TRIBUTES TO MEN WH FOUNDED THE STATE

Anniversary Of Treaty Honoured **DUBLIN MANSION** HOUSE THRONGED

SOMETHING of the enthusiasm with which the news of the signing of the Treaty was received in Dublin on December 6, 1921, was in evidence at the Mansion House, Dublin, last night when the 25th anniversary of the historic event was celebrated at a commemoration meeting under the auspices of the Fine Gael Party.

There was a distinguished gathering, including many of those who had taken part in the fight for independence and who afterwards fought on opposite sides in the Civil War. Mr. W. T. Cosgrave, first President of the Executive Council of the Irish Free State, sat with Mrs. Cosgrave in the front row.

The meeting was presided over by Gen. MacEoin, T.D., who seconded the acceptance of the Treaty when it was proposed by Arthur Griffith in Dail Eireann in January, 1922. The Round Room was packed, and hundreds unable to gain admission heard the speeches through specially-erected loud-

Behind the speakers on the

stage a scroll bearing an enlarged facsimile of the signatories to the Treaty was displayed under a furled Tricolour, and pictures of Griffith and Collins were suspended from the ceiling. The high place won in the hearts of the nation by those men was emphasised by the applause which greeted the many references to them.

tories and concessions of the past

look like a candle beside a search-

CEN. MULCAHY said that to be said that even broadcasting facilities had been denied on this historic occasion. Irish and English peoples had GREAT EFFORTS Irish and English peoples had banished forever that oppression and destruction in arms which had disfigured and embittered the centuries

All the great leaders of the past had been honoured for their efforts and achievements, and no small-disfigured and embittered the centuries

and it increased our people's

"It secured that whenever we sat down in council with the repre-sentatives of Britain, we sat down with them as co-equal representa-tives, of equally sovereign states, he said. "It admitted Irish sovereignity in all matters, whether of peace or war, or foreign relations it acknowledged our Parliament our Army and our flag; it gave us back our purse."

WHOLE OF IRELAND

WHOLE OF IRELAND

WHOLE OF IRELAND

Six months previously a subordinate parliament had been set
tup for the Six Counties, but the
Irish Free State which the Treaty
recognised, was an Irish Free
State which included the whole
territory of Ireland's 32 counties,
although it provided that Irishmen
in the North, even by the decision
of a National minority, re-partition the newly recognised State

The terror which had been
The terror which had been

The terror which had been directed against the Dail, which was set up in January, 1919, was swept away in the ink of the signatures. As they turned back spirit of those on both sides who brought the peace, there passed brought the peace, there passed before their vision the picture of the vertex of peace with manship of Grimth or Collins in signing a treaty of peace with Britain; rather did the question arise as to whether they were not over-confident in placing such a respirit of those on both sides who brought the peace, there passed the property of before their vision the picture of to exist in the instrument of peace two faces, those of Arthur Griffith held place only in the imagination and Michael Collins.

Griffith was the architect of their vision and their patience, Collins the architect of their courage and faith.

achievement had not been a accepted with the full welcome which the vast majority of the people wished to give it, there would have been released forthwith for service in Irish industry, agriculture and education and in constructive social and political work, all the energy and intelligence that had been put into the resistance by the common people and their leaders.

The Parliament they had to day.

people and their leaders.

The Parliament they had to-day and its powers were the very same that the Treaty had brought. The same applied to the whole working machinery of the State. What was absent to-day was the spirit that to renew past bitterness, or to remove open old controversies. They sought to extract no political advantage phad signed the Treaty. When their institutions were again guided and worked in that spirit, then would the energies of the people be truly released from the bondage of the past, then might National unity come to crown their freedom.

NO NATIONAL TRIBUTE

D- O'Higgins, T.D., said a quarter that their life work would be carried on to full fruition.

D-O'Higgins, T.D., said a quarter of a century had passed since the Treaty, yet the aftermath of insang political jealousy, pique and prejudice prevented a national tribute being ruid to the memory of the men who won the victory and lothe victory's significance.

The victory's significance the property of the matter and the property of the property of

"Surely not only Irishmen the world over but every friend of Ireland." he continued, "must wonder why, when Government and people and the honour of the Irish people with the world of the world over the can combine to honour the memory of Davis, O'Connell, Tone, Emmet, Parnell, Davitt and many other Irish leaders, the Government and people are not now commo orating together the men and the event that ejected the invalor for all time from our land appraisant the hopes and aspirations of all the Irish patriots of the past."

people or her history, that because the judgment of some people was so unsound 25 years ago that to-day the evacuation of Ireland by the English and to honour the memory of the men who forged the instrument and modelled the machine which these same people worked to day with spectacular pomp and extravagant ceremony?

To the shame of Ireland and the discredit of its Government, it had



At the Mansion House, Dublin, last evening. From left-Mr. P. McGilligan, S.C., T.D.; Mr. John A. Costello, S.C., T.D.; Gen. R. Mulcahy, T.D.; (at back) Mr. Sean McGarry; Gen. S. MacEoin, T.D. (speaking); Dr. T. F. G'Higgins, T.D.; (at back) Senator M. Hayes; Mr. Liam Cosgrave, B.L., T.D.; Ald. P. S. Doyle, T.D.

CENOTAPH-T.D.'s REMINDER

A LD. P. S. DOYLE, T.D., addressing the meeting, said that many years ago, following the tragic deaths of Griffith, Collins, and O'Higgins, a cenotaph was erected in Leinster Lawn to their memory. Shortly after the change of Government that cenotaph was removed on the understanding that it would be replaced by a more permanent structure. Many years had passed since it was taken down, but the site was still vacant. As many people were doubting the good faith of Government assurances, he asked in the name of Dublin and Ireland that the

and the indomitable will of Kevin l'Higgins the rule of law was en-preed and respected.

work should be undertaken

Griffith's

Great Work

Gen. Mac Eoin, T.D., said very few achievement made all those vic

He had bequeathed the Treaty to Ireland as "our national need and economic salvation."

If small men tried to sour the fruit of freedom 25 years ago, and if, as a result, jubilation and hope BANGER TO

Russia and the Western Powers day the men remain on strike. If the Supreme Court-which will be suppreme Court-which will be suppremended unanimously on general procedure dustries. The case decides of Local way for the strike. If the supreme Court-which will be suppremended unanimously on general procedure in an almost unpreceded dustries. The case decides of Local way for the way for the west of the strike. The suppremended unanimously on general procedure in an almost unpreceded unanimously on general procedure in an alm

over-confident in placing such a responsibility on their colleagues themselves, and their successors. The limitations which were alleged to exist in the instrument of peace held place only in the imagination of the less self-reliant.

The doleful prophesies had been falsified or had been forgotten, but the potentialities capable of achievement had not be a nachieved.

That there is no National or other policy for a Parliament for all Ireland I am painfully aware: that there must be such a policy I am equally convinced. It is not only the major political problem—it is the only political problem. We owe it, to the memory of Griffith and Collins to see the establishment of such a National policy.

Mr. J. A. Costello, S.C., T.D., said

Mr. J. A. Costello, S.C., T.D., said

The limitations which were alleged to not that day they would have Deputies and representatives there of all creeds and classes from the 32 counties, all proud of the men not take an active interest in public affairs, then power would pass into take an active interest in public affairs, then power would pass into the such as portion which were alleged to exist in the prophesies had been falsified or had been forgotten, but the potentialities capable of achievement had not be a na appalling price to pay for all creeds and classes from the 32 counties, all proud of the men not take an active interest in public affairs, then power would pass into the less responsible hands. The left in the sum of the proud that he also prophesis who were able to design an instrument of peace with honour between the two countries. On such a day, how Collins to see the establishment of such as policy I can picture him having a hearty greeting for the Basil Brookes. The Canir Healys, the Beattles, the Gerry Bolands, and the Mulcabys, and hear him say; at often heard him say; the prophem—it is good to be alive; but so much the prophem is a policy I can picture him having a hearty greeting for the Basil Brookes. The Canir Healys are all the achieves and material success

NATION WILL ENDURE"

FRENCH ASSEMBLY

Premier Crux Continues

GEORGES BIDAULT, Popular I French Premiership and former head of the French Government, failed to receive the required minimum of 310 votes in the French National Assembly yesterday for election as Prime Minister of France.

His official total was 240 votes his was the second round of voting for the Premiership, Maurice Thorez, the Communist leader, then the sole

LAZINESS DANGER

Senator M. Hayes said the right of Grifflish and Collins to be classed as the two greatest men in Irish history should be insisted upon.

The colling to the making and the right of progress and pause in our ant-like activity on its upper structures.

BEST BRAINS LEAVING

Dr. T. Dillon, Professor of Chemistry, U.C.G., said that the Mr. P. McGilligan, B.L. T.D., said 25 years ago the country won through to a particular point under the inspiration of men of heroic mould but unfortunately those men were not left to guide the country's destinies for long.

This country after the Treaty, had sot off to no flying start but found itself in circumstances where men, in stations new to them, had to undertake the development of the country externally and internally.

That task was attempted and that

in stations new to them, had to undertake the development of the incountry externally and internally. That task was attempted and that task was carried through so well that it was a soundly fashioned and firmly-founded machinery of Government that was handed over in 1932. All that was done on and by the Treaty.

"Great were they," concluded Mr. McGilligan, "who appreciated what the Treaty gave, and time has shown, notwithstanding all the vicissitudes and storms, that on its foundation this nation has endured and will endure.

There was a brief scene when Gen. Mulcahy rose to address the meeting. He had only spoken a few words when a heavily-built, middle aged man stood up and shouted: "Dick Mulcahy, as Minister for Defence in the First Dall I call you to order. What about Jim Slattery and Tom Keogh and the Mutineers?" He was removed by stewards.

Country were clearing out. The Irish language movement had conformed to the pountry for the past 20 years in spreading education and intellectual interests among the people.

Mr. D. C. O'Connell, Editor, "Connacht Tribune," said that the people themselves were contributing to the growth of bureaucracy by asking for Government grants for every project.

Senator O Buachalla said that although he agreed that more money should be spent on education it could only be provided by further taxation or by soing into debt. Insufficient use was being made of existing educational facilities and at present, considering our circumstance, the amount of money spent on education was anything but worthy of contempt.

NUN'S GOLDEN JUBILEE Rev. Mother Josephine (Sheridan), to the content of the past 20 years in spreading ducation and intellectural interests among the people.

Mr. D. C. O'Connell, Editor, "Connacht Tribune," said that the people themselves were contributing to the growth of bureaucracy by asking for Government grants for every project.

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SPANISH ISSUE

U.N.O. Will Discuss U.S. Reported Offer To Proposal

IN an effort to reach compromise on Spain, the Political and Security sub-Committee yesterday decided to accept as basis for discussion the U.S. proposal, but it was emphasised that this in no way precluded the right of Poland or Byelo-Russia to introduce as amendments their proposals for the complete rupture by members of the United Nations of commercial and diplomatic relations with Spain.

The Spanish suub-Committee tencandidate, having been defeated tatively approved the preamble when he polled only 250 votes. M. condemning the Franco Govern-

NOTE The U.S. resolution called

ARMS LIMITATION

Senator Tom Connally (U.S.) unged the inclusion in the Soviet amendment dealing with elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons the following phrase:—"Such atomic energy to be released, if and when possible, for peaceful purposes."

A return to work, Union officials declined to make any comment.

Striking miners in Pennsylvania strove to shut the strip mines, which have been producing about 40,000 tons of coal daily.

Detroit reported that an estimated 764,000 workers would be believed.



one previours as missed over in 1935 and the victory and to the victory and to the victory and to the victory and to the victory significance of the vicinity signi Defendant was charged with smuggling fowl from Northern Ireland when the custom was to smuggle them the other way, said Mr. P. Woods, solicitor, defending lames Smart, Ballyoonan, Omeath the custom was fined £910 for the conferences he had had about two was fined £910 for the conferences he had had about two ways and the conferences he had had about two ways and the conferences he had had been seen to be a conferences he had had been to be a conference he had been to be a conference he had had been to be a conference he had been to be a confer

Mines And Bombs Rock Jerusalem

IFLE-FIRE echoed in Jeru-Salem last night after two people were killed when a land mine wrecked an R.A.F. truck, and hand grenades were thrown at the house of General Sir Evelyn Barker, G.O.C. British troops in Palestine.

A British constable was wounded in the stomach, and three civilians were also injured by the explosion which wrecked the truck in the Street of the Prophets. Later, three heavy explosions were heard after bursts of automatic fire, believed to bursts with the street mines detended by the street mines detonated by the

Troops were rushed to the resi-ence of General Barker when Jews lobbed grenades into an Aral Legion guard tent inside the barbed vire ringing the house.

Earlier a British Army officer and Earlier a British Army onicer and a British soldier were killed, and 40 people were injured, in an explosion which blasted military offices inside the Sarafand Cantonment, one of Palestine's biggest army camps between Tel-Aviv and Lydda.

The bomb is believed to be a been The bomb is believed to have been placed in a civilian lorry, which was friven into the compound.—United Press and Reuter.

Civil Servants The negotiations between

the Minister for Finance and the Civil Service Organisation in connection with the Cost of Living Bonus are expected to conclude shortly. At a meeting yesterday, it is understood, Mr. Alken offered to pay a bonus on the cost of living figure of 270 points plus 7/6 per week, instead of a figure of 245 points at present. This would increase substantially the pay of civil servants, especially the lower

REFUSAL BY LEWIS TO END STRIKE

DECLINING to call off the U.S.

Russia and the Western Powers day the men remain on strike. I an almost unprecedented dis-

the motor car business.

President Truman will address the American nation on the crisis on Sunday night (2.30 a.m. G.M.T. Monday), with the aim of mobilisminers back to the pits.

MONSIGNOR TISO AND HITLER'S

"ULTIMATUM"

Monsignor Josef Tiso, President of Slovakia during the German occupation, who is on trial for treason before the People's Court in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, described yesterday how he was called to Berlin under Hitler's corders on March 13, 1939. Hitler then told him that Germany was going to occupy Czechoslovakia and occupy Czechoslovakia and the tit the Slovakia wanted to reference to the claim, and also the difficulty experienced in securing female probationer nurses.

The Committee also approved the increased salaries offered to student nurses and attendants.

Note—Following their decision in three bodies.

Mr. O'Mahony added that they had. In Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, de-scribed yesterday how he was called to Berlin under Hitler's orders on March 13, 1939. Hitler then told him that Germany was going to occupy Czechoslovakia and that, if the Slovaks wanted to re-main loyal to Prague, they would share the fate of the Czechs. that, if the Siovaks wanted to remain loyal to Prague, they would share the fate of the Czechs.

He gave "an ultimatum from Hitler" as the reason for the severance of Siovakia from Bohemia-Moravia, and said that, in 1939, an ultimatum from Hitler" as the reason for the severance of Siovakia from Bohemia-Moravia, and said that, in 1939, an ultimatum from Hitler

1939, an ultimatum from Hitler

Ends In Failure STRIKE TO CONTINUE

No Action By Labour Court Or Company

THE sugar strike conference broke down yester-I day following a decision by the Labour Court not to intervene while the men are on strike, and the refusal of Lieut.-Gen. Costello, general manager of the Sugar Company, after consultation with the chairman of the Sugar Board, to meet the representatives of the strikers who were in Dublin for the conference.

The Labour Court, in a statement last night, pointed out that it had been established for the purpose of facilitating the settlement of industrial disputes by negotiation and by conciliation and arbitration in a spirit of fair play. "It cannot lend itself to a policy of dictation," the statement added.

A statement was also issued by the trade unions at the conclusion of the conference. The following are the texts:-

From Court

Sugar Conference

A statement from the Labour "At yesterday's (Wednesday) Court said that representatives meeting it was agreed that resugar factory workers are members informed the Labour Court of the views expressed by delegates at the conference they held on Wednesday.

The Labour Court to ascertain if it was possible to have a discussion regarding a removal of the trade unions should approach the Labour Court to ascertain if it was possible to have a discussion regarding a removal of the unions should approach the Labour Court to ascertain if it was possible to have a discussion regarding a removal of the unions should approach the Labour Court to ascertain if it was possible to have a discussion regarding a removal of the unions should approach the Labour Court to ascertain if it was agreed that representatives of the unions should approach the Labour Court to ascertain if it was possible to have a discussion re-

held on Wednesday.

The Labour Court informed the unions that if work were resumed without delay the Court was prepared, in view of the circumstances of the case, to investigate any claims or grievances the workers might wish to submit to it through their unions. The Court's statement was communicated to the delegate conference, and the Court Labour Court discussion the matters which were agitating the minds of the men. The gate conference, and the Court Labour Court decided it would be a conference. gate conference, and the Court has now learned that the con-ference refused to agree to the

resumption of work.

From the beginning of this dispute it has been made abundantly clear that there is machinery available for discussing and making proposals for the reasonable settlement of any grievances the workers may feel they have. The workers have persistently refused to use that machinery. Their attitude has been "Strike first, discuss afterwards."

The strike have been that body to have discussions while the men were on strike.

As a last resort it was agreed at this afternoon's meeting to approach Gen. Costello, general man ager of the Sugar Company, to find out if he was prepared to discuss the several matters regarding the men were complaining the delegates were.

This was rooms and per that body to have discussions while the men were on strike.

The U.S. resolution called in third week, John L. Lewis and instituted Mineworkers' Onlon years of government to a production for contempt of government. The U.S. government. The U.S. of court, for which he was fined government. The U.S. and the union £875,000.

LIMITATION

and the Western Powers timost unprecedented disharmony agreed unanimage and making effective arms limitation production for cost of the consultation additional £2,500 for his role and the case decides against Lewis, he may be fined an additional £2,500 for his role and making effective arms limitation product of the concluding statement additional £2,500 for his role and the case decides against Lewis, he may be fined an additional £2,500 for his role and the concluding statement additional £2,500 for his role and the concluding statement and the concluding statement and the concluding statement additional £2,500 for his role and the concluding statement and the concluding statement and the concluding statement and the delegates were the case of the community of the case of the community of the consultation which the delegates were the case of the community of the case of the community of the consultation which the delegates were the case of the community of the case of the community of the case of the community of the consultation which the delegates were the case of the community of the case of the community of the consultation which the delegates were the case of the case of the community of the case of the community of the case of the consultation which the delegates were the case of the case of the case of the community of the case of the community of the case of the community of the case of the

From Unions

"(2) Certain security of em-loyment;
"(3) The guarantee that the ployment if they go back.

The statement added that the strikers had all been dismissed, and that there was no security of emi-

OFFER TO MENTAL

THE Grangegorman Mental Hospital Joint Committee yesterday recommended an immediate increase of 50 per cent. On the 1939 salaries of male and female attendants, subject to any adjustment at a later date between the 50 per cent. and the 70 per cent., which the attendants are seeking

T.C.D. CONFERRING | REV. J. WARD, S.M.A.

OF

- ARTHUR GRIFFITH From the painting by Leo Whelan, R.H.A.

Born Dublin in 1872. Founder of Sinn Fein. Chairman of the Irish Delegation at the Treaty talks, Elected President of Dail Eireann in January, 1922. Died August 12, 1922.

"The Greatest Of

Them All"

Dedicated His Life

To an Idea

GRIFFITH was a man who very early dedicated his life to an

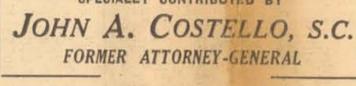
Programme

TWENTY-FIVE years ago on December 6th, 1921, the Treaty which ended the Anglo-Irish war was signed in London. It is fitting on the Anniversary that Ireland should pay tribute to the men who won that Treaty for them and who made it the foundation on which they raised the edifice of the new-born State.

The Constitutional Advance

HOW THE NEW STATE WAS BUILT

SPECIALLY CONTRIBUTED BY



reinforced the old instruments, the local and municipal bodies which were to paralyse the British administration of Ireland. The violence public, the late Professor Arthur Clery, himself an uncomprolatent in the old Sinn Fein policy mising Republican, in answer ARTHUR GRIFFITH was a very typical Dubliner—a terribly decent man," unassuming, unobtrusive, humorous, sociable, tolerant, curious, appreciative of the good things of life, good books, good music, good pictures, good music, good pictures, good music, good pictures, good books, good pictures, good pictures, good books, good pictures, good pictures

conduct.

His word was his bond; he was getter. He had been at eighteen straight as a die, and he expected a member of Parnell's Election came to see that they would be committee in 1890, and had witnessed from the inside the Chief's already his will and intellect were last struggle.

I the most intelligent of the combattants, led by Michael Collins, a free and sovereign State.

The history of the ten years ago, when already his will and intellect were last struggle. enjoyed life. Forty years ago, when already his will and intellect were given over wholly to the political idea of which he was the father, he could nevertheless go and stay in the Martello Tower in Sandycove, with Dr. Gogarty and Scumas O'Sullivan, and when bores came to see him, would leave Scumas—as he has told us recently—to entertain them, while he himself swam sway towards what was then called

that is as good as any in the world. He could give reasons for the Faith that was in him.

He was devoted to his wife and family. I saw him one evening when the war against the Black-and-Tans was at its height, reading intentity the "Evening Herald." I thought he was reading of the latest ambush, but I discovered that he was studying the adventures of Mutt and Jeff! "I couldn't go home," he explained, smiling, "If I wash't ready to discouse with the children the latest Mutt and Jeff! "I couldn't go home," he explained, smiling, "If I wash't ready to discouse with the children the latest Mutt and Jeff! "I couldn't go home," he explained, smiling, "If I wash't ready to discouse with the children the latest Mutt and Jeff! "I couldn't go home," he explained, smiling, "If I wash't ready to discouse with the children the latest Mutt and Jeff! "I couldn't go home," he explained, smiling, "If I wash't ready to discouse with the children the latest Mutt and Jeff! "I couldn't go home," he explained, smiling, "If I wash't ready to discouse with the children the latest Mutt and Jeff! "I couldn't go home," he explained, smiling, "If I wash't ready to discouse with the children the latest Mutt and Jeff! "I couldn't go home," he explained, smiling, "If I wash't ready to discouse with the children the latest Mutt and Jeff! "I couldn't go home," he explained, smiling, "If I wash't ready to discouse with the children the latest Mutt and Jeff! "I couldn't go home," he explained, smiling, "If I wash't ready to discouse with the home of the carry latest was in the brooked twas in the problem, was set up. To clause which he such the giant was in the was not be got that the giant was in the was the to be got out? Griffith had high hopes of that Boundary Clause which he such the giant was in the was the to be got out? Griffith had high hopes of that Boundary Clause which he such the giant was in the giant was in the problem, was entirely new. How was he to be got out? Griffith had high hopes of that Boundary Clause which he such the g

the late Chief Justice, Hugh months just before the Truce Kennedy, whose profound learning and legal genius guided and directed the architects of the New particularly for the gallant bands did the British Government seek with grim determination. to interfere with the document or

loss of the two men. Griffith and

As a nation of ancient lineage, with her own nationality and special racial characteristics and traditions, and as a mother country whose children were scat-tered all over the globe and exercised vast influence in widely-separated countries, Ireland fought welfare of his associates. Treaty status entry into the inter-



he understood best.

element—an army. The I.R.A. ON the 6th December, 1921, the statt recopied under the Anglo-Irish conflict had reinforced the old instruments, the local and municipal hodges which the making of the Treaty. were times of hectic excitement for the Irish people and more State in their planning of its of Irish Volunteers who kept the

FREEDOM

tilities. But I wonder will the rue character of Michael Collins, count anecdotes that should gardhat dynamic personality that land his memory. countrymen? Contemporary Gavan Duffy, and Robert Barton, to huge crowd of Irish writers have from time to time Gavan Duffy, and Robert Barton, to huge crowd of Irish Preoccupation Collins, yet they seem to have tions. He was quite persistent in and as the cars filed in they knelt with the multi-falled to grasp or portray the his attitude that it was not his job and said prayers.

That same evening I that the

founders of the HIS COURAGE MADE State, Arthur THE WEAK STRONG

thought of the prospect of a satis-Michael Collins, prevent the new I possess such an amazing per- in London, it may be mentioned

for and obtained by right of her FUN AT THE HEIGHT OF

THE DANGER

Happy Warrior, Born Leader

MICHAEL COLLINS

From the painting by Leo Whelan, R.H.A.

Born Clonakilty, Co. Cork. First Commander-in-

Chief of the Free State Army and head of the

Provisional Government. Killed at Bealnablath,

Institutions, that "in no respect fight alive, meeting every obstacle natural exuberance would find an had learned most from the other outlet. There are others who had I had seen quite a lot of Cope, the led up to the cessation of hos-till ties. But I wonder will the longer and more intimate associa, because we were opposite number

GUN WAS SPOTTED

pen-pictures of represent Ireland in the negotia- massed around the street entrance

plicity of internal problems did not, nor did the tragic personality and born leader of men.

Tailed to grasp or portray the institude that it was not it at the door of Number 10

As showing how little was I was "under fire" by a barrage of cameras. Little did I know at the time that the real interest was in the butt of a '45 Service revolver, which protruded from my hip pockets-not exactly the type of brief case to bring to a Peace Conference.

It would be difficult to describe the constant flow of visiting wellwishers to Irish headquarters at Cadogan Gardens and Hans Place, or the amount of work that was put through by the Secretariat, but I feel I must comment upon the daily report that was framed each evening and return to Dublin by that was not immediately reported

THE STRAIN OF DIFFICULT DAYS

AT times, there was tension in our midst according as meet-To Devlin's and Vaughan's he was a frequent visitor; when he put in an appearance he gave all through the stood in readiness all through the nis attention for a time with each of those for whose presence he had crossing to the control of the cont Work, was completed, and the team ings proved more and more difficult. CROSSING TO THE Yet of all Michael Collins's friends, I believe there was none closer or LONDON TALKS dearer to him than Diarmuid, with

REMEMBER the crossing to

London with Michael Collins: harmony. Like Collins, O'Hegarty he had not accompanied the Dele- was a brilliant and indefatigable gation, but travelled with me the

whom he always worked in perfect

Connell O'Hegarty and myself When we were seated at the Conference table I found we were confronted by a most formidable line-up, consisting of Winston Churchill, Sir Laming Worthington Evans, Admiral Lord Beatty, Air Marshal Trenchard, Captain Evans ("Evans of the Broke"), and several others, including some

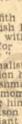
technical experts. It appeared to me that our side could have done with some reserves. However, what we lacked in num-bers was balanced by the dominant courage and determination of our

leader. When the final decisions were taken and the delegates returned to Dublin in triumph, their ardour was soon dampened by the unpredictable attitude adopted by Mr. de valera, he seemed to change from day to day. Poor Collins! How he must have suffered during the Treaty debates in University Col-

His one dread was the possibility of a split in the Volunteers, and he was prepared to go to almost any length to avoid this.

The final outcome is a page in Ireland's history that other unbiassed pens can write. For me, there will always be a feeling that the Treaty of 1921 if accepted in the right spirit could have been used to obtain more than the partial freedom now secured, and without the blot that mars the fine name of veland.

The Civil War that followed the Dail's acceptance of the Treaty could have been, and should have been, avoided. Most of the survivors on both sides have agreed with me in this conviction.



Law in Ireland

What He and

Collins Won

IN the subsequent fighting years.

Griffith

good music, good pictures, good

Forty-Foot, a walk

ilk, good friends, good drink,

too many Irishmen.

He had all an old style Dublinman's chivalry. He once horse-whipped a disreputable journalist who had said a word against Maud Gonne. He was in the years I knew him a typical Dublin Catholic also, that is as good as any in the world. He could give reasons for the Faith that was in him.

wasn't ready to discuss with the

Total Indifference
To Money
His was the policy which as tracted a small number, which was the policy which as tracted a small number of the tracted as mall number of the tracted as mall

said to them, when he found this

Such was Griffith the man, so

THE MEN WHO SIGNED FOR **IRELAND**

Two are now living: George Gavan Duffy, now President of the High Court, and Robert C. Barton, now Chairman of the Agricultural Credit Corporation.



Arthur Griffith



Michael Collins





E. J. Duggan



Robert C. Barton



The Story Of The Famous Debate

IN the Latest News column of the Irish Independent of December the 6th, twenty-five years ago there appeared the message: "Agreement for Irish Peace. The Conference has

reached an agreement."

It was the climax of five months of negotiations, beginning with meetings between Mr. Government under Griffith and Lloyd George and Mr. de Valera Collins, if set up, would be looked upon as an usurpation. "I cannot do anything that would make the trish people hang their heads."

effect of it was that the members of the delegation who signed the Treaty were plenipotentiaries and they were not plenipotentiaries; they had "full plenary powers to negotiate," but "whatever arrangements they arrived at would have to be submitted to the Dail for ratification." He mentioned the possibility of a private session. Michael Collins protested that the Irish people, "who are our masters, have a right to know."

There was some quibbling about the Delegates' powers. Collins scattered the mist by producing the

the Delegates' powers. Collins scattered the mist by producing the tered the mist by producing the credentials signed by Eamon de Valera appointing the delegates as cover plening and the credentials. de Valera appointing the delegate as envoys plenipotentiary "to negotiate and conclude on behalf of Ireland with the representatives of His Britannic Majesty a treaty or January 3. In the interval, heaps

A JOURNALIST WHO WAS

and ending with discussions between the English Cabinet and the Irish Plenipotentiaries.

On the next day Arthur Griffith, who had led the Irish Plenipotentiaries, said in a message to the public: "The proposals put our future in our own hands."

Another day passed and then came Mr. de Valera's effort to turn the tide of public opinion before the Dail met to consider the Treaty. He issued a statement in which he said: "I cannot recommend the acceptance of this Treaty either to Dail Eireann or to the country," adding that he was supported by the Minister of Home Affairs (Austin Stack) and the Minister of Defence (Cathal Brugha).

Swift and clear came Griffith's reply: "I have signed a Treaty of peace between Ireland and Great Britain. What I have signed I shall stand by."

The stage was set for one of the tragedies of Irish history.

ANXIOUS PEOPLE

Within a week the great Debate.

ANXIOUS PEOPLE

Within a week the great Debate opened. On the 14th December the members of the 15th December the members of the delegation who signed the 15th December the members of the delegation was that the members of the deleg

Historic Group Of First Dail

(Taken in Dublin on the 10th April, 1919.)



Front row (from left)—Laurence Ginnell, Michael Collins, Cathal Brugha, Arthur Griffith, Eamon de Valera, Count Plunkett, Eoin MacNeill, William Cosgrave, Ernest Blythe. Second row-P. Moloney, T. McSwiney, Richard Mulcahy, J. O'Doherty, J. O'Mahony, J. Dolan, J. McGuinness, P. O'Keeffe, Michael Staines, Joseph McGrath, Dr. B. Cusack, Liam De Roiste, W. Colivet, Rev. Father O'Flanagan. Third row—P. Ward, A. McCabe, D. Fitzgerald, J. Sweeney, Dr. Hayes, C. Collins, P. O'Maillie, J. O'Mara, B. O'Higgins, J. Burke, Kevin O'Higgins. Fourth row—J. McDonogh and Sean MacEntee. Fifth row—P. Beasley, R. Barton, P. Galligan. Back row-P. Shanahan and S. Etchingham. -Lafayette.

signed solely on behalf of this to imply signed solely on behalf of this to imply complete freedom both country by Irish Ministers, and our Internal and External Affairs

when Mr. McGilligan signed the optional clause of the permanent Court at The Hague.

Such were, in broad outline, the achievements on the international front. Complete international recognition was achieved for this country well within the first decade of the life of the State.

Constitutional Status

The difficult problems dealing with our relations with the other State-members of the Commonwealth of Nations had to be considered and solved. Under the Treaty Ireland had been given the

THE TREATY DEBATE

necessary to give a short outline of some of the problems which faced the Irish delegates at those conferences.

The Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia and the Dominion of New Zealand had grown in political stature from the Colonies or dependencies of the Colonies or dependencies of the Crown to full nationhood, though never forgetting their British origin. South Africa had its proud and separate nationhood, but its Constitution was created and governed by a Statute of the British Parliament to a considerable extent limited, the considerable extent limited.

ment.
The fundamental conceptions of the old British Colonial Empire were the supremacy of the British Parliament at Westminster, the subordinate character of the legislatures of the Colonies, the unlimited power of the British Parliament to pass laws affecting the n Colonies without the consent of the a Parliament or people of the

British Control

REAT BRITAIN had exclusive control over all matters relat



Towards Nationhood

SUCH, in brief outline, was the position when the World War. position when the World War, Through Constitutional usage

and practice the Dominions were groping their way towards final nationhood. In view of their contributions and sacrifices in the First World War, their title to full nationhood could not be denied.

After the conclusion of the war, General Smuts stated that the British Empire as it existed before the war has in fact ceased to exist as a result of the war." The Dominions were accorded separate representation at the Peace Conference, and a representative of each Dominion signed the Peace Treaty on behalf of the Dominion whose representative he was, Dominion statesmen claimed that they had achieved full national and international status. British spokesmen appeared to concede the claim of full national status. No forms agreement of an authoritative character had been made defining the national and international status. No forms agreement of an authoritative character had been made defining the national and international status in the result, however, unanimity

Lunanimity

In the result, however, unanimity and points. Everything which, either in fact or law, might or might appear to derogate in any way from the principle of equality of status in the various State Members of the British Commonwealth were associated in that community of the light commonwealth of Nations was to be eliminated, if necessary by legislative action.

So far as such legislative action whose wishes alone he must act.

Links Broken

Nations' Li As Freedon Of Choice

Continued from preceding Col. | authority thereby granted t

Irish Free State were declared to be equal in status and in no way

Provisions were made for the com-ete, logical and legal application that principle of equality of

international affairs.

Thenceforward all treaties could be negotiated and signed by each member of the Community of Nations known as the British Commonwealth of Nations on its own behalf and without reference to any other member of that Community, if so desired. The legal bonds which formerly bound the fabric of the old Colonial Empire were to be entirely removed. The doctrine of the supremacy of the Parliament at, Westminster and the paramount power of its statute law was placed under sentence of elimination.

THE detailed and practical appliequality so declared and defined, were considered at a Conference held at London in the Autumn of Shipping Legislation, was guided not merely by the technical views of constitutional lawyers, but its Common wealth of Nations. was fashioned, moulded and controlled by political inspiration

The generous help and sustained ractical sympathy given to the Dominion had separately practical sympathy given to the efforts of the Irish delegation at this and all other Imperial Conferences, by the late Dr. O. D. Skelton, Canadian Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, cannot be overstated or ever sufficiently appresiated or ever sufficiently appresiated. stated or ever sufficiently appre-

The report of this Conference made manifest the inconsistency between the position of full equality and then existing statute law. It made recommendations for the clearing away of all laws or practices inconsistent with constitutional status, indicating the lines along which the Statute of Westminster was subsequently prepared.

and objects of the Irish Delegation and objects of the Irish Delegation were in striking contrast to the conservative attitude of the British Labour Administration.

Covernment.

In fact no power of our P. ment is in any way derived that Statute. Its significance in that it is merely the tombut erected by the British Legist over its own authority supremacy.

THE detailed and practical application of the principles of coequality so declared and defined expension of the principles of coequality so declared at a Conference the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain and Northern Ireland The delegates of the Irish Free State at that Conference, Kevin O'Higgins and myself, each corriect a full power limited territorially the week considered at a Conference of the Britain Free State at that Conference of the Britain Free State at the Irish Free S

The Veto Buried

signed the Peace Treaty of Ver-

That practice was delhe ended, and the power ould Members of the Commonw negotiate and sign treats those treaties which were into between Heads of State fully and internationally

The veto, long dead, and nevid

THE TREATY DEBATE

In the case of the departed support of the control of the cont

THE MEN WHO **SIGNED** FOR BRITAIN

Two are now alive: Winston Churchill and Sir Hamar (now Viscount) Greenwood.



Lloyd George.









Lord Birkenhead,



Sir L. Worthington-Evans.



Sir Hamar Greenwood,



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the Plims. Order from your newsagent to-day! 800IAL & PERSONAL, 12 Parilament St., Dublin.

Taoiseach's Message

"Opening Of New Era For Our People"

THE TAOISEACH, Mr. John A. Costello, in a special message to the "Sunday Independent" in connection with the coming into operation to-morrow of the Republic of Ireland Act, says:-

"To-morrow our people will be celebrating the coming into force of the Republic of Ireland Act, 1948, an enactment which secures for our State full international recognition as an independent Republic.

"I believe this historic event marks the opening of a new era for our people.

"It will end for ever all the futile political controversies that diverted so much attention from the social and economic problems which are of such immediate and urgent importance. The bitterness, hatred and dissensions that have poisoned the stream of Irish life for so long will be eliminated. All our energies can be so directed that our people will be enabled to co-operate with each other and with the Government in availing of the great opportunities which present themselves for the material development of our country.

The Tasks Ahead

"To build up the Ireland of which Irishmen at home and throughout the world may be proud, we must address ourselves to the tasks of increasing the produce of our land, improving our industrial development, eliminating unemployment, eradicating poverty and cultivating the arts so that our material welfare and distinctive culture may continue to be nourished by contributions even surpassing, if possible, those which all sections of our people have made throughout our history to the heritage Ireland enjoys to-day.

"The successful accomplishment of these aims cannot but hasten the day when the re-unification of Ireland will be

The President



PRESIDENT O'KELLY

in his uniform as a Volunteer officer in 1918. It is fitting that he should be first President of the internationally-recognised Republic of Ireland, for since the days of his youth, both at home and abroad, he has worked in the cause of Irish freedom and independence.

REMEMBRANCE

On that far day when Pearse's gallant band Seized on the centre of a sleeping land, And unbelieving Dublin saw unfurled The Flag defiant to an angry world, They sought not glory neither craved for fame, But poured their blood to cleanse a nation's shame.

Men called them fools (myself among the rest) And cursed them for their dark and ill-timed jest, And watched with bitter hope the rising flame Burn nearer to erase their very name, Gave unsought tribute to the foreign host Which came to break the rebels' idiot boast That Ireland lived - no more a bloodless ghost.

But, as embattled Banba stood at bay And glowing night gave place to darkened day, And as they witnessed th'Imperial might Checked in its rush as day succeeded night, Gave grudging praise, wrung from the sullen heart, To those who practised still the hero's art.

At length the whilom Mistress of the Sea O'emchelmed the tiny rock that would be free, Cast into lime the bodies of the few Whose souls had striven to make their land anew; Prisoned the many, fashioned then the lie Against the helpless dead - and stifled the reply.

Yet as the long-forgotten seed doth grow Beneath the earth men trample, even so From this Spring sowing sprang the Autumn corn Of freedom and a nation's life reborn.

They made no bargain, haggled not for price, But sternly willing made the sacrifice. They kept their tryst with Death, and kept their trust, Their names resplendent though their swords be rust: Even as those beneath the distant sky Where Leonidas and the Spartans lie.

And for their souls we pray the Lord of all Who, having paid the eric of the Fall, Wrote with His Hand, pierced by the Roman doom, That Epitaph of Death - the Empty Tomb.

......

M. A. MacCONAILL

"Left Turn, The G.P.O.-Charge!"

REPUBLIC

Desmond Ryan, well-known author, has written "The Rising —The complete story of Easter Week," and to-day the "Sunday Independent," by special arrangement, gives the first of a series

of short extracts. Desmond Ryan was a pupil at Padraic Pearse's school, acted as Pearse's secretary, and took part in the fighting at the G.P.O. in 1916. He has written biographies of Pearse, Connolly, de Valera and John Devoy, and a novel on the career of Michael

"The Rising" is the first full history of the 1916 Rising. It is published by Golden Eagle Books, Standard House, Pearse St., Dublin, at 12/6.

A S noon was striking, the Column from Liberty Hall turned out of Abbey Street and wheeled to the right across O'Connell Street. Lieutenant Chalmers, 14th Royal Fusiliers, who was enter-ing the Post Office at that moment, turned to a friend, and remarked contemptuously: "Just look at that awful crowd. They must be on a route march."

Connolly, in his dark green uniform, marched at the head, Joseph Plunkett at his left, Pearse on his right, and, beaind them, a mixed body of Citizen Army men and Volun-

Among the Volunteers, under the leadership of George Plunkett, were some fifty men of the Kimmage Garrison, armed with pikes and shotguns, and some twenty exiles, under Frank Thornton, from North Frederick Street.

In all, the column numbered about a hundred and fifty men. all dangerously and incredibly overloaded with an assortment of weapons and implements,

In Civilian Clothes

Many carried two rifles, a sledge-hammer and pick; not all wore dark green or grey-green uniforms, their Sunday or workauniforms their Sunday or worka-day clothes were crossed with bundoleer straps and haversacks, while there was a great display of yellow armlets on left sleeves Brennan Whitmore and Michael Collins were near the front ranks. Somewhere in the rear lumbered two drays, packed with Howth Mausers, shotguns, miniature rifles, Sniders, Martinis, Lee-Enfields, pikes, explosives, boxes Enfields, pikes, explosives, boxes of crude bombs made from tin cans or lengths of piping.

A closed cab crammed to bursting with war material joited along too. Tom Clarke and Sean MacDermott were to the fore, and Winifred Carney, Connolly's secretary, the only woman among

The O'Rahilly was speeding in its car, packed with as fine a selection of arms and explosives as he could gather in a hurry. to this muster, because, as he phrased it. "I have helped to wind up the clock, and must be there to hear it strike."

Connolly's Order

When the column reached the G.P.O. portico, white-faced and hostile Chalmers, with his querulous eyes, and still scoffing and gaping, Connolly halted his men with a sudden passionate and strident shout: "Left turn, the G.P.O.—Charge!"

There was a wild cheer, a flourish of the Kimmage pikes, a wilder rush as the ranks broke and hurled themselves through the main entrance in any order at all with a salvo of revolver shots in the air.

There were no more than seventy men now. The rest, in sections, were seizing other posts in the area. By Pearse's order, Michael Staines and a party rushed through the main half and made for the upper storeys at once to overcome the guard. Shots could be heard somewhere upstairs. Staines was challenged by a guard of seven soldiers, who

Story of the 1916 Rising and merace, green, and the centre, in Celtic letters, half-gold, half-white, IRISH REPUBLIC.
In a pause, as order emerges within Compally strides out into

covered him with their rifles. Staines fired on the sergeant in charge, who fell, not very seriously wounded, merely a grazed forehead, which stunned him. The Volunteers rushed on the guard with a determined fury, waving their revolvers and daring them to fire. The guard surrendered at once. It was some obvious ammunitien for their rifles.

People Surprised On the main floor, near the entrance, there was a wild panic rush of stupefied holiday-makers, into coats as they hurried out with red startled faces; a few policemen. Connolly's voice, still harsh and excited, could be heard through the building. calling on all men and women

IRISH

strikes in full confidence of victory.

to which it is called.

her children to her flag and strikes for her freedom.

of its welfare, and of its exaltation among the nations.

of peace and leisure to leave, and leave at once. Lieutenant Chalmers bandied

indignant words with Plunkett. Brennan Whitmore and Michael Collins outside on the very steps. Abruptly a group of Volunteers selzed him. A bayonet in front, a pike behind a levelled revolver, a laugh from Michael Collins, a same of the foot of the foot of elephone box at the foot o

Out through the doors tramped a dozen officials with their hands over their heads, and, with a jest from their captors, they formed the spectators, despite jocose offers from the Volunteers of hospitality and guns and assurances that the insurgent post-

Rifle butts crashed through glass at sides and front as

POBLACHT NA H EIREANN.

THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

Having organised and trained her manhood through her secret revolutionary

IRISHMEN AND IRISHWOMEN: In the name of God and of the dead generations

from which she receives her old tradition of nationhood, Ireland, through us, summons

organisation, the Irish Republican Brotherhood, and through her open military

organisations, the Irish Volunteers and the Irish Citizen Army, having patiently

perfected her discipline, having resolutely waited for the right moment to reveal

itself, she now seizes that moment, and, supported by her exiled children in America

and by gallant allies in Europe, but relyin in the first on her own strength, she

the unfettered control of Irish destinies, to be sovereign and indefeasible. The long usurpation of that right by a foreign people and government has not extinguished the

right, nor can a ever be extinguished except by the destruction of the Irish people. In

every generation the Irish people have asserted their right to national freedom and sovereignty; six times during the past three hundred years they have asserted it in

arms. Standing on that fundamental right and again asserting it in arms in the face of the world, we hereby proclaim the Irish Republic as a Sovereign Independent State,

and we pledge our lives and the lives of our comrades-in-arms to the cause of its freedom,

Irishman and Irishwoman. The Republic guarantees religious and civil liberty, equal

rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens, and declares its resolve to pursue

the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation and of all its parts, cherishing all

the children of the nation equally, and oblivious of the differences carefully fostered

by an alien government, which have divided a minority from the majority in the past.

permanent National Government, representative of the whole people of Ireland and

elected by the suffrages of all her men and women, the Provisional Government, hereby

constituted, will administer the civil and military affairs of the Republic in trust for

Whose blessing we invoke upon our arms, and we pray that no one who serves that

cause will dishonour it by cowardice, inhumanity, or rapine. In this supreme bour

the Irish nation must, by its valour and discipline and by the readiness of its children

to sacrifice themselves for the common good, prove itself worthyof the august destiny

JAMES CONNOLLY.

This is a reduced facsimile of the Proclama'ion of the Irish Republic issued on Easter

Monday, April 24, 1916. The seven signatories were all executed.

P. H. PEARSE.

Until our arms have brought the opportune moment for the establishment of a

We place the cause of the Irish Republic under the protection of the Most High God.

Signed on Behalf of the Provisional Government,

THOMAS J. CLARKE.

SEAN Mac DIARMADA, THOMAS MacDONAGH,

EAMONN CEANNT.

JOSEPH PLUNKETT

The Irish Republic is entitled to and hereby claims, the allegiance of every

We declare the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland, and to

Connolly's voice inside rasped

"Smash those windows, and fortify them, and barricade the The task of building up the

interior defences strained the capacity of the small force in the new roomy fortress. The Volun-Yet, even now, the plan shaped. Yet, even now, the plan shaped. Plunkett unrolled a map and showed Brennan Whitmore a circle of positions around the city, already captured if all had gone as in the headquarters. Over the Post Office floated the flags of the Republic.

A New Flag

High over Prince's Street corner breaks a strange new banner of unmistakable import, inspiration

In a pause, as order emerges Roll, drums, roll within, Connolly strides out into the yard and looks up at the floating green and gold, at rising

barricades, at groups in the windows opposite and on every vital corner, at the coming and going of small, armed parties. He smiles genially, and says to a friend with simple enthusiasm; "Isn't it grand?" Tricoloured scroll As good company to Hibernia, Mercury and Fidelity aloft on the pediment. Volunteers hoist Re-

Roll, deunis, voll Exultant, throbbing beats then lurking weather-beaten their triangular tympanum. Rap-rapping! Trumpets add

Down in the vast street, dazed, unsympathetic, half-hostile crowds ebb and flow before the head-quarters of revolt, wildly talking and speculating citizens, scentical for the most part that there is for the most part, that there is much in this revolution, some giving it half an hour until the British come, others planning loot, here and there a few onlockers heart and soul with the defiant leap in the dark.

Some Cheers

It was just before 3 p.m. as the flags went up. Volunteers and Fianna officers and Kimmage garrison men, led by Joe Gleeson, completed the work. Some cheers came from the street. Stephen MacKenna, for one, watches the flags go up against the clear blue sky. MacKenna, scholar and Republican, friend of Synge and Pearse alike, had fought for the Greeks in 1897, and seen the Russian revolution of 1905 at first-hand as a war correspondent, yet no moment of his life moved him so much as this fulfilment of the dream of years. Half-crippled with rheumatism, he limped along on a stick, cursing the fate that forbade him to dash



Desmond Ryan

m and ask for a gun, his two dark volcanic eyes in a trance, a trance that lasted all that day.

Five hours later, the poet, Austin Clarke, found him there still with his eyes on the floating tricolours and the armed men seen dimly behind sandbags at the windows. Then all the passion and turmoil of his mind broke out in two words to Clarke, two words only: "At last!"

Later, MacKenna told his friend, Thomas McGreevy, that the vigil broke his patience, and he made his way into the build-ing and asked to be taken to Pearse. Wildly he asked to share Pearse. Wildly he asked to share in the insurrection, and be given any task. Pearse was deeply touched, for MacKenna was an old and close friend, but he saw that the pallid-faced and helpless man should be at home in bed. He was courteous and evasive until MacKenna's insistence overdame him, and he said: "Well, then, we might seat you on an armchair at one of the upper windows, and then, when the British break in, perhaps you could light the fuses of some of those grenades you see, and drop

Easter Monday, 1949

A sombre, muffled flow Of quickly-gathered low Tap-tapping! Trumpets wed Soft, solemn, muted notes That tryst awhile where floats The symbol of a pride In dead who have not died-Of glory!-Roll Drums, roll!

Of sticks on tautened sheets To rumbling tympani A brazen symphony Still life and living who Gave us that they Give us this Day-

Drums, roll away! J. F. MURPHY.

burst out laughing, exclaimed: "Hell!" shook hands with Pearse for the last time, and went home to write one of the most vividintimate, and truthful pamphlets ever written on the 1916 leaders: ("Memories of the Dead," published over the pseudonym "Martin Daly.").

Read Proclamation

Yet Mackenna, in his long wait, saw the birth of the insurrection with amazing detachment for so sympathetic an observer. He listened to Pearse read the Proclamation of the Republic, pale and cold of face, to an indifferent crowd and "a few thin, perfunctory cheers." Mackenna recorded later that he "felt sad" functory cheers." MacKenna recorded later that he "felt sad" for Pearse as he read without evoking any popular enthusiasm whatever; on the contrary, "the response was chilling."

And yet the Proclamation that Pearse read was one of the great documents of Irish history, and, as he concluded. Connolly clasped his hand and cried out "Thanks be to God, Pearse, that we have lived to see this day!"

The Proclamation was then posted up outside the building, and small groups of Volunteers gathered round another copy in the main hall within, and read the message beneath the deep black capitals. COPYRIGHT.

(To be Continued Next Sunday.)





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THE PERSONALITY OF MICHAEL COLLINS his much talked of speech in W. Cork before the election gave the correct and only possible interpretation of the Pact.

A MISINFORMED ARTICLE

To the Editor "Irish Independent." Sir-In the current issue of a Dublin periodical is an article from the pan of "Sceilg," in the course of which he describes Mr. Collins as a comrade, but betrays a profound ignorance of the man and his career. He quite unnecessarily lauds personal friends, and does all he can to besmirch the character of a man gone to his eternal reward that he would not dare stand up to in the flesh.

He substantially describes Michael Col-lins as a nonentity, selfish, lacking in physical courage, and somewhat of a poli-tical adventurer who swept across an im-portant page of Irish history without doing any permanent good for the country.

It is impossible in the course of a short article to refute the statements and suggestions contained in Mr. O'Kelly's tirade, but as one who knew Mr. Collins intimately, both privately and publicly, for over sixteen years, I feel it a duty to contradict the mis-statements of a hostile prejudiced pen. It has been variously stated that Mr. Collins came over from London tradict the missiscenter that Mr. Collins came over from London in 1915 to evads conscription into the British Army, and first became associated with the Republican movement in 1916. Mr. O'Kelly says he came over as one of hundreds who returned then for a similar reason. This is not true.

THE LR.B.

Mr. Collins had been in the Irish Republican Brotherhood since the 9th November, 1909, sworn in by me at a meeting in London on that date, and he returned to Ireland in February, 1918, when he received orders from the late Comdt. Thomas McDonach through me to do so. I met him at the North Wall on his arrival, and he stayed with me for some time after hirsturn. Before his leaving London he was not in a stockbroker's cince, but was employed in an American financial house.

He told his employer the day before he

ployed in an American financial house.

He told his employer the day before he left for Ireland that he was coming over to "join up," which was true, and which he did, and was given a bonus of £10 in notes in recognition of efficient sorvice. At the Bank of England he had those notes converted into gold, which he gave for astional purposes to Sean Modermott, with whom he had been intimately acquainted for over seven years previously.

He had not been accommodated in as

He had not been accommodated in an auditor's office here, and then moved on to another auditor's office. He did, however, secure a reference from an auditor friend for whom he did a few small jobs, and sought an appointment from another tirm, but was asked by the latter why he was not in the British army, to which he cultably replied in forcible language.

NATIONAL AID ASSOCIATION.

NATIONAL AID ASSOCIATION.

The National Aid Association is mentioused, as is also the Volunteer Dependents' Fund of 1918, and well we know the men who did anything for the latter. The amalgamated bedy, of which I was one of the hon, secretaries, is hardly entitled to the self-praise that Mr. O'Kelly gives it, for his memory is very short if he cannot call to mind the amount of diseatisfaction that was manifested and which took organized shape when cheques sent to men just released from jail were returned with a request to grant an inquiry into the administration of the fund generally. This request was refused, notwithstanding the fact that Mr. Collins strongly favoured it. Mr. Collins during his term of office acted as chief executive officer, and did all socretarial work, critical and otherwise.

Mr. O'Kelly says: "The general instinct told us we must leave our offices and move to our auditor's, and then Mr. Collins was arrested, ste." Mr. Collins was arrested on O'Connell Bridge before there was a word of our moving, and it was not o' our general instinct" but Mr. O'Kelly and his colleagues that rushed the

change without awaiting a meeting. It was this action which decided Collins to minch with the Association, for he felt that the executive left him in the lurch. He gave bail on orders from the Volunteers, for at that time he was the most important

gave bail on dream to the most important for at that time he was the most important man in the movment.

The assertions about Collins' selfishness are untrue and contemptible, and if the records of the National Aid were examined it would be found that Mr. O'Kelly supported the claims of others far less deserving than Collins. I was in jail when the Association was wound up, but before my arrest the executive unanimously offered a year's salary to Collins and he refused it. On that occasion Mr. O'Kelly did not object or vote against Mr. Collins receiving any benefit from the Fund. It is strange that he waited for four years to raise his objection, and only then when the man was dead.

Mr. Collins was not unknown in Ireland at the death of Tom Ashe. He was at that time engaged in reorganising the Volunteers, and had been in communication with Ashe while the latter was in Lewes Jail. He was Ashe's most intimate political friend, and it was Mick's uniform that Ashe was buried in. He had also taken part in the North Roscommon election, and it was he addressed the first public meeting in the South Longford election of 1917.

public meeting election of 1917.

PHYSICAL COURAGE.

It seems strange that Mr. O'Kelly waited until now to give expression to his approhensions of one-and-a-half years ago. Why did he not object to Collins being selected as a member of the Peace delegation? It seems a grave dereliction of public duty.

scems a grave dereliction of public duty.

Again, he lacked physical courage? I played football, hurling, and general athicties with him for years and I never saw a reliow streak in him, and it is difficult to conceive a greater courage than Collins showed by his movements during the Terror. On the occasion of the attempted rescue of Scan McKeon from Mountjoy Jail it will be remembered that the commandeered armoured car was left derelici on the Howth Rd. The occupants on their way to the city called at my house for refreshments and small changes of clothes. About half-an-hour after their departure military with armoured cars and aeroplanes were scouring the district and continued to do so on into the night.

The next morning (Sunday) Mick cycled

tinued to do se on into the night.

The next morning (Sunday) Mick cycled out to my house to make inquiries, and temained for a couple of hours. I welked with him down to Drumcondra, and just before parting we heard the shots of ambushes at the Canal bridge and Ballybough Rd. Mick listened for a moment, mounted his bicycle and cycled towards the Canal bridge, saying as he went. "I must see what they are up to." If that was not cenuins courage, well, nothing is. But true courage, however, can only be appreciated by those who have taken great risks themselves. risks themselves.

WEST CORK.

Again, not 24 hours before his death he Again, not 24 hours before his death he was in the company of a friend in Victoria. Hotel, Cork, who revised him not to go into W. Cork, as he had his officers to do the work. His reply was that he would ask nobody so where he was not prepared to go himself. He was quite well aware of his danger, for in Schobereen within an bour of his death a friend remarked, "You are wonderful, hick, to have come from Dublin and not killed yet," which brought forth the reply, "You do well to add not yet."

not yet."

The last of the many insinuations against Collins is the manner in which he is alloged to have disbonoured his signature to the Peace Pact. This has a personal interest for me, for though I have been all my life associated with the Republican movement I stood as an independent candidate at the last election. I did so in the full and certain knowledge the Clause IV. was material to the past—it being specifically agreed to by Collins and De Velera that this clause would provide the new Government's working majority. I saw documentary proof of this, and Collins in

possible interpretation of the Pact.

It is true that Mr. O'Kelly's friend, Art O'Brien, has always been a good Irishman and a straightforward, honourable man, but he was not, as is suggested, ever Collina's schior in the National movement, and until quite recently he was not even a comrade. The head of the Irish Nationalists in London was a man whose name is very seldom mentioned, but P. S. O'Hegarty, the present Scarctary of the Irish Post Office, was their brains and driving force. The latter was considered by many to be, mest to Arthur Griffith, the greatest thinker and writer the whole moveing force. The latter was considered by many to be, next to Arthur Griffith, the groatest thinker and writer the whole movement produced. It seems as great a tragedy as the death of Collins or Griffith that this man is not only outside the Government but outside the Parliament as

If, however, he does not receive the recognition his talents and national record entitle him to, he will probably escape the uncharitable and misinformed criticism of mushroom Republicans, of oriticism of mushroam Republicans, of which Michael Collins is now the victim. P. BELTON (Solfield Park, Drumcondra).

EXHUMATION REFUSED

OF CLONDALKIN VICTIMS' BODIES

We learn-although we were unable to obtain official confirmation of it—that the application for an order for the exhumaapplication for an order for the exhuma-tion of the three bodies of the Cloudalkin victims, Joseph Rogers, Brendan Holohan, and Edwin Hughes has been refused.

and Edwin Hughes has been refused.

The circumstances which led up to the application for the order, which was made by counsel for the next-of-kin, were substantially as follows.—On the fourth day of the inquest, Oct. IS, evidence was given by a teaching student named Eugene McGowan, Graigue House, East Wall, in the course of which he stated that, though he did not then know their full names, he identified two men as Holohan and Hughes, who, he stated, were standing on the path at Clonliffe Ed. with their hands up.

hands up.

The rebutting evidence was to the effect that the three men arrested at that place were brought to Wellington Barracks, and were produced at the inquest.

were produced at the inquest.

Counsel for the next-of-kin then made application for an adjournment in order to enable him to apply for an order for the exhumation of the bedies, so that they might be viewed by M'Gowan in order to ascertain whether he could ideptify them as the man whom he had seen with their hands up.

THAT LETHARGIC FEELING.

The discomfort that is caused by loss of appetite, colic, headache and lassitude, or disturbed sleep is simply and gently removed by treatment with a short course of Rubinat Llorach, a famous natural aperient mineral water, from the Spanish Pyrenees, rich in sodium sulphate, a valuable medicinal salt.

Nature's own perfect combination

able medicinal sait.

Nature's own perfect combination Rubinat Llorach has gained the confidence of dectors and patients alike. It is infinitely superior to the artificial laboratory-oreated salts and may be safely taken by children and adults.

A small wineglassful each morning brings health, happiness and cheerfulness in its train. Try a course. Begin now. Order a bottle from your chemist or stores, price 2s. 3d. and 3s. 6d. (24 doses). If unable to procure locally it will be sent, post free at the above prices, from Everett and Co., 5 I loyd's Avenue, E.C.3. Write for explanatory leaflet.

IRELAND'S ARMY

They had an army of 30,000, and were constituting a Civic Guard of about 4,000 men.

-President Cosgrave, in Dail Eireann, 1/11/22.

COUNTRY'S NAME

PRESIDENT ON DEATH OF EMMET McGARRY

The following messages of sympathy have been received by Capt. M'Garry :-

"Teighim i g-comh-bhrón leat féin agus le do mhnaoi i dthaoibh bás bhur leinbh."

-Gearóid O Suilleabhain (A.G.).

President Coegrave wrote:-" I send you and Mrs. M'Garry my heartfelt sympathy. in your great loss. If Emmet's death brings home to those responsible consciousness of their acts and some appreciation of the horrors they are perpetrating, I am sure the little boy's father and mother would willingly make the sacrifice,

" Such sad events cloud our country's name. May God grant that this is the

last of these disgraces.

"I am very sorry to learn Mrs. M'Garen is so ill. I hope she will be soon restored to health."

Comdt.-Gen. Sean O'Muirthille

"Is mor an chúis bhróin liom Emmet agus teighim i g-comh-bhron leat fhéin agus le do mhnaoi in bhur gcás

brónach. Messages were also received from a George Nicolls, T.D.; McCabe, South City Market; George Lyons; Jeffs, Dublin; Cummins, Clare St.; Mr. and Mrs. Ned O'Toole, Limerick; Major-Gen. McKeon, O Toole, Limerick; Major-Gen, McKeen, T.D.; Mrs. and Sean O'Kelly, Howth; Sam Hutchinson and John Kelly, Dublin; J. H. Kane; W. G. E. Longworth, Blackerock; Vincent Crowley, Westmorelind St., Dublin; Kettle, St. Margaret's, Dublin; Ald. Corish, T.D., Wexford; Jerry O'Suffivan, Dublin; Beviere, Dublin; Mr, and Mrs. Dunphy, Dublin; Comdt. Carter, T.D., Carrick-on-Shannon. T.D., Carrick-on-Shannon.

INSIDE VIEW

Disclosures from a private diary tell the inside story of the division of our country.

Irish Independent

MONDAY, OCTOBER 4, 1971

Price 31p



1918-1925 The Fateful Years

Vol. 80, No. 236

Partition: disclosura in secret diary

IN A MAJOR publishing enterprise this morning we begin serialisation of a compelling book that takes on a vital importance in view of current dramatic events in Northern Ireland and last week's tripartite talks in Chequers between the Taoiseach, the British Premier and the Stormont Premier.

For any discussion of the Irish Question must inevitably go back to the negotiations of 1921 and the making of the Anglo-Irish Treaty that led to the establishment of the Irish Free State,

Tom Jones, the author of this outstanding work—his Whitehall Diary—was Private Secretary to the British Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George, during tumultuous and historic days.

He had a privileged seat at the conference tables where the big decisions were taken—and he watched Griffith, Collins and the other members of the Irish delegation as the drama unfolded itself 50 years ago exactly this month, culminating with the signing of the Treaty at 2.20 a.m. on December 6, 1921.

INSIDE ACCOUNT

This is not just another book about the Treaty times. Neither is it only concerned with the Treaty. It is an insider's account of the making of British policy towards this country.

The book, to be published by Oxford University Press on October 14, covers the years 1918-'25 from the British Cabinet debate on conscription to the peaceful obsequies of the Boundary Commission, the very concept of which was charged with political dynamite.

But naturally it is the portion of the narrative that deals with the making of the Treaty which will make most appeal, we feel, to our readers—and on this portion we will be mainly concentrating.

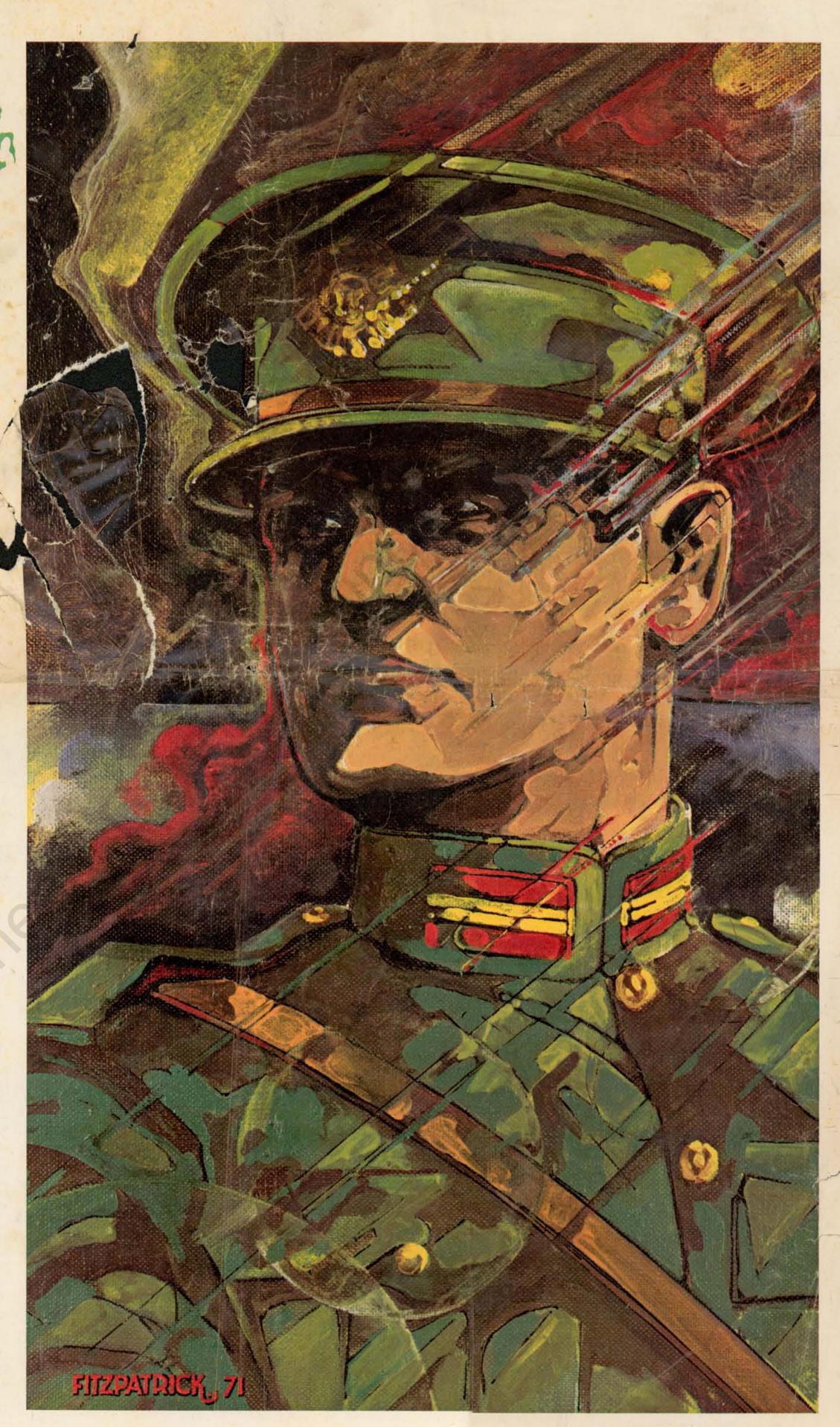
It is undoubtedly one of the most authoritative works yet published on the period, providing the sort of material about which historians dream and about which their dreams are all too ravely realised.

which their dreams are all too rarely realised.

You cannot miss reading this outstanding and graphic record of THE FATEFUL YEARS, adapted for serialisation by staff writer, RAYMOND SMITH.

This new full colour portrait of Michael Collins was specially commissioned by the Irish Independent. It is the work of Dublin-born artist Jim Fitzpatrick whose poster work has been exhibited in Ireland, London and New York. Fitzpatrick who is mainly influenced by early Celtic art and by the Irish artist Harry Clarke had this to say about his assignment: "It presented a special challenge to me. My admiration for Collins is unshakeable despite the fact that, had I been alive at the time of the Treaty, I would have opposed it. The portrait shows, I hope the truly heroic figure that Collins was—the only great Irish leader to emerge after Pearse and Connolly. While the portrait is slightly academic it does, I hope, reflect the qualities Collins possessed."

TURN NOW TO PAGE TWO



Collins . . . orator, soldier and statesman





British fifty years ago this autumn that the Northern Ireland Parliament which they had created would never function properly because, as he put it-"400,000 people when dragged in would not obey it".

The warning from Collins came during the fifth session of the Treaty negotiations in 10 Downing Street, London, on October

"The present Six Counties implies coercion," said Collins. "South Down and East Down, South Armagh, Fermanagh and Tyrone will not come into Northern Ireland and it is not fair to ask them to come into it. We are prepared to face the problem itself -not your (Britain's) definition of it."

When one of the British delegation referred to the 50,000 Protestants in Dublin, Arthur Griffith replied: "I have yet to meet the Dublin Protestant who wants to come into the Northern Ireland Parliament."

Before this fifth session the Irish delegation had consulted with their colleagues in Dublin and had received what was termed the "Uister clause"-that is, that the North and come under the Dublin Parliament; alternatively, it would retain its own Parliament in a subordinate status, with overriding powers transferred from London to

Lloyd George (British Prime Minister): What was your proposition about Ulster?

Mr. A. Griffith: If you stand aside we will give these people a fair proposal, in the 6 County Area. Let them vote; take the unit of 1918 or other electoral unit and ask them do they want to come to us or stay in Northern Ireland. We are prepared to reason with them and perhaps obviate a vote; if they retuse, to give free choice to the people in the area. You must stand aside.

Mr. Chamberlain: Is your proposition 'if the Ulster men refuse, then we are to cease to stand aside'7

Mr. A. Griffith: No. If we come to an agreement here, we will try and reason. If we cannot agree, then we must give a choice and the British Government must say 'That at least you must do.' Prime Minister: Would you do that to

Ulster as a whole? (i.e. 9 Counties).

Mr. A. Griffith: If they know they have you behind them in any unreasonable attitude they take up, they will keep difficult.

Mr. Churchill: What is the option you put to them?

Prime Minister: The basis of 1918 constituency or Poor Law unit.

Mr. A. Griffith: Not the 1920 unit because it was gerrymandered.

Prime Minister: Suppose it is 9

Counties, Province as unit? Mr. Churchill: Would you not, on your

plan, get a piebald result? Mr. M. Collins: You speak of Great Britain stepping out, but you are not stepping out, because you have set up a boundary already. That is not letting us

Prime Minister: The logical unit would have been Ulster. Your predecessors said that was unfair because of the homogeneous Catholic population in North-West Ulster. We made a compromise; no compromise is

logically defensible. Mr. Gavan Duffy: Tyrone and Fermanagh are going to be difficult for Northern Ireland. There is an Irish problem of Ulster which we ought to be able to settle. The English problem of Ulster which it is up to you to proclaim [is] that the setting up of this present area cannot be justified, and that the principle of no coercion of Ulster should apply to Tyrone and Fermanagh. If the Orange areas knew that under no circumstances were they to be able to retain Tyrone and Fermanagh-the moment they know that the principle of no coercion of Ulster is to be applied all round, it would be much easier for us. Belfast is too important for us to try to antagonise it. It is for you to take the first step.

Mr. A. Griffith: Except in the case of Belfast, the capital towns of the 6 counties

Partition 1: If our people are attacked they must defend themselves the great

are controlled by us, namely Antrim, Derry, Omagh, Enniskillen, Armagh, Newry.

Prime Minister: Instance the constituency of South Tyrone for which Mr. Coote is member.

Mr. M. Collins: The fight on partition would not be on party lines.

Lord Birkenhead refe 600,000 Unionists distributed throughout the South of Ireland.

Mr. M. Collins: You are not putting up historic Ulster.

Lord Birkenhead: It is a logical unit. Mr. M. Collins: The present 6 counties implies coercion; South and East Down, South Armagh, Fermanagh and Tyrone, will not come in Northern Ireland and it is not fair to ask them to come in We are prepared to face the problem itselfnot your definition of it.

Prime Minister: It is not our definition, but our compromise, after much discussion with your predecessors. (All Irish history did not begin with Sinn Fein.) This was a compromise, not our proposal, but a compromise to get out of a problem which wrecks every Bill. In the main the Nationalists accepted it in 1914 and 1916. They had our credentials then and you have them now. Don't father this compromise on us.

Mr. A. Griffith: Agar-Robartes was the first to propose Partition and there was a proposal for four counties and supported by Unionists because they knew that would smash Home Rule. It was not regarded as a serious proposal

(T. C. R. Agar-Robartes, a Liberal M.P., oved an amendment to the Home Rule Bill in 1912 to exclude the four counties of Antrim. Armagh, Down and Londonderry; it was defeated by only 61 votes.) Prime Minister: We do not care in the

slightest degree where Irishmen put Tyrone and Fermanagh, but it is no use making peace with Mr. M. Collins: But you will have civil war

because nearly half the area will come into the Southern Parliament. Someone referred to the 50,000 Protestants

Mr. A. Griffith: I have yet to meet the Dublin Protestant who wants to come into the Northern Ireland Parliament

Our suggestion is - provided we reach an agreement-we are willing to bring them in and give them safeguards, but if we say we are going to hold to our present area, they must be given freedom of choice.

Lord Birkenhead: Supposing Area 'X' votes for exclusion, should you agree to it?

Mr. A. Griffith: We would give them free-dom of choice and tell Area 'X' to go to Northern Ireland to enjoy the powers they have there. Prime Minister: But what about noncontiguous areas?

Mr. A. Griffith: There we would have to do a deal in exchange (pointing to the area north-Prime Minister: That is not self-deterI do not see how you are to get out of that except by dealing yourselves with north-east Ulster, We will stand aside. Whatever agreement you come to we will give what sanction is

advantage to Ulster.

cannot agree among themselves and we must

necessity of coercing large districts into allegiance to this new North Ireland Parliament. They have made no arrangements to function,

Mr. A. Griffith: It will never function. 400,000 people when dragged in will not obey it.

Ulster have no conception of that.

Mr. A. Griffith: There is no part of Southern

Mr. Churchill: The hope I have followed is that inevitable need would make the super-Parliament important and get us out of the

Mr. A. Griffith: We see in it all the old and

Mr. A. Griffth: We cannot agree to the 6

Mr. Gavan Duffy: If Ulster knew the 6 County area was not to be retained, we could discuss then with her various solutions of the

ment we cannot leave this in doubt, (The Meeting then adjourned). Tyrone and Fermanagh

Note from P.M. to T.J. at the end of the Fifth Session: This is going to wreck settlement.

Foreign policy, neutrality

In tomorrow's instalment from the "Whitehall Diary" Tom Jones discloses that early in the Treaty negotiations Michael Collins was fighting to win full fiscal freedom and neutrality in foreign policy for an Irish Free State — a 32-county state as he hoped for at that stage of the talks.

Collins handed in what Churchill was to describe as "a formidable document" challenging as he saw it "the whole position with regard to what is vital to our (Britain's) security against attack."

During a discussion on the question of making Ireland a Republic Winston Churchill is quoted as having said: "It was Cromwell who taught them Republicanism."

mination, but a deal. That is what we had to do.

Mr. M. Collins: But you give an unfair Mr. Gavan Duffy: You are putting a premium

Mr. Chamberlain: That means that Irishmen

Mr. M. Collins: You will be faced with the

Prime Minister: That is because of this Con-ference. They would go ahead to-morrow,

Prime Minister: The people of north-east Mr. A. Griffith: When they try to tax our

people, to whom they deny all liabilities, they would be up against the toughest problem. Lord Birkenhead referred to the Southern

Ireland where they complain of their neighbours. Lord Birkenhead: They have the inconvenience of all minorities. All Government inolves minorities unless the population is

present situation. This, referring to the 1920 Government of Ireland Act.]

cunning hand of England. You have a population in Ireland of 4.400,000. You take a \(\frac{1}{2} \) and give it a Parliament and you take 1 and give it a Parlia ment; and then you take a Council and give the the same power as 4. If you proposed a Council

Prime Minister: Which would you prefer: a status quo as boundary or option for the whole of Ulster?

Mr. A. Griffith: Let the unit be the con-stituency or the Poor Law Area.

Lord Birkenhead: It is not practical to take constituency basis and make a workable

Lord Birkenhead: Not as a basis of reason, but for practical action?

Prime Minister: If we are to reach a settle-

than that they should unite with you. Arthur Griffith - All this rioting is worked up, organised, paid for, for political reasons. There are a number of men in the North of Ireland who think that by keeping up the hogey of the Pope and the Boyne, they can keep the industrial population auiet.

THIS EXCHANGE came during the Great Debate on Partition which marked the fourth session (on October 14, 1921) of the negotiations on the Anglo-Irish Treaty in London. The negotiations had opened in No. 10 Downing Street on October 11, the Irish delegation arriving at 11 a.m., Griffith being ranged opposite the Prime Minister, Llovd George and Michael Collins opposite Lord Birkenhead.

Arthur Griffith had to stall the proceedings long extraordinary things. But the enough at the fourth session most extraordinary thing of for the document on policy all was to put the most ex- have to defend themselves . . . > -

LLOYD GEORGE - They towards Ulster to arrive treme north point of Ireland (the Orangemen) are a pug- from Dublin.

J. Duggan and George Gavan Duffy.

'We cannot allow civil

war at our door'

Now Griffith quoted a nacious people with a touch of the Scotch about them which is a very stubborn

Arthur Griffith - As long ision of their country. Griffith continued: as they have your force be-"This is one of the great hind them.

obstacles we have to deal Lloyd George - We are with. If the British Governonly behind them to this exment stands aside and does tent that we cannot allow not throw its force behind Ulster we will come to an civil war to take place at our agreement but so long as doors which would embroil they feel the British Governour own pepole . . . there is nothing we would like better ment behind them there is non possumus. Northern Ireland is but a portion of Ulster. What you have done is as if some few counties in England had been separated from the rest. In the six county area there is a population of 1,251,731, of whom 820,570 are Protes- is tants, 429,161 Catholics. In

the whole of Ulster a population of 1,590,000 with Protestants 890,000, Catholics 700,000. In Antrim, Down, Derry, Armagh, there are Protestant majorities, the others are Catholic majori-

rail off a county because the minority fear the majority, Tyrone and Fermanagh are in that position. In Derry city there is an anti-partition majority. In the contiguous district in Down they do not want to be cut off from the rest of Ireland. The British Government has done some

into Southern Ireland

reply by Mr. de Valera that division is unnatural, (2) that while they did not contem it is not taking away a deplate the use of force, neither finite area, (3) to the inclus-

"We object (1) that the would they tolerate a div- ion of Tyrone and Fermanagh. Armagh and Derry would have voted against partition. The Ulster question is a Belfast city question. They imagine they have special interests contrary to the rest of Ireland. We are prepared to consider these but not to consider separation. Ulster was never eager for partition. If Ulster had not behind it the British Government backing it in any attitude it takes however unreasonable, we could settle the Ulster problem."

> Mr. Churchill: "But it was not so in 1913."

Mr. Griffith: "All this rioting is worked up, organised, paid for, for political reasons, 100 years ago the Protestants of the North of Ireland were the revolutionaries. number of men in the North of Ireland who think that by keeping up the bogev of the Pone and the Bovne they can keep the in-dustrial population quiet."

Mr. Collins: "In what you have said about Ireland and "If it were admissible to Wales there was no third party but in our case there is one which has produced a largely artificial situation. You and artificial situation. You and Northern Ireland are faced with the coercion of one-third of its area. Tyrone and Fermanagh, more than half Armagh, a great deal of Derry and a strip Antrim will go with authority they prefer and we can put this N.E. corner into the position of Vienna.

As to the use of force; if our people are attacked they will

-Collins Four of the men who signed the Treaty pictured on arrival in Holyhead in 1922: From left-Robert Barton, Arthur Griffith, Eamonn

- LLOYD GEORGE

so without elucidating some

of the points in order to see

their bearing on the funda-

mental issues of the British

the deliberations and especi-

ally having regard to the position outside. I will treat

this document as you treated

Passing over page 1, the Prime Minister began with

the paragraph on top of

page 2, "Ireland will consent

to adhere for all purposes of

"Does that mean all other

conditions being satisfactory

you are prepared to come in

freely and voluntarily within the British Empire?"

prepared to be associated".

Mr. Griffith: "Yes, we are

The Prime Minister:

New Zealand and

'Come within in the sense

point of view.

FOREIGN **POLICY** DEBATES

QUITE EARLY in the Treaty negotiations Michael Collins was fighting to win full fiscal freedom and neutrality in foreign policy for an Irish Free State. a Thirty-Two County State as he hoped for at that stage of the talks.

It showed the expanse of his thought and the depth of his vision of the Ireland he sought to

To him freedom from Britain of itself was not sufficient. While Mr. de Valera, according to General Smuts of South Africa (in his report to the British Cabinet of his mediation talks in Dublin on July 5), "seemed to live in a world of dreams, visions and shadows," Collins in Downing Street in October was hammering home to Lloyd George, Churchill and the others at the very opening session of the negotiations how a free Ireland must protect itself against the danger of dumping and why proper safeguards were needed for the country's industrial development.

When Lloyd George countered that Ireland could produce more cheaply, Collins replied: "All the cheap

want the free development of our industrial life. Is it not reasonable to give us safeguards for our develop-

The greatest debate --in the opening stages of the negotiations was on

The question of naval and air defence was discussed and it was agreed that a special Naval and Air Subcommittee be set up, pre-sided over by Winston

Churchill was to describe as formidable document," challenging as he saw it "the whole position with regard to what is vital to our (Britain's) security against

The document amounted, as Churchill put it, to British Government could part of Ireland but there may reasoned rejection of every entertain it. 1 urged Mr. be ill-will and bitterness and one of the British points and a neutrality which craft, etc.

Churchill continued: "We cannot be sure that the Irish would have power to keep an town (now Cobh) and other your proposals?" ports. I pointed out how

The Fateful Years 1918–1925

• This series is apted from Tom Jones's "Whitehall Diary" (Vol. III - Ireland 1918-'25), edited by Keith Middlemas, Lecturer in Modern History at the University of Sussex. The book is being published shortly by Oxford University Press. It has been adapted for serialisation by staff writer Raymond Smith.



William Cosgrave, Ramsay MacDonald and James Craig at Chequers in May, 1924.

replied: "All the cheap labour in Ireland would not enable us to stand up to one of those big combines." And Collins added: "We do not want to impose a tariff on Britain but we are the compose a tariff on Britain but we to impose a tariff on Britain but we tariff on Br on neutrality

destroyers would have to go pare Norway). I pointed out her whole manhood [if] the of all climes and colours and put up their names in Irish out to meet the enemy with also we could only know majority were opposed to the Collins handed in what duced by 100 miles. We have in the neighbourhood of the tary act their sending troops the support of all our naval Irish shore. We would make to the last war but S. Africa to put her resources in but experts in the view we take. representations to the neutral I pointed out that the point Irish Government. A long of neutrality raised a funda- correspondence would ensue mental issue which could not and meanwhile our ships he settled by the Sub-Committee.

to a claim of neutrality for sible safeguards he could craft she could deny her was to be guaranteed, and our demand could not be which the Irish would take, minimised in any important enemies." they said, effective means to respect, but that if they could protect by building mine be clothed in some form argument depends on your more acceptable to the Irish people I should offer no objection."

Mr. Collins: "Mr. Churchill effective neutrality. We do you not agree that if could not guarantee the con- neutrality were a greater Ireland would want to be free nationhood, (c) inside the fluence of trade in an area safeguard to you than any- to be neutral in the event of where submarines were lurk- thing else, it would be a war declared by Britain. ing unless we had Queens- greater value to you than

mines could be laid as had accept that. A completely become so to speak fully with us on equal terms our been done in the case of the honest neutrality by Ireland conscious, the South African Audacious (this battleship in the last war would have had been sunk by German been worse for us. Ireland's Cape Colony we never said forth. 'We invite you to enter mines laid in the Irish Chan- control of her neutrality that the Colony must put in that combination freely which nel in October, 1914). Our might be ineffective." (Com- all her resources and call up put in 10 millions of troops

radius of operation re- what ships were being sunk war. Similarly it was a volunwould be sunk and our food supply endangered. That is "I said that in my view no assuming goodwill on the Collins to consider what pos- if Ireland were equipped with give us and reiterated that ports to the British and afford nesting places for our

Mr. Collins: "All your security. We propose a condition which I contend is a better guarantee of security.'

Arthur Griffith had stressed at the second session that

there had been two wars Mr. Churchill: "I do not since the British Empire had War and the Great War. In

could not be neutral. She would still be at war with Germany. So it would be with Ireland. We would not be in a position to force them to hypothecate their resources. Mr. Griffith referred to

guarantees.

The P.M.: 'Unfortunately we have had experience of guarantees in the case of Germany and Belgium and but for our pressure on France there would have been a breach in 1870. That is why I say put all the rights into the present treaty. The fundamental question is are you coming in freely with (a) absolute guarantees of freedom, (b) full recognition of fraternity of free nations.' He proceeded to describe the The Prime Minister said meetings of the recent Imperial Conference where the Dominion Premiers discussed policy with the U.S.A., Japan and Egypt and so

which determined the con- on their carts and had been flict when it did thus come in. We cannot compel Canada to allow her to be neutral would be to repudiate the King's sovereignty.'

Mr. Griffith: We cannot enter freely if it is not a free choice. Personally I think your position would be tronger in time of war if Ireland were neutral." . . .

Mr. Collins: Bonar Law that the Dominions could vote themselves out of the British Empire.'

The P.M.: 'All that means is that we might not undertake military operations against the Dominions which

Mr. Churchill: 'What would happen in that case probably is civil war in that Dominion, which was the South African

Mr. Collins: 'You are asking more from us than from them in this naval business.' The P.M.: 'No.'

There was then a sudden discursion into the question the Welsh and Irish languages. The Irish giving illustrations of where men

Take the case of the

prosecuted.

The P.M .: 'We went through all that long ago.'

Mr. Griffith: 'Will foreign policy in future be under the control of the Dominions or under their partial control?'

The P.M.: 'At the recent Imperial Conference we told the Dominions that we were prepared to make arrangements for a common foreign policy. Every Dominion will have the same right to express its opinion as Great Britain. Naturally the conduct of the policy decided on must be concentrated here. Our difficulty is one of machinery owing to the great distances. It will not be so with Ireland owing to your

proximity The P.M.: "I think we ought to have a paper from Mr. Lionel Curtis shewing how Dominion status actually works."

When the British delegation met in private session at noon on October 13, 1921, gave some indication of the line he proposed to take with the Irish delegation in light of the conference he had with Admiral Beatty, Com-mander-in-Chief of the British Navy from 1916-'19 and First Sea Lord 1919-'27. What struck him, said Churchill, was the little importance attached by the Admiralty to the Irish stations.
There were a few guns at Beare Island. The Admiralty did not because it would drag us in. want Haulbowline. Beatty wanted one of two Irish stations.

The P.M.: "I hope Beatty is not thinking too much of the Grand Fleet and forgetting all

Mr. Churchill: "I will explain the need of harbours and I could say that we will give you Queenstown on the same terms as Simonstown." At this stage Mr. Churchill read the correspondence exchanged tween himself and General Smuts. not a bad model." "The P.M. approved it at the time."

The P.M .: "We need not decide now about Beare Island, etc. What we want is free use of any part of the Irish coast and the air."

Sir Gordon Hewart: "I have a memo from Mr. Jones and Mr. Curtis and shall redraft the clauses and shew to the parties concerned. I shall avoid particu-

Mr. Churchill: "It is one thing what you put in the draft. It is another what you say in conversations next week in detail. Our position is 'We must have free use of the Irish coasts in peace or war for Imperial defence." Bear Island, Oueenstown, Lough Swilly, which is used for manoeuvres and important for guarding the commerce of Liverpool, that we can arrange with the Dominion of Northern Ire-

(At the end of the meeting Mr. Churchill was told that Lough Swilly was in Donegal and not in Northern Ireland.)

The demands on Naval Defence to be put forward by the British Representatives were agreed between Churchill and Irish Government confides the responsibility for the naval defence of Irish interests on the high seas to the Royal Navy and for this purpose as well as for those of general Imperial defence places its ports, harbours and in-lets unreservedly at the disposal of the Imperial Government in

Republican reland

CROMWELL IS TO BLAME SAYS CHURCHILL

WHEN A discussion and it is not possible to do arose between the Irish and British delegations on the definition of "neu-trality", Michael Collins spoke of 'a new form of spoke of 'a new form of But it is clear we have association' — the first arrived at a critical stage of reference to the idea of External Association, which was the brainchild of Mr. de Valera, who ours, Mr. Griffith, and put saw it as saving the to you some questions upon essential Republic.

But in London the Republic was never mentioned, the British stating their whole argument in Dominion terms and they were arguing from a position of military agreed common concern". strength. Although he remained a convinced Republican, Collins was becoming increasingly dubious whether the practical difference between the Republic and Dominion status as he conceived it in all its ultimate possibilities was worth asking the Irish people to make further sacrifice for. He could not explain this new conviction to men whose principles

advanced, to be trans

with essential unity, they did

not realise that for de Valera

External Association was, on

principle, the only permissible

way out. In the end Collins

showed that he was not pre-

pared to return to Dublin

and ask the Irish people to

face renewed war for External

Association. And the British

attitude right along the line

On the morning of 24 Octo-

ber, the British held a dis-

same status as the Channel

would only provide a step-

ping-stone for future de-

ternal association were not.

The seventh session of

British-The Prime Min-

ister (Lloyd George), Mr.

don Hewart, Sir H. Green-

wood; Mr. T. Jones, Sir E.

Irish-Mr. A. Griffith, Mr.

Gavan Duffy; Mr. E. Chil-

The Irish counter-proposals

had been received at 3.20

rupted meeting had been

held at the House of Com-

mons to consider the docu-

ders, Mr. J Cartres.

ment.

negotiations began at 5.30

therefore no settlement.")

Mr. Griffith: "That is not quite our idea of association". were irrevocably pledged to The Prime Minister: "How the Republic. do you distinguish?" He could only ask himself whether he could honourably carry on in London, knowing full well that neither he nor any man in Ireland) could

Mr. Griffith: "Our general idea is that if we have such arrangements (as are set forth in the document) we would be associated with you and the Dominions. And bring back the Republic from the negotiations. To achieve decide that . . . they are the latter would mean a fight bound to you by the link of against impossible odds. the Crown . . Allegiance to the Crown

Canada?"

The P.M.: "A definition was now, under the new idea could be worked on that."

only in terms of External Griffith: "We accept the Association. While Collins Crown as 'the bond of association'." and Griffith were prepared to explore other paths consistent

The Prime Minister: "You adhere as allies?"

Mr. Griffith: "Something more than allies-not temporary but permanent allies".

Lord Birkenhead, after a reference to his interest in inter-national law said: "More than once either Mr. Griffith or Mr. Colling has dealt with the state of things which would result in time of war. I exclude cases where you would obviously be in. The word "neutrality" has been was-"No Crown and Empire, used a great deal. Our experts think it impossible to defend the main stream of commerce unless we can defend ourselves against cussion on a proposal by Tim submarines, and for that end have certain facilities in your Healy to give all Ireland the harbours. You say that a friendly neutrality would be better, but Islands. They decided to we are advised that in order to reject it, fearing that this safeguard ourselves we must have bours, but if you are neutral you cannot give it us. Therefore it would all go. I should like to know — if it is true as Lord Beatty says he will not be responsible for keeping this people. mands. Afterwards, too late for full consideration by the British, the Irish Draft Treaty A was submitted. Its alive unless we have a technical use of your harbours - what proposals for a form of exwould be the use of neutrality? Because in those circumstances on the surface, far removed no country would recognise it.

from the proffered Dominion (The Prime Minister then sugstatus, nor did it mention a gested that he and his colleagues republic. But the tone was should withdraw for consultation didactic, even haughty, and and we all went into Miss the call for England 'to re-Stevenson's room.)

nounce all claims to author-Mr. Chamberlain: "They contemplate a situation where they would not automatically be at ity over Ireland and Irish affairs', could not fail to give

Lord Birkenhead: "They will

give way on that."

The Prime Minister: "(1) They

are not to be aliens. There is to be common and interchangeable citizenship. (2) They will come into the mechanism of the Empire, into our common council to Chamberlain, Lord Birken-head, Mr. Churchill, Sir L. and their coasts. They boggled Worthington-Evans, Sir Gor- over Australia going to war. (3) they agreed in principle that we shall occupy their ports for Im-perial defence even if the exercise of that right involves war. That is a great advance. They did

M. Collins, Mr. R. C. Barton, would be chosen by them."
Mr. E. J. Duggan, Mr. Lord Birkenhead: " Lord Birkenhead: answers they have made have shaken me. It will be worth while you two (the P.M. and Chamberlain) raising the question the Crown with them and and a hurried and inter- making it plain that we cannot possibly have agreement without

> Mr. Churchill: "They have some idea of a president."

Lloyd George: "We have Lord Birkenhead: "Al these received your document but men fought for the Crown in the too late for effective con- old days."

sultation with my colleagues. Mr. Churchill: "It was Crom-I am not in a position to ex- well who taught them republicanpress any final views on it ism."

Partition 2:

'WHY MUST WE HAVE TWO PARLIAMENTS?'

and Collins, elaborated his it had defeated Gladstone. "Ulster would have defeated us too . . .

Michael Collins said: "Why did you hand out two Parliaments that no one wanted?"

Lloyd George: Attempts have been made to settle the Irish problem since 1886 on the basis of autonomy. Glad-40 years of political experience, tried to do it but he had taken it it would have settled the problem. We tried defeated Gladstone, Ulster of trained politicians saw first axiom is whatever hapthat Ulster was the stumbling block. They got the Ulster. whole force of the opposi-

he can deal out abstract tion in which she had been fessed to abhor and did stone, who was the outstand- abhor, whether for political ing figure of his time with or religious reasons. We could not do it. If we tried, the instrument would have came up against Ulster, broken in our hands. Their Joseph Chamberlain made his case was "Let us remain suggestion and if Gladstone with you". Our case was "Out you go or we fight you". We could not have from 1911 to 1913. Ulster done it. Mr. Churchill and I warned our colleagues. Mr. would have defeated us. Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Asquith Churchill and I were for the discovered it. I cannot say I Bill, Mr. Chamberlain and the discovered it because I was Lord Chancellor were op- always of that opinion. You posed. They with the instinct have got to accept facts. The

govern. You had to ask the followers would desert them native?" British to use force to put if they did. I do not say it Ulster out of one combina- is a permanent attitude. It draw your support". is a mistake to assume that for generations into another the population of Ulster for posed to come out. We begin combination which she pro- the time being is opposed to with (1) no force and are partition. It is not. I am left with the only alternative,

LLOYD GEORGE in replying tion concentrated on Ulster. in the argument of De Valera know Great Britain and the to the arguments of Griffith Ulster was arming and would as I have [heard] here this Empire. It would resolve Ulster was arming and would as I have [heard] here this Empire. It would resolve fight. We were powerless. It morning, that Ulster would itself into a religious war. own views on the Ulster is no use ignoring facts how- come in if we let her alone. You do not want to begin Question and stressed that ever unpleasant they may be. I wrote a letter during the your new life with a civil The politician who thinks war telling her to come in: war which would leave you I got her representatives over with desolation in its train. during the war and did my Therefore I am glad that we justice without reference to best to persuade them to are agreed that force is imforce around him cannot come in. They said their possible. What is your alter-

Mr. Griffith: "You with-

Lloyd George: "We pro-

Tomorrow: Behind the scenes wrangling in October, 1921, when de Valera warned the Irish delegation strictly against any form of words in an agreement with Britain, which included allegiance to the Crown. The only alternative to this, he proclaimed, was war.

glad that De Valera has come (2) persuasion without any to the conclusion which we pressure from us. We are favoured that force is not a prepared to make that clear We should have a terrible civil war and you would draw men from all parts into

the vortex of the whirlpool. pened we could not coerce There was the same strain head. He knows Ireland. I won't use force or allow it

weapon you can use. It to you. Now as to the areas. would break in your hands. We do not want to interfere managh be justified?" in any effort you make to British opinion would rather they came in. We are not Mr. Collins shakes his anxious to divide Ireland. We was felt to be handling over a

that, to union. So in Wales. If we had tried to use our Liberal majority we should have lost. That is what I am hoping you will do. Use persuasion and we will stand on one side. But until agreement you must allow the present arrangement to stand. difficult. A settlement was prevented in 1914 solely on the question of the area of these two counties. We tried to divide Tyrone and Fermanagh so as to give one side to the Protestants and one side to the Catholics. Both parties rejected it and it came to naught".

basis could Tyrone and Fer-

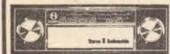
Continued on opposite page

Dominions. They all began with partition except New Zealand. Australia began with partition and W. Australia was created in my time. In S. Africa you had Natal taking the attitude of Ulster. Smuts thought up to the last moment that she would not come in owing to the strong anti-Dutch feeling. Smuts told me that if Natal had stood out, Botha and he would have gone on without Natal. So you began in Canada with Quebec and Ontario and before long got a confederation which gave a Protestant majority. Judging from precedents, confederation is bound to come to The question of the area is

Mr. Griffith: "On what

Lloyd George: "The real unit as Ulster. It was an old

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of it there to listen to.



'Why must we have two Parliaments?'

large Catholic population to the control of the Protestants. There was almost an agreement for the partition of Ulster. Therefore we had to get a new unit and there was a discussion as to carving out Protestant areas from Donegal, Monaghan and Cavan and from Tyrone and Fermanagh. That would have been fair, was rejected. As to the recent Bill, there was no one with whom we could negotiate. On the whole, the 6 county area had been acceptable to the Nationalists as preferable to a new delimitation of Ulster. True f you took a plebiscite of Tyrone and Fermanagh, there would be a Catholic majority while in the whole of Ulster there would, as you have said, be a majority of 100,000 Protestants. The Nationalists felt it would be handing over Donegal, Monaghan and Cavan to Protestant domination. you wish it to be made clear that we are impartial, that we shall not stand in the way of legitimate persuasion by you to induce the others to come in to a confederation by offering advantages to N.E. Ulster, we are prepared to do so."

Mr. Churchill: "Smuts at this moment offering to Rhodesia inducements to come into Lloyd George: "We stand

Mr. Duffy: "That would be Act. useful if you had not created a LI partition Parliament." wan

Lloyd George: "The alternative Great Britain." would have been a Boundary Commission. There would then have been a more overwhelming

Protestant majority. In order to persuade Ulster to come in there is an advantage in her having a Catholic population. I think you will get Ulster into an Irish unit on agreed terms. We promise to stand aside and you will have not only our neutrality but our do so, benevolent neutrality."

Mr. Collins: "There would have been an alternative to your Boundary Commission — local option. You did not stand aside in 1913. There is no analogy in the Dominions in this particular case but there are some in the case which can be settled by Irishmen. By force we could beat them perhaps, but perhaps not. I do not think we could beat them morally. If you kill all of us, every man and every male child, the difficulty will ill be there. So in Ulster. That why we do not want to coerce hem, but we cannot allow solid blocks who are against partition in the North of Antrim, through a part of Derry and part of Armagh to Strangford Lough. If

N.E. corner, the N.E. corner must not be allowed to coerce." Lloyd George: "It would be perfectly fair if you could apply it all round."

Mr. Griffith: "We are not go-ing to use violence because we do not want to have the legacy left by violence among our own people. Undoubtedly the British Government has created this position. Like all Empires it divides and conquers. It is now coming back on yourselves. We have got to try and get rid of this difficulty. Mr. Lloyd George spoke of S. Africa and the Empire. 1 know S. Africa. The difficulties are not analogous to those in Ireland. In Natal there was no Dutch blood. While in the Free State there was Dutch and Scotch and in the Transvaal Dutch, they were existing areas, not new ones. In our case an area that always was a part of Ireland was taken away and cut off. We do not feel our-selves to be a colony but a nation. It is much more than a question of administration and economics. There is an intense national feeling. The people of Tyrone think of their poets and warriors as living people not as you do of King Alfred as dead. You may think it foolish but you must take account of that sentiment in making a settle-ment. Not a single N.E. representative voted for the Partition

Lloyd George: "Because they

have become administratively a Mr. Collins: "Why did you

Mr. Chamberlain: "They would

hand our two Parliaments that no one wanted?" Mr. Chamberlain: "So that Ireland could settle her own des-

tinies and unite if she chose to Mr. Collins: "There is a great difference between this attempt parties made the old settlements

big bodies of opinion it. The old parties used frish politicians as it suited At the present moment there is a general desire to settle. It is the first time practically all parties wish a settle-Mr. Chamberlain: "That is our

hope but do not press it too far I beg. You are not aware of the risks we are taking with our whole political future. We are bound to do it, as a coalition, but do not believe it is plain

To be continued

Drive with CHANNING on Tuesday

IS IT not a sad commentary on motor racing that, twenty years after the custodians of the sport re-wrote the rules of Formula I. mainly and successfully to keep out superchargers, over a million commercial vehicles should have adopted

them? It looks as if we in the private sector, as theysay, have accepted as irremedial the disturbing fact that the petrol engine - after eighty years of continuous development — still wastes 65 per toent of its energies in warming the exhaust gases and heating its



You remember what happened n 1951. The ruling body of the Sport said that engine capacities in Formula I could go from 11 litres (supercharged) to 41 itres (unsupercharged), thus giving credence to an anti-blower prejudice sponsored by the insurance companies, who still intions of their policies with stric-tures about excluding from cover all cars fitted with superchargers. Fortunately for p did not make this a co

insurance for lorries, service vehicles, offices Association heard of anyone supercharge a bus!

In the early days of the game, bustion engine is basically an airengine was overlooked by those who visualised supercharging as a convenient means of cramming more of the petrol / air mixture into an engine by artificial "blower" means, instead of letting nature top up the cylinders by atmospheric pressure. Where centrating on stuffing in more air only. The reward from this approach of course, depends on increasing your compression ratio and using high octane fuel. In those far-off days neither of these acilities was available, and relia-

Also the traditional type of apercharger — delivering up to 40 lb. per square inch - took its power from a mechanical drive attached to the engine hence it meant that there was a considerable power-cost to be met. For and it would be stresse accord-example a 100 bhp engine using one of the old 50 bhp superchargers (meshing at around 20,000 r.p.m.) would actually have to squeeze out 150 bbp before 100 bbp appeared at the flywheel. and it would be stressed accordingly. With turbo-charging the unit powers itself so that all of the engine's 150 bhp is available. Its stress factor is relative. In addition, the earlier mechanically linked superchargets posed for-midable problems of lubrication and were often the very devil to get started. They were glut-rons for weight (120 lb.) and fuel too. Turbochargers (36 lbs.) come pre-sealed, self-lubricating packs and never need attention.



Veteran enthusiasts will recall the excitement that followed the first supercharged racing engine's success, when a Mercedes-Knight won the 1921 Targa Florio with a 50 per cent greater power out-put, which enthusiasm was later offset by the enormous thirsts which came to be associated with "blowers." Fuel consumption averages of 2½ m.p.g. were commonplace! Nevertheless., commonplace! Nevertheless, superchargers were accepted as a fact of life, albeit a very expensive one, by those who wished to win big races during the years between the two World Wars: hardly surprising that individual amateur entries were almost non-axistent. almost non-existent.

It is ironical that the cost of getting more power by the hit-and-miss methods that afterwards replaced the supercharger. i.e., high compression ratios, multi-carburettors, larger valves,

FIGURES FOR FUN By J. A. H. HUNTER

Bill put down his pen. "It's funny about my age," he de-clared. "The same two digits as yours, but in reverse order.' "I don't see anything funny about age," Susan told him. "Not when you're going bald. You know just seventeen years ago you were twice as old as I was." What do you make of their

Mr. Hunter answers all letters; ideas welcomed.

ANSWER TO YESTERDAY'S PUZZLE

YAM was 126. Correspondence in connection with this feature must be accompanied by a cutting of the relevant problem.

Committees in the red

ALL but two or three County Committees of Agriculture are currently in the red, some to the extent of £60,000, it was stated at yesterday's meeting of Louth Co. Committee, when the provisional estimate for coming year showed a deficit of £14,750.

The cost of the schemes is estimated at £61,844 with revenue from rates at £23,739. The committee decided to ask the general council of County Committees of Agriculture to make a joint approach to the Department to get increased

Enter the turbocharger as standard equipment



The racing cars of the 'seventies are not supercharged and because of this, all cars have suffered a loss . . .

twin overhead camshafts, and into the engine; providing only flowing resonance-harnessing exhaust systems, eventually cost no less. Either way, racing remains priced outside the reach of private owners and sponsors

re almost a pre-requisite. Enter the turbocharger, which has lately become almost standard equipment on large diesels; the being a small inward flow into the exhaust and driven by the rush-past of the waste gases on their way to the atmosphere.

a little extra when the engine is running light and there is a minimum of exhaust energy. . . but increasing the boost no end as the throttle is opened and the load demand increases. It works fine on diesels, mainly because the fuel is metered in via injection methods. There is no mechanically drive

attachment to syphon power away from the engine itself either, and best of all an exhaust driven n their way to the atmosphere. "blower" adjusts itself to the re-The turbine in turn drives a quirements automatically and is

O.K., you reply, but diesels are ultra strong fellows and besides they have injection to start with. Put a turbocharger on a car engine and surely you will destroy

Well, Tom Reid (Development Engineer with a firm of exhaust pipe makers in Birmingham) got to thinking about this and he reasoned that since engines like Ford's Kent series in the Escort and Cortina are being tuned officially to produce twice as much power as was originally intended, they could easily handle a turbo-

through the standard carburettor

nobody thought of this before. BMW and BMC had experimented with turbocharging but only in con-junction with fuel injections systems. So Reid started to work at it, using the existing inlet arrangements. He found a bonus in the cross-flow breathing of the Kent engines, which enabled him to play about with the ex-haust manifold without upsetting the inlet manifold on the other side of the cylinder hear, and he designed a fuel-flow regulariser to prevent flooding.

The results have amazed every one. He has doubled the acceleration of the 1300 c.c. Escort: made it quieter running and more flexible and established a 10,000 troublefree running test. In modest terms you increase your power by 16 per cent and your torque by 40 per cent.

At low speeds the car per-forms exactly as before because the turbocharger does not come into operation when pulling under a light load up to 3,000 r.p.m but plank down your throttle and it comes in with a rush. , silently and smoothly. With the turbo-charger alone, Reid reckons to get more out of an Escort than with any combination of tuning modifications available at whatever price. If the car is driven normally, the turbocharger makes little difference to the life of the engine and in any event as Reid points out, the aim is to pro-vide greater acceleration when you need it rather than to offer higher outright maximum.

Just to prevent the latter being abused, Reid fits a rev. limiting arm to the distributor which automatically cuts out the engine if you ovesr-cook it something you can do with a booster

What we need now is somebody to convince the insurance companies (and the racing men)

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'WHAT DOES ACCEPTANCE OF THE CROWN ENTAIL?' ASKED COLLINS. 'THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE, SAID LLOYD GEORGE - BUT . . .

THE FIRST storm between the Irish delegation in London and their Cabinet colleagues back in Dublin occurred just before the end of October, 1921, when the Irish negotiations were to be debated in the Commons.

Lloyd George was seeking concessions that would enable the negotiations to continue. But Mr. de Valera warned the Irish delegation strictly against any form of words which included allegiance to the Crown, and, in fact, he proclaimed that the only alternative to this was war.

Furiously Griffith and Collins defended their freedom of action and Collins actually threatened to quit and go home. Griffith's persuasion prevented him from doing so.

The Prime Minister (Lloyd George) and Austin Chamberlain had met Griffith and Collins at No. 10 Downing Street. As Margery Forester notes in her and this meeting actually marked the turning point at which plenary sessions of the delegations ended effectively Marked outcome of events.

Michael Collins: "That's a pretty big pill. Cannot we have an oath to the constitution?"

of constitutions" was not at all what Lloyd George wanted. He had only some days in which to extract an unequivocal statement on Allegiance from the Irish to put before a hostile Commons on Monday, October 31.

Two and two

No another "two and two" conference was agreed upon and Ireland as in present Act. this time Chamberlain and Sir Gordon Hewart met Griffith and Collins, who were accompanied to No. 10 by Mr. Childers and Mr. Milroy, an Ulster M.P.

The Jones Diary continues (October 25, 1921): I showed Griffith and Collins into Mr. Chamberlain's diningroom and pointed out their seats to them and then brought in Mr. Cham-berlain and Sir Gordon Hewart all this arranged so as to avoid handshaking. They were closeted for over an hour discussing Ulster, Mr. Chamberlain doing most of the talking. I meanwhile was closeted with Childers and Milroy in Chamberlain's

British representatives met at 6.45 p.m. and Chamberlain gave an account of the discussion with Griffith and Collins at 4.30. A.C.-Could they define their idea of autonomy for Ulster? They said they would give her

"I SUGGESTED to him

(Lloyd George) on the way

to Buckingham Palace that

De Valera Margery Forester notes in her recent book (Michael Collins—The Lost Leader), Lloyd George had now turned to the age-old stratagem of divide and rule, and this meeting actually marked

differences among the five Irish plenipotentiaries had already appeared. Griffith and Collins were prepared to contemplate alternatives to the full Irish demand, others were not. The psychological differences of the Irish team played straight into Lloyd George's hands and undoubtedly had a big effect on the outcome of events. After the first meeting involving Lloyd George, Austin Chamberlain and Griffith and Collins, the Jones Diary noted that Collins had asked the Prime Minister what acceptance of the Crown entailed and Lloyd George realised: "The oath of allegiance."

But Collins's suggested "union all existing powers and possibly more on condition she accepted the position of a provincial Central Dublin Parliament.

> They were prepared to admit Ulster representatives to full instead of from us.
>
> membership of Dublin Parliament — not an "in and out"
>
> Birkenhead: I ra arrangement

Representation — proportion between Northern and Southern

would they cut off whole province of Ulster-which was no more an economic unit than the Attorney said economic boun-

need not coincide with the

They said they would not allow homogeneous Catholic districts which did not wish it to remain under an Ulster Parliament.

Chamberlain asked if it would be easier for them to accept the Six Counties, if that area came in under a Dublin Parliament?

They asked as they left, "Why would we not allow county option?" Chamberlain said they could not put a more difficult Griffith said they could not

recommend allegiance to the King unless they got the unity

give way on six counties; we are writing. They have been given not free agents; we can do our the Six's conditions. best to include Six in larger legislature and came into the Parliament plus autonomy. We could press Ulster to hold autonomy for Six from them

> Birkenhead: I rather agree with Winston; our position re Six Countles is an impossible one if these men want to settle, as they do.

Winston: I don't see how Area-They thought present Ulster is damnified; she gets her share in the Southern Parliament and protection for the Southern Unionists.

Hewart: The trouble in Ulster is closely allied in their minds with allegiance.

P.M.: I would not now resume discussion on Ulster with Sinn Fein. I would review whole situation either by stating our position asking them to give answers on vital things and then say: 'We understand your position on Ulster is so and so.' On Ulster we would have to say something about area e.g. Six or Nine, willing to discuss that.
Willing also (this put vaguely)
to consider any machinery by
which unity of Ireland should
be reorganised or strengthened they accept all subject to unity we are in a position to go to Craig; if they don't the break is not on Ulster. My pro-

Birkenhead: I agree with

Austen: I think it conceivable that if they could agree with Craig on unity they would accept the Six Counties. Is it not worth while seeing Craig?

Craig out

Birkenhead: P.M. could see Carson, Don't send for Craig. Agreed.

26 October: At 4.0 p.m. today the P.M. saw Carson in his room at the House of Com-P.M.'s speech in Parliament on mons. I told the P.M. that Monday mons, I told the P.M. that Monday and wanted to be Griffith and Collins would be assured that the contents of glad to see him and Chamberlain at any time and on any topic. I thought it important that the next British document which Grigg was drafting should be shown in advance to Griffith Collins so as to secure as much agreement as possible be-

(Note: Griffith and Collins feared that Childers was supple-menting Griffith's own daily reports on the negotiations to De Valera with 'watch-dog' submissions of his own. Lloyd George go to Craig; if they don't the looked on Childers as a fanabreak is not on Ulster. My protical convert to Republicanism (2) no indication of any modiposal is put Ulster on one side and believed that he exerted an fication of the Irish position
winston Churchill: We can't and ask S.F. for their views in influece on De Valera that which has taken place in the

would overrule all chance of

27 October: 1.0 p.m. discussed first draft of our document to the Irish delegates with the P.M. and Grigg, the P.M. eager to cut it down to essentials. He said we really must now get un- as to secreey to be maintained equivocal answers on the main by both sides. issues. 'If this is not done it makes it very difficult for my Unionist colleagues who, we ought to be no cloudiness on the Feiners in the most helpful way. He suggested that the document should put categorical questions on allegiance, Empire and defence—whatever the words used for these—but that the whole document should be governed by a preamble 'subject to agreement being reached on the question of Irish unity.' I said that was most helpful as at present the Sinn Feiners made allegiance contingent on a satisfactory settlement of the problem of unity.

28 October: Friday evening. the Chief Liaison Officer of the Irish Delegation their reply to our questionnaire would not be revealed or even indicated by the P.M. Assuming the reply to be favourable in tone, any indication of that fact would greatly disturb their Irish supporters, who have not been prepared for concessions.

I made the following note of his request and promised to take it up with the P.M. on Saturday morning. 'The Irish representamorning. 'The Irish representareply, wish to be assured that

(1) no reference to the terms of their reply will be made on

President de Valera in the garden of Aras an Uachtarain remembers the fateful years of Ireland's struggle for freedom.

In other words, the agreement

1918-

1925

Fateful

Years

This series is adapted

from Tom Jones's "White-

hall Diary" (Vol. III - Ireland 1918-'25), edited by

Keith Middlemas, Lecturer

in Modern History at the

University of Sussex. The

book is being published

shortly by the Oxford University Press. It has

been adapted for serialisa-

tion by staff writer Ray-

mond Smith.

Frightened I had then some general talk must remember, have been fight- on the situation with Duggan, ing this business for the last 30 who is a transparently honest years.' I agreed that there man, I sought to impress upon him the critical importance, in main issues but that there was view of the political situation, of no reason why we should not securing unequivocal answers on phrase the document to the Sina allegiance, common citizenship allegiance, common citizenship and naval defence. He said they could not go further than re-commend allegiance, and that in any case it would be a very awkward corner to turn with their men. Cope told me that the Irish were very frightened that their answer were circulated Ministers its contents would leak over to Ireland.

29th October: Saturday morning. 10.0. 'Phoned to Chequers via Sir William Sutherland (Parliamentary Secretary to Lloyd liamentary Secretary to Lloyd At last at 2.45 it arrived these giving. Duggan's message.

11.0. Went over to see Hamar telephone listening-in) and Greenwood and found that the gone about one-third of the way P.M. had rung him up to ask when I was called to the 'phone his opinion on Duggan's request. Hamar Greenwood pointed out that in the event of the reply being a refusal and a breakdown, the P.M. would be bound to reveal its contents on Monday.

I pointed out that in that unhappy event we should be bound to meet with the Irish delegates at once and the truce would be at an end and there would be a new situation and speech required from the P.M. He then agreed that the assur-

ance could be given and I was about to 'phone this to the P.M. when a message came to the Irish Office to say that the P.M. authorised the assurance to be given. I telephoned this to Childers and confirmed it later by I told Childers on the phone that of course the P.M. stinctively sympathetic than that

negotiations to be made on would be free to refer to the British proposals and he re-In other words, the agreement marked that he would have to marked that he would have to pick his words very carefully on Monday but he was a master at that. I mentioned to Childers at the same time that I thought we might inform the press casually that the Attorney-General had been with Chamberlain and not the P.M. at the interview with Griffith and Collins on the 25th as I had gathered that the Attorney-General, having seen the official communique about the Lord Chancellor and the P.M., was annoyed there had been no official communique

been no official communiqué about him and Chamberlain. However, Childers would not agree as in his view 'it was in-spiring the press.' I also told Childers to send me only 2 copies of their reply as a special pre-caution against leakage; one I would send to the P.M. by train and one I would take round to

Ministers to see. Lunched alone. Constant in-quiries by phone from various

At last at 2.45 it arrived and I was proceeding to turn it into Welsh (as a precaution agains to find the P.M. at the other end. I gave him the first three para-graphs in excellent Welsh and then began to get to the para-graphs that mattered. Here every word used and every nuance was so important that there was nothing for it but to give them in English. He observed that the naval paragraph would not do and made no other comment but to tell me to send it along. In talking to the P.M. I said that it meant right but that unfortunately Childers was their scribe and that the meticulous qualifications.

qualifications were no doubt his. I then took the document to Hamar Greenwood. He is the only colonial in the Cabinet and attitude to the demands of the Irish is very much more in-

get them to trust the P.M. as

by this country and be at all

satisfactory to Sinn Fein. Throughout the P.M. has been superb and the 'Proposals' when

they see the light will be ac-

rous acts in our history. Briefly

it is 'Dominion status' with al

'An instrument 'in the form



of several of his colleagues. When he came to the words 'free partners' he exclaimed 'That's Canada,' and so right through he took a very favourable view of the document. I suggested he should at once write his views to the P.M. which I would forward with the document to Chequers. This he did saying that the substantive admissions in the reply were all important and the qualifying phrases could be dealt with as subordinate.

Felt fooled

He finished off hurriedly as the messenger was waiting with the P.M.'s bag. About 4.30 I went across to Grigg who is nervous about creating any pre-cedent in the granting of Dominion status to Ireland which would react on the position of the other Dominions. He is much more sticky than Curtis on such matters, riowever on the whole he thought the reply marked an

We then went together to see Chamberlain, knowing what to expect. He read the reply and then said 'Well, I hope this document can be taken back and withdrawn.

I said — 'I have given the substance of it over the 'phone to the P.M. and sent it to him by train.

Mr. Chamberlain - 'Well, of course I don't like to intercept the document if it is on its way. He then read it again. Mr. Chamberlain - 'Well, Mr.

Jones, you may tell these gentlemen that in my opinion they are just playing with us, just fooling

I ventured to suggest that there were some hopeful sentences in ing along in the right direction, that they were very much afraid of their people in Ireland, and that perhaps the naval passage only meant Simonstown conditions. He agreed that they were

frightened but could see no real answers in the document to our questions. He did not know what the document meant and once more he bade me tell the Irish that we were being fooled.

Tribute to Third Order members

ELEVEN MEN who have given a total of 570 years service to the Third Order of St. Francis during their lifetimes will receive a special "thank you" tribute this week. And among them will be one man who has served the Order for the past 70 years.

He is Mr. Michael Rigney of Putland Villas, Bray, Co. Wicklow who will join his fellow "brothers" tomorrow at a concelebrated Mass on which chief celebrant will be Most Rev. Dr. Evangelist McBride, O.F.M., Bishop of Kokstad, South Africa. The Archbishop of Dubwill preside.

The ceremony is part of the official celebrations to mark the 750th anniversary of the Third Order which has now four million members throughout tworld and 40,000 in Ireland.

The ten other Third Order members at the Mass will be celebrating their Golden Jubilee

They are: Joseph Scallan, of St. Malachy's Road, Glasnevin; Jeremiah O'Connor, Mount Pros-pect Avenue, Clontarf; Stephen Byrne of Oxmantown Road; Daniel Cannon of St. Audoen's Terrace; Anthony Short, Wellington Quay; Patrick Egan of Crom-wellsfort Road, Crumlin; James Keogh, Stradbrook Road, Blackrock; Michael Hegarty of Larkfield Gardens; John McGuigan, Butterfield Avenue, Rathfarnham William Oman of Griffith Avenue cepted by the whole world I brumcondra, all of Dublin

On Sunday next there will be a Concelebrated Mass in the Capuchin Church at Church Street, Dublin. A lecture on the relev-ance of the Third Order today a Territorial Force for Ulster, and for the South. It is hoped they will contribute to the Debt, etc.

Dom Idesbald Rylandt

Dom Idesbald Rylandt, who has died in the Abbey of Mared-seus, Belgium, was Prior at Glen-Limerick, during the second world war.

While attached to the Bene-dictine community there he contributed to the expansion of the community and the school. Many of his best known books which were subsequently translated into were subsequently translated into several languages were written during his stay in Ireland. These include 'Mass and Interior Life,' "The Life of Grace,' 'and "Self Discipline and the Interior Life.' Benedictine spiritual writers of the century.

An offer of dominion status

if he settled Ireland he might be satisfied and 'go to Heaven', but he would not hear of such a dull destiny. 'There is still Europe,' he that the Irish state would exist

1921. He was writing to archy. Bonar Law, whose attitude was vital, because as he swung, so would the Conservative majority in the Coalition.

Before being given to De Valera and the other Irish delegates on July 20, 1921, the British terms on which a Treaty was to be negotiated were discussed by Lloyd George, Cham-berlain, Balfour and Sir Edward Grigg at a private meeting and then redrafted substantially and altered by the Cabinet.

Ireland was offered Dominion status, with financial and legal autonomy, her own police and home defence forces, and all other government services; ex-cept that Britain should maintain control of the sea, should have recruiting and air base facilities, and that Ireland should bear some share of the National Debt and war pensions, and should guarantee not to imthe treaty 'must allow for full Ulster was to come in of her it is the P.M. and success own free will, if she wished, would be almost as big as win-The document expressly stated ning the war

that the Irish state would exist within the British Empire; thus excluding the possibility of a strong lever but I am afraid to accept any arrangement telling him that there was no Lord Craigavon and first Prime 'My aim has been to try and 'My aim has be This is what Tom Jones Republic and safeguarding the recorded in his Diary in July, symbol and practice of mon-

been inconceivable a year be-fore. But the Sinn Fein leaders left no doubt that they were unsatisfied. Back in Dublin, in meetings of the Dail Cabinet, the division between Stack, Brugha, and Barton, defending the full claim for a Republic and wholly opposed to partition, and Collins and Griffith, became more distinct. De Valera, however, seemed to be moving towards a mid-way position, a scheme of 'external association' which combined the virtues of Dominion status without the stigma of allegiance to the Crown and the oath of

All for peace

"Thank you very much for your long and interesting letter. "The real difficulty of the Irish business will prove now hal Debt and war pensions, as always in the past, to be nould guarantee not to im-tariff barriers against Valera will find it impossible Britain. This settlement was to to treat Ulster as entirely out-be embodied in a Treaty; and side his sphere and on the other hand I am sure that no recognition of the existing settlement can be carried in powers and privileges of the England which imposes any-Government of Northern Ireland thing on the new Ulster Parliawhich cannot be abrogated ex-cept by their own consent'. accept. If anyone can carry it, accept. If anyone can carry it,

of the partition difficulty. Personally, now that the Unionists Dublin Such a document would have in the South are all for agreement with Sinn Fein, I would give the South anything or on Ulser, and your letter does not enable me to judge how the difficulty is to be met. . . .

P.S.-" I have just this moment got your second letter. I am indeed very anxious for peace in Ireland and must do what I can to help, but I do not think there would be any use in my writing Craig. The limits within which he can move are very restricted and indeed while, as I said earlier. I would give the I said earlier, I would give the South almost anything including even fiscal autonomy if they wished it, I would not quarrel with Ulster even to make peace with the South.

"What you say about Barton does not surprise me, but during the political struggle before the war the thing which probinfluenced me more than anything else was the convic-tion that Ulster, in spite of her bigotry, was right, that she had just as much right to shape her own destiny as against the South as Ireland could possibly

have as against Great Britain. "The P.M. is very wise and can estimate the forces on all can estimate the forces on all 'an agreeable personality'. He propsides better than anyone probably, but I carnestly hope he chiefly of ideals, and constantly work

which brought them in any way under the control of a Dublin Parliament, however shadowy that control might be. That I am sure could not be carried in England. Perhaps I almost anything, but I would by the old party feeling, but I not attempt to force anything do not think so. T.F. wrote to Bonar Law on

22 July, 1921, putting the best case he could on what had taken place. "But it is Ireland that has prompted me to write to you today. De Valera left for Dublin

this morning having had long interviews with the P.M. He was supposed to be carrying in his pocket the British proposals' but as a matter of fact he had left them behind yesterday at No. 10 and I recovered them this morning and am send-ing them to the Mansion House tonight. His visit has been most helpful to the cause of peace because he and the P.M. have met face to face and alone. The P.M.'s first idea had been to have with him Balfour, Chamberlain, and Hamar Greenwood, but luckily De Valera did not want any colleagues with him so the P.M. was able to drop squabbles.

P.M.'s account is that De V. is not a big man but he is a sincere man, a white man and not make what I am sure recurs to the same few domin-

Irish or Welsh word for it, and therefore it was alien to the spirit of the Celtl He was willing to be within the Empire, to recognise the King, to go without a Navy.

Ulster crux

'What he chiefly seemed to want was Irish unity - that we should not impose partition, that there should be an All-Ireland Parliament with real financial and other powers, while leaving to Ulster the autonomy she now enjoys so long as she wishes to retain it. He was not unwilling to contribute to the War Debt. The crux of the problem as usual is the relation of Ulster to this question of unity.

While the P.M. was closeted with De V. I was with Mr. Barton (Minister for Agriculture) and Art O'Brien (Ambassador) at No. 10. I found it almost impossible

to make any of them admit the reality of the Ulster difficulty. They will have it that we created it and that we continue to exploit it; if we left Irishmen alone they would quickly settle their

'You know the sort of stuff. As the negotiations proceeded the P.M. got a draft prepared by Sir Edward Grigg of the sort of proposals we should put up to De Valera. This draft was worked over by Chamberlain, Balfour, and Smuts. It was the negotiation table.

Minister of Northern Ireland). Then on Wednesday evening the the one man who could bring P.M. had it read out to the a peace that would be accepted Cabinet, who made some verbal changes only. 'Then he took it to the King; then Grigg and I took it to De

Valera at a private house in West Halkin Street at 11.30 p.m. Yesterday there was an-other interview with the P.M. during which De V., while not accepting our proposals, agreed sorts of important powers, but to make counter-proposals after no Navy, no hostile tariffs, and consulting his colleagues. I consulting his colleagues. I no coercion of Ulster. There is think this means that he is not a Territorial Force for Ulster.

unfavourable to the proposals in and substance, but must try and they bring his left wing along with etc.

hoped. Barton, I found a reasonable man - educated at Oxford, andowner, Protestant, joined up

Michael Collins is all right of a Treaty' is proposed. This but some of the gunmen will be caused a lot of heart-burning inirreconcilable. Meanwhile the side and was only got through Hierarchy, the press, and all by the passionate pleading of moderate opinion in Ireland is the P.M. and his references to yearning for peace, and when South Africa. Scotland, Sars-De V. reaches Dublin he will field and the Treaty of Limerick, ome under this influence, it is etc. I suggested to him on our

way to Buckingham Palace that if he settled Ireland he might be satisfied and 'go to Heaven' in the war, and lost two brothers but he would not hear of such in it. Erskine Childers I thought a dull destiny. 'There is still to be on the edge of a break- Europe', he replied.' TOMORROW: How partition first emerged as a

definite possibility in the Treaty negotiations 50 years ago this month and how the Boundary Commission proposal was understood to mean different things by the people on different sides of Dom Rylandt as one of the great THURSDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1971

Price 31p



The North and the terrible choice tacing Collins

the Unionists came close to breaking British Premier Lloyd George in the last, fateful days of October 50 years ago.

The wilv British leader found himself with less and less room to manoeuvre from the obdurate stance of Sir James Craig (later to become Lord Craigavon), according to today's extracts from the controversial "The Whitehall Diary."

The author Cabinet Secretary

The author, Cabinet Secretary Thomas Jones, recalls how he had a private, ten-minute talk with Michael Collins as they awaited the next move in the battle for Ireland's future.

lones recalls haw he told Colline that unless a reasonable compromise was reached on the North Lloyd George would rather resign than be a party to a war of reconquest.

A meeting of the principal negotiators in Downing Street on the morning of November I left Collins feeling "flat and disappointed," according to the lones diaries.

But Craig meanwhile, refused to budge an inch.

The events which were to follow in the next couple of days were to leave Michael Collins and his fellow negotiators with a desperate choice . . .

Today's extracts from "The Whitehall Diary" are on Page

Tragedy of missing two words in the Treaty

by IRISH INDEPENDENT STAFF REPORTER

TWO WORDS omitted from the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921 Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921 meant the loss of a large part of Northern Ireland to Dail Eireann, Sean MacEoin, the legendary "Blacksmith of Ballinalee," claimed yesterday.

Lt.-Gen. MacEoin, who was ommenting on the "Whitehall hary" of Tom Jones in the Irish Independent, said that if the Boundary Clause of the Treaty had been completed as visualised, each constituency of Northern Ireland would be allowed to opt in or out of the Irish Republic "and we would have with us Tyrone, Fermanagh, South Armagh and South

The Boundary Clause of the Treaty, he said, was based on that of the Treaty of Versailles which allowed for such a elebiscite but because the words "electoral divisions" were left out of the Anglo-Irish Treaty the Boundary Commission held that a majority vote in the Six Counties would decide the future

of the whole area. "Whether this omission was intentional or an accident will never be seen," he said.

Lt.-Gen. MacEoin congratulated Irish Independent on alning the serial rights of "Whitehall Diary." But he added: "Jones gives only the highlights of the debates and those are from the British side." He regretted that a detailed account of the negotiations had not been provided by the Irish secretariat to the talks.

Lt.-Gen. MacEoin maintained that the Irish delegates were at a severe disadvantage in having the talks in London. "The British," he sair, "had at their side a trained staff to whom they could refer at a moment's notice while the Irish delegates had to suffer a delay of 24 hours in contacting their advisers in Dublin." He also

maintained that some members Continued on Back Page

SNIPER WOUNDS WORKER

A 20-YEAR-OLD girl factory worker was wounded by a bullet when a sniper opened fire on a R.U.C. sergeant on duty in North Queen's Street, Belfast, at lunch-hour yesterday. A police spokes-man said a bullet had hit her leg, but she had been discharged ofter hospital treatment. The man had escaped, after hospital treatment.

The sergeant fired at had a narrow escape when one of the three shots fired from the direction of Artillery Flats crashed into the wall a few inches above his head. He was struck on the cheek by a piece of brick but did not require hospital treatment.

Troops were sent to the area searched unsuccessfully for the

damage to Gardiner's newspaper shop at 70 Botanic Gardens, Belfast, just after 7 p.m. last night.

Just before 8 p.m. a nail bomb billet i nthe Flax St. Mill. No was thrown at a British Saracen one was hit.

car in the Ardoyne area of Bel-fast. The vehicle was at the junction of Butler and Flax Streets when the bomb was unhurt.

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A short time later troops re-ported hearing two bursts of automatic fire in the Ardoyne. The target was not immediately known. Gunfire also was re-ported in the Oldpark area but no one is believed to have been

The British said last night they believed they had wounded a sniper who had fired on a military post from the top of uerrilla. the Beltex Mill, near Flax St., in An explosion caused slight the Crumlin Road area.

to the internment camp was demanded last night by Mr.
Michael J. Keogh, M.P., who said that strong Paislevite sympathisers in the area had used abusive language and had waved sticks at people visiting interned relatives. Police and soldiers had made no attempt to remove the Paisleyites who gathered around the gates of the camp.

A covered van, used by the Ardoyne Relief Committee to transport relatives of interned men to Long Kesh Internment Camp, was stopped and searched by the British at least five times on its way to the Camp yesterday.

According to a Committee spokesman, about 16 women travelled in the vehicle. Their names and addresses were noted and the driver was warned that if he carried passengers again he would be fined "£5 for every passenger".

The spokesman continued: "These people can't go to Long Kesh in private cars because they have come under attack from extremists. If they travel by bus they have to walk two miles to the Camp and also run the risk of being attacked.

"They can't afford to take taxis because, with their hus-bands interned, very little money is coming into these houses. At the moment we just don't know how we are going to get over the problem."

Huge rush-hour traffic jams were caused all over Belfast yes-terday morning when the British set up checkpoints on all major roads into the city. Hundreds of troops and many armoured vehicles were involved in the operation which continued for most of the day in many parts of the city.

It is understood that the

the British believe the rushhour traffic had been used as a cover on several occasions to move arms and ammunition into the city. One man is believed to have been detained for questioning as a result of the search.

Extensive damage was caused to Mackies factory, on the Upper Springfield Road, Belfast, by three explosions last night.

Aspecial Branch detective is understood to have been taken to the Royal Victoria Hospital last night after a shooting in-cident at Celtic Park where a civilian also was reported injured.

A bomb, planted outside the Liverpool and Ardrossan pas-Quay, Belfast, last night, smashed all the windows in the building and blew a crater about 18 inches deep in the pavement. Nobody was hurt or

Strike notice served for 4,000 nurses

By JOHN DEVINE

Our Industrial Correspondent

STRIKE NOTICE on behalf of 4,000 nurses in 23 psychiatric hospitals run by eight area health boards was served yesterday. The danger of a full-scale strike by the nurses is now a real threat.

The nurses are mainly members of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union (which served yesterday's strike warning), the Workers' Union of Ireland and the break-away Psychiatric Nurses' Association.

The notice will terminate and industrial action will be taken in the first weekend in November, unless the Health Boards and the Minister for Health make some real attempt to resolve the many problems which are the root cause of the nurses' unrest. In the hospitals which will be affected in the dspute there are about 15,000 in-

There are a number of matters in dispute, principally the failure of the Health Boards to elimnate temporary employment, especially in staff nurse and the first and second supervisory grades. As many as 500 or 600 young nurses in these grades hold temporary appointments which deprives them of service increments, marriage gratuities and other benefits,

Mr. Edward Browne, National Group Secretary of the I.T.G.W.U., said vesterday that no progress had been made on that problem. The new chief executive officers of the Health Boards had done very little because they claimed they were having great difficulties in setting-up their new organisa-

"But this does not and can-not satisfy the nurses who have been very patient for a long time," said Mr. Browne, "There

ings of the Joint Industrial Council and there is another sider the matter again. The unions understood, following a meeting of the LLC, last July, that certain assurances had been given in relation to removing the grievances of temporary employment, and even the Minister for Health had written to the authorities asking them to remove the nurses' grievances. Nothing was done.

shop raid FOUR youn gmen walked into

The four men, who were un-armed, walked in the front door of the sports shop just as the shop was about to close.

Mr. Carringan and his assistant remained helpless for some hours before the Gardai ware eventually altered and a full-scale search was mounted through the south-east for the

were stated to be shocked and a Garda spokesman said that the shop would not open for busi-nes stoday as a full investigation would be carried out.

houses in the county.

School bus appeal

O'Malley THE settlement of the "Irish Question" and the pressing rival claims of the Republicans and the Unionists came classe to Garda row

By LIAM RYAN

THE GARDA discipline crisis took a new turn last night when the Minister for Justice, Mr. O'Malley, announced that all grievances would be examined.

Expect no changes-Pontiff

THE POPE warned Catholics vesterday against expecting any changes in the Church's doctrines to emerge from the synod of bishops now meeting in

"Under this aspect the Church is tenaciously conserative, and for this reason it does not grow the 74-year-old Pontiff

The Pope was addressing pil-grims in St. Peter's Basilica while the 211 bishops taking in the synod continued their discussions over doctrinal aspects of the priesthood.

The Pope was making his first public appearance since he retired with a cold to his Vatican apartment last Sunday, missing the synod sessions of Monday and Tuesday. He has since been watching the proceeding on closed-circuit television.

In his address at St. Peter's. the Pope once again defended the Church's hierarchical struc-ture against the many modern the imposition of authority from

He said that Christ Himself had given the priesthood the task of leading and instructing the multitude.

The Pope added that the bishops were not free to teach what they wished in the religious sphere, or to teach "what may please certain doctrinal currents, or rather anti-doctrinal

currents, of modern opinion."

The prime task of the bishops was "the rigorous and faithful transmission of the original message of Christ," the Pope

"We should not even imagine the possibility of changes, evolu-tions and transformations of the church in matters of faith,' he said.

The biggest organisation of French rebel priests, "Exchanges et Dialogues," which claims 1,000 members of whom 600 have ordinary jobs and 200 have wives, issued a statement today saving that the synod risks becoming "a repressive operation." the metting of the Body.

Mr. O'Malley made his brief statement following the decision 24 hours earlier by a mass meeting of Gardai in Dublin to defer strike action for a month.

It had been proposed by Dublin gardai last week to withdraw the Force's services from tomorrow.

Mr. O'Malley's statement said: Any grievances which any section of the Force may have will be the subject of discussions and negotiations with the elected representatives of the various ranks concerned."

He added that he did not consider that it would be helpful or appropriate that he should express publicly any views on these matters which, in his opinion, could most effectively be resolved in detailed and continuing pro-vate negotiations. But he did not spell out what he meant exactly, or if indeed this was change from normal pro-

Earlier in the day the simmerdiscussed at a Government meeting and Mr. O'Malley gave a lengthy review of the situation to date, including a report by the Commissioner, Mr. Michael Weymes.

NO REPLY

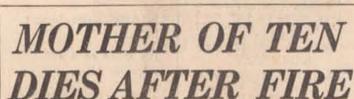
Last night's move by Mr. O'Malley was particularly sur-prising in the absence of a reply by the Dublin Metropolitan committee of the Garda Representative Body to the request by the Minister for clarification of their "rob at will" charge.

The committee had said in a statment that, because of the administration of the legal system, known armed criminals were being allowed to rob at will and to hold the country to

The Minister commented on Tuesday night that the statement was open to a number of inter-

When day-long talks yesterday on the crisis were adjourned by the Representative Body until today, the general secretary, Mr. Jack Marrinan, said he expected that if the reply was being made by the committee it would be made through him, "but nothing has come to me so far."

No statement was issued after



A CO. LIMERICK mother of 10 "When we saw children who rushed into a blazing outhouse at her home at Adare to rescue her four-year-old son. Niall, whom she Drogheda. My hands were old son. Niall, whom she Drogheda. My hands were thought was trapped inside, died scorched a little but I am alin St. Finbarr's Hospital, Cork, right now."

Neighbours discovered her son playin gonly a short distance Skerries away after Mrs. Eileen Burke rescue att ran through the flames in burning outhouse. Mrs. Burke, aged about 40, received extensive burns but was rescued by neighbours and removed to the Limerick Regional Hospital.

For the past 10 days Mrs. Burke had been undersoing treatmentbut was removed to St. Finbarr's Hospital in Cork for further treatment last Tues-

Neighbours have been looking after her children, including two sets of twins. Her husband, Mr. Arthur Burke, is a gardener on Lord Dunraven's estate in Adare,

SKERRIES BLAZE

nurse and her husband dashed into a blazing house at Skerries yesterda yto rescue an elderly woman and a baby from a fire. Last night, 85-year-old Mrs. Annie Green and her fourmonth-old granddaughter Tracy Kearns, were in Our Lady of Lourdes Hospital, Drogheda, suffering slight burns and shock.

Nurse Mary O'Call aghan out of the window of her home and saw the Kearns house ablaze at Sherlock Terrace just across the street. She an dher husband Bernard rushed out and brought the elderly woman and the child to safety. Mrs. Nuala Kearn-and her other child, John (2), were taken to safety uninjured. Fire Brigade units from Skerries and Balbriggan went to the scene but the house was badly

lot of personal property. Mrs. O'Callaghan said later:

Neighbours on the scene praised the courage of the rescue attempt. Mrs.

Mrs. Kearns' husband Thomas rushed to the scene from his job at Wavin Pipes Factory, Balbriggan, Last night the family was being cared for by neighbours.

Pig patrols demanded

VIGILANTE patrols by farmers to stop the smuggling of pigs across the Border should be reintroduced, a County Monaghan National Farmers' Association Executive spokesman said last

He was replying to a claim by the Pigs and Bacon Commission that the smuggling had "practically ceased".

Many N.F.A. members in Monaghan, Louth and Cavan say that the illegal flow of pigs from the Six Counties into the Republic has increased despite the intensive activities of security forces along the Border.

Mr. Barney Cunningham (Inniskeen), an N.F.A. delegate, said yesterday: "This is a ridiculous claim by the Pigs and Bacon Commission, They seem an appropriate the proportion of the proportion o to be completely uninformed about what is happening along damaged and the family lost a the Border. Many pigs are coming to factories here from the

LAST bouquet for Sean O Riada . . Mrs. Ruth O Riada drops a small bunch of roses on to her husband's coffin as it is lowered in the grave at Ballyvourney, Co. Cork,

yesterday. Hundreds of people came to the small Gaeltacht village to pay their last respects to Ireland's most famous modern Irish composer. Another picture and

Cert. crux

EIGHTEEN students at the Drumshanbo Vocational School are still unable to sit for the Leaving Certificate, according to the Department of Education.

Efforts to get the Department

Vocational Education Committee to the continuance of the course, which commenced last year, until 1972, the Department directed that the 18 students should do the Leaving Certificate

course elsewhere. The committee requested the Minister to receive a joint deputation of represe tatives of the committee and the parents of the students.

Association has asked Dail deputies of the area to arrange a deputation with the Minister. The Association also asked the Taoiseach to use his preragrative, as head of the Government,
in view of the recent census
returns. They have also asked
the help of the I.T.G.W.U.
through their secretary, Mr. T.

report on page 13.

Leaving

to change its decision have apparently failed as a letter reaffirming its decision has been received by the Leitrim County While giving official approval

In the meantime, the Drum-shanbo Post-Primary Parents'

Higgins, Sligo, as the fathers of the majority of the students from the coal-mining districts of Arigna and Sleevanerin are members of the union.

40 rifles taken in

the sports shop of Mr. John Carrigan, High Street, Kilkenny, last night, tied up the pro-prietor and his lady assistant in the arms department, in a cellar under a shop and got away with about 40 rifles and shotguns and ammunition.

Mr. Carrigan and his assistant

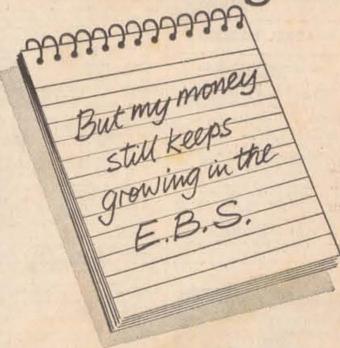
The men were unmasked during the raid and the Gardai set up roadblocks and visited

Fatal crash near Kinnegad

Mr. Terence Desmond Reywas killed early yesterday the car he was driving hit a pillar at the side of the road, about two miles from Kinnegad,

An appeal to the Government to allow school buses to be used by clubs for educational functions was made last night by the chairman of Macra na Tuaithe, Mr. Liam Simpson, in





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SOLO CHAIN SAWS

Irish Independent

Feast of the Day: B.V.M. of the Rosary

When you consider that more than 700,000 people read the "Irish Independent" each day you are assured of the best possible means of putting your sales message before the biggest morning readership in the Republic of Ireland — therefore to insert your advertisement in this paper is a wise choice.

Details of this space on application



Do the charter airlines force down fares?

scheduled airlines and leave them without scheduled services. Mr. Walls explained that apart

altogether from the disadvan-tages of having only supple-mental (charter) services, one

could be sure charter operators

would move on to other more profitable markets any time they

He claimed that, pricewise, charters operated by scheduled carriers like Aer Lingus were

at least as cheap as those operated by the big private charter airlines. "On this ques-

tion of price and economics the supplemental airlines in desperation were bringing their

prices lower and lower to the point that they have put them-selves into serious losses and

these economic problems over-flowed on to the scheduled

Quits Cavan

Council and

Fianna Fail

MR. TIMOTHY MURPHY, one

of the two Fianna Fail members

In a statement read by him

at the monthly meeting of the

at the monthly meeting of the Council yesterday he said he was born into a Republican tradition and had joined Fianna Fail because he was led to believe that it was of the same mentality. Now he was satisfied that he had been led astray.

Neighbours and fellow country-

trouble that is going on up there.

he had been led astray.

Flanna Fail party.

Cavan Urban Council, has resigned his seat on the Council and has also resigned from the

felt likt it.

By JOHN HEALY, Our Air Correspondent

CHEAP CHARTER FLIGHTS were branded "parasitie"-existing only by yearving out pieces of markets created by the advertising and the services of scheduled airlines - at an aviation society meeting in Dublin last night,

The Deputy General Manager of Aer Lingus, Mr. Arthur J. Walls, replying to a paper on charters read to the Irish section of the Royal Aeronautical Society, warned that we must the nominal attraction of a few publicised charters did not destroy the profitability of the

> Treaty's two-words tragedy Continued from Page One

side had had the advantage of having the experience of the Versailles talks behind them."

The former leader of the Longford LR.A. flying column claimed that when Mr. de Valera travelled to Britain to meet Lloyd George shortly after the Truce in 1921 he did not go as President of the Republic but as Priomh Aire or Prime Minister. He claimed that Michael Collins in his capacity as Head Collins in his capacity as Head of the 1.R.B. was the legitimate President of the Irish Republic at the time and was recognised as such by de Valera, who sent a daily report to him on the progress of the negotiations.

"Why else would de Valera do this unless he recognised Collins as his superior", Lt.-Gen. MacEoin asked.

Lt.-Gen. MacEoin, who had been a member of the Supreme Council of the LR.B., refused to Council of the I.R.B., refused to answer some questions dealing with certain aspects of the secret Republican organisation. "I feel I am still bound by the I.R.B. oath of secrecy", he said. (I had asked him, for instance, miles from the border, has never who succeeded Collins as Head mentioned the subject of the of the I.R.B.) He did say, however that the I.R.B. was dis-banded in 1923 about a year after the death of Collins. He also told me that between Tom Clarke and Collins three other men had acted as Presidents of the LR.B." and these were the legitimate Presidents of the Re-These men were Denis McCullough, Sean McGarry and

When I pointed out that surely since the LR.B. no longer existed the surviving members were no longer bound by the oath, he replied: "I do not agree. Anyway it would not be in the interest of the country to de-vulge some of the information

> DEATHS RECEIVED TOO LATE FOR CLASSIFICATION

CONWAY (Giencastle, Bunnahowen, Sallina)—Oct. 6, 1971, at the County Hospital, Castlebar, Margaret, relict f James Conway; deeply mourned by her loving son, daughter, sisters, rothers, son-in-law, relatives and riends, R.I.P. Remains will be renoved this (Thursday) evening at 5.30 (c., arriving Giencastle Church at 7 (c. Burial after Mass to-morrow (Friary) in Glencastle Cemetery.

COUGHLAN (nee Hennessy) (Kil-

day) in Glencastle Cemetery.

COUGHLAN (nee Hennessy) (Kilmacthomas, Co. Waterford)—Oct. 6.
1971. at her residence, Rathmeaden,
Molly, deeply regretted by her lovsing hisband, daughter, sons, brothers,
sisters, relatives and friends, R.I.P.
Remains will be removed to Kill
Church at 7 °C. to-day (Thursday).
Requiem Mass to-morrow (Friday) at
10.30 °C. Burial in adjoining cemetery immediately afterwards.

DELANEY (Newtown House, Crettward, Leix)—Oct. 6. 1971, at Peamount
Hospital, James, eldest son of the
late W. P. and Elizabeth Delaney;
deeply regretted by his brothers, sister,
niecea, nephew, sisters-in-law, brotherin-law, relatives and friends, R.I.P.
Remains leaving hospital at 6.30 o'c.
this (Thursday) evening, arriving
Doornae Church, at 8 o'c. Burial will
take place after II o'c. Mass tomorrow (Friday) in adjoining cemetery,
KEARNEY (Leixlip)—Oct. 6, 1971.

morrow (Friday) in adjoining cemetery, KEARNEY (Leixlip)—Oct. 6, 1971, at St. Kevin's Hospital, Teresa, 594 St. Mary's Park, Leixlip, beloved wife of Dennix, deeply regrested by her sorrowing husband, son, daughter, son-in-law, grandchild, relatives and friends. R.I.P. Remains will arrive at St. Mary's Church, Leixip, this (Thursday) evening at 6 o'c. Funeral to-morrow (Friday) after 10 o'c. Mass to Confey Cemetery,

KILHEENY (Ahalative, Creggs)—Oct.
6, 1971, at Regional Hospital, Galway,
Ellen; deeply regretted by her sorrowing daughters, sona, relatives and
friends. R.I.P. Remains will be
removed to-day (Thursday) at 5 o'c.
to Glynak Church, via Tuam, Requiem
Mass to-morrow (Friday) at 11.30 o'c.
Funeral immediately afterwards to
Ballinakill Cemetery,
LAWLESS (Hallinger, Massa).

Ballinakill Cemetery,

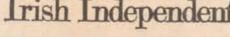
LAWLESS (Halltown, Navan)—Oct.

1971, at Meath County Infirmary,
Mary, relict of Matthew Lawless;
deeply regretted by her sorrowing
sons, daughter, sister, brother, relatives and friends. R.I.P. Remains
will be removed to Boyenstown
Church this (Thursday) evening at 7.30
o'c. Requiem Mass to-morrow (Friday)
at 11 o'c. Funeral immediately afterwards to Boyenstown Cemetery.

O'CONNOR (Dublin)—Oct. 6. 1971,
at his residence, 12 Galtymore Road,
Drimnagh, Michael Joseph, beloved
husband of Mary O'Connor and late
of Old Nass Road, Bluebell; deeply
regretted by his sorrowing wife, son,
daughters, brother, slaters, sons-inlaw, grandchildeen, relatives and
friends, R.I.P. Remains will be removed this (Thursday) evening at 5 friends, R.I.P. Remains will be re-moved this (Thursday) evening at 5 c'c. to Church of Mary Immaculate Inchicose. Funeral to-morrow (Fri-day) when 10 o'c. Mass to Bluebel Company.

· DEPENDABLE AND FAST

Rowans CAPEL ST.



DUBLIN, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1971

Reporters 46121 (10 lines)



TO ALI WITH LOVE-Former world heavyweight boxing champion, Muhammed Ali, is greeted with a kiss from a youthful fan in Kaduna, northern Nigeria, where he staged an exhibition bout during his current four-day tour of Nigeria. Ali leaves for London tomorrow following exhibitions in Lagos, the Nigerian capital.

Bishop raps local authorities

By JOHN WALSHE. Our Education Correspondent

THE BISHOP OF MEATH. men across the border had been subjected to hardships over Most Rev. Dr. McCormack, has rapped local authorities for their "failure" to make adequate the years without any action from this part of the country, said Mr. Murphy. Because of provision for youth work.

The Hierarchy, he said, is acutely conscious of the failure of many civic bodies and authorities to make adequate provision in this field so that, in many areas, practically everything is left to the church. this he could not continue to act as a public representative of Fianna Fail. "Rumours have been circulat-

They had considered the question of using school facili-ties for "out of school" youth work. Their general policy was to favour such use of schools facilities could be adequately assured by the authorities of the During my term as a councillor I have extended by hand

of friendship to everyone no Dr. McCormack's views are matter what their colour or contained in a letter to the National Youth Council who had As Mr. Murphy left the inquired about the use of the schools. The Council has also council chamber after making his statement, the Chairman, Mr. T. J. Fitzpatrick, T.D. been told by the Department of Mr. T. J. Fitzpatrick, T.D. (F.G.) remarked that the Council Education that it, too, would approve such use of schools. was sorry to see him leave. Mr. Murphy has been a member of commented that the problem now was to get concerted action

on the part of all those involved turn this goodwill into further opportunities for young people.

Seen any of these cars?

THE following cars have been reported as missing to Action Call: Austin 1100 KZH 516; dark green Ford Escort, LZU 481, from Rathgar, Dublin: MG NZE 781, from Donnybrook The scheme was introduced to terminate the scheme will be entertained but grants already approved will be paid.

"The scheme was introduced to terminate the scheme will be desired to terminate the scheme will be entertained but grants already approved will be paid. NZE 781, from Donnybrook Church, Dublin, since September 26 last: Mini Ton September 26 last: Mini Traveller, 1121 M.M.: Cortina, KSY 777 J, from Clondalkin, Co. Dublin, since September 20: Cortina AZL 239; 29; Mini Traveller, IAI 853, since Sunday night; light bleu Ford Cortina, DZO 597; blue Morris Mini, SDI 585.

If your car is missinb contact Action Call, Dublin 40010, and ring Action Call so that we may

Minister ends shipping grants

decision to cancel grants to Irish Shipowners. In a surprise announcement the Minister for Transport and Power, Mr. Leni-han, said he was ending the Shipping Investment Grants Scheme. Money would be paid to companies already given grants but no new requests "will be entertained."

And he added "We were not expecting the Government to do this. It will definitely slow down the growth of the Irish merchant fleet. We don't just want the Government to give us money for nothing but we would like their backing to get the banks to give us reasonable rates of interest.

His sentiments were echoed by Col. A. T. Lawlor, chairman of the Short Sea Traders Assobeen made to the

for this country and deserves And he added: "I'm very annoyed by this move." Scheme in consultation with the Minister for Finance it has been

"The scheme was introduced in 1969 with effect to April 1, 1967, at the instance of the Irish Ship-owners' Association, in order to competitive footing with British

ciation. He said it was just another case of "keeping step" with Britain. A submission had Government to provide grants similar to those given to Continental countries which at present were not available here. Said the Col.: "We feel there is a case for a separate Ministry for Shipping. The in-dustry is arning hard currency

entertained but grants already

"The corresponding British

A DEMAND for an increase

Ship owners' immediate re-actin was that this move would seriously undermine the future growth of the country's mer-chant shipping fleet.

Said Mr. Kevin Kearon, president of the Irish Chamber of Shipping, which is representative f all Irish shipowning concerns: "My immediate reaction is that it is a retrograde step for Irish shipping because we have been fighting with the Government for a long time to put the in-dustry on a footing with our foreign competitors such as the Germans, Danes and Greeks. We wanted to build up a fleet of ships that would keep trade in

In his statement the Minister aid: "Following a review of the Shipping Investment Grants

shipowners who already had the nach, at Kilmainham Court advantage of such grants.

Dublin, yesterday, when he was

scheme was withdrawn from October, 1970. In these cirtake advantage of our service, if you know anything of the whereabouts of any of the cars on our published list, please the Exchequer, retenton of the ling in a dengerous manner and cumstances and having regard

of 3p per gallon on creamery milk and an increase of £105 per ton on the regulated price paid by Bord Bainne for butter was made yesterday by a deputation of the Irish Creamery Milk Sup-pliers' Association when they met the Minister of Agriculture, Mr. Gibbons, in the Government Buildings.

In addition the I.C.M.S.A. also wanted a guaranteed price of ip for skim milk and the work-ing out of details so that the benefits of the two-tier system would be retained for producers with less than 10,000 gallons, especially during the transitional period of E.E.C. membership. These points were emphasised

Inese points were emphasised last night at a news conference given by the President of the Association, Mr. James O'Keeffe, in Dublin, Mr. O'Keeffe said that in view of the exceptionally buoyant state of the butter market Irish Dairy producers were entitled to get the benefit of the substantial increase which had taken place in butter prices. He added that butter is now making £595 per ton and Bord Bainne was paying £469 to Irish creameries for this butter. He added that the increase which

they were asking for was only fair to Irish dairy producers. Mr. O'Keeffe also asked for safeguarding of the farmers' position regarding the Value Added Tax and for more credit to be available for the development available for the development and expansion of Irish agricul-

He told the news conference that the Minister had assured that they would have an answer within a month to the points which they had made.

Mr. O'Keeffe also said that they had emphasised the im-portance of the pig industry and said that there must be a satisfactory relationship between the price of pig meat and pigfeed

They also emphasised at the meeting with the Minister the absolute necessity to do some-thing about this disparity be-tween prices of pigs and pigfeed because, he went on: "The pig producer is being caught in a very difficult position as a few years ago he was getting £20 for his Grade A bacon pig and pay-ing £30 for his feeding, while now he is still getting £20 for his quality pig and paying from £46 to £48 per ton for com-pound feeding."

Shot gun case: man remanded

Raymond Hanlon (32), unem ployed, of Mellows Avenue, Finglas West, Dublin, was resent to bail, by Justice Breathcharged with having a shotgun with intent to endanger lift or on October 5 last at Barry Rd.,

driving without insurance or a

More for milk, butter demand by ICMSA

TODAY'S WEATHER

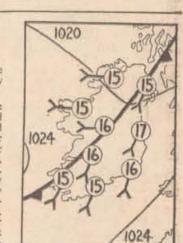
A frontal trough near the north-west is moving slowly south-eastwards.

Forecast (6 a.m. to midnight): Munster and Leinster — Mild and close with some hill and coastal fog. Also some rain or drazzle at times. Moderate or fresh south or south-west winds, decreasing light to moderate. Ulster and Connacht: Close rainy weather at first will give way during the afternoon to some-what fresher dry weather. what fresher dry weather, Moderate or fresh south or south-west winds, becoming light to moderate westerly or north-

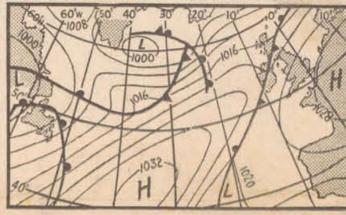
Outlook: A few showers, per-

Sun rises: 07.36. Sun sets: 18.50.

Lighting-up Times: 19.20



temperatures in Centigrade (in circles) and wind directions (arrows) at noon today, at Belfast, Derry, Ballina, Athlone, Limerick, Tralee, Cork, Wexlord and Dublin 32 deg, Fahrenheit equals zero Cantigrade).



Cold Front

Oochusion YESTERDAY'S READINGS IN DUBLIN

Barometer: At 10.00, 30.35 tches (1027.8 millibars); at 17.00 30.29 inches (1025.7 millibars). Thermometer: At 10.00 61F. (16.1C.); at 17.00 65F. (18.3C.); Highest and lowest temperatures

Rainfall: 10.00 to 17.00 -

World weather

conditions and temperatures at these centres yesterday: Rome: 23C. (72F.), sunny. Paris: 15 (59), sunny.

London: 17 (63), sunny. Dublin: 20 (68), fine. Berlin: 13 (55), sunny. Amsterdam: 17 (63), cle. Brussels: 16 (60), clear. Madrid: 24 (75.1), sunny. Moscow: 0 (32), cloudy. Cork: 15 (59), drizzle. Stockholm: 8 (46.4), overcast. New York: 24.4 (76), cloudy.

San Francisco: 28.3 (83), clear, Belfast: 17 (62.6), haze. Los Angeles: 38.3 (101), clear, Chicago: 24.4 (76), cloudy. Miami: 29.4 (85), clear. Tokyo: 17.4 (63.3), cloudy. Shannon: 19 (66.2), cloudy. Hongkong: 28 (82), sunny. Buenos Aires: 14.1 (57), clean Montreal: 20 (68), cloudy, Honolulu: 30 (86), clear, Toronto: 21.1 (70), clear, Rio de Janeiro: 27.2 (81), rain,

DIAL 1199 any time twenty-four hours a day for the latest weather forecase for the Dublin area.

Dixon Hempenstall, 111 Grafton St., ublin 2-Barometers. (Advt.)

with the changes in hours and minutes which must be made for other ports. A + sign indicates an addition to the time at the main ports. A - sign indicates a subtraction from that

DUBLIN: 1,36 a.m.; 2.2 p.m. Bray (-6rn) Wicklow (-4lm)
Drogheda (-20m) Wexford Harbour
Dundalk (-16m)
Skerries (-18m) Waterford H'bour
Greyatones (-8m)
Rosslare Harbour Courtown
(-5h 58m) (-1h 37m)

GALWAY: 7.28 a.m.: 7.50 p.m.

Fenit (-37m) Youxhal (-6m)
Traine (-23m) Glenbeigh (-45m)
Tramore (+50m) Waterford Bridge (+27m) Tramore Ballycotton (-5m)

DERRY: 10.32 a.m.; 11.2 p.m. Portrush (-1h 40m)

A double-decker C.I.E. bus

yesterday morning.

GOVERNMENT NOTICES. LEGAL NOTICES, PUBLIC

Alogogis delevision ami radio guide

RITE TV 11.15-11.45-JUNIOR CHEMIS-

2.15—GAEILGE SINSEAR 5.30-THE REAL McCOYS 6.00—THE ANGELUS 6.01—NEWS HEADLINES

the council since 1960.

6.06-BUGS BUNNY AND FRIENDS 6.15—THE MILLION POUND BANK NOTE. After arriving in London, pen-niless and without prospects, Henry Adams has mysteriously come into

6.45—LETTER BY LETTER 7.15-AN NUACHT

7.30—LONGSTREET 8.30—SPORT IN ACTION.
Featuring highlights of
THE HORSE OF THE
YEAR SHOW at Wem-

9.30-NEWS, WEATHER 9.50-ELIZABETH R. Glenda Jackson stars in a series of six plays each of which explores a dif-ferent aspect of the life of Queen Elizabeth I of

11.20-OUTLOOK 11.25—NEWS HEADLINES

B.B.C. TV---2

10. 0-LABOUR PARTY CON-FERENCE.

11.00—PLAY SCHOOL, 11.25-12.30—LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE. 4.15—INTERNATIONAL GOLF

6.35—HISTORY ON THE 7.05—OPEN UNIVERSITY 7.30-NEWSROOM

8.00-EUROPA 8.30—TRIAL: STORY 77 9.20—SHOW OF THE WEEK: SCOTT ON WEALTH 10.05—NEWS, WEATHER

10.10-WORLD CINEMA: KNIFE IN THE WATER 11.40-LATE NIGHT LINE-UP CYMRU TV

5.00-5.50-DIBYN-DQBYN

6.01-6.18-X-DYDD

BBC TV-1

9.38-FOR SCHOOLS, COL-12.00-INTERNATIONAL GOLF. The Piccadilly World Match Play Cham-

12.30—DRESSMAKING 12.50—INTERNATIONAL 1.30-POGLES' WOOD

2.25—INTERNATIONAL GOLF 4.15—PLAY SCHOOL

4.55—BLUE PETER 5.20-IVANHOE by Sir Walter Scott. Dramatised in 10 parts by Alexander

5.44—MAGIC ROUNDABOUT 5.50—NEWS, WEATHER 6.00—NATIONWIDE SPECIAL AND SCENE AROUND SIX. Richard Marsh, the new boss of British Rail, answers the moans of

Nationwide's regional 7.00-OWEN M.D. Owen: "It's a pretty serious accusa-tion. Christie's an awk-ward customer and if you turn out to be

passengers

7.25—TOP OF THE POPS.
Introduced by Jimmy 8.00-BACHELOR FATHER.

Peter is faced with a financial crisis which could mean the loss of FLYING CIRCUS

9.00-NEWS

the Horse of the Year 11.45—CLOSEDOWN 10,30-24 HOURS. A daily look at what matters in the news and out of it.

11.15—CONFERENCE REPORT

11.40-NORTHERN IRELAND

PORT, WEATHER

Closedown

NEWS HEADLINES, ROAD WORKS RE-

9.20-SHOW JUMPING from

8 8 8 8

10.20 and 1.40-FOR SCHOOLS 12.00-12.30-LABOUR PARTY from conference hall and

ITV conference in Brighton. 2.32—RACING FROM YORK 4.00-YOGA FOR HEALTH

1.45—NEWS 2.05—FOR SCHOOLS, COL-LEGES 4.30—THE ROMPER ROOM 4.50—ULSTER NEWS HEAD-LINES 4.55—BUSH BOY 5.20-MAGPIE

5.50-NEWS 6.00-UTV REPORTS 6.15-DAWS EXPLORES 6.35-CROSSROADS. Chrls

7.00-AN EVENING WITH ... 7.30-THE FEATURE FILM: 9.00-THE LOVERS. A new

Hunter has returned with his father to Kings Oak,

at the celluloid world of

70s, this period of worldhis home and even the break-up of the family.

8.30—MONTY PYTHON'S

his home and even the break-up of the family.

Smart is surprised and pleased by an offer from

B.B.C. WALES

2.30-2.50-FOR SCHOOLS 6.00-NATIONWIDE SPECIAL 7.00-7.25-HEDDIW OUT 8.30—The Honey Spike, 9.0— in Action, 7.0—Regency People, 11.42—WEATHER, closedown. The News, 9.10—Cursai Reatha, 7.30—Prokofiev and Brahmse

8:38

As UTV except: 9.30-LABOUR PARTY CON-FERENCE

3.50-WOMEN ARE PEOPLE 4.15—TINKERTAINMENT 4.30—CROSSROADS 4.55—THE ADVENTURES OF YOUNG GULLIVER 6.01—REPORT WEST

6.18—REPORT WALES 6.35—THE SKY'S THE LIMIT 7.10—MID WEEK MOVIE: RUN FOR THE SUN. 10.30-MISS HTV WEST '71

11.00-UNTOUCHABLES

Company and the

12.00-WEATHER and Close-

7.30 - Morning Airs, com-George Montgomery in mencing with News and Weather.
SAMAR! 7.33—A Thought for the Day. 7.33—A Thought for the 7.55—Weather. 8.0—News comedy series of the teenage battle of the sexes 1970's style.

9.30—THIS WEEK

10.00—NEWS. Including a report on the Labour Party Conference.

10.30—CINEMA. A new 7.35—Weather. 8.0—News and It Says in the Papers. 8.30—News Headlines, 9.0—News and It Says in the Papers. 8.30—News Headlines, 9.31—Sceal Octoorchaigh. 10.0—News Summary. 10.02—Rogha Ceoil. 10.30—Nuacht Headlines, 10.58

A Thought for the Day, 11.0— 10.30—CINEMA. A weekly look News Headlines, 11.01 — Here movies, their stars and Nuscht Headlines, 12.0 — The their makers, with clips Angelus, 12.01 — News Head-from films old and new, lines 12.02 — The their makers with clips Angelus, 12.01 — News Head-from films old and new, lines 12.02 their makers, with clips from films old and new. lines, 12.01 — News Headfrom films old and new. lines, 12.03—Story Time, 12.30—

11.00—WHAT'S IT ALL Nuacht Headlines). 12.45—The Kennedys of Castleross, 12.59—
to be a Christian in the News Headlines, 1.0—Sponsored. Kennedys of Castleross, 12.59— News Headlines, 1.0—Sponsored, 1.30—News, 2.0—Sponsored. 3.0-News Headlines. 3.01-This GET SMART. Maxwell Afternoon, commencing with Smart is surprised and pleased by an offer from a mystery woman to provide evidence against a notorious KAOS agent.

OCCUPATION NAMED IN THE LIAI. 4.0—Thursday Magazine, 4.30—Nuacht Headlines. 4.31—Children Talking, 4.55—An Bus go Mosco, 5.0—News Headlines, 5.01—Dr. Patrick Hillary T.D. Minister for Heidlings, 5.01 — Dr. Fairles, Hillery, T.D. Minister for Foreign Affairs, addresses the General Assembly of the United Nations in New York. 6.0 — The Angelus. 6.01—Weather Forecast. 6.02—Music on the Move. 6.25—Livestock Prices. 6.30 — The News, 6.45 — Discs. A. Gogan! 8.0—Nuacht Headlings A-Gogan! 8.0 Nuacht Headlines 8.00—8.30—WEEK IN, WEEK 8.01—Give Your Child A Chance OUT 8.30—The Honey Spike. 9.0—

Final, 10.0-The Irish Gardener. Sponsored, 11.45-Late News.

(247mL) 5.30-As Radio 2. 7.0-Tony Blackburn. 9.0-Jimmy Young.

Wogan. 5.0-What's New; Mike

Lennox. 6.0-As Radio 2. 10.0

Sounds of the 70s: Pete Drum-

BBC RADIO-1

11.0 — Dave Lee Travis, 1.0 — Johnnie Walker, 3.3 — Terry

mond. 12.0-As Radio 2.

BBC. RADIO-2 (1,500m.) 5.30 News; Weather, 5.32-Breakfast Special: John Dunn. 8.55—Pause for Thought. 9.2— Pete Muray's Open House. 11.2 -Morning Story, 11.15 -Waggoners' Walk NW, 11.30-Tony Brandon. 2.2—Woman's Hour. 4.15—Waggoners' Walk NW. 4.31—Sports Desk. 4.35— Sam Costa. 6.2—Album Time. 6.50—Sports Desk. 7.3—After Seven. 8.2—Sounds Familiar. 8.30-Time for Old Time. 9.15-Shades, 10.2—Late Night Extra. 12.0—Midnight Newsroom, 12.5 — Night Ride, 2.0 — News;

E-E-C FADIO 3

Weather. 2.2-Closedown.

(464, 194 or 188m.) 7.0 - News; Weather, 7.5 Morning Concert including 8.0-News; Weather. 9.0 — News; Weather. 9.5—This Week's Composer. 9.45 — B.B.C. Midland Light Orchestra. 10.30 — Schubert and Brahms. 11.50— Midday Concert, including 1.0— News; Weather, 1,30—II pirata, 2.55 — The Interval, 3,10 — II pirata, Act 2. 4.0—Pied Piper. 4.40 — Haydn. 5.0 — Youth Orchestras of the World. 6.15— Concert Calendar. 6.25 - Programme News and Stock Market Report. 6.30—English

Concert. Part 2. 9.20-The Ice-10.20 — Early Italian Songs and berg. 9,35—Beethoven. 10.45—Arias. 10.45—My Kind of Poerry. The Jesuit in the Space Ship. 11.0—News Headlines. 11.91 — 11.5—Beethoven. Part 2. 11,30 -News Summary. 11.35-Close-

(224m)

6.25—News Summary. 6.27—Farming Today. 6.45—Prayer for the Day. 6.50—Weather; Fatstock Prices. 6.55—Northern Ireland News. 7.0—News. 7.40—Today's Papers. 7.45—Thought for the Day. 7.50—Weather; Today's Diagram, 7.55—Northern Ireland News. 8.0—News. 8.25 Ireland News. 8.0-News. 8.25-Round-up Reports, 8.40 - To-day's Papers, 8.45 - The Day They Kidnapped Queen Victoria. 9.0—News. 9.5—For Schools. 9.25—Other People's Lives, 9.35 -For Schools. 10.15-Daily Service. 10.30-For Schools. 12.0-You and Yours, 12.25—Twelve 25 Thursday, 1.0—The World at One: News, 1.30—The Archers, 1.45 — Listen with Mother, 2.0—For Schools, 2.20 -Break for Music, 2.30-For Schools, 3.0-Afternoon Theatre, 3.45 ... Jack de Manio Pre-cisely. 4.30 Story Time. 5.0 — PM. 5.50 — Northern Ireland News and Weather. 6.0-News. 6.15—Brothers in Law. 6.45—The Archers. 7.0—News Desk. 7.30 — Any Answers? 8.0 — The Music Makers. 8.45—Scan. 9.30 —New Worlds. 10.0—The World Tonight: News. 10.45—Accustomed as I am. . . 11.0—A Book at Bedtime. 11.15—News. 11.31 Market Trends. Interlude. 11.45—Northern Ireland News Head-lines and coastal forecast. 11.48 lines and coastal forecast. 11.48

BROKENIE GIRECE

(208m.) 7.30—Dave Christian, 10.0— Bob Stewart. 1.0—Kid Jensen. 3.0-Closedown.

Printed and published by the proprietors Independent Newspapers, Ltd., at their offices, Middle Abbey Street, Dublin 1. THURSDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1971.

morning and evening, for Dub-lin, Cobh, Galway, Belfast and

BELFAST: 1.5 a.m.: 1.31 p.m. Bangor (+15m) Newcastle (+30m)

Crashed into shop

being towed from Blarney to Cork city crashed into a chemist shop at Blackpool Bridge about a mile from the city centre

NOTICES, TENDERS, Etc., -PAGES 2 & 25.

THE FATEFUL YEARS

Middlemas, Lecturer in Modern History at the Univerthe Oxford University Press. It has been adapted for

'I will talk to the country—

not to these worms'

for a letter giving certain "personal assurances" that Prime Minister of Northern would prevent a breakdown in the negotiations and ensure Ireland-to budge from his that the Government would obdurate stand. not be defeated in the cen-

DURING his meeting with Arthur Griffith in Winston

Churchill's house in Sussex

Gardens on the evening of

Saturday, October 30, 1921,

the British Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George, was to ask

Commons on the Monday.

which has been a central

point of argument for the

past 50 years and has caused

him to be blamed in some quarters for the meagre

amount of Dominion status that Ireland eventually won.

In fact, there were three

drafts of this letter before it

was finally signed by Griffith.

The letter of assurance enabled Lloyd George to

emerge triumphant with a crushing majority over the

diehards in the censure de

bate-thus ensuring the con-

tinuance of the Treaty nego

tiations-but it did not get

Sir James Craig, afterwards

Lord Craigavon and first

Lloyd George now switched his tactics and the suggestion of the Boundary Commission — in all probability inspired by Tom Jones himself—was put forward, and immediately the whole situation on the North of Ireland issue was altered for its made. sure vote facing it in the One of the most important revelations in Tom Jones's book is that all the Irish deleissue was altered, for it made Partition a definite possibility . . . gates agreed in advance to the famous Griffith letter

An assurance

Lloyd George succeeded in obtaining from Griffith an important assurance that during the National Unionist Association conference in Liverpool the Irish

would not obstruct the Boundary Commission proposal (the British were offering to create an all-Ireland Parliament, the North to have the right to vote itself out within 12 months, but, if it did, a Boundary Commission would be set up to de-limit the area).

Although there was no pledge to actually accept it, Griffith's assurance implicitly conveyed one. Later Lloyd George im-parted the news to Austin Chamberlain and Tom Jones put the agreement into a short memorandum. On November 13, 1921, he showed this to Griffith, who approved its contents — but the question of whether he actually signed it still remains open.

To Griffith, reporting the pro-

-said Lloyd George

The tragedy

But the gragedy of it, viewed in cold retrospect, was this: whereas Griffith saw substantial gains for the South evolving from a Boundary Commission, if all area of benefit to the South)."
went to all, his "assurance not Thus revealed again was the

posal to de Valera, the suggestion was no more than a "tactical mission proposal," was seen by manoeuvre"—Lloyd George's way of putting the onus on Ulster for any breakdown.

to obstruct the Boundary Commission proposal," was seen by Austen Chamberlain, setting off for the Liverpool conference, as not just a tactical manoeuvre (as Margery Forester stresses in her recent biography of Michael Col-lins). Indeed, it was accepted by Chamberlain as "a firm under-taking to allow Ulster to opt out of any settlement, subject only to the findings of a Boundary Commission (not necessarily in-

adroitness of Lloyd George, who was able to use the document as proof of an undertaking by the Irish not to obstruct a settle-

ment because of the North of In today's extracts from the book we see, too, how the threat of Lloyd George resigning had a significant bearing on the out-

Now let Tom Jones continue

look of the Irish delegation, who

Saturday evening, October 29, 1921: I saw Alfred W. Cope and Eamonn Duggan (the former had in April been appointed Assistant Joint Under-Secretary in Dublin

Reverting to the Prime Valera in Dublin. Eamonn Duggan was a member of the

I outlined the draft of such a tetter, but he was certain that the Irish Delegation would fear publication sooner or later of such a letter. Duggan would pre-fer a private interview between the P.M. and Griffith with or without Michael Collins, and he went off to sound Griffith on this, promising to ring me up later.

"I am not going to talk to these worms," he said, referring to the die-hards, "but to the country,"

Cope over, told him to get touch with Duggan and fix up ting the Prime Minister in an im-

31 October. Throughout the day the P.M. busy on his speech and inaccessible. Hankey went up to his bedroom early in the with the papers scattered all over the bed. I went over about 11.0 Worthington-Evans shewed him the Irish reply.

He observed at once on reading along. They will presently say-O King."

I told him I agreed with this interpretation and that with care we would pull through, especially he would help with Chamber-

At 4.0 went to the Official Gallery to hear the Debate and

with Griffith and Collins.

This series is adapted from Tom Jones's "Whitehall Diary" (Vol. III-Ireland 1918-'25), edited by Keith sity of Sussex. The book is being published shortly by serialisation by staff writer Raymond Smith.

Collins gets a desperate choice

ON TUESDAY, November 1, 1921, after a meeting of the British Cabinet at 12.30 p.m., Tom Jones had a 10-minute talk with Michael Collins, alone.

He told Collins that unless a reached on the North, he felt certain that Lloyd George would rather resign than start a war of reconquest.

At 11 a.m. the same morning here had been a meeti ween the Prime Minister, Cham-berlain, Birkenhead, Griffith and Collins admitted feeling rather disappointed and flat after this meeting.

Whether Lloyd George really intended to resign if the North refused to compromise, is a matter of some doubt. He certainly said so to Lord Riddell and his comments on the North's attitude during the next fortnight sug-gested at the time it was definitely so. The Diary of C. P. Scott, editor of "The Guardian" confirms that Lloyd George told his closest friends that he would

November 2, 1921, Wednesday About 11.20 Griffith and Collins had an interview with Birkenhead alone in the House of Lords. This meeting discussed the second draft of Griffith's letter of assurance.

To protect the delegation from accusations of compromise, Grif-fith had offered only a personal letter. When he put the first draft to his colleagues on the evening of November 1, Barton, Duffy and Childers opposed it strongly on grounds of principle as well as content. The letter was redrafted at the 6.45 p.m. meeting (below) and in the end the whole Irish Delegation assented to the third and final

the close of the meeting I At the close of the meeting I appointment and he remarked that they must be satisfied at present with the nominal unity of whole of Ireland and that it would take time to make it

6.45 - Met at No. 10. The P.M., Chamberlain, Birkenhead, Griffith and Collins. Lasted till 8.15. I sat outside gossiping with Childers who is an intense republican. He was smarting under the press attacks and especially the attack on his invalid wife . . . The Lord Chancellor came out of the meeting with an amended draft of the letter of "personal

November 2 (Third Draft) -Meeting of Griffith and Collins with the Prime Minister, Chamberlain and Birkenhead, 6.45 p.m. at 10 Downing Street. November 2, 1921. Copy taken by Mr. Griffith at 8.45 p.k. at 110 Griffith at 8.15 p.m. to Irish headquarters for reproduction on official Irish paper and signature.

Griffith's first draft did not in-clude the words in brackets in this final version, but did include the phrase "on no account could I recommend any association with the Crown or the Commonwealth if the unity of Ireland were denied in form or in fact" was struck out at a meeting at 11.30 a.m. on November 2 between Griffith, Collins, and

Birkenhead.

In our personal conversation on Sunday night you stated that three things were vital — our attitude to the British Commonwealth, the Crown and Naval Defence. You asked me whether, provided I was satisfied on other points, I would



Lloyd George . . . he threatened to resign.

Arthur Griffith . . . his

famous letter approved by

all the delegation.

was prepared to recommend a free partnership of Ireland with

wealth, the formula defining

the partnership to be arrived at in later discussion. I was,

on the same condition, pre-

pared to recommend that Ire-

land should consent to a recognition of the Crown as

head of the proposed associa-tion of free States.

noted the assurance contained

October 27th to the effect

"The objects of the British

Government in regard to the Navy and the Air Force will

remain purely defensive. None

of these stipulations is in-tended in the smallest degree

to afford either armed occupa-

tion or political control of any part of Ireland."

(and) I agreed consequently to

recommend that the British Navy should be afforded such

necessary pending an agree-ment (similar to those made

with the Dominions) providing

for the assumption by Ireland

of her own coastal defence.

facilities as may be

your

to Navan Defence,

memorandum

relation to these matters.

ance of existing Parliamentary powers), and would agree that its industrial life should not be safeguards (and to the maintenance of existing Parliamentary powers), and would agree that ts industrial life should not be hampered or discriminated against in any way.

With reference to the question of the financial relations between the two nations, I am willing to let the adjustment of this matter rest in the hands of

The acceptance of this letter Lloyd George sufficient grounds of agreement to bring in the Northern Ireland representative. But Craig proved to be totally obdurate. His response, and his reliance on the expected with very little room to manoeuvre.

November 7. Monday - Arnged that Craig should see the P.M. at 5 o'clock at No. 10.

About 6.30 the Prime Minister sent for me and I had about half hour with him alone during which time he paced up and down the Cabinet room, more depressed than I had seen him at all since the negotiations began. He said — "Craig will not budge one inch. He is sending for his Cabinet as he will not be responsible alone for turning offer down. therefore, a break on Thursday. I would like you to see Griffith and Collins and prepare them for I shall go out. I will not be a party to coercing the South." I asked — "What about Bonar? Isn't he helping you?"

He said - "No, he is not. He has had six months' rest and has come back and is busy." I give you personal assurance in expressed my disappointment and I assured you in reply that, said that I always knew he was provided I was so satisfied, I fanatical on Ulster but that I thought with peace in sight he the other States associated within the British Commonwould take a stateman's view on

He then said - "There is just one other possible way out. I want to find out from Griffith and Collins if they will support me on it; namely that the 26 Counties should take their own Dominion Parliament and have a Boundary Commission, that Ulster should have her present powers plus representation in the Imperial Parliament plus the burdens of taxation which we bear. I might be able to put that through if Sinn Feln will take it. Find out." I said — "I take it that on no account would you give Dominion Status to Ulster and that it would be open to Sinn Fein to put up a customs bar-rier between the North and South?

He agreed. He was to dine that night with Beaverbrook, Churchill, Gordon Hewart and L. W. Evans, The Lord Chancellor and Chamberlain had refused invitations to the dinner. Next morning there was a very much inspired column in the Daily Ex-

press and in none of the other

I stated that this attitude of This was the first mention the Boundary Commission and the way in which Lloyd George sugmine was conditional on the recognition of the essential unity of Ireland. As to the gested it must re-open all the arguments on whether it was intended to ensnare the Irish delegation. Tom Jones's book North-East of Ireland (while reserving for futher discussion the question of area) I would rejects the idea that a ruse was necessary safeguards (and to the mainten-

diehard opposition at the Party Conference, left Lloyd George BY Tuesday November 8, 1921 ficed unity entirely. I agreed, the Treaty negotiations seemed but what was the alternative? to have reached breaking point. Chaos, Crown Colony Govern-

In Room 125 of the Grosvenor ment, Civil War, Hotel, Tom Jones spent one and a half hours with Griffith and Collins dealing for most of the time, as he put it himself, with "the impending break" and trying to discover from them any suggestions they could make.

His Diary continues: "Michael Collins was obviously very much upset at the news but it is much harder to tell what Griffith feels about anything as he keeps himself well

Griffith urged that the Prime Minister should stand up to Craig and Co., that their rejection was a gigantic piece of bluff, that if an honest plebiscite could be taken in Belfast it would be found that a majority were against partition. Of the 800,000 Protestants, probably not more than 150,000 were "diehards." I assured them that the Prime Minister would put up the strongest possible battle but that we were bound to contemplate his failure by preparing to adjust our actions accord-

I pointed out that if the Prime Minister resigned it was impossible to foretell the course of events. He might go into retirement with Birkenhead and Chamberlain.

There might be no General Election immediately; if, for example, Bonar Law formed a new Government he would be supported by the big Unionist majority in the House. It was in my opinion all important to try to keep the Prime Minister at the helm. How could this be done? I then threw out the suggestion of the Southern Parliament plus Boundary Commission as my own and asked them what did they think of it. Griffith said that they preferred a plebi-

Collins did not like the suggestion at all because it sacri-

We were bound to try every Planning a new

Michael Collins leaves Downing Street after negotiations with Lloyd George.

device to avert that. Griffith was not alarmed at the proposal and Ireland over I left promising to sound the P.M. upon it. and give them a breakfast of kipreply at 3.0 on the following day.

5.0 Conference of Ministers at pers at No. the House of Commons . . . At the end I had 5 minutes with the Prime Minister and told him the substance of my talk and that I was going back at 3.0 the following day.

He told me - "I have made up my mind definitely to-day. I do not make up my mind quickly. I take lots of time to explore a situation but when I come to a decision I take it at once and stick to it. I have done so to-day. I will not be a party to firing another shot in the South

QUOTE

"THE Irish delegates made a good impression. I am convinced of their sincerity. They are simple; they have none of the skill of the old nationalists; these men are not accustomed to finessing; they mean to come in and work with the Empire. They realise they have nothing to do with foreign affairs. Redmond supported us but would not take office. This is the first time we have the physical force party round a table in direct discussion. Daniel O'Connell, Butt, Parnell, Redmond, Dillon had Fenians behind them. The Clan na Gael was not in the bargain."

-Lloyd George porting to his Cabinet Counties" colleagues on Nov. 10,

Downing Street.

TOMORROW:

9 November, Wednesday. 3.0.

Boundary Commission is very political careermuch the same. It would have

I said that was enough for me that he would put up the Cabinet in the afternoon.

rama in Room 125 staunchest fight on the main pro-

> They went on to say that from private communications to them, Unionist farmers and merchants in Ulster were keenly against partition, but were too afraid of the demagogues to say so. They added that if Craig was

to the demagogues all would be well but that Craig was a weak man. I told them of the difficulties which Curtis had stressed in talking to me of an of Ireland. I have told the King. all-Ireland Parliament which was I have told my wife, who fully also the Parliament for the 26 agrees with me, and I have told Counties and I alluded to the my secretaries today that there experience of Prussia. Griffith may be someone else here next said it had worked up to the week. My colleagues say they will war all right in Hungary and stand by me and won't take Croatia. Sinn Fein are in favour forenoon, but he was sleeping, office in an alternative Govern- of Proportional Representation. ment but they did that at the he himself having been the first last crisis, half a dozen of them to preach it in Ireland and there and within three days of their he and Birkenhead were in saving so I was putting the nose agreement. Sinn Fein had not ing it "I like this. They are combags of office round their necks. formally discussed a Second Curzon, L. W.-E. and Baldwin, Chamber but he (Griffith) was in they will all go over to Bonar favour of it and had no doubt at all it would be accepted.

About 5.45 I saw the Prime Saw Griffith and Duggan at Minister alone. He was perfectly Room 125 at the Grosvenor satisfied with what I reported Hotel . . . I then told Griffith but pointed out that the Boundthat the Prime Minister was any Commission would be for the prepared to play the Boundary 9 Counties. I told him that I Commission as an absolutely last certainly had not made that clear. card if he could feel sure that That I had spoken of the 6 Sinn Fein would take it, if Counties. He said there was no Ulster accepted. Griffith re- foundation for the Daily Chronplied - "It is not our pro- icle statement about representaposal, but if the Prime Minister tion in the Imperial Parliament. cares to make it we would not He then went on to say that make his position impossible. We F.E. was putting up a splendid cannot give him a pledge but fight. He spoke in the most an elementary maxim of British we will not turn him down on superlative terms of the justice to assume innocence until it. We are not going to queer stand that F.E. was making. As his pitch. We would prefer a for Chamberlain, he would of plebiscite, but in essentials a course, go straight through even at the risk of wrecking his

He was obviously to be not for Tyrone and Fer- with the support of F.E. and managh only but for the Six Chamberlain. He told me I could tell Griffith and Collins that. He 439 to 43, and after the Div then gave me instructions to the P.M., Chamberlain, F.E. and I said that was enough for me call a meeting of the British others met and decided to re-and that they could rest assured Seven at 12 o'clock and a sume negotiations next morning

feared that if Bonar Law took his place, he would prove more hostile to Irish interests . . . the story . . .

Private letter

Castle and was to prove in-defatigable in his efforts to bring peace to Ireland. He it was who arranged a meeting early in May between Sir James Craig and de

Irish delegation.

Minister's coming speech in the Commons on the Monday, I asked would it not be possible to get from Arthur Griffith a private letter to the Prime Minister which would state trankly that the official Reply did in fact mean acknowledge. did in fact mean acknowlegd-ment of allegiance, common citizenship and Imperial De-

These worms'

30 October, Sunday. About 5.30 I saw the P.M. in his drawing room in Downing Street . . . and I gave him the substance of the talk with Duggan. He said that the Reply left him in a very insecure position, that it was essential for him to carry Birkenessential for him to carry Birkenhead with him so far as possible

. He was dining in Winston's house that night with Winston and F.E. (Lord Birkenhead). Would it be possible to get Griffith and Collins to come there about 9.30? I promised to try and arrange this.

He then outlined the speech he proposed to make to the House, laying great stress on the importance of making clear to the country what the alternative to the breakdown of negotiations would be.

I went back to No. 2, got the interview. I impressed on Cope the critical importance of persuading the Irish to deliver the goods that night and of putpregnable position on the three main issues and clearing the decks for a fight on Ulster. As no reply came from Cope and the P.M. kept asking what was happening, I rang up Duggan, who told me he had fixed up 10.0 p.m. with Griffith and Collins, He added that Griffith was quite prepared to see the P.M. alone.

As soon as the P.M. reached Churchill's house I got him on the 'phone and told him . . . that it was important that the P.M. should have an interview with Griffith alone before their general conference. This, as I learned afterwards, the P.M. did, he being closeted with Griffith while Collins joined Birkenhead and Winston. What precisely took place between them all I cannot say, but at 11.30 Shakea strong man and would stand up his car and the P.M. remarked to him that the interview had been much the most satisfactory and that it would be necessary for him to recast his House of

Spoke for an hour

remained there until 11.0. The P.M. spoke for 1 hour exactly. It was plain from the beginning that he was making heavy weather among not only the diehards but the general body Unionists and on the charge that he had declared he would not negotiate with murderers he was on very thin ice. He got off with his usual ingenuity by pointing our that not one of the Irish delegation had been legally convicted of murder and that it was native of reconquest in very grave tones, but finished up with a fine forming freedom into power. The House was very full, and in the galleries . . . some intimates of the Irish delegation for whom we had got tickets. The voting was

PARTITION



FATEFUL

YEARS

This series is adapted from Tom Jones's "Whitehall Diary" (Vol. III-Ireland 1918-'25), edited by Keith Middlemas, Lecturer in Modern History at the University of Sussex. The book is being published shortly by the Oxford University Press. It has been adapted for serialisation by staff writer Raymond Smith.

WHEN THE BRITISH Cabinet met at 4 p.m. on November 10, 1921, Lloyd George revealed that in his discussions with Sir James Craig (first Prime Minister of Northern Ireland), the conditions under which an all-Ireland Parliament would function had been discussed.

Are we likely to be over-ridden, Craig had asked? Lloyd George had assured him that this would not happen, and he thought then that Craig was being reasonable in his approach to the proposal. But when Craig came again two days later, he had changed his mind-and stipulated that under no circumstances could Ulster look at an all-Ireland Parliament.

Tom Jones's Diary takes up to the story:

4.0 Cabinet at the House of Commons. This was the first Commons, this was the first Cabinet on Ireland since the beginning of the negotiations with Griffith and Co.

Lloyd George told his Cabinet colleagues that the negotiations had reached an important stage after a period of exploration and enquiry. At first it was not very clear where the Irish stood, but De Valera's letter enabled the main matters to be brought to an issue. We could not approach Craig until we knew where Sinn Fein stood, so we gave notice to them on Friday. Questions were drafted by the Attorney-General. On Monday we put questions to them categorically and to our surprise they answered unequivocally Yes'. We then retired and felt we were in a new situation. We had been taken aback. They gave their answers very simply. They wanted 'Association with the Empire.' Carson wanted 'within the Empire.' They accepted com-mon citizenship, full facilities for Navy, full powers for Ulster Par-liament, but would not accept present area, full share of bur-den of debt to be settled by

Flag of Empire

They hauled down the Republican flag and adopted flag of the Empire. It was clear that you could not in this situation rouse sufficient sentiment in this country to crush the rebellion, for which you would need a hundred thousand troops. The condition they attached was the unity of Ireland.

"We invited Craig over, I (Lloyd George) saw Craig on Saturday morning and found him reasonable. He discussed conditions under which an All-Ireland would function; safeguards for finance, labour, education. If revenue collecte dby all-Ireland could they (the South) not starve education; He said the guarantee of the British Ex-chequer would do. I said I woul ddiscuss any guarantee of that kind and told him to see Chancellor of Exchequer and L.W.E. They brought suggestions in the afternoon. But when he came again on Monday afternoon he had changed: Under no cir-cumstances could Ulster look at an All-Ireland Parliament. He asked for our written proposals. He'll then send his written

answer to our document. "We had not come to a break but to a point which is serious. We are pledged not to use force against Ulster. Some would confine that to physical force. I am just as pledged not to coerce. You could not begin to use force against South the moment it is known they are willing to remain in the Empire"

Curzon said that Craig had come to see him two days ago in a mood of extreme disappointment. He spoke of being besurprised. urned out of the British system He was left with some anxiety that Ulster was being abandoned I saw Bonar Law. He is bound very definite pledges. Craig attaches great importance to the Six Counties. She now sees herself degraded to the position of having been almost a Dominion a subordinate at assembly from parliament. Once Dublin Parliament set up you will see history repeated. Arthur Griffith and Collins will be pushed aside. Safeguards will go. Let Ulster

Planning a new Ireland-over breakfast of kippers!

OVER THE usual kippers for breakfast at to Ulster's susceptibilities and that it put too of which was by Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton No. 10 on the morning of November 10, 1921, Lloyd George, in drafting a letter to Sir James Craig indicated to his colleagues that he wanted some paragraphs on finance inserted that would bring the North of Ireland right up against the disadvantages of standing out of the all-Ireland Parliament, then being suggested.

The Prime Minister's mind had been playing about for some time with various ways of bringing pressure on Ulster through her pockets, but up to that morning he had not given a hint of his intentions to his colleagues.

Now he began to cross-examine Sir R. G. Hawtrey of the Treasury on the finance of the 1920 Act and on the new situation which would be created by a Dominion Parliament for the South while Ulster retained her present Parliament plus representation at West-

Tom Jones's Diary continues:

The table was cleared and we set to work on the draft of the P.M.'s letter to Craig which the P.M. had read in bed and on which he had made many notes. He wished the document recast with a special eye on the British public. I suggested the document as worded was much too tender high the position we had reached with Sinn Fein. We broke up at 10.20 and Grigg and Curtis went off to re-draft while I hunted up quotations from Burke, Lecky, Froude, etc., which the P.M. wanted worked into the letter as we had done in the case of the letter to de Valera. He wanted a quotation which would illustrate how Irish history had alternated between outrage, Fenianism, Clan na Gael, on the one side, and repression by us on the other. Sir Rupert Howorth, Assistant Secretary at the Cabinet Office, went off to the London Library to dig through Burke and Lecky while I went through such books as I had in the office.

All this had to be done by 12 o'clock when the British Representatives were to meet to go through the draft. A few minutes before 12.0 I saw Duggan at the end of a Truce Committee and told him to tell Griffith that Birkenhead and Chamberlain were standing firmly by the P.M. in the crisis. Secondly that in the P.M.'s mind a Boundary Commission should apply not to the 6 Counties only but to the 9 Counties of Ulster. The British Seven met at 12.0 but the typed copies of the new draft were not with us till 12.20. In the meantime I passed on to the P.M. some sample quotations, the best

which I got in Locker-Lampson's " Considera_ tion of the State of Ireland."

"I am sure that no people on the face of the earth can be governed by the system H.M. Ministers propose. Today coercion, tomorrow concession. This quick alternation of kicks and kindness, this coaxing with the hand and spurring with the heel, this system-at once feeble and exasperating-allowing the justice of complaint, and vet stifling its voice-of holding out hopes and fears, terror and conciliation, all in a breath - is a system that renders animal and human beings alike, not tame but savage, is a system that would make the most credulous people distrustful, and the mildest people ferocious . . .

The P.M. enjoyed this description of our policy of kicks and kindness and passed it on to Chamberlain, whose face became whiter and whiter as he read it. He handed it to Birkenhead with a remark 'I don't like quotations'. F.E. was equally displeased and for the moment the subject dropped. Later Grigg arrived with following quotation from Froude's English

'So followed in succession alternation of revolt and punishment, severity provoked by rebellion, and breeding in turn fresh cause for mutiny, till it seemed at last as if no solution brought into his room. He recast his dra of the problem was possible save the expulsion Grigg and I worked on an alternative.

or destruction of a race which appeared insurable.'

The P.M. tried this on his colleagues and though it was preferred there was no enthusias for its inclusion. The Meeting then settled down to work its will on Curtis's new draft. A very acute discussion took place between the P.M. and L.W.-Evans, Sir L.W.-E. maintaining that Ulster was to get all her powers under the 1920 Act and that therefore there could be no change in the matter of finance, the P.M. retorting with vigour that there was bound to be a change in the financial clauses because fiscal autonomy had been given to the South and that it was preposterous for Ulster if she stood out of the All-Ireland Parliament to send representa-tives to Westmister to put burdens on the Irish tax payer which they did not themselves share.

If Belfast wanted to remain with Gt. Britain then she must carry the same burdens as Glas-gow, Liverpool and Birmingham. All this came as a great and sudden revelation to his colleagues and the atmosphere was at once electric. 'I am disturbed by this conversation,' said Chamber-lain, F.E. was conciliatory—'We do not want to threaten Ulster'.

Churchill came to the rescue by directing our attention to some drafting point in another part of the document and the little scene was over. We were instructed to 'de-floridise' the first half of the document and to 'concertina' the latter half, Chamberlain reminding the P.M. that we were now not writing to Celts but to Anglo-Saxons. We came away at 1.40, and I lunched at the nearest public house with Grigg while Curtis had some sandwiches and port brought into his room. He recast his draft while



A Boundary Commission is Carson's suggestion. That is a

defensible position. On balance Carson says Ulster would gain, Ulster would not be subor-dinate in the sense that All-Ireland Parliament would over-ride it. She would have her full powers. She can't expect to get all the benefits of both systems. Safeguards would be part of the constitution and could only be swept away by the Imperial Parliament. We must be patient with Ulster as with Sinn Fein but if they say that under no conditions would they cooperate with Sinn Feln we are up against a grave deve are up against a grave de-cision. We asked Sinn Fein for Yes or No. When they answer Yes you do come under an obligation. We do not know what would induce Craig to take a common Parliament.

Fitz Alan said there was a delicate question of honour in-volved. In no circumstance could the Government coerce Ulster; the Government also say that the Sinn Fein proposals are so fair and reasonable that they cannot coerce Sinn Fein. But if you are not going to coerce Sinn Feln are you not thereby coercing Ulster?

He had realised as a Whip a fundamental change in Carson's position. His strength had evaporated. There was not much interest in him or in Ulster, and an undercurrent which "was not so sure that Carson was not a rebel himself". It would be dif-ficult to fight a General Election on Ireland.

Curzon admitted the dilemma. If Government carries a Bill and it comes into operation over the heads of the Ulstermen it is coercion and a more subtle form of coercion — legislation which if they resist turned them into

Chamberlain did not contemplate passing legislation without the assent of Ulster. He inter-preted his pledge broadly.

"L may be precluded from



· Kitty Kiernan, the girl to whom Michael Collins became engaged on Saturday, October 8, 1921 (just before he left for the start of the Treaty negotiations in London). In one of his

ridden

formulate her own conditions so

that we may carry the consent of Ulstermen. Let us consider the susceptibilities of Craig and his men."

Carson plan

Lloyd George retorted that it made all the difference whether you regarded the problem from the point of view of All-Ireland

All-Ireland, position of Tyrone

and Fermanagh not so important Our case is: Ulster does not

two separate Parliaments. From latter stand-point, case of Sinn Fein was overwhelming. If

> letters to her he wrote: "If love can't last through misfortune and trouble and difficulty and unpleasantness and age, then it is no use."

TOMORROW: With the mounting strain on all sides, the crucial Treaty negotiations reach breaking point and Michael Collins is on the brink of calling the whole thing off.

coercion in any shape, but I am not precluded from putting the greatest moral pressure on Ulster if I think the settlement is satisfactory and vital to the Empire." Craig must earnestly desire a settlement. He has to govern a

Sinn Fein population. The alternatives are peace or murder. He is menaced with boycott, Important for prosperity to get on living terms with the

He is a patriot who will not forget the Empire.

'Our pledges'

Churchill claimed Government had right to legislate for the general well-being of the United Kingdom and the British Empire and Baldwin agreed with Austen Chamberlain. "We must each be guided by our interpretation of our pledges."

Immediately afterwards Lloyd George wrote Craig a long and persuasive letter, asking him to join the Conference, Craig re-plied, on 11 November, that unless the British withdrew the All-Ireland Parliament proposal, discussion would be futile. His only alternative was to suggest what amounted to Dominion status for the North.

12 November Saturday 9.45 a.m. Craig's reply (11.11.21) sent out by taxi to Birkenhead, Churchill, Hamar Greenwood and Sir

10.30 a.m. Cope tells me that Sam Kelly and Jos. Cunningham two Belfast merchants, have seen Craig and made him promise he won't slam the door finally on negotiations without consulting business people they rep-

Craig's reply

10.40 a.m. Taxi to 22 Hans Place where I saw Arthur Grif-fith alone, showed him copy of Craig's Reply, drawing his special attention to the closing pages. He was pleased to see that the cloven hoof of Ulster's sordidness had shown itself in their willingness to forego representation at Westminster for the sake of a lower income tax.

11.30 a.m. To No. 10 with Curtis and St. Quintin Hill for a meeting of the 'British Seven'. I saw the P.M. for a moment and gave him Cope's message and manifestation of the control of the control of the curtical of the cur and mentioned my visit to A.

During the meeting there was much discussion of Craig's re-ply. If the correspondence were published, said Chamberlain, there would be a great revulsion of feeling against Ulster.

Hitherto they had always de-sired to be full members of the

and would not carry Bonar Law. In his view the dilemma in which Ulster had been put, and the pressure of the commercial classes would force Craig to negotiate. Chamberlain pointed out that we could easily have broken with Sinn Fein on grounds which were good for berlain tis; we must be patient with the pa Ulster. "I had hoped Craig would say, 'Can't have All-Ireland Parliament, but as issues involved are so great we will confer with you.' I am very anxious not to take this as a final answer. I am thinking of

 Michael Collins pictured at Croke Park with his comrade-in-arms Harry Boland (uncle of Kevin Boland) in the days of their close friendship. Collins was quite at home with a hurley in his hand for in London he had played with the Geraldines, became Vice-Captain of the side at the age of 17 and was a Committee member and a delegate to the London County Board.

her present boundaries."

Churchill was for giving the South the status of an Irish State, with an All-Ireland Parlia-South the status of ment, a position in the Imperial Conference and League of Na-Ulster could have no also to meet Bonar Law.

the Convention at Liverpool. If grievance if she preferred to stand out. The P.M. wound up by suggesting that each minister should, at the weekend, think over the lines of a reply to Craig. In the meantime he had been asked to meet Craig and

The document

ON THE AFTERNOON of November 12, 1921, the British Prime Minister met Arthur Griffith in the home of Sir Philip Conservative M.P. Sassoon, Conservative M.P. (later Under-Secretary for Air) and showed him copies of the correspondence with Craig.

It was at this meeting that Lloyd George obtained from Griffith the assurance that during the Unionist Association Convention in Liverpool the Irish would not obstruct the Boundary Commission proposal. Tom Jones put the agreement into a short memorandum and on November 13 (Sunday) he showed this to Griffith who approved its contents.

The evidence of this document was to be of immense importance later.

14 November Monday-Lloyd George met his colleagues at noon. He was against putting counter-proposals to Ulster now. fter a talk with Bonar Law he fter a talk with bonat dis-did not think Craig would dis-cuss anything unit the Liverpool meetings were past. If Liverpool were adamant Craig would be impossible; but if Liverpool said: Let us see if we cannot get peace, then Craig on Friday would be more placable. Lloyd George then replied to Craig, rejecting his proposal, and pressing him to come to the Treaty negotiations, or at least discuss it with him person-

Since he had decided, on 14 November, to deal with Sinn Fein before Thursday the 17th. Lloyd George had hastened preparation of a draft British Treaty.

Wednesday, November 10.45 a.m. The Prime Minister sent for me to No. 10. I found him closeted with Birkenhead U.K. They now actually ask for Dominion status, This will come as a shock to those accustomed to receive their passionate assurances of union. They have put themselves very much in the wrong.

The P.M. agreed that the Reply was a fatal document for Ulster formal covering letter. The P.M. seemed quite pleased with his conversation of the previous day and went off to Bourne-mouth with Mrs. L.G.

Withdrawal of the extremer resolutions may be attributed to the continuing efforts of Cham-berlain and Birkenhead to ease the path of the Prime Minister's

November Thursday, Several messages from Bourne-mouth. The P.M. had read mouth. Liddell's first draft of to find no reference therein to

changed

safeguards for Ulster, e.g., patronage, collection of revenue. F.E. (Birkenhead) asked me to tell the P.M. that on the previous day he had had for an hour and a half a most painful but not angry interview with Carson—painful because of their old associations. Carson had thought that the 1920 Act had put the Irish question to rest for a time and at F.E.'s own suggestion had taken up a judgeship and dropped £30,000 a year. 'I told him that after his stormy life this would be a tranquil evening. Now he wants to resign and once more into the fray. However he has promised to go no further with his resignation until the P.M. and I have a chance to talk the matter over.

1.30 p.m.-I got Craig's second reply-five pages long with a paragraph at the end saying that having made his position clear he would be willing to exchange ideas with the P.M. if the P.M. thought it would be of any use. 3.30. Lord Fitz Alan called. had seen Craig that morning

and found him very stiff, but he gathered Craig would come and talk if we did not make an acceptance of an All-Ireland Parliament a condition precedent to 6.0. Curtis got Liddell to draft

the Ulster safeguards in the form of clauses for the 'Treaty'. At 9 p.m. I met the Prime Minister at Waterloo Station and told him the Liverpool figures (it was decided by 1,730 to 70 to continue the Treaty negotia-

tions with the Irish delegation). He read rapidly through Craig's reply, called it a poor letter and then got back again on to the Liverpool result, about which he was as pleased as a schoolboy. I told him that I had a short draft reply to Craig ready, inviting him to come along. The Prime Minister said 'I do not think that I am in a hurry to see Craig.' I think this Liverpool vote has altered the situation. Before seeing Craig I want to have a fast arrangement with Sinn Fein.

"ARE THEY in the Empire or are they out? Where are the safeguards for Ulster? Are we to control Naval defence or are we not? If they are not coming into the Empire, then we will make Thus did Lloyd them." George storm when he received the Irish delegation's reply to the first British draft " Treaty."

The Irish reply reached Tom Jones at No. ing Street and it ran to just over two pages, being pre-faced with a "Note": "The following proposals are put forward on the assumption that the essential unity of Ireland is maintained."

Tom Jones's diary con-

The document in many respects marks a big advance on any previous document but it still is so worded as to leave the position far too ambiguous and uncertain. I took it over at once to the Prime Minister, who was immediately joined by the Lord Chancellor. The Prime

He then started walking up and down instructing me to go to the Sinn Fein leaders and tell them that unless they withdrew their document he would have to break off the negotiations. He then said "Fetch Cham-, which I did, giving

Chamberlain a copy of the document. Feiners that the document filled him with despair, Ministers were busy men, they had spent weeks and weeks on this matter and apparently had made no progress

whatever. The interview which followed was perhaps, for T.F., the most exacting moment of the whole

I rang up Griffith and arranged to see him at once. I was with him from about 1.15 for half an hour and rowards the end of our talk Collins was brought in. delivered my message, under-

Griffith did not appear prepared for my message but he is a man of very few words and said very little, and most of the little he did say I had to extract from him.

He insisted that he was not going back on the private "letter of assurance" that he had given the P.M., that they were pre-pared to come in as free partners that on the Navy the Admiralty demands were contradictory and they wished them defined precisely, that on the question of free trade he himself was a freetrader, but that some of his Cabinet were protectionist, and that Clause 9 (Free Trade) of our document reduces Ireland to

a position of economic sub-As to safeguards for Ulster their Clause 10 went further in fact than we had asked as it promised all the safeguards Ulster required but asked her to name them so as to avoid any misunderstanding in future. combated his positions as well as I could and in the most morning.



Sir James Craig (Lord Craigavon) . . . " Are we likely to be over-ridden?"

conciliatory manner, begged him to use "within" the Common-wealth and to drop "associated"

Blank cheque

After a detailed discussion of these points I discovered that what was really at the back of the hesitations in the document was their fear that if they put down all they were prepared to do in black and white in advance, it would be tantamount back on their independent state again. The clause about the complete control of Naval defence. There is nothing here about safeguards for Ulster".

cheque. The P.M. would then go to Craig, tell Craig all that Sinn Fein was prepared to do. Craig would say nothing, yield nothing, but go back to Ulster and announce to all Ireland that the Sinn Fein leaders had salve their followers.

Break-off threat to giving the P.M. a blank cheque. The P.M. would then tors had been let down in this

way by British statesmen. When Collins joined us I peated the substance of the M.P.s message to them. He said they were getting letters from Ireland saying that they were being fooled by the British Government and that preparations for a civil war were in full blast in Ulster with the connivance of the War Office The P.M. again began to here. I did not wish to be the instruct me now in the presence intermediary who breaks off of Chamberlain to tell the Sinn these negotiations, especially when I felt that there were explanations of this document which they could offer which would go some way to modify our objections to it suggested it would be useful for them to meet the Prime Minister and go over the document with

> 10.30. Meeting at 10 Downing Street. The P.M., Chamberlain, Hamar Greenwood, L.W.-E., Macready and Tudor. been informal discussions with Craig about the transfer of powers to the Ulster Government. Macready had, discussed such matters with Craig at a luncheon. Next we were told for the first time openly by Worthington-Evans that on November 7th he and Henry Wilson had had a long discussion with Craig and Spender about the action to be taken in the event of a breakdown of the negotiations and a number of points had definetly been agreed upon: and that these were only to be car-ried out after Cabinet sanction. They had not been circulated to the Cabinet but a note had been made of them at the War Office. I phoned over to the War Office and later on left a copy of it with the P.M. The Conference broke up a few minutes before 11.0 and later Griffith, and Barton arrived. The P.M. informed them of the grave view he and his colleagues took of the reply and there was a long and not unfriendly Certain misunderstandings were ence was arranged for Thursday





Mr. O'Callaghan on Northern Ireland . . . "Internment is indefensible. I believe there are many people interned who should not be interned."

Gelignite smuggling

UNIONIST M.P.s made a concerted attack on the Taoiseach in the Northern Commons yesterday after Mr. John Taylor, Minister for State at Home Affairs informed them that the bulk of the gelignite recovered by security forces in the Six Counties since April 1 last had been identified as coming from the Republic.

Rent strike

worries

Stormont

THE "PAY no rent or rates" civil disobedience campaign in the Six Counties would do more

to erode the foundations of the

State than the campaign of the terrorists, Rev. Ian Paisley told

the Stormont Commons yester-

During the debate on the Emergency Provisions Bill to

He said the vast majority of the strikers would be "caught in the net of State payments".

Mr. Paisley said, "This cam-paign will do more to erode the

"You simply keep your money.

Troops

'resented'

asserted in Derry last night that the presence of the British Army

was "almost universally resented" in large areas in Derry City.

In a statement he said that the

public admission by the Army in Derry that it made a mistake

JOHN HUME, M.P.,

blood on our hands.

ments, he said.

Mr. Taylor, who was replying to Mr. James Stronge, Unionist, said that of a total of 1,780 lb. recovered by the security forces, 1,138 lb. certainly came from the Republic; 193 lb. could almost certainly identified as having come from there and a further 171 lb. had been identified as probably having been brought North from the Republic.

Mr. Stronge said these "hor-rifying figures" showed that Mr. Lynch was taking no steps to stop gelignite bein gtaken across the Border. It was up to the security forces in the North to prevent this cross border traffic.

Mr. Ian Paisley said that in view of the fantastic figures presented by Mr. Taylor it was absolute treachery fir his "boss," ansolute freachery in his boss, Mr. Faulkner, to sit down at a table with a head of a country that is supplying this gelignite to destroy lives and the state of Northern Ireland. The time had come when the unapproved roads crossing the border should be bliowa up and made impassable and remaining roads. impassable and remaining roads be propery manned so that gelignite could not be brought in, he added.

Mr. Taylor told Commander Anderson that during the months of May, June and July the number of explosions in the Six Counties were as follows: May 55 (365 lb used); June, 62 (519 lb used); July, 91 (1,408 lb. used),, and during the eight days of August which preceded the introduction of internment, ther, were 20 explosions (144 lb.

Our Political Correspondent, CHRIS GLENNON, writes: Gelignite raids on quarries and building sites in the Republic have caused considerable con-cern to the Taoiseach and the Government and several weeks ago a special tightening up of security was ordered. Plans were drafted to have explosives stored at secret sites known only to Gairdai, who would suprevise the removal of explosives for specific, legitimate pur-

It is not seriouly disputed that some gelignite crossed the order. Neither is it seriously disputed that, apart from tightening the security measures to control storage places, little txar can be done to prevent cross-Border traffic.

STORMONT Minister of Education, Capt. William Long said yesterday he believed that the most evil and irreparable violence

Now, it's a tripartite Labour talk on North

By JIM NICOLL in Brighton
A TRIPARTITE Commission of the British Labour Party, th eIrish Labour Party and the Social Democratic Labour party has been set up, the former British Home Secretary, Mr. Jim Callaghan, announced at the Party's annual conference in Brighton yesterday. The Irish Labour Party is also expected to take part in the Commissions

The decision to participate in the Commission was taken by the new National Executive of the Party at its first meeting in Brighton on Wednesday evening, British representatives will be party chairman, Mr. Anthony Wedgewood Benn, M.P.; Mr. Callaghan, Mr. Joe Gormley, of the National Union of Mineworkers, and Mr. John Chalmers, of the Boiler Makers' Society.

Mr. Callaghan said the Commission would meet soon to "see whether we can get some agreed solution, or at any rate some basis to move forward."

Mr. Callaghan was replying on behalf of the National Executive on the debate on Northern Ireland, a debate singularly lacking in fire and certainly devoid of any possible new initiatives.

There was general agreement that the situation in the North is urgent and edging on the disastrous, wit hsome delegates suggesting the imminence of civil war.

Mr. Callaghan told delegates: "We do not believe that a resolution which calls for a peaceful and just method of removing the Border and thus reunite Ireland is going to achieve this objective as set down, namely to encourage a cooling of temper sand the creation of an atmosphere con-ductive to arriving at a fair and

hesitation in accepting the resolu-

Mr. Callaghan said he felt obsessed with the tragedy. There was no magic wand that could be waved in Northern Ireland that was going to solve the problem.

A long and hard battle lay ahead in which "the elements of sanity are at the moment on the retreat and have been for the last two years and indeed perhaps for longer."

'BACON LIGHT'

Trade Unions, Mr. Callaghan said, have been a beacon light in the darkening clouds of Northern Ireland, working hard in otder to preserve peace between the

A delegate had claimed that the case for a united Ireland was unanswerable. In logic he might be right but, Mr. Callaghan said, there were one million answers this unanswerable case and they lay in the million people who had said firmly and clearly and were prepared to defend their position with guns, that they would not be forced into a united Ireland.

recover rents and rates, the Minister of State (Home Affairs) Mr. Taylor disclosed that the salaries of M.P.s taking part in the campaign would have money Apart from a handful of people who were determined to have their way by force, everyone close to this situation, know that to "talk in terms of removing the Border is to remove the scenes of violence from Belfast to Dublin," he added. withheld for rent or rates un-paid. Debts could also be de-ducted from Agricultural subsidies and social security pay-

Mr. Taylor claimed that many of the people withholding rent and rates were being intimidated The British Government, Mr. and pressurised into a "sham solidarity". "This state of affairs poisons people's lives and it is one which no com-munity should tolerate," he Calleghan accused, had allowed the situation to deteriorate by falling to act as swiftly as they

LOATHESOME WEAPON

Dealing with interment, he said, it was a loathesome weapon: sanctioned by no peaceful or just society, contrary to the sense of natural justice and forbidden under the universal declaration of Human Rights.

foundations of our State and in many ways it is more serious than the campaign of the terrorists. You don't go out and throw stones, you don't blow up installations and you have no blood on our hands. Interment was indefensible, Mr. Callaghan said, before turning to "the practical problem". He believed there were many people interned who should not be interned. He understood that when Westminster M.s visited Long Kesh this week "at least one section of the internees dress themselves up in military. This will bring thousands to the ranks of those who want to bring down this State by subversion." drew themselves up in military formation, standing in three ranks, with an officer in front, acting and behaving as though they were prisoners of war, and refusing to speak."

TRIALS ESSENTIAL

Do you release them immediately if there is evidence that they have been committing crimes? No. Mr. Callaghan said. There should be trials, unless it can be shown to the satisfaction of an independent tribunal that to do so would endanger the lives of others who would have to give evidence.

The review of cases should be speeded up and the work could not be left to a party Government led by M r.Faulkner, He would prefer to see a Commonwealth Judge in charge, This "would result in the release of a large number of people." regarding the shooting incident in Bishop St. last Sunday night in which a young girl was seriously wounded, was to be number of people,"

It was vitally important that political initiatives should go along with the release of inter-

Time lag in probe problem

Gardai investigations into the arms raid on the premises of Mr. J. J. Carrigan, at High St., Kilkenny on Wednesday night have yielded no results and there were no developments yesterday. The fact that there was a time lag of almost four hours between the removal of the guns and ammunition and the alert present a major problem.

OTHER NORTH NEWS IN BRIEF

TROOPS fired rubber bullets at a stone throwing crowd who hijacked a lorry in Ardoyne, Belfast yesterday after four men were detained during a search of the area by British troops of The Green Howards. Two butchers shops were wrecked and looted by the crowd numbering about 60, mostly children.

They attacked the shops at Alliance Avenue and Etna Drive smashing down doors and windows before making off with knives and meat. About a dozen shots were fired at the troops when they moved in to disperse the crowd.

Last night the Ardoyne Relief Committee said troops fired rubber bullets indiscriminately, 'They fired them wholesale,' said a committee spokesman.

A number of men were detained during a British Army search of the Ardoyne area earlier. They are understood to be Mr. Frank Kane of Chatham St., Mr. Frank McCann of Brompton Park, Mr. Maguire of Stratroy Park and Mr. Richard Crawford of Ladbrook Drive. Crawford of Ladbrook Drive. Two men from the Oldpark Road are also believed to have been detained for questioning. They are believed to be Mr. Patrick Lynch of Ballynure St., and Mr. James Crawford of Ballyclure St.

ROAD BLOCKS were set up throughout Belfast last night after gunmen sprayed Roden Street Police Station with a machine gun and hurled a small explosive device from a five-

The windows and front door in the Station were shattered in the attack but no one was injured. Following the attack the lorry made off in teh direction of Grosvenor Road.

the National Executive rubber bullets to disperse a slightest chance of this being achieved it would have no Army marksmen fired on the station in accepting the result. Road and shortly afterwards Army marksmen fired on a sniper on a roof top at the junction of Springfield Road -Monagh Road.

> THERE IE now no doubt in the minds of the detectives investigating the explosion at the Four Step Inn on the Shankill Road a week ago, in which two men died and 27 others were injured, that the Provisional wing of the I.R.A. was responsible, according to a senior police spokesman.
> 'We know it is part of the ProProtestant retaliation,' he said.

'STUFFED dummy policemen' were being used in the pillbox defence posts outside some Belfast police stations. Rev. Ian Paisley told Stormont yesterday and the Minister of State for Home Affairs, Mr. John Taylor, said he would investigate this allegation which he found in-credible.

Mr. Paisley had called for more arms for the R.U.C. to deal with the present situation. It was the present situation. It was absolutely ludicrous that police men should be provided with shotguns when their station was under attack, he said.

MR. PADDY Devlin, S.D.L.P. M.P. said last night that the Prime Minister, Mr. Faulkner, could not take part in talks tripartite or otherwise-because he was not a free agent in a position to participate and nego-tiate freely on behalf of theh people of the North.

ARISING out of riots and exploons in the Strabane and Castlederg areas damages amounting to £7,086 in 22 claims were awarded at Tyrone Co. Court in Strabane yesterday. The remain-der were adjourned to the next sittings. Slon Mills Woman's Institute was awarded £2,275 damage to their meeting but caused by an explosion on May 6 and Barons Court Estate, Omagh received £1,175 for a two-storey farmhouse blasted on

Discussed Border gun fight

A BORDER gun fight early yesterday morning between troops of the Light Infantry and two guerrillas who attempted to blow up the Midleton Customs Post in Co. Armagh, was referred to in the Heath-Faulkner talks in London yesterday, it is understood.

The battle developed after troops challenged two men who were planting a bomb at the rear of the Post shortly after midnight. The men made off in the direction of the Border pursued by the troops.

Gunfire was exchanged for a short time but there were no casualties and after a search at the Customs Post the soldiers found a fully loaded revolver and a five pound gelignite bomb complete with fuse and deton-

The incident is expected to bring a renewed call from the Stormont Government for the Taoiseach to tighten up security along the frontier but a spokes-man for the Northern Governman for the Northern Govern-ment said no direct approaches would be made regarding the incident frmo Stormont. How-ever, since the P.M., Mr. Faulk-ner, is in London he may take the chance to mention this and similar incidents to Mr. Heath, he added

EXTRADITION -TAYLOR IS HOPEFUL

From JAMES KELLY

UNIONIST M.P.s who earlier had alleged that "terrorists" were escaping across the border were surprised at Stormont yesterday by a cryptic reply from Mr. John Taylor, Minister of State for Home Affairs, in which he hinted that within the next few days there would be some developments in the government's demands for the extradition of six wanted men from the North now in the Republic. He gave no further details.

Couple

A YOUNG couple accused of causing an explosion at Robbs Store, Belfast, on the morning of July 12 last, were each failed for twelve years by Mr. Justice Gibson at Belfast City Commis-

They are William McGuigan, (28) a process operator of Chur-chill St., Belfast and Susan Iso-bel Loughran, a 22 year-old typist of New Lodge Road, Both denied the charges in statements. At yesterdays hearing they

dismissed their lawyers and refused to stand up when the five joint charges were being put to them. In answer to the first charge McGuigan said "I refuse to recognise the court."

of the charges. Mr. Garrett McGrath Q.C., defending, told Mr. Justice Gib-son when the hearing began that he and his junior counsel, Mr. Gerry Harty, and instructing solicitor, Mr. Paddy McGrory. had been dismissed from the

Loughran did not reply to any

Mr. Justice Gibson said, "It gives me no satisfaction to send young people to jail for a long time, but the choice has been yours."

It took the jury only ten minutes to find both accused guilty on causing an explosion, causing malicious damage total-ing £12,000.

Mr. Taylor at the same time emphasised that up to the moment there was no evidence of any co-operation from the Republic or any progress being

Replying to Mr. James Stronge (U.) the Minister said that 94 persons suspected of "terrorist activities" were believed to be in the Republic at the present time. Extradition orders were being sought against six of these per-sons. Mr. Stronge said that Mr. Lynch had promised to do everything in his power to assist but no one had been extradited although requests for extradition orders had been made.

Rev. Ian Paisley said there was no possibility of getting extradi-tion orders from the Republic under the present arrangement whereby the order was not applied to people regarded as having been guilty of offences from political motivation.

Our Political Correspondent, Chris Glennon, writes:

The security forces in the Republic, notably the Garda Special Detective Unit, are aware that a number of men sought for internment north of the Border are in the Republic. Mr. Taylor's figure of 04 mounts for the Republic of 10 mounts for the 10 mounts for figure of 94 would, however, be seriously questioned, especially since the Department of Justice seems satisfied that a proportion of those who "escaped" internment by coming south may have been acting a little dramatically in crossing the Border.

Immediately after internment was introduced the Special Detective Unit became aware of a number of men who claimed when they reached the South that tsey had left their northern homes to "escape" the intern-ment net. There appears to have been doubt that at least some of them had "escaped," that they might not have been on intern-ment lists. They were, however, put under surveillance and have been watched while they reISOPON

well done



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EASTERN HEALTH BOARD

CHILDREN'S ACTS 1908-1957

Need for prior notice to Health Boards for placement and reception of children

People who place or receive children for nursing and maintenance or who place certain children in employment are obliged to give advance notice to the local Health Board.

notification should Welfare Department. Eastern Health Board, James's Street.

For placements in notifications should The Staff Officer, Eastern Health Board, Basin Street, Nass. Co. Kildare.

For placements in notifications should be sent to:--The Staff Officer. Eastern Health Board, Kilmantin Hill,

Breaches of the Act are punishable by fine or imprisonment

THE ONLY reform which is ultimately worthwhile is the creatoion of a non-sectarian Government based on a nonsectarian party because 'from that all other reforms flow,' Mr. Bob

different parties. Unionist, S.D.L.P. and the Alliance Party two vacant seats on Strabane Ur-ban Council. The election was all other reforms flow, Mr. Bob brought about by the resignation of one Unionist and the death of Alliance Party's political committee, said in Ballymeua last night.

October 21.



Mew link-up in financial circles

A new link has been formed in Irish financial circles on October 1. The Ulster Merchant group and the Lombard group have got together under the wing of the Ulster Bank to form Lombard & Ulster Banking. The combined resources of both groups will be welded together to provide substantial capital for financing industrial

expansion throughout Ireland. The great name in Irish Finance - Lombard & Ulster Banking.



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MR.

Hillery tells

minority to assert their human dignity and to obtain elementary civil rights was characterised by the Northern regime as an attempt to overthrow the Northern State," said the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Dr. Hillery, at the U.N. General Assembly yesterday.

Stability and peace would return to Northern Ireland only when an administrative structure which established justice was created there.

"It is essential that through dialogue a structure will be created in the North of Ireland which will permit the minority there to play an effective role in the community and permit them likewise to realise their passionate aspiration for national unity,

"The violence and bloodshed in Ireland tre not of our seeking or of our making ind we hope that the conscience of mankind, as represented here, will end it.

"The true measure of a society or a political system is the actual relations in that society between man and man and between community and community. And by this standard of measurement Northern Ireland has bee na tragic failure."

"It is a society which has oppressed the economically and politically deprived. For fifty years, every attempt by the minority to assert their human dignity and to obtain elementary civil rights was characterised by the Northern regime as an attempt to overthrow the an attempt to overthrow the Northern State. Justice, indeed, was a fugitive from the camp of that victory."

The world had witnessed a tragic cycle of events in Northern Ireland over the past three year. "Demands for elementary civil rights were met with official repression, which led in turn to an increasing resort to violent means and finally to the suspension of habeas corpus, the withdrawal of the opposition from Parliament, mass arrests and detention without trial and the virtual collapse of civil order in the North.

Political power

"It is not our purpose to try to coerce the Unionist com-munity in the North of Ireland into a United Ireland. We do not believe that power, political or, above all, moral, flows out of the barrel of a gun. On the political power, and the moral power of a community — its ability to transform into facts— lies in the capacity of people to act together — "The establishment of the capacity of people to act together "The establishment of the capacity of the capacity of people to act together "The establishment of the capacity of th

UN of 50-year bid for

'dignity'

concert. We trust that time the people of Ireland, of all Ireland, will together join in the exercise of a collective political will to translate into living and permanent realities our aspirations for peace, justice and progress .

"The tragic history of past and present conflict, both national and international, has taught us that the means used to achieve political goals are often of greater relevance to the end result than the intended goals themselves, however just they may be. It is thus vital to eschew those means which would bring even greater tragedy to Ireland.

Practical steps

"My Government are firmly committed to a policy of peace and justice in Ireland, which we

in the North of Ireland fall within the power and repsoni-bility of another member State— Great Britain. We do not doubt Britain's consent to these aspiramands commitment, and promise demands performance.

"Practical political steps are necessary so as to guarantee to the minority in Northern Ireland an effective exercise of their political will and an effective role in the collective life, bo h of Northern Ireland and of Ireland as a whole.

"He found difficult in accepting the British Foreign Secretary's remarks in the U.N. on the situation in the North of Ireland. It was not right to say the situation arose solely or mainly from a confrontation stemming from religious differences. differences.

"In my view what we have there is a confrontation because of political and social problems, complicated by the exploitation of a religious factor.

Hanging on for dear

and the trooper took a normal seat for the

remainder of the flight to

hospital.

56,529

THE Republic's unemployment

problem worsened last week with 56,529 people registered as out of work. This compares with 54,503 the previous week

The figures, issued by the Department of Labour, show that unemployment it at its highest level since May 28 when the total was 56,756.

The trend is considered to be the beginning of the increase in unemployment which occurs towards winter with the end of

the tourist season and the de-

cline in activity in the agricul-ture and building sections.

This time last year-when the

economy was dpressed by indus-trial disputes—58,999 were on

Comparisons are affected by the 1971 Unemployment Period

Orders which have stopped un-

employment assistance for many who were eligible last year,

unemployment

and 54,394 th week before.

"Confrontation, particularly within national societies, is not within national societies, is not simply a manifestation of anarchic forces at work still less the result of doctrinal differences. It is much more likely to arise when the existing political or administrative structure fails to provide the means of effective democratic participation by a large section of the community or frustrates their demands for justice and equality of treatment. And the Belfast regime's failures in this regard are there for all to see."

Deplores violence

His Government deplored the use of violence but in order to end the present violence "we must try to understand and eliminate its causes. It seems obvious to us that the current campiagn of violence has as its cause the growing frustration of the minority in the North at the failure of the reform programme to afford them substantial re-

"British troops have been used in one-sided arms searches and to implement a policy of mass arrests and internment. From a peace-keeping force they have become in the eyes of the minority a control in the eyes of the minority a coercive instrument to prop up the Northern Regime. It is in these events that we find the causes of the present violence and through understanding them endeavour to bring about the changes which will bring the peace and stability we all long for to the suffering people of the North."

On the question of China, Dr. Hillery said that the President had expressed the hope that this Assembly might be remembered as an Assembly of Universality. "This is obviously not possible which the representatives of China, with one quarter of the world's population, remain out-side this Organisation."

life ... A slightly wounded Bid to save South Vietnamese soldier hangs on to a helicopter skid, which he grabbed as it took off with wounded soldiers at Krek, Cam-bodia. The pilot landed textile industry the craft soon after seeing his extra passenger,

By JOHN DEVINE Our Industrial Correspondent

TARIFF protection for the Irish textile industry to save nnihilation" has been called for by the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union National Group Secretary, Mr. Michael Gannon.

a union deputation to ask the Minister for Industry and Commerce, Mr. Lalor, to introduce protection under the terms of the Anglo Irish Free Trade

He wants "dumping" from Britain and from other coun-tries, including Hong Kong, through Britain, prevented to give the Irish industry a chance

to recover. The Labour Party spokesman for Industry and Commerce, Mr. Michael O'Leary, T.D., is press-ing the Minister for Labour, Mr. Brennan, for urgent measures to be taken on the employment situation generally.

He has asked for a meeting rith Mr. Lalor, Last night he said he was concerned with the high unemployment trends and 'the doubling of the redundancy rate in the present year".

He said that when the Employment Period Order terminates at the end of next month the numbers on the un-employment register would go up to over 60,000.

Ireland's unemployment rate is already the highest in Europe and Mr. O'Leary says "Our un-

On Monday next he will lead employment rate at 7 per cent is twice that of Britain, which is being spoken of there as an emergency situation."

The emergency in the textile industry outlined by Mr. Gan-non shows that about 1,800 members of the I.T.G.W.U. have become redundant in textiles since January, 1970.

The Department of Industry and Commerce has now told the union that Blackwater Cotton of Youghal, Co. Cork, cannot be saved. Now 250 employes, 215 of whom are men, will be phased out beginning in firm is in the Seafield Gentex Group,

Loughrea Cotton, a mem-ber of the Courtaulds group, has announced that 41 of its 100 employes are to become redundant. This in spite of the fact that the Union and the Minister were to discuss ways and means to afford them some

protection. Martin Mahony of Blarney have told the union that 40 people are to be declared redundant. They employ 600. If trade does not improve the rest of the employes will be put on a three-day week for a time,

reducing to a two-day week. Salts Ireland Ltd, which employs 500, has announced that 151 workers are to become re-

· Weirside Mills of Athlone appointed a receiver on Friday last and the 73 employes sacked, 39 of them being re-employed this week on a day-to-day basis. The total work force will become redundant. The Seafield Gentex operation in Athlone has closed down within the last three years causing considerable unemployment.

 Amblers of Bunbeg, Co. Donegal, is also said to be in trouble and massive redundancy s expected.

The postponed 1971 All-Ireland Fleadh Cheoil, refused by Listowel during the week, has been fixed for Boyle, Co.
Roscommon. It will be held
next year during the weekend
beginning with St. Patrick's
Day. The National Director of Comhaltas Ceoltoiri Eireann, Mr. Labhras O Murchu, said last night that the Listowel Fleadh Committee had offered its full co-operation to Boyle in running the postponed fleadh. The venue for the 1972 event to be held in August will be fixed at a later date. Listowe branch of Comhaltas is to apply

ANSWER TIME

(Questions on opposite page)

Distance from schools problem for Protestants

THE PROBLEM of the Protestant community in the provinces was that so many young people lived too far from the centre of secondary education for them to attend daily from their homes, and boarding costs were very hich for parents of limited means, said Right Rev. D. A. R. Caird, Bishop of Limerick, addressing the Diocesan Squod,

Bid to curb rent strike in Galway

GALWAY'S Mayor, Mr. Michael Smith, has offered to mediate in order to prevent a widespread rent strike in the city. Many tenants in the large Council housing estates are already withhold-ing rent. The Combined Tenants' Association, which represents Association, which represents seven independent organisations involving 1,500 households and 1,790 council houses, has threatened to strike over the application of the differential rent scheme introduced in July.

Corporation officials maintain that the maximum total increase under the new system will be 25 pence and in certain cases tenants such as old age pen-sioners, widows and other similar cases would have less to pay.

The tenants hold that because the rents and rates payments are separate in the new scheme there could be greater increases next year if the rates go up. Mr. Stephen Deveney, chairman of the Combined Tenants Associa-tion, said they were completely opposed to the new system.

Irish bank in New York

Irish banking secured a foot-hold in the United States yes-terday with the opening of a repersentative office of the Bank repersentative office of the Bank of Ireland in New York. Among 300 people who attended a reception in New York was Mr. William Warnock, the Irish Ambassador to the U.S., and the Hon. Myles Ambrose, Commissioner of Customs in the U.S. Treasury.

Mr. John A. Bran, the Bankle.

Mr. John A. Ryan, the Bank's Governor, told guests that the new office was needed because of the rapid growth recently in Ireland's industry and foreign trade. The bank's international activities had to be expanded to cater for clients trading over-

The New York office would clients doing business with the United States and American firms with interests in Ireland.

Jarring 'no' to U.N. job

Special U.N. Middle East envoy Dr. Gunnar Jarring has nformed representatives of the Nordic countries he is not interested in succeeding retiring Secretary General U Thant. Scandinavian sources said ves-terday. U Thant has announced he will retire at the end of this Dr. Caird said that throughout the year the Church of Ireland had been involved in critical debate on the subject of secondary education, particularly concerning the merits of compre-hensive education. The debate had produced the proposal that three comprehensive schools be established in Dublin for the Protestant community and one in Cork.

in Cork.

The position of the provincial schools outside Dublin was still under discussion. "Where a secondary school does not have the numbers to merit its development into a comprehensive school, it will need special treatment by the Government, at least for the period of its growth, to the point where it may become a comprehensive school. come a comprehensive school,

"Our schools are not staffed by religious orders, but by lay men and women, who cannot remit their salaries to the school through the order, this is a form of self-sacrifice that is most admirable, but it must not be taken by any Government to be the norm, not the basis for the calculation of school costs," Dr. Caird said.

"GENEROSITY"

Different circumstances merited very different treatment, and the Government in the past had generously recognised that fact. He was sure that the Government in the past had generously recognised that fact. He was sure that the Government would recognise its importance for the future, in building up the fuller life of the nation.

"It may well be that our numbers in Limerick will grow to the point of justifying a fully comprehensive denominational school, as Cork is soon likely to have, but until then we must appeal for very generous terms for our existing secondary school," he added.

Referring to Northern Ireland Dr. Caird said that Christians everywhere should pray for lessing peace there. Men of violence had shocked the civilised wor'd and their activities had been condemned by all Christian organisations."

Or. Caird also welcomed the Government statement that the new University College would be open shortly. They were greatly indebted to the Limerick University Project Committee whose foresight, wisdom and persistence campaigned for the much needed college.

Facilities will be improved

Facilities for visitors to Long Kesh internment camp are to be improved from next week given to visitors who are re-ceiving supplementary benefits.

Mr. John Hume, M.P., said vesterday that he had contacted the authorities about the inadeplaints from many visitors who, after travelling long distances often at great personal expense, were unable to get into the camp and had to wait for long periods outside.

RUNNING FOR OIL REFINERY

CLARE IN THE

will be given shortly by the Clare County Council for an oil refinery on a site five miles east of Kilrush and opposite Tar-bert, Co. Kerny, in the Shan-non Stuary. Five farms com-prising the site have been sold for a reported £230,000.

More than 330 acres of land have been bought at Money Point and two-year options have been taken out on the land by the Shamrock Packaging Company, a recently registered company with offices at 66 Lr. Baggot Street, Dublin.

The name of the oil company involved is not known, but it is shelieved to be Americanbased. In June, there was specu-lation about a refinery being set up near Tarbert by a Zurich-based company. At that time, a 65-acre farm owned by Mr. Eddie Mulvihill at Kilpadogue, bodrering the Shan-non Estuary, was sold for a reported £32,000 and a number of other landowners were

The Clare County Manager, Mr. J. Boland, said that he and the County Engineer had considered the planning application and its implications and he intended to grant outline planmeant agreement in principle.

Mr. Boland, who is chairman of the Clare County Develop-ment Team, said: "The Team has been co-operating with and assisting representatives of an internationa origanisation seek-ing a possible location for an oil refinery and ancillary petro-chemical feed plants. Land for possible use for the same purpose is being acquired else-where in Europe on behalf of the organisation and the Devel-

Oppose rule on Leaving Certificate

By JOHN WALSHE Our Education Correspondent

CHIEF EXECUTIVE Officers of the country's vocational educa-tion committees are annoyed with the Department of Education's attitude towards starting Leaving Certificate classes in vocational

At their annual three-day con-ference in Dun Laoghaire next week they are likely to come out strongly against the Department's ruling which states that prior permissio nhas got to be got before the classes can begin.

Three centres are fighting the Department's ruling. Borriso-kane, Co. Tipperary, is continuing with its own Leaving classes with the official blessing of the North Tipperary V.E.C. Students are also following the same course in Drumshanbo, Co. Leitrim 1 othe hope that the Department will relent and a similar dispute continues at Bel-

formed that no decision as to the precise location will be made fore perhaps another two

The chairman of the Clare County Council, Mr. Michael Considine, said: "I feelu that our entry into the E.E.C. would have a big bearing on the decision to site the refinery bright enough; if we do not, things could take a different turn."

Five cars found

FIVE cars, reported missing by Action Call have been recovered and are back with their owners. They are: Morris 1100, BZI 837; green Cortina, BZM 276; car No. GZU 890; blue MG, PZ-I 897, and car No. RZI 295.

The following cars have been reported misisng to Action Call: Maroon Ford Anglia, CZE 412. Maroon Ford Anglia, CZE 412, from Phibsboro!, Dublin, since October 1: blue Escort, FZO 944, from Donnybrook area, Dublin, since September 26: grey Cortina, PPI 978, from Cork, since Tuesday, last: green Cortina, IZO 830: silver grey Vauxhall Victor, DZI 420: Ford Cortina, AZE 348: red Escort, IZO 830 AZE 348; red Escort, LZO 830, from St. Peter's Road, Phibsboro'. Dublin: red van, DYI 952 C; grey Corsair, LZI 391, from James's St., Dublin, since Friday last; grey blue MG, NZE 781; Cortina, RMI 730, from Carlow Service Station; grey maroon Wolseley, IZL 831; Cortina, VZH 759, from Dominick St., Dublin. Ford Escort, YZL 271, since Tuesday last; Corsair, EDI 774: car No. BZO 774: Rover, HZU 658, from Abbey Theatre, Dublin; Ford Escort Super, TPI 969; Triumph Herald, IIP 323, from Essex Quay, Dublin, since Sept-

If your car is missing contact Action Call, Dublin 40010, and take advantage of our service. If you know anything of the whereabouts of any of the cars our published list, please ring Action Call so that we may inform the owners.

Electrical firm for Ballinasloe

The American electrical company, siting in Ballinasloe, has been named as the Square D Company from Illinois. They produce moulded-case cir-breakers and high quality protection devices for electricity distribution in commerce and industry. Production will be mainly for the British and European markets but will also be available through the com-pany's Irish distributor, Modern Plant Ltd., of Dublin.

Ballinasloe Urban District Council have provided and re-constructed a building to house



School will be built at Renmore, Co. Galway, over a three year period, beginning this year. It will house cadets studying for their university degrees at Galway. The school will ultimately

accommodate 120 cadets. The decision to build the school at Renmore does not necessarily mean that the Cadet

A NEW Army Cadet Training Training School will be moved from the Curragh Camp.

The sending of cadets to University College Galway for their degrees is a relatively new procedure and is still being studied as cadets do their degree courses there. They all do their military training in the Military College based in the Curragh

Our photograph shows

Colonel J. I. Cooney, Director of Engineering, McKee Barracks (second from left), examining model of the new training school, with (left to right) Brian Whelan, Gleeson Byrne Whelan Associates, architects of the new Training School; W. M. Shannon, General Manager, G.W.I. System Buildings, Collooney, Co. Sligo, and Lt.-Col. G. V. Coghlan, Corps of Engineers, McKee Barracks.

SDOI

Fleadh for Boyle

for that event.

1—Ned Kelly. 2 A man elected by his workshop col-leagues to act as their spokes-man... 3—Richard Strauss. 4—

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HOW NEAR Michael

Collins came to not signing the Treaty is dramatically revealed in today's absorbing extracts from Tom Jones's "Whitehall Diary".

4. 1921, Collins refused to Lloyd George. see Lloyd George, as he believed there was no use 9.15 a.m. - but Collins did in any further discussion, not arrive until 9.30 (the Late that night Tom Jones Lloyd George at 10.15). appealed to Arthur Griffith Buchingham Palace to inform for the formal break-down of the King of the break-down in the negotiations, before summoning the Cabinet.

calling it all of responding to a suggestion from Griffith (acting in his

'official capacity' as Chair-man of the Delegation) All day long, on December agreed to the meeting with The time suggested was

And while the meeting to get Collins to change his between Collins and Lloyd mind. He came again the George was under way, next morning-before Lloyd other members of the British George was due to leave for delegation were preparing

King was to be seen by

DECISION

negotiations.

This shows what a last-



Robert Barton (the only surviving member of the Irish delegation to the Treaty negotiations) and Gavin Duffy who were the last two to put their signatures to the Articles of Agreement.

minute decision Collins act- mind . . . and we can only of history might have been the end Collins, ually took in changing his ponder now what the course if he had not gone to this

meeting, but had returned to signed for a decision by the Dublin . . .

Today we read, too, of the build-up to the final days of drama and we see the tragedy of the long Cabinet debate in Dublin on the draft Treaty. We can only ponder too what the outcome would have been in the Lord Birkenhead and said: ultimate stages of the "I have signed my own death negotiations if de Valera had warrant." And Birkenhead acted on Robert Barton's replied to the man he had suggestion that he should go come to deeply respect: over to London himself (de "And I may have signed my Valera decided not to do so, political death warrant." as Griffith had undertaken In each case the prediction

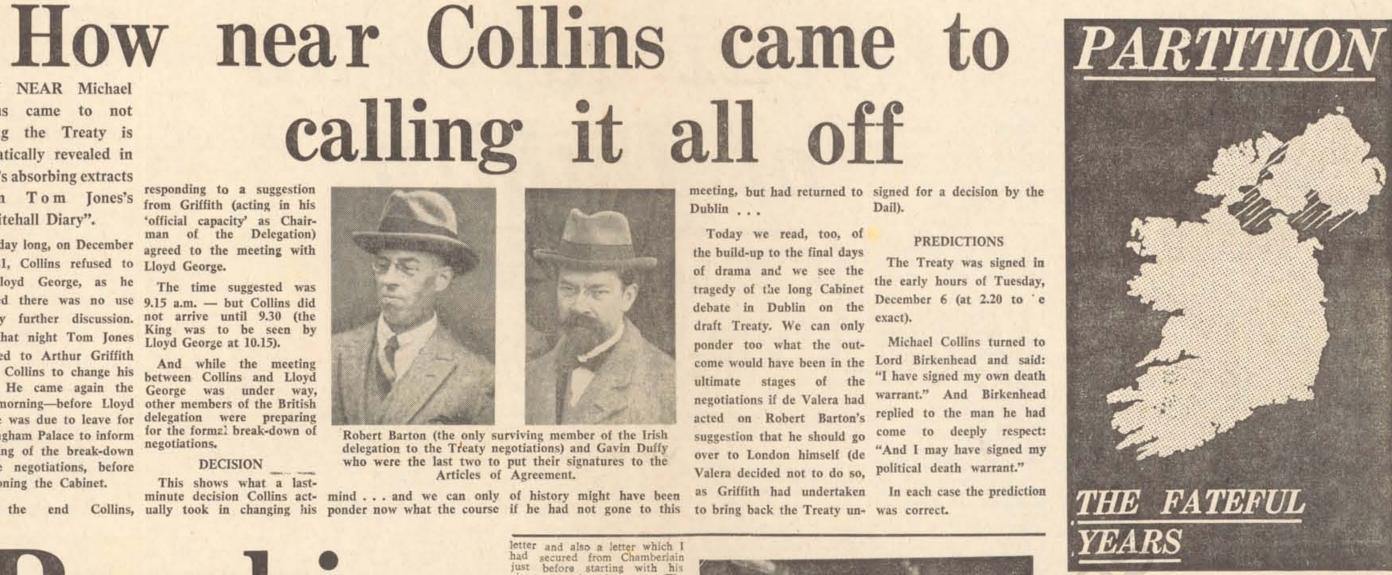
Dail).

PREDICTIONS

The Treaty was signed in the early hours of Tuesday, December 6 (at 2.20 to 'e

Michael Collins turned to

to bring back the Treaty un- was correct.



 This series is adapted from Tom Jones's "Whitehall Diary" (Vol. III-Ireland 1918-'25), edited by Keith Middlemas, Lecturer in Modern History at the University of Sussex. The book is being published shortly by the Oxford University Press. It has been adapted for serialisation by staff writer Raymond Smith.

Breaking

ON THE two basic questions of Allegiance to the Crown and the North, the gulf between the Irish delegation and the British yawned as widely as ever on November 24, 1921, and yet the climax of the Treaty negotiations was fast approaching.

Before negotiations resumed that morning at the House of Lords, Lloyd George called Tom Jones aside and said it looked like

he had been in touch with some of the Sinn Fein (Collins knew lin where he felt sure there would be a strong body of 24 the opening clauses of the opinion against a break on Irish Reply were discussed but oppose such a break and and also some of the Church dignitaries.

Griffith, Collins and Barton were crossing to Ireland that head and Sir Gordon Hewart) night, he said, and there was therefore no time to loss if their concept of the Crown and opinion in Dublin was to be in- allegiance. fluenced.

and urged him to return to Dublin the following morning to get

wanted a resumption of hostilities the real weakleaders and knew of the nesses of the Volunteers and their inability to win out in the trouble about the Crown; he field if the British carried out discussed going over to Dub- their threat to put another 100,000 troops into Ireland).

On the morning of November allegiance. He was certain the discussions got no further he could get the Freeman than the question of the Crown (the Freeman's Journal) to and allegiance. The eventual outcome was a promise by the Irish delegates present Collins and Gavan Duffy and Chartres who faced England's constitutional experts, Birkento provide a formula embodying

Griffith left for Dublin early Later the same evening Cope on the Friday. Barton had saw the Archbishop of Tuam in already gone. Collins, after meethis bed in a Jermyn Street Hotel ing C. P. Scott of the Guardian and urged him to return to Dub- (who had earlier lunched with ne following morning to get Lloyd George, who had asked with the Sinn Fein him to try and dissuade the Irish Treasurer and with Most Rev. against breaking on allegiance)

Dr. Byrne, the Catholic Arch- took the night train to Holyhead

bishop of Dublin (1921-40).

Sir James Craig was to be sent the final Irish proposals on Tuesday, December 6 and the Irish would be receiving them some days beforehand.

Later in the day an agitated Alfred Cope was to call and told Tom Jones that he had been in touch with and that in recognition of the King's position as its head an annual sum would be voted to his personal revenue (it is obvious that even de Valera repermit Ireland the full Republic

story of the negotiations as they

P.M. for a few minutes before Craig came in at 11.30. I urged the P.M. to tell Craig as little as possible of our difficulties with nn Fein as we found the Ulster Ministers blurted everything at once to the Press.

their reply.

Bishops especially busy.

28 November Monday. forenoon the P.M. was playing golf at Beaconsfield with Sassoon and I spoke to him at 1.15 and again at 2.30 with the P.M. himself in Welsh. He wanted to know what news there was from Hans Place and could I not arrange to bring Griffith and Collins, Birkenhead, and Horne to Chequers to spend the night there? I told him that Tim Healy was about and he said to bring him also.

3.40 P.M. I tried to get at Griffith but he was out and I was put through to Childers. I told him that I thought it would be useful if Griffith and Collins ould take the Irish reply with them in person to Chequers that evening and discuss it there. He said he would put that to Griffith but that Collins would not be returning until the following day from Dublin. Presently he rang me up to say that Griffith did not much care for the proposal.

I took with me the Irish reply as it was in the days of Crom-



arrived and I gave them Arthur Griffith's letter. They did not think this was the Irishmen's last word. Anythe Irishmen's last word. Anyway it was a bad ground for a break. At 10 to 10 Arthur Griffith and Duggan arrived. They left at 11.45 and ten minutes later L.G. went off to bed, with the remark in Welsh 'Gwell' (Better).

At this meeting, faced with the fourth Irish refusal to accept

At 8.40 F. E. Smith and Horne

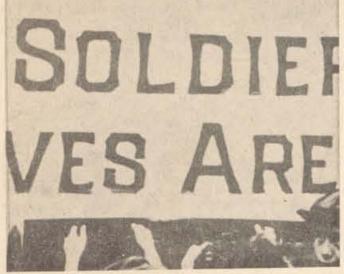
letter and also a letter which I

fourth Irish refusal to accept allegiance, the British offered the inclusion of any phrase which ensured that the position of the

4.0. The P.M., Chamberlain, Birkenhead with Griffith and Duggan, Childers, Curtis and I 5.30. Conference between the

P.M., Chamberlain, Birkenhead, Liddell, Greer, Curtis and myself (where they) laid down essentials of final proposals to be inserted Now Tom Jones takes up the in draft Articles of Settlement. King to have some rights and powers in Ireland as in Canada and Australia. Take Law and Practice. Nominally King right to veto every Act of Par-liament; in fact he does not. They fear we might in Ireland They want position made plain in Treaty. So with Governor-General; must assimilate law and practice. See Churchill for what Admiralty requires in peace and war. Beatty had been reasonable Distinguish between care and maintenance parties required in peace and unlimited facilities required in war. Ulster to be allowed to come out within a year. They want to put in counter-claim for over-taxation.







The Irish delegation returned to Dublin on the evening of December 2 and the confused discussion at the Cabinet meeting followed on Saturday, December 2. taken as to whether to still press for External Association and no debate took place on what to do if British threats of immediate war prevented the submission of the Treaty to the Dail. The delegates went back to London on the evening boat on December 3 and met the British the next day. There was no time

to draft a definite document. Unacceptable

ance question had been reduced

of the State and the Empire."

The new proposals represented a return to External Association. As such they were unacceptable to the British. Collins knew there was no use in presenting them. Griffith put the case to the British with great skill and attempted to lay the onus on the refusal of Ulster to compromise but his 'pledge' of November 12

At 1.30 a.m. on Monday, De-cember 5, Tom Jones wrote this memorandum to Lloyd George: "I saw Arthur Griffith at midnight for an hour alone. He was labouring under a deep sense of the crisis and spoke throughout with the greatest earnestness and unusual emotion. One was bound to feel that to break with him would be infinitely tragic.

Briefly his case was-"1. That he and Collins had been completely won over to be-lief in your desire for peace and recognised that you had gone far in your efforts to secure it.

"2. This belief was not shared by their Dublin colleagues and they had failed to bring them all the way, but were convinced they could be brought further. In Dublin there is still much distrust and fear that if the 'Treaty' is signed they will be 'sold.' "3. They are told that they

have surrendered much ('the King' and 'association') and got nothing to offer the Dail in re-

Will he not write you a personal letter, as A.G. did, saying Ulster will recognise Unity if the South accepts the Common-wealth? Then the South will give all the safeguards you want for the North and will not ask for the Boundary Commission a most difficult thing to give up.

"4. Without something to offer the Dail on these lines Arthur Griffith and Michael Collins could not carry more than about one-half of them. Barton and the doctrinaires with minor problems like protective duties can be

neglected. 90% of the gun-men

may have indirectly paved the way for Civil War.

But first the British Cabinet looked at this draft and no objection was raised to Ireland having the same status as the Dominion of Canada and being known as the Irish Free State.

Some amendment of the draft Treaty was won by the Irish on 1 and 2 December and the allegiance question had been reduced

Tom Jones returned early in the morning of December The oath remained but in the make a final appeal to Griffith form and practice of Canada.

The draft was very large

The draft was very largely concerned with the problems of allegiance to the Throne and restated the British doctrine with great charity. It concluded that "after five months of negotiation and nearly two months of conference the Irish representa-But no clear-cut decision was tives have nothing to offer but oposals which would break the Empire in pieces, dislocate society in all its self-governing nations and cancel for ever the hope of national unity in Ireland itself.

In those circumstances the Government feels that no purpose can be served by prolonged conference. It is, however, essential that the people of Ireland and the world at large should be aware of the exact nature and scope of the offer which His Majesty's Government are prepared to make."

Now, with the break seemingly at hand, Lloyd George faced Collins and he found a lever in the likelihood of a Boundary Commission which he hinted would so cut down Ulster that she would be forced in from ecowas turned against him.

The meeting ended with both sides apparently as far apart as they had been in October.

At 1.30 a.m. on Monday, Dethe strong impression that Ulster would be forced in (according to some sources Tom Jones had also conveyed this to Griffith and Collins said later that it had been confirmed by Churchill). But there was no mention of this in Tom Jones's Diary (such tactics would hardly go on record).

It was 2 a.m. on the morning of December 6, 1921 when they signed the Treaty. For Collins the Treaty was merely a stepping stone to a Thirty-two County Re-public — it was good enough for a start (as he agreed when he met Joe McGrath) and gave the freedom to achieve in time complete freedom. He had absolutely no doubt that the North would be brought in. He wanted the British out of as much as Ireland as possible to move towards his goal.

Strangely enough, at the ultimate moment of drama in the early hours of December 6, 1921 no one — not even Childers, the diehard Republican — invoked the Cabinet mandate that the terms of Agreement should be referred back to the Dail before signing.

And no one thought of using the telephone to Dublin.

Collins, as the hands of the clock moved towards 5 a.m. (he would be up to Mass three hours later) wrote to Kitty Kiernan: "I don't know how things will go now, but with God's help we have brought peace to this land of

It was not to be. . . .

MONDAY: The killings in the North have angered Collins. "I will go back to fight with Mulcahy," he says furiously.

CRUCIAL TIME TABLE

THE TIMETABLE of the Longest Day-the day on which the was signed—is given in Tom Jones's Diary and naturally in itself it conveys nothing of the agony and emotion of the ultimate moments of drama as the members of the Irish delegation made their choice.

5 DECEMBER MONDAY

9.00 A.M.-P.M. breakfast, Mrs. Carey Evans. 9.30-Michael Collins arrives and sees L.G. at No. 10 and agrees

tentatively to come back in the afternoon, 10.15-Leaves. P.M. and A.C. and J.T.D. to Buckingham Palace. Scott and McCurdy (the Chief Liberal Party or-

11.15-Delay in arrival of members. P.M., A.C., H.G., L.W.-E., Fitz Alan.

12.00-Cabinet.

1.00-T.J. lunched at No. 10.

2.30-Irish conference.

3.00-P.M., A.C., F.E.S., W.S.C., A.G., M.C., Barton.

5.50—Oliver (Sir Henry Oliver, the Second Sea Lord). Destroyer to be ready (to take the agreement, if signed to Craig). 6.50-Draft to Craig.

6.30-Time from Proclamation to summoning of Parliament, 14 days (Liddell). 6 days (Schuster).

6.45-Copy of St. James's Park given by Mr. Chamberlain to 6.50-To Chamberlain's room: P.M., A.C., W.S.C., Birkenhead, Fitz Alan, T.J.

Birkenhead: It will be a great thing if Arthur Griffith as Chairman of Delegation stands by these proposals. Have great effect in U.S.A. and in Ireland itself. P.M.: They'll want a reply from Ulster on Irish Unity first. Winston: If no answer by 10 p.m. leave them in (no) doubt

as to what we are doing. 7.15-P.M. and Chamberlain instruct draftsmen. or Sylvester to be ready to go to Craig to Belfast. 8.15-I dine with Ned Grigg, also P. Kerr and Curtis,

9.00-Quintin Hill hands Childers 'the document.' 9.50-Back to No. 10.

10.15-Childers arrives, 15 minutes late.

A.M.-Irish Agreement signed. Sylvester and T.J. present at signing.

Negotiations

resumed in London . . 25 November, 11.15. Saw the

11.15. Chartres came to the Cabinet Office and I had half an hour with him, for the first time with any real intimacy. I pleaded with him on the subject of allegiance but found him utterly irreconcilable on allegiance to

the King in Ireland. 26 November Saturday. We were now awaiting the formula dealing with allegiance which at the House of Lords conference the Sinn Feiners had promised to frame, with the view of attempting to surmount the difficulty about the oath. Griffith, Collins, and Co., had crossed to Dublin on the previous night, ostensibly for domestic reasons, but no doubt to discuss the formlua and its implications. At 10.30 I spoke Childers and told him that there was of course no hurry for the formula and that if necessary we would wait until Monday for

26 November Saturday 1.0 p.m. Message from Cope. Things are humming on the other side. The

which had arrived at the office a little before I left. I went straight up with it to the Long Room where the P.M. was. This room, he told me, is very much

gave him the Sinn Fein





This series is adapted from Tom Jones's "Whitehall Diary" (Vol. III-Ireland 1918-'25), edited by Keith Middlemas, Lecturer in Modern History at the University of Sussex. The book is being published shortly by the Oxford University Press. It has been adapted for serialisation by staff writer Raymond Smith.

British were asked for guns

EARLY IN May, 1922, ment will be prepared to provide him with the necessary equip-Michael Collins had asked the British for arms and ammunition with a view to attacking the Irregulars, who had taken over the Four Courts building on the night of April 13. He requested 10,000 rifles, 20,000 grenades and ten field grant for the requested to the requested t field guns.

Tom Jones gives this infor-mation in the "Whitehall Diary" entry for May 12, reporting on an important conference that morning which Winston Churchill had with General Macready and Alfred W. Cope, who had become Assistant Joint Under-Secretary in Dublin Castle in 1920 and played a vital role in the peace moves that brought an end to the fighting in Ireland in July, 1921.

Cope at this conference out-ned the probably course of events in Ireland.

It must be noted first that no action had been taken initially when Rory O'Connor, with Liam Mellows and other Republican leaders took over the Four Courts and began to fortify the building as a headquarters; a peace conference had been arranged by the Archbishop of Dublin, who succeeded in impos-ing a temporary truce until a general election had been held. IDEALISTIC

O'Connor and Mellows were both utterly idealistic and ready to fight to the end for their vision of the Republic, but it was not until the actual shelling of the Four Courts took place that Liam Lynch threw in his lot irrevocably with the militants.

Cope at the May 12 conference pointed out to Churchill and Macready that the temporary truce was due to end on the following Wednesday and went on to express the view that "Collins will attack the rebels in their strongholds outside Dublin." The Tom Jones' Diary con-

Rory O'Connor's plan is to involve British troops by hook or by crook in hostilities with the I.R.A. This will lead to Collins being deserted by a large proportion of his men and the reunion of the I.R.A. as a Republican force. Churchill emphasised very strongly his views as to the undesirability of handing over more arms to Collins until the latter makes it clear that he means really to deal with the rebels, and he expressed the view that Collins's policy of attacking the rebels in their strongholds outside Dublin would lead directly to the repudiation of the treaty since the British Government could not stand by and see their troops murdered.

He thought that the Irish signatories to the treaty should be got over at once and a meeting in fact being arranged for Monday morning

At this meeting he will put to Collins his view; which is that, if Collins will definitely undertake to carry out operations against the rebel strongholds in Dublin itself and clear the capital he considers to be an essential step towards the re- troops establishment in Ireland of the gandaauthority of the Provisional states that the ultimatum of the Government), the British Govern- Provisional Government came as

THE MURDER of Catholics in Northern Ireland in 1922 brought the anger of Michael Collins to boiling point and in London he charged Tom Jones that the British Prime Minister, Lloyd George, was

Collins talked on at a great rate in a picturesque way about going back to fight with his comrades Mulcahy and McKeown, that Britain seemed to be bent on war and would do nothing to put Belfast right, and on and on at great length about the Ulster situation.

"incredibly callous" about the whole affair.

It was near the end of May, 1922, and Collins was in London for a conference between the British and Irish representatives on the proposed Free State Constitution, which had been produced in draft form, and proved to be as Republican as Tom Jones suspected.

Along with the electoral pact which Collins had signed with De Valera that same month, in his anxiety to stave off Civil War, the Constitution created a serious crisis that threatened a break between the Provisional Government and Britain. Soon Lloyd George would be stipulating that the Provisional Government would have to choose between De Valera and the Treaty.

Incidentally, the intention behind the Collins-De Valera pact was to exclude the Treaty as an issue from the election, which was fixed for June 16, and to apportion the seats in the new Parliament according to the proportions of the existing Dail.

At a meeting of the British Cabinet on May 16, dealing with the situation, Churchill (according to Tom Jones in his Whitehall Diary) gave his colleagues his appreciation of the situation:-

We had a right to be disappointed with the Provisional Government. We thought we were dealing with plenipotentiaries and that we should have an election. But De Valera, recognising that this would have gone against him, had succeeded in delaying it. The Irish leaders move in a narrow world. They had been men of violence and conspiracy and had hardly emerged from that atmos-

They had been discussing an agreed election between

out that this would confirm the view held by their position. enemies that they did not believe in representative government, and would bring ridicule on the Irish people in the plies of arms until a conference should meet and a guarantee be got from Collins that he was going to make good

Chamberlain, who had by him my letter about the Irishmen and tell them that Kennedy's formula meant a evacuation of Dublin, put the question to Churchill about break if it was peristed in.

T. I. managed to Instifut the position to Griffith but not

Churchill replied that if we took our troops away he believed a Republic would be declared there.

The killings in the North stir Collins's anger...

'I will go back to fight with Mulcahy'

We must contemplate having to retain what he called understand that he had started for Dublin that night and the 'English capital' and perhaps converting it into a was only in London because he had missed his train. He 'pale' once more.

27th May, 1922. Conference between British and Irish found the British Ministers much more hostile than they Representatives (London).

On retiring, Collins and Griffith urged me to impress on the Prime Minister that if the Elections were held up it would spell absolute disaster to them as pro-treaty leaders. I argued that the Constitution knocked the Treaty end-ways, that the Lord Lieutenant . . .

M.C. 'There is no Lord Lieutenant . . .'

T.J. 'Well, the "Commissioner of the British Com- to meet the P.M. and Birkenhead. monwealth" was a mere rubber stamp.

M.C. 'We'll provide the stamp.'

After a few more remarks in this strain I withdrew militant terms. I reached Claridge's about 10.15. I was to the adjoining room where Churchill was vigorously contending for a postponement of the election. What my anxiety about Collins to the P.M. and concealed nothing difference could the delay of a few days make? If we of the belligerent mood of Collins and the silence of used the forms of law to give validity to the election we were acknowledging the De Valera-Collins pact, participating in the coalition Government with four Republican

Mr. Chamberlain said hardly a word and looked the picture of misery. Hamar Greenwood was silent.

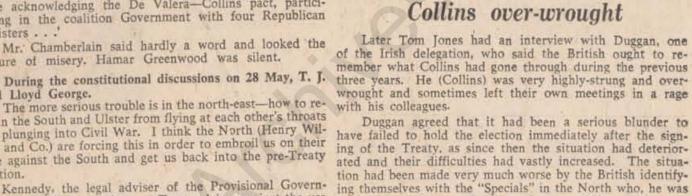
told Lloyd George.

The more serious trouble is in the north-east-how to rethe two factions by which was meant that so many seats strain the South and Ulster from flying at each other's throats would be assigned to De Valera and so many to the Free and plunging into Civil War. I think the North (Henry Wilson and Co.) are forcing this in order to embroil us on their Churchill had written to Collins a strong letter pointing side against the South and get us back into the pre-Treaty

Kennedy, the legal adviser of the Provisional Government, suddenly reverted to pre-Treaty claims against the use eyes of the world. He (Churchill) had refused further sup-plies of arms until a conference should meet and a guar-appointing judges and public officials. Deadlock ensued and I. once more became the intermediary for Lloyd George.

30 May The P.M. instructed me to go off and see the

Collins was in a most pugnacious mood and his first sentence to me was "This gulf is unbridgeable." He let me



did not believe further meetings would be any good. He

were during the Treaty negotiations and even the P.M.

was incredibly callous about the murders of Ulster

the distrust which had grown on our side. It was not until

10 o'clock that I got him to say that if asked he would come

leaving Churchill in haranguing his Irish colleagues in most

Griffith. The P.M. said it looked like a break.

I resented this and suggested that what had happened since the Treaty in Ireland was sufficient explanation of

I gathered afterwards that he had spent the time after

perfectly satisfied, were guilty of many of the murders. The British reply to the Irish draft Constitution was handed to the Irish leaders at 6 p.m. on June 1, 1922, with a request that they should present themselves at a full meeting of the British Signatories to the Treaty at 6.30 p.m.

As the British were assembling at No. 10, Michael Collins got on the phone to Tom Jones and made a strong protest at the thirty minutes allowed to study the reply. 'Is this playing the game?" he asked. He said he was returning to Dublin.

When Lloyd George heard of the attitude adopted by Collins he said it was not unreasonable, and Tom Jones went back to the phone to tell Collins this. It was then agreed that Lloyd George, accompanied by Curtis, should see Griffith and Collins alone. Shortly after 6.30 p.m., the meeting took place.

Treaty 'sacrifices'

At this conference, Lloyd George reminded Griffith and Collins of the sacrifices made by H.M.G. in signing the Treaty, especially by his Unionist colleagues'.

He stressed that a time had arrived when the Irish Signatories must say definitely whether or not they were in a position to carry out the clear provisions of the Treaty. He then put the specific question: Were they prepared to recognise that under the Treaty the Irish Free State must be inside and an integral part of the British Commonwealth?

Mr. Griffith and Mr. Collins both replied with emphasis that they fully recognised that under the Treaty the Irish Free State was to be inside the British Commonwealth and that Irishmen were to retain citizenship in common with British subjects in other parts of the British Commonwealth.

Mr. Collins, however, stated that they were not prepared to have the English Common Law forced upon them. The argument which followed covered most of the old

ground and some new, including the right of the Foreign Office to handle Imperial policy. The Irish complained particularly that the British were paying the B Specials in Ulster 'who murdered Catholics-it had not been so in Canada.'

Now the British Cabinet met and measures for taking over the Irish ports and Irish revenue were discussed. Churchill pointed out that the beer revenue, for example, was £114 millions of which the South was entitled to about half. It would be necessary to draw a pretty large area round Guinness's so as to permit its beneficiary action to continue. Then followed a discussion of military measures in Dublin, Cork, and Limerick; the drawing of the line between Donegal and Dundalk, the putting of small craft on the lakes and all the other operations dear to the descendant of the Duke of Marlborough. Hamar Greenwood reminded the Cabinet that Ireland was ten times more armed now than in his day and the situation was herefore incomparably worse for us than when we concluded the truce.

It was useless talking of occupying Dublin. It would be burnt in 24 hours. The fire brigade never operated there except at the point of the pistol. Mond asked naively were we contemplating the reconquest of Ireland? Churchill explained that the proposal was to put economic and financial pressure on the Provisional Government while leaving them to govern the interior . . .

There was some more talk about the Air Force dropping leaflets: about the camps for the refugees, the P.M. drawing Churchill out into the most vivid details, apparently in complete sympathy with Churchill, turning to the Chancellor of the Exchequer asking for his estimate of the cost, and then at the end taking care to point out that the discussion was simply aimed at a voyage of exploration . . .

General election

On June 2 the danger of a break receded when Griffith's definite answers to the questions put to him were handed to the British Cabinet.

The Constitution crisis was over by June 9 and the general election was to be held on June 16.

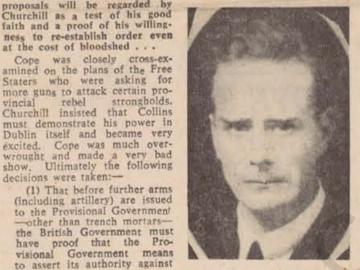
Two days beforehand in a historic speech in Cork, Michael Collins rejected the pact he had signed with De Valera, telling his listeners that they could make a straight vote for the "candidates you think best of." The results of the election-the basic issue of which was

whether the Treaty was acceptable or not to the people of

Ireland-were Provisional Government-58 seats; Republicans—35; Labour—17; Farmers—7; Independents—7; Unionists (Trinity College)—4. The Republicans claimed a breach of the pact when no places in the Government were offered to them and in July they banned the new Dail as unconstitutional. Further cause of dispute was added with the publication of the Constitution (on the morning of the Election). Civil War flared again and the first meeting of the new

Dail was postponed until September 9.

TOMORROW: The Battle of Belleek, when Collins went to the brink for the Six County minority.



Liam Mellows, who was with Rory O'Connor in the Four Courts.



a direct challenge from the militant Republicans to the authority of the Provisional Government.

Churchill saw Four Courts attack How

Liffey at the Four Courtsand if Ireland was not already there was certainly no going back from that moment.

(2) That this proof must be

given by definite measures to re-establish their authority in

decisions were taken:-

the insurgents.

the Capital.

The Republicans have argued for half a century now (1) It was possible that the that the attack followed an Cabinet might give authority to argued for half a century now ultimatum from the British to Michael Collins.

But Tom Jones's "Whitehall Diary" shows clearly that, while they certainly wanted him to establish the authority of the Provisional Government in the capital, they fully realised that what Rory O'Connor desired most of all was an attack on the building by British troops.

DELAYED

Orders, apparently at Chur-chill's instigation, were first sent to General Macready, in command of the British troops in Dublin. Instead of attack, however, he delayed and the order was later counter-manded. The Irregulars captured the Assistant Chief of Staff of the Government forces, Lieut-General "Ginger" O'Connell as a hostage.

Michael Collins, and the whole Cabinet finally backed the decision, decided to do the work himself or risk losing what authority remained to the Pro-

The following "Report on the Situation in Ireland" for the week ending July 15 is highly significant and leaves absolutely no doubt whatsoever about the British Cabinet's awareness of the Four Courts situation:

15 July - Report on the Situation in ireland.

... Information is in our possession which goes to show that Rory O'Connor thought that British troops would be employed in forcing him to evacuate the Four Courts, and that, after consideration, it was de-cided that resistance to British troops would be good propaganda. The same source states that the ultimatum of the

CHURCHILL'S VIEWS The day after the attack on in a state of open Civil War, the Four Courts — that is on the court of the court o summed up the three contin-gencies to be faced by the British

assist the operations of the Free State troops by artillery fire from howitzers situated in Phoenix

Free State Government might fail to take possession of the Courts and discontinue their operations. It would then be necessary for the British troops to undertake the reduction of the Four Courts as a definite

(3) There was the possibility could not seriously be taken in which must be considered that hand until the reinforcements Collins's troops would be en- had arrived. In connection with tirely defeated by the rebels, and such an operation it would prob-

anarchy would be created. In such an eventuality, after the Four Courts had been retaken by the Imperial troops, we should be faced with the necessity of restoring order in Dublin. To carry out such an operamilitary operation under the tion strong reinforcements would orders of H.M. Government, be necessary and the matter

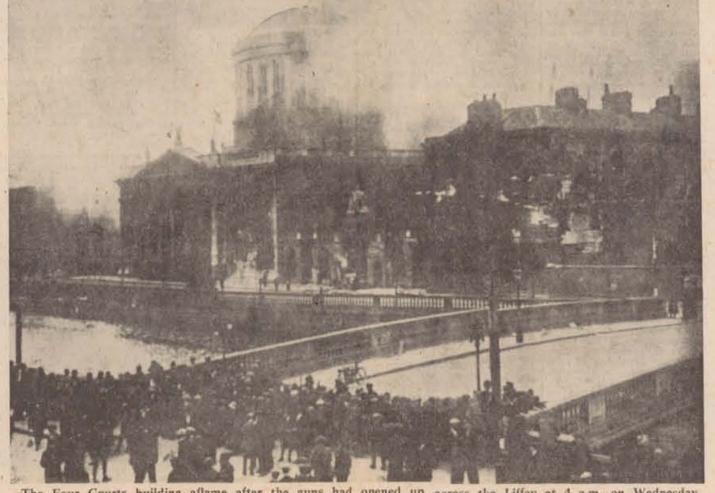
SHORTLY after 4 a.m. on a surprise, and that the mines Wednesday, June 28, 1922, which destroyed the Four Courts two eighteen-pounder field guns opened up across the guns opened up across the surprise, and that the mines irrespective of the request or wishes of the Free State Government.

Park and by aerial bombing, that Dublin would fall into the ably be necessary to occupy the hands of Rory O'Connor's troops "Waterline" in order that more and the Industrial Workers of the World with the debris of the World with the debris of the Free State forces and a state of line.

(2) It was possible that the Free State forces and a state of line. The C.I.G.S. said that a plan had been worked out and that there would be a sufficient force at our disposal to carry out the

> But on 30 June, O'Connor sur-rendered with 170 of the Volun-teers. The Four Courts building had been mined and was very largely destroyed, with most of the records remaining in the Public Record Office.

operation without calling out the



The Four Courts building aflame after the guns had opened up across the Liffey at 4 a.m. on Wednesday, June 28, 1922.

NEW VILLAGE FOR RETIRED AMERICANS

A PLACE of retirement for wealthy Irish-Americaas the new village by Mr. Mark C. Wright, Managing major development and opens the road for much is to be built on a wooded estate at Castle Leslie, Director o fa London firm of property consul-near the oldworld village of Glaslough, Co.

The plans, announced yesterday are for an entire new village with 50 cottage-style homes going up initially on a lake shore on the 1,200 acre

The scheme was announced at Castle Leslie where a party of 20 American real estate agents, on an Irish tor, were taken on a tour of the site. The agents were guests of Mr. Desmond Leslie

tants who are involved in the deal.

Key officials of the Irish auctioneering body, Agents and Livestock Salesmen, were present and should prove very attractive for many Irihs Amerithe U.S. visitors were formally welcomed at the cans interested in taking up residence in Ireland, reception in Castle Leslie by the Association especially people who are retired." the Association president, Mr. Jim Guinan, Dublin.

One of the founder members of the Irish

Said another Co. Monaghan auctioneer, Mr. Association of Auctioneer's, Valuers, Estate Oliver Lonergan, Carrickmacross: "The scheme

Mr. Walter Butler, president of the U.S. auctioneering group, commented: "There is a very big The agents were guests of Mr. Desmond Leslie auctioneering body, Mr. Eamon Brennan, a Co. interest in this project and the new village should at Castle Leslie and were shown the plans for Monaghan man living in Dublin, said: "This is a attract many buyers throughout America."

Memory of

Tipperary

patriot is

honoured

THE 51ST anniversary of the death of Sean Tracy, 3rd Tipperary Brigade I.R.A. leader who was killed in action in

Dublin was commemorated at Kilfeacle cemetery, Co. Tipperary yesterday. An oration was delivered by Mr. Michael J. Davern, Cashel, a former Brigade staff officer with Tracy.

There also was a commemora-tion by members of the National

Graves' Association at which Mr. Thomas Malone (Sean Forde)

by Mr. Joe Cahill, Belfast; Mr. Sean Fitzpatrick, Secretary, National Graves' Association. Among the wreaths laid was one on behalf of the I.R.A. by 88-

New status

for Servites

in Ireland

THE SERVITE Order in Ireland

which up to now had been attached to the Provincial House of the Order in Chicago, has set

up its own Vicarial Province in this country. This means that without severing all ties with the U.S.A. House, the Irish Servites

have attained a large measure of

The Order was established in this country by the U.S.A. Pro-vince, which founded their first

house in Ireland in Benburb, Co. Tyrone in 1948. Because of then growing strength of the Order here however, the Irish Servites

decided to set up their own

Rev. Cyril Farrell, Prior at

Benburb, said that it was hoped eventually to have full

provincial powers in Ireland.

"These are things that do not happen overnight, however," he

explained. When the Irish Ser-

vites reach that stage they will be answerable directly to Rome.
The establishment of the Vicariate

here was a normal process of

The new Vicar Provincial is

Very Rev. Owen O'Malley, O.S.M., a native of Killarney, he attended St. Brendan's College

there. After studies at Benburb Servite Seminary and Loyola

University, Chicago, he worked in the U.S.A. for a number of years

and then returned to Benburb Priory in 1965. He is widely

known as a retreat director. The first Chapter of the new Vicarial Province was held in

Rev. Peregrine Graffius.

along Spain's east coast.

south along the Benidorm sea-

Floods subside

year-old Mr. Joe Clarke.

It was revealed that the cost of each house will be approximately £8,000 .

The U.S. estate agents who have already visited a number of othe reenters in the 26 Counties were flown in by Gaelic Tours Ltd., Dublin and the tour director Mr. Niel Gribbin, said last night: "This is the first of a series of similar U.S.-Irish link tours whic hare planned." He added that another major influx of American businessmen had been arranged and they were expected within the next few months.

A reception for the U.S. auctioneers is to be held in Dublin this afternoon

End internment, urges Northern legal association

THE Northern Ireland Association for Legal Justice last night called on the Westminster Government to end internment.

In a dossier which condemns the committee established to review internees' the rule of law. Interment and all its trapcases as "unacceptable," the association said: "There is much talk these days about pings are the very negation of the rule of law, Only the ending of internment and the bringing of suspects before the courts in a truly reformed legal system will satisfy the requirements of justice.

Woman killed

in Belfast

bar explosion

hill Park, Belfast.

were shattered.

from the bar."

feet deep in the roadway.

rushed the casualties to two hos-

A woman who died when a bomb exploded in a bar in Bel-fast's Durham Street on Satur-day night was named vesterday as Mrs. Winifred Maxwell (45),

Tipperary

student

retains

title

By BRIAN MacSWEENEY

AT A TIME when all is not

well with senior adult show jumping on the international front, it is heartening to record

for the second year in succession the fine victory of Edward

O'Grady in retaining the title of Individual Champion at the International Universities Ekues-

trian Championships at McKee

The Swiss riders represented by a highly polished three-rides team from Geneva, were com-pletely dominant in dressage and

show jumping to become team

But the 22-year-old veterinary student, Edward O'Grady, son of the famous steeplechase rider

Willie O'Grady, was in masterly form and went through all five eliminating rounds (45 fences) without faults, the hallmark of

In each round there was a draw for horses which were

loaned for the occasion by many

prominent owners including the

between an experienced German

rider, Bernard Schweer of Aachen, and O'Grady on the international horse Carnaby

international horse Carnaby Street, loaned by Mr. Leslie

Schweer had the first part of

four faults. His time was 69.8

secs.

The Tipperary student followed after a five-minute interval on the same horse. In a

inexpectedly large crowd, Eddie

O'Grady jumped a superb round without fault in 65.1 secs. to

clinch the issue with an Irish

Cork student, Terry Horgan, finalist in the individual cress-

age test with the Swiss rider Josy Petit-Jean from Berne.

The Army horse, Cinn Saile, was loaned for tals test, which was a B.H.S, medium standard quite high in this class.

Basle, has 11 years riding experi-ence and did a very competent dressage, excelling in the laterals. Terry Horgan, who is only back riding in the last 10 days

after several months of study and examinations, did surpris-ingly well in his test but under

standably lacked the extra finesse of his rival and was

beaten by the narrow margin

of 10 points.
It should be stated that this

standard has never been reached in previous championshirs by an Irish rider and therefore the performance is all the more creditable for Terry Horgan.

bers (Cambridge); 5, 6, 7, 8 divided, A. Schneider (Hanover), Digby Hodgins (Dublin), M. Begner (Dusseldorf), S. Guppen-

Individual Dressage - Winner: Petit-lean (Berne): runner-up,

Terry Horgan (Dublin),

Petit-Jean, who was born in

Another hero was the Co.

tense atmosphere amongst

the combined fence down

The final round was jumped

Army Equitation School.

a worthy champion.

Barracks, Dublin.

"We call on the Westminster Governreform the legal system and restore to all

The internment review committee, provided for in regulation 12 of the Special Powers Act, is chaired by Judge Brown. After visiting Long Kesh internment camp last week with nine other British M.P.s. Mr. Merlyn Rees, M.P., said: "There is

The Association's dossier lists

appeals committee. The first is that an internee is asked to prove his innocence. "This violates the accepted principle of British law that a man is innocent until proved guilty."

a Protestant of Westomreland Street (off Dover Street), on the Falls-Shankill peace line. Ten peolpe are still in the Royal Victoria Hospital suffering from injuries received when the bomb exploded in the pub, owned by Mr. Terence McCauley, a Catholic of Fruit-One man is believed to have had an arm amputated and it is understood several of the injured are suffering from com-pound fractures. Others had ear drums perforated by the blast.

"The personnel of the committee, despite Mr. Heath's assurance that it is 'dinstinguished and impartial,' does not The force of the blast wrecked the inside of the premises blew inspire confidence. Internment is the front section on to the roadh a deeply em way and left a crater almost two any investigations of its operation should be conducted Catholics and Protestants joined police and army patrols in a frenzied search of the debris for the injured as six ambulances

Internees appearing before the Doods in about 20 houses nearby were blown in by the blast and hundreds of windows Mr. Michael Bream (46), a labourer who was in the bar at the time said later: "The blast lifted me off my feet and threw me to the ground. don't re-member much what happened but I could hear screams coming Mr. McCauley and 18-year-old son were serving in the bar when the bomb was planted at

the main entrance. Mr. McCauley was taken to hospital but was later discharged. accusers. Decrease in

missionaries A DROP last year of more than 20 per cent of the total number of Irish missionaries working abroad in 1968 has been revealed in a report in the Dominican Order publication, Doctrine and

The report which is based on a preliminary examination of figures furnished to the Irish Missionary Union by the missionary societies, says that the total number of 7,085 Irish Missionaries working in foreign mis-sions in 1968 had dropped to 5,495 in 1970.

The report says that no reason were given for the decrease but that to some extent it would be accounted for by the expulsion of missionaries from some countries. The number of lay missionaries, it states, has increased from 255 to 314 between 1968 and 1970.

The breakdown of the figures is: The number of priests dropped from 2,797 to 2,303; brothers from 486 to 353, and sisters from 3,547 to 2,525.

Kosygin leaves

SOVIET Premier, Kosygin, returned to Moscow yesterday after a six-day visit to North Africa to strengthen Soviet economic ties with two Arab countries. After a 45-minute talk with King Hassan, Kosygin signed an accord granting Soviet aid to build a hydro-electric plant in the south of Morocco,

LAW LIST Extracts from the "The Legal Diary"

Results were:
Individual Jumoing: 1, E
O'Grady (Dublin); 2, B. Schweer
(Aachen); 3, Miss E. Alexanderson (Sweden); 4, Miss B. Cham-Central Criminal Court-Four Courts — The President—Court No. 1 — at 10.45 — Unsworn jurors Nos. 1-300 need not attend until tomorrow.

Circuit Court - Green St .-Judge McGivern — at 11 — Jurors Nos. 301 to 475 must attend. Absent jurors may be fined. Jurors Nos. 475-630 need not attend until tomorrow. | years.

ment, which has the ultimate authority over Northern Ireland, to end internment, the citizens the right to a fair and public trial within a reasonable time."

little evidence of appeals to the Brown Appeals Board. The Brown tribunal is, frankly, not working."

The Association said they shared the misgivings of Mr. Rees and of a growing number of lawyers and public representatives about the shortcomings of the procedure for review of Faulkner's internment

nine major criticisms of the

The dossier said: "The committee has no exceutive power. It merely advises the Minister of Home Affairs, either confirming his original decision or suggesting that he rescind it. The Minister is not bound to accept that advice. Furthermore, accept that advice. Furthermore, the committee is appointed by the same Minister who made the decisions which it is being asked to evaluate. It, therefore, lacks the independence of a judicial tribunal.

persons from outside the United Kingdom. There are many lawyers of international repute who should be acceptable to all the interests involved."

committee are given no indica-tion of the suspicions which led to their internment, said the Association. "This is totally repugnant to all the recognised rules of legal practice. In the courts, they must outline the courts, they must outline the charges against the accused. In the Higher Courts, the accused is given details of the evidence against him even before he appears in court. An internee is at a complete disadvantage before the Advisory Committee. He is lifet completely in the dark as regards the 'evidence' against as regards the 'evidence' against him and the identity of his

Questions on the evaluation of "evidence" against internees remained unanswered. Did the committee call in the police officers on whose suspicions Mr. Faulkner acted?

"Members of the public may not realise that the committee may pass on to the Minister of Home Affairs information which it considers important," said the Association. "Furthermore, has the power to recommend that persons not yet in custody should be interned."

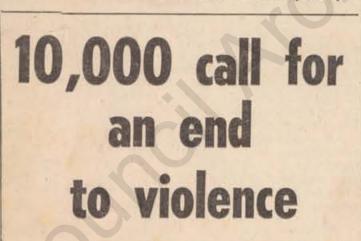
According to the Association, an internee was only allowed the services of a lawyer in preparing a written submission to the Committee. The lawver was session to help the internee to present his case. "This puts the internee at a great disadvantage when he is questioned by the sophisticated lawyer members of the committee. It is contrary to all accepted legal procedures that the accused should be so disadvantaged."

It was reported, said the Association, that internees who already had appeared before the committee were asked if they would be prepared to take oaths concerning their behaviour in the future. "This is quite contrary to the normal practice to the courts of signing a bond to be of good behaviour where no oath is attached," said the Association. Association.

"Furthermore, even the de-manding of an undertaking without an oath from a person who has not been convicted of a crime is highly objectionable. An internee is, by definition, an innocent man and may well have strong objections in conscience to giving an undertaking which is normally demanded of one proven guilty. However, his refusal, for reason of con-science to give such an undertaking, may wrongly be taken as indicating membership of an illegal organisation."

ANSWER TIME

(Questions on Opposite Page) 1-The Golden Hind. 3-Chelsea. 4-80-90



by JAMES KELLY in Belfast

ABOUT 10,000 people gathered in Belfast yesterday to show the world that Northern Ireland civilians reject violence.

A decade of the Rosary in Irish was recited by Rev. Philin Kiely, English Missions, a native of Galbally, Co. Limerick, nephew of the late Jim Scanlan who was in the rescue of Scan Hogan at Knocklong, Before the The stood for 40 minutes in an open-air arena once part of ceremony there was a parade of I.R.A. veterans, Cumann na mBhan and O.N.E. Wreaths from the Ulster '71 exhibition, on a bank of the Lagan. many organisations were laid on the graveside. They heard anony wives, a shipyard worker, an

Provisional I.R.A. leader Joe Chaill, Belfast, (background), addressing the attendance at the 51st

Andersonstown schoolteacher, a city fireman, a child and an Armagh folk singer proclaim messages of peace, quietly and unannounced. Then the crowd-which in-

cluded at least two police chiefs with their wives and familiesoffered its own silent prayers. People entering the arena were handed copies of a petition signed by about 23,000.

Reconciliation

It read: "We believe in, and are prepared to work for, community reconciliation between Protestants and Catholics whatever their political belief may be. We reject violence, intimidation and any words or actions which could lea dto civil

Afterwards, Mr. Brian Walker, chairman of the New Ulster Movement and one of the 55 people who initially signed the petition, said purpose of the railly was "just to bind people together."

e said similar rallies should be held in every major town throughout Northern Ireland. "The people who came here today were saying to the world: We will not allow either the terrorists on either side or the noliticians to push us or talk us into civil war. We are going to live together," said Mr. Walker.

Gerry Fitt out of hospital

Mr. Gerry Fitt, M.P., leader of the Social Democratic and Labour Party, has left West-minster Hospital, London, a spokesman said yesterday. Mr. Fitt was in hospital for three weeks after being admitted for tests for a suspected slipped disc.

Anthrax in Tyrone

A case of anthrax has been confirmed on a farm at Killeenan, Cookstown, County Tyrone. The infected cow, owned by Mr. Patrick J. Lagan, died suddenly.

EAST SHOWN IN **CENSUS**

VASTLY different population trends underlie the three per cent national population increase in five years disclosed by the

The counties of the east coast are gaining population not only by higher birthrates and lower death rates but by a big inflow of people from other parts of the country, with low birth rates and high death rates.

The biggest gainer from emigration is Dublin County which showed net immigration of 34.1 per thousand. Dublin County shared with Limerick County Borough the highest birth rate in the five years since the last census—26.3 per thousand — and its death rate at 6.1 per thousand was the lowest in the

Wicklow had the second highest rate of immigration — 7.4 per thousand, Its birth rate was 22.1 per thousand—higher than any county outside Leinster -and its death rate was 11, ower than any county outside

There was also immigration nto Waterford, Meath and Louth.

The county worst hit by emi-gration was Leitrim which had a net emigration rate of 15.1 per thousand. It also had the lowest birth rate and the highest death rate.

Mayo, which had an emigra-tion rate of 14.1, also had a very low birth rate and high death rate. Other counties with a similar pattern were Roscommon, Cavan, Longford and Donegal.

CHINA has granted Ethiopia an loan to be paid in export commodities. Emperor Haile Selassie is at present on a tour of China where yesterday he visited Mrs. von der Heyde immedia-tely set out for Ireland. They

Trade chiefs urge national plan to meet Six challenge

THE GOVERNMENT should begin work now on a national plan to help Ireland to make the most of entry to the European Economic Community, the Confederation of Irish Industry urges today.

An early start on planning to meet the challenge of Europe and a cut in company tax would give a badly-needed boost to usiness confidence, the Confederation maintains in the new issue of its quarterly Economic

It argues that a bad attack of inflation in the last two years has thrown the Third Programme off the rails.

It should be scrapped in favour of a new national plan once the E.E.C. issue is decided, says the Confederation.

The planners should assess the financial and economic im-plications of membership and outline Government action needed to ensure opportunities offered to agriculture and inlustry are exploited.

"The absence of Government policies for industry at this crucial time is adversely affecting business confidence, the review warns.

"Inflation has not been arrested, nor is there yet sufficient evidence of Government detrmination to halt it.

"Penal" tax

"The maintenance of penal company tax at a time of intensifying competition and cyclical adverse world trading conditions is compounding the problems of the industrial sector and dis-couraging the rationalisation measures that have long been advocated if industry is to sur-vive and prosper."

The Confederation predicts pay increases this year will average even more than the 12 per cent officially forecast.

And it foresees an eight per cent rise in prices.

The Review presents figures suggesting that many companies are now seriously short of cash. And high taxation, strict con-trol and inflation are seen as

A survey the Confederation carried out on 82 public com-panies which published accounts in the first eight months of the shows that between and 1971 pre-tax profits fell by

Money retained — the main source of finance for new projects—dropped by 26 per cent from £4.9m, to £3.6m.

Profits down

A cut in dividends to bring the minto line with lower pro-fits might be the answer-but the freedom of shareholders to move their money from Ireland to Britain buts great pressure on directors to maintain divi-Although exports are per-

forming with "notable buoyancy", foreign trade deficit of £80m.

—not counting a £20m. bill for Jumbo jets—is likely, the Re-

Injured in protest at **Taoiseach**

A NEWRY man, hurt in a Dundalk protest against the Taoiseach at the weekend, is in a Dublin hospital with facial injuries. He is Oliver McCaul. a member of Newry Republican Club. The Taoiseach and Mrs. Lynch were attending a dinner of the National Junior Chamber

The demonstrators carried placards with slogans such as "No Federal Solution for Ireland" and "Demand the Release of the Interned." As the Taois-each came out of the hotel the protesters gathered around the entrance and sang.

A line of Gardai held them back and when the Taoiseach's car pulled away demonstrators clashed with Gardai. Mr. McCaul had his glasses smashed and he fell to the ground. He was taken to the Royal Victoria Eve and Ear Hospital, Dublin. The crowd broke up and a small group mached up the main street singing "We Shall Overcome."

In his address to the con-vention the Taoiseach said that no democracy could provide total freedom of action. Demo-cracy required that all people accepted some restriction on their individual freedom of action in the interests of the common good. The democratic system would be intolerable and unworkable if everyone were free to devise and operate his own laws and code of behaviour.

Belfast house for Mother Teresa?

Mother Teresa of Calcutta, the mssionary nu who has become famous for her work among the refugees in India, may establish a house of her Order in Belfast.

The Yugoslav-born, Irish-trained former Loreto nun, visited Belfast from London last week and reliable sources said that she had talks on the possibility of setting up a branch of her Order in the city.

At the height of the Pakistani efugee crisis last June Irish Independent readers donated £5,000 to Mother Teresa's Missionarry of Charity nuns working in the cholera-stricken camps outside Calcutta and

hippy colony in Clew Bay, How-

ever, the girls had not been

lin yesterday. Jane is 5ft. 3 install, wears spectacles and has

brown eyes and brown shoulder length hair. She may be wear-

ing jeans, boots and a dark grey

maxi coat.

COUPLE SEARCH FOR DAUGHTER

THE PARENTS of an English visited several towns in Mayo schoolcirl vesterday switched and went to Dornish Island, the schoolgirl yesterday switched their search for their missing daughter from Dublin to Bangor, there, Co. Down. They decided to go to Bangor after a fruitless search in Co. Mayo, where the girl was believed to be staying, because their daughter's runfriend had once visited Bangor.

Mr. and Mrs. Dronvon von der Heyde travelled from their home in Sussex when a letter bearing what appeared to be a Mayo postmark was received at a school where the girl had just commenced studies. But their weekend search in Mayo failed to reveal the whereabouts of 16year-old Jane.

She left Mount School, York, with 16-year-old Stephany Witham, on Sunday, October 3. The headmistress of the school received a letter from the girl on Thursday last stating that they were all right and to have

Her home is at Luth House, Wisborough Green, Sussex (phone 440). Her father, a business man, has his offices at Von der Heyde Ltd., Cotswold St., London, S.E.27 (telephone 01-761-1211). To pray at

G.P.O. for harmony A SPECIAL ecumenical prayer

gathering with the theme "Human Harmony with Heaven." with special emphasis on choral and instrumental music is planned for the G.P.O. on November 1, All Saints' Day, starting at 8 p.m.

Several church and school choirs, musical societies and brass bands have already volunteered their services. Enthusias-tic interest has been expressed by residents of Belfast and Cork and to facilitate those interested special train travel and overnight accommodation is being organised.

The gathering is being organised by Community Co-operation C.C. Centre, 22 Merrion Square. Dublin, which organised nised a public prayer for peace at the G.P.O. on September 22.



Attending the General Assembly of the International Confederation of Christian Family Movements at Kilkenny, were, from left: Mr. and Mrs. Edi Barnor, Ghana; Mr. and Mrs. John Nakamura, Japan, and Mr. and Mrs. Sean O'Siochain.



This series is adapted from Tom Jones's "Whitehall Diary" (Vol. III-Ireland 1918-'25), edited by Keith Middlemas, Lecturer in Modern History at the University of Sussex. The book is being published shortly by the Oxford University Press. It has been adapted for serialisation by staff writer Raymond Smith.

THE DAY

CORK

ON AUGUST 12, 1922, Arthur Griffith, literally stretch is still a heap of ruins, worn out and broken in and houses standing are dotted heart by the strain of the statue to Birrell since our time tragic Civil War, died and a group of children had suddenly and was suc- ing with his stone beard! ceeded as President by William T. Cosgrave.

and the day after Liam Lynch owner of the Freeman. and his men set fire to their

Lloyd George asked Tom Jones to represent him at the funeral of Arthur Griffith and Michael Collins interrupted his tour of the South to hurry back to Dublin from Tralee, He marched at the head of the Army staff with General Richard Mulcahy beside him as the funeral cortege passed through the crowded streets of Dublin.

He wore the uniform of Commander-in-Chief of the *-my and every eye seemed to be on him for he had a compelling and magnetic appeal for the ordinary people, who little realised on that day that in ten days they would be mourning the death of the man they idolised most of all.

Impressions

Now Tom Jones takes up in his Diary the story of his impressions of the funeral:

"We went to the funeral at 10.30 being given the the third seat from the front on the right hand going into the Cathedral with the family in the first seat on the left and behind them the Government. Behind us (Wyndham Quinn, representing the Lord Lieutenant, Cope and me) were the foreign representatives, and behind them Collins, Mulcahy, and the Army leaders. Service not very impressive to

'I could have saved Collins from death'

"WE MUST FIGHT like the rest of the boys," said Michael Collins when the firing began at Beal na mBlath on the fateful evening of August 22, 1922 and he counter-manded the order General Emmet Dalton, sitting beside him, had given to the driver, 'Drive like Hell'!"

It was his reckless courage and bravery that cost Collins his life, "A Commander-in-Chief does not fling himself on his stomach behind a ditch with a rifle to take pot shots at the enemy," was the comment of Margery Forester in her recently-published biography (Michael Collins-The Lost Leader).

And Tom Jones in his Whitehall Diary quoted Patrick O'Reilly (Michael Collins's assistant and then his A.D.C.) as saying: "Had I been sitting with the chauffeur, I should have disregarded Collins's orders and ordered him to drive

After the funeral of Arthur Griffith, Michael Collins had resumed his tour of the South and on Tuesday, August 22 had gone out from Cork to Macroom, Bandon and Clonakilty (where he met old friends and members of his family, including his brother Sean, and stood them and the escort a drink). On to Rosscarbery-and then the journey back via Beal na mBlath, where the ambush party had been waiting for hours.

Patrick O'Reilly told Tom Jones when he came over to London in October with Cosgrave, O'Higgins, Patrick Hogan and Michael gins, Patrick Hogan and Michael Brennan that he was convinced that if he had been with Collins on the eventful day of the am-bush he could have saved Collins's life. He told Jones also that on the Thursday he (Jones) had lunched with Collins in the Shel-bourne Hotel, Collins was really very ill with kidney trouble.

The Jones Diary continues: "Collins left Dublin on Sunday morning (August 20, 1922) in a specially fast Leyland car which me and my mind was chiefly on the silent colin, covered ith the tricolour.

After the service we three British representatives went to Father O'Reilly's room, next door to the Pro-Cathedral, and were given refreshment in the true Irish way, Lady Lavery was specially fast Leyland car which when tested in England had travelled 112 miles an hour. On the way back to Cork, on the day of the ambush, a Crossley car had gone in front to clear any obstacle. Collins's chauffeur had asked whether if they were attacked he was to put on the accelerator and get through. Collins said no, they must fight and it was just at the end of the fight that Collins was shot."

"This is terrible news," said Lloyd George to Tom Jones when he came down to breakfast on the morning of August 23 after

Michael Collins helps carry the coffin of his friend and colleague Arthur Griffith

a note had been sent up to him in bed that Collins had been killed.

Lloyd George immediately asked Tom Jones to find out what near relatives survived Collins and to see about messages of con-dolences Will Mulcahy succeed him, he asked.

Lloyd George then issued this message to the newspapers:

'Am inexpressibly sad at the to a treacherous blow when he was engaged in endeavouring to restore ordered liberty to his country which stands sadly in need of it. His engaging personality won friendship even among those who first met him as foes and to all of us who met him the news of his well be that he will take advan-



death comes as a personal grief and sorrow. I sincerely hope that his death will be the last episode in this dark chapter of Irish history and that a new and brighter story will henceforth be written in the life of that unfortunate land.'

The news had a depressing effect on L.G.

As the civil war continued, 'Am inexpressibly sad at the news of the death of this galland young Irishman. He fell to a treacherous blow when he was engaged in endeavouring o'Higgins began to re-establish

tage of the present situation to try to get back from the position of a hunted rebel to that of a poli-tical negotiator. You should do everything in your power to frus-trate this. The Provisional Government cannot do better than stand firm on the declara-tions of Collins and Cosgrave of

August 4th. These are being tele-graphed to you for greater surety. The surrender of the rebels or rebel leaders would of course be all to the good, but it ought not to be in any circumstances folto be in any circumstances fol-lowed by the immediate reappear-ance of thse men defeated in the field as Members of the Assem-bly. Having appealed to the sword and having been defeated, they are out of politics for the time being and ought to be rigor-ously shut out. Never fail to

point out in your communica-tions with Cosgrave, Mulcahy and friendly settlement with the North and of ultimate Irish unity lies in a clear line being drawn between the Treaty party and the
Republicans. Any temporary
accommodation which might ease
the situation in the South will be
obtained only through the raising up of a lasting barrier between the North and the South, whereas firmness may easily make the life-sacrifice of Michael Collins a bond of future Irish unity. Use your utmost endeavours to keep this position constantly before their eyes, making it clear that you have my authority for speaking in this sense.

Secondly, the reassembly of the Dail at this juncture appears to be very questionable. He also suggested the holding

of an election as soon as the re-De Valera, however — so Cope reported to Curtis on 14 Septem-

ber-still insisted on his Docu-ment No. 2. In London, the Coalition Government began to break up, Junior Conservative ministers re

belled against the calling of an election in October and the famous meeting was summoned at the Carlton Club, on the 19th. Tom Jones was well aware of what the meant for Indiana. what this meant for Ireland. He urged the Prime Minister that Parliament should not be dissolved before ratifying the

Irish Constitution. Parliament was pledged, he pointed out, to do this before December 6th. He asked that the Free State Ministers be summoned over and that a categorical assurance be sent to Cosgrave that Parliament would meet to ratify the Constitution, whatever the political situation in Britain.

RESIGNATION

Lloyd George telegraphed Cos-grave on October 21 that he had that afternoon tendered his resig-nation to the King—but gave an assurance that "no action of mine will compromise the Treaty con-cluded between Great Britain and Ireland."

Cosgrave replied sing appreciation of this and the "promptitude of your message." Andrew Bonar Law succeeded



W. T. succeeded the Presidency on the death of Arthur Griffin (below).



Lloyd George as Prime Minister and on December 6, 1922 at 6 p.m. the Royal Commission was held to declare Assent to the Irish Free State Act.

As the words 'Le Roy le veoult were read out, a Labour member standing at the bar of the House of Lords called out — "God Save Ireland."

Tim Healy was proclaimed Governor-General and the Free State Government was pro-claimed. General Macready and the last British troops left almost

raig warns of Loyalist U.D.I.

MacMahon (Right Hon. and formerly Under Secretary) to O'Connell's Bridge and watched the procession-much more impressive than the service and most representative I'll post you a newspaper. Sackville St. (now O'Connell Street) in a long with bullet marks. There is a climbed on to it and were play-

Irish way, Lady Lavery was

there and Mrs. Kennedy, wife of

Bullet marks

"Then I went with James

the Irish Legal Adviser

"Then luncheon at 2.30 at Jammet's, leading 'French' restaurant. To the Castle to change It was the day after Cork and then to the Horse Show. There was Society and a gatherhad fallen to troops of the ing of many beautiful Irish Provisional Government, led women and magnificent horses. We saw the jumping for an hour by General Emmet Dalton, or more. Met Martin Fitzgerald,

"Home at 7 and to bed for resti Dinner about 8 and then headquarters in Fermoy and, a final night with the officers now even though the cause of the Royal Irish Constabulary was hopeless, they would here in the Castle with speeches.

They are being disbanded and fight on in the surrounding today the Castle is being given countryside. It was to be a up to the Free State-a historic occasion and very interesting my long and painful process be- being here. Bed at 1, Cope folfore arms were finally laid lowing at 3!! Round of engage-

of the Treaty Sir James Craig had written an inflammatory letter to Austen Chamberlain in Collins, the Civil War in the South drew slowly to an end.
On May 23, 1923, the Irregulars were ordered to cease fire and dump their arms.

which he spoke wildly of "betrayal" and pointing out that Loyalists might declare U.D.I. in the Craig's letter stated: "So

intense is local feeling at the moment that my colleagues and I may be swept off our feet, and contemporaneously with the functioning of the Treaty, Loyalists may declare independence on their own behalf, seize the Customs and other Government Departments and set up an authority of their own. Many already believe that violence is the only language understood by Mr. Lloyd George and his Ministers.

Austen Chamberlain replied to this violent letter: "I cannot believe that men whose loyalty

After the death of Michael

Now the Boundary Commission question was to become a dominating issue for a time, involving the North and South and successive British Govern-ments. Michael Collins had hoped that under this concept predominantly Catholic areas in the North might be included in the South, but the Northern Ireland Government refused even to consider itself bound by an article of the Treaty to

which it had never assented. A General Election was held in Britain in November, 1923, and Tom Jones and Curtis were among those who formed an unofficial committee of civil servants to prepare for the moment when the new Govern-ment would have to take up the Commission. It was the minority Labour Cabine under Ramsay Macdonald that set up the joint conference at the be-ginning of 1924, but this foundered on the opposition of the

In May the Colonial Office loked ahead to the crisis that

AFTER THE SIGNING is their pride are contemplating might follow the Commission's acts of war against the King." award. The Diary includes a mem

orandum of June 11, by the General Staff, indicating that at least three divisions of troops and a brigade of cavalry and armoured cars and tanks would be necessary to maintain order if Ulster Protestants decided to oppose a plebiscite. If, on the other hand, the award favoured the North, and the Republicans overthrew the Cosgrave Government, then a blockade of the Free State would be necessary.

In either case, therefore, the commitments for the Army is unlimited, indefinite and fraught with serious dangers both to the Army itself and for Imperial

The Boundary thus became an issue of the greatest danger; and as the Labour Cabinet tot-tered towards its fall, dogged by the Russian Treaties and the Campbell case, it became a race against time to find a peaceful

At the end of July Craig invited Cosgrave to discuss the Boundary provided Cosgrave gave up his rights under Clause 12 of the Irish Treaty (the Boundary Commission), but Cosgrave replied that he would not survive for five minutes if he did so. Tom Jones com-

O'Higgins) claim the whole of Tyrone and Fermanagh. The Treaty meant a rectification of the Boundary, not two counties. Voting by counties and by local government districts was turned down earlier in the negotia-

Jones added this very significant statement: "The Treaty was not drafted as an Act of Parliament would be drafted. Officials were frequently excluded formatted. cluded from the Treaty negoti-ations, chiefly because of Childers, and though there were half a dozen famous lawyers among the plenipotentiaries, it notorious that a lawyer can-ot draft his own Will clearly. The Treaty was signed in a hurry—that night—for if not, the fight would be renewed and (we) were under a pledge to let Craig know next morning whether it was to be peace or

THE SUBSTANCE

"The substance of the clause was intended to convey that we could not consent to hand over and Craig form some of the Tyrone and Fermanagh simp- most interesting reading in the Tyrone and Fermanagh simpliciter. Our view was that the matter should be adjudicated by the setting up of a commission with definite instructions to take into account, race, religion, economics and geographi-cal conditions. It could not mean that if a small Catholic area were found embedded in a Protestant area or a small Protestant community embedded in a Catholic area that the one area was to be handed over to the South and the other to the North. It is essential we should keep to the spirit of the bargain whatever the defects of drafting. It is a question of drawing the fairest line after examination. It was envisaged by the Treaty makers that, e.g., Ulster might get bits of Donegal.

"If by legislation we override Ulster we'll have the Bill thrown out in the Lords and Ireland will be back again in our politics; if we rectify the boun-dary by legislation we may still be faced by rebellion of a dis-satisfied South."

The Labour Government agreed to legislation and the Bill was passed before Ramsay MacDonald's Government fell after only eight months in power A General Election followed resulting in the return of an overwhelming Conservative House with Baldwin again Prime Minister. He inherited the problem of the Boundary Com-

The Briitsh Cabinet remained under the impression that the Boundary Commission's Report would be very favourable to the Award was agreed on November 5, 1925. Two days later the diebard "Morning Post" printed a map giving a partially accurate picture of the new

be left to Craig and Cosgrave at the very limited transfers it would be settled, but the Southerners (not Cosgrave nor O'Higgins) claim the matter could at the very limited transfers proposed and seemed prepared to put them into affect. South, however, there was a fierce reaction of disappointment, even betrayal, and the emphasis was put on what was to be lost, rather than gained. Pressure on MacNeill to resign became overwhelming and he did so on November 20. law, this made no difference to the Award; and in any case, Feetham and F. R. Fisher declared that MacNe assented to the draft. MacNeill had

> REACHED CLIMAX The Free State leaders came

to London on November 25, 1925. Now the Free State supported Baldwin's wish to bury the Commission's report alto-

The Northern Ireland head, Sir James Craig, the head of the Southern Government, W. T. Cosgrave and the British Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin, met at Chequers with other Ministers present and the crisis reached its climax and was finally settled. The exchanges between Cosgrave Tom Jones Diary,

Craig said he was anxious that sentiment should spread among the people that there was good Government. There had been a lot of unfounded charges against Ulster. Questions of unequal treatment were becoming fewer. He had got the ban against Roman Catholics in the shipyards removed. A Protestant doctor had recently opened a Catholic bazaar and Lady Craig had been asked to a Catholic Whist Drive. Why should not the Governments of North and South meet and get to the bottom within a month or two, then in Belfast in six months Lot of hot air about. Press makes mischief If Cosgrave could make any practical suggestion he would sift it to the bottom.

Churchill thought a meeting of the two Cabinets a matter of enormous importance.

Cosgrave: I see no difficulty in meeting, What shall we do when we meet? Would matters be settled by majority?

Churchill: By agreement, not

Cosgrave: It would be re-garded as eyewash in face of our present difficulty.

Salisbury: You want to restore confidence. You relied on obtain-ing a large territorial extension embracing Roman Catholics. Now that is not going to happen. We fall back on present border. You have lost opportunity of looking after these R.C. friends of yours Should be an acknow-ledged official liaison appointed by the Catholics of north-east Ireland who should represent their grievances, on the closest terms of confidence with Craig and with access to the Govern-

Churchill: To the Cabinet, Cosgrave: Who is going to carry the baby? Churchill: We've all got to carey

Cosgrave: I propose you choose the nurse. Craig: I'll do anything in rea-Churchill: I want to see the

two Executives get together. Craig: That will come. Cosgrave: I'm thinking of yrone and Fermanagh nationa-

ists who have not got into the Free State.

O'Higgins: Restore Propor-tional Representation of 1920. It was designed to provide adequate parlimentary representation for minorities.

Craig: P.R. is proving a failure all over the world, Broken down in Australia and New Zealand. You'll probably be driven to abolish it. I can't stick P.R. Does not seem to be British. Too Continued

Cosgrave: 76 candidates for 19 seats! It has been tried on us twice. Local Governmennt elec-tion 1920 and Government of Ireland Act 1920. For my part

I'd like it out of the way. CONCILIATION

In such a mood of conciliation, almost anything was possible.
On December Cosgrave
dictated a Free State proposal
for agreement on Article 5
(Boundary Commission) and the same night the Boundary Commission agreed to take no steps to issue its Award or to publish

its report.
Discussions throughout the day on Article 5; Craig and Birkenhead very helpful to the Free State, Salisbury also willing to grant concessions but on less generous terms, Churchill presiding and tilting the balance towards the Irishmen with much skill. Churchill put the proposals through the Cabinet in principle, Churchill advised the Cabinet that a settlement was a para-mount interest. A complete collapse into the hands of the republicans would mean much more than the loss of Article 5. At 7.45 the Irishmen were told this and that the Chancellor was authorised to offer the terms

'in the most friendly and generous temper'. Cosgrave much moved and said the arrangement now prosaid the arrangement now pro-posed showed a spirit of neigh-bourly comradeship which had never before been revealed He welcomed Craig's active co-operation. O'Higgins joined in the tribute. 'What seven men could do to clothe the agreement with the spirit of friendship should be done.' Adjourned to 10.30 a.m. tomorrow to settle

10.30 a.m. tomorrow to settle Terms mean acceptance of Article 5, and assumption of burden of compensation for damage to property by

Concluded



• The fallen leader . . . the body of General Michael Collins lies in State at Dublin's City Hall. Kneeling in

prayer at the head of the coffin is Collins' brother, Sean.

On July 31, 1923, in the committee stage of the temporary Civic Guard Bill, O'Shannon moved an amendment that the name of the force be changed from the Civic Guard to Garda Siochana, a rough Irish equivalent for the words "Guardians of the Peace." and the legend already in use on the force's crest and badges. The amendment was accepted, It was the last mearingful intervention the opposition was allowed to make in the construction of the

WHEN, in 1922, the first native government took over from the British, Michael Collins found himself re-creating that which he had destroyed - law and order.

The men who helped him destroy the power of Dublin Castle included David Neligan and Eamon Broy, Collins' agents within the walls. These same men were to become leading officers in the new state's police force.

Not all of Collins's double-agents however, were to be accepted into the new force as readily as Neligan and Broy. The former R.I.C. men who joined the new force almost caused a shoot out between the Free State army and the ex-l.R.A. men who constituted the main body of the Civic Guard.

IN EARLY FEBRUARY, 1922, after much valuable time had been lost, Collins hurridly selected a number of his former police agents, together with a group of army officers and asked them to form an organising committee to draw up plans for a new police. The committee, under the chairmanship of Michael Staines, a Dail T.D., 1916 veteran and acting head of the Republican Police, began work at once . . .

There was an extraordinary lack of awareness of the complexity of the problem of creating a new police force. Not only would it have to earn for itself the support and enthusiasm of the people but it would have to bury the ghost of the hated R.I.C., a task which was made infinitely more difficult as the country divided over the issue of the Treaty.

Collins, the Chairman of the Provisional Government was concerned to get the new force out quickly. Recruitment began under the careful eyes of Collins and Staines by circularising the brigade intelligence officers of the IRA in certain selected areas in early February. These men in turn picked suitable recruits at local level and despatched them to Dublin.

Meanwhile the organising committee had produced its report which ves forwarded to the Provisional Government in the last week of February. Its su stions were accepted without reservational It proposed a unified, unarmed force to a maximum strength of 4,300 men, administered by a Commissioner who would be responsible to the government. The basic rank would have powers similar to and would be the equivalent of the British constable, and the force would be non-political in its administration and composition. It was to be called the Civic Guard.

An estimated 97 per cent of the first recruits were ex-IRA men and of these 30 per cent were actual 'column men', battlehardened guerillas who had done their fighting in their native counties among the hills and bogs. They were all remarkably

Many of the new recruits did not even know what they were joining until they arrived in Dublin. In many instances the local Republican Police officers did not go into any great detail beyond telling the eager young men that Mick Collins wanted them for a job in Dublin.

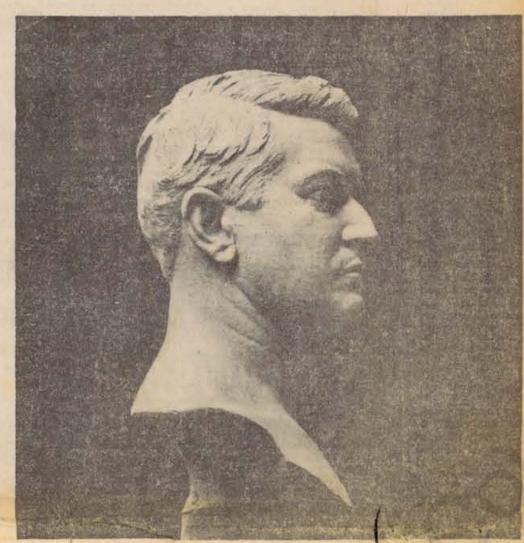
When the recruits moved into the Artillery Barracks in Kildare town deep anger and resentment grew among the column men who watched virtually every rank above that of sergeant being handed over to their erstwhile enemies in the R.I.C. Apart from Stains, Brennan and, later, Eamonn Coogan, virtually the entire headquarters staff was made up of ex- R.I.C. men. During the month of April dissatisfaction began to build up in the ranks and Brennan, who no doubt was also dissatisfied with his relatively junior rank, passed on the men's view to Stains.

After the promotion of five more R.I.C. men was announced on May 11, 1922 resentment finally overflowed into open mutiny. On the morning of May 15, when parade was called, Stains and Deputy Commissioner Walsh appeared from the staff office, flanked by five newly promoted R.I.C. men. A small group of guards who had been appointed to act as spokesmen stepped forward and some words were exchanged. A murmer of conversation rippled through the ranks and Commandant Joe Ring called the men to attention. There was a hush as Stains faced the ranks and began to speak. He had spoken for about three minutes, eulogising the experience of the former R.I.C. men and warning of



The Minister for Home Affairs in the Pro-visional Government, Eamon Duggan, who, though loyal to Collins, lacked the organising ability demanded of him.

Mutiny erupts in the ranks of the new force



Michael Collins: his agents in the 'Republican Polica' carefully scheened the own recruits.

The Guards were the pioneers of normality

the seriousness of mutiny. There was nothing in his address to indicate that the newly appointed officers had played any role in the struggle of the previous two years. Men began to heckle from the ranks and suddenly there was a surge forward. Stains moved back, calling for those who stood by him to move to his right. Joe Ringand about sixty men stood stock still. Another sixty moved to the right with Stains and Walsh, but the overwhelming majority of the 1,500 men on the square moved to the left. There was half a minute of tense silence and then Stains and his aides backed away to their offices.

Collins, Duggan and Staines spent the night discussing the mutiny and it was finally agreed that the Kildare camp would have to be split up and then occupied by the army.

On the morning of May 16, information came to Kildare from an advance party of guards which had been posted at Newbridge barracks that units of the army were on the way to take over the Attillery Barracks and subdue the mutineers, by force if necessary. Immediately the Artillery Barracks came alive with activity.

By 10 a.m. the Kildare barracks was a fortified camp with three hundred armed men under the command of two sergeants, O'Meara and O'Briend ready and willing to take on the Free State Army. The few remaining officers, under Brennan and Superintendent Seam Liddy. went into urgent conference to try to find a way of avoiding bloodshed.

The mutineers now set about regularising the camp. The committee, largely under the direction of O'Brien and O'Meara, drew up proclamation and issued routine orders for the running of the camp.

The Provisional Government then decided that the best tactic was to try to starve out the mutineers. Supplies halted to the camp, pay was cut off and all future recruits were to be diverted from Kildare to a new headquarters which Commissioner Staines was to open in

For a two-month period, the new Civic Guard was divided into two rival groups, each with the full paraphenalia of a headquarters staff, a training centre and a recruitment office, one situated in Kildare under virtual siege by the government which had created it, the other moving around Dublin City, taking accommodation wherever it might for a week or two at a

An attempt at reconciliation was made when Liddy and Brennan (who was also a Dail deputy) attended a meeting of Pro-Treaty deputies in Earlsfort Terrace. Staines was also present at the meeting as were Collins, Griffith and Duggan. The mutiny was on the agenda for discussion and Collins queried Grennan: "I suppose they'll have to be disbanded?" Grennan and Liddy replied that if the men were disbanded, they ould ask to be disbanded along with the That was their trump card for they were both influential T.D.s and their votes — any votes would be of crucial importance in the Dail when

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Liam Lynch, Chief of Staff of the anti-Treaty forces instructed the LR, A. not to inflict physical injuries on the new force.

the Provisional Government would finally move against the Anti-Treaty forces in the Four

Collins visited the camp four times in a period of ten days and a compromise arrange-ment was worked can whereby the R.I.C. men were to be re-employed as civilian advisors and training instructors. Operational ranks were, in the main, to be given to men selected from the ordinary recruits.

On June 24 after the general election in which the Treatyte group won 58 of the 128 seats, compared with only 35 for the Anti-Treatytes, Collins expanded and strengthened his cabinet. Blythe and Mulcahy were brought in and Kevin O'Higgins travelled to Kildare, addressed the men on the barrack square and told them that men on the barrack square and told them that the government were prepared to forget about the unfortunate events of the previous two months. A new Commissioner was being appointed, he said, and an enquiry was being set up to look into the causes of the discontent. Finally, he gave an undertaking that no guard would be victimised as a result of the enquiry. THE NEW Minister for Home Affairs Kevin



Eoin O'Duffy believed that the guards should serve the Irish people and the law rather than any party in power.

THIS is the first of four extracts from "Guardians of the Peace" by Conor Brady.

O'Higgins, who succeeded Duggan in June, was, if anything, more anxious than Collins had been to get the Civic Guard out among the people. He saw the restoration of normal policing in the community which had grown accustomed to the role of the gun in three years as the first and most important stee towards a reference to see most important step towards a return to nor-

But for the time being it was impossible to even consider civil policing in any but a few areas outside of the immediate environs of Dublin and these were occupied by "Guards-Dublin and these were occupied by "Guardsmen"— as the press had begun to refer to the members of the new force— during late August and early September, the first station being at Swords, Co. Dublin. But beyond these areas the Free State troops had hardly begun to move seriously against the Anti-Treaty forces, and there was no point in sending out unarmed policemen until the military had completed their task. In a sense the delay was fortuitous for it enabled the final sores of the Kildare mutiny to heal and it gave the new head of the force, Eoin O'Duffy, a chance to impart at least some professional police training to his men.

to his men.

Eoin O'Duffy at thirty years of age was precisely the man to organise and direct the novel and ambitious undertaking of creating an unarmed native civil police for a country whose experience of justice administration had been the contrary to this idea. He had a natural flair for organisation and imagination, He shared with O'Higgins a boundless energy which could range from one problem to another as quickly as the situation demanded it. In addition, he had a keenly developed sense of nationalism and idealism.

On the understanding from O'Higgins that he would have complete administrative autonomy over the force, O'Duffy immediately began to put his programme into effect. The aim — in the short term — was swiftly to fashion a police machine which, with a basic training and a reasonably good organisation, could be unarmed among the community at the cartigst possible opportunity.

The Kildare mutiny had left a serious dis-cipline problem and O'Duffy immediately add-cased himself to the task of setting up a proper rank system within the force.

o'Duffy picked officers who were, on the whole, a little older than the average recruit — about twenty-five or twenty-six years of age—and where he could he selected men who had been interrupted in the course of some form of higher education by the War of Independence. What they lacked in professional police training they were expected to make up for in initiative and intelligence. Above all, in O'Duffy's scale of values they were to be beyond all whisper of reproach in their discipline and in the conduct of reproach in their discipline and in the conduct of their personal lives.

O'Duffy and O'Higgins shared an ideal for the role of the new Civic Guard in Irish society and together they began to hammer out a coherent philosophy for the force. They agreed that if the Guards were to be truly successful they would have to be given sense of purpose, and ideal above and beyond the simple enforcement of the statues in a community which, though forn by violence, was still basically stable. though torn by violence, was still basically stable and law-abiding. For O'Higgins this ideal took the form of a firm belief that the Civic Guard should serve the frish people and the law rather than any party in power. It was to him a still canon in his ability only the forest ment. a vital canon in his philosophy of government for the people by the people.

O'DUFFY OUTLINED a strategy of passive resistance for the Garuds to follow waen con-fronted by the force of arms. It worked well but it depended up the exercising supreme discipline and confidence on the part of every guard faced with the necessity of putting it

When confronted with the threat of armed force, O'Duffy instructed a guard was not to be deterred from the task in hand. He was to continue to perform his duty as if the maman were not there. If he found an opportunity to disarm and arrest the the gunman, so muc; the better, but no blame whatever would attach to a guard who choose not to take that risk. No member could be expected to put his life completely at risk with the odds so heavily weighed against him. If instructed to hand over his uniform the guard should refuse thereby while uniform the guard should refuse, thereby oblig-ing the assailant to take it from him. If ing the assailant to take it from him. If ordered to leave his station, the guard should refuse nad force the assailants to carry him out if necessary. If ordered to pur up his hands, he should refuse and simply carry on with whatever he was doing. In short, the gunman was to be ignored wherever that was at all possible. If resistance were necessary, it should be passive unless the guard thought he had a reasonable chance of effecting an arrest. When his station was burned out, he was to find another, and if that were burned out, he was to find yet a third. If necessary, he was to camp by the roadside but he was not to be driven from his designated areas. driven from his designated areas.

In most areas local people had no foreknow-ledge of the arrival of these first contingents of Civic Guards and there was initially confusion and mystification in many areas at the appearance of the strange young men in the bine uniforms. But reaction varied very much from place to place. In Waterford the Guards were



CONOR BRADY was a reporter for three years on police affairs, justice administration and the Irish legal system.

He has recently been appointed editor of the professional police journal, Garda Review.

received by a local delegation headed by the mayor who made a speech of welcome. In nearby Co. Wexford however, guards in a number of stations had great difficulty in getting an one even to speak to them for some weeks after

LIAM LYNCH, the Chief of Staff at a miTreaty forces, the Republicans, had been instructed not to inflict physical injuries on the
members of the new force. They were to be
an approved target for intimidation, they were
to be driven from the countryside, their bartacks were to be destroyed, their property
commandeered and their uniform removed but
the guards themselves were not to be harmed.

The Republican's error in their reaction 10

The Reoublican's error in their reaction to the Civic Guards was that they only terrorised them slightly. They inflicted sufficient casualities and damage to make the new police a cause criebrato gain the sympathy of the public and to supply O'Duffy and O'Higgins with sufficient material to give the force a public image of courage, determination and purpose in the face of summen and violence.

of summen and violence.

NOT ALL the Guards were disciplined enough to withstand the sension and serain of living unarmed and unprotected, pechaps thirty miles must from the next police station, among a people who seemed friendly enough in the day-time, but from whose numbers armed raiders would come at night.

In some instances Guards simply took off for England, America or some other refuge, often after repeated pleas to headquarters for some improvement or other in their conditions had gone unheeded. In at least one instance an entire station party disappeared, leaving books and station records behind, neatly balanced with a final entry notine their departure for the United States. At Elphin, Co. Roscommon, the local sergeant had been burned out so often that when O'Duffy called on a surprise inspection in August 1923 the station party could not find the books and official records: they had been hidden so that they would not be accurated. hidden so that they would not be captured by the raiders the next time they struck.

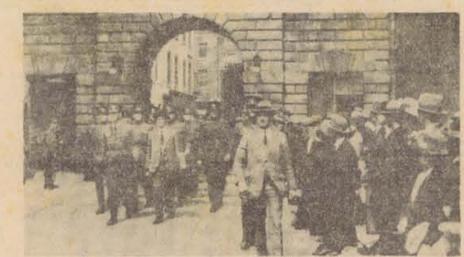
All the many feuds and tensions of a rural society which had been regulated and kept in line for many years by the firm hand of the RIC had surfaced, often under a thin guise of nationalism and were now manifesting them-selves in violence and intimidation. The final touch of chaos stemmed from the total breakdown of the administration of civil as well as criminal law. Debts could not be collected, court orders could not be enforced and summonses could not be served.

One problem, in particular, had come to the fore as a huge social evil in the three years since the beginning of the Civil War—the growth in the poteen trade. The product of the little pot, being highly addictive if taken in excess, had become a threat to the welfare of many small communities. Perpetual drunkeness had become the norm for the menfolk of many western areas and the attendant evils of violence, poverty and mental deterioration were widepoverty and mental deterioration were wide-

Almost Immediately they arrived in their stations, guards began to find themselves in receipt of information about the poteen trade. Breaches of the licensing laws were — incredibly — more often reported by the public than actually discovered by members of the force.

Local councils and other authorities began to pass resolutions applauding the work the Guards were doing and officers were able to report to O'Duffy that initial reactions to the new force were favourable.

O'Duffy's methods of integrating the Guards and the people had been entirely successful, and as the level of actual crime in the community dropped, they bore even more fruit. The munity drooped, they bore even more fruit. The Guard and the government were to become people were happy. The government — in particular Kevin O'Higgins — were satisfied. But this happy state of affairs was not to last indefinitely. As the hard bitter years of the 1930s approached, the relationship between the Guards and ghe government were to become strained. O'Duffy and the government were frequently to be set at loggerheads, with a great deal of bitter feeling on both sides, and the brief period of perfect integration between police and people was to be largely clouded police and people was to be largely clouded



Commissioner Michael Staines leads the Guards Into Dublin Castle,

TOMORROW: The setting up of the Special Branch; the Garday versus the I.R.A.; the death of O'Higgins.

This is the second of four extracts from "Guardians of the Peace" by Conor Brady.

ON MAY 24, 1923, de Valera issued his celebrated 'Legion of the Rearguard' proclamation which in effect brought the Civil War to an end-

The declaration and the accompanying message from the Chief of Staff, Frank Aiken, was, however, no more than an order to dump arms. Confronted with a situation which was not peace and not yet war, opposed by a party which refused to relinquish its weapons and which reserved the right to use unconstitutional means to achieve power, the successive governments of W. T. Cosgrave were to seek to defend themselves by an almost endless succession of special powers acts and public safety acts. All de Valera had to do was wait.

The existence of 12,000 prisoners in Free State jails and prison camps was perhaps the most urgent manifestation of the difficult situation in which the Cosgrave government now found itself. By de Valera's declaration of ceasefire a state of war might be deemed to have concluded and yet it was evident that large quantities of arms and ammunition were still accessible to the Anti-Treaty forces throughout the country. If prisoners were released in large numbers there was a danger of a resumption of hostilities, but much more realistically there was the danger that small groups with access to local arsenals might decide to continue in armed opposition in spite of de Valera's

proclamation.

On June 15, when it had become evident that very shortly the courts were going to direct the government to release their prisoners, O'Higgins introduced in the Dail a Public Safety Bill which would give the government power to keep and take more prisoners without trial. The Bill was criticised because if placed on the shoulders of the Civic Guard responsibility for detention orders which should properly have been carried by the Minister for Home Affairs. If the powers were abused, a number of senators pointed out, they could not vote the Civic Guard out of office but they could vote the Minister out of office. Nonetheless, O'Higgins was intransigent. It was purhaps the first instance of grave inconsistency in the government's attitude towards the new police. On the one hand, they were heralded as the servants of all the nation. On the other they were held in tightly under the wing of Cumann na nGaedheal as if they were the government's personal property. personal property.

In 1924, the government decided it was now time to use the civil police as the first line of defence against the enemies of the state. The and economic welfare of the country demanded that the Free State should stand its own feet without the dubious assistance of internment without trial, a massive army garrison and intensive police surveillance of its political enemies. It was an understandable decision but for it was to take from the police for many years their well established non-political and impartial status. They ceased to be primarily the guardians of the people's peace and became instead part of a highly centralised bureaucracy and the Cumann na nGaedheal government's listeningposts among the people.

W. T. Cosgrave, President of the

Executive Council of the Free State

1923-1932.

opportunity for which O'Higgins had been waiting to put a bit of stiffening, as he described it, into the Garda Siochana's role in combating

armed crime. Since the withdrawal of the army, O'Duffy had reported, the Guards were simply not able to cope. The guards were being publicly

humiliated and held up to ridicule by men who

know there was no power in the locality which could bring them to justice. In December 24 O'Duffy told O'Higgins that he could no longer guarantee the discipline of the force or the enforcement of the law unless the Guards were

O'Higgins consulted Neligan on the feasibility

of extending the detective branch throughout the country on a permanent basis. Neligan was enthusiastic and O'Duffy after some initial reservations, agreed it was the only alternative to a widespread re-deployment of the army. Neligan

suggested the formation of mobile detective units, each one consisting of about a dozen men equipped with individually-held .45 revolvers;

where necessary, unit swere to be equipped with Thompson sub-machine guns or Le-Enfield rifles.

Each unit was to have its own transport - a Clearly the new units would detract some-

what from the ideal of the unarmed guard but that difficulty was overcome by O'Higgins's suggestion that the new detective should be re-

garded as an extension of the DMP detective system into the provinces rather than as an armed section of the Garda Siochana. The only alternative was to make arms available to the uniformed guards or to invest certain units of

the army with a police role for as long as

trative changes were arranged and Neligan's department had been officially divided into two

sections — Crime Ordinary, for non-political crime, and Crime Special, for political offences. Special Branch, as it was to be known, was born.

manifested itself on the crime sheets. Offences against property with violence which totalled 1,879

in 1925, outside the Dublin area dropped to 1,610 in 1926 and to 1,241 in 1927. But what was of much more importance was the incalculable improvement in the morale of the unarmed

Civic Guards. They were no longer open to in-timidation and the threat of the gun in the nor-

mal execution of their duty. They retained the

essential characteristics of an unarmed police force with the backing, where necessary, of col-

leagues trained and competent in the use of fire-

Garda policy of harassment and counter-intimi-

was the growing tension between the police and the community at large. As the Guards sought

desperately to cope with an extraordinarily diffi-cult situation, the methods which they were

forced to employ were to alienate an ever in-creasing section of the community. In certain parts of the country, notably in Co. Clare resent-

nent against the Guards was rapidly assuming

Matters only worsened after Kevin O'Higgins was ruthlessly shot dead as he walked to Mass

at Booterstown on the morning of Sunday, July 10, 1927. The event had an immediate and trau-

matic effect on the government. A new Public Safety Act was passed, becoming law on August

extremely dangerous proportions.

An even more ominous feature of these years

The IRA's widespread use of violence and intimidation had led to the emergence from 1925 onwards of an unofficial, but equally determined

The effectiveness of the S Branch swiftly

By September, 1925, the necessary adminis-

given some support.

During the last three months of 1924 and the first three months of 1925, the government began to pull back the remaining army garrisons from towns throughout the country which they had held since the Civil War,

The result was far from happy. Some districts remained peaceful after the military had been withdrawn, but huge areas of Cork, Kerry, Tipperary, Clare and the Border country immediately became open territory not only for the remaining active bands of Republicans who could find very good reasons to rob banks on behalf of the Republic but also groups of ordinary armed bandits. There was furthermore, a mushrooming problem, of disbanded Free State troops turning to violent crime, Within weeks of the troops being pulled back it became evident that the unarmed Civic Guards were unable to cope on their own in a community where familiarity with and access to weapons was still a common feature of everyday life.

THE EXISTING police structures would have to be strengthened if they were successfully to carry the entire burden of state security in a situation which was still far from fully stabilised. This strengthening took the form of the creation of a new armed detective squad.

Perhaps not not unexpectedly, O'Higgins asked David Neligan to take charge of the new inified detective branch, with Inspector Billy O'Connell as second in command.

Nelligan immediately set about organising the detective branch, and his department began to lay down the network of a classic urban CID operation. Police agents — Creatures operating on the fringes of the underworld — were recruited to act as pald informers.

A number of detectives in the Dublin area took it upon themselves to make a house-to house visitation of known Republicans in the city to make their positions clear to them. Gerry Boland, then in charge of the Dublin Brigade of the IRA, was confronted with the simple proposition that it was in the detectives' and the IRA's interests to tolerate each other but that if any member of the police or detective branch were killed, he Boland, would be peremptorily shot! Similar exhortations were made by other detective branch officers throughout the city and excursions were made into the provinces to conthe same message to leaders of the Re-

publican movement elsewhere. Meanwhile O'Higgins had become increasingly conscious of the advantages of amalgamating the Garda Siochana and the DMP, He was opposed by both O'Duffy and Murphy. But there wre sound economic reasons for the reform: it would avoid duplication of training facilities, headquarters departments and administration. There were even better operational police reasons; Neligan's detectives were not always receiving much co-operation as they wanted from the Guards in the provinces and there were great difficulties in maintaining adequate Haison between

the two forces in joint operations. The amalgamation, however, provided the

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Kevin O'Higgins who succeeded

Eamon Duggan as Minister for Home Affairs.

offered a temporary weapon to the police and were eagerly availed of during the next six months. Arrests and detentions were stepped up. but the massive investigations into the death of O'Higgins produced no arrests. Detectives worked almost continuously on the case for the next three years. There were the inevitable "confessions" from deranged persons but the killers remained at large.

The assassination had the longer-term effect of entrenching the Cosgrave government even more firmly in its defensive and repressive conservatism - and not perhaps without reason, The gunman had shown that he could strike right into the heart of government if he so wished and special legislation, Civic Guards and Special Branch could not prevent him, Nevertheless, O'Higgins's death had the effect of spuring on the police to even greater efforts against the IRA and taking advantage of the government's mood of increased severity, the S Branch began to hit back hard in South Tipperary, Cork and, most of all, in Clare.

Leading members of the IRA were picked up here, and there, some imprisoned for brief periods, some released. The endless round of arrests, interrogations, allegations and counter-allegations went on unabated with the active sup-port of the Cosgrave government.

The year 1928 was also to see a sisinister development in the relentless warfare waged by the IRA against the Free State. Until that time the IRA's activities, though not without effect, had been largely uncontrolled and without any carefully planned objective; in 1928 however, its leaders came to a deliberate deicision to sabotage the processes of law through threats, violence and, where necessary, through murder A wideand, where necessary, through threats, violence and, where necessary, through murder. A wide-spread campaign of intimidation against jurors' panels was devised and put into operation, resulting early in 1929 in the armed attack on two members of a jury which had convicted a young men named Healy for shooting at guards.

The campaign confronted the Guards with a new and extremely serious problem. Increasingly throughout the country the Guards and S. Branch detectives found that conventional police methods and the ordinary processes of law were no longer effective. Apart from a period of lost over a year after the killing of Kevin O'Histins in Jej. 1927, there were no emergency powers, no Public Staty Bills and no police powers of arrest and no detention beyond the normal processes of common law. The existing civil powers simply could not withstand large-scale organised intimidation and subversion. Witnesses could not be relied upon to give evidence, juries could not be relied upon to give evidence, juries could not be relied upon to convict. Even victims of violence and Intimidation could not be counted upon to sustain their allegation in the few cases where suspects could be brought to trial. The full normalisation which O'Higgin had sought for the processes of justice had not had sought for the processes of justice had not been attained—nor could it ever be attained as long as the police detective branch and the courts themselves were the objects of violence and direct terror.

ON JULY 31, 1929, the assaults on and harassment of T. J. Ryan, leader of the I.R.A. in Co. Clare, were again raised in the house with detailed evidence of injuries which he had received. With incredulous smiles coming even from the sternest Cumann na nGaedheal back-benchers, Fitzgerald-Kenney (Minister for Justice) explained to the house that the most exhaustive police enquiries had shown that Ryan had sustained his injuries when kicked by a cow on his own farm. The absurdity of the claim could not be allowed to pass and it became a standard tale against the Guards and S Branch. The episode further derived a new title to be used derisively for the S Branch over the next three years-'Fitzgerald-Kenney's

EXPLAINING the inadequacy of the ordinary civil and criminal law in the Guards' endeavours to control the IRA, O'Duffy told the Govern-ment that all his men could do was to hamper and hinder the movement of the criminal as much as possible - 'to make them suffer, make their lives a burden, apply unremitting sur-veillance to their every movement and generalyl make their connection with conspiracy and murder a non-paying proposition."

The Government attempted to amellorate the situation by pushing a Juries Protection Bill through the Dail in 1929. But it did little to prevent the general lawlesquess which became more and more rampaut as the institutions of justice became less and less workable.

It as in Co. Clare that the bitter was be-

tween Republicans and police reached its highest point of intensity.

Most of the trouble centred around the area of Kilrush and its immediate environs, where the director of the IRA was T. J. Ryan, Events in the county during 1927 and 1928 had necessi-tated building up the S Branch in the area to a level well above the national average.

On July 11, 1929, the Clare situation flared up again and claimed its third victim when Detective Tadg Sullivan was killed at Tullycrine, near

THE WORSENING situation in Clare was the first lever in the process which was finally to bring the Free State back to the old condition of permanent emergency legislation with the insertion of Article 2A of the Constitution - the situation which O'Higgins had sought to get away from in 1925. In a reflexive reaction to the killing of Detective Sullivan and the continuous attacks on the Guards in Co. Clare, superintendents through out the country, together with the detective units began to organise conferences at which co-ordinated pressures against the IRA were arranged throughout the latter half of 1929 and during the early months of 1930 prosecutions for IRA membership, illegal drilling and the like increased substantially. The campaign was conducted with special vigour by the police in the South — in Cork, Waterford, Limerick and Tipperary.

Republicans then discovered that a remedy against Garda harassment was available to them through the civil courts, and a spate of civil suits for wrongful imprisonment, assault and false arrest effectively robbed the police of their last weapon, unremitting surveillance and intimidation.
O'Duffy's demands from the government were clear. He wanted a new emergency powers Bill, setting up military tribunals in the place of the jury system. He wanted certain organisations—primarily the IRA—declared illegal, and he



Gardai and Special Branch men outside the home of Supt. Curtin, who was shot dead when he took steps to prosecute the LR.A. for illegal drilling.

wanted wider powers of search, arrest and detention for the police.

tention for the police.

The government had been remarkably slow to accept O'Duffy's way of looking at things and had sought alternatives to the introduction of draconian new legislation where it was at all possible. The biggest obstacle seemed to be the vulnerability of the jury system, and it was towards this sensitive element of the legal process that the IRA had directed most of their attention of late. A mailing campaign had been statted by the Cumann na mBan, half appealing to jusora, half warning them of the dangers of co-operating with the Free State courts and police. One juror in a case of attempted murder of a Guard had been shot in the stomach by a group of men who called to his home at Terenure in Dublin and several witnesses in anti-IRA cases had been killed. had been killed.

The . . . Constitution (Amendment No. 17) Bill, which was to insert Article 2A into the Constitution, was introduced in the Dail on October 14, 1931. The new Bill was a wide-ranging emergency powers measure which gave the government the right to suspend trial by jury and to replace it with summary tribunals which would be manned by army officers, Numerous organisa-tions, including the IRA, Saor Eire, Cumannn a mBan and the Women Prisoners Defence League, were proscribed. The only significant exception was Sinn Fein, which Neligan regarded anyway as a collection of helpless eccentrics, sasily penetrable by agents and perhaps, in a coundabout way, an aid to the police intelligence system. The measure became law on October 17, 1931, the government went through the necessary motion of proclaiming a state of emer-gency, and Article 2A became operational.

The final round was now to be played out between the Cosgrave government and the irre-concilable proponents of the Republic, O'Duffy and Neligan adopted a two-pronged strategy for the day-to-day implementation of the new act. At local level there was to be a substantial increase in the numbers of rank and file IRA men taken into custody, interrogated, detained and, if necessary, charged — usually with illegal drilling or with membership of an illegal organisation,

The basic idea was to make life hell for the rank and file supporter of violent Republicanism. The new act enabled the police to do this without fear of legal repercussions as had been the case hitherto. The bulk of this work was to fall on the uniformed branch, while the detective branch was to concentrate on serious prosecution of local leaders and national agganisers. tion of local leaders and national organisers,

T. J. Ryan of Kilrush was one of the first into the net. He was probably a lot safer in fail than at home in Clare. George and Charlie Gilmore were convicted of membership of an illegal organisation and followed him very swifty.

The operation of Article 2A was demonstrably successful in the narrow, operational police sense, Violence diminshed, the IRA was forced underground, and O'Duffy was able to report satisfactorily to the government. But the cost in terms of police community relations had been enormous and the police themselves knew it. A Garda Review of the period featured a cartoon Garda Review of the period, featured a cartoon of a uniformed guard with cloven feet, a goatee beard and horns, and the caption: "Am I really as bad as they say?" In many areas of the country, the early months of 1932 marked the lowest pint yet reached in relations between the Garda Siochana and the people of rural Ireland. There were no-go areas in a number of towns in Cork and Kerry — districts where the Guards could not enter and where their very appearance re-

The Cosgrave government had reached the very peak of its unpopularity, and in the eyes of the majority of the people it was no longer acceptable. The Guards themselves had grown ared of the Cosgrave government through repeated pay and allowance reductions and threats of such reductions. In January, 1932, only weeks before the election which was to bring Eamon de Valera to power, a proposal for a further reduction of Garda pay by five per cent was greeted with fury in the force. The Representative Body resigned and its area committees began to canvas relatives of guards to vote against Cosgrave in the ele-tion (the Guards themselves having no vote).

The wheel had nearly come full circle since the first idealistic venture of the unarmed guard among the people ten years before.



A group of guards at Portarlington in 1922.



DAVID NELIGAN WAS the ideal choice as leader of the Special Branch, Tough, resourceful and deceptively casual in his manner, he had all the Southerner's native shrewdness and perspicacity. He had, moreover, a celebrated sense of humour which ensured his popularity with his own men and which came through at its best when the going was roughest. Neligan had joined the D.M.P. at eighteen years of age and resigned in protest after a year of the War of Independence. He was contacted by Collins who immediately ordered him back into the force with instructions to join the secret service if he could. The transfer having been accomplished, he was then exhorted by his secret service chief to join the LR.A. if he could do so, and for two years he led the bizarre life of a double agent but with his loyalties in the last analysis on the side of the Republic, For those two years Neligan was probably Collins's most reliable and valuable contact in the Castle and so godw was his cover that when the British administration was evacuating, Neligan was called aside by the Assistant Under-Secretary, Alfred Cope, and advised to get out while he could as he would certainly be marked for elimination by the

TOMORROW: President de Valera snubs the Garda; he sacks O'Duffy; the Blueshirts are formed.

de Valera snubs the Gardai -and sacks O'Duffy

THE RESULTS OF the 1932 general election gave de Valera a qualified victory over Cosgrave. He had seventy-two seats to Cosgrave's fifty-seven and he was depen-dent on the support of the seven Labour Party members for his majority to form his

The first indication of de Valera's skilful and ambivalent attitude towards the security of the state was given as early as 9 March, when he announced among his cabinet line-up the appointment of James Geoghegan as his Minister for Justice. Geoghegan was a mild-mannered almost selfeffacing, man. A barrister by profession, he had undoubted professional talents and he was in some ways the exception in a cabinet composed in the main of recently converted gunmen and guerrillas. Geoghegan was not the man to fight with O'Duffy and Neligan. There would be no confrontation between the government minister responsible for security and his executive, but on the other hand there would be no strong man between de Valera and the security organs of the state.

The position of O'Duffy, Coogan, Murphy, Neligan and the other chiefs of the Garda Siochana had now become quite invidious. The men whom, only six brief years earlier they had tracked down, per-secuted, arrested and imprisoned were now their political masters. But the plight of the Special Branch men was the worst of all, for they were protected neither by rank, as in the case of O'Duffy and his chiefs, nor by the officer's commission, as in the case of the Superintendents and Chief Superintendents: the S Branch were the arch-monsters whom the victors might reasonably single out for exceptional

punishment. The heart of many a detective and District Superintendent must have sunk with apprehension when on March 9, 1932, immediately after de Valera's election as President of the Executive Council had been approved by the Governor General Arborn Hill harracke was visited by the Defence, Frank Aiken, and the Minister for Justice, James Geoghegan and the men held there by order of the military tribunal were released. On March 18 the operation Article 2A of the Constitution was suspended, but significantly, the Act which authorised its use was not repealed. De Valera was keeping one foot on either side of the stream. The message as far as the Guards was concerned, however, was clear. It was "Hands off the

There were, of course, no official circulars to that effect, no orders, written or verbal, but the moral was drawn very swiftly from one or two instances in which Guards were either foolish or principled enough to try to continue their prosecutions against members of the movement. Once the operation of Article 2A was suspended, the Guards were in the position of having to rely entirely on common law procedures for their prosecutions. This meant the forwarding of case files to the Attorney-General's office for directives on the manner of prosecution. The Cumann na nGaedheal Attorney-General, John A. Costello, had been replaced by Fianna Fail's Conor Maguire, and the few Guards who did forward files for directives found it impossible to ger an answer.

IT BECAME evident at a very early stage that as part of his balancing act to hold the I.R.A. in check while broadening and consolidating his base of support, de Valera was prepared to allow Guards to suffer for their sins in the past, Shortly after the election he went on a victory tour of the South and visited Skibbereen, Co. Cork, where the district officer, Superintendent Ward, drew up a guard of honour of his men to receive him. The local I.R.A. drew up another guard of honour, who lined up on the opposite side of the street. When de Valera arrived he took the salute, inspected the I.R.A. detachment and then passed on into the town, completely ignoring the Garda group.

In spite of Fianna Fail's fears that they would not be allowed to take office without opposition, the transfer of power went smoothly, and the threat of resistance from the Army and police, which, after all, were Cumann na nGaedheal institutions, receded quietly.

On the surface, at any rate, the Guards accepted the changeover quietly enough, O'Duffy and the force as a whole, it would appear, did their best to function normally under common law, but the very range of their duties was now so confined that they had little enough to

From February to October, 1932, the normal processes of the criminal law were by-passed in the Irish Free State through a tacit understanding between Government and police that what had been crime before the change of Govern-ment was crime no longer and was rather the legitimate by-product of the unfulfilled ambitions of Republicans.

The Guards, apart from not prosecuting I.R.A. men, were not even offering normal protection in many instances to supporters of the former Government where such protection implied positive action against I.R.A. or Fianna

When in 1932 General Mulcahy, the former Cumann na nGaedheal Minister for Defence, was about to address a meeting in Gloucester Street, Dublin, a crowd rushed the platform, toppling the speakers and flailing them with sticks and bottles. Mulcahy retreated to safety, using an upturned chair to hold off his assailants. A number of Guards drawn from the detective branch and from the various districts around the Metropolitan Area stood by without interfer-

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Eamon de Valera, President of the Executive Council of the Free State from 1932.

ing in what was clearly an intrusion on the rights of free speech.

SOME INDICATION of the unspoken — and certainly unwritten — instructions under which the Guards were now operating as a result

which the Guards were now operating as a result of Government policy was given on August 29 at Navan by the Minister for Defence, Frank Aiken. Patiently and at some length he explained how Fianna Fail was seeking to kill violence by kindness. He went on:

"We have refrained from coercion because we believe that it is a bad father who always uses the rod, and we have allowed ourselves to be criticised... simply because if we took the steps Cumann na nGaedheal took and put all these people into jail and suppressed their newspapers we would be doing more harm than good."

But it was becoming vitally important for de Valera to broaden his base of support beyond the I.R.A. wing if he was to escape from his dilemma of running with the I.R.A, hare and hunting with the Free State hounds. As 1932 wore on it became apparent that the Guards were not going to acquiesce in their dual role for ever. Two sacrificial offerings of the force which de Valera gave up to the I.R.A. during this period as part of his elaborate juggling act were to rebound badly in his face and brought discontent within the Guards to a dangerous pitch. The first incident concerned the disciplining of two Special Branch detectives in the now infamous Kilrush area, and the other concerned the charging of Inspector E. M. O'Connell under the Official Secrets Act.

An enquiry into the Kilrush incident found for I. I. Ryan and George Gilmore, thereby accepting their allegations that the two detectives had set upon them and their friends and shot them without provocation, beyond the exchange of the usual abuse and insults.

But the immediate consequence of the en-quiry was not the dismissal of relatively un-known and unimportant detective officers, but the sacking of Dave Neligan, their Chief Superintendent and head of the Special Branch.

Early in December he organised a collection within the force for the dismissed Guards to compensate temporarily for the detectives' loss

The Government was furious and yet de-lighted at Neligan's leaving himself open. Towith O'Duffy, he was called before the then Minister for Justice, Geoghegan, who was accompanied by Sean T, O'Kelly, He was peremptorily suspended from duty, but on full pay, pending a final decision as to his future by the Executive Council.

The second indication of de Valera's tightening grip around the administration of the Garda Siochana did not come until after he had consolidated his parliamentary majority in the general election of January 24, 1933. He won 77 seats out of a total house of 153, giving him the narrow majority of one, even without Labour support, which he still enjoyed in any

On the morning of February 19 the newspapers announced the dramatic arrest of Neligan's second in command, Inspector E. M. O'Connell, together with Colonel Michael Hogan of Army headquarters, under the Official Secrets Act. No official details were released, but there was sufficient "leakage" to give the im-pression that some devilish plot against the State was being hatched out between Army and

FOR THREE DAYS RUMOURS OF THE "Secrets Case" were rife in Dublin, Then there was a further sudden shock announcement from the government. On February 22 O'Duffy was dismissed. There was never any official indication that the two episodes were even being connected in the minds of the govern-ment, but the inference was there for all to see. Something, somewhere in Garda headquarters was very wrong.

O'Duffy's successor was Colonel Eamon Broy, then holding the rank of Chief Superintendent. A former member of the D.M.P. detective branch, he had, like Neligan, been one of Collins's important contacts during the War of Independence. For a brief period after the Civil War he had headed the Free State air force
— whence he owned his title of Colonel —
and on the amalgamation of the D.M.P. and
Garda Siochana in 1925 he had been made
Chief Superintendent in charge of the newly
formed Dublin Metropolitan Division. On Neligan's suspension as head of the S Branch at the end of 1932 he had been put in charge of the political detectives and in that capacity he was O'Connell's direct superior at the time the alleged secrets leakage took place.

But there was a complete official silence

This is the third of four extracts from "Guardians of the Peace," by Conor Brady.

until March 14, when, with the newspapers calling for an explanation of the government's action, Cosgrave moved a motion of censure in the Dail, criticising the dismissal of O'Duffy. O'Duffy, it was revealed, had been offered an alternative post in the public service which was to be equally well paid. He had, however, refused it. But de Valera could not be drawn on the specific reasons for O'Duffy's dismissal. Perhaps there were none; perhaps he had simply taken advantage of the atmosphere of intrigue and anticipation which had been generated by the O'Connell-Hogan case to ditch a intrigue and anticipation which had been generated by the O'Connell-Hogan case to ditch a man who was certainly going to be an embarrassment to him anyway; perhaps de Valera was saying all he had to say on the matter when he repied to Cosgrave's motion: "We want a chief of police of whom no section of the community can say that that man is deliberately and politically opposed to us, and is likely to be biased in his attitude because of past political affiliations."

past political affiliations."

There was something more than the mere sacrificing of a guy to the gunmen in de Valera's dismissal of O'Duffy at this stage.

It was evident, even at this early stage, that there was a rapid parting of the ways between the constitutional Republicans and the IRA. In the autumn of 1932 the IRA had begun a campaign to disrupt the political activities of Cumann na nGaedheal as implied by the slogan "No Free Speech for Traitors." By setting his face against this policy in the 1933 election campaign de Valera was cutting the IRA adrift to some extent. He dld that even further by announcing at Navan early in January that no section of the community, other than the forces of the state, would be allowed to arm itself.

IT HAD BECOME clear that at some stage in the not too distant future de Valera was going to have to take on the IRA in no uncertain manner. Over and above this, in May, 1932, the Army Comrades Association had been transformed into an organised force for the protection of the right of free speech in the Free State. The final explosive element in the mixture was put in when on July 1, de Valera defaulted on the payment of land annuities to Britain as specified under the terms of the Treaty.

It is in this light that the dismissal of or impending confrontation were there for everyone to see — a confrontation which would make the disturbances of the late 1920s seem calm by comparison — and the government needed its own men directing the police and detective

In addition, de Valera had appointed a new Minister for Justice, Paddy Ruttledge, a harder stronger man than Geoghegan.

The ambiguous relationship with the IRA which the coming to power of the Fianna Fall government involved for the Guards was now further complicated by the emergence of the strengthened Army Comrades Association. It had been possible — but only barely — for the Guards to coexist for almost a year with the IRA and that coexistence depended upon the Guards' ability to swallow their pride and allow themselves be metaphorically and sometimes physically kicked about. But the increasing frequency of street confrontations between Republicans and the ACA was now going to eliminate any possibility of the Guards coneliminate any possibility of the Guards con-tinuing their passive acceptance of IRA violence. Their dilemma was now acute, If they re-fused to intervene in the nightly violence, they would be abdicating their role as police officers whose primary responsibility was to the law. If they moved against the IRA, who were at this stage still originating most of the violence, they would be as likely to find themselves

disowned by the Attorney-General's office or their own headquarters. If they attacked the ACA — in these months at least — they would be merely adding a new and ominous dimension to the IRA's campaign of intimidation.

Absence of large-scale arrests was to be a feature of Garda policy against the IRA in these months. It reflected a lack of confidence on the part of the police that their prosecutions would be allowed to go ahead. The distinction between Fianna Fail and IRA was an academic one in the eyes of most of the Guards at this stage, and taking supporters of the government through the courts in large numbers was an unproductive practice.

The Guards' lack of faith in the courts was

the government through the courts in large numbers was an unproductive practice.

The Guards' lack of faith in the courts was if understandable, probably less than justified. Conor Maguire, the Attorney-General, after an initial period of indecisiveness, had already begun to prosecute very firmly for cases of disruption and violence at political meetings.

After the Kilmallock IRA—A.C.A. riots of October 9, thirty-one persons had appeared in court charged with various offences, and after the scenes in Cork on November 6, a congratulatory directive had been received by the local detective department from the Attorney-General's department.

From de Valera's accession to power in August, 1932 until the summer of the following year the pace of political events in Ireland—particularly on the streets—was set by the IRA. But from the end of July, 1933 it was the Army Comrades Association which was to make the running in the struggle for political power and the IRA was to find itself dwarfed by the organisation which had arisen largely in reaction to its own existence. In a period of six to eight months the IRA ceased to be the major security threat to the de Valera government and by the autumn of 1933 the Civic Guards were facing a new and unknown quantity which they did not know whether to regard as friend or enemy.

The appointment of O'Duffy as Director-General of the ACA was the final drawing of the lines for the struggle which was to continue until 1935 between the two major forces in modern Irish politics. For years left-wing elements, Communists, Saor Eire and the IRA had strengthened themselves and built up their resources until their influence had spread through Irish life in great disproportion to their relatively small numbers. The outrage and anger of the right wing had heretofore been expended in non-productive, disorganised ways but now, with the creation of a strong, disciplined new movement, the right wing was going to hit back.



Inspector E. M. O'Connell, second-incommand in the Special Branch, who was found not guilty of "leaking secret information" on Communist organisations.



Commissioner Eamon Broy arriving for the 'Secrets Case' trial.

TOMORROW: O'Duffy leads Blueshirts; Traynor picks Harriers'; Gardai intervene in Blueshirts riots.

PROFILE



A leader Vanguard Unionists

DONEGAL-BORN Ernest Baird 'jumped in at the deep end' of Ulster politics less than a year ago with the sincerely held belief that it was his duty to do what he could to prevent the Province being bombed or pushed into an all-Ireland Republic.

His attitudes about the political status of Northern Ireland are uncompromising so it was perhaps not unnatural for him to join forces with the political organisations commonly known as the hard-liners of the Unionist Party.

He is now deputy leader of the Vanguard Unionist Party-second in command to his close friend Bill Craig-and represented the Fermanagh/South Tyrone constituency in the Northern Assembly.

Mr. Baird, who is 43, moved from Bally-ampsie to Belfast with his family when he was 13 and his memory recalls that he felt "like a real clodhopper" in his early days as a city dweller. But he soon settled down and worked hard at school. It paid dividends, for Mr. Baird who lives in a select residential area of Dundonslate the settlement of the se donald on the outskirts of Belfast is now the owner of two thriving chemist shops in Belfast and the other in Co. Down,

"We moved to Belfast after my father de-cided there was not much of a future for a Protestant family in the Republic. Apart from everything else the education facilities were poor and looking back I realise we have had better opportunities in the North," Mr. Baird, the father of three young children, remarked.

The Baird family had always identified with Britain rather than the Republic but all their problems were far from solved by the move to Belfast. "My father found great difficulty getting a job here because of work permits and things like that but he eventually opened a business selling fruit and vegetables," said Mr. Baird.

Culturally the Bairds also leaned towards Britain rather than Ireland, a natural reaction perhaps since the family was descended from Scottish planters, Perhaps it is significant therefore that Ernest Baird did not join the exclusively Ulster Apprentice Boys of Derry until recently. He has been a member of the Orange Order for some time but even his political enemies do not regard him as a typical "beat the drum and wear the sash at every opporthe drum and wear the sash at every opportunity" Orangeman.

While he has no time to entertain thoughts of a united Ireland, Mr. Baird does not lay the blame for this attitude at the feet of the loyalist community — he is convinced that "De Valera and the Roman Catholic Cardinals" have played the biggest part in keeping Ireland divided

"The system that has been developed in the Republic is not, it is perfectly evident, a situation where Protestants can be accommodated," said Mr. Baird who has deep religious convictions and who holds religious freedom a precious possession. His links with his Church are strong — he is a Presbyterian Church elder and a Sunday School Superintendent. One of his two sisters is married to a clergyman.

"Religion means a lot to me" said Marketing and the strong and the strong and the strong and the strong are strong as a lot to me." said Marketing and the strong are strong as a lot to me."

"Religion means a lot to me," said Mr. Baird. "In fact, I would say it is my greatest motivating influence."

However, he feels it is a mistake to "superimpose religion in the area of education" and he is favour of the shared schools idea. "All children should be brought up under a system of state education." he remarked.

Although he is still very much a "political apprentice" in many ways, Ernest Baird, like the vast majority of Ulster folk, has been in-terested in politics all his life. When he joined the Unionist Party in the 60's, Capt. Terence O'Neill was Prime Minister.

"I never liked O'Neill," he said, "because I felt he did not reflect the view of Ulster people — he was living apart from them. I people — he was living apart from them. I felt he did not speak for the Ulsterman at

As a political animal — his phrase — he has a grudging admiration for Mr. Brian Faulkner. "Of the three Prime Ministers Northern Ireland had from the resignation of Lord Brookeborough until the introduction of direct rule, I admired Brian Faulkner as a political animal — I would give Faulkner credit for his tenacity. He is the only man defeated by the Unionist Council who managed to hold on so long. Chichester Clark was a Boy Scout trying to do a man's job. I don't think anyone ever took him estimates. took him seriously

Dominic Cunningham

Violence as the ON 20 JULY, 1933, the day he was Blueshirt formally announced as Director-General of the ACA, O'Duffy outlined the constitution of the movement, the name of which was now to be changed to the National Guard. It was pledged to promote the unity threat grows of Ireland, to oppose unreservedly all Communistic and alien influences, and to maintain public order. It stressed its basic recognition of the legitimacy of the Free State and promised co-operation with its

agencies army, police and civil service. As early as April, 1933, the movement had adopted as its symbol the blue shirt or blouse, and already de Valera had made it clear that he regarded this as a uniform and that, as such, its wearing would not be permitted.

But the new organisation had confronted the Guards with something new. Here was a movement which clearly stood by the law-at least at this early stageand which had even supported the Guards on the streets. Moreover, they had not committed any offences so far, beyond being involved in a few riots, and even those had not been of their own making. And, above all, there was the immeasurable bond of sympathy and understanding between the Guards and the Blueshirts. They had both originated from the Treaty side and they were both bitterly opposed to militant Republicanism whether sponsored by the IRA or by Fianna Fail. The Blueshirts and the Guards were natural

It was as much to test the Garda-Blueshirt relationship as anything else that the government in late July ordered a revocation of personal guns held by former Cumann na nGaedheal ministers and certain Blueshirt supporters. But the rigid discipline of O'Duffy and his unceasing exhortations to the Guards to remember that they served no party but the government it pleased the people to elect had gone too deep for the force to be swayed.

The Dublin Guards carried out their work effectively and thoroughly. It was as well, for unknown to the raiding parties of detectives, the weapons were carefully checked when returned to stores to ensure that their serial numbers tallied with those of the guns issued six years previously. Any attempt to withhold weapons, with or without the collusion of the police, or to substitute others would have been immediately

The real test of the police, however, was to come in the following two days when superintendents all over the country were instructed to take similar measures against Cumann na nGaedheal supporters in many districts. The operation went smoothly and without incident. The government could not have been anything other than entirely satisfied.

Among the guns called in had been the official weapon still held by General O'Duffy. He had at first refused to hand over the gun, pointing out rather reasonably that having held the position of chief of police for ten dangerous years he was in constant danger of revenge attacks. Moreover, he stressed, if there were any weapons in need of seizure by the they were the guns now being flaunted almost openly by the IRA.

Meanwhile street fighting had become an almost nightly occurrence in Dublin as IRA supporters continued their efforts to silence the National Guard and Cumann na nGaedheal and as the newly militant forces of the right wing began a series of attacks on Communist and allegedly subversive groups.

In July, 1933, the Garda Siochana was pass-In July, 1933, the Garda Siochana was passing through the most dangerous period of the transition from Cumann na nGaedheal government to Fianna Fail government. The worst fears of de Valera's critics — and the Guards were among the most vigorous of these — had been realised. The IRA had emerged emboldened and restrengthened. Violence on the streets had increased and the normal processes of law had and restrengthened. Violence on the streets had increased and the normal processes of law had been set at nought in de Valera's endeavours to avoid an immediate breach with the IRA. The former Commissioner of the force, its very spirit and guiding light, had set himself firmly on a course of political action whose primary aim was to topple the government from power. In



A Blueshirt parade.

short, the country was dividing as it had not

been divided since the Civil War. O'Duffy was to put the Guards to the full test of their loyalty to the principle of a non-political police force very shortly after his acceptance of the leadership of the National Guard. On July 25 he announced that on August 13 the organisation would hold a commemorative ceremony on Leinster Lawn in memory of Griffith, Collins and O'Higgins.

When O'Duffy mentioned his expectation

When O'Duffy mentioned his expectation that 20,000 Blueshirts would be marching, the possibility of a coup and an attempted takeover of government buildings began to be mentioned freely in political circles.

tioned freely in political circles.

Immediately O'Duffy had made his announcement, Commissioner Broy was summoned to meet de Valera and Ruttledge, the Minister for Justice. If O'Duffy chose to make Leinster House another General Post Office, Ruttledge put it, would the supposedly non-political forces of the state refuse to move against him? Broy was sure the Guards would not initiate any moves against the government. He did not know what would happen in the event of O'Duffy declaring a provisional government from the seat of power. The lot of the Guards had become an invidious one in the past twelve months. Their leaders had been sacked, their members disciplined, and all over the country they had been exposed to the abuse and vilification of their enemies of ten years standing. tion of their enemies of ten years standing, Broy's own mind on the attitude of the Guards was undecided, and his uncertainty did little to reassure de Valera and Ruttledge.

There was a serious weakness in de Valera's hold over the Guards, for he had not yet managed to replace the intelligence link between police and government which he had destroyed by dismissing O'Duffy and Neligan and by relegating O'Connell to the uniformed ranks. If the Guards as a whole were going to revolt in favour of Eoin O'Duffy, the chances of the government knowing about it before-hand were not very great. The Guards were a great unknown as far as Fianna Fail were con-cerned. They had little, if any, knowledge of what was going on within the organisation. The only course open to the government was to give the force an emergency injection of suitable new political blood.

THE MAN ENTRUSTED with the task was THE MAN ENTRUSTED with the task was Oscar Traynor, then on the fringes of government and yet not of it. Traynor, a tough, capable party-man had sufficient political experience to know precisely what was required in the new police and at the same time he had sufficient contacts with and plausibility among the gunmen to know whom to pick. The initial aim was to bring in a body of men who would serve the dual purpose of supervising the old "Free State" detectives while simultaneously providing a dependable protection comps for the providing a dependable protection corps for the

defence of government buildings and Leinster House, The whole process of selection, recruit-ment, induction and training for the new recruits took less than three days in all.

This was not simply an imposition of party This was not simply an imposition of party followers on the police organisation. These were duly recruited policemen, bringing up to full strength an overworked and undermanned police force. The only difference was, of course, that these men, because of the urgency of the security situation, would be appointed directly by the Commissioner without undergoing the normal physical and educational tests.

By the morning of Sunday, August 13, Dublin was securely in the hands of the Fianna Fail administration through its newly recruited police. Two thousand guards were on duty throughout the city, and Leinster House and government buildings were sale under the guns of the Praetorian Guard, as some of the original police had begun disparagingly to entitle the new detectives.

Three quarters of an hour after midnight on Sunday, the government invoked the notorious Article 2A of the constitution to ban the parade and awaited the National Guard's reaction. O'Duffy demanded quietly and the parade

There was no revolutionary outbreak or declaration of war from the Blueshirts. O'Duffy announced instead that plans were going ahead for the holding of a series of parades in provincial centres on Sunday, August 20, and Ruttledge announced that if the parades went ahead the government would be obliged to ban the National Guard under the provisions of Article 2A.

The Blueshirt parades went ahead as planned on August 20, and two days late rihe government announced that the National Guard was banned under Article 2A of the constitution. From that date onwards the Guards were the potential enemies of the Blueshirts. It was only a matter of time before the situation senerated fresh violence, and the IRA, for their part, were prepared to do more than their share

. AT THE END of September Eoin O'Duffy began to adopt new tactics for the Blueshirts. He renamed the National Guard the "Young Ireland Association," and in September the Association merged with the National Centre Party of Frank MacDermot and the Cumann na nGaedheal Party to form the "United Ireland Party—Fine Gael." O'Duffy was to head the new party and Cosgrave was to lead it in the Dail, And for as long as the Young Ireland Associa-

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This is the final extract from "Guardians of the Peace" by Conor Brady.

tion retained its individual identity within the Fine Gael organisation the prohibition order on the Blueshirts was effectively nullified.

Broy now found himself in precisely the same situation with the Blueshirts as had O'Duffy with the LR.A. prior to the insertion of Article 2A in the Constitution. His police were Article 2A in the Constitution, His police were facing a massive threat of organised lawlessness with little more than the ordinary processes of law at their disposal. In vain he pleaded with the Bovernment for a directive for his officers, but none was forthcoming. Ruttledge was neither prepared to admit that the Blueshirts had found a loophole nor was he willing to instruct the Guards to proceed under the Act. Once more the initiative in maintaining peace was thrown upon the shoulders of the police at local level, who were now placed in double jeopardy.

On Sentember 24 in Limerick there occurred

who were now placed in double jeopardy.

On September 24 in Limerick there occurred what were certainly the most serious disturbances to date when O'Duffy, Cosgrave and James Dillon tried to address a meeting in the city. From the early evening LR.A. and Flanna Fall supporters had been gathering in the vicinity of the meeting with the obvious intention of preventing them from speaking. Meanwhile, hundreds of blueshirted United Ireland supporters began to range themselves around the platform.

platform.

Shortly before eight o'clock the LR.A. group attacked the platform and the Blueshirts retaliated with as plants, staves and knuckle-dusters. The Guards waded in and a three-sided battle, of a pattern which was to become all too familiar, broke out through the city centre. The LR.A. withdrew at an early stage, and the field was left almost exclusively to the Guards and Blueshirts. Three times the Guards swept the streets, and three times the Blueshirts rallied. It was a vicious riot with no quarter given on either side.

But if 1933 had been a violent and con-fusing year for the Garda, working without direction and virtually leaderless, 1934 was to bring the force probably to the lowest point in its morale since its establishment in 1922. The Fianna Fail-I.R.A. axis was splitting very rapidly as a result of ever-increasing hostility between de Valera and his more militant followers. He had shocked and embittered his militant adde Valera and his more militant followers. He had shocked and embittered his militant adherents by his policy of eroding support from the I.R.A., by giving pensions to all veterans of the War of Independence, and, above all, by his policy of allowing Republicans to be sent for trial before the hated tribunal. The year 1934 was to see the painful and violent separation of de Valera and the I.R.A. (although another two years were to pass before the I.R.A, was legally proscribed); it was to be marked by a significant further erosion of the principle of the unarmed Guard with the establishment of a new unarmed Guard with the establishment of a new armed uniformed corps and with the frequent issue of weapons to ordinary Guards, and it was also to bring the Guards, backed by the full vigour of the law, into daily conflict with the Blueshirts and their sizeable and influential supporters among the farming community.

THE FREE STATE in July, 1932, had defaulted on the payment of the land annuities to Great Britain which had been agreed under which was part of de Valera's policy of removing the trappings of colonial rule, resulted in the British placing high import tariffs on Irish goods entering the United Kingdom. In turn, de Valera placed high levies on British goods entering the Free State. The "Economic War", as it was to be known, was to cause widespread distress and economic hardship through the entire community over the next three years. Exports fell by half and the livestock export trade fell from £18 million in 1931 to £7 million in 1933. To counter the hardship bhought on by the recession in the cattle trade, farmers in many lighters became to withheld accurate of present the second of the cattle trade. districts began to withhold payment of rates, hoping at the same time thereby to put pressure on the de Valera Government. . . .

By the end of 1933, with large sums of rates outstanding in many districts, the Government began proceedings against farmers who were in arrears. Sheriff's officers who proceeded to en-



Oscar Traynor . . . de Valera asked him to pick gunmen for the "Broy Harriers".



James Dillon . . . addressed the Blueshirt meetings.

force collection of goods or livestock from the offending farmers were physically manhandled and abused, and the Guards were called in in large numbers to support the balliff's parties. The entire twelve months of 1934 were marked by repeated and vicious clashes between Guards and groups of farmers, usually headed and organised by local Blueshirt leaders.

By the end of 1935, with the settlement of the Economic War in sight, the level of violence in the community began to fall off. Many areas where Blueshirts and Republicans had faced each other in stormy confrontation over the previous three years were quiet, and the Guards were thus able to concentrate their strength and energies in the areas where serious trouble still continued - mainly in North Cork and Tip-

Over the next eighteen months the last traces of the phenomenon of Blueshirtism were to disappear almost as swiftly as the movement had itself grown up in the months after de Valera's accession to power in 1932. In August, 1935, the United Ireland Party had split on the issue of O'Duffy's tempestuous leadership, and in September O'Duffy himself had resigned, leaving the League of Youth in the unpredictable and inept hands of a small group of malcontents led by Commandant Ned Cronin, It was the end of O'Duffo's role in Irish politics and his abortive attempts to channel the strength of his remain-ing followers into support for the Spanish Nationalists in the Civil War were followed by his death in 1944 at the premature age of fifty-

Concluded

They're leading the field

By RAYMOND SMITH

IRISH-BORN jockeys are on top of the world these days in Britain. Following the achievement of 30-year-old Limerick-born Ron Barry in retaining his crown as champion horseman of the 1973-74 National Hunt season, 22-year-old Dublin-born Pat Eddery is the leading jockey on the flat at the moment. And he enhanced his ever-

growing reputation by scoring his first classic success when riding the favourite Polygamy to victory in the Epsom Oaks.

Pat was born to be a jockey, His father Jimmy rode Panaslip-per into second place in the Epsom Derby and his grand-father on his mother's side, Jack Moylan, was also a noted lockey who made his mark too in Classic events. So Pat was keeping up the family name when he scored on Polygamy

His first ride in public was with whom his father was associated for quite a time and then he went to the famous appren-tice "school" of "Frenchy" Nicholson, which put Waterford born Tony Murray on the road to stardom.

Trainer Peter Walwyn, to whom young Eddery is attached as first jockey, acknowledged in a recent interview that Lester Piggott was a great jockey, but he added significantly: "Pat Eddery will do for me."



PAT EDDERY for the English flat crown.

Walwyn described Pat as "a super rider," able to ride finishes with "zest and style." This he certainly proved in the Epsom Oaks,

Young Eddery is fortunate that he can ride as low as 7 st. 13lb. which means that he can command a lot of mounts that jockeys who ride heavier have to forego. For that very reason alone he must finish high in the race for the championships even if he does not make it all the way.

While Par Eddery is hitting for the Everest peak on the flat, Ron Barry is enjoying a muchneeded rest after all the travel-ling and the riding exertions involved in retaining his Nat-ional Hunt crown for 1973-74. He will be going for his third in a row title in 1974-75 and there are few who will care to bet against his bringing it off.



RON BARRY . . . champion jump jockey for second year running.

He has the record of having driven no less than 60,000 miles last season in his efforts to clock up winning mounts. He started off as a 6st. 5lb appren-tice in Ireland but increasing weight made him switch to National Hunt racing, and as Pat Eddery's association with Peter Walwyn has put him firmly on the road to the top, Ron Barry really hit the glory trail when he teamed up with Scottish trainer, Gordon W. Richards for whom he won the Scottish Grand National on Playlord,

But two of his greatest triumphs to date have been to win the Cheltenham Gold Cup on The Dikler and the Whit-bread Gold Cup on Charlie Pot-heen for Fulke Walwyn.

Ron's biggest ambition now is to win an Aintree Grand National,











Ms. - representation



REFUSE, I absolutely refuse point-blank, to be bastardised, dehumanised or cyphered through being addressed by an appellation which isn't a word at all. In other words, I will not be addressed by that meaningless and unpronounceable thing

It's not a word, it's not a title, what is it?—apart from an abuse of the English language I think the whole shemozzle is idiotic anyway. If a woman marries and is prepared to take

gnat of the prefix Mrs.?

After all, if she had the sense

God gave geese, she'd have the wit to regard the title "Mistress" as meaning she's the boss. And it she remains single, why object to Miss in favour of being rendered neuter—or reduced to the level of a piece of writing, which is the only meaning I know of for ms.

In any case, I refuse categorically to accept it. I've now had three letters from P.R.O. firms titling me Ms. and I'm infuriated.

They may call me Miss, which is the proper prefix for my legal status, or Mrs by mistake or even Mary Mac Goris tout court, but I hereby give notice that any Ms. missives will be returned as "unknown at the Irish Independent"

(Mind you, it would be nice if they'd spell my name properly too. I'm not all that fussy about it, I know it's hard enough to spell and its pronunciation doesn't make it any easier. But as far as public relations people are concerned, I think it's their job to get it right—after all, should take the trouble to look

her husband's name, why swal- they've only to look at the Indelow the camel and baulk at the pendent any five days out of seven.)

> While this applies mainly to professional P.R.O.s some of whom, incidentally, are also getting into the irritating habit of issuing invitations with dates but no days, obliging me to dig into diaries-I think amateurs should also take more trouble than a few of them do. I'll forgive a lot to amateurs in any field, but not lack of work. If they take on the job, they should do their best at it.

A few, I stress-most of the amateur secretaries and P.R.O.s are very painstaking, even giving phone numbers for possible fur-ther enquiries. But there's the one who wrote to me recently from a well-known musical group to request coverage of a concert, addressing the letter to "The Musical Editor" (sic) what do they teach them at that this got he neatly out of school nowadays? — and begin-bother, but I don't, ning the letter " Dear Sir "

Still, perhaps I should not be

Gryphon, the "medieval group, above, whose latest album includes a fantasia called " Midnight Mushrumps," say their name comes from the mythical beast because, like their music, it's a hybrid. Lewis Carroll also uses the word and I'm surprised that more of these pop groups don't go to Carroll for their odd titles. What about, for instance, the Slithy Toves, or the Mome Raths-or, most apt of all, Jabberwocky?

at the papers and find out who, or what, they are.

Another from an equally longestablished and highly-regarded group, started her letter " Dear Critic." She may have thought

Still, perhaps I should not be too upset by that particular one—it must be one of the few occasions when that adjective and nous are to be found in