

The Irish Book Shop
780 Lexington Avenue
NEW YORK

STEPPING- STONES

"sceltz"

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-4-87 BY SP8 BTJ/kp

Published by
THE IRISH BOOK BUREAU
68 Upper O'Connell Street, Dublin

MADE IN
IRELAND

61-7606-56X

STEPPING STONES*

By SCEILG

I.—ON THE ASCENT TO THE REPUBLIC.

"In every generation the Irish people have asserted their right to national freedom and sovereignty: six times during the past three hundred years they have asserted it in arms. Standing on that fundamental right, and again asserting it in arms in the face of the world, we hereby proclaim the Irish Republic as a Sovereign, Independent State, and we pledge our lives and the lives of our comrades-in-arms to the cause of its freedom, of its welfare and of its exaltation among the nations.

"Until our arms have brought the opportune moment for the establishment of a permanent National Government, representative of the whole people of Ireland, and elected by the suffrages of all her men and women, the Provisional Government hereby constituted will administer the civil and military affairs of the Republic in trust for the people.

"We place the cause of the Irish Republic under the protection of the Most High God, Whose blessing we invoke upon our arms, and we pray that no one who serves that cause will dishonour it by cowardice, inhumanity or rapine. In this supreme hour, the Irish nation must by its valour and discipline, and by the readiness of its children to sacrifice themselves for the common good, prove itself worthy of the august destiny to which it is called."

So closes the Proclamation of the Irish Republic, Easter Week, 1916, inaugurating the struggle for national liberty, a later phase of which—culminating in the execution of the Four Martyrs of Mountjoy—we commemorate this evening. Temporary surrender came in Dublin that memorable Easter after a week's fighting which won the admiration of friend and foe and aroused anew the waning pride of our scattered race. The execution of the signatories followed, as of other leaders, young and old, and the death in action of some of the more valiant of their comrades: their names will remain forever on Ireland's martyr-roll. Despite his twenty-three wounds one of the Dublin officers survived. Yet, stricken though he was, to his initiative and his resolute will was it mainly due that the continuity of the fight was maintained; and, almost before the blood of the martyrs had grown cold, a conference was held in Banba Hall, Dublin, to consider ways and means for a new rally.

May 3rd furnished news from Cork of the heroic fight by the Kent brothers at Castletyons, encouraged by their aged mother with a valour worthy of the mother of the Macchabees. From May 4th to May 12th the brutal executions ordered by Gen. Maxwell shocked the nation. For nine days Dublin had been without news, except that it saw hundreds of Republican prisoners deported daily to England's dungeons. When, at last, the newspapers, dated April 28th—May 5th, were published in one issue, they carried the announcement that

"the following communique was issued yesterday: Three signatories of the notice proclaiming the Irish Republic: P. H. Pearse, T. MacDonagh and T. J. Clarke, have been tried by Field General Court Martial and sentenced to death. The sentence having been duly confirmed, the three above-mentioned men were shot this morning."

The same day we read: "the following further results of the trial of Sinn Féin rebels were announced yesterday:

Convicted and sentenced to death: Joseph Plunkett, Edward Daly, Michael O'Hanrahan and William Pearse. The above were shot this morning after confirmation of the sentences by the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief.

And "the dead body of the O'Rahilly was found in Moore Lane." The following day came the intelligence: "The death sentence on John MacBride was carried out this morning."

On Tuesday, May 9th, came the further announcement:

"Sentenced to death, the sentences being carried out yesterday morning: Cornelius Colbert, Edmond Kent, Michael Mallin and J. J. Heuston."

Friday morning, May 12th, Premier Asquith arrived in Dublin and was taken straight to the Viceregal Lodge, where he conferred with Gen. Maxwell and other British instruments of despotism. That evening came the

*A Lecture delivered by J. J. O'Kelly in the City Hall, Cork, December 9th, 1939, in commemoration of the Four Martyrs of Mountjoy.

4
announcement of the execution of James Connolly and Sean MacDermott as Asquith landed in the morning. On Saturday he went with Butcher Maxwell to Dublin Castle, inspected some "officers" in Trinity College, even visited Republican prisoners herded in Richmond Barracks. On Monday he appeared out of nowhere in Belfast, and had "a full and frank discussion of the situation with leading citizens." Tuesday he again spent in conference with Maxwell in Dublin, and next day he was sworn in a member of the Privy Council. On Thursday he mysteriously presented himself in Cork, interviewed the Mayor, the Assistant Bishop and others under an adequate guard, and proceeded thereafter by the Admiralty launch to Cobh, whence, that night, he went like a hero "by a sea route to Fishguard."

Back at Westminster, he unwittingly admitted the breakdown of alien government in Ireland. Thereupon Lloyd George was commissioned "to seek an agreement between the different Irish parties," and within three days had given Sir Edward Carson a secret letter urging "Ulster" not to merge in the rest of Ireland. On the strength of promises of another kind, made to John Redmond, a Nationalist Convention in Belfast agreed to temporary Partition and the suspension of the Home Rule Act then on the British Statute Book. Gradually the Welsh attorney declared openly for permanent Partition, ingeniously placing the responsibility on Premier Asquith, whom he soon ousted, and succeeded. John Redmond and John Dillon, though enraged by the betrayal, pledged their unwavering support to England during the War; and the new Premier, became the architect in turn, of an Irish Convention—to deceive the United States—of the Partition Act of 1920, the Black-and-Tan reign of terror, the Treaty so-called, and the Irish Boundary Commission.

Two organisations seeking aid for the dependents of those executed, killed, wounded, imprisoned, or deported for their part in the Easter Rising, having been amalgamated under the title of the Irish National Aid and Volunteer Dependents' Fund in the summer of 1916, the Irish race responded most generously to the Appeal issued by the new body. Meanwhile the Irish Nation League, organised in the North to resist Partition, afforded a very useful and propitious platform. Its objects included the release of all Republican prisoners, resistance to Conscription, the preservation of the national language, traditions and ideals. Its Constitution provided that no member of Parliament should be eligible for its Supreme Council or for a Divisional Council; and, if a member of the Supreme Council were elected to Parliament, he ceased to be a member of the Council. Further, every Member of Parliament was to place all payments received by him from the British Treasury in the hands of the Council, which would pay him back such sums as it might fix. Moreover, no Member of Council or of Parliament was to seek for himself or for others any position or favour from the British Government or from any of its representatives.

The bulk of the deportees in English gaols having been released by Christmas, 1916, the Irish Nation League and Sinn Féin were drawn more closely together. On my way home with Arthur Griffith from one of the preliminary meetings which eventuated in the Nation League becoming merged in Sinn Féin, I was arrested, in February, 1917, when prominent Republicans from all parts of Ireland—including the Mayors of Cork, later martyred—were rounded up and deported to various centres in England. Count Plunkett had just been selected to contest a Roscommon constituency, where he had a most striking victory. Forthwith he became the special target of the Parliamentary Party, and a National Conference which he organised met with the venomous opposition of the Party machine.

In March, the Australian Senate, by 28 votes to 2, carried a motion demanding Home Rule for Ireland; later, an Australian Labour Conference repeated the demand. Pro-Irish feeling in the United States was also very pronounced, and citizens of the eminence of Cardinal Gibbons and Messrs. Roosevelt and Taft identified themselves with it. From most of the great cities of the world, indeed, lively expressions of sympathy with Irish liberty came on the occasion of the National Festival. Hosts of able-bodied English

5
slackers were whippet-racing in Ireland by this time; but public meetings and processions were prohibited here by Sir Bryan Mahon. Yet, Republican graves were decorated in Glasnevin, and the tricolour floated over the Dublin G.P.O. to celebrate the first anniversary of the Declaration of the Republic. In April, too, some 200 American Congressmen, including the speaker, cabled Lloyd George strongly urging "a settlement now of the Irish Question." Arthur Balfour visited America where, the following month, in addressing Congress, he professed a great friendship for Ireland. Bloody Balfour! About the same time, Canada declared the Irish Question must be settled.

At home, a protest against Partition was signed by 18 Catholic and 3 Protestant prelates, others adding their signatures later; and a letter by Archbishop Walsh of Dublin, denouncing Partition and expressing the fear that the country was already sold, contributed to win the Longford election for Sinn Féin, by a majority of 37. Lloyd George now proposed a scheme involving the exclusion of Six Ulster Counties for five years, and a Council of Ireland or, alternatively, an Irish Convention. Five days later he announced that the Convention would be summoned immediately. The Convention was rejected by Sinn Féin, an attitude in which they were soon joined by the Gaelic League; but the Catholic Hierarchy accepted the invitation to appoint delegates. We next find Lloyd George ostentatiously awaiting at Wootton Heath the echo of the explosion which was to signalise a new Allied offensive in Flanders. Major William Redmond, M.P., lost his life in that onset, leaving a Parliamentary vacancy in Clare, while Capt. James Craig and the loquacious bigots of "Ulster" remained comfortably at home.

On Sunday, June 10th, Inspector Mills met his death through a blow of a hurley at a Republican meeting in Beresford Place, Dublin, and Count Plunkett, Cathal Brugha and others were arrested. Arthur Balfour returned from the United States and was replaced there by Lord Northcliffe, who had made sympathetic references to Ireland—to get the ear of America. T. P. O'Connor and Richard Hazelton also crossed the Atlantic, incidentally to advocate the cause of the Allies. On June 18th, the Irish Republican prisoners arrived home from England, in response to persistent clamour for their release. Following a Sinn Féin demonstration in Cork towards the end of the month the military were called out. Already there was excitement over the Clare election, with Eamonn de Valera as the Republican candidate.

At Scariff on the 1st July, Mr. de Valera demanded "complete and absolute separation, a free and independent Irish Republic." Later, at a rally in Killaloe, the Republican candidate firmly repeated that "the Sinn Féin claim was for complete independence and separation from England. It was supported by nine-tenths of the Irish people, and, if Unionists did not come in on their own side, they would have to go under."

The *Freeman's Journal* next complained of efforts to wreck the Irish Convention which, it admitted,

"Sinn Féin honestly declined to touch unless it was elected on manhood suffrage, was free to deal with the question of setting up an independent Republic totally separate from the British Empire, and was given a pledge by the British Government that the minority would be compelled, by force if necessary, to accept the decision of the majority of such a Convention."

In a few days the *Freeman* added, editorially: "East Clare has declared for revolution by an overwhelming majority—of 2,795. The successful candidate on returning from his triumph in Clare said, in reply to Orangemen hypocritically calling for conscription—as they again pretended to do at the outbreak of the present war:

"We are not going to fight for the blood-stained Union Jack; we are not going to fight so that we might help England to crush other nations; we are not going to fight so that we might put England in a position to crush her trade rival, Germany. I do not believe in mincing matters, and would say further that, if Ulster stood in the way of our attaining Irish freedom, Ulster should be coerced. Why shouldn't it?"

The death of Pat O'Brien, M.P., at this juncture, created a Parliamentary vacancy in Kilkenny. Towards the end of the month, William T. Cosgrave was chosen as Republican candidate. In the course of the election campaign

the annual Oireachtas of the Gaelic League, held this time in Waterford, afforded the opportunity for a joyous reunion of released prisoners and old comrades, who overflowed at its close into the election area:

"Kilkenny has followed Clare in repudiating the policy of a constitutional settlement of our secular quarrels with Great Britain and in declaring uncompromisingly for an Irish Republic," said the *Freeman's Journal* in despair, August 11th.

"We will fight against England until we have the same government as other free nations have," declared the successful candidate. "Holding up the Sinn Féin flag, Mr. de Valera called for 'three cheers for the Irish Republic,' and they were heartily given."

Eoin MacNeill, speaking in Derry in September, said Gen. Maxwell had visited him in Arbour Hill and asked him to make a statement, which he declined to do. Major Price then visited him, and said his life would be spared on condition that he made a statement implicating John Dillon and Joseph Devlin. The following Sunday at Omagh, Eamonn de Valera said:

"If Orangemen are Irishmen they will come into this movement; but, if they still continue to be the tools of England and the English garrison in Ireland, we must make up our minds to fight them. . . . But we say to them now: 'Come into our movement as your forefathers did in '98; be a part of the Irish nation; and, though you have been planted in the land inhabited by the ancient Irish people, we are ready to forget that and, if you are men, you won't ask us to forget any more.'"

Towards the end of September the 26th session of the Irish Convention was held in Cork, and Sir Horace Plunkett, excusing the secrecy of its whole proceedings, hypocritically said:

"I confess the Convention made me hope as I never hoped before that I should live to see that change of heart out of which alone a real new Ireland can be born. At the worst, we shall have gradually narrowed the differences which keep Irishmen apart. At the best, over the wide field of our labours, Irishmen of the North and of the South will continue to meet and, in the larger patriotism, say to one another: 'My country is thy country' and, in the larger charity: 'My God is thy God'!"

That morning, news of the tragic death of Thomas Ashe had shocked the nation. Next day the Irish Convention adjourned in Cork to have a luncheon at sea, with an American warship as escort, and there Plunkett renewed his nauseating platitudes. As the remains of Tom Ashe were being removed that night from the Mater Hospital to the pro-Cathedral, British military lorries burst into the vast cortege at Dorset Street, affording a pungent foretaste of subsequent Black-and-Tan methods. Most Rev. Dr. Fogarty sent a public protest against the killing of the young patriot and the slow doing to death of his comrades.

"But their deaths will sanctify them in the eyes of Ireland and surround their heartless torturers with inextinguishable hatred and ignominy." His Lordship added that "the system of treating Irish political prisoners was a disgrace to civilisation."

The Ashe funeral was as impressive as any of the historic funerals of Ireland's patriot dead. In a long and detailed letter, Dr. Sigerson threw the whole blame for the Mountjoy tragedy on the judges who sentenced the prisoners and on the jailors.

A proposed Redistribution of Seats Bill involving the manipulation of constituency boundaries was resented by the Irish Party about this time as a kind of anti-climax to the Irish Convention. Unceasing efforts were being made also to drive a wedge between the Gaelic League and the Republican movement. The Sinn Féin Ard-Fheis towards the end of October repudiated the right of England to rule or to exercise authority in Ireland, and declared its aim to be to secure the international recognition of Ireland as an Irish Republic. "Having secured that status, the Irish people might by referendum freely choose their own form of government,"—the tail being an ill-advised concession to the vacillation of Arthur Griffith and of others not then suspect. But Cathal Brugha in proposing a Constitution for the organisation firmly said:

"What we seek is the sovereign independence of Ireland. A challenge has been thrown out by Lloyd George, who is reported to have said that the sovereign independence of Ireland could not be tolerated. These are the people who, we are told, are out for the freedom of small nationalities. This is the gentleman who has proclaimed to the world that he has left it to the Irish people to devise a scheme for working out their own regeneration. And, though having made that statement, he now comes forward and says that the sovereign independence of Ireland cannot be tolerated. Are you going to allow a gentleman who has been referred to as a Welsh adventurer to suggest that we are to remain a slave nation for all time? I rather fancy not, or ye would not be here to-day."

"This suggested Constitution has been passed unanimously by the Provisional Committee of Sinn Féin. It took three nights to agree on it finally. There is no denying that in this Sinn Féin movement, as in similar movements in all countries, there are different shades of opinion. Notwithstanding that, we are united on this point—that we stand henceforward for an Irish Republic. And we believe that the Republic can be achieved by the weapon of the suggested Constitution."

Eamonn de Valera, in acknowledging his election as President of the organisation, said next day:

"The Constitution of the new movement which you have adopted says this organisation of Sinn Féin aims at securing the international recognition of Ireland as an independent Irish Republic. That is what I stand for. I said in East Clare that my election was a monument to the dead. I regard my unanimous election here as a monument to the heroic dead, and this is the *post factum* proof that they were right."

Speaking of the clauses of the proposed Constitution which reserved to the people the right—after the status of a Republic had been achieved—to choose their own form of government, Mr. de Valera said further:

"There is no contemplation in it of having a Monarchy, in which the Monarch would be of the House of Windsor,—one almost already heard the gods exclaim: 'We must not quench the royal hopes of the Man of Destiny!' He concluded in the strident tone of another and more ardent tone: 'We say it is necessary to be united under the flag under which we are going to fight for our freedom—the flag of the Irish Republic. We have nailed that flag to the mast; we shall never lower it. I ask you to salute that flag nailed to the mast, which we can never lower,—to salute the flag and, in Grattan's words, to say: *Esio perpetua*!'"

Within a couple of days came further significant reference to an Irish Boundary Commission for the Redistribution of Parliamentary constituencies, while England took control of £22,000,000 of Irish money through a "Banking Invasion." Preaching in St. Francis Xavier's Church, Upper Gardiner Street, Dublin, the last Sunday in October, Fr. Donovan, S.J., said that to make a revolution justifiable, the following conditions are necessary:

1. That the Government is so oppressive that men of conscience and level-headed men will not admit it as endurable.
2. That, before rising, you must see that the conditions under which you are suffering are worse than the evils that would arise from insurrection.
3. That there are no other means of redress except by force of arms; and
4. That there is a well-grounded hope of success.

The sermon clearly indicated the problem of the hour. The Redistribution Bill before the British Parliament continued to create unrest in Ireland as likely to be unfair to Ulster Nationalists, and to prejudice the findings of the Irish Convention, whose proceedings were still private. Speaking at the ensuing Manchester Martyrs' Commemoration in the Mansion House, Dublin, Eamonn de Valera, now recognised as leading spokesman of the Republic, asked:

"Were it not for England, would it be necessary to defend this country? England succeeded in getting a number of Irishmen to believe that they were fighting for the freedom of Belgium and Alsace-Lorraine. . . . If this country is a military necessity to England, Germany can as well claim that Belgium is a military necessity to her. Aye . . . and say the Vosges Mountains in Alsace-Lorraine are necessary to Germany. . . . We do not want to see Belgium enslaved; we want to see Belgium as free as we want Ireland to be."

Speaking at Dundalk, Sunday, December 2nd, 1917, he said further:

"I have here the first Constitution of the Irish Volunteers, adopted on the 26th October, 1914, at their first Convention; and one of the paragraphs of the Declaration of Policy says the object of the Volunteers is to secure and maintain the rights and liberties common to all the people of Ireland. It is still to-day the policy of the Irish Volunteers, and it is because it is the policy of the Irish Volunteers that I say I would have no hesitation whatever in signing that document to-morrow."

In a long letter to the *Freeman's Journal* three days later, he referred to John Dillon's speeches as "tiresomely full of the divine right of parties and leaders;" and, speaking at Midleton, he said, as reported, December 18th: "The policy of Sinn Féin is to secure for Ireland international recognition as an Irish Republic—a nation as independent as France or Germany."

Early in 1918 the Pope noted President Wilson's plan for Open Diplomacy with special approval; the British Command was held at fault for Italy's failure; Russia was completely out of the war; Sinn Féin was taking steps to conserve Ireland's food supply; the Belfast ship-building yards were extended to cope with the war work arising out of the wholesale sinking of British shipping—even England took to the building of concrete ships in her dire need, and so Lloyd George told England's Trade Unionists

that the people must now go on or go under. Speaking in the Dublin Mansion House in support of the National Aid Fund on January 19th, 1918, Eamonn de Valera quoted John Redmond as having said in Chicago in 1886:

"The principle embodied in the Irish movement is just the same principle which was the salt of every Irish movement for the last seven centuries, the principle of rebellion against the rule of strangers, the principle which Eoghan Ruadh O'Neill vindicated at Benburb, which animated Tone and Fitzgerald, and for which Emmet sacrificed his life." Yes, Mr. de Valera commented: "Irishmen trusted John Redmond in the past because they believed he meant these things. He was not John Redmond of the hundred surrenders then. He was not John slithering on his knees backwards before Carson. . . . The people of Ireland who are at present standing by John Redmond did not want to be regarded as turncoats by deserting their leader. Let them remember they are not deserting their leader: their leader has deserted them." How the same cap fits successive leaders!

Three days later he wrote in a long public letter: "We have no enemy but England, and England will be our enemy until she renounces her usurpation." At this time Sir Edward Carson, manifestly in obedience to the Ulster Unionist Council, resigned his seat in the British Cabinet so that he could take an independent stand on the findings of the Irish Convention. Towards the end of the month Eamonn de Valera, speaking at Bessbrook in the course of the Armagh election, said:

"The Unionists of the North must make up their minds as to whether they will be the British garrison or be Irishmen. If they are content to be the British garrison, we have only one thing to do, and that is not to try and conciliate them. You have seen the effect of conciliation in 'Ulster's' attitude towards the Convention. . . . The Unionists are a rock on the road. . . . We must make up our minds not to be peddling with the rock. We must, if necessary, blast it out of our path."

The collapse of Russia enabled the Germans to transfer 75 new Divisions to the Western front at that juncture, and the Allies' great problem now was: "Where will the German blow fall?" Devastating air raids fairly terrorised London. Lloyd George appealed to the Colonies for aid, but it was pointed out that Australia's casualties, for example, already numbered some 43,330 killed, and 116,150 wounded. The Redistribution of Seats' Bill passed the Lords early in February. Speaking at Letterkenny on the 9th of that month, Mr de Valera said:

"Ulster's case was the case of a robber coming into another man's house and taking a room in it as his own. . . . John Redmond had become a Unionist of the Unionists, and the Ulster Orangemen were a hangover more Sinn Féiners than Mr. Redmond was."

Countless Allied ships were being sunk, and the aerial bombardment of London continued. Diarmuid Lynch commandeered a drove of fat pigs on their way to the North Wall for export on the 22nd; and by the end of the month Germany attacked the whole Allied line, American and Portuguese troops suffering severely.

John Redmond was reported seriously ill, March 6th; next day his death was announced; within a week John Dillon was chosen to succeed him. Air raids on London towards the middle of the month were followed by similar attacks on Paris, which, by the 25th, was bombarded by the famous gun, Big Bertha, at a range of 72 miles. At this stage Germany, with half-a-million men on the British front, took 16,000 prisoners and 200 guns; next drove the whole Allied line far back, the British now losing 45,000 prisoners, and the Irish fighting rearguard actions to cover the British retreat. On the 27th, British, French and Americans are reported fighting side by side, the first substantial evidence that the American troops, who were "at fighting point" in February, 1917, were co-operating in France, although war had been declared since the middle of the previous April—practically for twelve months. With the Germans only 11 miles from Amiens, Marshal Haig shrieked; and Lloyd George squealed in a message to the United States towards the end of the month:

"French and British are buoyed up with the knowledge that the great Republic of the West will neglect no effort which can hasten its ships and troops to Europe," he cabled. "Attacked by an immense superiority of German troops, our army has been forced to retire."

Not long subsequently, some 20,000 British prisoners and 200 guns were taken by the Germans, apart from 50 British officers and 3,000 men who, like true Boys of the Bulldog Breed, laid down their arms, and so Haig reported:

"With our backs to the wall, and believing in the justice of our cause, each one of us must fight to the end. The enemy's objects are to separate us from the French, take the Channel ports and destroy the British army." He might have added: "Every English ship afloat is under orders to stand ready, steam up, to bring our fleeing troops back from the ports of France."

April 1st, the application of conscription to Ireland was considered by the British Cabinet, and Lloyd George again appealed to the Dominions: anti-conscription riots in Quebec were Canada's answer. Next day Gen. Hubert Gough, noted in connection with the Curragh Revolt, was relieved of his command on the Western front in connection with the German breakthrough; but the British troops were said to have withstood the German battering-ram. Dublin and Waterford now led in the protest against compulsory military service, which, it was intimated, Lloyd George proposed to introduce without delay.

April 10th, the Catholic Hierarchy issued a protest against this threatened conscription. Two days later the text of the Bill showed that all males in England between 18 and 51 were liable to compulsory military service, and it passed the Commons next day. That day, too, the Report, rather the reports, of the Irish Convention saw the light. Northern delegates would let Southern Ireland have Home Rule on condition that there was "a clean cut" of Ulster! It was nothing less than a national humiliation that, at an estimated cost of £20,000, such a mockery as that Convention could have been staged for eleven months in Dublin, Cork and Belfast, with practically no report except bald announcements that the members had met, considered some matters, and adjourned,—leaving the Irish people entirely in the dark, whereas the Chairman paid frequent surreptitious visits to London to report to Lloyd George. The Secretary, in the grand manner of the British, was rewarded with a peerage.

April 15th, the Lord Mayor of Dublin summoned a 'Conference representing the different political parties; and delegates from Sinn Féin, Labour and the supporters of John Dillon and William O'Brien respectively, met three days later, in the Mansion House. It was unanimously decided to open a National Fund and submit Ireland's case to the nations. The following national pledge was taken at every church door in the land:

"Denying the right of the British Government to enforce Compulsory Service on this country, we solemnly pledge ourselves, one to another, to resist Conscription by the most effective means at our disposal."

Forthwith the country was united as never before to meet this menace; and the enemy was quite alive to the people's determination by the end of the month.

On May Day came the Chief Secretary's resignation. In a week the Viceroy, Lord Wimborne, was replaced by Lord French. Edward Shortt became Chief Secretary, but Walter Long, a bigoted ex-Chief Secretary, was to direct Irish policy. Almost immediately a proclamation was issued by Lord French on the plea that "certain subjects of His Majesty the King, domiciled in Ireland, have conspired to enter into, and have entered into, treasonable communications with the German enemy." Forthwith, a hundred leading Republicans were rounded up and deported to England. They included Count Plunkett, Eamonn de Valera, Joe MacGuinness and William Cosgrave—elected representatives of the people,—Arthur Griffith, just selected to contest a vacancy in Cavan, Mrs. Clarke, Madame Gonne MacBride and Countess Marckievicz. A German air raid on England, causing 200 casualties in London alone, was Germany's prompt reply to the alleged "German Plot," of which Lloyd George in a lame explanation failed to give any evidence whatever. It is true that Joseph Dowling landed on the coast of Clare, was arrested, and taken to London; but he was never charged with complicity in a German plot. At this crisis, the whole people, particularly the plain people, stood up to Conscription, as the heroic men and women, now fighting in England have done again. To them is it due that the British people, the British Dominions and the whole world see clearly that there is still an Irish problem at the heart of the Empire, and hence do the Dominions repudiate British conscription.

Early in June, Sir James Campbell, later Lord Glenavy, became Lord Chancellor. The alien machine seemed again complete; but Lord French, faced by an unflinching people's will, forthwith issued such a relatively tame appeal for voluntary Irish recruits that even the *Freeman's Journal* declared conscription was already dead. Soon afterwards seven prominent Irish Republicans were arrested in Australia, because "they planned to send volunteers to fight for Irish liberty." Arthur Griffith, despite unworthy opposition on the part of the Dillonites, was elected for Cavan by a majority of 1,204. Dublin Castle continued to exercise its despotism against a people growing more resolute every day. But Germany, which at the time of the deportations showed every prospect of winning the war, now evinced growing signs of exhaustion as the United States sent division after division of its promised three million men to the rescue of the quaking Allies. And so, on the 11th hour of the 11th day of the 11th month came the Armistice, duly followed by a crushing peace for the Central Powers. The General Election here at the end of the year eliminated the Irish Parliamentary Party from the national life, and gave the Republicans a representation exceeding 70 per cent. of all Ireland's Deputies—a grateful country's appreciation of the resolute men who had defeated conscription.

II.—ON THE ROCK OF THE REPUBLIC.

The newly-elected representatives of the Irish people, as far as they were free, assembled in the Mansion House, Dublin, January 21st, 1919, at what was one of the most inspiring gatherings in Ireland's history. The Declaration of Independence, unanimously adopted by Dáil Éireann at that inaugural meeting, had these two clauses:

Whereas the Irish Republic was proclaimed in Dublin on Easter Sunday, 1916, by the Irish Republican Army acting on behalf of the Irish people: Now, therefore, we, the elected representatives of the ancient Irish people in National Parliament assembled, do, in the name of the Irish Nation, ratify the establishment of the Irish Republic, and pledge ourselves and our people to make this declaration effective by every means at our command.

The document, having been approved, Cathal Brugha, who presided, and spoke entirely in Irish, said:

"You understand from what has been asserted in this Declaration that we are now done with England. Let the world know it, and let those who are concerned bear it seriously in mind."

In the beginning of February, Eamonn de Valera was rescued from Lincoln Gaol, and remained for some time out of reach of the sleuth-hounds in England. March 6th, Piaras MacCana, T.D., died a deportee in Gloucester Gaol. That night it was announced at Westminster that Irish deportees and Irish political prisoners in England would be released forthwith. It was decided then to give Eamonn de Valera a public welcome at the city gates in Dublin. But all meetings were instantly proclaimed, and armed forces were drafted into the city; so the public reception was cancelled at Mr. de Valera's request. He was present at the second session of Dáil Éireann, April 1st, and elected *Priomh-Aire*. A week later, at the Sinn Féin Ard-Fheis, the following pledge was unanimously adopted for local elections:

"I hereby pledge my allegiance to the Irish Republic and I promise to work for its universal recognition."

Early in May a special session of Dáil Éireann publicly welcomed three delegates from the United States who came to press on President Wilson in Paris Ireland's claim to representation at the Peace Conference. The Greater Ireland beyond the Seas was wide awake. On June 6th, the United States' Senate, with one dissentient, passed the following resolution:—

"The Senate of the United States earnestly requests the American Peace Commission at Versailles to endeavour to secure for Eamonn de Valera, Arthur Griffith and George Noble Count Plunkett a hearing before the Peace Conference in order that they may present the case of Ireland. And further, the Senate of the United States expresses its sympathy with the aspirations of the Irish people for a Government of their own choice."

In the second week of June, 1919, President de Valera unexpectedly landed in the United States, having nominated Arthur Griffith as President-Substitute in his absence. At the ensuing session of the Dáil, June 17th,

it was decided to establish Arbitration Courts, a Consular Service, and a Commission of Inquiry into Ireland's industrial resources. Two days later three trustees were appointed for a Dáil Éireann National Loan, among them being the Most Rev. Dr. Fogarty, Bishop of Killaloe. At the fifth session, opening August 19th, a scheme was submitted for a Land Bank, which was soon inaugurated. Next day, Cathal Brugha, in the spirit of the Declaration of Independence, brought forward a motion to the effect that every Deputy, every officer of the Dáil, and every member of the army must swear the following Oath of Allegiance:

I,..... do hereby swear (or affirm) that I do not and shall not yield a voluntary support to any pretended Government, authority or power within Ireland hostile and inimical thereto, and I do further swear (or affirm) that to the best of my knowledge and ability I will support and defend the Government of the Irish Republic, which is Dáil Éireann, against all enemies, foreign and domestic, that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same, and that I take this obligation freely and without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion. So help me, God.

Terence MacSwiney seconded the motion; it was strongly supported by Arthur Griffith, and adopted. In due course, the Irish Volunteers became the Army of the Republic, and decided to take the Oath, though not without persistent opposition from certain sources.

Meanwhile Eamonn de Valera had inaugurated his campaign in the United States. "From to-day," he stated, June 23rd, "I am in America as the official head of the Republic established by the will of the Irish people in accordance with the principles of self-determination." Soon it was officially announced there that

"The Republic of Ireland has decided to raise a Loan of which the American quota is ten million dollars. . . . President de Valera will issue in the name of Ireland an engraved signed bond-certificate. . . . exchangeable for one Gold Coupon of the Republic of Ireland, upon the international recognition of the Republic."

Public boards in all parts of the country soon decided to give allegiance to Dáil Éireann, Government of the Republic. The following resolution, promptly passed by the Dublin Corporation, will serve as an illustration:

"That this Council of the elected representatives of the City of Dublin hereby acknowledges the authority of Dáil Éireann as the duly elected Government of the Irish people, and undertakes to give effect to all decrees duly promulgated by the said Dáil Éireann insofar as the same affects this Council. And that copies of the resolution be transmitted to the Governments of Europe and to the President and Chairman of the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America."

It is hardly necessary to emphasise here that no one, friend or foe, entertained the slightest doubt at this stage that the Republic was not merely the ideal, but the recognised governmental system of the overwhelming majority of the people. So frequently had this been repeated without qualification by the authorised spokesmen of the national organisation that the exercise of the choice suggested by the Sinn Féin Constitution—of setting up some other form of government after the international recognition of the Irish Republic—seemed as remote as Tibb's Eve, and had practically passed out of the public memory. Then, suddenly, and without authority from the Government at home—entirely without their knowledge even—President de Valera, on the 20th February, 1920, gave an interview to the New York correspondent of the *Westminster Gazette* in which he referred to what is known as the Platt Amendment—at whose instigation it would be very interesting to know:

"The United States by the Monroe Doctrine," he said, "made provision for its security without depriving the Latin Republics of the South of their independence and their life. The United States safeguarded itself from the possible use of the Island of Cuba as a base for an attack by a foreign Power. . . . Why does not Britain make a stipulation like this to safeguard herself against foreign attack as the United States did with Cuba? Why doesn't Britain declare a Monroe Doctrine for the two neighbouring islands? The people of Ireland, so far from objecting, would co-operate with their whole soul."

This shows that the de Valera outlook had little in common with Irish tradition: for Ireland had a spiritual empire almost a thousand years before America was well discovered and when Cuba was little better than a remote sandbank. His interview escaped attention in Ireland owing to the disturbed state of the times—nor has his scheme ever been advocated since,—but the Dáil in a generous spirit of loyalty and comradeship upheld him as the mouthpiece of the Republic abroad, and so shielded him against his critics.

The machinery of the British Government was completely disorganised in Ireland by this time, and the Black-and-Tans and kindred murder gangs were the only instruments remaining to English tyranny. Tomás MacCurtain, Commandant of the Cork Brigade and Mayor of the City, was assassinated on the night of March 19th, 1920. A Cork jury brought in a verdict of wilful murder against Lloyd George, Lord French, Ian MacPherson and three Inspectors of the Royal Irish Constabulary for his assassination. His dual office was soon filled by Terence MacSwiney. In ten days the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, came up for Second Reading at Westminster, but no Irish representative identified himself with it. It is noteworthy, however, that on May 18th, Sir Edward Carson intimated that his Carrion Crows wanted to get six of the nine counties of Ulster because, as he clumsily said:

"If we were saddled with these other three counties, you would bring in from these three counties into the Northern Province an additional 260,000 Roman Catholics." Callously he went on: "the inclusion of the six counties only would bring under the jurisdiction of the North of Ireland Parliament 820,000 Protestants out of 890,000 in the whole Province. On the other hand, while you leave out 70,000 Protestants who are in these three counties, you would bring in from these three counties into the Northern Province an additional 260,000 Roman Catholics—and they might swamp the Protestant Parliament for a Protestant people. So the Carrion Crows abandoned the 70,000 Loyalists to the tender mercies of Southern Ireland."

On July 17th, the Dáil Loan was closed in Ireland, having been over-subscribed by £40,000. At that session of the Dáil, it was decided to send a message to President de Valera, who had already got into serious friction in America, to the effect that

"Dáil Éireann . . . expresses complete satisfaction with the work you have performed, and relies with confidence upon the great American nation to accord recognition to the Republic of Ireland, now in fact and in law established."

The message was signed by Arthur Griffith as Substitute-President and by myself as Chairman.

August 12th, 1920, Terence MacSwiney was arrested. His fast unto death in Brixton prison elevated the Irish cause in the eyes of the world to an eminence it can hardly ever hope to reach again. His dying request that he be buried in the uniform of a soldier of the Irish Republic has eternally transformed that garb into the habit of a martyr. When his remains were kidnapped from Euston and conveyed from Holyhead to Cork in a British warship, Ireland was indeed confronted with a reign of terror. What England's murder gang left undone here, her interlopers encompassed more effectively. Their shrewdest move perhaps, was, to seize a few gullible men, who had reached widely varying degrees of prominence in the Republican movement for one reason or another or no valid reason at all, and confine them in the infirmary of Mountjoy Gaol where, I was subsequently assured by reliable witnesses, they had access to each other late and early and visits from agents of the alien Government. In a volume entitled "The Irish Republic," and referred to, in a Preface by Mr. de Valera, as "a complete and authoritative record" of its history—although a whole lecture would be required to correct and clear up its inaccuracies and omissions—we find this statement in reference to the period in question, and it is typical of the whole work:

"Arthur Griffith, Acting President of the Republic, and Prof. Eoin MacNeill were arrested on November 26th. President de Valera was then at the climax of his labours in the United States. Michael Collins became Acting President. Arthur Griffith might have been expected to nominate, as his successor in office, Cathal Brugha, but Michael Collins was Head of the I.R.B. According to the Fenian tradition, the head of the Brotherhood was the real head of the whole movement and of the Revolutionary Government. Thus Collins was merely succeeding officially to the position which was already accorded him secretly by the I.R.B."

This statement, except for the opening detail, is as far from the facts as any such statement could well be. On the arrest of Arthur Griffith, I, as Chairman of the Dáil, presided at more than one Cabinet meeting. I remember one afternoon—as inclement an evening as I can recall—as I wrapped myself in raincoat, cap and leggings to get from Glasnevin to a meeting of the Ministry in a private house in Drumcondra, a friend, who is now, I regret, a Free State Deputy, rushed in to tell me he had just been speaking to a lady who had visited Mountjoy that moment and assured him that authorised persons from Dublin Castle had been there to see certain

prisoners, and that peace was at hand. As I walked down Whitworth Road at the back of Mountjoy four Black-and-Tan lorries came sweeping up. Despite the weather the third stopped to scrutinise me, and the fourth; but seeing, no doubt, that I was a harmless old man, they soon proceeded on their way.

I presided at the Cabinet meeting; but, so little did we heed such rumours at the time that I didn't even mention what I had heard from Mountjoy. The Secretary produced a letter brought from the prison by Arthur Griffith's solicitor. In it the imprisoned Substitute-President nominated Cathal Brugha to fill his place; in the event of Cathal being unable to act, he nominated Austin Stack; and, should Austin Stack not consent, then Michael Collins. Cathal would not act: his army work engaged all his thoughts and all his energy; and, as he pointed out, he had already been President. Austin could not act: he was pulling down the citadels of alien law; setting up Republican Courts, and organising Irish police. "Come, Michael," I said to the third nominee; "sit into this chair, and we'll all do our best to help you." "As no one else will," he answered, "I suppose I must." We transacted our business and, as I helped Cathal into his heavy coat before he got on his bicycle to ride away, his gun dropped on the floor. "If you meet the Black-and-Tans!" I suggested in Irish. "If I do not pass them on suffrage," he replied, in Irish, as usual, "I am always ready to fight my way through."

Miss Macardle in "The Irish Republic," says further on this matter:

"Dr. Clune visited Lloyd George in London on December 1st"—five days after the arrest of Griffith, he is noted. "He found him willing to consider a truce, crossed to Ireland, and saw Arthur Griffith in Mountjoy Gaol, December 3rd. There, terms were drafted in consultation with other Republican prisoners and, at their suggestion, were shown by Dr. Clune to Michael Collins on the following day. Griffith and Collins were willing to advise the Dáil to agree to a truce on terms which would not involve a surrender of arms." Who asked Dr. Clune to visit Lloyd George?

The "other Republican prisoners" referred to here as taken into consultation included the late Eamonn Duggan and Michael Staines, men of no acumen whatever in the domain of serious diplomacy. Even Griffith and MacNeill, though experienced and educated, utterly lacked the fibre to conduct international negotiations with firmness, and this development in the prison should never have been entertained or tolerated. A truce was aimed at in quarters least suspect, and intriguers tried to throw the blame for hitches that arose on Fr. Michael O'Flanagan. To Ireland's detriment, as I think, Cope of the Castle had already become too familiar with certain Republican Deputies, although there were others of them he could never reach. I do not care to dwell on the results. Before the younger people here to-night have reached my age they will have realised that nothing is more distasteful to a public man than adverse criticism of former comrades,—especially of comrades who have passed away.

Cork city was burned down by Black-and-Tans on the night of December 11th, and England, of course, tried to make its burning appear to be the work of Sinn Féiners, as she had sought to saddle Sinn Féiners with the assassination of Lord Mayor MacCurtain. Some days later, Canon Wagner and Timothy Crowley were shot dead near Dunmanway by Auxiliaries from Macroom. President de Valera was back in Ireland Christmas Day.

Early in the New Year the Dáil was convened, but at the last moment the President was advised by Cabinet colleagues not to attend. As a matter of fact, we all narrowly escaped arrest. The Deputies, however, did not wish to disperse without hearing the returned President's report, so he attended a meeting later. Some time subsequently there was a very full meeting of the Ministry at the house of Mrs. Humphreys, Ballsbridge. Negotiations being already afoot, it was decided unanimously that there be no conference with Lloyd George except in a neutral country—and France was regarded as mutually acceptable. Everybody seemed hard as granite.

The night following the assassination of the Mayor, ex-Mayor and another citizen of Limerick, I was again arrested, and so was not able to attend the next meeting of the Dáil. Nor was Cathal Brugha. The Reign

of Terror was intensified until the world-wide horror it evoked brought sympathy and support for the Irish sufferers from all quarters, Pope Benedict XV, even, sending a very generous subscription. Ultimately it brought the blush of shame to callous England's cheeks, so that English prelates of all denominations, the press of all shades of opinion, professional and public men, politicians of all parties—even the brothers Cecil—denounced their Government's tyranny, and clamoured for order.

The Partition Act coming into operation early in May, elections were held in the North and South before the end of the month. The Southern Deputies were returned unopposed. King George coming to open the Northern Parliament, from which Republicans and Nationalists absented themselves, hastened back to England in the alarm aroused by the demonstration of armed force for his protection in Belfast. In Dublin the attempted opening proved abortive, and the Custom House—headquarters of the alien Local Government and Taxation departments,—was burned down forthwith. Released about this time I was astonished at the efforts made, mainly by clergymen, to get me into contact with Messrs. Cope, Smuts and other agents of England, and even more astounded to find a Conference with Unionists called for the 4th July in the Mansion House, with every indication that it would eventuate in a delegation to London. Miss MacArdle emphasises more, probably, than she realised in stating in "The Irish Republic" that, at that juncture

"The President made his headquarters at the Dublin Mansion House. There he was joined by Arthur Griffith, released from Mountjoy. Presently Robert Barton was released. . . . Eoin MacNeill, Eamonn Duggan and Michael Staines were also released immediately, but 34 members of Dáil Éireann were prisoners still."

Gen. Smuts arrived from London on the morrow. His evasive movements on landing were worthy of his mission and its sponsors.

While the Mansion House Conference was in progress we were summoned to an afternoon meeting of the Ministry at the house of Madame O'Rahilly. After some time, the Secretary produced a note, a couple of lines of which were written in ink by the President, who regretted he could not leave the Conference, but Arthur Griffith would come in his stead! Arthur Griffith pencilled a few lines more to say they found he could not attend either. Asking for an explanation of the departure from the earlier unanimous decision not to attend a Conference in the enemy's house in London,—to which the Mansion House Conference seemed a preliminary—and getting no satisfactory answer, I, although expected automatically to preside, protested very emphatically and walked away from the meeting.

The delegation went to London, July 14th, a truce having been arranged in the meantime. Mr. de Valera repeatedly met Lloyd George alone in London, and the Premier's proposals proved so utterly unsatisfactory that the Conference all but broke down. On returning to Dublin President de Valera, addressing a multitude from the Mansion House said: "As the Lord Mayor has told you, this is not a time for talk. We have learned one lesson in Ireland for the last couple of years, and that is that it is by acts and not by talk a nation will achieve its freedom. I don't want, therefore, to set a bad example by starting speech-making. If we act in the future as we have acted for the last couple of years, we will never have to talk about freedom, for we will have it." Lloyd George's proposals were sent later to Dublin Castle, and thence to the Mansion House, where a full meeting of the Ministry was held the following Sunday afternoon. It was a meeting to be remembered. The President sat at the head of a long table looking out on Dawson Street, Cathal Brugha at its foot. On the President's left, at the head of the table, Arthur Griffith and Joe MacDonagh; along the side of the table, but sitting well back on a long lounge, Austin Stack, Robert Barton and Erskine Childers; at the end of that lounge, on a seat partly facing the President, John MacNeill, who was joined later by Richard Mulcahy—to sound the defeatist note in due time. Behind Cathal Brugha on another lounge, myself and Countess Marckievicz directly facing the President; on the left of the Countess on another seat, partly facing the

President, Michael Collins, who came in a little late, and Kevin O'Higgins; next them, along the other side of the table but well back also, Ernest Blythe, whose figure alone has become somewhat obscure to my vision, William Cosgrave and Count Plunkett, between whom and the President sat the Secretary, Diarmuid O'Hegarty.

Great part of the President's opening discourse referred to my own attitude at Madame O'Rahilly's, which evidently had been fully reported to him. He then asked the Secretary to read the Lloyd George proposals and the draft reply. That done, he said he would ask everyone's opinion individually in the order in which they were seated, and so called upon Arthur Griffith—"though indeed," he added, "the draft is largely your own."

"It represents my views fully," Arthur returned.

Joseph MacDonagh "could not, of course, give a considered opinion"; but his criticism, as far as it went, was keen.

Austin Stack, evidently displeased that he had gone to London, said he was dissatisfied with the whole situation, and more than anxious that we could get back to the old position.

Robert Barton repeated objections he had expressed in London, where he had said the President could not be the bearer of such proposals to Ireland: his dissatisfaction was very manifest and his criticism searching.

Erskine Childers discussed the matter at considerable length in close detail, and was very hostile to the offer.

John MacNeill, on the other hand, welcomed it as a far better offer than he had ever hoped for: it would be short-sighted and unwise not to give it the most sympathetic consideration.

I, when my turn came, could not help feeling that the President's opening remarks referred in great part to myself. I objected, at Madame O'Rahilly's, I explained, to the departure from the decision unanimously taken before my arrest, and having strong convictions on the matter, I owed it to myself and to the cause to state them. Ireland had a traditional objection to entering the enemy's house: Malachy's entering the house of Brian Boru was one of many examples. We must be careful, above all, not to let the enemy divide us when elements of friction were already manifest. Even, elections have caused lasting ill-feeling in the past, and I had witnessed faction-fighting with sticks and other weapons recurring as a result of them. We were largely armed now, and a conflict would lead to bloodshed for which we would be loathed. Nor must we let England rush us at this stage. Our struggle had been going on for 750 years; and we must now give ourselves ample time to consider our position, however eager England may be for a reply. I therefore recommend that the documents be circulated and that we re-assemble when in a position to offer considered opinions on them.

The Countess on her way to the meeting had met the mother of one of the boys killed in the fight and, having had a long talk with her, she almost determined never again to be responsible for anything that would bring so much anguish on an Irish mother. "However, I have already changed my mind somewhat. What Scéilg has said may stand for me."

"You all know my opinion," was, in substance, about as much as Michael Collins said; and Kevin O'Higgins did not think it appropriate that he should speak when his chief, Mr. Cosgrave, was present. Of Ernest Blythe I do not feel I can justly say anything. Part of that side of the room was obscure, and so remains: what emerges is the clouded figure of Blythe signifying his acquiescence in the attitude of Griffith and MacNeill.

William Cosgrave jauntily endorsed the view of Prof. MacNeill: a better offer than some of us ever expected!

Count Plunkett excelled himself. He put our whole cause on an exalted plane, and handled the matter in a really statesmanlike way. It was edifying, almost thrilling.

"I have left you to the last, Cathal, because of the position you have taken at the table," the President then remarked.

"I haven't much to add," Cathal Brugha replied, "except to say how glad I am that it has been suggested that we circulate these documents and consider them fully before we meet again, if for no other reason than to give you and the great masters of English you keep at your elbow an opportunity of extricating us from the morass in which ye have landed us."

"We have done our best, half-sobbed the President, "and I have never undertaken to do more than my best."

"We have proclaimed a Republic in arms," Cathal returned; "it has been ratified by the votes of the people, and we have sworn to defend it with our lives."

"The oath never conveyed any more to me than to do my best in whatever circumstances might arise."

"You have accepted a position of authority and responsibility in the Government of the Republic," Cathal replied, striking the table, "and you will discharge the duties of that office as they have been defined. I do not want ever again to hear anything else from you."

"I think I can promise, Cathal, that you won't have to complain again."

The documents were circulated, and it was a much altered draft that emerged from the next meeting. Later drafts were discussed also, and forwarded only when they expressed the considered views of the whole Ministry. I had reason to be familiar with their terms, for I had to put practically the whole range of them into Irish under difficulties which I have no desire to detail now.

The Second Dáil met in public, August 16th, 1921, and it is significant that Miss Macardle quotes Mr. de Valera—evidently with his approval—as having said there of the mandate given by the elections of 1918:

"It was a mandate not so much for a form of government—they were not, he said, 'Republican doctrinaires'—but it was for Irish freedom and independence, and it was obvious to everyone who considered the question that Irish independence could not be realised at the present time in any other way so suitably as through a Republic."

I have no opportunity to check this statement at the moment, nor do I think it material except as showing the trend of the President's mind. Not so her paraphrase of a statement by Arthur Griffith on the same occasion:

"Arthur Griffith in his closing address said that every member's ambition was to work for the independence of his country, and no body of men had ever been brought together for the task, who had worked in such complete harmony. The Ministry was acting in a bond of brotherhood without the slightest friction or discord. They were all absolutely united in their efforts to secure a sovereign Republic. Ireland was ready, he said, to negotiate on the basis of these principles."

I cannot recollect that statement by Arthur Griffith. If made, it will be obvious from what I have already said—and from much that has been said by others—that it was not a faithful reflection of conditions in high places in the Republican movement. What is more pertinent to my theme is that when the Dáil met in public on the 26th August, Sean McKeon said:

"The honour has fallen on me to put before the Dáil the name of Eamonn de Valera as President of the Irish Republic." Richard Mulcahy, in seconding, asked the Dáil "to elect as President of the Republic a man who had done so much for the nation."

Acknowledging his election, the President said:

"I have been chosen to be a leader. . . . There has been no necessity for leadership . . . amongst us. We know our minds; we know we have a straight road to travel, with no bye-paths to lead us astray; and it is a very easy task to lead on a straight road."

Much that is misleading has been written about the nomination of delegates to London soon after. All I need say here on the subject is that Cathal Brugha stated very definitely that he would not go. Many of them knew, he added, that when he did go to London it was on an entirely different mission. There is no ground for pretending that any other delegate had any hesitation whatever about going. The "Treaty," unfortunately, soon came, and I do not intend to dwell on it here beyond saying that before Eamonn de Valera's resignation of the Presidency on the 6th January, 1922, he said in University Buildings, Dublin—with Cathal Brugha at his side:

"I stand definitely for the Irish Republic as it was established—as it was proclaimed in 1916—as it was constitutionally established by the Irish people in 1919; I stand for that definitely, and I will stand for no policy whatever that is not consistent with that."

I was abroad practically all through 1922, 1923 and 1924, and do not care to dwell on a period in which I had little participation here. But I do not hesitate to say that it was for the Republic and nothing but the Republic, Deputies like Cathal Brugha and Liam Mellows, Joe MacDonagh and Erskine Childers, and soldiers like Charlie Daly, Rory O'Connor, Richard Barrett and Joe McKelvey as well as their noble comrades all gave their lives in 1922. On the death of Liam Lynch, April 12th, 1923, Eamonn de Valera addressing the "soldiers of the Republic, bulwark of our nation's honour and independence," said:

"Faced in arms by former comrades who have deserted from your side, your task is a hard one and a sad one. It is a task which only heroes would venture. You have to fling yourselves across the path of the stampede of a nation. But it is better to die nobly as your chief has died than live a slave. . . . When Emmet's epitaph can be written, coupled with his loved name will be the names of all who give their lives now that Ireland may not be false to herself."

Equally do I say that the subsequent suggestions about entering the Free State Parliament which we find interwoven in some of the so-called Republican documents of 1923 did not emanate either from the faithful soldiers of the Republic or from the plain people who remained and remain ever loyal to the Republic. Neither did they emanate from the Sinn Féin organisation, or from Dáil Éireann, Government of the Republic. But before I pass to the proofs which present themselves later, let me quote a most significant speech by Premier Ramsay MacDonald towards the end of 1924 which reveals the bare-faced duplicity by which the Boundary, the Free State Constitution and other English Acts, designed to shackle Ireland, were consummated. Moving the Second Reading of the Irish Boundary Bill, MacDoland said, as reported in the London Times, October 1st, 1924:

"An adjustment of the boundary was a vital part of the Treaty. The drafting of it was faulty: the machinery for adjusting the Boundary cannot be set up and, in consequence, the whole Agreement is brought into jeopardy. . . . At some inconvenience to himself, I understand, and to his Government, Mr. Bonar Law dissolved Parliament in 1922, and fixed the date of the General Election at the shortest possible notice, so as to enable legislation to be passed in time to establish the Free State by December 6th. Matters so fell out in October that there was scarcely an hour to spare, and you will observe that the Free State Constitution Act was only passed in time to receive the Royal assent on December 6, 1922. The Free State Government was only constituted a few hours before the Provisional Government would have lapsed." And "the Free State Constitution Act, which embodies the Treaty once and for all in our Imperial Constitution, was passed through all its stages in both Houses without a single division."

"When application was made by the Free State that it be admitted to the League of Nations, and the application was strongly supported by the representatives of the British Government, the usual Questionnaire asked: 'Does the country possess a stable government and well-defined boundaries?' The Sub-Committee replied in the affirmative. . . . but the matter is qualified as follows: 'The Sub-Committee has been informed that provision for the full delimitation of a part of the country had been made in the Treaty of December 6, 1921, and embodied in the fundamental law constituting the Irish Free State.'"

Loyal "Ulster" having ignored Ramsay MacDonald's appeal to nominate its member on the Boundary Commission, the Labour Government had to introduce legislation authorising England to nominate two of the three members—in open violation of the "Treaty." While this was being rushed through Parliament, the Labour Government was defeated; the Bill was nominally passed and obtained the Royal Assent by Commission, and there was really no Parliament when England appointed the second of the three members constituting the Boundary Commission. Such is English legislation! Appropriately at this juncture Lord Carson published Lloyd George's treacherous private letter of May, 29th, 1916, urging that "Ulster" refuse absolutely to be merged in the rest of Ireland.

III.—THE RETREAT FROM THE REPUBLIC.

It was not until June, 1925, that Mr. de Valera ventured to put tentatively before Dáil Éireann the policy he evidently had been developing and privately testing for a long time. At a meeting at that period, over which I presided, he hinted that it was in Leinster House Ireland's destiny would be worked out.

There is a situation, he said in substance. Many of you here must have heard me refer to team work, perhaps because when I played Rugby football I was often struck with the discipline it afforded. As far as I can estimate it, our position in the country is not without promise. If there were an Election to-morrow, I am satisfied we would get, if not a majority, a very substantial minority. Which of these should we aim at? Strange as it may seem to some of you, I think our aim should be the substantial minority. In that position we could press for reforms, for increased Old Age Pensions, better conditions for the farmers, for the workers, and other things that will occur to you all. In that way, we could earn the gratitude and the sympathy of the people. But, if we got a majority, I am afraid we might find ourselves up against serious difficulties, and have to take steps more drastic than my conscience would permit me to take: in other words, I would not be worth my place on the team. He added, as stated, that he thought the destiny of Ireland would be worked out in Leinster House.

Deputies protested, and I answered that I had become uneasy about the President's line of argument, but did not wish to interrupt him. Thenceforward, while I was in the chair, no one, I declared, would be permitted to indulge in argument derogatory to the status of the Republic. And, as the matter had taken that turn, I felt that all Deputies should have due notice. We adjourned accordingly, after some exchanges, but when we met again the President never mentioned his previous proposals. Unfortunately the minutes of that meeting never materialised, so far as I know. But the Deputies brought news of the unexpected change of front to all parts of the country, and so, among the motions for the forthcoming Sinn Féin Ard-Fheis, held in the Rathmines Town Hall, November 17th, 18th, 19th, was this, from the Caherciveen Cumann:

Owing to insidious rumours that Republicans will enter the Free State Parliament if the Oath be removed, we call on Sinn Féin to get a definite statement from the Government that they will adhere to the policy of Cathal Brugha, Erskine Childers and their fellow-martyrs, and enter only an Irish Republican Parliament for all Ireland."

Mr. de Valera was visibly hostile. After a long debate and much quibbling, it was decided, through influence the source of which will be obvious:

That no change be made in the policy of the Sinn Féin organisation at this Ard-Fheis; but it is agreed that no subject is barred from the whole organisation or part of it with the exception of the acceptance of allegiance to a foreign King and the Partition of Ireland. And if at any time a change of policy is proposed, an Ard-Fheis must be summoned to deal with the proposal.

One could almost again hear the gods exclaim: "We must not stifle the royal hopes of the Man of Destiny!"

Another motion—from Stranorlar—called for the withdrawal of Document No. 2. The author of the Document opposed this also, and the motion was withdrawn. In accordance with a resolution from the Rathmines Cumann, calling on the Executive to formulate within three months a national, economic and cultural programme, the Standing Committee instantly selected a sub-committee, Fr. O'Flanagan being Chairman; I, Secretary, to draft a national programme. We worked at it assiduously, but Mr. de Valera never once showed the slightest interest in it. In the New Year, on the contrary, he took steps to have an Extraordinary Ard-Fheis—on the 10th March, 1926. For this he did not get the approval of the Standing Committee of Sinn Féin, of which he was President, and Fr. O'Flanagan had to circulate an amendment at the last moment without even seeing the text of the President's motion. At the last meeting of the Standing Committee immediately preceding the Extraordinary Ard-Fheis I intimated that the draft Programme was ready; and when the President disregarded the work on which we had been earnestly engaged for months, in compliance with an order by the organisation, I said I would bring it forward as an amendment. And so when I got up to second Fr. O'Flanagan's amendment at the Ard-Fheis the President arbitrarily ruled me out of order.

The Extraordinary Ard-Fheis, like the previous Ard-Fheis, having been in large part private, I am indebted for the terms of the motion to the official report in the *Independent*, which says:

Mr. de Valera's resolution states that once the Admission Oath of the Twenty-six County and the Six-County Assemblies is removed, it becomes a question not of principle, but of policy, whether or not Republican representatives should attend these Assemblies. Fr. O'Flanagan's amendment was as follows: It is incompatible with the fundamental principles of Sinn Féin, as it is injurious to the honour of Ireland, to send representatives into any usurping legislature set up by English law in Ireland.

The amendment was carried by 223 votes to 218; but—so averse were the delegates to a further split—it received but 177 votes as against 179 on being put as a substantive motion. The President resigned next day and, instead of abiding by majority rule, helped to establish Fianna Fáil. When the matter came up at Dáil Éireann subsequently he was put in a minority also. Refusing to accept the adverse vote as a vote of want of confidence, his deposition, as President of the Republic, was formally moved by Miss McSwiney with much reluctance, and carried.

Despite this disregard of majority rule, repeated again and again, Mr. de Valera said at the inaugural meeting of Fianna Fáil, May, 1926—in an address of which I have only recently read an "amplified" report:

"I am assuming that you know in substance the resolution which I brought forward at the recent Ard-Fheis of Sinn Féin. The central point was this—that we should invite the people to smash the oath and, when the oath was smashed, the Republican representatives should meet the other representatives of the people and deliberate with them in the national interest, accepting no other constitution than the natural right of the people to have the laws under which they live determined freely by their own elected representatives. I did not stipulate for a majority, he went on, in a strange eagerness to join the traitors who had immolated our martyrs. "Whether Republicans were a majority, or a minority, the proposal would stand. . . . Republicans admit that majority rule is an inevitable rule of order—a rule that cannot be set aside in a democracy without the gravest consequences. But . . . there are rights, even of an individual, not to speak of a large minority in a nation, which no majority is justified in destroying"—as there are to-day, although some in high places may forget the fact.

What Mr. de Valera did aim at actually, as has been shown, was to bring faithful Republicans in there as a minority; but he tried to veil it in a mist of words, and went on to say:

"Further delay on our part would be senseless. Some who oppose the policy I suggest say that it is being brought forward too soon, while others hold that it is being brought forward too late. . . . If, even now, when so many things have happened which should incline Republicans to go to the greatest lengths to rescue the nation from the position into which it has been brought, one-half the official body of Sinn Féin will not accept the policy even though there is no substitute Republican policy in the field to meet the conditions with which we have to deal, what is the ground for supposing that my proposals would have a more favourable reception at an earlier period? As for the view of those who think I should wait longer and set about converting the Sinn Féin organisation from within, I ask what hope of success is there in that direction, seeing that the objection that is being made by many to the proposals is that they are contrary to Republican principle." He added his familiar old simile about a man and his brother being deprived of a farm, the brother getting it back on conditions not honourable, and the right of the other to cultivate it still.

Of course there is no use in arguing with a person who professes to see a parallel between a man deprived of land he held jointly with an unprincipled brother and getting back to it somehow under the unprincipled brother's shield, and the Republicans who regard Leinster House as an edifice they never owned and are determined not to enter. To refer to any Deputy there as the representative of a sovereign people—as he boldly did—is like trifling with the public intelligence. I quote the passage at such length only to controvert the statement that Sinn Féin then had no substitute policy, a statement brazenly repeated for some reason on the eve of the recent projected visit to the United States. Not only had it a policy, as I have shown, but Mr. de Valera at that inaugural meeting of Fianna Fáil took and presented essential parts of the Sinn Féin policy as his own. For example, he said:

"In 1921 when the negotiations in London were going on, and I believed there might be a successful issue to these negotiations in a Treaty which we could accept, I set out, naturally, to plan for the future. The most urgent need obviously was to secure immediate employment for the large number of young men who had obeyed the call to remain in the country and had given of their best towards the winning of freedom. There was no lack of useful national work to be done. Organisation and capital were all that were required to set it going. The whole question of transport was awaiting to be tackled comprehensively, and water, rail and roadways co-ordinated and improved so as best to serve the needs of the community. The re-making of the roads alone would have given employment distributed throughout the country to large numbers. There was the vast work of re-afforestation. . . . Then there was the national work of Reclamation and Drainage and the development of our water and fuel power. Again there were our Fisheries, which might be built up to be our second great industry—an industry entitled to our special care, as it is the natural staple industry of our Irish-speaking seaboard. The housing problem called for a great national scheme. . . . Then, too, there were the ranches to be dealt with. . . . The capital for all this, I had hoped, in the enthusiasm of newly-born freedom, to be able to secure largely at home as required. Vast deposits are being held in our banks, and these deposits are being used chiefly to build up foreign countries."

If he had been planning a National Policy since 1921, is it not strange that he did not say so, and indicate what it was, when the Rathmines' motion came before the Ard-Fheis in 1925. Why did he let a sub-committee of men, who certainly knew Ireland and her needs as well as he did, work for months on a National Policy, while he studiously ignored it—preferring to devote his time to interviewing influential members of the organisation individually in what came to be known as his "Confessional" at Republican headquarters, and there trying out his personal policy of entering Leinster House as a minority? And what have himself and his Ministry since done to co-ordinate water, rail and roadway services except to let them drift since the practical confiscation of the shareholders' property. What for re-afforestation, reclamation, drainage, or the distribution of neglected land into economic holdings? What for the fisheries—our "mine under water"—about which they know as much as a Dublin plumber would about a Desmond seine-boat; what actually for the real slum problem in Dublin? What has An Taoiseach done about the banks? What, may I ask further, has he done to redeem his promise to bring the people some relief from grinding taxation when he said in his address inaugurating Fianna Fáil:

"The people are at present groaning under taxation. The cost of the Free State Army is one of their burdens. For what purpose is that large army kept? Is it to defend the country against any outside power? You all know it is kept at its present strength to hold in subjection that section of the people who are determined that no foreign power shall rule them. Were it not that freedom is denied, would there be need of an Irish army to overawe any section? Could it not be replaced at once by a Volunteer force, which is really the only type of force that can hope to defend us against an outside power? Another of the people's burdens is the cost of an immense police force. Relatively, that force is almost as great as when the British were here—and the police were an armed Imperial guard. Do you think such a force would be necessary if we had again the popular feeling we had in 1919 when a right civic spirit provided all the protection that was necessary? Consider next the lavish administration and all those secretaries to secretaries to secretaries that we know of. What is all that over-burdening the country with officials due to? Were not many of the positions that were created the spoils given as bribes by those who had to secure support for their policy at any cost?"

The Fianna Fáil policy ever since—which is a blind adoption of the policy he thus condemned, where it is not an aggravation of it—is the all-sufficient answer to these petulant questions, which it has become all but treason for Republicans to repeat or for newspapers to report. Even at that risk let me ask finally what he has done to redeem the promise he made in regard to emigration—with the example before him that the Republican Government prohibited emigration in 1920?

"The best of our people—the young men of vigour and enterprise, the foundation on which the whole future should be built—are being taken from us daily. We are being bled by an emigration worse to-day than almost at any time since the great exodus that followed the Famine. That must be stopped."

Who, one may ask, has since done anything to stop emigration except the very body that prohibited it in 1920.

I must not detain you further with the rainbow-chasing used as the justification for the founding of Fianna Fáil, or the empty promises which have brought that Party to passing power and patronage, except to add that, again and again, its leader reveals in his tortuous way that so far as he was concerned, the prime object of the 1922 Pact, of the 1923 Cease Fire Order as of Fianna Fáil itself, was to enable him to lead his followers into the Free State Parliament as a minority and, when all seemed safe, get control of it.

At the lecture in the Gresham Hotel some time ago, to which reference has been made already, Mr. de Valera renewed his laudation of the "Republican" Constitution, made by the people themselves! descanted again on "External Association"; extolled the wisdom of entering in 1923 the League of Nations which has proved itself by universal admission the greatest farce of history; tried to justify his Party's giving up the name Poblacht na hÉireann while still exploiting the Republican flag. It is, one may presume, permissible to recall that, despite the most earnest and persistent appeals, only 38.6 per cent. of the voters of the Free State supported the Constitution. If it had not formed an element in the ballot paper at the General Election, how many people would have troubled to vote for it? Had its proud author gone manfully to the hustings with it and said frankly: "This is the Constitution"; then explained fully the pensions and sinecures it embodied: that it provided for a President whose duties would be to play golf, give an occasional tea, and cancel one periodically by way of variety;

present a Government cup to somebody once in a blue moon to afford an opportunity to pose before the camera—while nominally having other onerous duties to discharge, and actually enjoying an income of thousands—had he gone and explained all this, how would he and it have been received?

Had the author of the Constitution added that—when he was safely returned to power and had ensured an increase of 33½ per cent. in the salaries of docile Deputies, with something much handsomer for the Ministers, and fat pensions for the pawns—it was his intention that the Constitution should become the mother of twin babies, to be named Treason Bill and, let us say, Execution Bill, what would have been its fate, and his? For such constitutional methods it is difficult to find any more appropriate name than political sharp practice; and, only that I do not desire to detain you unduly, I could show that neither the Constitutions nor the Treason Bills sponsored by successive Free State Governments ever had, either within Leinster House or outside it, more than a modicum of the public approval that would warrant their enactment. Only 50 per cent. of the members of the Senate voted on the Death Penalty clause of the Offences Against the State Bill; of these, only 17 as against 13 voted in its favour and, of the 17, many voted, not according to their convictions or their judgment, but in favour of the Government. Manifestly, legislation so carried has neither public approval nor moral sanction, and every conscientious Christian will see something more than poetic justice in the recent ignominious breakdown of this instrument of tyranny masquerading under a Christian mantle. The repetition, these days, of England's old pretence that Irish juries cannot be trusted to give verdicts in accordance with the evidence—that is, of course, the verdicts desired by Tyranny—is beneath contempt.

This brings me to the reference to External Association. Regarding that, let me say at once that no member of Dáil Éireann, Government of the Republic of 1921, had ever heard of Document No. 2 or its External Association until the crisis in the debate at University Buildings, Dublin; and the idea would never have emanated from men like Cathal Brugha or be entertained by them, except in a desperate effort to get out of the morass in which successive visits to London had landed us. It had been stated previously from the same source that Cathal Brugha said there was nothing Republicans could do after the "Treaty," but work for the Irish language—Cathal Brugha who, at the debate on that instrument, challenged its advocates to accompany him to the North and there deal with Partition and the Pogrom; Cathal Brugha who, in his deathless speech in opposition to the "Treaty" and to entering the Empire—gave this vivid forecast of the manner of his own heroic death:

"Here," he said,—"when we are in so strong a position and England so weak, and with so many enemies as she has, now more than ever,—here we are asked to do such a thing as this. Why, if instead of being so strong, our last cartridge had been fired, our last shilling spent, our last man lying on the ground, his enemies howling around him, and their bayonets ready to plunge into his body, that man should say, true to the traditions handed down to us,—if they should put it to him: 'Now, will you come into our Empire? he should say, and he would say: 'No, I will not.' That is the spirit that has lasted all through the centuries, and you people in favour of the 'Treaty' know that the British Government and the British Empire will have gone down for ever before that spirit dies out in Ireland."

There, is a complete answer to the pretence repeated some time ago in the Gresham Hotel that "the Republican Government of 1921 decided, as one man, that a form of association such as we have at present would be tolerable"—in other words, that external association, or any other association, with the British Commonwealth of Nations was voluntarily accepted by Cathal Brugha, whose dominating thought was whether the English guns already trained on the Four Courts' garrison could be spiked or taken as he and I and Eamonn de Valera parted at Republican headquarters after midnight, June 28th, 1922.

How can any red-blooded Irishman harbour the idea of association with England which has its Black-and-Tans and its bombing planes in the Holy Land to convert it into a permanent stepping-stone to Iraq and Afghanistan, where her bombing planes are still more active, while she foments recurrent racial discords between Moslem and Hindu in India as a counter-move to the universal demand for self-government there, as she has been

fomenting discord all over Europe in her own interest for three centuries and more, as she has been doing in Ireland, for a like end, since her first coming.

If England is so concerned about a home for the Hebrews that she must turn the Holy Land into a shambles, through the conflicts she has fostered between planted Jews and native Arabs, why, one is tempted to ask, does she not arrange to settle the Jewish refugees of the whole world in Australia,—an almost virgin country of the extent and resources of the United States, with a population under seven millions as against 130 millions in the United States? They would have endless possibilities of sport in keeping eternally at bay the menacing Japanese, who were permitted to make themselves familiar with the whole coast lines of Australasia when transporting the Anzacs to the European shambles, as Japanese naval officers were permitted to "fight" in the British navy at the Battle of Jutland, and to study British methods elsewhere. It seems to me that England prefers to plant the Jews in Ireland, as she planted the Cromwellians, the Orangemen, the Palatines, the Huguenots and the rest; and, unless Rumour has grown entirely unreliable, she must be succeeding hugely.

Like Satan reproving sin, Neville Chamberlain had the brass some weeks ago to state as England's main War aim:

"The defeat of that aggressive bullying mentality which seeks continually to dominate other peoples by force, and finds a brutal satisfaction in the persecution and torture of inoffensive citizens and, in the name of the State, justifies the repudiation of its own pledged word whenever it finds it convenient."

As if the Treaty of Limerick had never been violated by England; as if Asquith and Lloyd George had not made conflicting promises to Redmond and Dillon on the one hand and to Carson and Craig on the other, as Arthur Balfour and Sir Stanley Maude made conflicting promises to Jews and Arabs; as if Stanley Baldwin had not declared later that England would denounce any Treaty that proved inconvenient to her; as if the whole story of British misrule in India and Egypt was not made up of bullying, persecution, confiscation, broken promises! England's Peace aim, Chamberlain added:

"It is to establish a new Europe . . . with a new spirit . . . In such a Europe, each country would have the unfettered right to choose its own form of internal government, so long as that government did not pursue an external policy injurious to its neighbours. . . . In such a Europe . . . such adjustment of boundaries as would be necessary would be thrashed out between neighbours on equal terms around a table, with the help of disinterested third parties if it were so desired." Finally "in such a Europe armaments would be gradually dropped as a useless expense except in so far as they were needed for the preservation of internal law and order."

The suggestion of disarmament comes nicely from the spokesmen of England that, at the League of Nations, if my memory serves me, defeated Russia's proposals that there should be no aerial bombing of open towns, on the plea that England wanted bombing planes for "police operations" abroad, and is, of course, so using them—with a vengeance. Equally beneath contempt is the Chamberlain clap-trap about the adjustment of boundaries being thrashed out between neighbours on equal terms around a table! when we recall the Boundary Commission of Three imposed by England on Ireland for Ireland's mutilation: one to be nominated by the Twenty-six Counties, one by the Six Counties, one by England "to hold the ring." When the subordinate Six Counties refused to nominate theirs, England illegally nominated a second; and when the Free State representative, Eoin MacNeill, resigned on seeing the designs of Britain's "democratic" nominees, England, in a spirit of true neighbourliness, forced the fantastic findings of her own two instruments on Ireland.

Now, mutilated Ireland suffers many of the privations usually associated with a major war, because Neville Chamberlain, at the behest of the Jews, who hold England in their pocket, has embarked on a new essay to crush Germany. In the World War, England's scribes referred to the Kaiser as a lunatic, and virtuous Britain forsooth would not negotiate with Germany until its people dispensed with him! Now they call the Fuehrer, who has taken the Kaiser's place, a madman, and again altruistic England will not negotiate with Germany until its misguided people get rid of the Adventurer! Meanwhile let us ask ourselves how have the Allied peoples treated the leaders who professed to speak for them at Versailles? Lloyd George made "Hang the Kaiser" an election slogan in England; to-day, Lloyd George is the most discredited man of his rank among his countrymen:

President Wilson who made a slogan of "open covenants openly arrived at," but let England exploit his country in order to shackle Germany, was consigned with his League of Nations to the discard by the American people. The treatment of Clemenceau and Briand by the French people was hardly dissimilar. England entered the World War to destroy her commercial rival, Germany; insatiable England manipulated the present mock war in the hope of linking a number of nations against Germany so that John Bull single-handed would not have to fight "the Hun" for the German colonies which he wants permanently to retain with all his other ill-got possessions. And we are sent another Alfred Cope to keep Ireland in train.

How many people in this country get an opportunity to realise that under the Treaty of Versailles nine different areas were cut off from Germany's frontiers, apart from her colonies, aggregating a million and a quarter square miles. Of the severed frontiers, some had been won back without bloodshed when England's perfidy made a holocaust of Catholic Poland, which she now tries to exploit under a Semitic "Government" in Paris, as she callously exploited Belgium in the World War. How many people in Ireland reflect that the Treaty of Versailles placed Germany in worse than Babylonian bondage, stripping her bare, laying her famishing in the mire, disarmed, defenceless, manacled, with the heel of the Jew on her neck—while Jewish usury emaciated and the Jewish White Slave Traffic sought to corrupt the whole land—manacled her, moreover, behind closed doors in disregard of the Wilsonian promises of open diplomacy, freedom of the seas, restoration of occupied territories, and the other points which were to be the basis of peace. Germany was stripped of her shipping, her rolling-stock, live stock, milch cows—leaving her nursing motherhood absolutely without milk—of minerals, munitions, arms; practically forbidden to have army, navy or air force; left destitute, and then saddled with financial "reparations" which were an outrage on humanity. But her God-given spirit of patriotism inspired all her children, under a gifted leader whose phenomenal uplift of his trampled people has earned him their confidence to a degree, perhaps, unique; and so they need no conscription. And if Europe is sundered to-day, let us not forget that, while the Allied sharks at Versailles allocated whole regions to themselves in accordance with the notorious London Secret Treaties which sought to ostracise the Pope, they left the greater part of Europe in turmoil and, by their treacherous partisanship on every frontier from the White Sea to the Black, sowed the seeds of the present inevitable conflict.

England, before leading Poland into a suicidal war, as she now leads Finland, as she tried to lead Czecho-Slovakia, and essays to lead the Baltic States, the Balkans, the entire world for that matter, professed a desire that Poland should always have full access to the Baltic, the same England whose nightmare once was that Russia might get unfettered access to the Mediterranean,—get a lung there! as England's jingoes used to say then—England that was mainly responsible for dismembering Catholic Austria, cutting her off entirely from the sea, reducing her proud people to absolute destitution. Not content with cutting Austria off from Trieste, England refused, in 1931, to let her enter into a tariff union with Germany, for Austria's capital was then swarming with English auditors, financial ferrets and other agents seeking how they could rook, through Customs dues, the last coin from a famishing people. Prague similarly swarmed with English auditors and agents, intriguing with the Masonic ring, who got France to fortify Czecho-Slovakia as a possible Russian spear-head, a dagger aimed at the very heart of Germany—just as English naval officers after Versailles, when Lloyd George was puffed up with conceit, boasted that Ireland would be used as England's spear-head against the only trade rival then left, the United States that had just saved her from annihilation.

Not so long ago, England made no secret of her designs on Italy, which she now seeks to cajole. We all remember the Sanctions to which even the Free State was nominally committed. England shrieked again when Mussolini anticipated the Allies in setting up a new Gibraltar in Albania. How the Jew-inspired press of Britain then sympathised with the fleeing Albanian royal family and, of course, forgot the Allies' treatment of the royal family of Greece when, in June, 1917, King Constantine was forced to abdicate his throne, the royal family was expelled, and England's pawn,

Venezelos, pitchforked into power. The ship that then bore King Constantine away—like the ships in the Shannon at the Black Famine—met one having Venezelos on board. "But the popular leader," as the British press then said, "does not propose to enter Athens for the present"—for he could not rely even on the Allies who were exploiting him: many in Greece wanted a Republic, it was admitted; but Westminster wanted a sympathetic monarchy there, as they now want a Bavarian prince on the German throne—the British royal family, meantime, having changed its Hanoverian name to Windsor. What self-respecting race, let me ask again, could remain associated with a people so selfish, so avaricious, so unscrupulous, so hypocritical, so unchristian, so callously brutal?

Let me submit, before concluding, that it is time for everyone who has reached the age of responsibility in Ireland to reflect that there has always been an abundance of red blood in this land to ensure that alien reformers can never substitute lasting despotism for the deathless spirit of pure patriotism by which the Almighty has sustained our Island of Saints and Scholars since time was young, while dowering her children with the perseverance to ensure that, as the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against Holy Church, the wiles even of wolves in sheep's clothing shall never prevail against holy Ireland. And so, let me publicly protest against, first, the recent arbitrary arrest of Miss Mary McSwiney in Galway, next, against the suppression of all reference to the Sinn Féin Ard-Fheis held some weeks ago in Dublin. Those who ordered this suppression keep telling us hypocritically that all political organisations are free to seek the endorsement of their policy by the Irish people. Yet, not only is the organisation that was most instrumental in defeating conscription and establishing Dáil Éireann ostracised by the heavy arm of "the Law," under a vaunted Christian Constitution, but its funds, to a minimum of £16,000 are either drafted into Free State Loans or growing mouldy in the Chancery Court. Eighteen years ago, some £8,000 from the Sinn Féin Treasury was lodged in Chancery without authority. At 4 per cent., which represents the average dividend on such Loans, as any schoolboy here may calculate, that money would have more than renewed itself by now, and hence do I say the minimum amount so retained must be £16,000. I have just read, of course, that no less exalted an authority than the new Minister of Finance has stated that Fianna Fáil brought the entire Sinn Féin policy with it into Leinster House, and I wonder whether the next contention will not be that the assets go with the policy so claimed.

I need hardly add that it is anything but a pleasure to trace those stepping-stones as I have done—ascending until we were invited to look up, salute the flag of the Republic, and give allegiance to it; then descending—in the midst of peace—to the conception of Coercian schemes worthy of the Cecils. It is, I suppose, automatic that anybody disturbing the prospects of life-long luxury which the political parties have spread before themselves is guilty of sedition, as those rebels were guilty of felony in the past who challenged the despotism of the comfortable Conservatives planted in our midst to perpetuate England's imperial sway. The patriot Gael will survive them all.

I am glad that commemoration lectures like this are being made a feature of their activities by the young men who have to risk their lives in every serious struggle for our liberty, and whose right and duty it is to study the ambitions and the tendencies of would-be leaders, and so guard themselves against being exploited. I trust the young people who have paid me the compliment of coming to hear me will keep in close contact with the tried and loyal men who become the elders of the movement with the passing of the years, and seek in association with them to raise your cause to the high, unselfish, noble plane on which only men and women of true courage and steadfast character can live—to the plane, in a word, on which all that was sincere and truly patriotic in the Republican movement stood before the betrayal. Need I urge the Republican youth of Cork to remember the services and the sacrifices of the Four Martyrs we commemorate to-night; need I ask them to adhere loyally to the Principles of Freedom that animated their own Martyrs and all the Martyrs who have given their lives in the cause of Irish liberty, as precious lives will continue to be given until they have smashed the last link binding us to England. *Beannacht dílis De oraibh uile.*