

ORIGINAL

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY 1913-21

BUREAU STAIRS MILITARY 1913-21

No. W.S. 766

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BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY, 1913-21.

STATEMENT BY WITNESS

DOCUMENT NO. W.S. 766

Witness

Dr. Patrick McCartan,  
Karnak,  
The Burnaby,  
Greystones,  
Co. Wicklow.

Identity.

Member of Supreme Council of I.R.B.;  
O/C. Tyrone Volunteers, 1916;  
Envoy of Dail Eireann to U.S.A. and Russia.

Subject.

- (a) National events, 1900-1917;
- (b) Clan na Gael, U.S.A. 1901 - ;
- (c) I.R.B. Dublin, pre-1916.

Conditions, if any, Stipulated by Witness.

Nil

File No. S.63

Form B.S.M. 2

STATEMENT OF DR. PATRICK McCARTAN,  
KARNAK, GREYSTONES, CO. WICKLOW.

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Statement of Dr. Patrick McCartan,

Karnak, Greystones,

Co. Wicklow.

I was born on the 13th March, 1878. The official Birth Certificate gives the date as the 15th May, 1878. My father was a farmer, not a big farmer but I suppose average for Tyrone. I attended Tanderagee National School and later went to a Latin teacher - he called it Trunague Academy - in the parish of Termonmagurk, or Carrickmore. I was there for two years, which was largely a waste of time. Later I went to St. Patrick's College, Armagh, and spent two years there - Junior and Middle Grades. There was a bit of a story about why I left but it is not very important.

Then I went to St. Macartan's Seminary, Monaghan, and spent a year there - Senior Grade. I did not do much studying there. It was the centenary of the Rebellion of 1798 and some papers were smuggled in, by the day-boys I suppose. I happened to pick up one of these and read some of the speeches about '98. It was one of the daily papers. Then there was a History of Ireland in the room where the Middle and Senior Grades studied. I began to read about '98 in this History. I did not know enough about history then to look who was the author of it. It consisted of a number of volumes and was very detailed. I got much more interested then in '98. There was quite a nice little spirit amongst the boys in St. Macartan's Seminary. We sang Irish songs, or, if you like, Anglo-Irish songs, but they were all Irish. We had an organist from the

Cathedral, an Englishman, who was teaching us singing, and I remember one of the boys protesting. He was teaching us the "Men of Harlech" and other English songs. This boy protested that we were Irish and that we should sing Irish songs; we wanted Irish songs, not foreign songs. It was the first indication of real nationalism that I saw anywhere. There was nothing like that in St. Patrick's College, Armagh. I wouldn't say any of the teachers there were specially nationally-minded. The President was the late Dr. Mulhern, Bishop of Dromore. Another was Father McKeown, later Dean of Clogher Diocese and P.P. of Carrickmacross and St. Patrick's Island, Lough Derg. I would not say the professors were very nationally conscious or, at any rate, they did not let the students see any indication of such, but the students themselves were instinctively national.

I remember that the Spanish-American War was on at the time and one of the boys, named Charlie McSherry - he and I were great chums and we used to talk about '98 and the possibilities of freeing Ireland - had an uncle in the 69th Regiment going down to Cuba or somewhere like that to take part in the Spanish-American War. That brought us to discuss Fenianism and through him I learned, as he had learned from his uncle, that Fenianism still existed in America. We in our boyish ways began to plan out how a revolution could be effected in Ireland. Our idea was that if police barracks all over the country were attacked simultaneously, the revolution would nearly be over. Even in those early days, we seemed to have had the right idea, as was borne out in much later years.

I still had a great admiration for the men of '98 and I had read a lot about them in the history I referred to. One incident brought one along to other incidents and periods of Irish history. During that holiday at home I was walking around the station in Omagh one day and I picked up a little book, I think it was paper covered, "The Life of Wolfe Tone" by Alice Milligan. That gave me a solid foundation for my future convictions re. '98. Then I had a clear conception of what '98 meant. I suppose I lost that little book some time, or it disappeared somewhere, and I often thought I would have liked to read it again and see would it have the same effect on me as it had then. That was the beginning.

After that I went to St. Malachy's College, Belfast, and I was there for two years. I wouldn't say there was much nationalism there. I did not see any signs of nationalism amongst the students. There was one Professor who started a Branch of the Gaelic League there, named O'Clery. He was not much good as a teacher, as a matter of fact, very bad, because he used do more talking than teaching during class hours. Then somehow I think he got the questions for the Intermediate and was able to make up for his loss of time during the year. There were a couple of so-called brilliant students there at that time. This was 1899. One was James Connolly. James Connolly used afterwards write. He was in the Civil Service in Dublin. He was very brilliant. It was some time after I came back to Dublin from the United States I met him again. He was supposed to be the best student - the Exhibitioner - in St. Malachy's College at that time. He used to write afterwards for

Griffith's 'United Irishman'. I remember seeing the names of Connolly and Maurice Joy on articles in the 'United Irishman'. I think he was a brother of Joe and Alec Connolly. Another was Denis Glasgow. He was supposed to be brilliant too. He had a good voice. He sang very well. I don't know what happened him. I never heard of him anywhere afterwards. James Connolly was the only one who turned out well nationally amongst those who were not going on for the Church. Another one there - he was just average - was Bob Fullerton. He was afterwards Father Fullerton and wrote about socialism. He was good nationally after he became a priest, but he is dead since. He was curate in Belfast and he was very national. I never met afterwards, in connection with the national movement, any of the other students who were there except Tommy Laverty. He became a doctor and there was not much nationalism in his make-up. I think he was attached to some of the prisons here during the Civil War or attached to the Army. As to the other students that were there during my time, I never heard of them afterwards. I don't know what happened them. Some of them became priests, but I never heard of any of them figuring in the national movement.

I spent two years in Belfast. When I went to St. Malachy's first, I had already done the Senior Grade and done it badly. I had been reading more Irish history in St. Macartan's than attending to my studies and I was not very good at Latin and Greek and all that kind of thing. I got an examination to see what class I would go into. Fr. Boyle was President then. He thought I was pretty hopeless but I told him that I was not as bad as I appeared and that if I went into the

Matric. Class I would do nothing. I asked him to let me go into the Senior Grade and I would then do the Honours Matric. He agreed and I studied in Senior Grade and did the Honours Matric. The Honours Matric. consisted of the two old Senior Grade programmes, the past year and the current year. When the exam came, I got a pass on the honours papers. The next year I got First Arts. I got good marks in Latin and Greek. I forget what the other subjects were, but I got good marks all round in the First Arts.

It was coming around to the autumn again, September. A brother of mine gave me some money to go to the bank at Six-mile-cross. I started off to go to the bank. The lodgment consisted of cheques and a £20 note and a £5 note. I kept the notes and went off to Derry. I went into a bank there, changed the £20 note and sent home £10 of this, with a note to say that I had sailed that day for America. Actually I had not sailed that day. It was a couple of days afterwards I did leave. I landed in New York with a 10 dollar gold piece, went from there to Philadelphia and called on Joe McGarritty's brother's place.

Joe McGarritty's brother and I had been students together at St. Patrick's College, Armagh, and he went to America later - about a year before that time. So I went to Philadelphia and stayed in John McGarritty's place for about three weeks before I got any job. I was getting downhearted. Then I got a job attending bar, in a saloon, at 5 dollars a week with my board. I was able to save money at that too. My laundry cost me about 50 cents, and so I was able to save at least four dollars a week. I hadn't time to spend it, so I had to save it.

We worked about twelve hours a day, sometimes more. I worked there for a couple of months.

Then I went to work for a man from my native parish who was in the same business, at 12 dollars a week without board. I worked for him for about six months or so. I forget exactly how long but it should have been about six months. Then the business got bad. There were three of us working for him and we were all from the same parish as himself. I was the last in, so I was laid off. The following Tuesday was election day and the saloons were closed. I was out of work on Monday, and on Wednesday I had work again. I think the pay was 5 or 6 dollars a week with board, but the hours were very short. I began at five in the morning, got off at nine, resumed at one and worked from one till six.

I began to study then for a scholarship to the University of Pennsylvania. I got Greek books because I had been told by a friend of mine, who had been in St. Malachy's College also and who was then a medical student, that it would be easy getting a scholarship with Greek as there were not many of them doing Greek there. I got Greek books and Latin books and began to study up again for a scholarship.

I was about a month working there and just ready to start to study when my old boss - the man from my native parish - called on me and said he wanted me to come back as one of the men had been laid off. I said I would not go back for the same money, so he increased the pay to 15 dollars a week. I went back and worked for him, until he left. He sold out the place and a German-American bought it. When the German-American

took over, he knew nothing about the saloon business and I was his chief man there.

Joe McGarrity and I used to meet very often. He used to come in when we were closing at twelve or one o'clock. He would call in and we would go and have a cup of coffee together and a talk. Then we would walk down to Joe's as very often the trams would at that time have ceased to run. We walked and talked and went on like that. Joe had a great habit of getting books that he could carry in his pocket and read when he was on the trams. I got into the same habit although I had not much travelling to do, but on a Sunday I might have a long ride on the tram. We often discussed the books we read. One night Joe came in and said he was going to Temple College to take a course - a night course. I asked him what courses were taught in Temple College, what one could study there. We discussed the subjects that one could learn by going to Temple College at night and I found that medicine was one of them. So I went and registered as a medical student in Temple College.

Then I went to see my old friend from St. Malachy's College, who was now a doctor, and he said that, if I was going to study medicine I should go to the University; that Temple College was only a place for missionaries and one really did not get a good course in medicine there. I made up my mind that I would go to the University of Pennsylvania and I had all the certificates that my friend had when he went there as a medical student. I was eligible for registration there. However, in another conversation with him, he asked me where I intended to practise when I would

be qualified, and I said in Ireland. He said,  
 "Then you had better study in Ireland".

Joe McGarrity and I talked this over. I told McGarrity that I had not enough money to go to Ireland and Joe said, "Go ahead. You go to Ireland and when your money runs out, write to me and the money will be alright". I never got any money while a medical student in addition to my own except from Joe McGarrity. I was able to pay him back later. However, that is another story. Thus I returned to Ireland in 1905.

I had gone to America in September, 1900, and I think it was in the autumn of 1901 that Joe McGarrity's brother talked to me about the Clan na Gael. I had joined the Hibernians, thinking it was the Fenian organisation. I was initiated and all that. It was a benevolent organisation alright, but the name of Ireland was never mentioned for the whole meeting and I felt I was in the wrong shop. I saw that it had no connection with Fenianism. Then Joe McGarrity's brother told me about the Clan na Gael. I asked him a lot of questions about it, as to whether this was the Fenian organisation, and he said it was. After my seminary schooling in Ireland, I suppose I asked him if there was anything against joining it from the Catholic standpoint. So he assured me there was not, that there were priests in it. He proposed me and I got initiated in Camp 428. I was about a year and a half a member of it when I became Junior Guardian of Camp 428, and I was Senior Guardian for about two or three years before I came back to Ireland. Joe McGarrity belonged to that Camp and his brother, who is now Fr. McGarrity and is still alive. We had a very good Camp, nearly

one of the best in Philadelphia. We were always active, raising money and that kind of thing.

I remember one night there was a meeting advertised. I don't know how I wandered down Spruce Street - I was living on Spruce Street - and whether I saw the ads. in the paper or whether I did not, I could not say, but I went down anyway to 726 Spruce Street which was the Irish-American Club, the headquarters of the Clan na Gael. I think this was before I had joined the Clan. The door was open. I saw people walking in and I walked in also. When somebody asked me had I a ticket for the meeting and I said I had not, he offered me a ticket and I bought it. It was a meeting addressed by Major McBride and Maud Gonne. That meeting made me enthusiastic. Of course, I knew of Major McBride before, that is, I knew all about him because we were all enthusiastically pro-Boer during the Boer War and we had heard all about his exploits in South Africa. He spoke there that night as well as Maud Gonne, but I did not meet him after the meeting, though I did meet Maud Gonne and spoke to her that night. She came back to the Irish-American Club. A lot of us went around and shook hands with her. She was sitting on a couch. She was a very beautiful girl at the time. Major McBride did not come back to the Irish-American Club or, if he did, I did not see him around. He may have been closeted with some of the elite but, at any rate, I did not see him. That was my first meeting with Maud Gonne. The meeting at which Major McBride and Maud Gonne spoke was in the Academy of Music. I think maybe it was discussing that meeting with Joe McGarrity, enthusing about what was said, that really brought me into the Clan na Gael.

I believe it was. I think that was about 1901 - about the autumn of that year.

We were very active always. There was always plenty of work to do in the Clan na Gael - always plenty of national work. They always celebrated the Manchester Martyrs anniversary and Robert Emmet's birthday about the 4th March. The Manchester Martyrs meetings were always around the middle of November. There were always good lectures. There were always outstanding speakers.

I remember giving tickets for one of these anniversaries to the man who introduced me to the Hibernians in the belief that they were the successors to the Fenians. Judge O'Neill Ryan of St. Louis was the speaker. I had heard him speak before at ordinary Camp meetings of the Clan na Gael. I gave this man my ticket to go to the meeting to hear Judge O'Neill Ryan. I forget whether it was on Robert Emmet or the Manchester Martyrs that the Judge was speaking. At any rate, this man came back to me, full of enthusiasm, and asked me to propose him for membership of the Clan na Gael. Thereafter he was an active member and a good subscriber of the Clan na Gael until he died.

Those were the chief activities. They had an outing every 4th of July at which they raised some money or something like that. I don't know much about these functions as I was never on one, being always working when they were on. The activities of the Clan were mostly that kind of work. The Irish American Club was the Headquarters in Philadelphia. There one met many of the members on Sunday mornings

and evenings.

On alternate weeks I was off work at six o'clock in the evening and I used to wander down to the club after having something to eat. There I usually met William Crossan, the District Officer of the Clan na Gael. He was an oldish man, or at least I thought him old at the time. He might have been around the 60's. I became very attached to Bill Crossan. He used to tell me all about the Fenians and kindred subjects. He had joined the Fenians himself when he was a very young man. He went to Confession and he was asked in Confession was he a Fenian. He said he was and he was refused absolution. That left him away from Confession for about a year until, at the time he was coming to America, he thought he would make another attempt to go to Confession. When he told how long it was since his last Confession, the priest turned to him and asked, "Why were you so long from Confession?" He said he was refused absolution. The priest asked why, and he said because he was a member of the Fenians. "Oh! Thank God", said the priest, "I was educated in Salamanca. Go on, my child". Bill Crossan was a great character and a great personality. He had a carrying business, a truck business - horses it was at that time - and he was highly respected by everybody. He had an extraordinary memory. The history of the world was all fresh in his mind, and about any outstanding character in world history, he could give you all the details without hesitation. There was a small library in the Irish-American Club and there were some books in it that I was anxious to get. No one was allowed to take them out and I had no time to read them by going there. I asked Crossan one day would he give me Gavan Duffy's "Young

Ireland", and he gave it to me to take it home with me. That gave me a good idea of the '48 movement.

The Gaelic American was started by the Clan na Gael, with John Devoy as editor. We all purchased some of the shares issued for it, and shortly after its publication I remember writing to Devoy and asking him for a list of books on 1798, 1848 and 1867. I was ashamed of my ignorance and did not sign my name to the letter, so I did not get the list of books.

When I was going to Dublin, Joe McGarrity left me to New York. We called at the "Gaelic-American" office and there I met for the first time Tom Clarke. He was Manager of the "Gaelic-American" and John Devoy was Editor. John Devoy gave me a transfer from the Clan na Gael in America to the I.R.B. in Ireland and a letter to P.T. Daly. Daly was then Manager of Cló Cumainn.

I delivered the letter, after coming to Dublin, to P.T. Daly, who was very prominent in national affairs. His voice seemed a voice in the wilderness. We used to read his speeches in the "Gaelic-American". He was a member of the Dublin Corporation and used his membership of the Corporation as a platform for Irish national propaganda.

I don't think P.T. Daly's work has ever been properly appreciated. He was an outstanding character and, to my mind, a great man. He may have had his faults but they were small compared to the great work he did. He got into disrepute over very little but certainly he was outstanding at the time and always national. He was in the Labour movement and used the Labour movement for national propaganda also. I had

a great admiration for Daly. Outside Arthur Griffith, he was the outstanding national figure of that time. As far as public life was concerned, Daly was outstanding as a Nationalist. In every public speech he made, he always brought in an advocacy of the national cause to it. He was a member of the Executive of the I.R.B. In his public life, as a member of the Corporation, he did everything he could to further the objects and interests of the I.R.B.

When I gave John Devoy's letter to P.T. Daly in Cló Cumainn, he sent for somebody - who happened to be Seán T. O'Kelly - and he told Seán T. O'Kelly to take me into his Circle of the I.R.B. I think Seán T. was a Section Leader. The Circles were made up of a number of men, who were divided into Sections, Section Leaders being appointed to each Section. In this Circle I think I was in Seán T. O'Kelly's Section. The Section Leader was the man responsible for notifying the members of his Section of any special meetings or if there was anything to be done or anything other than the usual monthly meetings.

It was a very fine Circle. I don't know how many Circles were in Dublin at the time, but in this Circle they were all very fine types. Judge O'Byrne and Ernest Blythe were members. There was a chap named Sloane, another Protestant. I don't know what happened him. I think he was from the North of Ireland originally. There were Thomas Shine Cuffe, Seán T. O'Kelly and the Ingoldsbys - two brothers, Pat and Louis - and they were grand types too. Michael Cowley was Centre. Michael was very earnest and very good. There was always a very good attendance. The

attendance was always nearly, I would say, up to ninety per cent. at all the meetings. This was 1905.

After some time - apparently when the Circle reached 100 it was divided - this Circle reached the 100 mark and it was divided into two Circles. The Clarence Mangan Literary Society was the name given to the new Circle which split off from our Circle. I had been there for some time. I forget what the name of the original Circle was. All these Circles went by some such names as a cover for their meetings. Michael Cowley may know the original name of this Circle.

I was a medical student then. There were not many students in the I.R.B. at this time. There was Dan Sheehan who was a Final medical, and Dick Hayes I was told by someone was a member but I had not met Dick at that time. I think he was a Final medical and had just got qualified, but I knew him just to hear about him. Another member was John Ellwood who was very talkative but, I think, very sincere. Then there was Paddy O'Callaghan from the County Monaghan, now in the Argentine. His father was a teacher in Co. Monaghan. These were the four medical students in this Circle, and later Padraig Grogan became a member and as Dr. Grogan was down in Maynooth afterwards. After the Treaty he became Medical Officer of Health for some county or other. I brought in Dr. Dundon of Borris, Co. Carlow, while a medical student.

I proposed Dr. Gormley of Ballybofey, Co. Donegal, for membership of the I.R.B. He was born in Tyrone, not far from my native place. He had been in the D.M.P. before he became a medical student. He had worked in the office of the D.M.P. Headquarters, or something like

that. On that account, he would not be accepted for membership of the I.R.B. I also proposed Edmond O'Doherty who was a doctor later. I knew him in Philadelphia as a bar-tender like myself. His father had been a Head Constable and he would not be taken into the I.R.B. because his father had been in the R.I.C. They were both good men, both reliable men, good nationally, and I am sure they would have made good members, but at that time there was a strict bar against anyone being taken in as members who had any contact or connection whatever with the police or the British administration. This was adopted originally as a precaution against the organisation becoming permeated by spies, as the '98 movement had been.

After I had been here a couple of months, the first Convention of the Sinn Féin took place in the Rotunda with Edward Martin in the chair. Griffith read his Sinn Féin policy. There was not a big crowd there. That was in 1905 when Sinn Féin was started first. Dr. Gogarty was in it, also Pat Hughes of Dundalk, Bulmer Hobson and, I think Dinny McCullough, but I forget now just who were there. Usually the people that one knew and who were active in the I.R.B. also came along to meetings like this. I remember I was appointed on the Executive of Sinn Féin and on some Committee. I forget what Committee I was appointed on. The whole Executive was divided into Committees, each Committee dealing with some aspect or other of the life of the country. That meeting would be in November of 1905, perhaps later in the year. I know that the University started in October and it must have been November or December.

Dr. Gogarty and I were on the same Committee and we attended the different meetings, but we really did nothing. We got nowhere with it. When there was no work being done, we stopped attending the meetings, or we were not called to meetings, or something like that. It drifted on. The trouble was, I believe, that Sinn Féin had been launched into an active career before enough preliminary work had been done to ensure its success.

The first impetus that Sinn Féin got was in 1907 when Charlie Dolan resigned from the Parliamentary Party and contested the North Leitrim seat on a Sinn Féin ticket. Of course, we all went up there to help with Dolan's election campaign. That was 1907. Dolan was defeated, of course, but the election campaign had served to bring the Sinn Féin policy into the public eye.

At that time also Sir Thomas Esmonde gave an indication that he was separating from the Irish Party, but he went back to it again. I remember writing to him for an interview for the 'Gaelic-American'. I used to do an odd article for the 'Gaelic-American' and I wanted to give Esmonde's views in the form of an article.

I remember one meeting I attended of the Independent Orangemen in the Rotunda. Lindsay Crawford spoke at that meeting and a clergyman named Boyle, but really it was a Fenian meeting. It was mostly I.R.B. men that made up the audience, because all the people that I knew were there. I remember that was the first thing I reported for the 'Gaelic-American'. I reported the

speeches as far as I could remember them with the help of what was published in the daily papers. I also wrote an article giving my own impression of the meeting. This was published as an editorial in the 'Gaelic-American'. After that I was a fairly constant contributor.

Amongst the students in the University, there was a good spirit on the whole but there were few of them that were sufficiently advanced to become members of the I.R.B., or that one would care to approach on this matter, and very few were very keen on the language amongst the medical students. There were, of course, the Art students whom I did not know very well, but one did not meet them, somehow or other. One only met the medical students down in Cecelia Street. I did not meet the others.

I can't remember anything very exciting or of importance in the national sphere then, but there is something I forgot to mention following the Convention of 1905. The 'United Irishman' had published a report of the Convention and of Griffith's speech there. After that there was to be a Convention of the United Irish League at the Mansion House. I went down to the office of the 'United Irishman' and got a lot of copies of the paper. I got some students to come along with me and we stood outside the Mansion House shouting to the delegates going in to the U.I.L. Convention to hear Joe Devlin speaking, "All about the Convention! All about the Convention! All about the Convention!" The delegates all bought copies of the paper under the impression that the Convention referred to was the U.I.L. Convention. We got some fun out of this more than anything else. The United Irish League, as an

organisation, was all-powerful in the country at this time, backing, as it did, the Parliamentary Party.

Concerning the formation of the Fianna, I think I was at the first meeting or one of the first meetings. Madame Markeivicz took out four boys to a cottage she had in Dundrum. I think it was four and I think Percy Reynolds was one of the four, if I am not mistaken. We used to go out there occasionally, Dr. Dundon and myself, to visit Countess Markeivicz. She had a small bore rifle and we did some practice shooting on a couple of occasions. I used to go out there very often on a Sunday afternoon. Pádraig Ó Riain may have been one of the four boys, or it may have been afterwards he came in. There was a chap named Walsh and another named Reynolds. Those are the two I can definitely remember. I think this was about 1908. It was, at any rate, before there was any formal Fianna organisation launched. It was a kind of experiment she was carrying on, and there were only these four boys I mentioned involved at that time.

In 1908 I was home on holidays in Tyrone and I got a wire from P.T. Daly to come to Dublin. I came to Dublin immediately as I regarded any word from P.T. as an order. When I came to Dublin, I found I had been nominated as candidate for a Corporation seat in place of Daly who had been disqualified because he had moved his residence from one ward to another, or something like that. He put in my name, in case he would be disqualified. So I got elected to the Rotunda Ward as a member of the Corporation. Thus I was a member of the Corporation while I was still a medical student. It was great fun going around. Of course, the I.R.B. were all working

for me. Seán T. O'Kelly had stood for and was elected to an adjoining Ward. So we went around celebrating after the election was over.

The paper, 'Irish Freedom' was started in 1910. Bulmer Hobson was always keen on a paper. He had started 'The Republic' in Belfast which lasted for a little time. People like Bob Lyndon, P.S. O'Hegarty, myself and Dinny McCullough subscribed a shilling a week towards the expense of publication. However, the estimates were not always accurate and did not meet the cost of production. Later Bulmer came to Dublin and he was advocating the publication of an outspoken national paper. His idea of financing it was the shilling a week that members of the organisation would subscribe. Eventually Fred Allen, Seán O'Hanlon and Tom Clarke and some others, decided to start 'Irish Freedom' and I was appointed editor. I am sure Fred Allen thought that he would be the actual editor and that I would be just nominally editor, but he got his first surprise when he wrote an editorial for the first issue, which I published as an ordinary article and published a contribution by Hobson as the first editorial. That was the first jolt Fred Allen got. I did not write much - practically nothing. I hadn't time because I was working for my final exam at the time, or rather I had got my exam that year but was Resident Surgeon in the Mater Hospital. It was from there I edited the paper but I had not much time for writing myself on account of my duties as Resident Surgeon. Anyway, there came in a good lot of material from P.S. O'Hegarty, Bulmer Hobson and Fred Allen. Allen wrote a good lot, mostly recollections.

I was used to the methods and procedure at the meetings in America. They always passed resolutions at the Emmet and Manchester Martyrs celebrations, dealing with some current national affairs in Ireland and proclaiming the adherence of the meeting to the ideal of a Republic and the belief in physical force methods to obtain it. I had these ideas in my mind when there was an Emmet commemoration meeting coming along at the Rotunda, and I thought that the same spirit would obtain here. It had been announced that the King of England was to visit Ireland that year. So I wrote an editorial for that issue - the issue or two before March - saying that there would be resolutions about the question of loyal addresses to the King. I assumed that there would be such resolutions passed.

Meetings like this Rotunda meeting were always held under the auspices of the Wolfe Tone Committee, of which Tom Clarke was a member. This was merely a cover name for the Executive of the I.R.B. Clarke discussed this editorial with me and told me that there would be no resolutions of the kind proposed or passed there. I asked him, "Why?" "Oh!", he said, "it would be regarded as politics". I said, "My God! You can't regard a thing like that as politics. This is a national matter". (By "politics" here was meant local party politics). However, that was the decision, and it was obvious from Tom's attitude that he did not agree with the decision but was willing to be bound by it.

During the meeting I was sitting near Countess Markievicz. Pádraig Pearse was the orator. I remember the part of his speech that caught me was when he said Dublin would have to do some great act to atone for the

disgrace for not producing a man that would dash his head against a stone wall in an attempt to rescue Robert Emmet. I thought to myself, "Well, now! Here am I sitting and afraid to propose a resolution". I wrote out my resolution on a back of an envelope, protesting against loyal addresses to the King of England.

Tom Clarke was sitting in the front seat with a man named Corbett from San Francisco. I went down to him. The St. James Band was playing a selection on the stage at this time. I read the resolution to Tom and he said, "Pat! I can't give you any advice. You know what the decision on this matter was".

Countess Markievicz volunteered to second the resolution but I said to her, "Don't you do it unless there is no one else to do it". I had told her what I was going to do, of course. Just as Tom said he could give me no advice, the band was clearing off the stage, having finished its recital. I threw my leg over the footlights, got up on the stage and proposed my resolution. Tom jumped up after me and seconded it, and the thing went with a whoop. The resolution was passed with enthusiasm.

Then there was consternation among the I.R.B. Supreme Council. We were charged with lack of discipline afterwards. There was a meeting of our Circle and something about me, my lack of discipline, or something was mentioned at the Circle meeting. I said, "It's very funny that I am being denounced for taking a stand against loyal addresses to the King of England, when a man who is high in the organisation has mis-spent money belonging to the organisation and there is no word about that". It was to P.T. Daly I referred,

but that is another story. He was supposed to have mis-spent a couple of hundred pounds of I.R.B. funds which he held on behalf of the organisation. I learned afterwards where this money went and I will refer to this later in this story. At any rate, this raised a storm. I suppose I should have just listened and said nothing.

Later I was summoned before the Supreme Council and questioned as to where I got the information about Daly having mis-spent this money. I think they were under the impression that it was Tom Clarke had given me the information. I was put on oath for this questioning. The first question I was asked was whether I had made this statement at the Circle meeting. I admitted that I had. Then I was asked where did I get this information and I replied that I had learned this from Joe McGarrity. When they heard this, the whole inquiry collapsed. They had no more to say to me because that was all.

I have been asked if I knew whether or not Tom Clarke was courtmartialled on account of this incident. I don't believe he was, for he would have told me later when I became a member of the Supreme Council. Besides Fred Allen and Seán O'Hanlon resigned almost immediately.

There was another sequel to this, however. The following issue of 'Irish Freedom' was already in the hands of the printers. Paddy Mahon was printing it. Fred Allen took over the whole thing out of my hands. They had the money and all the management end in their own hands, so we could not do anything against them. Bulmer Hobson then wanted to start a new paper. I

refused to have anything to do with starting a new paper. I wanted to continue on with 'Irish Freedom'. We went to Devereux and North, and they took it on but, when they found they were being threatened with law from Allen and friends, they would not proceed with the printing of the paper unless we put up £100 and lodged it with their lawyer. None of us had that much money. I could advance about £20 but that was all the ready money available. Tom Clarke was treasurer for the Supreme Council of the I.R.B., and that money was kept with his own account. He was afraid to use any of this money lest a call should be made on it at any time. We agreed after some discussion that he would draw £80 - part of which was I.R.B. money - and I went to the bank and drew my £20. On my return Tom said he could not go ahead as under present conditions the money might be demanded at any time. I had promised to cable Joe McGarrity for the money and I begged Tom to give me the £80 and if necessary I would go up to Tyrone next day and get it from my father. I offered to go ahead with the plans we had previously agreed upon myself. His reply was: "Don't talk like that Pat, it hurts", and turning around, he lifted the keys, came out and locked the door after him. He went down to the bank and got the money which he handed over to me. We lodged the £100 with the solicitor.

At the same time I cabled to Joe McGarrity to send me £100. Joe cabled the money to me and I was able to restore Tom Clarke his money and this left him in a good position.

This was the occasion of the double issue of 'Irish Freedom' because Allen and his party went ahead

with the issue already half printed and we, on the other hand, proceeded to get out our own issue, and of the two I think I am justified in saying that ours was the better production. Apparently there was some discussion on the matter, or on the whole business, at the subsequent Supreme Council meeting following which Allen and his supporters resigned from it, and also severed their connection with the paper. So from then on, there was no trouble in this respect.

Regarding Pearse's introduction to the I.R.B., I remember speaking to Tom Clarke after the Emmet Commemoration concert. I asked him did he think that Pearse would come into the I.R.B. Tom told me that this matter had been discussed at some meeting of the Supreme Council and that it had been decided then that Pearse would be more useful outside than inside the organisation. Now, one may place any construction one pleases on this statement but the construction I placed on it is that those in authority on the Supreme Council at the time, that is, Fred Allen, who really controlled the organisation then with the backing of Seán O'Hanlon and some others, did not want a man with as strong a personality as Pearse in the organisation because he would quickly overshadow them. Amongst those who supported Allen on the Supreme Council I mentioned Seán O'Hanlon. O'Hanlon was a good, straight, honest fellow, very well-intentioned, who had limited ability. Allen used men like O'Hanlon to support him in keeping his personal control of the organisation, and I think it was Allen's fear of losing this personal control that animated him against bringing in men like Pearse. This was my own opinion, which may be wrong and may be

unjust to them, but I certainly formed that opinion.

As far as I can remember, Pearse did not come into the I.R.B. until after Fred Allen, Seán O'Hanlon and some others had resigned from the Supreme Council. He must have come into the organisation quite soon after that and I understand that it was Seán T. O'Kelly who brought him into the organisation. At any rate, he says so himself, that is, it was Seán T. who approached him on the subject and discussed it with him and got his agreement to join. I don't know who it was that may have sworn him in.

This all happened in or about the time of the double issue of 'Irish Freedom'. There was some kind of a settlement between the two sections of the Supreme Council on this, because they turned over the paper to us without further demur and then Fred Allen and his people got out.

From this point, Tom Clarke, Dinny McCullough and P.S. O'Hegarty were the chief men, the moving spirits, on the Supreme Council. P.T. Daly had already been removed from the Supreme Council after the trouble about the money. I don't know who the other members of the Supreme Council were at this stage.

Regarding P.T. Daly, I would like to say he had been accused of spending a couple of hundred pounds of I.R.B. funds that he could not account for satisfactorily. He claimed afterwards - and I believe his claim to be correct - that this money had been spent in connection with the municipal election when Seán T. O'Kelly and myself had been elected to the Corporation. I knew, in fact, that he was always spending money in connection

with these elections and suchlike, which he did in the best interests of the national cause, and the way I felt about it was that, even if he did mis-spend it on his private affairs, it would not repay P.T. Daly for all the work and all the service he had given to the organisation and given to the service of Ireland. It would have been very small compensation for the work he had done. I think it was quite unfair to discredit Daly because of this, as I understood, or I was led to believe then, that it was quite customary for the I.R.B. to spend money on matters such as elections in order to get their nominees placed in important positions where they were in a position to further the interests of the organisation. It was, therefore, very unfair to destroy his reputation on a charge like this because, until the advent of Tom Clarke, P.H. Pearse and the others, P.T. Daly was the outstanding man in the I.R.B. of the time, an outstanding nationalist who always worked consistently for the goal of a free Ireland. He was always national, even afterwards, that is, after his removal from the Supreme Council.

I never met P.T. Daly from the time of the row over 'Irish Freedom' until I met him at Arthur Griffith's funeral in 1922. I had a warm shake-hands from him. I asked him how he was doing and he said, "My God, Pat! I'm doing what I never thought I would do. I have taken to drink!" I thought it was the most pathetic statement I ever heard from a man, and from a man whom I always knew as an absolute teetotaler.

I was very anxious when I was in America between 1930 and 1939 that P.T. Daly should write his recollections because I felt he would be able to fill an

important gap in the history of the I.R.B. I wrote to him to get a stenographer and that I would pay the stenographer's bill if he dictated his recollections. He wrote back and told me that he had facilities for doing it and was doing it himself. Whether he ever did it or not, I don't know, or whether any of his children are alive that might have the manuscript, I don't know. I believe I wrote to P.S. O'Hegarty about this at the time, suggesting that he should get in touch with Daly to encourage him to write his memoirs, and I think O'Hegarty told me that Daly was doing it.

To go back to the period of the double issue of 'Irish Freedom', I continued editing the paper for about a couple of months. That double issue was I think around December, 1911, and I think I was Resident Physician in Cork Street Hospital about that time. Bulmer Hobson then took over the editorship and he took it over completely some time early in 1912 when I left Dublin to take up a medical practice in Tyrone. When I had earned enough money in Tyrone, I came back to Dublin to study for a Fellowship in the College of Surgeons. The exam for that was in October, 1912, and I came back to Dublin perhaps a couple of months before that to study for it.

While practising in Tyrone, any time I came to Dublin I always called to Tom Clarke. Tom felt disappointed with me that I was not doing some organising in Tyrone. That was in 1912 and 1913. Tom thought I was inactive and often spoke to me about this, but really it was impossible to do any organising in Tyrone at that time. All the young lads were members of the Hibernians, which organisation was very strong up

there, and they regarded me as a black sheep. In fact, I learned that they had been told by some of the higher-ups in the Hibernians that I was a paid agent from Dublin Castle. Actually, the amount of money I was supposed to have been paid was also quoted to them. It was supposed to have been £400 a year. They were able to accuse me openly of being a paid agent of Dublin Castle and tell me the salary I was supposed to be getting. It was only after the Volunteers were started and we had Eoin McNeill and Sir Roger Casement down to meetings in Carrickmore, Greencastle and Six-mile-cross that they began to realise that I was not a Dublin Castle agent after all. That, of course, was early 1914. In the meantime I had got an appointment to the Gortin Dispensary District in 1913 and this took up most of my time.

As I said, Tom Clarke felt that I should be doing more organising, but there was little I could do and I had not much time on my hands. After the Volunteers had started, however, the young men who flocked into the Volunteers began to come to me and seek my advice and, once we had broken into the Hibernians, it was plain sailing after that.

We had a very good Circle in Carrickmore which was my native parish. We had one in Six-mile-cross, another very good one. We had another in Greencastle, also very good. These were all new ones that had been started, except the Carrickmore one in which we had a small nucleus of about five men before that.

Then we discovered that, as a result of the Church ban on such secret organisations, some of the men might

feel squeamish and start asking questions in Confession. I arranged a meeting of all the recently joined members to assemble at my father's barn one night. I got Fr. O'Daly, who was then curate in Clogher, and Fr. Coyle, who was then in Fintona, to speak to them on the attitude of the Church to the I.R.B. I think one of these priests said in the course of his talk, "When you go to confession, you go to confess your sins, not your virtues".

I had got in touch with Fr. O'Daly to give this talk because he had remarked to me in Omagh one day after some meeting there, "There is nothing left for us only a secret organisation". I said to him, "Well, come on down to the hotel and we will discuss it over a cup of tea". I said to him then, "Do you not know that there is such an organisation?" He said, "I do not. And if there is, you can propose me for membership in it". I told him that I would. I asked were there any other priests that would join and he said Fr. Coyle would. "Will you approach him and ask him?" - which he did and Fr. Coyle also consented. I told the two of them that it was an oath-bound organisation and that perhaps it would be unfair to them if they were asked by their Bishop did they ever take an oath and they would have to admit that they did. I came to Dublin and asked Tom Clarke whether I could take them into the organisation without taking any oath. We took them into the I.R.B. without administering any oath, and that was how they came to speak to the young men in my father's barn.

The Volunteers who joined up on the formation of the Companies were very good, but we had to depend very largely upon the Volunteers who were also members

of the I.R.B. When the split in the Volunteers came, that is, the Redmond split, practically the only people who remained with us and did not follow Redmond were the I.R.B. men and of these we had about 500 in the Co. Tyrone.

We had a training camp about that time at Carrickmore at which J.J. O'Connell was the Training Officer. He was the late Colonel O'Connell. The camp, which was in the townland of Tromague, was in the field of a man named O'Neill. I distributed some thirty rifles that I had brought from Donabate, Co. Dublin. When I was coming with them in an old Ford car, I met the District Inspector and a number of police.

These rifles were part of a consignment that I had got through Tom Clarke. When I went out to this man, McAllister, in Donabate to collect them, he denied all knowledge of rifles until I mentioned Tom Ashe, whom I knew, and it was not until he had brought me to Tom Ashe and got him out of his bed to vouch for my credentials that I would get the rifles. I took the rifles to Tyrone, left them at a cousin's house and I drove on to my dispensary district. When I went to open the door of the garage to put in my car, the back axle of the car broke. It was a Ford car. If it had broken anywhere on the road with me, I would have been in a bad way with the rifles in it. I don't know where these rifles came from. I remember that I paid for them out of my own pocket. They were modern type rifles like Lee Enfields or something like that. I knew all about them at the time but I have forgotten now. All I remember is that there were about thirty rifles concerned, that McAllister had them buried in his garden

and that I was sent to him by Tom Clarke to get them.

To come back to the time when I met the police, I was taking these rifles to the camp to distribute them to the Volunteers there. As the Inspector and a number of police and a plain clothes man were returning and had stopped their car on the road, we thought they might try to capture the rifles. We formed a guard of men with revolvers, as we had no ammunition there for the rifles, and I asked Herbert Pim to take command. I went up a little elevation to see whether the police were coming in or whether they were passing on up the road and I saw that they were coming in with all the majesty of the law. I came down again and three of us - my brother, myself and another boy - with revolvers told them to halt. They were not going to halt. My brother stepped out and said, "Another step and down you go!" There were four or five police there, one a plain-clothes man named Murray. They halted then and we asked them what they wanted. They said they wanted to speak to Mr. Pim. Pim was away behind with a big long Peter-the-Painter in his hand. He came up to them and they read out from a document that, under the Aliens Restriction Act, he was ordered to leave the country within a certain number of days.

I remember an incident later regarding this detective, Murray. I think he was from Belfast. When I was going to Liverpool on my way to Russia in 1917, which I did not reach then, I went into Peter Murphy's in Scotland Road, Liverpool. There was a man standing at the counter talking to Mrs. Murphy when I went in. I went to another counter and pretended to

pick up some weekly papers. When he went out, I told Mrs. Murphy who I was and she said, "My goodness! That man just left is a detective sent over recently from Ireland to keep an eye on the comings and goings of Irish people". It was only then I realised that he was Murray, the same man we had held up at the camp at Carrickmore. I had not recognised him at the time nor had he recognised me.

To come back to the matter of Pim's deportation order, Herbert Pim came up that night to Dublin, or next day - I forget. It was decided that they would not leave Ireland. Pim, Liam Mellows, Dinny McCullough and Blythe were involved in this deportation order. They were the four that were ordered to leave the country under the Aliens Restriction Order. It was decided that they should disobey the order and remain. I think they were arrested subsequently and given a term of imprisonment for disobeying the order, or something like that. They were in Belfast Jail because I remember Pim afterwards talking about his experiences in prison.

In 1914 after the Redmond split, Casement had gone to America and the war had broken out a few days previously or a few days later. There were some meetings I attended but nothing that I can remember of much consequence. I had a letter from Joe McGarrity. He was confused. He was Chairman of the Committee in America that was responsible for raising money for the Volunteers. He was confused about the whole issue in Ireland, about the split in the Volunteers, and wondering how they were and he wrote to me, or cabled - I forget which. He wrote I think. I sent the letter to Tom Clarke together with a copy of a cable I was sending in

reply to McGarrity's letter. I think I said, "Trust friend who will arrive with you soon". This referred to Casement. Tom told me that we could not give such credentials to Casement, that he had been responsible for handing over the Volunteers to John Redmond. I came up to Dublin then to talk this matter over with Tom Clarke.

As a result of my talk with Tom Clarke, I volunteered to go to America myself at my own expense to clear up the situation to the people over there. Seán McDermott got me my ticket and all that was necessary to go. I paid my own way. I think I went third-class. At least, I came back third-class. I may have gone out second-class, but I know I came back third-class. I was back on the same boat with Tom Ashe who was second-class while I was third, and we arrived at Derry.

I believe when Casement had gone to America he got some kind of a formal introduction to the Clan na Gael there, but there was some kind of suspicion concerning him amongst the Clan na Gael. Then the Redmond split had confused the whole thing in their minds. That is why Joe McGarrity wrote to me to clear the matter up and I had volunteered to go the United States to explain in detail on the spot how things stood in Ireland and what the real feelings of the I.R.B. were in Ireland about these matters.

When I arrived in the United States I went to Joe McGarrity's house in Philadelphia. I forget where it was I landed, but it was on a Sunday I think. Next day we came over to New York and met Devoy, and Casement also.

Of course, by this time Casement had established himself in the confidence of the Clan na Gael because the Howth gun-running had taken place in the meantime and Casement had told them all about this before it actually happened, the preparations for it and the arrangements made, so that, when the news of the Howth gun-running reached America, they accepted the fact that he was largely, if not entirely, responsible for this event. Joe McGarrity told me afterwards that he and Casement had gone walking out that Sunday night of the Howth gun-running, expecting some news of it at any moment. He said they stood gazing anxiously eastwards as if, by the very intensity of their gaze, they could see over the distance what was happening in Ireland. It was a stupid but natural kind of thing to do.

Consequently Casement was in high favour with the whole of them when I arrived and he needed no credentials from me or anyone else at that stage. The Howth gun-running had set him up with the Clan na Gael. They believed - and I believe that that was so - that Casement was chiefly responsible for the Howth gun-running. I understand that it was he made contact with Childers and arranged for the services of his yacht and it was he who was able to interest Mrs. Green in the project. Though the details in Ireland may have been dealt with by someone else, I believe it was Casement who made these arrangements.

Casement was staying with Joe McGarrity at this time and he wrote and published several articles in the papers there at the time, which were all very good. It was at this time that he published the article, which was re-printed in pamphlet form afterwards, entitled

"Ireland, Germany And The Freedom of The Seas". I took home a copy of it with me to Ireland later.

Casement told me what he was going to do, that he was going to Germany, and I offered to go with him. He had a document written out about forming the Irish Brigade amongst British prisoners-of-war.

I brought home two thousand pounds in gold - which was sent from the Clan na Gael to the I.R.B. in Ireland, and seven hundred pounds in gold for Pearse's school, St. Enda's, from Joe McGarrity. The £700 was a personal contribution to Pearse for the running of his school. I believe I have Pearse's receipt for the £700 still. If I can lay my hands on this, I will hand it in to the Bureau as it may be of some historical interest.

Tom Ashe had been in America at the same time on a mission of raising funds for the Gaelic League and we travelled home on the same ship, though he was second-class and I was third. When we arrived at Derry, where the ship docked, I arranged with Ashe that he would take the gold I carried and bring it ashore with him as, if it was observed by the Customs men or anybody like that, I would have difficulty in explaining what it was whereas Ashe could claim that it was money collected for the Gaelic League. Actually, there was no trouble about it. He declared what it was and it passed without comment. They were only too glad to see the gold coming into the country. I was asked no questions. I was travelling under my own name, but registered as a farmer, and I might have brought anything in with me for all the notice that was taken. Then Tom and I went on a late train from Derry to Beragh. We went to my

father's house and stopped that night. We came to Dublin the next day.

I had this document from Casement about the formation of the Brigade in Germany and it was read out at a meeting of the Supreme Council of the I.R.B. When Casement gave me the copy of this document, I asked him did he want me to take it over to Ireland and he, knowing the danger of carrying such a document, said neither yes nor no. I don't think that in this he was asking for sanction for the proposal, but merely informing us and the I.R.B. Supreme Council that he was proposing to go ahead with this project. As he did not tell me not to take it, I took the document with me to Ireland and it was, as I said, read out to the Supreme Council. Documents of this nature were not a usual thing in I.R.B. transactions. They were too dangerous.

When I brought the document home, I gave it to Tom Clarke and it was he read it to a meeting of the Supreme Council. After having read it, he said to them, "Now you have all heard this and you understand what is in it, so we will destroy it" - and he put a match to it on the spot. I had made no copy of it and there was now nothing of this historic document except the memory of it.

The reaction of the meeting of the Supreme Council to this proposition was that they had approved of his going to Germany and, if he thought he could do some good in this project, well, let him fire away and perhaps some good might come out of it; at any rate, he was doing this on his own and they could not stop him anyhow; it would be good if it worked out and, if it did not work, there would be no harm done.

I don't think there was anything of importance to note then. We had various meetings of the Supreme Council of the I.R.B. but there was nothing that I can remember of note until the last meeting of the Supreme Council before the Rising. This was held in the Town Hall, Clontarf, and was, I think, about February, 1916. It may possibly have been January, but my recollection is that it was February. I had been co-opted as a member of the Supreme Council some time late in 1914.

There has been a lot of talk since that the actual date for the Rising was fixed at that meeting, but that is not my recollection of what took place there. The matter of a rising was discussed as it had been discussed at other meetings and Easter was vaguely mentioned.

I remember at this meeting the situation must have been pretty tense because Tom Clarke said, "If we are raided, what do we do? Do we resist?", and it was agreed that we should resist arrest. Everyone produced his revolver to show that he was ready for such an event, except P.M. Pearse who rather shamefacedly admitted that he had forgotten his revolver that morning. It was also decided that after that meeting each member of the Supreme Council would resist arrest if any attempt was made to arrest him. It was assumed, I think, that the Government knew more about the I.R.B. than they actually did know. That was the situation when the meeting began.

Mick McGinn, who was originally from Omagh, was

then caretaker of the Clontarf Town Hall. He used to be a baker when he lived in Omagh. He was a baker for Dan Hackett who had a grocery store there. The local priest in Omagh preached one Sunday against the Fenians. After that, Dan Hackett asked McGinn was he at Mass that day, and he said he was, at first Mass. He asked, "Did you hear what the priest said?" Mick said he did. Then Dan asked him, "Did you know what it was all about?" Mick said, "No", he did not know. "Well", he said, "you are the only man in Omagh who did not know what it was about". Then he said to him, "You had better clear out. I don't want you any more". The priest had almost pointed to McGinn during his sermon. Mick could not get any other job there, and so he came to Dublin. He was then caretaker of the Clontarf Town Hall. I don't know what period that was, but he told me himself about his work with Dan Hackett. He had a little farm also near Omagh and Dan Hackett wanted to be good enough to buy this farm from him, but Mick wouldn't sell - at least, not at Dan's price. Dan Hackett was the father of Professor Hackett here at the University and of Mrs. McKean who was prominent here for some time in public affairs.

Amongst those present at that last meeting of the Supreme Council were Dinny McCullough, Seán McDermott, Tom Clarke, Patrick Pearse, myself. The representative of Leinster was absent. I think his name was Seán Tobin. He used work in some garage - Thompson's. The rest were all present, as far as I remember, though I forget some of their names. Joe Gleeson from Liverpool was one of them. There was Pat McCormack from Scotland, but I am not sure whether he was at the meeting or not. I

knew him afterwards and I must have met him on the Supreme Council. He was representative of Glasgow or Scotland. I don't remember who was from London. I have heard his name since, but personally I can't vouch for it, whoever he was. Diarmuid Lynch, of course, was there representing Munster. Dinny McCullough represented Ulster and Seán McDermott was there as the representative of Connacht.

I had learned either before this meeting - I think I learned it before - that there was a Military Committee formed. I know that it was formed for the purpose of drawing up detailed plans for a revolution, or in case of a German landing. This Military Committee was like a sub-committee of the Supreme Council. It came into existence I think early in 1915. I think, at any rate, that it came into existence subsequent to my becoming a member of the Supreme Council, though I do not remember the actual meeting at which it was established or brought into being. However, I knew of its existence and its purpose. It was appointed by the Supreme Council and consisted of members of the Supreme Council together with other members outside the Council, like James Connolly.

Connolly was brought into the organisation as a member at large, that is, he was not attached to any Circle but took the oath as a member at large. So Tom Clarke told me. I think Tomás McDonagh and Joe Plunkett were also brought into the I.R.B. in the same way, as members at large, and about the same time.

The Military Committee was subject to the authority of the Supreme Council. It was supposed to submit whatever

plans it might draw up to the Supreme Council for approval. It did draw up these plans and I heard them discussed - at least, in general outline - some time prior to the Rising.

I forget just who were the members of the Military Committee, but I know Connolly was on it, because Tom Clarke told me that Connolly was very good at this sort of thing, that he had been connected with a revolution in South America, or somewhere, in his time, and therefore knew something of the practical details of these things. Whether that was true or not, I don't know.

At that meeting of the Supreme Council my recollection is - I may be wrong, or I may have taken it up wrong, but it is my recollection - that the actual date of the Rising was not definitely fixed. I remember Pearse saying in a vague sort of way, "Around Easter would be a good time of the year to start a revolution". Pearse spoke more like as if he was thinking aloud when he said this, rather than making any definite proposal.

We must have discussed a revolution in some way at this meeting because I remember saying, in the course of the discussion, "We don't want any more glorious failures". I went on to say that we should make every effort to ensure complete success this time. The situation in relation to the European war then in progress came into this discussion. The probabilities of German success in the war, whether or not they would send us aid and how much were all discussed at this meeting. I know that my attitude at the time was one of caution. I did not want our people to rush out into a revolution unprepared and without practical hope of

success. I had not then the faith in our own powers which might have been justified by later developments. I felt that it would be essential that we should have some German officers and perhaps N.C.O.'s, men who were fully-trained, professional soldiers, as well as, of course, the arms which we hoped to get from the Germans.

I think Dermot Lynch wrote in the 'Gaelic-American' since that, that I was opposed to a revolution. At least, I heard he did. I never saw the article. This was not true.

The fact is that Connolly had disappeared at this time, and we heard that Connolly, Countess Markievicz and Mallon had made some kind of a pact that, if one or other of them, or any of them, disappeared, the remaining one or two would take action by using the Citizen Army to start a revolution. Tom Clarke said that the Volunteers would not and should not be forced to strike by any action like this. My attitude was, "If one starts, we must all start", so that it was quite untrue to say that I was against a revolution. I felt that, if the Citizen Army went out, we must go out too as otherwise the whole movement would fizzle out like the Rising of '98. It was at the Supreme Council meeting that I put forward these views.

Dinny McCullough claims, I believe, that Seán McDermott was sent from that meeting to warn Countess Markievicz of something or other, but I am unable to confirm or deny this. It might have been, but I don't remember anything about it.

Then again people will say now that the date of the Rising was fixed at that meeting. All I can say

about this is that, if it was, the fact entirely escaped me, though I was present at the meeting. My recollection is, as I have stated, that Easter was put forward as a kind of vague suggestion and I have no recollection whatever of this, or any other date, becoming a definite decision of the meeting. As to by whom, or when, the date of the Rising was fixed, I am unable to throw any further light. The date may have been fixed by the Military Committee and put forward to the Supreme Council for approval in the way I have stated, but I, as a member of the Supreme Council present at that meeting, did not appreciate that this was a definite date being submitted.

I have stated that I believed the last meeting of the Supreme Council before Easter, 1916, was held in February. Colonel Lawless drew my attention to what John Devoy had written in his Recollections regarding the time when the date of the Rising was fixed. If John Devoy be correct in stating the decision was made in January, 1916, in Dublin to rise at Easter, the meeting of the Supreme Council must have been held earlier and not in February. I have no idea why I assumed the Supreme Council meeting was held in February.

It has been said the date was fixed by that meeting of the Supreme Council. That is not my belief. I distinctly remember Padraig Pearse stating that Easter would be a suitable time, for I contended that we were not then in a position to fix a definite date, as we "did not want any more glorious defeats". I used these words or something like them.

It was also stated that Connolly had disappeared

and that there was an understanding that, if he or Countess Markievicz or Mallon (I think) disappeared, the other two would lead out the Citizen Army. Tom Clarke stated that we were not going to allow ourselves to be rushed into a premature rebellion by any such group. I said that, if the Citizen Army went out, we would all have to go as wholesale arrests were sure to follow and the whole movement would fizzle out.

I don't remember whether it was before or after that meeting the Army Council was formed. Its function, as I understood it from Tom Clarke, was to draw up the plans for a revolution. I do remember that Tom told me the plans for Dublin, but probably that was after the Supreme Council meeting. If the date of the Rising had been fixed before the Supreme Council meeting, James Connolly would have known of it and hence his disappearance would have caused no anxiety, but it did. Otherwise, Tom Clarke would not have said that we would not allow ourselves to be rushed.

It is possible, of course, that the date might have been previously fixed by the Executive of the Supreme Council. I do not believe that is so. As I said, the disappearance of James Connolly disproves it and I'm certain Tom Clarke would not have concealed such important news from Denis McCullough and myself.

I remember Diarmuid Lynch wanted information about the use of explosives and details regarding some other things, but the use of the explosives I am certain of. Tom Clarke got irritated by this and showed it after the meeting to Denis McCullough and myself in the course of conversation.

Padraig Pearse may have mentioned Easter as a suitable time for a rising just as a feeler and perhaps noted the fact that there was no serious objection to it, though somebody stated that in country districts it was a busy time of the year on account of planting crops.

It is my conviction that the date of the Rising was fixed by the Executive of the Supreme Council shortly after the meeting of the Supreme Council. If that be correct, the meeting must have been held in December or very early in January. Devoy is probably correct as to when he received the information. He had an excellent memory for dates and, as Casement said to me in New York in 1914, Devoy was full of reminiscence. He was the same when I met him again in 1917 and continued mentally alert until I left New York for Russia in December, 1920.

I did not know of the definite fixing of the date for the Rising until the week before Holy Week. I was back in Tyrone. There was a man came from Joe McGarrity in the United States to Plumbridge. Smith was his name. He was to bring a message to me for transmission to Tom Clarke about the arrival of the German arms cargo on the "Aud", but he was so well watched that he was afraid to get in touch directly with me and he therefore gave the message to a publican there, a very decent man, named Peter McCullough. Smith had not been given any written message. He had memorised the message to be transmitted and he, in turn, had McCullough memorise the message, which he repeated to him to give to me, giving all the details about signs and signals to be made to and from the ship when it arrived. McCullough came to me at Greencastle, explained what had happened and repeated the message to me that the "Aud" was to arrive at Fenit

Harbour on a certain date, the signs that were to be given from the shore and the signs in acknowledgement that would be sent from the ship.

I had to go to a dispensary next day and had no time to make arrangements with a neighbouring doctor to do duty for me; hence I could not go to Dublin, but I sent Hugh Rogers of Six-mile-cross to Dublin to Tom Clarke, having first got Rogers to memorise the message as it had reached me.

The message to me had originated from Philadelphia and had been sent by four different routes, so that, if any one or more failed, some of them would get through.

I had told Rogers not to write anything but to give a verbal message to Tom Clarke as to what action was to be taken. Clarke told him that it was alright, that they had this information already and that everything was alright. But everything was not alright, in fact, as Clarke believed it was.

Apparently they had sent word back to New York, on receipt of this message, to delay the landing of the arms on the assumption that the "Aud" was fitted with wireless and could be informed or instructed while at sea. They knew the messages had got to New York and would have got to the German Embassy there, and so they assumed that the necessary instructions would reach the "Aud". No one seemed to have realised that the "Aud" had no wireless. They acted on the assumption that the Germans were so thorough and perfect in all their arrangements that there would have been a means of communicating with the "Aud". It was this false assumption that was responsible for the "Aud's" arrival and no one there to meet it and its

eventual capture by the British naval forces.

On Holy Thursday a man named Burke who was I.R.B. Organiser for Ulster at the time - he became a doctor afterwards - came to me and told me about the arms cargo on the "Aud" which was arriving. From the way he spoke to me, I thought he was confused. He seemed to indicate that this was just another arms landing similar to the Howth gun-running and not the preparation for a rising, as I had understood. I became a bit disturbed about this, so I went with him to Dublin to get this matter straightened out.

On our way up to Dublin we stopped in Monaghan with Fr. McPhillips. There was general talk of revolution in the air, of course, at the time and I don't know whether this man said anything to Fr. McPhillips about the imminence of a rising - which he should not, if he did - but I remember Fr. McPhillips saying to us, "Tell them in Dublin not to do anything until the British try to enforce conscription and then the whole country will be behind you".

So we came to Dublin and I saw Tom Clarke as usual. I stayed in Tom Clarke's house that night. Tom was enthusiastic about the prospect. He said there were at least 5,000 Germans coming and he was all enthusiastic about how thorough the Germans were and that they would do things in a big way, so that I left him for the first train next morning as enthusiastic as himself.

I bought a paper at Amiens Street station and, when I got into the carriage, I read the announcement about the arrest of Casement. That was on Good Friday

morning. I knew that the arrangements had all been made for the Rising and that it would not be stopped now, but I wondered what effect the arrest of Casement would have on the whole thing.

I think it was that evening or on Saturday morning that Dinny McCullough reached my father's house and I wanted to have the latest news from Tom Clarke so that there would be no mistakes made locally.

I sent my sister and two Miss Owens from Beragh up to Dublin on the last train to see Tom Clarke and find out what the latest situation was and what our future programme was. One of them came back that night - Josie Owens. She was afterwards the wife of District Justice O'Hanrahan of Donegal. She told me that she saw Tom Clarke and that her information from Tom was, "It is hopeless but we must go on".

We did not know anything further. The Belfast Volunteers had come as far as Coalisland. We were waiting for my sister and the other Miss Owens to get some more information from them on Sunday. I had learned for the first time that the Belfast men were joining us when Dinny McCullough came to my father's house on Good Friday night or Saturday morning.

Of course, I had known the general plan the Rising was to follow in Ulster for a long time. I got that from Pearse a long time before the Rising, sometime between January and April. It was generally to the effect that we would concentrate at Bellcoo and hold the line of the Shannon, the general anticipation being that a German landing was to be expected in the west of Ireland, that our job would, therefore, be to hold the line of the

Shannon, to prevent enemy forces crossing into Connacht and that, if the Germans were not to come, we would be given other plans. But we never got the other plans. At the time I got this plan from Pearse, I asked him what about the police barracks throughout the country, would we deal with these as we passed along, and his reply was, "Don't waste time dealing with police".

Now I can't remember whether the Volunteers had arrived from Belfast to Coalisland on Saturday or not, but if they had not, they arrived there on Sunday morning. I discussed the plans with McCullough. We had no very serious discussion about them. We both knew the plans and we were prepared to carry out the orders, but we were waiting for the last-minute instruction which we expected to reach us by my sister and Miss Cassie Owens, both of whom are still alive.

The girls got a train from Dublin as far as Dundalk on Easter Sunday. From there they took a taxi home to Carrickmore, arriving about 2 p.m. They brought with them the 'Sunday Independent' which contained McNeill's order cancelling the Volunteer parade for that day.

Dinny McCullough then got worried about his men. As they were already out, he did not want them to suffer if anything turned up. We did not want any isolated incidents occurring. So he thought the best thing to do would be to get them back as quickly as possible to Belfast. We went up to Coalisland and McCullough mustered his men. He marched them off to either Cookstown or Dungannon - I forget which - to get them on the train back to Belfast.

That was the last information we had on the matter until Monday night. Just as it was getting dark, a gentleman - I forget his name, but he is Maeve Kavanagh's husband - came to me with a note from Padraig Pearse, "We start at noon to-day. Carry out your orders". (I think I can give you that document. I have it somewhere and I will look it up).

I started out then and got in touch with Fr. O'Daly. I got him up out of his bed at four o'clock in the morning and I told him what was on. He decided to mobilise Fintona and what men he had in Clogher. He was to go to Fr. Coyle in Fintona who would get the men there. Fr. McNeelis in Beragh was also informed by Fr. O'Daly. I warned the men at Six-mile-cross myself and sent word to Omagh and Dungannon. I forget how I sent the messages to these places and to the other men around locally, but the instruction was to mobilise on the Tuesday night.

Herbert Pim was around at that time. I had told the men in the message I had sent that they were to mobilise, each Unit in its own area, where they would receive further instructions. Pim assumed command, made my father's place his headquarters and stated that the men were all to come there. I thought at the time, perhaps from what he said or from the way he acted, that he had sent word out to the men to this effect, but apparently he had not. The result was that only one man with a rifle turned up there, so that I thought the whole mobilisation was a flop.

At this stage Fr. O'Daly and Fr. McNeelis turned up. We began to discuss what would be done, supposing

we did take steps then to mobilise the men. I stated that the orders were that we should go to Bellcoo and they asked me what we were to do when we got to Bellcoo. They said, "If you go there, you will be in a strange country where you don't know the people. There isn't even any friendly house you can seek food in. It's obvious now that there is going to be no German landing. So what are you going to do at Bellcoo? If we are in Tyrone, we know the country, we know our friends and we know our enemies". That was the general gist of their argument and they suggested we had better disband the men until the following Thursday or Friday when we might expect to have some definite word of what was happening and what we were to do. We then decided to dismiss the men that had been mobilised.

I thought then I had better visit the places where I had sent word for the men to mobilise in their own areas and I found every man standing by there. They were waiting for orders and so I told them to go home for the present. I had only a limited amount of petrol left in my car and I started off to warn the Dungannon men. There were two ways they might come. I took the near way and went as far as I thought my petrol would allow me to go and get home on, without meeting them, but I found afterwards that they had come the other way, through Donaghmore and Pomeroy. They arrived some time early in the morning at one of the centres where they were to mobilise and, of course, they had to go back again. There were at least 500 men who turned out in Tyrone, that is, not counting the men from Belfast. I am speaking here of the Tyrone men alone. Of this number of Volunteers, all of them were I.R.B. men.

On Tuesday afternoon we got the ammunition - that was our store of ammunition for the Rising - and I brought it to my father's place. I told my brother to leave this ammunition at the house of another brother who was not connected with national affairs in any way, so as to have it away from my father's house. He hid it amongst the turf and thought it was quite safe there, but the police came on Thursday. Paddy Ryan and a fellow named Boyle were there. When we saw the police, I cleared out and they cleared out also, leaving their revolvers behind them. They had no time to get them but I had kept mine with me and got away. I had two revolvers, as a matter of fact. Assuming that I would be arrested if I were caught, I had made up my mind that I was not going to be taken if I could help it but, as it happened, they were not looking for me. They were just looking for the ammunition which they found. There were soldiers and police on the raiding party. The turf house was the first place they searched and they found it. It was only then I learned where it was because I thought it had been put in a place of safety.

Our ammunition was gone then. There was nothing we could do anyway. I did not go back to my father's house. I may have gone back that evening for clothes or something like that but I dared not stay around there.

I did not know where to go. A cousin of mine, Michael McCartan, a veterinary surgeon, was with me. We made for the hills in the direction of his home, but without any definite idea even as to where we were heading for and what we were going to do. His house was no more safe than my father's house, as he and his brother were both active. On the way we were passing

another cousin's place. He was a man who lived alone. We went into the barn there and lay down for the night. I had a rug with me which I had brought along as I thought we would probably have to sleep out, so we made ourselves as comfortable as we could in the barn and had a good sound sleep, until the man came in there in the morning and found us. He got the fright of his life when he saw us there. I stayed there then with this man all the time. I was being searched for by the police who kept watch on all my relations. They had searched relations and priests who were friends of mine as far around as Armagh and Monaghan and all the time I was hardly half a mile away from my father's house, which turned out to be the safest place.

After a little while, I was knocking around from place to place. It was easy enough then to escape detection though the police never ceased looking for me. I found that the Catholic policemen were worse than the others, as they were most assiduous in their efforts to find me.

There was a Unionist chap who actually did not know where I was, but he used tell the police in a jocular sort of a way where I was, or where I was likely to be, just I think for the sake of giving them the trouble of searching these places. I think he was merely having a bit of fun at the expense of the police, but he was doing a lot of talk like this that I thought might become dangerous. I sent word to him to meet me at a certain place on any night that would suit him, but he refused to meet me. He stopped talking after that. He said he did not realise that his talk might have the effect of getting me caught. He gave as his reason for

not meeting me that, if I were arrested afterwards, he would be blamed for my arrest.

My people saw the R.I.C. continuously watching for me. They kept a constant watch on my father's house in case I should turn up there which, of course, I never did.

While I was on the run at this time an amusing incident occurred in the house I was staying in that seemed like a narrow escape. It was a good distance from the first place I had been staying in. This was a couple of months after the Rising. I was in this friend's house and the man and his wife and children were away at their brother-in-law's place. This house was a publichouse and grocery shop in the country. The local Sergeant turned in there this day and he asked the boy in the shop, a lad of about 17 or 18, where the boss was. The lad told him he was at Kildress. The Sergeant said, "I just wanted to see him because there is a rumour out that Dr. McCartan is stopping here" - and I was in the house at the time. The Sergeant, having made a purchase of half a pint of whiskey, went away and the boy came up to tell me what had happened. He said, "I'm afraid I have given you away". I said, "How?" He told me what happened and said, "I'm sure I blushed all over when he mentioned your name". I told him not to be worried at all, that it would be alright. When the man and his wife came back, I told them about this incident. We put out the fire in the room where I was staying, leaving as little sign of occupation as possible around the room.

The Sergeant came again to the house later and this man, Mr. McCullough, took him into the kitchen. As I thought he might search the house, I decided to get out while the Sergeant was in the kitchen. I came

downstairs and, taking a coat from the hall as I passed, went out the back way. I got into the barn. A friend of mine - one of the men from around - was with me and, having arrived in the barn, I began to look at the coat. I said to him, "Who owns this coat? It's a strange looking coat". He said, "What the hell's the difference? There's five or six coats there in the hall". We had another look at it and then we discovered that it was the Sergeant's coat I had taken from the hall. We then had to smuggle the Sergeant's coat back again to where I had got it in the hall and take another one. However, the Sergeant was still occupied in the kitchen and nothing happened. He did not search the house. He took their word for it that I was not there.

In another house I was in, that is, the cousin's house, an R.I.C. man came along while I was there to get the tillage returns. I feared when he came that he might be looking for me but he did not see anything there. These were the only two occasions that I came anywhere near arrest during that period. These were amusing incidents during my period on the run that time.

There were a number of lads, whom I knew and who knew where I was, that I used to get around with. They told me about a chap - he was an Hibernian - who was doing some talking about my possible whereabouts. He actually did not know where I was, but he was conjecturing openly that I must be at this house of a cousin of mine who lived alone, because he said he had observed, at a time when this man was out working in the fields, that there was smoke coming from the chimney showing that there was somebody still in the house. We thought this kind of talk might be dangerous. To

give him a fright, I told a cousin of his, who did know where I was, to get this fellow along to his house one night. Having arranged that he should be sitting in a certain position facing the light, on an arranged signal, I walked in with a knapsack on my back and a gun in my hand. He was warned about loose talking. He was very annoyed with the others for playing this trick on him but it had the effect of keeping him from talking loosely from then until I again appeared in public.

I used to get word indirectly from the police - I forget now the particular channels through which it came - but I got word this day that orders had been received by the police that I was not to be arrested and also that Bulmer Hobson was not to be arrested, but we were to be watched and our associates observed. This message came from an R.I.C. man to a friend of mine - this Mr. McCullough whose house I had been staying in - and I did not quite believe it when I heard it. I thought it might have been a trap to bring me out of hiding. I sent to a Unionist friend of mine, who is dead since, a Master Myles in Gortin, whose house was raided after 1916, looking for things of mine. He had got a revolver of his own. They got everything in the house except this revolver of his own which he did not want to be found on that occasion. He went to the Head Constable in Newtownstewart, who was also a Protestant and from whom he got word confirming the report I had already got that I was not to be arrested.

Then I appeared again and was practising medicine in my native district for about three weeks when I was arrested one morning. That was in February, 1917. The house was surrounded by police and there was

no chance of escape. I was taken up to Dublin and placed in Arbour Hill. I met Darrell Figgis there for the first time.

Some time before that I had written a letter to Mrs. Clarke which was to be taken to her by hand and I thought when I was arrested that it was because of this letter. I thought it had fallen into the hands of the police and that that was the reason for my arrest.

I should have mentioned earlier that while I was on the run in Tyrone, Seamus O'Doherty sent word down to me from Dublin that Liam Mellows had been smuggled out to America and that, if I wished, I could be smuggled out there too. Some of the Church Street priests, the Capuchins, were arranging this, I think. I had replied to Seamus O'Doherty to say that I would not go, that I felt that there must still be a fight over the conscription issue; although we had lost our ammunition, we still had the arms and, therefore, I preferred to remain in Ireland.

To return to my arrival in Arbour Hill, when I was going in there I met a brother of Seán T. O'Kelly's coming out of the prison. He told me that Seán T. had been arrested and was in the prison, which gave me a certain amount of relief because I realised then that others had also been arrested and that, therefore, the letter I had written to Mrs. Clarke was not the cause of my arrest. Actually there were about thirty of us arrested about that time, merely as suspects and for no special or apparent reason.

An interesting incident in connection with my arrest that time was in relation to a letter I had in my

pocket at the time of my arrest. I had pockets on each side of the inside of my coat. I had a letter from a young boy, as he was then - he is now working on the "Evening Mail" in Dublin, or was the last time I met him. He was from Newtownstewart. He had written me this letter which was rather indiscreetly worded - all about the Redcoats biting the dust in Easter Week and all that kind of thing. When my arrest took place, I remembered this letter in my pocket and felt sorry that this lad would get into trouble as a result of his youthful outburst of enthusiasm. I removed the letters from the pocket I thought his letter was and put them under the mattress. The letters and papers in the other pocket had been taken from my pockets by the police. I had got rid of the papers from one pocket but then saw that this letter was amongst the papers in the other pocket. At Portadown I spoke to the District Inspector. He had my money and things they had taken from me. I offered to stand them a drink and they told me they could not accept any treat but that, if I liked, they would buy me a drink or cup of coffee. I had a cup of coffee, after which I said I wanted to go to the lavatory and a man was sent with me. So I told him he had this letter, the kind of a letter it was and that it could only result in getting this boy into trouble, for which he was not to blame. The policeman pulled the letters out of his pocket and said, "Here! Pick it out!" - and I did so. Obviously he destroyed it. This policeman was a Protestant and, I believe, a Freemason, but I don't believe that any Catholic policeman would have acted as decently. I never met him afterwards, though I would have liked to have done so to show my appreciation of what he had done on that occasion.

When I arrived in Arbour Hill, I forget whether Darrell Figgis was already in the cell, or whether he came in afterwards, but we were in the same cell, just the two of us. We were told we could send out for food. My money must have been given back to me, or something like that, because we did send out for food. Darrell suggested some wine also, so we sent out for a bottle of port and we had a grand feast. I don't know whether we finished it all that night or not.

We were in Arbour Hill for a day or two, but the next thing was we were deported to Oxford. We had as an escort on the way some military chap. I don't know who he was, but he was a very nice fellow, a very decent chap. There were nine of us in Oxford, nine others somewhere else and we were all scattered around in different places over England.

Among those in Oxford were Liam Pedlar, Seán T. O'Kelly, Joe McBride, Sceilg, Darrell Figgis, Michael Foley, Frank McCabe, Barney Mellows, myself and another chap, a long, tall chap - I forget his name. At first we stayed in a boarding house and then Count Plunkett heard that we were there. He had a house there that was vacant and we went to live there, cooking for ourselves. Liam Pedlar was the cook. He had been in the American army and he undertook this duty. Our menu consisted mostly of stews. Michael Foley and I slept in the one bed. Michael used to tell me to get up and that he would suffer on for a while. I think I made the beds and cleaned the rooms. We all portioned out work for ourselves. We had a good time there.

After we were a little while in Oxford, there was

a concert one night in London. I think it must have been on St. Patrick's Day. We decided to go to London. We had Corrigan of the firm, Corrigan & Corrigan - Michael Corrigan I suppose it was - and Gavan Duffy. They told us about the concert in London on St. Patrick's Day and we all decided to go down to the concert in London. We were not then confined to the area in which we were living, so that there was nothing against us going to London. We went to London, stayed there overnight, I think, and came back to Oxford alright.

After that we were moved from Oxford and we were ordered not to move outside of a five-mile radius of Fairford. They put us into boarding houses and we objected to the boarding houses, that they were not good enough. Then we were put into an hotel. It was a rather nice inn and very well kept. Four of us were put into a rather nice house - a very decent man and a very decent woman. They had a nice little shop. I think there were four of us there. They could not make head or tail of what was the trouble. Sceilg, Darrell Figgis, myself and I forget who the fourth man was. The poor woman would ask us in the morning after breakfast what we would want for dinner. Of course, none of us gave a jot but when she asked poor Darrell Figgis, he would tell her what he wanted for dinner. She could not understand us in this matter because her husband, if he did not know after his breakfast what he was going to have for dinner, would be angry about it, which just went to show the difference in temperament and outlook between ourselves and the English people.

While we were in Fairford, there were meetings and correspondence about going back to Ireland. We wanted

all to do the same thing but we could not get general agreement. The idea was to flout the deportation order and return to our own country. We realised that trains and boats would be watched and whereas one or two might slip away, it would be difficult for everyone to go at once. We were discussing the ways and means of everybody getting back home. The decision on the matter was postponed and postponed until eventually the North Longford election came along. We decided anyway that some of us would go - Seán T. O'Kelly, Darrell Figgis and myself. I think that was all that left our place. Seamus O'Doherty left his place, wherever that was.

Darrell Figgis left one way and Seán T. O'Kelly and I went by the Fishguard-Rosslare boat. We got somehow or other to Enniscorthy where we went to a man named Sinnott and borrowed a bicycle, went to his wife's people in Tomcoole and got as far as Borris, Co. Carlow, where I called on Dr. Dundon and got his motor-bike, and I landed up in Dublin.

We then went to North Longford where I, with Larry Ginnell, Count Plunkett and some others, was sent out canvassing on behalf of the Sinn Féin candidate, Joe McGuinness. The receptions were rather interesting. Some of them were friendly. Some of them just told you bluntly that they were going to vote for McKenna. I remember a woman who was a staunch supporter of McKenna. Her husband was not in, but she knew McKenna and McKenna was a decent man and they were going to vote for him and that was all about it. They were for the Irish Party. We parted good friends. We were shaking hands with her on our departure and I said to her, "I'm going to ask you to do something. Will you pray for the freedom of

Ireland?" She took my hand, looked at me and said, "God's sake! Ye may be right after all!" My request for a prayer for Irish freedom had apparently impressed her.

We came back to Dublin then. I forget where I was stopping. I don't think I was staying in O'Doherty's, because Seamus O'Doherty had come home also from England and he was not stopping at home, but we used to meet during the day at O'Doherty's house. We were all in and out of O'Doherty's. It was like a publichouse, the number of people who came in and out there at that time.

Among those who dropped in one afternoon were Kevin O'Shiel and a Mr. Esposito. The conversation drifted to a discussion on the situation in Russia. The result was that Seamus O'Doherty, myself and O'Shiel agreed that Ireland should send a representative to Russia. We all had read some of the decisions taken there and believed they would be friendly to Ireland's demands.

Later in the evening Seamus O'Doherty and I discussed the proposal further, and Seamus, who was Secretary of the Supreme Council of the I.R.B., decided to call a meeting of that body to discuss the proposal.

I was not then a member of the new Supreme Council which had been formed since Easter Week but Seamus O'Doherty was and, as he knew I had been a member of the Supreme Council, he discussed matters freely with me, asking my advice on occasion as to how things were done by the older Council.

Following this discussion with Kevin O'Shiel and

Esposito, Seamus O'Doherty called a meeting of the Supreme Council at his house where this proposition of sending men to Russia was put forward. What took place then and subsequently is fully covered in the document I had written out some years ago for Frank Thornton, typescript copies of which I signed a few days ago, and it is therefore unnecessary to repeat it here.

I started off for Russia but my immediate destination was London, to find out there whether I could get a ship to Russia. Kevin O'Shiel left me at the boat in Dublin and I think the only disguise I wore was a pair of plain spectacles. There were detectives around but either they did not recognise us or, at any rate, they did not bother us. As I had been away from Dunlin for a few years, these were probably new men who did not recognise me.

When I went to London I stopped at Gavan Duffy's and there I made contact with Andrew E. Malone's friend, a Russian named Maiskey. I called to Maiskey's address but he was not there at the time as he had gone to Petrograd, but there was an Irish girl there who was a governess in Maiskey's house. When I found she was Irish, I began to ask her questions as to whether Maiskey had any friends that I could call on. She gave me the names of two and, when I questioned her as to which of these was closer to Maiskey, she indicated the name of Dr. Gavrunskey.

I called on Dr. Gavrunskey and told him who I was. I was travelling under the name of Fitzgerald at the time but I also gave him my real name. I discussed my mission with him and it was agreed between

us that I would write a statement to give to him, inviting the friendly interest of the Russian Government in the Irish struggle for independence, and that he would get this document to Russia through the diplomatic post satchel. I don't know what Gavrunskey's position was. I presume he was some kind of a Russian agent.

When I went back, I drafted the document which Gavan Duffy read over and he translated this into French. W.P. Ryan translated it then into Irish. The three copies of this document - in English, Irish and French - signed by me on behalf of the Provisional Government of the Irish Republic, were then handed to Dr. Gavrunskey for transmission to the Russian Government.

When I was leaving London to go to Liverpool, as we gathered that there might be a better chance of getting a boat from Liverpool, I told Gavrunskey that we wanted to keep in touch with him and I gave him the names of Gavan Duffy and Larry Ginnell. Ginnell being a member of Parliament, Gavrunskey said he would rather see the Deputy, meaning Ginnell. I brought Ginnell around to see him. Gavrunskey was a doctor. He had entered my name when I called to see him, in his book of patients, as Fitzgerald and he then also entered Ginnell as a patient, in case, I suppose, that any question might arise as to why we had called on him. The arrangement was made that any further correspondence between ourselves and the Russian Government, or vice versa, would then go through Gavrunskey and Ginnell.

I went on then to Liverpool and reported to Peter Murphy. I remained there for a few nights and then I moved to the home of a woman named McCarthy to stay. The I.R.B. in Liverpool took charge of the business of

looking after me. I was there for quite some time - I can't remember how long - but there seemed to be very little hope of getting a boat to Russia for about a month. There was one due in about a month's time but there was some doubt as to whether or not it was going to Archangel.

Just then President Wilson's speech was published, in which he enunciated his famous Fourteen Points, and there was some talk of the Irish Republican prisoners being released. Discussing the situation with some of the I.R.B. men in Liverpool, Murphy, Garrity and I forget who the others were, we decided that it would be a good idea if I drafted an appeal to President Wilson, based on his Fourteen Points speech, and got the prisoners to sign it immediately they came out of jail.

I started off for London, went to Gavan Duffy's and he agreed that the suggestion was a good one. I think it was on a Sunday morning I arrived in Gavan Duffy's and Mrs. Gavan Duffy brought me to the house of Eva Gore Booth, the sister of Countess Markievicz. We went there to see if she knew when the Countess was being released, but she did not know. While there I met Lady Ainsleigh. She was from Antrim. I was rather surprised to find somebody of her type associating with the friends of Countess Markievicz.

We then went to Pentonville Jail and saw Fr. Carey. We asked Fr. Carey when the prisoners would be released and he said he did not know. We said we supposed it would take some time to get them fitted out with clothes but he replied that they had all got their clothes already. He said he would advise us to watch the trains that evening. We went from there to Euston Station, only to

find that the prisoners had left by a previous train. I took the mail train for Holyhead just as I stood and caught up with the released prisoners on the boat at Holyhead.

I made contact with the men on the boat. I asked for Diarmuid Lynch and Tom Ashe, whom I knew best amongst them, and I told them about my proposals. They suggested consulting de Valera on this, as he had been the prisoners' Commandant. De Valera came into the cabin where we were on the ship, and after some discussion he brought in Eoin McNeill. They all agreed with the proposition. Professor McNeill then and there sat down to write out the draft statement on the way to Dublin. The arrangement was made that the officers were to sign it. This was an amendment to my proposal. I forget who I had arranged should sign it. At any rate, they decided that this document to President Wilson should be signed by all the Volunteer officers amongst the released prisoners. The method of getting this document to America was also discussed.

The draft of the document, as it was written by McNeill, was taken by me to Seamus O'Doherty. Mrs. O'Doherty prepared a large linen handkerchief by starching it and ironing it out stiff. We copied McNeill's draft on to the handkerchief, writing with marking ink.

Later that evening - it was on a Monday - we brought this handkerchief to where the prisoners were having a photograph taken - I think it was at the Mansion House - and there the document was signed by them.

After the document had been signed, the handkerchief was washed, that is, all the starch washed out of it,

leaving the writing and signatures perfectly legible. This, in its now soft condition, was carefully sewn inside the lining of my vest.

I think it was that day I met de Valera at his own house. He lived then in Munster Street and I called there with Seamus O'Doherty. I was going to tell him about the other document which I had signed on behalf of the Provisional Government of the Republic, but Seamus advised me against this. He said, "You have authority from the Supreme Council to sign and there's no use raking up difficulties, so you had better say nothing".

I started back then for Liverpool. I must have gone by the Holyhead boat because I arrived in Liverpool about four o'clock in the morning. I went to Garrity's when I arrived there, and that day I had to join the boat, "The Baltic", for New York.

The first ship I had arranged to sail on was the "Andenia" with Tommy O'Connor. T.P. O'Connor and Hazleton, M.P., were sailing for America as passengers. Tommy O'Connor had arranged with one of the men, who had signed on and who then did not want to sail, to let me go in his place and answer to his name. The ship did not sail that day, however, after I had reported on board. That night the boatswain, who was looking for a tip or something, came up truculently to me to demand, "When did you sign on?", as he did not remember having seen my face already. I, of course, had not signed at all, having answered somebody's name who had signed on. I said I had signed on on Friday, but he seemed a bit sceptical about this. After a consultation between O'Connor and myself about this, we decided I had better leave the ship before she sailed, as this man might give me away or

report his suspicions to someone. We threw a plank on to the quayside to enable us - Tom and I - to get ashore and some of the other seamen, thinking we were slipping off to get a drink, helped us. When Tom went back to the ship, he took over my kit and put it with his own.

When they discovered my absence, the mystery was how I had got ashore. This was the next day. As Tom told me afterwards, one of the other men said, when questioned, that I was sitting beside him at breakfast that morning, which of course I was not. Discussing this with Tommy O'Connor afterwards, he told me about this man saying that I was sitting beside him at breakfast and the speculation as to who or what I was. It seems they had taken me to be an American because of a gold tooth they had noticed that I had. So nobody was very much worried about me.

After that it was arranged that I would sign on as an able-bodied seaman on another ship, the "Baltic", and I arrived in New York without further incident.

It was on a Sunday when I arrived in New York and I tried to get in touch with John Devoy, but I did not know his address and the 'Gaelic American' office was shut. I called up Jerry O'Leary on the telephone and asked him for Devoy's address, but he, of course, being suspicious, would not give me Devoy's address. I then headed for Joe McGarrity in Philadelphia and he and I came back to New York the following day to see Devoy.

When I left the ship, I brought nothing with me except the clothes I wore, which included, of course, the vest containing the precious document sewn into it. My seaman's kit, sea boots and dungarees and such things

were all that I left behind on the ship. The handkerchief with the signed statement on it was taken out of the vest on that Sunday night by Mrs. McGarrity who did the necessary ripping of the lining.

When we met Devoy, I showed him the handkerchief document. I also told him about the document I had sent to Russia, signed by myself on behalf of the Provisional Government of the Irish Republic. I told him that I proposed to write a similar document, signed by me on behalf of the Provisional Government, and addressed to the President of the United States, to be handed to him at the same time as this document written on the handkerchief.

I wrote that document in the 'Gaelic American' office and, when Devoy read it, he told me to show it to Judge Cohalane, who was living at that time up at some lake in the mountains. The Judge read over my statement and the only addition he made to it was to insert the words, "of course" somewhere in the document. I was received in a very friendly way by the Judge and I was impressed by the way he lived there. They seemed to have a model household, family Rosary at night and all that sort of thing, just as it might be in a country house in Ireland.

Coming back to New York the next day, we had photostatic copies made of the handkerchief and we typed and I signed the other document.

John D. Moore came down with me to Washington and we delivered the documents to Mr. Tomelty, who was Secretary to President Wilson. When I called there, I found a Monaghan man outside Tomelty's office.

Tomelty himself was of Irish descent but a bad type because, being Irish, he felt that he dare not show any favour to the Irish cause. I found that in many cases the best types were the pure Americans without any Irish blood. They were more fearless and less afraid to be regarded as partisan. Of course, Tomelty's position as Wilson's secretary and knowing how little love for Ireland Wilson had, may have restrained him, but he received the document and we parted. The whole thing was very informal.

About the time that I had arrived in New York, T.P. O'Connor had given out some kind of a statement to the press there. I remember Devoy talking to me about this. He gave me a copy of the statement and asked me to write an answer to it for publication. My answer was published then in the 'Gaelic American'.

There were several meetings of the Clan na Gael which Liam Mellows and I attended. We were discussing a mission to Germany. First, we were both to go to Germany. Then Liam Mellows was to go there and I was to go to Liverpool to make arrangements for the receiving of equipment, which Liam Mellows hoped to get and take over in a submarine. Later, it was decided that both of us would go to Germany and that I would remain in Germany as Irish representative, or, if found unnecessary, that one or both of us would return to Ireland with the munitions that we hoped to get.

I left the U.S.A. on a Belgian relief ship on the 24th October on my way to Germany, but was arrested in Halifax. I was kept in a military prison in Halifax for about two months - ten weeks actually. The great

explosion when two munition ships collided in Halifax Harbour took place while I was in prison there. It was on an island I think I was in prison.

From this point onwards, the details of my activities are given fully in my book, "With de Valera in America". I spent a lot of time and gave a lot of thought in checking the details when I wrote this book, so that what I have stated there is better dealt with than I could deal with it now.

Signed:

*Patrick McCartan*  
(Patrick McCartan)

Date:

*Dec 15<sup>th</sup> 1952*  
(Dec. 15th 1952)

Witness:

*J. V. Lawless Col.*  
(J.V. Lawless) Col.



The Appendix "A" attached to this statement is a copy of my report to the President of Dáil Éireann made on my return from Russia in 1921. The report is divided into five parts as follows:

- (1) Hopes of Recognition (of the Irish Republic).
- (2) Conditions in Russia.
- (3) Personal treatment.
- (4) Foreigners in Moscow.
- (5) Commercial affairs.

This was for the purpose of convenience in dealing with these various aspects. Together they constitute my full report on my mission as Envoy of the Irish Republic to Russia.

The Appendix "B" is a copy of the manuscript draft of a letter written by me to John Devoy from Philadelphia on 19th April 1919. I do not now remember whether or not a copy of this letter was actually delivered to Mr. Devoy, but even if it was not it throws some light upon the events of the period, and having been written by me at a time contemporary with these events is included here for what it may be worth.

Signed:

*Patrick McCartan*  
(Patrick McCartan)

Date:

*Dec 15<sup>th</sup> 1952*

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY 1913-21
BURO STAIRE MILEATA 1913-21
NO. W.S. 766

APPENDIX A.HOPES OF RECOGNITION.

I arrived in Reval on February 6th 1921 and on calling at the Russian Mission there was informed that Mr. Litvinoff who has charge of the political and commercial business for the West was in Moscow. He returned on February 9th and I had an interview with him that evening. Before leaving the United States somebody told me that Lincoln Stephens had said that he discussed the Irish question with Mr. Litvinoff and that the latter was of the opinion that on account of conditions both inside and outside Russia, it would be inadvisable for the Russian Government to do anything for Ireland. I was also informed that Mr. Stephens had conveyed this information to President de Valera four or five months prior to my departure from the United States. It appears that Mr. Litvinoff expressed this opinion to Mr. Stephens in Reval about the time Mr. Nuravata Secretary of the Russian Bureau was drafting a Treaty of Amity with me in New York. I was not surprised therefore when I found that Mr. Litvinoff was not enthusiastic about my visit. He seemed at first to study me as a sort of curiosity and asked me if I had any programme or plan to submit. As the Cabinet, so far as I know, never sent any recommendations nor suggestions after the receipt of the proposed Treaty and as President de Valera did not give me any specific instructions I was evasive and said that it was considered better to discuss proposals with them as we could only be expected to view the situation largely from an Irish point of view but we desired that whatever argument (?),

if any, we might make would be to our mutual advantage. He openly expressed disappointment and intimated that it was folly for me to proceed if I had no plan to submit. He asked me many questions about Ireland which showed a certain amount of familiarity with the situation there but it was evident he got his information from English sources and seemed to take the English Liberal press viewpoint of Ireland. He intimated that the Agreement then being negotiated with England would make it difficult at that moment for them to do anything for us. "The situation was different six or even four months ago" he said. It appeared to me from this remark that he was thinking of the proposed Treaty drafted by Mr. Nuratava and myself in New York and wished me to understand that if I had come then they were ready to deal with us. His conversation with Mr. Stephens seems to vary with this view but my delay in arriving gave him sufficient reason, if he desired a reason, to evade discussion of the proposed Treaty. I agreed that the situation as far as Russia was concerned had changed and inquired if Russia's hands were tied by Section (a) of the preamble in the Anglo Russian Agreement. He started at this suggestion, reached for a copy of the Agreement and read the section aloud. It was apparent that he had feared that something had escaped their attention when studying it. The English, I said, would claim Recognition of Ireland, for instance as a violation of the section referred to inasmuch as they would contend that it was at least indirect propaganda. From our point of view Ireland was not part of the British Empire but I merely tried to look at it from the English side. He said he did not agree with my English interpretation of the Section. This was the information I desired as the English claims did not

concern us but the Russian understanding of this Section was all important if the Anglo Russian Agreement should be ratified. I was convinced therefore that he was not so adamant as he appeared to me during the earlier part of our conversation. It seemed to me that he did not wish to appear over-anxious to deal with us but at the back of his head he considered that an understanding with us might be of some advantage to them. In the course of our conversation I asked him if they trusted England. He laughed sarcastically and said of course they did not.

He told me I could start for Moscow on Friday and deal with the Foreign Office. Mr. Nuratava was Assistant Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and I believed him more favourably disposed to us. On the whole therefore it seemed as if there was still hope though conditions had changed during the last six months.

On February 14th I arrived in Moscow and was met by a man from the Foreign Office who left me at the hotel and told me that Mr. Nuratava would see me next day at twelve o'clock. I called at the Foreign Office punctually at noon and after about three minutes was ushered into Nuratava's office. At first our conversation was on conditions in general. Later he intimated that conditions had changed since our discussions in New York. He gave me to understand that nothing could be done while the negotiations with England were going on and that we would have to begin in the new and not on the basis of the proposed Treaty. It was apparent from both Mr. Litvinoff and Mr. Nuratava that the Agreement with England was of the utmost importance. Mr. Nuratava claimed that England was the Keystone of the combination against them and that after they reached

an agreement with her they could secure agreements with other Governments. One day later in discussing the probability of a breakdown of the negotiations with England he said "I may tell you confidentially they will not break down for we want the Agreement. It is essential for us". He would let me know by telephone whether I could see Tchecherin Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs next day or the day after. He called that night at the Hotel "to see if I were comfortable". This act I regarded as one of friendship and courtesy and he maintained this attitude until he was thrown into prison on suspicion of being a British Agent.

On February 17th I was told by telephone that Tchecherin would see me that evening at 7 p.m. Arrived on the minute but it seemed if he were not punctual. At 7.30 the telephone rang and I was informed that Mr. Tchecherin regretted that he had been delayed as Missions had that day started for England, Finland and Persia. He would see me at 8.15. On the minute I was brought to his office and introduced by Mr. Nuratava who then withdrew. Mr. Techecherin appeared an extremely gentle sort of man, very polite and a trifle nervous. Both of us seemed embarrassed as to how to start. He mumbled rather than asked whom and what I represented. I submitted my credentials from President de Valera and he seemed to read and re-read them. They were dated Dublin December 15. He asked if I came from Dublin and then asked how I came from New York while the credentials were signed in Dublin. He wanted to know if our Government were in New York. I explained all this. Then he suddenly asked me what I wanted and I said recognition by the Soviet Government.

and a discussion of co-operation which might be of advantage to both.

He pointed out that we were not in military control and that they had withdrawn recognition from the Ukraine when Germany was in the military occupation of its territory. I replied that we did not expect Russia to judge our case in accordance with the international concepts hitherto prevailing and that we assumed they had standards of their own which would be more in harmony with justice and the rights of peoples. We regarded them as idealists and expected them to apply their ideals to their international relations as well as within Russia itself. But even were we to be judged in accordance with the standards of Capitalist Governments full military occupation was not essential in order to secure recognition from Foreign Governments. Washington was not in full Military control in the American Colonies when he got recognition from France; the Allies recognised a committee of the Czecho-Slovaks in Paris as a Government though Austria was at the time in full military control in Bohemia.

Nobody could deny that our Government was the de jure government of Ireland and we were more a de facto government than the British in spite of their superior military machine.

If Russia gave us recognition would the Irish people not expect more assistance than they could give us. They fought their enemies largely with arms and munitions captured from them. I assured him that we only expected moral support. If material assistance

were possible it would be very welcome and we would be very grateful for it but we would not be disappointed if none could be furnished to us. The mere act of recognising our Government would have a great effect on the morale of our own people and was certain to have effect all over the world. The people of the world recognised the Soviet Government as the Government of a great country though the Governments of the world withheld that recognition. Recognition of Ireland would make every genuine sympathiser with Ireland an active advocate of recognition of the Soviet Government.

At the time there was some rumour in the papers about a settlement and he asked me if President de Valera would accept Dominion Home Rule. I told him there were no real negotiations and the fact that de Valera signed my credentials on December 15th should be sufficient assurance that he was not then, and I could assure him he was not now, thinking of a compromise. I advised him to pay no attention to what the British press says about Ireland when it pretends to voice Irish opinion. Some of what appears as such is mere English propaganda and some the result of English conceptions of Ireland and Irishmen which may indeed be friendly but by no means accurate. If we said we would accept Dominion Home Rule we would give away our whole case for nothing. Surely he could himself see that it would be very poor statesmanship for President de Valera to say he would accept Dominion Home Rule. There was one real danger of a compromise but it was one with which we were not likely to be confronted.

If the British Government threw a genuine measure of Dominion Home Rule at us and virtually said "take it or leave it" we might be compelled to operate it, as many of our people might consider it more than they had ever hoped for in their lifetime. In such a case we would have to accept it or run the risk of splitting the people again into factions. Such a settlement - which was not probable - would, however, be like the Treaty between the German Empire and Soviet Russia. Under no conditions other than these would we think of accepting or discussing anything but recognition of the Republic which was ratified by the electoral will of the people. What about Ulster?

The Ulster question in a nutshell, I replied, was stated by a Belfast delegate to the Lloyd George Convention in a conversation with Mr. George Russell. It was that "Labour and capital got on very well in Belfast fighting Pope and Home Rule but it would be hard to say what might happen if these were removed".

He seemed to have the English view that the whole movement in Ireland was inspired by American dollars and asked me of the financial assistance we got from America. I said Irish-America had been comparatively generous in the past as well as the present, but while they

contributed to arm our Volunteers their contributions were only a tithe of what the Volunteers themselves contributed from their slender resources. I referred him to Mr. Birrell's evidence before the British Commission on the Rebellion of 1916, in which he said that The O'Rahilly had an income of 900 pds. a year and Professor MacNeill had 600 pds. a year, "most of which they spent on the Irish Volunteers". The ordinary Volunteer with an income of £11 10 0 a week contributed proportionately as much as MacNeill or The O'Rahilly. The movement was by no means inspired by Irish-America though the knowledge that Irish-America was behind it and supporting it had considerable effect on the people. How was it that Redmond was supported?

The people, in their hearts, I explained, always desired separation from England and the heart of the nation always went to the Separatist. During Redmond's leadership the people saw no hope of a Republic and regarded his Home Rule as a stepping stone. They therefore supported Redmond even when he preached imperialism as they assumed such speeches were for the edification of the English; they themselves knew different. They thought Redmond was deceiving the English. They had been informed we are hostile to Communism.

I became honestly indignant and said then we were hostile to something that did not exist

in Ireland. We concentrated on the fight against England and gave no attention to anything else. The mass of our people were decidedly friendly to Communist Russia not because they understood that Russia was Communist but because they saw England endeavouring to overthrow the present regime in Russia. They concluded therefore that the present Government of Russia must be a good Government. I might, if I wished, pretend that we were Communists at heart but I would only be deceiving him if I did. I then named the Communists of Ireland and gave him a personal sketch of each. He added Coates to the number and I said I did not know Mr. Coates and was not sure whether or not he belonged to the Communist group in Ireland. I added that the article on Sinn Féin in the Communist International by Mr. MacAlphine and Connolly was by no means accurate.

What armed forces have we in Ireland?

I enumerated them and he said, "what about the Citizen Army"? It may still exist - I am not sure - but if so it is on paper. If it were active I would know of its activities. Yes, he says, it still exists. Perhaps it does. It was obvious he was looking for a nucleus around which the Proletariat of Ireland might rally, so when I saw what he was thinking of I did not say what the Citizen Army had been or what it likely was then. He knew more about it than

I did and I concluded it was better leave him so. Mr. MacAlphine and Connolly returned from the second Congress of the Third International and proceeded to take over the Citizen Army but apparently it meant work and they gave it up. No doubt Tehecherin and others got rosy pictures of what could be done with the Citizen Army with the result that Messrs. MacAlphine and Connolly were promised 3,000 pds. and got 300 pds. on leaving Moscow. They spent the 300 pds. in London on the way to join the Citizen Army so that neither returned to the Congress of the Third International this year. Connolly was there for a month or so after I arrived and a report written by him was submitted to the Secretary of the Communist International after his departure. He evidently got no further instalment of the 3,000 pds. as the 50 pds. he got to bring him home began to run short in Germany. Connolly's last report differed entirely from the articles written by MacAlphine and himself but Lenin had declared for supporting National Revolutionaries. There was also admiration for the men who were fighting in Ireland and Connolly was rather sympathetic and justified his own and MacAlphine's inactivity in organising Communism on the grounds that it was impossible while the fight was on. Every young man who was a man was in the Irish Volunteers. Heron made a similar report.

After Connolly's departure I learned from the office of the Communist International that Connolly was "too lazy to be a Communist". I am certain this was at least an echo of those in authority.

But to get back to Tchecherin. His final question was: what will be the outcome?

"An Irish Republic or a land in ashes", I replied, "for it is going to be a fight to a finish".

Well at the moment I was to remain unknown but he told me to keep in touch with Mr. Nuratava and when the opportune time arrived I could put my request in writing. I believe then and later they were seriously thinking of according us recognition. My belief was founded on the nature of his questions rather than upon any statement he made.

On February 28th I again saw Mr. Nuratava as Connolly and Martin were about to go to Ireland and I wished to know what news I could send with them. He wrote a memorandum in advocacy of recognition of Ireland for his colleagues but got no reply as they were busy with events in Georgia. I know this memorandum was written and that it was favourable for an American lady

who works in the Foreign Office told me later she had typed it and believed my mission would be successful. Mr. Nuratava believed the agreement with England would be settled definitely in a week or so.

He intimated that they would like a clear test of what was meant by propaganda and that the recognition of Ireland would prove such a test. "It was the recognition of a fact" and was a clear case. "Russia could not bind herself not to recognise Scotland or Wales if they declared their Independence". It appeared to me then that they wished to conclude the agreement with England before announcing my arrival in the press and that they also had the intention of according us recognition. If not they would have published the fact that I arrived and use my presence as a threat to secure the best terms for themselves. At that time they believe President Harding would recognise Russia after his inauguration. As far as I could gather from Nuratava they desired to conclude the agreement with England; hoped recognition by America would follow and that then they would recognise Ireland.

The Trade Agreement with England was signed on March 17 and on Monday March 21 I called at the Foreign Office to see how Ireland was affected by it. I was informed that Nuratava was in a sanitorium for a rest. I decided to wait for his return as I believed he was most friendly to us. On March 15, he told me I would see Lenin next day or the day after "and he was the first man in the country". I never heard of this meeting again. It turned out later that the sanatorium in which Nuratava was happened to be the prison and he was still there when I left.

About a week later I saw Mr. Valenski who was doing Nuratava's work. I had met him before and he knew what I wanted but protested that he was no diplomat and knew nothing about diplomacy. I wanted to know how the agreement with England affected my hopes and wished to know if it were worth my while to remain. He promised to ask Tchecherin and I was to come back in a few days. A few days later he informed me that Tchecherin advised me wait for a month and to tell me that "it was well worth my while to wait".

About five weeks afterwards I called at the Foreign Office and reported that the month had passed and wanted to know if there was any change in the interval favourable to us. Mr. Weinstein was now in charge of the Department. He would see Tchecherin and let me know in a few days. I called several times and got no satisfaction but finally was told that Mr. Litvinoff would like to discuss the question with me. He was leaving Moscow that evening May 13, but would be back in two weeks. I could see him on his return. I called on June 10 as I knew Mr. Litvinoff was in the city. Mr. Weinstein told me he would discuss the matter with Mr. Litvinoff. At this meeting I gave him a notice I had to vacate my room in the hotel. I called again next day and Mr. Weinstein informed me that he discussed the case with Mr. Litvinoff and that if I were not going to remain long they, the government, would compel them to permit me to remain in the hotel. I reminded him that I was remaining for the last month at his request and could leave on Tuesday if they considered it advisable. If the situation changed I would come back. He agreed that I could go and we

parted on the understanding that if the situation changed they could let their representative in America know and he in turn could come. In the meantime I said I wished to return to Ireland and see conditions there and make a report.

After making arrangements for my departure Mr. Weinstein requested me to assure you that they in Russia were decidedly friendly but that circumstances prevented them from giving manifestations of their friendship. I am certain this is true and I assured him that I and the people at home realised they were friendly to us. Personally, however, I saw no signs of friendship nor confidence after Mr. Nuratava had been imprisoned. If he were not sincere in his friendship he is a splendid actor. None of those who took his place had half his ability and while it appeared they did not trust me inasmuch as they always seemed cautious and anxious to get rid of me I believe the truth is they did not trust themselves. Of course they were always polite but all Russians except petty commissars who lived out of Russia for some years are polite.

After the assurance of friendship Mr. Weinstein shook hands and hoped to meet me again. Just to give him an index of how I appreciated the friendship bestowed on me personally I too hoped we would meet again "but <sup>not</sup> ~~not~~ in Moscow". Thus we parted.

On arrival in Reval I was told by the man in charge of the Russian Mission that the Foreign Office wished to know if we had any objection to the publication of the truth regarding the Treaty and I replied that we had not. I saw later that Krassin denied it but in the meantime sent the following letter

to Mr. Weinstein who has charge of the English and American Department in the Foreign Office: -

Reval.

June 18th 1921.

Dear Weinstein,

One of your representatives here asked me yesterday if we had any objection to the publication of the truth regarding the proposed agreement now made public in England. Of course we have no objection if your department considers it necessary in the interests of Russia. We are never afraid of the truth, on the contrary we desire the whole truth to be known about practically all our activities and hence court the greatest publicity.

Regarding the wisdom of publishing a denial or explanation that is another question and one with two sides - a Russian and Irish. On the Irish side I have convictions and on the Russian side I hold opinions and will try to give you my idea of both.

The whole thing was published partly or I should say - I think - largely to prejudice our case and partly to have a fling at Russia. Instead of doing Ireland harm the publication will do us good as it will prove to our own people that we are at least fairly vigilant and prepared to benefit by any and all circumstances that appear favourable to us. If there is no denial,

explanation nor apology the majority of the people of Ireland and our friends everywhere will be convinced that we have a secret agreement with Russia. The documents themselves show that we are thinking and acting as a sovereign nation and hence will be useful in helping to kill or refute the charges of anxiety to compromise on the basis of Dominion Home Rule. That is all to the good. Therefore to "let the hare sit" would serve our purposes best.

Now as to the Russian angle the same policy would in my opinion be best there also. If you wish to command the respect of England you must not crawl nor rush to explain every item of news in the papers.

Let the newspapers answer the newspapers. So far I presume you have had no communication from the British Government on the subject and if you had your best policy would be to follow the precedent set by Lord Curzon in replying to your note on the far Easter Republic. However it does not concern you as a government until you get a communication on the subject from the British. The dates leave you safe as far as the Trade Agreement is concerned and England will have more respect for you if she fears you have a club up your sleeve than if you are constantly exposing your clean arms. Let her keep on suspecting and constantly expecting the arrival in Ireland of those rifles mentioned if she gives you the slightest provocation. When you or anybody else explains or denies they at once put themselves on the defensive. As the French say,

"They who excuse themselves accuse themselves".  
 If you deny or explain this she will keep you constantly protesting your goodness and innocence and thus forcing you to help to prepare the mind of the world for each succeeding attack on the Soviet Russia. If, for instance, you deny that Nurataya acted for you in this how can you get the world in other cases to know when your representatives speak for your Government and when they speak for themselves. It was doubt in this respect which prevented President de Valera from seriously considering Martins request in June 1920 for a loan of one million dollars. It may surprise you to know that I became confirmed in the same doubts in Moscow and sent word home to lend no more money to your representatives in the U.S.A. Nobody there seemed to know anything of the trifle already advanced and even you who were in New York at the time knew nothing of this proposed agreement. I mention this in a spirit of sincere friendship as it may at least interest you to know how others see you.

This may all seem presumption on my part but you can laugh at my apparent egoism if you please. I write this because I believe we Irish know official England as no people in the world know it and hope that my few stray remarks may suggest something better to yourself or your comrades.

If you publish any reply it should in my opinion be a brief statement to the effect that the proposed Treaty was never discussed by your government and never even discussed with any Irish

representative and hence was never ratified. There would be no apology nor denial in such a statement. But as I said if you can you had much better ignore it. As it is it will help Russia and her ideals throughout the world where the Irish have any influence - and they have much more than they ever use. However the Russian side is one purely for you to consider.

I enclose an editorial from the 'Irish Independent' Dublin which will give you the moderate Irish view of the Treaty. The 'Independent' and its proprietor W.M. Murphy fought the strike lead by Larkin in 1913 and was very bitter. Its policy is the same yet and hence this editorial is the more important. From it you can see we have nothing to fear.

Comrade Valenski told me yesterday that according to the latest English papers Premier Hughes of Australia is now for a renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. You will see from that article signed Basil Colhoun I gave you quotations from his speech in Australia in opposition to it. The change of front is due to explanations of British policy received since he reached England - that is to induce America and Japan to go to war in the hope that they will wear each other down and thus leave England supreme in world affairs.

Good-bye and best wishes.

Cordially yours,

(Signed)

Patrick McCartan.

Conditions in Russia.

Nobody in authority in Russia pretends to think that such a thing as liberty exists there. It is considered, as a returned emigrant who was working in a factory expressed it in my hearing, that a minority of any people are always the progressive element. The idea of whether or not the present regime represents the will of the people is openly laughed at. They do, however, claim that the present government is a dictatorship of the proletariat and they justify it on the grounds that dictatorship is essential during what is called the transition period - that is, in the case of Russia, the change from Feudalism to Communism. They state frankly that Communism does not yet exist in Russia but that they are travelling along the road to Communism. Nobody that I happened to meet was prepared to discuss whether or not the tyrannical road along which they were at present walking was certain to lead to ideal liberty as understood by Communists. It was taken for granted that it was the only path and nobody seemed to consider it worth while to ponder when they were likely to arrive at the desired goal. The general impression seemed to be that education in the principles of Communism was imperative and great importance is attached to the education of the young people. As far as one could gather the hope or rather conviction was that when a generation of young people grew up thoroughly imbued with the ideals of Communism the new social state at which they aimed would be on a solid formation.

The leaders, and the rank and file as well, of the Communist party have such unbounded faith in their

doctrines that they seem convinced that all young men and young women who are educated along the lines outlined by themselves are certain to grow up firm believers in Communism. The fact that those educated in the tenets of Feudalism or Capitalism did not all grow up firm believers in these tenets does not diminish their hopes. They apparently believe that the whole trend of human progress is in the direction of Communism and that the age of Capitalism is passing just as the age of Feudalism has passed.

Though it is claimed that the present Government is a dictatorship of the Proletariat it is nothing of the kind. It is a dictatorship of the Communist party which represents less than one per cent of the population of Russia; and dictatorship of the Communist party means in reality dictatorship of about half a dozen leaders of the Communist party.

The workers - that is the proletariat - are allowed to elect the representatives to the Soviets but the election is by open ballot - by a show of hands. The results may be an expression of the will of the workers, but they may not. One would have to have a very familiar knowledge of conditions in the factories and workshops before being certain of this. Those in authority are nearly all Communists and they presumably have the power to grant or withhold food or clothing. It is hardly likely therefore that the average worker would run the risk of antagonising these men and women by voting for a candidate objectionable to them.

One always hears the Menchaviks singled out as the enemy and it is the prevailing belief that the jails are

filled with them. It was reported that thirty per cent. of all Russian Soviet was made up of non-party men as a result of the last election - "and many of these are likely disguised Menchaviks". Such a phrase proves that it is not safe to preach Menchavism in the factories and hence that the elections are in reality more or less of a farce. One found discontent in most of the factories one visited, and as far as one could learn the Red Army was as ready to turn out against the proletariat in case of a strike, as the army in any capitalist country. There are Trades Unions, but the few workers to whom I spoke on the subject seemed to know nothing of their Union unless that a certain amount was deducted from their salaries for dues, and in return they got a Union Card.

This might not be general as these few <sup>were</sup> men who had been in America and they were, in all cases, sorry they had returned to Russia. I said to one that there were millions of unemployed in America and he pointed to the "soup" he was about to take for his principal meal and said: - "If I had lived like this in America and saved my earnings I might not care how long I was out of employment".

The Communists who are all enthusiastic are organised on military lines. They are the only organised force in the country. The Army is not made up entirely of Communists but there is a sufficient sprinkling of Communists in it to keep the whole army safe for Communism. Besides this these young men who are brought into the Army are as far as possible instructed in the principles of Communism. The army is likely therefore to remain loyal for years though the Cronstat meeting was a protest against prevailing conditions. It was said to

be organised by counter-revolutionists - but I was told by a man who I believe knew the whole circumstances that there was no military plot in it whatever. He said those who took part in it demanded certain reforms among which was free trade. They were answered by the usual high handed methods and the result was they revolted. My informant pointed out that if it had been planned on military lines they would have waited for two weeks until the ice in the harbour had thawed, and that then they could easily have captured Petrograd. However Crondstat shook the Government and free trade in farm produce was granted almost immediately afterwards. Some incident like Crondstat might break the solidity of the army but it is not likely.

The blockade, counter-revolution and the Capitalist Governments of the world are blamed for all the sufferings in Russia. It is claimed that if Russia had been freely allowed to develop there would now be abundance for all. The Communists at least believe this and will all support the Government until they are convinced to the contrary. To my mind therefore, the present Government is secure for at least five years. If it fulfills all the hopes it holds out to the people it may last much longer, but unless something arises to split the Communist party or the army, there is no likelihood of any change in the immediate future. It will take some years for other forces to become organised and strong enough to challenge the supremacy of the Communist party. For some time - perhaps for some years - the majority of the people will be content if they get sufficient food and clothing for apparently they never had either in abundance, but if food and clothes satisfied

people there should be no fear of jail and no dislike for workhouses. The real menace to the power of the Communists is likely to come when the people have had their wants supplied and when they discover that the world revolution that they have been led to expect is as distant as ever.

Up to this year all the food in the country was commandeered and apparently the commissars were ruthless in the process. I was told that farmers were shot for hiding part of their crops. The result is that though the revolution gave the farmers their land they felt they were tilling it for others, and got nothing in return. They are it appears bitterly opposed to the Government and in many districts they tear up the railways and carry on a sort of guerilla warfare. These are described by the Communists as "bandits" and when captured they are "sliced up" but they also do some slicing.

The people are intensely religious and the Communists have no religion and don't believe in God. I speak of course of the vast majority in each case. The Government has taken over the schools or colleges where the clergymen were educated and the hope is that when the present generation of clergymen die out religion will die with them. Otherwise there is freedom of religion but it is safe to presume that the church sees the game as well as the Government, and though at present apparently passive they are almost certain some day to throw in their influence with any party that has a chance of overthrowing Communism.

An Engineer referring to the wisdom of Lenin told me how on being asked Lenin said he would allow the peasant girls to get "paints and powders". "That was progress". But the peasantry would not be supplied with vodka or icons - "that was retrogression".

Though workmen are paid a salary of from sixteen to twenty thousand roubles a month, money had little or no value until after the inauguration of Free Trade. As it is this salary is of little use as a pound of butter costs twenty thousand roubles and an egg costs one thousand. Besides the salary all workers get food tickets and get their ration periodically. In like manner clothes and other necessities are supplied by the Soviet stores on presentation of the necessary order. There were no shops until the middle of May, with the exception of a few which apparently sold ladies hats. Since then a few have been re-opened, and sell bread, eggs etc., the markets have also been re-opened and one can purchase practically anything in them. There are at least a half a million people visiting these markets every day. One sees a number of bootmakers working in their own shops lately. They seem to make low shoes mostly of white canvas for ladies. A pair of these costs fifty thousand roubles and one wonders where the people get the money to purchase them. Of course the number thus manufactured is comparatively small. The press is entirely in the control of the Government and the newspapers are pasted upon the walls for the use of the general public. The newspapers are all small and apparently publish views rather than news. The Executive Committee of the Communist International publishes at present a daily paper in French, German and English. Though the Communist International is supposed to be

independent of the Russian Government, one might as well distinguish between the Dáil and Sinn Féin here.

Presumably the papers published in Russian are similar to those published in English etc. The news featured in these is - Strikes in Norway, England or elsewhere, the doings of the Communists in Germany or France, and the speeches or statements of the leaders in Russia. The newspapers printed in Russian on the whole I believe are almost entirely propaganda intended for the Russian people, those in other languages for propaganda outside Russia. The whole aim is to propagate the ideals of Communism and very little attention is given to any movement in any country which does not tend in that direction.

There is some interest in Ireland on the part of those one meets, but the revolution in Ireland was a national one and hence it was concluded had little or nothing in common with Communism or the "world revolution". One is reminded that the Poles were nationalists and when they got their national freedom set out on a Crusade of Imperialism. There was some admiration for the fighting qualities of Irishmen but they were not Communists and Irishmen everywhere are reactionaries, that is, they are not usually Socialists. As a rule they are Catholics, and God and the Churches are the opponents of Communists. "Religion is the opiate of the workers".

It seems to me, that it is impossible to do any propaganda for Ireland in Russia but had I not been there I'm certain I should have thought otherwise and no doubt others will also think so.

Paper is scarce in Russia and they want all the

space they can find in their papers for propaganda for their own people. Irish propoganda is of no use to their own people as the Irish Movement is not Communist. At any rate propoganda, to my mind, is intended to influence the people of a foreign country so that action may be taken by the Government of that country favourable to us.

The people of Russia do not count and hence it makes no difference what they think. The present Government is not responsive to them. There is nothing that could be achieved by propoganda in countries like the United States that cannot be achieved in Russia to-morrow if it were expedient for Russia to act.

The Government of Russia would recognise the Republic of Ireland any day if they could do so without injuring Russia itself. Those who are in power in the Government understand the advantages of such an act. The rank and file of the Communist party do not understand and never will understand - and for our purposes the Communist party is Russia. They think we are good organisers and good propogandists and that we should join forces with the Communists of England and thus contribute to the world revolution. To their minds humanity would gain nothing even if the Republic of Ireland were recognised. They believe the proletariat of Ireland would have to begin in the new in order to establish a workers republic. Even though it were possible to get space in the papers for Irish propoganda one could achieve nothing for Ireland with the exception perhaps of blackening the character of England and her character seemed to be pretty well known.

It is well to remember also that one is completely in the hands of the authorities when one enters Russia.

One cannot take a train, change ones room in the hotel, get any food, clothing, secure an office, or get furniture or heating for same without permission from some Government official. Hotel accommodation is scarce, paper is scarce - in fact everything one is likely to want in order to carry on propaganda is scarce. If propaganda is attempted it would have one advantage. It would not be necessary to attempt to impress the "natives" by expensive apartments. Any attempt at "swank" would be certain propaganda against Ireland.

Personally I saw no newspaper men because I was requested by the Foreign Office to remain as far as possible unknown until the opportune time arrived. So long as we did not get recognition I thought it best if no proof existed of my presence in Russia and hence decided to keep quiet until we should get recognition. Later I decided it was better to do nothing publicly - even had I been permitted - until I had first reported home. I spoke for a few minutes once at a meeting in a village, and tried without being untruthful to do both Irish and Russian propaganda but the interpreter told them I brought them "congratulations from the Communist Party of Ireland". That is the type of propaganda that is welcome. They cannot consistently condemn the shooting of Irishmen by England while they themselves "slice" their own "bandits". They cannot condemn imprisonment without trial in Ireland while their own jails are full of political prisoners. They cannot advocate liberty in Ireland while the dictatorship of the proletariat is held up as the ideal to be aimed at in all countries. As far as I see there is little hope of doing propaganda in Russia and nothing could be

gained by it even were it possible. I think Eamon Martin should be asked for his opinion on the subject also. He is as capable of giving an opinion on this subject as I am. I asked him to report on it to the President, but I understand he had not an opportunity of doing so.

Though the National Anthem of Russia is the "International" one finds as much nationalism in it as in any country in the world. Like most of the American cities they have many things in Russia which one learns is "the greatest in the world". The Baltic States have got self-determination for one wonders if it were for love of the principle or dictated by expediency. There is no doubt that the hope was entertained that Germany would have gone Communist, but the hope died - as far as the immediate future is concerned - with the March revolution. If Germany had gone Communist the Baltic States would have been compelled to do likewise. In discussing Esthonia in Reval with a Russian of considerable influence he informed me that Esthonia was living on Russia. They had given good terms to Esthonia as it was the first state with which they had made peace.

The result was that they had to pay exorbitant rates for the use of the railway tracks and other things. He suggested that this was only temporary for the port of Reval was essential for Russia. Here is not only nationalism but imperialism. The Russian laughs at the Esthonian language as the British are accustomed to laugh at the Irish language. It is vulgar, horrible etc. I am not so sure therefore that self-determination for Ireland would raise much enthusiasm in official circles. Anything they are likely to do for Ireland will be done

in the hope of helping to break up the British Empire  
and thus further the world revolution.

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PERSONAL TREATMENT.

The treatment I received personally whether a good or bad would be of no importance were I an individual on some personal enterprise but as I was accepted as the representative of Ireland I think it may have some interest.

The day after I arrived in Stockholm I tried to find Mr. Strom and succeeded though I had not the correct name of the newspaper at the office of which I was to seek him. I finally met him, however, at the headquarters of the Socialist party and I told him my mission and showed him my credentials from Mr. Martens. He said he would have to wire to Moscow and would not have a reply for about four days. I returned in four days and no reply had been received. Ten days passed and no reply arrived. Mr. Strom was sick and I could not see him. I got word from Gavan Duffy and left word at Mr. Strom's office that I was going to Copenhagen for a few days and I would call on my return. On my return he said he had no reply - a statement which I did not believe as three weeks had passed - but he would give me a vise and I could try the Esthonian Consul for a transit vise. The latter was likely to refuse until I had a telegram from Moscow. I asked if there was no way of going without getting a Russian vise on my passport - as I might have to use it again if I were not remaining in Russia. He said they could remove the vise with chemicals in Moscow. I got the vise from the Esthonian Consul without question. I arrived in Reval on a Sunday evening and I could not get a room in an hotel in the city. I called at the Russian Mission and met

Mr. Jail who told me they could have got me a room if I had let them know. I, of course, thought I had put myself in their hands and assumed that if it were necessary to wire in advance for a room Mr. Strom would have done so or at least advised me to do so. Mr. Strom is a Swedish Socialist and a member of the Swedish Parliament. He is a splendid type and I am certain he assumed they would look after me when I arrived in Reval.

I saw Mr. Jail next morning and he was not sure whether or not I could go to Moscow. I asked indignantly why money had been accepted to put to my account in Moscow if I were not to be allowed to go there. He suddenly changed on hearing this and said he was almost certain I could proceed on Thursday. He then advised me to go to the Esthonian Foreign Office and get a permit to leave Esthonia.

The day I left Mr. Jail asked for my passport in order to put another Russian vise on it and again I suggested that it would be better if I had no evidence on my passport that I was in Russia but he paid no attention to me. I at that time also arranged that all letters and newspapers arriving at the mission addressed to Mr. H-- should be forwarded to me. Though Marten reminded them of this and asked for mail for me and Heron did likewise no letters or newspapers were forwarded. I received many letters, newspapers and bulletins on returning to Reval and they had no explanation when I asked why they were not forwarded.

On the train the Currier asked me if I objected to another man in the compartment with me and as I was not paying anything I could not object. My compartment

was the only one in which there were two people and my companion was a Finn and a rough looking type. There was therefore no special attention on this "special train".

On arriving in Moscow R. Connolly met me at the station and claimed to have secured a room for me. He at once took his own bed into the room as there were four in the room where he had been. I raised no objection as the hotel was overcrowded and he was an Irishman. When he left a Welsh miner was put in his place. I objected strongly but it was no use. At the Foreign Office they promised to get me another room but after a week or ten days I got tired asking for it. The Lux Hotel at which I was stopping was under the control of the Communist International and was intended for delegates to that organisation. I was told they had selected that hotel for me because the food was better there than anywhere else. That may have been true but I think it is more probable they did not wish to have me at any of the hotels under the control of the Foreign Office so that if anything turned up they could claim that they assumed I was a delegate to the Communist International. Just before I left Moscow I got twenty four hours notice to leave that hotel in order to make room for delegates who were then arriving for the congress.

About the beginning of May we all got notice to go to the official photographer to have our pictures taken. I was not in any hurry doing this as I did not wish my photograph to appear in a Communist album. I learned from others who promptly obeyed the order that they were photographed in all sorts of positions. I then inquired what the object of the photo was and was

informed that it was for an album for delegates to the Communist International. I said I was not a delegate and did not wish to appear in any such album as I could be used to prejudice our cause at home. I then saw the man who was responsible for everything that happened in the hotel and he told me in gruff language that they could have no fooling and I as gruffly told him the men whom I represented were not fooling whatever he might think of me. He got more polite then and told me that each department was responsible for the people in its charge and hence must take every precaution against spies. I went to the Foreign Office and flatly refused to be photographed for their "rogues gallery". It was an insult to me personally and to my comrades in Ireland. They tried to explain it away but I would not accept their explanations and said they could imprison me if they liked but that I would never voluntarily submit to be photographed. At last they promised to ask Tchecherin about it and see what could be done - I would not be imprisoned &c., &c.

After two days, the man in charge of the American and English affairs at the Foreign Office called on me at the hotel and repeated that the photographing was only a mere formality. He had spoken to Tchecherin and he was anxious that I should go through the formality - about two weeks previously I was told that Tchecherin said it was "well worth my while to wait for a month". It was now a question of leaving at once or having my photo taken and wait so I consented.

When I found I was going to be in Moscow for some time and nothing to do I asked to get working in some

hospital. They would see the medical officer of health about it but though they had the "phone at hand it was postponed and postponed until I got tired inquiring about it and assumed they had some reason for not allowing me to do such work. I would have naturally got in touch with some doctors and the doctors are not Communists and hence I assumed they were afraid I would learn more than was good for me. I may have been wrong in this and sheer neglect may have been the cause. These few incidents did not impress me with their friendship for Ireland but they may have been the result of red tape and carelessness rather than a desire to be nasty.

FOREIGNERS IN MOSCOW.

The number of foreigners in Moscow were comparatively few. As the hotel at which I was stopping was for delegates to the Communist International, the people I met there were nearly all Communists and hence had not much respect for us or our National Revolution. Those who were not Communists pretended like myself to be Communist or in full sympathy. I met one Korean but I don't know whether he was a Nationalist or a Communist. The same was true of a Chinese but he was very anxious to know all about Ireland. Just before I left a number of Persians arrived for the Congress but they spoke very little English and hence I know very little of them except what I was told by the Indians. It appears they are very anti-English.

There were two groups of Indians - Nationalists and Communists - and they did not agree on policy. The Nationalists would have nothing to do with English Communists, while the Communists seemed to regard the English Communists as their friends. There was some discussion as to whether the National revolutionaries or Communists should be supported and the English were for supporting the Communists only. It was safest from the British imperial point of view.

On March the 17th the day the agreement with England was signed which bound both sides to desist from propaganda against the other - and India was specifically mentioned - the Executive Committee of the Communist International discussed the means of carrying on propaganda as in India. It was then decided to help both the Nationalists and

Communists. The English representative took no part in the debate but stated afterwards that he thought they should help only the Indian Communists. The matter was still unsettled when I left. The Indian Nationalists had no objection to Communist propaganda or preparations for a Communist revolution but they claimed that a national revolution was much more popular as the enemy was foreign to all. In the case of Communism their opponents would be not only the English but many natives of India. It was expected that the question would be settled at the Congress.

I had talks with all the Indian Nationalists and was on very friendly relations with them all. It was impossible to find out whether they were in touch with the revolutionaries at home or not. All had been absent from India for years and one was as far from the real situation and atmosphere in India in Moscow as in New York. They suggested that we should send somebody to India who would study the situation there and be a connecting link between them and us. If anything is to be done in co-operation with India that is I believe the only possible way. One can do no more in that respect in Moscow than in New York or London.

I met one Turk who was a medical doctor and at least pretended to be a Communist. He assured me that the Turks were very friendly to Ireland and that an Irishman would be warmly welcomed in Turkey. He believed we would get recognition there for the asking of it and he urged me to go there. He spoke only French and hence I could not always understand him and I could not speak to him at all. Our principal talk was by means of a girl who did not know English well and forgot most of what she knew when she began speaking French.

I did not trouble with any of the other nationalities as all were Communists and despised nationalists. The Americans were of course friendly but most of them were like myself. They only learned what Communism really was after they arrived in Russia. There is not much possibility of doing propaganda in the East from Moscow. It is further apparently from India and Egypt than London.

COMMERCIAL AFFAIRS.

In the course of the conversation I had with Mr. Libvinoff on meeting him in Reval I asked if Russia had any flax to export as in the past I knew that Ireland had bought Russian Flax. He asked me if I were in the flax business and I in turn felt like asking him if he were a Jew. On explaining my position in the matter he said they had flax but it would take a good deal of time to sort it. I had already stated that I mentioned the matter in order to have the matter discussed at home and all arrangements made for shipment in case the Trade Agreement with England was signed. As the flax had to be sorted I concluded they had no flax and dropped the matter.

In the course of my interview with Tchecherin he said they could not assist us with such things as rifles and ammunition. A week or so later I told Nuratava of this and he said Tchecherin was not in a position to know. He promised to put me in touch with the man who had charge of that department when he came to the city but before he returned Nuratava was in prison.

Nuratava claimed the agreement with England could not prevent them from selling us rifles - "That was a purely commercial transaction". They sold rifles to the Turks and there was no reason why they should not sell them to us. In a note I sent home with Martin I asked to be informed what was most wanted in that line. I got no reply and did not take the matter up with Weinstein. As I said elsewhere he was always extremely cautious and seemed afraid to discuss such things with me.

Unable to get any results politically I thought it might be possible to draw them on a commercial proposition. I therefore wrote the following letter on the subject but never received a reply to it and heard nothing of it beyond the fact that it was sent to Mr. Litvinoff: -

Hotel Lux,

May 13th 1921.

Dear Comrade Weinstein,

It occurred to me after leaving you to-day that perhaps I could spend the next few weeks discussing the possibility of direct trade between the Republic of Ireland and Russia and I take the liberty to put a few stray thoughts on the subject in writing so that you may send them to the department that deals with such business.

It seems to me that as you have signed a trade agreement with England it would be possible to do business immediately with Ireland in accordance with terms of the English agreement. As far as Ireland is concerned we shall be glad to take advantage of any such opportunities as may be afforded us so long as we do not therefore sacrifice our political status or violate any of our principles.

I assume that you would prefer Irish products to English if we can give you as good value and that in turn you prefer to sell your raw material direct to Irish manufacturers rather than through English middlemen. The only obstacle therefore to immediate trade is "credits" as I think the term is in commercial

language. What I mean, however, is that an Irish manufacturer would want a guarantee from a reliable bank that he would be paid on delivery of his goods. In the case of dealing with an English manufacturer I presume that would mean the shipment of gold from Russia to some bank in England. This would be unnecessary in the case of Ireland.

I have no authority to definitely promise such but I feel almost certain that the Government of the Republic of Ireland would undertake to guarantee an Irish bank against danger of loss and that bank in turn would guarantee and pay the Irish manufacturer. In return we could take flax, hemp, bristles, furs, hides and perhaps other things. If that would not be feasible I think I can suggest another way out. Of course I need not tell you our Government has not unlimited resources and that therefore an exchange in some form would be necessary.

If I knew the products you require I could tell you what we could supply. However I presume you want:

- (1) Farming Implements
- (2) Shoes
- (3) Tractors
- (4) and perhaps tweeds
- (5) Herring and Mackerel
- (6) Bacon and Hams
- (7) Evaporated milk
- (8) Bicycles
- (9) Ropes.

Though we import farming implements from the United States we also export them to the Argentine Republic. We also import shoes from the United States but export them to England. Ford of Detroit U.S.A. has a plant in Cork which manufactures tractors. We export

tweeds but not in large quantities. We manufacture material called frieze suitable for overcoats which cannot be excelled. It would suit the climate here I know. I have an overcoat of it myself which was made in 1917 and can show it was a sample as I have it here. I am certain this material would be very valuable for army coats as it will stand any amount of rough handling. We export herring and mackerel to the United States. We can sell the herring there without supplying samples but our mackerel is not so well cured though the improvement is marked in recent years. Our bacon and hams cannot be surpassed. They are probably too good and too expensive for Russia at present when you want essentials rather than luxuries. We have only one factory for making evaporated milk but I don't think it has yet been burned down by our civilizers. It would, however, be suitable for hospitals and children in the cities as all that is necessary is to restore the water which was extracted in the factory. We have two factories for making bicycles. Both turn out reliable machines but I think they do not manufacture cheap machines such as can be secured in England. The Pope factory is in Belfast and is the largest of its kind in the world.

I can assure you that unlike some of the products you have received elsewhere you will get them exactly like the samples submitted if it is decided to deal directly with Ireland.

As to transport I feel certain we could arrange with Moore & McCormack of New York to have their boats which call at Cork, Dublin and Belfast to take cargoes direct from Ireland to Petrograd if there

are obstacles in the way of sending your own boats. Swedish shipping companies would I am sure also undertake the work.

As the result of the presence of an Irish Consul in New York we have established direct trade with the United States and as a consequence our commerce with America is steadily increasing. There is no reason why the same might not take place in the case of Russia. I wish to emphasise the point that I believe that business might be started right away so that you would be in a position to take advantage of your ice-free ports.

If these suggestions get favourable consideration I suggest that you immediately send an agent - a trade commissioner or purchasing agent - to Ireland. I can give him a letter to our Minister of Trade and Commerce and another to the Secretary of the Cork Industrial organisation.

For the purpose of developing Irish Commerce our Government organised an Export and Import Company. I am not certain whether or not it has been allowed to function but if you could not deal with that Company entirely our Minister of Commerce will put you in direct touch with the manufacturers. Our object in organising this company was to cut out the English middlemen and have goods for Ireland delivered in Irish ports and not in England as heretofore. The profits - if any - of this company go to their Government. It was organised for trade though rather than profits. England's policy has been to isolate Ireland so that she could buy our products at her own

price and keep the Irish market for herself. Our policy is to defeat that and we made a beginning in having the Moore and MacCormack boats call at Irish ports.

I may point out that the New American passenger liners were also about to call at the cove of Cork and the British Admiralty - through sheer jealousy closed the port to all Eastbound steamers. That, however, is only temporary.

If you consider these suggestions of any importance to Russia I hope you will be kind enough to bring the matter with a recommendation from your Department to your Department of Commerce. If advisable I shall be glad to discuss the matter more fully at the earliest possible moment.

Yours very sincerely,

(Signed)

PATRICK McCARTAN.

Envoy of the Republic of Ireland

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY 1913-21  
BURO STAIRÉ MILEATA 1913-21  
NO. W.S. 766

APPENDIX B.

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY 1913-21  
BURO STAIRE MILEATA 1913-21  
No. W.S. 766

I don't now remember whether or not a copy of this was delivered to Mr. Devoy, but even if it was not it throws some light on the events of the period.

Sgd.

P. McCartan

November 17th, 1952.

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Phila., Pa.,

April 19, 1919.

My dear Devoy,

I purposely kept away from you after the difference I had with Judge Cohalan at the National Council of the Friends of Irish Freedom because I did not want to upset you by anything like an argument. Now I think I was wrong for having done so and am writing this to make my position clear. I wish you to accept it in a friendly spirit as that is the spirit in which I write.

I shall review the question since the first signs of any difference of opinion as I did in the discussion with the Judge. From December 14th 1918 till December 28th 1918 Father Hurbon, Joe and myself discussed frequently the ways and means of interpreting the results of the general election in Ireland so as to prevent English new agencies from explaining away their significance. We did not decide on any particular course of action. On Saturday December 28 when the

first returns came from Ireland Dr. Maloney came here from N. York and suggested that we get the pastors everywhere to ask their congregations to rejoice at the peaceful establishment of the Republic of Ireland. He and the three of us went immediately to Monsignor Coghlan's and the Monsignor agreed with the idea. Before doing anything Joe called up the Judge but he was not at home. Monsignor Coghlan called up the Pastors on the phone and thirty-four of them agreed to act as suggested and most of the thirty-four did.

Dr. Maloney and I went to N.Y. and on arrival called up the Judge. We went directly to his house. It was on the way over, as far as I remember, he thought of the Proclamation and the note to the Legations; also the advisability of the Judge sending a cablegram to de Valera congratulating him on the peaceful establishment of the Republic. We suggested to the Judge the importance of having the Pastors of N. York and Boston act as the Pastors of Phila. acted. It was then too late to do anything for Sunday but New Year's Day was coming and we urged action then. We arranged for the Sunday meeting at the Judge's and I told you of it on Sunday morning.

You will remember that nothing specific was done at the meeting at the Judge's house. On leaving I called Dr. Maloney aside and told him we had been talked out and that we should meet later and do some work. We arranged he should come to the Hotel Athens. The Proclamation note was not discussed at the meeting in the Judge's. They were passed over as unimportant. The Gallagher resolution was discussed and Joe, Dr. Maloney and I were for having that resolution withdrawn and a resolution for recognition introduced. Fr. Hurbon

and the rest of you were all opposed to this. Personally I still think our course was the better.

You, Father Hurbon, Lynch, Dalton, Joe and I came to the Athens. I don't remember what we talked of till Lynch and Dalton left. Doctor Maloney called immediately after the departure of Lynch and Dalton. We then again took up the Proclamation and the note to the Legations. You made valuable suggestions and alterations in both and you agreed to both.

On Monday Dr. Maloney and I got the Proclamation typed and he agreed to have it published in as many N. York papers as possible. He had lunch with the editor of the N. York Times and told me over the phone before leaving N.Y. that the Times would publish it in full. The editor returned to his office and found Judge Cohalan's cable to de Valera congratulating him on his victory for self-determination. The editor of the Times knew who Cohalan was and for what he stood. He knew nothing of Dr. McCartan. The result was that the Judge's cablegram got three lines and the Proclamation was thrown in the waste basket. The cable suggested to the Judge and to which he did not object at the meeting was one of congratulation on the peaceful establishment of the Republic. Without consultation with anybody, as far as we here are aware, he took a course different from that suggested and cabled about the victory for self-determination.

The Proclamation was published in full only by the New York Globe. Extracts from it were published in the papers here. On Friday January 3rd 1919 I delivered the note to the Legations and a synopsis of it was published in all the papers but all Phila. papers published it in

full. The New York World on Sunday following published it in full. The Public Ledger here on Sunday January 5th returned to the Proclamation and published it also in full. So much for the Proclamation and note to the Legations.

But before leaving them I might remind you that the Gaelic American or Irish World did not publish the note to the Legations. I gave you a copy myself, a copy was mailed to the Irish World and it, as I said, appeared in full in the New York World January 5 1919.

At the meeting in Judge Cohalan's house on Sunday evening December 29th the Judge stated that the elected representatives would meet in a few days and proclaim their policy. He suggested that we should wait for that statement before taking definite action. We could not dictate to them &c. &c. He forgot that we "dictated" against the Irish Party at every meeting of the Clan na Gael since the Union under John Redmond. You "dictated" in the days of the "New Departure" by cablegrams, interviews &c. I submit that it was your duty and mine to "dictate" in a similar manner if we are true to our oath taken entering the Clan na Gael. The Judge's "dictation" was virtually opposed to the tenets of the Clan na Gael and the fact will be recognised clearly in Ireland by the men who hold the same ideals though it may for a time be obscured here.

The Gaelic American of January 5th 1919 (I'm not absolutely certain of the date) had an editorial and at the bottom of the first column a paragraph appeared similar - almost word for word - to the Judge's advice re supporting the policy that would be proclaimed by the elected representatives of Ireland in Ireland. The elected representatives met on January 21st, proclaimed

a Republic, and asked the free nations of the world for support. Judge Cohalan did not support them. They asked Irish America for bread - Recognition of the Republic - and Irish America gave them a stone - Self-Determination.

Before going to Baltimore Judge Cohalan told Joe McGarrity on the phone that the Cardinal would not stand for the Republic and wanted an understanding regarding the least that should be accepted and suggested Self-Determination. Joe replied certainly nothing less and admission of Irish delegation on same status as Poles &c. The Judge and his friends went to Baltimore, were well received but asked not for support for the Republic but merely Self-Determination. They got it readily.

At a meeting in Judge Cohalan's house prior to the Convention the resolution that the Cardinal was to propose was referred to. I put a proof sheet of America containing the Dáil Éireann's address to the free nations before the Judge and pointed out that we were not keeping step - as Joe McGarrity phrased it - with the men in Ireland by asking Self-Determination. The Judge said the resolution would deal with Ireland's status resulting from the exercise of Self-Determination. I replied that such was satisfactory as it could mean nothing but the Republic.

The night before the Convention Joe showed me a copy of the resolution to be proposed by the Cardinal and it was not as the Judge promised it would be. I then and there decided that I would not even sit on the platform, and I didn't, and kept away from Joe, Dr. Maloney and the rest of you. Of course that made no difference to the

Convention, but personally I can feel that I was no party to pulling down the Republican flag. What was more sickening even than the Cardinal's resolution was the cable which you moved should be sent to de Valera. It congratulated the people on the victory for real national policy and guaranteed the support of Irish America "for full and complete national Self-Determination". That cable, if support for full and complete national Self-Determination, means anything associated with your name was a direction to de Valera that you did not recognise the Republic proclaimed on January 21st but demanded a plebiscite on the question.

Professor de Valera took the cue perhaps under the impression that there was some subtle reason for such a course, perhaps under specific instructions from you, Lynch or Cohalan. At present I cannot say as I never wrote a line to Ireland with the exception of a hurried note one night at a céiligh. There was one channel of communication and I believed there should be only one. When complaints came of my silence I assumed that you would explain it. The one channel of communication has not been respected by all as faithfully as I did. The last communication which I should in courtesy have seen at once was shown to me when it was impossible to consider it. A telephone message or wire would bring me to N. York any day and Joe McGarrity as usual would willingly pay my fare. There can be no excuse therefore that I could not be seen or found. That is not important but it made me decide that, if everybody could communicate with Ireland and show the replies to men who had no right to see them and withhold them from those who had a right to see them, then I too should communicate with Ireland.

As I said Professor de Valera took his cue from the cablegrams from the Judge and yourself. He is silent regarding the Republic proclaimed on January 21 and demands Self-Determination. I anticipated this and thought to prevent it. Without advice from Joe or anybody else I sent him a cablegram on March 12 in the hope of it reaching him before making statement. It is published in the Independent on the same day as his interview appeared. The Judge has won. De Valera is out for "full and complete national Self-Determination". You publish his interview in full after seconding a motion for a Recognition Week on Monday night. In your first editorial you virtually boast of the fact that the Judge's policy has been triumphant. That is that Self-Determination has triumphed over the Republic of Ireland.

Now it is you and not the Judge who is responsible for the Judge would be helpless were he not sure of your support. He has a knack of jumping as gracefully as any man I ever saw and he would have jumped at once on the Republic band waggon if you had cracked the whip just as he scrambled up beside Frank P. Walsh at the Metropolitan Opera House Meeting two weeks after he stated in reply to me at the F.O.I.F. that the Irish Republic did not exist and repeated the argument advanced by Mr. Forester, that to demand recognition was to demand that the U.S. declare war on England. Professor de Valera has accepted "dictation" from here; and what is the outlook? The people of Ireland voted for separation from England; the elected representatives proclaimed the Republic; there was every indication that the people would have supported the Republic. Now the leader in Ireland upon "dictation" from the "leader" in America who follows ignores the Republic. Every

Conservative in Ireland from Cardinal Logue down will do their utmost to interpret Self-Determination as Colonial Home Rule or the Act on the Statute Book. If de Valera cannot get back to the Republic, and I don't see how he can, it is only a question of a short time until the majority of the people cease to think of the Republic. Had we kept the tricolour flying we could have kept the mass of the Irish people thinking and speaking of the Republic for at least ten years irrespective of the outcome of the Peace Conference. If anything comes out of the Peace Conference the situation will be saved; if not we are back to the old days of constitutionalism. The first result will be a split in Ireland for the I.R.B. will stand firm for the Republic while the moderate element supported by the "respectable" classes will continue to demand Self-Determination or something less if de Valera can be persuaded to permit it. The question will arrive here of how long the Clan na Gael will keep behind the I.R.B. in Ireland. The result will be a split between the Clan and F.O.I.F. For instance, Harry McCarney left that meeting of the Council of the F.O.I.F. disgusted with the whole proceedings and astonished at the Judge's attitude. Mr. Montague expressed his astonishment also at the Judge's to Mr. McCarney but he evidently reconsidered his opinion. Now Judge Cohalan supports recognition of the Republic but it is too late as de Valera has committed himself and cannot jump about so easily as the Judge.

I may refer when I am at it to the belief expressed to me at Broad St. Station by Mr. Dalton, who was good enough to believe in my sincerity, that I am under the influence of Dr. Maloney. I am under his

influence to the extent that I was under your influence or that of Judge Cohalan with the exception that I did not trust him as I trusted either of you. I do not hand my soul or judgement over to any man's keeping and am prepared to disagree with him, if necessary to-morrow, just as I now disagree with the Judge and yourself.

The Judge was not afraid to trust him when he was in a corner. Yes, "he might throw a sprat to catch a salmon" but I at least never saw any attempt to catch the salmon nor do I see any to catch. The doctor's suspicion was accepted as a statement of fact and quoted as a statement of fact when Archbishop Hanna started the clerical drive for Self-Determination. When the committee were to go to Washington to meet the Bishops the mere suspicion of Dr. Maloney was quoted as a fact that to prove the sending of a delegation the meeting of the Bishops in Washington was a trap which we were to avoid. It was a trap to be avoided because Cardinal Gibbons did not want to receive "radicals" like Judge Cohalan and Judge Cohalan wanted to show the Cardinal that he could not receive the others without him. When Cardinal O'Connell was coming to N.York Dr. Maloney expressed a doubt about the wisdom of the act but that doubt is quoted as proof of the doctors ulterior motives. The doctors suspicions are facts when they suit Judge Cohalan's purposes; his doubts are proof of his dishonesty where they are counter to the Judge's designs. I judge Dr. Maloney by what he has done and I judge his proposals on their merits alone. Few men have done more for Ireland than he during the last few years. He opened up the N.Y. Post for the Judge and his friends when they could not get a line elsewhere. Slander is a mean method of knocking a man you cannot control. One could

understand it from the petty creatures who strut about with an air of importance: but one expects more from a Judge. God! look to the movement led by a man who can descend so low. We had an example of it last Monday night when the Constitution was altered for the sake of hitting back at one individual whom Judge Cohalan could not control. His crime being that he allowed me to fight for recognition of the Republic of Ireland. There is no consideration for the feelings of men who have no axe to grind. Father Hurbon was steam-rolled by Tammany Hall methods but he merely smiles and reminds them that they felt they went over something. Father Magennis is elected President but is made to feel that he is not President and has no influence. Father Magennis may smile like Father Hurbon but the movement is not made up entirely of Magennises and Hurbons who will sink their personal feelings for the sake of Ireland.

I did not go into Judge Cohalan's motives for all his acts as they are outside the main issue but I will do so at another time when the publication of the whole story will not injure Ireland.

I know you will tell me the Judge was all the time for the Republic. I reply that Self-Determination is not synonymous with the Republic. He quoted de Valera against me to prove Self-Determination was the policy in Ireland. He suppressed the messages he had from Cathal Burgess to speak only of the Republic and when questioned by me refused to answer. As far as he could he sold the Republic of Ireland. He circulates the story that I did not believe in having the Cardinal at the Convention which is untrue. If he thinks he can euchre me by falsehood or slander he has the wrong

man. He would be better to ease off on both Dr. Maloney and myself as either of us could write one article on him which any of the New York papers would gladly publish that would blow him so high that he would drop a political wreck. In doing so we would not be insulting the Irish race either.

I will send a copy of this to Ireland and was anxious to make my position and my opinions clear to you.

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY 1913-21  
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