

MCGARRITY PAPERS FOUND

New light on America and the fight for Irish freedom

The most interesting and enlightening collection of papers, letters, diaries and documents connected with America and the fight for Irish freedom has come into the hands of AN PHOBLAcht. There are over 3,000 items in the collection — including 18 diaries, 100 photographs, a list of codenames and a folder of intelligence notes — and in many cases they reveal new insights on the thoughts, hopes, aspirations, policies, requests and the degree of contact and influence of the revolutionary organisations on each other.

The papers cover almost 70 years of Irish history, from the Fenian Freedom fighters to MacPiarais and Plunkett in Easter week, and the leaders at various stages in the years that followed, including De Valera, Cathal Brugha, Liam Lynch, Harry Boland, Moss Twoomey, Sean MacBride, Sean Russell, right up to the S-Plan and the 1939 Bombing Campaign in England.

Joseph McGarrity, who left his native town of Carrickmore, Co Tyrone at a very early age and emigrated to Philadelphia, built up this collection by methodically keeping from his earliest days every letter and document that was sent to him. As a young man he had joined the Fenian Clan-na-Gael organisation in Philadelphia and became the good friend and colleague of Diarmuid O Donnabhain Rossa, Luby and other Fenian chiefs. Over 50 years he built up one of the most historical and influential collections of papers and documents since the Jolly Collection in the 19th century.

These documents shed new light on MacPiarais and the Easter Rising and also the part played by America, and particularly McGarrity, in organising with Roger Casement the shipment of German rifles in the Aud. Among the collection is a typewritten story by McGarrity on the part played by James Smith in bringing a shipment of rifles to Ireland.

McGarrity remained steadfast to Republican principles right up to his death in 1940. He supported the anti-Treaty forces and lead American support for Sean Russell and the IRA from the late 1920's to his death, despite several attempts by De Valera, Sean T O Ceallaigh, Frank Aiken and others to swing his influence and support behind Fianna Fail.

It is fitting that AN PHOBLAcht should have the honour to publish in this supplement a selection of the documents, on the 50th anniversary of the great sell-out. Further extracts will be published in due course and we would welcome readers' comments and suggestions regarding these historical documents.

In accordance with the wishes of that great, noble Irishman, Joseph McGarrity, these papers will be handed over by AN PHOBLAcht to the National Library to be preserved for future generations of Irishmen and Irishwomen. Before doing so, however, we have extensively photocopied the documents and diaries.

The collection remained in Philadelphia for 31 years after McGarrity's death. Attempts were made to get these papers into an American university but the inheritors of the Republican tradition, those who today follow in the footsteps of Joe McGarrity, agreed unanimously to comply with his wishes and send them to Ireland.

They were to be brought here in four separate trunks and to be left with Joe Clarke, now 90 years of age, and a veteran of the Mount Street Bridge battle in 1916. The four trunks were to be presented to the National Library but it now appears that the first trunk with the most important of the papers was brought here separately and left with Joe Clarke. After several months Joe made enquiries regarding the trunk and its contents and was informed that it contained the missing McGarrity Papers. Meanwhile the three remaining trunks had been sent in one crate direct to the National Library. When Joe Clarke discovered that the trunk in his custody contained the missing McGarrity Papers he contacted Eamonn MacTómais, Editor of AN PHOBLAcht, who immediately had the papers and diaries examined in detail.



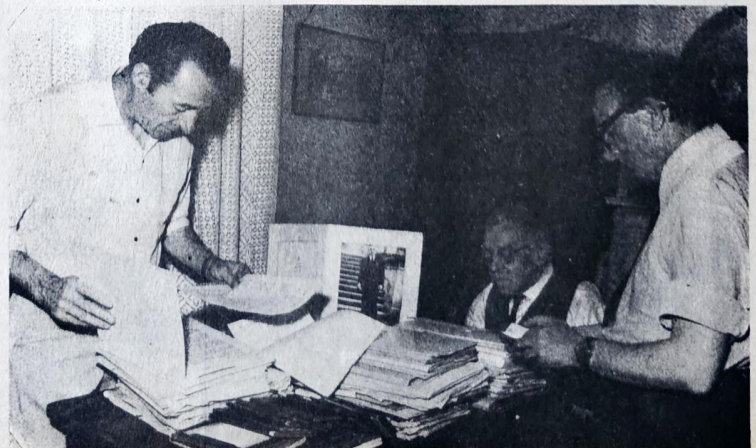
Joe McGarrity (thuas).



Some of the diaries, bonds, pictures and other items from the McGarrity Papers.



Thíos feictear na McGarrity Papers á scrúdú ag (ó chlé) Joe Butler, Dispatch Manager, An Phoblacht; Joe Clarke agus Eamonn MacTómais, Eagarthóir, An Phoblacht.



McGARRITY PAPERS

THE PLUNKETT FAMILY

Count George Noble Plunkett F.S.A. was a distinguished scholar, poet and antiquarian and was Director of the National Museum. After the 1916 Rising he was deported with his wife Countess Plunkett, the former Miss Josephine Gramry, of Plunkcross Park whom he married in 1884. Count Plunkett was created a Count of the Holy Roman Empire by Pope Leo XIII.

There were four daughters and three sons in their family and one of these was Joseph Mary Plunkett, one of the signatories of the Proclamation of the Republic in 1916 who was executed by the British. Two other sons, George and John, were sentenced to ten years penal servitude for their part in the Rising.

Count Plunkett was elected a Sinn Fein T.D. in 1918 and abstained from the Westminster Parliament. He was the convener of the elected representatives of the people to the First Dail Eireann in 1919, and took the chair for the opening of the Dail until a Ceann Comhairle was elected.

He remained true to the Republican ideal to his death. In 1921 he spoke strongly against acceptance of the Treaty and voted against it. Re-elected to the Second Dail Eireann he was one of the surviving members who vested their legitimate Governmental authority in the Army Council of the Irish Republican Army in 1937.

Joseph Mary Plunkett was executed on May 4, 1916. Around him centres the romance of the Easter Rising as he was married at a late hour the night before his execution to Miss Grace Clifford whose sister was married to Tomas MacDonnchadh another of the executed signatories of the Proclamation. He was the eldest son of Count and Countess Plunkett.

He was a poet and dramatist and for a time edited the 'Irish Review.' Aged 24 at the time of the Rising he acted as Secretary to James Connolly during Easter Week in the General Post Office.

'WE HAVE TAKEN AN OATH OF FIDELITY TO THE REPUBLIC, ARE WE GOING TO TAKE A FALSE OATH TO KING GEORGE?'

Count Plunkett's speech during Treaty Debate, 19 December, 1921

"I am in favour of the rejection of this Treaty on the ground that it is not reconcilable with the conscience of the Irish people. I will vote for its rejection because I myself in conscience could not stand by it. It proposes that all the schemes that have been brought up, across our track, during our fight for liberty, should be substituted for the plain intention of the Irish people in inaugurating and carrying to a great point of success the struggle for Irish independence.

"The scheme put forward by Sir Horace Plunkett and Captain Henry Harrison was laughed at, because it was common knowledge that these gentlemen could not 'deliver the goods.' Accordingly, Captain Harrison dissolved the Dominion League. The schemes put forward at the Convention called by the British Government were rejected with scorn for no brazen-headed Irishman could enter that assembly. It was a manufactured assembly, and did not represent the views of the Irish people; but to-day you are told, by a side-wind, that the only thing for you to do is to accept these rejected things.

"You are told that your national liberties will be secured

by your handing them over to the supremacy of the British Government. You are told that the vile thing that was rejected not only by our generation but by past generations of fighting men, that this scheme by which we will be put under the domination of an Imperialised Parliament, swearing an oath to the English King, that this is the means by which you will achieve your liberty! If it were possible to achieve anything by this means, it would be by treachery among our own; it would mean that we are to be false to one oath or the other; and if I take an oath and devote myself to the fight for national liberty, I am not going, whatever the threat of war or any other device, to abandon the cause to which I have devoted my life.

"I am faithful to my oath. I am faithful to the dead. I am faithful to my own boys, one of whom died for Ireland with his back to the wall, and the other two were sentenced to death and saw them afterwards wearing what has been described as 'the livery of England.' Following a sentence of ten years' Penal Servitude Am I to back now on my pledges on the ingenious suggestion that by

some unexpected contrivance Ireland is to secure her liberty by giving it away?

"No, though I am no more an enemy of peace than Arthur Griffith, I am no more an enemy of an understanding, and honest, straight understanding between England and Ireland than any man here, but I will never sacrifice the independence of Ireland simply for the purpose of securing a cessation of warfare. Now look at what has been already accomplished for us. The men of 1916 went out and fought the whole power of the British Empire. Did they lose? They went down, but they went down as victors. Instead of an irresolute body of people who had handed over their judgement to a little group of politicians, there arose a resolute nation backing the power of Ireland, so that the forces of Ireland was not in the hands of a few hundred men, but in the hands of four and a half millions of people. That is the position which the men of 1916 secured; their fight has been carried on ever since, not merely with the countenance of the Irish people, but with the assistance and strength of the Irish people.

"To tell me that the men

who suffered their houses to be burned over their heads and still did not relinquish their nationality, the men whose children were shot before their eyes, men who for the nation's good had given up all prospects of personal profit in this world, were going to sign a document or otherwise surrender the patriot aims and gains to the English Government - in the hope that England, in a fit of generosity, will not take the bargain as binding?

"No, our victories of action and endurance mark Ireland's advance, from which the nation can never retreat. As men of honour we must respect our oath, as men of principle we must stand by the principle of liberty, and as men whose word is as good as their bond we must see that no man takes an oath here with the secret intention of breaking it. We have taken an oath of fidelity to the Republic, are we going to take a false oath to King George? Under no conditions will I sacrifice my personal honour in such a manner. I don't believe that the men who foolishly imagine such a thing can be done can resist the corruption that inevitably comes of dishonour."

STATEMENT OF COUNT PLUNKETT AFTER ARREST IN 1916

Count Plunkett was in his house in Upper Fitzwilliam Street, Dublin, on the afternoon of the 1st May, when a body of police and military demanded admittance. They wished to search the house, and he made no demur. They produced neither warrant nor order, although they were under the command of officers.

They burst open desks and presses of which he had not the keys, and they flung the contents about. They stole a large sum of money and a quantity of jewellery, and all the Orders which Count Plunkett had received from the Holy See - (The Cross of Commander of the Holy Sepulchre, the Grand Cross, ribbon and badge of S.S. Cyril and Methodius, the Cross of the Avvocato di San Pietro, and two Crosses of St John of Lateran, belonging to the Count and Countess).

They also stole two historical dress-swords which the Count had labelled for loan to the Museum of which he is Director. These things they took away without acknowledgment, and unknown to him at the time; they have restored nothing nor given a receipt for anything. The only thing they took openly was the dress-sword appertaining to his uniform as Director.

The police tried to get the Count to acknowledge that he had a revolver and other weapons in the house, but he had none, and he

said so. Then Countess Plunkett returned home, and the police said the Count had better go with them; and the military and police took him in an iron-sided motor- van to the Castle. At the Castle Count Plunkett's name was entered in a book, but he saw nothing more about his case, and the official before whom he was brought (after some confusion and hesitation), said that he (the officer) had nothing more to do with the matter.

No warrant or order was produced, as far as the Count knew. It was then evening, and Count Plunkett was brought without about twenty others (including some wretches charged with looting) and they were all put into the one small dirty cell in Ship Street Barracks. There was a low dais on which about a dozen men lay; the rest could only sit for an occasional few minutes on the dais, and as they could not lie on the filthy floor, they spent the night walking about. The Count was one of these, and he was exhausted when morning came, after a night of horror. None were allowed to leave the cell for one moment during the night.

Some of his companions were men of education; a few were suffering from wounds and other injuries. Most of them had eaten nothing from early in the previous day, and none got any food until the morning of the 2nd, when some

"bully beef" in tins, hard biscuits, and tea in cans, were brought in.

At about 11 o'clock in the morning these prisoners were ordered out, and then, regardless of age and ailments, they were marched a couple of miles to Richmond Barracks, being subjected to insult by the military and the disreputable camp-followers on the way. In Richmond Barracks a list of about twenty-seven "suspects", including the Count, were lodged in a room intended for eleven soldiers. The place was dirty. They had several wounded men with them who received no special consideration then. Their food was bully-beef, brown biscuits (the Count broke three teeth trying to eat them) and bad tea without milk or sugar.

The sentries locked these men into their room, and at first were nearly as brutal to the officers. As for the officers, they flourished revolvers in the faces of these untried men and used offensive language to them. The prisoners were left shut in for a whole day; they were left most of a day without food. For many days they could get no change of clothing, nor could they remove their clothes at night, nor wash themselves. For nearly a week they had to sleep on the dirty boards without a rug, and few of them had overcoats. During the rainy nights even the most weary of them were kept awake by

the cold. Their friends tried to see them and could not, nor could they communicate with those outside.

Finally the prisoners bribed the soldiers to bring out their notes scrawled on scraps of paper, and to smuggle in food to them. And these people so treated were all untried, many with no shred of evidence against them. But the English military and their subordinates found it convenient to punish them first and try them afterwards - if they tried them at all. The Count says, "the suspects were amongst the best and kindest people I have ever known."

The shameful conditions here described continued until one of the public men arrested was discovered amongst the prisoners by his son (a soldier in the English army), and was released. The mild "suspect" published some information in the press regarding the evil conditions of his detention, and the fear of such notoriety made the military suddenly anxious for the welfare and comfort of the rest.

The Medical Staff, owing to the unhealthy state in which the prisoners as a body were kept, threatened to make trouble, saying that unless certain changes were made, there would almost certainly be an outbreak of spotted fever in the Barracks. So first they were given rugs, then the sanitary arrangements were

improved; then the food was made tolerable. But up to the end, nearly all the prisoners had to sleep on the floor; and to the last, certain regulations, unworthy of a decent people, were continued at Richmond.

After a fortnight of hard experience, Count Plunkett was given a rigid bed to lie on; and it took the same time for him to gain a visit from any member of his family. He was kept in ignorance of what was happening to those dearest to him. Countess Plunkett, his wife, was arrested two days after he was taken, but he heard of this long after, and by accident.

The Count was twice brought out, into the grounds outside the room where the Field Court Martial was sitting, apparently to be tried; he saw his three sons waiting there too; but he was sent back untried. A brutal soldier afterwards said in his hearing that his three sons were shot; the Count did not know but that this was the truth.

When Count Plunkett's young lads, George and John, were sentenced, he had no word with them; he heard, some days later, from a jail turnkey, that they were given ten years each.

"As convicts," the official added cheerfully. The Count saw them from a window, but could have no communication of any kind with them before they were sent to Portland Prison; he

learned only after his "release" that the sentence on these lads was originally a death sentence.

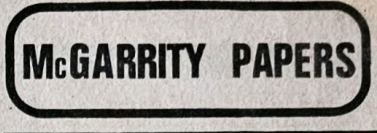
Count Plunkett's eldest son, Joseph, surrendered with Pearce, and the other leaders, when they were told that if they did not do so, the city of Dublin would be razed to the ground, and the lives of its women and children would be sacrificed. Yet these leaders were tried and shot for their humanity.

Count Plunkett says - "I was never let speak to Joseph, my son, during his imprisonment in Richmond Barracks. I was not allowed to send him a message or receive a word from him. No official told me on my son's trial, his sentence, his execution, his burial - nor even of his marriage on the eve of his death - until I wrested a few dry jottings from a surely Provost Marshal, to supplement the casual news I had heard as prisoner. 'Impossible' was the answer when I asked leave to bury Joseph in consecrated ground.

Even now I have no reply to my request to his jailers to tell me the spot in Arbour Hill Prison yard where the body of my heroic son lies, awaiting the Resurrection."

Count and Countess Plunkett are now in Oxford, England, for after suffering imprisonment for five weeks, they are driven into exile by a military order, without either trial or inquiry.

STATEMENT MADE BY COUNTESS PLUNKETT AFTER ARREST IN 1916



I spent three days trying to get into communication with my sons and then my husband was arrested on Monday 1st May 1916. The next day Tuesday the 2nd May I went to the Castle in Dublin to get leave to see my husband, in order to bring him clothes, and to see my sons, as I heard they were arrested, and in Richmond Barracks. After visiting the Provost Marshal I went to the Assistant Commissioner of Police. He sent me back to the Assistant Provost Marshal who again sent me back to Colonel Johnstone. This gentleman refused me a pass through the City to go to the Military Authorities. So I started without it and went to the District Command on North Circular Road. There the Captain in charge gave me a pass to the Irish Command at Park Gate. I then saw Major Owen-Lewis and asked for permission to see my husband and my sons. He refused to give it. I had previously called at Richmond Barracks; there I was told I could not visit, "that they were too busy."

On Wednesday, the third of May, I was arrested at our home, 26 Upper Fitzwilliam Street, Dublin. A motor lorry was sent for me; the officer would not allow me to go to my room for my coat and skirt; I had to have it brought to me, and I had to vest myself in his presence, in our dining-room. I was then driven in this open lorry through the crowded streets to Dublin Castle. I was not brought before anyone in authority, but a document concerning me was handed in my presence to the Provost Marshal, Lord Powerscourt. It stated a gross falsehood that 40,000 rounds of ammunition were found in my house. The officer who searched our

house told me all he took was an old broken and disused rifle, two antiquated swords and an old scimitar that hung for ornament on a wall — also a dress worn belonging to an official uniform of my husband. The document also stated that I seemed to have not taken any active part in the "Sinn Fein" movement but that my husband and sons were under arrest.

I was sent to a guard room at the rear of the Castle in Ship Street for the night. It was dirty, and showed that it had been recently occupied by other people, as dirty water was in a tin bath, brooms and horse-cleaning paraphernalia were in the corner, the debris of bully-beef and hard biscuit, of which I was offered portion for my supper. Dirty blankets were spread over soldiers' cushions for my bed. Hearing a discussion about the key of the door I asked if one man were to be in charge during the night, I was told "yes". But later two men, one after the other, entered my room without knocking; the latter one was ejected by the sergeant of Military Police. I explained that I was not yet recovered from a serious illness and that I feared a return of a serious heart attack, from which I suffered. A doctor came and examined my heart. He said, "it is not as strong as it might be." He told me to lie down no matter what kind my bed was, to prevent injury to myself. I did so. At 11 o'clock my door was suddenly pushed in; an officer asked if he could do anything for me. As I had asked to see my family doctor and it was not granted, I declined any help that night.

Next morning with three male prisoners I was brought to Richmond

Barracks. I had to stand in view of hundreds of soldiers and in company of about fifty other prisoners for over an hour. I was not aware that my eldest son had been shot that morning, and my two other sons were condemned to death, but committed to 10 years. One is aged 21 and the other 18. For three days I was left in solitary confinement but had a fairly clean room and was allowed to buy some food. The weather was bitterly cold and my illness, grief and want of exercise left me so cold I asked for a fire to be lit in the fireplace on Sunday. This was refused. No woman attention was at Richmond. I was then visited by about 15 or 17 officials. Finally one asked in a gruff voice "Had I anything to complain of." I said "no," but I added, "I think we got no dinner"; the visit of the officials interfered with my sending the orderly for food, so I had to go without. After an hour or so I was told I had to get ready to leave in five minutes. I said to the officer in charge, "Where are you taking me to." He answered, "you will be told when you get there." I said if I am to walk I have met with an accident he answered "yes." For I had had a bad fall, injuring both knees, the day before.

We were marched from Richmond, I and three other ladies, under armed escort in daylight, to Kilmainham, where my son was shot. This prison had not been used for years, being condemned; it had not been cleaned and was in a filthy state. Here I was also kept in solitary confinement.

I had no news officially about my sons, nor have I ever received any, nor was I sent for when my eldest son was sentenced to death. I was not allowed to

communicate with my friends. The dirty beds, disused for years were all we had to lie on and the floors, walls, windows, were filthy. The blankets were black with dirt and verminous.

On Tuesday I became so ill that my cell door had to be left open and I was allowed to go for ten minutes to get air in the yard where my son was shot. I lay down at eight o'clock, being worn out, and in 20 minutes I was told to get up to go to another prison, Mountjoy. I and eleven other female prisoners were taken in "Black Maria" the prison van to Mountjoy. Here again for three weeks I had solitary confinement but was allowed one hour's exercise in twenty-four. Later this rule was relaxed and we had three hours exercise and for some days before I was deported we were allowed a common room in the evenings where we could talk and have our tea.

Hearing that a form was being distributed to prisoners who had not been tried I asked the warders, matron, Lady Superintendent and Governor about it. They told me they had no knowledge of it. I have never been brought to trial — no charge has been made against me. I was given a form to sign, saying that I could choose "Interment" or to be set at liberty in certain areas in England. I chose the latter and was told I could go see my husband and get away on Friday.

But this did not take place and some days afterwards, on Monday, 5th, at 20 past 5 o'clock I was told to go meet my husband at six and that if I signed a paper saying I would not take part in any meetings or speak at one before leaving, I would be set at liberty in

England, but that I must reside in the borough of Oxford, Major Price told me that this last restriction would most probably be removed in a few days. I am now three weeks in Oxford and it has not yet been removed. I am prevented from looking after property and business matters.

Both our houses were turned upside down and robbed and I am not able to put them back in order. Our papers were "made hay of." While the Military were searching 26 Upper Fitzwilliam Street 40 pounds in cash was stolen from my desk, my husband's watch chain and seals and diamond ring, some dresses a seal coat of mine and some family silver were stolen. From our country house two wagon loads and a small cart full were taken away by the officer's orders. My complete wardrobe including valuable lace, my children's clothes — bedding, house-linen and plated ware and silver; also some china and glass, watches, jewelry. To take "everything of value" was the order given by the officer to the men. My servants were roughly handled and robbed. My husband's "Orders" were stolen. I called the officer's attention to this matter and he apologized for the occurrence and said he would report the matter. No return of money or valuables has been made.

I have had no trial of any kind, yet am deported at great loss financially and much inconvenience. My home is broken up and a young daughter had to accompany us into exile, owing to this state of affairs. I was absent from Dublin for months owing to ill health until twelve days before the Rising and I took no part in politics.



COUNT PLUNKETT



COUNTESS PLUNKETT

'THE TREATY IS NULL AND VOID'

A letter from Eamonn de Valera to Joe McGarrity, on a letterhead, headed as follows: "Dail Eireann (Government of Ireland), Oifig an Uachtaraín, Baile Atha Cliath." It is dated November 28, 1922.

Dear Joe,

Since I wrote you last we have taken some steps forward, but received many checks also.

Children's death is a big blow — not so much on account of what he was doing immediately before that, but because of what he could do under new conditions. He died the Prince that he was. Of all the men I ever met I would say he was the noblest. The gun he had in his possession was an automatic that Mick have him, telling him it was to defend the Republic. I saw it with him myself — a tiny automatic, little better than a toy and in no sense a war weapon. Since Harry's death I have felt no other blow so keenly.

As I write Miss MacSwiney is released, but they have captured some pivotal men from us. I am afraid we will be able to do little to prevent the Free State coming formally into effect on December 6th, and then there will be a rallying round if as there was before.

Organisation work here is extremely difficult, and we are sorely in need of funds. The "will of the people" cry, absurd though it is, is for with their lying press they could make the people will anything they chose, is nevertheless a terrible cry to make headway against. The country is so tired of war and fighting, and there is such a natural hatred to turning one's arms against one's own countrymen that some of the very best are standing aside, feeling that we are right but not wishing to be involved themselves.

It is terrible to see how

hard it is to get the people to give up the stupid policy of seeking the foreigner's leave to do what we have the right to do and can do without his leave.

I am sending you some documents which you ought to pass on at once to Finerty. You could arrange to get back the originals when he has had them copied. One would be particularly useful as it shows the constitutional position of the Republic.

We have appointed Ginnell to be our Governmental representative in America. I am giving him instructions to give his dismissal order to Smiddy and to demand possession of our offices and property — 1045 Munsey Bldg., the Consulate in New York, etc. If we can get them it may be necessary to close them up partially for a time. It is a question of money, money, money now.

I am sure public opinion

over there is swinging to our side, but remember the battle has to be finally lost or won here.

I hope Finerty will leave no stone unturned so as to get our right to the funds recognised. I had a letter recently from Harrigan threatening a split — have we not splits enough?

By the way, during the negotiations in London, Cobalan wrote a very strong article in some magazine or other on Ireland's opportunity and the crime it would by not to hold out to the end. This might be of value as showing up his inconsistency at the present time, but perhaps the best plan is not to bother about these people. The thing to stress over there is that the Irish people have not been given free self-determination, that the "Treaty" is null and void and not binding on the Irish people because of the duress, that Peace has not been made with the Irish race. Charge

with responsibility for every drop of blood being shed in Ireland — for the blood of Collins no less than of Cathal, Harry, Childers and the executed boys, and the equally valuable lives of the soldiers who have died on both sides.

I hope you are keeping well. Regards to Mrs McGarrity and all our friends.

Very sincerely yours,
E de V.

Dictated in a hurry.

P.S. It would be well to get as many of our people over there as possible to write to their friends here to support the Republic and to tell them how the papers are lying to them.

Try to organise a boycott of English and Ulster goods on a large scale, to be kept up until England's threat of war is removed and the Irish people really free to rule themselves as they please.



JOSEPH PLUNKETT



MRS. GRACE PLUNKETT

McGARRITY PAPERS

PRESERVING

To all whom it may concern.....

The following memo dated December 9, 1920 is in the handwriting of Eamonn de Valera, and his signature is witnessed by Joseph McGarrity and James O'Mara:

To all whom it may concern -

In case of my death I wish now to put on record that I regard the funds collected thro. the issue of bonds of the Irish Republic as National not party funds. At the same time the Party that stands for Independence and in particular for the idea of an Independent Republic has a very special claim on them.

Should the Irish people then by vote depart from their present position and an Irish Parliament other than an Independent or Republican Parliament be set up by the vote of the majority so that Irish Republicans would be in a minority - I think that the funds in the hands of the Trustees of Dail Eireann should be partly retained in Trust so as to be available to enable the Republicans to again secure a majority in Ireland thro' Elections or to equip them to drive out the British by arms when an opportunity for doing so occurred - and partly be used for general national purposes such as the preservation of the Nation's language or the maintenance of trade or political agents in foreign countries. The latter agents to be nominated by the Republican Party - (to which the present body of Irish Volunteers is the nearest equivalent I can imagine) - but to serve the interests of the whole nation irrespective of Party. These agents may freely advocate abroad Ireland's title to Independence and to a Republic.

Eamonn de Valera
Dec 9, 1920
Witnessed by *Joe McGarrity*
James O'Mara

APPEAL TO AMERICA FOR \$100,000

Sean Moylan was in America on behalf of the I.R.A. and he sent the following appeal to the officers and members of the Clan na Gael in July 1923.

OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF THE CLAN-NA-GAEL

The following (limited period) Program is considered vital to our interest in Ireland at the present moment

1. Reunion on the Proper Policy.
2. Political action in order to strengthen our Centre for Grouping Republican Activity.

Section 2. "To aid the people of Ireland in maintaining their complete national Independence under a Republican form of Government."

The fact that military activity on the part of the I.R.A. has for the moment ceased, is not to be taken as an indication that the fight for Irish liberty is not being carried on. Under the conditions existing in Ireland the Army Executive decided that a continuance of the armed struggle at the present time would not tend towards the realization of our hopes and ideals; the fight, therefore has to be for a short time transferred to another plane.

President De Valera and his cabinet have, after fullest discussion and consideration, decided that it is necessary in the interests on the Republic, to at least in some measure contest the forthcoming election. They realize that, while they cannot hope to secure a majority in the election, a certain number of Republicans can be returned which will form a nucleus round which Republican activities will center and which will preserve the continuity of the Republican Government. President De Valera has issued an appeal to America for 100,000 dollars to fight the election. He has sent, as Envoy here, the Lord Mayor of Cork, who will control and co-ordinate the efforts being made in this country for the Irish Republic. He appeals to you to co-operate with all individuals and organizations working here for Ireland, so that the best results may be obtained from all our efforts. That you will do so I have no doubt. The fact that funds must be provided for election purposes does not relieve us

of our obligation of standing by the army. Men and women of the Clan, we are confident, will stand, loyally now as in the past, by the forces which brought our cause so near to triumph; we trust in you making a further sacrifice in support of the men who have sacrificed all for Ireland.

I have asked your executive to appeal to you to on hand for transmission to the men at home, and to call at once on receipt of this appeal special meetings of all members in good and bad standing on your books and ask them to subscribe at least five dollars per member within ten days after appeal reaches you.

An early and liberal response to the call of the President and the Army Executive may not mean the immediate defeat of the "Free State," but it will at least mean the prevention of the consolidation in Ireland of army forces subservient to England.

As we have no desire to make promises we can't fulfil, so we do not desire any undertaking of you which you feel you cannot fulfil, but we feel that five dollars per member is within the power of all this, the Republic's appeal, gives aid to the enemy and may be fatal to the cause.

Every S. G. and J. G. should take immediate action on this appeal. Do not fail us in this vital moment.
July 28, 1923. Sean Moylan.

To mad to write.....

Hastily handwritten note from Luke Dillon to Joe McGarrity. It is dated simply "July" by Dillon on his personal notepaper, and contains the following handwritten note on top by McGarrity: "Aug 1 or 2, 1922." It reads:

"Friend McG,
I have just sent telegram to Stephen O'Meara of Limerick after vainly waiting for yours as follows-

"Cathal Brugha (sic) and Boland's murder is the result of treachery and perjury to the Irish Republic. Their blood is on the heads of Collins and Griffity. Our people here have no sympathy with traitors or West Britons."
Signed LUKE DILLON."

Would you use your name but feared you might not like my style and perhaps it was better you sent one to someone else.
Luke Dillon.

Too mad to write."

No. 1. 05LAI3 na h-ÉIREANN.

Received from Harry Boland, T.D.

the Sum of Fourteen thousand & fourty Pounds eleven Shillings and two Pence Sterling, being amount handed over by him for Army purposes to the Republican Council of G.H.Q. Staff Irish Republican Army.

Received 18th day of January 1922.

£ 14042 11 : 0

Liam Mellows
Oscar Traynor
Rory O'Connor

The trustees of the fund in the United States noting that the Republic was going to be sold transferred the money via Harry Boland TD, to the IRA for the defence of the Republic. The receipt is signed by Liam Mellows, Oscar Traynor and Ruidhri O Conchubhair (Rory O'Connor) on January 18, 1922.

\$20,000 for the I.R.A. in 1921

The money mentioned in this letter from Harry Boland to Luke Dillon (sent from Hotel Pennsylvania, New York) was drawn by McGarrity and Dillon on McGarrity's request and sent to the I.R.A. in Ireland, according to a note handwritten by McGarrity in pencil on one page of the paper. The proprietor of the Irish Press was of course McGarrity - he was prepared to forego the money for the sake of the

cause in Ireland.

December 26, 1921.

Mr. Luke Dillon, Philadelphia, Pa.

Dear Luke,

Owing to the crisis which has arisen in Ireland, and the possibility that those who advocate the Republic may find themselves "in the wilderness," I have decided in behalf of the home

Organization to pay to the proprietor of the IRISH PRESS the sum of Twenty Thousand Dollars (\$20,000) to enable him to carry on his paper and to recoup himself for some of the losses which he has sustained.

I would ask you to sign this check and pay the amount over to the proprietor of the IRISH PRESS.

Very sincerely yours,
Harry Boland.

A GOVERNMENT FOR THE REPUBLIC

"... to establish a claim to the funds and other resources of the Republic."

Part of a memo from De Valera to the Chief of Staff of the I.R.A. and members of the Army executive, with a note on top in De Valera's handwriting: "Confidential copies for J. McG." The part of the memo which is available is not dated, but internal evidence would suggest that it was issued shortly after the start of the Civil War around June-July-August 1922.

To: The Chief/Staff and Members of the Executive:

Owing to the suppression of the Second Dail and the assumption of authority by the Provisional Parliament, it has become imperative, if it be decided to continue the fight, to set up a government for the Republic.

The demand for such a controlling authority is insistent from all sides - from our people at home, and from our supporters in America. Such a Government is necessary in order

- To provide a rallying point and a center of direction to co-ordinate the efforts in various fields to maintain the Republic.
- To preserve the continuity of the Republic and prevent the Free State Government from establishing itself as the legal successor of the Second Dail.
- To establish a claim to the funds and other resources of the Republic.

The proper body to set up such a government would undoubtedly be the elected representatives of the people, meeting as the Parliament and the Government of the Republic in Dail Eireann.

The faithful Republicans are prevented from meeting, however, and as the present position has developed from Army action and not directly as the policy of the Republican Party, and as there is doubt as to whether the Army would give its wholehearted allegiance to any other than its own Executive, or the creation of that Executive, it is obvious that the Army must take the initiative in causing the government to be set up. In connection with this subject and the necessity for a government, it would be well if members of the Executive read the letter of Liam Mellows and my memo to the

Republican Party (attached), copies of both of which were found amongst papers discovered by the Free Staters and carefully edited and misrepresented by their Publicity Department.

A simple military dictatorship is open to a host of objections, whilst a government which would not get the allegiance of the Army would be a mockery. Under the circumstances, the proper course would be for the Army Executive to call on the Republican Members of the Dail to set up the government, having arranged with them in advance as regards the personnel and the broad outlines of policy. As this would take time, and as very few of the Members are accessible, I have suggested a modification to the members of the Executive whom I have met, and drafted a suitable proclamation.

As regards the personnel of the Government, those members of the Dail who were reelected would be by far the best, if otherwise suitable, and should not be passed over without very good reason. As regards policy, the only public policy necessary for the moment is the policy of maintaining the Republic and the sovereign Independence of the nation, but in private there would have to be a frank interchange of views and a very definite understanding between all concerned on certain vital matters.

FIRST, as regards the right of the people to determine freely their own government and the relations of the State with foreign States.

SECOND, the terms on which the present armed opposition to the Free State (if it continues to have a majority) might be desisted from.

THIRD, the terms of a simple recognition of the Republic on which, if we succeed in establishing ourselves in Nationalist...

THE REPUBLIC

McGARRITY PAPERS

Maud Gonne on De Valera's prisons

(This mimeographed story is headed "Arbour Hill" and though undated internal evidence shows that it was written by Maud Gonne McBride in July or early August 1935).

For fifty years I have worked for Political Prisoners, Fenian Prisoners, Land League Prisoners, Treason Felony Prisoners, Sinn Féin Prisoners, Cosgrave's prisoners, De Valera's prisoners, and I have myself known the inside of many jails. I also belong to Prisoners Reform Societies in four Countries, while in the last twenty years English prisons have been considerably reformed, Irish prisons have worsened in regard to political prisoners.

It is hard to understand the mentality of jailers. If a political party decide to use its power to jail its opponents, surely there is no reason for ill-treating them.

In the course of my work I have seen many young men's and women's health ruined by prison. I have seen many released only to die. Jailers don't like prison requests and very often release for death to occur outside. Article 2A of the Free State Constitution provides against this. "No request may be held on prisoners sentenced by the Military Tribunal."

I have seen many men driven insane in prisons. Some have recovered, others have died in asylums, some are still living in asylums and theirs is the worst fate.

In my long experience, I

say deliberately I have never known prison conditions so terribly calculated to destroy mental and bodily health as those being enforced on Republican Prisoners in Arbour Hill today.

Solitary confinement has been abandoned in most countries because it is the chief cause of prison insanity.

Solitary confinement is being so rigidly enforced in Arbour Hill that a new ingenious contraption had been invented to prevent prisoners seeing and recognising each other at Mass. I have heard of the "Jacket" described by Jack London; I have heard of the "Muffs" described by Irish Prisoners upon whom this instrument of torture has been used, I had never before heard of the "Blinkers" so I think Mr Frank Aiken may claim the glory of this invention. From descriptions of released prisoners I learned that it is a sort of canvas screen which fits round the head and shoulders of prisoners and has to be held in place by two military policemen seated on each side of the prisoner in the Chapel. It ensures that he cannot see anything on the right or the left and that he cannot be recognised. The space in the chapel prevents the "blinkers" being applied

to all prisoners. It is reserved for prisoners of mark, such as Moss Twomey, Chief-of-Staff of the I.R.A. He has to either endure this indignity or forego hearing Mass. Ireland boasts of being a Catholic Nation. Men who wish to receive Communion are accompanied to the Altar rails by armed guards.

The hour of Mass is the only time when there is any trouble in ensuring complete solitary confinement. The rest of the time, 24 hours out of the 24, the prisoners are locked in tiny separate stone cells. The prison regulations read that two hours of exercise are allowed, but it must be in complete silence — five paces apart round an asphalt ring. Any prisoner who speaks or whistles or sings is at once set upon by armed guards and rushed back to his cell. The prisoners are brought to and from their cells to the ring, separately by two armed guards who are forbidden to speak to them.

Mr Aiken told me he believed in the silence system.

Nearly all the Republican prisoners refuse to exercise under these conditions and remain continuously locked in their cells.

Their families are not

allowed to send them parcels, books or magazines, or newspapers. No visits are allowed; no cigarettes. Remand and sentenced are subject to the same conditions. The regulation permits prisoners to write and receive letters from their families. I have seen many such letters shown to me by families and by released prisoners. Tattered pieces of paper, so cut by the prison censor as to be entirely undecipherable. One of these letters was to tell of the sudden death of a near relative, the prisoner got the letter but only learned of the death on his release. I saw that letter it had five pieces cut out of it. Sean MacSwiney used his brother's Terence's weapon and hunger-struck his way to freedom to tell the conditions in Arbour Hill. He wrote to his sister, Maura. She got the letter but only learned of the hunger-strike when Sean was carried out by his jailers to a Nursing Home. Mr De Valera considered it impolitic to follow British example to the bitter end in the case of a MacSwiney.

The deadly silence of Arbour Hill is only broken by the clanging of the door when food is handed into the cells and at night by the noisy tread of armed guards in the corridors and the occasional stifled cry of

some prisoner under interrogation.

Two prisoners have been released insane.

Donal O'Donoghue is on hunger-strike since the 10th of July.

Thomas MacCurtain, a student, arrested during his examination is on hunger-strike since the 8th of July. He is the son of the Lord Mayor of Cork murdered by British Crown Forces.

I do not know if other prisoners are on hunger-strike — some men prefer death to insanity.

The papers under the censorship of the Military Tribunal dare not allude to the hunger-strike or to the conditions in Arbour Hill, lest the same penalty be applied to them as to AN PHOBLAcht, whose offices are closed by the order of the Military Tribunal for Six Months.

Patrick McKenna for speaking at the weekly Prisoners Protest Meeting in Arbour Hill was sentenced to 18 months by the Military Tribunal, since then I invite none but women to speak at these meetings.

A Commission of Inquiry into the treatment of Political prisoners was set up in the Mansion House under the chairmanship of Mr Norton, TD, leader of

the Labour Party, to sift the evidence, we were prepared to bring.

The Commission invited the Government to send a representative to the hearing of the evidence. The Executive Council replied by proclaiming the Commission composed mainly of doctors and lawyers, to be an "Unlawful Association" and any statement or letter from it became a "seditious and treasonable document", therefore, the statements of its Chairman was refused publication in the press. The Police held the Mansion House and prevented the entry of the Commissioners.

No wonder Mr De Valera, tried to prevent the truth about Arbour Hill being known.

This tragedy is going on over the ashes of Padraic Pearse, and James Connolly and their comrades, still lying in quicklime under the hard ground of Arbour Hill Prison yard, where Maxwell, the slayer, threw their bodies in 1916.

Mr De Valera is asking for the translation of the remains of Roger Casement from the prison yard at Pentonville. Prison yards are no place for holy relics, but is a prison in England worse than a prison in Ireland.

Maud Gonne-McBride
Secretary of Women
Prisoners Defence League.



Joe Clarke, now 90 years of age, seen here holding a Fenian Bond

DO YOU KNOW JOE CLARKE?

Every adherent of Sinn Féin in Ireland knows Joe Clarke. He was caretaker of No 6 Harcourt Street long before 1916, and in Easter Week, he shouldered his rifle, and subsequently went to Frongoch. Throughout the stirring period of 1917-21, he was ever at his post, whatever the danger, working 20 hours a day without a grumble and ever cheerful, and paid a miserable pittance by the Sinn Féin Organisation. On scores of occasions he saved the lives of Michael Collins, Harry Boland, Cathal Brugha and Dick Mulcahy, imperilling his own life for their sakes. He held the fort at No 6, often spending his nights on the roofs while the Black and Tans were bursting up the floors inside, looking for him.

What is his reward for all this?

Here is his own story of his treatment at the hands of the army of the people. During all the years of the Terror, and since, many heart-rending statements have passed through our hands, but never have we seen any statement which

fills us with such shame and horror as this.

Wellington Barracks,
13.11.22

"On Wednesday, the 8th inst. I was arrested by CID men who were in a motor in Capel Street, at 3 pm. At the time I was cycling. One of the CID men was Joe Leonard. He threatened me with his 45 Webley and said he would make me tell where the "Republic" was printed, and also the whereabouts of Austin Stack. I was taken to Mountjoy and kept waiting outside for some time; then to Portobello where I was interrogated by an Intelligence officer who beat me about the body with his 45 Webley. He struck me several times with the butt and muzzle. He said he would make me tell where the "Republic" was printed and that if I sent out notes about the way I was assaulted, that he would make it hot for me. Joe Leonard of the CID with others were present all the time.

"I was then brought to

Wellington Barracks about 5.30; here myself and nine others were lined up and brought into the torture room one by one. When I was taken in, my coat was taken off me and I was asked to give information about the "Republic" newspaper, and the people who went in and out of 23 Suffolk Street, and the whereabouts of COM.

"Frank Bolster and Dolan (with coat off and sleeves turned up) twisted my arms and kicked me on the legs and body, tore my moustache off with a scissors, razor and some other torture instruments. Dolan did most of the torture, assisted by Bolster. They also twisted my ears with a pliers. They also threatened to use a hot iron if I did not give them information. Dolan made a blow at me with a large black bottle. I dodged the blow, Bolster said I should be shot. There were six or eight men in the room during the torture, including Lieut Tom Scully. I was told I would be taken to the torture room again in an hour's time if I did not give

the information wanted. All my money — over £6 — a fountain pen and a knife were taken from me by Dolan. I was then taken to a cell off the guardroom and left there with seven others without bed or bedding of any sort.

"Next day I was again taken to the IO's office and the O/C Prisoners denied getting any account of property or money taken from me. Bolster then said my money was taken from me, but that he had nothing to do with it. Nearly all the prisoners were tortured that Wednesday night. One of them — John Lawlor — was so badly beaten that he was taken to Beggar's Bush Hospital for treatment."

(Signed by Joseph Clark),
S.C.

Postscript: The name Wellington seems to be synonymous with torture. Today in the Six Counties the Wellington Regiment are noted for their torture and brutality of Irish men and women. British terror . . . Free State terror . . . Stormont terror . . . in all ages tyrants have ever acted in the same manner.

McGARRITY PAPERS

'We here, both civilians and volunteers, mean to safeguard sovereignty and integrity of the nation at all costs ...'

We here, both civilians and volunteers, mean to safeguard the Sovereignty and Integrity of the Nation at all costs and get its lawful Government recognised internationally in this generation. We hope to do so without war, but, if war is forced on us, we will meet it, with the help of God, as we did before. We hope all our friends abroad will organise at once to help us to the best of their ability, in peace or war.

Mise, le meas mor,
Frank Aiken, General,
Chief of Staff.

The "Sovereignty and Integrity of the Republic" was being defended at home and in the United States as this letter on I.R.A. headed paper from Frank Aiken, Chief of Staff to Joe McGarrity, Luke Dillon and T. Ryan, dated October 1, 1923, tells:

Oglaigh na hEireann
(Irish Republican Army)

General Headquarters,
Dublin.

Ard Oifig, Ath Cliath,
General Headquarters,
Dublin.
Dept:—C.S.

A Chairde,

I have received yours, enclosing copies of communication to the President. Regarding the latter, the Acting President is, of course, dealing with them.

Envoy has arrived safely and we had a long talk with him over the position in U.S. It is very heartening to hear him speak of all the enthusiasm over there, because, as long as the spirit is good, good organisation is only a matter of time and work.

Your present difficulties are the difficulties we have successfully got over during

the past twelve months—in spite of war, enemy, propaganda, etc. Your Organisation and the A.A.R.I.R. are almost similar to the I.R.A. and Sinn Fein Organisation here. Before and during the Civil War, the Sinn Fein Organisation was almost completely broken up principally because the Volunteers were not members. The late Chief of Staff (God rest him) issued orders early this year to the Army to re-organise Sinn Fein. The Volunteers throughout the country helped greatly in its re-organisation; they joined it in their capacity as citizens; as members they have put the proper spirit into it and made it an Organisation upon which we can depend not to do anything harmful to the Sovereignty and Integrity of the REPUBLIC.

I am sure you will not mind my saying that, I think, the proper way to strongly organise the supporters of the REPUBLIC in the States is: to deal with your present difficulties as we dealt with ours. I would advise your Headquarters to instruct all members to join up the A.A.R.I.R. and, as members, to work energetically to see it is properly organised and staffed to make the most use of the opportunities afforded in the future of helping the Republican Government. As individual members of the A.A.R.I.R. your members can do far more to guide it along the right lines than they could do from outside. Their joining and doing all the civilian work of the Republican movement out there through the open Organisation would prevent friction arising, enable you to give your full support to us and to present a united front to the enemy.

General Moylan is still Military Attache to the Envoy of the Government. He has Credentials from the President, the late Chief of Staff and myself and, needless to state, the complete confidence of the I.R.A.



Joseph McGarrity and friends welcoming Countess Marchievitz on her arrival in Philadelphia after the 1916 rising.

FREE STATE SOLDIERS RAID THE PEARSE HOME

After the rape of Scoil Eanna by Free State soldiers on July 12, 1922, a circular was issued informing the people of Ireland and the United States of this despicable act. Following is a reprinting of the circular:

VIOLATION OF PADRAIG PEARSE'S HOME

Mrs Pearse's words to the Free State soldiers.

St Enda's School, Rathfarnham, founded by Padraig Pearse, was raided by Free State soldiers on Wednesday night. The house was searched from top to bottom, and even the apartments occupied by Mrs Pearse and her daughters were invaded. Mrs Pearse reminded the soldiers that they were wearing the uniform of her two sons, Padraig and William Pearse, though they were behaving like Black-and-Tans, and they replied they were only carrying out their orders.

The following statement was made by Mrs Pearse subsequent to the raid:—

"At about 10.30 p.m. on Wednesday, July 12th, we discovered the house was surrounded by Free State Soldiers.

"I opened the door and said, 'Well, men, what is it?' They replied that they had come to search the house. I asked them if they were making a mistake, and if they knew where they were. They said 'Yes.' I then admitted them, saying, 'Now, men, as some of you may not know where you are, I wish to tell you that you are standing in the home of Patrick Pearse, who with his brother and many others, gave his life in Easter Week that Ireland might be free, but not that she might be a 'Free State.'"

"I then realised what was happening. These men had come to raid my home on the order of Collins and Mulcahy, the two men for whose safety I had sacrificed a great deal"—indeed, for whom on one memorable occasion, in Cullinstown House, I almost lost my life.

"These memories were too much for me, I completely broke down. I told the men what I thought of their traitor leaders, and of the misery and shame they had brought on Ireland since 6th December last, culminating in their never-to-be-forgotten conduct of the past fortnight.

"I told them to do their duty. The first thing I showed them was the block on which Emmet was beheaded. After I had pointed it out to them I told them what Padraig said to one of his boys during the great week in the G.P.O.: 'Whatever happens to us, the name of Dublin will be great forever.' 'This week has wiped out the disgrace of Dublin's failure towards Emmett.' 'And now,' I continued, 'those men who pretended to fight for the same ideals have sent you here.' I kept on talking in this strain during the whole time they remained. One of them in desperation said to one of our school boys: 'For God's sake get Mrs Pearse out of the hall.' But I remained on, completely upsetting and unnerving them by my remarks.

"My daughter accompanied the officer on his search. In one room a soldier was seen to take a tiny religious picture — of no value — and put it in his pocket as a souvenir of St Enda's.

"When they were coming in my daughter greeted them with the remark: 'Come on, search away. We are used to the British, but this is our first time to be searched by Irish traitors.'"

"On their departure she told them that they had every appearance of being as much ashamed of themselves as we were of them. They saluted in Irish and departed."



REQUIEM

In memory of
JOSEPH P. MCGARRITY
1874 — 1940

Was it yesterday we walked the broad highway
With our dreams and hopes and our memories—
Was it only yesterday that the sun blazed
And the star shone in a distant sky
And the fields were green with the gladness
Of the Spring and the rich, dark earth?
Only yesterday, only a day far removed
From the touch of any hand and the murmuring
Of a voice steeped in the bitter-sweet of memory.
And now, all lost.

Now let us ponder this thing a little:
Only yesterday he was here, spoke to me
And touched me on the arm in friendship sweet.
Then gravely listened with eyes upon a distant shore
Where a certain hope glowed green with pride
Through the mists and the tears of a century.

And now, all is lost.
The cherished dreams grown gray with dust
With all the yesterdays of an unforgotten past
And all the tomorrows never to be the same.
Yesterday, a voice and today a silence
Greater than the stillness of the tomb;
Yesterday, a gladness with laughter, with hopes
And the dreams of tomorrow, and today, nothing
But my tears for futile consolation.

Harry Weissblat

THE CLAN AND THE I.R.A.

McGARRY PAPERS

This letter dated January 15, 1923, from Joe McGarry to General Liam Lynch who had become Chief of Staff of the I.R.A., is full of interesting points on various aspects of the connection between the Clan and the I.R.A. Not least of interest is the warmth of the communication, the sincere dedication of McGarry and his associates to work unceasingly for the Republic.

It would also seem from a line in the letter that McGarry did not think too highly of Laurence Ginnell, who had been sent by De Valera to the U.S.A. as the Republican Government's representative.

Herewith is the text of the letter in full:

To General Lynch,
Chief of Staff.

A Chara,
I was honored by the receipt of your letter dated Dec. 21, 1922. I too regret that I did not meet you when last in Ireland. I doubt if our meeting would have changed events but the pleasure of meeting you is still before me and I trust God will spare you and give us both the opportunity of meeting in the flesh.

Yes, the Clan gave much assistance, as you say, in the last war. I feel sure they were capable of rendering greater assistance with proper leadership. I feel however, I speak truly when I say if all other organized bodies of Irish men and Irish women had done as much for the cause in proportion to their numbers the work of the I.R.A. would have been made

much easier.

I am surprised that you had no official notification of the Clans having severed connections with the Supreme Council of the I.R.B. and of having decided to form an official connection with the Executive of the I.R.A. Our reason for so doing were because of the fact that the Supreme Council had not only broken their own oath to the I.R.B. and the Republic of Ireland, but had induced others to do so. At our Convention held last August in Philadelphia, we repudiated their action and severed our connections with the Body. We sent a communication to Austin Stack and published an account of our action in the IRISH WORLD here, as well as in such other papers as would give it space. You should have known all about this long ago, and think that an official document should be drawn up by the Army Executive or the General Staff. I am not familiar with the official name of the governing body.

I had a letter from my now dead friend, Harry Boland, advising us of thy Clan to unite with the Army Executive, in view of the treason committed by the members of the S.C. of the I.R.B. As you state you have not heard officially of our action, I will ask that you accept this as an official notification and take any action you deem proper regarding the matter.

I am glad to learn that the rank and file and nearly all officers kept their allegiance. I am also glad to learn that steps are in contemplation by you and

your colleagues to again properly establish the I.R.B. as an active functioning force. I do not mean by that that we are not quite satisfied to have the official connection with the Army; we are! But I shall be glad to see that fact established; that is, that the majority of the men and officers did stand true to their obligation to the I.R.B. and the Republic.

I have met General Moylan and I assure you it was an honor and a privilege to sit in council with him and his colleague, Con. Leahy. They are both already busy on a campaign, as they have no doubt already reported to you. I regret to learn of the arrest of the other delegates who were to join us here.

I am happy to learn that the formation of a Government has improved matters. I fully expected it would have that effect. I was regretful that a Government had not been formed at a much earlier stage, but it is to the future we must look.

Leahy has been examined by a doctor here and must go west at once to a higher and dryer climate. We are happy to see to it that he wants for nothing necessary for his comfort. General Moylan will remain in the eastern states until he has gone through the Clan Clubs, and we are confident much good will be accomplished by him, and we expect after his tour of the Camps is finished we will have increased membership and efficiency.

As to our Body sending a representative over there, just now I am inclined to think it would be a waste of time. Our men of executive

ability are not numerous and we are very happy to work under your direction here. When time and opportunity is available we will be glad to send a delegate. We feel better work can be done here at present by those who would be trusted with a mission of that character.

As to matter referred to in my last communication to Stack and Jettens' note also would state that initial steps have been taken to get such a project underway. As to J. O'D's communication regarding the Irish Republican volunteers in America, the few we have in Philadelphia are very good; most of them are members of the Clan. All should be and any official connection should be applied for and come through the Clan-Executive. The military organization here was always under the control of the Clan organization, though having a military Constitution and Ritual which, of course, had the approval of the organization at a general Convention. My suggestion is that it might be wise to give them an official recognition as an active military branch of the Clan and subject to the Clans' control, and have it understood that all men of the military branch must be members of the Clan organization. This has for years been the rules and I see no good reason for changing them.

Companies of the military have been formed at various times and after getting uniforms and rifles fall away from the organization and takes with them their uniform and rifle. In this way much

money has in many cases been wasted.

As to the Rorke matter, he is a crook and crooks here are privileged characters. We cannot expose him without exposing the transaction, which of course is not in accordance with law, nor have we any definite agreement on which to sue. I fear you can expect little from that source but we will endeavor to produce some results. The steps you could make over there to remedy an affair of this kind cannot be taken here, not because of lack of manpower to take action but we are convinced it would not pay.

As to routes, etc. I am fairly familiar with the present lines of communication. We have a man specially assigned to that work, who keeps in close touch with me, and I regret to say that delivery in many cases has been difficult and in some cases impossible. Port men must be found who are not only competent but who have confidence and trust in each other.

As to the Government's representative here and his capabilities, I will leave General Moylan to deal with that matter. I do not wish to express my present opinion.

If the Jetter matter can be got underway in course of a month or two, the scales may turn in our favor. I do not like to build castles

in the air. At least I feel it dangerous to talk of projects in mind until they reach a point of maturity which promises results.

General Moylan showed me a report which he is sending on to you. It is not a very encouraging one but I am confident his presence here will in a short time decidedly improve matters. Any one familiar with the long series of events in the past year or so can in a great measure account for difficulties here. As to my personal affair mentioned in report, I assure you I will welcome any request for a written statement on that or any other matter that effects, or might be construed as effecting, any of my duties to the Republican movement here.

I assure you it is a great satisfaction to me to know that my very small efforts for the cause are remembered. Our greatest efforts here are poor indeed when compared to the wonderful sacrifices made by you and your brave men, some of whom have reached here shattered in health and fortune from their long battle for Ireland's Honor and Glory.

God give you power and strength to persevere and bring victory to our fondest wish. May your hopes be made a reality. With deep affection and regards,

Sincerely,
Jos McGarry.

CLAN BREAKS WITH I.R.B.

The following is the full text of a printed circular issued by Luke Dillon on behalf of the Executive of the Clan na Gael (see AN Phoblacht, Samhain, 1921) who had become acting secretary in 1920. It is of interest to all members of the organization. It is dated November 19, 1920 and tells of the expulsion of some former prominent members of the organization. It is of considerable interest in the light of recent happenings in the Movement.

Dear Sir and Brother,

You are, of course, aware that the connection between the Irish Republican Brotherhood and the Clan na Gael was severed on October 18, 1920. The reason for the severance was partly set forth in the notice given to the press by the Home Organization's representative.

Despite the fact that our Executive has repeatedly agreed to give wholehearted co-operation to the Home body, the men who have carried the agreement into effect shamelessly broke their pledge to do so and our organ the Gaelic-American on which 85% of the income of the Clan na Gael is being spent has been repeatedly used to pile abuse on the President of the Republic of Ireland and the other members of the Irish Mission now in this country. Previous to the meeting

of the Executive which was held in New York on August 15th, the former Secretary of your Executive was given to understand that unless the attacks in the Gaelic-American against the President and the members of the Irish Mission should cease and unless the promised co-operation should be given, the Home organization would be forced to cut off the Clan na Gael from further connection with the Home body, and at the meeting of August 15th an agreement was finally reached between the Executive of the Clan na Gael on one side and the representative of the I.R.B. on the other. The main features of the agreement were put in writing and all differences between the two bodies were felt convinced were happily ended.

All attacks on the members of the Irish Mission and the President were, of course, to cease and an apology was to be made to the President of the Irish Republic. The charges made against him in the Gaelic-American and the charges made against him were to be withdrawn by Mr Devoey. A number of other stipulations on which the agreement was based with the single exception of a half-hearted apology or withdrawal of charges against the President no attempt was made to keep the promise given and the hand of the Home body was

forced, despite every effort made to avoid such an unpleasant duty.

As the lists of the membership of the Clan na Gael were refused to the I.R.B. representative his only source of making known to the men the action taken, and the reasons therefore, was by giving publicity to the same in the newspapers.

The representative of your Executive who stood loyal to their obligation by giving their hearty co-operation to the Home Organization found themselves called upon to protect your Organization's interests as their obligation demands.

With the consent of your Executive, two members of the body attended a conference in New York on November 5th, 1920, at which the former Secretary Mr Devoey, and the four men who have supported him and who were formerly members of your executive were present. The two members of your Executive made every effort in order to have Mr Devoey and his four colleagues who supported him, agree to carry out the agreement reached on August 15th, to which they were all a party. But, instead of agreeing to this course they adopted a series of resolutions, one of which brands the President and the members of the Irish Mission as incompetents, mischief makers and unwitting tools of a British Agent, and finally demands the recall of

the Mission, including Mr Boland and the President.

The two representatives of your Executive pleaded with them not to injure their own reputations by the passage of these resolutions, but despite our efforts the resolutions were passed and are to be given to the press. The two representatives of your Executive requested that when the documents would be sent out the fact that they opposed the resolution's adoption should be made known in the communication, but only one of the opposing group was favourable to the request.

After the meeting ended your Executive met and took steps to protect the interests of the Organization. The places of the following men who failed to carry out the agreement entered into on August 15th have been declared vacant. They are as follows:

John Devoy, New York, former Secretary; John A. Murphy, Buffalo, N.Y.; John A. McGarry, Chicago; Joseph Liddy, Indianapolis, Ind., and Michael McGrail, New Haven, Conn.

The men who stood loyal to their obligations and have been working in complete harmony with the Home Organization include the Chairman of the Executive, two members of the Revolutionary Directory, which is a majority of that body, and the Treasurer of the Organization.

Mindful of the obligation you took on entering the Organization, we appeal to you in the name of Ireland to make common cause with the men who are fighting against desperate odds on Irish soil, or dying in British dungeons, victims of the enemies of the Irish Republic. We ask you to show that you are a living member of the Irish Republican Brotherhood which is leading that fight, by giving prompt obedience to the instructions contained in this communication.

From this day forward, you and every member of the Order who have regard for their obligation, will cease to have any further communication with the following men concerning the business or interests of the Organization, as the men have ceased to be members of the Organization or to be worthy of the confidence of the members who compose it. They are: John Devoy, of New York, former Secretary; John A. Murphy, of Buffalo, N.Y.; John A. McGarry, of Chicago, Ill.; Joseph Liddy, of Indianapolis, Ind., and Michael McGrail, of New Haven, Conn.

All communications concerning the Organization will, for the future, be addressed to Mr Luke Dillon, 5436 Catharine Street, Philadelphia, Pa., who has consented to act as Secretary until such time as a convention is called and a

new Executive is chosen to direct the duties of the Order in America.

You will make out a complete list of the names and addresses of every member of your D. who are on your roll, whether in good or bad standing, and a separate list of the names and addresses of the officers of your D. and forward them to Mr Luke Dillon, 5436 Catharine Street, Philadelphia, Pa., at the earliest possible time. A delegate will attend your meeting or a reunion in your District and give a full account of the conditions that have prevailed for the past few months.

You are requested to be tolerant of the opinions of members who may be in doubt as to the wisdom of the action taken and give them a full and fair chance to state a decision which will be in keeping with their obligation.

Ireland is today aflame and our time has been spent for months in trying to induce men who should be in the thick of the fight to do their simple duty. These fighting men of Ireland will cease the organization if it fails to do its duty in this hour when the best blood of Ireland is being poured out so that she may take her place among the nations.

May God assist you and may the memory of the dead who died for Ireland inspire you to do your duty. Answer promptly and let IRELAND be your watchword.

McGARRITY PAPERS

WAR DECLARED

SEAN RUSSELL

WRITES TO

JOE McGARRITY

We have been working very hard on your suggestion regarding operations in England. The idea has been accepted favourably all round. Our friends in England have also been seen and they agree.

31/11/1936.

On Tuesday night last we launched our campaign. We have, as you can see by enclosed newspaper clippings, started as you and your council suggested in the North.

1/12/1938

De Valera has so far taken no direct action. He is in a difficulty as his Cabinet is divided on the issue . . . Your suggestion that we should start in the North has in the judgement of all been the proper course . . . We will continue to do our best as yourself and the Clan have shown that you have and will continue to do yours. The Clann and the I.R.A. have taken on a big job, but we will show that we are the bigger.

25/1/1939.

The following three letters written by Sean Russell to Joseph McGarrity indicate that the connection between Clan-na-Gael and the Republican Movement remained strong and constant through the years. They indicate also the influence of the Clan on the Republican Movement, and particularly the influence of Joe McGarrity on the I.R.A. Contained in the letters there is also some interesting information which will be of great interest to historians of the period.

Dear Mr. McGarrity,

I have been waiting a handline to send you a note. It's about time for me to write to tell you that I got home without a hitch, and to express my thanks for your many kindnesses to me during my stay, many of which you may think had escaped my notice.

The situation here is just as I left it last July, except for a slight improvement in conditions in the Glasshouse and Arbour Hill Prisons. In Belfast Jail conditions are unaltered. Mrs Twomey saw Moss, and reports him well. There is a feeling that a

number of short-sentence prisoners, especially those due for release early next year may be released for Christmas. The Free State Executive met to discuss these releases, but when de Valera's attention was drawn to my visit to the States and to the report given by me to the press, the discussion was brought suddenly to a close.

We have been working very hard on your suggestion regarding operations in England. The idea has been accepted favourably all round. Our friends in England have also

been seen and they agree. We are hoping to make a start before long. When we do we shall look to the Clann with confidence. My visit to the Clann has created a new spirit in the whole organisation here. We will certainly live up to the promises made by me to your convention. Should the spirit shown at the Clann convention continue, we have nothing to fear, and success is assured. Our efforts will justify yours. It shall give us great pleasure to hear of your successful purchase and despatch of the Thompson ammunition. On receipt of it we are

immediately on the straight road to success. Please do not forget to let me have complete details about the overalls with the powder.

So far John O'Hara Harte do not turn up. When he comes he will be met whether I am available or not. We hope he will manage to get here. Count Plunkett is anxious to see him.

Again thanking you for all you have done to make pleasant my visit, and with my very best respects to yourself and family.

Sean Russell, Dublin, 31/11/1936.

Dear Mr McGarrity,

In your last letter to Moss you said I was a poor correspondent. You are right I know, but up to the present, I had but promises only to give. Now it is different. On Tuesday night last we launched our campaign. We have as you see by enclosed newspaper clippings, started, as you and your council suggested, in the North. With the exception of a very sad accident, what we did was thoroughly done. The accident, for accidents and casualties we will have, in no way took from the operations, on the contrary it added considerably to it and to our advantage. It helps, firstly because three men lost their lives in attempting to destroy the

huts, secondly, and of no lesser importance, our men on the other points of the border carried on with their work and completed their jobs fifteen hours after the accident - fifteen hours of police activity. This is generally commented on.

Our next job is our Declaration of Independence. On this point I have seen Miss Mac Sweeney, Brian O'Higgins, Scelig and Count Plunkett. They have agreed to meet our Army Council representatives with a view to issuing a joint document in order to prevent the possibility of doubt or repudiation from any Republican quarter. You will agree that any expression of doubt from known Republicans could

be very damaging, especially in the initial stages, and you know, how the Press would take advantage of it. This meeting takes place next Saturday. How splendid if we could have a public declaration of your support! Your representative Con O'B. promises to attend this meeting.

You may be wondering why your representative has not reported back to you before this. Well, the explanation is that we wanted his message to more to you than a mere promise. Now it is something real.

Immediately following our Declaration of Independence, the campaign in England starts. Any protracted delay would tend to disconnect the link between the North and our

English activities. Your financial generosity has made it possible for us to start, to develop, and to bring, I hope to yourselves and ourselves the desired conclusion.

Con reports favourably on the Cork situation, especially Denis O'Connor of North Cork and Liam Leddy of North East Cork. They wish for an understanding, I have been invited to meet the officers in Cork City. If possible I will go there next week.

I got the wireless parts sent by Jim, so we will be "on the air" within a few days.

I wish you were here with us now.

Sean, 1/12/1938.

Dear Mr McGarrity,

At last we have made an effort to start, and succeeded in taking the opposition at home and abroad completely by surprise. This in itself is a fine tribute to our men and played a big part in building up a confidence in the Army and in our supporters with the respect of these opposed to us.

We have justified ourselves in leaving the 26 Counties out of the war zone. By doing so we have created confusion amongst our enemies at home. So far we have succeeded by our operations in the North and in England in compelling the Governments of both to

have each an army to protect their interests in both places.

In spite of the intensified activity in Britain we have perfected details for a few big jobs, which we hope to bring off shortly.

It looks as if we won't be able to keep the Free State forces off our backs for very long. In fact they are on our heels already. We have convincing proof that Scotland Yard, The Northern and Free State police are co-operating against us. We have located two Scotland Yard men who have come to Dublin with photographs of many Irishmen and women resident in England and of

all the prisoners whom they have arrested recently. De Valera has so far taken no direct action. He is not a difficulty as his cabinet is divided on the issue, and he is slow to do an unpopular act, for we have captured for the moment favourable public opinion.

Your suggestion, that we should start in the North has in the judgement of all been the proper course. Our few operations, simple though they were, with our proclamation and note to the British Government, giving them four days to make up their minds to clear out of Ireland or not, has cleared the air regarding our attitude towards

England, and our place in the Empire. It has shown the line between the Fianna Fail policy and that of the I.R.A. It has given the lie to Chamberlain's statement "that the Irish Question has been settled once for all."

We will continue to do our best as yourself and the Clann have shown that you have, and will continue to do yours.

The Clann & the I.R.A. have taken on a big job, but we will show that we are the bigger.

Hope you are strong and well and that we may see you soon.

Sean Russell, 25/1/1939.