(Mc . 14.)

Mc NEILL, John, (Eoin).

The second section is not as

MADE BY PROFESSOR JOHN MCNEILL AT OF THE THIRD DAIL HELD ON SEPTEMBER 9th. 1922.

BEARING THE BURDEN

Professor John MacNeill (National University), speaking first in Irish, and afterwards in English, seconded the election of Mr. Cosgrave as President of Dail Eireann. The position that Mr. Cosgrave occupied, he said, was known to all the members there. He was

the leading representative of those on whom the main burden had fallen of carrying out the policy which was the national policy of the people of Ireland at present, that was to say, giving effect to the Treaty of last De-

cember.

In proposing Mr. Cosgrave for the Presidentship, the members of the assembly whilst they were undoubtedly placing him in the highest position which it was possible to occupy in the civil life of Ireland, they were at the same time imposing upon him the heaviest burden that it was possible to any person in the upon civil life of Ireland at present, and they could not conceal it from themselves. His view of an Irish Government under present conditions, or under any future conditions was that, no matter what its complexion, when it became an Irish Government it was not the Government of a party but was the Government of the nation; and it was equally responsible to all sections of the nation, and that every party, every section, had an equal right to exercise its influence, its controlling influence, its criticising influence upon the Government, and, at the same time, that the Government, when it was doing and so long as it was doing what was necessary under the circumstances for the good of the nation, was entitled to the support and co-operation of all parties without distinction. They knew-there could be no mystery about it-how Mr. Cosgrave came to be proposed

A HEAVY RESPONSIBILITY

Upon him, naturally, in the course of events devolved the responsibility of taking up the burden of being Chairman of the Government in the blank created by the deaths of Arthur Griffith and Michael

Collins. And that being so, his name naturally came before them at this juncture as the right and proper person to be elected to the Presidency of the Dail.

15.9.22

Professor MacNeill (Minister of Education) emphasised the fact that they derived their authority wholly from the people, and pointed out that the action that had been taken by the Government, and by the Army, on the part of the people of Ireland, had no other object in view but the safety of the people of Ireland. That action was either right or wrong, and he trusted that they did not find themselves in the political atmosphere that surrounded Henry VIII., who, when he wished to do something that up to a certain point was illegal, got an Act of Parliament to do it. (Laughter.) A state of belligerency had been forced upon the country. It had not been forced upon it by that House. The measures that were taken in opposition to the public will could only have been met by military measures, and the very essence of military measures was that they interfered with freedom.

If the House proposed to pass any measures to legalise all these things it was quite welcome to do it, but the position in which he stood was that he wished to take the full responsibility for whatever was necessary to: establish the will and the safety of the people. He was not going to allow that responsibility to wait on a technical legalisation of what was necessary to be done. If later on another Parliament sought to impeach him, he would be prepared to stand his trial. (Applause.) Extract from "REPUBLICAN WAR NEWS" No: 44 dated 21-8-22.

MacNEILL VERSUS COLLINS.

There is a serious lift in the F.S. lute. In the Press of the 16th. Dr. Eoin MacNeill roundly trounces the Wexford County Council for demanding a Dail meeting to secure peace. He says such a meeting would be entirely inadvisable in the present military situation and a positive danger to peace. Mr. Collins in the same day's press declares: "I can advise the Government that as far as the military situation is concerned the new Parliament can meet at any time." Dr. MacNeill says a military victory must first be secured and it implies it will take time. Mr. Collins announces that the military victory has already been secured and "within the next fortnight" all will be over (for the 5th. time). Upon this the "Freeman's Journal" comments "Parliament is the voice of the people. Its support will strengthen enormously the hands of the Government"; but Dr. MacNeill says his Provisional Government is the voice of the people and must be left to itself as a meeting of Parliament would weaken the hands of the Government. Mr. Collins, on Saturday last, declared the war would continue at least for 2 months and ridiculed those who thought it would end in a fortnight. On Wednesday he said the war was practically ended and ridiculed those who thought it would last more than a fortnight. The riddle is beyond us; but we would suggest to Churchill's Ministers that they should all endeavour to tell the same lie at least on the same day.

THE ONLY BASIS OF PEACE

I.T. 16-8-32

TRENCHANT REPLY PROF. MACNEILL

The Government Publicity Department issued the following last evening:-

"Dr. Eoin MacNeill, T.D., has sent the following reply to resolution forwarded to

him by Wexford Co. Council:-

"Your letter, transmitting a resolution of the Wexford Co. Council, has just reached me. The resolution states that 'this Co. Council is deeply pained and alarmed at the awful plight to which the country is being reduced by the continuation of the present deplorable civil war," and goes on to point out some consequences of interference with the economic life of the people and with their liberty to use their own resources for the public good.

"I must point out that this interference began when a section of officers, without seeking or obtaining any authority from the people, set themselves up as a self-constituted authority, took possession of arms and equipment which belonged to the people and not to them, seized public buildings, issued edicts and orders to the civil population, and, under pretext of enforcing such arbitrary decrees, proceeded under threats of death to levy large sums; of money which they appropriated to their own purposes.

ECONOMIC LIFE PARALYSED.

" 'It was then that the destruction of the economic life of the people began, then and not afterwards, when the national authority decided to put an end to that interference.

"These facts, though known to everybody, have to be recalled to mind, because the Council's resolution might be taken to imply, what it does not intend, that the economic ruin of the country was not begun by the aforesaid set of officers and others

abetting them.

" Moreover, it is undeniable that the campaign against the economic life of the country was deliberately adopted by this section as a part of their policy to make the government of the country impossible, a policy which they pretend to justify to themselves on the pretext that the present National Government is a foreign Government. There is every reason to believe that so long and so far as the power to do so is left in their hands they will continue to act on this pretence and to carry on the same policy, including the paralys- tect the citizens from further continuaing of the country's economic life.

the confused hope that something may same medium,"

BY come out of it. I express no view as to the desirability of a meeting of Dail Eireann for other purposes, but I am absolutely convinced, and feel that everybody ought to be convinced by experience, that

a meeting of Dail Eireann under present circumstances will not help in any degree to bring about peace and is rather likely to aggravate the existing evils.

"The people who elected us to Dail Eireann demand of us that we shall do nothing that will in any way prevent the national executive and the national army from concentrating their energy on the establishment of the people's authority and the defeat of the conspiracy to make their economic life impossible. We are their representatives, and we represent them rightly when we support those who uphold their authority. The people do not desire an immediate meeting of Dail Eireann.

" Has the County Council any guaranta? that a meeting of Dail Eireann would not be used by a minority in furtherance of their present policy to paralyse Dail Eireann? I have no doubt at all that it would be so used, my belief being based on the most recent spoken and written de-

clarations of that minority.

ONLY BASIS OF PEACE.

"To enable terms of peace to be discussed a meeting of Dail Eireann is not required, nor would such a meeting be at all a good way to bring about negotiation.

" It is avidently in vain to discuss peace at all except on the basis that the policy of paralysing the country is first clearly and completely renounced and abandoned.

"That requires no meeting of the Dail. If that policy is adhered to the only way to peace is by defeating it. What is to be expected from discussion with persons who want to have the British back in occupation of the country, just because that would simplify the issue for themselves?

"Side by side with the Council's resolution I have another document which is a sort of manifesto of the Impossibilist policy. It declares that "a rebellion against the Irish Republic, which commenced on the 28th day of June, 1922, is still being waged by the members of the Dail Cabinet, who have raised an illegal army," etc., etc., and it comes to this conclusion, "that the public interest and safety of the country imperatively demands that the said Eoin MacWeill should immediately convene the said meeting of Dail Eireann, so that adequate measures may be taken to quell the said rebellion and to protion of outrage and violence and murders."

"In seeking for a remedy it is of no "This requires no comment, but it avail, under feelings of pain and alarm, should help to clear the minds of those to adopt any sort of floundering device in who look forward to peace through the

so ulrectly amount a state Ministe: but under persons representing the various interests. The proposed Railway Council, it is suggested, should be constituted by a railway expert, with wide managerial experience, as Chairman, his nomination to lie with the Government. term of office 5 years; a representative cf manufacturing industries, nominated by the manufacturers, the I.D.A. to be asked, meantime, to make the nomination; a representative of trades and commerce to be nominated by the Associated Chambers of Commerce; two representatives of agriculture, nominated by the Council of Agriculture or other vocational Council; two representatives of Labour a Government official to represent the Irish Treasury.

The chairman would be the chief executive officer (with a casting vote) to see that the policy agreed upon would be carried out; and that the others would hold office for three years. All, with the exception of the Government official, would receive reasonable remuneration.

METHOD OF PURCHASE.

The method of purchase suggested is to set up a tribunal to ascertain the cash value of £100 stock; the State then to issue Railway Bonds for amounts ascertained, bearing a reasonable rate of interest; similar railway bonds to be issued in the case of the guaranteed lines, with income equivalent to present income, liability of the guaranteeing income being extinguished; a sinking fund to be found to redeem, say, every ten years, a certain proportion of bonds.

It is not suggested that the present market values of railway stocks (about £2,530,000,000) or price should be taken as criterion of value, nor can the Commissioners agree with the companies that the value of stocks should be estimated on the basis of their pre-war value or pre-war yield. Existing and future conditions should be the governing element. There should be a superannuation process, includ-

ing directors. Coming, in Part III., to the railway workers and the management, statistics (already published) are supplied of numbers employed, of pre-war, war, and postwar conditions; and of the various negotiations and the Carrigan award. The Commissioners believe that if their recommendation of unification under State ownership takes effect, the question of standardisation would no longer be acute, as differentiation between members of the same grade in the same locality must disappear; but some system of differentiation based on locality, might be maintained, and in this Labour concurs. According, the system in operation during control is approved—three classes of stations, with grading of wages.

With Mr. Johnson dissenting, the Commission urge, on the hours question, that Labour should consider whether a 48-hour week, subject to a 12-hour maximum day, would not meet requirements, and they recommend that this should be considered ships, 7 appointments (with 1st place). later.

cannot sav that the wanes at

The service will be suspended from termini will start about 11.30 o'c., and l will not start until 2 o'c.

T INC

present paid are excessive, since no serious investigation has been made into the cost of living and its causes.

The most important matter is to find a plan for peaceful settlement of disputes without strikes or locks-out. It is recommended that a departmental dispute should be referred, in the first instance, to a Sectional Conciliation Board, such Board to consist of three members of the working staff of the particular department and three members of the managerial staff of the department, a union official having the right to attendance at the discussion, with, however, no right to take part in the decision. Should the difference not be reconciled, the dispute should be sent to four Sectional Boards sitting together, with a further reference, if necessary, to a General Conciliation Board.

A dispute not merely sectional should go to the four Sectional Boards, with a further reference, if necessary, to the General Board, when, it is recommended, should consist of 18 members-4, representing the management; 4 of the trade unions concerned; and 4 of members of the railways, the latter to be nominated by the Minister of Labour, with an independent chairman, also nominated by the Minister.

MR, O'DEA'S RECOMMENDATIONS

Mr. O'Dea, in his separate report, is opposed to the principle of State purchase, and advocates, instead, State control, for the present, or for a period of three years, with a subsidy, where necessary, during a

limited period. At the end of the three years Mr. O'Dea would have a scheme for unification in Free State territory, to be managed by a Board, which would consist of 4 representative of the railway stockowners, with representatives (1 each) of the Irish Treasury; the cattle trade industry; commercial and industrial enterprise of the country, and representative of agriculture; and 2 representatives of the railway workers. This Board, he suggests, should be presided over by a chairman who is an acknowledged railway expert.

Dr. Jas. M'Evoy was elected M.O. Granard district by 11 to 8 for Dr. T. G. Collumb, Aughnacliffe.

ROSSE COLLEGE, STEPHEN'S GREEN. Successes since Jan. 1, 1921.—Guinness's First Class Clerkships-All the appointments (6); Bank of Ireland-Male Clerkships, 28 appointments (with first place at the July and Feb. exams.). Lady Clerk-Other Irish Banks-49 appointments.

IRISHMEN OF TO-DAY-XXIII.

Mr. John MacNeill. EVOLUTIONARY movements throw up ail sorts of curious types. You will find, as in the case of Russia, aristo-

crats cheek by jowl with peasants and dock labourers, and dreamy-eyed poets sharing billets with the orthodox sansculottes. Generally, however, they have one thing m common they are nearly always fanatics. Men of culture and breeding do not often throw in their lot with revolutionaries unless they are obsessed by an idea. When they do, they are apt to lose all sense of proportion, and to degenerate into wild extremists.

Two men who have taken active parts in

recent revolutions provide remarkable exceptions to this rule. if it can be called a rule. They are Professor Thomas G. Masaryk, of Czecho-Slovakia, and Professor John, or Eoin, MacNeill, of Ireland. The former, who now is the President of the Czecho-Slovak Republic, is probably the greatest living authority on Slavonic affairs. His book, "The Spirit of Russia," is easily the most important work which exists on the baffling subject of Russian psychology, and there is no man in Europe who has such a thorough knowledge of everything which pertains to that sadly misunderstood country as the revolutionary professor of Prague. Professor MacNeill, in his way, is just as remarkable. He is, probably, the world's most eminent authority on early and mediæval Irish history, while his researches on Celtic philology have gained him international renown. He is the last man in Ireland whom anybody would connect with revolutionary ideas or bellicose inclinations; yet he has played an extremely important part in



MR. JOHN MacNEILL.

Republican Army, and was one of the foremost figures in the movement which led up to the rebellion of Easter Week, 1916.

Nevertheless, there is not a trace of fanaticism about Professor MacNeill. Like Masaryk, he is a man of extremely moderate views, unobtrusive, almost self-effacing in some ways, and, above all. a man of peace, whose chief interest in life is his books. How did such a man come to be the Chief of Staff of the Irish Volunteers, when they were preparing to launch their great attack on the forces of the British Empire? When we know why such things happen, we shall know the secret of life itself. Professor Eoin MacNeill is a typical scholar.

He is Professor of Early and Mediæval Irish History in the National University of Ireland, having been appointed to the Chair when the University was started thirteen years ago, and is recognised as an authority on every aspect of Gaelic culture. Strangely enough, he is an Ulsterman. He was born in County Antrim over fifty years ago, and still speaks with a distinct Northern accent. He was educated at St. Malachy's College, Belfast. At an early age he showed marked enthusiasm for the language and the history of the Gael, and laid the foundations of that brilliant scholarship which since has made him famous almost within a stone's throw of the Queen's Island. When he was twenty Mr. MacNeill came to

Dublin. Like many other Irishmen, who afterwards espoused the cause of Sinn Fein, he became a civil servant in the British service, being appointed to a clerkship in the High Court of Justice in Ireland. For more than twenty years he was employed in the office of the Accountant-General in the Dublin Four Courts. The deadly routine of the law, however, had

very little attraction for John MacNeill. The training which he received probably helped to ht him for the work of a professorial chair; but he never felt at home in the Four Courts, and yearned for a more congenial post. All the time to was working away at his pet subjects. He was one of the founders of the Gaelic League, of which he was an oriiginal vice-president, and edited many of that body's publications from time to time. Gradually he rose to intellectual eminence until he became a power in the world of Irish Ireland. Up to this time Professor, MacNeill had had little or nothing to do with politics, which attracted him as little as the devious ways of the law. After the formation of the Ulster Volunteers, however, things began to move in Southern Ireland. In October, 1913, iess than a year before the war, the Irish Volunteers were established, and John MacNeill took a very active part in their organisation. In September, 1914, just after the outbreak of the war, this body split, one section, under the leadership of the late John Redmond, taking on the name of the National Volunteers, to distinguish them from those who remained under Professor MacNeill. Originally, the Volunteers numbered about 180,000, of whom some 11,000 stayed with the original Provisional Committee, while the rest followed Mr. Redmond, to form the bulk of the famous Irish Divisions in France and Gallipoli. But as time went on Professor MacNeill's section grew in numbers, until it amounted at the start of the rebellion to some 15,000. The story of the rising is well known. To make a long story short, he was sentenced to cenal servitude for life for his part in the rebellion, was sent with many others to Dartmoor Convict Prison, and was released at the time of the general amnesty in June, 1917. During the trouble of recent years Professor

MacNeill spent some considerable time in jail. He was the member for Derry City in Dail Eireann, which was constituted after the election of 1918, and subsequently became its Speaker, representing not only Derry City, but also the National University. As Speaker, or Ceann Comhairle, of the second Dail, Professor MacNeill came into much prominence at the beginning of the present year during the historic debate on the Treaty. He quickly identified himself with the Pro-Treaty Party, but, in spite of his political sympathies, did his best during the long and dreary discussion at Earlsfort terrace to give the other side a square deal. Probably no Speaker of any other Parliament ever had such a task. A man of more forcible personality might have made shorter work of it, but Professor MacNeill tried to please everybody-a feat which, in view of the variegated personnel of the Dail, would have been beyond the power of a saint. The calmness of John MacNeill's demeanour

during the most exciting times was remarkable. He used to sit there on his dais, per ectly motionless, like some Oriental idol on a pedestal. His hands, crossed, lay in his lap. His eyes, unseeing, stared through space, what time the droning voice of the speech-maker hummed on in interminable dreariness, or the harsh interjections of some angry opponent rasped on the ear of the drowsy listener. Rarely did he intervene. He generally took the line of least resistance, and gave the most exasperating member-and some of them were very exasperating at times-any amount of latitude. He was almost too lenient at times, one felt, but he knew the people with whom he had to deal, and in the long run his policy of laisser faire proved to be the wisest in the circumstances.

Professor MacNeill is very tall, and rather gaunt in appearance. He has the face of an ascetic as well as of an intellectual, and his long hair, which originally was blonde, but is rapidly greying, gives him a very benevolent appearance. He affects a Lloyd Georgian coiffure, thus heightening the effect, while the cut-away coat which he usually wears stamps him as a late Victorian. He has a curiously restful voice, and speaks well, if rather too pedantically to be really effective as an orator. He is very fond of repeating whole sentences for the sake of emphasis; this trick is extremely useful in a heated debate, and Professor MacNeill employed it on many occasions during the gatherings of the Dail. In conversation he has a ready tongue, and a somewhat pawky sense of humour. He is at his best when he is riding his hobby horse, and descanting on the antiquities of Ireland's story. He has been a Sinn Feiner for many years, exerting, a widespread influence in his quiet way, although lack of what the Americans call "punch" has kept him from occupying a very prominent Executive position. At the recent election he was returned at the head of the poll for the National University, on a Treaty coupon, and he still is nominally, at any rate, the Speaker of the Irish Parliament. Professor MacNeill is a man of very high gifts, but he is a scholar first, last and all the time. He lives, surrounded by his books, in a delightful place near Blackrock, in Co. Dublin, and is to be seen almost every day travelling to and from the city in the Kingstown tram. What part he is destined to play in the Ireland of the future one cannot foretell, but it is fairly safe to say that his revolutionary days are over, and that all his infl ence, and all his energies, will be directed along the channels of civil peace and NICHEVO. national happiness.

FREE STATE MEETING. LLEGE GREEN. IRISH TIMES! 6-3-22. MATTERS.

THE LABEL AND THE GOODS.

Mr. Eoin MacNeill, Speaker of Dail Eireann, said that by the Treaty they could have the goods delivered, but if they were going to talk about the label that was to go on them it was a chance that they were ever going to see the goods themselves. If they were going to get' the goods it did not matter a tinker's curse what label was on them. "For God's sake," he said, "let us hear no more about the label: it is the goods you want. You can have the goods. If I am not mistaken, you are not a lot of damned fools, and you are going to make sure you will have them. (Applause.)

There was in Dublin a large Protestant minority that used to call themselves Unionists. "They know," he went on, "every man, woman, and child of them, that their rights and their liberties are going to be as secure under the Irish national Government of the future as any man's rights or any man's liberties are under any Government in the civilised world. (Applause.) Ah, yes, and that is the fact that is going to compel Belfast to make peace with you. There is no standing out against it. You are going to establish not only national liberty, but personal and civil liberty, here in Ireland in the future." (Applause.)

IRISH TIMES. 28-4-22.

SPEAKER INTERVENES.

Following other interchanges, the Speaker again intervened, and appealed that these personal matters might not be discussed, and said that these matters, however intense, should not be brought between them and their responsibility to the nation. He hoped that the Dail would insist on their confining themselves to the national issue. There was no hurry about such disputes. Time-Two or three, or five or 20 years—would settle the question of who was right and who was wrong. (Applause.)

Mr. de Valera-This question was unfortunately a personal question. The main argument for the Treaty is that I was in the same boat as themselves. It is because of this I want the matter argued, and because I think it is helping to influence the national decision. Therefore I ask that a Judicial Committee be appointed.

Mr. Collins said that these documents were in course of preparation. No Cabinet document would be published without the consent of the other side.

Mr. Childers said that he wanted to know what was going to be done about his record. Was it going to be circulated?

Mr. Griffith-No. I will give it to you my-

Mr. Boland moved that a vote be taken on the question.

The Speaker, after a discussion, declined to accept the motion.

Dr. McCartan moved that the report of the Minister for Foreign Affairs be approved. Mr. Robinson seconded, and the report

was adopted by 57 votes to 50. On the report of the Minister for Home

Affairs,

Mr. S. T. O'Kelly said that he understood that the policy was that the Republican Courts should be maintained. He had got a cutting from a Wicklow paper, in which was an advertisement relating to a Court, headed "Rialtas Sealadach na hEireann." He would like to know whether that was done with the knowledge and sanction of the Minister for Home Affairs.

Mr. Duggan, in reply, said that the Courts functioned to a greater extent than they did before the Treaty was signed. He knew nothing about the particular case referred to.

The Lord Mayor of Cork referred to the question of police, and said that it seemed to him that Dáil Eireann could have taken some steps that would have been an earnest to the country that they would supply them with effective police protection. What protection, he asked, was it proposed to give to the citizens of Cork more than they had two years ago.

Several other questions having been asked, Mr. Duggan said that the subject of the peace of the country had been dealt with Ly the Minister for Finance in his report on Tuesday. The policing of the country had been taken over by the Army during the transition period. There was some difficulty at present, but as soon as G.H.Q. got a definite command, policing could be done without any trouble. Mr. Stack was responsible for the setting up of the Courts. He (Mr. Duggan) simply took over the machinery of his department from his predecessor.

Mr. Collivet said that since he came into office Mr. Duggan had ample opportunity of obtaining from that House authority to enable those Courts to function over an area which they did not function previously. The Provisional Government was acting as a Government owing no authority to that House. The report, on the motion of Mr. M'Grath, seconded by Mr. P. J. Hogan, was adopted.

D. E. Conference. 10-5-22. IRISH TIMES: 11-5-22.

The Speaker said that it seemed to him that the use of the term truce was rather dangerous and undesirable, as it would seem to imply that there was a recognition of something which was the opposite of a truce before the appointment of the Committee. He thought that the case was something like this-What was called a truce was arranged to bring together people who were in disagreement. It would be very modesirable if the Dail was to take any action which implied that in its mind there was a state of war before this arrangement began. It it were stated that what was called a truce had come to an end it would mean reverting to what was admitted to be a state of war. It would be dangerous to allow the public mind to interpret it as a termination of a truce in the ordinary sense.

Mr. Griffith said that he understood that the truce was a matter resorted to by military men, and to that extent it was independent of the Political Committee, and they should leave it in their hands for the time being.

At a later stage

Mr. O'Rourke (Roscommon) said that he had been informed that there was still a possibility of the Peace Committee agreeing on a basis of discussion, and he thought that the House should request the Committee to meet again. Personally, he thought that nothing should be left undone to try to get the Committee to continue their deliberations until they finally saw no possibility of agreement.

The Speaker said that he did not think that a motion was necessary for that purpose. It was the desire of the House that they should proceed to a conclusion, and if there was still a possibility of agreement that desire remained unchanged.

Just before Mr. Collins rose to reply to some observations on taxation, the two Peace Committees, headed by Mrs. Clarke, filed into the chamber. Their report to the Dail was handed to the Speaker.

The Speaker read the report, which stated that the Committee set up under the terms of Dr. Hayes's motion at the session of An Dail on Wednesday, May 3rd, had held eleven sessions in all. At the first session they arranged for the meeting of Army officers of both sides, and an immediate cessation of hostilities and a subsequent truce. Practically the whole time of the Committee had been occupied in endeavouring to find a basis for agreement. They had failed, the report concluded, to agree on a basis.

some antiquated theory an equality of status for Ireland with all the other members of that community, and the right of complete national sovereignty in her own domain. He believed that in placing that construction upon the Treaty they should have the support of South Africa, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, for it was to their interest, their selfish interest, that that construction only should be placed upon these terms.

He would go further and would bear in mind that the status had been declared, in what now amounted to a constitutional definition, to include the right of secession. They would be told, "What is the use of the right of secession? Ireland is only 60 miles from Great Britain while Canada is 3,000." That was a good and a perfectly valid argument, but it applied not only to that status but to any superior status that they could acquire and it would apply with equal force to an independent Irish Republie (applause).

A BAD ARGUMENT.

He was not going to use as a reason for voting in favour of the Treaty the argument of "terrible war." It was an argument that did not appeal to him at all, and he did not think it appealed to the new spirit of the people of Ireland.

The argument that appealed to fear was a bad argument and a dangerous one (hear, hear).

They had had painted a terrible picture of the future of Ireland under the proposed new arrangements. They were going to be his Majesty's Ministers all over the place and his Majesty's officers all over the army (laughter), but

the people of Ireland would not elect to important Ministerial positions men who? would be described as "his Majesty's" Ministers."

It was said that they would be overawed by these people, perfumed and uniformed, and that they would be rubbing their forehead in the dust before them as flunkeys. A terrible picture, indeed. Well, that personage who was alluded to in the Treatyhe was not named the Governor-General and he (Mr. McNeill) would call him the Grand Panjandrum. They would suppose that functionary being in Ireland. They had a second appalling picture placed before them, and he would set himself up somewhere and hold drawingrooms, levees, give balls and dances and the nationality of their girls would evaporate because they went to these functions.

IRISH SOVEREIGNTY

It was difficult to believe that all this was seriously proposed for their belief. The Constitution would have to be drafted by some elected Irish authority. But it appeared that a letter from Mr. Lloyd George was now sufficient to make them fall down upon their knees. Mr. Lloyd George said in his letter that their future Constitution would have to be drafted in accordance with the terms which he had forced upon them in the manner that had been described there, in the Treaty. That Treaty deals with proposed international relations between Ireland and the other component parts of the British Empire, and when an Irish Constitution was fashioned and framed there would be no mention in it of any other country but Ireland (hear, hear).

If any person, let him be a constitutional lawyer, or what he might, came forward and insisted that some other country but Ireland would be mentioned in the Irish Constitution, well-they knew what would happen.

He ventured to predict that the first

that the sovereignty of Ireland, derived from the people of Ireland, holds authority over all persons and over all things in Ireland (cheers).

It would not hold that authority in fact, because it was impossible for them, as a That was his standpoint, and, to his matter of fact, immediately to bring under the authority of Ireland all things in Iremind, the great majority of the speeches land. That, as things stood at present, that had been made against the resolution was an impossibility. They all knew it, for the approval of the Treaty should have been made at the commencement of these a right for Ireland complete authority negotiations and not now (hear, hear).
The situation was quite clearly defined then, no mistake about it.
What was good for one man was good for the other man, and everyone charged with responsibility in these negotiations had the same freedom to do the heat the

If they passed a Dominion Act it was quite within their competence, as they interpreted their competence-he meant the Imperial Parliament, as they called it themselves, which was really the Parliament of Great Britain-quite within their tionalities that were groaning under the competence to pass an Act annexing Ireland to the Republic of Guatemala.

They had full power to do it, and when they did it, and if they did it, they, he supposed, would have Deputy Childers coming there before them and explaining that in future they were citizens of Guatemala And, if he passed a Dominion Act to con-(loud laughter). Let them pass their Dominion Act. They did not care a pin for their Dominion Act. It was not so very arose over two questions—that was to long ago since they passed another Act Dominion Act would remain. The reason about which he would remind them.

In the year 1917-1918 they had in Ireland

there were 204,000 soldiers on the pay roll of the British army in Ireland alone,

THE ONLY STRENGTH

"We have no strength here (in Ireland) but our army." -Duke of Wellington, 1807.

at that time, when Great Britain sent the

S.O.S. out to America, when her back was to the wall-defending Belgium, ha! (laughter) she was holding down Ireland with the largest army she ever had in Ireland, and she was asking America to come over quickly to help her to defeat the terrible Huns,

and then, in the middle of all that, she passed an Act for them, an Act making it compulsory for every young man in Ireland to go out and help her to beat the Huns, while she had her 200,000 men holding down Ireland. And you remember all the circumstances of that time. They had

They had not then more than the nucleus of an Irish Republican Army. They had

taking the standpoint of Ireland and not regarding himself as an Attorney-General for the British Government (applause),

to go before he would take them by the he should claim on the facts and not upon neck to set free the small Catholic na
took an oath to any formula whatsoever, and placed that formula, no matter what and placed that formula, no matter what to go before he would take them by the said, above what was best according to

Act. How many men did he get by it? How far did he succeed in forcing that

Act against Irishmen who were not united. not organised, not armed, with practically no power of resisting, except by faith and prayer? He failed to put his Act in force. fer Dominion status on them, they would have no status conferred on them except what they conferred themselves, and his he asked them to ratify this agreement was not because they were afraid, but be-

"It is not," declared Mr. MacNeill, accept it" (loud applause).

cause they were not afraid.

and he (Mr. Ruttledge) did not pretend, as cerned with foreign affairs to know that dent's, who held that they must be free to do what was best for Ireland in the circumstances.

HIS INTERPRETATION Mr. de Valera-This oath was referred to a number of times in the private session. should like, therefore, to give some ex-

planation. The day before I was to be elected President I informed the Dail of my view, because I knew, under the circumstances, that if there were to be negotiations we would have to consider asso-

ciation of some sort. And as Document No. 2, which you will see in its proper time, might be interpreted as a departure from the idea of an isolated Republic-having that in mind and also possible criticism-I told the Dail before they elected me that they should understand that if I took office as head of the Irish State, I would regard my oath solely in the light that it was an oath taken by me to the Irish Nation, to do the best I could for the Irish Nation, and that I would not be fettered if I were to be in that position

Mr. MacNeill said he had not a word to that they passed an Act of Parliament- add. He would not dot an "i" or cross a with their 200,000 bayonets and police in "t" of any word the President said. He charge of everything-no Republican Gov- agreed with everything he said, but it had ernment, no Republican Army, the coun- been contended by member after member sovereign State in its own domain.

HIS INTERPRETATION.

If it fell to him, supposing the Treaty were ratified, to declare the manner in was still on the Statute Book.

try at rest—in order to compel the young of that Assembly that he was bound by the word and letter of his oath, that he could not use his judgment, that it preduced by member after member which these terms ought and must be inter- Mr. Lloyd George discovered a German country under the circumstances. He (Mr. preted and applid he should say beforehand, plot, and he went to Edinburgh to an- MacNeill) would say that any person who

The Speaker (Dr. Eoin MacNeill) said that he had brought upon himself at a private session a certain amount of obloquy by describing himself as an opportunist, but he was going to speak to them again that day from the standpoint of an opportunist, and by an opportunist he meant that he claimed the freedom to

MR. MACNEILL'S VIEWS



Dr. Eoin MacNeill.

do the best for Ireland in the circum- THE FIRST ARTICLE. stances that might arise.

They had heard these words before, not once but twenty times, they had heard the article of the Irish Constitution when it words enforced with every variety of argu- was drafted would contain a provision to ment. They had heard these words this effect brought before them now in the form, that holding the highest responsibility in the present day that could be conferred upon an Irishman, who, if he were not free under the circumstances to do the best he could for Ireland, would not hold the responsibility (hear, hear). HIS STANDPOINT.

had the same freedom to do the best they DOMINION HOME RULE. could in the circumstances for Ireland; "Dominion Home Rule is dead," said the in the circumstances, they did the best speaker, amid laughter and cheers, in that, to their knowledge, their judgment which both sides joined. There is no such and power, they could have done (hear, thing now in existence (laughter and hear). Now, he was not going to use any general cheers). I am glad we are unani-rhetoric or claptrap, or to take any ad- mous about one point (laughter). vantages, nor was he going to make any debating society points; and, if he did, hel did not object to be interrupted. He could use language as lofty as any of the eloquence they had heard, if not, perhaps, quite as lengthy (hear, hear). "I could," said Mr. MacNeill, "say this: We will have a Republic, the whole Republic, and nothing but the Republic, and to hell with England" (hear, hear). There was nothing to prevent him saying that.

Miss MacSwiney-Say it, then (and cries of "Order, order").

THE DIFFERENCE. Dr. MacNeill said that

it was plain that the difficulties that arose in the minds of those present say, over two oaths.

One of those oaths was quoted for them in ARMY OF OCCUPATION. full by the Deputy for Louth. That was the oath they had taken as members of Dail Eireann, and the other was the oath the largest British army that ever occuthat was proposed to be taken by the pied Ireland. He believed it was true that future members in the Irish Assembly at that time under the Treaty that was before them. He would take the second of the oaths first. It was dealt with by the Deputy for Mayo, Mr. Ruttledge, the previous day, and it might interest those who were conother speakers had done, that in the proposed oath there was any declaration of allegiance to the King of England. There was in it no such declaration. The Deputy for Mayo went on to the second part, and he found himself there in a difficulty, because the only conclusion he could come o was that fidelity meant slavery, and hat the person that could be faithful to another could only be a slave. "I suppose, said Mr. MacNeill, amidst laughter, "if the other person was faithful to that person he would be a slave, too." He was not going to deal with any suggested alternative that had been before them. He would suggest an alternative himself in case another oath had to be prepared, and it was-"I swear to be externally associated" (laughter). That is Oath No. 1 (laughter). There was no allegiance in it except to the Constitution of the Irish Free State, and to that alone (hear, hear).

THE CONSTITUTION

They had heard a very able explanation by Deputy Childers with regard to the construction of the Treaty. If it were ratified the explanations which he had placed upon it, in case there would be any future fric- not then an Irish Republican Government. tion about its interpretation, were the ex- No. They had an Irish Parliamentary planations which would be insisted upon Party. against Ireland from the other side (hear,

hear). The Minister for Local Government had the country overrun by their soldiers and read a number of contrasts with regard to their so-called police. Their police were what was so according to the law and con- not in block-houses at that time or trastitution and what was so according to the | velling around in cages. facts. The facts were these, that the com- They were walking armed along the roads (applause). ponent parts of the community of nations uninterfered with-cock of the walk-ruldescribed in one part of the Treaty as the ing the country. And in the middle of all British Empire and in another as the British Commonwealth of Nations was that they were, with regard to each other, on a position of complete equality and each was a

his conscience and judgment for Ireland, oppression of Austria. He passed that that person might be true to his oath, but he was not true to Ireland (applause).

He would go further and say that his truth to Ireland was binding upon that person more than any oath-any political oath that he had taken or possibly could

POLITICAL OATH.

If he takes a political oath and that oath is explained to him as tying his hands or binding his conscience, in a case in which he is called on to act on his own responsibility in the most critical state of affairs, because we are too weak to refuse it, haside and acting in freedom from it he could but because we are strong enough to do better for the country, then he was bound to break that oath (applause, and He had begun, with one oath; he would some cries of "No"). Otherwise there was finish with another. He would not give a higher law than the law of conscience. them his explanation of it, but the Presi- (A Voice: "There is.") Yes, there was the law of God.

The speaker went on to refer to an oath of fidelity, when Countess Markievicz interjected "What about the marriage oath?" Amidst laughter, Mr. MacNeill observed OATH that if he started to discuss marriage oaths at that stage in the proceedings there would be nothing more to be said, and then took

IRELAND & "ULSTER" SECRET ARMY

MACNEILL CIRCULAR

COMMENTS

"BULLETIN" ENDORSES HIS VIEWS

CIRCULAR 'WITHDRAWN

"EXPLANATION" BY SIR JAMES CRAIG

Dr. MacNeill, T.D., in a letter to "CIVILISATION AND HUMANITY." Mr. de Valera, expresses the view that the British Government are organising a sectarian war in Ireland.

"The Irish Bulletin," which publishes the text of the letter, endorses Dr. MacNeill's view.

Sir J. Craig's "Explanation."

Sir J. Craig has admitted the authenticity of the secret circular, but asserts that "it was intended that recruits might be taken as police, but not into a military force." He announced that he was returning on Saturday, and that "meanwhile the circular must be withdrawn."

It will be recalled that, in stating that the recruits were intended for military units, Lt.-Col. Wickham, D.C., R.I.C., clearly indicated that such a step had been decided upon by the "Government."

"CIVIL WAR" PLAN

DR. MACNEILL'S LETTER

"Dr. Eoin MacNeill, Professor of Irish History in the National University of Ireland and Parliamentary representative of the University and of Derry City," says the "Irish Bulletin," "has addressed to President de Valera the following letter:-

Mr. President-Some " Dear weeks ago, speaking on behalf of a delegation to you from the counties of Tyrone and Fermanagh, I made public my belief that Mr. Lloyd to call "Civil War" in N.E. Ulster, not merely as a thing likely to happen but as a desirable event in view of British policy towards Ireland. that time it would have been necessary to argue the grounds for that belief. It is no longer necessary.

"On Saturday, Nov. 19, the 'Freeman's Journal' and the 'Irish Independent' published a Secret Circular, dated Nov. 9. 1921, and addressed to the principal officers In charge of certain Crown Forces in varipus parts of North-East Ulster. The authenticity of the Circular is admitted by the Unionist Press of Belfast and by the Coalition Press of Gt. Britain. The Circular was signed by Lieut.-Col. Wickham, Divisional Commissioner of the R.I.C. stationed in Belfast, who is the chief officer In command of all branches of the British Constabulary in North-Eastern Ireland, It contains detailed instructions for the raising of an Orange army. Some British editors, recognising what this meant, have tried to represent that what was intended was an augmentation of the police in N.E. Ulster. The Circular itself makes no such pretence. It gives directions for raising the new army in battalions according to battalion areas. It claims to be authorised by the British Government. Moreover, the Circular was issued secretly, and was first revealed by the Republican organ, the Trish Bulletin.' The Belfast Orange Press does not deny that the Circular is a Governmental document and does not pretend that its purpose is to augment the police.

CASTLE ENQUIRY.

"Dublin Castle has informed the Press Association that it is making its own enquiries in Belfast about the circular. This is true, nevertheless. "Dublin Castle is enquiring how the

secret came to be revealed.

A SECTARIAN WAR.

"On the authority of one of their principal officers in Ireland, the British Government, while engaged in peace negotiations with the Irish envoys and professing great anxiety for the observance of the Irish truce, is making active preparations for a sectarian war in Ireland. There have been no sectarian wars in Europe not ever. If Mr. Lloyd George's 'civil war' since the seventeenth century. There have and Mr. Winston Churchill's 'civil war' been bad governments in Europe since comes to pass, if the preparations for 't then, nations have been oppressed by alien | proceed, all doubt about its real origin governments, but no government has and authorship and purpose has been for sought to arm people of one religion against ever removed by the Secret Circular. It another, and no government has tried to will be a treacherous British war upon Iredominate a nation which it claimed to rule | land, and will take its course accordingly. by organising a sectarian war among the people-no government but one. "Members of the present British Cabi-

net have made speeches in Great Britain since the Irish truce and the Irish negotiations began.

"Mr. Lloyd George, in a speech at Barns-

ley on August 27th, and in a message to the British Trades Union Congress on September 8th, and Mr. Winston Churchili, in a speech at Dundee on September 24th, have alluded to the prospect of a 'civil war' in Ulster and pretended to deplore it. Both have declared that Great Britain

could not look on idly while such a terrible thing took place at her very doors. We must understand that the British Government would not be disgraced before the world if, having abandoned the Black-and-Tan War, it renewed the war in Ireland on such terms that the world might be an end to an Irish civil war. "CIVIL WAR."

Commissioner of Police ever drew up or issued on his own authority, and which claims the authority of its Government, the British Government is now engaged in projiding itself with the Irish civil war to hich the British Premier and his col-Augue, Mr Winston Churchill, have been coking forward. The secret document, as the 'Irish Bul-

letin' points out, was issued immediately after a consultation in London between the principals of the British Cabinet and

the Belfast Orange Cabinet. At the same time means were found, which are not found in the statute, to place the Belfast Orange Cabinet in complete control over six counties, including the counties of Tyrone and Fermanagh, the city of Derry, and the constituencies of South Armagh, South Down and East Down, which have declared that the Belfasti Orange Cabinet is not their Government, and that they will refuse to be coerced into allegiance to it. The control thus handed over to the Belfast Crange Cabinet comprises power of life

and death over all these people. This con-

trol, arbitrarily created by the British

Cabinet, is to date from November 22nd, 1921, within a fortnight of the issue of the Secret Circular.

If the Secret Circular had not become public, the raising of the new Orange army would thus have appeared to be the act of the Belfast Orange Cabinet, and not the act of the British Imperial Government. The prospective war against the Catholics-and many of the Protestants-of the six counties would in that case possibly have appeared to the world to be really a civil war.

Owing to the urgency of the matter, those entrusted with the project did not wait until the Belfast Orange Cabinet came legally or illegally, under the statute or over the head of the statute, into control, The result must be that, if the expected war comes off, it will be impossible to convince the world that it is an Irian civil war or anything else but a continuation of the Black and Tan War.

"A secret order, not issued by a Czar or a Kaiser or an Abdul the Damned, organise and arm an Orange army in Ireland, to throw Ireland back into the sectarian warfare of the 17th century, n order that the authors of the Black and Tan campaign might make a fresh conquest of Ireland in the name of civilisation and humanity! If there are any who up to now have been in doubt as to what the forces are that are at the back of Orange violence and fanaticism in Belfast and its neighbourhood, if there are any who have wondered under what auspices religion, claiming the name of Christianity, could take such an extraordinary form in this age, if there are any wno have been puzzled to know what purposes are best served by keeping parts of Ulster in a perpetual ferment of sectarian fury, let such persons study well the Secret Circular of Nov. 9th in all its bearings-the instructions it contains, the time at which it was issued, the truce and the sort of war that preceded it, the negotiations and their object, the conferences with the Balfast Cabinet and their outcome, the completion of that Cabinet's powers and the time and manner thereof, and the anticipations by Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Winston Churchill, Arcadians both.

MAINTAINING STATUS QUO.

"They will be further enlightened if they are able to study the details of the attempted outbreak of 'civil war' in Derry City last year, and the action of the 'Crown' on that occasion; the origin and details of the Belfast outbreak two months later, and what the 'Crown' has done to end the pogrom against the whole Catholic community and a large section of the Protestant community of Belfast during the year and a quarter that have since elapsed; how disorder, secretly fomented, has always been allowed to reach a certain pitch, and how at that stage the 'Crown' has always come in to maintain the status quo. "Let them enquire whether Protestantism

in any form is the reason or the pretext. Such an enquiry might be addressed to his Excellency Lord FitzAlan, King George's Governor-General and Lieutenant-Governor in Ireland, who is a Catholic, or to Lord Chief Justice Denis Henry in Belis a Catholic fast, who George contemplated what he chose to Colonel Archer Shee, of the Northern Goernment, had failed to insham left wing in the British Parliament, who is a Catholic, or to his Eminence Cardinal Bourne, or to his Eminence Cardinal Gasquet, or to his Excellency the Count de Salis, British Ambassador at the Vatican, who is a Catholic. If a policy which extends to the launching of the war, called in careful anticipation, a 'civil war,' against half the population of N.E. Ulster outside of Belfast, a war in which the Orangemen are to be organised by battalions in battalion areas and armed by the British Government for service 'in any part of the six counties'-if this policy has the support of all these and many other high-placed Catholics, surely it is clear that the Orangemen are mere dupes and tools, whose disgrace will be excused by the principals they serve; surely it is clear that the declamations daily addressed to the Orangemen against the Romish Church and its designs on the liberty of Ulster Protestants do not reflect the ideas of the master minds.

THE FUNDS.

"The Belfast Orange Cabinet has not at present a penny of revenue at its command, and will not have enough to carry on with for months to come. All its past and present expenditure is defrayed out of advances by the British Treasury. Who, then, is undertaking to supply the funds for the pay, organisation and equipment of the Orange army? The Belfast Ministers have over and over

again declared that their prospective revenue under the statute of their institution will be wholly inadequate for the purposes of their ordinary administration. They have not budgeted for an army. Who has undertaken to pay for it? The anticipated 'civil war' in North-East Ulster, if it comes off, will reproduce the conditions, financial and economic, that war has produced on the Continent of Europe. It will impoverish the six counties. For whose benefit, then, is it planned? Such questions cease to be conundrums in the light of the Secret Circular. "The Balkanisation of N.E. Ulster is

an achievement of British statesmanship. Those who talk of an Orange minority dictating British policy in Ireland are either fools or humbugs.

Nothing of the kind has ever happened, "As the elected representative of the

second city in North-East Ulster, I have deemed it my duty to bring this matter formally before you.

A PERVERSION OF FACTS

THE

"EXPLANATION"

Commenting on the above letter the Irish Bulletin" says:-

"Professor MacNeill's letter was written before the British Government department known as the Irish Office gave, in an interview with the representative of the 'Irish Independent,' an 'explanation' of the secret circular. The 'explanation' can only confirm the worst fears entertained in Ireland. The Irish Office admits that the document is authentic, but claims that both itself and Dublin Castle had no knowledge either of its existence or of its persuaded the war was undertaken to put | circulation. It then defends the circular, and by a deliberate perversion of the facts states that it is within the power of the 'Northern Parliament' to raise such an "So, according to a document which is army as the document proposes. The admittedly authentic, which no Divisional | Northern Parliament' has, of course, no such power. The Partition Act under which it was called into being prohibits it from raising an army of any kind. DISCOVERY PREMATURE.

"The official who offered this 'explana-

tion' expressed it as his 'personal opinion' that the secret circular was 'premature and a mistake.' What he really meant was that its discovery was 'premature.' "As Professor MacNeill points out, the

organisation of the secret Orange Army was designed to appear as if it were the act of the 'Northern Government.' This design was frustrated by the 'premature' publication of the circular. Its terms showed that the army was being organised, not in the name of the 'Northern Government,' but at the direction of the British Government. "The 'mistake' regretted at the Irish

Office is not that a sectarian army is

being created-the creation of such an

army is expressly approved-but that

(Continued from Preceding Column.)

the raising of it was exposed in time to attribute responsibility to the proper quarter.

"Questioned as to why the recipients of the circular, all of whom were the servants of Dublin Castle, and not of the form Dublin Castle of the terms of the instructions they had admittedly received. the Irish Office made the ingenuous reply that they refrained from doing so because the circular was marked 'secret.' Are we, then, to believe that it is the view of the British Government, for whom the Irish Office speaks, that any unauthorised individual or body may circularise its Constabulary, and so long as these unauthorised communications are marked 'secret' they will be obeyed without auestion or consultation with headquarters, no matter how injuriously the interests of the British Government are affected? We fear that explanations of this kind would better have been left ungiven. They bear too obviously the stamp of the person who is discovered in a guilty act and seeks refuge in hurried and ill-digested lying.

MORE RATIONAL EXPLANATION. "Professor MacNeill has given an ex-

planation of the secret circular which is more rational. The establishment of a sectarian army in that part of Ireland where alone sectarianism still lives is a natural development of British policy in Ireland. It is an extension of the establishment of a sectarian constabulary set up in N.E. Ulster by the British Government twelve months ago. It conforms to the general policy which arms the Orange mob and 'keeps the ring' (the British Viceroy's phrase) while the Catholic minority are being shot down in the streets or driven from their homes and places of employment. The Irish Office bases its 'explanation' on presumptions, personal opinions, and suggestions. Prof. MacNeill relies upon facts.

"The secret circular was issued in the name of the British Government by a high-placed British official. No official in the world would have taken upon himself the organisation of an army without the knowledge of his Government.

"Clearly, he was acting on definite instructions. The instructions could only have come from the British Government, whose servant he was and still remains. The 'Northern Government,' which has publicly professed itself bankrupt, has not the means, even if it had the legal power (which it most definitely has not), to raise this army. But these means were guaranteed. Who guaranteed them? "The incoherent explanation of the

Irish Office will convince many that what was most feared in Ireland is true -namely, that the British Government, while negotiations for 'peace' are in progress, while a truce is in operation, have set about organising the most horrible of all kinds of war in Ireland—the fanatical religious wars of the 17th century."

RISH TIMES: 30-9-21.

FRIENDLY TO ALL PEOPLES.

IRIS NATION OF THE FUTURE.

Mr. John McNeill, Speaker of Dail Eireann, addressing a meeting in Belfast last night, said that looking round they saw that the Irish nation now stood in a remarkable position. The whole world saw it, and those who least wanted to see it had been forced to do so. The Irish leaders had been offering the friendship of Ireland to the English people. No man dared question their sincerity, but they all knew that friendship was between equals. The Irish nation hoped to be friendly to the English people, just as they hoped to be friendly to every other nation. They looked in the future to a free intercourse between Ireland and the other nations of the world.

Appealing to them to preserve the national language, Mr. McNeill declared that the Irish language was Ireland's army and navy. A great many people in Belfast had expressed an objection to being placed under Dublin. He hoped that they would neither be under Dublin nor behind Dublin. In the Irish nation in the future it would not be a case of one part of the nation being subject to another part. There were some people who said that they ought to forget their history. They would never forget their history. They knew exactly why they were asked to forget it, and the reason why they were asked was the reason why they did not intend to forget it.

FREEMANS: 5-12-21.

Who Is Financing 'Ulster's' Move Against Tyrone?

THE BRITISH BLAMED

Fermanagh Unionist Disowns Mr. Coote

Dr. Eoin MacNeill, Speaker of Dail Eireann and Parliamentary member for Derry City, yesterday accorded a Freeman's Journal representative an interview relating to the action of the Belfast "Government's" action against Tyrone County Council.

Dr. MacNeill asked: "Who is financing these proceedings?" The "Ulster" Cabinet, he pointed out, has no finances. When in Ennishillen the other day he noticed that the town was black with police, there apparently to intimidate the people into surrender.

"It is understood," Dr. MacNeill continued,
"that there was an arrangement with the
British Treasury to pay for preliminary ex
penses in setting up this 'Government' in Beltast. Has there been a fresh arrangement to
pay for the employment of all these forces to
overawe the public? If so, will that arrangement be made public, or will it remain a
secret, as the instructions to Colonel Wickham
were intended to remain?"

BRITAIN RESPONSIBLE.

The seizure of Tyrone Co. Council offices and books in Omagh, without any show of judicial or legal proceedure, Dr. MacNeill described as an example of the ideas of law and order, and civil and religious liberty for which the taxpayer, under some secret arrangement that the public has never heard of, is expected to contribute.

British Government primarily and mainly responsible for all these proceedings, and for the whole policy which they exemplify—for the condition of things that we have seen during the past year and a half in Derry, Belfast, Banbridge, Lisburn, Dromore and Newtown-

break of disorder in all these places is part of an organised programme, that in no single case

s it spontaneous. "I point to the fact that thousands of the tizens of Belfast, now since July, 1920, at space of nearly a year and a half, have been deprived of their ordinary rights with the manifest connivance of the British Government, which has done no part of the duties of a Government to enable these citizens to enjoy the elementary rights of citizenship. I could quote the statements of local Unionists of good standing who have publicly testified that the disorders in Lisburn were carried on, without interference, openly and in day-light, under the eyes of the forces of the Crown. All these things are a considered part of the policy of the British Government."

INDEPENDENT: 16-12-21.

Dr. Eoin MacNeill, T.D. (Speaker of Dail Eireann) hopes the Treaty "will prove to be the foundation of a better state of things here and elsewhere. . . My view is that there can be no settlement that does not enable the two countries to put a complete stop to the enmities of the past. . . . When we straighten out our difficulties with the rulers of Great Britain, peace and goodwill at home will soon prevail—if not this Christmas, let us hope next Christmas."

McNEILL John (Boin). 5, Salthill Avenue, Blackrock, Dublin.

Age: - about 55 (1922).

Professor of Nation University of Ireland.

ELECTED SINN FEIN M.P. FOR NATIONAL UNIVERSITY AND DERRY CITY, MAY 1921.

Speaker, Irlah Assembly, 1921. (August).

Director of Industries, Dail Eireann.

Member of Provisional Government, IRISH FREE STATE, elected 14-1-22.

A short biography of McNeill is given in Press Cuttings (8-7-22).

A native of Glenarm, County Antrim.

Was educated ab St. Malachy's College, Belfast.

Was for 22 years a clerk in the accountant-General's Department, Four Courts, Dublin, prior to being appointed Professor of Ancient Irish History in the National University of Ireland in 1909.

One of the Founders of the Irish Volunteers and at the time of the split in the ranks of that Organization in 1914 he sided with the extreme section and was appointed President of the Executive Committee of the Irish Volunteers. At the fall of the late Mr. John Redmond he became leader of the Volunteers. (An T'Oglac).

Edited the "Irish Volunteer" newspaper until it was suppressed in 1916.

In May 1916 he was tried by F.G.G.M. at Richmond Barracks, Dublin for organizing and fermenting the Rebellion of Easter Week, and was sentenced to Penal Servitude for life.

Released at the General Amnesty in June 1917.

Elected on the Executive Committee of the Sinn Fein Organization on the 25th. October 1917.

IN summer 1918 was elected M.P. for Derry.

Appointed Minister of Education to Dail Eireann at a Meeting held in the Mansion House, Dublin on 10-4-29.

Spoke at Sinn Fein Meetings in various parts of Ireland, also in London and Glasgow during 1919 and 1920.

In 1920 was re-elected Professor of Ancient History in the National University of Ireland.

Arrested by Crown Forces 26-11-20 and released 30-11-20. Re-arrested 20-12-20 and confined in Mountjoy Prison.

Released 30th. June 1921 as a T.D. to attend the Peace Conference at the Mansion House, Dublin.

Did not vote on Saturday 7-1-22. (Speaker).

Meneral John (Boin). Contn'd. Contibutor to "Red Hand" and writer of pamphlets entitled "Shall Ireland be Divided" "Dan O'Connell and S.F." (Epitome 53/6135). His name appeared in a letter written to the President of the U.S.A. by Laurence O'Neil in 1918. (Epitome 53/5932 dated 17-6-21) Re-nominated as a Pro-Treaty Candidate for his present constituency. (Ext. "Irish Times" 31-5-22). ELECTED MEMBER OF THIRD DAIL. Letter published in Press from McNEILL on behalf of the Govt. Publicity Dept. in reply to resolution of Wexford County Council re basis of peace. (See press cutting from "Irish Independent" 16-8-22). Recommended by Patk. McCartan in a letter to the Press for the Presidency of the Provisional Govt. vice Arbhur Griffith, deceased. (See McCartan's dossier for press cutting -"Irish Independent" 6-92-28). Appointed Minister for Education and member of Cabinet under the Third Dail at their session on 9-9-22. (Ixt. "Freemants Member of Executive Council of the Saorstat. (I.I. 7-12-22).

