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M.12

Mulcahy Richard.

Castle File No.93.

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M.12.

M U L C A H Y, Richard.

THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF

General Mulcahy Gives Inspiring Slogan to Oglaigh na h-Eireann

The development, the strength, the advancing greatness of the nation, can only be the development, the strength, the growing greatness of its individual people — can be their work alone — a measure simply of their industry, their discipline, their enthusiasm, their greatness of character their constructive capacity.

The ARMY is but the yeast among the people.

The spirit and power of Defence must be found in the hearts and character of the people.

The ARMY is but the essence of that spirit and that power

BUT — Be ye that yeast:

Be that essence!

Richard Mulcahy

'INDEPENDENT.' 17-10-'21.

SPIRITUAL LIFE OF IRELAND

PLEA FOR DEVELOPMENT

MR. MULCAHY, T.D., ON NATIONAL DUTY

Mr. R. J. Mulcahy, T.D., Chief of Staff, I.R.A., made a strong plea for the spiritual development of Ireland and the growth of a sense of national responsibility, in the Abbey Theatre last night.

The occasion was the production of "The Revolutionist," by the late Ald. T. MacSwiney, Lord Mayor of Cork, in aid of the Irish Republican Prisoners' Dependents Fund, and Mr. Mulcahy regretted that there had, so far, been no interpretation of Terence MacSwiney's work.

THE NEED OF IRELAND

Before the performance Mr. Mulcahy, addressing a crowded house, said that the words Terence MacSwiney wrote in his play, when seen in the light of the gestures he had made before the people within the last few years, were much more striking and would convey a greater message than any interpretation of his. There had been no interpretation of Terry, of his work and of the position which he occupied in the life of the country for the last 3 or 4 years that had been in any way satisfactory.

"It seems to me," he proceeded, "that we have been deserted at the present time, and all through the fight put up in the country, by our poets and by our literary people."

MAGNITUDE OF STRUGGLE.

The young men of Ireland had risen up and had gone through a struggle the magnitude of which the people, or they themselves, did not yet understand; or that they had not yet been able to realise. They had gone through that struggle without any inspiration from the pen of any living Irishman. That was a thing which should not be. In Terry's particular case it seemed to him that in order to get a proper interpretation of his life, they would want some sister of his, who perhaps at the age of 7 or 8 years had made a hero of her brother of 10 or 11; that would give them some pictures of his life, and portray to them the humanity, the gentleness, and the tenderness that were always in him.

Terence MacSwiney gave his life to show that when there was work at hand to do for Ireland, that the people should do it in such a manner as to show that nothing any enemy could do amongst them could take it away from them.

The interpretation of Terry's life and work was absolutely important at the present time, and he made an appeal for that to whoever in Ireland was able to do it.

"Terry," he declared, "was our arch-soldier, because he was our arch-citizen, and it was as our arch-citizen he laid down his life. He laid down his life because he would not be debarred from carrying out those duties of citizenship which he believed a good citizen should carry out."

"We in Ireland are on the threshold of big things—whether they are big things of peace or big things of war—and unless we face the future with the realisation that every one of us has certain duties in it, we are not going to win in the future."

The few men doing great things could be undermined if the people of Ireland did not realise that these great things are to be done, and if the people of Ireland as a whole do not make themselves one in the work and in the outlook of these people.

The responsibility taken by Terence MacSwiney was the responsibility of every person in Ireland. And in seeking for the interpretation of his life at the hands of some people capable of doing so, it was for the purpose of urging upon each unit of the nation that certain responsibilities lay upon them. They must be prepared for these responsibilities, and

it was only by hard work and concentration and getting to some extent away from the physical side of life, and developing the spiritual side, that they could hope to make themselves suitable instruments for taking up their responsibilities.

NATIONAL NEGLECT.

It seemed to him that it was due to that neglect that the national movement and the national surge that there was in Ireland at the present time was a physical one. The physical side of Ireland had been crystallised by the army, and in this he classed not only the life of the army, but all their political life, which had a physical rather than a spiritual tinge.

That could not last any longer, or stand the strain as such, until someone came along and did for the nation what Terence MacSwiney had done for himself.

He showed the spirit in which work should be carried out. MacSwiney in his struggle and in his thinking and studying for 17 years before he came into public life, so cleared his mind of unessentials that he knew at once what to do, whether it was an army or a civil decision, or a decision of life or death, such as his Brixton decision was.

In the same way they might develop the physical and social structure of the nation, but they would not know what to do in the direction of its economic, intellectual, or artistic life, except they had somebody to organise them spiritually, just as the army was organising the country physically and materially.

(CONTINUED TOP OF NEXT COLUMN.)

Speeches on Ratification
by
MULCAHY. Richard.

'INDEPENDENT'
23-12-'21.

NO ALTERNATIVE

MR. R. MULCAHY'S PLAIN TALK

Mr. Richard Mulcahy said one Deputy wondered whether the proceedings there were regular or not, but regular or irregular he thought there was no help for it. The speaker, who was almost inaudible to the reporters, proceeded to detail some suggestions that had been made to the proceedings. It was proposed that those who were the responsible people and the masters of them should meet and select a small group which would be set up as a liaison body to buck up the people on both sides as an example and give guidance to them as to the way some general co-operation could be agreed on. Then, if such a plan could not be carried out to hold the reins of the situation, another suggestion was that the rank and file should come together and discuss the situation. There was no support for that proposition. There was opposition on both sides.

Speaking in a rather more audible voice, **the speaker said what they were looking for was not argument but alternatives.**

None of them wanted this Treaty; none of them wanted a representative of the Crown; none of them wanted any harbours to be occupied by enemy forces; none of them wanted what was said to be partition. They did not want argument against any of these things, but they wanted alternatives—a road open to them that would show them how they could avoid them. The only alternative before them was that put forward by the President.

Mr. R. Mulcahy.

The alternative had not been treated fairly on the side who were for the Treaty. He had to admit that. But he also had to admit that on the Presidential side it had not been treated fairly.

The speaker again became rather inaudible, but was understood to say that the intellect on the Presidential side should have been used in pointing out to them what road led from the alternative, and what objections could be offered. A similar course should have been taken on the other side. The objections should have been put before them considering the momentous circumstances of their position.

"I, personally" said Mr. Mulcahy, raising his voice, "see no alternative to the acceptance of this Treaty. I see no solid spot of ground on which the Irish people can put its political feet but on the Treaty.

PEOPLE HAVE CONTROL.

"We are told that the alternative to the acceptance of the Treaty is war. I don't know whether it is or not. I may say that whether you have political chaos with war, or without war, personally I would sooner at the present moment in Ireland go into political chaos with war than without war". (hear, hear)

None of them, he continued, wanted a king. Personally, he did not want to meet an English king until he had had a couple of days of fresh air after all the things put before them in that assembly. He could realise the difficulties of these people who could put their finger on documents and show that in Ireland all powers, executive and otherwise, came from the King, and those that would be created under this Treaty would come from the King.

Executive power and control, possession of the resources of this country, lay in the people (hear, hear).

The 17th, 18th, and 19th Clauses, as far as they could hear, had brought them constitutional usage and practice, and he took it that the arrangement was that when the people took away from the power of princes they consented to let these princes down lightly.

SOVEREIGN RIGHTS.

All these customs had provided them with constitutional usages and faculties, and if executive power and control in Ireland at the present moment came from the King he thought it would not be very long, under whatever arrangement was established in Ireland, Treaty or otherwise, until the Irish people showed, both for the benefit of themselves and perhaps for the benefit of others, that sovereign rights in this country lie in their power, and that the sovereign rights in every other country would do the same.

With his understanding letting him know that he could see no other road to go but the road of the Treaty, with the appreciation that it definitely secured to Ireland a Parliament with full executive powers, an executive in Ireland responsible to that Parliament, he was not afraid of the influence of the King, or the influence he could exert through some supposedly corrupt representative.

He was not afraid of that power interfering with the power of the Irish people, because they would have a Parliament with full control of legislation, order and peace, its own internal life and the resources of the country, with an Executive responsible to that Parliament.

VISUALISING THE COST.

He did not see where, or in what way, pernicious to the Irish people, the King or his representative could interfere with them.

As to the ports they were not in a position to choose, either militarily or otherwise, whether they would drive the enemy from the ports, because those responsible for doing these things had not been able to drive the enemy from anything more than a fairly good sized police barrack. They had not that power.

He doubted if anyone in that Assembly who visualised the necessity for external defence, for coastal defence, visualised the financial aspect of those things.

When they established a police force to do the internal work of the country, and such internal defence force as was necessary, then their intelligence might come to the point from which they could decide on what their external force should be like.

THE CHANCES OF WAR

With regard to Partition he did not look upon the Clauses relating to Ulster as prejudicing the Ulster position in any way. He saw no solution of the Six County difficulty at present. On the other hand, the Treaty left the Irish people in absolute possession of their country's resources, and, in his opinion, would be in full executive control over them.

If in order to bring the Irish people to the goal they had always and those present aimed at, they were given two choices, on the one side this Treaty, and on the other a military power to contend with the enemy's power. If they were left to decide by which of these instruments they would bring Ireland's status of equality to that of their old enemy, and

if the respon bility for deciding between these two choices were placed in the hands of the particular person, he thought there would be very great searching of heart and mind and conscience before they would take the alternative of the two instruments.

CHANCE OF EQUALITY.

On one side they had the instrument of the Irish people battling on with the power of their own resources, and bringing on that basis the nation to equality with their old enemy, on the other they had war.

They had in Europe the spectacle of France and Germany striving for supremacy over each other by military force, and they saw the internal unhappiness, the waste of natural resources, the waste of human life, and the sorrow and misery and degradation it all involved. The fact that these two countries had elected to struggle with each other for supremacy involved not only those two countries, but disturbed the peace of the whole world. They had now the chance of growing to equality of status with England by taking complete control and developing their resources, or

taking the chances of war, not with adequate forces, but a very small force, sufficient to make their country to resist force for many years, but not sufficient for the carrying on of a war of internal liberation.

They had the chance now of taking control of their own resurces into their own hands with some proposal of averting those antagonisms between the two countries which they had been forced into at present.

OUT OF CONFLICT.

The alternative of the President was—and the President could correct him if he was wrong—was that they would put before the English people a statement of Ireland's claims which they would admit to be reasonable.

Mr. De Valera—I put forward that alternative as the objective we were looking for in a real peace with England. This will not bring a real peace, and that is the reason I am against it.

Mr. Mulcahy said that if they by taking one line of action that would keep themselves out of conflict and out of antagonism with the main mass of the English people did not succeed in defeating the wiles of the English politician,

how could they do it by choosing a weapon that would put on them the responsibility of killing in self-defence the Compton-Smiths of England?

NO TIME FOR QUARRELLING.

These proceedings of theirs were not actually finding a way out. Remarks had been made by Deputies in disagreement with the Treaty that would suggest that spears would be raised outside the doors of the new Irish Parliament to make for those who wished to go therein a Caudine Forks.

He doubted whether any man who had felt the bond of comradeship in their struggle and proved his use would raise his hand with such a spear.

They had, he felt, suffered defeat. Yet the hour of defeat was not in any way an hour for quarrelling as to how the defeat might be avoided.

Even in that defeat they had got for the Irish people a measure of powers which, if exercised by their people standing upon their own resources, would enable them to delve a subsistence and develop those valuable characteristics that emerged in the individual in the hard struggle of their movement (applause).

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

MR. MULCAHY'S VIEWS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE FREEMAN'S JOURNAL.

Sir—I wish to make a very emphatic protest against the unremembering and shameless imputations contained in your Leader of to-day against President de Valera, and your equally shameless references to Mr. Erskine Childers.

I protest against the manner in which you oppose my name to those of two men who have given the Nation such valuable and unstinted service.

The whole attitude of your paper in the present crisis is void of any element of helpfulness.—Beir Beannacht,

RISTEARD UA MAOLCHATHA.

Dublin, 5th January, 1922.

'IRISH TIMES' 10-1-'22.

MR. MULCAHY'S VIEW.

DAIL'S IMMEDIATE TASK.

Mr. Mulcahy pointed out that the Assembly carried on for a long time without having a President of the Irish Republic. They carried on until the re-assembly of the Dail after the election of the so-called Parliament of Southern Ireland. While he saw that the future was with those whose ideals were demanding the rejection of the Treaty those who supported it should be allowed to lay their hands on those resources put within their reach under the Treaty, and to use them to build up the Irish nation.

The vote on Saturday evening confirmed him in that opinion, and it gave him and those with him constitutional authority to go ahead to the best of their ability with Irish hands directing their resources. That Assembly was the Government of the Irish people, and it remained so until the Irish people had set up another Government. In the opinion of the majority of the people of that Assembly their immediate job was to utilise their resources, and he believed that they would be false to their realisation of that duty if they did not use the whole constitutional power of that body for the carrying out of that end. It was for that reason, however much he regretted to oppose the proposition, that he was taking that step, because otherwise it would be taking from the majority of the House the resources necessary to it and he handing them over to the minority.

Mr. Milroy expressed the view that the feeling of the public on reading this discussion would be one of sheer exasperation. They spent a number of weeks discussing a great national issue, and they decided it after exploring every vestige of the Treaty. Now they were confronted with a situation which had no other object than nullifying the decision of last Saturday. The constitutional method in a situation such as this was for the defeated party to resign and let the majority take control. (Applause.) Apparently, however, there could be no question of a Cabinet being formed by the majority of the House.

If their President stood down they would see who had the majority. They should not confuse the issue with a great and honoured personality, and try to play that personality as a trump card to defeat the Treaty. The object of the motion was to secure minority rule and defeat the sense of the House.

'INDEPENDENT' 2-2-'22.

THE IRISH ARMY

MR. MULCAHY'S ADDRESS

The Minister for Defence, addressing the men, said:—"I just want to bid you one word of welcome. The entry of this small band into possession of these buildings to-day is

an event which we cannot at present estimate the importance of.

"We are going ahead with the duties that have fallen to us, and enter on the duties of taking over these buildings in the same efficient way we have endeavoured to do all that came to us up to the present."

Continuing, he said he had to congratulate them individually that they had taken part in this work, because many of them individually had been responsible for that achievement. They had been what he might call first-trench men. These stones that they saw around them were put together as a weight both on the body and soul of Ireland, and those who occupied these buildings were a bigger weight.

The stones were symbolic of the weight the British Army had been on the minds of the Irish people, and they came there to dispel the deadly spirit in which those stones were built up and occupied.

They had a tremendous and sacred responsibility when they undertook that work. They, unfortunately, entered on it when the political atmosphere in Ireland was not as clear as they had hoped it would be. The army had worked through cloudy times, and the fact that all the clouds were not cleared away did not affect them in the least in their work.

UNDER THE OLD FLAG.

They were going ahead under the old flag, and with the old inspirations in their hearts, with the work of the Irish army.

Keeping that flag before them, they would keep before them the spirit in which it was conceived, the spirit of unity, the burning spirit of patriotism, during the fires of Easter Week.

In the same spirit in which they had guarded the ideals for which that flag stood during the last three or four vigorous years, they would still guard those ideals in the future, and whatever political clouds hung over them would not affect that great spirit of brotherhood that they had built and maintained in the army, and which had held the army for the service of Ireland in the past. That spirit would be what it had been in the past—the life and hope of the country.

TRUE IRISH INSTITUTION.

They were to-day the first standing nucleus of our army—our army advanced to another stage in its existence, a true Irish institution to build up and make for all those great things that the courage and the industry of the manhood of Ireland could create.

If they approached the future, feeling that they were the nucleus of a growing army, occupying in the Irish nation and in Irish life a position vastly different from tne conception they had of the position the British army occupied in the British life and nation;

if they looked constructively forward in that spirit, they would be protecting themselves from whatever difficulties and dangers that surrounded them now.

THE NEW ARMY CHIEF.

They had always pulled themselves out of difficulties, and in the same way they would carry themselves through dangers and difficulties which they all regretted surrounded them now. Personally, he expressed his sincerest thanks that he had been associated with them in the work done up to the present. He regretted that his duty took him away from the military headship of the army.

He was glad he was replaced by Commandant Eoin O'Duffy, who was always one of the men they had in mind to step into the command during the past few years if anything had happened. They had got a man as their chief who would have made a perfect chief in the more difficult and dangerous times past.

FOUNDED IN SERVICE.

They now entered on the routine and normal duties of soldiers, but they were not merely soldiers, they were the young men of Ireland, and soldiers because they entered the service of their country.

The Irish army was founded in service. Men entered it not as a profession. They gave up their work and professions to enter it simply to serve their country.

The Irish army, as they conceived it, would not only be an army, but would be a national service. The army would develop the spirit of comradeship and would build the nation stronger. The officers had a very heavy responsibility, and they should give them the utmost service they possibly could. because the officers represented their country.

When Mr. Mulcahy had finished the party again presented arms, and the first guards were posted.

An advance lorry arrived with the baggage of the party at the barracks.

'IRISH TIMES' 23-3-'22.

STATEMENT BY MR. MULCAHY.

Mr. Richard Mulcahy, Minister of Defence in Dail Eireann, stated last night that, if a convention of the Irish Republican Army is held on Sunday, it will be held contrary to the orders of the General Headquarters Staff, and will be sectional in character.

Spoken at D.E. Conference 26.4.22.

"Irish Times. 27.4.22.

MINISTER OF DEFENCE.

EFFECT OF THE SPLIT.

The Minister of Defence (Mr. Richard Mulcahy) stated, in the course of his report, that since the inception of the new Ministry the policy in regard to the I.R.A. had been to strengthen it in every possible way. It was arranged with the Provisional Government that all evacuated military and police barracks should be taken over by the Army for the purpose of maintenance and safeguard, the expense entailed to be charged to the Provisional Government. Volunteers were asked to undertake full-time military service for a period of eighteen months. By this means they had increased the efficiency of the forces, and, to some extent, relieved unemployment in their ranks.

The increase in the efficiency and effectiveness of the Army had been seriously interfered with by an attempt to divide the Army on the pro-Treaty and anti-Treaty question, beginning from January 11, 1922.

The Minister reviewed in detail the circumstances under which the Executive of the "irregular" forces had been set up, and read the correspondence which had passed between himself and Mr. Roderick O'Connor and others.

Dealing with the work of policing the country, which had been undertaken by the Army, Mr. Mulcahy said that the actual position was that there would be no difficulty in the policing of areas if there were no repudiation of Dail Eireann.

Two hundred and fifty R.I.C. positions had been taken, and the number of military posts occupied was approximately forty.

Arrangements were being made to initiate a scheme of compensation for loss arising out of war service to dependents of Volunteers, or in respect of disabilities arising from wounds.

Mr. Mulcahy referred to the serious economic aspect of the present destruction of property, interference with the Press, and the occupation of public and other buildings. He gave specific details of raids on Post Offices in various parts of the country, some of which occurred, he said, in Brigade areas over which Deputies in the Dail had control. Some of these activities compared with some of the activities during the recent war. Enumerating areas which had been centres of some of the activities, Mr Mulcahy said that any of these areas had not supplied seventeen effective men during the war.

Having given details of a number of outrages, the Minister said that this was going on under the Army of the Executive. Propaganda had been going on attributing militarism to the forces of the I.R.A. acting under Dail Eireann. The Irish Labour Party, in their statement some days ago, said that they had evidence of instances of inexcusable aggression on the parts of both forces. They had asked the Labour Party to produce any evidence that they held against any individual member of the regular forces. He hoped that he need not remind the Assembly that it had been protested, over and over again, that the Army had a special sphere.

Together with that propaganda, there was something being given out about the "soldier-politician." He had very clear documentary evidence at any time to show that those who were responsible for the direction of the Army at the present time acted in the best interests of the country, and purely as a soldier's, without any of the mental sleight-of-hand which was supposed to be expressed in the word politician.

"Independent" 27.4.22.

STRENGTHENING OF ARMY

MINISTER'S REVIEW

Steps to strengthen the I.R.A., as well as the attempts to divide it, were dealt with in a report by the Minister of Defence to An Dail, yesterday.

Mr. Mulcahy alluded also to the serious economic effect of raids, seizures, interference with the Press, and burning of newspapers, attributable to what are called the irregular I.R.A.

Since the inception of the new Ministry, the report stated, the policy with regard to the I.R.A. had been to strengthen it in every possible way. It was arranged with the Provisional Government that all evacuated military and police bases would be taken over by the Army for the purpose of maintenance and safeguard, the expenses entailed to be charged to the Provisional Government.

Volunteers were asked for to undertake full time military service for 18 months.

By this means, they had strengthened the efficiency of the force, and to some extent relieved unemployment amongst Volunteers. The increase in the effectiveness of the Army had been seriously interfered with by an attempt to divide the Army on the Treaty question, beginning with the 11th Jan., 1922.

POLICING AND EVACUATION.

The Minister gave a detailed account, already published, of the secession of certain G.H.Q. senior officers, beginning with the letter from Mr Rory O'Connor, and resulting in the situation now existing. There would be no difficulty in the proper policing of areas if there was no repudiation of Dail Eireann.

The evacuation of the R.I.C. had been completed, except that there were a number still awaiting demobilisation; 250 R.I.C. and 40 military posts had been taken over.

Arrangements were being made to initiate a scheme of compensation for losses arising out of war services

—dependents of Volunteers killed, disabilities arising from wounds, educational or other programmes interrupted by military service, etc.

ECONOMIC ASPECT OF RAIDS.

Dealing with the serious economic aspect of raids, destruction of property, interference with the Press, and commandeering of public and private buildings, the Minister gave statistics of raids on post offices, some of which occurred in Brigade areas over which members of the Dail were commanding officers; mentioned interferences on the G.N.R. and D.S.E.R.; the raid on the Custom House bond stores; seizure of goods in Dublin and Mullingar on large scales, including bacon from Donnelly's; and referred to the destruction of the "Freeman's Journal," and about 100,000 copies of the "Irish Independent."

These seizures, he proceeded, were attributable to what were called the Irregular I.R.A. forces. The Shell Motor Co. were so seriously interfered with, having lost over 4,000 gals. of spirit, that they threatened to close down their firm temporarily. While this was going on, under the army of the Executive, there was propaganda, attributing militarism to the forces of the I.R.A. under the Dail.

The Labour Party had attributed militarism to both sides, and he had asked the Labour Party for "any evidence they had of individual acts of aggression by any of the Dail forces and any acts that would show that the Dail forces did not recognise the sovereignty of the people."

ARMY'S SPECIAL SPHERE.

Those responsible for the direction of the Army during that time had protested over and over again that the Army had a special sphere of its own.

Together with propaganda, there was dope being given out about the soldier-politicians,

and attempts were being made to brand those responsible for the control of the Army as soldier-politicians, with a view of undermining the trust of the Army in them.

There was very clear documentary evidence available that those responsible for the direction of the Army at present acted in the best interests of the country purely as soldiers, without any of that mental sleight-of-hand supposed to be expressed in the word politician.

The Dail decided to print and circulate the report to members.

At D.E. 28-4-'22.

'Independent' 29-4-'22.

MR. MULCAHY AND WAR

WHY HE VOTED FOR TREATY

Towards the close of the discussion on the report of the Minister for Defence, **Mr. O'Rourke** appealed to the ordinary members to try to find a means of bringing about unity in the army, and suggested that a body of five independent men be appointed to inquire into the difficulties.

There was no justification for civil war.

He had spoken to members on both sides and they had given the suggestion some support. He moved that further consideration of the report be adjourned until Wednesday. **Mr. Etchingham** seconded.

Mr. Brugha favoured the suggestion that the debate be postponed in the

hope that the Army might come under a unified command between now and Wednesday.

TIES OF COMRADESHIP.

Mr. Mulcahy said the political situation, so far as it appeared to him, and the military situation had been very simple. He was not unmindful of the ties of comradeship or of the bonhomie required of them, but when the Treaty came before the people he was faced with the responsibility of deciding whether he would accept responsibility of war for the people

That responsibility was on each member of that Assembly. When that responsibility came his way he was faced with the question of preparedness for war, and when asked on behalf of the Government his opinion with regard to the Army, he gave it, and said they could do very much the same thing as they had been doing, and they could do that with greater strength and assuredness, and perhaps they could do it for a certain period.

But in such a situation it did not depend upon the Army alone; even though the Army had in it all the elements of success. It depended on the people and on the economic condition of the country.

No army in any country could enter on a new campaign without knowing what the political atmosphere was. Even an army entering upon war with elements of military success in it would not be expected to do so without being told what the general political situation was.

NOT RIGHT IN ACCEPTING WAR.

He said that the army was capable of doing a certain thing, but that as they had not the elements of military success they wanted to know on what political plane they were working. He could not be told on what political plane they would be if, by rejecting the Treaty, they found themselves in a war position.

His intelligence told him that he would not be right in accepting for the people war.

He would not be adding to the honour of his country, because he knew in his heart and mind that they had not the national strength to enter war.

He would not be adding to the honour or good of his country if he encouraged it to continue the war and for that reason he said that the Treaty should be accepted.

He did not say that it should be rammed down the throats of the people; what he said was that he would vote for it and recommend it to the people. He did vote for it, and it was for the Irish people when they got the chance to do the rest. That was the stand he took and the stand taken by other members of the headquarters staff, who knew the Army conditions—the conditions in which it worked and the strength of the various sections.

Personal attacks were, continued the Minister for Defence, made on them to undermine the confidence of the Army in their leaders and to divide the Army. They were faced at the beginning of the life of the Ministry with a demand from a section of the Army for a Convention.

He was against holding a Convention until the people had voted on the Treaty, and shown what they thought of the whole position. But it was tried to rush the Convention at a time when the atmosphere was filled with party passion, and, confronted with the prospect of a division in the army, at a time when the enemy was beginning to evacuate the country, he gave in to holding a Convention, and only was forced to go back on that position when it was made clear that if it was held it would set up a body that would prevent the Treaty going before the people.

NON-PARTY SPIRIT.

That was the pressure under which he was forced to change his attitude with regard to the Convention. He thought the justification of that step was contained in his report. That report was made in a non-party spirit, and if it had shocked the House that fact was his justification for making it.

The fact that it contained what it did was a justification of the stopping of the Convention,

because it was more than probable that the Executive which was set up at the sectional convention, and which now had its headquarters at the Four Courts, would then pose as having been set up with democratic authority.

DANGEROUS SITUATION.

He impressed on the House that they were facing a situation which might take them back into war.

The continuance of a policy such as was indicated in his report would surely bring them back into that war, and it would bring them back divided in their forces, broken in their courage, with all the prestige and the strength that came of that prestige shattered.

And if they could not face war last December they could not face war in the circumstances in which a policy like that to which he had referred would lead them some day.

Ind. 29.4.22 B.S.P. 2006

'IRISH TIMES'. 25-3-'22.

DISAFF[illegible]ION IN I.R.A.

CHIEF OF STAFF AND ULSTER ASPECT.

Asked if he had anything to say regarding Sunday's sectional Convention of the Irish Republican Army last night, the Chief of Staff said:—

"No, except as regards the Ulster aspect. I rely on the statement issued by the Minister for Defence. I consider the division in our ranks, and particularly in the Army, as giving Craig licence for his nefarious work in the North. When the rest of Ireland is thus, I regret to say, bitterly divided, attention is directed from the cruel happenings in the North, except in so far as political capital can be made out of it.

"Even in the six counties, and particularly in the border counties, strangers have been sent in to attempt to create disaffection among our troops towards their officers at a time when whole families are being mercilessly slaughtered by 'Special' assassins, and when life itself depends entirely on the amount of protection our troops can give to an outraged Catholic population. I consider such conduct criminal.

"I am confident that many efforts to secure unity in the army would have been successful were it not for the interference of the politicians. To-day agreement was reached—to-morrow it was dashed aside. This is not the way of a soldier.

"Although the Army may be divided, although it may be incited into doing acts foreign to its creditable record, I believe it is only for a short time. The Volunteers will not turn their arms on one another, neither will they become a menace to the civil population. I have absolute faith in both officers and men. I trust them now as I ever did.

"As regards the statement by Commandant O'Connor that I was responsible for the taking of Unionist hostages in the North, all I have to say is: there were many charges preferred against me during the fight by the enemy, and the Director of Engineering knows as little about the charge he makes as the enemy knew about theirs. Perhaps I was guilty, and perhaps not."

IRISH TIMES.

15.4.22.

Mr. Richard Mulcahy.

WITH the exception of Mr. Michael Collins, no member of the Irish Republican Army was so well known by repute before the truce as Mr. Richard Mulcahy. His name began to emerge from the obscurity of the Sinn Fein mystery at the height of the trouble in Ireland, and in the dark days of 1920-1921 it was on everybody's lips. For some years, it appears, he had been a successful worker in the Gaelic League; he had been in the Volunteers from the night of their inception; he had taken part in the Rising of Easter Week; but to the ordinary man in the street who lived outside the activity of the restricted circles that went to make up what was known as Irish Ireland Richard Mulcahy was just a name.

To a great number of Irishmen he is still a name, for he is a very modest man, who neither seeks nor welcomes publicity. Yet his is certainly the outstanding intellect among the younger men in the Sinn Fein movement, and his influence is likely to play a very large part in the evolution of resurgent Ireland.

Mr. Mulcahy comes of a mixed stock. His father belonged to an old Tipperary family, while his mother's ancestors were originally Quakers. He was born in the City of Waterford thirty-five years ago, and was educated first at the school of the local Christian Brothers, and afterwards at Thurles. Like so many of his present colleagues, he entered the Postal service, working for some time in the Post Offices at Thurles and Bantry. Then he was transferred into the Engineering Department of the Post Office Telegraphs, and held appointments in Wexford and Dublin.

Easter, 1916, found him in rebellion. He had been connected with the Volunteers for some time, and during the fighting he was, with the late Thomas Ashe, operating in the Swords district. Learning of Pearse's surrender through the accidental capture of an R.I.C.

MR. RICHA[illegible] MULCAHY.

motor car, Mr. Mulcahy would not believe that the Rising was over, so he went into Dublin, and was given instructions to surrender by Pearse himself, whom he visited in his cell at Arbour Hill.

He was deported to Frongoch, being released about Christmas of the same year, and came back to Ireland, where he started work for the Gaelic League. Then he decided to take up the study of medicine, and entered the Medical School of the National University. All this time he was occupied in preparations for the coming struggle with the Crown Forces. The trouble began while he was still at the "National," and he actually attended lectures while, officially, he was on the run. The pace soon became too hot for study, however, and Mr. Mulcahy abandoned Aesculapius for Mars.

His whereabouts during the two years' campaign in Ireland must remain for the present a mystery. He was Chief of Staff of the Irish Republican Army, and, naturally, was one of the most closely hunted men in Ireland. Strangely enough, although he never wore any kind of disguise, and was constantly walking and cycling through the streets of Dublin, he never once was accosted by Crown Forces. Like Mr. Collins, he had many thrilling escapes. On one occasion he was sleeping in a house off the South Circular road when it was surrounded by military. He managed to get through a window, *minus* his trousers, but with his revolver, and to clamber on the roof. He made his way along the roof for a short distance, slipping finally, with the aid of a down-pipe, into an unknown house through a top-storey window, which fortunately was unlatched. Here he found himself in the midst of a family of startled Jews. We can only wonder how this revolvered young man in scanty attire got over the difficulties of introduction. At any rate, Charity attired him and sent him on his way after an hour or two, and while the district was still held by the Crown Forces.

Another evening he was just as fortunate. He had established his G.H.Q. in a summer house at the bottom of a city garden. The people who owned the garden naturally were "in the know," and everybody in the house was on the *qui vive*. Mr. Mulcahy was working away in his little retreat, when suddenly he heard a noise, as if a stone had been thrown at the door. He promptly opened it, and discovered to his great embarrassment that the garden was full of soldiers. Luckily for him there was another door to the summerhouse, which led out into a lane, so he seized his bicycle and his despatch cases and stood not on the order of his going. The interesting part of the story was the noise at the door. The military raided the house quite unexpectedly, and nobody had time to give the stowaway a hint of what was happening. A little girl, however, was smarter than her elders, and strolled nonchalantly into the garden, throwing pebbles at a cat, or a dog, or some imaginary invader, with the result that Mr. Mulcahy got his warning, and lived to die another day.

This remarkable young man is not a bit like the hero of a Baroness Orczy novel. He is not very tall, and, while he has good, broad shoulders, his wrist is as thin as a girl's. His usual attire is a suit of heavy tweeds, and he invariably wears the soft collar of modern vogue. At first sight he gives the impression of almost awkward shyness, but as he expands his face lights up and he talks to you with easy confidence. His eyes are his best feature. Their colour perplexes the observer, for there is a queer sort of wistful earnestness about their expression which grips the mind to the exclusion of everything else. His face is long and thin, with prominent brows, and a quaint humour lurks about the corners of a mouth which forms its syllables in a curious, pursing way. As his photograph shows, he has a remarkably high forehead, which gives Mr. Mulcahy the appearance of a student, while there is something pleasantly restful about his pose.

Everything he does has individuality. Even his walk is *sui generis*, and his occasional gestures are out of the common. But the most striking thing about Mr. Mulcahy is his detached state of mind. He is a philosopher rather than a politician. All his speeches at the Dail were pitched in a key which was in strange contrast to the speeches of the majority of his fellow members. He speaks rather slowly, using very carefully chosen words which he employs at times in an uncommon sense, and there is a directness in his diction which is far too rare among Irish public men.

Even when he is talking Irish you feel that he has something important to say, although you may not understand a word of what he is saying. If you met Mr. Mulcahy in the street, you would not look at him twice, but once you heard him talking you would recognise that he is, somehow, different from the rest.

During the trouble a British officer told me that Mr. Mulcahy's system of filing and indexing was superior to anything in his experience, and there is no doubt that it must have been extraordinary. His job as Chief of Staff involved an enormous amount of clerical work, yet he carried his G.H.Q. about with him in a couple of *attaché* cases. Although he was constantly on the run, he managed to keep all the threads of his organisation in his hands, and, when one realises that he had no military experience of any kind, and had never studied military affairs, one must admit that his success in the circumstances was remarkable.

Some day, no doubt, Mr. Mulcahy will write his memoirs, and when they appear they will be very interesting. In the meanwhile, however, the public is not likely to learn much about him, for he is very loth to talk about himself. The work which he set himself to do has been achieved, and he is now Minister of Defence in the Dail Eireann Cabinet, but it is to be hoped that in the piping times of peace this post will be in the nature of a sinecure. That Mr. Mulcahy will retire either into private life, or into the velvet obscurity of a "soft job" is highly improbable, for, while his inclinations are all towards a restful existence, his gifts are of such a nature that they cannot be spared. Mr. Mulcahy has real constructive ability. He approaches the various problems of the times from a philosophical angle, and his mind is strangely free from political bias. Such men are rare in modern Ireland. They are rarer still in revolutionary movements.

NICHEVO.

"Irish Independent" 8.5.22.

AN IRISH AIR FORCE

PLANS ALMOST COMPLETE

Irish Independent 8-5-22

For the past two months arrangements have been in progress for the establishment of a military and civil air department in Ireland.

An Irish Air Council, consisting of the Minister for Defence (Mr. Mulcahy, T.D.), Mr. M. Collins, the Minister for Trade (Mr. E. Blythe, T.D.), the Director of Military Aviation and the Director of Civil Aviation, have been engaged in organising the two schemes. The plans are now nearing completion.

The proposal is to have a military air department, acting under G.H.Q., I.R.A., and a civil air department, under the Air Council. Baldonnel Aerodrome will be used as a flying station, and doubtless other other aerodromes will be equipped as the need arises.

COMMERCIAL AVIATION.

The possibilities of commercial aviation are receiving attention. One of the schemes under contemplation is the carrying of mails landed at Cobh to England and Continental centres, thus saving a day in the case of London, and somewhat more in the case of Continental capitals.

Direct services between Ireland and England are a possibility of the near future. It is likely the Manchester Air Service, Ltd., will be the first in the field, with a service between London, Manchester, and Dublin, while a London Company has been considering the prospects of a line between Dublin and London.

A school for the instruction of pilots and mechanics will also be established near the capital, where both the military and civil flying men will receive the necessary instruction. A new and attractive profession will thus be opened to Irishmen. Candidates will be placed on a waiting list, and taken on for training in turn, a fee being charged for the course. On reaching proficiency a certificate will be issued, and the holder will be eligible for either a civil or military appointment.

"Freeman's Journal" 20-5-22.

AVOID BITTERNESS

A Suggestion By The Minister Of Defence.

Mr. R. Mulcahy protested against the importation of bitterness into the debate. They had hoped that the gathering bitterness would be smoothed over, and that the people would be protected from the dangers and disasters that were coming upon them—dangers and disasters that were gathering day by day (hear, hear).

He suggested that they should depart from little points of argument and make themselves acquainted with what particular points arose in the discussion between Mr. de Valera and Mr. Collins. As far as he could see there was a small dividing line, and they should know clearly the points upon which disagreement had arisen.

The Lord Mayor of Cork thought no points of procedure should preclude them from discussing the issue.

The Speaker said he got very little assistance in conducting the business of the House. This motion on the discussing of the reports was sprung upon him. Deputies never found him unapproachable, and it was their duty to consult him in such matters. It was in order to prevent a departure to another matter that he made his ruling. He would ask them to assist him in conducting the business of the House.

THINGS TO AVOID.

There was another matter that he would refer to as he was on his feet, and that was the Standing Order that no Deputy should make personal charges against another Deputy, and should not use offensive remarks about another. He hoped, with their assistance, to enforce that Standing Order. The Prime Minister had broken that rule, and when he rebuked him he hoped that he was in a better position to restrain others. He must restrain deputies from breaking that rule. He thought the Prime Minister in his breach had merely used a figure of speech, and that he did not mean it seriously, but he (the Speaker) would ask the House to obey the Standing Order he had quoted. There were enormous issues before them, and he appealed to them to keep the personal element out of the discussion in the future (hear, hear).

Mr. Griffith said that during the past six months the Speaker had heard him continually called a traitor and other most opprobrious names, and had never once interfered. That day he had been singled out because he said that those who by force of arms opposed the will of the Irish people would go down in history as the Dermot MacMurroughs.

RECALLING THE ENEMY.

MacMurrough was the man who first brought the English into this country, and they who now opposed the will of the people were the people who would bring the English back. He again repeated what he had said before—he had no objection to any man, by constitutional means, opposing the will of the people, but anyone who stood up there, or outside, and said that by force of arms he would prevent the Irish people from expressing their will would go down in history as the man who brought the English back.

Mr. James O'Dwyer said that before the House sat Mr. Boland had suggested to him that the House should go into two reports and decide between them. He asked the Speaker how they stood, and he said that there was a motion before the House, and he accepted that as putting Deputy Boland's suggestion out of court.

The Speaker said that there was a motion before the House to suspend the orders of the day.

Mr. Griffith protested that as the House was in the middle of a discussion on the question of the election it was against all precedent to suspend the orders of the day. He wanted to know why at that stage they should suspend the discussion and go back to something else.

The Speaker said the motion was one that was not subject to discussion.

Mr. Griffith demanded a definite ruling, and said the people of Ireland would insist on knowing why discussion on the question of an election should now be burked.

The Speaker said the proper way to deal with that was to vote against it.

THEIR DIFFICULTIES.

Dr. MacCartan said that he would like to have put in writing what the differences were between the Minister of Finance and Mr. de Valera.

After some further discussion on the proposal to suspend the orders of the day, Mr. Burgess said that he took it that the object of the proposal was to try and prevent civil war in Ireland, and the proposal to suspend the orders of the day was now opposed by two gentlemen who had never fought (interruptions and cries of "Order.")

Mr. Collins asked was the proposal to go back to a discussion of the reports, or was the proposal that the report of the conversation between Mr. de Valera and himself should be given to the House? There was, he said, a very great difference in principle beetwen those two things, and he would like to know which was intended.

Mr. Mulcahy said that what he intended was that as there were two or three delinie points capable of being compressed within a limited number of words upon which the Minister for Finance and Mr. de Valera broke the previous day they could have those points.

The Speaker suggested that they would be submitted in writing.

THE MOTION CARRIED.

Dr. MacCartan moved the adjournment of the House for the purpose of getting the report showing the points upon which there was agreement and disagreement.

Mr. de Valera said that it would be easy for Mr. Collins and himself to make their statement.

Mr. Collins said he had no desire to keep from the knowledge of the members the results of the conversations, so far as he was concerned, and that, he was sure, was also Mr. de Valera's desire; but while they made reports they could not agree upon recommendations for dealing with the present situation. If necessary, he said, an adjournment could take place until the following day for the consideration of the reports when presented, and they could have a similar session, if necessary on Sunday, as he was sure Ministers, who had difficult duties to perform, would forego their pleasure on the Saturday afternoon, and also on the following day, to deal with matters of national

COALITION DEMONSTRATION, AT MANSION HOUSE 9-6-22.
'IRISH INDEPENDENT' 10-6-22.

NO FRIENDSHIP BROKEN

Mr. R. Mulcahy said the responsibilities they took on themselves three and a half years ago they carried out to the best of their ability and with a union among themselves that was unexampled in the history of the country. The last six months created another type of national crisis, and it was a tribute to the men and women who had serious differences that they could come on the same platform now.

The best guarantee he could offer was that they had passed through the last six months so knit together, as far as the fundamentals of their national feelings and outlook were concerned, that they had not during that time of awful strain broken a single friendship.

He had absolute confidence in what this past and agreement would bring. National safety depended on national discipline, and those who would undermine the pact were weakening the hands of their leaders.

A Voice—Would the army you have under your command be able to take a police barracks?

ARMY DIFFERENCES.

Mr Mulcahy—I can say this for the army, that just as great difficulties as divided the political people have divided the army, and the hearts and minds of those who have been the army have been torn much more perhaps than the hearts and minds of the political leaders. I can say for the army, perhaps, more than for the politicians, that among them

not one single friendship contracted in the service of Ireland for the past three years has been broken.

And I should like everyone to realise what strength lies in that.

"IRISH TIMES"
12. 6. 22.

THE AGREEMENT.

WHY THE PANEL SHOULD BE SUPPORTED.

Speaking in Dublin last night, where several open air meetings in support of the panel candidates were held, Mr. Richard Mulcahy said that they had now come to an agreement, and people who were acting, not from pure national motives but from smaller motives, were suggesting that by coming to this agreement those who supported the Treaty, and wanted to take what was in it, were at any rate jeopardising that freedom, and that it was wrong to ask the people to vote for the whole panel. He assured them that he would not take part in bringing about the joint panel and in bringing both sides together if he thought that it would keep from the Irish people any powers or any freedom that it was in the power of their representatives to give them at present. He assured them that they would be doing better for the country, and the best thing to strengthen the hands of those who were responsible for the national cause, by voting for the panel candidates, irrespective of whether they were Treaty or anti-Treaty.

Alderman Sean T. O'Kelly said that the members for whom they asked support had kept the trust of the people. They had been tried in the national furnace and had not been found wanting.

Alderman Sean McGarry said that they might be divided on some points, but they were united on the one matter of the independence of Ireland. They were all united against anybody who contested that. That was a fundamental of their position.

"Freeman's Journal" 29-6-22.

Statement on Four Courts Battle

CAUSE OF CONFLICT

Message Of Minister Of Defence To Army

The following message has been addressed by the Minister for Defence to the Army:—

"To the Army,

"Our efforts have brought our country into the mid-stream of the world, brought it there with our national moral, raised by the tempering effects of your struggle against our nation's oppressors, with our national prestige raised by the brilliance of that struggle.

"You have served your country in arms for six or seven long years, filled with a dream and a hope of serving her in peace, to bring her to a strength and a dignity and a richness which service in arms alone cannot bring her to.

"To-day that moral is being broken, that prestige is being destroyed, and the social and economic life of our country is being brought to chaos by a disorder which is invading our country's life through the action of men, some of whom were former associates of your own, and who now seek to arrogate to themselves an authority to interfere with and destroy the lives and properties of others of their countrymen.

TO PROTECT COUNTRY.

"To-day, having driven the tyranny of the stranger from our land, instead of having the opportunity to turn to these services of construction, which must develop and crown the strength of our country, you are called upon to serve her still in arms, to protect her from a madness from within, from men who seek to inflict injury and injustice upon particular individuals, and upon particular sections of their countrymen, and who conceive the mad purpose of driving our country by such actions back into a war which can be avoided for her; and by taunt and threat and forced disorder drive our gallant people hopelessly into a struggle that their strength cannot stand.

"With all the strength and with all the clearness with which we have denied, and do deny, the right of any but Irishmen to interfere in our national affairs, with all that strength and with all that clearness do we deny the right of any Irishman or of any section of Irishmen to bring disorder on our country or injury to any of our countrymen.

THE IMMEDIATE REASON.

"In Dublin some of you find yourselves to-day ranged in fighting against some who have been your comrades. The immediate reason for this is the seizure by them of your Assistant Chief of Staff, Lieutenant-General O'Connell, as a reprisal for the arrest of one of their number on a charge of seizing motor cars and motor material, the property of a Dublin trader.

"The fundamental reason is that they systematically challenge 'the rights and liberties common to all the people of Ireland,' the security and maintenance of which have been the aim of your arms since 1913.

"Only in pursuance of a clear and stern duty could we hope to surmount the ties of comradeship and affection that bind us to those against whom we find ourselves ranged. No scrap of effort that these ties might have has been spared to endeavour to avoid such a conflict.

"Let us remember that comradeship and that affection as a true strength to us while we stand firmly by our duties of to-day with a steadfastness not less than that of yesterday.

"R. O MAOLCATHA,
"Minister of Defence."

SAFE

"Irish Times"
1-7-22.

PROCLAMATION TO THE TROOPS.

MINISTER OF DEFENCE AND CALUMNY.

AN UNAIDED FIGHT.

The Minister of Defence issued the following proclamation last night:—

Officers and Men of the Dublin Command—

The Government of Ireland, in the name and on behalf of the people, have asked the Minister of Defence to express to you their high appreciation of the courage, forbearance, and faithful devotion to duty which you have shown in so eminent a degree in the action in which you have been engaged for the past three days.

You have fought and suffered and dared death to make safe for Ireland what she has but just regained, and in the hour of your victory your soldierly restraint in the face of almost intolerable provocation is a shining example.

Some of your gallant comrades have sealed their devotion to their country with their lives. To their relatives the nation reverently extends its sincere and heartfelt sympathy.

Others of you have sustained wounds in the conflict. The nation feels with their sufferings, and prays that they may soon be able to resume their places in the ranks.

False and malicious statements have been made against you. It has been said that British troops have co-operated with you. You know this to be false, the Government knows it to be false—the nation spurns the calumny.

These statements are of a pattern with the insincere protestations and the hollow pretences of those who have been profaning the national struggle and sufferings of the past few years, even seeking to borrow credit from honoured names for their sorry schemes of disorder.

You have fought this first battle unaided. The people of Dublin have witnessed your struggle and are proud of your success. We have put our hand to this fight in defence of the people, and with your aid we will see it to its successful issue.

"Freeman's Journal"
14-7-22.

ARMY COUNCIL OF THREE

TRIED LEADERS IN CHARGE OF MILITARY OPERATIONS

MR. COLLINS IN SUPREME COMMAND

The following official statement was issued by G.H.Q., Irish Army, at 11.30 o'clock last night:—

"A War Council has been created by the Government to direct the military operations now in progress.

"The following have been appointed to constitute the War Council:—

"MICHEAL O COILEAIN,
Commander-in-Chief.

"RISTEARD O MAOLCHATHA, Chief of General Staff and Minister of Defence.

"EOIN O DUBHTHAIGH, General in Command South-Western Division.

"The following additional appointments have been made:—

"FIONAN O LOINGSIGH, to be Vice-Commandant South-Western Division, with rank of Commandant-General.

"CAOIMHGHIN O UIGIN, to be Assistant Adjutant-General, with rank of Commandant-General.

"SEOSAMH MACGRAITH, to be Director of Intelligence on General Staff, with rank of Major-General.

"DIARMUID O EIGCEARTAIGH, to be Commandant-General on General Staff.

"Irish Times"
14-7-22.

RIALTAS SEALADACH NA hEIREANN.

FOGRA OIFIGIUIL.

COMHAIRLE CHOGAIDH.

Tá Triúr ceaptha mar Chomhairle Chogaidh chun an obair airm atá ar siubhal anois do stiúradh.

Do ceapadh na daoine seo leanas mar an Chomhairle Chogaidh:—

Micheál O Coileáin, Ard-Taoiseach i gCeannas an Ghnáith-Airm.

Risteárd O Maolchatha, Ard-Taoiseach, Ceann Fuirinne agus Aire Cosanta.

Eoin O Dubhthaigh, Ard-Taoiseach i gCeannas na Roinne Thiar Theas.

Baile Atha Cliath, an 12adh lá go d'Iúl, 1922.

MICHEAL Mac DONNCHADHA, Gníomh-Rúnaí don Rialtas Sealadach (Acting Secretary to the Provisional Government).

RIALTAS SEALADACH NA hEIREANN.
(IRISH PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.)

OFFICIAL NOTICE.

WAR COUNCIL.

A War Council of Three has been created to direct the military operations now in progress.

The following have been appointed to constitute the War Council:—

Michael Collins, General Commanding-in-Chief.

Richard Mulcahy, General Chief of Staff and Minister of Defence.

Eoin O'Duffy, General in Command South-Western Division.

Dublin, this 12th day of July, 1922.

MICHEAL Mac DONNCHADHA, Gníomh-Rúnaí don Rialtas Sealadach (Acting Secretary to the Provisional Government).

'Irish Independent'
14-8-'22.

THE ARMY'S TRIBUTE.

General R. Mulcahy wrote:—"On behalf of the Army—much of whose reaping has been where Arthur Griffith sowed, and which many times in its struggle to roll away foreign oppression from our country has benefited gratefully from his great judgment and his close sympathy with its difficulties and its work—I tender you, with deep sorrow, our heartfelt sympathy with you in your great bereavement.

"We mourn deeply that a life of such devoted toil should not see the ripening fruit that its example and guidance has helped so much to bring forth. But we are grateful for the example of ceaseless unrested labouring."

'Irish Times'
24-8-'22.

THE ARMY COMMAND.

GENERAL MULCAHY'S APPOINTMENT.

It is understood that General Mulcahy, Chief of Staff and Minister of Defence, has been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the national forces, in the place of the late General Collins.

'Irish Times,' 23-8-'22.
Upon the Death of Mr Collins.

The following message from the Chief of Staff to the men of the Army was issued this morning:—

TO THE MEN OF THE ARMY.

Stand calmly by your posts. Rend bravely and undaunted to your work. Let no cruel act of reprisal blemish your bright honour.

Every dark hour that Michael Collins met since 1916 seemed but to steel that bright strength of his and temper his gay bravery. You are left each inheritors of that strength and of that bright bravery.

To each of you falls his unfinished work. No darkness in the hour; no loss of comrades will daunt you at it.

Ireland! the Army serves—strengthened by its sorrow.

(Signed), R. UA MAOLCATHA,
Chief of General Staff.

EXTRACT FROM REPUBLICAN WAR NEWS No. 23.

DATED 25th. JULY, 1922.

GOVERNMENT BY THE I.R.B.

"Eoin O'DUFFY in a statement published yesterday refers again to the sanctity of the "Will of the people". It is time this hollow sham was exposed. The men now governing Ireland care nothing for the people or its will. They hold their present positions simply because they are members of a secret organisation condemned countless times by the Catholic Bishops who now support them.

The Military Dictatotship to which the Provisional Government handed over all power on July 13th, consists of three men:-

Michael COLLINS
Richard MULCAHY
Eoin O'DUFFY.

Each of the three is a member of the Supreme Council of the I.R.B. and it was behind the sealed doors of this Council that the war upon the Republic was planned.

That is why the Dail was never consulted and why the people never dreamt of a war until the first shell burst its way into the Four Courts.

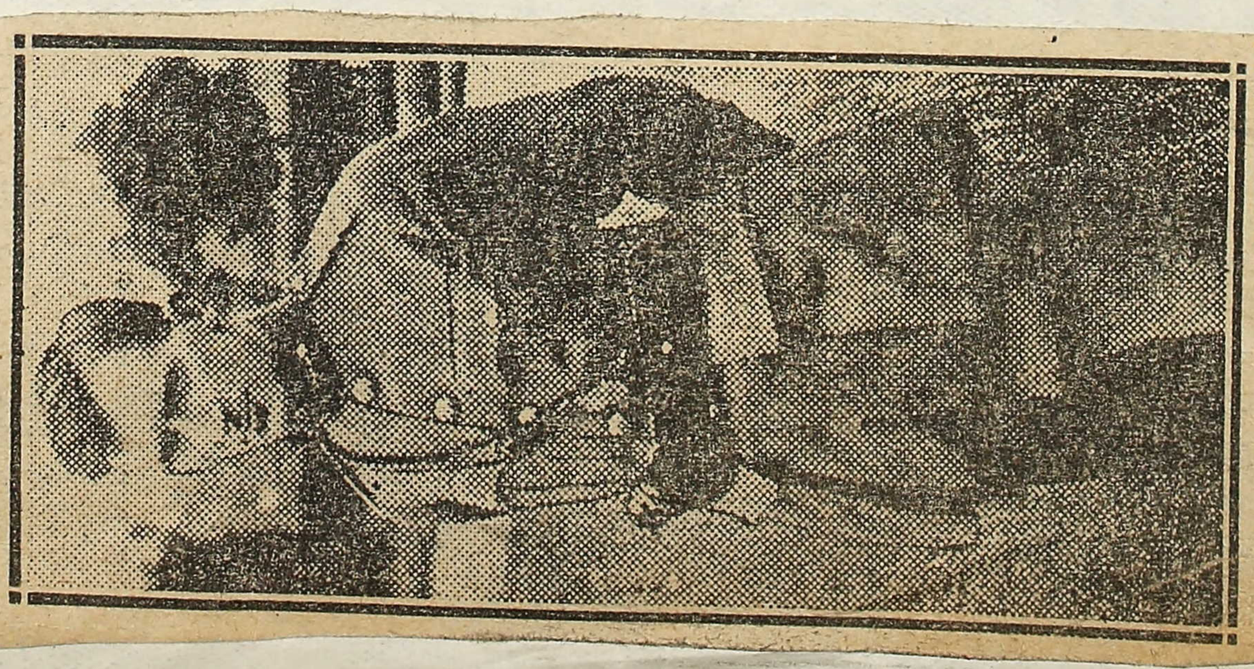
The war is not a war for the security of the people. It is a war for the supremacy of the I.R.B. Observe the recent appointments. P.S.O'HEGARTY is put in control of the Post Office as Secretary; he is a member of the Supreme Council; Sean O'MURTHUILLE (HURLEY. John.) is made Governor of Kilmainham Gaol; he is a member of the Supreme Council. Diarmuid O'HEGARTY is first made Governor of Mountjoy Gaol and then Director of Organisation of the Free State Army; he is a member of the Supreme Council; Gerald O'SULLIVAN is Adjt-General of the Army; he is a member of the Supreme Council. Dr McCARTAN is put to the task of pretending to criticise the Free State Leaders in his "Separatist", he is a member of the Supreme Council.

So in every branch of this "Government" and its Army powre is given to the leaders & rank & file of a secret camorilla.

Eamon De VALERA & Cathal BRUGHA refused to have anything farther to do with the I.R.B. as soon as it became possible for Irishmen to organise openly for independence. De Valera was betrayed & hunted from office. Cathal Brugha is dead. This is the freedom the Irish people is being offered to-day".

F.J. 25-8-'22.

GENERAL MULCAHY.



General Richard Mulcahy, who has been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Army.

EXTRACT FROM REPUBLICAN WAR NEWS No. 28.

DATED AUGUST 1st. 1922.

"WANTED MEN".

The following warrant has been issued for the arrest of the Governor of Mountjoy Gaol & th e Minister of Defence:-

SUPREME COURT.

WARRANT FOR ARREST.

Whereas by an Order bearing date 10.7.22. in the matter of George Oliver PLUNKETT it was ordered that Colm Ua MURCHADHA (Colm MURPHY) & Riseard Un MAOLCHATHA (Richard MULCAHY) do this day at eleven o'clock in the forenoon attend before this court & bring there the bodyof the said George Oliver PLUNKETT.

And Whereas the said Colm MURPHY & the said Richard MULCAHY have failed to comply with the said Order.

This is therefore to command you forthwith to apprehend the said Colm MURPHY &the said Richard MULCAHY & to bring them before me or some other Judge of the Supreme Court tobe dealt with according to Law.

Dated this 26th.day of July, 1922.
(Sd.) Diarmuid O'CRUADHLAOICH,
Judge of the Supreme Court.

TO:-.....
and all Police Officers
and all Officers & Soldiers of the Irish Republican Army (Irish Volunteers.)

Extract from IRISH INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY No: 319 dated 16-8-22.
File IX/1417 dated 19-8-22.

"It has been reliably reported that the Inner Circle of the Irish Republican Brotherhood in Ireland have tried MICHAEL COLLINS and SEAN McKEON for treason to the I.R.B. and sentenced them to death. Arthur GRIFFITH was tried and acquitted. Twelve trusted men were given orders to carry out the sentence on COLLINS and McKEON and have joined the Free State Army, three of these are natives of Cork City. Richard MULCAHY is also expected to be convicted and sentenced to death and five other Free State Officers have already been convicted, two of them being ex-members of the R.I.C. now serving with commissions in the Free State Army. COLLINS, I am informed, is aware of the sentence passed on him. According to my information seventeen prominent Free State men havenbeen tried, two acquitted, including GRIFFITH, three killed in action and the remainder to be killed as opportunity arises."

EXTRACT FROM REPUBLICAN WAR NEWS No. 33.
dated 7.8.22.

GOVERNMENT BY SECRET SOCIETY.

"On July 25th. the "POBLACHT" disclosed the fact that the triumvirate directing this, "The Will Of The People War", namely Messrs COLLINS, MULCAHY, and O'DUFFY are, all three, members of the Supreme Council of the I.R.B, the secret society denounced for three generations in the pastorals of the Irish Bishops, and that they have manned the Free State Higher Command and the civil offices of the Provisional Government with members of the same camorilla.

Since this disclosure was made the"Free State"(Mr.GRIFFITH's Organ) and G.HQ. of the Free State Army have commented upon it. Neither could deny the truth of our charge, indeed the "Free State" could only amswer by defending the I.R.B. and it's Supreme Council.

Let our Catholic Bishops and Parish Priests note this; that the war for the "Peoples Rights" is actually a war for the control of Ireland's Governmental life by the I.R.B. Let them keep that fact in mind when they receive impudent instructions from this secret society through Brother William COSGRAVE, Minister for Local Government."

EXTRACT FROM "THE NATION" DATED 16.9.22.

"AN OPEN LETTER TO RICHARD MULCAHY.

Sir.

From the time of Elizabeth to the present year one choice has been placed before every man who has assumed the enormous responsibility of speaking and acting for this country; the choice between England & his fellow countrymen. Many have made the wrong choice; the names of many have been blotted out of the book of life of our Nation. The moment is yours to make or mar. The old alternative is placed before you..We adjure yoy in the name of God, and in the name of Ireland, proclaim a true,summon a real Dail, and not the Southern Parliament. Unite all ranks and in the name of our sovereign people, send a courteous, but firm, note to England that you can no longer continue to uphold the Treaty at the cost of civil war. Do this, without fear or favour;;we promise you a degree of personal success you do not dream of. Guarantee for Ireland the sacred peace of the human family, the peace of the people.

A PLAIN IRISHMAN."

'IRISH TIMES' 30-8-'22.

GENERAL MULCAHY.

POET AND MAN OF ACTION.

Mrs. Katharine Tynan Hinkson, in a letter to *The Times*, says:—"Your Dublin Correspondent, writing of the calamitous death of Michael Collins, says of Richard Mulcahy that he is 'handicapped by the temperament of a philosopher.' Well, he may have the temperament of a philosopher—though I should not call that a handicap in Irish politics—but he has also the temperament of a poet, without which no Irish genius is complete.

"I listened at the Dail meetings last autumn to speech after speech, which seemed to me, brought up on the traditions of Irish oratory, deliberately common-place and dull. Then came Mulcahy, and the whole thing was changed. He was not ashamed to put his emotions into oratory, and listening to him one was back in the great days.

"His address to the Army on the death of Michael Collins seems to me admirable as poetic prose. Nothing could be finer. There is no higher type of man in our history than the man who is at once poet and man of action, as witness the great men of the Elizabethan days.

"Ireland has suffered a terrible calamity in the death of her two leaders, but while such men as Richard Mulcahy and the Brennans of Clare lead her Army we may lift up our heavy hearts."

MULCAHY'S ORATION.
(Ex. 'FREEMAN'S JOURNAL' 29-8-'22.)

Standing by the graveside of his dead comrade-in-arms, General Risteard Mulcahy, Commander-in-Chief of the Army, delivered an eloquent oration.

Opening his oration in Irish, he said that there was a lot of sorrow heavy on the hearts of our people to-day, that our minds, like the great Cathedral below after the last Mass had been said, and the coffin borne away, and the great concourse of people emptied from it—our minds were dry, wordless, and empty with nothing in them but the little light of faith.

Speaking in English, he said:—Our country is to-day bent under a sorrow such as it has not been bent under for many a year. Our minds are cold, empty, wordless, and without sound. But it is only our weaknesses that are bent under this great sorrow that we meet with to-day. All that is good in us, all that is strong in us, is strengthened by the memory of that great hero and that great legend who is now laid to rest.

We bend to-day over the grave of a young man not more than thirty years of age, who took to himself the gospel of toil for Ireland, the gospel of working for the people of Ireland, and of sacrifice for their good, and who has made himself a hero and a legend that will stand in the pages of our history with any bright page that was ever written there.

IN THE PEOPLE'S HEARTS

Pages have been written by him in the hearts of our people that will never find a place in print. But we lived, some of us with these intimate pages and those pages that will reach history, meagre though they be, will do good to our country and will inspire us through many a dark hour. Our weaknesses cry out to us, "Michael Collins was too brave."

Michael Collins was not too brave. Every day and every hour he lived he lived it to the full extent of that bravery which God gave to him, and it is for us to be brave as he was—brave before danger, brave before those who lie, brave before those who speak false words, brave even to that very great bravery that our weakness complained of in him.

LIFE OF TOIL AND EFFORT

When we look over the pages of his diary for the 22nd August, "Started 6.15 a.m. Macroom to Ballineen, Bandon, Skibbereen, Roscarbery, Clonakilty," our weakness says he tried to put too much into the day. Michael Collins did not try to put too much into the day. Standing on the little mantel-piece of his office was a bronze plaque of President Roosevelt, of the United States, and the inscription on it ran—"I wish to preach, not the doctrine of ignoble ease, but the doctrine of strenuous life, the life of toil and effort, of labour and strife; to preach that highest form of success that comes, not to the man who desires mere ease and peace, but to him who does not shrink from danger, hardship or bitter toil, and who, out of these wins the splendid ultimate triumph."

"Mara bfuigéann an grainne arbháir a theidheann sa talamh bás ní bhion ann ach e fein, ach ma geibeann se bas tugan sé toradh mor uaidh."

"Unless the grain of corn that falls into the ground dies there is nothing but itself in it, but if it dies it gives forth great fruit."

IN PAIN BUT ON DUTY

And Michael Collins' passing will give us forth great fruit, and Michael Collins' dying will give us forth great fruit. Every bit of his small grain of corn died, and it died night and day during the last four or five years. We have seen him lying on a bed of sickness and struggling with infirmities, running from his bed to his work.

On Saturday, the day before he went on his last journey to Cork, he sat with me at breakfast writhing with pain from a cold all through his body, and yet he was facing his day's work for that Saturday, and facing his Sunday's journey and Monday's journey and his journey on Tuesday. So let us be brave, and let us not be afraid to do too much in the day. In all that great work, strenuous it was, comparatively it was intemperate, but it was the only thing that Michael Collins was intemperate in.

How often with a shout he used get out of bed in the morning at 5 or 6 o'clock crying "All the time that is wasted in sleep," and would dash around the room, or into some neighbouring room where some of us lay in hope of an hour or two's sleep, and he would clear all the blankets off us, or would pound vigorously at the door that prudence had locked.

Crossing the square of the barracks on the Saturday morning that I mention, he told of his visit to one of the barracks in the South on his first trip there, and of finding most of the garrison in bed at 10 o'clock; and thinking of all the lack of order, lack of cleanliness, lack of moral strength and efficiency that goes with this particular type of sloth, and of all that demoralisation following on the dissatisfaction that one has with one's self all the day that one starts with an hour's disadvantage. "Oh," he said, "if our fellows would only get up at 6 o'clock in the morning."

Yes, get up to read, to write; to think, to plan, to work, or, like Ard Riogh Eireann long ago, simply to greet the sun. The God-given long day fully felt and fully seen would bring its own work and its own construction. Let us be brave, then, and let us work.

"Prophecy," said Peter, who was the great rock, "is a light shining in the darkness till the day dawn."

A LIGHT HELD ALOFT

And surely "our great rock" was our prophet and our prophecy, a light held aloft along the road of "danger or hardship or bitter toil." And if our light is gone out it is only as the paling of a candle in the dawn of its own prophecy.

The act of his, the word of his, the look of his was day by day a prophecy to us that loose lying in us lay capabilities for toil, for bravery, for regularity, for joy in life and in slowness and in hesitancy and in weariness half yielded to, his prophecies came there in us. And just as he as a person was a light and a prophecy to us individually, he looked to it and wished that this band of brothers, which is the Army, will be a prophecy to our people.

Recent writings, recent speeches, the recent break in our national silence that have disfigured the last few months, have seemed to emphasise the Army as a thing apart and different from the people. Our Army has been the people, is the people, and will be the people. Our green uniform does not make us less the people. It is a cloak of service, a curtailer of our weaknesses, an amplifier of our strength.

The Army will be a concentration, a crystal that will crystallise out all the good, all the bravery, all the industry, all the clear intelligence that lies in saturation in the people, and hold aloof a headline for the nation.

THE GOAL OF HIS DESIRE

We are jealous for his greatness. Words have been quoted as being his last words; Michael Collins is supposed to have said the fragile words, "Forgive them." Michael Collins never said these words, "Forgive them," because his great big mind could not have entertained the obverse thought, and he knew those who sat around him and worked with him that they, too, were too big to harbour in their minds the obverse thought.

When Michael Collins met difficulties, met people that obstructed him, and worked against him, he didn't turn aside to blame them, but facing steadily ahead, he worked bravely forward to the goal that he intended. He had that faith in the intensity of his own work that in its development and in its construction he would absorb into one homogeneous whole in the nation, without the necessity for blame or for forgiveness, all those who differed from him and all those who fought against him.

WITH HIS COMRADES

He is supposed to have said, "Let the Dublin Brigade bury me." Michael Collins knows that we will never bury him. He lies here among the men of the Dublin Brigade. Around him there lie forty-eight comrades of his from our Dublin battalions. But Michael Collins never separated the men of Dublin from the men of Kerry, nor the men of Dublin from the men of Donegal, nor the men of Donegal from the men of Cork.

His great love embraced our whole people and our whole Army, and he was as close in spirit with our men in Kerry and Donegal as he was with our men in Dublin. Yes. And even those men in different districts in the country who sent us home here our dead Dublin men—we are sure he felt nothing but pity and sorrow for them for the tragic circumstances in which they find themselves knowing that in fundamentals and in ideals they were the same.

THE SAME OLD SMILE

Michael Collins had only a few minutes to live and to speak after he received his death wound, and the only word he spoke in these few moments was "Emmet." He called to the comrade alongside him, the comrade of many fights and many plans, and I am sure that he felt in calling that one name that he was calling around him the whole men of Ireland that he might speak the last word of comradeship and love.

We last looked at him in the City Hall and in the small church in Vincent's Hospital. And studying his face with an eager gaze, we found there the same old smile that met us always in our work. And seeing it there in the first dark hour of our blow the mind could not help travelling back to the dark storm-tossed sea of Galilee and the frail barque tossed upon the waters there, and the strong, calm smile of the Great Sleeper in the stern of the boat.

THOSE GONE BEFORE

Tom Ashe, Tomas MacCurtain, Trailough MacSuibhne, Dick McKee, Michael O Coileain, and all you who lie buried here, disciples of our great Chief, those of us you leave behind are all, too, grain from the same handful, scattered by the hand of the Great Sower over the fruitful soil of Ireland. We, too, will bring forth our own fruit.

Men and women of Ireland, we are all mariners on the deep bound for a port still seen only through storm and spray, sailing still on a sea full of "dangers, and hardships, and bitter toil." But the Great Sleeper lies smiling in the stern of the boat, and we shall be filled with that spirit which will walk bravely upon the waters.

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS, IRELAND.

Report on the work of the Legal Branch.

'FREEMAN'S JOURNAL'.

URNAL, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 2, 1922.

NEW ARMY CHIEF'S CAREER

General Mulcahy's Record

FRIEND OF COLLINS

Active Worker And Great Military Strategist

MANY NARROW ESCAPES

General Richard Mulcahy, the successor of General Michael Collins as Commander-in-Chief of the National Army, was quite unknown to the Irish people until the Insurrection of Easter, 1916, and not very prominent until considerably later than that historic and eventful epsiode.

He is a native of Carrick-on-Suir, Co. Waterford, where his father was a post-master for several years, and he himself was engaged in the postal engineering service in addition to pursuing his studies in the National University as a student of medicine.

He fought wth the Fingal Volunteers under Thomas Ashe, and with the late Frank Lawless, T.D., in the battle of Ashbourne on Friday, April 28, 1916. The details of that engagement have often been told.

The Volunteers, armed with shotguns and rifles, mostly captured from the R.I.C. at Swords and Donabate, attacked the police barracks at the Cross of the Rath. The battle began at 11.25 a.m. The attackers numbered 35. After half an hour the police in the barracks were about to surrender when 18 cars, containing reinforcements, dashed along the Slane road.

A COMPLETE VICTORY

A fierce fight ensued. Lawless, with a few more Volunteers, arrived later with two can bombs—"a contribution," wrote Mulcahy, in a most vivid and graphic description of the battle, "from those who had been driven from Phibsboro' Bridge." This was all the additional help Ashe received. The engagement lasted over 3 hours more. The Volunteers sustained some losses, but though less than 40 against a hundred R.I.C., they gained a complete victory. The constabulary were heavily punished, and the survivors put up their hands and surrendered.

At the end of the Insurrection Mulcahy was rounded up and brought to Richmond Barracks, and on May 3rd, with 307 other prisoners, was marched through Dublin and sent over the water to Knutsford Prison. He was released at the general amnesty which followe l.

TWO IMPORTANT MEN

When the Volunteers were reorganised, largely in the gaols and detention camps, and the Irish war projected, Richard Mulcahy was appointed Chief of Staff, with Michael Collins Chief of the Intelligence Department. The two of them were the two most important men in the great struggle, the life and soul of Ireland's forces, the originators of some of the most audacious and successful military coups, the supervisors of the chief operations, and the men most sought for by the agents of the British Government and army.

It is very doubtful if, indeed, Mulcahy was not as greatly dreaded and as eagerly hunted for as his departed and devoted comrade in arms. He was quite as successful in eluding the sleuth hounds as Collins himself, and he had as frequent and as narrow escapes from capture.

THE RISKS HE RAN

The risks he ran were simply part and parcel of the routine of his life from 1918 to the day when England invited the Truce. His name became thoroughly familiar to the whole Irish race and to his enemies, though his appearance was known to few until he was seen in the first public meetings of Dail Eireann.

The stories about his adventures are legion, and though not as numerous or as romantic as those associated with his great predecessor, are just as exciting and as illustrative of the constant and daily perils in which the leaders of the I.R.A. lived during th war and the days of the Black and Tan and Auxiliary Terror.

The Irish Headquarters had necessarily to be continually on the shift in those times. Here to-day and away to-night was the rule that had to be observed, and the locus in quo was often in the most extraordinary and unheard of places.

ALMOST CAUGHT

It is told that on one occasion Mulcahy was almost caught. The Auxiliaries pounced on a house in the South side of Dublin near the very heart of the city, and in quite a respectable street. They rushed the place, invaded the rooms, and dashed to one particular room at the end of a long passage.

There they found evidences of very recent occupation, and on a table a cup of tea which had obviously only just been poured out. But that was the sum total of the find. The tea was Richard Mulcahy's stimulant. He had been rudely disturbed when about to quaff it, but made good his escape—only barely in the nick of time.

THROUGH A WINDOW

On another occasion he was again on the verge of disaster. He was staying the night in a house, also on the South side. Again the sleuth hounds of the enemy descended unexpectedly on his temporary quarters. He had just time to get through a window and out into a large cistern almost full of cold water, and that too in rather hard weather. There, sometimes with his head under the surface of the water for a goodly period, he had to stand during a lengthened raid on the house.

For nearly an hour he was hiding in the cistern, breathing when he could, then ducking down out of sight, and chilled to the marrow of his bones all the time. At length the visitors took their departure and Mulcahy sought and was gladly given shelter by a neighbouring Hebrew family, who supplied him with dry clothes and food and sent him off safely in the morning to his next dangerous adventure.

ALWAYS ON DUTY

Again and again he had similar narrow shaves, but all through he had marvellous good luck and came unscathed through the Terror, although not for a day were his duties as Chief of the Staff allowed to fall into abeyance. How successfully he utilised the intelligence conveyed by Michael Collins the Truce and the Treaty sufficiently demonstrate.

As Chief of Staff he first made his appearance in the Dail at the Mansion House. Those who were there the memorable day the heroes "off the run" came into the great Round Room will never forget the vociferous greeting according Collins and Mulcahy. They were the cynosure of all eyes and the darlings of the assembly.

GENERAL MULCAHY.

When the Treaty was endorsed by Dail Eireann Mulcahy became Minister of Defence and continued to act as Chief of Staff. He was prominent in the Dail throughout the debates on the Treaty in December and January and subsequently. He spoke seldom and always on a necessary occasion. His pronouncements were always listened to intently and they were invariably of first-rate importance.

A GOOD SPEAKER

He is a good speaker, his voice is very musical, with a charming cadence; he speaks slowly in a gentle tone, his sentences are short and sharp, his words admirably chosen, his emphasis correct and effective, his manner quiet, but firm and deliberate, and his whole tone and demeanour carry conviction. Earnestness, honesty, conviction are stamped on all his utterances. He uses gesture little, if at all, and his whole style is calm, thoughtful, and most attractive. A phrase of real poetic beauty, elegance and eloquence creeps now and then into his speech.

His appearance is striking. His frame is light and pliable, but gives no index to his genuine strength of character and determined disposition. No one would ever on the view take him for a daring, courageous, obstinate and resourceful military chief.

FIRM AND WINSOME

He does not look capable of long and hard endurance or of feats of uncommon agility, but his whole personality breathes spirit, forceful will power, imperturbability, and invincible determination—in fact, when he speaks one realises that he is a man whom it would take a very great deal indeed to ruffle.

Yet there is a whole lot of winsomeness in his manner, his talk, his deportment, in the refinement which characterises his every movement. He has the strength of a reticent, gentle, unobtrusive, modest man held to a purpose by ardent conviction and an unsubduable will.

He figured in the Dail during a debate which produced much heat. His report as Minister of Defence on the state of the country and the lamentable occurrences which had been taking place was hotly assailed, but in a quiet, convincing, undemonstrative way he defended the document and stuck to his guns like a true soldier.

MESSAGES TO ARMY

Many times he has had in recent days to issue addresses and messages to the Army, of which he is now the Chief, and they, all of them, have been short, inspiriting, sometimes thrilling, documents with the vigour and irresistible appeal of a general from the field of battle.

That he will worthily guide the destinies of the Irish Army no one can doubt. He has been described by one competent to form an opinion as the greatest military strategist in the National forces, and he has described his comrades and himself as youths, "for they fought for a cause as near to Heaven as boys are." He is about the same age as Michael Collins. His wife, who was Miss Ryan from Co. Wexford, is an indefatigable and most useful member of Rathmines Urban Council.

AT NEW MINISTRY.

'IRISH INDEPENDENT'
11-9-'22.

TWO DEAD CHIEFS

GREATER RESPONSIBILITY NOW ON ALL

Do thoi Risteárd Ó Maoldéada Liam Mac Cosgair do Cogad mar Uachtarán. Tar éis na deireoiníce aoi sgiobda uaca as an mbás, do ceap sé gurb é Liam an té dob' fearr a chuireadh obair an Rialtuis cun cinn.

Gen. Mulcahy, proceeding in English, said with a view to meeting the wishes expressed and until the standing orders were settled with regard to these matters, he proposed that the Dail elect Ald. W. T. Cosgrave as President. Since the last Dail met they had lost two people they looked to as the greatest leaders. One of them they looked to as perhaps the greatest sower that lived in Ireland while they lived in Ireland at any rate, and another as the greatest reaper the country had ever had. And

in facing the government of this country without these two leaders they faced it with greater responsibility thrown upon each and every one of them—

greater responsibility thrown on each particular member of that House and very, very great responsibility thrown on certain members, who would have to face particular work that would have been undertaken by these two great chieftains that they had lost. The life of that Dail was a short one as Parliamentary lives and terms went. They had a certain definite work to do.

TO IMPLEMENT THE TREATY.

They had first and foremost to secure and to implement the Treaty that had been made between this country and Britain, and made, amongst others, by these two chieftains they had lost. They had to set up a constitution for their country that would be in accordance with that Treaty, and they had in the meantime to perform the work of governing this country.

To implement the Treaty would save their country from outside enemies, and they had there in that Dail to discuss, settle and carry out the means of dealing with internal enemies or very, very bad internal friends of their country.

HAKEN, BUT RECOVERING

The national strength had been seriously shaken. That strength had been recovering. The national party that was the strength of the work of the last few years had been broken, but certainly a large section of it still held together, and the ties that bound the country and the whole of that party before it was broken still existed between the country and that greater section of that party, and the responsibilities of shouldering the greater portion of the work of the immediate future was being accepted by that party—if he could call it a party, considering its history—and they had left to them a very great national responsibility—a national duty to see that

that National Party should strengthen, solidify, and recover its old great national strength, to pull the country through this crisis in the same way as the Army had pulled itself together and stood by the country in its own particular crisis.

"In proposing Mr. Cosgrave as the head of the new Government," he continued, "I propose him as the man who is the trusted head of the National Party, and as being

a man possessing the resolution and strength of character to carry forward the work that is before him, of securing the freedom that is brought to us in the Treaty, and of carrying out and shouldering the other great responsibilities

requiring very great tact and many other very great qualities to save our country from those very very bad friends of the country who are endeavouring, whatever be their motives, to destroy a very big portion of that freedom which their own efforts helped us to get not so very long ago."

Co. Monaghan.

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Mc Entee. John. (Sean)

GENERAL MULCAHY's SPEECHES AT THE 1st. SESSION OF THE 3rd.

DAIL HELD IN LEINSTER HOUSE ON 12.9.22.

Extract from 'Irish Times' 13.9.22.

MILITARY SITUATION.

MINISTER'S STATEMENT.

Mr. Mulcahy (Minster of Defence) then made a statement regarding the Army situation. He felt grateful, he said, for the indications of the various assurances which they had got from the different groups in the House that they were definitely going to regard the Treaty as secure, and that on that particular point they were all as one great group. (Hear, hear.) There were one or two points upon which he had to go back, but he hoped to do so without prejudice to the fact that they had to get forward quickly, realising without any great delay that they were in a very dangerous situation.

As regards the split in the Army it was worth saying what the policy of the Government was after the passing of the Treaty, and the setting up of a Ministry committed to seeing it through. Differences arose in the Army. Hot-headed men wanted to pull this way and that way. This was the attitude that, as Minister of Defence at the time, he put forward, and, he took it, while it represented the attitude that the old Government adopted towards the Army, although they might consider it as finessing a little too much with honour. The position was that the English were clearing out. They had a number of men coming from the camps in the country and the little corners in the hills where they had been training during the truce. They were coming into the barracks where they could strengthen themselves and arm themselves. The Army was appealed to not to raise questions upon which they could split in that particular atmosphere. It was asked to wait until the Constitution was definitely produced, when it would have something before it, and when it could say—"We will not have this," or "Under the circumstances we will have this." It would then arrive at a position of very great strength, and if there was a voice strong enough to speak to the country it would have a weapon that it could use to get the answer it wanted.

He was perfectly satisfied that the situation was not a military stiuation alone, and that, given five or six months to face the actual circumstances, those who had led the Army would not be blind enough to turn round and say, "We will not have this Constitution, and we will put the people to war." He felt absolutely satisfied that the putting of that policy before the Army was correct, and if men split the Army they were men who took a different attitude. If anybody could point to a more reasonable attitude let them hear what it could have been.

Conversations and exchanges took place between the different sides, and naturally people wanted to know what transpired at them. The President, in his statement, read a document in this connection. It was the final note on which the negotiations broke down. A memorandum was handed to him on the 15th June by Messrs. O'Connor and O'Maille, to the effect that a resolution had been passed at an "Executive" meeting held the previous day deciding, amongst other things, to take whatever steps were necessary against the British forces, to take no offensive against the troops at Beggar's Bush. Generally, the result of the endeavours to bring about unification was that five members of the agreed Army Council of seven were in favour of unification. A memorandum prepared by Commandant Sean Moylan was, with a few alterations, the basis of agreement. It was so difficult to get anything in writing from the other side that he gripped on to it.

THE DOCUMENT.

At this stage the Minister of Defence read the document upon which the Army Council agreed. It contained eleven clauses, the first of which was that all ranks and positions were to be as on 1st December, 1921, with certain provisions. The second clause provided that ex-soldiers of other armies were to be employed only in training or an advisory capacity. Other clauses provided for the appointment of a reorganising staff under Liam Lynch, as Deputy Chief of Staff, for the recruiting and local control of divisions, and for a Gaelic outlook involving the training of the youth of the country.

The Minister next read the proposals submitted to the Four Courts Executive, which provided for a periodical convention to elect an Army Council. He would not recommend any young State to organise its Army along those lines, but, considering the circumstances in which they were, they allowed themselves to be dragged from what would be lines of organisation of an Army properly subject to a Government. The proposals which came before the Executive on June 14th were turned down, because it was decided that the man who would be placed in complete executive control of the Army would be the man who a short time ago recommended the idea of a dictatorship, and was out for the suppression of the Press and the stoppage of elections, and who also had stated time after time that he would not allow the Treaty to be worked. In spite of his very sterling character, they could not allow as chief military head of the Army a man who had publicly taken up that attitude. (Hear, hear.)

As a matter of fact, they were dealing with little bits of mercury that slipped from one side to another when they came to anything like grips with them.

Following on that breakdown, he addressed a letter in which he said that, on the matter of general proposals, they had gone as far as they could, and that further responsibility must be left to the new Coalition Government which was being formed. Before Parliament met on the following Saturday the Government took action against the people in the Four Courts, because a *coup* was meditated, and, so far as it was possible for human people to foresee, they foresaw that, if they did not take the move they did, that Parliament would never meet. (Hear, hear.) It had been stated that the Executive people intended an attack against the English.

The Minister of Defence then quoted from a document in the handwriting of one of the members of the Executive, which contained a resolution stating that the Executive Council of the I.R.A. had decided that, as the only means of maintaining the Republic was by giving the English seventy-two hours to clear out of Ireland, they had further decided to declare war on the British. Statistics were then given in the document giving the comparative strength of the British and Irish forces.

Under the head, "Activities, 26 Counties," it was decided to destroy all barracks occupied by Irish troops and positions held by English troops; to clear out all English Government officials, Dublin Castle, etc.; to resume immediately hostilities in England, especially against the General Staff and the Cabinet, and to conduct reprisals in England for shelling, etc.

Under the head, "Six Counties," it was decided to destroy warerooms and Orange Lodges, and it was mentioned that they did not intend to send any reinforcements from Southern Ireland, as they could not be spared.

These documents, General Mulcahy proceeded to explain, were not in their hands when they took the decision they did, but the general information was in their hands, and when the raid for motor cars was made on a firm in Dublin the Government practically decided that the Four Courts was to be proceeded against. That decision was practically taken, if not formally taken, before Lieutenant-General O'Connell was arrested on the same night. Those of them who were responsible for the decision felt that they were justified in it, as they could not allow the country to take the risk of an attack upon the British.

ESSENTIALS OF PEACE.

The Government had been asked whether there was no way in which a word might be uttered from the Ministry that would give hope to the country. There were certain essentials for peace in this country, and the first, in his opinion, was that some body of people representing the people should be allowed to work the Treaty, and the next was that they should be allowed to do so with the best Constitution that they could get under it. The third essential was that the sword must not be again thrown into the situation against any particular clause of the Constitution and against the expressed vote of that Parliament; the fourth was that opposition to the Government working the Constitution framed in accordance with the Treaty must be along constitutional lines; fifth, that the Army must be the people's Army and responsible to the National Government; and sixth, that the Government shall control by its regulation all arms held in the country.

These were details that to-day and to-morrow they might have difficulties about, but if they got them accepted generally throughout the country, and if they had no body of people challenging any one of these six points in arms, then they could have peace in the country, and they could settle all the other details in time. His information was that certain of these points were not unchallenged in the country by force of arms, and he had gone as deeply and closely into the matter as it was possible to go.

THREE CLASSES.

Here was the attitude that he found. There was opposition to these fundamental principles by three classes, who were for the moment all in one whole. There was opposition that might be classed as politicians, by people who might be classed as honest soldiers, and people who might be classed as criminals. (Cheers.)

The honest soldiers had been misled, and were waiting for a word of the politicians to say that they were travelling a wrong road. The politicians were in this particular frame of mind—"We signed the pact with those who supported the Treaty, and we signed it in order to avoid a terrible state of things. We were led into signing that pact by the light of reason, and in signing it we bowed our head in the light of reason." But men of fate arose and took action, and the politicians dropped their hands by their sides and they said to themselves through pure lack of moral courage—"After all, perhaps it is better to be led by fate than by reason."

Every one of the six points that he mentioned as fundamental for the peace of this country was challenged by force of arms.

That was his impression of the situation, and if there was any group or any single person in that House who said that that interpretation was wrong, they had to go to the people who could authoritatively state that the attitude was otherwise, and if they did go there and brought a statement that the attitude was otherwise, there was nobody would welcome that statement more than he would or the Government.

Failing a statement to that effect the work before the Government was to vindicate its authority and to stand absolutely by its authority in establishing these principles, because if they weakened on any one of these to-day all security and safety in the country would be gone. He did not wish at that moment to go into details as to how the armed force that was opposed to them on these principles was to be met. But it was to be met vigorously and firmly, and as legally as possible. It was to be met, whatever squeamishness they might have about taking life, for they could not be squeamish with people who jeopardised the life of every single person in the country.

FORCE TO FORCE.

If they could get rid of that armed force without taking life, if they could capture these people and put them in jail they would endeavour, by every means in their power, to do so, but they could not have any soft feelings in their hearts when they had to oppose with force a force that threatened the whole life and safety of their nation. (Cheers.)

Feeling the temper of the House, and being grateful for it, he disliked very much to have to go over the past. He would prefer to look forward to the future, because he was perfectly satisfied that this House looked immediately and constructively to the future.

Proceeding, the Minister of Defence said that the point had been raised as to who was responsible at the moment, and who would be responsible in the immediate future, for keeping order in the country. For the greater portion of the country the Army must be responsible, because there was no other force, no other organisation to do it. There was no use in challenging the Army and saying, because the Army was called upon to deal with law and order in one particular area, and because it did its work there in the only way an Army can do it, "this is militarism," and that the Army was butting in.

They stood for the supremacy of the civil power in the Government, and when they spoke of indiscipline in the Army—and cases of it cropped up—he asked for some sympathetic realisation of what the position of the Army was. They were carrying on very difficult military operations, and were up to their eyes in these difficulties, which arose because of the lack of civil administration. If young men in the Army brushed up against people here and there in a rough and untactful way, it was very greatly to the credit of the Army as a whole, and the young men of this country who formed it, that these cases were not in greater volume.

GENERAL MULCAHY'S SPEECHES AT THE 1st.SESSION OF THE 3rd.DAIL ON. 12.9.22. (Continued from previous sheet.)

Continuation of extract from 'Irish Times' dated 13.9.22.

They realised the danger of indiscipline in the Army, and they realised the danger of inexperience in dealing with public matters, and it was most necessary to establish civil administration and civil police, and then the Army would very soon find its own place. (Hear, hear.)

POSITION UNDER TREATY.

The point had been raised as to whether the Government did not consider that the national position was that the people only accepted this Treaty because they must, and that they accepted it as something short of their ultimate demand. He accepted this Treaty as giving them a position short of what he would wish their national position to be, but he accepted it as against the state of things that they had emerged from. He accepted it as giving to them a position for which they might work forward to the highest pinnacle of national dignity and national honour, without that nation-killing irritation between nation and nation that they had suffered from, and of which they had seen so many sad examples in Europe.

He would prefer to be dealing with the work of construction, and did not sympathise with the spirit that, at this moment, put forward the amendment that had been moved to the original resolution. (Cheers.)

The state of military affairs that existed at present and the situation of the Army had retarded the dealing with the question of unemployment. He looked forward to the time when their military work was done, and they might give some small contribution to the constructive work of the country in that spirit of service and co-operation that distinguished them in the Army, and that spirit of co-operation and service that Deputy Johnson spoke of on Saturday.

He had in his mind a scheme which he hoped would be taken up by the Government, and which would relieve unemployment, which was a source of danger to the country. It would give employment to the men who were retiring from the Army and promote the development of the country. The country, he suggested, should be divided into zones, and the works would be better roads in the country, drainage, and house-building. The money that would be expended on improving the roads of the country would be returned in the shape of less repairing costs to motor vehicles. As to drainage, he suggested that such rivers as the Awbeg, near Fermoy, should be improved. It would confer a great benefit upon the district. As to housing, he believed that no member of the House would be averse to it, because better wages and shorter hours for the working classes were as nothing unless they had decent houses to live in. (Hear, hear.) In these schemes he proposed that the loose-end soldiers of the Anglo-Irish war should find employment. The armed challenge to the authority of the Government should be put down, and would be put down. (Applause.)

At 6.10 the House adjourned for an hour.

'Irish Ind: 28/9/'22.

STATUS OF THE ARMY

GENERAL MULCAHY'S SPEECH

General Mulcahy said he had hoped he had made it clear that the army was the army of the Government and to be cleared away when they could clear it away and adopt a similar army or some other machinery in its place. The army was to the Government what the army of any other country was to the established Government of that country. The army was asked to do a certain duty; to take military action against forces working in this country for the downfall of the Government and for what would be definitely the destruction of the country; and the army took that action.

The fear that was uppermost in their minds was that the Treaty would be destroyed, and that the country would lose the freedom it had achieved.

The army had cleared the country of that fear. The forces that were thrown against the Government have been deprived of any military effectiveness, and the people of the country, by using their commonsense, wits, and energies, could clear the country of the other dangers that lay in those forces. He had himself been through a portion of the country from Dublin to Limerick, to Boyle, and back to Dublin, and so far as the main centre of the country was concerned there was no work in it that an army, as such, should be called upon to do.

The work of dealing with the disorders and the irregularities in the country was being dealt with by the army because there was no other machinery to do it. They had asked the Government and they had given them powers to take certain steps against people who committed murder and burned down property and people who aimed at destroying the economic life of the nation.

The position generally in the country was that so far as the military problem was concerned, it was confined to a limited number of somewhat out of the way districts.

The big problem that lay before the country and before the army at the moment was to deal with the opening up of those arteries in the country that it was necessary to open if the country were not to be choked. To the south of the country they had railway communication running from Dublin to Waterford and Mallow and communication with Limerick would be restored in a day or two.

Below that they were practically without transport. There were no railways running because those forces who had thrown themselves loose on the country had smashed them up.

The whole South of Ireland was without means of transport, which was necessary for the business and national life of the country.

DEFENSIVE CAMPAIGN.

They sent the army out on a defensive campaign, and at no stage of the journey did that army act in an offensive spirit. They went out to protect their towns from the invasion of looting bands; to protect the railways and roads from being smashed up by people who sought to bring disaster and destruction to the country in order that they might bring the English back.

A week or so ago he visited an area on the Roscrea-Limerick line. Passing by one of the posts on Sunday evening he found that 17 men going to Mass that morning had been caught in a small mountain country and absolutely mown down. Nine of them were wounded, and afterwards he visited three of them lying dead in Nenagh. What would any deputy, putting himself in the position of the Commander-in-Chief, say to himself if he stood before those men?

They had put upon the Army the responsibility of protecting the lives of the people and the life of the country. They had told them that in order to do that they should take life if necessary, and it was the responsibility of the Government to say that it must be taken

THE DUTY OF THE ARMY

WHAT DEPUTIES SHOULD CONSIDER.

He, General Mulcahy, asked the deputies to put themselves before those men who had a prisoner who was in charge of an operation against the soldiers. Were they going to explain to the men that they were going to send that man to Gormanstown and leave him there until this thing was all over. Were they going to leave it for the second or third in command to have a free hand to continue the same work?

It was a necessity that those people in the country who were committing murder, arson, or looting, or were destroying the life of the country, should know that they would forfeit their lives if they continued to do that work,

and the Government must set up the machinery for taking that forfeiture.

ARMY'S DUTY.

The army was acting as that portion of the machinery so far as engaging these forces who were going around the country and capturing them,

and it was prepared to do the work of executing those people whom it was necessary to execute until such time as the Government set up the machinery which they ought to have, but which, under the circumstances, it had not yet had. The army would stay in the gap until the Government was on its feet, and it would do any type of work it was necessary to do for the Government to put it on its feet.

The point had been raised that they could not do those things because they had not years of tradition in their blood. Unfortunately they had to deal with the situation as it existed, and it was simply futile to think that they should drop their hands by their sides and let other people take an advantage because they had not years of tradition in their blood or the big machinery that a well-established country would have. Deputies had asked for a report of the whole military situation.

With the exception of the sniper and the man who went out with a bomb the life of the country over a very great portion was normal. And they were able to deal with that portion of the country where circumstances were not yet normal.

POLITICAL SITUATION.

But as well as understanding the military situation it was absolutely necessary to understand the political situation and the forces at work.

They had a country looking to the Government on the one side and a section of the people looking to a political party in opposition on the other side, a party headed by leaders who had given very great services to the country, who had as very great leaders in a time of very great stress and as yet had not had their confidence broken in these leaders. The dangers that they ran economically were not so great as those they ran politically.

When they found responsible deputies saying that if they passed certain types of legislation that they did not agree with, inferring that they would leave the House and that if they did so God knew what would come after it; when they heard responsible deputies standing up, and implying that it was near time that they should say where they stood.

Mr. O'Shannon said that when he made that reference he said that it was because the Dail was merely a machine for registering decisions of the Executive. It was not a deliberative assembly.

IRREGULARS' LEADERS.

General Mulcahy said that people were still looking to those leaders of yesterday in opposition to the Government for guidance, looked to them for some kind of sanity some time or another, they should be very clear that they were not to expect it. They had a political and a military side in what they would call irregular opposition, and the political side bore a certain responsibility and was looked to with a certain hope that they were not worthy of it.

He had there some notes, the first of which was from Liam Lynch, who was in charge of the irregular military forces, and he was writing to the political leader. He told him that he would be only too pleased to have his views at any time on the general situation, and that matters arising out of it would receive his earnest consideration; and they had the political leader saying, "This is too much of a good thing and it wont' do," that the position of the political party must be straightened out, and it won't do," that the position of the leave it all to the army the obvious thing for members of the party to do was to resign their position as public representatives. "The position is that we have all the public responsibility and no voice and no authority."

ANOTHER POLITICAL VIEW.

And the political leader who wrote like that on Sept 12 wrote on Sept. 13 that the position, as he saw it, was that the Republican Party must take control, acting as the legitimate Dail with the Army Executive. Either that or the Army Executive should take control and assume responsibility, or that a joint committee be formed to decide a policy for both, and in dealing with it he said he was against No. 1, for one of the reasons that even if they had the allegiance of their army they would not have the military strength to make their will effective; they could not, as in

SHEEHAN. Patrick. J.

EXTRACT FROM 'IRISH INDEPENDENT' 28-9-'22.
(CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE.)

the time of war with the British, point to authority derived from the vote of the majority of the people. They would be turned down definitely by the electorate in a few months' time in any case (laughter), and he chose, as his way out, that the Army Executive take control and assume responsibility, and he did so because, he said, it was most in accord with the fact.

IMPOSSIBLE POSITION.

But then the Army Executive must publicly accept public responsibility, and there must be no doubt in the minds of anybody. The natural corollary was that they, as a political party, should cease to operate, resign in fact. Their position as public representatives was impossible.

As regarded the suggestion that a Joint Committee be formed to decide the policy for both, the political leader said, "I fear this is impracticable. The political party has to justify itself in a way that is not expected from the army. If the army wishes to elect some of the personnel of the party for its Executive, well and good, but I am afraid the task of riding two such horses as the party and the army will be too much for any Executive."

That was on Sept. 15. On the 14th the meeting was held, consisting of Count Plunkett, Miss MacSwiney, Thomas O'Donohue, C. O Murchadha, Mrs. Clarke, T. Derrig, Countess Markievicz, J. O'Mahony, F. Fahy, Dr. Jim Ryan, and Brian O'Higgins. They agreed that the military should take over control, and that they as a party, that was as a political party, should co-operate.

A DIFFICULT POSITION

Here they had a position in which the people were looking, some of them, with the affection that went with the remembrance that they were leaders in times of very great stress, for hope, and to the military leaders for some kind of sanity. They had the political leaders saying that they had absolutely no right to talk as public representatives, and they told the army that they could get on, as they would not be expected to justify themselves in the eyes of the people in the same way as an honest political person would. From the point of view of the political side and of dealing in any kind of a way with these people who were opposed to the Government they could not have it.

They demonstrated that with very broken hearts during the army negotiations. They did feel that some kind of hope might be held out to the country, that the political leaders would throw up the sponge some day. They had very definitely to get rid of that hope and to realise that these words and phrases which characterised a small group fighting against the Irish people and Government, absolutely devoid of any thought that they had any mandate from the people, breaking the lives of the people, shooting the people, destroying their property, threatening the whole life of the country, that they had to deal with the situation that had arisen.

GOVERNMENT'S REQUEST.

When the Government were asking for authority for the Army to impose imprisonment or sentence of death on people who were killing the country they were simply requiring what the ordinary civil machinery would do if it was there. They were not asking it in any spirit of punishment. These proposals were framed to act as a preventive to the destruction going on in the country.

The powers they were asking for were those of life and death, and would be in the hands of nobody but one of their general officers commanding in a particular district.

Putting such powers into such general officer would give him better authority over his men, and when he stood before them after three of their comrades had been killed he would not stand with his finger in his mouth and say: "Well, you will be more careful when going to Mass next Sunday." They must have faith in the Army, and the Army had done things that would warrant the Government having faith in its judgment, courage, and ability to realise the situation both political and military.

NO USE IN NAGGING.

There was no use trying to undermine their confidence by nagging, and suggesting that some day they would do some terribly dark deed.

They had had difficulty in the Army from a disciplinary point of view, but the Army was no better than the people it came from.

They knew the extent to which the Irish nation was undisciplined at present. Their biggest danger was national indiscipline. In many parts of the country a train could be looted, the goods could be brought to a farmer's house and used there, the people saying to themselves: "We may as well; for by and by we will have to feed the irregulars." They had such little public spirit in some parts of the country that when they got a tree knocked on the road it would be either left there altogether or only removed in such parts as suited the convenience of people passing there.

BAD MORAL TONE.

Generally, in certain parts of the country, the moral tone of the country was very bad.

There was nothing in the army like that indiscipline or irregularity that found its way into the propagandist sheets. In asking for powers like these they were asking it in order to prevent men taking upon themselves authority to execute people in an unauthorised fashion and the danger that such executions would take place were great. They had already happened in one or two instances, and would have happened in thousands of instances if the men had not that self-control shown by the vast majority of the men in the army.

They had a case at Callow, between Ballina and Swinford, where some captured irregulars, coming down from the mountains, sniggered and laughed when they saw the dead body of a National soldier, and showed an almost fiendish delight. It was with great difficulty that the officer in charge prevented five of these men being killed.

MACROOM INCIDENT.

At Macroom, where eight men had been blown up by a bomb, some of the companions of these men refused to take the surrender of a man who offered himself as prisoner on the following day, and killed him. They wanted to save their men from being driven into a position of that kind. Until such time as civil machinery was set up to deal with malefactors who destroyed life and property, the hard duty was imposed on the army of dealing with them. Then their men would have some chance, even among the very difficult and dangerous circumstances in which they were placed, of showing that chivalry and manliness that they had invariably shown during the past few months.

Extract From "REPUBLICAN WAR BULLETIN" dated Septr. 21st. 1922.

MEN AND MEASURES MAY COME AND GO BUT PRINCIPLES ARE ETERNAL.

MISS MacSWINEY ADDRESSESS DICK MULCAHY.

Corcaig.

To:- RICHARD MULCAHY.

How dare you insult the memory of Terence MacSwiney, a dead soldier of the Republic by coupling his name with that of a man who died fighting to drive Ireland into the British Empire, and to force down the throats of th Republican soldiers an Oath of allegiance to the King of England.

Terence MacSwiney rests in a Republican Grave, faithful to the Oath he took to the Irish Republic. He cannot answer your insults. Do not slander the dead. He had no British Representatives to walk in his funeral, no messages of ~~sympathy~~ poignant sympathy from England's King and Ministers, no fulsome eulogies from Ireland's enemies to dishonour his memory among his Race. These things are the marks of those who have surrendered to England. Terence MacSwiney had their hate to the end as had every Irish Patriot that they could neither break or bend.

The Pageant you arranged for Michael Collins will fill the Picture Papers, Picture Theatres, but history will place the man himself in his reightful place among those who died serving England against the Republic. ~~Truth~~ Truth always prevails, Scenic displays captivate the mind at the moment, but they fade before the truth in man's soul. "Michale Collins will be the legend of Ireland" you say. Are you mocking the man or mocking Ireland, has she survivedn 750 years of oppression and treachery to make a legend of a man - the first in her History - who used his position as a sworn soldier of the Republic to betray the Republic, and advocate an Oath of allegiance to the English King. Truth is the basis of all legend and truth has nothing in common with the breaking of lawful Oaths and the taking of false ones. Michael Collins is dead. May his soul and all others rest in peace. But he will never be hero in Irish History. The side on which he fought condemns him. Because he was once a member of the I.R.A. every Republican is glad that he met a soldier's death, fighting bravely - they grudge him his pageantry as little as they envy him Englan's tears, and from both they ~~turn~~ turn with pride, to the passing of Cathal Brugha - Hero of the Irish Republic. Such has always been the passing of the Republican dead. Such will it always be until treachery is defeated.

Two separate bands of your Imperial Army have been raiding thro' Terence MacSwiney's home today - proceeded by a drunken ex-soldier who burst into that home, threatende to shoot whoever moved, and informed us as he burst out again that he was going to fetch others. Sure enough others came, two separate bands of them within twenty minutes of each other with their English talk of "Murderers" and "Looters" - the very words used by English raiders in the homes of Republicans. When asked for their warrants they answered none was necessary. We did'nt expect ot would be considered so. One can hardly be surprised at these raiders when the man who sent them - Mr. Dalton - is responsible for the tale ~~of~~ that a bag of money was taken from Miss MacSwiney's house and stored in a Convent. Mr. Tobin gives Mr. Dalton as his author for this very English piece of news. We know of the tales of our wonderful wealth - the continuation of the German Gold story - but we are glad to be able to trace them to their avowed source.

Fresh from this and from the pain of seeing men wearing the uniform of Pearse carrying on the work of English Tommies in our home, I take up the paper that has always been the fawning agent of England here, and find you - the man who stands for the breaking of s Sacred Oath to the Republic - using the name of Terence MacSwiney in you peroration. You mentioned other dead soldiers od the Republic too, but I can only speak for one, and for him emphatically do I speak. If he were living to-day youmwould be turning England's big guns on him as you ~~are~~ are turning them on his brothers.

He died/

He died a soldier of the Republic, and you insult him by coupling his name with those who betrayed the Republic. When you eulogise those who have been false to their trust refrain from including in your eulogy those whose honour is unsullied.

Fron the 11th. August to the 25th. October is an anniverary with us. Your mercenaries have fittingly celebrated it for us. While some hold up people in the street and ask: "Where that fellow - Terence MacSwiney's - wife can be found". others swear to have the blood of his sisters, and bands of others raid his home, and through it all we care as little for your threats and evil deeds as we ever cared for your predecessors. It may gratify you to know that we have agreater horror of of, amd shrinking from, the men, who in the uniform of Pearse and Brugha take England's guns and orders to shoot down the soldiers of the Republic. But that will only steel us more.

Continue in your work of imfamy - you will fail as surely as Lloyd George and his Black and Tans failed. 'Tis true the people cheer you and only the minority is with us. But the crowd is always thus. The people cheered Judas - but Christ won.

The God of Truth will protect the Republic that all your English guns and gunners cannot kill.

(Signed) Aine Nic Suibne. (Annie MacSwiney).

EXTRACT FROM REPUBLICAN WAR NEWS No. 71.

On Sept. 12th. 1922, at Coachford a Coroners Jury returned a verdict of murder against Gen. Dalton and Richard Mulcahy in the case of Capt. T.Konefick. savagely slain by Free State Officers under Gen. Dalton's command. On Sept. 18th. at Dublin a Coroner's Jury returned a verdict of Wilful Murder against F.S. troops from Beggars Bush who slew Comndt. P.Mannion as he lay wounded on Mount St. Bridge. But Mulcahy and Dalton soon settled that. The Dublin Press of Sept. 28th reports:-

"A Public notice appears in Tuesdays Cork Press signed by Maj. Gen Dalton intimating that no inquests are to be held in future in the Co nty unless w itten authority for the holding of same shall have been given by him."

No doubt in a few days the suppression of inquests will be general. then murder may go on unchecked. Thus will the "Will of the People" be triumphantly vindicated.

F.C.S.

'FREEMAN'S JOURNAL'
9-10-'22.

SPEECH BY GENERAL MULCAHY

PEARSE'S WORDS

CONSTRUCTIVE WORK TO BE DONE

Back from his tour of inspection in the South, General Mulcahy, Commander-in-Chief, yesterday attended an impressive military function at Gormanstown Camp, the headquarters of the Army Transport Department, and afterwards delivered an address on the future of the Army.

The occasion was the trooping of the colours and the hoisting of a tricolour on the flagstaff by the Commander-in-Chief, who was accompanied by Major-General McMahon, Chief of Staff; General O'Hegarty, Commandant-General Price, Director of Organisation; Colm O'Murchadha, and a travelling escort of officers.

THE TURNING POINT.

General Mulcahy first spoke in Gaelic. Continuing in English, he said that there were many things, when speaking for the Army and to the Army simply, that one would like to say that day, but in the rush and stress of the times they were not as well able to say them as they would like to.

"We find ourselves to-day," he proceeded, "at a turning point in our history, and at this turning point we find people around us trying by this, that or the other catch-cry, or by this, that or the other slander, to divert us from the big, straight path of work along which we would like to travel. The country itself, and particularly the men of the army, have borne many trials during the past six months—trials that you did not think you would have to bear, but you have borne the shock of those trials in a manner in which one would expect an Irish army to do."

WORK WELL DONE.

He was perfectly satisfied that the difficult work which had come their way during that time had been done. The great liberties that their efforts during the past two or three years had won for this country had been saved a second time during the last six months, and they were now able to feel that with that work done they were facing the future, and seeing what the future contained for them in the line of work.

"I sat on the Sunday after Easter week in Pearse's cell in Arbour Hill," he went on, "and I asked him if his order to surrender referred to the whole of Ireland, or did it only refer to Dublin City? He replied that it referred to the whole of Ireland.

"I asked him if any good could still be done by a small band continuing to hold out—a small band who could hold out for a greater length of time. He said 'no'; he set himself out to do a definite work. When Pearse's work is done, he said, that work is done, and the time has not come to take another step."

THEIR INSPIRATION.

However, some years afterwards, continued the Commander-in-Chief, they took Pearse's great courage, and, feeling in their hearts that when men like Pearse, Connolly and MacDiarmuid had come amongst them, simply because they had not an organised, thinking and educated people around them, instead of using their great brains on the constructive ideas that each of them had, they had still to do the driving work of whipping the people into some kind of an organism so that they would be fit for work; but by the time that they got the people whipped into some kind of an ordered thinking machine, they had to give up their lines in order to push the work a little bit ahead again.

Seeing what Pearse and those around him might have done if they had even then an ordered people, they who had known of the greatness of Pearse, Connolly, and others, simply took upon themselves the duty of building up an ordered kernel in the people, so that when some great man would come along he would not have to fritter away his brains in conveying ideas to a people who would not be responsive to those ideals.

AN OBSTACLE REMOVED.

"We," he declared, "did greater things than we had hoped to be able to do. We took the great courage Pearse had, and we scattered it over the four corners of the country. With that courage we have taken away from the path of our people the biggest obstacle that stood before them in achieving their great national dignity, and you stand here to-day in Gormanstown, that was the big home of the Black and Tans.

"Do you know," he asked, "that the British Army, who stood like a big monster in this country, is practically cleared out, and in four or five weeks' time you will have seen the last of them leave Dublin?

"Taking Pearse's courage, we have come to that point in our national development, and what is the work that faces us now?"

They knew, he proceeded, that with the greater freedom which their country would now enjoy great men would rise up amongst them, and they were continuing their work of preparing for them an orderly, disciplined, industrious and thought-loving people. Just as the Army had been the thing which, during the last three or four years, had held the headline of courage before the people, so they stood out to-day to hold out before the people of this country the headline of order, discipline, industry, brotherly affection and work.

GLORIOUS DAYS AHEAD.

They knew that great men would come after them, and that the machine of order which they wished to make of their people should do great work, would bring glory to their nation, and would drive them further and further along that great path of national development that their heroes and martyrs had in their minds in very dark days.

In Gormanstown they would have what would be the big home of their transport department, and something more than the mere putting of cars upon the roads would come from their workshops there. At the present moment, with their work in some directions done, they were sending their engineers out along their broken railways and broken roads, with trains they had themselves built—trains specially suitable for the work of construction. With their industry, with their intelligence and with their mechanical skill they would show in a very short space of time what they were capable of doing, not only upon their railways but in other directions also.

In the same way they looked forward to doing something more than having an Army machine that could form fours and shoulder a rifle, and stand up against an enemy whenever an enemy invaded their country again.

"We look forward," he proceeded, "to our being a big national constitution through which the young manhood of Ireland will pass for some brief space of time, and they will pass out of it very much better men, and very much better citizens, having during their period in the Army done some useful constructive work for their country, as well as having perfected themselves in the use of arms.

"Each man of you in the Army is responsible for serving your country to the very fullest extent, as much as any other man standing alongside of you, or as any officer who finds himself placed over you, or as any of those who find their way to the duties of the higher command."

As they faced their daily work there they should think of what that work meant. They should think whether it was useful to the country or not. They should think whether they could make themselves more useful to the country than they were now.

"Out of all that," he concluded, "which we will pool together, we will follow along the new highway that we have set before us, and we will make our new motto 'order, discipline and work' as faithful and as big a success as we did of the old motto that we took from Pearse."

WORK TO BE DONE.

The Commander-in-Chief and his staff were subsequently entertained to luncheon by Commandant-General O Muirthuile and the officers in the camp.

Father Coyle, the Chaplain, proposed the toast of General Mulcahy, which was enthusiastically received.

General Mulcahy having suitably replied,

Major-General McMahon, responding to the toast of his health, asked for the co-operation of all the officers in carrying out the work as outlined that day by the Commander-in-Chief. There was plenty of work still to be done, he said, and all the officers should throw in their lot and hammer out the job; especially were their efforts necessary in dealing with matters of organisation.

Commandant-General O Muirthuile expressed on behalf of the officers and the men their appreciation of the honour done them by the visit of General Mulcahy. That visit, he said, would help to strengthen them in the tasks ahead of them. He assured the Commander-in-Chief and the Chief of Staff from his experience that the Camp would give them every satisfaction, and the men would aspire to merit the confidence reposed in them (applause).

LOOKING FORWARD

"We look forward to our being a big national organisation, through which the young manhood of Ireland will pass for some brief space of time, and they will pass out of it very much better men and very much better citizens, having, during their period in the Army, done some useful constructive work for their country, as well as having skilled themselves in the use of arms."—General Mulcahy, in an address to the troops.

'Irish Independent'
13-10-'22.

GOVERNMENT NOTICES.

OGLAIGH NA h-EIREANN.

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS,
PORTOBELLO BARRACKS, DUBLIN.

NOTICE

By the Army Council.

(1) NOTICE is hereby given to every person who has in his or her possession any of the following articles or substances, viz.:—

(1) Any bomb or article in the nature of a bomb;

(2) Any dynamite, gelignite, or other explosive substance;

(3) Any revolver, rifle, gun or other fire-arm, or lethal weapon, or any ammunition for any such fire-arm;

To furnish forthwith, in writing, in duplicate, to the Officer in charge of the nearest Military Post, a statement signed by him or her specifying—

(a) The nature and description of any such article or substance in his or her possession;

(b) The number of such articles, or the quantity of such substance or substances in his or her possession;

(c) The place where such articles or substance or substances are stored;

(d) The purposes for which such articles or substance or substances are held;

(e) The permit or authority under which such articles or substances are held.

(2) Such statement must be furnished personally to the Officer in charge of the nearest Military Post.

(3) Failure to comply with this Notice will render every person so failing to comply liable to be proceeded against before a Military Court.

Dated this 10th day of October, 1922.

Signed ON BEHALF OF THE ARMY COUNCIL,

RISTEARD UA MAOLCATA,
General,
Commander-in-Chief,

OGLAIGH NA h-EIREANN

PROCLAMATION.

EXTRACT FROM 'IRISH INDEPENDENT' 14-10-'22.

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS,
PORTOBELLO BARRACKS,
DUBLIN.

To All Whom It May Concern.

1. With a view to the speedy termination of the present state of armed rebellion and insurrection, and the restoration of peace, order, and security, the Government, with the sanction of Dail Eireann, has sanctioned the doing by, or under the authority of, the Army Council of all of the following matters or things:—

(a) The setting up of Military Courts or Committees for the inquiring into charges against persons in respect of any of the offences hereinafter mentioned, provided, however, that every such Military Court or Committee shall include as a member thereof at least one person nominated by the Minister of Defence and certified by the Law Officer to be a person of legal knowledge and experience.

(b) The inquiry by such Military Courts or Committees into the cases of persons charged with any of the offences following, that is to say:—

(1) Taking part in, or aiding or abetting, any attacks upon or using force against the National forces.

(2) Looting, arson, destruction, seizure, unlawful possession, or removal of, or damage to, any public or private property.

(3) Having possession without proper authority of any bomb, or article in the nature of a bomb, or any dynamite, gelignite, or other explosive substance, or any revolver, rifle, gun or other firearm or lethal weapon, or any ammunition for such firearm.

(4) The breach of any general order or regulation made by the Army Council.

and the infliction by such Military Courts or Committees of the punishment of death or of penal servitude for any period or of imprisonment for any period or of a fine of any amount either with or without imprisonment on any person found guilty by such Court or Committee of any of the offences aforesaid, provided that no such sentence of death be executed except under the counter signature of two members of the Army Council.

(c) The removal under authority of the Army Council of any person taken prisoner, arrested, or detained by the National Forces to any place or places whether within or without the area of jurisdiction of the Government, and the detention or imprisonment of any such persons in any place or places within or without the area aforesaid.

(d) The regulation and control of the sale, possession, transfer of, and dealing in, revolvers, rifles, guns, and other firearms.

2. By regulations made the 2nd day of October, 1922, the Army Council have provided for the trial by Military Courts of civilians charged with the offences specified in the preceding paragraph and for the infliction upon any civilian convicted by a Military Court of any such offence, of any of the following punishments according to the nature and gravity of the offence:—

DEATH,
PENAL SERVITUDE,
IMPRISONMENT,
DEPORTATION,
INTERNMENT,
FINE.

3. It is provided by the said regulations that they shall come into force upon, and shall apply as from such date as the Army Council shall determine and announce by proclamation.

4. By proclamation published the 3rd day of October, 1922, the Government announced and proclaimed as follows:—

(1) Every person who is engaged in such insurrection and rebellion against the State as aforesaid, or in such armed opposition to the National Forces as aforesaid, or who has been guilty of any offence against the State, directly arising out of such aforesaid, and who, on or before the 15th day of October, 1922, voluntarily delivers into the possession of the National Forces all fire-arms, arms, weapons, bombs, ammunition and explosives, and all public and private property, now unlawfully in his possession, and quits all lands or buildings unlawfully occupied by him, and who, on or before the 15th day of October, 1922, voluntarily ceases to take part in, or aid or abet such insurrection, rebellion or armed opposition, shall be permitted to return unmolested to his house; and to every such person we hereby offer, assure and proclaim a full amnesty and pardon for all such insurrection, riot, rebellion, and opposition and offence as aforesaid.

(2) Every such person may deliver any such fire-arms, arms, weapons, ammunition, explosives and bombs, and any such public and private property as aforesaid, to the Officer Commanding the nearest Military position or Station, or to any such person as shall be nominated by him.

KNOW THEN, AND IT IS HEREBY ANNOUNCED AND PROCLAIMED AS FOLLOWS:—

(1) After the 15th day of October, 1922, we, the Army Council, will exercise all the powers and do all the matters and things in the first paragraph of this proclamation mentioned, or any of them, according as the same shall to us seem necessary or expedient.

(2) The said Regulations as to the Trial of Civilians by Military Courts made by us, the Army Council, on the 2nd day of October, 1922, shall come into force and shall apply as from the 15th day of October, 1922.

Given at General Headquarters, Portobello Barracks, Dublin, and published this 10th day of October, 1922.

SIGNED ON BEHALF OF THE ARMY COUNCIL,

RISTEARD UA MAOLCATHA, General.

Commander-in-Chief

...TS.

...HEATRE.

...-DAY at 2.30.
...ice of Latest Successful
...y:
...O WOMAN."
... THEATRE, LONDON,
... BRASS DOOR KNOB.

...Y THEATRE.
...nday Next, for Six Nights,
Wednesday and Saturday at 2.30.
ALFRED BUTT
...OBERT COURTNEIDGE
...t the Latest Musical Play Success,
GABRIELLE.
...E CAST INCLUDES:
DOREEN LANGTON,
...N. CLIFFORD, HAROLD E. PEARCE,
... FARREN, DICK WEBB,
...EL ...NRO, CECIL STOCK.
...MMY GODDEN.
...LONDON CHORUS AUGMENTED ORCHESTRA.
...UAL PRICES. NOW BOOKING.

...UEEN'S THEATRE.
...5 ..... TWICE NIGHTLY 8.45
THE THRILLING INDIAN DRAMA:
THE QUEEN OF THE REDSKINS.
POWERFUL COMPANY.
...s Booked at Theatre—2/4.....Tel. 3016.

...EMPIRE THEATRE.
...15 ..... TWICE NIGHTLY 8.45
TOPPING BILL!
DOUGLAS AND JONES,
Black-Faced Comedians.
...NG and ALLEN.....TERRY and YORK
...LEEN HAYDEN.....TED O'KELLY
...AULA DESTINY, CLIFFORD & GREY.

...IVOLI (6.45 and 9 Tel. 4125) THEATRE
CHRIS SILVESTER & CO.
...in a New Comedy Sketch: "Tickle 'Em."
...hal McGarvey.....Wal and Rosa
...hen, Ltd.....Jack Oswald.....Sanhi
KEY and KEYWORTH.

...IETROPOLE CINEMA.
CONTINUOUS ..... 3—10.30.

ALL THIS WEEK:

HARLEY KNOLES' WONDERFUL PRODUCTION:
THE BOHEMIAN GIRL,
WITH
...LADYS COOPER.....as Arline
...VOR NOVELLO.....as Thaddeus
...LLEN TERRY.....as Buda
CONSTANCE COLLIER as the Gipsy Queen
...ENRY VIBART.....as The Count

SHOWING DAILY
AT
3, 5, 7, and 9 o'clock.

ORCHESTRA, Under ERWIN GOLDWATER, WILL PLAY SPECIALLY-SELECTED MUSIC.

RESTAURANT
OPEN .... 12.30 TO 9.30.
...RCHESTRAL MUSIC—1 to 2.30, 4.30 to 6.30, and 7.30 to 9.
...OLOS by ERWIN GOLDWATER at 5 p.m. Daily.

BALLROOM.
DANCING—WEDNESDAY and SATURDAY: 8 to 11 P.M. EVENING DRESS.
...ickets—T. Leggett Byrne, Esq., 27 Adelaide ...oad; or at the Restaurant.

...THE MASTERPIECE.
MONDAY NEXT—
EXCLUSIVE PICTURES OF THE
BECKETT v. MORAN FIGHT.
"The most terrific fight ever seen in London."

...ATHER MATHEW HALL,
CHURCH STREET.
OPENING OF DRAMATIC SEASON WITH
...HE FORGE OF CLOHOGUE.
To-Morrow (Sunday) at 4 o'clock
AND EACH EVENING DURING THE WEEK,
... SHARP

AMUSEMENTS.

THEATRE ROYAL.
6.45 ..... TWICE NIGHTLY ..... 9.0.
MANY HAPPY RETURNS.
NEXT WEEK—FRED DUPREZ AND COMPANY IN
KING SOLOMON, JUNIOR.
WINTER GARDENS CAFE.
LADIES ORCHESTRA—1 to 2.30 & 4 to 6 p.m.

THEATRE ROYAL.
TO-MORROW (SUNDAY) EVENING AT 8 O'CLOCK.....Doors Open 7.30
CONCERT AND VARIETY ENTERTAINMENT
In Aid of Kilmacud and Stillorgan Village Hall.
IRELAND'S LEADING ARTISTES.
ADMISSION 1/-, 1/6, 2/6, 3/6, 5/-

THEATRE ROYAL
DUBLIN.
INTERNATIONAL CELEBRITY SUBSCRIPTION CONCERTS
FIRST CONCERT
SATURDAY NEXT, AT 3.
TETRAZZINI CONCERT
TICKETS (Including Tax) ..... 5/9 to 17/-
At the Doors—3/6.
SERIAL TICKETS ARE STILL AVAILABLE, AND SHOULD BE SECURED AT ONCE.
Stamped Envelope with all Communications:
J. H. HAMILTON, Theatre Royal, Dublin.
Telephone—2383.

ABBEY THEATRE.
MATINEE TO-DAY (SAT.) AT 2.30.
TO-NIGHT AT 8.15.
SPRING.
By T. C. MURRAY.
THE LORD MAYOR.
By EDWARD McNULTY.
Booking at Theatre ('Phone 3268), and at Clery's, Lower O'Connell Street.

CATHOLIC TRUTH CONFERENCE.
TO-DAY (SATURDAY).
MANSION HOUSE—11 A.M.
"WELFARE WORK FOR CHILDREN."
MRS. E. J. LITTLE.
2.30 p.m.—MEETING OF GIRLS.
4.0 p.m.—MEETING OF BOYS.
8 p.m.—ADDRESS TO WOMEN. By REV. J. S. SHEEHY, C.M.
(L.)

MR. H. GRATTAN KELLY'S DANCE ORCHESTRA.
32 LOWER ST. COLUMBA'S ROAD, DRUMCONDRA, DUBLIN.

APPEALS.

NEW CHURCH
TO
OUR LADY OF LOURDES,
Lower Gloucester St., Dublin.

A Temporary edifice has been erected on the site secured for this New Church, which is badly needed in this locality.

It is already crowded, and the Shrine has aroused a deep spirit of Devotion to Our Lady of Lourdes, with the most beneficial results amongst the people.

The Accommodation afforded by the Temporary structure is inadequate. The Administrator strongly appeals to the Catholics of Dublin and of Ireland for the means to undertake the building of the New Church. **The District being one of the most densely populated and poorest in the city, little pecuniary aid can be expected from it.**

The Holy Sacrifice of the Mass will be offered **EACH WEEK** for Subscribers.

Subscriptions will be thankfully received by any of the Clergy or by

VERY REV. JOHN FLANAGAN, ADM.

83 Marlborough Street, Dublin.

ARTHUR GRIFFITH, JOURNALIST and STATESMAN. By JAMES STEPHENS. With

them to control the policy of th... try. The principle introduced... Article was, to our mind, unde... tic. It was not surprising, the... to find that it met with vigorou... sition in Dail Eireann. An... ment was accepted providing... members of the Executive ...ncil shall be members of the Chamber. This means that the Cabinet shall consist of members of the Chamber; but we fail to see why members of the Senate should be excluded. The Ministry was, however, to include men who were not members of Parliament.

A Committee was appointed "to arrange the details of the provisions for appointing Ministers who shall not be members of the Executive Council and need not be members of the Dail." That Committee presented an unanimous report dealing with the position of Ministers, and it recommended that the Executive Council should consist of not more than 7 or less than 5. On the assumption that there are 12 Ministers, 7 of them would, therefore, be non-members of the Chamber if the Executive Council consisted of only 5. The report in its entirety was rejected by the House mainly because the majority objected to the principle of extern Ministers. That decision should have settled the matter. The House, however, resolved itself into Committee again and proceeded to take in detail by way of amendment the very proposals which had *in globo* been rejected. The points for and against the appointment of non-members as Ministers was stated very fully. Having examined the question on its merits we have come to the conclusion that the principle is inadmissible, and we urge the Dail to insist that all Ministers shall be members either of the Chamber or of the Senate.

BRITAIN'S COALITION

A General Election in Britain, it is agreed by all the prophets and the wise men, is at hand. The hour of its happening will not be told until Mr Lloyd George announces it. That he may do to-day in Manchester whither he made a triumphal progress yesterday. Meanwhile the prophets make ill sayings of the Coalition. The extreme section of the Conservatives—the Die-Hards, as they delight to call themselves—are in open revolt against Mr. George. Mr. Bonar Law is disgruntled; Lord Derby is dissatisfied. But Mr. Austen Chamberlain, who spoke yesterday at Birmingham, still cleaves to the cause of his Chief. It may be that he loves not Mr. George more but Labour less. To his mind, the alternative to a Coalition Government is not a Conservative, but a Labour administration. Mr. J. H. Thomas agrees with him. Mr. Thomas is evidently ready—or, so we gather from his speech at Derby—to put the issue to the test and to help, if his cause is victorious at the polls, to form a Labour Government. Mr. Chamberlain makes it his central argument against a Labour Government, and, therefore, in favour of the Coalition, that Labour has no understanding of foreign policy. We have little admiration for the foreign policy of Britain—particularly in regard to her French diplomacy and to her Mesopotamian commitments—but we are inclined to agree with Mr. Chamberlain that a Labour administration would, with the best of motives, make greater blunders than even the present rulers of Britain. Mr. Clynes makes great play with Britain's performance in the Near East, and talks feelingly about the harsh treatme...

REPUBLICAN CRITICISM OF MULCAHY'S SPEECH AT GORMANSTOWN.

Extract from "THE FENIAN" No. 77, of Oct.9th.

MULCAHY'S HYPOCRISY.

Charles Dickens would have delighted in Mulcahy. It would have been a great pleasure to the novelist to see in the real flesh one of the types he drew - Mr Stiggins. Mr Stiggins was a gentleman who spent his time going around the world correcting other peoples misdemeanours and aided in his self-imposed and very remunerative task, by an air of solemn sanctity that impressed unintelligent people. Meanwhile most of the vices he bemoaned in others he assiduously practiced himself in private.

Mulcahy has cultivated a pose - as impressive a pose as that of W.B. Yeats in his "artieat" and most "non-commercial" days 9 and tries to live up to the self-imposed role of a stained-glass-window warrior in public. But in private he carries out to the letter his declared motto of "NO SQUEAMISHNESS." We have him at Gormanstown on yesterday endeavouring to blind and mislead the public by dragging the revered name of Patrick Pearse into his discourse. He makes the point that Pearse, when asked if his surrender were for the whole of Ireland, or would he approve of a small band holding out somewhere, replied that the surrender was for the whole of Ireland.

Mulcahy's attempt at an analogy here is a complete failure. Pearse talked of a "SURRENDER." He was right. Under the circumstances of his time there was nothing else for it. Overwhelmed militarily it was impossible then to carry the fight any further. BUT THE REPUBLIC DID NOT SURRENDER TO THE ENGLISH. THE REPUBLIC WAS NOT BEATEN. AND IF MULCAHY AND THE OTHERS HAD REMAINED TRUE TO THEIR OATHS, INSTEAD OF BETRAYING THEM, WITH THE UNITED FRONT OF THE IRISH NATION STILL PRESERVED, THERE WOULD BE NO CIVIL WAR AND NO ENGLISH ENEMY IN IRELAND TO-DAY. Mulcahy said "In three months you will see the last of the British Army cleared out of Ireland." Nobody knows better than Mulcahy that he is lying in the sense in which he wants his words to be taken. For the British Army remains in Ireland as long as the Slave State Army remains here. FOR THE SLAVE STATE ARMY IS A BRITISH ARMY UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF THE KING OF ENGLAND AND UNDER SWORN ALLEGIANCE TO HIM. AND RICHARD MULCAHY IS A BRITISH GENERAL UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF THE KING OF ENGLAND AND, ONCE THESLAVE CONSTITUTION IS ACCEPTED, UNDER SWORN ALLEGIANCE TO HIM. Can you imagine Patrick Pearse, WHATEVER THE EXCUSE, swearing allegiance to the King of Englamd? Can you imagine Seagean McDermott swearing allegiance to the King of England? No. A THOUSAND TIMES, NO! BUT DICK MULCAHY IS DOING IT AND ASSASSINATING IRISHMEN IN COLD BLOOD TO ENFORCE THAT ALLEGIANCE.

We see that drunken Sean O'Muirthuille has been made a Commandant-General now - for his services in firing on unarmed prisoners we suppose - for that is the only war record he possesses. God help Ireland, indeed, if these be her generals. He successfully carried out operations on a large scale on Sunday - on the lunch table - and this is a field of strategy in which he is thoroughly at home.

Two things about Mulcahy's speech are suggestive -
The first the hint that CONSCRIPTION is to be brought into operation.
The second the fact that it was made at Gormanstown.

GREENWOOD SPOKE AT GORMANSTOWN - TO THE BLACK AND TANS.
IT WAS THE LAST SPEECH HE MADE IN IRELAND.
MULCAHY SPOKE AT GORMANSTOWN THE GREEN-AND-TANS.
Well, you can fill in the rest for yourselves.

EXTRACT FROM 'FENIAN' No.84. DATED 17th.OCTOBER, 1922.

"THE PERJURERS.

"A member of the ~~D&qrs~~ HDQR: Staff, Northern & Eastern Command, writes:-

"In January last when the Treaty was signed General MULCAHY (then Chief of Staff) and General Eoin O'DUFFY (then Assistant Chief of Staff) of the I.R.A. attended a meeting of the Dublin Brigade to justify the action they had taken.

Upon being faced with the Oath which was in the Treaty MULCAHY struckkthe table, saying, "I WILL NEVER TAKE THAT OATH". O'DUFFY also smote the table and shouted "NEITHER WILL I".

I was present when this occurred and I am sure the other officers of the Dublin can bear me out."

'IRISH TIMES'. 3-11-'22.

HOUSE OF ARMY CHIEF

ATTACKED LAST NIGHT.

ARMED MEN PURSUED BY OFFICER.

ONE SHOT DEAD; TWO ESCAPE.

Lissonfield House, Rathmines road, Dublin, the residence of General Mulcahy, Commander-in-Chief of the National Army, was attacked by armed men at about 8.30 last night, and in the resulting exchange of fire a civilian was shot dead.

The house stands in a garden some distance back from the road at the corner of Blackberry lane and is separated from an entrance to Portobello Barracks only by St. Mary's College. Directly facing the building is the Roman Catholic chapel.

The attackers took up their positions just outside the front entrance to the chapel as the Novena Devotions were drawing to a close, and opened fire on the house with revolvers.

It is said that a bomb, which failed to explode, was thrown into the grounds of Lissonfield House, but there is no confirmation of this.

A military guard in the gate lodge instantly returned the fire of the attackers.

Worshippers coming out from the Devotions found themselves confronted by a miniature battle, and fled affrightedly back into the chapel. People in the street rushed for the nearest shelter.

The fire of the guard proved too hot for their assailants, and the latter began to give way, some retreating up the lane at the side of the chapel.

THE PURSUIT.

At this point an officer driving a motor cycle, with another soldier of the National Army in the sidecar, arrived on the scene, and, taking in the situation at a glance, swiftly dismounted and pursued the fleeing attackers, firing upon them as they ran.

In the chase one man was hit, and fell just outside the chapel. The others managed to make their escape.

The Reverend Father Murnane, who was hearing confessions in the chapel when the firing began, was informed that a man had been shot, and went out to find a wounded youth in civilian clothes lying on the ground.

The clergyman remained with the man until the Rathmines Fire Brigade ambulance arrived, which it did in a minute or so. Even then all the firing had not died down, and there were two or three shots fired as the youth was being lifted into the vehicle.

Father Murnane and a soldier of the National Army accompanied the ambulance to the Meath Hospital, where it was found that the wounded man was dead, having been shot through the heart.

It is stated semi-officially that a revolver was found in the possession of the dead man, who has not yet been identified.

The whole affair did not occupy more than about ten minutes, and a curious feature was that the shots were not heard by many inside the chapel at the time, so that they began to leave the building whilst the firing was still in progress, only to return precipitately. The priests did their utmost to calm the startled people.

There were no casualties among the military forces, and, so far as is known, no other civilian was injured.

Military foot patrols were very much in evidence on the streets of the city after the occurrence.

Papers found on the dead man indicate that he was a medical student.

The deceased man was about 25 years of age, fair-haired, of good physique, and five feet ten inches in height. He wore a grey suit, grey flannel underclothing, and a blue overcoat.

In his pocket was found a letter addressed to F. M. Power."

'IRISH INDEPENDENT'. 4-11-'22.

PORTOBELLO ATTACK

THE OFFICIAL STATEMENT

The following official statement was issued from Army Headquarters yesterday:—

"At about 8.30 o'c. last night an attack was made on the sentry outside the lodge at Lissonfield House. The guard turned out immediately. A bomb thrown by one of the attackers landed at the door of the lodge, but failed to explode.

"An officer and N.C.O. proceeding to Portobello Barracks on a motor cycle and sidecar were also fired on by the attackers. They immediately returned the fire and their assailants retreated through the yard of Rathmines Church.

"One man actually seen firing on the guard was fatally wounded. On being searched the man's identity was disclosed as F. M. Power, resident student, St. Vincent's Hospital. A .450 revolver with four live and two spent rounds was found on him."

Deceased, who was a son of Mr. John Power, Hogan's Pass, Nenagh, was in the final year of his medical studies. An inquest will be held to-day.

Castle File No. 93.

MULCAHY. Richard.

Addresses:- Cullenswood House, Cullenswood Avenue, Dublin.
'Bayview', Sutton, Co. Dublin.
and, 19. Ranelagh Road, Dublin.

Description:- Age 33. Height 5'8". Fair hair. Slight stoop when walking.

Occupation.

ELECTED SINN FÉIN M.P. FOR N.W.DIVISION OF DUBLIN, MAY, 1921.

Prior to May, 1921, Election was a member of "Finance", "Local Government Board", and "National Civil Service" Committees, Dail Eireann, 1921.

Chief Of Staff, I.R.A.1921.

Appointed Minister Of Defence under Dail's New Ministry on 10th.January, 1922.

Resident Member of I.R.A.Executive, 1921.

Member I.R.B. for some years past.

Commandant, Dublin Brigade, I.R.A.

Born at Ennis, Co. Clare, where his father was Postmaster.

From 1908 to 1916 was employed in the Engineering Department of the G.P.O. at Aldborough House, Dublin.

Was a keen student of science, and attended lectures in the Royal College of Science, and at the Technical Schools, Kevin Street. Was also a keen student of Irish Language and Literature, and a member of the Gaelic League, but took no part in politics.

Joined the Irish Volunteers at their formation, and held extreme views.

Came into prominence after the fall of REDMOND when McNEILL became the leader of the Irish National Volunteers.

Took part in the 1916 Rebellion at Ashbourne, where a number of R.I.C. was wounded, and was in the General Surrender.

Was deported to FRONGOCH, and released 23.12.16. when he went to ENNIS.

MULCAHY. Richard. (Continued.)

Left ENNIS 5.2.17. and returned to DUBLIN, where, with Michael COLLINS, he helped to re-organise the Irish Volunteers, and devoted all his time to training and recruiting the I.R.A.

Appointed Chief Of Staff early in 1918, and was elected M.P. for CLONTARF, DUBLIN CITY, N.W.

Received 600 copies of 'An-T'Oglac' in August, 1918.

In 1919 a warrant was issued against him, but he evaded arrest.

Studied Medicine in 1919 and prepared for his examination in July of that year.

In 1919 he married Mary Josephine RYAN, sister of Dr.RYAN.T.D. for Wexford, and sister-in-law of 'Sean'. T. O'KELLY.

House at Ranelagh raided in February 1920, and important documents taken. House again raided on 19.12.20.

On 19.1.21. he was reported to be hiding in the Ursuline Convent, THURLES, where his sister is.(7809.)

In January, 1921, was reported to be in England trying to recruit ex-soldiers for Sinn Fein work in Ireland.

Reported to be in MANCHESTER in March, 1921.

House raided 1.6.21. Nothing found.

Regular attendant at Meetings of Dail Eireann in the Mansion House, and at Harcourt Street.

On 15.6.21. was reported to be travelling between DUBLIN and THURLES, and to be actively engaged in starting a school of instruction in engineering, etc, at the R.C.College, THURLES.

Reported to be staying with CAHILL, the Papal Optician, Ormond Quay, DUBLIN, on 29.8.21.

Visits Standard Hotel, Harcourt Street,(D.D.Summary, dated 29.8.21.)

Reviewed Sinn Feiners near Ballyboden on 2.10.21.(I.X/0096.)

Inspected 6th. Batt. Dublin Brigade, about 1,000 strong, in the Dublin Mountains, 3.10.21. (I.X/0059.)

Present at Staff Conference in Dublin 16.10.21. (I.X/0201.)

Delivered address at performance of McSwiney's "Revolutionist" at Abbey Theatre 16.10.21.(I.X/0235.)

Reviewed Balckhall Batt.I.R.A. 19.10.21. Has ordered "Speeding Up" in I.R.A. Training. (I.X/0201.)

Present at meeting in Count PLUNKETT's house on 25.10.21.(I.X/0262.)

MULCAHY. Richard. (Continued.)

Lectured to I.R.A.Officers at 19. Ely Place. (I.X/0302.)

With others placed wreaths on the graves of Commandants McKEE and CLANCY at Glasnevin on 20.11.21. when about 10,000 volunteers paraded.

Addressed a parade of 700 men of the 9th. South Louth Brigade, I.R.A. at DROGHEDA on 7.12.21. He attacked the Peace Terms with great heat and advised them to accept nothing less than a Republic, and asked for a show of hands to support his resolution to "Fight for a Republic". All hands were shown and loud cheers greeted the conclusion of his address.(I.X/0861.

Reviewed the parade of I.R.A. at Shelbourne Park on 11.12.21. (I.X/0793.)

Made some very sound speeches in support of the Treaty.

Voted in favour of ratification of the Treaty on 7.1.22.

Oneeof the signatories to an appeal for 'I.R.A.Unification' issued to the press.('Irish Times' dated 2.5.22.)

Member of Irish Air Council for the establishment of a Military and Civil Air Department in Ireland.('Irish Independent' dated 8.5.22.)

Re-nominated as a Treaty Candidate for DUBLIN CITY. ('Irish Times' dated 2.6.22.)

Elected Member of 3rd.Dail June, 1922.

Issued statement to Army during the engagement for possession of the Four Courts.('Irish Independent' dated 29.6.22.)

For short history of MULCAHY's life see 'Irish Times' dated 15.4.22.

Appointed General, Chief Of Staff and Minister Of Defence, also member of newly formed Army Council of Three for the direction of operations against irregular forces.('Irish Independent' dated 14.7.22.)

Alleged by Republican War News No.23. dated 25.7.22. to be a member of the Supreme Council of the I.R.B. This has been confirmed by I.X/1362.

For MULCAHY's message of sympathy to the widow of Arthur GRIFFITH see extract from 'Irish Independent' dated 14.8.22 in dossier.

One of the men who represented G.H.Q. at the funeral of Arthur GRIFFITH. ('Irish Independent' dated 16.8.22.)

It is expected that he will be tried by a 'Court' of the Inner Circle of the I.R.B. on a charge of treason to the I.R.B., and that he will be convicted and sentenced to death. (I.X/1417.)

MULCAHY. Richard. (Continued.)

For an article entitled "Government by Secret Society" directed against MULCAHY (and others) see extract from Republican War News No.33 in dossier.

Upon the death of Michael COLLINS issued a message of encouragement to the men of the Nationa Army.('Irish Times' dated 23.8.22.)

Appointed Commander in Chief of the National Army in place of the late General Michael COLLINS. ('Irish Times' dated 24.8.22.)

Reports from different sources in DUBLIN point to the assassination of prominent Pro-Treaty leaders. MULCAHY is stated to have received notice of the end.(I.X/1436.)

Elected to continue to hold his position as Minister Of Defence in the New Ministry.('Irish Independent' dated 11.9.22.)

Had a row with Alderman STAINES (Chief of Civic Guard) over the murder of COLE and COLLEY, members of the Dublin Fianna, and it is rumoured that as a result STAINES will resign from the Civic Guard.('Fenian' No.45. dated 2.9.22.)

The following is an extract from Republican Propaganda Sheet No.59. dated 16.9.22. and throws an interesting reflection on MULCAHY's past:-

> "On 22.6.21. issued a Counter-reprisals ~~Order~~ General Order to his troops authorising the wholesale destruction of Anti-Irish Unionists houses wherever the British destroyed a Republican residence. Now when these men have gone over to the enemy, they denounce the very tactics they taught us and trained us in, as war on women and children. THE HYPROCRITES!"

The following is an extract from Republican War News No.69. dated 28.9.22:-

> "Tuesday's Press reports that Gen.R.MULCAHY was in BOYLE, Co. Roscommon, and met Gen.'Sean' McKEON. We wonder if he received from Gen.McKEON an explanation ~~from~~ of the murder of Brig.'Seamus' DEVINS and Col-Comdt.Brian McNEILL while helpless in the hands of his troops."

His Official residence(Lissonfield House, Rathmines Rd., Dublin) was the object of a determined attack by Irregulars on 2.11.22. (See extract from 'Irish Times' dated 3.11.22. in dossier.)

Was present at handing over of British General Headquarters, Parkgate, Dublin, 17-12-22. Inspected and addressed the Dublin Guards that took over Royal Barracks, 17-12-22. (Ref.Freeman's Journal, 18-12-22).

Toured the South, visiting Charleville, Rathluire, Macroom, and Lismore inspecting troops. (I.I. 4.1.23.)
Visited Cork, Wicklow, Limerick & Wexford Army Centers & H.Q.s inspected in connection with scheme of Army re-organisation. Returned to Dublin 5.1.23. (Ref. F.J. 6.1.23.)

Arrived BALLYHAUNIS 8-1-23 and inspected the garrisons and barracks in company with Gen.McKEOWN. Left for CLAREMORRIS 8-1-23. (F.J. 9-1-23).

Visited Roscommon, Tuam 9.1.23, Galway 10.1.22. Left for Co.Clare. I.T.12.1.23.)

Visited Athlone and inspected the garrison. (I.I. 15-1-23).

Member of Executive Council of the Saorstat. (I.I. 7-12-22).

Resigned his appointment as Minister for Defence, following the recent mutiny among officers of the Free State Army. (F.J.21-3-24).