dastle File No.1749. MELLOWES, William.

TREEMANS: 4-10-21.

ONE ISSUE ALONE

No Man or Woman Dare Betray Them

Their representatives had been elected on one issue and on one issue alone; and no man or woman dare betray the men they elected and the Republic which they peacefully established, or the men who died for the Republic and nothing but the Republic (loud cheers).

Mr. Liam Mellowes, T.D., said that the fact that a conference was to be held was simply that it marked another milestone on the long road they had travelled and the road they were prepared to travel, be it long or short—how long depended on a great measure on the Irish people themselves. Even though they were fighting a great and mighty Empire, it was not force that would tell in the end. The people's will cannot be broken as long as the people stand together.

They defeated Conscription because sooner than give way one iota of the principle for which they stood they were determined to go down rather than live in disgrace. It was not a question of negotiations or concessions; they were demanding what was their right.

NEEDE NO DEBATING.

It was an issue that needed no debating, and he did not suppose that there would be much debating about it between the Irish representatives and the representatives of the British Government for it admitted of no debating (cheers). The Republic was in existence, the representatives of that Republic had no power except to say, "this is what we stand for; this is what the people of Ireland want" (loud cheers).

Rev. Father Magee, P.P., Tubber, who presided, said they should stand by the Republic they declared for and established.

FREEMANS. 23-11-21.

A PUBLIC DUTY

Mr. Liam Mellows on Claim of Dependents' Fund

Speaking last night at a dramatic and musical entertainment given at the C.Y.M.S. Hall, 39 Morehampton road, Donnybrook, in aid of the Irish Republican Prisoners' Dependents Fund, Mr. Liam Mellows, T.D., in the course of an appeal for funds, pointed out that it was a national duty devolving upon the people to support the movement to provide for those who had been deprived of their bread-winners. During the great European war, he said, every nation looked after its soldiers' dependents, and they now were faced with the same problem in Ireland, but with the difference, that whereas in other countries, with their various Governments functioning in every capacity, they had been able to provide the money out of the national funds, in Ireland, because of the conditions in which they were forced to live at present, their State had not been able to do what it otherwise would have cone if it were independent. The duty fell upon the people to support the State by 'ooking after those who had suffered and who were still suffering. THOUSANDS STILL DEPENDENT.

There were very many Irishmen detained in internment camps and prisons all over Ireland, many untried, and many guilty of no offence, and there were thousands at home who were dependent on those for their livelihood. Those present at that gathering and all others should see that the fund would be such as would be sufficient to assist all deprived of their breadwinners.

The Rev. Father O'Farrell, Spiritual Director, occupied the chair, and 'here was a large attendance. The Brendan Players again presented the "Lord Mayor," and there was also a splendid programme of songs and dances gone through.

DAIL SURPRISE DE VALERA

Sensation Follows Announcement of the Amendment

INTERCHANGES

Mr. de Valera States that He Will Choose His Own Procedure

The closing stages of yesterday's programs statement drew a sharp protest ceedings in Dail Eireann produced one of the most exciting interchanges that have so far marked the course of the debate. The incident developed from an announcement by Mr. de Valera that he intended to bring forward his alternative proposals to-day in the form of an amendment.

A discussion arose as to procedure, in the course of which Mr. de Valera stated that he was going to choose his own procedure now.

from Mr. Griffith. "This is either a constitutional body or it is not," he declared. "If it is an autocracy, let it say so and we will leave it."

A touch of sadness was lent to the proceedings by the breakdown of Mrs. Pearse during a reference to her sons. She spoke against the Treaty and repudiated a suggestion that her sons would have voted for it if they were alive.

MRS. PEARSE FIGURES IN TOUCHING SCENE

Until late in the afternoon session there were little of the thrills which marked the previous day's session of the Dail. Yet the speeches delivered in the morning by Deputies O'Duffy and Mellowes (for and against ratincarion) were of a most inspiring nature.

Mr. ! fellowes delivered a powerful address One listened to him with rapt atprinciples which actuated the man.

The Speaker (Dr. Eoin MacNeill) took the chair at 11.10, and a few minutes later the discussio began. Mr. Donal Buckley (Kildare) resumed the debate, and in a brief speech notified his intention of voting against the Treaty.

APPROVAL AND REGRET. Tall and thin, Deputy Alec. McCabe (Sligo) stepped forward to record his approval of the Treaty He spoke with some feeling, and regretted the fact that he found himself in opposition to many of the leaders. Other he boldly declared. There was the ideal of a peaceful, happy, and united Ireland, and then the principle of Christianity.

His language in general could not be re-

A PROCLAMATION.

A proclamation by Mr. de Valera appears on page 3.

tention, and one could not help admiring the State was not a step toward a Republic, but a step away from it. When he resumed his seat the deputy for Galway was warmly applauded by the whole House.

NO GOING BACK

Mr, Desmond Fitzgerald Speaks for the Treaty

After the adjournment, Mr. Desmond Fitz- TITLE. gerald, Chief of the Publicity Department, in 2 Subject to the provisions hereinafter set a short and able speech declared for the Treaty. ideals were involved besides Republicanism, Very much at his ease, he continued in smooth level tones to state that there would be no going back if they accepted it.

To him it was an entrenchment of the posigarded as impressive, but it revealed an tion so far gained. A Treaty was not made honesty of purpose and a genuine apprecia- for eternity and existed until such time as one party to it denounced it. Drawing a parallel with Spain, he argued that her sovereignty was not interfered with or lessened by

the occupation of Gibraltar. " UNDER DURESS,"

In a cool and precise manner he said that the Treaty was signed under duress by the Irish representatives, just as it was signed under duress by the British representatives. This statement drew forth rounds of applause, and with a resounding "hear, hear" Mr. nodded his head.

In conclusion, the deputy for the Pembroke division maintained that they were supporting the Treaty without any abandonment of principle or breaking of oaths.

" MAKE ANOTHER TRY."

In a rather protracted and somewhat uninteresting speech, Mr. S. Fitzgerald (E. Cork) spoke against the Treaty. His sincerity and honesty, however, were recognisable. He declared firmly that the only mandate he remembered having received was to safeguard

the interests of the Republic. He called for the rejection of the Treaty. They could then put their minds together, reestablish their position and make another try, he mentioned off-handedly. At that juncture | SHARE OF NATIONAL DEBT. it was for de Valera to formulate a policy, and 5. confidence in him would not be unjustified.

JUSTIFIABLE COMPROMISE.

"A justifiable but not an ignoble compromise." was Dr. R. Hayes's description of the Treaty. He spoke earnestly in its favour, but kept his voice at a low pitch, and at times it] was hard to distinguish the drift of his remarks.

The Plenipotentiaries, this tall, sharp-featured deputy contended, had brought back a good bargain, which placed in the hands of the nation material and spiritual weapons that would enable it to achieve its full destiny.

In a rapidly-delivered speech, subjected to much interruption, Deputy John O'Mahony NAVAL DEFENCE. gave his reasons for opposing ratification. If 6 the people were not satisfied with their action they could turn it and them down, he stated.

That the people were their masters and the deputies must obey them, was the keynote of Mr Dan McCarthy's address. Ninety-five per | cent. of the people were in favour of the agree. ment, he declared vehemently, and he was ready to fight the President or anyone else in his own constituency on the issue of acceptonce, and beat them by 100 to 1.

Bowdlerised

VIGOROUS PROTE

Strong Exception of Six

At the eleventh hour Mr. de Valera has decided not to stand over Document No. 2.

Alternative" proposals issued by him last evening are not those contained in Document No. 2, as six clauses of the original 23 are missing.

Mr. Griffith (as reported at the beginning of the debate on column 7 of page) vigorously protested against this excision, and was accused of Mr. de Valera of quibbling

DOCUMENT No. 1.

TREATY BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

known as the British Empire, as the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa, with a Parliament having powers to make laws for the peace, order, and good government of Ireland, and an Executive responsible to that Parliament, and shall be styled and known as the Irish Free State.

out, the position of the Irish Free State in relation to the Imperial Parliament and Government and otherwise shall be relationship of the Irish Free State.

CROWN REPRESENTATIVE.

The representative of the Crown in Ireland the making of such appointments.

OATH TO BE TAKEN.

Parliamen' of the Irish Free State shall be in the following form:-

> "I * * do solemnly swear true faith and allegiance to the Constitution of the Irish Free State as by law established, and that I Will be faithful to H. M. King George V., his beirs and successors by law in virtue of the common citizenship of Ireland with Great Britain, and her adherence to, and forming the British Commonwealth of Nations."

The Irisa Free State shall assume liability for the service of the Public Debt of the United Kii gdom as existing at the date hereof and towards the payment of War Pensions as existing at that date, in such proportion as may be fair and equitable, having regard to any just claims on the part of Ireland by way of set-off or counter-claim, the amount of such sums being determined, in default of agreement, by the arbitration of one or more independent persons being citizens of the British Empire.

Until .n arrangement has been made between the British and Irish Governments whereby the Irish Free State undertakes her own Coastal Defence, the detence by sea of Great Britan and Ireland shall be undertaken by his Majesty's Imperial Forces, but this shall not prevent the construction or maintenance by the Government of the Irish Free State of such vessels as are neces-

The Dail had no chance of discussing the "PEOPLE'S MANDATE."

reply awaited." bus aildud of bestimdus Virglimis ed lliw text of the draft Treaty about to be signed "It is also understood that the complete

i. Ireland shall have the same Constitutional sem i mays or manis suoisonassui equ to on them to state these things. In item 3 stating plain facts, and it was no reflection He was not placing them in the dock but about what he could only call a surrender. Settlement. They were not sent to bring he doubted if it could be done-a Treaty of they could - personally, Republic. They were sent to surrender binow said and, as ench, they had no power to do anytentiaries of the Irish Republican Government, crowd in this country, but as the Plenipoto Loudon, not as the envoys of any political such a discussion. The Plenipotentiaries went No surrender was involved in entering into

the eyes of the world. that of the Dominion of Canada; and m Snorm first mous and save pinon featier the law, practice, and constitutional 101 '03 op of and noitdo on pad basisial , asso | usage governing the relationship of the plous our senesip of mour portant quomunatory Crown or the representative of the quiting sup usum sems souspusdeput tot Crown and of the Imperial Parliament to | esec Hell ever of Suice even Legg agod even the Dominion of Canada shall govern the | -dns-old ascel out ni tou pip suoitsitogou ofui) agreed to any form of compromise. Entering Speaking for himself, he had never

HEVER A COMPROMISER.

shall be appointed in like manner as the saw teal . and T . addr and Jeal and garunb asign Governor-General of Canada, and in ordmon of esimisation to ellistment, bensquid accordance with the practice observed in sem energy spoody there are a sem used was why he had little to say. Attempts had were so few because they were so plain. That Michael Collins banged his fist on the table and 4. The Oath to be taken by members of the Sunqa and and an autop to sausur times and with all causes, while the arguits freedom--were always so numerous at all he believed that this country could travel to read, of getting off the path-the only path compromise, of departing from the straight The arguments in favour of acceptance, of stood definitely against this so-called Treaty very little to say on the subject, because he Mr. Liam Mellowes (Galrasy) said he bad

> Will of Galway Mr. Liam Mellowes to Flout the aunious standing the didsastumen

> > FREEMANS, 5-1-22.

cause the ground was cut from under their Irish Parliament of 1782 admitted the King no power to sign away the rights of Ireland, of Ireland. no mandate to sign away their independence, and no power to agree to anything inconsistent with the existence of the Republic. Either the Republic existed or i. did not. If it did, why were they talking about a step towards-the Republic? He believed the Republic existed because it rested upon the only sure foundation that it could rest upon, for the Republic to be declared.

people.

The will of the people to-day, they

PEOPLE'S WILL TO-DAY.

were told, was that the Treaty should be ratified (hear, hear). Let him carry their minds back to January 21, 1919. He was going to read for them- of their fight, why should men have took themselves off the pedestal they paved and he made no apology for the length of been led along the road they had travelled the way for concession after concession and time-it-would take in reading it, nor would during the past few years, when they could compromise after compromise. Once they he apologise to the people of Ireland for have been pacified long ago by giving up began to juggle with their consciences. God, the length of time they were waiting while the ideal for which they fought. If peace alone, knew where they were going to end. tion of Independence of this country based upon the declared will of the people at the elections in 1918, and ratified since at every election (hear, hear). This was the official translation of the Declaration of Independence as contained in the official report of

the proceedings of the Dail on that date. The Deputy read with impressive effect the entire text of the declaration, repeating and emphasising some of its phrases.

REPUBLIC EXISTING.

Deputy Mellowes Reiterates His Faith.

That, to Mr. Mellowes' mind, was the will of the people. There was the Irish Republic existing, not a mandate to seek a step towards an Irish Republic that did not exist. The will of the people! The British Government had always sought during the last century of the struggle with Ireland to get the consent of the Irish people themselves to whatever it wanted to impose upon them. If the English Government wanted to make concessions they had the power to do so, though they had not the right, and they could take whatever they were willing to give, without giving away their case.

But this Treaty did give away their case, because it abrogated the Republic. English Government passed a Home one road for this country to travel, the road

LLOYD GEORGE QUOTED.

Government sought to gain the assent trated tyranny of the ages. of the Irish people to this measure. The British Government understood better !. than they did because it had more experience will of the people here. Speaking in the House going into the British Empire now to partiof Commons in April, 1920, he said'-

Irish Republic.' There is absolutely no doubt about that. The elected representapendence and secession."

TOO SACRED TO BARGAIN OVER. Now, when Lloyd George would admit that, it seemed to him strange that they themselves souls. should say that they never believed in the Irish Republic-that it was only a myth, that it was something that did not exist, and that to-day Under Clause 7 they were going to make they were working towards an Irish Republic. Ireland a cockpit at the next navai war that To his mind, the Irish Republic did exist; it was a living, tangible thing; it was something | England had, because in such an event their for which men gave their lives, and were and ports and coastline were to be given up indeand that they were asking a high price so that threat of conscription in this country? It they would get something less. There was no question of making a bargain for themselves was a question of fighting at home or abroad and for the honour of Ireland, because he held and they decided to fight at home. When that the honour of Ireland was too sacred a the General Election came they were thing to make a bargain over (hear, hear). threatened with war. They were told the AGAINST DOCUMENT No. 2.

They were told that this was a question as between the documents referred to as documents No. 1 and No. 2. But at that moment | flinch. there was only one document before the House, and when that was disposed of, as he hoped it would be, in the proper way, they would deal with any other document

and immediate war.

but were in favour of the Treaty because if, bowing down. You will adore me."
they feared what was to happen if it The people, continued the Deputy, were Republic.

CONCESSIONS TO IRELAND. This Treaty constitutes concessions to Ire-

Act in the biggest sense in which any Coercion Act was ever made for Ireland.

up their minds to, and it was that it destroyed the existing Irish Republic. Under something to remove the Free State Governthe terms of the Treaty they became, whether ment. they liked it or not, British citizens-common citizens with the English people.

If there was to be a new citizenship inship. Under this Treaty it was not separation they were getting, it was union; (hear, hear). The very words of the Irish! The Free State, continued Mr. Mellowes, Free State, the very words of it constituted was to be the thin end of the wedge by a catchphrase. It was not a State it was which the British Government was to come part of a state; it was not free because Eng. back to its own again. It had done its best land controlled every vital, point; it was not to beat Ireland by force, but no amount of Irish because the people of Ireland esta- force could destroy the Irish nation. No war blisheda Republic. Lloyd George might well could be worse than the terrible mental laugh up his sleeve.

RUTHLESS WAR.

Alternative.

ruthless war. He did not believe it. MEVER A COMPROMISER. If it were rejected it would place them in war until she got some other excuse.

> (applause). Instead of discussing the Treaty. British Government pretended to maintain a they should rather discuss how they were semblance of civil authority. It was because maintain the Treaty was rejected. that now under the Treaty, and declare their authority was derived from a British Act of Parliament, that their authority was de- public in their minds, the Republic existed. rived from the British Government and a British King.

VOLUNTEERS OF '82. He met people all over his constituency

He spoke to them over the firesides. He met people in favour of the Treaty, but he found nobody under any delusion about the people. That Government rested upon the the matter. They had been told-presumably as a reason for accepting that Treaty-"It is also understood that the complete that the Irish Chieftains, the Parliaments and representatives of the people had before ad to exist here. They were reminded that shine for all time, to guide those also strugmitted the right of the British Government King John was received by the Irish Chief- gling. tains, but they also wanted to know what The Dail had no chance of discussing the happened these Chieftains when the Irish land for light—this poor, down-trodden Treaty as it should have been discussed, be- people realised what they had done. The country, as one of the deputies has called

feet by its publication before they had a of England as head of the country, but in chance of discussing it. The delegates had doing so they did not represent the people

DAIL REPRESENTATIVE.

that was because the people gave a mandate went the way of all compromising parties. to impose. They might have done good work, so far as They had heard a great deal about the it was possible, but it was inevitable that when the Republic was the will of the respect to them, would go the same way. They were told the object of this device was to secure peace. Yes, they all wanted . They were told they must have unity. Yes,

peace, but it must be peace with honour, not they wanted unity, but they had a united peace, with surrender.

WOULD NOT BRING PEACE.

Treaty would not bring peace because there would be enough restless souls in this country to make peace impossible.

He used no threat, but he would say there could be no peace with compromise, a peace Republic existing, because they had destroyed which did not bring honour. It was a peace which induced Scotland to sink her national can, Government, and did not exist for the identity, but Ireland was not prepared to do that. If this was a step towards the Republic how could it be contended that they would ever reach a stage in which they would Republic-they would not have unity, they say to England: "Hands off!".

INCENTIVE GONE."

"Only One Road for This Country gained material advantages, they to Travel."

which kept the fight alive during the last five with us."

it was perfectly clear that there was only Empire, and away from the rest of the world.

"THAT DREADFUL THING."

They might talk about constitutions in then. of them than themselves; it understood what Canada, the unity of South Africa and the it wanted; it wanted to get the assent of the Commonwealth of Australia. The British people of Ireland for whatever it wanted to do | Empire to him did not mean that; to him it with Ireland. The will of the people-aye! meant that dreadful thing that had spread Even Lloyd George at one time recognised the its tentacles all over the earth. They were cipate in the shame, even though they did 'If you ask the people of Ireland what not commit the act of the crucifixion of India they would accept by an emphatic vote, they and the degradation of Egypt. Was that would say, 'We want independence and an what the people of Ireland fought for? They did not seek to make the country a matetives of Ireland now, by a clear, definite rially great country at the expense of its majority have declared in favour of inds- honour. They would rather have this country bare, they would rather have the people of Ireland ekeing out a bare existence upon the soil, as long as they possessed their

NAVAL WAR COCKPIT.

Was this Treaty going to bring peace? are prepared to give their lives, for which men finitely to the British Government. As were hanged, for which men were in jail, and against that, they were told that if they for which the people suffered. It was not a did not do it they were going to have war. question, so far as he was aware, of the War, they were told! Were the people of Irish heifer going to be sold in the fair Ireland afraid of war when they faced the alternative to the acceptance of the Republican mandate, to the Republican party's platform, was war. But the people did not

TREATY OF VERSAILLES

They accepted the issue, and the same issue as they had seen since was war. This There was no question of two oaths or two Treaty reminded him of the Treaty of Versets of men; but there was a question before sailles, of the miserable outcome of that them of maintaining the existing Republic of bloody holocaust when the nations of the Ireland or going back on it and throwing it earth, after fighting supposedly for ideals, over and accepting something in substitution of parcelled out amongst themselves the spoils. And the young soldiers who fought were left Let them face the facts. They were not afraid disillusioned. Were the Irish people going of facts. The facts were that the Irish Re to be told that when they spoke of the Republic exists. People were talking about the public that they did not mean a Republic. had been stampeded into the belief that there! Were they to be told that when was only one alternative, and that was terrible they spoke of ideals they really meant imperialism? They might point out the material He had taken a trip through the advantages to be gained under the terms of this Treaty. It reminded him very much of who were in favour of the Treaty were was taken by the devil and shown the cities was taken by the devil and shown the cities not in favour of the Treaty on its merits, and plains and told: "You can have all these

was rejected. That was not the will of the told: "We will get these things in return for people (hear, hear). That was the fear of the selling of our honour" If they got the the people (hear, hear). The will of the Free State what would they talk about next, people was when the people 'clared for a and what would they mean when they talked of something next?

The Government of the Free State would eventually occupy the same relationship land. It was, if they liked, a Coercion towards the people of Ireland as Dublin Castle did tc-day, because it would be the barrier Government between the British and There was one thing they had better make Irish peoples; and the Irish people, before they could struggle on, would have to do

WEDGE."

vented it was to be an Anglo-Irish citizen- British Government to Come Back to Its Own.

strain imposed on the people in the last 18 months. When the British Government en tered upon that war, the campaign was not levelled so much against the army of the Does Not Believe it to be the Irish Republic as against the people, because the British Government had a shrewder view of the people than some of them in Ireland what the outside world must necessarily con-

BRITISH PROPAGANDA. The British Government tried to give the waged in Ireland by unrepresentative men, The question for the Dail really to decide | who counted for nothing; and that was why -as the Government of the Irish Republic- | the Black and Tans and the Auxiliaries were the Republic the British Government saw that the Republican Government did exist that it employed its hirelings to murder Republicans like the MacCurtains and the O'Callaghans and to do to death Terence MacSwiney The British Government knew-and they | knew to-day--that if the people had the Re and all that they could do could not crush it.

> IRELAND ON A PEDESTAL. "We placed Ireland upon a pedestai," he continued, "and for the first time in the history of this country we had a Government established by the directly declared will of surest of all foundations; that Government had placed Ireland in a position that Ireland was never in before; Ireland was put forth to the world as a head light, as a beacon o

"The whole world was looking to fre-

it, in the last few years, was the greatest country on God's earth" (hear, hear).

Here in Ireland, said Mr. Mellowes, was contained a germ, with a great and wonderful influence over the world. A Deputy had This was the first assembly since the British said that Ireland had not moved with the occupation of Ireland which represented the world, but it was Ireland which had moved, people. It was there because the Irish and left all the world behind. It fought a people wished it to be there, fight that would ring down the ages, and The Irish Parliamentary Party, after years maintained its soul against all the tortures of effort, and when they had done their best, and inflictions a foreign tyranny knew how

BRITISH GUILE.

will of the people in the papers that had they should go the way of all compromising the weight of the British Government arms, never themselves recognised the Republic Parties. And the Irish Free Staters, with all but through the guile of the Iritish, and the gullibility of themselves, they were now going to throw away the Republic.

Ireland in the last few years, on the basis of

the Republic. Destroy that basis, and they peace, were the only object could not have unity in Ireland. Once they were the objective sought after, then the They could never have unity by the ratification of the Treaty; rejection would bring unity. Rejection of it meant that the Irish Republic existed and they were still the Goverhment. Accept it, and there was no Irish it; because they had abrogated the right; of which brought those material advantages the Dail. The Dail existed as the Republipurpose of changing its status. It was placed there to work for the recognition of the Republic. Accept the Treaty and there was no would not have peace. They could have unity

certainly would have honour. A STEP AWAY.

though they might not have peace, but they

Accept the Treaty, and though they threw away that which Ireland found since 1916. 1916 did not represent the will of They would have an army, proceeded Mr | the people, 1916, found very little support Mellowes, from which the incentive from the people, but 1916 had been suppor-which kept the fight alive during the last five ted since, and it was upon 1916 the people years would have gone. Would they be any Republic. From 1916 to the present day the more united on the question of independence struggle had gone on, and now they were going in the future than they were now? Would all to establish in the country—if the Free State of them in the Free State see alike as to the were set up-a Government that did away time when they would say to the British Go- with the Irish Republic. That was not a step vernment: "You must have no more to do towards a Republic, it was a step away from it. They were going to place themselves in the Proceeding, Mr. Mellows said that to him position that they were within the British

Rule Bill, it was put upon the Statute Book, they had been trying to travel as best they During the last few years Ireland was beginand it was never put into force, because when could. Under this Treaty the people had ning to occupy a unique position in the world, the time came to put it into force the British been placed within the British Empire. They for as long as they were independent they Government found that the Irish people did not had always been in this country against in. were entitled to appeal to the world. Now want it. The British Government since then ciusion in the British Empire and now they turn where they would they would be told had passed Act after Act, and each time had were told they were going into it with their this was a domestic concern of the British been forced to overlook its own Acts and forget heads up. The British Empire stood to him Government. Some of them there stood in the same relationship as the devil would where they had always stood, and, despite stand to religion. The British Empire re- whatever happened, they meant to stand To-day, through this Treaty, the British presented to him nothing but the concen- there. The time might come yet-and he prayed it would-when those who were going to depart from the straight would come back. Then they would be all together, but not till

REPUBLICAN STILL.



FREEMANS. 5-1-22.

"DEFINITELY AGAINST"

Mr. Liam Mellowes to Flout the Will of Galway Mr. Liam Mellowes (Galway) said he bad

very little to say on the subject, because he stood definitely against this so-called Treaty. The arguments in favour of acceptance, of compromise, of departing from the straight read, of getting off the path-the only path he believed that this country could travel to its freedom-were always so numerous at all Lloyd George must have laughed, he must had. They knew if they crushed the people times and with all causes, while the argu- have rubbed his hands, when he prepared it was an end of the Republic. The British ments of doing the right and straight thing this document for signature, Mr. Mellowes Government did not want to admit this for were so few because they were so plain. That continued. If they accepted, he must very obvious reasons-because of the effect it was why he had little to say. Attempts had have thought to himself, British interests would have on conditions abroad; because of been made to show that everybody there was | were so safeguarded, that they could afford | prepared, mentally or otherwise, to compro to let the Irish have it. If it were rejected, clude-and so the warfare became a war bemise during the last few months. That was, they were told, it would mean terrible and tween the British army and the Irish army.

Speaking for himself, he had never such a fashion before the world that he did agreed to any form of compromise. Entering not believe England would dare to make impression abroad that the war was being into negotiations did not in the least pre-suppose that they were going to give their case for independence away. When the British Government invited them to discuss the whole was, how they were going to maintain the brought into the country and employed; case, Irieland had no option but to do so, for Republic; how they were going to hold it against the people. That was why, too, the refueal would have put them very wrong in the eyes of the world.

No surrender was involved in entering into going to such a discussion. The Plenipotentiaries went to London, not as the envoys of any political | They had acted up to this in the belief that crowd in this country, but as the Plenipo- authority to govern was derived from the tentiaries of the Irish Republican Government, Irish people. They were going to change and, as such, they had no power to do anywould surrender the Irish Republic. They were sent to they could - personally, he doubted if it could be done-a Treaty of Settlement. They were not sent to bring! about what he could only call a surrender. He was not placing them in the dock but stating plain facts, and it was no reflection on them to state these things. In item 3 of the instructions given to them it was

stated :text of the draft Treaty about to be signed

will be similarly submitted to Dublin and

"PEOPLE'S MANDATE."

reply awaited."

MELLOWES. W.

RISH TIMES. 10-1-22

Mr. Mellowes said that if this State was to be established let it be established according to the terms Mr. Griffith made with Mr. Lloyd George, and not use the machinery of the Irish Republic to do it. He only wanted to voice this last protest against that crowning act of iniquity against the Irish Republic.

Mr. McEntee declared that the motion was one to secure control of the resources of the Republic. If they took over the resources of the Irish Republic they would be bound to use those resources to establish the Irish Free State. The Minister of Finance had said that he would refund the money subscribed for bonds, but Mr. Lloyd George would tell him that he was bound in honour not to refund that money.

Mr. Collins-And supposing I say that I am not? I will not take instructions from Lloyd George. I am Michael Collins. (Applause.)

Mr. McEntee went on to refer to Mr. Griffith's statement that he would not dishonour his signature and be immortalised in history. Instead of electing a president of that assembly, who would be bound by his signature, they should elect some other member who would hold the resources of the Republic in trust for the Republic. That was a way out. He need not use them for the moment.

"I am giving you every chance," he said, " to set up your Free State. At any rate you will not be stultifying yourselves later. The resources of the Republic will be intact, and if England betrays you you can come back and use those resources." They should not, he added, elect any one of those members who were bound by their signatures to be members of the Provisional Government.

Lieutenant or the British Government.

Mr. Collins-To the people of Ireland. (Ap-

plause.) Mr. Milroy regretted that some members assumed an attitude of bitterness and hostility. He asked them to realise that they (the pro-Treaty party) were as sincere as it was possible for them to be in acting in what they considered to be the best interests of Ireland. In taking the vote that was taken that day they did so, not with the intention of defeating ideals, but in order to prevent the resources of the nation from being used to wreck the Treaty which the Dail had approved on Saturday

Mr. de Valera said that it was impossible, no matter what agreement they might make now, to get a way out, because the chief of the executive on the other side would not be able to satisfy everybody in the country. The people would be suspicious that the resources of the Republic were being used to undermine the Republic. "The situation they have created for themselves," ho said, "is a very awkward one."

motion should be read.

The Speaker complied, and, after some further discussion,

Mr. de Valera, addressing the plenipotentiaries, said that they were walking on very dangerous ground. He submitted that if they subverted the constitution of that assembly they would create a situation which would make it impossible for the Republican members to remain in. He knew the feeling of all the Republican members. They would not remain in that assembly any longer, or, by their presence there, give it any sanction, if anything was done which subverted the constitution of the assembly.

"You must," he said, elect a Republican President of this assembly, and you must elect him as chief executive for the State, responsible to this Parliament, otherwise this Parliament no longer exists as such."

Mr. Griffith-May I take it that the majority

of this assembly has no rights?

Mr. Brugha-The majority of this assembly must stand by the constitution until it is altered.

Mr. J. J. O'Kelly said that that session of Dail Eireann had been summoned to discuss the ratification of the Treaty, but the Speaker ruled ratification out of order, and held that the House could approve of the Treaty. He (Mr. O'Kelly) submitted that the motion before them was as much ultra vires as the other motion was. He read the clauses in the agreement governing the ratification, and said that the members for Trinity College could not sit in Dail Eireann until they took the oath. He suggested an adjournment so that the leaders might confer.

SACKVILLE STREET DEMONSTRATION. INDEPENDENT: 13-2-22.

Mr. Liam Mellowes said it was about ime they had a demonstration in Dublin o show that Dublin would now show the vay to Ireland, as she had done six ears ago. They were now facing the reatest issue Ireland ever had to face. laving declared their independence they vere to be asked at an election whether hey were for that independence or not.

REEDOM OF IRELAND.

As a result of a vote obtained by a small cajority in the Dail, it was proposed to et up in this country a Government that ould have derived its authority, not from ae Irish people, but from a foreign goernment. The freedom of Ireland was ot to be obtained from the British Goernment; it was the Irish people who ad made Ireland free. The Dail had no ower or mandate to bring Ireland inside le British Empire. They disowned comletely the British authority and the Brish Government at the election of 1918.

Dr. Ferran asked to whom would the Provisional Government be responsible—the Lord /NDEPENDENT. 6-3-22.

MR. MELLOWES ON EMMET'S IDEAL

At the concert and dramatic entertainment in the Theatre Royal, Dublin, in connection with the Emmet Commemoration and in aid of the James Connolly Pipers' Band, at which there was a very large audience, the "Oration on Emmet" was delivered by Mr. Liam Mellowes, T.D., who was warmly applauded, though it evoked some dissenting interruptions. Mr. Mellowes strongly emphasised the fact that Emmet's ideal was a free and independent Irelandan Irish Republic-and not a mere repeal of the Union. Emmet might have been foolish and youthful, as he had been represented, but it was a greater and nobler thing to be foolish doing what was right than to be wise doing what was wrong. Dublin stood where she always stood, for Emmet's ideal of an absolutely free and independent country.

Mr. J. J. O'Kelly asked that the terms of the RATHFARNUM MEETING - R. O'BNNORS Speech The army been " 1. Zunio 20/4/20 Commandant General Liam Mallowes, dealing with the Fianna, said that although he know nothing of politics or political methods, they loved their country whole-heartedly and in Easter Week acted with sacrifice and heroism



Comdt.-Gen. Liam Mellowes, T.D.;

JRISH, 71/1 MLC. 22-4-22-

DAIL SESSION PASTPONED.

ARMY AND UNITY.

FOUR COURTS TERMS.

THE CIVIC GUARD.

The following communication was issued by Dail Eireann Publicity Department last

"Owing to the general strike on Monday next, 24th inst., the session of Dail Eireann called for Tuesday, 25th, has been postponed to Wednesday, 26th, at 3 p.m."

The Secretary to Dail Eireann has received the following letter:-

"General Headquarters, "Four Courts, Dublin, "14th April, 1922.

"To Secretary Dail Eireann.

"A Chara, -I am directed by the Army Council to send you for transmission to the proper quarter the appended conditions upon which the Council is prepared to discuss measures by which the unity of the Army might be attained. Kindly forward reply not later than 12 moon on Sunday, 16th inst., to this headquarters.

> "Mise, (Signed) LIAM O MAOILIOSA,

"Secretary of the Army Council." "Appendix. — Conditions of unifica-

tion:--"(1) To maintain the existing Republic.

"(2) That Dail Eireann, as the Government of the Republic, be the only Government of the country.

"(3) To maintain the Army as the Irish Republican Army, under the control of an elected independent Executive.

" (4) Disbanding of the Civic Guard, the policing of the country to be carried out by the Irish Republican Army, as decided by the Executive of that Army.

"(5) All financial liabilities of the Army to be discharged, and future requirements met, by An Dail.

"(6) No elections on the issue at present before the country to be held while the threat of war by England exists.

"L. OM."

NO POLITICS UNTIL-

Mr. Liam Mellowes seconded the motion, and said that there were no politics, in the ordinary sense of the term, inside the ranks of the Army until members of the Headquarters Staff who were members of Dail Eireann voted for the subversion of the Republic which, as soldiers of that Republic, they had sworn to maintain and uphold. When the Treaty was brought back for consideration, and when, by a majority of the Republican Government, the subversion of the Republic was decided upon, it became a matter for every individual member of the Volunteers, who were the guardians of the Republic, to decide whether they would be content to become British subjects; whether they would see their country, which they had fought to free, brought inside the British Empire.

The unity of the Army was imperilled from the moment when that vote was taken in the Dail. In order that a decision might be arrived at on the same basis within the ranks of the Army, certain officers asked for a convention. When that convention was declared irregular, any hope of securing unity in the Army was destroyed.

They were told that, as a result of the Convention which was held, the pogroms were resumed in the North. That was not the fact. The pogroms had been resumed a few days after the Collins-Craig Pact was signed. Arms were asked for from other parts of Ireland. They had yet to learn whether they had gone to the North. It was said that raids and active obstruction was being done under cover of the boycott. They were being done as part of the boycott work, and would be continued until these murders and outrages in the North were stopped.

The main question that he wished to deal with was that at that moment the country was threatened with civil war, solely and wholly because of the Treaty. It was, if they liked, the second fruit of the Treaty, because the first was the dissension in the Government, followed by dissension throughout the country. Dissension in the Army was the second fruit. There had been no question of civil war, except so far as applied to the condition of the people in the North of Ireland, until the members. of the Dail departed from the Republic, and until they were false to the oath that they had taken there; until they undertook to destroy the Government of which they were members. The responsibility for this thing must rest upon those who tried to destroy the national honour.

There would have been no question of civil war were it not for this undermining of the Republic. They had been termed "mutineers," "irregulars," and so forth, because they had remained loval to their trust; but they were "mutineers" to none except the British Government in this country. (Applause.)

NOT WILD PEOPLE.

They were not wild people; they were willing to go under the control of such a Government as that drafted under the Constitution drawn up at the Convention of March 26. They had no respect for that assembly, when they had a majority in it pledged to destroy the Republic, and to bring Ireland within the British Empire, and make the Volunteers, along with the Irish people, British. There were some men in Ireland who would never be British subjects. (Applause.) Unity, he said, was only possible on the basis of the maintenance of the Republic.

"Irish Times 18.5.29 Ind failure to agree.

Mr. Liam Mellowes said that when the representatives of both sides went into conference it was quite as plain then as it was now that the ideas of both sides to the conference on the subject of coalition were not the same. His friends did not make any bargain about seats in the Dail, and when that

was proposed he would not have any more to do with the Conference. They had not yet, he believed, descended to the position of Tammany Hall. They were prepared to enter into a Coalition, but not the kind of Coalition that their opponents would have. They were anxious to get rid of the Treaty, and upon that basis he, for one, was prepared to enter into a

If it had been insisted at the outset that the basis of the Conference was acceptance of the Treaty the Conference would not have lasted ten minutes. They were prepared to sink every difference except the acceptance of the Treaty. It was suggested that seats should be handed over, and the proposals were said to be generous. Seats meant nothing to him—the Republic everything. They were prepared still to enter into a Coalition, but it should be a genuine Coalition.

D. E. Conference, re restoration of Unity in 1. R.A. '/RISH TIMES.' 4-5-22.

Mr. Mellowes opposed the motion, which, he said, was plainly another political dodge, and was not going to secure unity either in the Army or in the country. The cause of disunion was the signing of the Treaty, which had turned an honest movement into a sea of dirty politics. There could be unity now on the question of the maintenance of the Republic, but they could not have it on any other basis. The Republic existed, and the Army, whether in whole or in part, would stand by it rather than by a Government, which at one moment was red, white, and blue, and the next green, white, and orange. They were sick and tired of it, and wanted only the straight road. To pretend loyalty to the British Government which was not intended was neither straight nor honest, and no man would die for hypocrisy.

NDEPENDENT: 4-5-22.

The following was communicated to us this morning:—

With a view to agreeing to a truce, a meeting has been arranged between G.H.Q., Beggar's Bush, and G.H.Q., Four Courts. The meeting will take place in the Mansion House at 10 a.m. to-day (Thursday). Signed—

"SEAN MCKEON,
"LIAM MELLOWS."

THE BRITISH ARMS CASE

AN ALLEGED CONSPIRACY BY IRISHMEN

What would appear to be a sequel to the alleged attempt to seize 5,000 rounds of riste ammunition from a Birmingham magazine, in connection with which 9 arrests had already been made in Liverpool and Birmingham, is the arrest of Mr. Joseph Kirwan (29), of Track Rd., Batley, Yorkshire, stated to be an assistant science master at the Wheelwright Boys' Grammar School, Dewsbury, and his charge before the Birmingham Stipendiary with having conspired between Nov. 1 and May 1 with Coundt.-General Liam Mellowes, in Ireland, and Ptk. O'Daly (not in custody), Ptk. O'Neill, and other prisoners before the Court, to procure arms and ammunition in England "by purchase or theft to supply to certain rebel forces in Southern Ireland for the purpose of overthrowing the Government of the Irish Free State."

POLICE IN HIDING.

Mr. Kirwan, described as "a cultured young man, and a fluent Irish speaker," a native of Co. Clare, and resident in Dublin before crossing to Dewsbury, 16 months ago, was remanded till Wednesday. He made no statement, and did not ask for bail.

The factory concerned is the Premier Aluminius Casting Co., Haymill, on the outskirts of Birmingham. The police had it and others under observation for some time, and were hiding in the vicinity on Sat. night. They heard a noise in the factory, and approaching it surprised several

At Manchester, yesterday, Patk. O'Dwyer, Walnut St.. Hulme, a native of Tipperary, was sentenced to 3 months for illegal possession of 5 revolvers, which, he said, he received from Patk. Mullins, now in Ireland, to whom he was to forward them when requested.



PROCLAMATION.

FELLOW CITIZENS OF THE IRISH REPUBLIC.

The fateful hour has come. At the dictation of our hereditary enemy our rightful cause is being treacherously assailed by recreant Irishmen. The crash of arms and the boom of artillery reverberate in this supreme test of the Nation's destiny.

Gallant soldiers of the Irish Republic stand vigorously firm in its defence and worthily uphold their hoblest traditions. The sacred spirits of the Illustrious Dead are with us in this great struggle. "Death before Dishonour" being an unchangeable principle of our national faith as it of theirs, still inspires us to emulate their glorious effort.

We, therefore, appeal to all citizens who have withstood unflinchingly the oppression of the enemy during the past six years to rally the to the support of the Republic and recognise that the resistance now being offered is but the continuance of the struggle that was suspended by the truce with the British. We especially appeal to our former comrades of the Irish Republic to return to that allegiance and thus guard the Nation's honour from the infamous stigma that her sons and aided her foes in retaining a hateful domination over her.

Confident of victory and of maintaining Ireland's Indeposite on the this appeal is issued by the Army Executive on behalf of the Irish Republican Army.

(Signed). Comdt. Gen. LIAM MELLOWES. Comndt. Gen. Rory O'CONNOR Comndt. Gen. JOS. McKELVEY. Comdt. Gen. EARNAN O'MAILLE. Comdt. Gen. SEUMAS ROBINSON.Comdt. Gen. SEAN MOYLAN. Comdt. Gen. MICHAEL KILROY. Comdt. Gen. FRANK BARRETT. Comdt. Gen. THOMAS DERRIG. Comdt. T. BARRY, Col. Comdt. F.O. FAOLAIN, Brig.Gen. J. O'CONNOR, Gen. LIAM LYNCH. Comdt. Gen. LIAM DEASY. Comdt. PEADAR O'DONNELL. P. RUTLEDGE.

28th. JUNE, 1922.

COPY OF DESPATCH FROM COMDT. GEN. LIAM MELLOWES RELATING TO I.R.A. PRISONERS TREATED AS CRIMINALS. JULY 2nd.1922.) (Ex. REPUBLICAN WAR NEWS DATED At 9.p.m.to-night 50 prisoners of the Irish Republican Army were brought under heavy excort to Mountjoy Criminal prison. On arrival there they demanded, through the Chief of Staff, Comdt.Gen.Joseph McKelvey, that they be treated as Prisoners of War. To this demand the officer in charge of the prison garrison troops of the so-called Provisional Govt. replied that the orders issued him by his superior, Gen. O'DUFFY, were that no concessions were to be granted, that is they would be treated as criminals. Comdt. Gen. McKelvey, speaking on behalf of the Republican prisoners, then stated that khey would refuse to enter the cells, and that they would have to be carried there by force. After further parley, the O.C. of the prison garrison, decided not to use force to put into effect his orders. The writing, 11.p.m. the orders issued to the O.C. of the prison are: - "That the Republican Prisoners are to enter the cells without any conditions being agreed to beforehand. Failing acquiescence to these terms the prisoners are to lie on the grass all night with machine guns trained on them. If the

latest developement of the situation is that at the moment of prisoners move about or attempt to escape they are to be shot. The prisoners have accepted the alternative, and many of them are asleep on the grass. The soldiers of the Army Of The Irish Republic now incarcerated in Mountjoy Prison recognise only the authority of the Government of the Republic they fought to establish, and during the last few days they sacrificed all and suffered to maintain. Here in this spot, sacred to the Kevin BARRY and other martyrs of the Republic, they deny the authority of any usurping Government that recognise the right of the British King in Ireland. With this principle clearly defined they are prepared to carry on the fight for the Republic inside the jail

> (Sa) Liam Mellowes Comdt-Gen. I.R.A. Camp. Adjt.

LATER.

At midnight, June 30th-July 1st.the prisoners were forcibly removed by the Civil Guard in uniform, 4 men to each prisoner, and dragged into cells.

1 RISH INDEPENDENT 22-9-122.

A REPUBLICAN POLICY

MANIFESTO FROM JAIL

VIEWS OF A LEADER OF IRREGULARS

A Republican policy has been formulated in a document signed I Mellowes).

The policy is to set up a Provisional for the workers.

The document was captured by the Government and issued by the Publicity various proposals.

DOCUMENT ANALYSED

PROGRAMME, PURPOSE, PERSONNEL

licity Department as follows:-

"The author of the document printed below, who signs 'L.O'M.' and 'L.M.,' is Liam O'Maciliosa, Liam Mellowes, one of is a 'Provisional Parliament' and not the real leaders of the Anti-Treaty Party. the Government of the Republic-then the The document consists of three parts, written respectively on 26th and 29th Aug. and



Liam O'Maoiliosa (Liam Mellowes).

"The Republican | "HEADLINE." gan of a small number of persons in Dublin known as the Communist Party. This programme, the author proposes, is to be made appear to

be the same as the Social Programme of Dail Eireann (January, 1919), 'translated into something definite."

OBJECT OF PROGRAMME.

"The object of the new Republican policy is made perfectly clear. It is not a policy to be taken up and put into practice by the proposed 'Provisional Republican Government.' That 'Govern- programme-land-it is well to note that ment, the author admits, is likely to be the I.R.A. Executive had already taken "unable to function or (able) to function up the question of the demesnes and only in a most limited way." Much less parches and had been already taken would it be able to establish the proposed their confiscation and distribution. This did, but not detailed enough. The under-Communistic system in Ireland or in any part of Ireland.

"The purpose of the new 'Republican' programme is to be dangled before the eyes of the landless men, the unemployed, the 'thousands of people' whom 'starvation is facing,' so that the situation may be utilised for the Republic.'

HOW TO GET VOTES.

It is essential that the "Republic" be once again reaffirmed by the people by vote as soon as possible. When that may he, no one can tell, but we cannot look too A "SIDELIGHT." far ahead. 'Accordingly votes are to be purchased

in advance by ruining the stake-in-thecountry people 'to provide a bribe for 'the men of no property, having persuaded ourselves that this was the aim of Wolfe Tone and of the Dail Eireann of 1919. "With a better right, the author reveals gramme into execution.

that this policy, as regards land, has already been adopted by the Four Courts Executive, of which the author was a mem-This scheme was mainly the work of P. J. R., the initials being those of P. J. Rutledge, the Ballina solicitor, member of the former Dail, and leader of the Anti-Treatyites in Mayo. Tomas O Dearg a member of the Dail who opposed the well-relying on that great body, "the men ideal can save future. The reason for so (O'Deirg), who is to be consulted, was also Treaty. E. O'M. is Ernie O'Malley, a of no property." The "stake in the coun- many young soldiers going wrong is that prominent leader of the irregulars. | iry" people were never with the Republic, they never had a proper grasp of the funda-

LET TREATYITES SUFFER.

himself, or Mr. P. J. Rutledge, or the I.R.A. Executive, had ever in any previous phase of their existence been adherents of the gospel of State Socialism. He justifies their adoption of that gospel now on the ground that those who will suf- tion of 1916 stands; even though the have to be thought out, and some person fer 'are on the side of the Treaty' and supporters of the Free State. He does political support with plunder, and to punsh political opponents. "The author, it may be remarked, has

bosed hitherto as an exponent of pure prinsiple and high idealism. He scoffs at 'the anprincipled attitude of the Labour Party. Unemployment, starvation, the strike of postal workers, interest him keenly, but merely as factors to be 'utilised for the Republic,' as support for a 'Government that could not function. The value of the bribe will be understood by those to whom It is offered in the light of its author's anlicipation of 'the English taking a hand looner or later. EXPLOITATION. "The Land League has often been re-

proached with having introduced a sordid and selfish element into the Irish National Empire is-its growth. How it exists and Movement. The Land League did not propose to capture votes with a programme adopted for that purpose only. "In support of the new programme, its

author proposes to exploit the clergy, Cardinal Mercier, Cathal Brugha, and Valera! Certain statements which he makes are either directly or by implication untrue and slanderous, but the doonment is here published in its entirety, as its own most effective antidote. "The Postal Workers' strike, like star-

ration, unemployment, and want of land, as to be used for political gun-fodder. A beadline for propaganda is drawn up: 'The Free State Government's attitude towards striking postal workers makes clear what its attitude towards workers generally will

adherents for a programme which involves tioned-Courts, Land Settlements, etc., rigid governmental control of all industry Decrees. These were sold for 6d. each, I you some time ago, the events of the last merely to Civil Servants, but to all workers. D'Publicity all through war up to signing done more, it has made it imperative. The

TOO MUCH RELIANCE ON GUN. "In the history of politics few things ean be found more callously unscrupulous than this programme. As its author, or rather authors, avow, up to now there has been too much reliance on the gun. The gan ferror having failed, the Idealists, the preachers of principle, the scorners of ex-

pediency, fall back on a plan of fooling a section of the people with bribes to be paid by taking from another section of the people. The issue is to be presented in the final. formula-- Free State-capitalism and in-Gustrialism-British Empire-against Republic-Workers-Labour.

administered in the name of Principle and Idealism."

THE DOCUMENT

COMMUNISTIC REPUBLIC

The document, which was dated 26/8/22. was as follows :-

"General Situation: We are as much in touch with this as the 'newspapers' and 'Poblacht' and 'Bulletin' permit. it to level of putrid politics, their admisam strongly of opinion that the Repub-"L.O'M." and "L.M.," and attri- lican political and military outlook be co-buted to Liam O Maoiliosa (Liam ordinated. No doubt this has been done, but I mention it because during the past but I mention it because during the past Sceilg' could, I think, do the above six months we suffered badly because re- best. Excuse change of writing. I had to sponsible officers in their desire to act as get the above copied by someone else from soldiers, and because of an attitude to- a letter I am sending to Sighle, lest any-Republican Government, and in wards politicians acquired as a result thing should happen this one. I will close in my opoinion of a campaign directed up now, but will continue ideas on protest to establish a Communistic towards this end by old G.H.Q., could only paganda and other things to-morrow. Re-State, in which all industries, judge of situation in terms of guns and gards. (Signed) L. O'M." agriculture, transport, and banks it ought to have been apparent to such i men that every situation and advantagewould be operated by the State no matter of what nature-should be availed of to gain victory. However, I am not going to write an essay on this.

PROPOSALS. "Naturally we are thinking hard here, Department, with comments on the though the place and atmosphere is not conducive to thought. However, the net

result of my cogitations are:ment should be set up at once even if it is English taking a hand sooner or later. unable to function, or to function only in a most limited way. This is to be done apart from the question of the Dail. The adventisement in to-day's paper re postponement of Dail is inserted by Provisional Government.

"The impression the Press and the Pro-It was issued by the Government Pub- visional Government want to create is that the next Dail is the 'Provisional Parliament' called for by the terms of the Treaty. If at meeting of Dail this is not cleared up and it is accepted that it ment is most urgent.

"(2) The programme of Democratic Con-11th Sept., the writer being a prisoner. trol (the social programme) adopted by It outlines and gives partly in detail a Dail concident with Declaration of Indefuture policy and pendence, January, 1919, should be translated into something definite. This is es- sional Republican Government established plan of campaign sential if the great body of the workers are at once. for the 'Republic' to be kept on the side of independence.

> policy' follows im- "This does not require a change of outmediately the pro- look on the part of Republicans or the Provisional Repub- adoption of a revolutionary programme as lican Government, such. The headline is there in the declara-It consists avow- tion of 1919. It is already part of the Reedly and solely of publican policy. It should be made clear a policy proposed what is meant by it. Would suggest, therein the Worker's fore, that it be interpreted something like Republic,' the or- the following, which appeared in the 'Workers' Republic' of July 22, last:-

"' Under the Republic all industry will be controlled by the State for the workers' and farmers' benefit. All transport, zailways, canals, etc., will be operated by the State-the Republican State-for the benefit of the workers and farmers. All banks will be operated by the State for the benefit of industry and agriculture, not for the purpose of profit-making by loans, mortgages, etc. That the lands of the aristocracy (who support the Free State and the British connection) will be seized and divided amongst those who can and will operate it for the nation's benefit, etc.' "UNPRINCIPLED."

"Regarding the last paragraph in above scheme was mainly the work of P.J.R. See E. O'M., Tomas O'Dearg, and P.J.R. about "In view of the unprincipled attitude.

of the Labour Party, and because the landless and homeless Irish Republican soldiers who fought against Britain, it might be well to publish this scheme in "In the long run, votes must be sought. keep Irish Labour for the Republic; it side. Anything that would prevent Irish Labour becoming Imperialist and respectable will help the Republic.

"As a sidelight on Johnson, O'Brien, O'Shannon and Co., it will interest you to know that when they called on us in the Four Courts last May they (particularly) Johnson) remarked that no effort had been made by An Dail to put its democratic pro-

support to the Republic we are forced to the commercial interests so-called-money courts. and the gombeen-man-are on the side of

always be against it—until it wins! "The author does not pretend that he should recognise that definitely now and base our appeals upon the understanding and needs of those who have always borne Ireland's fight.

TO REAFFIRM REPUBLIC.

not conceal the double object, to purchase fact; even though the election of 1921 re- "If the Republic is to win cut against that the Republic be once again reaffirmed own resources. by the people by vote as soon as possible. When that may be no one can tell, but we as necessities would have to be done withment should endeavour to 'carry on.'

WHAT BRITISH EMPIRE MEANS.

the rejection of it by Ireland means. What its acceptance by Ireland means. This should be fully explained. What Imperialism is; what Empires are: what the British maintains itself-Colonies (Irish Free State as a Colony)-India. How oppression and possession of it is essential to maintenance of B.E., money, trade, power, etc. (Curzon | Routes and men must be sought out and what Ireland's etc., etc. " (b) Work of the Republic, to show it was-and is-a Reality. This is an antidote

to the hyprocrites who now pretend that it never existed, some pamphlets have al- IS A CLASS WAR CONTEMPLATED? ready been published by direction of Dail "This device, it is hoped, will secure last year, showing how Republic funcdates. BISHOPS INDICTED.

"(c) Hierarchy: Invariably wrong in Ireland in their political outlook-against | the Government of the Republic? It must the people in '98. Frs. Murphy (2), Roche, be found. Republicans must be provided Rearns excommunicated by the then Bishop of Ferns against Emmet "con- with a focussing point. demning outrage"-against Young Ireland, "Godless Young Men." support of Sadlier Starvation is facing thousands of people. and Keogh-against Fenians: Dr. Cullen, The official Labour movement has deserted Campaign"-against Sinn Fein (early days ing postal workers makes clear what its "If the attempt to set up a military 1914-morally to blame for the deaths of utilised for the Republic. The position dictatorship had not failed, the would-be thousands of Irish youths in France, Flan- must be defined. Free State-Capitalism

mon; a struggle between Europe for power -Irish Hierarchy blood-guilty. "Hierarchy against Easter Rising, 1916,

denunciation of Pearse, etc. (Pearse the great example of Christian idealism). Hierarchy only opposed Conscription when forced to do so by attitude of people-Against I.R.A. during terror. Bishop Cohalan's excommunication decree of December, 1920.

DANGER TO CATHOLICISM.

"Hierarchy's abandonment of principle. justice, and honour by support of Treaty. Danger to Catholicism in Ireland 250m their bad example—their exaltation of deceit and hypocrisy, their attempt to turn the noble aspect of Irish struggle and bring-

SECOND DOCUMENT

PROPAGANDA OUTLINED

The second document is dated 29/8/1922

and goes on :-"Continuing mine of 26th inst. (No. 1). Refore doing so, however, I wish to point out that the matter of establishing a Pro. Repub. Government has become im "(1) A Provisional Republican Govern- perative because of the probability of the "No doubt they will continue to make

use of Irishmen as long as the latter can be duped or dazzled by the Free State idea; but even to this there will be an end, and then the British will, by using the arguments against Republicans that the Free State now use, cloud the issue greatly. For the British to caluminate Republicans and belittle their cause by besmirching them is one thing; but for the Free State (and supposed potential Republicans) to do t is another-and different, and worse thing. Because the British will not use British arguments to cloak their actions but Irish ones "out of our own mouths," etc. Therefore an object-a target-must be presented for the enemy (Free State or British) to hit at-otherwise it becomes a fight (apparently) between individuals. Hence the necessity of getting the Provi-

STUPENDOUS WORK.

"3. (d) Dev's Work in America,-The time has now come for informing the Irish people what miracles De Valera accomplished there. The attempt to belittle his work for Eire both here and abroad must be defeated.

"Dealing with America is a stupendous work, and tons of data is needed, but it will be labour well worth performing. Show how it was the Republic (and the Republic only) that gained such sympathy for us there; that no other cause would have got the slightest hearing-that De V changed an ignorant and either apathetic or hostile people into genuine sympathisers in two years.

"He made the name of Ireland respected where it was despised, and the Irish cause an ideal where it had been regarded as political humbug. Father Magennis could do a very fine opening chapter describing the state of the Irish movement in America and the attitude generally of America and Americans towards Ireland at the time of Dev's coming.

MEN THAT MATTERED.

"(e) Life of Cathal Brugha .- A brief (but not scrappy) account of above would, I think, do a lot of good. The account in 'Bulletin' (Catholic) by 'Sceilg' is splenlying idea should be that of 'Principle'a word that at one time meant everything to (and conveyed everything of) the I.R.B. "(1) Cardinal Mercier-As an offset to their lordships, a fine pamphlet on the ex-

ample set for Ireland by Cardinal Mercier -his acts and his words-could be written. "(g) South Africa-The danger to Ireland whole or in part. We should certainly of Irish allowing their work to be patterned on example of South Africa. After Treaty of Veer and later formation of United South Africa (all Boers still saying they were Republicans at heart)-the real Republicans found an obstacle stood between them and the British-their own. Parallel with Ireland Smuts and Botha-Collins and Griffith, DeLarey-H. Boland and Cathal Brugha, De Wet, etc., "five years' fallacy;

of F.S. Repubs. YOUTH.

"(4) Courts-Except for the Supreme Court, the Repub. Courts should be "In our efforts now to win back public | maintained. Nothing conveyed proof in America of existence of Republic here so recognise-whether we like it or not-that much as the establishment and work of

"(5) Fianna-We must concentrate on the Treaty, because the Treaty means Im- youth-salvation of country lies in thisperialism and England. both boys and girls. Fianna never got "We are back to Tone-and it is just as proper help or encouragement. They are not with it now-and they will mentals. They were absorbed into move-We ment and fight-not educated into it. Hence no real convictions.

RATIONING IN PROSPECT.

"(6) Food Control-Food supply will present a serious problem soon. The obstruction of roads, railways, and communications will be intensified; towns will feel it "Even though the decision of the elec- the worst. Some plan of rationing will Declaration of Independence remains a (a Labour man for preference) put in con-

affirmed that Declaration; even though the Free State and British, we shall have to election of June, 1922, was an "agreed" face the idea of people suffering many election at which no issue was put or de privations. If scheme worked out ahead it cided; yet, because of the interpretation will not be so bad; in fact it would comput upon it by the Treatyites (and used pel a change from present wretched broadcast by the British) it is essential economic outlook and make them rely on " Many things that are now looked on

cannot look too far ahead. In the mean- out-tea, sugar, foreign flour, etc.-but oattime the Provisional Republican Govern- meal, oatflour, barley, and other wholesome foods would be used. As a matter of fact Ireland has suffered nothing (comparatively speaking) either during Great War "3. (a) Propaganda. Imperialism. What or our war. English people (and English women) cheerfully put up with severe deprivations, and we Irish think our cause worth putting up with anything. But do we? Judging by the whines and grumbles one is tempted sometimes to say, 'Certainly not." HOME AND FOREIGN. " (7) Communications - (a) Abroad:

on India). Extracts Roger Casement's ar- maintained at all cost for the following:ticles on 'Ireland, Germany and Freedom | England, Scotland, America, Germany, Belof the Seas, published first in 'Irish Re- gium, France, Russia, Italy. (b) Home; view' 1913 or '14. What Ireland's con- Very essential. (8) Foreign-India: Isn't nection with Imperialism (however much the time approaching when we should be the apparent material gain) means to fu- in closer touch? (9) By-elections-Don't ture. No use freeing Ireland to set her suppose these can take place under present up as a State following in the footsteps of | conditions, but we must have our eyes all the rotten nations in Europe to-day- open. (10) Bishops-Can anything be done of Imperialism means, by a number of clergy coming together."

A third document, dated 11/9/22, states -"A Chara-Apropos to what I wrote to

and the means of industry, and which con- think. They could be reproduced or used few days have, I think, made it more clear sequently denies the right to strike not again. The "Bulletin" published by that what I suggested should be done—it has of Treaty does, I think, contain heaps of F.S. have shown by Saturday's performance that it was the Provisional Parliament, provided for by terms of F.S. Act. and not the third Dail, that met. Therefore, the question arises at once-where is with a rallying centre and the movement "The unemployment question is acute.

Bishop Moriarty: "Hell not hot enough or | the people for the fleshpots of Empire. The eternity long enough"-against "Plan of F.S. Govt's attitude towards strikwhen it was milk and water)-against Irish attitude towards workers generally will be. Vols .- support England in European War, The situation created by all these must be dictators would not now propose to adopt ders. Mesopotamia, Gallipoli, Macedonia, and Industrialism-Vr. Empire; Republicthe disguise of Communists. We now know etc. Nothing can condone this. European Workers-Labour.-In haste. L.M. (L. how much sincerity underlar the lectures War a hideous holocaust on altar of Mam-1 Q'M. L'a

66 UNFORTUNATE REPUDIATION"

AND DAIL

THREAT TO

SOME REMARKABLE DISCLOSURES

"WILL BE TURNED DOWN BY ELECTORATE"

The Government issued on Saturday a White Paper containing the captured correspondence between Mr. de Valera and his colleagues, to which reference

There are some remarkable revelations as to Mr. de Valera's attitude in relation to certain outstanding events this year.

"Would Be a Farce."

Among three reasons which he gives in rejecting a suggestion that the Republican party should take con-Dail," is this:

> "We, no more the others, could get from the Army that unconditional allegiance without which our Government would be a farce. Rory O'Connor's unfortunate repudiation of the Dail, which I was so foolish as to defend even to a straining of my own views, in order to avoid the appearbarrier we have."

have not the military strength to has not been dissolved. make our will effective," he says. BETTER THAN ABSTENTION. months' time in any case."

The Political Party.

A letter from Mr. Liam Lynch (irregular "Chief of Staff") is described as "too good a thing." Mr. de Valera insists that the position of the political party be straightened out, and adds: "If I do not get the position made clear I shall resign publicly."

In reading this correspondence it will be which, in part, says: "Attached you may Courts the Scottish Comhairle Ceanntair helpful to recall that the present Dail met on September 9.

"TOO GOOD A THING"

"NO VOICE; NO AUTHORITY"

Entitled "Correspondence of Mr. Eamon de Valera and others," the paper is prefaced with an explanation that "the initials 'E' and 'E. de V.' stand for Eamon de Valera, 'C. O'M.' for Cathal O'Murchadha (Charles Murphy, ex-T.D.). R. O'B.' for Riobard O'Breandain (Robt. Brennan, also referred to as 'Bob'), 'P. L. for Patrick Little, 'E. O'M.' for Ernest O'Malley, 'A.' for Austin Stack, T.D.; L. O. M.' for Liam O'Maoilrosa (Liam Mellows), and 'P. J. R.' for P. J. Rutledge." A letter from Mr. Liam Lynch reads:-

"Irish Republican Army, Field General Headquarters, 30th August, 1922.

"To Eamon de Valera. "A Chara-Your note of the 18th inst.,

expressing a desire to meet members of Dail meetings last Session means we waived Army Executive before meeting was duly | that position). received. The Executive meeting was not held, as only (owing) to difficulty in travelling only some of the members turned up, Dail Eireann-It is the Provisional Parliaand in any case as the military situation | ment. It has not been summoned by the improved considerably just previous to it, proper authority, etc., etc. Then there is I did not consider it necessary to hold it. | the oath. I imagine it will be some time before another meeting is called except some unexpected situation arises which warrants an Executive decision. VIEWS WELCOMED.

"I would, however, be only too pleased to have your views at any time on the general situation, and matters arising out of it, and they will receive my earnest consideration .- Mise le meas mor (Signed), "LIAM LYNCH. C/8."

This letter is endorsed "Received by E. de V., Sept. 12," and is dealt with in the following communication written by Mr. de Valera:-

"Sept. 12, 1922. To C. O'M. "A Ch. A Chara .- Miss O'C. will show you a copy of a letter I have just received from Liam Lynch.

do. The position of the political party must be straightened out. If it is the policy of the party to leave it all to the army, well, then the obvious thing for members of the party to do is to resign their positions as public representatives. The present position is that we have all and no authority. RESIGNATION THREAT.

"I am striving to get in touch with some

of the Army Executive at hand on the matter. I may have to address a letter to each of them, and a letter to each memer of the party also. * do not get the position made quite

available for meetings?-Do Chara,

THE GREATEST BARRIER Dated Sept. 13, another communication

"Governing Authority .- You may read Lynch to the Party, if you wish. The position, as I see it, is this:-Either "(a) The Republican Party must take companion.-E. de V."

control, acting as legitimate Dail.

"(b) The Army Executive take control and assume responsibility.

" (c) A Joint Committee be formed to decide policy for both. MR. RORY O'CONNOR.

to "C. O'M." says:--

envernment would be a farce. Rory the Dail, which I was so foolish as to we have.

defend even to a straining of my own which, in part, says:views in order to avoid the appearance of a split, is now the greatest barrier that "2. Because even if we had the allegiance

we have not the military strength to make, alone give to those who have subscribed our will effective, and we cannot, as in the time of the war with the British, point to authority derived from the vote of the majority of the people.

"We will be turned down definitely by the electorate in a few months' time in any case.

his seat. If he is refused it makes the clear, I shall resign publicly. Provisional Parliament not the Dail, and "How many members of the party are is a violation of the Pact 'subject to' which the elections were decreed. Do "E. de V." | Chara (Signed),

ing down the Republic.

by a declaration from the Army itself that that is not so.

"The natural corollary to this is that we, as a political party, should cease to operate in any public way-resign in fact. "This is the course I have long been

tempted to take myself, and were it not that my action might prejudice the cause of the Republic, I'd have taken it long! since. Our position as public representatives is impossible. "Course (c)-I fear this is impracticable.

The political party has to justify itself in a way that is not expected from the Army. If the Army wishes to select some of the until now that we should proclaim a Repersonnel of the party for its Executive, publican Government. and they are willing to act, well and good "If we were now in the position we were be too much for any Executive."

ADVISES NON-ATTENDANCE

The correspondence contains a request made on Sept. 1 and signed by 16 members of the Second Dail that "the session trol, acting as "the legitimate of the Second Dail, adjourned to June 30, 1922, be convened not later than 12 o'clock noon on Friday, Sept. 8, 1922. . . . "

There is nothing that would seem to be a reply, but on Sept. 6 the following was sent to "C. O'M." signed "E. de V. per K. O'C.":-

"Yours received. As regards the Dail the following sugestion has been made-that it be proclaimed in advance by the Army, as an illegal assembly inasmuch as it is sumance of a split, is now the greatest | moned by the illegal junta called the 'Provisional Government' and inasmuch as the Second Dail, which is the legitimate Par-"Even if we had the allegiance we liament and Government of the country,

"We will be turned down de- This is much more positive and much finitely by the electorate in a few oetter than a mere abstention of the Re- destroying life and property, was illegal publican members and if we are to be and unconstitutional, and a usurpation. consistent at all it is the attitude we "The power assumed was not derived. other policy is adopted.

> "I favour it accordingly. I do not know whether anything which may happen at to-night's interview will change my mind in the matter. Will let you know early with A.A.C/S. on the matter."

seeing Golden. I met him in Cork. Get action. proposals put on paper. I'd like to see - (name given) for a Press interview. If you get in touch with him I'll see how it can be arranged. Ask him to send me along 'leading questions.' PRINCIPLE AND EXPEDIENCY.

Attached is the following .-"As regards our attending the meeting

principle and expediency we as a party mandate, no control. . . . should not attend.

of the oath by the Pro-Treaty members excludes them from being regarded as members of the Second Dail will, of course, hold that the sovereign authority is the Second Dail, composed of the Republican members only, but our attendance at the

"The assembly that is summoned to meet on Saturday does not pretend to be

NOT STRONG ENOUGH

"2. So far principle. Now expediency. Our presence at the meeting would only help to solidify all the other groups against us. We would be the butt of every attack. We could not explain-we would be accused of obstructing the business and 'talking' when we should 'get on with the work.' "Our presence there would not pro-

mote, but rather retard, peace. Finally, whatever chance there is of union in our own group it lies more in the direction of abstention than attendance. "3. If we decide then as a party not to

go the question remains shall we issue a "This is too good a thing, and won't statement or should the army 'Proclaim' the meeting or should we ignore the meeting and say nothing? WATCHING THE FUTURE.

"Strict principle would dictate the

second course, but we are not strong enough to maintain the position it would involve. Besides, it is too late to get in touch with Army H.Q. on the matter. If, the public responsibility, and no voice we issue a statement it will tie our hands, and if at a future time a course other than non-attendance should seem wise we might find ourselves precluded from taking it. "4. Hence, summing up, I am in favour

of non-attendance. Let them keep guessing as to the reason for the present. If Mr. Ginnell thinks he should go that will not be any harm, but perhaps an advantage. O'Mahony should certainly go and claims "Eamon de Valera." "P.S.-5. American Delegation.-I agree

with Austin that it is only the Clann and such friends who are likely to be approachable or of any value at the moment. If Sean T. is released he would be the very best in my opinion. If Sceilg is prepared my note of yesterday re the letter of Liam to go, as he has been over the ground before, he would be the next best. Joe Doherty would certainly be a very good "CAN'T MAINTAIN IT"

REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT

"1. Because we, no more than the Under date Sept. 9 is a long statement

others, could get from the Army that un- signed "on behalf of the army" by Oscar Conditional allegiance without which our Traynor, Barney Mellowes, Eamon Corbett. Liam Pilkington, Tomas de Barra, Peadar *Connor's unfortunate repudiation of O Domhnaill." and "on behalf of the citizens of the Irish Republic" by "Aine ni Rathghaille, Nel bean Mnic Amhlaoibh," "We demand that in the interests of neace and order that a President be at

once chosen to succeed the unfortunate President who is now dead. This act can money and purchased bonds of the Irish Republic, a guarantee that the Republic the Republic in certain banks in U.S.A.

still lives, and prevents the military junta calling itself a Government from seizing upon the funds now lodged in the name of "Only one day remains to do this work and we hereby give notice that unless the "3. Because, if challenged, we could not deputies elect a President before the pre-as a Government refuse to let the people tended Government by chicanery places us decide by vote as between the two Governin a false light we shall be compelled to

said pretended Government from assembling, and are

forced to look upon the deputies who neglect electing a President as too pusillanimous to deserve further support. . . . NO USE.

"We, as loyal citizens of the Republic decision that meant, the worst of all, turn- here assembled, demand that the deputies, who have not rendered themselves in "Course (b)-Of the three I prefer this. capable of sitting, by taking up arms or It is most in accord with fact. But then abetting those who have taken up arms the Army Executive must publicly accept against the Republic, then at once proresponsibility. There must be no doubt in ceed to summon the third Dail. We subthe minds of anybody on the matter. This mit that the proper time for calling the pretence from the pro-Treaty Party that Dail is Friday, the 8th September, thus

This document is preceded by a note signed "E.," and dated Sept. 11:-

"This is no use. If we could maintain a Republican Government-now after what they did on Saturday would be the time to set it up. We can't maintain it. I fear."

APMY ALLEGIANCE.

A further letter, dated Sept. 12, says:-"I have opposed the setting up of a rival Government, solely because of our obvious inability to maintain it. The fact that the new assembly is not the Dail gives us the best chance we have got yet. I never felt

was recently made in the Dail. -but I am afraid the task of riding two in when we held a portion of Cork I'd cersuch horses as the Party and the Army will tainly favour it. But again we cannot maintain it. If the army executive were at hand and would definitely give allegiance to that Government, I'd think it wise to try it-but again the inability to maintain it. We can let the matter wait for a few days."

UNDATED DOCUMENTS

"TREATYNOTALEGAL FACT"

There are two undated and unsigned documents, extracts from which are:-

"The Treaty is not yet at any rate a legal fact, for not ratified by either Ireland or England. It may be turned down by England yet. The Republic is the existing State therefore. Griffith agreed that this was so.

"A truce between both sections of the army arranged and ratified by the Dail at second or third last meeting. . . .

THE CABINET.

"The Government of Ireland was the whole of Dail Eireann. The Cabinet was constitutionally only an Executive Committee. The assumption of power to levy armies, raise loans, monies, and make war.

should adopt. We will be at sixes and from the Irish people or the Irish Parliasevens with one another, I think, if any ment. The Provisional Government was a 'junta' using British powers, not Irishand acting in an arbitrary, irresponsible manner, and broke Irish law (Decree of Dail Eireann)."

The first document in the correspondence to-morrow. I am trying to get in touch is a note signed "A," enclosing a letter signed "W. H. Hutchinson," stating that Marked "Personal" is a note of Sept. 7 immediately after the attack on the Four read for the party. You will note a change 'decided by 51 to 17 to declare the S.F. in my decision-I feel this course is the organisation a definitely Republican one. one that will make most rapidly for peace. They are anxiously awaiting some guid-· · Nothing came of last night's meet- ance or instructions from headquarters as ing. There is nothing to be gained by my to what should be their future course of

THE ONLY ORGANISATION.

"My suggestion is that a definite mandate should be given to us in writing from the President, E. de Valera, or from you, authorising us to proceed with the creation of a Republican organisation with an executive responsible to it with a temporary constitution based roughly on S.F. of the Dail on Saturday, I am have con- It will never do for a few individuals to sidered the matter and am of opinion call themselves. Cumann na Poblachta, that both from the points of view of with no organisation, no executive, no "If this authority is not given to the

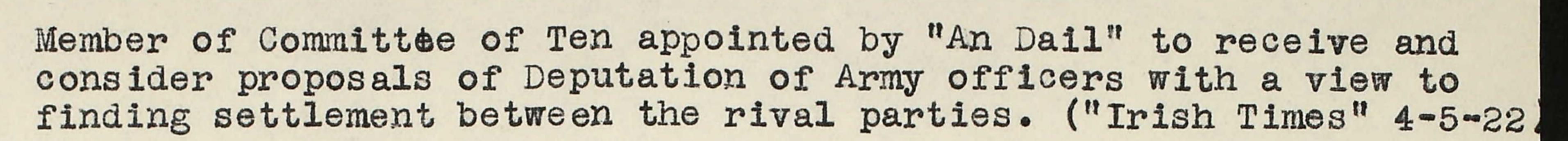
only organisation in Ireland or out of it "1. The Second Dail is not dissolved. It is that has remained Republican, then there the sovereign authority in the country in is no hope of creating an entirely new my opinion at this moment. (Members who body, and no chance of raising funds) hold that the violation of the strict letter | which will be properly accounted for and | sent entirely to the right quarter."

> There are also included letters between Riobard O Breantain and Mr. Stack in reference to the Fine Gaedheal (the Irish Race Organisation founded in Paris last year), in which the former asks "if it would be possible for the Republican party to advance us a temporary loan of £1,000, to be repaid as soon as the first contribution comes from America." Part II. of the paper is exclusively de-

voted to the long statement by Mr. Liam Mellowes, recently published.

Castle File No. 1749. MELLOWS. William. 21, Mount Shannon Road, Kilmainham, Dublin. Age, Occupation, ELECTED SINN FEIN M.P. FOR GALWAY, MAY 1921. Director of Purchases for I.R.A. under the name of NOLAN. (P.F.3674 RELIEVED OF HIS POST AS "DIRECTOR OF PURCHASES". (VIDE 'IRISH 6/21/F.) TIMES' DATED 30-3-22.) Arrived in Athenry early in 1915 and was then known as Captain MELLOWS in Sinn Fein Circles. Made Athenry his Headquarters, visiting outlying districts for the purpose of organising the Irish Volunteers. He also gave lectures on Ambulance at the Sinn Fein Hall, Athenry. Ordered to leave Athenry in July 1915, but apparently refused, and was arrested and deported. Turned up again in 1916 and continued to organise the Irish Volunteers Again arrested anddeported to England, but escaped, and disguised as a woman appeared in Ballygurrane, near Athenry on 23-4-16 and took part in the Rebellion. Was then known as Commandant and remained in charge of the rebels until they dispersed. Escaped to America. Touring America with De Valera 18-4-20. Said to be in Ireland 24-2-21. Responsible for gun-running plots in England. (IX/0306). Re-appeared in Ireland after the Truce. July 1921. Received by a Guard of Honour on visiting his Constituency 20-8-21 and addressed a Meeting there 21-8-21. Said Dail would never accept ter terms and advised I.R.A. to keep thoroughly organised so as to be able to strike the final blow. (5th Div. W.I.S. 27-8-21). Visited Ballinasloe 4-9-21 and held a Meeting. (W.I.S.5th Div.13-9-21) Made a speech at Tullamore. ("Freemans' Journal" 4-10-21). Attended Sinn Fein Meeting at Ballinasloe 16-11-21. (IX/0496). on 22-11-21 at Donnybrook, made an appeal for funds to provide for those deprived of bread winners. ("Freemans' Journal 23-11-21). When Kearney was arrested in Glasgow, a receipt for £500 was found in the parcel of detonators. This £500 was from the Director of Purch ases. (IX/0676 1-12-21). Editor of the "Republic of Ireland" which made its appearance 3-1-22. Offices at 58, Dame St., Dublin. (D.D. W.I.S. IX/0896 5-1-22). CEASED TO BE EDITOR OF "REPUBLIC OF IRELAND" (VIDE FREE MANS JOURNAL, 29-3-22) Voted against ratification of the Treaty on 7th January 1922. Cleked on 1. R. a. Executive at Convention held in Maurion House, Bublin, on 26-3-22. (Nile Freeman's Journal; daked 29-3-22.)

Secretary to "army Conneil" Kepublicano - (See Frees Extract Friel Lanco)
22. 4: 22).



Also Member of Joint Committee of Executive Forces I.R.A. Regulars which met at Mansion House, Dublin, to find settlement between these two parties. ("Freeman's Journal" 10-5-22).

Implicated in the conspiracy to "procure arms and ammunition in England by purchase or theft to supply to certain rebel forces in Southern Ireland for the purpose of overthrowing the Government of the Irish Free State." (Birmingham Arm's Case). (See Ext. "Irish Independent" 6-5-22).

Described as Director of Purchases for Rory O'Connor's Army.
Documents found confirmed the information that Mellowes was chiefly responsible for the attempted theft of ammunition and explosives in Birmingham. (IX/1146 of 16-5-22).

Re-nominated as a Republican Candidate for his present Consitituency (Ext. "Irish Times" 2-6-22).

Defeated at Poll for Third Dail.

Addressing Troops of the Republican Forces and the Citizens Army who had made a pilgimage to Wolfe Tone's grave at Bodenstown on 19-6-22. Liam Mellowes said, "They were prepared to risk their lives to uphold the Republic. Their enemy was England. Though the outlook was black, and the odds against them heavy, they would continue the struggle". (Ref. IX/1204).

One of the signatories to the Republican Manifesto issued from the Four Courts during the storming by P.G. Troops. (Republican War News No: 2).

Was one of the leaders in the defence of the Four Courts when stormed by P.G. Troops. Was taken prisoner on surrender and lodged in Mountjoy where he styled himself as "Comndt.-Genl. I.R.A. Camp Adjt." and issued a statement on the improper treatment of Republican prisoners. (See typed extract from "War News" No: 6 in press cuttings).

Signed a letter found amongst documents captured during the Birmingham Arms Case. Name also mentioned in documents found in 21.Milford St., Liverpool. (Ref. I.X/1419.)

For his document on a "Republican Policy" see extract from 'Irish Independent' dated 22.9.22. in dossier.

One of the prominent Irregular leaders whose name appeared in the important documents captured by the P.G. Troops, showing how the Republicant. T.D's and leading Irregulars were endeavouring to strike an united policy for the upkeep of the Republican Movement. (See extract from 'Irish Independent' dated 16.10.22. in dossier.)

December of December 1922. by Older Some Note Government.

(Stock Independent of. 9. 12. 23)

