Mc S W I N E Y, Mary, Miss.

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POBLAGHT NA h. EIREANN WAR NEWS No. 78.

Thursday, 26th October, 1932, SEVENTH YEAR OF THE REPUBLIC. Price

STOPPRESS.

DAIL EIREANN.

OFFICIAL COMMUNIQUE. (English translation),

DAIL EIREANN, THE PARLIAMENT AND GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC MET YESTERDAY IN SECRET SESSION-THE FORMER DEFUTY SPEAKER PRESIDING. A CLERK OF THE HOUS WAS APPOINTED, AND THE FOLLOWING RESOLUTIONS PASSED.

1. WHEREAS, the speaker (Ceann Comhairle) and the other appointed Executive Officers, in disregard of their duty and in open disobedience to the mandamus of the Supreme Court, have refused to summon Dail Eireann, the duly elected Parliament and Government of the

Republic.

Maintain the Republic, these officers, abetted by other members of the Dail Eireann, have in this and divers other ways, endeavoured illegally and unconstitutionally to subvert the Republic and its Government, Dail Eireann, and with fereign aid have joined in a traitoreus conspiracy and armed revolt with that intent, pretending to establish a so called Free State and a Provisional (Partition) Parliament, the creatures and subordinates of an alien legislature and purposing thus to destroy the independent sovereignty of the nation and the integrity of its ancient territory.

THEREFORE, we, the faithful Deputies of Dail Eireann, assembled to maintain the Republic and to secure the continuity of independent Government for the whole of Ireland, in the name of all loyal citizens of the Republic and by the express wish of the soldiers fighting in its defence, call upon the former President, AMON DE VALERA, to resume the Presidency, and to nominate a Council of State and Executive Ministers to assist him in carrying on the Government, until such time as the Parliament of the Republic is allowed freely to assemble, or the people are allowed by a free

election to decide how they shall be governed.

2. That EAMON DE VALURA be hereby appointed PRESIDENT OF THE XXXXXXXI REPUBLIC and Chief executive of the State.

3. That the following, nominated by the President, be hereby appointed the COUNCIL OF STATE:

Austin Stack, T.D.
Robert Barton, T.D.
Gount Plunkett, T.D.
J.J.O'Kelly, T.D.
Laurence Ginnell, T.D.
Sean T.O'Kelly, T.D.

The President.

Sean O'Mahoney, T.D.

Mrs O'Callaghan, T.D.

Mary MacSwiney, T.D.

P.J.Ruttledge, T.D.

Sean Moylan, T.D.

L.P.Colivet, T.D.

4. That pending the next meeting of the Dail we hereby empower the Council of State to sanction such Ministers and Executive Officers of State as the President may nominate and may have the Council's approval.

DUBLIE, October 26th, 1922.

NOTE: Reports indicate that about the last week in October 1922, considerable activity was noticeable near the residence of Mr. De Valera, at "Glenvar", Blackrock & it is possible that Sean Moylan took the opportunity of using the safe conduct reported to have been issued to him by Maj-Genl. Dalton of the P.G. forces to interview De Valera & other Republicans leaders with the result shewn above.

2nd failure of Peace Committee to agree.

DE Conference 26. 4. 22. "Lude Readent

Another notice on the agenda, which was not reached, was that in the name of Miss Mary MacSwiney, which, if found to be in order, will probably lead to a lively debate. It is in the

following terms:--That, in view of the grave danger of civil strife in the country, consequent on the approval, by a majority of Dail Eireann, of the Articles of Agreement signed in London, it is the opinion of An Dail that the resolution of approval should be hereby revoked."

INDEPENDENT." 28-4-22.

MISS MACSWINEY'S VIEW

TREATY CAUSE OF ALL EVIL

Miss MacSwiney said that the President declared that only for the Opposition the country would be peaceful, but no member who stood true to the Republic had done a single act or said a single word inconsis-

tent with the Government of the Republic. Any inconsistent acts came from the other

The position in Belfast was due to the signing of the Treaty. By agreeing that the Special Constabulary should be half Catholic and half Protestant, the President and Mr. Collins sanctioned the lie that there was a religious war between North and South. The blame for every evil that had been done and every evil that would be done, would be laid by the Irish people and by Almighty God Himself to the signatories of that Treaty.

"Let us try to avoid bitterness if we can," urged the speaker. "The situation is very serious." Ireland was the place where Irishmen should meet. The President, Mr. Collins, and Sir. J. Craig should not be running to London like a pack of naughty schoolboys at the summons of the headmaster.

AT DAIL. 28-4-22. 'IRISH TIMES: 29-4-22.

Miss MacSwiner described the report of the Minister of Defence as "the worst and most abominable piece of felon-setting" that she had ever seen. The Minister of Defence called acts crimes, because they were carried out to maintain the Republic, which were exactly like many an action he himself had taken before and after he came into control of the Irish Republican Army. Sho asked them to vote against the adoption of that report as if it were a vote of that House against civil war.

Miss McSwiney's Views on Dunmanway Murders.

Mrs. McSwiney, T.D., speaking at a meeting in Castlebar, alluded to the recent that civil war was. If Document No. 2 had murders in West Cork.

I know the type of men who compose zen would be murdered as a reprisal for tween the Treaty and Document No. 2. the Orange murders in Belfast. Protestant and Catholic have lived, and still live, side by side in perfect harmony with each other all over Ireland except in the Belfast area.

Suggesting that it was the work of English agents to bring discredit on the country, Mrs. McSwiney said there had recently been shooting in the streets of Dublin at night. It had been suggested that the I.R.A. fired on quarters occupied by Irish troops. There was positive proof, she said, that shooting in the neighbourhood of Marlborough Hall was carried on by men in civilian clothes with strong Cockney accents and of unclean language. She warned her hearers that the English would not fail to take advantage of the present situation by using just such methods as they had used before.

An Anonymous Letter.

Miss McSwiney mentioned that an anonymous letter had reached her house on the day her late brother, the Lord Mayor of Cork, was arrested. A certain policeman, alleged to be an informer, and who had killed one Volunteer and got others imprisoned, was referred to and the Lord Mayor was asked, as "head of Volunteers in Cork," to have this policeman shot. She burned the letter and told her brother of it. The military, she said, searched the City Hall and her house that night looking for the letter. She warned the country against similar tricks.

Miss MacSwiney protested against the use of the word "politician" to describe their attitude. They stood for the preservation of the existing Republic. no matter how much other people chose to sneer at it. The responsibility for the present state of the country rested upon those who signed the Treaty. If a Coalition were arranged it would preserve the purity and independence of Ireland. They were not going into the Treaty by a back-door. The Treaty was not worth civil war, but the Republic was worth it, and the man who said that it was not was a coward. If those on the other side were prepared to draw up a Republican Constitution and fight England upon it, why did they not fight England now before matters got any worse?

Dr. MacCartan asked whether the Constitution was under discussion.

Miss MacSwiney declared that it was not, but been brought back by a united Cabinet she would have opposed it, as it contained things humiliating to national pride, though it prethe Army of the South, she said, and I say served national independence. She would, howpositively no unoffending Protestant citi- ever, lay down her life for the difference beSpeeches om Patification Me Swidey. havy.

FREEMANS. 23-12-21.

THE GREAT DEAD

Sisters of Peadar Macken Favour the Treaty

The sisters of Peadar Macken send the following letter to the Editor of the FREEMAN'S JOURNAL:

"A Chara-We, the sisters of Peadar Macken, who fought and died in Boland's Mill in Easter Week, 1916, take our stand beside Mrs. Sean Connolly.

"We ourselves have been workers for the cause with William Rooney in the old Celtic Literary Society, Cumann na nGaedheal, and other later national organisations, and we believe that the Treaty is one that can be accepted with honour.

"We most heartily congratulate Mr. Arthur Griffith, and in doing so we express the hope that the members for St. Patrick's Division will do their duty to the people and give him their fullest support.

"M. MCHENRY,
"T. MACKEN.

"S. C. Road, 22. 12. '21."

[Note—Mrs. Sean Connolly wrote to the Freeman's Journal yesterday stating that "as a woman whose husband was killed in the fight I repudiate her (Miss MacSwiney's) right to speak in my name. My husband died for Ireland's freedom in 1916, and I am satisfied that this Treaty secures the freedom he died to win."]

'INDEPENDENT: 7-2-22.

DEMAND FOR RELEASE.

At the Cumann na mBan Convention on Sunday, in Dublin,

a resolution was unanimously adopted, on the motion of Mrs. Mulcahy, seconded by Miss Mary M'Swiney, T.D., calling for the release of the Derry prisoners, and urging the reimposition of the boycott to effect the release of all political prisoners in "Ulster."

PLENIPOTENTIARIES' RECOMMENDATION

"NO RATIONAL ALTERNATIVE" TO THE TREATY

COUNTRY FOR APPROVAL

LONG SPEECH BY MISS MACSWINEY IN DENUNCIATION OF PACT

DAIL MAY CONTINUE TO SIT TO-NIGHT

Yesterday was the third day of the debate by Dail Eireann on the question which so vitally affects this country—whether the Peace Treaty shall be approved or rejected. The discussion will be resumed at 11 a.m. to-day.

The first speaker was one of the Plenipotentiaries, Mr. G. Gavan Duffy, who said that Mr. Lloyd George intimated the alternative to signing the Treaty was immediate war, and who recommended the Pact reluctantly, but very sincerely. His heart, he said, was with those against the Treaty, but his head was with its supporters, for he could see NO RATIONAL ALTERNATIVE.

Mr. E. J. Duggan, another of the Delegation, vigorously defended the Agreement, declaring that he signed it with the fullest consciousness of his responsibility to the Dail, the country, the living, and the dead. It gave us, he said, absolute control within the four seas of Ireland.

Division To-night?

By far the longest address yet delivered to the Assembly was that of Miss Mary MacSwiney, who, in a speech lasting over 21 hours, denounced the Treaty, asserting that its acceptance would be the greatest act of treachery in Irish history.

It is likely the Assembly will sit through to-night, if necessary, and the division may be taken at a late hour. Before the adjournment last evening Mr. de Valera said it would be necessary to go into to-night with the debate, and expressed a wish to have it finished before Christmas. Mr. Griffith said he felt every member would not speak for 3 hours, and each could express is in 10 or 15 minutes what he or she wished to say.

NO ALTERNATIVE TO THE TREATY

A more punctual start was made yesterday, the majority of the members being in their seats at 11.5 a.m., when the Speaker, Dr. Eoin MacNeill, took the chair.

Mr. Gavan Duffy, who spoke at times in such a manner that some of his remarks were inaudible to the Press, said he rose to stand over his signature to the Treaty and to recommend it to them in pursuance of the pledge he gave.

When he gave that pledge he did not pledge himself to conceal from them or from the people of Ireland the circumstances under which that pledge was extorted from him. He was not there to make any apology for the action he took, firming, the other declaring a rupture, and they were entitled, and under the circum- ing to sign of every one of the plentontenstances to impress it on the minds of the tiaries, with a further undertaking Irish people, even at the risk of reiterat- commend the Treaty to Dail Eirean ing a good deal that Deputy Barton had bring me that by 10 o'clock."

RELUCTANT, BUT SINCERE.

He did this for two main reasons, one, in order that the historic record of these transactions might be clear beyond all possible doubt, and, secondly, in order to impress on them the solemn warning that at gave out. It was to be understood that he spoke solely for himself, not desiring commit any

other member of delegation. recommended his Treaty to very them rebut luctantly, very sincerely, because he saw no alternative. He had no sympathy with those who acclaimed this partial composition as if it were payment in full, with compound interest; nor had he any sympathy with those who

Mr. Gavan Duffy.

spoke of this proposal as if it were utterly valueless. At risk of being accused of having a slave mind he could not a stateto such help referring ment as that made in the "Morning Post" of Tuesday, in which England was referred to as waiting for an answer to her plea for charity, and the people of that once powerful country were spoken of as hanging expertant at the doorstep of an illegal assembly self-styled Dail Eireann.

A GRIEVOUS WOUND. The Treaty gave the Irish people what they had not had for hundreds of years. It put the power of government and military power in the hands of the people, and they would be in a far better

position to resist aggression and main- trample and torture and terrify i tain and increase that power than they were before. "The vital thing is that it inflicts a grievous wound upon the dignity of this nation by thrusting the King of England upon us," said Mr. Gavan Duffy, "thrust-

this portion of the Treaty." He did not like to hear people, whose words had weight, overstating their case and asking the people to believe that the Irish Army would be governed by his Majesty's officers. That statement seemed to him just as true as if it had been said that the Irish flag was to be the Union Jack, that because the Canadian coin had upon it the words "George Rex, Defender of the Faith, etc.," that the Irish coin

would bear those words. ACCORDING TO PEOPLE'S WILL.

The arguments upon which suggestions such as these were founded were arguments to England was no tie between Irelan that would justify the assumption that the England any more than it is a tie be Union Jack was the flag of their country Englishmen and Egyptians, Englishmen and it was not fair to attack the Treaty on and the Indians, Englishmen and such grounds as these (hear, hear).

It would be the duty of those who they were afraid to make atonement framed the Constitution to frame it according to the will of the Irish people, and it would be their duty to relegate the King of England to exterior darkness Instead of that they had chosen t as far as they can, and they can do that them once more grave reason to if they like (hear, hear).

Their internal affairs, so far as the Consti- all their talk about peace and good tution was concerned, were left to them- the British Bible was still but the celves, and any Government worthy of the name would be able to place the foreign king at a respectful distance from the Irish people (hear, hear).

WHATOCCURREDINLONDON

But that did not take away the objections of the people. They were still left There was another statesmanship. with the fact that a British Minister would other day one of the greatest Ex be here, they were still left with the fact statesmen, Lord Grey, proclaimed the that' the Trish people pledged them- peace with Ireland was any use unl selves to a gentleman who necessarily sym- was peace made upon equal terms. bolised in himself the Irish anger and the (the speaker) subscribed to that, a hear, hear).

just resentment of the people for 750 years was well for the British people to

was first presented to him, with peace and power on the one hand and national in. dignity as the result of the price on the other hand, that he rejected it, for he could not forget that they in London had PROFESSOR STOCKLEY ON done their best in their counter-proposals to maintain the independence of Ireland, and he could not forget that their nation had won the admiration of the world by putting up the noblest and most heroic national fight in history, and that they were unconquered yet (applause).

Dealing with what had occurred in London on December 4, Mr. Duffy said Mr. Lloyd George broke with them, and broke definitely with them, subject to the confirmation of his Cabinet.

A NIGHT OF ANGUISH.

Negotiations were all but broken off on Dec. 5, and the fate of Ireland had to be decided that night. Lloyd George said :-"I have here two answers, the one conbelieving then that it was right and believ- if it be a rupture it means immediate ing now that it was right, but to give to war, and the only way to avert that imthe Irish people the explanation to which | mediate war is to bring me the undertak-

He should not forget the anguish

night, torn between conflicting en Again, this ultimatum might hav bluff, but everyone who heard the British Minister believed beyond all resa doubt that this time he was no

acting, and that he meant what he "THE GRIM CHOICE." It was, he thought, worth recording the semi-official organ of Mr. Lloyd -the "Daily Chronicle"-confirme

attitude the next day when it said "Before the delegates separated for the Prime Minister made his final appe made it clear that the draft before th the last concession which any British ment could make. The issue now was to choice between acceptance and immediat An ingenious attempt had been m the British Government to refute Deputy Barton told them the other what was called a semi-official

through the Press Association.

Some of Mr. Gavan Duffy's next re were inaudible. He proceeded to sa the complaint was not that the alter to signing a treaty was war; the con was that the alternative to their ref sign that particular Treaty was imp war; that they who were sent to I as the apostles of peace were sudde be transferred into the unqualified a of war; that they had to make that within three hours, and to make it w any reference to their Governme their Parliament, and to the Irish that that monstrous iniquity was trated by the man who had invited under his roof in order, moryah, to a friendly settlement.

TO SAVE THE PEOPLE. The position was, if they, every them, did not sign and undertake to mend the Treaty fresh hordes of s would be let loose upon this coun whether the Cabinet, Dail Eireann, people of Ireland willed war or no iron heel was to come down upon heads with all the force that a last rate effort to terrorise could accompl

That was the complaint. There ing an alien King upon us, and I do not these alternatives either to save the want for a moment to minimise the evil of tional dignity by unyielding princip to save the lives of the people by yie That, as far as he was concerned, wa he stood where he did.

> They must give up the Republic land in order to save the peo Ireland.

From this on unfortunately it b increasingly difficult to hear the sp He let his voice drop, and turned his to the reporters. However, he was stood to say that if they had statesmen they would have reco proclaimed that the tie blood which surely united the Dom French-Canadians. The truth was they had kept their king out of Irela honest settlement would have been por

REJECTION A GAMBLE

them by showing them once again the for a British gun. That was what called statesmanship across the water. was the statesmanship before which world bowed down. That was the manship which, throughout the histo the British Empire, spread enmity war.

that they could have peace, solid Therefore it was that when the Treaty lasting peace with this country an +1

that the peace was made between our Government and theirs on equal terms and not before. He did not love this Treaty now any more than he loved it when he signed it, but

he did not think that it was an adequat answer, an adequate motive for rejection to point out that some of them signe. the Treaty under duress.

NO RATIONAL ALTERNATIVE.

They all said that this Treaty would not lead to permanent peace. It was necessary before they rejected the Treaty to go fur ther than that and to produce to the people of Ireland a rational alternative (hear,

His heart was with those against the Treaty; his head was against them because he could see no rational alternative (hear, hear). They might reject the Treaty They might gamble, for it was a gamble, on what would happen next. They might have a plebiscite in the country, which no serious man can wish to have, because after what they had seen it was obvious that it would rend the country from one end to the other and leave memories of bitterness and acrimony which would outlast generations. They might gamble on the prospects of a renewal of that horrible war which he had only seen from afar, but he knew that those who had so nobly stood it did not wish to have it begun again without a clear prospect of getting further than they were to-day.

MUST RATIFY.

They were told this was a surrender of principle, but if that was so they must be asked to believe that every one of those who had gone before them in the strife and who in the end had had to lay down their arms, so surrendering, in order to prevent a greater evil, to save their people, had likewise been guilty of a breach of

principle. That argument did not get him much further. The solid principle, the solid basis upon which every honest man would make up his mind on this issue, was summed up in the principle which they all acclaimed when it was first announced by the President, the principle of government by consent of the government, and

no serious person there, whatever his feeling, knowing as he must what the people thought of the matter, would be doing his duty if, under these circumstances, he refused to ratify the Treaty. They could not do other than ratify it in the interests of the people of Ireland, and under the most dignified protest they could make (cheers).

"FITTING CLIMAX"

ENGLAND'S DISGRACE

Prof. Stockley, who spoke with his back to the Press, and could only be heard at | periods with the utmost difficulty, said he was deeply impressed by the speech of the



Prof. Stockley.

last speaker. He was not there to speak on sentiment, but he maintained that after that speech, and the speeches of Mr. Barton and the Minister of Finance, and that n o t w ithstanding the disturbing circumstances of the debate and the wretched outlook in many ways, he maintained the speeches showadl Ireland.

TREATY OR AGREEMENT?

Mr. Churchill had declared that the grant of fiscal autonomy did not matter, because Great Britain held Irish prosperity in the hollow of her hands. She had not got anybody to tell her whether this was a Treaty, or Articles of Agreement. No member of the British Parliament had called it a Treaty. Mr. Lloyd George had said :-

"We propose to begin by withdrawing the military and auxiliary forces of the Crown in Southern Ireland when the terms are ratified."

That meant they would remain in "Northern Ireland." Mr. Lloyd George added:-

"This instrument shall be submitted forthwith by his Majesty's Government for the approval of Parliament, and by Irish signatories of members intitled to sit in the Parliament of Southern Ireland."

Therefore, she suggested, that Assembly was not competent to deal with this

matter at all, because they were there sitting as members of an Irish Republic. Mr. Lloyd so if they crushed every clause of it, and stood on principle, and if the President and George had said the Army would go out on that point she found that the delega- the whole Cabinet stood for that instruwhen the Treaty was ratified, but that tion was far more divided than the Dail. ment they should still stand against it man was known in every Chancellery of The Minister for Foreign Affairs advocated (applause). She would like to say a word Europe as the most unscrupulous trickster the Treaty wholeheartedly, and it about the oath. It was no use for the who ever occupied an honourable position. embodied what he stood for all his life. Deputies to look at their watches. Those

It was said the people would rush at this and ratify it, but that she denied. The people might last Thursday morning, when they had not read or studied it. She knew people who were inclined to throw up their hats in the air, because they did not know there was an oath to England's King in it. She was one who refused to join Sinn Fein until it became Republican, and Sinn Fein up to 1918 was not Republican. Many joined Sinn Fein when half measures were possible, but half measures were no longer possible, because, on Jan. 21, 1918, the people elected a Republican

SOUL OF THE NATION.

One eloquent speaker on the side of Dominion Home Rule talked about the evacuation of the army and financial control, but,

Government as the best for Ireland.

even if these were realities, they were not entitled to sell the soul of the nation for them.

That Deputy came to the question of education under the so-called Treaty. She doubted if there was anyone present more entitled to express views on education than she was. She had been engaged upon education matters for a very long time, and where, as the education under the English Government was bad, they were able to fight against it, but under an Irish Free State she would never teach anything other than rebellion to the established Government. She would be the first rebel under this so-called Free State, and the Government under it would have the pleasure or pain of imprisoning her as one of the first and most irreconcilable rebels against them. In all their history up to this they had never been rebels. They would only rebel against lawful authority, and the authority in this country had never been lawful, and was never recognised by the Irish people.

She recognised that the will of the people was sovereign, and if the majority set up this Government it will be the Government of the country, and she would be a deliberate rebel for the first time in her life. A teacher all her life, she had longed if Mick Collins went to him" (laughter and for the day when an Irish Government applause). At all events, Mr. Collins had would take over education, but if she been honest about the document, as he had taught in any school under this Treaty she | said it was not the " Be all and the end would teach that its adoption was the | all" to his expectations, but it was a step greatest act of treachery in history.

She would teach to every child over whom she had control Republican doctrines, and she would keep their souls clean. What would they teach the children in such schools. (A Deputy-"Irish.") Yes, but not Irish alone. They should teach the children the history of their country. One of the great troubles in the schools in the past was

history until recently, and then it was !

tactics passed with the bad old days.

DOCUMENT NO. 2:

Unfair use had been made of the President's name and of the so-called document No. 2. The President asked that that document be kept out of the discussion for one reason only. Everyone who had made Irish people. insinuations knew the personal honour of the President as well as she did.

It was a document suggested with the hope of getting unity, realising that a united Dail would mean a united people. It was said by the principal speakers of the delegation that no amendment of the Treaty was possible-that it was the Treaty or nothing, the Treaty or war. The Presi-

let the delegation have their way-no a handful, against the name of de Valera. amendment, the Treaty on its merits or But none of them said: "What's good suggested it.

maintained that had he not done so truth could go out. he would not have been elected.

whole-hearted Republicans, and the document did not represent their present convictions. She thought when Mr. Griffith took the oath to the Republic that he meant it, but he and others said now that they took it to do the best for Ireland (hear, bear), but that was not the best for Ireland (hear, hear), and none of them had tried to prove that it was. The only one that had spoken honestly in the matter was Mr. Griffith himself-FOLLOWING MR. COLLINS.

Mr. Griffith appealed to the Speaker, and protested that it was unfair for Miss MacSwiney to say he was the only honest man there. It was an implication of dishonesty on the others.

Miss MacSwiney-I will let it be decided---Mr. Griffith-Let the Speaker decide.

Miss MacSwiney said if she had said an unworthy word she would withdraw it (hear, hear), but Mr. Griffith was the only delegate who supported the Treaty whole- were the sufferings of war. The Minister of Finance's heartedly. (Michael Collins') name alone would make it acceptable to many people in the country, as he had made it acceptable to many in the Dail (applause), to those who said: "What is good enough for Mick Collins is good enough for me" (applause).

" if Mick Collins were in hell in the no doubt of the issue. morning would you follow him there," asked Miss MacSwiney, addressing those of the Dail who applauded, and there were foud cries of "Yes, yes" and "We would."

"Well," said Miss MacSwiney, "I must frankly acknowledge I have no answer to the Deputies who declare they would transfer their allegiance from God to the Devil towards the Republic (hear, hear).

He believed that and she knew he believed it (applause), and she knew that a great many young men there believed it. and she was not impugning their honesty. Had they read Irish history they would see the difference of Mr. Barton's statement and his attitude to the Treaty had moved their admiration. Mr. Gavan Duffy had agreed with Mr. Barton that the they were not allowed to teach irish Treaty was signed under duress. Mr. Gavan Duffy had given weak support to it, e mowiedged it was a very peculiar ent indeed. Mr. Duggan's argu-

> were distinctly unconvincing. IES AND THE OATH.

ad not heard a single argument fould be put before the world as of the country and what it had r for the last 3 years. ath, which had been so very flip-

spoken of there, did not evidently he minds and the consciences of ho were going to vote for the rati-Some of the Deputies themselves I will vote for the Treaty, but I like the oath." "Why," said acSwiney, "I call that cowardice. willing to stand by what you did. shamed to stand here and say it they had gone and asked them? ehe public representatives in the of the Press. I am ashamed that by like ours that has stood for a d spiritual ideal for the last three hould so deprave itself by the ats we have heard here about the

cannot at the same time be faithid unfaithful" (applause).

TABLISHED BY LAW

ey realise that the Irish Free State law established, and that that law onstitution ignoring the King, the Parliament would put in a clause rding it. They might be beaten by , but there was no excuse for them coled by England, and there was se for the delegation trying to fool the people, and fooled they would ley tried to ram down their throats ch absurd nonsense as that they eave the King out of the Constitu-

ivel.

denied the truth of Mr. Hogan's nt that under the Treaty they were to appoint Ambassadors. Canada t got foreign representation for the eason that Washington had not yet sed the Irish Republic-because of intrigue. What was the use of representatives if she did not get A bird in the hand was worth COMPROMISE TALK. the bush (applause).

ENISM RAMPANT.

was called as long as he was a ne people, but she had no delusions. end." vere not angels. There would be grooms, Levees, invitations, and as, partly social and partly political. inisters of the Free State would be to attend the Governor-General's as and he theirs, and they would te Union Jack and "God Save the for the first time with the consent people. might try to have a self-denving

ce which would prevent Ministers, om entering the Governor-General's but they could not exclude him. yould have to get his signature to w. There would be patronage. She reryone supporting the Treaty would a title from his Majesty's Gove ? -

noralisation would have eaten into oul of the people of Ireland, and the Parliament would not be so very titude. I approved of the Conference with enying. young girls of her own acquaint-

ause they could not consistently epublican principles go to a dance iceregal Lodge or any company or where this military influence was But under the Irish Free ost. hese brave young girls could walk hocked. IRST REBEL.

s said that a Royal residence under

and for evacuation by the British arms of ashamed of members. She thought those fault of the Irish Free State. She had already told Michael Collins she would be the first rebel he would have to arrest, and mind, the speaker continued, they were going to carry on this fight with the gloves off if this thing were passed. The Minister for the Local Government, in the hope that he was going to get a majority in this matter, stated he would obey the will of the

> If she were in the minority she was one of those who would advocate that the matter be put to the Irish people.

Last Thursday morning she thought, like the country, that this document which they considered brought dishonour to their country and their cause, was backed by a united Cabinet. On last Wednesday night or Thursday some of them were reconciled dent withdrew the document entirely, and to ask themselves what chance had they, rejection of it. It was honourable action. enough for de Valera is good exough for It had been tried to be proved dishonour- us." No one said what was good enough able, but the dishonour lay with those who for Michael Collins was good enough for

That document, they had been told, was | There had been nothing but lauding of a charter of freedom, but it would only be personalities on the other side, but they No Government in Europe trusted his They had been told for the past two years who wanted to hear the truth would stay word; and, would they do it? | that he stood for Republicanism, and she and listen, those who were afraid of the

She was ashamed of the arguments The document before them contained all brought forward on the question of the that constitutional Sinn Feiners stood for oath, ashamed of the efforts that had been up to 1916, but the majority of constitu- | made on the other side that show the tional Sinn Feiners after 1916 became people of the Dail how they could drive a coach-and-four through every line of it. That, she maintained, was not consistent with their honour nor with the attitude which had won the world's sympathy.

IDEALISTS' VICTORY

The idealists, and not the opportunists, were the really practical men. Watch the opportunists of the world and one would find nothing but a trail of broken hopes behind them. It was those who stood true to ideals who would win. It had been said of Mr. Childers that in 1911 he wrote that he did not believe in a Republic.

She herself in 1911 had not believed she would see established this generation a Republican Government in Ireland. The war had awakened people to many

ideals. They had been told the choice was between that document and war. Now, she spoke as a woman, as one of those humans who understood as only woman can, what If it were that choice, she would take

war. The previous day a Deputy had said women were the greatest sufferers of the war. She would ask him if it were a democratic proposition, to let the women of Ireland judge the matter, and she would have

PLEBISCITE OF WOMEN?

Mr. Sean Milroy-Am I prepared to let the women of Ireland judge whether it is to be ratified or not? Yes, and I would accept their decision, too. Miss MacSwiney-If it were a democratio

proposition I suppose the answer as well as the question would be considered rhetorical. Mr. Milroy-You are not prepared to

take it? Miss MacSwiney-I am prepared to take the decision. I would take a plebiscite of

the women gladly. But she denied that the alternative was now war or on Dec. 5 last.

She would show the people of England that the Irish were prepared to make peace with them on honourable terms, giving them things to which they were not in justice entitled. She doubted if they would have voted the £250,000,000 which Mr. Lloyd George said was the price of the extermination of the Irish. She denied that there was a danger of England being allowed to exterminate the Irish people. for the conscience of the world was awake.

DARE NOT LOOK ON. The answer to the hreat of war was in this sentence by a man whose name she would not mention: "The rulers of the world dare not look on at new tortures for our people, or they will see the pillars of

their Governments shaken and the world involved in unimaginable anarchy." "INSULT TO PEOPLE." She referred to what she described as the insult to the people of Ireland by a dele-

gation who had taken it for granted that the Irish people would jump at their own d you bind your constituents if you dishonour. How dared Deputies say their constituents had pledged themselves until The first public statement issued by any

Cabinet Minister subversive of the Republican Government was the document of Dec. 5 and 6. REASONABLE PEOPLE.

The use of entering into negotiationsand she said this as an ardent and uncompromising Republican-was to show the world that the Irish were a reasonable people, as well as a people clamouring for their rights. We wanted to show her in these negotiations that we were willing to be made in England? If they drew forgive and to forget, and the magnanimity and generosity of Ireland might have won the very last ounce of the sympathy of the world away from England. That was the value of the negotiations.

She was anxious to tell the public through the Press something about the allegation that the Cabinet was turned down.

And she might remark that the Press was not yet fair, despite the protests that had been made. The American Press reprewere all to be British citizens sented here was not fair in America, and a British passport, if they wanted she had received a cable from America protesting even against the Hearst papers being thoroughly unfair in these matters.

It came to be decided they should send a delegation to Mr. Lloyd George; they sent it, and that delegation claimed they went as plenipotentiaries, without terms of reference, and that they had power to sign any document that they thought would be acceptable and to bring it back. On Sepbeing told that she might have tember 4 there was a meeting of An Dail.

There had been much talk going round about compromise, and from August 23 to did it matter what the Governor- | September 14 she kept her eyes and ears open to see if compromise was intended. Having read Mr. Collins' speech at Arthey hated. They would have magh she (Miss MacSwiney) wrote in a ism rampant. All the worst ele- letter a to friend: "I don't care for your f their country would gather around friend Mick's speech, for the Republic is overnor-General's residence. She not mentioned in it from beginning to

> On Wednesday, September 14, at the meeting of the Pail she met Michael Collins, and in reply to her, "Dia, a's Muire dhuit," he said, "I hear you think I am a compromiser. Well, I am not that, and I tell you that." She declared solemnly to-day she was glad when she saw his name was on the delegation and she 'never doubted Michael Collins until she saw his signature to the Treaty document. At the meeting on Sept. 14 she asked any compromisers that might be present to stand up then and there or to hold their peace for ever more, but no one stood up-

> Deputy Hogan said he stood up and said he approved of the Conference, and reserved his right to say what he had to

Miss MacSwiney-That is exactly my atall my heart and mind and strength, because I believed it was the last plank of ad been cut off from many social the programme of the propaganda of Brias that their position entitled them tain. One member declared if he had nothing left but the island of Arran be would dig himself in and hold it for the Republic (laughter)! Another Deputy who stood up was Mr.

Kevin O'Higgins, and he suggested that the discussion was a little too previousthat we had sworn an oath to the Republic and that when the delegation came back from London with something less than sh Free State would be admirable the Republic it would be time enough to inducive to loyalty amongst the talk.

of Ireland. It might and it might "Do you realise." she said. "what it

ut if it did not it would not be the meant to the world for us that the man

who was called the head of the 'marder gang' should sit at the same table with Lloyd George as the representative of the Irish people? Do you think it was no victory for us that the English Government were obliged to allow Sean McKeon and others out of jail—though some were under sentence of death—to sit in this Assembly? Sean McKeon seconded that abominable document. She was sorry.

She know that he was

She knew that he would fight to the death for the Republic of Ireland still."
MINISTER OF PUBLICITY.

MINISTER OF PUBLICITY

Referring to the Minister of Publicity, who went with the delegation to London, she asked what was he doing there; and her own comment was "Nothing." He deserved the reprimand of the Cabinet and the Dail for allowing everything they gained in propaganda to be given away in the English Press. From the day he went to London he never counteracted by any word they could see the efforts of the English Press to misrepresent them. He had a duty to the Republican members of the Assembly whatever his own views were

She maintained that there was gross negligence so far as the Press was concerned in this matter.

She wrote and said it was not fair that

compromise the result would be a split in the country. Mr. Griffith knew perfectly well when he signed the document that it would mean a split in the country.

Mr. Griffith wrote back that they should have the entire confidence of the people 1

they were to be successful, and that he was quite confident he would not bring back anything that the Irish people would not accept (hear, hear).

Miss MacSwiney dealt at length with

British Press propaganda, and continuing, said—Whether they signed under duress and still regretted, the delegates should not have signed that document, no matter what the consequences. They in Ireland had waited for 750 years, and Sir James Craig could not have waited for 48 hours. Of all the idiotic excuses given for their deliberate betrayal and disobedience of

their instructions she never heard anything so idiotic in her life. The threat of immediate war was not idiotic. There they were bluffed. They knew it now if they did not know it then.

They should have obeyed their instructions

signed. Again she maintained that the delegates had no right to allow that document to be published. She, too, was a doctrinaire republican for Ireland, and she was as uncompromising a republican as Dr. MacCartan, but she would not make the pitiable speech he made the previous night. The Republic dead!

No; nor a thousand such documents could not kill it. It was not dead while there was a woman or a child in Ireland who was not dead.

If the people of Ireland set up a govern-

DOCTRINE OF DESPAIR.

Not one proof could be adduced for the Treaty which was logical. Members of the Dail had no right to presume their con-

stituents had changed. There were men

voting against the Treaty who had the ap-1

proval of their constituents expressly, and

ment that was not an Irish Republican

Government the I.R.A. stood true and dis-

ciplined, not to the Irish Dominion Free

State but to the Irish Republican Govern-

there were men voting against who had not. Their answer to their constituents was this—it would be hers if her constituents asked her to do such an unworthy thing—"You knew what I stood for when I came here. I have not changed if you have. You can tell me so the next time I come to you."

They could beat them in the field by the same tectics as before, but they should not be such fools as to think they could beat Lloyd George in trickery. Great man

though he was, to-day, he was the most unprincipled scoundrel in history. She had

said all that was necessary for her own personal honour, and the Republican members of the Dail, other than those who spoke of a dead Republic, and set up a pitiful caoine over it. She spoke for a living Republic, a Republic that could never die, and that would not be killed by the doctrine of despair.

the men of Easter Week, 1916. The Irish Republican Government was established in Jan., 1919, and had since been a marvel to the world.

She claimed that a majority of the Assembly would throw out the Treaty,

and that the minority would stand shoul-

The Irish Republic was proclaimed by

der to shoulder with the rest to regain the position they held on Dec. 4.

She had no doubt the country would stand behind them. She begged the Teachtaire-Dail to vote against the Treaty, and thus refuse to permit the one unforgivable crime that had been committed by the representatives of the people of Ireland (applause and cheers).

Mc SWINEY.

FREEMANS. 22-12-21.

MISS MACSWINEY,

Miss Mary MacSwiney rose to oppose the motion. In a firm and steady voice, in which a shrill note obtruded occasionally, she attacked the Treaty, the Plenipotentraries, and those who supported ratification.

Her long invective left the impression of an earnest doctrinaire who soured above realities to essay an answer to every point raised by speakers who had preceded her.

It was a curiously mixed appeal she made to the listeners, an appeal to principle -again and again she reiterated the word 'principle''-interspersed with allusions, persuasive appeals to former comradeship, and threats of revolt.

At one stage the torrent of argument seemed to weaken suddenly, and something ! vital depart from it. It was when the orator denied that the alternative to acceptance was war.

A BITTER CRY.

Referring to Commandant McKeon's support of the Treaty, she cried bitterly: "If he were my own brother, I would rather had were beside Kevin Barry in his grave."

The bitter attack on the party who favoured ratification rolled eloquently to its ! long-deferred close. Again and again the speaker referred to the absence of the Minister for Finance. Towards the close hel entered and took his seat beside Mr. Griffith, a smile of tolerant conviction on his face.

Laughingly he tossed his dark hair at the remark that Gavan Duffy and Barton were still honourable men.

"I have finished." The longest and most elaborate statement of the case against ratification delivered during the session ended

Mr. Griffith protested that if every deputy were to take two hours and forty minutes to say what should be said in 15, then the debate would last another fortnight. Timeliza transport mert as the Minimail

INDEPENDENT. 22-12-21

MISS MACSWINEY

OPPOSITION TO THE TREATY

Miss MacSwiney said she felt responsibility, not only to her immediate constituents, but to the whole Irish nation, which now awaited a far more fateful decision than that of 1800. Grattan's Parliament was representative of only 5 p.c. of the people and was elected by undemocratic methods. The Dail represented the deep Irish nation.

It had been constituted to represent to the world their demand for a free, unfettered Government of their own

-the ideal of self-determination of which they had heard so much. It was wrong sporting the Union Jack. In 1916 a small and wicked of some Deputies to have said minority of the people of Ireland realised General that they who were against the Treaty that they had to strike at once, and that

NO FEAR OF PEOPLE.

They had no reason to fear the people, CANNOT GET BACK. because they were true to the idea for They decided on a rising, and it was which they had been sent to the Dail. She largely rendered futile by the action of understood that every member chosen on people who at the last moment tried to stop The M May 24 had been sent there because the it. Yet the battle was fought and lost, obliged

speeches for rejection were made and walk ment which they had proclaimed. to walk into the British Emuire with their heads up.

The most reasoned statement she could put before them on this Treaty had been made by Mr. Childers, and the young Deputies-all of them who could not possibly know all the pros and cons-did their duty by walking out and not listening. Their men with a "stake in the country" would minds had been made up.

The will of the people of Ireland was manifesto sent every Deputy. LAST ELECTION.

She asked all who voted for the Treaty what chance would they have had in May if they had come out for Dominion Home Rule? If Sir Horace Plunkett had opposed Mr. Kevin O'Higgins what chance would he have had? None whatever. There was the will of the people illustrated try knew that England made negotiations uppern because she dared no longer face the State to opinion of the world.

presentatives of the people, would do what to commit the awful crime of disrupting; It was the unscrupulous Parliament of 1800 did- the nation. Unity could only be had while the Iri sell the rights of the people, not for money they stood firmly on principle. There had and co as in 1800, but for what was written as been unfair remarks made in that House, people

to teach how a gallant little nation fought against a mighty foe and refused to

acknowledge itself conquered. A little nation like Ireland could not those stand up against the mighty legions of fication England but Trolond mighty legions of said, England, but Ireland was not alone in will no her fight. She had on her side the con- Miss M sciences and the public spirit of the civi- Why di lised world. England was faced with are no trouble all over her Empire; financial I am difficulties and agitation in every corner before

the history of Engrana n Irelanu.

They should teach the names of the great

ones of the past, the history of Grattan's

Treaty. But she would not (applause). Wherever she had power all over the years world there Irish influence would do its argume endeavours to uproot it. Wherever she oath. was looking for an alliance it would destroy her chance of getting it. She thought she had won over America by the Treaty. The unconquerable Republican spirit that made 1916 would undermine the friendship of America for England, who would find she was not buying, but killing, Irish frice hip by that document.

They were told by President de Valera up a C that document did not make for peace, English and it did not. In 1914 the then leader of safegua the Irish race, as he was called, tried to England stampede this country into supporting Eng- being f land to fight for "the freedom of small no excu nations" (laughter).

MR. REDMOND'S CHANCE

If Mr. Redmond, at the greatest moment of his life, as it could have been, had said to England-"Not one man and not one penny will you get for this war until we are free," he could have got and could have conscientiously accepted, this so-called Treaty. He could have got that, and could entitled have got it put into immediate execution, had no and there would have been no dishonour same r to the Irish nation in accepting it.

But in 1919 such a bargain was barred for ever.

The country was stampeded into approval | them. of the war. When the war broke out she two in experienced anguish when she came back! to Ireland from England, and saw friends SHONI wanted to choke the voice of the Irish if they waited for the war to be over, England would have countless legions to turn against them.

people believed that on no account would but, as one of the leaders said, though they functio th y be brought to compromise.

She was sorry Dr. MacCartan was not nation's soul (cheers). In two years from Kino" pr sent; it seemed to be the practice of that the nation's soul expressed itself in of the many of the young men to get up when the form of an Irish Republican Govern-

They could not get back from history like that. That Government was there. They could not vote it away; the people could, but they would not. They would get votes for the Treaty, but she doubted if they would get as many as they thought. The heart of the common recople was true. The vote for it perhaps. But they should no count on it too much. "The men with stake in the country," she continued, "know expressed in December, 1918, and in the that the worst thing that could happen the country now is a split, and a split is inevitable if the people who stand on principle declare they cannot give in.

You, who stand for fleshpots and finance and the army, you can give in. We can- at a v not." The men with a stake in the coun- place

the will of the people illustrated.

She had appealed in public to the Dail THE F It could be possible that they, the re- and in private to individual members not control of education, the nurse, and army land political tactics which made her not. I

Parliament and those who gave it away, DE and the history of the Dail, of their own movement that won the admiration of the whole world, and upon which the eyes of the world were turned. They would have wor of the world against her, and that agitation person she thought she would kill by this so-called a cour

> Did th them of be if th any su could le tion.

They with She recogni English Canada

shoneer ments c loved t ordinan house, They T avery la reture ment. Der

the s next self-d Some ance h functio to bec

INDEP 22-12-21

Irish Independent dated 23rd. August 1921.

MISS MACSWINEY'S AMERICAN TOUR

Miss Mary MacSwiney, T.D., sister of the late Lord Mayor of Cork, describing her experiences in America, said there were few States which she had not visited, and the people in them were very friendly. She visited women's clubs and guilds, and succeeded in getting encouragement from the non-Irish element. She won over a large number of non-Irish and other Americans. English propagandists tried, but failed, to neutralise her work and that of Mr. Boland. The British Government had itself recognised the Irish Republic, she said.



Miss Mary MacSwiney.

They travelled on board as citizens of that Republic, and she added: "When the passports were being examined we remained with the Americans and aliens who were travelling. When we were told we were British we said we were not but Irish, and we showed our safe conduct at thorisations, which were not British passports."

INDEPENDENT. 3-10-21.

MISS MACSWINEY'S VIEWS

M. MacSwiney, T.D, speaking at an icht at Youghal, said she had looken forward to retiring into private life, but until the fight was won and the enemy cleared out they must still consider themselves soldiers. Mr. Lloyd George and his Government had learned their lesson but they were ever bluffers.

The Irish nation must convince them that their martyrs had not died for Dominion Home Rule, whatever that meant, and that the tragedy of Brixton must not result in allegiance to the British Crown. To-day they had victory within their grasp, and if they compromised for anything less than their Republic they would, for the first time in 700 years, willingly accept the position of slaves. England had threatened what she would not do, but Cromwell and his successors, in-cluding the famine, had failed, and they would fail again.

They would fight England all over the world, and teach her what freedom meant. They would stir up disaffection in every part of the Empire.



PROPAGANDA IN U.S.A.

Miss Mary MacSwiney Perfectly Satisfied with Results

Miss Mary MacSwiney, T.D., sister of the late Lord Mayor of Cork, who returned from America with Mr. Boland yesterday, gave an interesting resume of her experience in the States.

everywhere as wonderful, Miss MacSwiney said that there were very few States which she had not visited. In all of them the people were as friendly as possible. For eight months she addressed meetings all over the country, sometimes speaking three, five and even ten times a day.

"While I was in Washington," she centinued, "I had no public meetings for a while, but I arranged a number of private ones and these were equally strenuous. All the people with whom I came in contact were very anxious to help in every way."

She mentioned the interesting fact that she had succeeded in winning over a record number of non-Irish and non-Catholic Americans.

CAME OUT OF CURIOSITY.

They came to her meetings she believed out of curiosity in the first instance, and to see her, as she was Terence MacSwiney's sister. Furthermore, numbers of women came to hear her. She visited women's clubs and guilds, the members of which wanted to hear her as a woman and presumably because she was interested in women's suffrage. At any rate, for one cause or another, she succeeded in getting very good encouragement from the non-Irish element.

"As an indication of the effect of our propaganda," said Miss MacSwiney, "I may mention that we had English propagandists going all over the country after us, trying to undo the work we had been doing. But

She occasionally took part in newspaper controversy with these people, but she had not time as a general rule to reply through the Press. The procedure, therefore, which she usually adopted was to reply to propagandist criticism from the public platform.

HOPEFUL.

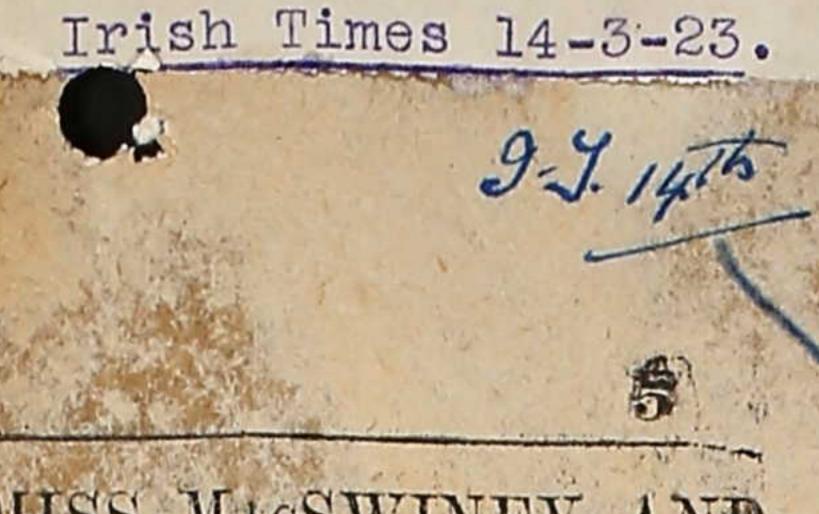
"Are you hopeful about the matter," our

representative asked.

Miss MacSwiney answered in the affirmative. The British Government, she added, had recognised the Irish Republic no matter what they said. In the first place, the truce was a recognition of the Republic; the release of Commandant MacKeown from prison was a further recognition; and, anally, they recognised Mr. Boland and herself by giving them a safe conduct, so that they had not to apply for British passports.

"And we travelled on the boat," she went on, "not as British subjects, but as citizens of the Irish Republic. When the passports were being examined we remained with the Americans and aliens who were travelling. When we were told we were British we said we were not but Irish, and we showed our safe conduct authorisations, which were not British passports."

Miss MacSwiney concluded by expressing satisfaction with the way in which Irish propaganda in the States was progressing. She paid a tribute to Mr. de Valera's work during his recent mission to America, which, she said, had done enormous good.



MISS MACSWINEY AND
PEACE.

YOUNG WOMEN WITH REVOLVERS.

REPLY TO MR. COSGRAVE AND MR. O'HIGGINS.

Miss Mary MacSwiney met a number of Pressmen yesterday, by appointment, in Dublin, and discussed the recent statements of Mr. Cosgrave and Mr. Kevin O'Higgins, Minister of Home Africas.

She said that Mr. Kevin O'Higgins had made a charge against Mr. de Valera ot having betrayed the late Michael Collins, and, further, that Mr. de Valera was only trying to save his face," and that he was inspired only by personal ambition and varity; and, further, that he had a salary of not less than £1,000 a year. She had gone to the trouble of finding out the exact amount that Mr. de Valera received since he left Lewes Jail in 1917. There was a sulary of £1,000 a year voted to him when he became President of the Republican Party last January twelve months, but he had not got a year's salary at that rate, and when he was appointed last October he got only £500 a year. Some friends in Clare sub-scribed an equivalent amount for his family, but Mrs. de Valera refused to take the other money. In 1918-19 Mr. de Valera's salary at President of the Republic was £500, and in 1920-21 £600. That made a total, said Miss MacSwiney, for the four years of £2.100-less by £400 than Mr. Cosgrave's salary for one year.

When Cumann na Mashachta was formed as a political party the President's salary was fixed at £1,000. Of this, Mr. de Valera returned the last quarter, £250. When the present Government was formed the President's allowance was fixed at £500 a year, payable monthly. It should be remembered that he had a wife and seven children to support, and that he had to live

As President of the Republican Party after the Treaty, it was agreed that Mr. de Valera should get £1.000 a year. He did not get a year's salary.

Another report which had been spread during the Black and Tan time was that Mr. de Valera had houses in different parts of the country. That statement was false; every house that Mr. de Valera lived in was a rented house.

MR. DE VALERA AND MR. COLLINS.

The charge that Mr. de Valera betrayour Mr. Michael Collins was equally false, and its falseness would be proved by the publication of the communications and of the debates on the signing of the Treaty. A strong point in the betrayal charge was that Mr. Collins did not want to go to London, and that Mr. de Valera made him go, because the British would not give peace unless he was present. When Mr. Collins was appointed he said that he did not want to go to London, but it was quite evident from anyone listening to him that he did want to go.

She had had a conversation with Cathat Brugha, who was absolutely incorruptible, about the deputation. She asked him could Mr Griffith be depended upon, because Mr. Griffith had said to her before that that he did not believe England would recognise a republic. She believed that Mr. Lloyd George would have said. "Here, take a republic," only that the Diehards would not have let him. When she said this to Mr. Griffith he replied, "I do not think they will recognise a republic, anyhow."

Mr. de Valera sent Mr. Collins to London because he did not believe that Mr. Collins would let Ireland down. Mr. Collins believed that Mr. de Valera would agree to the Treaty

As to the charge of "saving his face," if Mr de Valera wished he could have blustered and then accepted the Treaty under duress. "You might," she said, "call that saving his face, if you like, and he would have been the head of the Free State to-day." There is no question of saving his face. It seems to me almost derogatory to Mr. de Valera to be denying these things, but then we have such difficulty in communicating these matters to the public.

GIRLS AND REVOLVERS.

Proceeding, Miss MacSwiney referred to a charge of paying young girls to carry petrol cans and lethal weapons. She said that the Executive of Cumann mBan had practically emptied its treasury for the I.R.A., and had given generously to army needs during the English terror. For some time past finances of the Executive were low; and they asked for a grant to enable them to carry on their ordinary work. The Cumann na mBan was an independent body, and not under any control or paid for what it did. Girls were not paid to carry revolvers-they carried them in the Blackand-Tan days, and if they did it then, why not now?

The people who were asking for peace—the Archbishop of Cashel and others—could speedily get peace if they found a basis for an honourable peace outside the British Empire. If that basis had been got they would have had peace long ago.

THE ENGLISH ARRESTS.

Asked whether she had anything to say with reference to the arrests in England, Miss MacSwiney said that she had only recognised about half-a-dozen of those who were arrested, and thought it probable that quite half of those taken were arrested without any justification at all. She was of the opinion that there was nothing to prevent any one of these people from making a habeas corpus motion in a British Court, and no English judge would refuse it.

Is it true that these people were engaged in a plot? was the next question, to which Miss MacSwiney replied that she was not in a position to affirm or deny the story. "If they were the people that these men claimed they were, their arrest will hamper and retard us, but it will not stop the movement, which will go on as actively as ever."

McSWINEY. Mary. Miss. B.A. 4, Belgrave Place, Cork.
4, Grand View Terrace, Victoria Road,
Cork.

Age,

Occupation,

ELECTED SINN FEIN M.P. FOR CORK CITY, MAY 1921.

Chief of the Cumann-na-mBan in Cork.

Sister of Sean McSWINEY, and of the late Terence McSWINEY who was Lord Mayor of Cork.

One of the most extreme and dangerous women in Ireland.

Spent eight months before the Truce in spreading Propaganda in America, and was well satisfied with results.

(Ext. "Irish Times" and "Freemans' Journal").

Made violent speech at Youghal 2-10-21. (File IX/0171 13-10-21).

Mame extracted from documents taken from Eileen McCARTHY when arrested (File 490).

Took part in demonstration at Tadg BARRY's funeral. (IX/0681).

Made addition effect at Ballinhassiq 9-10-21. ("Cork examine") 10-10-21.

Extract "Irish Bulletin" Vol. 5. No. 20. dated 29-6-21. "Imprisoned 1916. Home looted 1920. Sister of late T.McSWINEY. Now in U.S.A."

One of the Committee of Direction of the paper entitled the "Republic of Ireland" which made its appearance 3-1-22.

(D.D. W.I.S. No.146. IX/0896).

Attended Annual Convention of the Cumann-na-mBan on 5-2-22 and proposed supporting the Irish Republic. ("Irish Times" 6-2-22).

Voted against ratification of the Treaty on 7th January 1922.

made a request on behalf of the The Swiney family to have action on the Terence The Swiney Themorial postpored on account of the situation caused by the signing of the Treaty. Item request was acceeded to (6th Dir Sum 23.4.22) addressed meeting at Chydebark, Glasgow accompanied by This Featse on 23-4-22. She made a bitter attack on the Treaty. (6th Dir Summary 23.4.29)

Stated that the murder of Protestants was carried out as a Military Operation in the interests of the Republic. Since stated that they were the work of British Secret Service Agents. (IX/1153).

Re-nominated as a Republican Candidate for her present constituency. (Ex. Irish Times' dated 31.5.22.)

ELECTED MEMBER OF THIRD DAIL.

Noticed to be very active at 56, Grand Parade, Cork, which is the propaganda headquarters, information bureau, etc., of the Irregulars. (Ext. "Irish Independent" 15-8-22).

Signatory to the Republican Proclamation published in Poblacht na h-Eireann reaffirming the existence of the "Republic" and appointing a "Council of State" to be nominated by De Valera "to assist him in carrying on the government until such time as the parliament of the Republic is allowed freely to assemble or the people are allowed by a free election to decide how they shall be governed. (Press 27-10-22 - see copy).

Arrested in the house of Madame Rahilly, Dublin & removed to Mountjoy Prison. (Press 6-11-22).

Went on hungerstrike immediately after arriving at Mountjoy Prison. (Press 7-11-22).

Was one of the speakers at McSwiney Commemoration meeting held at Essex Hall, Strand, London. (IX/1586).

Arrested by N.T. in Tipperary, 12-4-23, on way to Lynch's funeral. (F.J. 13-4-23).

Released from Kilmainham Gaol 1-5-23 after being on hunger-strike for 19 days. (F.J. 2-5-23).

