Castle File No. 2573.

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Mc.3.

Mc C A R T A N, Dr. Patrick.

intimately, and he knew what he died and stood for. He knew him when he suffered imprisonment, and he was the noblest of them all, Thomas Clarke (cheers). He did not die for this Treaty, nor did he die for Document No. 2, or any association external or internal with the British Empire.

WOUNDED PRIDE.

They were afraid, it seemed to him, to face the situation as it was. They preferred to nurse their wounded pride rather than as statesmen to face the situation that really existed, the situation that confronted them that day—and some of them felt bitter about it.

"The Republic of which President de Valera was President is dead," said the speaker in impassioned tones. There were loud cries of "No," and he went on: "You can contradict me when you rise to speak. I say it is dead, and the delegates who signed the document opposite the Englishmen wrote its epitaph in London."

It was dead, naturally, because it depended on the unity of the Irish people, depended on the unity of the Cabinet, and of the Dail.

WERE THEY UNITED?

Were they united that day as a Cabinet, as a Dail? Could they go forth after the decision was taken and say that the people of Ireland were united? Could they even say that the I.R.A. was united (loud cries of "Yes")?

They said that it was. He had his doubts and he felt that every man there had his doubts. What would many of them say "What was good enough for Mick Collins was good enough for me."

Personally he was inclined to say he had more respect for Collins and Griffith than for the quibblers there (loud cheers).

FOREIGN RECOGNITION.

Analogy Between Ireland and U.S. at Time of Independence War.

Internationally the Republic was dead, Dr. MacCartan went on. They were looking for recognition for the Republic in foreign countries. Michael Collins said they were not recognised by the United States. That was true. The United States thought they were in the same position as they themselves were before the Treaty was signed, and were not immediately recognised themselves.

When they (the United States) sent delegates to France seeking recognition by the statesmen of France the latter feared that England would not give the United States all that the Continental Congress originally asked, and consequently France was afraid to extend recognition.

In like manner, he submitted, the Governments of the United States were equally afraid that they would get the compromise they had at the present time.

He said that they might not recognise them for some time. They did not recognise the South American Republics, even though it was in the interests of the United States. The question was debated year after year in the Congress of the United States.

COULD NOT ASK RECOGNITION.

But they could not go now to the Secretary of State of any foreign Government and ask him to recognise the Republic of Ireland because, he submitted, it was dead.

It would take five years fighting on the part of the I.R.A. with all their gallantry to get back to the position they were in two or three months ago. Therefore, he submitted, that the Republic as a political factor was dead. Internationally they could all see the example of the members of the I.R.A. was being followed, and even their policy was being adopted in India and Egypt.

He (Dr. MacCartan) accepted responsibility with the men who signed the Treaty in London, because he did not protest. He accepted that responsibility with the whole Cabinet, because he remained silent.

They who were an inspiration to the patriots of India and Egypt would now give heart to the compromisers in Egypt and India as well as the compromisers in Ireland. Therefore, he submitted the Republic of Ireland was dead. That was the issue on which they had to vote.

TWO BIRDS.

They had a bird in the hand and a bird in the bush, and let those who were conscientious and honest as Robert Barton violate their oath for the bird in the hand if the bird in the bush is not worth going after, thorny though the bush may be. They were presented with an accomplished fact, and he felt himself in the position of a man on an island with no means of escape when asked if he would remain. There was no escape from the Treaty signed, because they had no longer a united people or a united Dail, and he questioned if they had a united army, and the Republic was no longer a factor in international politics.

Personally, he saw no way out of it. He submitted that it was the duty of the Cabinet to submit to them a policy, even though they were in a difficult position. They had failed. They had miserably failed, and instead in their wounded pride they hoped to save their faces by putting the issue to the country, suggesting that the issue could be settled in a constitutional way. There was a constitutional way out.

CONSTITUTIONAL WAYS.

There was a constitutional way of saving their faces before the world by getting away from their oath to the Republic but there was no constitutional way of getting back to the position of two months ago. If there was, he for one could not see it. Everybody was anxious to see it, and he was anxious to find anyone who could see it to put it before him but he could meet none. He saw the thing must end. He saw no glimmer of hope, and he as a Republican would not endorse he Treaty, but

He would not vote for chaos—that was, he would not vote against it.

To vote for it he would be violating his oath to the Republic and his oath as a member of the Irish Republican Brotherhood. He never intended to violate those oaths; he took them seriously, and meant to keep them so far as he could.

"EVERY MAN."

He took it rejection meant war, and every man who voted for rejection should be prepared for war. They were going into war in a different condition from when they had a united Cabinet, a united Dail, and a united people. England's gigantic blunders might again save them, but it was not from any of the statesmanship they had seen there (applause).

Mr. J. J. Walsh said, arising out of the speech made by the last member, he felt bound to remark that all those speakers addressing Mr. de Valera should not use the word "President" in future.

The Speaker, on a point of order, ruled Mr. Walsh's remarks out.

'FREEMANS'. 21-12-21.

MERELY A QUIBBLE

A Mock Cabinet Division, Says Dr. MacCartan

Dr. McCartan (Leix and Offaly) said since the opening of that Session there had been a deliberate attempt to shirk responsibility for the position in which they found themselves that day. People elected them to direct the destinies of Ireland at this period, and they selected a Cabinet, and, he submitted, it was their duty in all conditions and circumstances to lead them—the rank and file—in the best possible way.

They had failed one and all, the Minister of Defence and others. They were divided. It was a mock division. They went into Imperialism, and British Imperialism.

THE RESPONSIBILITY.

They were afraid to call it the British Empire, and they called it a Commonwealth of Nations. They knew what an Empire meant to the people of Ireland. When they sent representatives to London to see how Irish national aspirations could be associated with the British Commonwealth, the Minister of Defence went into it with others, and the whole body were deeply responsible for the position in which they found themselves that day.

The Republic of Ireland had been betrayed. They had sold it. It was not betrayed in London. It was betrayed in Dublin, and there at the last session of the Dail when the pistol of unity was again held at the heads of every man in the Dail.

It was proclaimed that they were not doctrinnaire Republicans. If they were not, they must be either Monarchists or Bolshevists. Then let them choose whichever they liked.

REPUBLICAN OPPOSITION.

As a Republican he would be in opposition if the Ministry were to choose an O'Neill from Tyrone or an O'Neill from Spain and made him a king, because, he submitted, the kings were out of date, and he was opposed to any king, either English or Irish, as he was opposed to Imperialism in Egypt, in Korea, or in San Domingo.

"When the delegates consented to British association," said the speaker, "we went in with our eyes open to see how we could assist in oppressing the people of Egypt and India, and peoples oppressed at the present time by the British Empire."

NOTHING BUT A QUIBBLE.

There was a quibble, he continued, and nothing but a quibble between the two elements in the Cabinet,

and if they had the decency they would have resigned before they brought them into the position they were in at present. The attempt was to place the responsibility on the delegation, but, he contended, every member of the Cabinet was equally responsible for the Treaty signed in London (cries of "No").

What were the objectionable features of it? That the Republic was betrayed. It was betrayed when they declared that they were not doctrinnaire Republicans.

Another objectionable feature was partition. Partition was agreed to there when it was said that they were prepared to give Ulster the same or more powers than she had under the Act of 1920. The Nationalists of Ulster were betrayed before the delegates even went to London, and the Cabinet one and all were responsible, for none of them resigned.

OTHER OBJECTIONS.

"A Munroe Doctrine for the British Isles."

Continuing, Dr. MacCartan asked what were the other objectionable features? Two Gibraltars on the South and two on the North. He submitted that this position was given away when it was stated publicly that they were willing to give guarantees regarding the security of England and the British Empire—that they were prepared to enter into an agreement, a Munroe Doctrine, for the British Isles.

He was hitting from the shoulder. The rank and file kept silent too long (hear, hear). Something had been said about the men who died. And what did they die for?

He knew many of them, he knew one very

Ratification

Patrick. Dr

'IRISH TIMES'. 28-12-21.

PETITION TO DR. MCCARTAN

Rev. Paul Murphy, P.P., Edenderry, telegraphs to us that the following petition has been signed extensively "by all classes and creeds for immediate presentation to Dr. McCartan":—

"We, your constituents of Edenderry and the adjoining districts, of every shade and creed, feeling gravely apprehensive lest your not voting for the ratification of the Treaty might possibly effect its rejection, do respectfully solicit that you, whom we have the honour to regard as our distinguished representative, would be pleased to rescind your decision, already expressed, of not voting on either side, and record your vote for the Treaty and against chaos. Confident that this petition will receive your favourable consideration, we herewith affix our signatures.

'FREEMANS'. 4-1-'22.

DR. MacCARTAN'S POSITION.

North and South Offaly Executive of Sinn Fein passed a resolution declaring that refusal to ratify the present Treaty under the now prevailing conditions would manifestly lead to disunion and chaos, and calling upon Dr. MacCartan to voice the wishes of his constituency and vote for ratification.

'FREEMAN'S'. 6-1-'22.

DR. MacCARTAN'S WELCOME

Dr. Patrick MacCartan, T.D., was warmly welcomed during a visit to his native district, Carrickmore, Co. Tyrone. He also visited Omagh, where he met many old friends.

INDEPENDENT. 9.5.22

Doctor T.D. appointed to Dublin Hospital.

Dr. P. McCartan, T.D., has been appointed Assistant Surgeon to Jervis St. Hospital.

'INDEPENDENT.' 27-9-'21.

NOT DOMINION STATUS

Dr. M'Cartan, T.D., speaking on Sun. at a big demonstration at Ballynowlart (Offaly), said the British Government, according to a Cabinet Minister, were disappointed because the Irish people did not accept Dominion Home Rule; but Churchill and Lloyd George took care they would not offer Dominion Home Rule. Even if they did, Ireland was a separate nation and a Republic, and Dominion or any other offers did not concern them.

They only asked what was their own, and they meant to have it.

Mr. P. J. Moloney, T.D., speaking on Sun. at Solohead, said that Mr. Lloyd George's offer was not at all up to Gen. Smuts' interpretation of it, but, in any case, what was good enough for S. Africa was not necessarily good enough for Ireland. Having declared for a Republic and set up their Government, it was their duty to give allegiance to that Government only. It was quite on the cards that they might have to go back to real hard work again.

'INDEPENDENT.' 4-10-'21.

Dr. MacCartan, T.D., on his first visit to Offaly since his election, was accorded a great welcome at Tullamore. Thousands of Volunteers, with several bands, attended, and at a public meeting Rev. J. L. Magee, P.P., Tubber, presided, and an address of welcome, in Irish and in English, was read by Mr. J. Rogers, solicitor.

Replying to the address, Dr. MacCartan said in electing him Offaly had vindicated that they wanted separation from the British Empire, and that they were not out to discuss Home Rule or Dominion Home Rule, or even a Dual Monarchy. A British Cabinet Minister had expressed surprise that the Irish people did not accept Dominion Home Rule.

ONLY ONE ISSUE.

If the British Government, he continued, had been anxious to give Ireland Dominion Home Rule they had every year since the time of Isaac Butt to do so, but it took the I.R.A. to compel them to do it. It was not for Dominion Home Rule or a Dual Monarchy that Padraig Pearse and Tom Clarke and others gave up their lives in Easter Week, or that Terence MacSwiney gave out his life, heart-beat after heart-beat, in an English prison. They established a Republic in accordance with the precepts they had heard much about during the Great War, and if war is now forced upon Ireland it will be in violation of these precepts. The Irish people trusted the men they had elected. They were elected on one issue, and one issue only, and no man dare betray the Republic established or the men who died for that Republic.

'INDEPENDENT.' 3-11-'21.

DR. MACCARTAIN'S NEW FUNCTIONS

Dr. MacCartain, T.D., has been appointed Special Commissioner to deal with matters arising in the Dublin Union, according to a communication received by the Guardians from the L.G. Department of Dail Eireann. Dr. MacCartain was warmly greeted on taking a seat next to the Chairman, Mr. M. O Foghludha. He said he had been sent in the interests of efficiency and economy.

"Irish Times" 18/5/22.
Ind Failure to Agree.

T[illegible] OFFICERS' PROPOSALS.

DR. M'CARTAN'S MOTION.

After the submission of the reports,

Dr. MacCartan moved that the proposals of the group of Army officers to the Committee appointed to seek unity be recorded in the official reports of the House. He said that he thought that it was pointed out by the officers who made these proposals that the only alternative was civil war. The issue had not changed, and they were yet going forward to civil war, and for what? Because one side wanted four or six more members, which the other side could not agree to. They were going to shoot one another down for a few extra seats. That was the issue, and every man should be prepared to ask himself what they were going to tell Irishmen to kill one another for.

As regarded the proposals, if the anti Treaty party went in to work the Treaty, then a Coalition was possible. But if they were going to do otherwise, "we are," said Dr. MacCartan, "only fooling the country, and pretending to do something that we are not actually, as a matter of fact, prepared to do." If the anti-Treaty party were willing to enter a Coalition to work the Treaty and get the country on its feet, there was no need for a breakdown. If, however, they were entering it to break it up, they should, he thought, say so bluntly, in order that the people might know where they were.

He would like to pay a tribute to the group of Army officers. They had realised the gravity of the position, and what it meant to the country. They knew that every bandit with a gun could go around, seize a man's property, and do what he liked with it. It would be the duty of the I.R.A. to hunt down these men. He did not suppose that the Four Courts men were supporting those bandits.

Continuing, Dr. MacCartan said that in rejecting the proposals made by the Army officers, and the more generous ones made since that, the anti-Treaty party were forcing an issue. Ordered government should, however, be maintained, whether it meant civil war or not. He thought that it was for those who could speak for the Army to cease to be politicians, and, taking the interests of their country into consideration, to establish peace and security. The information they had just received was so serious that one did not know what to say about it. One was, perhaps, tempted to say too much. He thought that the anti-Treaty deputation should realise where they were going. While he did not want to place all the blame on their side, he should say that the proposals made to them were generous. They should consider was it worth while for Irishmen to "down" one another for the sake of a few extra seats in the Dail.

Irish Times Journal 27/9/22.
Speech advocating truce between IRA & irregular forces.

MOVE TOWARDS TRUCE

Dr. McCartan's Proposal At Dail

PRESIDENT'S VIEW

Peace Only On Respect For Majority's Will

SYMPATHETIC HOUSE

A fourteen days' truce was advocated in a motion brought forward by Dr. McCartan (Leix and Offaly) at Dail Eireann yesterday.

After question time Dr. McCartan moved that at 7 p.m. the House suspend the Standing Orders and discuss the motion, which urged—

That this Dail, being responsible for the government of the country, hereby proclaims the necessity for an immediate truce, to last not less than 14 days, to restore peace and save the country from economic disaster, and hereby appoint the Commander-in-Chief, the Minister for Education, Mr. Johnson, and Mr. Fitzgibbon to negotiate the terms of the Truce."

In proposing the resolution Dr. McCartan said he noticed one of the Ministers was smiling. What was the alternative? Peace was essential, and he believed it was better to deal with Irishmen by methods such as these than by threatening them with execution.

The Speaker said there was no necessity for a motion to raise the matter.

Dr. McCartan—I am satisfied so long as the matter can be discussed.

Mr. Blythe—I think the mover has no power to bring up a motion of this kind under the Standing Orders.

Dr. McCartan—If you read the Standing Orders you will see there is. It is a matter for the Speaker to decide. If this in any way interferes with the military situation, and the Commander-in-Chief will say so, I will not press it; but I do not say that it will do any harm from the military point of view. I think it will do good.

The Speaker then put the question to the House whether the motion should go before the House, and, sufficient support being forthcoming, he ruled that the matter of appointing a committee to negotiate would be discussed at 7 p.m.

ANXIETY FOR PEACE

Dr. McCartan's Tribute To Government

The House then went into Committee on the Government motion relating to Military Courts, upon which this matter had been deposed of.

Dr. McCartan rose to propose his motion. To advocate peace there, he said, would be to repeat, but he asked members to think over it very seriously. He knew some men who were anxious for peace, and he submitted the Government had been anxious for peace all along. As a matter of fact, he thought that it was general knowledge that by wanting to avoid war, the Government had been responsible for war. He thought he was right in saying that the Government still wanted peace.

There were two means of securing peace—exterminating the Irregulars or negotiating with them. It was easier to negotiate with the Irregulars than it was to exterminate them, because it would not take so much time. It might be said that would be useless, as they had tried before and failed, but he as an optimist thought they should try and try again. It might end in nothing, but it was worth trying, and, as he said before, he did not think a truce would affect the military situation. But in this matter he would bow to the opinion of the Commander-in-Chief.

The Army, according to the Commander-in-Chief, was in possession of practically the entire country, and a two weeks' truce would not increase the strength of the military position of the Irregulars. The Government would not be affected in any way. It might bring peace and it might not. In any case, it was worth a trial. It would be better than putting into force the resolutions which they had just passed. It was very easy to execute men, and, though he had not been speaking to the Commander-in-Chief for some time, he was confident that he did not intend to execute men at the present moment, and that it was the last thing he would like to do. Circumstances might force the circumstances would compel him to enforce the decree they had just adopted. To avoid all that he thought they could get the men in arms against the Government to come together and thus help to bring about peace.

NO HUMILIATION

Some might consider it a humiliation for the Government to arrange a truce with those men.

President Cosgrave—No, no.

Dr. McCartan—I am glad to hear the President say'no, no. It is a good sign. Let them consider, he proceeded, that it was a humiliation for England to agree to a truce with Ireland a year ago. "They spoke of us as murderers," he said, "and the rest. We speak of the others as looters and I forget the other terms they are not at any rate very pleasant terms: However, they are our countrymen whether good or bad. They are what the language of this country has made them. And it is no humiliation if we can bring peace to this country. It is the only way you can separate the criminals from the men who are acting from the highest motives.

Continuing, Dr. McCartan said the American people in Civil War did not want to recognise the Southern States as belligerents, but they had to in the end and they were the best of friends afterwards. If they could settle the trouble in this country amicably so much the better. There was bitterness enough in the country, and if it could be stopped now he thought it could prevent things from becoming worse. Everyone would agree that peace was an urgent matter. The Minister for Defence had told them that things had happened which threatened the economic prosperity of the country. The question was to bring an end to that was by negotiation. As soon as a truce came into operation the work of reconstruction would begin at once, and once the order to cease fire was given, he hoped, and he was inclined to be confident that it would be the last shot to be fired by one Irishman against another.

In dealing with Irishmen they could always deal with them better in a friendly spirit when by threatening or bullying them. The Aberdeens, the Birrells that gave them plenty of sympathy and palaver, were successful more or less. It was the men who spoke of the sword and the prison who were the failures. He thought if they spoke to those men opposed to them along patriotic lines, the men, the men who counted and who were just as patriotic as any men in the Dail, the possibility of peace would be greater.

LABOUR'S SUPPORT

The Time For Negotiation Now Ripe

Mr. Nicholas Phelan (Labour), Waterford, supported the resolution, and said the Dail should take into consideration the fact that they were not fighting the common enemy. A truce would not show weakness on the part of the Government, but it would show that the Government was always the most generous. It would show, too, that the Government were not closing the door to peace, and it would be a good way of preventing the resolutions they had just passed from coming into force. If they failed—if those other people were going to be unreasonable, then the Government would have the full support of the House and the country. It was the last offer, because the previous offer was made at the second Dail by one political party, whereas the present Dail represented every interest in Ireland. With this offer the peace negotiations would be open, and if they failed they would know who caused the failure.

Mr. Gaffney (Labour) also supported the resolution. He believed the time was ripe for negotiation. There was every possible chance of a settlement being effected. There was a longing for peace deep in the hearts of every Irishman. The men who were out at present trying to work against the Government should lay down their arms and submit to the will of the people. If they did so they would be treated as friends.

THE PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

The President said the real weakness was that no terms had been given. They were anxious to get peace, but, so far as he could see, there was no one in the House authorised to speak for the other side and give terms. It would be admitted if, for example, the House were willing to send out a peace delegation, who were the responsible parties on the other side to treat with them? Then, what were the terms on which they were going to treat? The House was entitled to make peace, and the Government would not stand in the way of any attempt to make peace, but they were not entitled to make peace in the same way as after the elections. At that time he said that if he were elected to the Dail, and he had any responsibility in the Government, he was going to do away with the dual Government, to have one army to suppress disorder in the country from top to bottom. The policy on which the Government was engaged at present was that policy—if possible, to make peace—they were anxious to do it, but he was not authorised by the people to go back one inch.

They must have obedience to Parliament and control of arms in the country. If the terms were wrong, too hard and exacting, if they thought other terms would succeed in restoring order, he was willing as far as he was concerned, he would give any other member any opportunity. Personally he believed they could only have peace on those terms. As regards the truce, they had had the truce of which Dr. McCartan spoke—there was a false peace of six months, and members knew that they had an armed truce, and that it was broken. There was, in his opinion, and he hoped he was not wrong, only one course.

BASIS OF PEACE

Respect For The Will Of Majority Of People

If they were determined to make peace, it could only be on the fundamental basis of the Constitution. There must be respect paid to the majority of the people's will.

If there were members of the House who thought they were in a position to make peace and restore order—in God's name, let them start afoot it; at once, but there was no use in bringing forward proposals there unless they had authority behind it on the part of those at present in arms against the Government.

They had heard of the statement that some of these men said they were beaten, and they had added, "But, my God, if we had won." But supposing they wiped out the National Army, would they get support if there was an election? They believed yes. He (the President) believed not, and whilst the Government was most anxious and was not willing to humiliate them, they appreciated the fact that while there were some brave men who fought well in the late war whom they would be glad to welcome back there were others not worthy of being prisoners. They regretted the fact. If they could be shown that they were on the wrong side, and were prepared to retrace, the Government would certainly not stand in the way. That was the real intention of Government policy (cheers).

Mr. Johnson said he would like to say how much he appreciated the speech of the President. He agreed with every word of it. What was wanted, peace, could only be arrived at by a recognition of the position created by the Treaty. The Treaty position must be allowed to be worked. It did not mean that every individual in revolt against the Treaty must formally accept it, but they must relinquish the claim to resist under arms. That they subscribed to absolutely. Let it be understood by those in arms against the elected Government of the country that there was now a chance to abide by the decision of the country. He thought the steps before the resolution passed that day ought to be allowed to remain in abeyance to allow peace to come into effect. He did not know if a truce was going to be made. The present position was a strong one. There was no one as far as he knew, who could speak for the Republican forces.

That might lead to a possible form of negotiation. He hoped various sections of the House would express views on this matter, and if anything arose out of this motion they would be all sincerely thankful for the occasion that it had afforded.

A DEFENSIVE WAR

Mr. Kevin O'Higgins (Minister of Home Affairs) said in one respect the Government was in an unfortunate position. They had absolutely nothing to give away. The things they were fighting for were so sacred and fundamental that they could not surrender or compromise on one jot or tittle of them. It would be better if they had something to bargain on, and they had not. Not to take arms against the Parliament elected by the people of the Government for the time being responsible thereto; not to interfere unlawfully with the person or property of their fellow-countrymen—were those things that it was the role of a Government to compromise on? Assuredly not, and yet they stood in favour of them, and the men who stood against them challenged all that. They were not fighting an offensive, but a defensive, war, a war for the elementary, fundamental rights of the Irish people, and they did not want any truce. They wanted peace, and the way to peace was for the people who were fighting the Government's army to stop fighting that army. They must think straight or go down in confusion, and who was the man who was going to lead them back along the paths of peace? Who was the man who was going to say: "You must bow to the majority or the majority will in your country. You can keep your own political opinions and principles, but you can't stand with your gun in the path of the majority of your fellow-citizens, or you must not do this and that?" Was it the man who a few months ago preached that the people had no right to go wrong, and that he was the judge, he and his select body of officers? And yet they must have peace, and if it were not the man, then who was he? And if there was no such man, then they must go along and finish this thing, or go down trying, as it was their clear duty as a Government (cheers).

HAND TO PLOUGH

Prof. Thrift (T.C.D.) said those who had spoken had shown a sense of real responsibility. He realised he spoke with great responsibility, but he thought anyone who had a suggestion to make should not shrink from making it. They all desired peace and realised from the way in which the President expressed his desire for peace, that the Government, having put their hand to the plough, could not and would not draw back. He did not—and he felt sure the Government did not—want, even though these misguided men had done, and were doing, grievous injury to their country, no one wanted revenge. They would rather, if they could, find some common ground to bring them there together, and their different grievances there in peace and quiet. He ventured to make this suggestion that the Government should realise they were placed, for the first time perhaps, in a stronger position with that Dail behind them, and that they should offer, with the strength of that position up to a certain date, political amnesty, and express at the same time that if that political amnesty were not taken advantage of, that after that date they were determined to make use to the fullest of the fresh weapons with which that House had provided them.

Mr. Ernest Blythe (Minister for L.G.), said anybody at all who was in touch with the realities of the situation must realise that anything in the nature of a truce or any negotiation that would involve a truce would have the most undesirable result. In asking for the power the Government had got that day for the Army, it did not ask for powers to inflict punishment, but for powers to take certain steps with a view to achieving results.

NO DESIRE TO PUNISH

There was no desire that any of these men should be punished once hostilities were at an end and the resistance to the Government was broken down finally. It was in that spirit that the Government would meet any proposal for peace. They had no desire to punish these men, if they would give allegiance to the Government and to the Parliament. They would be met as generously as anybody could suggest, but the generosity could begin only when the resistance to the Government ceased. Their military efforts against those men could not be slackened until these military efforts had succeeded. If anybody were to come there with any message, if Dr. McCartan were to come with any message from them—the proposal contained in that resolution would not be dealt with in any harsh or unbending spirit, but whatever it might be, the Government would have to hold that it was failing in its duty, if even with such it slackened in the work that it had in hand. It was very doubtful, indeed, whether there was anybody on the other side to send that message. The most prominent military leaders like Lynch and Barry were not honourable men. The political leaders, he thought, had not the power to give any message, so that from that angle there did not seem to be much hope. The hope of peace, he thought, must come in a recognition on the part of the others that the Government was determined to carry through the military operations to absolute success, but at the same time the Government was prepared to extend complete forgiveness with the fullest generosity to anybody who ceased his resistance and accepted the fact that the Government and rule in this country, and that the authority of that House must not be challenged in arms (cheers).

NOTE OF OPTIMISM

"Must Be Given A Ladder To Climb Down"

Dr. McCartan said he proposed the truce for the reason which the President had given, that they had nobody to negotiate with. He wanted to get somebody from the other side. The real point about the truce was that there must be leaders somewhere or other of the men in opposition to the Government. Let them allow them to come together and discuss the situation. The situation was entirely different now from what it was when the Four Courts were attacked. He still believed that if they got the opportunity to come together that peace would be possible, and he thought that the only way for an immediate peace was a truce. They were dealing with Irishmen. They must give them a ladder to climb down. The Minister of Home Affairs might have nothing to give. They could give them a ladder to climb down, and he thought if they did give it to them there was hope that they would climb down it, and they should make it as little difficult as possible for them to climb down it.

He asked them to make it as easy for them to climb down as possible. It would be no sign of weakness on the part of the Government to call a truce.

IF ROAD WAS MADE EASY?

Mr. de Roiste (Cork) associated himself somewhat with the plea of Dr. McCartan. He had no authority to speak for any section of those in arms against the Dail, but quite recently certain deputations approached him in Cork and said that if the road was made easy certain companies of the Irregulars—some companies, at all events—were prepared to recognise the Dail's authority.

Major-General McKeon said that no one in Ireland was more prepared than he to give a ladder to walk down to them were if he thought it would have the desired effect. But if they acquiesced in the motion it would simply mean that they would be fooled, as an attempt had been made to fool him in the West, that instead of giving them a ladder to climb down they would be giving them an opportunity of strengthening their military position (hear, hear). A delegation waited on him and asked him to arrange a truce between the opposing forces in the West, the idea underlying the thing being that he would agree to a three days' truce to settle their differences; but the real idea underlying it was that during the three days a ship would reach Sligo carrying sufficient arms, and if carefully handled these people might be in a position not only to negotiate terms with him but perhaps to dictate them. That would be the ladder.

Mr. Gorey (Carlow and Kilkenny)—A ladder of rifles.

Major-General McKeon said if there was to be peace there was only one basis for it, and that was that every soldier in the nation must be submissive not to any set of men as a government but to the will of the majority of the Irish people (applause). He recognised one Government only, and that was the will of the majority of the Irish people. If those people wanted peace or a truce they should be prepared to abide by that. The people had a right to elect any Government they liked, and that Government should be obeyed.

The House adjourned until 3 o'clock to-day.

"Irish Independent"
6-9-22.

THE NEW PRESIDENT

VIEWS OF DR. McCARTAN, T.D.

To the Editor "Irish Independent."

Sir—There is great danger at present of thinking entirely in terms of party rather than in terms of the nation. The danger is increased by the fact that the Dail on Saturday next will have to elect a new Executive. The test may be whether or not this or that individual has been a "staunch" party man. As a rule a man with an opinion that is not entirely orthodox is not a "staunch" man and hence he is to be excluded, if not, indeed, driven into opposition.

The members of the Dail should put the interests of the nation above the interests of party. The most important function they shall have at the coming session is the selection of a President or Prime Minister, and it is a function that should receive earnest consideration.

The obvious selections would have been Arthur Griffith or Michael Collins, but these two great men are gone, and nobody is left with the qualities of leadership which Collins undoubtedly possessed. However we cannot wait until God sends us an angel or angels to lead us, but we should select the best of those we have left for this important position.

A NAME MENTIONED.

The best, to my mind, is Prof. John MacNeill. He is not one of those who pushes himself forward, and hence may be passed over. That is why I claim space to draw some attention to the matter, so that the members may not be rushed to a hasty selection.

We know MacNeill as a political thinker in a big way. He is at least the equal of Arthur Griffith in this respect, and that is saying a good deal. Those who read his wonderful articles in the "Irish Volunteer" will be able to appreciate MacNeill as a political thinker at his true value. Perhaps there are others just as good, but they are unknown quantities for the present, and this is not the time to experiment.

GOVERNMENT'S HEAVY TASK.

Griffith had made his reputation by his writings: Collins by his deeds. Both were well known to the Irish people as a whole. The only man left who is known in the same way is Prof. MacNeill. He will immediately command the confidence of the general public for the Government if he is made its head.

A Government has, at the moment, a difficult task, and it will require all the confidence from the people that it can hope for. The maximum can be secured in advance by the election of Prof. John MacNeill as President.

PATRICK McCARTAN, T.D.

Sept. 5, 1922.

[We do not care to take the responsibility of denying space to Dr. M'Cartan's views, but we think that the public Press is hardly a suitable place for a general discussion (or controversy) as to the merits or demerits of certain public men for this post or that in the new Irish Government. Dr. M'Cartan's letter may set T.D.'s thinking, but we trust in this matter views will be reserved till the Dail meeting.—Ed. "I.I."]

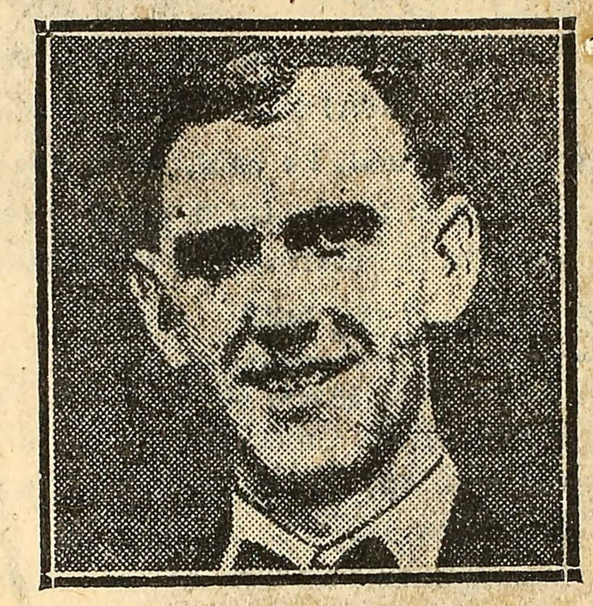
"Irish Independent"
19-9-22.

"INSULT TO THE DAIL"

DR. MacCARTAN'S CRITICISM

Dr. MacCartan referred to three draft Constitutions of previous Dails. They had, however, only one draft submitted to them. Where were the others? Was that Mr. Churchill's draft which they must swallow unless in such details as changing the number of buttons on Dick Mulcahy's coat or on the uniforms of the Civic Guard? In other words, were they only play-acting?

"The British Government," asserted Dr. MacCartan, "has got the Government here that it wants, and it is the Government that will do the bidding of Mr. Churchill." There were certain essential points in that Constitution which they



Dr. P. M'Cartan.

were told they must adopt, but in doing so many of them would be voting against their consciences, as was done elsewhere.

POWERS OF DAIL.

"If they did not they would be excluded from the Machine or else the Machine would walk over them. He was one who did not care about the Machine. He did not want a job and could speak plainly.

"It is a farce for us to go into this Constitution," he declared, "unless we can change every line of it."

In conclusion he submitted that to say there were certain clauses they must accept was an insult to that Dail, and he hoped the Dail would regard it as an insult.

RELATIONS OF I.R.B. AND CLAN-na-GAEL.

In a joint letter to the press Dr. MacCartan, T.D; Mr. P.S. O'Hegarty, and Mr. DenisMcCullogh reply to what they describe as the"many misstatements" contained in the official communique commenting on the letter from the late Mr. Boland to Mr. Sean T. O'Kelly, which was found in the latter's possession at the time of his arrest.

"If," they sya, "Mr. McGarrity has agreed, as stated to help the Irregulars in the present civil war, we disagree with his action and we regret it. We regret even more deeply that the writer of the communique referred to should have made utterly unjustifiable attacks on Mr. McGarrity and his associates in the Clan-na-Gael.

It is not true to say that Mr. McGarrity was expelled from the Clan-na-Gael. When Mr. H. Boland went to America he was chairman of the Supreme Council of the I.R.B., and his severance of the connection between the home organization and that wing of the Clan-na-Gael which supported John Devoy and Judge Cohalan was based on the fact that that wing, led by Devoy and Cohalan, obstructed the work of President de Valera and of the Dail Eireann official mission to America.

This severance was concurred in and sanctioned by the Supreme Council of the I.R.B. here, and Mr. McGarrity was asked to reorganize the wing ofnthe organization which accepted the policy of the home organization, and worked in harmony with the President and the Dail official mission.

That organization, which the communique represents as an authorised one, is therefore the only really authorised Clan-na-Gael in America.

These are the facts.

For the rest, we desire to say that there is no more patriotic, or more straightforward, or more hard-working Irishman, either in Ireland or America, than Mr. McGarrity, and we can say the same of Mr. Luke Dillon whose name has also been mentioned in the communique referred to".

FURTHER OFFICIAL STATEMENT.

DAIL EIREANN PUBLICITY DEPARTMENT, COMMENTING ON THE ABOVE LETTER, SAYS:-

"We issued for publication a letter signed by Mr. Boland, in which certain statements were made with regard to the association of Mr. Joe McGarrity, and Dr. Luke Dillon with the Irregular campaign, and their use of the body known as the "reorganized Clan-na-Gael" for that purpose. If the statements in Mr. Boland's letter were untrue or mis-leading, we shall be pleased to receive a contradiction or explanation from those gentlemen."

SEQUEL TO THE ARREST OF Mr. SEAN T. O'KELLY, T.D.

It was reported in Dublin yesterday that Mr. Art O'Brien had been arrested in a well-known city hotel. The manager of the hotel, however, knew nothing of the supposed arrest. Inquiries in other quarters failed to elicit any confirmation of it.

It will be remembered that amongst the documents found on Mr. S.T. O'Kelly, T.D., recently arrested, was one purporting to be written by Earnan O'Maille, asking him to get from Art O'Brien a list of prominent Free Staters or pals of Michael Collins, who were at present out of London, and also a complete list of his former pals.

Extract from "Freeman's Journal" August 3rd. 1922.

THE CLAN NA GAEL.

POSITION OF MR McGARRITY.

To the Editor "Irish Independent".

Sir-In to-day's issue of your paper appears an official communique commenting on a letter from Mr H.Boland to Mr S.T. O'kelly which contains so many misstatements that we must ask the courtesy of your columns to reply briefly to it.

If Mr McGarrity has agreed, as stated, to help the irregulars in the present civil war, we disagree with his action and we regret it. We regret it even more deeply that the writer of the communique referred to should have made utterly unjustifiable attacks of Mr McGarrity and his associates in the Clan na Gael.

It is not true to say that Mr McGarrity was expelled from the Clan na Gael. When Mr H.Boland went to America he was Chairman of the Supreme Council of the I.R.B. and his severance of the connection between the home organisation and that wing of the Clan na Gael which supported John Devoy and Judge Cohalan was based on the fact that that wing, led by Devoy and Cohalan, obstructed the work of President de Valera and of the Dail Eireann official mission to America.

This severance was concurred in and sanctioned by the Supreme Council of the I.R.B., here, and Mr.McGarrity was asked to reorganise that wing of the organisation which accepted the policy of the home organisation and worked in harmony with the President and the Dail official mission,

That organisation, which the communique represents as an authorised one, is therefore the only really authorised Clan na Gael in America.

These are the facts.

For the rest, we desire to say that there is no more patriotic, or more straightforward, or more hard-working Irishman either in Ireland or America, than Mr McGarrity, and we can say the same of Mr Luke Dillon, whose name has also been mentioned in the communique referred to.

PATRICK McCARTAN, T.D.
P.S. O'HEGARTY.
DONNGHADH MAC CON ULADH.
(Denis McCullough).

Dublin, August 1,1922.

PUBLICITY DEPARTMENT'S REPLY.

Dail Eireann Publicity Department, commenting on the above letter, says:-

"We issued for publiciation a letter signed by Mr.Boland, in which certain statements were made with regard to the association of mr.Joe McGarrity and Dr.Luke Dillon with the irregular campaign, and their use of the body known as the 'reorganised Clan-na-Gael' for that purpose. If the statements in Mr.Boland's letter were untrue or misleading, we shall be pleased to receive a contradiction or explanation from those gentlemen."

the Irregulars, recently the I.R.B. was denounced a[illegible] secret organisation condemned countless times by th[illegible] Catholic Bishops.

"Meanwhile the leaders of the irregulars are actively engaged in enlisting the support of the Clan na Gael, also a secret society, in order to impose their will on the Irish People.

"As the Clan na Gael has proclaimed itself indefinitely opposed to the policy of the irregulars, it should be explained that the Clan referred to in this document is a small body which has broken off from the organisation.

"Mr. Joe McGarrity was, in fact, expelled some time ago from the Brotherhood. The money and arms which it is proposed to misappropriate were contributed and paid for by men who wished them to be used in the service of the Irish People, not to subjugate them to a military dictatorship.

(Document B.) - The request for the list of names contained in the second paragraph of this letter may be considered to bear a very sinister interpretation."

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Criticisms by Dr McCartan & others.

1

MR. HARRY BOLAND.

DOCUMENTS FOUND.

on Mr. Sean T. O'Kelly, T.D.

Publicity Department issues the following:-

"July 31, 1922.

"The following are two of the documents recently found in the house of Mr. Sean T. O'Kelly:-

"To Sean T. O'Kelly:-

"A Chara - I have a letter from Joe McGarrity, dated New York, July 5th, in which Joe asks that a man be sent to the Clan Convention which takes place on August 7th next. I have asked Austin Stack to send in the letter to you. You will find that Joe and Luke - therefore the Clan is solidly with us in this fight.

"I need not point you to you how important it is to have a representative from Ireland present at the Convention. Could you make this trip ?. If so you would have to leave Dublin to-night, have your pass-port vised in Dublin and make one of the Trans-Atlantic fast liners from Liverpool or Southampton on Saturday next. You could return within a month to Ireland if you so desired.

" I asked Joe some time ago to postpone the Convention originally fixed for July 1st. My request has been acceded to, and it is imperative to have some one go at once.

"This fight is likely to be long drawn out, and we shall require money and material. Joe promises full support of Clan. You could bring back with you all available money, and arrange with the Clan to supply Thompsons, revolvers, 303, 450, etc.

" You could also organize a campaign in U.S.A. Your name and record will stand to you over there. I cannot imagine another man for the job, and trust you will see your way to go.

" Joe's letter only reached me last night via Cork. De Valera read it en route, and added a note saying that, "some one must go". If you could make an A.P. with me we could talk matters over. Come up to Richmond Av. before 6 p.m.

(Signed) H.B. (Harry Boland).

B.

"25.7.22.

"To Sean T. - Will you please give me an outline as to how your courier system is run, as I want to put the various departments in touch with the country. If you have any weekly departure times I would like to have it, so that despatches could be ready when courier is leaving.

" Mick Collins is using some of his former associates for intelligence work in Dublin. Will you get from Art O'Brien a list of the prominent Free Staters or pals of Mick's who are at present out of London, and also a complete list of Mick's former pals there, as he may be utilising some of them. This is urgent.

(signed) Earnan O Maille, A.A.C.S.

DOCUMENT A.

The person referred to as Luke is Mr. Luke Dillon, prominent in the Clan na Gael. The writer Mr. Harry Boland, when in America, solemnly excommunicated the Clan from the parent I.R.B. on the ground that that organization, unlike the I.R.B. was run in the interest of certain individuals to the detriment of Ireland.

"Yet now it is proposed to make use of it for the purpose of waging war on the Irish People. In the official organ of

The following is an extract from the Republican Propaganda Sheet "The Fenian" No: 81 dated October 13th. 1922.

"That cod journal "The Separtist" has passed painlessly away. Our exposure of what it really was prevented it serving any further useful purpose. So it has died. Readers will remember that it was started by Dr. MacCartan and P.S. O'Hegarty, under orders, to gull the public into thinking, when the Treaty was signed, that the Real Blood-and-bones fighters like O'Hegarty were in favour of the Teeaty as a sure stepping stone to the Republic. O'Hegarty has since got his reward in the P.O. Secretaryship. MacCartan has expressed his disgust with the Treaty. The public eyes are opened. So the "Separtist" died."

The following extracts from (1) A Summary of the General Situation and (2) the "Fenian" (Republican Propaganda Sheet), throw an interesting and clear reflection on the attitude of Dr. Patk. McCartan.

(1) "Although the Provisional Government has officially denied that any peace negotiations are or have taken place with De Valera there seems reason to believe that a party exists in the Dail who are endeavouring to bring this about. Dr. McCartan, the editor of the "Separatist", brought forward the following motion in the Dail on the 28th. inst.

"That this Dail, being responsible for the government of the country, hereby proclaims the necessity of an immediate truce, to last not less than fourteen days, with the view of the restoration of peace to save the country from economic disaster; and we hereby appoint the Commander-in-Chief, the Minister of Education, Deputy Johnson, and Deputy Fitzgibbon to negotiate terms of truce."

This motion was supported by labour and discussion is not yet finished. There seems, however, every likelihood of its defeat. The fact that Dr. McCartan has taken upon himself the role of negotiator between the Provisional Government and the rebels, and has the support of labour, is in accordance with his secret dealings with revolutionary labour and his republican views which have been known to us for some time. This man, although standing as a Pro-Treaty Deputy, is one of those whose policy is the complete separation of Ireland from the British Empire and the setting up of a Republic. How far his ideas of a republic, run on soviet principles, it is difficult to say at present but he is known to be in close communication with Bolshevic representatives."(Ext. G.H.Q. Weekly Intelligence Summary No: 208 for period ending 29-9-22. IX/1523).

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(2) "In the Kildare Street Debating Club the Slave State "Government" sang its swan song yesterday when it moved its death penalty resolutions. One debater there had sufficient wisdom to see what will happen and sufficient bluntness to blurt out the truth about the "Free State" farce. It was Mr. MacCartan who said:- "If, as the Slave State's own Courts said, s state ofwar existed, those using the ordinary implements of war and fighting a true fight as soldiers they should not be executed. "He did not agree with the Irregulars but..... the Government would never change them by executing them. It would only help to drive them on, and they would never frighten any Irishman with a threat of execution. As sure as they executed ONE "irregular" their "Free State" was gone. You will "said the speaker turn the people against you as did the British after the executions of Easter Week. I am not very much in favour of the Free State. I would not give that (snapping his fingers) if it were gone to-morrow. IT IS A SHAME TO SAY THAT WHAT WE HAVE GOT IS LIBERTY - IT IS A SHAME TO SAY THAT PARTITION IS LIBERTY. THERE IS NO FREEDOM IN IT AND WE ARE NOT FREE. THE FIGHT WILL HAVE TO GO ON IN FUTURE FOR A REPUBLIC AND THE FIGHT FOR A UNITED IRELAND WILL HAVE TO TAKE PLACE". (Ext. "The Fenian" No: 67 d/28-9-22).

Extract from the Republican Propaganda Sheet, "The Fenian" No: 63 dated 29-9-22.

SLAVE STATE DEUPTY ACKNOWLEDGES SLAVE STATERS ARE REBELS.

"In the Kildare Street Debating Club yesterday Dr. MacCartan said: "The backbone of the men opposed to us were volunteer soldiers of the Republic. WE are the REBELS. THEY are the PATRIOTS. I voted for the Republic. I SWALLOWED MY OATH AND EVERY ONE WHO VOTED FOR THE TREATY SWALLOWED HIS OATH."

Castle File No. 2573.

PA. 102313/1 8/7/21

McCARTAN. Patrick. Dr. Gortin, Co. Tyrone.

Age about 35. (1921).

Medical Doctor.

Elected S.F. M.P. for Queens and Kings Counties, May, 1921.

Member I.R.B.

Chief Sinn Fein Representative in U.S.A.

Son of Bernard McCARTAN, farmer, Eskerboy, Co. Tyrone.

Voted for Treaty on Sat 7-1-22.

Went to America at an early age and was there in touch with Clan-na-Gael Leaders, especially Joseph McGARRITY, also a native of Tyrone.
It is believed he got funds from McGarrity which helped him through his Medical course when he returned to Ireland.

Is an American Citizen according to his own account.

While a Medical Student in Dublin, took part in I.R.B. work, and associated with all the Dublin suspects.

Supported the Sinn Fein Policy when it first started.

Known to have attended I.R.B. Meetings in Co. Tyrone.

Came into touch with Sir Robert Casement early in the Irish Volunteer Movement.

Took an active part in organising the Irish Vilonteers in Co. Tyrone 1914, 1915, and 1916 up to the Rebellion.

Went on a short visit to America in the Autumn of 1914, and delivered Pro-German Lectures there. Casement was also there at the time.

Came to Dublin 21-4-16 and probably got instructions for a rising of the Irish Volunteers in Co.Tyrone, which he apparently tried to effect, but failed.

Escaped after the Rebellion, and did not turn up till January 1917.

Arrested February 1917 and deported to England by order of the G.O.C. in Chief.

Left his place of Detention in England, May 1917.

According to American papers he was in the U.S. in July 1917, and a letter appeared from him in the New York "Evening Post" that month, and was re-printed in the "Ulster Herald" 16-8-17.

Arrested in Halifax in October 1917 en route for the Continent under false name and papers on board s.s."Maumee" bound for Rotterdam.

continued./