

and go over the details with them individually. I have a happy recollection of those special meetings with Daly, Kent, de Valera and MacDonagh. Therein also lies one of the sad notes in my memory, as it was the last time I spoke with three of them.

MacDonagh got the plans for the main telephone headquarters. James Connolly got those for the Castle, which he was to give to Sean Connolly. I have heard much comment on the failure of the Irish Republican Army to effect the demolition of the wires at the latter points. I also heard that a man who has since died was responsible for not cutting the wires at the telephone headquarters. I do not know whether the man in question received orders to carry out that work or not. I do know, however, that the prime reason was lack of men on Easter Monday, and this was due to the almost disastrous action of MacNeill, who on Easter Saturday evening again assumed command of the Volunteers and issued orders to all parts of Ireland countermanning in toto the plans which had been perfected by Pearse governing the mobilisation of the various units for Easter Sunday. MacNeill took this step because of the fact that certain important arrangements which he had the day before been informed of by MacDermott and MacDonagh had miscarried.

On that Easter Saturday night I was with Sean MacDermott. About midnight MacDonagh and Plunkett arrived at the house where he was staying with news of what MacNeill had done. Word was sent to the other members of the Military Committee, but only Pearse arrived—and he came within a very short time. I was called in to the conference and I never shall forget the occasion. Poor MacDermott, whose health had been shattered years before in his work for Ireland and who was physically worn out by the strenuous months of anxiety through which he had just passed, writhed in anguish. All were shocked at the desperate situation which had suddenly been thrust upon them. Picture it for yourselves—eighteen hours before the appointed time at which Dublin was to strike, nineteen hours before the men in the country districts were to unfurl the flag of the Irish Republic, and all the means of rapid communication in the possession of the enemy. It did seem as though Fate was against us. On some other occasion I will have more to say about that fateful night. Suffice it now to say that it was decided to call a meeting of the full Military Committee next morning. The Committee met early Sunday and at one o'clock in the afternoon despatched couriers to the country with a message that everything was off, thereby apparently confirming MacNeill's order. What caution, what calculation, what coolness underlie that decision!

Later that Sunday afternoon MacDermott lay ill at the home of a friend, but as evening approached his brave spirit overcame the physical weakness and we went to a nearby address where another set of couriers were to

assemble. Pearse arrived soon afterwards. During the afternoon he had written out his final orders for the following day, Monday, and brought them with him ready to be despatched to the Commandants of the various battalions. Some of these despatches went forward from Dublin that night, the balance early next morning. Inasmuch as the latter were directly contrary to those issued on Sunday afternoon, and considering the various orders and counter orders of the previous week, small wonder that confusion resulted. The Military Committee encountered one crisis after the other, in dealing with which the greatest tact and coolness was essential if the English enemy were to be kept in ignorance of the plans afoot. As a matter of fact the incidents of Easter Saturday were sufficient to rouse the suspicion of the English officials and there was momentary danger that they might, through one misfortune or another, come to realise what the Easter Sunday mobilisation actually meant. When at that conference at Liberty Hall on Sunday forenoon the Military Committee definitely decided to strike in Dublin at noon next day, the great problem of the moment was to throw the English off the track for another twenty-four hours—if perchance they should in the meantime correctly appraise the situation. Above and beyond all other points Dublin had to be safeguarded—everything depended on the Dublin battalions being able to take possession of their respective positions before the enemy “got wise.” To make assurance doubly sure the Captains of the Dublin Companies did not receive their final mobilisation orders from Headquarters until the early hours of Monday morning, and the orders were to have their men at specific points at 10 a.m.

Pearse, Connolly, Clarke, MacDermott, Plunkett and the men who were to hold the General Post Office were assembled at Liberty Hall. A despatch was received from Commandant Kent that at 10 o'clock only eighty men had reported out of his battalion, which was to take and hold the South Dublin Union. Similar disheartening reports came in from some of the other Commandants. The cancelling of the Sunday mobilisation by MacNeill—orally and through a notice in the Sunday papers—the subsequent enforced cancellation of orders by the Military Committee, the consequent scattering of men, and the final short notice for the Monday morning mobilisation could not have resulted otherwise. The great outstanding fact, however, was that there were sufficient men to take possession of each strategic position; the further fact that there were not nearly enough men to thoroughly carry out the work allotted to each battalion was then of secondary importance. When the meagre forces in Liberty Hall filed out into the square it was absolutely certain that nothing could stop the fight for an Irish Republic—the hour had come at last. As we swung into Abbey Street many passersby doubtless took no notice of us; some few stopped to look at the Volunteers going as they thought on a route march. In a few

minutes more the body turned to the right in O'Connell Street; a few minutes more and we were in possession of the Post Office. Here and elsewhere in Dublin the battle had begun—for Ireland.

Throughout that day and the next, Tuesday, Volunteers who had been absent from their homes when the final order for mobilisation was delivered thereto, arrived in considerable numbers at the positions occupied by their respective battalions, and thus the forces which were on the firing line when the fight commenced were considerably augmented as it progressed.

The citizen soldiers of Ireland as they marched into their strategic positions that glorious Easter Monday without firing a shot, won another victory of far-reaching consequence—they exploded the hoary falsehood that no secret organisation in Ireland could execute its plans without being cursed by spies and informers among its own trusted men.

One of the main objects in demolishing telephone and telegraph connections in Dublin and at other points was to ensure the Commandants of the country battalions sufficient time to occupy their designated positions and conduct their preliminary operations before the enemy forces could be ordered into action against them. The initial movements of the Irish Republican units in the country districts having been frustrated by the conflicting orders already referred to, it so happened that the English enemy gained no material advantage through the failure of the I.R.A. to destroy the entire telephone and telegraph system which was in the possession of the British.

Having detailed the almost calamitous actions of MacNeill which, were it not for the determination and coolness of the Military Committee, would in all human probability have resulted in no "Rising" and no open proclamation of the Irish Republic during the period of the world war, it is but fair to remark that: (1) MacNeill's final cancellation of orders principally resulted from the capture of the shipload of arms, news of which reached Dublin on Easter Saturday. (2) Without those arms the men in the South and West were not equipped to make a fight of any considerable duration. (3) The failure of practically all of those units to get into action because of the conflicting orders had little or no bearing on the result of the "Rising." (4) Though MacNeill's actions on Easter Saturday were and may yet be severely condemned, the Easter Week survivors have not questioned the motives which prompted him in the extraordinary course which he adopted.

CHAPTER XI

DIARMUID LYNCH AS NATIONAL SECRETARY, FRIENDS OF IRISH FREEDOM

by

FLORENCE O'DONOGHUE.

PART I.

Diarmuid Lynch arrived in the United States shortly before the second Irish Race Convention, which was held in the Central Opera House, New York, on 18th and 19th May, 1918. At the Convention he was appointed National Secretary to the Friends of Irish Freedom, the organisation mainly responsible for convening this hosting of men and women of Irish blood from every part of the United States. In the years that followed he continued to serve the cause of the Irish Republic in this capacity by his devoted and untiring labours in association with the leaders of the Irish Race in America.

The aid given to the many phases of the Irish struggle for freedom by men and women of Irish birth or extraction residing in the United States has, for over one hundred years, been a significant factor influencing the ebb and flow of the movement at home. There never was a period in which that aid was so valuable, and so necessary, as in the years from 1913 to 1921. Because of the intensity of the struggle at home, very little was known, or is yet known, of the splendid work done in the United States in these years, or of its effects on the outcome of the national effort for freedom. We are apt to think of it in terms of financial aid from the millions of our race in America. That is far from being the whole story and may even be misleading.

In a country of such immense population and extent as the United States, in which the Irish are only one of numerous racial elements and that widely diffused, the problems inherent in the creation and maintenance of organisations devoted seriously to the cause of Irish independence are many and considerable. Only in exceptional circumstances can more than a fraction of the exiles' potential strength be mobilised, or their efforts consolidated in support of a specific objective. Normally the majority take no more than a nominal interest in the national struggle at home. For all of them, every-

thing that is done, or can be done, for Ireland is governed by one fundamental condition—it is work done by American citizens whose first loyalty is to the United States. On no other basis could they publicly agitate for Irish liberty, on no other basis could they create and maintain great nationwide organisations, on no other basis could they enlist the sympathy and good will of their fellow citizens. John Boyle O'Reilly put it this way: "We can do Ireland more good by our Americanism than by our Irishism."

The most dynamic and the most valuable organisation to Ireland in the last eighty years was the Clan-na-Gael. From the considerable exodus of Irish patriots to the United States after the failure of '48 there emerged the Irish Emigrant Society in New York, and it was succeeded by the Fenian Brotherhood in 1858. The Clan-na-Gael was inaugurated in New York in June, 1867. Its object was the establishment by force of arms of an Irish Republic. It was a secret organisation, with the necessary public manifestations required by American life, and it developed a very definite relationship to and understanding with the secret organisation at home—the Irish Republican Brotherhood.

Clan-na-Gael confined itself strictly to its revolutionary plans until 1878, when, through the instrumentality of Michael Davitt, it accorded a measure of conditional support to Parnell. The Supreme Council of the I.R.B., meeting in Paris in 1879, approved the New Departure, and thereafter members of the secret organisation in Ireland interpreted the approval rather freely and became the backbone and driving force of the Land League.

The death of Parnell, the consequent disruption of the Irish Parliamentary Party, and the ten years of disunity which intervened before it coalesced again under Redmond, caused a deterioration of national morale which was intensified by the absence of strong leadership. Out of it developed an age of speechmaking, extravagantly insincere references to a more martial past, and a pathetic faith in British good intentions. An anaemic and sickly national sentiment apparently accepted the hoped for measure of Home Rule as the national destiny. There was an apparent abandonment of the Republican aim and a consolidation of national opinion behind the Parliamentary Party. A majority of I.R.B. men continued to support Redmond. Only a remnant remained steadfast in adherence to Republican principles and policy. In the first decade of the century the organisation at home had reached a low ebb.

In the United States, a cleavage in Clan-na-Gael developed along lines similar to those in Ireland, but with the relative positions reversed. Only a small percentage of Clan membership followed Redmond: the great majority remained staunchly Republican. The other nation-wide organisation—the Ancient Order of Hibernians—was mainly religious with strong Irish Ireland tendencies.

Large numbers of the Irish race in America had no contacts with these or any other Irish organisations. When it was clear that a new life was stirring in Ireland, that a new direction was being given to the struggle by the foundation of the Irish Volunteers, the leaders of Clan-na-Gael had the vision to see that if the whole potential strength of the exiles was to be mobilised, a nation-wide organisation was needed. While its main purpose must be the support and encouragement of the National effort at home, it was necessary that it be broadly based to include the greatest possible numbers, and so its objective had to be general. So, too, it was sought rather to confederate existing bodies into one great organisation rather than supplant them with another, and to enlist into that organisation in the service of Ireland the large unattached body of persons of Irish blood.

The *Friends of Irish Freedom* was inaugurated at the first Irish Race Convention held in New York on 4th and 5th March, 1916. The call for the convention was signed by 350 representatives of the Race. The Clan and the United Irish League provided the backbone of the representation. The Ancient Order of Hibernians, the Knights of Columbus and other organisations were well represented. The principal object of the new organisation was declared to be:

"To encourage and assist any movement that will tend to bring about the National Independence of Ireland."

Victor Herbert was elected National President, Thomas Hughes Kelly, National Treasurer, and John D. Moore, National Secretary.

There were two categories of membership—regular and associate. At the peak of its strength in 1920 regular membership was over 100,000, and its 484 associate branches embraced 175,000 persons. But it was only after Diarmuid Lynch took over the duties of National Secretary in 1918 that effective nation-wide organisation was established. In that year more than 70 per cent. of its 106 branches were located in the four States, New York, Massachusetts, New Jersey and California; and of its total paid up membership New York city accounted for one half.

The *Friends of Irish Freedom* differed from Irish movements which preceded it in the United States, not in objective or policy, but "mainly in the things that opportunity made possible of achievement." It had been called into existence on the eve of the Rising, and one of its first activities was the creation of the Irish Relief Fund, started in New York on 20th May, 1916. 350,000 dollars were sent to Ireland for the relief of distress amongst the dependants of those who had been killed, wounded or taken prisoner after the Rising. A delegation from the Fund Committee, consisting of John Archdeacon Murphy and John Gill, which came to Ireland with the first contribution, was also helpful in securing unified administration of the Fund at home

through the National Aid and Volunteer Dependents' Fund, and in this way rendered a valuable service.

When America declared war against Germany on 6th April, 1917 the whole position of the Irish movement in the United States was changed. Despite the noble sentiments expressed by President Wilson in his speech on war aims on 3rd April, his pro-British leanings were well known, and the politically wise doubted that he had either the courage or the sincerity to apply his lofty principles to the case of Ireland. Wilson had said:

"But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things we have always carried near our hearts . . . for the rights and liberty of small nations."

Ireland was a small nation demanding liberty, an old nation which had never given up the struggle to regain its lost freedom, a nation whose sons had proved time and again their willingness to die in the attempt to achieve it. But Ireland was not held in subjection by Germany, she was held by England, and Wilson was England's friend. Ireland's friends in America found that, generally speaking, the Press was closed to them, the British propaganda machine sought to misrepresent them, and every anti-Irish element in the United States tried to put them in a false position with their fellow-citizens. But they were not cowed or silenced. Two days after the American declaration of war—Sunday, 9th April—a great meeting was held in Carnegie Hall, New York, to commemorate the Rising. From it messages were sent to President Wilson, Vice-President Marshall, and to the Speaker of the House of Representatives demanding justice for Ireland, demanding that liberty for which Wilson declared America entered the war. Meetings took place in Buffalo, Philadelphia and elsewhere throughout the country, where similar appeals were made.

Despite all opposition the Irish effort was maintained. Resolutions on Ireland were brought before Congress, one by Congressman Gallivan in February, one by Congressman McCormick of Illinois on 9th April, one by Congressman Gallagher of Chicago on 13th April, one by Congressman Mason of Illinois on 14th May. By March, 1918, eight such Resolutions had been submitted to Congress, but all were denied hearings before the Foreign Affairs Committee.

The F.O.I.F. organised great meetings in many important cities; Chicago appointed a delegation of ten which laid before Congress in Washington a plea for an Irish Republic; a petition signed by hundreds of thousands urged upon President and Congress "the necessity and good policy of giving a great example to the world by insisting that England shall grant Ireland complete national independence." At home, when the sentenced prisoners were released in June one of the first acts of the leaders was to send a message

to the Government of the United States in which Wilson's own words were quoted:

"No people must be forced under a sovereignty under which it does not wish to live."

Dr. Patrick McCartan brought that document to the United States and with it a memorandum similarly addressed setting out the historic background of Ireland's claim to freedom. Dr. McCartan was commissioned by the Supreme Council of the I.R.B. to proceed to Russia for the purpose of laying Ireland's claim before the Government of that country.¹ Finding it impossible to go to Russia from Ireland or Britain, he went to the United States. On 23rd July, 1917, accompanied by James K. McGuire, Chairman, Executive Committee, Friends of Irish Freedom, and John D. Moore, National Secretary, he went to the White House and handed the manifesto and the memorandum to the President's Secretary.

But all efforts on behalf of Ireland were opposed by a wall of hostility and kept under the constant fire of propagandist misrepresentation. From September 1917 to the end of the war in November 1918, those who continued to uphold Ireland's claims were pursued with even greater zeal than were enemy aliens. Penal legislation was operated against them; their loyalty was impugned, their letters opened, their telephones tapped, their movements shadowed. Extraordinary efforts were made to try to ensure that neither inside nor outside the Halls of Congress would anything be heard of Ireland's claims during the war. A F.O.I.F. Convention, proposed for November-December, 1917, was abandoned in the face of a campaign of defamation and misrepresentation. Inevitably the organisation suffered loss of strength and effectiveness. In contrast, defection from Clan-na-Gael was slight.

Part of the dishonest propaganda utilised the now discredited but then effective technique of representing the leaders as being in contact with Germany. These contacts had of course existed in 1915 and 1916, but had ceased before America's entry into the war. Nevertheless, Secretary of State Lansing issued for publication in October, 1917, documents alleged to be copies of cables from Germany to Ambassador Bernstorff, indicating as men who could select others to do sabotage work in the United States, Joseph McGarrity, John T. Keating and Jeremiah A. O'Leary. The reliability of this evidence may be judged from the fact that Keating had died on 24th June, 1915, more than six months before the dates of the alleged cables. McGarrity and O'Leary publicly challenged Secretary Lansing to produce a scrap of evidence in support of the allegations. The challenge was not accepted.

¹With de Valera in America, p. 3.

Documents seized in a raid on the German Consulate in New York in April 1916 were published in an effort to imply that John Devoy and Judge Daniel F. Cohalan were still in contact with Germany. Of that period, Very Rev. Peter E. Magennis, then Superior General of the Carmelite Order, wrote :¹

“To be Irish, or to be of Irish sympathies, in those days was to be alone, aye and more, it was to be despised . . . When one went to Church there was a Union Jack over the door, and one was fortunate if it did not decorate the Sanctuary.”

Early in 1918 Devoy's paper, *The Gaelic American* and Ford's *Irish World* were barred from the United States mails. They could still be sold on the news stands, but, in the case of the *Gaelic American* at least, exclusion from the mails was a serious blow to circulation. On 23rd March, 1918, Joseph McGarrity founded the *Irish Press* in Philadelphia, and entrusted the editorial chair to Dr. McCartan. Many of its leading articles and other features were contributed by Dr. William J. Maloney, a medical man of Scotch origin who had served with the British Army in France in the early part of the war, been invalided out and returned to the United States where he had been in practice before enlisting.

On 24th March, 1918, the Executive Committee of the Friends of Irish Freedom decided to hold a second Irish Race Convention. This took place at the Central Opera House, New York, on 18th and 19th May, 1918. At this Convention Diarmuid Lynch was appointed National Secretary to the organisation, and took up at once, with characteristic energy and efficiency, the heavy task of rebuilding it and making it an effective force in what was now recognised to be a vital sphere. The United States, mobilising her great strength, had saved Britain from disaster in the European War, and was then attaining a dominant position in world politics. Recognition by her Government of that freedom which President Wilson had postulated as the right of all small nations would go a long way towards a happy ending to the struggle for the establishment of the Irish Republic then going on in Ireland.

Time and again Devoy had stressed the need for a nation-wide efficient organisation. “The size and capacity of the organisation,” he wrote in August 1917, “must bear some proportion to the magnitude of the task undertaken, and here again the failure to build up such an organisation emphasises the necessity for such an organisation.”

Headquarters of the F.O.I.F. was moved from 26 Cortland Street to 1482 Broadway in August, 1918. By then Diarmuid had reorganised the records so that he had available not only the names and addresses of all officers of all

¹ *Catholic Bulletin*, January, 1920.

Branches but also the names and addresses of every member of the organisation. Membership was being increased and associate membership developed as a source of potential strength.

Pressure on the President and on Congress continued despite all opposition. A Mother's Mission, representing only women whose sons were serving in the American forces, went to Washington and presented an appeal on behalf of Ireland to the President's Secretary on 18th July. They failed to get an interview with Wilson. On 29th September a national conference of Clan-na-Gael issued yet another call to the President and Congress which incorporated a number of Wilson's declarations in favour of the freedom of small nations. During the month of December a series of nation-wide meetings called for the application of the principle of self-determination to Ireland.

* Towards the end of 1918 an immediate objective of Republican policy at home was to try and ensure that Irish representatives would have an opportunity of stating Ireland's case before the Peace Conference. Eamon de Valera, Arthur Griffith and Count Plunkett were appointed delegates. The results of the General Election in December, in which the Sinn Fein candidates secured seventy-three of 105 Parliamentary seats in the whole country, immensely strengthened their claim to a hearing, and put their authority to speak on the nation's behalf beyond question.

Speaking at a meeting in New York on 19th November, 1918, Richard F. Dalton renewed the call for action on the various resolutions relating to Ireland which had been pigeon-holed in Congress. On receiving advice soon afterwards from Congressman Thomas Gallagher of Illinois that the Committee on Foreign Affairs had fixed December 12th as the date for a public hearing, Diarmuid Lynch sent out a call to F.O.I.F. Branches throughout the country and a splendid gathering of representative men and women assembled in Washington on the appointed day.

Numerous resolutions had been submitted, and it was decided to concentrate on securing the adoption of one introduced in the House of Representatives by Congressman Gallagher :

“Requesting the Commissioners Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Peace Conference to present to the said Conference the right of Ireland to freedom, independence and self-determination.”

The two-day hearing gave the opportunity for a most comprehensive presentation of Ireland's case, and it was fully availed of. It recorded the addresses of forty-five of the delegates—lawyers, clergymen, labour representatives and businessmen—representing more than twenty cities, as well as those of a score of Congressmen. The official report issued by

the Committee made a book of 160 pages, and it included the names of 150 associations and societies throughout the country who sent telegrams, letters and petitions in support of the proposal.

The ultimate fate of this resolution was that having been adopted by the Foreign Affairs Committee, it was held up for some time by the Committee on Rules, but finally adopted by Congress, by a vote of 216 to 41, on 4th March, 1919, in the following amended form :

“That it is the earnest hope of the Congress of the United States of America that the Peace Conference, now sitting in Paris, in passing upon the rights of various peoples, will favourably consider the claims of Ireland to the right of self-determination.”

The week, December 8th-15th, 1918, had been designated “Self-determination week,” and a series of great meetings were held throughout the United States in support of the application of the principle to Ireland. Twenty-eight were held in the principal cities. That at Madison Square Garden, New York, on December 10th became historic. Hitherto the Catholic Hierarchy in the United States had refrained from active participation in the Irish movement. Though many of the Cardinals, Archbishops and Bishops were of Irish blood, they had not, individually or collectively, committed themselves publicly to support of the campaign for the recognition of the Irish Republic. In this matter the British propaganda machine had not been inactive. The Right Rev. Francis William Keating, Catholic Bishop of Northampton, had been sent on a mission to the United States, designed to prevent the American Catholic Hierarchy from declaring in favour of anything more dangerous to Imperial interests than Home Rule.

Now, for the first time, a Prince of the Church intimated his willingness to speak publicly. When the arrangements for the Madison Square Garden meeting were being made in New York, Matthew Cummings and John Curley arrived from Boston with the news that His Eminence Cardinal O’Connell would speak at the New York meeting if invited. Judge Cohalan went at once to Boston to extend the invitation personally. The Cardinal’s ready acceptance was subject, in conformity with Church ethics, to the acquiescence of the head of the New York Archdiocese in the proposal that he should speak within that jurisdiction. Judge Cohalan, Judge Goff and Judge Gavegan presented the request to Vicar General Mooney—Cardinal Farley having died in the previous September. Vicar General Mooney cordially acquiesced, and was himself present to invoke God’s blessing on the great meeting.

Cardinal O’Connell’s famous speech on that occasion raised the campaign for Irish Independence in America to a plane hitherto unattainable. It received the widest publicity in the Press, thrilled the country and was a

powerful influence in the consolidation of Irish opinion behind the demand for complete freedom. The Cardinal had honoured Judge Cohalan and John Devoy by showing them the text in advance of the meeting. It came through Richard F. Dalton who was Chairman of arrangements for the Madison Square Garden hosting.

“In every century for seven hundred years,” Cardinal O’Connell said, in part, “by protest, by appeal, by Parliament, by arms when other means seemed futile, but in any event by one means or another as she found it in her power to use them, Ireland has never failed to keep alive her own sense of distinct nationhood, and impress it as palpably as conditions would allow upon a listening world. As a profoundly Christian nation, she has clung to the law of God in all these demonstrations of her loyalty to herself. Rarely, very rarely, indeed, has she permitted even cruelty to goad her into forgetting it.

“But ever and always, every method she adopted, every leader who spoke her cause, every victory won, every defeat suffered, every weapon used, every strategy designed, ever and ever and ever, the same ultimate purpose is clearly visible, and that purpose is the vindication of Ireland’s right to Government only by consent of the governed. . .

“This war, we are told again and again by all those responsible for the conduct of the war, was for justice to all, for the inviolable rights of small nations, for the inalienable right, inherent in every nation, of self-determination. The war can be justified only by the universal application of those principles. Let that application begin with Ireland.

“Ireland is the oldest nation and the longest sufferer. If these principles are not applied in her case, no matter what else may be done, there will be no complete justice, no genuine sincerity believable, and the war not bringing justice will not bring peace.

“Who was it who by the enunciation of these great principles invited the peoples of the whole suffering earth? It was our own President.

“To-morrow he lands at Brest—Brest, the very port out from which Count Arthur Dillon sailed with his three thousand Irish troops to aid America to obtain from England the very principle of Self-Determination which to-day Ireland demands, and which we of America, in accordance with the principles enunciated by our President, to-day also are determined by every legitimate and lawful and Christian means to aid Ireland to obtain. For Ireland equally with America fought in this conflict for right.”

On 2nd December, 1918 Dr. McCartan transmitted the following demand to President Wilson in support of the claim to have Ireland’s representatives heard at the Peace Conference (it was drafted by Diarmuid Lynch, Liam

Mellows and Richard F. Dalton, and copies sent to the Governments of twenty countries):

"TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES :

Sir :

The Provisional Government of Ireland, recognising that the object of the Peace Conference is not alone to terminate the present war, but to ensure the future peace of the World, holds that said Conference must necessarily take cognisance of Ireland's national status, and instructs me as its Envoy, and as an elected Representative of the Irish people, to transmit to your Excellency and to the Government of the United States a demand that the representatives of the said Provisional Government of Ireland be invited to participate in the Peace Conference.

I, accordingly, have the honour to transmit, and I do hereby transmit, such demand.

The Provisional Government of Ireland further instructs me to state that such demand is based upon the facts that :

- (a) Ireland is geographically, historically, linguistically and culturally a distinct nation,
- (b) Ireland possesses within herself all the moral and material constituents of independent nationhood :
- (c) Ireland is one of the ancient and sovereign nations of the world, and exercised sovereign status for one thousand years ;
- (d) Ireland has never surrendered her sovereign status by compact or by treaty or to conquest, and the exercise of such sovereignty has only been suspended by external force ;
- (e) Ireland has asserted the conscious will of her people for the restoration of the exercise of that sovereignty in every generation since such suspension. The evidence of such conscious will has been re-asserted by force of arms during the present war, and continues to be so re-asserted by the moral attitude of the people of Ireland and by the continuance of the Provisional Government which I have the honour to represent.

To you, Sir,—the greatest exponent of international justice—the Provisional Government of Ireland wishes God-speed on your great mission to secure justice and permanent peace for all peoples.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your sincere friend in the great Cause of Human Liberty.

PATRICK McCARTAN,

Envoy of the Provisional Government of Ireland.

Dated, Washington, D.C.,
December second, 1918."

*Argentina
Belgium
Brazil
Canada
Cuba
Colombia
Costa Rica
Denmark
France
Germany
Greece
Italy
Japan
Mexico
Netherlands
Norway
China
Ecuador
Panama
Peru
Portugal
Rumania
Spain
Sweden
Switzerland
Turkey
Uruguay
Russia
Serbia
Czechoslovakia
Poland
Slovenia
Yugoslavia*

On 15th February, 1919, after Dáil Eireann had been established and had appointed a Ministry as Government of the Irish Republic, Cathal Brugha and Michael Collins wrote a joint letter to Diarmuid Lynch, with which they enclosed part of a letter from Arthur Griffith, who, like de Valera, was then a prisoner. The letters were taken to the United States by Very Rev. Fr. Augustine, O.F.M.Cap.

The joint letter said :

" Attached is part of a letter from Griffith. We agree with the suggestion contained therein. Messrs. John Devoy, Diarmuid Lynch, Liam Mellows, Dr. McCartan and others in whom they have confidence and who (word indecipherable) to get international recognition for the Irish Republic, are authorised to take immediate steps to give effect to them. Even if our original delegates reach France, it would be essential that the substitutes from America should also be at hand ; the selection of the substitutes to be left to the persons named above. We expect Irish America to defray any expenses incurred. Moreover, if there is money available in America which could be placed at the disposal of the Executive of Dáil Eireann, it will be acceptable whenever forwarded.

Signed on behalf of the Executive of Dáil Eireann.

Cathal Brugha, Priomh Airese
Mical O'Coileain.

The foregoing is in manuscript in Cathal Brugha's hand ; to it is added a note written by Michael Collins :

" You would like to know yourself that (word blacked out in ink in original) is safely back in town, also that the other gentleman is quite secure. If we could work it, what would you people out there think of a visit from him. If you cable refer to him (word deleted in original)."

The signature is blacked out in ink in the original. It would appear that the blackening out was done by Diarmuid as a security measure subsequent to receipt of the letter, and that Collins' note refers to the proposed visit of de Valera to America. He had escaped from Lincoln Jail on 3rd February.

The part letter enclosed from Griffith is in typescript and bears no signature. It is as follows :

" Above all concentrate on the Peace Conference. If there is no way of getting substitutes from Ireland substitutes from the U.S. should be appointed. This should be done in addition to substitutes from Ireland, provided men from America of high standing could be secured. The passport barrier will be worked very probably by Clemenceau for the French, and against Irishmen or non-naturalised Irish-Americans. There-

fore American citizens should be chosen. They should not be confined to any one Irish or American party. If Judge Goff, Cardinal O'Connell, two Senators—one a Democrat and the other a Republican—could be got together with Diarmuid Lynch and McCartan and Mellows if he is an American Citizen, it would make a delegation impossible to keep from being heard at the Conference. If two Senators, one a Democrat and one a Republican, could not be got, one Senator and one Congressman representing the different American parties, or failing a Senator, two Congressmen of different parties should be secured. Every effort should be made to get Cardinal O'Connell and a messenger sent anyhow to America about the Delegation. If arranged Dáil should formally ask them to proceed to the Congress (: Conference) in view of the fact that the appointed delegates were prevented by imprisonment and force from doing so."

There was complete agreement between Dáil Eireann and its Executive at home and the Irish organisations in America on the immediate objective of gaining a hearing at the Peace Conference. To organise public opinion in the United States in favour of that objective, bearing in mind the dominant position which President Wilson and the other American representatives would hold at the Conference, the Friends of Irish Freedom decided to hold the third Irish Race Convention at Philadelphia, "the cradle of American liberty," on 22nd and 23rd February, 1919.

Diarmuid began a new drive to "enrol into one militant, disciplined organisation the increasing but unattached supporters of the cause." Speaking at a meeting in New York on 24th January he said :

"I agree with the passing of resolutions and the holding of meetings, and showing ourselves and counting our heads in parades, but I tell you what is going to count is Organisation—an organisation that you can get working at the touch of a button, an organisation through which, by the sending of telegrams or one series of letters, you can line up inside a week or less every man and woman of the blood in this country. . . Unless we are able to do that the politicians will sneer at us, and the British propagandists who are working day and night will sneer at us also—and they will be right."

On the broad question of support for Dáil Eireann and the Irish Republic there was general agreement, and the problem of the moment was how best to win international recognition for it. The application of the principle of self-determination, to which Wilson had given world-wide publicity, was accepted as the means, and perhaps the only means, by which the desired status could be achieved. Devoy wrote at the time :

"It is not a time for wild words or reckless action, but for the dis-

ciplined courage and restraint of self-contained men who know their own minds, the strength and the weakness of their own position as well as the strength and weakness of the enemy, and who have made their plans in accordance with that knowledge."

It was decided to extend the representation at the Convention to organisations other than the Friends of Irish Freedom and to make it a hosting truly representative of Irish America. All who were prepared to subscribe to its main purpose were invited :

"The Irish people in Ireland have overwhelmingly self-determined in favour of the complete national Independence of their country. One of the most important items on the programme of the Convention will be the consideration of the means whereby Ireland's Sovereign status and the untrammelled exercise of that sovereignty shall be recognised by the International Peace Conference."

In addition to the Friends of Irish Freedom and the Clan-na-Gael Clubs, invitations were sent to A.O.H. Branches, Irish County organisations, Irish National Foresters and Irish priests. In a letter signed by Diarmuid as National Secretary, F.O.I.F., which went out with the call for the Convention, he wrote :

"Let every Branch of this Organisation and every Irish-American Society in this great Republic give the citizens in their respective localities an opportunity of congratulating the Irish people on their magnificent success in declaring to the world that they stand for the complete independence of their small nation. Let the resolutions passed at your meetings call for the recognition of the Irish Republic and secure all possible publicity for them. Send copy to the President, to the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, the Foreign Affairs Committee of House of Representatives, to Congress, to your local Congressmen and Senators, and to the Governor of your State.

"Furthermore, in addition to your resolutions urging the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House to report without further delay the Gallagher resolution now before it, it is most important that individual citizens should write to the individual members of that Committee, and to the Congressmen from your own State demanding favourable action on it in the House. Let this occasion be availed of in making up a definite list of all the prominent men and women of the Irish Race in your city—with the exact address of each. Send this list to me at once so that our National Council may be in a position to issue invitations to such individuals for the Convention, in addition to duly appointed delegates from organisations."

14,500 copies of the call were issued on 16th January. With it went an appeal for the creation of an Irish Victory Fund, signed by M. B. McGreal, National Treasurer, F.O.I.F. The appeal stated that funds were urgently needed to carry on the work of the organisation and to meet other phases of the situation. It went on to say:

“The National Council requests all regular and associate Branches, and the Irish-American organisations generally, to co-operate in the raising of an Irish Victory Fund in their respective localities. A local Finance Committee should appoint and authorise Collectors and apportion a definite territory to each so that the work may be done effectively and promptly.”

This fund amounted to just over one million dollars before it was closed less than seven months after the Convention, to make way for the Bond Certificate drive.

The most difficult problem confronting the organisers of the Convention was that of so guiding its decisions as, on the one hand, to secure unanimity in a large body representing a variety of organisations and opinions, and on the other hand, of formulating and obtaining approval for the policy most likely to succeed in getting international recognition for the Irish Republic. That policy had to be related particularly to the position in the United States, and, in view of Wilson's pronouncements, the most hopeful prospect seemed to lie in holding him to his own words. If the principle of self-determination could be applied to Ireland, no one doubted what the result would be. The emphasis with which the idea was reiterated, both in Ireland and in the United States, was no more than a tactical move for the achievement of the ultimate object. It was in no way an abandonment of that object.

The position at home had been completely clarified and immensely strengthened morally before the Convention assembled. The Constituent Assembly of Ireland—Dáil Eireann—had assembled in Dublin on 21st January, ratified the establishment of the Irish Republic proclaimed in 1916, adopted a Declaration of Independence and called upon the free nations of the world to uphold her national claim and recognise her national status. It had appointed three delegates to the Peace Conference.

The main task of the Convention was to secure such action at the Peace Conference as would result in international recognition of the Irish Republic. The co-operation of His Eminence Cardinal Gibbons of Baltimore in this effort was a matter of the utmost importance. By virtue of his high and sacred office he was an outstanding figure in American life, well known for his conservatism particularly in matters outside the religious sphere. The invitation to speak at the Philadelphia Convention was conveyed to

him by a distinguished committee consisting of Judge Cohalan, Judge Goff, Judge Gavegan, Monsignor Gerald P. Coughlan and former Congressman Michael Donohoe. They secured his decision to endorse publicly at the Convention the claim for the application of the principle of self-determination to Ireland. Cardinal O'Connell was detained on ecclesiastical matters in Washington, but sent a splendid letter, which was read at the Convention.

At the date of the Convention membership of the F.O.I.F. was three times what it had been six months earlier. Regular membership numbered over 50,000, and its 200 associate Branches had approximately 30,000 members on their rolls.

Five thousand, one hundred and thirty-two delegates assembled in the Second Regiment Armoury, Philadelphia, on Saturday, 22nd February, 1919, and on the following day their united, unanimous voice acclaimed the resolution proposed by Cardinal Gibbons, seconded by the Presbyterian Minister, Rev. Norman Thomas, and supported by Archbishop Messmer, Rabbi Aranskop, Rev. James Grattan Mythen and Henry Goddard Leach.

The Convention appointed a Committee to proceed to Washington and present the resolutions on Ireland to President Wilson. Judge John W. Goff was Chairman of the Committee, which included the following:

Right Rev. Thomas J. Shahan, Washington D.C.
 Edward F. Dunne, Illinois.
 Judge Daniel F. Cohalan, New York.
 John J. Splain, Connecticut,
 Right Rev. H. J. Henry, Pennsylvania.
 Thomas McNamara, Ohio.
 Rev. James Grattan Mythen, Virginia.
 Frank P. Walsh, Missouri.
 Richard W. Wolfe, Illinois.
 James E. Murray, Montana.
 Rev. Patrick J. Healy, Washington D.C.
 E. F. Kinkead, New Jersey.
 John P. Grace, South Carolina.
 James K. McGuire, New York.
 Michael J. Ryan, Pennsylvania.
 Thomas F. Cooney, Rhode Island.
 Michael Francis Doyle, Pennsylvania.
 Thomas J. Breslin, New Jersey.
 Rev. John F. Fenlon, Washington D.C.

Three previous delegations had been refused an audience with the President, that from the first Irish Race Convention, headed by Victor Herbert, that from the Second Irish Race Convention, headed by Rev. Fr. Magennis,

and the Mother's Mission led by Mrs. McWhorter. The Committee from the Third Irish Race Convention, the most representative group of Irish-Americans which had ever approached him, encountered a similar refusal in Washington, but after much pressure received an assurance that the President would see them at the Metropolitan Opera House, New York, on 5th March, on the eve of his departure for the Peace Conference in Paris. To New York the Committee went, only to be met with a new difficulty—Wilson refused to meet them so long as Judge Cohalan was a member of the delegation. Despite the protests of the other members, Cohalan insisted on withdrawing, and the Committee presented the Convention resolutions to the President. He was non-committal and made no promises.

The Committee asked the President to "present to the Peace Conference at Paris the right of Ireland to determine the form of government under which she shall live." He was further requested to use his powerful influence to see that the delegates selected by the people of Ireland were given every opportunity to present Ireland's case, and that a group from the interviewing Committee should have the right to appear before the Peace Conference to assist the delegates from Ireland in presenting this case. When the President said "you do not expect me to give an answer to this request now?" he was not pressed any further, and thus escaped disclosing what became known later—that he had no intention whatever of allowing Ireland's case to be heard at the Paris conference.

The request was reinforced by a Senate resolution on 6th June, 1919, passed with only one dissident:

"That the Senate of the United States earnestly request the American Plenipotentiary Commissioners at Versailles to endeavour to secure for Eamon de Valera, Arthur Griffith and Count George Noble Plunkett a hearing before said Peace Conference in order that they may present the cause of Ireland: and resolved further, that the United States express its sympathy with the aspirations of the Irish people for a Government of its own choice."

Although much labour and money was afterwards devoted to this effort, and although the three distinguished American citizens who were appointed for the purpose—Frank P. Walsh, New York, Edward F. Dunne, Chicago, and Michael J. Ryan, Philadelphia—went to Paris and left nothing undone to carry out their mission, nevertheless the project failed. It failed because Wilson did not have the courage to insist, in defiance of the implacable opposition of Britain, on the application to Ireland of the principles he had so eloquently expressed and the rights he had claimed for all small nations. Ireland had another bitter lesson. Denied justice by the great Powers she turned to other methods of achieving it at home.

CHAPTER XII

DIARMUID LYNCH AS NATIONAL SECRETARY, FRIENDS OF IRISH FREEDOM

by

FLORENCE O'DONOGHUE.

PART II.

For some time before President de Valera's arrival in America in June, 1919, there had been differences of opinion amongst the Irish American leaders. They were confined to a few men and did not affect the rank and file of the F.O.I.F. They were differences of opinion on tactics rather than upon the main objective, but unfortunately they were intensified by personal likes and dislikes and in time grew, or were nursed, to such proportions as to finally disrupt the splendid organisation which had been built up.

The principal protagonists were Devoy and Cohalan on the one hand, and McGarrity, McCartan and Dr. Maloney on the other. The first slight and apparently temporary rift in the friendship between McGarrity and Cohalan—a friendship which had developed out of long years of co-operation in Ireland's service—arose out of a trivial incident. When the self-determination meetings were being arranged in December, 1918, it happened that suitable places of meeting were available in New York and Philadelphia only on the same day. Senator Phelan of California was to attend the Philadelphia meeting and McGarrity wanted Cohalan to meet him there. Cohalan explained the importance of his being present in New York because of Cardinal O'Connell's intention to speak at Madison Square Garden and McGarrity accepted the wisdom of this. Judge Goff then agreed to preside at McGarrity's meeting in Philadelphia, but when he induced State Governor Whitman to attend the New York meeting, he decided on his own initiative that he should be present at Madison Square Garden to escort the Republican Governor to the platform. McGarrity blamed Cohalan, unjustly in fact, for Goff's desertion of the Philadelphia meeting.

In connection with this meeting there was another incident in which Dr.

Maloney played a curious part. Diarmuid Lynch writes, referring to Dr. McCartan's book *With de Valera in America*:

"Dr. McCartan states that he, too, received from another source intimation of the Cardinal's willingness to speak in New York, and that he passed on the word—on what date or to whom he does not say. Whether or not it was from him Dr. Maloney heard it does not matter, but this much is certain: Maloney called in connection therewith at the home of Judge Cohalan, with whom at the time John Devoy, Richard F. Dalton and Diarmuid Lynch happened to be in conference respecting the Madison Square meeting and other affairs. This was a few days prior to December 1st. Dr. Maloney, with great vehemence, argued and pleaded against the coming of the Cardinal to speak. It would, he urged, be a political blunder of far-reaching importance, it would make the Clan-na-Gael the tail of the kite of the Catholic Church, it would give undue prominence to the Catholic Church in the Irish movement, the effect on the American people would be disastrous, and so on.

Though Dr. McCartan's book is replete with references to the acts, words and even thoughts of Dr. Maloney, there is no mention of his momentous effort to keep this prince of the church away from the New York meeting . . . one wonders if Dr. McCartan was aware of the foregoing when he so studiously endeavoured—with erroneous dates as part of his premises—to prove that Maloney's articles in *America* were the prime factor which resulted in the petitions signed by the Hierarchy and clergy of California and elsewhere. . . Maloney's endeavour to suppress the clarion call of His Eminence of Boston failed as flatly as did the mission of Bishop Keating and Shane Leslie in broader phase."

Other conflicting opinions were held in connection with the Resolutions to be proposed at the Irish Race Convention in Philadelphia. Devoy and Cohalan were convinced that the self-determination policy enunciated by Wilson was the most fruitful one to emphasise at that particular time. It was in fact being reiterated by all the leaders at home, and no one at home doubted that an unfettered application of it to Ireland would result in a vote for sovereign independence, for an Irish Republic. But McCartan and McGarrity advised or counselled by Dr. Maloney, feared that too much insistence on it indicated a desertion of the Republican policy, and they wished to so word the Resolutions that they would voice a demand for the recognition of the Irish Republic by the United States Government and by the other nations assembled at the Peace Conference.

Diarmuid Lynch has occasion to refer to many inaccuracies in Dr.

McCarran's book, and one in connection with these resolutions is illuminating. Dr. McCartan wrote, p. 82:

"On the evening of the Convention, in Maloney's room at the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel, in Philadelphia, McGarrity brought to Maloney and I (sic) a copy of the resolution to be proposed by the Cardinal. . . In effect, the resolutions spread over many foolscap pages, denounced all entangling alliances with foreign nations, repudiated any League of Nations, and . . ."

Diarmuid Lynch comments:

"Now, the resolution as approved by Cardinal Gibbons—and as proposed by him on Sunday, February 23, without any change whatsoever—contained no reference direct or indirect to 'entangling alliances with foreign nations' nor to 'any League of nations.'

"A comparison between (it) and the declaration that emanated from the Committee on Resolutions shows that Dr. McCartan confused one with the other. Such a glaring error on the part of one who at the time not alone held the position of 'Envoy of the Irish Republic' but was in contact with the proceedings of this Convention of the Irish Race in America—except in so far as he voluntarily divorced himself from them—is in itself a striking commentary on his fitness as an 'Envoy' and on his criticisms of men and events."

The resolution proposed by Cardinal Gibbons called on President Wilson to "place before the Peace Conference, and support with all his powerful influence, Ireland's right to self-determination, and secure for the elected delegates from the Constituent Assembly to the Peace Conference the same status and recognition which had been accorded to those of other small nations."

As a further example of Dr. McCartan's unreliable recording of events, Diarmuid Lynch refers to the following extracts from *With de Valera in America*. p. 92:

"At this time, Cathal Brugha, the Minister for Defence in the Cabinet of the Dáil, wrote to Diarmuid Lynch urging that Cohalan should demand nothing but recognition of the Irish Republic from the United States. Here was at least one member of the Cabinet who was not with de Valera in seeking self-determination from England."

This is the letter quoted on p. 18 supra., signed by Collins as well as Brugha, and a reference to it will show how erroneous and irresponsible Dr. McCartan's assertions are.

On p. 90 of his book Dr. McCartan writes :

“ At the first meeting of the Friends of Irish Freedom after the Convention, it was discovered that without the knowledge of McGarrity, who was Chairman of the Organisation Committee of the Convention, Cohalan had named a National Executive of 15. The supreme control of the organisation was vested in this body. . . In the interval between Race Conventions all power resided in it. Of the 15 the majority came from New York and its neighbourhood and were aides of Cohalan. The Friends of Irish Freedom had become his personal machine under his complete control.”

Diarmuid Lynch comments :

“ Passages in these excerpts show, perhaps more clearly than other mis-statements referred to . . . the extent to which Dr. McCartan permitted himself to be carried in his uncontrollable desire to distort facts to the detriment of Judge Cohalan. It is untrue to say that the National Executive was elected without the knowledge of Mr. McGarrity ; the election took place openly and formally at the National Council meeting held on 12th March, 1919, at which McGarrity was present, and at which Dr. McCartan himself was also present. . . The National Executive did not have control of the organisation in the interval between Race Conventions ; it exercised such control only when the National Convention or National Council is not in session, in other words, between the monthly meetings of the Council.”

These are some of the questions upon which conflict of opinion arose between the leaders. [Each of the principal Irish or Irish American protagonists had given ample proof of loyalty to the cause of Irish freedom, and they differed, not in their adherence to the ideal of an Irish Republic, but in their conceptions of steering a policy for its recognition by the United States through the perilous seas of American politics.

John Devoy, then an old but still vigorous man, had given a long life of dedicated service to the cause. In the wisdom gained from his experience both in Ireland and in the United States, he had reached the unshakable conviction that the function of Irish leaders at home was to decide policy (the objective being agreed) and the function of Irish organisations in America was to support the home policy loyally by every means in their power. With equal vehemence he held that the American organisations should be entirely free to determine the methods and activities to be adopted in their own field in support of whatever effort was being made in Ireland. Interference by Irish leaders in the internal affairs of American organisations he resented and constantly opposed.

Judge Daniel F. Cohalan, an American by birth, had been sworn into the Clan-na-Gael in his eighteenth year by Captain James Murphy, the man under whose direction the Clerkenwell Prison explosion was carried out in 1867. He became a successful lawyer in New York city, and in 1910 was elected a Justice of the Supreme Court of the State. Long before then he was an outstanding figure in Clan circles. He was District officer of the New York area for many years, and Chairman of the Clan's biennial Conventions from 1902 to 1910. But his main service to the Clan was in the role of adviser and spokesman ; a role for which his ability, expert legal knowledge, tact and prestige eminently fitted him. In contrast to many others of his status, his active participation in the work of the Clan never flagged. He took a leading part in formulating the policy on which the F.O.I.F. directed its efforts from its inception. He was “ a masterful man ” of judicial habit, an eloquent public speaker and forceful writer. If by 1919 he had acquired something of the mentality that he had a mission to advise everybody connected with the movement, it was one of the factors which created antagonism between him and Dr. McCartan, and later and more disastrously, between him and de Valera.

Joseph McGarrity had also given life long service to the cause of Irish freedom. For many years he was one of the three-man Executive of Clan-na-Gael—the other two being John Devoy and John T. Keating of Chicago. He found it difficult to accept all the implications of a change over to the more open type of organisation represented by the F.O.I.F., with its large National Council and Executive, its wider organisation and greater freedom for the expression of opinion in contrast to the more compact Clan where decisions of the Executive were absolute.

From the time of his arrival in America Dr. McCartan's contacts with McGarrity were closer than those with Devoy or Cohalan. From March 1918, when McCartan took the post of editor of McGarrity's newly founded *Irish Press* in Philadelphia, much of his time was spent in that city. After both the *Irish Press* and Devoy's *Gaelic American* were barred from the U.S. mails the *Irish Press* was brought to New York and put on sale on the streets in competition with the *Gaelic American*. Dr. Maloney's closest association had always been with McCartan. Devoy distrusted Maloney and even went to the point of publicly calling him a British agent.

The disposal of the Irish Victory Fund created further differences of opinion. The original resolution pledging the Fund, passed at the Philadelphia Convention, did not specify when, where or how the money was to be expended. The following were the objects of the Fund as set out in the F.O.I.F. headquarters circular letter on 1st May, 1919, over the signatures of Very Rev. Peter E. Magennis, National President, and Diarmuid Lynch, National Secretary ;

"To educate public opinion.

- (a) To urge that the objects for which America entered the war may be fully attained.
 - (b) To urge and insist upon the recognition of the Republican form of Government established in Ireland.
 - (c) To urge that America does not enter into any League of Nations which does not safeguard all American rights.
 - (d) To maintain and preserve American ideals of Government and to oppose and offset the British propaganda which is falsifying and misrepresenting the facts of American history.
 - (e) To maintain for the foregoing purposes a widespread and professional publicity campaign.
 - (f) To defray the expenses of the Irish American delegation to the Peace Conference.
- (a), (b), (c) and (d) were drafted by Richard F. Dalton, (e) and (f) by Diarmuid Lynch.

Six days after the issue of this letter, at a meeting of the National Executive on 7th May, McGarrity proposed that 50,000 dollars be sent to Ireland. This was opposed for the reasons that only 5,000 dollars had been collected at the time, there were only 12,000 in F.O.I.F. funds, of which 2,000 were due on unpaid bills, and that it would be a mistake to deplete their treasury completely when there was important work to be done in the United States. The proposal was defeated.

Diarmuid Lynch's work in the raising of the Irish Victory Fund was of the greatest importance. Headquarters was moved to the Sun Building, 280 Broadway and his staff was much enlarged. By the end of May he had issued nearly half a million pamphlets, including copies of official documents, to Branches, libraries, newspapers and public men. A press campaign, first entrusted to a firm of publicity agents, had not proved satisfactory, and after three months was taken over by Diarmuid and Miss I. T. Martin of Detroit. When the fund was closed on 31st August, 1919, to make way for the first external loan of the Irish Republic, just over one million dollars had been collected.

Some of the principal items from the subsequent disposal of this fund may be mentioned. It was proposed by Devoy on 11th June, 1919 that 25 per cent. of the fund be sent to Ireland and this was agreed. Ten thousand dollars had already been sent at that date and a further 50,000 were sent immediately afterwards. Ten thousand were sent to the Chairman of the American Commission then in Paris, and 10,000 were sent to Sean T. O'Kelly

in Paris on 25th July. Ten thousand were given to James O'Meara for similar transmission on 8th November 1919, on 2nd September, 40,000 to Sean Nunan, on 2nd January, 1920, 10,000 to Harry Boland with a further 15,000 on 26th February. The whole of President de Valera's campaign expenses in America, amounting to 26,200 dollars, were paid out of the Fund. In December, 1919, 100,000 dollars were advanced to defray the initial expenses of the Bond Certificate drive.

About 11th May, 1919 Harry Boland arrived in New York. His mission was in part an I.R.B. one, but he brought from the Dáil Ministry credentials authorising Dr. McCartan to act as Envoy of the Irish Republic. McCartan had hitherto acted on credentials from the I.R.B. Supreme Council, which apparently relinquished its governmental authority on the setting up of a popularly elected parliament with a ministry responsible to it. Boland had also the mission of preparing the ground for President de Valera's visit.

On arrival in New York, he went straight to Diarmuid Lynch. They were old friends. In a long discussion Diarmuid gave him an account of the position in America, including the differences of opinion which had arisen between a few of the leaders on some matters of policy. On the self-determination issue Boland characterised the fuss which had been raised as "a tempest in a teapot" which, he said, had better cease. Diarmuid proposed to him that he should call a conference of Devoy, McCartan, Cohalan, Dalton and five or six other men prominent in the movement, and repeat to them what he had just then said to Diarmuid. Boland agreed, but went to Philadelphia, and the conference was not held. But from that time the attacks which had been made on the self-determination policy ceased.

The League of Nations issue was another matter on which the leaders did not reach unanimity of opinion. Cohalan and others took the view that the proposals as originally drafted would preclude America from recognising the Irish Republic if the United States Government adhered to the League. President Wilson and the Democrats were sponsoring the League, and Wilson toured the country in support of it. The national Executive F.O.I.F. on 16th June appointed an Advertising Committee, consisting of Judge Cohalan, Richard F. Dalton and Diarmuid Lynch, to conduct an anti-League publicity campaign, and put 50,000 dollars at its disposal. On 3rd October the Committee was given a further 25,000 dollars. It would appear that Joseph McGarrity was in favour of this campaign, as it was he who proposed the expenditure of the second contribution. The anti-League fight was conducted with great vigour and thoroughness. The opposition which it had to combat may be judged from the fact that Lord Northcliffe had stated, after his return from the United States in 1917, that he had left there a fund of 150 million dollars and 10,000 agents.

When President de Valera arrived in America in June, 1919 these differ-

ences existed, and although he made several efforts to reconcile the conflicting opinions in the ensuing six months, he did not succeed. His mission was to try and obtain American recognition of the Irish Republic and to raise a loan of five million dollars for his Government. The manner in which the loan would be raised created further difficulties. President de Valera favoured the issue of Bonds. The lawyers, led by Cohalan, held that it would be illegal, under the United States Blue Sky laws, to sell Bonds on behalf of a Government not internationally recognised. A Committee consisting of Thomas Hughes Kelly, W. Bourke Cochran, Daniel F. Cohalan, Richard F. Dalton and John D. Moore was appointed. They recommended the issue of Bond Certificates, and this was agreed.

Although the American Commission on Irish Independence officially sponsored the Bond Certificate drive, the F.O.I.F. organisation was extensively used, and all the facilities which Diarmuid Lynch and the other Executive officers commanded were freely put at the disposal of the organisers. After a National Council meeting on 10th December, 1919, at which President de Valera was present, Diarmuid supplied to James O'Meara, who had come out from Ireland to direct activities in connection with raising the loan, a complete list of F.O.I.F. Branches together with the names and addresses of their secretaries. Soon afterwards he mailed 70,000 sets of Bond Certificate literature to individual members of the organisation.

Pressure was exerted on him repeatedly to resign his post as National Secretary and join the Bond Certificate Staff. He declined, strongly believing the F.O.I.F. to be necessary and convinced that he could more effectively help the loan raising effort through the organisation than in any other way. Since he returned to America in 1917, he had been in constant touch with Devoy, and not much less intimately, through his work on the national Council, with McGarrity. He deplored the differences which were accumulating between these and others of the leaders, but he never allowed them to influence his work for the Republic, nor did he ever contribute to the inflammation of partisan sentiments. Later, when Devoy set no bounds to his irascible wrath in denouncing de Valera, Diarmuid resigned his position as Director on the Board of the *Gaelic American* as a protest. In Diarmuid's own view, an opinion he held consistently and which was well known to the leaders, "President de Valera had not departed, and would not depart, from the position of fighting for the recognition of the established Irish Republic."

In his absence from Ireland, Diarmuid had been elected Dáil representative for South East Cork at the General Election of December, 1918. The differences of opinion in which he was now involved made him feel that he owed it to his constituents to resign from his position as T.D. He addressed the following letter to them in July, 1920:

2366 Grand Concourse,
New York,
July 19, 1920.

To the People of South East Cork :
A Chairde :—

The honour which you conferred on me in my absence from Ireland by electing me, unopposed, as your Representative to Dáil Eireann at the General Election, December, 1918, is one which I shall ever gratefully remember. In being thus honoured by the citizens of my native district, without solicitation or desire for office on my part, I have reason to feel a pardonable pride.

While fully appreciating the confidence which you have reposed in me, I realised at the time of my election that, the English Government having deported me from Ireland through the exercise of its naval and military power, it would prevent my return thereto until such time as the Irish Republic secured its due recognition.

In full knowledge of how important it was that the Representative for South East Cork should be on the spot in Ireland to attend to the affairs of the Constituency and of the Nation, I seriously considered resigning at that time the position of Teactaire but concluded that my resignation then would have been an embarrassment inasmuch as the Dáil had not yet perfected laws, governing such elections.

Differences have arisen since July, 1919, between President de Valera and members of Dáil Eireann now in the United States on the one hand and the recognised leaders of the movement here on the other, as to the proper conduct of the campaign in America for the recognition of the Irish Republic. My judgment in this matter, based as it has been upon an intimate knowledge of conditions in America, was generally in agreement with the American leaders. This circumstance has governed my actions as National Secretary of the Friends of Irish Freedom, and has furthered my determination to immediately tender my resignation as a member of Dáil Eireann. The only consideration which deterred me from giving effect to that determination was that my action might have been misconstrued by the enemies of the Irish Republic, and heralded as a break in that splendid unity which has marked the progress of the Republican Government in Ireland.

Now, however, it has become evident from letters apparently written by officials of the Irish Republican Government at present in America, captured by the English Government on the person of a man named Barry and published in the Boston, Philadelphia and Chicago papers, that my resignation may at this time be properly offered without adding to the risk of such misconstruction.

I decline to permit my actions here or the actions of those men who have

consistently worked for a generation in America for the establishment in Ireland of a form of government similar to that which prevails in these United States, from being made the subject of controversy and possible dissension in my Constituency. Without acquaintance with conditions in America, you, my friends, cannot possibly understand the American attitude, nor, in particular, the position of those who through the years have borne the brunt of the fight here. It would not be fair to ask you to express an opinion on the merits of the controversy which now diverts the attention of the supporters of the Irish Republic in this country, and it would be unwise to inject it into South East Cork.

The foregoing reasons impel me to hereby resign my position as Teactaire Dáil Eireann representing the Constituency of South East Cork. I am forwarding a duplicate of this resignation to the Speaker of An Dáil Eireann.

In thus definitely severing my official connection with you I desire once more to tender to all my old constituents my sincere thanks for the very great honour conferred on me in my election as your Representative to the first Congress of the Irish Republic, and I beg to assure you of my continued interest in your welfare and in the Cause of the entire Irish Nation.

No matter what vicissitudes the future may have in store for me, I shall always cherish with pride the part which I had the honour to fulfil in the councils of those who made "Easter Week" possible and solidified the foundations of the Irish Republic. It is permissible for me now to speak with a certain amount of freedom in these matters, and it may interest you to learn that during those eventful years prior to "Easter Week" I was one of the selected few in whose hands lay the destiny of the Irish Republic; that my unalterable belief in the necessity of rebaptising the ideals of Emmet, Tone and Mitchel in the blood of men strong in the faith of Irish Republicanism in order to preserve the National Soul of Ireland, guided me to the right course of action; that my voice and influence were invariably in favour of the Irish Nation reasserting itself in arms before the existing favourable opportunity had passed. Results have justified my judgment and I am happy in this knowledge.

I now feel more free to continue my efforts here for the recognition of the Irish Republic on lines which long and practical experience in America has shown me to be for the best interests of the Irish Cause.

I pray God to preserve the unity and magnificent courage of those who in Ireland are battling against the brutal militarism of England; may He give light to those citizens of the Irish Republic who are as yet irresponsive to the Proclamation of "Easter Week" that "The Republic guarantees religious and civil liberty, equal rights, and equal opportunities to all its citizens, and declares its resolve to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation and of all its parts, cherishing all the children of the

nation equally and oblivious of the differences carefully fostered by an alien government which have divided a minority from a majority in the past."

With renewed assurance of my esteem and my interest in your welfare, and a special word of grateful remembrance to those splendid comrades in South East Cork who in less enlightened days stood unflinchingly for the principle of Irish Republicanism.

Is mise, le meas mor,
Diarmuid Lynch.

The rift between the leaders widened despite efforts at reconciliation. Perhaps the most disastrous element in the situation was that a deep hostility developed between the Irish President and Cohalan. During January 1920, Sunday night conferences were held at President de Valera's headquarters in the Waldorf Astoria Hotel, New York. These were attended by McGarrity, Cohalan, Devoy, Lynch and O'Meara, but they did not curb the growing hostility between Cohalan and the President. Although there was a dramatic public reconciliation between them at a conference in the Park Avenue Hotel on 19th March, the tension did not relax. Devoy's fiery criticism of some of President de Valera's actions continued in the *Gaelic American*, particularly after the President had given the *Westminster Gazette* interview of 6th February on what came to be known as the Cuban policy.

Despite these differences the many phases of the fight for recognition of the Republic were being actively pursued. In March, 1920, the Senate in ratifying the Peace Treaty included a reference to Ireland:

"The United States adheres to the principle of self-determination and to the resolution of sympathy with the aspiration of the Irish people for a government of their own choice adopted by the Senate, 6th June 1919, and declares that when such government is attained by Ireland—a consummation it is hoped is at hand—it should promptly be admitted as a member of the League of Nations."

Throughout the summer and autumn of 1920, while the struggle in Ireland grew in intensity and violence, President de Valera undertook immensely successful tours of the United States, designed to expound and clarify the national claim for American recognition of the Irish Republic and to encourage subscriptions for the loan. States and cities extended invitations to him, and welcomed him with the ceremony accorded to representative statesmen. He addressed State Legislatures, Universities and official gatherings of many kinds, as well as many public meetings. Everywhere he was accorded every mark of honour and respect and his tours raised the status of the campaign to a new level. Members of the F.O.I.F. were foremost in the work of organisation and in ensuring that the five million dollar target set for the loan was attained.

At the end of October the crisis came. Harry Boland, acting as he said, "with full authority in the name of the Supreme Council of the Irish Republican Brotherhood," cut off the Clan-na-Gael from any further contact with the secret organisation at home. That was a disastrous blow to the F.O.I.F. The Clan was its backbone. On November 16th President de Valera launched at Washington the American Association for the Recognition of the Irish Republic. With sorrow and regret Diarmuid Lynch saw, wrecked and broken, the magnificent organisation he had done so much to create. Its regular membership was then 100,749; it had 484 associate Branches, and its total membership approximated 275,000. Of these, 20,000 remained after the split.

Diarmuid Lynch continued as National Secretary, F.O.I.F. A year later, on 11th and 12th December, 1921 a National Convention of the organisation was held at the Hotel Astor, New York, where it had been founded. Strength had again increased to 26,350 regular members and 157 associate Branches, but with two nation wide organisations now claiming the allegiance of Irish America, the effectiveness of both was sadly diminished.

Meanwhile, the Truce had come in Ireland, the negotiations in London had followed, the Treaty had been signed, and Dáil Eireann by a small majority had approved it.

The statement issued by the F.O.I.F. in regard to the Treaty reflects the traditional I.R.B. attitude, and may be said to express Diarmuid's own views at the time:

"Well meaning men have suggested that the Friends of Irish Freedom should endorse the Free State. They are wrong. This organisation will never endorse the Free State, and individual members should not do so. We were not consulted regarding any measure of compromise; we were not consulted regarding the agreement made at London, nor regarding the conversations leading up to that agreement. If we had been consulted we would not have approved. Not having been consulted we are under no obligation to approve or endorse. On the contrary we can best serve the Race by refusing to endorse because we can always show historically by the conclusive testimony of men who took part in the conversations at London that the Agreement or Treaty was entered into under duress—so far as Ireland was concerned—under such duress that the compromise made can never be held morally binding, upon this or future generations of the Race—unless that compromise is now ratified and approved by the free will of the Race at home and abroad. While the indications are that at the proposed general election the people of Ireland may, by a majority, vote for the Free State Government, we assert that, in view of their

repeated declarations for an independent Republic in recent years, such coming vote will not represent the free will of the Irish people, but will be given merely to escape the ever present English threat of a renewal of the war of devastation and extermination.

"One of the main purposes for which the Friends of Irish Freedom exists is to aid in securing the absolute independence of Ireland—which is her God given right. We have not deviated and will not deviate from that policy. We are opposed to external as well as internal association of Ireland with the British Empire. We reaffirm our belief that Ireland can never achieve liberty nor reach a place of equality with independent nations while any connection with England remains, and that a free and independent Republic, separated from the Empire and controlling the destinies of the Irish people, is the only solution of the Irish national problem."

Coming to the close of 1922, when Civil War raged in Ireland, Diarmuid Lynch wrote in a letter sent to all members of the F.O.I.F.:

"Heartrending as are the conditions in Ireland at the moment, our fellow workers in the cause here must not feel discouraged. It is more than ever incumbent on us to draw together those friends of Ireland who are capable of viewing the deplorable circumstances intelligently and without passion, so that our influence may be exercised towards securing for Ireland the greatest need of the moment—Peace; and then forge ahead towards the ultimate goal of the Race—an independent Irish Republic."

Looking at his activities in the ten following years during which he remained in America, and continued as National Secretary, F.O.I.F., his steady, consistent purpose is evident. His Republican principles remained unchanged from the day Sean T. O'Kelly swore him into the I.R.B. until the day of his death. There was no time in that long span of over half a century when he was not thinking and working in one way or another for the realisation of the ideal for which he took up arms in Easter Week, 1916. Wherever he was, in the United States or in Ireland, he found the means to continue what was for him a labour of love.

His sterling honesty and fearless expression of his views remained uninfluenced by the stormy political passions in which he was unavoidably involved. In all his writing on current events there is an absence of that extravagant denunciation of opponents which was such an unfortunate aspect of the very human difference of opinion on policy which arose both in Ireland and America. In the historical recording of the events with which he was associated, truth was for him the first and paramount consideration.

In the years when Irish political life was embittered by the Treaty dissensions and their aftermath, he was, always with the ultimate purpose in view, an advocate of policies which were later adopted but then unpopular. As well as having the Fenian faith, he had faith in the Irish people. He never doubted their ultimate attainment of the national goal of complete independence, and he was, in the old tradition, prepared to use every weapon which came to his hands for the achievement of freedom.

At the Easter week commemoration in New York in 1924, he said :

“The oath and other obnoxious parts of the Treaty, and the objectionable features of the Constitution drawn in conformity therewith, were accepted under duress ; and I hold that if the Irish people elect a majority of representatives for the express purpose of eliminating said features, the Deputies so elected would be justified in taking that oath with a mental reservation and with the definite intention to break it at the first opportunity.

“Republican Deputies . . . with a clear conscience, and as a matter of determined policy could take their seats in the Dáil, could elect their Cabinet and place their nominees in control of all the principal departments of State, and could at the earliest moment they saw fit proceed to nullify the oath and take the consequences.”

Nearly four years later that policy was adopted by Fianna Fáil. The oath was removed and a Republican Constitution made law.

In 1923 Diarmuid was anxious to relinquish his post as National Secretary, F.O.I.F. He was however persuaded to continue, and in 1928 there was a proposal to wind up the affairs of the Organisation, but lawsuits which were in progress or impending caused a decision to be deferred. Diarmuid has written an account of these lawsuits, from which the following excerpts are quoted :

“Subscriptions to the First and Second external loans of the Republic of Ireland raised in the United States through the issue of Bond Certificates in 1919-1921 amounted to 5,236,955.46 and 622,720 dollars respectively, making a total of 5,859,675.46 dollars. The trustees of these proceeds were Eamon de Valera, Most Rev. Michael Fogarty and James O'Meara. The latter resigned in 1921 ; his brother, Stephen O'Meara, replaced him as Trustee.”

During the period ending 1st July, 1922, portion of said moneys was transmitted to Ireland ; portion had been expended in raising the loans, in the financing of the American Association for the recognition of the Irish Republic, in defraying the expenses of the Dáil Eireann representatives to the United States, etc. Including accrued interest, the balance remaining

on deposit in U.S. Banks amounted to approximately 2,500,000 dollars by 1927.

The Irish Free State Government under President Cosgrave claimed ownership of the said balance and brought suit in New York against Trustees de Valera and O'Meara and the banks to secure possession. Two other parties intervened as defendants, viz. the Hearn Committee and the Noonan Committee. The case was tried before Justice Peters in the New York Supreme Court in 1927. In this the F.O.I.F. did not participate. Judge Peters gave judgment in accordance with the main contention of the Hearn Committee, viz. that the balance on deposit should be distributed pro-rata amongst the subscribers to the said loans. . .

The F.O.I.F. duly deposited with the Receivers the certificates in its possession, and applied for its appropriate share of the distribution. One of its claims made on the basis of the 100,000, dollar subscription . . . was objected to by the Hearn Committee. The Referee . . . disallowed said claim.

The F.O.I.F. appealed. This necessitated the printing of the testimony, together with some 136 exhibits and certain other documents, making an exhaustive volume of 860 pages. The five sitting judges of the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court, New York, unanimously reversed every finding of the Referee which was adverse to the F.O.I.F. claim.

The Hearn Committee then took the case to the Court of Appeals at Albany ; the seven judges thereof unanimously affirmed the decision of the Appellate Division. Thereupon, the Receivers, in 1931, paid to the F.O.I.F. the sum of 63,180.55 dollars, the full amount to which it was entitled.

While the investigation of the objections to the F.O.I.F. bond-certificate claim was in progress, the prime movers organised another Committee and in February, 1929, began suit against the F.O.I.F. for an accounting of the Irish Victory Fund. The personnel of this plaintiff committee included Joseph McGarrity, Hugh Montague, Rev. John H. Dooley, and Thomas Rock,—who as previously stated had been members of the National Council, F.O.I.F., up to the time of the Split in November, 1920, and as such had participated in the deliberations and decisions of that body. Their “ attorney of record ” was Mr. Jeremiah A. O'Leary, with Mr. John T. Ryan as counsel.

In the trial of the action, three years later, in addition to plaintiffs' exhibits, 46 were introduced by the F.O.I.F. (including the anti-League of Nations advertisements). The testimony of the witnesses (Joseph McGarrity, Father Dooley, Thomas D. O'Connor and William P. Manahan, for plaintiffs ; Diarmuid Lynch, Richard F. Dalton, Thomas J. Breslin, John P. Grace and John J. Kirby, for the F.O.I.F.) occupied 703 typed pages.

In dismissing the complaint, Supreme Court Justice Albert Cohn after setting forth Findings of Fact, stated in his Conclusions of Law :

“The plaintiffs have failed to establish the cause of action alleged in the complaint, or any cause of action against the defendants or any of them.”

It is the unanimous opinion of those who have first hand personal knowledge of Diarmuid's work as National Secretary of the Friends of Irish Freedom that this favourable result would not have been achieved were it not for the extraordinary day-to-day attention he had given to the organisation over the previous years, the excellence, integrity and completeness of his records, and the clarity and honesty of his testimony before the various courts, even under the strain of severe and prolonged cross-examination. He had rendered a last signal service to the organisation he had done so much to build up, and contributed notably to the courts' complete vindication of the manner in which its affairs had been conducted.

With the successful issue of this last suit he was at last in a position to effect his resignation as National Secretary, F.O.I.F.

In May, 1923 headquarters was changed from 280 Broadway, where it had been located for fourteen eventful years, to the American Irish Historical Society's Building at East Sixteenth Street, New York.

Closing his association with one of the finest efforts of Irish America, Diarmuid Lynch left behind him an honoured name and an unsurpassed record of service.

CHAPTER XIII

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

Note on Pearse's Valedictory Letter.

Statements have been published, including one by Mr. Bouch of the National Library, ascribing to P. H. Pearse the *penmanship* as shown on this photostat.

There can be no question as to the *authorship* of the valedictory, but in my opinion the *penmanship* of the photostat is definitely *not* that of Padraig Pearse,—and it is wrong to ascribe the letter to him. As a result of conversations I had with Mr. Bouch in 1937 he was inclined to agree with me.

Mr. Bouch took steps to ascertain from the British War Office if the *original* document was in its archives; he received a reply in the negative.

In 1937-8 I made numerous enquiries in Dublin along these lines:

- (a) How Pearse's original MS. escaped at (or immediately before) the surrender,—as apparently it did.
- (b) Who it was that made the print-script copy of which the enclosed is a photostat.
- (c) What became of Pearse's original MS., and of the first print-script copy (as per photostat)—which copy is evidently the work of an expert draftsman.

but failed to elicit any information on these points.

Furthermore, I submitted the photostat to several individuals for their opinion as to whether the *penmanship* thereon is that of P. H. Pearse. All were in agreement with myself on the matter.

I also submitted the question of the *penmanship* to Col. J. J. O'Connell: his re-submission of it to the Chief-of-Staff resulted in the following statement by Capt. P. O'Duinnin:

“I have submitted attached documents to various people here.

“All are agreed that it is difficult if not impossible to find a basis of comparison between the script used in the valedictory letter (the photostat D.L.) and the actual manuscript of Pearse's draft of the Manifesto to the Citizens of Dublin.

“Major Joyce who was a pupil of Pearse's says he was not aware of Pearse's

ability to use or practise this type of script. He showed me a school certificate from St. Enda's which was compiled and signed by Pearse himself. It was done in manuscript and if Pearse was addicted to the use of the illuminating script he would most likely have employed it in issuing Certificates.

Commandant S. O'Sullivan—himself a good exponent of this type of script writing—is of opinion that it was not executed by Pearse for the following reasons :—

- (a) The consistency of form, neatness of execution, as well as its compression into such a small compass, and its general lay out proclaim it the work of an experienced draughtsman.
- (b) It would take an expert penman at least an hour to produce it and the circumstances, chaos and turmoil that must have existed in the G.P.O. on the morning of 28th April, 1916 were not conducive to issuing of orders or proclamations in this manner
- (c) If the document was written by Pearse it is likely he would have signed it in manuscript. That the signature is printed and prefixed by the word 'Signed' in brackets denotes that it is not the original."

D. L.

APPENDIX II

Tracton, Ballyfeard,
Dec. 30, 1947.

Major F. O'Donoghue,

Pearse's remarks, 6.2.16.

Dear Florrie,

You asked me to comment on Pearse's talk to "G" Co., 2nd Battalion, I.V., Dublin, on February 6, 1916, as published in the *Irish Volunteer*, Vol. 2, No. 63.

His purpose was, of course, self-evident, viz. ; to focus attention of the rank and file on a definite objective which was neither specified nor suggested in the I. Volunteer Declaration of Principles ; to attune their minds to participation in an *insurrection* for the achievement of Irish independence (secret preparations for which were then far advanced).

This outspoken advocacy of "Separation" as the goal of the Irish Volunteers, coupled with his statement about being "called into action" was fraught with possible dangers :

First, it might have impelled the "moderate element" on the I.V. Executive Committee to challenge openly his right—as an individual member of that Committee—to advocate any policy other than that laid down in the Declaration of Principles.

Second, his remarks might have excited the suspicion of the British Government with relation to the Irish Volunteer organisation, which in turn might have led to moves by the British calculated to wreck any plans the Volunteers might have had of "going into actions."

Fortunately, neither of these untoward results eventuated from that talk :

(1) Eoin MacNeill and his colleagues who desired the Volunteers to adhere to the Declaration of Principles did not realise *until Holy Week* that Pearse and his associates actually contemplated an *insurrection* and the participation therein of the Irish Volunteers.

(2) What with the attitude of the Parliamentary Party and that of the vast majority of the Irish people at that time, the idea of an armed *insurrection* seems to have been entirely beyond the conception of the British Government. That Pearse's remarks on the 6th of February were noted by the British officials in Ireland may be taken as axiomatic, but whatever danger the latter may have sensed around that period it evidently did not appear to them to be immediate. Pearse's intimate contact with Clarke, MacDiarmada, etc., was unknown to them. Furthermore, I'm inclined to the opinion that they deemed Padraig Pearse more or less a literary visionary,

and discounted his remarks accordingly. They did not know Pearse as we knew him.

Pearse's role was a difficult one: to exhort the Volunteers to a "separatist" conception of their existence, and at the same time to allay the fears of those whose opposition would have been serious. He was careful to preface the words "IF EVER" in the phrase: "IF EVER the Irish Volunteers went into action," and to add another qualification: "It would be wrong for me to say they might SOON be called into action."

The subject of this talk was in all probability discussed in advance by the Military Council, at the instigation of Pearse who was a deeply conscientious man. The Irish Volunteers were not founded nor was the organisation promoted—not in so far as some of the founders, nor the vast majority of the Volunteers themselves, nor the general public understood, as a "separatist" body. Yet, we know that in pursuance of the purpose which the I.R.B. had in mind for them from the beginning, the Military Council aimed at throwing the Volunteers en masse into the proposed Rising, and that *this was to be accomplished through the instrumentality of Pádraig Pearse* in his capacity of Director of Organisation on the Irish Volunteer Staff.

This situation demanded some adjustment—in so far as it could be accomplished with reasonable degree of safety—before the Irish Volunteers were actually "called into action for the achievement of Irish freedom." It was a delicate undertaking, and Pearse himself was, par excellence, the man for it. He succeeded in not alone conveying the desired idea to those who were ready to be impressed by it, but at same time in minimising the full and immediate purport of his remarks from others. Had the effort not been essential under the circumstances he would certainly be open to censure for "Sailing too close to the wind."

DIARMUID LYNCH.

APPENDIX III

DÁIL EIREANN

Seoltar litreacha Runaíde Dáil Eireann, f/c Tig an Ard-Maoir, At-Cliait.

Correspondence may be addressed to the Secretary, Dáil Eireann, Mansion House, Dublin.

Dublin.

6/3/19.

Diarmuid Lynch,

A Chara Dhil, Since we wrote you in Feby the situation has developed a good deal, and the necessity for immediate funds has greatly increased.

The expenditure with regard to foreign Propaganda is simply enormous—the cost of the present modest establishment in Paris running into some £100 per week up to the present. Arrangements have had to be made to extend the scope and the additional amount required will be of large proportions. To give you an idea of money values there one small sitting room in Sean t's Hotel costs 90 frs per day.

In addition there are constructive schemes we want to go in for here. To make any decent start and to secure credit we must first accumulate a considerable reserve.

There are a number of statements being made here by the Press that you in America have collected 1,250,000 dollars for Dáil Eireann. We would like to have some sort of a general idea as to the actual amount. It would very materially affect our calculations.

With regard to a suggestion as to the appointment of Trustees—any funds which will be sent to the Dáil will of course be placed in the hands of the Minister of Finance. Receipts will be furnished you by the Chairman and the Minister jointly. It is suggested for your consideration though, that you appoint Trustees for the Dáil Fund in the U.S.A. These names would be the guarantee to the subscribers out there while the Dáil would in turn be responsible to them.

This letter was to deal with finance only but two points may be mentioned

- (a) We are now getting in touch with Breathnach.
- (b) If you think well of it you might send that man Malyet to France at once. The person whom he recommended we should send had already applied for passport.

We suggest that in sending money—and we want £5,000 at once—(it would interest you to know that at the moment, we are working on a loan)

—you cable it to London County Westminster Bank, Chancery Lane, Holborn Branch, to the order Erskine Childers, Thirteen Embankment Gardens, Chelsea, London, S.W. Arrangements have been made with him and he is an American citizen who frequently receives large sums for various activities from America. It would be quite safe to cable £5,000 to him.

We are making provision to send you a fortnightly bulletin on matters this end.

Slan agus beannact leat,
Sinne
Cathal Brugha, Príomh Aireac,
Mícheál O Coileann, Finance

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