspected of Sinn Féin tendencies, is sentenced to a long term imprisonment. Anyone accused of "drilling" is harshly treated. Possession of firearms is considered a most serious "crime". Yet, even under this régime there is a fair amount of personal and public liberty. The fact is, of course, a whole nation cannot be indicted, or imprisoned. And the Government are up against a nation's resistance to Conscription.

1918:

Up to yesterday, it was not certain where the deported men were. A telegram from De Valera to 6, Harcourt Street, is published in today's papers, giving the whereabouts of some. My old friend, Milroy, is in Lincoln prison, with De Valera himself.

A letter of mine re Cavan election, was published in the "Independent" yesterday. It was intended to show that the deportation of Griffith introduced a new issue into the election. The Government would take the defeat of Griffith as an endorsement of their policy and acceptance by a section of the people of the truth of the "German Plot". But, apparently, Dillon and Devlin will persist in opposing. And I hear the issue is doubtful.

June 9th: A meeting of the Árd-Chomhairle of Sinn Féin was held on Tuesday last (4th). I was unable to be present. Seán Jennings attended in my stead. He tells me the principal subject of discussion was the question of substitutes on the Standing Committee in place of the deportees. These had nominated their own substitutes. This was considered an irregular procedure. So the Árdchomhairle itself elected substitutes at the meeting. Judging from Seán's account, there is some tendency to a change of policy from that of De Valera and Griffith and their friends.

Seán submitted his report of the Árd Chomhairle meeting to our Cork Comhairle Cathrach last night. Another matter discussed by the Árd Chomhairle was the relation of the Sinn Féin organisation to the Mansion House Conference. It appears the Standing Committee (in Dublin) were not unanimous in approval of De Valera and Griffith entering the Conference. Their position, therefore, was not exactly official. As now appears, however, none of the men in the Conference is the official representative

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of an organisation, which leads to some anomalies. There are Parish Defence Committees and a Defence Fund, to resist Conscription. No organisation has any definite right to insist upon what form the Committees are to take; nor any definite right as to how the Defence Fund is to be disposed of.

The Árd-Chomhairle also discussed the attitude to be adopted towards the "German Plot" story. There were divided opinions.

After much discussion, our Comhairle Cathrach decided to hold a protest meeting - against the deportations - in Cork on next Friday night. It was against my advice, as I think the meeting will be proclaimed.

June 11th: According to a statement in the English Parliament yesterday, "The Man in the Tower" is "No. 8043, Lance-Corporal J. Dowling, Connaught Rangers". He is to be tried by courtmartial for offences under the Army Act. He cannot "properly be called a deserter from the British Army. He was a prisoner of war".

"Mr. King: will the courtmartial be public, or will the proceedings be reported fairly fully?"

"Mr. MacPherson: I can quite imagine a good deal of the proceedings will not be public." (Publicity might show up the falsity of the "German Plot"!).

June 14th: (Friday): Yesterday evening I discussed with Patrick Brady what should be done in case the public meeting projected for tonight should be proclaimed by the military authorities. He is to be the chairman at the meeting. When I reached home Seán Ó Tuama was before me with the news that he had it, "on good authority", the police

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chiefs in Cork had orders from the military to have the meeting proclaimed. I then expected a call from the police (as Chairman of the Comhairle Cathrach) with a notice prohibiting the meeting. They did not appear, so I travelled (to Bantry) on my usual round of teaching.

It was stated in yesterday's papers that Dowling, "The man in the Tower", was from Bantry district. I heard something about him this evening from nuns in the Convent of Mercy. He is from Kealkil. He was in the police force and joined the British Army. Whether he was a prisoner of war in Germany, or not, no one in the district knows. One thing is known, he never had any connection with Sinn Féin.

I have received a notice to attend a meeting of the Standing Committee of Sinn Féin, to be held in Dublin. I was elected a member at last meeting of the Árd Chomhairle. To my regret, I cannot attend meetings of the Standing Committee.

Seán Ó Tuama told me last night that some of the Óglaigh, particularly the younger men are impatient regarding Conscription. They hope it will be enforced! They desire fight! Several are convinced it will be put into operation: others are of a contrary opinion. Passive resistance and a waiting policy do not commend themselves to men eager for an armed struggle. Some of the Dublin Castle crowd and of the military authorities have the same desire, no doubt.

June 18th: Tuesday: The meeting on Friday last was proclaimed. Some time in the afternoon notices were posted that it would not be allowed. Notices were served on the Chairman and Secretaries of the South Ward Cumann. Why on these is hard to say. The meeting was not held and everything passed off quietly.

1918:

A Gaelic League Aerideacht was held in Kinsale on Sunday. There was quite a good number present. "The authorities" did not interfere.

Yesterday, William Kent, one of the Kent family of Castlelyons, was elected chairman of Cork County Council, by 26 votes to 21 for a Parliamentary Party supporter. This may be regarded as a Sinn Féin victory.

Jeremiah O'Mahony, an independent-minded man, was elected Vice-chairman. In appointment of Committees the supporters of Sinn Féin were in a majority in all cases.

Sinn Fein's troubles will begin when it becomes popular!

Arrests, trials, Courtsmartial, continue, day by day, and what the English call "unrest". Two policemen were shot at in Tralee, in open day. A raid has been made on a police hut in Co. Kerry. The two policemen referred to shot two of the raiders. The shooting in Tralee looks like a family retaliation.

Nearly all the southern counties have been "proclaimed", "disturbed areas", under the Crimes Act of 1887: all Connaught, portion of Leinster, and Tyrone, in Ulster. There have been some deportations of men recently released from prison.

Notwithstanding the "unrest" the overwhelming majority of the people are living their lives in peace: attending to their work in the ordinary way; and there is very little crime.

Report of a big meeting in New York of the "Friends of Irish Freedom", appears in the "Independent". It states 1,500 were present,

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among them John Devoy, Judge Cohalan, Matthew Cummins, Mrs. Sheehy-Skeffington, Liam Mellows, Diarmuid Lynch, James Larkin. There was some tussle over the chairmanship of the meeting: Mrs. Sheehy-Skeffington and Larkin not favouring a priest, who was supported by the majority. The "Independent" states Larkin said the priests in Ireland are against the people! Eventually, John Devoy swayed the meeting. It declared itself as loyal to America in the war and denounced the "German Plot" as an English attempt to counter Ireland's claim to independence and appeal to the Peace Conference. It was decided to send a delegation to President Wilson and the United States Congress. Dr. MacCartan was also present.

Since that news was published, it is announced that Larkin has been arrested, with a Cornelius Lehane. The news runs that Larkin describes himself as "First President of the new Irish Republic", and Lehane as his "Ambassador"! I presume Cornelius Lehane, is the Con Lehane we knew in Cork fifteen or sixteen years ago: a confirmed Socialist: a native of Coachford. Last week we were assured by English Press correspondents from New York that "the Friends" were in league with Germany and that Jeremiah O'Leary (who is also reported arrested) was its moving spirit. He is charged with treason to America, it is stated. How is it the Censor here has allowed the correct news to appear now?

June 21st: (In Bantry): As I went to teach a class in the Convent here, I heard rumours of Griffith having been elected in Cavan. 721 of a majority was mentioned. Post Office clerks told me this was mentioned but there was no official news.

I wired to Cork and while taking tea in the Convent got the reply. Griffith majority, 1,214: official figures, Griffith. 3,795, O'Hanlon, 2,581. Better than expected: a triumph for Sinn Féin: an answer to Lloyd George, with his bogus "Plot": and a blow to "the Party".

Signed: Liam de Róiste
Date: 7th September, 1957.

Witness: [Signature]

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY 1013-21
BURO STAIRE MILIATA 1013-21
NO. W.S. 1,698

