

ORIGINAL

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY 1913-21
BURO STAIRE MILEATA 1913-21
NO. W.S. 1,765

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BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY, 1913-21.

STATEMENT BY WITNESS.

DOCUMENT NO. W.S. 1,765.

Witness

His Excellency, Seán T. O'Kelly,
Áras an Uachtaráin,
Phoenix Park,
Dublin.

Identity.

Speaker, Dáil Éireann, 1920;
Irish Representative, Paris & Rome, 1920-21;
Minister for Local Government & Finance, 1932-45;
President of Ireland, 1945-59.

Subject.

National activities, 1898-1921.

Conditions, if any, Stipulated by Witness.

Nil.

File No S. 9.

Form B.S.M. 2

ORIGINAL

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BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY 1913-21

BURO STAIRE-MILEATA 1913-21

NO. W.S. 1,765

Subm. by Lt Col
G. C. Hall

A very considerable revival of national feeling and sentiment was caused as a result of the many meetings and demonstrations held in Dublin and in many parts of the country in celebration of the Centenary of the Insurrection of 1798. Dublin, I think, was particularly affected. There were nationalist organisations established during the year 1897, a year or two following, '98 Clubs became a fairly common feature of national political life in all parts of the City, and of the country. For a number of years after the '98 Centenary demonstrations took place in the counties where there had been considerable activity in 1798, and monuments were erected in connection with the unveiling of the monuments, demonstrations were held to which large numbers of people travelled, and at these meetings speeches urging a revival of national sentiment and national activity of various kinds were made by people prominently associated with the National Movement.

As far as I remember, all sections of ~~the~~, what would be called ^{the} Gaelic political movement, were associated with the Centenary celebrations. The Parliamentary Party of the day took a prominent part in it, and the various sections of ^{with the demonstration} associated themselves, but these meetings and demonstrations were utilised by a small but effective group of people who

been faithful to the Fenian tradition, and a great number of whom were still members of the Fenian organisation - the Irish Republican Brotherhood.

In Dublin there still remained a fair number of oldish men who kept alive the Fenian Organisation. When I joined the Republican Brotherhood, I think at the end of the year 1899, there were not, as far as I could discover, many of those men who were active. I came across many afterwards who were sympathetic, but I knew very few who were really active members of the organisation. I was brought into contact with the I.R.B. by the late Patrick T. Daly, a printer, then I think, employed in Dollard's Printing House, but I was actually sworn into the organisation by a man named Nally who was a pharmaceutical chemist in the Mater Hospital at that time. Nally was later ^{the} ^a very active in 1918-19-22 period in the Republican Movement. He and his wife had a flat somewhere in Upper Leeson St., and this flat was used as a centre and rendezvous by many well-known Republicans of the time. He was a relation of P.W.Nally who died in Mountjoy Prison, a Fenian, somewhere in the 90's, and whose funeral I remember seeing pass.

a member of the Supreme Council
P. T. Daly, I believe, afterwards became Head Centre of the I.R.B. in Ireland. I know that he was in direct communication


To be inserted on page 3rd X

I cannot possibly remember the names of all the members of the Bartholomew Teeling Club. Amongst the members whose names I can remember were Michael Cooley, Pádraig Mac Giolla ^wissa (Ingoldsby), Dr. Richard Hayes, ^mow the Film Censor, Dr. John Elwood of Roscommon, Dr. Sheehan, now of Milltown, Co. Cork, Thomas Shine Cuffe, Louis Ely D'Carroll, ^{later} Secretary of the Vocational Educational Committee of Dublin. Arthur Griffith was a member, but never attended a meeting during my membership.

with the heads of the Clann na nGaedheal in America. He was through the man to whom all correspondence with the United States passed, and he, to my knowledge, paid several visits to the United States. I remember, I think on two occasions, when he was Manager of the Cl^o Cumann Printing Company, Strand Street, Dublin which was the printing office set up by a number of Gaelic Leaguers to help to produce national books, particularly Gaelic material, I acted for him as substitute manager for the Company during the three weeks or so while he was away.

I have no personal knowledge of the reasons that led to his later expulsion from the I.R.B. though I heard a lot of rumours at the time.

*Printed by
Price*

I joined the Bartholomew Teeling Circle of the I.R.B. of which this man Nally was the Centre, and when I joined there were ten or twelve members, ^X and [✓] immediately I became a very active recruiter and organiser for that circle and for the I.R.B. in general. I recruited a good many members in Dublin. I was sent to Wexford and recruited a great many members there, particularly at Enniscorthy and Wexford. I was sent on recruiting missions to Arklow, Galway, [✓] and Sligo. In Wexford I remember well, I am not certain of the year, but it was probably about 1904 or 1905, one Sunday morning in the drawingroom of a Mrs Barker in South Main Street, ~~Wexford~~, I took in ten or

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twelve new members, among them being Bob Brenna, Walter Foley and Eamon Foley; a son of the woman of the house, Sean Barker, ⁿ
Sean Synott, ^{i and} Ned Redmond. I read in Mr Bob Brennan's book "Allegiance" that I swore his wife into the I.R.B. I must say that I have no recollection whatsoever of doing this, and I do not believe I ever did so. I never knew of any woman being sworn into the I.R.B.
checked

At the meetings, the subject of recruitment to the I.R.B. was a subject that occupied a good deal of our time. Names would be proposed and members would be asked for impressions or views as to whether the person whose name was proposed was suitable for recruitment. The proposed member would have to be known as a person who held strong national views, — who was trustworthy, sober, steady and reliable, and our effort was to try to get enlisted wellknown men who occupied positions of authority in their own social and business circles. We met once a month and paid a subscription of 1/- per month, and in addition, 1/- per month for the Arms Fund.

Discussions (at these meetings would take place) Members ask would question about the national activities within the various other social, political, and national organisations to which members belonged. If activities were being indulged in by any of these organisations which, from the I.R.B. viewpoint would be

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regarded as anti-national, suggestions would be made by members
that the organisation should take some notice of such activities,
and perhaps recommendations would be made to the Centre's circle
which was the body governing local I.R.B. activities, that
action of some kind should be taken to restrain such anti-
national activities.

It was the policy of the I.R.B. to try to get open or public
national organisations to deal with these anti-national activities
that I refer to; the I.R.B. itself never desired publicity, and
never wished to be brought into the open. It tried to exercise
its influence therefore on members of the I.R.B. to become
members of these other organisations. It also endeavoured to
secure that in all public, national, political organisations,
and even social and business organisations, I.R.B. men should
exercise their influence to try to secure that the activities of
all these organisations of national endeavour or political
activities should be directed on lines that the I.R.B. would
regard as satisfactory from the national viewpoint.

Frontier One

As an instance of the kind of activity that the I.R.B.
members were encouraged to indulge in. As the result of
discussion at I.R.B. meetings, it was decided that the best
efforts of the I.R.B. members and the I.R.B. organisation should

be used to encourage the Gaelic League and the Gaelic Athletic Association, and our members were urged and encouraged to join these organisations and help them in every way. No effort was made to encourage these organisations to indulge in political activities, though that statement might have to be modified in later years. But at the time I speak of, there was no desire on the part of the I.R.B. to encourage these organisations to partake in national political activities.

These organisations were regarded as doing national work of the highest class, and there was the strictest desire on the members of the I.R.B. organisation to encourage and develop the G.A.A. and Gaelic League and similar organisations.

The I.R.B. element were the most assiduous in urging support of organisations like the Abbey Theatre, and there would seldom be a night of the Abbey Theatre when many members of the I.R.B. were not present. In this way the Gaelic League was also supported greatly assisted - I can only speak for Dublin - and many branches were established founded.

Through the activity of the young men who were members of the I.R.B. hurling clubs were encouraged and members were asked to join them, and where they could find material, to establish clubs of their own, and in this way a good many hurling clubs and football clubs were established in Dublin city.

A number of my friends of the I.R.B. thought it a good idea to establish a literary and debating society which they believed could be one of the best sources of recruitment for our organisation. We established one, and called it "The Confederate Literary and Debating Society". It met at 32, Lower Abbey St which used to be the meeting place of the Celtic Literary Society. This Society was established about 1902, and continued in existence for about ten years.

This Society held debates on aspects of Irish history or Irish economics and finance. To these debates students of U.C.D. and Trinity College and also members of national societies in and around Dublin would be invited. These delegates were frequently very well attended. The purpose of the Society was to spread a knowledge of Irish history and Irish public affairs, and, incidentally to get to know people who might prove to be useful members for the Society itself, and also for the I.R.B. In fact, the Society was a very useful source of recruits for the I.R.B. The Society organised classes in the Irish language, one of our best teachers being George Clancy, then a student in U.C.D. who was later Mayor of Limerick, and was murdered by the Black and Tans in Limerick in 1920. Clancy was also Captain of a hurling club which was established in connection with the Society. A photograph of members of the Confederate Society and of members of the hurling club taken about the year 1908 or 9, I imagine, appeared in the 40's in the Capuchin Annual. Another member who afterwards became prominent in public life was E. A. Duggan, T.D., ^{Secretary} who was one of the signatories to the ~~protection~~ delegation sent by the Dáil to negotiate with the British Government in 1921. Mr Duggan was afterwards Parliamentary Secretary to Mr Cosgrave, President of the Executive Council.

Other Societies of a similar kind were active during this period in Dublin; some of them were organised by the Dungannon Clubs, some by the Cumann na Gaedheal. There was an "Eire Óg" Society which was similar to our Confederate Club, which was organised by ^{the} Ingoldsby family at Fairview. All these Societies had activities similar to the Confederate Club, and they were closely - behind the scenes - directed by members of the I.R.B.

One organisation that was very active during this period in Dublin was the Young Ireland branch of the U.I.L. This organisation was of course founded to give support to the Parliamentary Party. It contained a good number of university students, both

from Trinity and U.C.D. Among the prominent members of this organisation were:- the late Tom Kettle, M.P., Cruise O'Brien, James Creed Meredith, afterwards judge of the High Court, P. J. Little, T.D. J.A. Rownane, B.L., and a man named Lloyd. The ^y
~~Confederate~~ Society used to invite members of the Young Ireland Branch of the U.I.L. to its debates, and frequently some members came. These made the debates a lot more lively and interesting. Some of our members used to be told off to attend debates in the Young Ireland Branch for special occasions.

I remember the occasion when a delegation - self-appointed, I imagine - attended a public meeting held at the Rotunda Round Room Dublin, at which Mr John E. Redmond was to speak. The meeting was presumably held in furtherance of the objects of the Irish Parliamentary Party. The then Lord Mayor, Mr Timothy Harrington presided. It had been announced that soon Dublin and Ireland ^{were} to be visited by King Edward, and at once the question arose in Dublin: what was going to be the attitude of the Dublin Corporation towards the Royal visitor?

When the last royal visit took place in 1900, the Corporation agreed to have an Address of welcome presented in its name by the then Lord Mayor, Alderman Pyle, who, incidentally, was made a Baronet as a reward.

The Committee was organised mainly by Miss Maud Gonne who ^{had} discussed this matter, and ^{with other} ^{the deputation} Committee decided to utilise Mr Redmond's public meeting to raise this issue directly with the Lord Mayor. The deputation which included ^{Miss Gonne, Mr Edward Martin,}

afterwards President of Sinn Féin, Seamus McManus, Mary Quinn and Arthur Griffith, ~~was nominated~~ ^{decided} to go to the meeting and put certain queries to the Lord Mayor as to his attitude towards the coming royal visit.

Word was conveyed to the members of the I.R.B. that this delegation would attend the Redmondite meeting; and as many members as could possibly attend were asked to be present at the meeting and to ensure that the delegation would get a proper hearing. I, with many others of the I.R.B., attended that meeting. I saw the deputation arrive. I saw them mount the platform, and heard the discussion that went on between the Lord Mayor and Miss Gonne and some others of the deputation. The Lord Mayor refused to hear the deputation at that time, and suggested that they should wait until the end of the meeting to put their questions. Miss Gonne, however, insisted that the questions should be put and answered at that meeting before it began. The tempers on the platform and amongst the audience rose very rapidly, ~~and~~ When the crowd in the Hall saw Miss Gonne being pushed off the platform, several of the ~~more~~ ^a present attendance, probably I.R.B. men, rushed the platform with the intention of securing that the question should be put and answered there and then, but of course this led to the other side taking action, so that the meeting broke up in turmoil. I saw the Lord Mayor lift his own chair and direct it down on the heads of people who were trying to mount the platform.

However, the main object of the deputation was attained. Publicity was given to the desire of the nationalists of Dublin that no royal address should be ^{presented} adopted by the Dublin Corporation, and that no welcome should be given to King Edward in the name of the City of Dublin.

I began to learn Irish. When I first started to study for Preparatory Grade. I was then aged about twelve, that would be about the year 1894. I was then a pupil of the Christian Brothers, St. Mary's Place, Dublin. The Headmaster there, a Kerryman named O'Higgins, was an enthusiast in the revival of Irish. He selected eight of us out of a class of about thirty who were preparing for the Preparatory Grade Examination the following year, and ordered us to take up Irish.

From that time on I took a deep interest in the Irish language, and became an enthusiastic supporter of the movement for the revival of Irish. Soon after I left school, I think about the time I joined the National Library, I began to attend classes in Irish in the Árd Craobh of the Gaelic League which then had its rooms at 24 Upr. O'Connell Street. I attended classes a couple of times a week given there by Sinead Ni Fhlannagáin, (afterwards Mrs Eamon de Valera) Eamon Ceannt, Eamon O'Neill who was a close associate of Pádraig Pearse, and Donnchadh Ó Liatháin.

I remained a member of the Árd Craobh and was a student at its classes for seven or eight years. I took part a few times in plays that the Árd Craobh produced, always in a very minor capacity. I was then induced by some friends to join the Archbishop McHale Branch of the Gaelic League which used to meet in 41 Parnell Square, a house which became very notorious in later years as the Headquarters, and principal meeting place of the Dublin Branches of the I.R.B. and known as the Portesters' Hall. One thing worth mentioning perhaps in this connection is that every night there would be at least two detectives of the Political Branch stationed outside the doors taking a note of everybody who passed in or out of the building.

I remained a member of the Archbishop McHale Branch up

to the time I became General Secretary of the Gaelic League in 1915. I was sometimes Secretary, sometimes Vice-President, and sometimes President of that Branch. A friend who was also a well-known member of the I.R.B., named Michael Cowley, and I took turns at being President or Vice-President or Secretary of the Archbishop McHale Branch. Cowley at that time was secretary to the firm of Sir James W. Mackey Ltd., Seed Merchants, and was afterwards Assistant Manager in the National Land Bank, 67 Lr. Leeson Street.

I was a member of the Keating Branch in the first couple of years of its existence, and was a fairly frequent visitor there.

In 1903, about the month of March, the Coisde Gnotha of the Gaelic League appointed Pádraig Pearse as editor of AN CLAIDHEAMH SOLUIS, the official organ of the Gaelic League. At the same meeting, it appointed me as Manager of the paper. In this way I was brought into more intimate personal contact with Padraig Pearse. ~~He was conducting his school - Scoil Éanna, of which he was founder and headmaster at the same time.~~ Scoil Éanna was founded in 1905 (?).

The Gaelic League was a very virile force in Irish life at this time. I am sure it probably had round the years 1904 to 1910, 900 branches affiliated to it. There was hardly a parish in the country that did not have a Branch of the Gaelic League and Irish classes. A very large number of men and women were engaged by the local branch organisation as travelling teachers, and these people by their enthusiasm, the activity they displayed, and their lectures on Irish history probably had much to do with the revival of ^{the} strong national patriotic spirit that developed in Ireland in those years.

"The Claidheamh Soluis" was widely read, and it had quite a respectable circulation. The other weekly papers that

contributed to the success of the Gaelic League in the revival movement were, first, the "United Irishman" and then its successor, also edited by Arthur Griffith, "Sinn Féin", and of course, D. P. Moran's "Leader", which was founded in 1901.

The success of the Gaelic League had its reaction on other national activities: the G.A.A. grew by leaps and bounds as a result of the national revival that the Gaelic League was responsible for. The Feis Ceoil was an outcome of this same national revival. Another organisation that sprang directly out of the Gaelic League was the Irish Industrial Development Association. The first branch of this was founded in Cork, and it was the Gaelic Leaguers who were responsible for bringing it into existence. The second branch was founded in Dublin, and it was the Industrial Committee of the Coiste Gnótha that took action to bring it into existence. Mrs. Wyse Power, afterwards Senator, Ryan who was afterwards the first Secretary of the I.D.A. and Kevin J. Kenny, were the principal promoters of the I.D.A. in Dublin.

The Oireachtas, which was an annual event then usually held in Dublin until later years, gathered together the cream of the Gaelic speaking people from all Ireland, and sometimes from abroad. The Oireachtas organised competitions for the writing of Irish on literary subjects, historical subjects, Irish Poetry, the compilation of books for the teaching of Irish; competitions for Irish music, pipers, violinists, harpists, etc.

Irish dancing got a tremendous revival as a result of the competitions that were organised annually at the Oireachtas, ^{and} at Feiseanna in every county in Ireland. The Oireachtas was usually opened by an ode, the first few of these at the annual event were read, I think by Dr. Hyde himself, one of the first was "Eireóchaidh mé feasta....."

Then there would be an oration by some eloquent native speaker.

One activity for which the Dublin branches of the Gaelic League was primarily responsible was the annual St. Patrick's Day parade through the streets of Dublin. These parades and demonstrations encouraged what was known as "Language Week" when, in Dublin and throughout the country a collection was taken to assist the movement and pay the expenses of the headquarters staff, organisers, teachers and so forth. This St. Patrick's day demonstration became a big feature. The members of all the branches marched and many bands from in and around the city of Dublin took part, and industrial exhibitions were organised in connection with the demonstration. The Gaelic League members organised tableaux representing outstanding events in Irish history, and industrialists were invited to display their wares, some by having trade shows, and drays suitably decorated advertising their own wares, and shops in the city were invited to put on their windows goods of Irish manufacture.

For a good many years this effort of the revival was most successful, and had the effect of encouraging the use of Irish manufactures, and the support of Irish industry.

I am not sure at what period the Gaelic League encouraged the effort to Gaelicise various public services. One such effort made was to get the postal officials to recognise the language by delivering letters addressed wholly in Irish. This required a fight which went on for a couple of years. Individuals in certain towns would be selected, and the Gaelic League, through its official ^{organ} ~~article~~, would invite people - readers of papers everywhere - to write letters or postcards to the individual or firm concerned, and inundate the Post Office with such communications addressed solely in Irish. This, of course, created problems for the authorities, and

PEARSE at the BAR

*PIARAS BÉASLAÍ recalls two famous cases
in the High Court nearly fifty years ago.*

SO far as I can ascertain, nobody has yet given a written account of the two occasions on which Patrick Pearse, who was a barrister, pleaded in a British law court.

Louis Le Roux, in his "Patrick H. Pearse," refers to the first in a single sentence, which is inaccurate as to the date and misleading as to the fact, in a context of other inaccuracies. I happen to be one of the very few persons who was present on the occasion.

I have always considered that Le Roux's life of Pearse was written on the worst possible system that a biography could be put together, and particularly the biography of a man like Pearse, in whose all-too-brief life the most interesting feature was his evolution.

Wrong Method

LE ROUX treats him as one who was born whole and entire as the Pearse of 1916, who had exactly the same ideas and outlook from his earliest childhood and knew exactly what he was going to do and be. Ignoring chronological sequence and the influence of contemporary events, he devotes each chapter to an account of different aspects of Pearse—the writer, the educationalist, the militant Gael, and so forth.

To divide a man into compartments, each compartment covering a section of his entire life, is to lose sight of the whole human man, with the growth, changes and contradictions and development of new ideas that occur in all men's lives.

By this method Le Roux reduces the chronology of Pearse's life to a chaos, and completely fails to analyse or explain the processes by which the son of an Englishman, born in Dublin in the height of the Parnellite agitation, studied the law and became a barrister, was captured by the newly-founded language movement, learned Irish and became a Gaelic enthusiast, edited a Gaelic newspaper, later founded a famous school, became interested in Separatist politics, entered the Volunteer movement, developed into a leader of revolution and ultimately died for the freedom of Ireland.

No Dr. Walsh On Cart

THESE two papers were a gradual education to me. In the course of time I was influenced by his conclusions, absorbing many new points of view expressed by the leading books.

It is now, however, that



PATRICK H. PEARSE

he was not contemplating either starting a school or leading an insurrection, though he was already an ardent Gael.

Forty-six years ago a Donegal Gael named Niall Mac Giolla Bhrighde was summoned by the R.I.C. for having his name on his cart in Irish, and was fined by the local magistrates. The technical charge was that he had failed to comply with the law, which required the owner of a vehicle to have his name inscribed on it in "legible characters."

It was decided to lodge an appeal to the High Court—the expenses being borne, I think, by the Gaelic League. Mr. T. M. Healy, K.C., was briefed for the appellant. With him was a Junior Counsel who had been connected with the language movement, Dr. P. S. Walsh. Pearse, at this time editor of "An Claidheamh Soluis," the official organ of the Gaelic League, was a second Junior Counsel in the case.

Appeal At Four Courts

THE appeal, which was by way of "case stated," was heard in the Four Courts. I was in the custom of attending cases in the court to practise my shorthand, and so, by pure accident, I happened to be present. There were very few others in Court, and I did not see anybody else connected with the language movement. It is possible I may be the only survivor of that audience.

The appeal was heard by three judges of whom the chairman was

the Lord Chief Justice, Lord O'Brien, better known as "Pether the Packer," because of the notorious jury-packing that had taken place in political cases where he was concerned either as judge or Crown Prosecutor.

He was a Catholic, and in the early stages of his career had professed Nationalist principles; but he deserted to the side of the English Government, and, by his zeal in that service had gained the reward of the highest judicial post in the country.

I believe that the principal character in Donn Byrne's "Hangman's House" was modelled on the character of "Pether," though the portrait is rather too flattering. The other Judges were Andrews and Gibson.

The First Junior

TIM HEALY, although briefed, did not apparently find it possible to attend to argue the case.

Dr. Walsh, the first junior Counsel in the case, was a tall, dark, stout, good-looking man, of fine carriage and appearance, with a slight Northern accent. As far as I know he never learned a word of Irish, but he was a staunch supporter of the Gaelic League, and I have seen him functioning as a delegate at the annual Ard-Fheis.

At this time the proceedings of the Ard-Fheis were conducted almost entirely in English, as there was a number of prominent workers in the movement who were unable to debate a question in Irish. When an occasional delegate made a speech in Irish, Dr. Douglas Hyde, as chairman, used to explain its purport in English for the benefit of those who might not understand it—such as Edward Martyn, Colonel Moore, Darrell Figgis, Archibald Nicholls, and even some members of the Coiste Gnótha.

Under the circumstances Dr. Walsh was not an inappropriate choice as Counsel, with another junior who was an Irish speaker. I wonder how many Irish-speaking barristers there were in those days. I suspect that there were some "native speakers" on the Munster Circuit, who were not very anxious to parade their knowledge.

"Legible Characters"

DR. WALSH studied the law affecting the case, and found that the Act only demanded that the name of the car-owner should be inscribed on the vehicle "in legible characters." He opened the case on this basis, and claimed that Niall Mac Giolla Bhrighde had complied with the letter of the law.

The great point, in his view, was to win the appeal, if only on a legal technicality. A victory would have wide repercussions in establishing the status of the Irish language.

Dr. Walsh boldly claimed that

the "Gaelic characters" used by Niall Mac Giolla Bhrighde were "legible characters," which could be read by anybody, even by a person who had no knowledge of Irish. In proof of this he produced a poster which at that time was being prominently displayed all over the city of Dublin.

This was an advertisement of a bazaar which was being held at Balbriggan. The words of the advertisement were all English, but the letters used were "Gaelic characters" and Dr. Walsh pointed out that this was intended for the general public of Dublin, most of whom knew no Irish. He argued that this was the only thing required by the Act, and that, therefore, the conviction could not stand.

Spelling Of Names

I thought, at the time that he might have also stressed the point that a man is entitled to spell his name in any way he likes, and that English aristocrats called Marchbanks Beecham or Chumley, spelled their names "Majoribanks," "Beauchamp" and "Cholmondeley" without incurring legal censure.

"What is the name of the appellant, Dr. Walsh?" asked "Pether."

"Mac Bride, My Lord," answered Dr. Walsh.

"It doesn't look like that," remarked "Pether." "Is that how it is pronounced in Irish?"

"Yes, my Lord," said Dr. Walsh.

"The same as in English."

I reflected that it was to be hoped that none of the judges knew more Irish than Dr. Walsh.

After the adjournment for lunch Pearse addressed the judges. To my surprise, and no doubt to everybody's surprise, he completely threw over the case made by his colleague and made an eloquent speech on the claims of the Irish language as the national language of the people of Ireland on the basis that Ireland was a bilingual country. Perhaps an old campaigner like Dr. Walsh muttered: "C'est magnifique, mais ce n'est pas la guerre."

Perfunctory Courtesy

IN the course of his speech Pearse referred to the appellant as "Niall Mac Giolla Bhrighde," emphasising the slender consonants.

"Would you repeat that, Mr. Pearse?" said "Pether."

"Niall Mac Giolla Bhrighde," repeated Pearse.

"I must say," remarked the Lord Chief Justice, "that you pronounce the Irish name more correctly than Dr. Walsh does."

"Dr. Walsh is a Northerner, my Lord," said Pearse—which did not seem exactly the *mot juste* to retrieve the situation.

When Pearse had concluded his address "Pether" remarked: "A very good argument, Mr. Pearse," and the two other judges repeated "Very good," and "Very good, Mr. Pearse." Le Roux says he was specially complimented by the Lord Chief Justice, but I do not think there was anything more in these remarks than the usual perfunctory courtesy to a young Counsel who was evidently a man of ability and might be heard of later.

Dismissed

JUDGMENT was reserved and next day I was present when the judgments were read. It was rather remarkable that the three judges paid small attention to the legal argument of Dr. Walsh. Most of their remarks were aimed at rebutting Pearse's claim that Irish was the national language of Ireland or had any legal status in a Court of Law. Of course, they dismissed the appeal.

I do not know what Dr. Walsh thought of his eloquent but very independent junior, but I thought that the line which he adopted offered the only hope of victory.

In this case Pearse distinguished himself as a patriot rather than a lawyer. He was later to distinguish himself splendidly in other fields and make his name a legend.

The Second Case

THAT case was heard in May of 1905. Pearse made one more appearance in court—in a precisely similar case—in April, 1906. On this occasion the judges were Lord Chief Justice O'Brien, Judge Andrews and Judge Wright.

This time Pearse had as his seniors Tim Healy and James O'Connor (later Lord Justice Sir James O'Connor). The appeal was dismissed on the ground that

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and eventually they had to provide Irish speakers competent to deal with problems of that kind.

I remember for one Irish Week we had parcels of posters and literature for circulation to every branch of the Gaelic League all over Ireland from headquarters. The parcel post officials refused to accept any of the parcels because they were addressed in Irish only. So, with the assent of the General Secretary, then P. Ó Dálaigh, the Dublin ~~Chief~~ Coisde Ceannair of the Gaelic League, of which I was I think at that time Chairman, organised a group of several hundred men and women to go to the Parcels' Office together a couple of evenings of the week before Patrick's Day, each one carrying a parcel. A queue formed outside the Parcel Office at the G.P.O. and nobody could get in there to transact any business. In this way we held the post office with our parcels which were refused. Of course the authorities had to surrender and agreed to accept the parcels. Similar activities were organised in other parts of Ireland, until the Post Office ^{freely} accepted letters or parcels which were addressed solely in Irish.

Another activity of a similar kind that caused a great stir was when the Gaelic League asked people who had business vans or cars to put their names in Irish on them. In this case a number of people were summoned for not complying with the law, the law then interpreted by the police being that the names of the owners should be legible, and they did not regard the Irish language as being legible. The first man prosecuted was I think named Niall MacGiolla Bhríghde from Donegal. He was summoned and prosecuted and probably fined a small sum, but his friends in Donegal induced him to ~~see a doctor about it~~ appeal his case, and it was eventually brought to the High Court and heard by Peter O'Brien, with Pádraig Pearse and Dr. Walsh as Advocates. These two were probably employed by the Gaelic League — The fight by the Gaelic League to defend

~~Mac an Ulaidh
(Harcles
matter left in
up) Mac Giolla
Bhríghde is
correct.
(See also
y i? Beag (ai
pposite)~~

~~Mac Giolla Bhrighde~~ when he was brought to Dublin for trial.
strikethrough

In Dublin two or three people were prosecuted, one was Alderman ~~Alderman~~ Aiden Walter Cole, and another was a coal merchant named Pádraig Ó Cearbhaill. They were both summoned and fined, and in O'Carroll's case, sacks of coal were taken on him and his horse and coal dray were seized, and they tried to auction them in an auction room in Bachelor's Walk. We assembled there in force and dared anybody to walk in, and the auction proved abortive.

I think what put an end to these activities against the use of Irish on cars was, when I, as Chairman of the Cleansing Committee of the Dublin Corporation, got the consent of the other members of the Cleansing Committee to propose a motion that every car owned by the Dublin Corporation should bear the name of the Corporation in Irish. We had about 300 cars painted, and sent them out on the streets of Dublin, with the name in Irish, and sent a note to the police calling attention to the fact. That ended the prosecutions.

I remember in this connection another instance that may be worth recording as showing the effort we had to make and the opposition that we had to overcome. I think it was in the month of February 1908 I was elected Chairman of the Finance Committee of the Dublin Corporation, and one part of the Chairman's duties was to sign the sheets for payments on behalf of the Corporation. It was not usual to issue cheques but the City Treasurer, who was Secretary of the Finance Committee, would submit to that Committee each fortnight long sheets with lists of payments to be made. Each of these sheets would be signed by the Chairman and the City Treasurer and then sent to the bankers of the Corporation - the Bank of Ireland - who would issue pay orders in payment on the Corporation's account. When first these lists were presented to me as Chairman for signature, I signed in Irish

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and immediately the City Treasurer raised the point that the Bank would probably not recognise the signature in Irish, and he asked me, so as to save trouble, to sign in ^{English} Irish. I told him that I had only one signature and that was the Irish signature, and I refused to sign in any other way. The sheets were sent in the normal way to the Bank, and at once they were returned. The bank refused to pay, and held up all payments for three weeks, but when they found the Chairman was adamant and refused to be either brow-beaten or sajoled into signing in any other way but Irish they gave way.

One of the activities of the Gaelic League which ought to be written by somebody more intimately associated with it than I is that ^{The fight for essential} Irish in the ~~national~~ Universities.

I, as Chairman or Vice-Chairman during these years, sometimes also Chairman, sometime Vice-Chairman of the Coiste Ceanntair of the Dublin Gaelic League, as well as a member of the Coiste Gnótha, took an active part in all the Gaelic League activities, an important one being the effort of the Gaelic League to make Irish an essential subject in the newly founded N.U.I. The Gaelic League was aware that there would be very strong opposition to making Irish an essential subject, even for Matriculation, and it set about organising, at the start possibly through the branches of the Gaelic League, through the Local Authorities everywhere, ^{also} and by getting public men ~~in all~~ places where they could bring influence to bear, to get every kind of public authority in the country to put on record ^{their} ~~his~~ opinion in favour of compulsory Irish.

As an example of the kind of influence that was sought to be brought to bear on the university authorities ~~at that~~ time unless ^{to give} they gave Irish its proper place in the new university, I might mention that I proposed at the Dublin Corporation that ^{it} the Corporation should tax the citizens by

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in the £ putting one penny on the valuation of the rates of the city
to raise a fund ~~to be used~~ ^{on condition that} to provide scholarships for the
~~student~~ children of Dublin into the new university college, on
condition that Irish was made an essential subject ~~as~~ ^{for} Matriculation. One penny in the £ was sufficient to raise
about £4,000 or £4,500 per annum which was a fairly generous
contribution ~~on behalf~~ ^{from} of the Dublin Corporation towards the
newly established University College, Dublin. This proposal
was carried by a big majority ~~in the~~ ^{of the} Dublin Corporation, and
the example we set was adopted by other Corporations and
County Councils all over the country. In this way a
considerable sum of money was ~~to us~~ placed at the disposal
of the several colleges ~~by way of~~ ^{for} scholarships, ~~provided~~ ^{on condition that} the
university authorities agreed to our ~~proposal~~ ^{condition} that Irish
be made an essential subject in Matriculation.

DREACHT 'D'

During the period from 1899 when Griffith and William Rooney founded the "United Irishman" up to the foundation of the Sinn Féin organisation in 1905, national - that is extreme national - activities were developed by a variety of independent organisations scattered all over the country. The greater number of these were organisations that came into existence as a result of the revival of the national spirit induced by the '98 centenary celebrations. '98 Clubs were fairly numerous over the country. In Belfast there was an organisation which called itself "Cumann na nGael". Other Cumann na nGael Clubs were formed in Dublin, and perhaps in one or two other cities.

The chief centre of activity from this time on would probably be the I.R.B. It did its work in secret, and no mention of it ever appeared in the press. Of the organisations probably the best known was the Celtic Literary Society which used to meet at 32 Lr. Abbey Street. Here the most active person was William Rooney. Rooney lectured himself frequently on Irish history and on Anglo-Irish literature, and got literary men, historians, and others to lecture at the regular weekly meetings that were held there during the Autumn, Winter and Spring months of each year. Griffith used to lecture occasionally and Yeats and Miss Maud Gonne were frequent visitors and probably also delivered lectures. Attached to the Society were classes in Irish and a Choral Society which made a good name for itself.

I think the present Supreme Court Judge, John O'Byrne, was a member of the Celtic Literary Society, at any rate, I remember him as a visitor there. I attended the lectures on history in the C.L.S. There I first made the acquaintance of William Rooney and Arthur Griffith and Patrick Bradley, afterwards Secretary of the Dept. of Education. Bradley was a frequent contributor to the pages of the "United Irishman" and the weekly edition "Sinn Féin". There were other branches

of the Celtic Literary Society in different parts of the country. I think there was one in Cork, and perhaps in Galway, and then there were similar societies in some of the large centres where Irish people congregated in England. There was a Celtic Literary Society in London and in Liverpool and probably in Glasgow. I imagine there was probably one in Manchester, but I am not certain of that. Many of these organisations were founded through the influence of the I.R.B. and some of them certainly were used as recruiting grounds for the Republican Brotherhood.

These separate societies scattered all over the country got propaganda going in favour of complete Irish independence. Perhaps it might be said that they later formed the nucleus of the Sinn Féin organisation when it was first founded by Griffith at a meeting in the Rotunda Dublin, in November 1905. (2)

I was present at the meeting in the Rotunda. It had a morning and afternoon session which was attended by only a comparatively small number who were specially invited by Griffith to attend to consult as to the desirability of founding a new political organisation.

When I attended there came to the meeting with me John Henry King, a solicitor from Newcastle, Co. Down, afterwards wellknown in the Irish Parliamentary Party, also James Leadner, solicitor of Monaghan, who afterwards became M.P. for North Monaghan, and Micheál Ó Liatháin who was afterwards prominent in the Labour Movement in Dublin being one of the founders of the Irish Drapers' Assistants Association, later known as the Irish Union of Distributor Workers and Clerks.

Micheál Ó Liatháin was a brother of Donnchadh Ó Liatháin who was most prominent in connection with the Gaelic League and Irish language matters generally, and who was the father later of Con Lehane, T.D. in the Government. Another of these Lehanes - Domhnall - was the first person to be appointed by the

2/

Board of Education to be inspector for the teaching of Irish in National Schools. Domhnall Ó Liatháin had one son who later became well-known in politics and became T.D. for some place in Cork.

After the morning session where the decision was made to found the new political organisation to be known as "Sinn Féin, the public meeting was held in the Round Room of the Rotunda. Afterwards Griffith, and, I think, John Sweetman, outlined the objects and purposes of the new organisation. I am not quite sure if P.T. Daly spoke at the meeting that night. I know Alderman Tom Kelly did, as well as Alderman Walter Cole, both of Dublin. I think another speaker at that meeting was a man named ~~Flaherty~~ O'Flynn from Loughrea, Co. Galway, who had been a prominent Fenian ^{of the I.R.B.} and, I think, one of the centres in the west in an earlier generation

I joined that organisation and took quite an active part in it from that time on. The question as to whether the members of the I.R.B. should join Sinn Féin was frequently and ardently debated in the various I.R.B. ^{circles,} centres. Some members held that it would not be proper for members of the I.R.B. to join the organisation, the declared object of which was to endeavour to have restored to Ireland a Parliament of which one of the constituent elements would be the King of England. This question was hotly debated over a long period, but no formal decision was ever arrived at, saying that members should or should not join Sinn Féin

Many I.R.B. men did join that organisation, many others were vigorously opposed to Griffith's ideas and projects. As far as I remember it now I think one of the leading opponents was P.S. O'Hegarty who used to write frequently in the "United Irishman," ^{was one of} and later in "Sinn Féin." Amongst Griffith's ideas/of revival of the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland after the pattern of 1782.

Another person who used to write on the subject and frequently came into conflict with P.S. O'Hegarty on these

matters was Seán Ó Siadháin, then, like P.S. O'Hegarty, resident in London. Seán afterwards came into prominence as one of the chief ~~founders~~^{Officials} of the Hospitals' Sweepstakes.

A branch of the new organisation - Sinn Féin - was set up in the Inns' Quay Ward, Dublin, and another branch in the ~~East Ward, called the~~ Rotunda Ward. Of course branches were set up in many parts in and around Dublin. I was probably primarily responsible for setting up the two branches in the Inns' Quay Ward and the Rotunda Ward. I think that P. T. Daly was probably the most active man in the Rotunda Ward later on, he being then Secretary General for Ireland of the I.R.B.

The Inns' Quay Ward branch at one of its monthly meetings probably in the month of December 1905, decided that for propaganda purposes some person should be selected who would stand as a Sinn Féin candidate ~~in the interests of Sinn Féin~~ for the Inns' Quay Ward constituency at the forthcoming Municipal Elections. Numerous people were called on, some prominent citizens who were known to be strongly nationalistic in their views were approached, but there was everywhere great hesitancy about aligning themselves publicly with the new organisation, the future of which no one could foresee, and very few then thought that there was anything like a bright future in store for it.

At that time the Parliamentary Party was the dominant political force in the country. There was I think ⁱⁿ ~~for every~~ ^{ward} ~~one~~ ^{a branch or} ~~United Irish League~~ ^{branches of the new Irish League} Organisation, and in addition the Belfast Board of Erne ~~the~~ ^{and} Hibernian Organisation which had been revived through the influence of Mr Joseph Devlin in Belfast was beginning to spread rapidly all over the country.

We tried many well-known citizens in the area and asked them to become our candidate, but we had no success.

Eventually the members of the Sinn Féin Club decided that one of their own body should ~~stand for election~~ take up this work. Nobody was anxious for the honour. Eventually, after much discussion it was decided by ~~the members~~ that I should go forward as a candidate in the Municipal elections to be held on the 15th January 1906.

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I was duly nominated but none of us believed that I had ~~the ghost of a chance~~ ^{election}. I must say the members worked most enthusiastically, canvassing every voter in the constituency, probably the numbers of voters at that time would be in or about 3,000, but that figure could be checked. We collected money and issued posters and leaflets, and I was put forward as the Sinn Féin, Irish-Ireland Temperance candidate. When the election results became known, to everybody's surprise I was elected by a small majority, and thus I was launched on my public career.

Sinn Féin began to spread at a very rapid pace. Small
Branches sprang up in different parts of Ireland, some in
England and some in Scotland, especially after Griffith's news-
paper changed its name from "The United Irishman" to "Sinn Féin",
and when this paper became, ~~so to speak~~, the official newspaper
of the new organisation, the ^{spread} growth of Griffith's ideas became
evident.

I am not certain of the exact details as to why the "United
Irishman" ceased, but I think it ceased because a Catholic
clergyman in Co. Limerick somewhere took an action for libel
against Griffith and "The United Irishman", ^{judgment went against Griffith} and a sum which I do
not now remember, ^{was awarded a} for damages. Griffith did not pay the damages,
but "The United Irishman" went out of existence, and the next
week, Griffith's paper was called "Sinn Féin". Generally
speaking the same contributors helped with the new paper, but it
soon became evident that the Sinn Féin newspaper was having a
considerably wider circulation than its predecessor "The United
Irishman."

Griffith wrote well; ^{at the beginning} a forceful style which attracted many
people who had little interest in Griffith's political ideas.
Gradually Griffith gathered around him a number of writers of
distinction. He opened his columns to literary men and
encouraged poets and people whose interests were more literary
than political. Some of these afterwards became widely known
and distinguished as writers and publicists. James Stephens,
poet, novelist, and essayist who died a few months ago, was one
of the most distinguished of these. Another was Robert Lynd,
another was Pádraig Colum, Séamus O'Kelly was another. Yeats
was an occasional contributor, ^{and always remained a friend of} ~~Seamus~~
Griffith's. Another was Sean O'Sullivan, whose real name was
James Starkey, who was a Pharmaceutical chemist in Rathmines,
Dublin. Another was Joseph Connolly of Belfast, not the Labour
leader, ^{the poet} and Joseph Campbell, ^{O'Sullivan} was another. Stephens, Connolly,
Campbell and Gogarty were friends and associates of Griffith's.
They met two or three times every week.

There was a

The weekly newspaper founded, I think, about 1900 or maybe 1901, (that can be checked from the files probably in the National Library), called "The Leader" owned and edited by D.P. Moran, who, I believe, was a native of Waterford, ^{and} who had been employed as a journalist in London, ^{and who} returned to Ireland and started this paper. The policy of the paper was strongly Irish Ireland. Moran gave every support and help to the Gaelic League in its efforts for the restoration of the language, and always had an article or two in Irish in every issue of the paper, and these articles were written by some of the very best writers of Irish literature. This paper was also strongly pro-Catholic.

He attacked vigorously various public bodies, public authorities, commercial institutions and companies, and pointed out that though ^{very many of} these bodies were supported to perhaps 90% of their business by Catholics, in many cases Catholics were only a small minority of the total numbers employed by these bodies. It certainly, I think, would be true of that time that all types of institutions mentioned by Moran, commercial, industrial and so on, would have only a very small proportion of their salaried staff who would be Catholics. Moran set out to change this, and I think much of the credit that is due to those who obliged those various public companies and institutions to give Catholics a due share of employment, especially in the higher grades of their staffs, must go to D.P. Moran, and his forceful pen.

It is true that Moran was a strong critic of Arthur Griffith and his writings. My recollection is that though he did not take a strong line in support of the Parliamentary Party, nevertheless, Moran was a follower of the Irish Parliamentary Party, and recognised that Party as the chief national political organisation in the country. Moran was a Home Ruler; Griffith was an opponent of the Irish Parliamentary Party, and one of the major planks in Griffith's platform was

the withdrawal to Ireland of the members of the Irish Parliamentary Party from the Westminster Parliament. T.P. Moran scoffed at the suggestion and did his best always to bring those who preached the physical force policy into ridicule. Moran had never any use for the physical force party and referred to them in his writings always as the "Tin Pike Men".

Incidentally, I can say that some couple of years after the Rising I met Moran at some gathering or other - I had known him well for a good many years - and he confessed to me that he was much shocked by the Rising, he had never anticipated anything of the kind happening in his time, and he felt he owed a deep apology to the men from Pearse down whom he had ridiculed and scoffed at publicly for so many years.

Moran's paper and Griffith's "United Irishman" and later his weekly "Sinn Féin" ~~newspaper~~ had much to do with the great success that attended the efforts of all of those who were responsible for the growth and spread of the Gaelic League and of the Irish Ireland Movement, as it was called, in all its various activities, ^{linguistic, social} political and non-political.

As far as I know, D.P. Moran himself was entirely responsible for financing his weekly journal "The Leader". Griffith was helped by a number of people. One of his most generous helpers was Séamus MacManus who himself provided funds and helped to raise funds for him for the "United Irishman" and later for "Sinn Féin" in the United States.

I think it would be interesting to record at this stage that one of the most generous supporters of Pearse when he found ^{ed} Scoil Éanna, was also the same Séamus MacManus, ^{in 1908} who gave very generously of his limited resources, firstly to help Pearse to found the school, and secondly to keep it going. Pearse, from the time he founded the school, was always in financial difficulties. How he managed to drag along I often wondered. I remember attending a

creditors. The meeting was held in the office of [redacted] Chartered Accountant of Westmoreland Street. This same [redacted] O'Connor was an active man in all the activities of the Irish-Ireland Movement. He was auditor of the Sinn Féin organisation and of the "Sinn Féin" newspaper. I attended the meeting of Pearse's creditors. He was on the verge of bankruptcy at this time, and had to have a meeting of his creditors, some of whom were pressing him hard for payment of their bills.

I was a creditor to a small amount, but a friend of mine, the late Thomas O'Connor, who was then a provision merchant in Rathmines, who owned and ran a shop called "McGee's" of Rathmines, and later became a wholesale provision merchant, and was most successful, O'Connor was a creditor to a sum of around £1,000, ^{foras} as I remember. When I met O'Connor at the meeting of creditors and saw the amount that was due to him I said to O'Connor: "Why do you allow yourself to get into such a position with Pearse - don't you know that if you allow him to run so heavily into debt with you, you have very little chance of being paid, and after all you are only a short time in business, and I doubt if you can afford to offer any customer so much credit?"

O'Connor, who was an old friend of mine, and also an active person in the Gaelic League answered: "I think Pearse is doing magnificent work with this school of his. It was the type of school that was very badly needed. Most of our schools - our Secondary schools most of all - are hot-beds of 'West-Britonism'. They encourage their boys to play foreign games; they do little or nothing to teach them Irish history; their general attitude, if not antagonistic to Irish national sentiment and especially to Irish Ireland ideas, is at least hostile to them." This was the late Thomas O'Connor speaking, 1910, and what he said of the schools of that time could not be denied. Therefore, he said, Pearse deserves the support of every true Irishman and of every

good Irish nationalist.

"I do not care whether I ever get that £1,000 or not" he said "I will be able to carry on without it", and I said: "Will you continue to supply Pearse in Scoil Éanna with the provisions". "I will" he said, "Whatever he costs me".

Were it not that Pearse had generous supporters of this type and of the Séamus MacManus type, his school could never have been founded, and even if founded, could not have lasted very long.

The creditors present at that meeting arranged, some of them like O'Connor to forego the debt, others to take a part payment in settlement of their accounts, and generally they agreed to carry on and to support Pearse's school as best they could, and all agreed to help Pearse out of his financial difficulties.

Branches of Sinn Féin, or, as it was at that time called, "The National Council" were established in many centres throughout the country. I was one of a number who used to go at week-ends to different parts of the country to organise branches. I think it must have been in 1906 that I went to Castlebar with the late Séan Milroy, and held a public meeting in The Mall, which was fairly well attended. Milroy and I spoke and explained the objects of Sinn Féin, and a branch was formed.

Other places I went to were different Wards of the City of Dublin as well as Wexford town, Enniscorthy and New Ross. I spoke at a meeting in Limerick with Alderman Tom Kelly and Alderman Walter Cole. The meeting in Limerick was presided over by John Daly, Fenian, and ex-Mayor of Limerick city. I think we succeeded in establishing a fairly strong branch in Limerick.

During the Spring and Summer, 1906 and 1907, we frequently went out into the public streets in places like Drumcondra, Glasnevin, Terenure, Inchicore and similar places around the City of Dublin, and spoke from a brake, sometimes on a chair borrowed from a house in the vicinity, and preached the gospel of Sinn Féin. We explained to the people the purpose of our main objective which was to withdraw the Irish Members of Parliament from Westminster. We preached self-reliance as the means towards the winning of complete independence of Ireland. We were enthusiastic supporters of the Irish-Ireland Movement in all its activities, and those of us who could do so always addressed our audiences, in part of our speeches at any rate, in Irish.

Though the Irish Parliamentary Party was the predominant political force in Ireland at that time, there was in the country a feeling of doubt and dissatisfaction with the Party, and with ~~the administration~~ Westminster in England. The Liberal Party had been elected to power and office, I think, in December 1905, ~~(check)~~ under the leadership of Campbell Bannerman.

When the Liberals took office it was generally expected in Ireland that the Irish Parliamentary Party, who had given the Liberals generous support in England, would have had influence enough to induce that British Government to introduce a good Home Rule Bill. In fact, such a Bill had been promised in speeches by the leaders of the newly united Irish Parliamentary Party, but as time went on it was seen that the Liberal Government had no intention, then, at any rate, of introducing or passing a measure of Home Rule for Ireland.

This was one of the causes of the discontent and dissatisfaction that was evident amongst strong nationalists in all parts of the country.

I referred already to the revival of strong nationalist feeling which resulted from the Centenary Celebrations in 1898-'99. This strong feeling was helped materially by the interest in Irish societies that developed as a result of the foundation of the Gaelic League in 1893. Another factor was, of course, the foundation of weekly newspapers with a ^{strong} nationalist and Irish-Ireland outlook, such as "The United Irishman" and Moran's paper "The Leader". Later, another journal of even stronger nationalist sympathies was founded, this was "Irish Freedom" which first appeared about December 1906. It was founded by the Irish Republican Brotherhood, and its first editor was Bulmer Hobson. Séan MacDermott was its Business Manager. P. S. O'Hegarty was one of its principal contributors.

Some time before the appearance of "Irish Freedom", Hobson had, for perhaps less than a year, published, at intervals a journal which he called "The (Irish) Republic".

"The Parnall Split" of course had its influence in turning people's minds away from Westminster. The bitter

attacks of the two elements into which the Irish Parliamentary Party split, even after Parnell's death, disgusted decent Nationalist opinion everywhere. The people despaired of Ireland achieving anything from the Parliamentary Party or in Westminster. It took a long time for such a feeling of disgust to disappear, even after the unity of the two Parliamentary elements which occurred somewhere about 1900. In fact, it never did completely disappear.

The failure of the British Liberal Government to introduce a measure of Home Rule for Ireland gave Sinn Féin an opportunity which it used successfully for a number of years.

In addition to the branches of the Organisation known as the National Council or Sinn Féin, which were established from 1906 on, other Societies with almost identical objects sprang up here and there throughout the country. I think the organisation known as "Cumann na nGael" first came into existence in Belfast, later there were branches of it in Dublin and in Dundalk, and maybe elsewhere. In Dublin also -

I think I have already referred to them - there were a number of clubs that were called " '98 Clubs", "Eire Óg" Clubs, and "Clann

na hÉireann", with probably one or two branches. Possibly

the "98 Clubs" may closely associated with the Eire Óg

clubs. The "98 Clubs" were created by members of the

Irish Citizen Army who had been members of the Irish Citizen Army.

I think it would be correct to say that almost all of these

clubs would be glad to give information on that period.

similar organisations eventually joined up and associated with

Sinn Féin. In cases where they did not actually become

branches of the National Council or Sinn Féin organisation,

they certainly acted in close co-operation in all cases with

Sinn Féin.

It is difficult to say exactly how long it

lasted, but it must have been quite a long time.

I shall refer to it in due course.

When about the year 1908, it became clear that the

Liberals did not intend to put Home Rule into operation in

Ireland, there was serious dissatisfaction expressed even in

the ranks of the Parliamentary Party itself. I think it was

early in 1908 that three members of the party resigned.

These were Sir Thomas Esmonde, M.P. for North Wexford, who was,

if I am not mistaken, Chief Whip of the Party. The second was James O'Meara, a member of the Limerick O'Meara family, who was a Member of Parliament for South Kilkenny, and the third was Charles Dolan, Member for North Leitrim. It was known that other members of the Parliamentary Party were grievously dissatisfied with the progress made by the Party and contemplated resignation, but no other member of the party actually resigned.

Sir Thomas Esmonde was later, I do not know exactly how long afterwards, induced by his principal political supporters in North Wexford to withdraw his resignation, and to return to the House of Commons. O'Meara did not return, and took very little active part in public life again until he joined Sinn Féin when it was re-organised in 1917, at which time he became Director of ^{Financial} Funds in Sinn Féin.

Charles Dolan decided to fight his seat again as a Sinn Féin candidate. Sinn Féin was delighted with the opportunity this contest gave to preach its gospel. I do not think anybody in the organisation expected that Charles Dolan could win the constituency for Sinn Féin, although my recollection is that (Charles Dolan himself) was most ^{he} ~~optimistic~~ enthusiastic. The opportunity this contest gave to preach the gospel was used to the fullest extent with great enthusiasm by Sinn Féin in all parts of Ireland. A member came from England and Scotland, and at least one from America - Diarmuid Lynch ~~to take part in the contest~~.

It was at a meeting in Manorhamilton during the course of this contest, in which I took a very active part, that I first saw the late Mr Justice Gavan Duffy, President of the High Court who died ^{recently} ~~this week~~. I remember speaking during the contest at a public meeting in Manorhamilton with Séadair Gavan Duffy, Miss Anna Parnell, and Diarmuid Lynch of New York who had, a short while previously, come back from the

U.S. on a visit, and got so deeply immersed in Irish-Ireland affairs, and Republican politics that he eventually decided to remain in Ireland, and not return, as he had intended, to New York. I remember being successful in helping Diarmuid Lynch to come to a decision to remain in Ireland by securing for him a position as a member of the staff of MacKenzie & Co., Agricultural Implements Suppliers. Diarmuid Lynch had been in the same business while he lived in America.

I was able to do this through friendship with a colleague in the Dublin Corporation, Sir Andrew Beattie, who was, I think, Chairman of MacKenzie & Co. I think the same man was Director of the firm Millar & Beattie, Grafton Street, Dublin. Of course, Alderman Beattie was no political friend or sympathiser of mine, but having known him for a couple of years in the Corporation, and being associated with him on different Committees, I was able to induce him to find a place on the staff of MacKenzie for my friend Diarmuid Lynch.

I have a very vivid recollection of the North Leitrim contest because, almost every meeting we held we met with the bitterest opposition. The Parliamentary Party was strongly supported in that constituency, as the final result of the election showed later on. I think I could say that there was hardly a meeting, even in areas where we had considerable support, at which we did not have to fight our way and defend ourselves with sticks and with our fists before we would be allowed to address the public.

I have a distinct recollection of one meeting in Manorhamilton where, as she left her hotel to cross to the brake which was almost in front of the hotel, to address the meeting, Miss Anna Parnell was drenched by buckets of water being thrown out upon her from neighbouring houses as she

stepped out to cross to the brake. Similarly at this meeting and at other meetings we were showered with eggs, as well as, of course, stones.

We were fairly well supplied with ~~wotes~~ by our friends, and we conducted a vigorous, and from our point of view, a very successful contest, but of course, as some of us at any rate believed, the result was a foregone conclusion. The final figures were; ~~Reflux 3103, Bolan 1157, a majority of 1946 in favour of the Parliamentary Party. The number of the successful candidate was of other in the next whose nominee was Francis Meahan.~~ ^{funds} was 6324.

In this connection it might be useful to refer to "The Leprechaun" a monthly humorous journal, owned and edited by T. Fitzpatrick, which existed for a number of years, and was rather sympathetic to Sinn Féin. It produced a number of cartoons during its lifetime which had influence in turning the minds of people against the Parliamentary Party and to the Sinn Féin ideals, and in regard to the North Leitrim contest one particular cartoon was most effective in this direction.

15.6.51.

whose people come from
 A gentleman named O'Sullivan, ~~who was a native of I think~~
ing
~~Killarney~~ Co. Kerry, and who lived in San Francisco and ~~been~~
 successful in business there, had amassed a considerable fortune,
 suggested that a monument should be erected at Fontenoy to the
 soldiers of the Irish Brigade who fought with the French.

It will be remembered that ~~it was~~ the Irish Brigade, when
 the outcome of the battle was going against the French, was called
 on by King Louis ~~to come~~ to charge the enemy, and, as celebrated
 in Davis' song, ~~turn~~^sed by their efforts turned the tide of
 battle against the British.

As far as I remember, O'Sullivan undertook to pay all the
 expenses. A Committee was set up here to take charge of the
 erection of the monument. I don't remember who were the members
 of the Committee. I was not one of them, but I think my namesake
 J. J. O'Kelly, prominent always in the Gaelic League and later a
 T.D. for Co. Lough, had something to do with this project. At
 any rate it was decided to erect a Celtic cross on the field at
 Fontenoy. O'Sullivan from San Francisco was naturally invited
 to unveil the monument.

A considerable number of people travelled over from Ireland
~~which took place in the summer of 1907~~
 to Belgium for the event. Of the people who were prominent in
 this connection here who led the pilgrimage to Fontenoy I don't
 remember many names, but one was a Father McEnerney, I think then
 Administrator of City Quay Church, Dublin. Mr Moynihan,
~~City~~
 Engineer, afterwards ~~Engineer~~ of Dublin was another, and another
 was John Hutchinson, ~~City~~ Accountant of Dublin. I think
 Henry Mangan, well known as the author of several plays, was
 another. ~~He was City Accountant before John Hutchinson and
 was married to a sister of his. He subsequently became mayor of
 Kilbarron, the man who made the effort enabled Seán MacBride
 to escape from Duncannon jail in Feb 1919.~~
 I went with two or three friends who were sympathisers,
 but not at any time well known in the Movement. The pilgrimage
 was warmly welcomed by the local Municipal Authorities, and a

formal reception ^{was} given and paid for by the local Mayor and Municipal Council. A special High Mass of Requiem for the Irish Brigade was sung in the Cathedral of Tournai. This was my first visit to the Continent.

In the following year, 1908, I went as a member of a delegation to Rome. I was appointed ~~as~~ one of the delegation by the Corporation to read an Address in Irish to His Holiness Pope Pius X, on the occasion of his Sacredotal Jubilee. The following is an account of this visit to Rome which ~~I recently~~ published in "The Irish Press" on the occasion of the Beatification of Pope Pius X.

(Insert here copy of J.P. Article)
~~underlines~~

- See attached -

indent

It is mentioned in the course of an article on the Beatification of the late Pope Pius X in to-day's "Irish Independent" that I met Pope Pius X about 37 years ago. This is not correct. ~~I~~^{M.P.} was nominated as one of a delegation of members of the Dublin Corporation to go to Rome to present an Address to His Holiness Pope Pius X in October 1908, when certain ceremonies were to take place in Rome in celebration of the Sacredotal Jubilee of His late Holiness. The Dublin Corporation at that time decided that the Address to His Holiness from the Dublin Corporation should be in Irish, and I was put on the delegation as I believe I was at the time the only speaker of Irish amongst the members of the Corporation.

I went to Rome with, I think, seven or eight other members of the Corporation, or maybe more, who joined in a Pilgrimage to Rome organised by the Catholic Young Men's Society of St. Kevin's Parish, South Circular Road, Dublin. The chief organiser of the pilgrimage was a Mr Daniels then an official of the Dublin Corporation who is still alive and an active member of the Catholic Young Men's Society.

Among the members of the Corporation who joined in the Pilgrimage were: Councillor Nannetti, M.P., Councillor Patrick Shorthall, Councillor Union, Councillor Gallagher, Councillor Hatch. There were four or five others, but I cannot at this moment recall their names. It was on this same Pilgrimage that the late Éamon Ceannt who was executed in 1916 travelled, and had the privilege of playing his Irish bagpipes before His Holiness, and the assembled pilgrimage in the large Hall of Audience at the Vatican.

The members of the Dublin Corporation who composed the official delegation were received by Pope Pius X in his study, and there I had the privilege of reading the Address to His

Holiness. A translation of the Address in Latin had been prepared and was in the Pope's hands while I was reading the Address in Irish. After I had finished reading the Address, the Address itself was handed to His Holiness by Councillor Nannetti, who was acting for the Lord Mayor of Dublin. His Holiness thanked me, speaking in French, in a few words, and asked me a few questions about myself and conditions in Ireland, which I was luckily able to answer in the same language.

Part of the functions held to celebrate the Pope's ^{the} Sacredotal Jubilee were a series of gymnastic and athletic contests which were held in the gardens of the Vatican. Teams of gymnasts and athletes came from many countries in Europe. The Irish contingent which was under the direction of two members of the Executive Committee of the G.A.A., Messrs Dan McCarthy of Dublin and J. Fitzgerald of Kildare, included a number of distinguished athletes, some of whom were champions in their own special activities. One man I distinctly remember ^{that} created a great sensation among the thousands who witnessed his performance was a hurdle racer, I believe his name was Burke and he came from Cashel, Co. Tipperary. We had high jumpers and long jumpers who held their own against the best European champions at the time, and gymnasts who were able to hold their own against the best teams in Europe. One of the leaders amongst the gymnasts was Mr Lemass, who I believe is one of the directors of the Smithfield Motor Company.

After the reception by the Holy Father of the delegation in his own study, where the Address of congratulation on behalf of the Dublin Corporation was read to him, a procession was formed through the Papal chambers to the Grand Hall where the general body of pilgrims was received. There were probably, I think, four or five hundred pilgrims who came from all parts of Ireland, and with these there were joined in this reception all the Irish in Rome. It was at this point that there occurred the playing of the pipes by Eamon Ceannnt.

Each evening during the five or six days the pilgrims remained in Rome, all the pilgrims were welcomed by the then Vice-Rector, the Right Rev. Monsignor Hagan, at the Irish College which was then situated in the Via Mazzarina, behind the Bank of Italy in the Via Nazionale.

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At the Third Annual Convention of the National Council which was held in Dublin in August 1907, Alderman Walter Cole and I were elected Honorary Secretaries of Sinn Féin.

It was about this time that the title "Sinn Féin" began to be used to designate the Organisation in substitution for the title "The National Council" which was more frequently used up to then. As far as I can recollect, the title "The National Council" was first used by the body which was called into existence urgently to deal with a special situation. This was the projected visit of King Edward to Ireland in the year 1903. When this visit of King Edward was announced, probably at the instigation of Griffith a number of individuals associated with what was then called "extreme nationalist opinion" were invited to come together to discuss what action should be taken to deal with this projected Royal visit.

Seamus Ó'hára
Those invited by Griffith included Sean MacBride, Edward Martin, *Aisling* probably John Sweetman, Alderman Tom Kelly, and maybe one or two others, including of course Griffith himself.

This body decided to make an effort to get a declaration from the then Lord Mayor of Dublin, Councillor Tim Harrington, M.P. as to what attitude he proposed to take with regard to the coming Royal visit. *The scene at the Rotunda on the occasion has already been described.* This was the body that first used the title "The National Council". Later that National Council was absorbed in the Sinn Féin organisation, as was another body which had branches in Dublin and in other parts of the country and which called itself "The Sinn Féin League". *I remember reading in a newspaper that it was my idea suggested (afterwards by Sir Roger Casement) that he adopted the title Sinn Féin, which Griffith later adopted for his organisation.* I am not quite sure whether it was at the Annual Convention of 1907 or of 1908 that another body composed of Cumann na nGael members decided formally to associate itself and its branches also with the Sinn Féin organisation. The Cumann na nGael *had* organisation was largely inspired and controlled by members of the I.R.B. These prominent amongst them were certain members of the Supreme Council of the I.R.B. These would include P. T. Daly, John

O'Hanlon, Denis McCullough, Séan McGarry, Bulmer Hobson,
 P. O'Loughlin, James Buggy. One other name occurs to me which
 was associated with, I am not quite sure whether it was the Sinn
 Féin League, or the Cumann na nGael, and who was prominent in
 Irish-Ireland activities at that time, and was as far as I remember
~~a member of~~ appointed for the I.R.B. ~~and that was~~ Séan Ó hUadhaigh, Solicitor.

~~Is this?~~ It was, I think, this year (1907) that Séan MacDermott, who was executed in 1916 as one of the signatories to the Proclamation of the Republic, was first employed as an organiser. He had been working, I think as a ~~bus~~ conductor, in Glasgow for some time, and had then ~~come~~ returned to Belfast where he had found similar employment. There he first became associated with the Independence or Republican Movement. The Sinn Féin League or the Cumann na nGael I don't know which employed him as a whole-time organiser. I imagine that it was the next year, 1908, after the Sinn Féin League and Cumann na nGael Clubs had become formally associated with The National Council or Sinn Féin, to use its new title, that Séan MacDermott was taken over by Sinn Féin and employed as a whole-time organiser of the new amalgamated body.

I cannot say how long MacDermott remained as organiser for Sinn Féin, but I think he continued in that employment for at least a couple of years, and was then taken over by the I.R.B. The I.R.B. employed him as Manager of their monthly paper "Irish Freedom" and especially as organiser of the I.R.B. He continued this work up to the end.

Séan MacDermott was, of course, one of the original founders of the Irish Volunteers. He was, at the time, with the possible exception of Tom Clarke, the most active and forceful of the heads of the I.R.B. He certainly was its most successful organiser.

I think there would be no doubt whatever that were it not for the energy and enthusiasm of MacDermott, encouraged by the perseverance of Tom Clarke, ~~that~~ there would be no Rising in 1916.

I think I have already described how I came to be selected as a candidate for membership of the Municipal Council of Dublin, and that I was put forward in the interests of Sinn Féin, and elected on that ticket in January 1906. I think I was the only candidate elected definitely and distinctly as a Sinn Féiner in the Municipal Elections of that year. I am not certain of this, and I think it would be well to look up the newspaper records of the time to see if my recollection is correct. There may have been an official Sinn Féin candidate put up on the South side of the City, I was elected for the North side, Inns' Quay Ward.

When I entered the Corporation I found that there already existed the nucleus of a Sinn Féin party within the Municipal Council. The leader of this group was Alderman Tom Kelly, in later years a very well-known figure in Dublin Municipal and public life. He was one of the founders of Sinn Féin, as was also Alderman Walter Cole, who was already a member of the Corporation before my election to that Body.

Councillor P. T. Daly was another member. He had, I think, been elected to the Municipal Council from the Rotunda Ward, Dublin. I think he was first elected as a Labour candidate. He was, of course, later most prominently connected with Sinn Féin and Republican activities generally.

Another was Councillor Lord who was a member for one of the South side constituencies. His sister is Miss Annie Lord, well-known in musical circles in Dublin.

Another was Councillor P. O'Carroll of Inchicore. Another was Richard O'Carroll, Secretary of the Dublin Bricklayers' Trades Union. Richard O'Carroll was killed - shot by British soldiers, I think in Camden Street Dublin, on the first day of the 1916 Rising. I do not know whether Councillor Dan McCarthy was a member at this early stage or not, but he was certainly a most active member later.

Dan McCarthy was well-known later as Chief Organiser for Sinn Féin in the 1917-1922 period.

It was, I think, in January 1907 that William T. Cosgrave was first elected to the Municipal Council as a Sinn Féiner. It is not necessary to describe his career after this as it is very well known. He was a most active and enthusiastic and creditable member of Sinn Féin, and took a prominent/part in all its political activities from this time forth. He made for himself quite a good name as an administrator. He was for several years Chairman of the Finance Committee of the Dublin Corporation, and in that capacity had much to do with directing Municipal affairs. His experiences in the Dublin Corporation, and indeed I could say the same about my own experience there, was most valuable in later years when he was first Minister for Local Government in the Republic, and later President of the Executive Council of the Irish Free State. I think it is but just to say that Cosgrave was at all times an able, active and industrious public man who was a champion at all times of probity in public affairs. He was at the same time quite an able and witty orator who could hold his own in any public assembly. ^{Jan 1917} He was selected by ~~deValera~~ to contest the constituency of Kilkenny City when a vacancy arose there for membership of Parliament through the death of Patrick O'Brien, who had been Chief Whip of the Irish Parliamentary Party, and a close friend of John E. Redmond, leader of that party.

During these early years of Sinn Féin, the Parliamentary Movement dominated public life in Ireland. In Dublin city I think it would be true to say that the voice of Sinn Féin was but a still small voice in political affairs. There was almost everywhere a minority who opposed the Irish Parliamentary Party, and the Parliamentary Movement generally. That minority was composed firstly of people who were

believers in the Fenian Movement who were followers of the Fenian Movement who believed that the independence of Ireland would only be won, if won at all, by the use of force.

Secondly, there was a young element who represented the new, or as it is not called, Sinn Féin ideal. I think this latter was not a numerous body though there were small organisations generally in many of the larger towns all over the country. Cork had always a fair number of people who were supporters of Fenianism and the Republican Movement.

Another element that gave most valuable assistance and support to the movement for complete independence and who were always critical of the Parliamentary Party were quite a considerable number of writers, poets, Aldermen generally, and writers on historical subjects, some of whom became very well known, indeed distinguished, in later years. These, though not a very big number, were a considerable force in spreading the Sinn Féin movement and the ideal of winning independence through self-reliance. Of course, I think it would be true to say that all of these people were ardent supporters of the Irish-Ireland Movement in general, but in particular of the Gaelic League. Many of them indeed were brought into the League through the propaganda work of people like Dr. Douglas Hyde, John MacNeill, Pádraig Pearse, and the other early pioneers of the language movement.

It would also be true to say that at this period, and for a number of years after the foundation of Sinn Féin, the word "Republic" was not so commonly used. There were Republicans of course all over the country - individuals and some knots of people here and there who believed in the setting up of a Republic for Ireland as the only

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real solution to Ireland's political problems. I have already mentioned that Bulmer Hobson published at intervals in Belfast a journal which he called "The Republic".

There were, too, small knots of members of the I.R.B. all over the country. They were sworn to loyalty to the Republic, but generally in political propaganda at the time and in the newspapers which supported the independence movement, I think on examination of these journals, it would be found that the words "the Independence of Ireland" was the accepted formula, and it was later that the word "Republic" was used to define the ideal that Sinn Féin generally was striving to attain.

The group of Sinn Féiners in the Dublin Corporation was a very helpful factor in propagating Sinn Féin throughout the country, through the discussions ~~in the Dublin Corporation~~^{at its meetings} where the members of Sinn Féin always took a most active part. The names of the members of the Party in the Dublin Corporation became well known, and they were invited frequently to speak at meetings called to further the Sinn Féin Movement in all parts of the Country.

Alderman Tom Kelly, and Alderman Cole travelled a good deal round the country, and spoke frequently to groups, large and small, in cities, towns and villages everywhere. I think Councillor ~~Walter~~^{Colegrave} Cole did a considerable amount of this propaganda work also. I did a certain amount of it too. P. T. Daly was one of our most successful speakers, and was much in demand everywhere because he was a very ready speaker, and was in those years most popular as a platform orator. Probably Alderman Tom Kelly was the most popular of all because, as well as being a very well-read man and able speaker and orator, he was eloquent and humorous, and generally speaking in Dublin he was by far the most popular

orator of the time.

As time went on, though it met with the most bitter opposition, Sinn Féin spread and eventually there was hardly a Municipal Council or Town Council or Board of Guardians in the country on which there would not be a minority, sometimes a very small minority, of those elected members who stood for the Sinn Féin ideal.

One could hardly exaggerate the bitterness of the fight that went on in political circles in Dublin during these years from 1906 or '07 until 1915 or 1916. The Parliamentary Party, as I have already stated, dominated ~~in~~ public life, and of course they had, too support them in all public bodies, many able men. They had, too, the backing of the daily newspapers both in Dublin and Cork, and to a certain extent, of course, in Belfast. Even where these daily newspapers did not support the Parliamentary Party, as, of course, was the case with regard to the "Irish Times" in Dublin, and the Unionist daily papers in Belfast, I need not say that these daily papers did not give any support to Sinn Féin, but scoffed and derided and jeered daily at Sinn Féin and Sinn Féiners, and what they called "their ridiculous policy for complete independence for the country".

In addition to the United Irish League which was the organisation which supported the Parliamentary Party in Ireland, and indeed in England and Scotland, another organisation sprang up, I am not quite sure what year it made its first appearance in Dublin, but I think it was known to exist as early as about 1904 or '05. This was the Ancient Order of Hibernians.

This organisation originated in the north of Ireland, and probably first came into existence either late in the

late in the Eighteenth century or in the early days of the nineteenth century as a sectarian organisation to oppose the activities of the Orange Order in the north. It was probably a descendant of organisations that were known as "The White Boys". Another organisation of the same type was called in the north "The Defenders". These were local bodies called into existence by the Catholics in Ulster, to organise local defence against the activities of those who sought to drive them out of their lands.

Whatever its origin, it seems to have had some existence for a considerable time in Belfast as well as in Co. Armagh, Co. Tyrone, and Co. Donegal, before it made its appearance in Dublin in or about 1905 or '06. Through the activities of its chief organiser, a man named ^{John S.} Nugent, who was a native of Keady, Co. Armagh, it grew rapidly in Dublin city and county. ~~Nugent was later a member of Parliament for College Green constituency.~~

I do not know exactly what the objects of the A.O.H. were. In Dublin it was said to be a purely Catholic organisation to defend the interests of Catholics, and to obtain for them a fair share of the positions in various public organisations, business companies and commercial and industrial life generally. It must be said that up to this time it was true that Catholics did not obtain a fair share of employment in many of the public Bodies, big Corporations and Companies throughout the country. But it would seem that the major work of the A.O.H. in Ireland which was known as "The Board of Erin", ~~was to destroy the Ann~~, was to support the Irish Parliamentary Party in all its activities. It was certainly true that the A.O.H. eventually became ^a much more virile, ^{body} than the United Irish League, in so far as the ^{whole} Parliamentary Party in Dublin was concerned.

When we of the Sinn Féin party held meetings, as we frequently did ~~do~~ during those early years, to propagate ~~the~~

Sinn Fein, our most vigorous opponents always were the members of the A.O.H.

In those early years I frequently went with other members of Sinn Féin to preach the gospel, and I have very distinct recollections of the ferocity of the attacks that were made upon us by our political opponents of the Irish Parliamentary Party. Generally these opponents were the active young men of the A.O.H. who missed no opportunity to endeavour to obstruct us and defeat our objects. They stopped at no means, fair or foul, to attain their object. They came frequently to our meetings with sticks and stones, and until we organised, as we did later, companies of hurlers who came to our meetings to defend us from these ~~attacks~~, we were never sure of a hearing anywhere in Dublin owing to these attacks, ~~which were~~ organised officially and paid for out of the funds of the A.O.H.

27.6.51.

DREACHT

The A.O.H. grew to be the stronger force in maintaining the Parliamentary Party and in enabling it to hold its grip on public life in Ireland generally. The United Irish League still existed. There were few parishes in the country that a branch was not, at any rate, in nominal existence, but the driving force was, as far as the Irish Parliamentary Party was concerned, the A.O.H.

We in Sinn Féin regarded the A.O.H. as a real malign influence in public life. Our experience of its members and of its activities in public life in Dublin was that it was a most corrupt body. Its standard of morality in public affairs was disgustingly low. Its members would stop at nothing to gain their ends. They endeavoured to fill every post in every public body with their members, and to accomplish this, in their view, any means were justified.

We Sinn Féin members of the Dublin Corporation and other public bodies in and around the City had every day to fight bitter contests due to these frequent shameful activities of the A.O.H. members of the public bodies. Unfortunately for Dublin and for the country generally, the A.O.H. people frequently outnumbered the Sinn Féin members, even when Sinn Féin, as it often did, received the support of the decent element among the backers of the Irish Parliamentary Party who were members of these various Public Authorities.

In all these activities the leader, director and general authority of the A.O.H. was a man whom I have already mentioned, John D. Nugent who was, I think, called ^{the} National Secretary of the A.O.H.

In Dublin the A.O.H. had a pretty firm grip on almost all the public bodies. One area in the North side of Dublin was almost completely under their control. This was the Arran Quay Ward.

We of Sinn Féin, certainly from the period beginning about 1908 or '9, made determined efforts to resist the attacks on us and our policy made by the Irish Parliamentary Party and its leaders in the City of Dublin, but principally by the active members of the A.O.H. led by John D. Nugent. Though we ~~also~~ knew we were facing trouble and sometimes broken heads, we persisted in our efforts to spread Sinn Féin, particularly in Dublin City.

In this connection I remember one public meeting which we announced we would hold on behalf of Sinn Féin in Smithfield, Dublin, which was in the heart of the Arran Quay Ward which was regarded as the fortress of the A.O.H. Our principal speakers for that meeting would be Alderman Tom Kelly, probably P. T. Daly, Walter Cole, maybe William T. Cosgrave and myself. The procedure was to address the crowd from a brake, a peculiar horse-drawn vehicle ~~peculiar to~~ of the time.

This particular meeting I have in mind was certainly a memorable one for us because the A.O.H. evidently made up their minds that they would not allow such a meeting to be held, at any rate in that particular area. As we arrived in Smithfield and attempted to address the fairly considerable crowd that had come there to listen to us, we were at once attacked with sticks and stones, and our first speaker, Alderman Tom Kelly, had his eyes badly injured by showers of lime that were thrown at him. He suffered much for some weeks from the injury done in this way to his eyes. The A.O.H. outnumbered us, and eventually drove us out of Smithfield. Many of our friends and supporters who fought back had to be treated in hospital for wounds, some of which were serious.

We felt this beating badly and decided that we would not let it go at that. We would come back again in a week, which we did, calling for a meeting at the same place at the same time. We organised a group of hurlers, several hundred of whom we mobilised to stand around our brake to defend us in case of attack. The

A.O.H. organised its forces also and tried to prevent us entering fully into Smithfield that night. Both sides came wholly armed in that way and prepared for fight, but our imposing number of hurlers who marched in military formation to the meeting, seemed to have the effect of inspiring a little wisdom into the minds of the leaders of our opponents.

They had invited Mr Joseph Devlin to be their principal speaker. They drew up their platform, which was just as ours was, again a brake, horse-drawn, to within a few yards of where our brake had already taken up its position, and the speakers on both sides attempted to address their respective gatherings, but excitement was such that I believe not a word on either side was heard. Police were there in great numbers, but did not interfere, as, while there was plenty of opposition, no effort was made by the A.O.H. to drive us out of Smithfield as they had promised to do. That was the first time I saw or heard Mr Jos. Devlin, M.P. I remember well standing up on a seat on our brake and finding myself just a few yards away from Mr Devlin who faced me from his brake, and for half an hour endeavouring, each one to shout the other down.

Many years afterwards when I met Mr Devlin at his home in Belfast in 1918 after the General Election of that year, I reminded him of our first meeting which, he said, he remembered quite well, and he spoke highly of one or two of our speakers whom he had heard that night at Smithfield for the first time. He remarked to me that he was not surprised that Sinn Féin eventually got such a hold in Dublin when we had such able and distinguished men as Alderman Tom Kelly and William T. Cosgrave as principal spokesmen.

I ~~had~~ mention ~~that~~ this Sinn Féin meeting just to indicate the type of opposition we met with, at any rate in Dublin, in our efforts to propagate Sinn Féin. The Smithfield meeting was an unusually large one because we knew in organising our meeting to be held there that we would meet with very considerable opposition

in that quarter. But what happened in Smithfield happened at every other meeting, at any rate almost every other meeting that we organised in any part of Dublin.

Despite the vigorous opposition we met everywhere, Sinn Féin grew. Branches of the organisation were founded in almost every Ward of the City; and regular weekly meetings were held. Lectures on Irish history, on industrial development, on Irish Art and Irish music, Irish and Anglo-Irish literature, were given by the best speakers we could get. Irish classes were frequently organised by these branches of Sinn Féin, and Sinn Féiners were active in reviving the G.A.A. Hurling clubs and Gaelic football clubs received the warmest support from the members of our body, and of course, it was regarded as a solemn duty by all Sinn Féiners to be active in support of the language movement, and all were urged to join the Gaelic League and do everything possible to help it to revive the speaking of the language.

5 Iúl, 1951.

The persons principally responsible for the foundation of the Sinn Féin organisation were, first of all, of course, Arthur Griffith. He, with the aid of the "United Irishman" his first newspaper, began to preach the gospel of self-reliance as the first step. In the demonstration of this self-reliance policy which he advocated for the winning of Irish legislative independence, he regarded the withdrawal of the Irish members of Parliament from Westminster as the ~~most~~ first important step. At this stage he advocated the setting up of a legislature here in Ireland. The way this should be done, he maintained, was to have the Irish people oblige the elected M.P.s. to give up Westminster and remain in Ireland - presumably in Dublin somewhere - and set these up as an Irish House of Commons.

His policy was not at that time one advocating complete separation from England. It should be remembered that he advocated recognition of the King of England as King of Ireland. He wished to restore in Ireland, an Irish House of Lords, and to have, as I have just stated, an Irish House of Commons composed of the elected members for Irish constituencies. This scheme was, of course, based on what was known as the Parliament of 1782 - Grattan's Parliament. Griffith's policy became known as King, Lords and Commons to be restored.

I have often heard discussions on the question as to whether Griffith was ever a Republican, or a member of the Irish Republican Brotherhood. Often too, correspondence has appeared in Irish newspapers on this subject, giving views for and against Griffith as a Republican. I think I can throw some light on this matter in this way.

When I became a member of the Irish Republican Brotherhood I was inducted into the Bartholomew Teeling Circle which met monthly in the Foresters' Hall, 41 Parnell Square, which later

became the meeting place for many circles of the I.R.B.. When I joined, there were in this Circle only about fifteen or sixteen members. I have, I think, mentioned already that the Centre of this circle was a gentleman named T. Nally, who was a native of Balla, Co. Mayo, and was employed as a Pharmaceutical Chemist in the Mater Misericordia Hospital, Dublin.

The ordinary procedure of a meeting of a circle of the I.R.B. was started with a roll-call, and if a person did not answer to the name, one member of the circle, who might be described as a Section Leader, would be called upon to explain the absence of the individual in question. If the Section Leader had no explanation, he was generally ordered to make it his business to see the person as soon as possible and find out why he was not attending the monthly meetings.

As soon as I joined the I.R.B. I, being an enthusiast, set about recruiting, and soon I had a fairly numerous section of my own. For some reason, Arthur Griffith, whose name was on the roll in this ^{circle} section, and whose name was read out at every meeting, but whom I never saw present at a meeting, was, at an early stage after my entrance into the organisation, put into my section, and the duty was placed upon me of trying to get Griffith to attend the monthly meetings. In this way I had to approach Griffith to discuss the matter with him. He admitted his membership, and, while he never promised to attend a meeting, he sometimes gave me some money to pay arrears of subscription due by him. The usual subscription was a shilling for the month which could be used for the purchase of arms. Whether or not Griffith ever formally resigned from the organisation I cannot now say. I do not remember if he did. He may have communicated his withdrawal through other channels, but of this I am not aware.

The question has been asked as to whether Griffith was at any time a member of the Supreme Council of the I.R.B. I cannot give

any direct answer to this question. I was never a member of the Supreme Council, but I can say that I never heard at any time that Griffith was, or had been, a member of the Supreme Council. If he had been a member of the Supreme Council I am sure it would have come to my knowledge one way or another at some time. My belief is that he never was a member of the Supreme Council.

I think too, the fact that, as I have already stated, he based his Sinn Féin policy at the commencement on the re-construct-
 ion of a legislative assembly on the lines of ~~Griffith's~~
 Parliament, including the King of England as a part of the legislative machinery, would, I think, be sufficient proof that, while as I say he was at one time a member of the I.R.B., he certainly would hardly be acceptable as a member of the Supreme Council. I think it may be stated confidently that, from the time Griffith became publicly associated with this policy of the restoration of a parliament on the lines of Grattan's Parliament, with the King of England included, Griffith did not indeed other
 at any time attend his circle, or any circle of the I.R.B.

The closest associates in his political work at this time of Arthur Griffith were John Sweetman, who was at one time an M.P., elected for what constituency I cannot now remember. I do not think he was for long a Member. He was a wealthy man who had a large holding of land at Drombarra, Kells, Co. Meath, but who lived at Merrion Square Dublin, where he owned a house, and where his family were reared. His place in Co. Meath is still in the hands of his eldest son, also named John.

Another was Edward Martyn, a large land owner from Co. Galway. I think Edward Martyn was the first President of the Sinn Féin organisation. I think Sweetman succeeded him a year or two later as President. Martyn, while President of Sinn Féin, was also a member of the Kildare Street Club. Probably because of Edward Martyn's activities in the Sinn Féin movement,

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the Kildare Street Club decided to eject Martyn from the Club. This Club, of course, is known as "The Irish Landlord's Club", and there, of course, would be found concentrated a bitter hostility of any movement calling for the separation of Ireland from England. Anyhow the Club notified Martyn that he had been ejected as a member. Martyn took an action in the courts to restrain the Club from this action, and to the surprise of everybody, won his case, and insisted on retaining his membership, and, as a matter of principle, went into the Club every day, at any rate while he was in residence in Dublin, and dined, almost always alone, at a table which he had used for many years before in the diningroom of the Club. Edward Martyn, who was a well-to-do man, perhaps a rich man, ~~he was a large landowner in the West,~~ was a patron of music and drama. An account of him appears in George Moore's books - *Salve, Ave, Vale*, published about the beginning of this century. I met him a good deal when he was President of Sinn Féin. He used to preside fairly regularly at the weekly meetings of the National Executive, of which I was, for a number of years, a member, and for some years one of the Honorary Secretaries. He took a keen interest in the Sinn Féin movement, and, I think, subscribed generously to help its foundation and early organisation. He was also a member of the Coisde Gnótha of the Gaelic League for many years, where I also met him frequently, as I was, for a number of years, also a member of the Coisde Gnótha. He gave to the then Archbishop of Dublin, Most Rev. Dr. Walsh, a sum of money, the amount of which I never actually heard, to establish the Palestrina Choir, as it was called, of the Pro-Cathedral in Dublin. The trainer and conductor of that choir was Dr. Vincent O'Brien, ^{of} whose work Martyn always expressed the highest possible appreciation. ~~He~~ was the author of two plays which he published, I think, somewhere about the year 1903 or '04. As far as I recollect the two were published in one book. The titles were "The Heather Field" and "Maeve". I

think both were staged in Dublin. I remember seeing "Maeve" but where, whether in the Hardwicke Street Theatre which he by his money helped to found, or elsewhere, I do not now remember. I think it is correct to say that Martyn gave generous financial help to the small group who were responsible for starting the Hardwicke Street Theatre in a building then, if I remember correctly, owned by Count Plunkett. This theatre was directed by Thomas MacDonagh, one of the signatories of the 1916 Proclamation. Others closely associated with MacDonagh in this enterprise were, Joseph Plunkett, also a signatory to the Republican ~~John MacBride, Tom Clarke, others were John MacDonagh, M. J. Hayes, etc.~~ ^{and J.} Proclamation, and his sister, Geraldine. ^A Probably Count Plunkett himself was also on the Committee of Management, I do not remember if Martyn himself was a member of the Committee, but he certainly took a deep interest in the project, and helped, as I have said, otherwise.

10. 7.51.

DREACHT L.

John Sweetman, as I have already mentioned, was also one of Arthur Griffith's first principal supporters in the foundation of Sinn Féin Organisation. Sweetman had, for some time, been a Member of Parliament for some one constituency. I cannot at this stage now even say whether he was a member in Parnell's time, and whether he was for or against Parnell when that issue had to be decided. He was thus a man well known in public life, and a man of influence as well as a man of money, and it was a valuable thing to have a man of his type supporting the new political organisation. At the time of the foundation of Sinn Féin, John Sweetman was already well advanced in years. One thing in connection with his life that I heard, but cannot give much information about, was, that he initiated ~~in~~ connection with, and in association with Archbishop Ireland of St. Louis, U.S.A. a scheme for settling Irish people who emigrated to the U.S.A. on the land in the mid-Western States, and discouraged them from settling in the large cities and towns. He and Archbishop Ireland, as I understand the story, between them invested a considerable sum of money in land - probably in the State of Minnesota, and on that land settled many Irish families. Some, but I think only a very small proportion, of the families remained on the land, and those who remained, I am told, prospered, but the majority went into the big industrial cities and towns, and took the usual kind of small Government posts in the police force, the fire brigade, and went into local politics, at any rate, deserted the land, which was taken up by Swedes and Germans.

The family of Sweetman, from which John Sweetman of Sinn Féin was descended, was well known, particularly in Dublin. They had been owners, a century or so before, of one of the largest breweries in the City of Dublin, and during the 1798 period and later, members of that family took an active part in the National

and Catholic Defence Movements of the times.

There are several other branches of the family in the country - mostly in the eastern counties. One son of Mr John Sweetman is Mr Wm. Sweetman, B.L. Editor of "The Irish Press". Another son is Malachy Sweetman, who is a farmer in north County Wexford, ^{and a director of the Central Bank}. The eldest son, John, inherited the estate in Co. Meath. Father ^{John Francis} Sweetman of Mount St. Benedict belongs to the same family; what exact relationship there is between him and John Sweetman's family I am not aware. Another branch is represented by Roger Sweetman of Laragh, Co. Wicklow, ^{who was a member of the First Dail for County Wexford}. One of Roger's sons was a Senator in the last Oireachtas. Another branch of the family is represented by Gerard Sweetman, T.D. in County Kildare, and formerly a member of the Seanad.

An outstanding figure in public life, at any rate in the city of Dublin, who was one of the founders of Sinn Féin, also, was Alderman Tom Kelly. When I entered the Dublin Corporation in January 1906, Alderman Tom Kelly was then a member, and had been a member of the Corporation for a number of years, for exactly how long I do not know. He became the leader of the party later organised as supporters of the Sinn Féin Party in the Municipal Council of Dublin. Alderman Tom Kelly came into prominence, as far as I can remember, as Secretary of the Amnesty Association, ^{This} ^{founded} ^{release} which was an organisation to work for the liberation of the Fenians who were imprisoned in the 80's and 90's for their activities in connection with the Fenian Movement in England and elsewhere. Among those people were Thomas J. Clarke, John Daly, of Limerick, afterwards Mayor of Limerick, Dr. Gallagher who went insane in prison, and I think died in prison, James Egan ^{and}, Sergeant McCarthy. As a youngster I attended with my father the funeral of Sgt. McCarthy, who, if my memory serves me correctly, died in a hotel in Dublin a day or two after arriving home after his liberation from prison in England.

*Released,
mainly
insane*

This Amnesty movement was established in the first place to work up public opinion in favour of a strong demand being made for the release of those Fenian prisoners, and in a secondary way, of course, it was used to spread Fenian propaganda. There is no doubt but that the movement was inspired by what remained of the Fenian Organisation in Ireland generally. They, naturally, wished to see their men who had suffered such terrible sacrifices, released before others of them would die as did Dr. Gallagher and Sergt. McCarthy. At the time the Amnesty Movement was begun, these prisoners had already served sentences of anything from ten to fifteen years imprisonment in the most severe convict prisons in England. Before his release, I think, Thomas J. Clarke had served 16 or 16½ years. I think Alderman John Daly and James Egan had served almost equally long and harsh sentences.

It was probably because of his activities in connection with the Amnesty Movement, that Alderman Tom Kelly was selected and put forward as a candidate ^{for} to the Municipal Council of Dublin. He was employed at this same time as Secretary of the York Street Workmen's Club. This Club was a club organised for the use of men of the artisan class in the City of Dublin. It had a house at 41 York Street, where, owing to the ~~the~~ activities and leadership of Alderman Tom Kelly, a good library of books about Ireland, and particularly about Irish history, was founded. Collected. The Club was a temperance ~~was~~ one, and had many social activities. The main purpose, I gathered later, was to offer attractions to its members that would induce them to avoid spending their time and their money drinking in the public houses. Alderman Tom Kelly himself was a very ardent temperance advocate, and spoke on all temperance platforms and meetings of the times.

Before Sinn Féin was founded, and before the Sinn Féin party came into existence, Alderman Tom Kelly had attracted

around, with himself as ~~leader~~, a number of members of the Corporation of Dublin with similar national and social ideas - a group of men, mostly of the artisan class, who were members of the Dublin Corporation, and they formed ^{here} a reform party ~~in the Corporation~~. They acted too largely as defenders of the interests of the working classes. This was ~~unsuccessful~~ before any attempt had been made to form a Labour party in Dublin, or, at any rate, before any attempt had been made in an organised way to found a Labour party amongst the members of the Municipal Council.

18 Idil, 1951.

Alderman Tom Kelly was a native of the City of Dublin. He was born in one of the streets off ~~of~~ Brunswick Street, or the street that used to be called Brunswick Street, ^{I think it was Benjelle St,} and is now called Pearse Street. ~~I think the street in which he was born was at the back of Westland Row Railway Station.~~ I cannot now remember what the street was called. I think he could be described as a typical Dubliner.

When I first met him in connection with Sinn Féin, he seemed to be then a man of about perhaps 35 years of age. I was then perhaps 21 or 22. Alderman Tom Kelly was already a well-known figure in the City. Wherever he was announced to speak he was sure to attract a considerable audience. He was, for whatever schooling he got, a pupil of the Christian Brothers' School in Westland Row. The probabilities are that he left school at an early age and went to work ~~somewhere~~ to help his parents who had a number of other children, of whom Tom Kelly was the eldest, to rear.

He was a remarkably able speaker: one could recognise at once from his style of address that he was a really well-read man. Not alone could he speak authoritatively on Irish history, but he seemed to know English and European history equally well. He was well-read in theological subjects also, and could hold his own in argument, as I have heard him do, on theological subjects, even with learned clerics. That he had read in English literature widely was also very evident. He was at all times ready with a quotation from Dickens and Thackeray, and, of course, Lover and Lever who wrote on Anglo-Irish topics. This ability of his to quote aptly and often in reply to interrupters at a meeting, from some well-known English or Anglo-Irish writer, was one of the reasons why he was so well liked by the Dubliners. The Dublin artisan is generally a well read man - at least the men of that time were. Nowadays I feel that the cinema has undermined their love of literature. Tom Kelly could be very eloquent too, and his type of eloquence was such that he was able to deeply impress and move any Dublin audience.

He could be described as the founder of the Sinn Féin party in the Municipal Council of Dublin. This party, though small, during its existence had a very considerable influence, not only in Municipal affairs, but generally on the social and cultural as well as the political life of the capital.

Tom Kelly was a man of very high ideals. He allowed himself to be selected for the Municipal Council, and stood for election as one whose desire was to serve his native city and its citizens to the best of his ability, and to give them the benefit of the talents he possessed. It is certain that during the long years he remained a member of the Municipal Council, no man did more to raise the tone of debate inside and outside the Council, to inspire not only the members of the Municipal Council, but the citizens generally, with the highest ideals of public service to the community, than did Alderman Tom Kelly. He gave all his time to public work. He was a poor man: how he lived and reared his family with the slender resources he had it is difficult to understand.

If Dublin city as we know it has been restored to something of its past glories of centuries ago, that fact is very largely due to the inspiration of Alderman Kelly. What he did for the abolition of the slums of Dublin, and the re-housing of the people in newly built comfortable healthy homes, if it were to be properly recorded, could fill a volume on that subject alone. While he was active in this direction his endeavours to lift the ordinary people culturally should never be forgotten. He was for many years Chairman of the Libraries' Committee of Dublin, and the spread of the library movement in our times was his work more than the work of any other individual. From time to time he paid visits to different cities and towns in other parts of Ireland, urging upon the Local Authorities, the desirability of spending a little of their ratepayers' money for the provision of public libraries.

Other aspects of municipal life also owe a great deal to his magnificent work. The main drainage scheme which was carried through in the early years of this century, and which had much to do with making Dublin a cleaner and healthier city, owes much to Alderman Tom Kelly.

In connection with the housing to which I have already referred: one idea of his which was never adopted or put into execution during his time, I later on was able to have adopted and put into the Housing Acts for which I was responsible as Minister for Local Government during the period ~~from~~ 1932-1939. This was in reference to the old Georgian houses of Dublin. These houses in such streets as Gardiner Street, Gloucester Street, York Street and similar streets, had not only fallen into very considerable disrepair, ^{but} they had in all cases, I think, degenerated into slums, the worst slums of the city. They had to be demolished in many cases, and in some places/flats were erected in their stead, but if all the streets of the Georgian type were demolished in the same way, the effect on the city of Dublin as a whole would have been disastrous. To avoid this, I decided to induce the Corporation to try to reconstruct these old Georgian houses, or such of them as remained, and while preserving the Georgian exterior and particular type of architecture, to have the houses made into properly designed and equipped flats. This has been done in many of these streets with splendid results. Great credit is due to the Corporation and its architects and other officials for what they have done in this direction to preserve what was a very strong characteristic of the old city of Dublin.

While he was devoting himself wholeheartedly to the welfare of Dublin and its citizens, Alderman Tom Kelly was at the same time active on the political side. I think in his early days he was an Anti-Parnellite. At least I heard that on some occasions it was thrown at him ^{when} he was speaking from Sinn Féin platforms at public meetings at which I was present, but of this I have no personal recollections, as I was at that time too young.

~~know~~
to remember much about the details of the Parnell Split. When I became an associate of his, the Amnesty Movement had already ceased; probably all the Fenian prisoners had by that time been released. The most ~~inspiring~~ political movement of the time was the Centenary Celebrations of the 1798 Rising. The many meetings that were held in all parts of the country in celebration of the centenary of the Rising brought into prominence many men never known nor heard of before in public life. It was in this way that, in addition to Alderman Tom Kelly, persons like P. T. Daly, William Rooney, Arthur Griffith, Dr. Mark Ryan of London, and others first came before the public.

After this came the Boer War. The national feeling in Ireland, of course, was anti-British, and ~~not of course alone for that reason, but to some extent, was necessarily pro-Boer.~~ ^{as negatively}

The Boer War gave rise to many meetings of protest against British actions, in Dublin, in Cork, and everywhere throughout the country. It was at one of these meetings held in the early days of the Boer War, ~~and~~ called to protest against the actions of the British in South Africa, that I first laid eyes on Miss Maud Gonne. She probably had been known in Irish affairs before, but I did not ever hear or read much about her up to then. A meeting was called for College Green one afternoon, and amongst the speakers were to be Arthur Griffith and, I think, Alderman Tom Kelly and probably some other members of the Dublin Corporation. I remember well that for all these types of meetings, the platform usually consisted of a horse-drawn brake, and these brakes were always supplied by a man whose name was very well known in Dublin as a, what might now be called, one engaged in the transport business. ^{such a man would be} At that time he was called a carrier. He was Patsy ^{Gregan} of King's Inns St., Dublin. Gregan arrived with his horse and brake at College Green, but as soon as the first speaker attempted to address the meeting, which had, in the meantime, been proclaimed by order of the Chief Secretary, ^a large body of police charged the meeting with drawn

batons. Some horse police who were there in great numbers seized the bridles of the horses, and set the horses galloping round College Green and up O'Connell Street. The foot police in the meantime used their batons vigorously on the horse, and on those who had assembled to hear the speakers. This was the usual procedure at pro-Boer meetings in Dublin as long as the Boer War lasted.

I attended a good many of these meetings, which sometimes were announced would be held in College Green, other times at Beresford Place, ^{or} ~~and~~ perhaps in O'Connell Street either at the O'Connell monument, or at the upper end where now stands the Parnell statue. These meetings were used to spread pro-Boer sympathies as well as to speak on behalf of the Boers and against the British activities in South Africa and elsewhere.

This period was one of strenuous activity by those who were interested in the Irish-Ireland movement generally. The Gaelic League had been founded in 1893, and for the first few years of its existence its rate of development was not so rapid as it afterwards became. I would say that from 1898 onwards the spread of the Gaelic League was remarkable. Soon there was not a village or hamlet in Ireland that did not have its branch of the Gaelic League. Irish classes were established in all these branches of course. The greatest difficulty at the time was to secure teachers of Irish. Frequently it happened that, as it happened in my own case, those that had acquired a little knowledge of Irish, or ^{that} ~~had studied~~ the first three books of O'Growney, were conscripted to teach classes of beginners. The knowledge of the Irish language spread in this way may not have been very good or very accurate, but it certainly ~~was~~ ^{is} true that a love of Irish was inculcated, and from that time on up to 1915, the year that, at the Oireachtas of the Gaelic League held in Dundalk, that Dr. Douglas Hyde resigned from the presidency of the organisation, no organisation in the history of Ireland ever did as much to spread and encourage a love of Ireland, and a knowledge

of not only the Irish language, but of Irish history, and an interest in Gaelic culture and Anglo-Irish culture generally, than did the Gaelic League under the leadership of Dr. Douglas Hyde during the long period of its existence.

25 Idil, 1951.

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The Sinn Fein Party in the Dublin Corporation, led at all times by Alderman Tom Kelly, exercised a considerable influence, as I have already said, in affairs in Dublin. Its influence was not strictly confined to the business of the Municipal Council, because the members of the Party, all of them men of standing in their own affairs and activities, were active in National affairs as well. Inside the Municipal Council the Sinn Fein Party acted as a reform party. Up to the time of the formation of ^{the} Sinn Fein Party, nepotism was rife everywhere in the Municipal service. All appointments there were secured by favour with influential members of the Council. Whether the post was one requiring professional qualifications, or whether the job was merely a labourer's, it was always a question of who had the strongest pull to secure the post for a friend. When Alderman Tom Kelly was elected, even before the foundation of Sinn Fein, he endeavoured to fight this system and to have established some rules or regulations which would afford an equal opportunity to every citizen to secure an appointment in the Municipal service.

I think the Dublin Municipal Council was the first Local Authority in the country to establish a system of examinations for such posts as Clerkships in the Municipal service. After some years when it was seen that this system gave excellent results and was fair to everybody, a similar system was adopted by most of the Local Authorities throughout the country. Needless to say, this system and similar systems that were established in connection with other posts in other Local Authorities' services in Dublin and elsewhere, were not established without a long and bitter struggle against the vested interests. That struggle was carried on for many years in

Dublin by the Sinn Fein Party, assisted sometimes by independent members of the Municipal Council, and the publicity that resulted from the open and public discussion of these affairs at monthly meetings of the Council in Dublin, was responsible for spreading these ideas of reform and having them adopted elsewhere.

I think I said already that a big majority of the members of the Municipal Council of Dublin were followers of the Irish Parliamentary Party. Their organisations - the United Irish League and later the Ancient Order of Hibernians - which was also one of their principal sources of control of public affairs - were ruled by people who had for long been used to exercise power in political life and particularly in Local Authorities all over the country. The members of these two organisations were the ones who fought most bitterly against reform, and it was only after the fiercest struggle that ^{they} became educated to the desirability of adopting the reform measures advocated by Sinn Fein, which eventually brought about the downfall of the unscrupulously used political power that the members of these two Parliamentary organisations exercised in Dublin and throughout the country.

I was first brought into close association with ^{had} Pádraig Ó Piarsais early in 1903. In that year the Coisde Gnótha of the Gaelic League decided to reorganise its headquarters office. I think it was in that year or the year before that, that Pádraig Ó Dálaigh from Dungarvan, Co. Waterford, was appointed General Secretary. A year or two before, the organising staff of the Gaelic League had been

reorganised and considerably strengthened. For years Tomás Bán Concannon was, one might say, practically the only organiser on a wholetime basis, of the Gaelic League services. Later Píonán MacCollum, who had been most active with the Gaelic League in England, was induced to give up his Civil Service post in London and take the position of General Organiser in Munster of the Gaelic League. I think Seán MacAnnraoi, who had also like MacCollum spent many years of his life working in England, was at the same time appointed General Organiser for the West. Another organiser who was appointed about this time was Peadar Ó hAnnracháin. Others whose names occur to me now who were employed at this time or a little later were Micheál Ó Poghludha from the Decies, Seán Ó Murthuile, Seán O'Ceárbaill. There were others whose names I will think of later and hope to record.

*Meehan
Ó Caolá*

I think that for sometime before 1903 "Claidheamh Soluis" was under the control of a Committee of editors. As far as I remember now I think Eoin MacNéill, Seoirse Ó Murnáin ^{or} who was afterwards County Court Judge in Donegal, Eamon Ó Néill and probably Una Ni Shearcheallaigh constituted the editorial committee. At this time Dr. E.P. MacEnri was in London where he practised as a Specialist in eye work. Sometime before 1909 or 1910 he came back to Dublin.

About the month of March, 1903, I think it was, the Coisideal Gnótha appointed Pádraig Mac Piarsais as editor of "Claidheamh Soluis". At the same time they appointed me as manager of the paper. Of course I had known Piarsais before that. We had often met at Gaelic League meetings and at sub-committees of the Organisation, but the fact of being appointed manager of "Claidheamh Soluis" when he was editor, brought us into more intimate association. I am not sure of the date of the foundation of Scoil Éanna but I think the School had not been established by the time that Pearse took on the editorship of the paper. From this time on Pearse

devoted a great deal of time and attention to "Claidheamh Soluis". His salary, as far as I know, was about £200 a year. I think he made a great improvement in the Gaelic League's official organ. At that time there would be, of course, articles in English published in the paper and notes in English on current events. The articles in English would be very largely of a propagandist nature. The editorial notes would be frequently notes on activities against the Irish language or the Irish-Ireland movement in general. There were notes also and reports about the activities of branches of the Organisation all over the country, and notes, probably very largely in English too, about the activities of the staff of the Organisation. Years later a re-write of the notes which appeared in "Claidheamh Soluis" was published wholly in Irish. At that time it was necessary to have the propagandist articles and notes in English, because the numbers of people - even members of the Gaelic League - who were capable of reading the language was considerably less than would be the case today.

It is probably worth while mentioning here that from the beginning of the Gaelic League, when the first Ard Fheis or annual Congress of the League was held - I am not sure what year it was first held - but certainly from the time I began to attend the Ard Fheis, a considerable amount of English was spoken at these meetings. This was always a subject of controversy. Irish speakers tried to insist that nothing but Irish should be used at the Ard Fheis of the Gaelic League. This would have been hard on many of the more active spirits in the Gaelic League, men prominent in public life and prominent in Clerical life, Protestants as well as Catholics, who had very few words of Irish. These people - types like Fr. Matt Ryan of Knockaville, Tipperary; Fr. Maguire of Trillick, Tyrone; Fr. Kiernan; Canon Arthur Ryan of Tipperary; Rev. Mr Hannay, known by the pen name of George Birmingham -

all of them and many more whose names can be found in the "Claidheamh Soluis" of the period, as active spirits in the Gaelic League, had little or no Irish, but they, all of them, did trojan work in making the Gaelic League the great force for de-Anglicisation that it became.

Later, when Pearse established Scoil Éanna, he employed to assist him in editing "Claidheamh Soluis", Seán MacGiollarnáth, ^(Frnd) who had returned to Ireland, having resigned from some Civil Service post he held in London. Seán ~~Pearse~~ MacGiollarnáth afterwards studied law and later became District Justice in the Galway area. Seán MacGiollarnáth, who has published a number of books in Irish, has always been a devoted adherent of the Irish language movement and consistently used Irish and encouraged the use of Irish in his Courts in the West.

Another man who, I think, was also engaged at the time - I am not quite sure of this as my memory is vague, but ^{in the school} he certainly assisted him - was Tomás Mac Domhnaill. He later became Medical Officer of Health somewhere in the region of Athlone, and died, a young man, a few years ago.

When Padraig Pearse was appointed Editor of the *Claidheamh Soluis*, in 1903, he did not have the unanimous backing of the members of the *Coisde Gnótha*. He might be said to be the candidate of the men from the West assisted perhaps by what one might describe as the Dublinmen or Leinstermen, and perhaps too by those from the North. It is certainly true that, generally speaking, the Munster element on the *Coisde Gnótha* did not approve of Pearse's appointment, nor did they later approve of Pearse's Irish.

Pearse was a member of the *Ard Craobh*. The *Ard Craobh* was the first branch founded by the Committee that brought the Gaelic League into existence. For many years it was dominated by

MacNeill
Eoin Macken

Moran
George Murnan

Eamonn O'Neill

Una Ni Fhearcheallaigh

and later by Eamonn Ceannt, who became one of the most active members of its Executive Committee.

Early in the century - I am not quite sure whether in 1900 or 1901 - the Munster supporters of the Gaelic League started a branch which they called The Keating Branch, and which catered for people from Munster. I think Father Dineen was the first President of the Keating Branch. This Branch contained many excellent speakers of Irish from Cork and Kerry, and I think, some from Co. Clare also where Irish was still spoken, and perhaps some from the Decies. Among the most active workers of the Keating Branch in those early days were:- Risteárd Ó Foghludha, Seán Ó Cuibh, J. J. O'Kelly (Sceilg), Cathal Brúgáin, Dr. Coffey (later President of U.C.D) was an active member for many years. A man named Colbert who was attached to Clerys was an active member of the Keating Branch. Máire Ni Chinnéide was a very active member for many years. Micheál (Tadhg Ó Donnchadha) Ó Foghludha was another, Piaras Beaslaoi, Tórla was also one of the founders of the Keating Branch, and who was afterwards Professor of

Irish in U.C.C., and I think his brother, Éamonn, was also for a time a member, and another member who was active at that time was their sister Cáit Nic Dhonnchadha. Eibhlin Ni Dhonnabháin was another member, and also Séabisimhin Ni Shúilleabhadhán and Fanny Ni Shúilleabhadhán, daughters of T.D. Sullivan, and sisters of the/Chief Justice. T.D. Sullivan was the man who wrote "God Save Ireland" and many other ballads.

Most of these men of Munster were fierce critics of Pádraig Pearse and of his writings. Some of them, like Sgeilg, had not a good word to say for Pearse's knowledge of the Irish language. Evidence of this can be found in the numbers of Banba, a monthly literary magazine which the Keating Branch issued for a few years, and it constantly attacked Pearse both for his knowledge of Irish and for his policy on Irish as outlined by him in his articles in the Claidheamh Soluis week by week.

There was pretty fierce and constant rivalry between the Ard group Craobh/and the Keating Branch speaking for the men of the South. These men from the South generally were also critical of Dr. Hyde's Irish, and of his writings. In fact, everyone who was not a Munster speaker of Irish or writer of Irish came under their lash from time to time. Of course, the Ard Craobh people ~~including~~ Dr. Hyde, John MacNeill, Pádraig Pearse, Una Ni Fhearcheallaigh and Éamonn Ceannt did not take this criticism lying down. They had the advantage of having the Claidheamh Soluis under their control, and fierce controversy frequently raged on issues of purely linguistic and philological nature, as well as on questions of Gaelic League policy.

There was one controversy that raged fiercely for, I think, a year or two, carried on mainly between Pádraig Pearse and Cathal Brugha, but I am not clear in my mind now as to the subject of the controversy, though the fact of the controversy remains clearly in my mind. A perusal of the Claidheamh Soluis and the daily papers of the time would give throw more light on this.

From 1903 or '4 for a number of years, the Gaelic League was a

vital force in Ireland. The Gaelic League did not take sides in politics. The dominant political party during all these years was, of course, the Irish Parliamentary Party. A great many of the older people amongst the supporters of the Gaelic League would be supporters and followers of Mr John Redmond and his party. A number of important persons on the Executive of the Gaelic League were persons who devoted themselves solely to the work of the League but without ever coming into the limelight in the ~~politics~~ matter. They would be supporters also of the Parliamentary Party. people of the type of John MacNeill, George Murnan, and Agnes O'Farrelly. I think the same would be said of Dr. Douglas Hyde himself, and of the rank and file of Gaelic Leaguers generally in all parts of the country, but a large percentage of them would be followers of Sinn Féin. A number of others would be members of I.R.B. though these would not be anything like as numerous as the followers of the Parliamentary Party or of Sinn Féin, though they were a considerable source of influence to their organisations. ^{N.P.} One of the most active of these latter type was P. S. O'Hegarty who was a most active worker in the Gaelic League in London for many years before he returned to Ireland. He also spread I.R.B. propaganda amongst the many young men who went to London to take employment, mostly in the various branches of the Civil Service. Among P. S. O'Hegarty's most noteworthy disciples was Michael Collins. P. S. was also very active in promoting Gaelic games, and the G.A.A. as well as the Gaelic League was used as a recruiting ground for the I.R.B.

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DRÉACHT O/

Contra this

With reference to the antagonism between certain important personages in the Keating Branch and others in the Ard Cracbh, and in particular with regard to the bitter criticism of Pearse's writings and especially of his knowledge of Irish, I think I should mention something which I believe to be true, ~~but~~ though I am not certain of it, ~~that possibly~~ one of the reasons for this antagonism as published in such papers as "Banba" by writers of Irish, such as my namesake J. J. O'Kelly (Sgeilg), is ~~that~~ the fact that Sgeilg was a candidate for the Editorship of the Claidheamh Soluis at the time that Pádraig Pearse was appointed. I would not say, of course, that this was anything like the sole reason for the bitter antagonism of Sgeilg towards Pearse. I am sure that antagonism existed before the question of the Editorship of the Claidheamh Soluis arose, but it certainly did nothing to moderate the antagonism of Sgeilg towards his successful opponent.

Other writers of the time who were not interested in the Editorship of the Claidheamh Soluis who were members of, or prominently associated with the Munster group of Gaelic League activities (^{were} such as) Very Rev. Fr. P. S. Dineen, an tAthair Ó Breandáin, afterwards Parish Priest of Millstreet, Co. Cork, as well as others I think I have mentioned already - Risteárd Ó Foghludha, Seán Ó Cuibh and - Ó Suilleabháin, formerly of Killarney and afterwards in the Translation Department of the Dáil in Dublin. These were amongst the fiercest critics of Pearse, as I remember. Probably Piaras Beaslaoi was one of those associated with the group of that time too.

While on the subject of the Gaelic League it might be as well to put down now what I recollect of the period of the activities in connection with the resignation of Dr. Douglas Hyde from the Presidency of the Gaelic League.

Dr. Douglas Hyde was elected President of the Gaelic League soon after its foundation, ~~that~~, of course, was before my time, and Dr. Hyde himself and others have put on record the date of his

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election. I am sure it is mentioned in Dr. Coffey's life.
 From At the time of my association ^{with} of the Gaelic League which began about the year 1897, Dr. Hyde was President up to the Oireachtas of 1915 which was held in that year in Dundalk.

The European War which started in August 1914 naturally ~~had~~ ^{had} brought about a big effect in the political situation in Ireland. The question of the coming into operation of the Home Rule Act was still being discussed. The Redmond party were still dominant in the land. They held, too, a very important and influential position in the political life of Great Britain. There was high expectation that Home Rule would be put into operation at an early stage. Of course there was very grave anxiety on this matter, and particularly on the question as to whether the Home Rule Act would operate throughout all Ireland, or whether the Ulster people would succeed in their effort to have Ulster, or part of Ulster, ^{declared from} taken out of the operations of Home Rule when it became a fact.

All this meant that there was great activity ⁱⁿ on political matters in the country. In addition to this the foundation of the Ulster Volunteers, under Sir Edward Carson, of a military force to defend Ulster against the Home Rulers had its repercussions in other parts of Ireland. I do not want to go into the history of this now, but just to indicate the very great anxiety in all political circles and all parties, that existed when the European War was declared in August 1914.

In I.R.B. circles there was more activity than ever immediately war was declared. Arising out of this it is ^{non-political activities} probable that the question of the Gaelic League was considered and discussed, ^{perhaps} at a meeting of the Supreme Council of the I.R.B. There must have been discussion somewhere amongst at least certain heads of the I.R.B. Organisation, because some months ^{a couple of months, like} or two before the Oireachtas, or Ard Fheis of the Gaelic League which was held at the same time, met in Dundalk, the

decision was come to that an effort should be made to put the Gaelic League in line with the Nationalist forces in Ireland that sought for separation from England.

*Max Dowd
arrested
18/5/15*

I remember being asked by Seán MacDermott to meet him in the offices of Micheal Ó Foghludha - I think it was there the appointment was made for - with some other members of the Gaelic League who were also members of the I.R.B., amongst them being Diarmuid Lynch, Thomas Ashe, and I think Michael Cowley, who was an official ^{see} of the Archbishop McHale Branch, and who afterwards was Assistant Manager of the National Land Bank, College Green, Dublin, and who was for a good number of years Centre of a Circle in the I.R.B. in Dublin. There may have been one or two others called into consultation by Seán MacDermott, but I do not remember if there were, or if so, who they were.

The purpose of the meeting was to consider the amendment ~~to the constitution~~ which of the Gaelic League by Seán MacDermott, presumably acting for the I.R.B. was desirous of having proposed for the coming Ard Fheis of the Gaelic League. The actual wording of this amendment, I am sure, can be got from the newspapers of the time - I don't remember it accurately now - but it meant that the Gaelic League by its Constitution was to declare itself in favour of a free and independent Ireland, ~~that~~ Those of us who met there had a long discussion on the topic.

I certainly realised that the proposition would mean, ~~I~~ ~~felt certain~~, that Dr. Hyde would not accept such a change in the Constitution. He had all his life sought to keep the Gaelic League a non-party organisation; by that I mean, a non-party political organisation. I believed he would resign rather than remain in the Gaelic League after the change in the Constitution, for that meant that the Gaelic League was to take sides with those who sought for separation from England.

and

The others whose names I have mentioned, who were present, except Seán MacDermott, were certainly in the beginning hesitant about the desirability of this change. They thought it might mean breaking up the Gaelic League, which they certainly did not desire to do. We had a long discussion on the matter, and came to no decision, though MacDermott pressed us strongly that we should.

We had other meetings, perhaps two or more, on this subject. I think these other meetings were held in the offices of Sinn Féin which were then at 11 Upr. O'Connell St., at the corner of ^{Lane} Upr. Abbey Street, and there, during the early afternoon, when there would be nobody in these offices, we met again to discuss this same proposition.

MacDermott pressed that this proposed amendment should be put down in the name of the Archbishop McHale Branch, but Cowley and I refused, and my recollection is that the proposed amendment appeared on the Agenda eventually in the name of Craobh an Cheitinnigh, and if my memory is correct, it was

Michael Foglyagh? proposed at the Árd Fheis by Diarmuid Lynch *or Michael O'Foghladh*

Of course once the amendment appeared on the Clár of the Árd Fheis that year, it gave rise to very ardent and widespread discussion amongst Gaelic Leaguers. Everybody realised what the proposition meant. I do not believe that there was any desire, even on the part of the leaders of the I.R.B. to get rid of Dr. Douglas Hyde. They would, I think, have preferred if Dr. Hyde would accept the new ^{new amendment} application of the Constitution that ~~xxxx~~ is if it were adopted by the Árd Fheis.

The I.R.B. people were determined that the proposal should be carried, and that the Gaelic League should take its stand formally, clearly and definitely on the side of those who had advocated separation. When the Árd Fheis came there was much excitement before the Árd Fheis meeting, and during the Árd Fheis, members of the I.R.B. and those who were not members of

of the I.R.B. but were supporters of its viewpoint, were ~~convincing~~ most active in confusing delegates on this issue. There was, as I have already said, very high feeling amongst people who took part in National affairs at this time, the war being then in progress for about a year. The Irish Volunteers and the National Volunteers having been founded, and having spread widely all over the country, and eventually having split on the question of their control by the Irish Parliamentary Party, caused an intensification development of strong feeling, great activity and sometimes great excitement all over the country.

In this effort to carry the amendment of the Constitution proposed by Craobh an Ceithinnigh, it is probable that an effort was made to line up the delegates of as many branches of the Gaelic League as possible in favour of the already mentioned proposal. Probably an effort was made, though on this I cannot speak with certainty now because I don't remember, ~~but probably~~ ~~an effort was made~~ to get branches of the Gaelic League that could be influenced, to send delegates instructed to vote for the resolution - branches that would probably not in the ordinary way have sent delegates to the Árd Fheis at all. At this time there would probably be in Ireland at least 600 or 700 active branches of the Gaelic League. Each of these branches would be equally entitled to send, I think, at least two delegates to the Árd Fheis. I think it would be true to say that not more than 300 branches would send representatives to the Árd Fheis, and some of these branches would send one delegate only, ~~that was as much as their finances could afford.~~

Of course, at all times the branches nearest to the place of the meeting, which was usually Dublin, had the greater number of delegates present. When the Árd Fheis met at Killarney, as it did in 1914, of course, Munster delegates had a better opportunity of attending. Dundalk was not too far from Dublin and easily accessible by train. This meant that a good number

Scorster

of delegates attended from ~~all~~ the Provinces, and probably a considerable number from the north of Ireland.

I do not remember anything in particular about the character of the delegates of that year (1915), but it is ~~certain~~ probably that a considerable number of young men who were members of the Volunteer organisations, as well as a strong representation of the I.R.B. organisation, ~~attended~~.

The result was that, after a long, and as I recollect it, bitter, and at times, very excited discussion, the motion was carried by, I think, an overwhelming majority. Those who spoke against the Resolution ~~had~~ warned the Ard Fheis that it was certain that Dr. Douglas Hyde would not remain as President if the amendment were carried. I do not now recollect whether Dr. Hyde made this statement himself any time during the discussion; maybe he did. It is certain, however, that after the debate which ended in the amendment being carried, ^{or} the next morning at the first session of the Ard Fheis, Dr. Hyde announced his resignation.

Were you asked to influence him? I remember well too having breakfast with him on that morning before the assembly of the Ard Fheis, and having done my best to influence him against resignation. I think I must have spent an hour and a half with him, having breakfast and talking afterwards, but there was no shaking him in his determination to resign. He gave as his reason for resigning, the fact that he always stood for keeping the Gaelic League out of party politics in Ireland. He firmly believed that the only hope of success in the objects of the Gaelic League was to make it, and keep it, apart and aside from party politics. His desire had always been to have in the organisation as many members of all political parties as he could induce to join. Through this attitude he had succeeded up to then in keeping the Gaelic League platform free for members of the Irish Parliamentary Party, and its opponents, both from the North and South, who worked ^{harmoniously} ~~freely~~ together for the preservation ^{and spreading} of the ~~Irish language~~.

He felt absolutely certain that this decision of the Ard Fheis to take a stand ~~on the question of separation from England~~, and favour ~~of~~ a separation from England, meant that supporters of the Irish Parliamentary Party, or people who were not supporters of any party, but who would certainly be opposed to separation, would leave the Gaelic League.

There were in the Gaelic League at all times, some people - not many - but there were always some, who were Unionist in politics, who believed that Ireland should remain in the British Empire, though they favoured the preservation and spread of the Irish language. It was Dr. Hyde's attitude, and Dr. Hyde's influence that induced these people to join the organisation. He believed firmly that the passing of this amendment of the Constitution would cause all ^{of} these to desert the Gaelic League. There was nothing that could change Dr. Hyde's mind on this. I know that many others besides myself did their best to influence him in the matter, but he was adamatt

He resigned, and amidst great and wild enthusiasm, Eoin ^{Eoin} MacNeill was elected President in his stead. He was prepared to accept and work the amendment ^{ad} of the Constitution. He was President of the Volunteers, and with his long service to the Gaelic League, and work for the language, he was the obvious choice. He had ^{been} always, and still probably was, a supporter of the Parliamentary Party.)

I imagine the Parliamentary Party did not regard him as a very enthusiastic supporter, but if he were obliged to declare his preference, I think up to then at any rate, MacNeill would have declared himself a loyal supporter of John Redmond and of the Parliamentary Party. It is certain that he always worked in the closest ~~assoc~~ association and in harmony with Dr. Douglas Hyde. I do not ever remember, though I had intimate association with the Gaelic League for many years before this, I do not ever remember any occasion ^{that} I heard of, or heard,

even a rumour of ~~any~~ antagonism or dissension between them. The same could be said of Pádraig Pearse, and Douglas Hyde.

One of the most enthusiastic backers always of Dr. Hyde and supporter of all his work for the Gaelic League was Úna Ni Fhearghaile, a member of the Coisde Gnótha, ^{and} though I am sure she was one of those who most vigorously opposed the adoption of the amendment of the Constitution. I think the ~~same could be said~~ ^{that} ~~the~~ ^{language} ~~also~~ of Séarise Ó Muanaín.

Looking back on the history of that period, and on the developments in the Gaelic League and elsewhere afterwards, I think it cannot be denied that the adoption of the new Constitution had the effect, generally speaking, that Dr. Hyde and those who supported him foretold.

It may be that in the very changed atmosphere of 1916 and afterwards, the Gaelic League organisation might have suffered in any case, so much of the time of those who would have been the most active spirits of the Gaelic League was given to other activities. It is possible that the Gaelic League would have succumbed, ^{in any case}, but I am inclined to think that the cause of the collapse - I think that I can use that word - of the Gaelic League after 1916 was the adoption of the amended Constitution. I think from the Gaelic, and from the Irish standpoint too, it would have been better to have left the Constitution of the Gaelic League stand as it was, and to have kept Dr. Hyde as President. So far as the language movement was concerned it would probably have worked out better. I do not think that those who were working earnestly, seriously and enthusiastically for the preservation and spread of the Gaelic language were in any way helped in this work by the adoption of the revised Constitution.

DREACHT/P.

From the time Sinn Féin was founded in November 1905, naturally as I had taken an active part in this I began to get into close touch and association with Arthur Griffith. It was my custom to attend the weekly propaganda meetings and lectures that were held, first, I think, for a short while in Abbey Street, and later, for many years, at 6 Harcourt St., a house that Sinn Féin owned and occupied for many years. It was bought by an organisation headed by Alderman Tom Kelly. It was a co-operative savings bank, which was given the name of "The Sinn Féin Bank". This organisation owned the premises and rented certain rooms of the house to the Central branch of Sinn Féin and the National Executive of Sinn Féin. Incidentally, that house I believe was formerly the residence of Cardinal Newman during the time he was Rector of the National University at Dublin.

Edward Martin was the first person elected President of the newly founded Sinn Féin organisation. Usually on a Monday night lectures or propaganda meetings were held and presided over by Ed. Martin, and in his absence it was generally Griffith. Through attendance at these conferences I got to know Griffith. He was a very difficult man to know. He was always very reserved. His friends were few, that is, those he took into his intimate confidence. It was some years before I could say I had won his confidence. Among his closest friends were, Alderman Tom Kelly, Henry Dixon, Johnny Mahony, and Alderman Walter Cole. These friends he met at the meetings of the Executive Committee at least once every week, and with these, the whole future of the organisation, and all its details would be frankly and freely discussed. Edward Martin and John Sweetman were also, of course, friends of his, and national supporters and subscribers to the Sinn Féin funds. But I do not think they would be said to be intimate friends in the sense that those others I have mentioned were.

Everything connected with the organisation and the running of the weekly paper was discussed with these friends I have mentioned.

and one other whose name was Denis Devereux, who, I think, had been an apprentice compositor with Griffith in his youth. They remained the closest of friends up to the time of Griffith's death.

There was another group with whom Griffith was on terms of easy friendship and intimacy. With these Griffith relaxed more than with anyone else, and the basis of their friendship was, of course, first of all their Irish-Ireland outlook; their support of the movement for complete independence, and in addition, literary tastes. The chief of these would be "Seamas O'Sullivan" whose real name was James Starkey, who was a pharmaceutical chemist, but who gave all his time to literature; Dr. Oliver Gogarty, as would also be James Stephens, who was then a Law Clerk in Dublin, and who contributed regularly to the "United Irishman" and later to "Sinn Féin"; Dr. Joseph Boyd Barrett, Mr Nolan Whelan, B.L. and Mr Michael Noyk, Solicitor. One other I should mention would be James Connolly (elder brother of Joseph Connolly), afterwards Minister in Mr deValera's Government, who was then a clerk in the Four Courts, and also a regular contributor to Griffith's paper.

With some of that group, Griffith would meet a couple of nights, or maybe three nights a week. In the early years, going back to the 1905 or '06 period, I think they used to meet in Mooney's public house at nighttime. Griffith, though never a heavy drinker, would take one or two bottles of stout during the course of the night, I was often told. I, personally, was never in their company on these occasions, and, for a couple of hours or more they would sit around and discuss literary and political topics.

As I have said, it was not easy to get to know Griffith intimately, except for the select few whose names I have mentioned. In these early years certainly there were few people who could claim to be close friends of Griffiths. In later years, that is, after 1916, for a period of about two years when Sinn Féin was sweeping the country we used to have fairly frequent meetings at

6 Harcourt Street. I was then a member of the Sinn Féin Standing Committee. Sometimes at the close of these meetings I used to be invited by Griffith to come with him, and sometimes also with Sean Mulroy, to the flat on the corner of Merrion Square and Upper Mount Street, where Dr. J. Boyd Barrett lived. I often went with him on these occasions, and we would find usually in the flat "Seamas O'Sullivan", Nolan Whelan, occasionally Stephen McKenna and Michael Noyk, and maybe one or two others.

It is certainly correct that in the early years that I speak of, the rendezvous of Griffith and his friends was usually one of Mooneys public houses. In later years they transferred their meeting-place to the Bailey in Duke Street, where Griffith with his friends was to be found almost every night of the week.

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Referring again to Arthur Griffith, I do not know anything about his family or his upbringing, and I know nobody, except of course his wife and children, who could give any information on that subject. He was born, as far as I remember having heard many years ago, in Dominick Street, Dublin about 1871, but that is something that could be checked from the records in the General Register in the Custom House. After completing his apprenticeship as a compositor (where he served this apprenticeship I do not know) he went to South Africa, ~~How~~ long he stayed in Sth. Africe I do not know. I do know that he met John McBride there. What he worked at there I have heard a few times was in the mines, presumably when he went to South Africe he did not work at his own trade. I remember him telling a story about his meeting with John McBride on some occasion of a National holiday or festival. I do not remember now what town they met in in Sth. Africa, but as I recollect the story it was that he and McBride met and had a meal together in some town in Sth. Africa, and afterwards went for a ride in a rickshaw. The rickshaw was ^{drawn} propelled by a black. As Griffith told me the story - as far as I remember it anyhow - he and McBride passed some words together in Irish. Immediately on this the black stopped running, and still holding the shafts, turned round and let out a flood of Irish at Griffith and McBride. On questioning the nigger afterwards they found that he was, as Griffith might describe him, a "native speaker" of Irish, and that he had learned the language from either his mother or his father. McBride knew more Irish than Griffith, probably because he came from Westport, Co. Mayo, and made some effort to carry on a little conversation with the blackman. Griffith's knowledge was very slight, as he said then, and he was not able to make much progress.

That incident must have happened a good while before the outbreak of the Boer War. Griffith was back in Ireland, I think in 1898, ^{and} early the following the year he and his friend Wm. Rooney founded "The United Irishman."

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I first saw and heard Griffith speak at a meeting of the Celtic Literary Society which held meetings at 32 Lr. Abbey Street Every Monday night there, lectures on Irish history and various aspects of Irish literature were given by the politically minded people of the day. Rooney was frequently a lecturer there; Griffith occasionally, but at every lecture Rooney would certainly be one of the speakers, Griffith frequently too. Others who were prominent in the Celtic Literary Society would be EMM. Fox, Peter White, Michael Quinn and his sister Mary Quinn, afterwards the wife of Dudley Digges, the well-known actor who died last year in New York, H. Mangan, later City Accountant of Dublin, Miss Maud Gonne, Pádraig Ó Brolacháin. All this group were associated with the publication of "The United Irishman". Another was Dómhnaill O'Connor, Chartered Accountant, a native of Kenmare, Co. Kerry. I imagine, though I have no information on the subject, that these were the people who subscribed the funds to enable "The United Irishman" to be founded.

I saw Griffith, as I have said, at these meetings of the Celtic Literary Society and heard him speak. I also heard him speak on several occasions during the Boer War. Soon after the outbreak of the Boer War, there was established in Dublin a Committee to do pro-Boer propaganda, in the City. Griffith was one of the active members of this Committee. They endeavoured to hold public meetings in different places in the City, usually such meetings would be called for Foster Place, College Green or Beresford Place. Very frequently such meetings, when advertised, would be proclaimed from Dublin Castle. This meant that if an attempt were made to hold a meeting, ^{the} police would have orders to suppress it. More than once I attended these suppressed meetings, and Griffith would be almost always one of the speakers Miss. Maud as would ~~Maud~~ Gonne, as she was then known. Henry Dixon would probably be another, and Alderman Tom Kelly. I witnessed the efforts to hold these meetings despite the proclamations and despite the efforts of the police to suppress them. When the promoters tried to hold a meeting the police would be ordered to

*See Page
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use their batons on the crowd. Mounted police, of which there were several troops kept in the City of Dublin at that time, would then be called in, the police (using sabres) would charge the crowd and use their sabres freely on their heads and shoulders. During the Boer War these were common sights in the City of Dublin, and, of course, were great sources of excitement and amusement to us of the younger generation.

This was the period during which the big division in the ranks of the Irish Parliamentary Party which had taken place about 1890, was still operative. During that period, say from about 1890 to 1901, Dublin City had been mostly Parnellite. Elections to the Municipal Council at that period were almost always fought out on that issue, pro or contra Parnell. I cannot speak with any certainty on this, because I was not old enough to take any interest or active part in politics at that time. I am sure, however, that ^{the} Dublin Municipal Council was in a big majority Parnellite.

Griffith and William Rooney, and I think most of those associated with the Celtic Literary Society were Parnellites. Not all, however, were because I think it is true that Alderman Tom Kelly and Alderman Cole had been associated with anti-Parnellites.

The split in the ranks of the Parliamentary Party had undoubtedly affected the development, first of all, of the Gaelic League, and secondly of Sinn Féin. I would say that probably most of those who were responsible for first of all founding the Gaelic League, and then for its successful development in the years that followed immediately were people who had not been interested in Irish party politics up to then. Some of them may have been interested on one side or another. They had no interest in party politics because of the unpleasant incidents associated with the split of the Home Rule Party.

Very bitter feelings were aroused during that period, and attacks of a most personal kind were made by prominent people of both sides. This had the effect of disgusting very large numbers of people in all parts of the country with political life. As I say, this gave an opportunity to those who founded the Gaelic League, which was favoured widely everywhere, to get public life in Ireland going again on a non-party basis. This was probably one of the causes of the wonderful success and marvellous growth of the Gaelic League in those early years.

Griffith and Rooney, in the pages of the "United Irishman" gave the Gaelic League all the support that they could. They urged, in every issue, that every man and woman who had an interest in Ireland should join the Gaelic League, and gave the movement their warmest and most active support. The Gaelic League as a non-political and non-party body also gave great opportunity to people holding positions in the public services, like Civil Servants, to join and use their energies for the benefit of Irish-Ireland, and the language movement in particular.

Griffith was a forceful writer, and had a style that was then new in Irish journalistic work. The old-fashioned verboſetirades that were always associated with Parliamentarianism soon went out of fashion. The subscribers to the "United Irishman" were taught to be prudent, careful and precise in their statements. Every fact should be checked. The days of the wild whirling words such as the people of the Parliamentary Party were used to from William O'Brien, both in his platform talks, and in his writings, were gone. Griffith insisted in his articles week by week, that something more than wild words were necessary to attain the objects that Sinn Féin and Irish-Ireland and the Gaelic League had in view.

Griffith himself practised what he preached, and was a regular attendant at Irish classes which were held every week in the rooms of the Celtic Literary Society. Though I know that he worked hard to learn Irish, and long years after these days I

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speak of now, I can say Griffith attended regular classes in Irish in Reading Prison, I am afraid his efforts to get a knowledge of the language were never very successful, but he gave the example which was the effective thing ^{at} for the time.

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He was a hard worker, and spent many hours every week doing research work in the National Library. He was a very quick worker when it came to writing his articles. When the "Sinn Féin" newspaper was founded in 1903 ~~(it)~~ the editorial offices were then at 17 Fownes Street, Dublin. There Griffith did, for seven or eight years, most of his writing. The offices in Fownes Street consisted of two small rooms, an outer and an inner office. In the outer office there were, generally, Peter White, Manager of the "United Irishman", and afterwards of the weekly "Sinn Féin", and his assistant Frank Griffith, brother of Arthur Griffith. The paper was printed by a printer in Inchicore.

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It must be recognised, and it should be put on record somewhere, that few men of his time did more to influence public opinion and Irish political thought than did Arthur Griffith. It should be known too that few men made greater sacrifices - personal sacrifices - for the cause of Irish freedom and Irish-Ireland than did Griffith. Griffith had great gifts as a writer, and he could have devoted his talents to earning a comfortable livelihood for himself. Instead of this he devoted his talents and all his time to the cause that was most dear to him, and that was the freedom of Ireland.

He and his close friend and colleague, Wm. Rooney, with the aid of a number of others, some of whose names I have already mentioned as members of the Celtic Literary Society, made up their minds that Parliamentarianism was not going to succeed in winning freedom for Ireland. They had witnessed the efforts of the ablest Parliamentarian that Ireland had produced in the 19th century, Parnell, fail to achieve the object which the Irish Parliamentary Party had set before itself - Home Rule for Ireland. This failure of Parliamentarianism which had a unique opportunity of achieving something of real value for Ireland, had proved to many people in Ireland that reliance on Parliamentarian methods was not going to achieve what Irish nationalists hoped for and worked for. Therefore, this small group decided to found a newspaper to preach self-reliance. I think the credit for suggesting the name "Sinn Féin" for the movement was given by Griffith himself to his friend and one of his ~~and~~ frequent contributors to the papers afterwards, Máire de Buitléir, afterwards Mrs Ó Nualláin.

While Wm. Rooney lived, a great part of the "United Irishman" was written every week by ^{him} Rooney. My recollection is that we who were particularly interested used to hear that the notes of the week were generally contributed by Wm. Rooney, and Pádraig Ó Broinacháin. The editorial was always written, we understood, by Griffith, and in addition, Griffith generally contributed at least two long articles each week on Irish historical subjects or on literary subjects.

It is certain that Griffith got very little in the way of remuneration for his services as Editor and principal writer of the "United Irishman". What the amount of his actual pay was then of course I don't know, but I can speak with knowledge as to what he received from the Sinn Féin weekly years later. I became manager of the Sinn Féin Printing and Publishing Company in 1909, and shortly afterwards we began to publish a daily afternoon paper, of which Griffith was Editor-in-Chief. While the daily paper continued, which was for I think about 7 months, not more certainly, Griffith was, as far as I can recollect, paid £5 per week. The finances of the Company got into bad shape at the end of the 7 months, and the daily issue of "Sinn Féin" had to cease. The weekly was, of course, continued. I think Griffith's pay was first reduced to £3, and later when times got harder, there was I think a period of at least a year or eighteen months, and by this time Griffith had got married and was living in a house in St. Lawrence Road, Clontarf, which had been presented to him by a number of his friends and admirers. ~~During which~~ His salary by this time had been reduced to about 30/- per week. How he managed to live and keep his family on this I do not know. He had no other resources so far as I have ever heard. I do know that he was offered fairly large fees by some English newspapers for a series of special articles. I know also that he was asked by P. Meade, ~~Editor~~ of "The Evening Telegraph", Dublin, to become a regular contributor to that newspaper, for which contributions he would be well paid. It is certain that he refused all these offers, and devoted himself completely to Sinn Féin.

Sinn Féin as an organisation never achieved the ~~success~~^{popularity} that was won by the United Irishmen, even at the highest peak of ~~success~~^{when} its complete re-organisation in the country after the old Sinn Féin, the organisation that was founded in 1905 and lasted until its re-organisation in 1917. The old organisation never had more than 300 or 400 branches ~~and then of course its popularity was due to the Report~~ (at the most) in Ireland. The new Sinn Féin, the re-organised body that came into existence in October 1917, and of which Éamon de Valera became President, was, of course, a different body. It is probable

that the name "Sinn Féin" would not have survived at all were it not that it had been made popular in Ireland because the British attributed to Sinn Féin the organisation of the Rising of 1916, for which Sinn Féin, as such, had no responsibility.

As we are on this topic of the organisation of Sinn Féin, perhaps I might put on record here my recollection of one or two things in connection with the new organisation.

First it should be remembered that early in 1917 an effort was made by Count Plunkett, who had shortly before been elected as the first Irish Parliamentary representative on a complete-independence ticket or programme. He had been elected a Member of Parliament for North Roscommon in February 1917. I think it was in April 1917 that Count Plunkett, assisted by Father Michael O'Flanagan, and a man named Micheál Mullane who, I think, acted as Secretary, called a Convention of Irish political organisations to support the new political movement aiming at complete independence.

Some ^{how} of the new organisation under the Presidency of Count Plunkett did not take root. They had started Liberty Clubs, many of which came into existence in different parts of the country but they faded out when Sinn Féin was re-organised later that year. The men who came out of the English prisons, particularly those who had been in the convict prisons, favoured the revival of Sinn Féin, but they decided that they must have at the head of it a man who had taken an active part in the Rising of 1916.

At the branch meetings held before the big re-organisation meeting of Sinn Féin, ^{which was held} that year ^{held in the Mansion House in} ~~seen to have been taken~~ October 1917, the decision was arrived at that Griffith would not be acceptable to the "military" men ^{which is perfectly} as the leader for the re-organised movement. I was present at some of these meetings, and amongst those who took part in these discussions were Cathal Brugha, Michael Collins, Sean McGarry, Pearse Beaslaoi, John O'Mahony, Joseph Murray. Probably similar meetings were held in other parts of the country but there was a lot of discussions going on everywhere as to the new leadership, and it eventually

emerged that the "military men", as we might describe them - those who had actually taken part in the Rising of 1916, favoured the election of Eamon de Valera, but a number of Griffith's friends, and he had a number of friends and admirers even amongst the men who had been active in the fight, they disliked deposing Griffith because of the excellent work he had done over a period of nearly 20 years, and the heroic sacrifices that he had made in the interests of the movement. I remember going to Alderman Walter Cole's house, 3 Mountjoy Sq., the night before the Sinn Féin Convention in October 1917, to discuss this question and Griffith's position with regard to the new organisation. I went there early, about 7 o'clock, and met there Walter Cole himself, John O'Mahony, Joseph Murray, and Alderman Tom Kelly, all of whom, including myself, were great friends and admirers of Griffith. Cole told us that he had asked Griffith himself to come, and told him what we had proposed to discuss. We had a long talk about an hour before Griffith turned up, and we came to the conclusion that if Griffith stood as a candidate for the Presidency of the re-organised Sinn Féin, that the chances were that he would be defeated. We also decided that when Griffith arrived he should be told what our considered view was. He was told by Walter Cole, and he himself entered into the discussion in the most objective kind of way. After a discussion of half an hour or so on the matter ~~as to~~ ^{of} the Presidency of the new organisation he said that he would ~~give~~ ^{next day when the question of the Presidency arose,} ~~give~~ ^{consideration to our advice} ~~and that~~ ^{and that} ~~notably when the question of the Presidency arose~~ announce to the meeting that he had decided to withdraw his candidature. His decision:

At the meeting itself the next day when the point was reached where the election of the new President was to take place, Griffith stood up and, if my recollection serves me, himself offered to propose ~~to~~ ^{correctly} Eamon de Valera for the Presidency.

(Who was the only started?)

DREACHT/S.

I think it could be said that the old Sinn Féin organisation attained its greatest period of success in 1909-'10. It was in 1909 that a Company was formed to print and publish a daily newspaper. An effort was made to collect a sum of £10,000 for this purpose. As far as I remember not half of this amount was eventually obtained. Most of the supporters of Sinn Féin were amongst the poorer section of the community. There were of course a few men who might be regarded as wealthy, who supported Sinn Féin and backed it financially, but these were not numerous.

In spite of

Outside the fact that nothing like the sum asked for was eventually subscribed, it was decided to go ahead with the foundation of the daily paper. An old second-hand rotary printing press was bought in England and set up in new premises which Sinn Féin rented at 49 Middle Abbey Street. The premises were owned by R. J. McCready who was ^{the} publisher of a number of weekly papers at that time in Dublin; the principal one was, I think, "The Irish Cyclist". R. J. McCready had been associated with ^{the} Ducros of Dunlop fame.

I cannot now remember ^{afternoon} ~~the date of the first issue of the daily~~ ^{was Aug 14 1909} Sinn Féin as an ~~evening~~ newspaper. I have an idea it was somewhere about the month of March 1909, but I am not certain. Griffith gathered round him to help him ~~put up~~ and write and produce the daily paper a group which included some of the most distinguished literary men of the time in Ireland, ^{and} amongst those whose names I remember were James Stephens, Seamus O'Sullivan (Starkey), Séamus O'Reilly ^{Riley} who was then editor of the "Leinster Leader", Seamus Connolly, Oliver St. John Gogarty, Máire de Buitléir, Joseph Campbell. Of course all those who contributed to the weekly "Sinn Féin" continued ^{to be} contributors to the daily, and the daily attracted a number of new writers who, up to then, had not been known.

One who did a lot for the daily and weekly at all times whose name I should have mentioned before now is The O'Rahilly, ^{and} who

Since he returned from the

was always a close friend of Arthur Griffith, and who helped him not alone by his contributions to the paper, but also to some extent financially. The daily, as I already mentioned, did not continue for more than ~~six~~ ^{five} months, ~~but~~ before it discontinued publication, seeing that its finances were getting very low, Señor William Bulfin, who was then in Ireland, was asked by the Board to go to the United States and make a tour to seek financial help to keep the daily going. Bulfin, when first asked, refused on the grounds of ill-health. He was then suffering from Rheumatic fever, but later, when it was announced to him that the paper must cease publication unless financial help were forthcoming, he reluctantly agreed to travel to the U.S.A. I am not certain if The O'Rahilly went with him - I think he did. If not, I think The O'Rahilly went at some other time to the U.S. to look for money for the same purpose. However, whether Bulfin went alone or not, I do not exactly remember, but he did go in the winter of 1910, and spent some months in the United States and raised a sum of money which was ~~not very great, and again, if I recollect properly, returned~~ ⁰⁹ ~~not very great, and again, if I recollect properly, returned~~ somewhere about January or February 1910.

I met him on his return and was shocked to find him looking so ill. He handed over to me the monies he had collected, and went to his home in Birr, Co. Offaly, where he died not very long after.

I think tribute should be paid to William Bulfin for the work he did in supporting and winning support for the Irish-Ireland movement. When he went to the Argentine first I do not know. I think I heard of him first about 1904 or '05 when he was back in Ireland on a holiday, and when, in association with a man named Henry Egan of Tullamore, produced and ^{published} ~~put in~~ circulation a magazine which they called "Ard na hÉireann". This magazine was just a monthly publication which contained a series of very well written and beautifully illustrated articles on historical subjects, mostly about the Midlands. I think this "Ard na hÉireann" appeared perhaps two or three times about

Christmas time in the years 1905, 1906 and 1907. X

Henry Egan was a friend of Bulfin. He was an ardent supporter of the Irish-Ireland movement, and a friend of Arthur Griffith too. He was a sufferer from T.B. and had to spend several months each winter in Switzerland. ~~He was a close friend of Bulfin, and worked, as I have said, with him in the production of this "Ard na hEireann" magazine.~~ I think he died about the year 1910.

first

Bulfin, when I heard of him, was editor, and, I think, owner of a paper named "The Southern Cross" which was printed and published in Buenos Aires. ^{He} Bulfin made this a very ardent Irish-Ireland weekly paper. It was one of the few papers published in English in that country, and was regarded as the organ of the Irish-Catholic element of the Argentine. There was another newspaper, the name of which I cannot remember now, a daily newspaper I think, published in English in Buenos Aires, which was founded by an Irish family named Mulhall. Whether that paper is still in existence or not I do not know. I think this was the only daily newspaper in English published in the capital of the Argentine. The Mulhall newspaper was, generally speaking, pro-British. This could never be said of Bulfin's weekly "The Southern Cross". Associated with Bulfin in the editing of this paper was a very well-known priest named Monsignor Ussher, who, I think, still lives. He visited Ireland four or five years ago. Also there were associated with him, I think in connection with the newspaper in particular, two brothers named Foley, also Offaly men. They came from the village of Kinnity. They were Gerald and Frank Foley. A niece of theirs is married to the Engineer-in-Chief of the Department of Posts & Telegraphs, Mr. T. J. Monaghan. After Bulfin's death "The Southern Cross" was taken over by Gerald Foley first, and later by Frank Foley, and continued publication for many years, but I have not seen it for the last five or six years, so whether it is still being published or not I do not know.

One thing I remember about "The Southern Cross", in addition

to the fact that it was a very ardently pro-Irish, pro-Irish-Ireland, and pro-Independence paper, was the number of reports that were published in the early years of hurling matches which were a very common feature of the paper every week.

At that time the Irish element seemed to have been strong in the Argentina, not so much in the cities, but in rural parts. The Irish seemed to have been particularly successful as farmers particularly as sheep farmers. They emigrated in great numbers mostly from the Midlands and also from Wexford.

I just want to have on record the great services that William Bulfin rendered to Irish-Ireland movement for complete independence. No man did more at home or abroad to publicise Irish international sentiment for complete separation from England than did William Bulfin. That excellent book of his "Rambles in Erin" is full of love of Ireland. Every line of it breathes national sentiment, esteem and reverence for Ireland's past. It is a book that, in my opinion, should be put as a reader for the senior classes in all our schools. It is well written, and beautifully illustrated, and would do much to instil the children with a knowledge of their history and geography and, love and respect for Ireland's past.

I think some day also the Nationalists of Ireland must erect a monument over the grave of William Bulfin in recognition of his great national services.

The daily paper "Sinn Féin" ceased publication for want of funds. Even the weekly found it difficult to carry on. It happened a good many times that towards the end of the week, the Board would discover that very probably there would not be enough money in the exchequer to pay the wages for that week, and this meant that I was instructed to look around and see where I could raise enough funds to carry us ^{on} for another week or two.

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This, of course, was not an easy task. But for a number of years, from 1910 until the European War broke out, we struggled along getting the paper out somehow week after week, largely through the sacrifices of Griffith and some of the printers and compositors who were employed on the paper, and who took ~~only about~~ some weeks half their pay and stuck to the paper rather than see it disappear.

So that there may be a record somewhere of the people who were responsible for keeping the weekly alive during these hard times I should mention that among the generous hearted Irishmen who contributed sometimes considerable sums of money, to enable us to carry on were Alderman P. W. Corrigan of Camden Street, Michael O'Dea, the furniture manufacturer of Stafford Street (now Wolfe Tone Street), and Myles R. Hopkins of Hopkins & Hopkins, Jewellers, O'Connell Street, Dublin. These were my greatest friends when it came to looking for money to keep the weekly paper going. More than once I got sums as large as £500 from Myles R. Hopkins. Once or twice I got this from him on loan. These loans, except the last one, were always repaid. I think the last sum of perhaps £500 or so was, as far as I can recollect, never repaid to Myles R. Hopkins. The sums I received from the others I have mentioned were not so big, but I frequently got sums of £100 a time from Alderman P. W. Corrigan. These were given as gifts, none of which were ever repaid to Alderman Corrigan, nor did he ever expect it or look for it, either. The sums I got from Mr O'Dea were not so numerous, and were usually at the rate of £50 a time which, of course, was often smaller than any amount I received from those others, but which we were very happy indeed to receive. Sometimes we repaid some of this money which we got from Mr O'Dea by inserting advertisements for his furniture in the newspaper.

One other person that I would like to mention honourably
who helped us in times of ~~very~~ great difficulty, though to nothing like the extent of those others, to enable us to

the paper going. ~~on one or two occasions~~. The person I refer to is Mr J. J. Symington, Director and Manager of "The Irish Times". I happened to be a friend of Mr Symington's. I do not recollect now how the friendship first arose. Griffith and one or two others of the directors of "Sinn Féin" knew this, and once or twice when we were in a bit of a hole and could not see how the paper was going to be produced that week because ~~we~~ had no paper and no money to buy ^{it} paper, it was suggested to me that I should call on my old friend Symington for a ~~xxxm~~ roll or a few ~~xxxxx~~ rolls of newsprint. Symington ~~always~~ rose to the occasion, and as it happened he always had a supply of rolls of paper that suited in size our old-fashioned machines. I repaid Symington, but I think ~~the last £5~~ I did not repay ~~him~~ for some years after the Sinn Féin newspaper had ceased publication for all time.

I would like to record a debt of gratitude to the late J. J. Symington who was a friend in need on more than one occasion.

DREACHT T/

I was, I believe, elected a member of the Standing Committee of Sinn Féin at the first Annual Convention, and I remained a member of the Standing Committee practically all the time up to the Rising of 1916. I was also elected to the Standing Committee of the new re-organised Sinn Féin that came into existence in October 1917, and was re-elected at annual conventions as long as Sinn Féin continued in existence as an organisation.

At the annual convention in the year 1908 held in the Autumn of that year, I am not sure as to the date, I was elected one of the Honorary Secretaries, the other was, I think, Alderman Walter Cole. I was re-elected twice I think afterwards at the following annual conventions.

When the Sinn Féin Printing and Publishing Company was formed (this was the business organisation that was responsible for the printing and publishing of the afternoon Sinn Féin paper and weekly paper) in 1909, I was appointed Secretary and Manager of the Company. I continued in this position until the Company was dissolved in 1915.

From its foundation in 1905 for some years Sinn Féin had a fair amount of success. It got the tacit if not always the active support of the Fenian element, and branches were established in a great many cities and towns all over the country. Of course at the time it was vigorously opposed by the Parliamentary Party and the organisations supporting that party.

When in 1912, in the month of April, the Home Rule for Ireland Bill was introduced into the British House of Commons, new life and new hope was given to the Parliamentary Party's organisation, and the Parliamentary Party gained renewed vigour and pretty widespread support from the people all over the country. It looked as if the hopes of the Parliamentary Party were about to be realised at last. The Party organised meetings all over the country as well as in

England, Scotland and Wales. Their supporters in the United States and in other countries associated with the British Commonwealth also became active again, and considerable financial support for the Party began to flow in from all these sources.

The results, as far as Sinn Féin was concerned, was that this organisation lost ground pretty rapidly. The weekly paper was still published and still continued to express doubt about the final outcome of the Home Rule movement. Griffith maintained all along that the British would better the Parliamentary Party, as they had ~~betrayed~~ ^{betrayed} other Irish political movements in the past. The Sinn Féin paper had a fairly wide circulation still and was able, sometimes with difficulty, to keep going. As an organisation and as a political machine Sinn Féin was from 1912 on on the down grade.

So far as I am aware, Pádraig Pearse had not at any time up to this associated himself with any political party. He was busy running his school and editing the Claidheamh Soluis, and he was frequently called on to address meetings, mostly of course in connection with the language in Ireland and in England ~~and~~ ^{now} policy. Many of the addresses he delivered at these public meetings were afterwards published by him in pamphlet form. The Parliamentary Party, several important members of which had associated themselves with the language movement, realised that the Irish-Ireland movement in general, and in particular the language movement, had many adherents in the country, and they were anxious to try to associate the supporters of the Irish-Ireland movement with the Home Rule movement. Many of course of the ~~MM~~ leaders of the Gaelic League were themselves supporters of the Parliamentary Party. I think it is almost certain that Dr. Hyde was a supporter of the Parliamentary Party. Certainly Prof. Agnes O'Farrelly was, and the General Secretary, Pádraig Ó Dálaigh was. As a matter of fact, the Parliamentary Party made several efforts to get Dr. Hyde to agree to become publicly associated with the

Party, and to contest this a seat and become a Member of the British House of Commons which Dr. Hyde always refused to do.

I think it was in 1912 that the Parliamentary Party organised a huge demonstration in favour of the Home Rule Bill to be held in the City of Dublin. A number of platforms were erected in O'Connell Street - 4 or 5 - and Pádraig Pearse was invited as a representative of the Irish Ireland movement to address that meeting which he did. He spoke from a platform erected at the corner of Middle Abbey Street and O'Connell Street, and he spoke in Irish and in English, and many Irish-Irelanders and not a few supporters of the Independence movement went to that platform to hear what Pearse would have to say in favour of Home Rule. His speech was of course published in the daily papers of the time. I know that Pearse was much criticised by many of his enthusiastic friends and supporters in the language movement and in the independence or republican movement for consenting to speak from a Home Rule platform, and to associate himself with the Irish Parliamentary Party.

He, however, vigorously defended his action, and any time I was present, as I was a few times, when the speech was under discussion, and the subject of attack, I noticed that he was very well able to defend himself and his action.

Home Rule then and the Irish Parliamentary Party continued to be the dominant political influence in the country, one might say, up to the outbreak of the first World war.

If any shake was given to the power and influence of the Irish Parliamentary Party during this period, I think I can assert confidently that this was given to the Parliamentary Party when the Irish Volunteer organisation was established at a public meeting held in the Rotunda Park, Dublin, in November, 1913.

Historians of the Irish Volunteers have been written by The O'Rahilly and Bulmer Hobson, so that I need not go into the

details of that, but I was consulted by John MacNeill about the founding of the organisation from the very beginning. I first heard of it from him at a meeting of the Coisde Gnótha some weeks before the first meeting was called ^a at Wynn's Hotel, Abbey St., Dublin, to discuss the formation of the Irish Volunteer organisation.

When MacNeill told me what he had in view and invited me to meet a number of others whom he proposed to call together to discuss the matter, I, at the earliest opportunity went to Tom Clarke and discussed the affair with him. I found that Tom Clarke knew more about what was afoot than I did. It was evident that the matter had been discussed fully in I.R.B. circles, and that certain decisions had been taken. Afterwards I learned that certain members of the Supreme Council of the I.R.B. had come to the decision immediately after the landing of the arms and ammunition at Larne by ^{of the} Ulster Unionist Party, and that an effort should be made to organise publicly ^{the} a nationalist element of the South, including the supporters of the Home Rule Party, into a military organisation. I do not think there is any doubt but that it was the success of the arms landing at Larne that gave the I.R.B. people this idea, that is, the idea of forming publicly an armed military organisation. Later too, I learned that one of those who had been most active in spreading this idea of the desirability of founding a military organisation to defend Home Rule was Sir Roger Casement. He had proposed this idea to Bulmer Hobson who was then a member of the Supreme Council of the I.R.B., and later to Eoin MacNeill, and to the surprise of most of us who knew MacNeill, he took up this idea enthusiastically.

I discussed the whole matter with Clarke, and as I have said, found Clarke and the I.R.B. were enthusiastically in favour of the idea. The I.R.B. however, were anxious that the movement should be supported by, and partially, at any rate, controlled by people who, in the majority would be regarded as "safemen", that is

persons other than those publicly known to be members or supporters of the I.R.B. Of course the I.R.B. would try to make certain that ~~all~~ reliable men from their point of view would be included on the Executive Committee, but they would like to be careful to give the impression to the country that the Volunteer organisation was not founded by, run or controlled by the I.R.B.. However, a decision was ~~come to~~ ^{arrived at} to encourage John MacNeill to go ahead and found the new military organisation. John MacNeill invited The O'Rahilly to assist him. O'Rahilly was not a member of the I.R.B. I had, on instructions, approached him a couple of times and invited him to join, but he always refused. He was a great friend and admirer of Arthur Griffith, and was a supporter of Sinn Féin. A few prominent supporters of the Parliamentary Party were approached by MacNeill, ^{those} the only one of whose name I remember now of that that who joined the Volunteers and became prominent in the organisation was Laurence J. Kettle, Asst. City Electrical Engineer, and a brother of Thomas Kettle, M.P. one of the leaders ~~of the leaders~~ of the younger element of the Irish Parliamentary Party.

Clarke advised me not to consent to be one of the founders of the Volunteer organisation. He said they would make out a list of I.R.B. people whom they would have invited to be amongst the founders of the organisation and to assist MacNeill, but that for the reasons I have already suggested, he and the I.R.B. were anxious not to give the new organisation I.R.B. or a Sinn Féin flavour.

Amongst the I.R.B. men who may be described as founders of the Irish Volunteer Organisation and who afterwards were prominent in its ranks were Sean MacDermott, Bulmer Hobson, and I think Piaras Beaslaoi. So far as I remember, the majority of those who were actually associated with the founding of the Volunteers were not members ~~of~~ or supporters of either Sinn Féin or the I.R.B.

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When the Committee that decided to found the Volunteers called a public meeting formally to bring the organisation into existence, the I.R.B. sent out instructions to forward to all their members in Dublin that every support should be given by the I.R.B. men to the new organisation. I think that the call to join the Volunteers was warmly supported by the younger element amongst the ~~and members~~ defenders of the Irish Parliamentary Party in Dublin. I am not so sure if the older people received the news with much enthusiasm. Of those who might be regarded, in a general way, as supporters of Sinn Féin, they were very enthusiastic for the new organisation, and when the night of the meeting actually arrived, great enthusiasm was displayed everywhere. Already the supporters of James Larkin in Dublin who were mostly members of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union had formed their own military organisation which they called "The Irish Citizen Army". Thousands turned out to ~~attend~~ join the first ~~full~~ meeting in support of the Volunteers. Many hundreds of those who would like to have ~~been present~~ in the Rotunda Rink joined the meeting/failed to obtain admissions.

It was decided then to hold an overflow meeting in the Hall attached to the Rink which is now used as the Gate Theatre. I was sent for by John MacNeill and instructed to take charge of that meeting. I presided and a number of speakers who were on the platform in the Rotunda Rink where the main meeting was held, were sent into me, as soon as they had delivered their speeches, to deliver addresses to the overflow meeting. I think every man at the overflow meeting before the end came had handed in his name for seeking membership of the new organisation.

The greatest enthusiasm imaginable was displayed that night and the new organisation started off with the most promising signs of success. Many of those who joined were supporters of all political parties supporting the National movement, and many who had never been associated with any political party or even with the Gaelic League. It brought in many young men who associated themselves with politics for the first time in their lives. Many

of these became very well-known afterwards in the public life of Ireland.

27.11.51.

DREACHT U/

Partition

I think this is probably a suitable time to mention the rumours that began to circulate about the country. I imagine that about this time that an effort was being made, or at any rate would be made before the Home Rule Bill passed through the British House of Commons, to eliminate from its scope the province of Ulster. At any rate as soon as the Home Rule Bill had been introduced, a movement was started in the North of Ireland pointing in this direction. I do not think any serious steps were taken in England to give consideration to the possibility of partitioning Ireland until after, at least, the second reading of the Home Rule Bill had been passed through the British House of Commons. I cannot now give dates but much has been written and published on this subject by others, and the dates when the efforts to secure the elimination of Ulster from the Home Rule Bill began are well on record.

It is certain, however, that from the time the Home Rule Bill was introduced, certain elements in Belfast and other areas in the North made an effort to work up feeling amongst the Unionists of the North against the inclusion of Ulster in the Home Rule Bill. No doubt many of the Belfast and Northern Ireland people did have a fear of what the operation of Home Rule in Ireland might mean for them, but I believe that the prime movers in the effort to keep Home Rule out of Ulster started the movement for purely party-political purposes.

Carson was a strong adherent of the Conservative Party, and was foremost of those who became publicly associated with partition afterwards in the North of Ireland, and they used the fear of certain people in Ulster as to what might happen if Home Rule became a fact, as a means of defeating Home Rule, and thus defeating the Liberal Government and putting it and its party out of power. I think that one could say with truth that that was the primary object of those who started the pro-Partition movement in the North after the introduction of the Home Rule Bill into the House of Commons in 1912.

Of course the leaders of the Conservative or Unionist Party in England were consulted by Carson and his close associates who were directing the anti-Home Rule Movement in Ireland. The British Unionists saw in this pro-Partition movement in Ireland a means of, if possible, defeating Home Rule, but at any rate of deposing the Liberal Party, who were responsible for the Home Rule Movement. The Unionists in England and Ireland knew that even a projected introduction of Partition in Ireland ^{to the Bill} in Home Rule, would be hateful to the people of Ireland, and, of course, to the Irish Parliamentary Party. They hoped that if they succeeded in forcing the Liberal Government to consent to the proposed partition of Ireland, ^{to t} the leaders of the Irish Parliamentary Party, that this would lead to a breach in the close relations then existing between the Irish Parliamentary Party and the British Liberal Party.

Negotiations were being conducted in secret between the leaders of the British Liberal Government, and the leaders of the Irish Parliamentary party for months before any mention of this project was allowed to appear in the newspapers. Rumours, however, of what was happening behind the scenes did get out from time to time, and the Sinn Féin newspaper and the Sinn Féin organisation used these to the fullest effect to warn the people of Ireland as to what might happen.

In the beginning nobody believed that it could be possible that Ireland could be partitioned, and that two governments could be set up in this small country, but when the people of the South saw the enthusiasm with which the pro-Partition movement was being, and had been, taken up in the North, doubts began to exist in their minds as to what might happen. When the people in the South and the Nationalists in the North saw British leaders of the Conservative Party, ex-Cabinet Minister, and I think even an ex-^{and} Prime Minister of England coming to the North of Ireland to preach Partition, and even to advocate the breaking of the laws in order to defeat Home Rule, they began to be alarmed. Griffith

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used all these rumours, and the anti-Home Rule and pro-Partition statements of these British and ~~Irish Nationalists~~ leaders to the fullest extent.

For a long time the leaders of the Irish Parliamentary Party and their prominent followers throughout the country denied that any serious suggestions had been made about leaving the Ulster counties out of the Home Rule Bill, ~~or act~~, if it should be finally passed. But these rumours became so persistent, and the activities of the Unionists' Party in the North became so great, and such enthusiasm was displayed, and such successful monster meetings held throughout the North that the Nationalists of all shades of opinion in the South began to think that possibly the Home Rule Bill might never be enacted, and that if it were, it looked as if the Liberal Government would be weak enough to give in to the clamour of the Unionists that the nine Ulster counties could be cut out of the operation of the Home Rule Act.

All of this movement about the partition of Ireland belongs perhaps to a period two or three years later than that I have been dealing with up to the present, but from 1912 on, that is, from the time ~~one might say~~, of the introduction of the Home Rule Bill into the British House of Commons, in one way or another Partition seemed to become a live issue.

The leaders of the Parliamentary Party, I think, did not take it seriously at first, but they were forced to do so later. Other elements in the country ~~who~~ took serious notice of it and tried to awaken the great bulk of Nationalist Ireland who were, of course, supporters of the Parliamentary Party. Sinn Féin speakers at their public ~~political~~ meetings throughout the country had warned the public, as did also the I.R.B. element whenever they spoke in public; but, of course, the Parliamentary Party always answered that these statements about the possibilities of Partition being made by Sinn Féiners, or opponents of the Parliamentary Party, were merely made for party political purposes. "The Freeman's

"Journal" and other newspapers in the country supporting the Parliamentary Party maintained at the time that such a thing as Partition was nonsense and would not get the smallest consideration from Mr John Redmond and his associate followers of the Parliamentary Party.

There was another branch of the Parliamentary movement which had existed as a separate political organisation for a number of years, that was what one might call "The O'Brienite" section of the Parliamentary Movement. William O'Brien and his supporters had broken away from the Irish Parliamentary Party as a result of differences of opinion about certain Land Acts. I think the final break came when John Redmond and John Dillon, leaders of the Irish Parliamentary Party, refused to support the 1903 Land Act. After that William O'Brien and his supporters - who were not numerous except in and around the county of Cork - were a source of great trouble to the Irish Parliamentary leaders. William O'Brien and his associates also objected to the close alliance that had been formed between the leaders of the Liberal Party and the Liberal Government and the Irish Parliamentary Party. O'Brien claimed that the Parliamentary Party should ~~be~~, as Parnell had done in his time, keep itself absolutely free of association or alliance with either of the big political parties in England. However, the Irish Parliamentary Party leaders of this time did not adopt Parnell's policy in that matter at any rate, and they gave all their support to the Liberal ~~movement~~ party in the General elections of 1905 and 1910. Of course, the Parliamentary Party gave this backing to the Liberals on the Liberal promise that Home Rule would be the major issue in both these elections, and the promise that they would pass a Home Rule Bill within the period of the life of the Parliament that came into existence after the General Election of 1910.

William O'Brien has written a great deal on that period, and of course with a greater knowledge than ever I had as to what

having an armed body in Ireland to defend the Home Rule Act, which he and so many others, believed would be passed and would be put into operation in the course of the next year or so.

So many thousands of young men joined the Volunteers, and so successful were the meetings in favour of the new organisation that it gave a shock to the leaders of the Irish Parliamentary Party. It is true that by the early months of 1914 a couple of hundred thousand men had already joined the Irish Volunteers, most of them, of course, being supporters of the Parliamentary Party. The leaders of the Home Rule Party now decided that they must take hold of the new organisation. Probably they did not have any doubt about Eoin Mac Néill and his loyalty to Home Rule, but they saw that the Fenian element was strong, ⁱⁿ ~~not only~~ the councils of the new organisation no longer in Dublin but elsewhere throughout the country and they also saw that leading Sinn Féiners were active and prominent all over the country in the new military organisation. Naturally this gave them furiously to think. They quite probably visualised the new organisation ousting the United Irish League ^{invent} as the big political force in the country, and being substituted ^{replaced} as the dominant political factor for such an organisation as the A.O.H. If that happened, the Irish Parliamentary Party leaders could see that they would have lost control of the political situation in Ireland.

They determined, therefore, that they must step in, and without further delay, take control of the Irish Volunteer movement.

DREACHT W/

I was, of course, an active member of the Volunteer Organisation from the beginning. I hold no office, military or otherwise, in the organisation. I was simply a private member. I joined the first Company that was organised on the North side of Dublin. It was the 'B' Company of the First Battalion. It met ~~always~~ weekly in the beginning in the hall attached to the Gaelic League Headquarter premises, 25 Parnell Square. The first few weeks went mostly in acceptance of recruits and forming these recruits into sections. Then the elements of military drill and formations were taught to us. We had a number of instructors all of them being ex-soldiers of the British Army, most of them still what were called "Reservists" being liable to be called up again for service in the British Army. I think the name of our first instructor was McGee - his Christian name I don't remember.

We had visits a few times from Monteith. We also had a few visits from and lectures on military drill from a man named Kerrigan, a brother of J. M. Kerrigan the well-known Abbey actor. I was at one of the first meetings of this Company proposed as Captain of the Company but I refused to let my name go forward as I regarded myself as unfitted to be a prominent military man. I cannot recall at the moment who was elected as first Captain of the Company. *Put in here The last sentence of 1883 and the whole of 1891. There were a good many more to follow.*

What happened in the drill hall of the 'B' Company of the First Battalion to which I belonged happened in many similar drill halls all over the City during that same period. I do not know how many Companies were formed in the North side of the City but I am sure there were probably no less than twenty. In all probability there were an even greater number organised on the South side of the City.

There was real enthusiasm evident on all sides in Dublin at this period for the new organisation. Early in 1914 these newly formed Companies were organised into Battalions. On Sunday mornings these Battalions were taken on route marches. I remember going with my Company on route marches into the North County Dublin. We would be taken on a march of about seven or eight miles - perhaps as far as Swords and back again. On another occasion we were taken from the North side up into the Dublin mountains some miles beyond Rathfarnham. Later still groups of cyclists were organised. These cycle groups were, as far as I remember, attached to different Companies and were used for scouting and carrying dispatches.

Great activity was evidenced on all sides. There was a new spirit introduced that had not been in evidence to anything like a similar extend for a great many years. Young men, and even some older men who had never associated themselves with any political party or movement came into the Volunteer organisation in considerable numbers. I think it could be said that all the young men of the Gaelic League joined up. They would be naturally encouraged to do so seeing that some of their principal leaders like Eoin MacNeill, Pádraig Pearse, Cathal Brugha, and Éamon Ceannt were taking such a leading part in the new organisation. I induced myself a good number of young men from the North side of the City of Dublin who had been associated with the Parliamentary Party to join the Volunteers. Some of those became amongst the most active supporters of the volunteer organisation and movement later on. Some amongst them when the split came owing to the insistence of the Parliamentary Party in taking control of the National Executive of the Organisation, inclined to the side opposed to the Redmond Party, and later when the Volunteers actually divided on the subject of "for or against the Parliamentary Party".

some of those young men that I have in mind who were former supporters of the Parliamentary Party took sides with the Anti-Redmond people.

As I have mentioned earlier, the Volunteer Organisation went ahead by leaps and bounds in every part of the country, so much so that the Parliamentary Party became alarmed. They feared that they might lose control of the political situation. They decided, therefore, that they should take over the Volunteer Organisation and control it, and see by this means that the new organisation would do nothing to interfere with the control of national political policy in Ireland that the Irish Parliamentary Party had exercised for so long.

I cannot now remember much of the details in connection with the negotiations that went on for some weeks or maybe months between the representatives of the Irish Parliamentary Party and leaders of the Volunteer movement as to the actions whereby the Irish Parliamentary Party should take control of the new military organisation. Negotiations did go on for a considerable time, and I was usually kept informed on what was happening, mostly by Tom Clarke and sometimes by Sean MacDermott who was then one of the members of the ^{Provisional} Travelling Committee controlling the Irish Volunteers. The leader in the negotiations on the side of the Irish Volunteers was, of course, Eoin MacNeill. He had as his advisers and counsellors in this matter Sir Roger Casement, Bulmer Hobson, and, I think, to a certain extent, Colonel Moore. ^{now} I cannot say why initiated the negotiations in the matter, a ^{not} member of the ^{leaders} of the MacNeill, Casement and Hobson. It is probable that at an early stage came to the decision that it would be necessary to agree to the acceptance of a certain number of representatives of the Irish Parliamentary Party being co-opted on the Governing Body of the Volunteers. They

method is?

*Volunteer, it is
more probable that
was told about it
at the time.*

expressed this view to their colleagues on the Volunteer Executive, and a number of the leaders were greatly disturbed at the thought of permitting any member of the Irish Parliamentary Party to join the Executive Committee of the Volunteers. I think that when the negotiations first began the Parliamentary Party would have been satisfied if a certain number of persons, to be nominated by Mr John Redmond, would be accepted as members of the Volunteer Executive. My recollection is that in the beginning at any rate Redmond's Party did not demand that they should nominate a majority of the Volunteer National Executive or even 50 per cent.

In the early stage there was, certainly on the part of the I.R.B. members or some of the I.R.B. members of the Volunteer Executive, the strongest objection to permitting the Redmondite Party to nominate anybody to their Executive. This objection delayed the negotiations, and in the meantime hundreds of new volunteer companies were being organised steadily every week all over the country. Eventually, after the negotiations had continued for a fairly considerable period, the Irish Parliamentary Party made a public announcement saying that they had decided that they must take control of the new organisation, and I think, but I am not sure of this, that at the same time John Redmond named persons whom he proposed, should be accepted as members of the Volunteer Executive to represent him and his party.

This action on the part of the Parliamentary Party of course created a crisis within the Volunteer organisation. The matter was discussed everywhere and naturally a strong conflict of opinion was evidenced in every Company, at any rate in the City of Dublin. In I.R.B. circles there was consternation at the thought that the Irish Volunteer Organisation was now going to be used by the Irish Parliamentary Party to ^{further} back its own political purposes. I think it could be said that the I.R.B.

element was almost unanimous in ~~the association~~ in opposition to the acceptance by the National Executive of the Volunteers of the Redmond nominees. At an early stage in the discussions I was informed by Tom Clarke that Bulmer Hobson was inclined to side with Eoin MacNeill and Roger Casement in their view that to save the Volunteer Organisation the Redmond nominees should be accepted.

9.1.52.

DREACHT/ X.

The acceptance by the majority of the Provisional Committee of the Volunteers of the nominees of Mr John Redmond as members of that Committee caused very bitter feelings, especially amongst the I.R.B. people throughout the country. The fact that Bulmer Hobson and The O'Rahilly voted in favour of accepting the Redmond nominees came as a great shock to the Republicans. It was known, of course, that MacNeill was always, nominally anyhow, a supporter of the Home Rule Party, but somehow the notion got about that MacNeill's political thought was considerably influenced by Bulmer Hobson. It was taken for granted, therefore, that being a member of the Supreme Council of the I.R.B. he would naturally object to the Redmond Party taking control of the Volunteer organisation. However, to the surprise of all the I.R.B. adherents, Bulmer Hobson took the contrary view. He held that it was necessary to accede to the demand of John Redmond and his party to save the Volunteer organisation. Casement supported him thoroughly and enthusiastically in this view.

Some days before the actual vote was taken on this issue by the Provisional Committee of the Volunteers I met Casement accidentally in Dawson Street, and of course, we stopped to talk, and our talk was on the subject then uppermost in the minds of people like ourselves interested deeply in the national movement - should the Volunteer Executive accept John Redmond's demand? We walked across to St. Stephen's Green, and walked in the Green and around the Green for close on ~~three~~^{two} hours discussing this question in all its bearings.

Casement was strongly of opinion that the Volunteer Organisation would fade out of existence if the Provisional Committee refused to agree to Redmond's demand. I held the view - which was then generally held by people with similar views to my own - that Redmond and his party intended to take control of the Volunteer Organisation so as to prevent it becoming an efficient military organisation, and very definitely, I held, to prevent the

Volunteers being equipped with arms.

Perhaps it is just as well to state here that I am as firmly convinced, or even more firmly convinced now, of my view of the intentions of Mr Redmond and his party with regard to the Volunteer organisation and its future as I was then. I think later events proved that the fears we entertained for the future of the Volunteer organisation as a military force were well grounded. The Redmond party set out, I believe deliberately, so to control the Volunteer organisation as to make it just another arm of the political organisation then controlled by the Irish Parliamentary Party.

could not

One can imagine the members of the newly constituted Volunteer Executive, the majority of whom after the Redmond demands were acceded to, would be supporters of John Redmond and his party, permitting the volunteers to be armed and to become an efficient military force. That would be against all their accepted opinions as expressed by their leaders especially since John Redmond took control of the Parliamentary Party, and allied himself so closely and intimately with the Liberal Party then in control of the Government of Great Britain.

two that

During the three hours ~~that~~ we discussed this matter Casement did not hesitate to admit that his aim eventually was the complete freedom of Ireland and its separation from Great Britain. I do not know whether Casement ever took the Republican oath. I cannot say now ~~I remember~~ if I ever heard that Casement was a member of the I.R.B. I can say, however, that there was no shadow of difference between his political views at this time and the views of members of the I.R.B. like myself. He tried very hard to convince me that his policy at the moment was best - that it was necessary at the moment to give in to the demand of the Parliamentary Party, and to try with whatever power remained to the Republican element on the Executive of the Volunteers to counteract the efforts which he

admitted would be made by the Redmond nominees to control the new military organisation, and to prevent it achieving its aim which was to become a well-trained, well-disciplined, effective military force.

~~Be similar to~~ I am sure that the views expressed by Casement would represent the views held by Bulmer Hobson at this time. These were close friends and they spent much time together, and very frequently conferred and consulted about the future of the Volunteer organisation. We separated after the long discussion each of us holding still firmly by our own views on this subject.

I cannot now remember the date that the important decision was taken by the Provisional Committee of the Volunteers to accept ~~Redmond's~~ Mr Redmond's nominees as members of the Governing Body. To the surprise of people like myself not alone did Bulmer Hobson and Sir Roger Casement vote in favour of accepting Redmond's nominees, but a man in whom we placed much reliance as a true ~~Irish~~ Republican - The O'Rahilly. — He also voted in favour of the Redmond proposition, presumably under the influence of John MacNeill who was a close friend of his at that time.

The fact that Bulmer Hobson took this attitude favourable to the Redmond viewpoint was, of course, a great shock to the members of the I.R.B. I cannot say that Hobson's voting in this way came as a surprise to Tom Clarke and Sean MacDermott, but I think that Hobson for some weeks before the decision was taken had been arguing with these two in favour of adopting that course. I have a vague recollection of hearing this at the time. I did not at any time speak to Hobson myself on this subject, ~~about this period.~~ I was never at any time a close or intimate friend of Bulmer Hobson's though we met fairly frequently in I.R.B. and other similar circles.

One result of this vote of Hobson's was that it severed the intimate friendship and companionship that had existed for a number of years between Hobson and Tom Clarke and Sean MacDermott.

I think that it is true to say that the friendship of Clarke and Hobson was broken from that time onwards. I think it is true also that not long after this Hobson was called upon to resign from the Supreme Council of the I.R.B. I am not now certain whether I heard this at the time or not. There are two or three people still living who could give the whole facts with regard to this latter statement. They are Denis McCullough who was then, and had been for a number of years, Chairman of the Supreme Council of the I.R.B., Dr. McCarten ^{ex} who was a member of the Supreme Council, and P. S. O'Hegarty, another member.

The acceptance by the Provisional Committee of the nominees of John Redmond created an entirely new situation especially for the I.R.B. men. The Volunteer organisation was now controlled by parties with ^{two} ~~an~~ ^{conflicting} entirely different national outlooks. Redmond's principle aim was to take the Volunteers from under the control of those whom they regarded as their political opponents. This they started to do immediately they joined the Executive of the Volunteers.

I was not a member at any time of either the Provisional Executive or the reorganised Executive of the Volunteer organisation. However, the history of the Volunteer movement as written by The O'Rahilly, that is as far as I can recollect it - it is a long time now since I read it - gives an account of how the new members of the Volunteer Executive behaved. I think it contends definitely that the new body under the control of the Redmond party made determined efforts to see that the Volunteers all over the country took no action that could in any way be regarded as obstructing the political policy of the Parliamentary Party.

The new control did have the effect of dampening very successfully the enthusiasm of those who were interested in military matters in the Volunteer organisation. There had been for some time a vigorous demand that the Executive of the Volunteers should secure arms, and I believe steps had been taken by a specially appointed sub-Committee of the Volunteer Executive to endeavour to secure arms, as much arms as possible for the Volunteer body.

I presume that one of the first acts of the newly constituted Executive was to make certain that this policy should be altered. It is true, however, that the Redmond party did secure some rifles. At some period during the history of the Volunteers - I cannot remember now at what period - they secured, let us say, some thousands of Italian rifles which were distributed in carefully selected areas of the Volunteers. The areas selected, of course, were where the Redmond people felt they had the most loyal supporters. For these Italian rifles, however, so far as my recollection goes, no ammunition was ever obtained, and certainly was not supplied to those to whom the rifles were given. The rifles were for show on public parades, but there was certainly, so far as the Parliamentary Party was concerned, the deliberate intention that they were not for use in any ~~true~~ ^{more effective} military sense.

30.1.52.

DREACHT/Y.

I cannot now remember about what date I learned that a Sub-Committee of the Volunteer Executive had been set up to make arrangements to procure arms and ammunition for the Volunteers. I think it is likely that this Committee was set up some time before the Redmond nominees joined the Volunteer Executive. It is certain, however, that such a Committee was in existence from some time in the Spring of 1914, and I think the Chairman was The O'Rahilly. He certainly was the most active member of this Sub-Committee. Who else was on the Sub-Committee with him I do not now remember. I do recollect, however, that some time in 1915 Michael O'Hanrahan who was, after the Rising in 1916, tried and executed, became an Executive official of that Sub-Committee. He it was who knew what arms and ammunition had been obtained and where ^{they were} ~~it was~~ stored, and he carried out the work of distributing the arms secured by the Sub-Committee.

It was at some time decided by the Sub-Committee that an effort should be made to purchase as much military equipment as the financial resources of the Volunteer Organisation would allow them to purchase from the Continent. Enquiries were made as to the possibility of securing arms in Belgium, France Germany, and Italy. It was early discovered that there was strict control on the export of arms of any kind from France. It would appear that there was some hope some time of securing arms in Belgium, because I was asked by Tom Clarke to go to Belgium to meet certain people whose names were mentioned to me as being persons who could purchase arms and help us to get them out of Belgium to Ireland. This assignment was later cancelled.

In this connection it was at an early stage suggested to the Armament Sub-Committee of the Volunteers that an effort should be made to organise London and to collect funds there for the purchase of arms. Casement took up this suggestion enthusiastically, went to London himself, and interviewed a

number of his Irish friends there, with the result that a special Committee was set up there. The late Mrs Alice Stopford Greene gave the use of her house at Grosvenor Place for the meetings of this Arms Committee. I do not recollect now the names of any who were on that Sub-Committee, though I knew them well at the time, but probably full information with regard to the activities of this Committee, which eventually provided most of the funds with which the Howth guns were later purchased, could be given by Mrs Mulcahy, wife of General Richard Mulcahy, who was a member of the Committee.

She does not remember anything about this

SAC

This London sub-Committee was most successful in collecting funds for arms, and I think it was at his own suggestion that Darrell Figgis, who was in close touch with this Committee in London, went to Germany as the agent of the Committee to look for arms. He secured certain quantities, I do not know exactly now what quantities of old German rifles and suitable ammunition. It was arising out of the activities of this London Committee, acting of course in close association with, and under the direction of the Arms Committee in Dublin, over which The O'Rahilly presided, that the arms and the landing of the guns at Howth was arranged and directed.

I was asked to go on the Committee in Dublin to make arrangements for the safe landing of the arms on this side. I do not know who eventually made the choice of Howth as a landing place - probably it was The O'Rahilly Committee, but for the couple of weeks before the date of the landing of guns at Howth, (July 26th 1914), arrangements were being made, secretly of course, by the Volunteer Executive and by the I.R.B. Executive to secure the safe landing of the guns and ammunition. Probably the Redmond nominees on the National Executive were kept in ignorance of all these military activities.

This work of the procuring and landing of arms was, of course, an adventure in which the members of the I.R.B. and of course those active took the deepest interest. The I.R.B. became most active and called together a number of active adherents in and around the City, and formed them into a body to make certain that if and when these guns were landed at Howth or elsewhere, they should be carefully guarded and distributed to people who would be prepared to make the best use of them.

For the week before the landing of the guns at Howth there was great activity in I.R.B. circles. I remember being brought to a cellar in a house in Hardwicke Street. I think it was the house in which a man named Seán Tobin, ^{Centre} one of the Dublin Local Executive of the I.R.B., lived. In this cellar a number of men were working shaping out wooden batons from hard timber that had been procured somewhere. These batons, I think a couple of hundred or so of them, ^{when} were made, were to be given to men who would be appointed to protect the arms landing, in case the police attempted to interfere with the landing. The idea of the batons was that they would be most effective ^{more} ~~in~~ dealing with the police who, it was anticipated, would not be armed. It was thought also that the batons while in the hands of men capable of using them could be an effective weapon against the police, they would not have the effect of frightening the Volunteer element who so far who had not been trained ^{or} physiologically ^{prepared} trained even to use fire arms against the forces of the Crown. Some 200 or thereabouts carefully selected men were provided with these batons two or three days before the Sunday on which the guns were landed at Howth, and they were trained how best to use them in case of necessity against the police force who it was thought might be called on to prevent the ^{also} landing of arms. It was foreseen that the military might be called out to stop the landing of arms, but the I.R.B. element

at any rate decided that it would not be wise at this stage to suggest to the Volunteer Executive that even a proportion of the Volunteers should be armed with firearms to resist the attempt, if such were made by the military, to prevent the landing of arms, or the confiscation of ~~the~~ arms when landed.

All these arrangements were carefully considered, and it was definitely decided by the I.R.B. element at any rate that ~~it~~ to propose to defend the landing of arms with ~~firearms~~ guns at this stage would not meet with the approval of the Volunteer Executive. Nevertheless a ~~small~~ number of the I.R.B. men engaged on the job did ~~not~~ carry arms.

These matters I discussed in detail several times with Tom Clarke and Seán MacDermott. These two men would not, of course, have hesitated to ~~protect~~ the landing of arms by the use of ~~firearms~~ guns. It is certain too that they could ~~not~~ call on the services of a sufficient and efficiently trained body of men from the I.R.B. who would be prepared to use firearms in defending the landing of arms at Howth or anywhere else against the British police or military, if ordered to do so. But, at this stage, Clarke and MacDermott were of opinion that it probably would not be wise to ~~stop~~ the use of firearms. They would be prepared, and they were prepared to use firearms on the police and on the British military in ~~case~~ ^{the event of} either of these latter bodies ~~making~~ made an attempt to ~~confiscate~~ seize the newly landed guns.

There were men, how many I cannot now say, mostly members of the I.R.B. and a few others who were not in the organisation but were Volunteers, who were armed and who were on duty at Howth on that Sunday morning, and these men were determined that if any attempt were made to prevent the landing of the arms they themselves would use firearms to protect the guns. As it later happily turned out, the use of firearms to protect the landing of arms was ~~unavoidably~~

The body of men ~~as~~ selected took it in turn to watch that week Howth and the surrounding district to report on any special activities that they might notice in that vicinity, and ~~to remain on duty on the Sunday morning that it was~~ proposed that the arms should be landed. A number were on duty all day on Saturday and others relieved them for duty as watchers all night on Saturday. I was one of those told off for duty as watcher on the Saturday night before the landing of the guns at Howth. I went on duty about 7 o'clock ~~on Saturday evening and continued on duty as a~~ watcher at Howth until 6 o'clock on ^{Sunday} Saturday morning when I was relieved.

6.2.52.

The Oireachtas of the Gaelic League opened that day in Killarney. Some days before I had discussed with Tom Clarke and Sean MacDermott whether I should be at Howth for the landing of guns or go to the Oireachtas. Clarke and MacDermott were insistent that my place was at the Oireachtas. They had, they said, plenty of men who could look after the safe landing of the arms, but as a member of the Coisde Gnótha and a delegate to the Ard Fheis, they contended it was my duty to be in Killarney.

I left Howth, therefore, early on Sunday morning and took the special train to Killarney from King's Bridge. There were, of course, a few besides myself on that train who were aware of the proposed gun running. Naturally we were very anxious all day for news of what happened at Howth. Some of our friends in Killarney got in touch with telegraph officials at the Post Office, and asked them to keep in touch with Dublin so that they could secure for us news of what happened. This was done, although officially the Post Office telegraph service was closed on Sunday - at least in Killarney. I am not now sure as to the exact time that word reached us of the exciting events that took place at Howth and in Dublin city that afternoon. I think it must probably have been about 5 o'clock, maybe it was 6, that definite news was conveyed to us from the telegraph officials that the guns had been safely landed at Howth, and that they had been distributed to the assembled volunteers who had marched out from Dublin. We were also told that the Volunteers had marched towards Dublin carrying the newly landed rifles, and there exaggerated accounts were given to us of a supposed battle that took place somewhere in the region of Clontarf with members of the D.M.P. and R.I.C.

The first news that arrived told us of a fierce battle or battles that had taken place, and that there were I don't know how many dead and wounded Volunteers and police as a

result of the efforts of the Government authorities to seize the rifles from the Volunteers. Later, too, we heard of the arrival of the British military on the scene, and highly coloured pictures were given to us of the firing by the Scottish Borderers' Regiment on the people at Bachelors' Walk.

Needless to say there was much excitement in Killarney that evening as a result of the exaggerated stories that were circulated as to the happenings in Dublin. Killarney was full of Volunteers that day. Arrangements had been made for a big display to be staged by the Volunteers. As many Companies as could be conveniently assembled in Killarney were encouraged to go there to carry out certain manoeuvres, and finally to be reviewed. I think the name of the reviewing officer was Talbot Crosbie, a Co. Kerry landowner who had joined the Volunteers and who had been given a superior ranking as a military officer of some experience. These manoeuvres had taken place and the review was already over before the exciting news from Dublin came through. Hundreds, maybe thousands of Volunteers, however, were still in and around Killarney, and when the hair-raising news arrived from Dublin the excitement amongst them was intense. Of course the news had reached the R.I.C. also, and naturally they were worried as to what might happen in Killarney with so many Volunteers there, but luckily things passed off quietly, and beyond the excitement and vigorous expression by the Volunteers of criticism of the police for their supposed activities at Howth on that day, nothing untoward happened.

I had to remain in Killarney for the meeting of the Ard Fheis of the Gaelic League. I probably got back to Dublin on ~~Wednesday~~^{Thursday evening or maybe Friday} travelling with ~~John Henr~~^{John Henr} Clarke, and at once reported to Tom Clarke. The first job I was given to tackle when I returned was to arrange for the funeral of a man named Pidgeon who was one of those who had been shot by the British Military at

Bachelors' Walk. He was not shot dead, but died of his wounds some days afterwards in hospital. I remember visiting his home which was close to St. Patrick's Cathedral. His wife kept a small shop I remember, but I think he himself was a printer by trade. I cannot now think of the name of the Street, but it was within a few yards of Kevin Street police barracks. I arranged for the funeral, and as far as I recollect the I.R.B. paid the funeral expenses. We invited a number of City bands to attend which they did, and we made as much of a public demonstration of the funeral as we thought appropriate at the time.

The next task that was given to me was to take charge of another landing of arms which was to take place on the Saturday after the Howth gun running.

This reminds me that I should have mentioned earlier that besides the arrangements for the landing of the guns at Howth, it was intended that a second landing should take place ^{on the same day or} at the coast of Wicklow near Kilcoole. The yacht which was owned and manned by Mr Erskine Childers, his wife and Miss Mary Spring Rice, was not big enough to carry safely all the arms and ammunition that had been purchased, so Conor O'Brien, a brother of Dermott O'Brien, President of the Royal Hibernian Academy, who was a most experienced yachtsman, was called on for assistance. Conor O'Brien most willingly gave his help.

I remember that about mid-day on Saturday the 25th July ~~April~~ a telegram was received - by whom I do not remember, but probably by Bulmer Hobson or somebody acting for him because it would not be safe to have telegrams coming direct to Hobson, and certainly not to Clarke nor MacDermott. Anyhow a telegram was received from Wales. I do not know where exactly in Wales. It conveyed the information from Conor O'Brien that his yacht could not cross that day.

Weather conditions, I think the telegram said, were not suitable and that the proposed landing at Kilcoole should be postponed.

Arrangements had been made, and men had been selected to receive the arms at Kilcoole for the landing on the night of the 25th July, and certainly men had been told off for duty at Kilcoole. I was one of those told off for duty there, ~~but~~
~~I was not informed of the change in the operation.~~ ^{and} I was told that Bulmer Hobson and Sean Fitzgibbon had been instructed to make all the arrangements.

I remember that among the arrangements that were made was the chartering of a charabanc from Messrs Thompson, Carriers, of Brunswick Street. This charabanc was to leave Brunswick Street on the Saturday afternoon with a number of men and a number of girls aboard as if they were going on a picnic. I do not remember now who the men were who were to travel on the charabanc. I do remember quite clearly, however, that about thirty to forty men and women were ordered to take part in this so-called picnic. They were to go to somewhere in Co. Wicklow, and eventually the charabanc was to be used for the transport of the arms and ammunition. Some of the men members, and certainly all the women who were invited for this picnic, would later in the evening have been sent home by train. That was, as I recollect, part of the arrangement that was made then for the landing at Kilcoole.

I distinctly remember discussing the news contained in the telegram, with Tom Clarke and Sean MacDermott in Clarke's shop in Parnell Street. It was decided then that the landing at Kilcoole ^{agreed} ~~that night must~~ should be called off, and that the efforts should be made to keep in touch with Conor O'Brien, and that he should be instructed to bring his yacht with its military contents to Kilcoole on the following Saturday night. I was asked to go to Thompsons in Brunswick Street to countermand the charabanc, which I did. Some days later, I was ~~and~~

Substitute for part X X ~~as~~^{CASART} pages 137 & 8

I now remember that fears had been expressed that because of the long and unexpected delay in the Welsh port Conr O'Brien's yacht may have come under the notice of the local police authorities or Coastguard and it was decided it would be wise to secure another yacht and have Conr O'Brien's load of arms and ammunition transferred to it. For this purpose some friends secured the use of a yacht owned by Sir Thomas Dyles, a prominent Dublin surgeon who, though Pro-British, was a supporter of Redmond and Home Rule and in favour of the Volunteer movement. The transfer of the arms must have taken place on the high seas.

Clarke and MacDermott to take charge of the Kilcoole operation on the following Saturday night. I left Dublin by train for Kilcoole that Saturday evening about 7 o'clock. I had three or four well-known I.R.B. men with me, I cannot now remember ^{only} but two of their names, one was Tom Byrne, afterwards Chief Ussher in Dail Eireann, Another was a very old friend of mine named Diarmuid O'Leary who was Managing Director of Hopkins & Hopkins Jewellers, O'Connell Street. I think a third was a man named ~~Danny~~
~~Donald~~ O'Callaghan, well-known in Volunteer I.R.B. and Gaelic League circles.

We travelled to Greystones by train, and walked from Greystones to Kilcoole.

When we arrived at Kilcoole we found many others assembled there including Cathal Brugha, Bulmer Hobson, Sean Fitzgibbon, Liam Mellows and his brother, ~~Barney~~.

Promised
On the same day the question of transport had been considered and discussed, and it was decided that we should hire the largest lorry that Thompson's could give us. This was done, and we ordered Thompson's to have his lorry in the vicinity of Kilcoole Railway Station at about 11 o'clock on that Saturday night. We had already arranged with Conor O'Brien that he should arrive not earlier than 11 o'clock on the Saturday night outside Kilcoole. *I think a special messenger had been sent along to Conor O'Brien in Wales to make final arrangements.*

I had heard that Conor O'Brien's yacht could not come into the beach and there was no harbour or jetty at Kilcoole. A smaller boat ^{was} to be secured to carry the guns and ammunition from O'Brien's yacht to the shore. For this purpose somebody had got in touch with Sir Thomas Myles, the well-known Dublin surgeon, who had a boat ^{which} would be suitable for such operations. Myles readily consented to give the use of his boat for the purpose. It was probably the Volunteer Organising Committee ^{or} some member of it, perhaps Bulmer Hobson or his friend

*See
part on
last sheet*

Sean Fitzgibbon that made this arrangement. I am sure I knew of it at the time but my recollection of it now is most vague.

It should be mentioned too that the Fianna were asked to take an important part in this operation. About one hundred of the Fianna were mobilised, and under the charge of Mellows were given the job of scouting the Kilcoole area. They were to watch all the crossroads within a radius of four or five miles, and to give us warning of the approach of the police in case any police did happen to be in the neighbourhood immediately before or during the operation. I remember visiting a number of the posts held by the Fianna boys during the hour or two we had to spare before the ^{also} guns actually were due to arrive. I remember being struck by the alertness and the efficiency of these young lads, and remarking to my colleagues how well these young fellows carried out their important duties.

The signals that had been agreed upon between Conor O'Brien and those in charge of the landing were received about 11.30 ~~I think~~ on that Saturday night, and immediately preparations for the reception of the arms were made.

I should say that in addition to the Fianna who had been told to do certain scouting duties, I had told off a number of men for duty at various posts in and around the Kilcoole railway station. We had determined that no visitors should be allowed within the area we had marked for an hour or so before the time fixed for the landing ~~of~~ to take place. I do not now remember exactly the number of men I had at my disposal, but I am sure it must have been about fifty, most of whom arrived at Kilcoole by bicycle, all of whom ^{then} were Dublin Volunteers or I.R.B. men.

I remember well that I put the Railway station building, which is only a very small affair, in the charge of a man named O'Callaghan whose name I have already mentioned, and he had two men to assist him. They were to see that nobody entered the railway station during the course of our operations.

Some time before the yacht carrying the guns was actually signalled word was brought to me down on the strand that two R.I.C. men were approaching the railway station. They had been observed by the Fianna who were on duty in that area, and the Fianna decided to let the two police who were patrolling the area pass on, and they sent two cyclists by another road to give us warning of their approach. The police entered the railway station, and there they were disarmed and held up by my friend O'Callaghan who immediately reported the matter to me. I told him to put men in charge of them, and to keep them locked up in the railway station until our business was finished.

During the height of the work of landing the guns somebody brought me word that the two R.I.C. men had escaped and could not be found. It appears that in the excitement of the landing of the guns my friend O'Callaghan and his two guards left their posts and came down to the strand to help us to carry the guns ashore. O'Callaghan explained to me afterwards that before he left he had seen to it that the railway station room where the two R.I.C. men were had been properly locked. However, the two R.I.C. men escaped and tried to take a short cut through a bog to get back to their headquarters to report what they had seen. I had to detail about twenty men to encircle the whole area where we thought that they had gone, and eventually we found the police in the bog - luckily stuck in the bog and unable to get out - and they were brought back/safely locked up with six men this time to guard them.

When we had finished our work I told three or four men who

had bicycles to remain guarding the R.I.C. men for an hour or maybe two hours (I forget which) after we left, and then to let them off and themselves to cycle back to Dublin.

Sir Thomas Myles's yacht carrying the guns arrived safely and with the aid of the smaller local boats we unloaded the guns and ammunition. I cannot now remember how many guns we had but I think it was probably about 600, and in addition we had a good many boxes of ammunition. The guns themselves were very heavy, and the ammunition for the guns was proportionately heavy. I think the gun bullet was about $1\frac{1}{2}$ " long and about $\frac{3}{4}$ " round. When the work of landing all the guns had been accomplished we unpacked most of them so as to make it easier to handle them for distribution when we landed in Dublin. They were packed in straw in bundles of I think five or six, and we undid them from the straw and carried them to the waiting lorry. This operation took us some hours. I think we did not leave the strand or the vicinity of the railway station until about 5 o'clock in the morning.

We had two or maybe three ~~myself~~ motor-cyclists one of whom went ahead of us and one scouted the roads behind. I cannot now remember their names. Our destination was St. Enda's School where it had been arranged that a number of motor-cars would be assembled, and the guns would be distributed to those who were to take them to certain addresses which had already been agreed upon. A number of the motor-cars were owned and driven by well-known professional men mostly ~~of~~ Dublin - doctors, solicitors, architects and some businessmen. I can only remember two of their names, and the first was Dr. M. S. Walsh, a well-known medical officer who lived at North Frederick St. Dublin. He was a Walsh of Kilmallock, Co. Limerick, very well-known people in that area. A brother of his who was a medical student was in my section of the I.R.B., he was Dr. Stephen Barry Walsh who, though an I.R.B. man, joined the British army in 1915. He was then Assistant Medical Officer of Health in

Cardiff, and some months afterwards he was blown to pieces in France in the war. I think the second was a Dublin solicitor named John Shiel who is still alive and ^a well-known professional man in Dublin.

We got our load away from Kilcoole safely. The whole load was put on to the lorry, but as afterwards appeared the load was too much for the lorry and we travelled very slowly. I sat on the top of the lorry and had five or six others with me, all armed with revolvers, and our instructions were not to let the guns or ammunition be seized by the police at any cost.

When we reached Little Bray just at the spot where there are I think nine or ten cottages on the side of the road -- these cottages have high steps leading up to them and are on the left-hand side as one comes from Kilmacanogue into Little Bray -- just at that spot where there is a bend in the road, the back ax^{le} broke and we were left with our load on the road about 6.30 in the morning. We were in a quandry. We did not have enough men to unload the lorry, ^{speedily} and if we unloaded it itself, what could we do? In this fix the driver of the lorry, who had been employed on the Dublin South Eastern Railway, and who had at one time lived in this vicinity, suggested that as he knew one or two of the occupants of the cottages I have just referred to, that he should knock them up and ask them to store the guns and ammunition in their back-yards until we could make arrangements for their distribution. To this suggestion some of the families in the houses agreed, and at once we started to unload and put the guns into the back-yards, and in the operation we were to our relief enthusiastically assisted by some of the men from those cottages who were knocked ^{up} out of their beds at this early hour. Some of the women too took a hand in carrying the guns and storing them in their back-yards.

In the meantime I had dispatched two of our motor cycle escort with all speed to St. Enda's (Pearse's School) to summon the motorists who were assembled there to come to Little Bray.

I am glad to say that within an hour the motorists were speedily arriving at Little Bray, and we started at once to take the guns and ammunition from the back-yards of the cottages and load them into the motor-cars. The job though a heavy one was quickly completed, and we had the whole place cleared, and the motor-cars dispatched without anybody arriving on the scene. I was told that about an hour or so after the last of us had left the scene at Little Bray, a patrol of R.I.C. arrived on the scene, saw the broken-down lorry and the straw that remained in and around the neighbourhood, and at once started making enquiries. They soon learned, of course, what had happened and in the meantime the R.I.C. men from Kilcoole had made reports, with the result that after a couple of hours the coastline at Kilcoole and the roads from there to Bray were actively patrolled by a number of R.I.C. men, and some of their highest officials made enquiries as to what had happened and where the guns had been taken to.

Afterwards I learned from my friend Charles Thompson, the owner of the lorry of Gt. Brunswick Street, that he had been subjected to serious cross-examination by the police about the persons who had hired his lorry, and as to the contents of the load. The police tried to fix certain responsibility on Thompson, but he was successful in repudiating any responsibility. He was able to tell them a good reason for the hiring of his lorry, and he probably told them that he was not in the confidence of those who had used the lorry.

Anyhow the load of guns was safely delivered and distributed in various places in and around Dublin city, North and South. I myself took twelve guns and two cases of ammunition home to my mother's house which was then at 8, Belvedere Ave., N.C.Rd. The guns and ammunition were kept

there for a few days until instructions were given as to the persons to whom they were to be delivered. I was allowed to keep one for myself, and my brother Michael was also given another, and we were given also, of course, a certain quantity of ammunition. I do not remember now how much, probably 100 rounds for each gun.

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