

THE BIRTH OF THE STATE

Anniversary Honoured

DUBLIN MANSION HOUSE THROGGED

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 Eirann in January, 1922. The Round Room was packed, and hundreds unable to gain admission heard the speeches through specially-erected loud-speakers.

WHAT THE TREATY ACHIEVED

GEN. MULCAHY said that through their representatives at the signing of the Treaty the Irish and English peoples had banished forever that oppression and destruction in arms which had disgraced and embittered the centuries.

Behind the speakers on the stage a scroll bearing an enlarged facsimile of the signatures 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.

WHOLE OF IRELAND

Six months previously a subordinate parliament had been set up for the Six Counties, but the Irish Free State which was recognised, was an Irish Free State which included the whole territory of Ireland's 32 counties.

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

Had the Treaty been accepted with the full welcome which the vast majority of the people wished to give it, there would have been no need for the bitter and bloody Irish civil war, 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 and its powers were the very same that the Treaty had brought. The same applied to the whole machinery of the State. What was absent to-day was the spirit that had 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 a national unity come to crown their freedom.

NO NATIONAL TRIBUTE
O'Higgins, T.D., said a quarter of a century had passed since the Treaty, yet the aftermath of insane political jealousy pique and prejudice prevented a national tribute being paid to the memory of the men who won the victory and to the victory's significance.

"Surely not only Irishmen the world over but every friend of Ireland," he continued, "must wonder why, when Government and people can combine to honour the memory of Davis, O'Connell, Tone, Emmet, Daniel Davitt and many other Irish leaders, the Government and people are not now commencing together the men and the event that ejected the invader and set time from our hands and realised the hopes and aspirations of all the Irish patriots of the past."

Was it fair to Ireland, to her people, or her history, that because the judgment of some people was so sound 25 years ago that to-day they were too small to commemorate 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

CENOTAPH—T.D.'S REMINDER

ALD. 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 work should be undertaken forthwith.

Griffith's Great Work

Gen. Mac Eoin, T.D., said very few of the younger generation now realised the long struggle made by Griffith when he gave his life for the cause of the Irish people.

LAZINESS A DANGER TO DEMOCRACY

WE had largely got away from democratic ideas of Local Government, because the more responsible elements in the community were too lazy or unwilling to work democracy, said Dr. T. A. McLaughlin, Chief Technical Adviser to the Government.

ARMAGH DIOCESAN APPOINTMENTS

His Grace Most Rev. Dr. Dalton has made the following appointments in the Archdiocese of Armagh: Very Rev. James Larkin, P.P. Drogheda; Mrs. Sheridan, Watergate St., Navan; Dr. P. Sheridan, London; and Messrs. Frank, Patrick, and Michael Sheridan.

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FRENCH ASSEMBLY

Premier Cruix Continues

GEORGES BIDAULT, Popular Republican candidate for the 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.

SPANISH ISSUE

U.N.O. Will Discuss U.S. 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 amendments to their proposals for the complete rupture by members of the United Nations of commercial and diplomatic relations with Spain.

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Sugar Company Failure

Mines And Bombs Rock Jerusalem

RIFLE-FIRE echoed in Jerusalem last night after two people were killed when a land mine exploded 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 be street mines detonated by the police.

Troops were rushed to the residence of General Barker when Jews lobbed grenades into an Arab Legion guard tent inside the barbed wire ringed house. Earlier a British Army officer 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 have been placed in a civilian lorry, which was driven into the compound.—United Press and Reuter.

STRIKE TO CONTINUE

No Action By Labour Court Or Company

THE sugar strike conference broke down yesterday 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:—

Reported Offer To 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. Aiken 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 grades.

REFUSAL BY LEWIS TO END STRIKE

DECLINING to call off the U.S. coal strike which is crippling American industry and has entered on its third week, John L. Lewis and his followers yesterday filed formal notice of appeal from their conviction for contempt of court, for which he was fined £2,500 and the union £75,000.

MEN STATE THEIR CASE

THE following statement was issued late last night by the Strikers' Committee in Dublin:—

OFFER TO MENTAL HOSPITAL STAFF

THE Grangemoran 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.

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 at Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, described yesterday how he was called to Berlin under Hitler's orders on March 23, 1939. Hitler was going to occupy Czechoslovakia and that, if the Slovaks wanted to remain loyal to Prague, they would have to accept the terms of the ultimatum from Hitler.

AMERICAN MARKETS

FOLLOWING were among the prices quoted on the New York Stock Exchange yesterday, with approximate parities in parentheses:—

From Court

A statement from the Labour Court said that representatives of the trade unions of which the sugar factory workers are members informed the Labour Court of the views expressed by delegates at the conference they held on Wednesday.

From Unions

"At yesterday's (Wednesday) meeting it was agreed that representatives of the unions should approach the Labour Court to ascertain if it was possible to have a discussion regarding a removal of the men's grievances. With this object in view, the representatives of the six unions waited on the Labour Court this afternoon and had a full discussion with them on the various matters which were agitating the minds of the men. The Labour Court decided it would be an undesirable precedent for that body to have discussions while the men were on strike.

SMUGGLING CUSTOM REVERSED

Defendant charged with smuggling fowl from Northern Ireland, when the custom was to smuggle them the other way, said Mr. P. Woods, solicitor, defending James Smart, Ballyvaughan, Omagh, who was fined £210 in respect of five dozen poultry at Dundalk Court.

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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. O'Higgins, T.D.; (at back) Senator M. Hayes; Mr. Liam Cosgrave, B.L., T.D.; Ald. P. S. Doyle, T.D.

—Irish Independent Photo (O.M.)

ANSWER TIME

(Questions on opposite page.)
1—Eighty-five miles. 2—The interior line or curve of an arch. 3—"Nicholas Nickleby." by Dickens. 4—The present Australian State of Tasmania.

Walt Disney's Departure

Mr. Walt Disney has gone by air from Collinstown to London, the first stage of his return journey to the States after a fortnight in Ireland in search of material for a new Irish film cartoon he was accompanied by his wife and will sail on the Queen Elizabeth to-day.

DEATHS

LONGWORTH (Fullname)—Dec. 5, 1946, at her residence, O'Connor Square, Bristol, Longworth, R.I.P. Funeral from the Assumption, Tallamore, to Ballymore (Kilmore)—Dec. 5, 1946, at her residence, Ballymore, Nurney, Bridg, wife of Martin McKeown, deeply regretted. R.I.P. Remains will be removed to the cemetery on Monday morning (Saturday) to adjoining cemetery.

DECEMBER 6th : TREATY COMMEMORATION : DECEMBER 6th 1921

ARCHITECTS OF FREEDOM



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

SPECIALY CONTRIBUTED BY

JOHN A. COSTELLO, S.C. FORMER ATTORNEY-GENERAL

Collins

Happy Warrior, Born Leader

"The Greatest Of Them All"

Arthur Griffith

had, however, to be added a new element—an army. The I.R.A. reinforced the old instruments, the local and municipal bodies which were to paralyse the British administration of Ireland. The violence latent in the old Sinn Fein policy became apparent.

ON the 6th December, 1921, after the making of the Treaty between Great Britain and Ireland had been made public, the late Professor Arthur Clery, himself an uncompromising Republican, in answer to a question by me as to what he thought of the settlement, described it as a "Soldier's Peace."

the state accepted under the Treaty. We have it on the authority of the late Chief Justice, Hugh Kennedy, whose profound learning and legal genius guided and directed the architects of the New State in their planning of its institutions, that "in no respect did the British Government seek to interfere with the document or to lead the Constituent Assembly."

TWENTY-FIVE years ago the Anglo-Irish conflict had reached its climax, and the months just before the Truce were times of hectic excitement for the Irish people and more particularly for the gallant bands of Irish Volunteers who kept the fight alive, meeting every obstacle with grim determination.

very serious indeed, then his natural exuberance would find an outlet. There are others who had longer and more intimate association with the "Big Fella" than I and, in time, I hope they will recount anecdotes that should garland his memory.

wondered which of us thought we had learned most from the other. I had seen quite a lot of Cope, because we were opposite numbers on Anglo-Irish liaison work.

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 talk, good friends, good drink, good tobacco, a swim at the Forty-Foot, a walk in the Phoenix Park, a good game of chess, and, above all, good conduct.

Dedicated His Life To an Idea

GRIFFITH was a man who very early dedicated his life to an idea, of which he was the only better. He had been, at eighteen, a member of Parnell's Election Committee in 1890, and had witnessed from the inside the Chief's last struggle.

What He and Collins Won

IN the subsequent fighting years, the most intelligent of the combatants, led by Michael Collins, came to see that they would be lucky to get the essentials of Griffith's programme. Repeal of the Union, an Irish Parliament really independent, no Poyning's Law, no Sixth of George the First, the power to protect Irish industries—and after that, if it had to be, federation with the British Commonwealth under the Crown, future generations being free to make their choice and go their own road.

Amidst the Ruins

FOLLOWING the ratification of the Treaty the Provisional Government was set up. To quote the words of the late Kevin O'Higgins, "The Provisional Government was simply eight young men in the City Hall, standing amidst the ruins of one administration, with the foundations of another not yet laid, and with wild men screaming through the keyholes." They started the task of building the new State on the foundations of the Treaty in conditions which called for more courage and sacrifice than had even been exacted in the struggle just concluded.

Respect for Irish Law in Ireland

THE last act of Griffith's life was his firm insistence that Michael Collins would have to overcome his warm-hearted attachment to old comrades, that anarchy was the worst of all evils and that the Government would have to govern.

Fun at the Height of the Danger

AT the very height of the struggle and after curfew one evening, when British cars were patrolling in the neighbourhood, three of us were putting up for the night in the little private Munster Hotel, which was run by Miss McCarthy, Mick was there, and so on of his most playful moods.

Crossing to the London Talks

I REMEMBER the crossing to London with Michael Collins; he had not accompanied the Delegation, but travelled with me the following night. For over an hour he walked the deck of the mail boat, silent, thoughtful, and even glum. When he spoke he talked of the circumstances which had made his journey necessary. One of his remarks that lingers in my memory was: "How am I expected to get people out of strait-jackets that they have themselves secured."

The Strain of Difficult Days

AT times, there was tension in our midst according as meetings proved more and more difficult. On one such morning I saw Mick in a most impossible mood. He even snapped at Diarmuid O'Hearty, yet of all Michael Collins's friends, I believe there was none closer or dearer to him than Diarmuid, with whom he always worked in perfect harmony. Like Collins, O'Hearty was a brilliant and indefatigable worker.

A Typical Dublin Catholic

HE could write comical ballads of low life in old Dublin. He was very tenacious in argument, without that stupid obstinacy, that refusal to give in, even when obviously wrong, which characterised too many Irishmen.

Total Indifference To Money

HIS widow, however, would be the first to admit that she had a constant rival, whose name was Cathleen Ní Houlihan. Another characteristic he had, somewhat exasperating to me, was a total indifference to money! As is well known, he worked for years in a tiny office in Fownes St., living on about a pound or thirty shillings a week, and refusing big offers to become a New York journalist without wasting a moment's consideration on them.

By LIAM O'BRIAIN

interference by the British Legislature. The Union was therefore invalid, said Griffith. The House of Commons had no right to govern Ireland. Irishmen should refuse to attend there. They should set up their own national assembly and govern Ireland with the aid of the local elected bodies.

By EMMET DALTON

As a nation of ancient lineage, with her own nationality and special racial characteristics and traditions, and as a mother country whose children were scattered all over the globe and exercised vast influence in widely-separated countries, Ireland fought for and obtained by right of her Treaty status entry into the international comity.

THE STRAIN OF DIFFICULT DAYS

When we arrived at Holyhead we were unable to secure a sleeping compartment because no arrangements had been made. The two Under-Secretaries from Dublin Castle, Sir John Anderson and Sir Alfred Cope, expressed their concern.

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.

THE STRAIN OF DIFFICULT DAYS

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 College.

THE STRAIN OF DIFFICULT DAYS

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 STRAIN OF DIFFICULT DAYS

When he married, his friends presented him with a house in Clontarf. But, knowing him well, they appointed trustees, so that he could not mortgage it, or sell it, and throw the proceeds into the movement. "You blackguards," he said to them, when he found this out.

THE STRAIN OF DIFFICULT DAYS

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Arthur Griffith

Michael Collins

George Gavan Duffy

E. J. Duggan

Robert C. Barton

Splendid FOOTWEAR VALUES



LADIES' ANKLE STRAP SHOE
Beautifully finished Ladies' Ankle Strap Shoe with medium heel. Available in Red, Navy, Black and Brown. Sizes 5, 6, 7, and 8. Grand value offer. 24/9



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Here's a splendid money-saving opportunity. Ladies' Leather Ankle Strap Sandals. Available in Red, Navy, Black, Brown or White. Sizes 5, 6, 7, 8. Price 11/9



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Have no doubt about healthy gums - protect gums as well as teeth

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Large tube 2/6 Standard tube 1/6



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SOCIAL & PERSONAL
Ireland's Gayest Society Magazine

SOCIAL & PERSONAL
38 Parliament 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 achieved."

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.

"Left Turn, The G.P.O.—Charge!"

Story of the 1916 Rising

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 Collins.

"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.

AS noon was striking, the column from Liberty Hall turned out of Abbey Street and wheeled to the right across O'Connell Street, Lieutenant O'Malley, 14th Royal Fusiliers, who was entering 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 behind them, a mixed body of Citizen Army men and Volunteers.

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 work-day clothes were crossed with bandolier straps and haversacks, while there was a great display of yellow armbands of sleeves. Brennan Whitmore and Michael Collins were near the front ranks. Somewhere in the rear limbered two drays, packed with Howitz Mausers, shotguns, miniature rifles, Sniders, Martins, Lee-Enfields, knives, explosives, boxes of crêpe bombs made from tin cans or lengths of piping.

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

The O'Rahilly was speeding in his car, backed 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 gapping, Connolly halted his men with a sudden passionate and strident shout: "Left turn, G.P.O.—Charge!"

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 soon obvious that the British had no ammunition for their rifles.

People Surprised

On the main floor, near the entrance, there was a wild panic rush of stupefied holiday-makers, indignant old ladies, weeping girls and civil servants tumbling into coats as they hurried out with red-started faces; a few policemen, Connolly's voice, still harsh and excited, could be heard through the building, calling on all men and women

of peace and leisure to leave, and leave at once.

Lieutenant Chalmers banded indignant words with Plunkett, Brennan Whitmore and Michael Collins outside on the very steps. Abruptly a group of Volunteers seized him. A bayonet in front, a pike behind, a levelled revolver, a laugh from Michael Collins, a telephone box at the door—Nelson Pillar for an hour or so.

Out through the doors tramped a dozen officials with their hands over their heads, and with a jest from their captors, they joined the spectators, despite loose offers from the Volunteers of hospitality and guns and assurances that the insurgent positions were the safest places in the city.

Rifle butts crashed through glass at sides and front as

Connolly's voice inside rasped prematurely:

"Smash those windows, and fortify them, and barricade the doors!"

The task of building up the interior defences strained the capacity of the small force in the new roomy fortress. The Volunteers were not officers, much less experienced and confused. 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 flag of the Republic.

A New Flag

High over Prince's Street corner breaks a strange new banner of unmistakable import. Inspiration

POBLAcht NA H EIREANN, THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF THE IRISH REPUBLIC TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

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 her children to her flag and strikes for her freedom.

Having organised and trained her manhood through her secret revolutionary 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 relying in the first on her own strength, she strikes in full confidence of victory.

We declare the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland, and to 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 it 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, of its welfare, and of its exaltation among the nations.

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

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

We place the cause of the Irish Republic under the protection of the Most High God, 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 hour 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 worthy of the august destiny to which it is called.

Signed on Behalf of the Provisional Government,
THOMAS J. CLARKE,
SEAN Mac DIARMADA, THOMAS MacDONAGH,
P. H. PEARSE, EAMONN CEANNTE,
JAMES CONNOLLY, JOSEPH PLUNKETT

This is a reduced facsimile of the Proclamation of the Irish Republic issued on Easter Monday, April 24, 1916. The seven signatories were all executed.

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'erwhelmed 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's 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 trust 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. MacDONALD

Easter Monday, 1949

Roll, drums, roll
A sombre, muffled flow
Of quickly-gathered low
Tap-tapping!
Trumpets used
Soft, solemn, muted notes
That trust awhile where foats
The symbol of a pride
In dead who have not died—
Tricoloured scroll
Of glory!—Roll
Drums, roll!
Roll, drums, roll
Excitant, throbbing beats
Of sticks on tautened sheets
Rap-rapping!
Trumpets add
To rumbling tympani
A brazen symphony
In fanfare tribute to
Still life and living who
Gave us that they
Give us this Day—
Drums, roll away!
J. F. MURPHY.

Some Cheers

It was just before 3 p.m. as the flags went up. Volunteers and Fanning 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 1871, 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

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" 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.

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(To be Continued Next Sunday.)



Desmond Ryan

in and asked for a gun, his two dark volcanic eyes in a trance, a track 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 building and asked to be taken to 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 overcame him, and he said: "Well, then, we might seat you on an armchair at one of the upper windows, and then, when the break in the darkness you could light the fuses of some of those grenades you see, and drop them on their heads." MacKenna

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THE PERSONALITY OF MICHAEL COLLINS

A MISINFORMED ARTICLE

To the Editor "Irish Independent."

Sir—In the current issue of a Dublin periodical is an article from the pen of "Seelig," 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 Collins as a nonentity, selfish, lacking in physical courage, and somewhat of a political adventurer who swept across an important 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 in 1915 to evade 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 I.R.B.

Mr. Collins had been in the Irish Republican Brotherhood since the 9th November, 1903, sworn in by me at a meeting in London on that date, and he returned to Ireland in February, 1915, when he received orders from the late Comdt. Thomas McDonagh through me to do so. I met him at the North Wall on his arrival, and he stayed with me for some time after his return. Before his leaving London he was not in a stockbroker's office, but was employed 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 service. At the Bank of England he had those notes converted into gold, which he gave for national purposes to Sean McDermott, with whom he had been intimately acquainted for over seven years previously.

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 firm, but was asked by the latter why he was not in the British army, to which he cutely replied in forcible language.

NATIONAL AID ASSOCIATION.

The National Aid Association is mentioned, as is also the Volunteer Dependents' Fund of 1918, and well we know the men who did anything for the latter. The amalgamated body, 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 dissatisfaction 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 secretarial 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, etc." Mr. Collins was arrested on O'Connell Bridge before there was a word of our moving, and it was not "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 finish 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 man in the movement.

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.

PHYSICAL COURAGE.

It seems strange that Mr. O'Kelly waited until now to give expression to his apprehensions 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.

Again, he lacked physical courage. I played football, hurling, and general athletics with him for years and I never saw a yellow 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 Sean McKeon from Mountjoy Jail it will be remembered that the commandeered armoured car was left derelict 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 out to my house to make inquiries, and remained for a couple of hours. I walked with him down to Drumcondra, and just before parting we heard the shots of ambulances 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 genuine courage, well, nothing is. But true courage, however, can only be appreciated by those who have taken great risks themselves.

WEST CORK.

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

The last of the many insinuations against Collins is the manner in which he is alleged to have disowned 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 pact—it being specifically agreed to by Collins and De Valera that this clause would provide the new Government's working majority. I saw documentary proof of this, and Collins in

his much talked of speech in W. Cork before the election gave the correct and only 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, over Collins' senior 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. E. O'Hegarty, the present Secretary of the Irish Post Office, was their brains and driving force. The latter was considered by many to be next to Arthur Griffith, the greatest 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 well.

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 which Michael Collins is now the victim.

P. BELTON (Belfield 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 exhumation of the three bodies of the Clondalkin victims, Joseph Rogers, Brendan Holohan, 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. 18, 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 Rd. with their 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.

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 bodies, so that they might be viewed by McGowan in order to ascertain whether he could identify them as the man whom he had seen with their hands up.

THAT LETHARGIC FEELING.

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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'Garry is so ill. I hope she will be soon restored to health.”

Comdt.-Gen. Sean O'Muirthille sent the following:—

“Is mór an chúis bhróin liom bás Emmet agus teighim i g-comh-bhrón leat fhéin agus le do mhnaoi in bhur geas-brónach.”

Messages were also received from 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, T.D.; Mrs. and Sean O'Kelly, Howth; Sam Hutchinson and John Kelly, Dublin; J. H. Kane; W. G. E. Longworth, Blackrock; Vincent Crowley, Westmoreland St., Dublin; Kettle, St. Margaret's, Dublin; Ald. Corish, T.D., Wexford; Jerry O'Sullivan, Dublin; Beviere, Dublin; Mr. and Mrs. Dunphy, Dublin; Comdt. Carter, T.D., Carrick-on-Shannon.



INSIDE VIEW

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



Partition: disclosure 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.

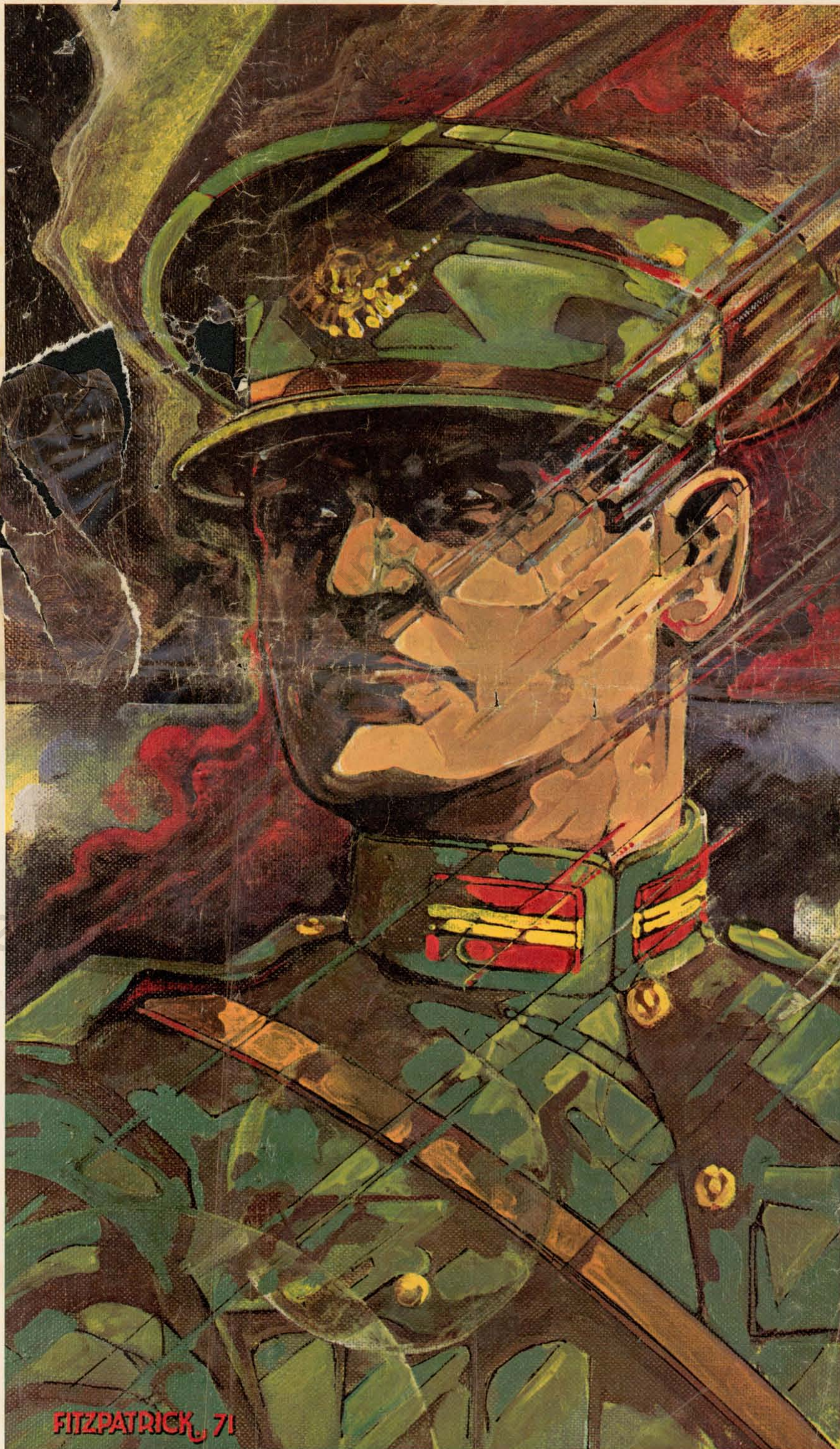
It is undoubtedly one of the most authoritative works yet published on the period, providing the sort of material about which historians dream and about which their dreams are all too rarely realised.

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



FITZPATRICK, 71

Collins... orator, soldier and statesman



MICHAEL COLLINS warned the 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 21, 1921.

"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 "Ulster clause"—that is, that the North be asked to give up the 1920 arrangement and come under the Dublin Parliament; alternatively, it would retain its own Parliament in a subordinate status, with overriding powers transferred from London to Dublin.

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 refuse, 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'?

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 have a fair do.

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: the great debate

If our people are attacked they must defend themselves
—Collins

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 referred to the 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 it. We are prepared to face the problem itself—not 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. B. Agar-Robartes, a Liberal M.P., moved 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 you if we are going to have civil war with Ulster.

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 in Dublin.

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 freedom of choice and tell Area 'X' to go to Northern Ireland to enjoy the powers they have there.

Prime Minister: But what about non-contiguous areas?

Mr. A. Griffith: There we would have to do a deal in exchange (pointing to the area north-east Antrim)

Prime Minister: That is not self-deter-

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

Mr. M. Collins: But you give an unfair advantage to Ulster.

Mr. Gavan Duffy: You are putting a premium on the present status.

Mr. Chamberlain: That means that Irishmen cannot agree among themselves and we must come in.

Mr. M. Collins: You will be faced with the necessity of coercing large districts into allegiance to this new North Ireland Parliament. They have made no arrangements to function.

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

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

Prime Minister: The people of north-east Ulster have no conception of that.

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 Unionists.

Mr. A. Griffith: There is no part of Southern Ireland where they complain of their neighbours.

Lord Birkenhead: They have the inconvenience of all minorities. All Government involves minorities unless the population is unanimous.

Mr. Churchill: The hope I have followed is that inevitable need would make the super-Parliament important and get us out of the present situation. (This, referring to the 1920 Government of Ireland Act.)

Mr. A. Griffith: We see in it all the old and cunning hand of England. You have a population in Ireland of 4,400,000. You take a 1/3 and give it a Parliament and you take 1/3 and give it a Parliament and then you take a Council and give the 1/3 the same power as 1/3. If you proposed a Council with 1/3 representation for the 1/3 population.

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 constituency or the Poor Law Area.

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

Mr. A. Griffith: We cannot agree to the 6 County basis.

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

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 problem.

Prime Minister: If we are to reach a settlement 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."



Four of the men who signed the Treaty pictured on arrival in Holyhead in 1922: From left—Robert Barton, Arthur Griffith, Eamonn J. Duggan and George Gavan Duffy.

'We cannot allow civil war at our door'

— LLOYD GEORGE

LLOYD GEORGE — They (the Orangemen) are a pugnacious people with a touch of the Scotch about them which is a very stubborn race.

Arthur Griffith — As long as they have your force behind them.

Lloyd George — We are only behind them to this extent that we cannot allow civil war to take place at our doors which would embroil our own people... there is nothing we would like better 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 bogey of the Pope and the Bome, they can keep the industrial population quiet.

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, Lloyd George and Michael Collins opposite Lord Birkenhead.

Arthur Griffith had to stall the proceedings long enough at the fourth session for the document on policy

towards Ulster to arrive from Dublin.

Now Griffith quoted a reply by Mr. de Valera that while they did not contemplate the use of force, neither would they tolerate a division of their country.

Griffith continued:

"This is one of the great obstacles we have to deal with. If the British Government stands aside and does not throw its force behind Ulster we will come to an agreement but so long as they feel the British Government 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 Protestants, 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 majorities.

"If it were admissible to 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 extraordinary things. But the most extraordinary thing of all was to put the most ex-

treme north point of Ireland into Southern Ireland...

"We object (1) that the division is unnatural, (2) that it is not taking away a definite area, (3) to the inclusion 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. There are a number of men in the North of Ireland who think that by keeping up the bogey of the Pope and the Bome they can keep the industrial population quiet."

Mr. Collins: "In what you have said about Ireland and Wales there was no third party but in our case there is one which has produced a largely 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 of Antrim will go with the 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 have to defend themselves...

FOREIGN POLICY DEBATES

The Fateful Years 1918-1925

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 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.

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 create.

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

The greatest debate apart from the Partition issue—in the opening stages of the negotiations was on neutrality.

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

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."

The document amounted, as Churchill put it, to reasoned rejection of every one of the British points and to a claim of neutrality for Ireland, a neutrality which was to be guaranteed, and which the Irish would take, they said, effective means to protect by building mine craft, etc.

Churchill continued: "We cannot be sure that the Irish would have power to keep an effective neutrality. We could not guarantee the confluence of trade in an area where submarines were lurking unless we had Queens-town (now Cobh) and other ports. I pointed out how mines could be laid as had been done in the case of the Audacious (this battleship had been sunk by German mines laid in the Irish Channel in October, 1914). Our

The arguments on neutrality

destroyers would have to go out to meet the enemy with a radius of operation reduced by 100 miles. We have the support of all our naval experts in the view we take. I pointed out that the point of neutrality raised a fundamental issue which could not be settled by the Subcommittee.

"I said that in my view no British Government could entertain it. I urged Mr. Collins to consider what possible safeguards he could give us and reiterated that our demand could not be minimised in any important respect, but that if they could be clothed in some form more acceptable to the Irish people I should offer no objection."

Mr. Collins: "Mr. Churchill do you not agree that if neutrality were a greater safeguard to you than anything else, it would be a greater value to you than your proposals?"

Mr. Churchill: "I do not accept that. A completely honest neutrality by Ireland in the last war would have been worse for us. Ireland's control of her neutrality might be ineffective." (Com-

pare Norway). I pointed out also we could only know what ships were being sunk in the neighbourhood of the Irish shore. We would make representations to the neutral Irish Government. A long correspondence would ensue and meanwhile our ships would be sunk and our food supply endangered. That is assuming goodwill on the part of Ireland but there may be ill-will and bitterness and if Ireland were equipped with craft she could deny her ports to the British and afford nesting places for our enemies."

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

Arthur Griffith had stressed at the second session that Ireland would want to be free to be neutral in the event of war declared by Britain.

The Prime Minister said there had been two wars since the British Empire had become so to speak fully conscious, the South African War and the Great War. In Cape Colony we never said that the Colony must put in all her resources and call up

her whole manhood [if] the majority were opposed to the war. Similarly it was a voluntary act their sending troops to the last war but S. Africa 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 nationhood, (c) inside the fraternity of free nations. He proceeded to describe the meetings of the recent Imperial Conference where the Dominion Premiers discussed with us on equal terms our policy with the U.S.A., Japan and Egypt and so forth. "We invite you to enter that combination freely which put in 10 millions of troops

of all climes and colours and which determined the conflict when it did thus come in. We cannot compel Canada to put her resources in but 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 stronger in time of war if Ireland were neutral."

Mr. Collins: "Bonar Law said 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 did so."

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

Mr. Collins: "You are asking more from us than from them in this naval business."

The P.M.: "No."

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

put up their names in Irish on their carts and had been 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 showing 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, Commander-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 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 about submarines."

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 between himself and General Smuts. "This is 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 particularly."

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.' Beare Island, Queenstown, Lough Swilly, which is used for manoeuvres and important for guarding the commerce of Liverpool, that we can arrange with the Dominion of Northern Ireland."

(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 Lloyd George as follows: "The 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 inlets unreservedly at the disposal of the Imperial Government in peace or war."

Republican Ireland

CROMWELL IS TO BLAME SAYS CHURCHILL

WHEN A discussion arose between the Irish and British delegations on the definition of "neutrality", Michael Collins spoke of 'a new form of association'—the first reference to the idea of External Association, which was the brainchild of Mr. de Valera, who saw it as saving the 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 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 were irrevocably pledged to the Republic.

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 bring back the Republic from the negotiations. To achieve the latter would mean a fight against impossible odds.

Allegiance to the Crown was now, under the new idea advanced, to be translatable only in terms of External Association. While Collins and Griffith were prepared to explore other paths consistent 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 prepared to return to Dublin and ask the Irish people to face renewed war for External Association. And the British attitude right along the line was—"No Crown and Empire, therefore no settlement."

On the morning of 24 October, the British held a discussion on a proposal by Tim Healy to give all Ireland the same status as the Channel Islands. They decided to reject it, fearing that this would only provide a stepping-stone for future demands. Afterwards, too late for full consideration by the British, the Irish Draft Treaty A was submitted. Its proposals for a form of external association were not, on the surface, far removed from the proffered Dominion status, nor did it mention a republic. But the tone was didactic, even haughty, and the call for England "to renounce all claims to authority over Ireland and Irish affairs", could not fail to give offence.

The seventh session of negotiations began at 5.30 p.m.

Present:

British—The Prime Minister (Lloyd George), Mr. Chamberlain, Lord Birkenhead, Mr. Churchill, Sir L. Worthington-Evans, Sir Gordon Hewart, Sir H. Greenwood; Mr. T. Jones, Sir E. Grigg.

Irish—Mr. A. Griffith, Mr. M. Collins, Mr. R. C. Barton, Mr. E. J. Duggan, Mr. Gavan Duffy; Mr. E. Childers, Mr. J. Carters.

The Irish counter-proposals had been received at 3.20 and a hurried and interrupted meeting had been held at the House of Commons to consider the document.

Lloyd George: "We have received your document but too late for effective consultation with my colleagues. I am not in a position to express any final views on it

and it is not possible to do so without elucidating some of the points in order to see their bearing on the fundamental issues of the British point of view.

But it is clear we have arrived at a critical stage of the deliberations and especially having regard to the position outside. I will treat this document as you treated ours, Mr. Griffith, and put to you some questions upon it."

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 agreed common concern."

Mr. Griffith: "Yes, we are prepared to be associated."

The Prime Minister: "Come within in the sense of New Zealand and Canada?"

Mr. Griffith: "That is not quite our idea of association."

The Prime Minister: "How do you distinguish?"

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 decide that . . . they are bound to you by the link of the Crown . . ."

The P.M.: "A definition could be worked on that."

Griffith: "We accept the Crown as 'the bond of association.'"

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 international law said: "More than once either Mr. Griffith or Mr. Collins 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 used a great deal. Our experts think it impossible to defend the main stream of commerce against submarines, and for that end have certain facilities in your harbours. You say that a friendly neutrality would be better, but we are advised that in order to safeguard ourselves we must have the permitted use of your harbours, 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 alive unless we have a technical use of your harbours—what would be the use of neutrality? Because in those circumstances no country would recognise it.

(The Prime Minister then suggested that he and his colleagues should withdraw for consultation and we all went into Miss Stevenson's room.)

Mr. Chamberlain: "They contemplate a situation where they would not automatically be at war."

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 discuss common purposes, to consider defence of our coasts and their coasts. They bogged over Australia going to war. (3) They agreed in principle that they shall occupy their ports for Imperial defence even if the exercise of that right involves war. That is a great advance. They did not accept the Crown. The head would be chosen by them."

Lord Birkenhead: "The answers they have made have shaken me. It will be worth while to go to the P.M. and Chamberlain raising the question of the Crown with them and making it plain that we cannot possibly have agreement without that."

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

Lord Birkenhead: "All these men fought for the Crown in the old days."

Mr. Churchill: "It was Cromwell who taught them republicanism."

Partition 2:

'WHY MUST WE HAVE TWO PARLIAMENTS?'

LLOYD GEORGE in replying to the arguments of Griffith and Collins, elaborated his own views on the Ulster Question and stressed that 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. Gladstone, who was the outstanding figure of his time with 40 years of political experience, tried to do it but he came up against Ulster. Joseph Chamberlain made his suggestion and if Gladstone had taken it it would have settled the problem. We tried from 1911 to 1913. Ulster defeated Gladstone, Ulster would have defeated us. Mr. Churchill and I were for the Bill, Mr. Chamberlain and the Lord Chancellor were opposed. They with the instinct of trained politicians saw that Ulster was the stumbling block. They got the whole force of the opposi-

tion concentrated on Ulster. Ulster was arming and would fight. We were powerless. It is no use ignoring facts however unpleasant they may be.

The politician who thinks he can deal out abstract justice without reference to force around him cannot govern. You had to ask the British to use force to put Ulster out of one combination in which she had been for generations into another combination which she professed to abhor and did abhor, whether for political or religious reasons. We could not do it. If we tried, the instrument would have broken in our hands. Their case was "Let us remain with you". Our case was "Out you go or we fight you". We could not have done it. Mr. Churchill and I warned our colleagues. Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Asquith discovered it. I cannot say I discovered it because I was always of that opinion. You have got to accept facts. The first axiom is whatever happened we could not coerce Ulster.

in the argument of De Valera as I have [heard] here this morning, that Ulster would come in if we let her alone. I wrote a letter during the war telling her to come in: I got her representatives over during the war and did my best to persuade them to come in. They said their followers would desert them if they did. I do not say it is a permanent attitude. It is a mistake to assume that the population of Ulster for the time being is opposed to partition. It is not. I am

glad that De Valera has come to the conclusion which we favoured that force is not a weapon you can use. It would break in your hands. We should have a terrible civil war and you would draw men from all parts into the vortex of the whirlpool.

Mr. Collins shakes his head. He knows Ireland. I

know Great Britain and the Empire. It would resolve itself into a religious war. You do not want to begin your new life with a civil war which would leave you with desolation in its train. Therefore I am glad that we are agreed that force is impossible. What is your alternative?"

Mr. Griffith: "You withdraw your support."

Lloyd George: "We proposed to come out. We begin with (1) no force and are left with the only alternative,

(2) persuasion without any pressure from us. We are prepared to make that clear to you. Now as to the areas. We do not want to interfere in any effort you make to induce Area X to come in. British opinion would rather they came in. We are not anxious to divide Ireland. We won't use force or allow it

because it would drag us in. Take the case of the 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 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. The question of the area is 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."

Mr. Griffith: "On what basis could Tyrone and Fermanagh be justified?"

Lloyd George: "The real unit was Ulster. It was an old province and a recognised unit, like Gwynedd was a unit. That would have been a unit but it was felt to be handling over a

Continued on opposite page

'Why must we have two Parliaments?'

Continued from opposite page

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, but it 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 if 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. If you wish it to be made clear that we are impartial, that we shall not stand in the way of a plebiscite in the way of leading the others to come in to a confederation offering advantages to N.E. Ulster, we are prepared to do so.

Mr. Churchill: "Smuts is at this moment offering to Rhodesia inducements to come into the Union, customs, etc."

Lloyd George: "We stand neutral."

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

Lloyd George: "The alternative 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 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 Treaty of Versailles. This is a 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 still be there. So in Ulster, that is why we do not want to coerce them, 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

we are not going to coerce the 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 going 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. I 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 ourselves 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 settlement. Not a single N.E. representative voted for the Partition Act."

Lloyd George: "Because they wanted to remain a part of Great Britain."

Mr. Chamberlain: "They would have become administratively a part of Scotland."

Mr. Collins: "Why did you hand out two Parliaments that no one wanted?"

Mr. Chamberlain: "So that Ireland could settle her own destinies and unite if she chose to do so."

Mr. Collins: "There is a great difference between this attempt and the old attempts. Political parties made the old settlements with big bodies of opinion against. The old parties used Irish politicians as it suited them. At the present moment there is a general desire to settle. It is the first time practically all parties wish a settlement."

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 sailing."

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 1, 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 they say, have accepted as irremedial the disturbing fact that the petrol engine — after eighty years of continuous development — still wastes 65 per cent of its energies in warming the exhaust gases and heating its water.



You remember what happened in 1951. The ruling body of the Sport said that engine capacities in Formula 1 could go from 1.1 litres (supercharged) to 1.1 litres (unsupercharged), thus giving credence to an anti-blower prejudice sponsored by the insurance companies, who still insist on lacing the small-print sections of their policies with strictures about excluding from cover all cars fitted with superchargers. Fortunately for posterity, they did not make this a condition on insurance for lorries, public service vehicles, private cars, etc. because nobody in the Incident Offices Association ever heard of anyone wanting to supercharge a bus!

In the early days of the game, the theory that an internal combustion engine is basically an air-engine 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 they went wrong was in not concentrating 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 facilities was available, and relative.

Also the traditional type of supercharger — 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 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 superchargers posed formidable problems of lubrication and were often the very devil to get started. They were glutted for weight (120 lb.) and fuel too. Turbochargers (36 lbs.) come in 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 output, which enthusiasm was later offset by the enormous thirst which came to be associated with "blowers." Fuel consumption averages of 2 1/2 m.p.g. were 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-existent.

It is ironic 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 declared. "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 ages?

Mr. Hunter answers all letters; ideas welcomed.

ANSWER TO YESTERDAY'S PUZZLE

YAM was 126.

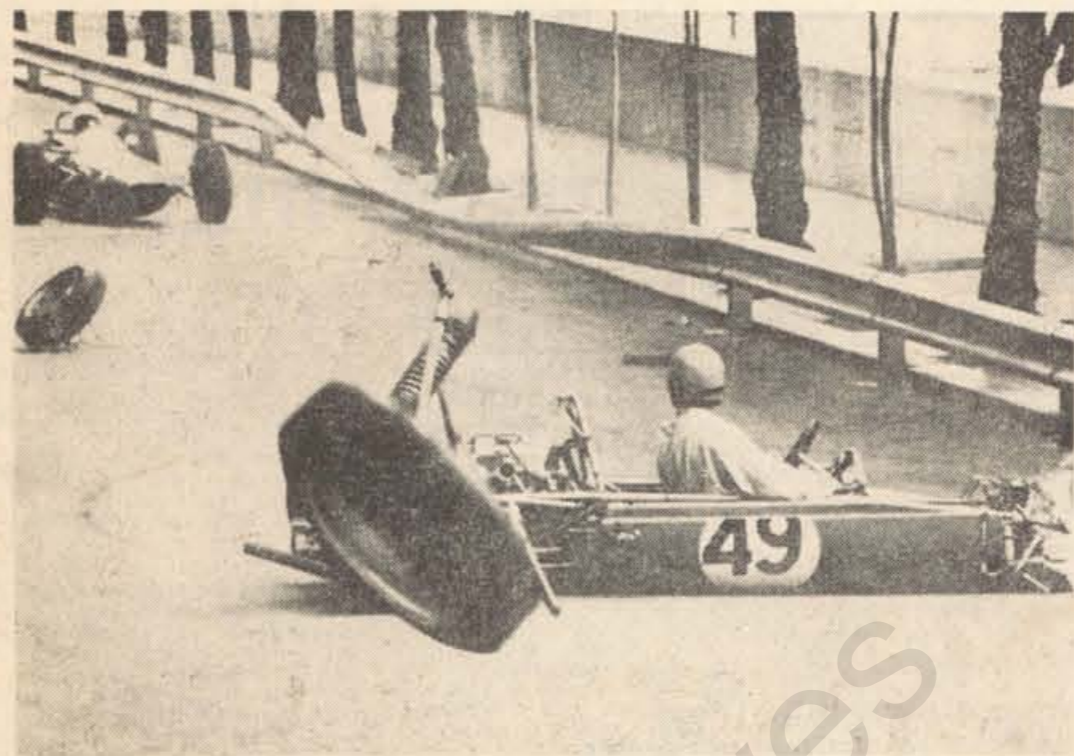
Correspondence in connection with this feature must be accompanied by a cutting of the relevant problem.

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 the coming year showed a deficit of £14,750.

The cost of the schemes is estimated at £61,844 with revenue from rates at £23,355 and Department grant £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 grants.

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 free flowing resonance-harnessing exhaust systems, eventually cost no less. Either way, racing remains priced outside the reach of private owners and sponsors are almost a pre-requisite.

Enter the turbocharger, which has lately become almost standard equipment on large diesels: this being a small inward flow precision-cost turbine rotor built into the exhaust and driven by the rush-past of the waste gases on their way to the atmosphere.

The turbine in turn drives a small compressor which stuffs air

into the engine: providing only a little extra when the engine is running light and there is a minimum of exhaust energy, but increasing the boost to 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 siphon power away from the engine itself either, and best of all an exhaust driven "blower" adjusts itself to the requirements automatically and is completely self-governing.

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 it.

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 turbocharger. . . if only it could be

made to blow satisfactorily through the standard carburettor

Incredibly, nobody had thought of this before. BMW and BMC had experimented with turbocharging but only in conjunction with fuel injection 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 exhaust manifold without upsetting the inlet manifold on the other side of the cylinder head, and he designed a fuel-flow regulariser to prevent flooding.

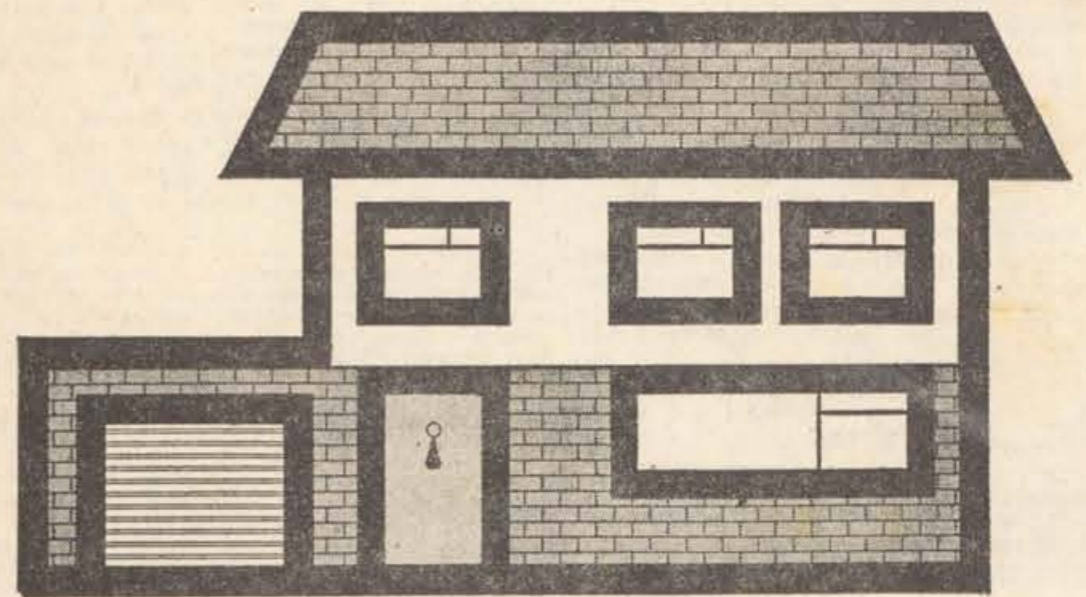
The results have amazed every one. He has doubled the acceleration of the 1300 c.c. Escort; made it quieter running and more flexible and established a 10,000 trouble-free running test. In modest terms you increase your power by 16 per cent and your torque by 40 per cent.

At low speeds the car performs 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 planks down your throttle and it comes in with a rush, silently and smoothly. With the turbocharger 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 provide greater acceleration when you need it rather than to offer a higher outright maximum.

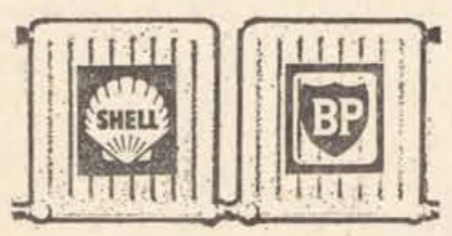
Just to prevent the latter being abused, Reid fits a rev. limiting arm to the distributor which automatically cuts out the engine if you over-cook it something you can do with a booster fired.

What we need now is somebody to convince the insurance companies (and the racing men) that they are living in the past!

Who says I could heat my whole house for less than the price of a small car?



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Shell and BP fully automatic, oil-fired central heating would cost £500/560. Over a period of ten years that works out at £1.50 to £1.74 per week. (You'll find more examples in our booklet.)

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Please send me your free central heaters booklet. "More heat for less money".

NAME

ADDRESS

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Phone

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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 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 the turning point at which plenary sessions of the delegations ended effectively. 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 replied: "The oath of allegiance."

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

But Collins's suggested "union of constitutions" was not at all what Lloyd George wanted. He had only some days in which to extract an unequivocal statement of 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 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. Chamberlain 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 study.

British representatives met at 6.45 p.m. and Chamberlain gave an account of the discussion with Griffith and Collins at 4.30. 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 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 replied . . .

This is what Tom Jones recorded in his Diary in July, 1921. He was writing to 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, Chamberlain, 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: except 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 impose tariff barriers against Britain. This settlement was to be embodied in a Treaty; and the treaty 'must allow for full recognition of the existing powers and privileges of the Government of Northern Ireland which cannot be abrogated except by their own consent'. Ulster was to come in of her own free will, if she wished. The document expressly stated

De Valera warned: the alternative must be war

all existing powers and possibly more on condition she accepted the position of a provincial legislature and came into the Central Dublin Parliament.

They were prepared to admit Ulster representatives to full membership of Dublin Parliament—not an "in and out" arrangement.

Representation—proportion between Northern and Southern Ireland as in present Act.

Area—They thought present division impracticable. Nor would they cut off whole province of Ulster—which was no more an economic unit than the Six Counties.

Attorney said economic boundary need not coincide with the political.

They said they would not allow homogeneous Catholic districts which did not wish 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 said no.

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

Griffith said they could not recommend allegiance to the King unless they got the unity of Ireland.

Winston Churchill: We can't

give way on six counties; we are not free agents; we can do our best to include Six in larger Parliament plus autonomy. We could press Ulster to hold autonomy for Six from them instead of from us.

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

Winston: I don't see how Ulster is damaged; she gets her own protection, an effective 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. If 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 proposal is put Ulster on one side and ask S.F. for their views in

writing. They have been given the Six's conditions.

Birkenhead: I agree with P.M.

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 Commons. I told the P.M. that Griffith and Collins would be 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 and Collins so as to secure as much agreement as possible before it got into the hands of Childers.

(Note: Griffith and Collins feared that Childers was supplementing Griffith's own daily reports on the negotiations to De Valera with 'watch-dog' submissions of his own. Lloyd George looked on Childers as a fanatical convert to Republicanism and believed that he exerted an influence on De Valera that

would be the mistake of trying to put pressure on Ulster to accept any arrangement 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 am still unconsciously influenced by the old party feeling, but I do not think so.

T.E. wrote to Bonar Law on 22 July, 1921, putting the best case he could on what had taken place.

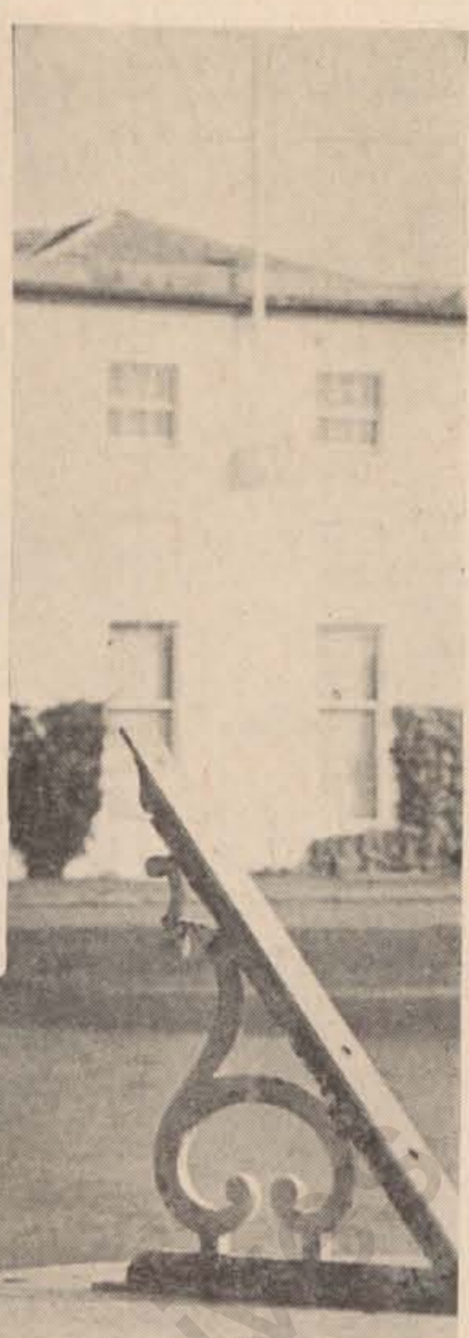
"But it is Ireland that has prompted me to write to you today. De Valera left for Dublin this morning having had four long interviews with the P.M. He was supposed to be carrying in his pocket the 'British proposals' but as a matter of fact he had left them behind yesterday at No. 10 and I recovered them this morning and am sending 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 his.

P.M.'s account is that De V. is not a big man but he is a sincere man, a white man and an agreeable personality. He has a limited vocabulary, talks chiefly of ideals, and constantly recurs to the same few domin-



1918-1925 The 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.



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

would overrule all chance of settlement.

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 unequivocal answers on the main issues. 'If this is not done it makes it very difficult for my Unionist colleagues who, we must remember, have been fighting this business for the last 30 years.' I agreed that there ought to be no cloudiness on the main issues but that there was no reason why we should not phrase the document to the Sinn 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. Cope brought Duggan here. Duggan is the Chief Liaison Officer of the Irish Delegation. He was perturbed about the P.M.'s speech in Parliament on Monday and wanted to be assured that the contents of 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 representatives, before sending in their reply, wish to be assured that (1) no reference to the terms of their reply will be made on Monday; (2) no indication of any modification of the Irish position which has taken place in the

negotiations to be made on Monday.'

In other words, the agreement as to secrecy to be maintained by both sides.

Frightened

I had then some general talk on the situation with Duggan, who is a transparently honest man. I sought to impress upon him the critical importance, in view of the political situation, of securing unequivocal answers on allegiance, common citizenship and naval defence. He said they could not go further than recommend 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 if their answer were circulated to Ministers its contents would leak over to Ireland.

29th October: Saturday morning, 10. 'Phoned to Chequers via Sir William Sutherland (Parliamentary Secretary to Lloyd George), who was there, giving Duggan's message.

H.D. Went over to see Hamar Greenwood and found that the P.M. had rung him up to ask 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 a new speech required from the P.M.

He then agreed that the assurance could be given and I was about to 'phone this to the P.M. when a message came to the Irish Office saying that the P.M. authorised the assurance to be given. I telephoned this to Childers and confirmed it later by letter. I told Childers on the 'phone that of course the P.M.

would be free to refer to the British proposals and he remarked 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 communiqué and the Lord Chancellor and the P.M., was annoyed there had been no official communiqué about him and Chamberlain.

However, Childers would not agree as in his view 'it was inspiring the press.' I also told Childers to send me only 2 copies of their reply as a special precaution 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 inquiries by phone from various quarters about the reply.

At last at 2.45 it arrived and I was proceeding to turn it into Welsh (as a precaution against telephone listening-in) and had gone about one-third of the way when I was called to the phone to find the P.M. at the other end. I gave him the first three paragraphs in excellent Welsh and then began to get to the paragraphs 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 were no doubt his.

I then took the document to Hamar Greenwood. He is the only colonial in the Cabinet and his attitude to the demands of the Irish is very much more instinctively sympathetic than that



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 precedent 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, however, and the whole he thought the reply marked an advance.

When we 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 us.'

I ventured to suggest that there were some hopeful sentences in the reply, that they were creeping 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 Putnam's Villas, Bray, Co. Wick, who will join his fellow "brothers" tomorrow at a Concelebrated Mass on which the chief celebrant will be Most Rev. Dr. Evangelist McBride, O.F.M., Bishop of Korkstad, South Africa. The Archbishop of Dublin, Most Rev. Dr. McQuaid will 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 the world and 40,000 in Ireland.

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

They are: Joseph Scallan, of St. Malachy's Road, Glasnevin; Jeremiah O'Connor, Mount Prospect Avenue, Clontarf; Stephen Byrne of Oxmantown Road; Daniel Cannon of St. Audon's Terrace; Anthony Short, Wellington Quay; Patrick Egan of Cromwell Road, Crumlin; James Keogh, Stradbroke Road, Blackrock; Michael Hegarty of Larkfield Gardens, John McGuigan, Butterfield Avenue, Rathfarnham; William Oman of Griffith Avenue Drumcondra, all of Dublin.

On Sunday next there will be a Concelebrated Mass in the Capuchin Church at Church Street, Dublin. A lecture on the relevance of the Third Order today will be given by Rev. Anselmus Andrews at Colaiste Mhàire, Parnell Square, Dublin, on October 24.

Dom Idesbald Rylandt

Dom Idesbald Rylandt, who has died in the Abbey of Maredsous, Belgium, was Prior at Glendalough, Co. Limerick, during the second world war.

While attached to the Benedictine community there he contributed to the expansion of the community and the school. Many of his best known books which 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." Pope Paul recently referred to Dom Rylandt as one of the great Benedictine spiritual writers of the century.

An offer of dominion status

that the Irish state would exist within the British Empire; thus excluding the possibility of a Republic and safeguarding the symbol and practice of monarchy.

Such a document would have been inconceivable a year before. But the Sinn Fein leaders left no doubt that they were unsatisfied. Back in Dublin, in meetings of the Dáil Cabinet, the division between Stack, Brugha, and Barton, defending the full claim for a Republic and wholly opposed to partition, and Collins and Griffith, becoming 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 loyalty.

All for peace

"Thank you very much for your long and interesting letter. The real difficulty of the Irish business will prove now as always in the past, to be Ulster. I greatly fear that De Valera will find it impossible to treat Ulster as entirely outside his sphere and on the other hand I am sure that no settlement can be carried in England which imposes anything on the new Ulster Parliament which they do not freely accept. If anyone can carry it, it is the P.M., and success would be almost as big as winning the war.

"The longing for peace on both sides of the Channel is a strong lever but I am afraid of the partition difficulty. Personally, now that the Unionists in the South are all for agreement with Sinn Fein, I would give the South anything or almost anything, but I would not attempt to force anything on Ulster, 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 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 probably influenced me more than anything else was the conviction 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 sides better than anyone probably, but I earnestly hope he will not make what I am sure

would be the mistake of trying to put pressure on Ulster to accept any arrangement 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 am still unconsciously influenced by the old party feeling, but I do not think so.

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 squabbles.

"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

ating notions. He agreed to drop 'the Republic', the P.M. telling him that there was no Irish or Welsh word for it, and therefore it was alien to the spirit of the Celt! He was willing to be within the Empire, to recognise the King, to go without a Navy.

"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 another interview with the P.M. during which De V., while not accepting our proposals, agreed to make counter-proposals after consulting his colleagues. I think this means that he is not unfavourable to the proposals in substance, but must try and bring his left wing along with him.

Michael Collins is all right but some of the gunmen will be irreconcilable. Meanwhile the Hierarchy, the press, and all moderate opinion in Ireland is yearning for peace, and when De V. reaches Dublin he will come under this influence, it is hoped. Barton, I found a reasonable man—educated at Oxford, landowner, Protestant, joined up in the war, and lost two brothers in it. Erskine Childers I thought to be on the edge of a breakdown.

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 the negotiation table.



Irish Independent

Vol. 80, No. 239

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1971

Price 3½p

TODAY'S WEATHER

Mild or close, with some rain or drizzle in places. Fog in some areas.

(See Back Page)

The North and the terrible choice facing Collins



THE settlement of the "Irish Question" and the pressing rival claims of the Republicans and the Unionists, came close to breaking British Premier Lloyd George in the last, fateful days of October 50 years ago.

The wily 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 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.

Jones recalls how he told Collins 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 1 left Collins feeling "flat and disappointed," according to the Jones 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 Six.

Tragedy of missing two words in the Treaty

by IRISH INDEPENDENT STAFF REPORTER

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

Lt-Gen. MacEoin, who was commenting on the "Whitehall Diary" 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 Down."

The Boundary Clause of the Treaty, he said, was based on that of the Treaty of Versailles which allowed for such a plebiscite 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 the Irish Independent on obtaining the serial rights of the "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 secretary 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 said, "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 spokesman said a bullet had hit her leg, but she had been discharged 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 soon after the incident and searched unsuccessfully for the guerrilla.

An explosion caused slight 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 was thrown at a British Saracen

car in the Ardoyne area of Belfast. The vehicle was at the junction of Butler and Flax Streets when the bomb was thrown. An Ardoyne resident said the military had opened fire on the bomber with automatic weapons. The man had escaped, unhurt.

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

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

Earlier, about 20 rounds of high velocity and tracer ammunition were fired at the British billet 1 nthe Flax St. Mill. No one was hit.

Police protection for visitors to the internment camp was demanded last night by Mr. Michael J. Keogh, M.P., who said that strong Paisleyite 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 husbands 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 yesterday 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

operation was mounted because the British believe the rush-hour 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 incident at Celtic Park where a civilian also was reported injured.

A bomb, planted outside the Liverpool and Ardrossan passenger terminal in Donegal 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 apprehended.

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 dispute there are about 15,000 inpatients.

There are a number of matters in dispute, principally the failure of the Health Boards to eliminate 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 yesterday 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 organisations.

"But this does not and cannot satisfy the nurses who have been very patient for a long time," said Mr. Browne. "There had to be a line drawn."

There have been three meetings of the Joint Industrial Council and there is another one next week which will consider the matter again. The unions understood, following a meeting of the I.L.C. 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.

40 rifles taken in shop raid

FOUR young men walked into the sports shop of Mr. John Carrigan, High Street, Kilkenny, last night, tied up the proprietor 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.

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

Mr. Carrigan and his assistant remained helpless for some hours before the Gardaí were eventually alerted and a full-scale search was mounted through the south-east for the raiders.

Mr. Carrigan and his assistant were stated to be shocked and a Garda spokesman said that the shop would not open for business today as a full investigation would be carried out.

The men were unmasked during the raid and the Gardaí set up roadblocks and visited houses in the county.

Fatal crash

near Kinnegad

Mr. Terence Desmond Reynolds, of Allinlee, Co. Longford, was killed early yesterday when the car he was driving hit a pillar at the side of the road, about two miles from Kinnegad, Co. Westmeath.

School bus appeal

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 Mullingar.

O'Malley moves in 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 yesterday against expecting any changes in the Church's doctrines to emerge from the synod of bishops now meeting in Rome.

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

The Pope was addressing pilgrims in St. Peter's Basilica while the 211 bishops taking part 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 proceedings on closed-circuit television.

In his address at St. Peter's, the Pope once again defended the Church's hierarchical structure against the many modern priests and laymen who resent the imposition of authority from above.

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 said.

"We should not even imagine the possibility of changes, evolutions 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 saying that the synod risks becoming "a repressive operation."

Mr. O'Malley made his brief statement following the decision 24 hours earlier by a mass meeting of Gardaí 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 private negotiations. But he did not spell out what he meant exactly, or if indeed this was a change from normal procedure.

Earlier in the day the simmering dispute in the Force was discussed 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 surprising 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 statement 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 ransom.

The Minister commented on Tuesday night that the statement was open to a number of interpretations.

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 the meeting of the Body.

MOTHER OF TEN DIES AFTER FIRE

A CO. LIMERICK mother of 10 children who rushed into a blazing outhouse at her home at Adare to rescue her four-year-old son, Niall, whom she thought was trapped inside, died in St. Finbarr's Hospital, Cork, yesterday.

Neighbours discovered her son playing gaily a short distance away after Mrs. Eileen Burke ran through the flames in the 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 undergoing treatment but was removed to St. Finbarr's Hospital in Cork for further treatment last Tuesday.

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

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

Nurse Mary O'Callaghan out of the window of her home and saw the Kearns house ablaze at Sherlock Terrace just across the street. She and her husband Bernard rushed out and brought the elderly woman and the child to safety. Mrs. Nuala Kearns 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 damaged and the family lost a lot of personal property.

Mr. O'Callaghan said later:

MOTHER OF TEN DIES AFTER FIRE

"When we saw the house on fire my husband and I ran out. I got inside and brought the lady and the child out. I took the mto the hospital in Drogheda. My hands were scorched a little but I am alright now."

Neighbours on the scene praised the courage of the Skerries couple during the rescue attempt.

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 night.

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 to be completely uninformed about what is happening along the Border. Many pigs are coming to factories here from the North."

A 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 report on page 13.

Leaving Cert. crux

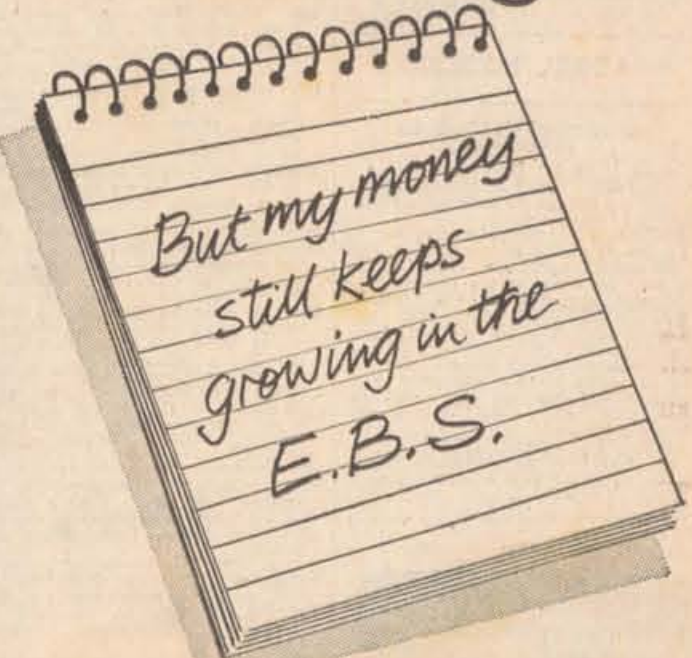
EIGHTEEN students at the Drumshanbo Vocational School are still unable to sit for the Leaving Certificate, according to the Department of Education.

Efforts to get the Department to change its decision have apparently failed as a letter reaffirming its decision has been received by the Leitrim County Vocational Education Committee.

While giving official approval 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 representatives of the committee and the parents of the students.

In the meantime, the Drumshanbo Post-Primary Parents' Association has asked Dail deputies of the area to arrange a deputation with the Minister. The Association also asked the Taoiseach to use his prerogative, 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. Higinis, Sligo, as the fathers of the majority of the students from the coal-mining districts of Arigna and Sleaveanerin are members of the union.

The leaves are falling!



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Irish Independent. DUBLIN, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1971. Telephone Nos. 46841 (14 lines) Reporters 46121 (10 lines) Small Advertisements 717111 Feast of the Day: B.V.M. of the Rosary

A WISE CHOICE. 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.

BELL'S SCOTCH WHISKY. Afore ye go

Do the charter airlines force down fares?

By JOHN HEALY, Our Air Correspondent. CHEAP CHARTER FLIGHTS were branded "parasitic"—existing only by carving out pieces of markets created by the advertising and the services of scheduled airlines—at an aviation society meeting in Dublin last night.

Treaty's two-words tragedy

Continued from Page One of the Irish delegation were "disloyal" to their colleagues. "Thirdly," he added "the British side had had the advantage of having the experience of the Versailles talks behind them."

Quits Cavan Council and Fianna Fail

MR. TIMOTHY MURPHY, one of the two Fianna Fail members of Cavan Urban Council, has resigned his seat on the Council and has also resigned from the Fianna Fail party.

Minister ends shipping grants

A MAJOR row was brewing last night following the Government's decision to cancel grants to Irish Shipowners. In surprise announcement the Minister for Transport and Power, Mr. Lenihan, said he was ending the Shipping Investment Grants Scheme.

More for milk, butter demand by ICMSA

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



TO ALL WITH LOVE—Former world heavyweight boxing champion, Muhammad 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 WALSH. THE BISHOP OF MEATH, Most Rev. Dr. McCormack, has rapped local authorities for their "failure" to make adequate provision for young work.

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 Donnysbrook Church, Dublin, since September 26 last; Mini Traveller, 1121 M.M.; Cortina, KSY 777, from Clondalkin, Co. Dublin, since September 20; Cortina AZL 239; blue Triumph, since September 29; Mini Traveller, IAI 853, since Sunday night; light blue Ford Cortina, DZO 597; blue Morris Mini, SDI 985.

Shot gun case: man remanded

Raymond Hanlon (32), unemployed, of Mellows Avenue, Finlagan, Dublin, was remanded in custody, with consent to bail, by Justice Brennan, at Kildinane Court, Dublin, yesterday when he was charged with having a shotgun with intent to endanger life or cause serious injury to property on October 5 last at Barry Rd., Finlagan.

World weather

The following were weather conditions and temperatures at these centres yesterday: Paris: 23C (72F), sunny. Rome: 15 (59), sunny. London: 17 (63), sunny. Berlin: 13 (55), sunny. Amsterdam: 17 (63), clear. 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), cloudy. Honolulu: 30 (86), clear. Toronto: 21.1 (70), clear. Rio de Janeiro: 27.2 (81), rain.

Today's television and radio guide

Table with columns for R.T.E. TV, B.B.C. TV-1, UTV, and R.N.V. listing various programs like 'For Schools', 'Labour Party Conference', 'The Romper Room', etc.

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Crashed into shop

A double-decker C.I.E. bus being towed from Blarney to Cork city crashed into a chemist shop at Blackpool Bridge about a mile from the city centre yesterday morning.

Government notices

LEGAL NOTICES, PUBLIC NOTICES, TENDERS, ETC., -PAGES 2 & 25.

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PARTITION



THE 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.

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 reasonable compromise was 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 there had been a meeting between the Prime Minister, Chamberlain, Birkenhead, Griffith and Collins. Collins admitted to 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 suggested 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 draft.

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, Griffith 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 draft.

At the close of the meeting I told the P.M. about Collins's disappointment and he remarked that they must be satisfied at present with the nominal unity of the whole of Ireland and that it would take time to make it real. 6.45 — Met at No. 10, The P.M., Chamberlain, Birkenhead, Griffith and Collins. Lasted till 8.15. I sat outside gossiping with children who is an intense republican. He is 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 assurance".

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.m. 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 include 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 form of Ireland were denied in unity or in fact", which was struck out at a meeting at 11.30 a.m. on November 2 between Griffith, Collins, and Birkenhead.

Sir. On my 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.

give you personal assurance in relation to these matters.

I assured you in reply that, provided I was so satisfied, I was prepared to recommend a free partnership of Ireland with the other States associated within the British Commonwealth, the formula defining the partnership to be arrived at in later discussion. I was, on the same condition, prepared to recommend that Ireland should consent to a recognition of the Crown as head of the proposed association of free States.

As to Naval Defence, I noted the assurance contained in your memorandum of October 27th to the effect that—

"The objects of the British Government in regard to the Navy and the Air Force will remain purely defensive. None of these stipulations is intended in the smallest degree to afford either armed occupation or political control of any part of Ireland."

I stated that this attitude of mine was conditional on the recognition of the essential unity of Ireland. As to the North-East of Ireland (while reserving for further discussion the question of area) I would agree to any necessary safeguards (and to the maintain-

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 for a letter giving certain "personal assurances" that would prevent a breakdown in the negotiations and ensure that the Government would not be defeated in the censure vote facing it in the Commons on the Monday.

One of the most important revelations in Tom Jones's book is that all the Irish delegates agreed in advance to the famous Griffith letter 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 debate—thus ensuring the continuance of the Treaty negotiations—but it did not get Sir James Craig, afterwards Lord Craigavon and first

aid of existing Parliamentary powers), and would agree that its 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 an agreed arbitrator.

The acceptance of this letter gave 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 diehard opposition at the Party Conference, left Lloyd George with very little room to manoeuvre.

November 7, Monday — Arranged 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 an 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 over our offer down. This means, therefore, a break on Thursday. I would like you to see Griffith and Collins and prepare them for it. 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 expressed my disappointment and said that I always knew he was fanatical on Ulster but that I thought with peace in sight he would take a statesman's view on the situation.

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 Fein 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 barrier 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 expanded column in the Daily Express and in none of the other papers.

This was the first mention of the Boundary Commission and the way in which Lloyd George suggested it must re-open all the arguments on whether it was intended to ensnare the Irish delegation. Tom Jones's book rejects the idea that a ruse was intended.

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 delimit the area).

Although there was no pledge to actually accept it, Griffith's assurance implicitly conveyed one. Later Lloyd George imparted 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-

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

But the tragedy of it, viewed in cold retrospect, was this: whereas Griffith saw substantial gains for the South evolving from a Boundary Commission, if all went to all, his "assurance not

to obstruct the Boundary Commission proposal," was seen by Chamberlain, setting off for the Liverpool conference, as not just a tactical manoeuvre (as Margery Forester stresses in her recent biography of Michael Collins). Indeed, it was accepted by Chamberlain as "a firm undertaking to allow Ulster to opt out of any settlement, subject only to the findings of a Boundary Commission (not necessarily involving significant changes in area of benefit to the South)."

Thus revealed again was the



Michael Collins leaves Downing Street after negotiations with Lloyd George.

Drama in Room 125

BY Tuesday November 8, 1921 the Treaty negotiations seemed to have reached breaking point. In Room 125 of the Grosvenor 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 in hand. 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 accordingly.

I pointed out that if the Prime Minister resigned it was impossible for the Treaty to go into effect. 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 they thought of it. Griffith said that they preferred a plebiscite.

Collins did not like the suggestion at all because it sacri-

ficed unity entirely. I agreed, but what was the alternative? Chaos, Crown Colony Government, Civil War.

We were bound to try every device to avert that. Griffith was not alarmed at the proposal and I left promising to sound the P.M. upon it and give them a reply at 3.0 on the following day.

5.0 Conference of Ministers at 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

of Ireland. I have told the King. I have told my wife, who fully agrees with me, and I have told my secretaries today that there may be someone else here next week. My colleagues say they will stand by me and won't take office in an alternative Government but they did that at the last crisis, half a dozen of them and within three days of their saying so I was putting the nose bags of office round their necks. Curzon, L. W.-E. and Baldwin, they will all go over to Bonar if the opportunity comes.

9 November, Wednesday, 3.0. Saw Griffith and Duggan at Room 125 at the Grosvenor Hotel . . . I then told Griffith that the Prime Minister was prepared to play the Boundary Commission as an absolutely last card if he could feel sure that Sinn Fein would take it, if Ulster accepted. Griffith replied — "It is not our proposal, but if the Prime Minister cares to make it we would not make his position impossible. We cannot give him a pledge but we will not turn him down on it. We are not going to queer his pitch. We would prefer a plebiscite, but in essentials a Boundary Commission is very much the same. It would have to be not for Tyrone and Fermanagh only but for the Six Counties."

I said that was enough for me and that they could rest assured that he would put up the

The tragedy

sheer cunning and political adroitness of Lloyd George, who was able to use the document as proof of an undertaking by the Irish not to obstruct a settlement because of the North of Ireland issue.

In today's extracts from the book we see, too, how the threat of Lloyd George resigning had a significant bearing on the outlook of the Irish delegation, who feared that if Bonar Law took his place, he would prove more hostile to Irish interests . . .

Now let Tom Jones continue the story . . .

Reverting to the Prime 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 frankly that the official Reply did in fact mean acknowledgment of allegiance, common citizenship and Imperial Defence?

I outlined the draft of such a letter, but he was certain that the Irish Delegation would fear publication sooner or later of such a letter. Duggan would prefer 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.

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

I went back to No. 2, got Cope over, told him to get in touch with Duggan and fix up the interview. I impressed on Cope the critical importance of persuading the Irish to deliver the goods that night and of putting the Prime Minister in an untenable 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 Shake-speare went to fetch the P.M. in his car and the P.M. remarked to him that the interview had been much to the satisfaction and that it would be necessary for him to recast his House of Commons speech.

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Spoke for an hour

31 October. Throughout the day the P.M. busy on his speech and inaccessible. Hankey went up to his bedroom early in the forenoon, but he was sleeping, with the papers scattered all over the bed. I went over about 11.0 and saw Mr. Worthington-Evans and shed him the Irish reply.

He observed at once on reading it "I like it. They are coming along." They will presently say—"O King."

I told him I agreed with this interpretation and that with care we would pull through, especially if it would help with Chamberlain . . .

At 4.0 went to the Official Gallery to hear the Debate and remained there until 11.0. The P.M. spoke for 1 hour exactly. He was plain from the beginning that he was making heavy weather among not only the diehards but the general body of Unionists and on the charge that he had declared he would not negotiate with murderers he was on his very incense. He got off with his usual ingenuity by pointing out that not one of the Irish delegation had been legally convicted of murder and that it was an elementary maxim of British justice to assume innocence until convicted. He painted the alternative of reconquest in very grave tones, but finished up with a fine sentence about the Empire transforming 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 439 to 43, and after the Divisions the P.M., Chamberlain, F.E. and others met and decided to resume negotiations next morning with Griffith and Collins.

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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 reporting to his Cabinet colleagues on Nov. 10, 1921.



Mr. O'Callaghan on Northern Ireland... "Internment is indefensible. I believe there are many people interned who should not be interned."

Now, it's a tripartite Labour talk on North

By JIM NICOLL in Brighton
A TRIPARTITE Commission of the British Labour Party, the Irish 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 talks.

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 Wedgwood 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, with some 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 and the creation of an atmosphere conducive to arriving at a fair and just settlement."

"If the National Executive thought that there was the slightest chance of this being achieved it would have no hesitation in accepting the resolution."

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 order "to preserve peace between the communities."

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 to 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.

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.

The British Government, Mr. Callaghan accused, had allowed the situation to deteriorate by failing to act as swiftly as they should.

LOATHESOME WEAPON
Dealing with internment, he said, it was a loathsome weapon: sanctioned by no peaceful or just society, contrary to the sense of natural justice and forbidden under the universal declaration of Human Rights.

Internment 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 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 Mr. Faulkner. He would prefer to see a Commonwealth judge in charge. This "would result in the release of a large number of people."

It was vitally important that political initiatives should go along with the release of internees.

Time lag in probe problem
Garda 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 Ladbroke 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-ton truck.

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 the direction of Grosvenor Road.

At the same time troops fired rubber bullets to disperse a crowd of youths at Springfield Road and shortly afterwards Army marksmen fired on a sniper on a roof top at the junction of Springfield Road - Monagh Road.

THERE IS no doubt in the minds of the detectives investigating the explosion at the Four Step Inn on the Shankill Road 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 Protestant 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 "incredible".

Mr. Paisley had called for more arms for the R.U.C. to deal with the present situation. It was absolutely ludicrous that policemen 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 negotiate freely on behalf of the people of the North.

ARISING out of riots and explosions in the Strabane and Castleterragh areas damages amounting to £7,086 in 22 claims were awarded at Tyrone Co. Court in Strabane yesterday. The remainder were adjourned to the next sittings. St. Mary's Women's Institute was awarded £2,275 for 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 May 7.

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 Middleton 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 detonator.

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 spokesman for the Northern Government said no direct approaches would be made regarding the incident from Stormont. However, since the P.M., Mr. Faulkner, 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 jailed for 12 years

A YOUNG couple accused of causing an explosion at Robbs Store, Belfast, on the morning of July 12 last, were each jailed for twelve years by Mr. Justice Gibson at Belfast City Commission yesterday.

They are William McGuigan, (28) a process operator of Churchill St., Belfast and Susan Isabel Loughran, a 22 year-old typist of New Lodge Road. Both denied the charges in statements.

At yesterday's 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."

Loughran did not reply to any of the charges.

Mr. Garrett McGrath O.C., defending, told Mr. Justice Gibson when the hearing began that he and his junior counsel, Mr. Gerry Harty, and instructing solicitor, Mr. Paddy McGroarty, had been dismissed from the case.

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 totalling £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 made.

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 persons. 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 extradition 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 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 they had left their northern homes to "escape" the internment net. There appears to have been doubt that at least some of them had "escaped," that they might not have been on internment lists. They were, however, put under surveillance and have been watched while they remained.

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.

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 be 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 "horrifying figures" showed that Mr. Lynch was taking no steps to stop gelignite being taken 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 for 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 blown up and made impassable and remaining roads be properly 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, there were 20 explosions (144 lb. used).

Our Political Correspondent, CHRIS GLENNON, writes: Gelignite raids on quarries and building sites in the Republic have caused considerable concern 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 Gairdal, who would supervise the removal of explosives for specific, legitimate purposes.

It is not seriously disputed that some gelignite crossed the border. Neither is it seriously disputed that, apart from tightening the security measures to control storage places, little 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 which is taking place today is registering in the minds of children.

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 yesterday.

During the debate on the Emergency Provisions Bill to 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 withheld for rent or rates unpaid. Debts could also be deducted from Agricultural subsidies and social security payments, he said.

Mr. Taylor claimed that many of the people withholding rent and rates were being intimidated and pressurised into a "sham solidarity". "This state of affairs poisons people's lives and it is one which no community should tolerate," he said.

He said the vast majority of the strikers would be "caught in the net of State payments".

Mr. Paisley said, "This campaign will do more to erode the 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."

"You simply keep your money. This will bring thousands to the ranks of those who want to bring down this State by subversion."

Troops 'resented'
MR. JOHN HUME, M.P., 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 regarding the shooting incident in Bishop St. last Sunday night in which a young girl was seriously wounded, was to be welcomed.

AN EMERGENCY resolution on the North is to be put to the Conservative Party Conference next week.

well done ISOPON

USE IT ON TRICKY REPAIRS LIKE THESE - FOR A PERFECT FINISH

well done ISOPON

FILLER PASTE KITS GLASS FIBRE KITS from motor accessories and do-it-yourself shops

EASTERN HEALTH BOARD
CHILDREN'S ACTS 1908-1957

Need for prior notice to Health Boards for placement and reception of children

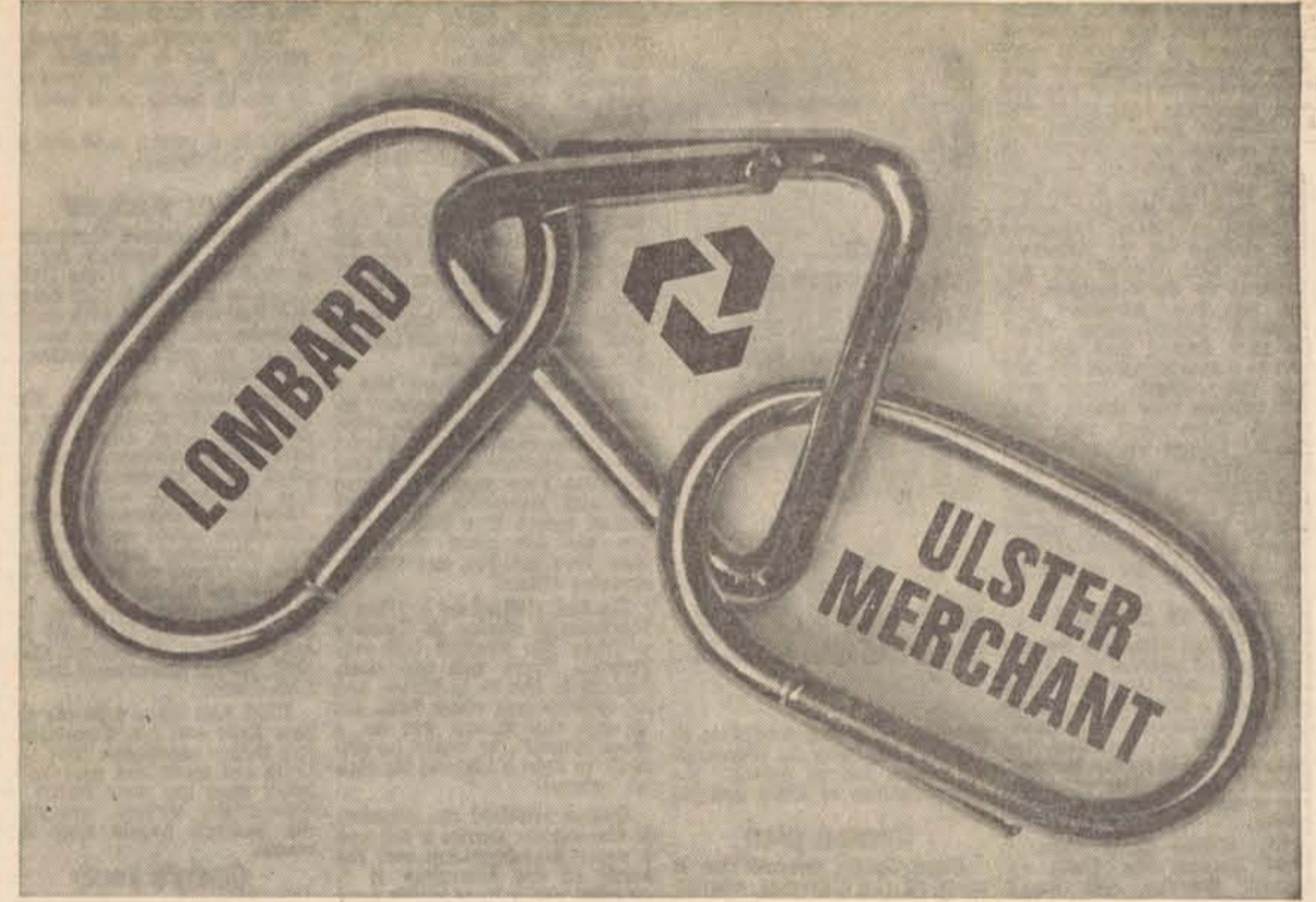
People who place or receive children for nursing and maintenance or who place certain children in employment are obliged to give advance notice to the local Health Board.

For placements in the Dublin area notification should be sent to— Welfare Department, Eastern Health Board, 1 James's Street, Dublin 8.	For placements in Co. Kildare notifications should be sent to— The Staff Officer, Eastern Health Board, Basin Street, Naas, Co. Kildare.	For placements in Co. Wicklow notifications should be sent to— The Staff Officer, Eastern Health Board, Kilmartin Hill, Wicklow.
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Breach of the Act are punishable by fine or imprisonment.

THE ONLY reform which is ultimately worthwhile is the creation of a non-sectarian Government based on a non-sectarian party because "from that all other reforms flow," Mr. Bob Cooper, joint chairman of the Alliance Party's political committee, said in Ballymena last night.

SIX CANDIDATES from three different parties, Unionist, S.D.L.P. and the Alliance Party were yesterday nominated for the two vacant seats on Strabane Urban Council. The election was brought about by the resignation of one Unionist and the death of another. Polling day is Thursday, October 21.



New 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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GO GREYHOUND RACING TONIGHT

Hillery tells

UN of 50-year bid for 'dignity'

"FOR 50 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 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," he said.

"The violence and bloodshed in Ireland are not of our seeking or of our making and 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 been a 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 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 years. "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 community 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 contrary, we are convinced that political power, and the moral power of a community — its ability to transform into facts — lies in the capacity of people to act together

in concert. We trust that in 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 regard as the indispensable foundations for progress and the promotion of a national society informed by the purposes and principles of the Charter.

"The establishment of justice

and the consolidation of peace in the North of Ireland fall within the power and responsibility of another member State — Great Britain. We do not doubt Britain's consent to these aspirations. But consent to values demands 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, both 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.

"In my view what we have there is a confrontation because of political and social problems, complicated by the exploitation of a religious factor.

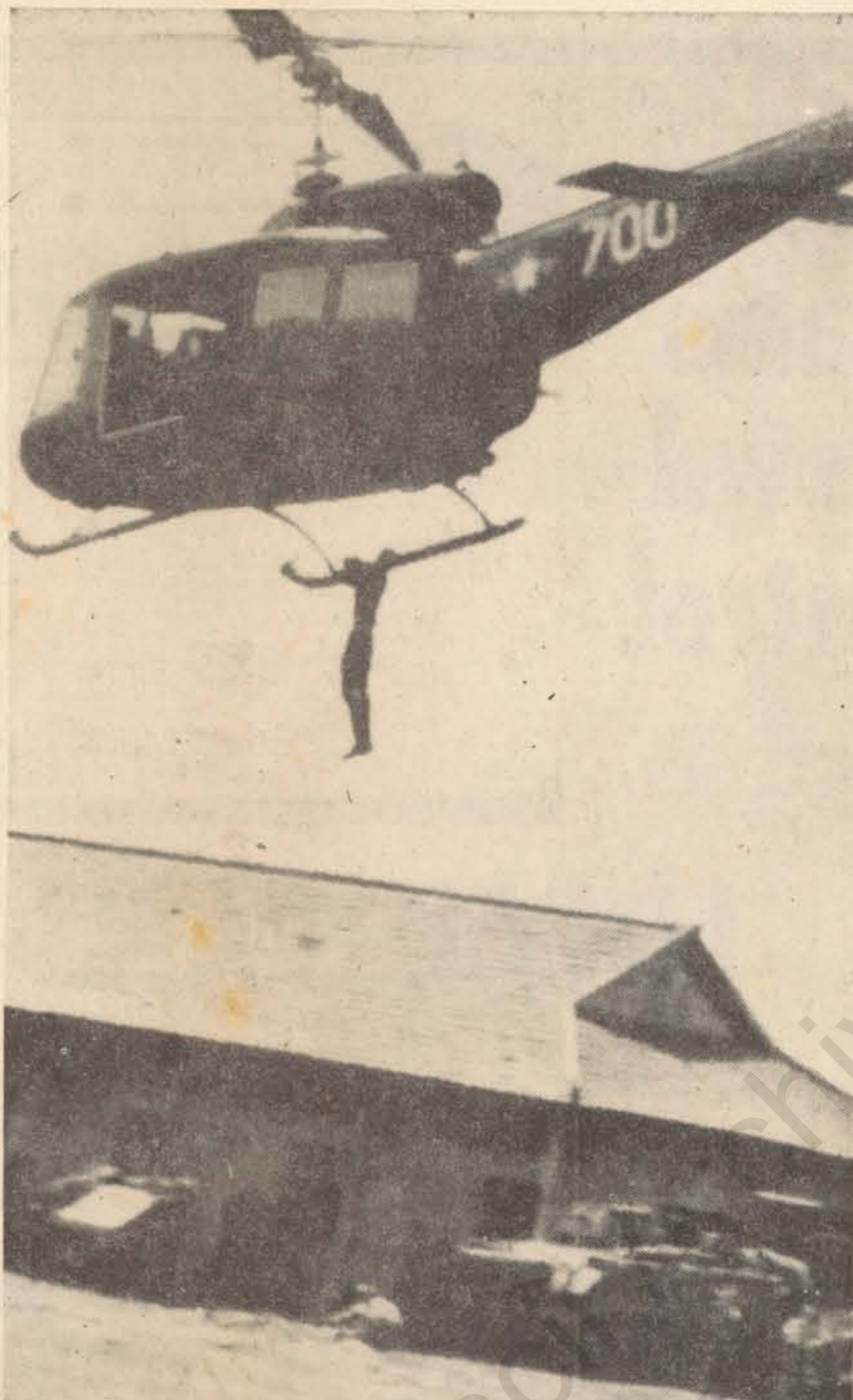
"Confrontation, particularly within national societies, is not simply a manifestation of anarchic forces at work still less the result of doctrinal differences. It is much more likely to arise when the existing political or administrative structure fails to provide the means of effective democratic participation 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 campaign of violence has its cause in the growing frustration of the minority in the North at the failure of the reform programme to afford them substantial redress."

"British troops have been used in one-sided 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 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 the 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 outside this Organisation."



● Hangings on for dear life... A slightly wounded South Vietnamese soldier hangs on to a helicopter skid, which he grabbed as it took off with wounded soldiers at Krok, Cambodia. The pilot landed the craft soon after seeing his extra passenger, and the trooper took a normal seat for the remainder of the flight to hospital.

Bid to save textile industry

By JOHN DEVINE
Our Industrial Correspondent

TARIFF protection for the Irish textile industry to save it from "annihilation" has been called for by the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union National Group Secretary, Mr. Michael Gannon.

On Monday next he will lead 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 Agreement.

He wants "dumping" from Britain and from other countries, 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 pressing the Minister for Labour, Mr. Brennan, for urgent measures to be taken on the employment situation generally.

He has asked for a meeting with 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 unemployment 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-

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. Gannon 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 employees, 215 of whom are men, will be phased out beginning in about two weeks' time. This firm is in the Seaford GenTex Group.

Loughrea Cotton, a member of the Courtaulds group, has announced that 41 of its 100 employees 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 Barneyvee told the union that 40 people are to be declared redundant. They employ 600. If trade does not improve the rest of the employees 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 redundant.

Wairside Mills of Athlone appointed a receiver on Friday last and the 73 employees sacked, 39 of them being re-employed this week on a day-to-day basis. The total work force will become redundant. The Seaford 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 is expected.

Fleadh for Boyle

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 Ceoltóirí Éireann, 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. Listowel branch of Comhaltas is to apply for that event.

ANSWER TIME

(Questions on opposite page)
1—Ned Kelly. 2 A man elected by his workshop colleagues to act as their spokesman. 3—Richard Strauss. 4—Bikini.

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 high for parents of limited means, said Right Rev. D. A. R. Caird, Bishop of Limerick, addressing the Diocesan Synod, yesterday.

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 withholding rent. The Combined Tenants' Association, which represents seven independent organisations involving 1,500 households and 1,700 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 pensioners, 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 Association, said they were completely opposed to the new system.

Irish bank in New York

Irish banking secured a foothold in the United States yesterday with the opening of a representative 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. 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 overseas.

The New York office would concentrate on serving Irish 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 informed representatives of the Nordic countries he is not interested in succeeding retiring Secretary General U Thant. Scandinavian sources said yesterday, U Thant has announced he will retire at the end of this year.

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CLARE IN THE RUNNING FOR OIL REFINERY

OUTLINE planning permission will be given shortly by the Clare County Council for an oil refinery on a site five miles east of Kilrush and opposite Tarbert, Co. Kerry, in the Shannon Estuary. Five farms comprising 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 believed to be American-based. In June, there was speculation 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 Killpadogue, bordering the Shannon Estuary, was sold for a reported £32,000 and a number of other landowners were approached.

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 planning permission. This, in effect, meant agreement in principle.

Mr. Boland, who is chairman of the Clare County Development Team, said: "The Team has been co-operating with and assisting representatives of an international organisation seeking a possible location for an oil refinery and ancillary petrochemical feed plants. Land for possible use for the same purpose is being acquired elsewhere in Europe on behalf of the organisation and the Devel-

opment Team have been informed that no decision as to the precise location will be made for perhaps another two years."

The chairman of the Clare County Council, Mr. Michael Considine, said: "I feel 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, BZ1 837; green Cortina, BZM 276; car No. CZU 890; blue MG, PZT 897; and car No. BZJ 295.

The following cars have been reported missing to Action Call: Maroon Ford Anglia, CZE 412, from Phibsboro', Dublin, since October 1; blue Escort, EZO 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, LZ0 830, from St. Peter's Road, Phibsboro', Dublin; red van, DVI 952 C; grey Corsair, LZ1 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, since Tuesday last; dark green 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, JIP 323, from Essex Quay, Dublin, since September 29.

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 on our published list, please ring Action Call so that we may inform the owners.

Electrical firm for Ballinasloe

The American electrical company, sitting in Ballinasloe, has been named as the Square D Company from Illinois. They will produce moulded-case circuit 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 company's Irish distributor, Modern Plant Ltd., of Dublin.

Ballinasloe Urban District Council have provided and reconstructed a building to house the project.



A NEW Army Cadet Training 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 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 Camp. Our photograph shows Colonel J. L. Cooney, Director of Engineering, McKee Barracks (second from left), examining the 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.

Oppose rule on Leaving Certificate

By JOHN WALSH
Our Education Correspondent

CHIEF EXECUTIVE Officers of the country's vocational education committees are annoyed with the Department of Education's attitude towards starting Leaving Certificate classes in vocational schools.

At their annual three-day conference in Dun Laoghaire next week they are likely to come out strongly against the Department's ruling which states that prior permission has to be given before the classes can begin.

Three centres are fighting the Department's ruling. Borrisokane, 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 Drumsbanbo, Leitrim. The hope that the Department will relent and a similar dispute continues at Beltrubet, Co. Cavan.



● 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, 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 guns.

Tom Jones gives this information 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 outlined the probable 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 imposing 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 continues: "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 is 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 (which he considers to be an essential step towards the re-establishment in Ireland of the authority of the Provisional Government), the British Govern-

ment will be prepared to provide him with the necessary equipment such as trench mortars for clearing out these strongholds. Collins's attitude towards these proposals will be regarded by Churchill as a test of his good faith and a proof of his willingness to re-establish order even at the cost of bloodshed . . .

Cope was closely cross-examined on the plans of the Free Staters who were asking for more guns to attack certain provincial rebel strongholds. Churchill insisted that Collins must demonstrate his power in Dublin itself and became very excited. Cope was much overwrought and made a very bad show. Ultimately the following decisions were taken:—

- (1) That before further arms (including artillery) are issued to the Provisional Government—other than trench mortars—the British Government must have proof that the Provisional Government means to assert its authority against the insurgents.
- (2) That this proof must be given by definite measures to re-establish their authority in the Capital.

SHORTLY after 4 a.m. on Wednesday, June 28, 1922, two eighteen-pounder field guns opened up across the Liffey at the Four Courts—and if Ireland was not already in a state of open Civil War, there was certainly no going back from that moment.

The Republicans have argued for half a century now that the attack followed an 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 Churchill'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 Provisional Government.

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 decided that resistance to British troops would be good propaganda. The same source states that the ultimatum of the Provisional Government came as

The killings in the North stir Collins's anger . . .

'I will go back to fight with Mulcahy'

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 "incredibly callous" about the whole affair.

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.

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 atmosphere.

They had been discussing an agreed election between the two factions by which was meant that so many seats would be assigned to De Valera and so many to the Free State.

Churchill had written to Collins a strong letter pointing out that this would confirm the view held by their enemies that they did not believe in representative government, and would bring ridicule on the Irish people in the eyes of the world. He (Churchill) had refused further supplies of arms until a conference should meet and a guarantee be got from Collins that he was going to make good use of the guns.

Chamberlain, who had by him my letter about the evacuation of Dublin, put the question to Churchill about the danger of retaining our troops in Dublin and of having them embroiled.

Churchill replied that if we took our troops away he believed a Republic would be declared there.



Liam Mellows, who was with Rory O'Connor in the Four Courts.

We must contemplate having to retain what he called the 'English capital' and perhaps converting it into a 'pale' once more.

27th May, 1922. Conference between British and Irish 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 Commonwealth" was a mere rubber stamp.'

M.C. 'We'll provide the stamp.'

After a few more remarks in this strain I withdrew to the adjoining room where Churchill was vigorously contending for a postponement of the election. 'What difference could the delay of a few days make? If we 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 ministers . . .'

Mr. Chamberlain said hardly a word and looked the picture of misery. Hamar Greenwood was silent.

During the constitutional discussions on 28 May, T. J. told Lloyd George.

The more serious trouble is in the north-east—how to restrain the South and Ulster from flying at each other's throats and plunging into Civil War. I think the North (Henry Wilson and Co.) are forcing this in order to embroil us on their side against the South and get us back into the pre-Treaty position.

Kennedy, the legal adviser of the Provisional Government, suddenly reverted to pre-Treaty claims against the use of the name of the Crown in summoning Parliament or appointing judges and public officials. Deadlock ensued and T. J. once more became the intermediary for Lloyd George.

30 May The P.M. instructed me to go off and see the Irishmen and tell them that Kennedy's formula meant a break if it was persisted in.

T. J. managed to justify the position to Griffith but not to Collins.

Collins was in a most pugnacious mood and his first sentence to me was "This gulf is unbridgeable." He let me

understand that he had started for Dublin that night and was only in London because he had missed his train. He did not believe further meetings would be any good. He found the British Ministers much more hostile than they were during the Treaty negotiations and even the P.M. was incredibly callous about the murders of Ulster Catholics.

I resented this and suggested that what had happened since the Treaty in Ireland was sufficient explanation of 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 to meet the P.M. and Birkenhead.

I gathered afterwards that he had spent the time after leaving Churchill in haranguing his Irish colleagues in most militant terms. I reached Claridge's about 10.15. I was agitated after my struggle with Collins and communicated my anxiety about Collins to the P.M. and concealed nothing of the belligerent mood of Collins and the silence of Griffith. The P.M. said it looked like a break.

Collins over-wrought

Later Tom Jones had an interview with Duggan, one of the Irish delegation, who said the British ought to remember what Collins had gone through during the previous three years. He (Collins) was very highly-strung and over-wrought and sometimes left their own meetings in a rage with his colleagues.

Duggan agreed that it had been a serious blunder to have failed to hold the election immediately after the signing of the Treaty, as since then the situation had deteriorated and their difficulties had vastly increased. The situation had been made very much worse by the British identifying themselves with the "Specials" in the North who, he was 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 £11 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 therefore 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.

How Churchill saw Four Courts attack

a surprise, and that the mines which destroyed the Four Courts had been laid previously with a view to resistance against a British attack only . . .

CHURCHILL'S VIEWS
The day after the attack on the Four Courts—that is on June 29—Winston Churchill summed up the three contingencies to be faced by the British Cabinet:

- (1) It was possible that the Cabinet might give authority to assist the operations of the Free State troops by artillery fire from howitzers situated in Phoenix
- (2) It was possible that the 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 military operation under the orders of H.M. Government.
- (3) There was the possibility which must be considered that Collins's troops would be entirely defeated by the rebels, and

that Dublin would fall into the hands of Rory O'Connor's troops and the Industrial Workers of the World with the debris of the Free State forces and a state of 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 operation strong reinforcements would be necessary and the matter could not seriously be taken in hand until the reinforcements had arrived. In connection with such an operation it would probably be necessary to occupy the "Waterline" in order that more troops might be made available from Ulster for service in Dublin.

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 operation without calling out the reserves.

But on 30 June, O'Connor surrendered with 170 of the Volunteers. The Four Courts building had been mined and was very largely destroyed, with most of the records remaining in the Public Record Office.



The Four Courts building aflame after the guns had opened up across the Liffey at 4 a.m. on Wednesday, June 28, 1922.

TOMORROW: The Battle of Belleek, when Collins went to the brink for the Six County minority.

NEW VILLAGE FOR RETIRED AMERICANS

A PLACE of retirement for wealthy Irish-Americans is to be built on a wooded estate at Castle Leslie, near the oldworld village of Glaslough, Co. Monaghan.

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 estate.

The scheme was announced at Castle Leslie where a party of 20 American real estate agents, on an Irish tour, were taken on a tour of the site.

The agents were guests of Mr. Desmond Leslie at Castle Leslie and were shown the plans for

the new village by Mr. Mark C. Wright, Managing Director of a London firm of property consultants who are involved in the deal.

Key officials of the Irish auctioneering body, the Association of Auctioneers, Valuers, Estate Agents and Livestock Salesmen, were present and the U.S. visitors were formally welcomed at the reception in Castle Leslie by the Association president, Mr. Jim Guinan, Dublin.

One of the founder members of the Irish auctioneering body, Mr. Eamon Brennan, a Co. Monaghan man living in Dublin, said: "This is a

major development and opens the road for much closer co-operation between Irish and American auctioneers."

Said another Co. Monaghan auctioneer, Mr. Oliver Loneragan, Carrickmacross: "The scheme should prove very attractive for many Irish Americans interested in taking up residence in Ireland, especially people who are retired."

Mr. Walter Butler, president of the U.S. auctioneering group, commented: "There is a very big interest in this project and the new village should attract many buyers throughout America."

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 other centers 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 which are 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. Internment and all its trappings 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."

"We call on the Westminster Government, which has the ultimate authority over Northern Ireland, to end internment, reform the legal system and restore to all the citizens the right to a fair and public trial within a reasonable time."

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 little evidence of appeals to the Brown Appeals Board. The Brown tribunal is, frankly, not working."



Provisional I.R.A. leader Joe Cahill, Belfast, (background), addressing the attendance at the 51st commemoration of the death of Sean Treacy in Killeacle cemetery, Co. Tipperary, yesterday.

Memory of Tipperary patriot is honoured

THE 51ST anniversary of the death of Sean Treacy, 3rd Tipperary Brigade I.R.A. leader who was killed in action in Killeacle cemetery, Co. Tipperary yesterday. An oration was delivered by Mr. Michael J. Davern, Cashel, a former Brigade staff officer with Treacy.

A decade of the Rosary in Irish was recited by Rev. Philip Kiely, English Missions, a native of Galbally, Co. Limerick, nephew of the late Jim Scamian who was in the rescue of Sean Hogan at Knocklong. Before the ceremony there was a parade of I.R.A. veterans, Cumann na mBhan and O.N.E. Wreaths from many organisations were laid on the graveside.

There also was a commemoration by members of the National Graves' Association at which Mr. Thomas Malone (Sean Forde) presided. Orations were delivered 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-year-old Mr. Joe Clarke.

10,000 call for an end to violence

ABOUT 10,000 people gathered in Belfast yesterday to show the world that Northern Ireland civilians reject violence.

The stood for 40 minutes in an open-air arena once part of the Ulster '71 exhibition, on a bank of the Lagan.

They heard anonymous housewives, a shipyard worker, an Andersonstown schoolteacher, a city fireman, a child and an Armagh folk singer proclaim messages of peace, quietly and unannounced.

Then the crowd—which included at least two police chiefs with their wives and families—offered its own silent prayers.

People entering the arena were handed copies of a petition signed by 23,000.

MOVE TO EAST SHOWN IN CENSUS

VASTLY different population trends underlie the three per cent national population increase in five years disclosed by the census.

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 country.

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, lower than any county outside Leinster.

There was also immigration into Waterford, Meath and Louth.

The county worst hit by emigration 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 emigration 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.

Gerry Fitt out of hospital

Mr. Gerry Fitt, M.P., leader of the Social Democratic and Labour Party, has left Westminster 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.

Floods subside

Storm-swept Benidorm, Spain, was gradually returning to normal yesterday after two days of torrential rain, but some holiday-makers due this week will probably have to go elsewhere, local authorities said. The newcomers, arriving on package tours, are likely to be sent to other resorts along Spain's east coast.

About 3,000 tourists—two-thirds of them Britons—were evacuated from 15 hotels flooded in downpours last Thursday and Friday, and are still living in other accommodation farther south along the Benidorm seafloor.

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 business confidence, the Confederation maintains in the new issue of its quarterly Economic Review.

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 implications of membership and outline Government action needed to ensure opportunities offered to agriculture and industry are exploited.

"The absence of coherent 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 determination to halt it."

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 convention.

The demonstrators carried placards with slogans such as "No Federal Solution for Ireland" and "Demand the Release of the Interned." As the Taoiseach came out of the hotel the protesters gathered around the entrance and sang.

A line of Gardaí held them back and when the Taoiseach's car pulled away demonstrators clashed with Gardaí. Mr. McCaul had his glasses smashed and he fell to the ground. He was taken to the Royal Victoria Eye and Ear Hospital, Dublin. The crowd broke up and a small group marched up the main street singing "We Shall Overcome."

In his address to the convention the Taoiseach said that no democracy could provide total freedom of action. Democracy 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 missionary nun who has become famous for her work among the refugees in India, may soon 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 Pakistan refugee crisis last June, Irish Independent readers donated £5,000 to Mother Teresa's Missionary of Charity nuns working in the cholera-stricken camps outside Calcutta and Assam.

COUPLE SEARCH FOR DAUGHTER

THE PARENTS of an English schoolgirl yesterday switched their search for their missing daughter from Dublin to Bangor, 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 runaway friend had once visited Bangor.

Mr. and Mrs. Dronovon 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 16-year-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 their parents reassured. Mr. and Mrs. von der Heyde immediately set out for Ireland. They visited several towns in Mayo and went to Dornish Island, the hippy colony in Clew Bay. However, the girls had not been there.

Jane's parents arrived in Dublin yesterday. Jane is 5ft. 3 ins. tall, wears spectacles and has brown eyes and brown shoulder length hair. She may be wearing jeans, boots and a dark grey maxi coat.

Her home is at Luth House, Wisborough Green, Sussex (phone 440). Her father, a businessman, 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. Enthusiastic 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 a public prayer for peace at the G.P.O. on September 22.

Woman killed in Belfast bar explosion

A woman who died when a bomb exploded in a bar in Belfast's Durham Street on Saturday night was named yesterday as Mrs. Winifred Maxwell (45).

Tipperary student retains title

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 Equestrian Championships at McKee Barracks, Dublin.

The 22-year-old veterinary student, Edward O'Grady, son of the famous steeplechase rider Willie O'Grady, was in mastery form and went through all five eliminating rounds (45 fences) without faults, the hallmark of a worthy champion.

In each round there was a draw for horses which were loaned for the occasion by many prominent owners including the Army Equitation School.

The final round was jumped between an experienced German rider, Bernard Schwoer of Aachen and O'Grady on the international horse Carnaby Street, loaned by Mr. Leslie Fitzpatrick.

Schwoer had the first part of the combined fence down for four faults. His time was 69.8 secs.

The Tipperary student followed after a five-minute interval on the same horse. In a tense atmosphere amongst the unexpectedly large crowd, Eddie O'Grady jumped a superb round without fault in 65.1 secs, to clinch the issue with an Irish victory.

Another hero was the Co. Cork student, Terry Horgan, finalist in the individual dressage test with the Swiss rider Josy Petit-Jean from Bern.

The Army horse, Corna Saile, was loaned for this test, which was a B.H.S. medium standard quite high in this class.

Petit-Jean, who was born in Basle, has 11 years riding experience 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 surprisingly well in his test but understandably 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 championships by an Irish rider and therefore the performance is all the more creditable for Terry Horgan. Results were:

Individual Jumping: 1. E. O'Grady (Dublin); 2. B. Schwoer (Aachen); 3. Miss E. Alexander (Sweden); 4. Miss B. Chambers (Cambridge); 5. G. 8 divided, A. Schneider (Hanover), Digby Hodgins (Dublin), M. Begner (Dusseldorf), S. Guppenberg (Munich).

Individual Dressage—Winner: J. Petit-Jean (Bern); runner-up, Terry Horgan (Dublin).

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 Life.

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 missions in 1968 had dropped to 5,495 in 1970.

The report says that no reason was 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 Legal Diary"

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 McGovern — at 11 — Jurors Nos. 301 to 475 must attend. Absent jurors may be fined. Jurors Nos. 475-650 need not attend until tomorrow.

ANSWER TIME

(Questions on Opposite Page)

1—The Golden Hind. 2—Stew. 3—Chelsea. 4—80-90 years.

Attending the General Assembly of the International Confederation of Christian Family Movements at Kilkenny, from left: Mr. and Mrs. Edl. Barnor, Ghana; Mr. and Mrs. John Nakamura, Japan, and Mr. and Mrs. Sean O'Siochain.



PARTITION



THE 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.

THE DAY AFTER CORK FELL

ON AUGUST 12, 1922, Arthur Griffith, literally worn out and broken in heart by the strain of the tragic Civil War, died suddenly and was succeeded as President by William T. Cosgrave.

It was the day after Cork had fallen to troops of the Provisional Government, led by General Emmet Dalton, and the day after Liam Lynch and his men set fire to their headquarters in Fermoy and, now even though the cause was hopeless, they would fight on in the surrounding countryside. It was to be a long and painful process before arms were finally laid down.

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 Army 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 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 on."

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 Rossbarbery—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 Brennan that he had been convinced that if he had been with Collins on the eventful day of the ambush he could have saved Collins's life. He told Jones also that on the Thursday he (Jones) had lunched with Collins in the Shelbourne 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 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 condolences. Will Mulcahy succeeded him, he asked.

Lloyd George then issued this message to the newspapers: "Am inexpressibly sad at the news of the death of this gallant young Irishman. He fell 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 met him as foes and to all of us who met him the news of his



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, after much greater destruction than in the war against the British, Cosgrave, Mulcahy and O'Higgins began to re-establish order and the prestige of the Government.

24 August—Churchill to Cope. The danger to be avoided is a sloppy accommodation with a quasi-republican De Valera. It may well be that he will take advan-

point out in your communications with Cosgrave, Mulcahy and others that the only hope of a 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 revolt had been suppressed.

De Valera, however—so Cope reported to Curtis on 14 September—still insisted on his Document No. 2.

In London, the Coalition Government began to break up. Junior Conservative ministers rebelled 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 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 Cosgrave on October 21 that he had that afternoon tendered his resignation to the King—but gave an assurance that "no action of mine will compromise the Treaty concluded between Great Britain and Ireland."

Cosgrave replied expressing appreciation of this and the "promptitude of your message."

Andrew Bonar Law succeeded



● W. T. Cosgrave 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 veult' 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 proclaimed. General Macreedy and the last British troops left almost at once.

Craig warns of Loyalist U.D.I.

AFTER THE SIGNING of the Treaty Sir James Craig had written an inflammatory letter to Austen Chamberlain in which he spoke wildly of "betrayal" and pointing out that Loyalists might declare U.D.I. in the North.

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

is their pride are contemplating acts of war against the King."

After the death of Michael 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.

Now the Boundary Commission question was to become a dominating issue for a time, involving the North and South and successive British Governments. 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 Government would have to take up the Commission. It was the minority Labour Cabinet under Ramsay MacDonald that set up the joint conference at the beginning of 1924, but this foundered on the opposition of the North.

In May the Colonial Office looked ahead to the crisis that

might follow the Commission's award.

The Diary includes a memorandum 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 Defence.

The Boundary thus became an issue of the greatest danger; and as the Labour Cabinet tottered towards its fall, dogged by the Russian Treaties and the Campbell case, it became a race against time to find a peaceful answer.

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-

mented: "If the matter could be left to Craig and Cosgrave it would be settled, but the Southerners (not Cosgrave nor 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 negotiations."

Jones added this very significant statement: "The Treaty was not drafted as an Act of Parliament would be drafted. Officials were frequently excluded from the Treaty negotiations, chiefly because of children, and though there were half a dozen famous lawyers among the plenipotentiaries, it is notorious that a lawyer cannot 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 war."

THE SUBSTANCE

"The substance of the clause was intended to convey that we could not consent to hand over 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 geographical 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 boundary by legislation we may still be faced by rebellion of a dissatisfied 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 Commission.

The British Cabinet remained under the impression that the Boundary Commission's Report would be very favourable to the South. The first draft of the Award was agreed on November 5, 1925. Two days later the diehard "Morning Post" printed a map giving a partially accurate picture of the new boundary.

Craig was probably relieved at the very limited transfers proposed and seemed prepared to put them into effect. In the 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. In law, this made no difference to the Award; and in any case, Feetham and F. R. Fisher declared that MacNeill had assented to the draft.

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 altogether.

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 and Craig form some of the most interesting reading in the 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 by noses.

Cosgrave: It would be regarded as eyewash in face of our present difficulty.

Salisbury: You want to restore confidence. You relied on obtaining a large territorial extension embracing Roman Catholics. Now that is not going to happen. We fall back on present border. You have last opportunity of looking after these R.C. friends of yours. Should be an acknowledged 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 Government.

Churchill: To the Cabinet. Cosgrave: Who is going to carry the baby?

Churchill: We've all got to carry a bit.

Cosgrave: I propose you choose the nurse.

Craig: I'll do anything in reason.

Churchill: I want to see the two Executives get together.

Cosgrave: That will come.

Craig: I'm thinking of Tyrone and Fermanagh nationalists who have not got into the Free State.

O'Higgins: Restore Proportional Representation of 1920. It was designed to provide adequate parliamentary 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 Continental.

Cosgrave: 76 candidates for 19 seats! It has been tried on us twice. Local Government election 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 1, 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 reports.

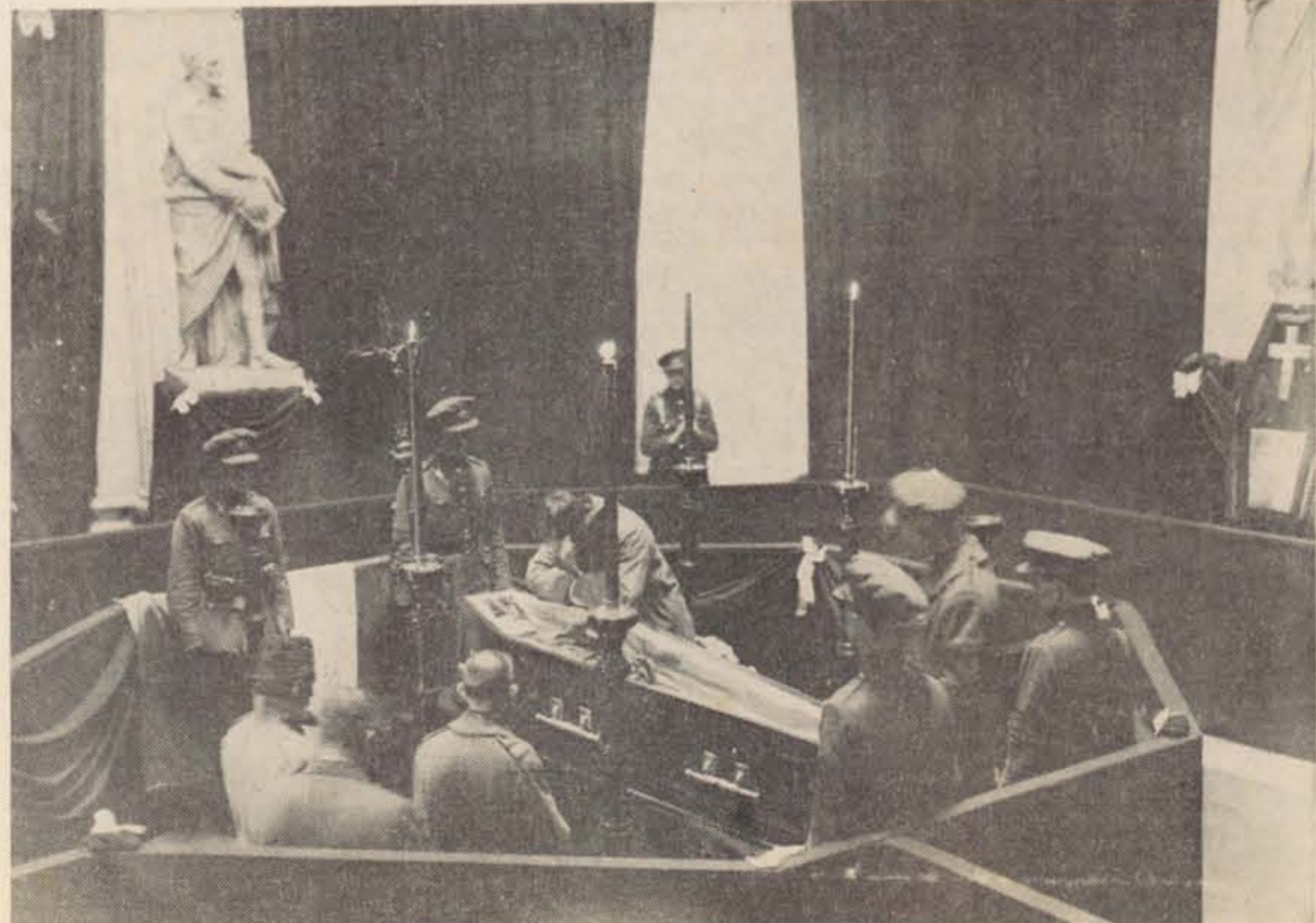
Discussions throughout the day on Article 5; Craig and Birkenhead very helpful to the Free State, Salisbury also willing to grant concessions, but on less generous terms. Churchill presiding and tilting the balance towards the Irishmen with much skill. Churchill put the proposals through the Cabinet in principle. Churchill advised the Cabinet that a settlement was a paramount 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 proposed showed a spirit of neighbourly 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 drafting.

Terms mean acceptance of present boundary, waiving of Article 5, and assumption of burden of compensation for damage to property by the Free State.

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.

Mutiny erupts in the ranks of the new force

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 Síochána, 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 meaningful intervention the opposition was allowed to make in the construction of the force.

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-I.R.A. men who constituted the main body of the Civic Guard.

IN EARLY FEBRUARY, 1922, after much valuable time had been lost, Collins hurriedly 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 was forwarded to the Provisional Government in the last week of February. Its suggestions were accepted without reservation. It proposed a unified, unarmed force with 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', battle-hardened guerrillas who had done their fighting in their native counties among the hills and bogs. They were all remarkably young.

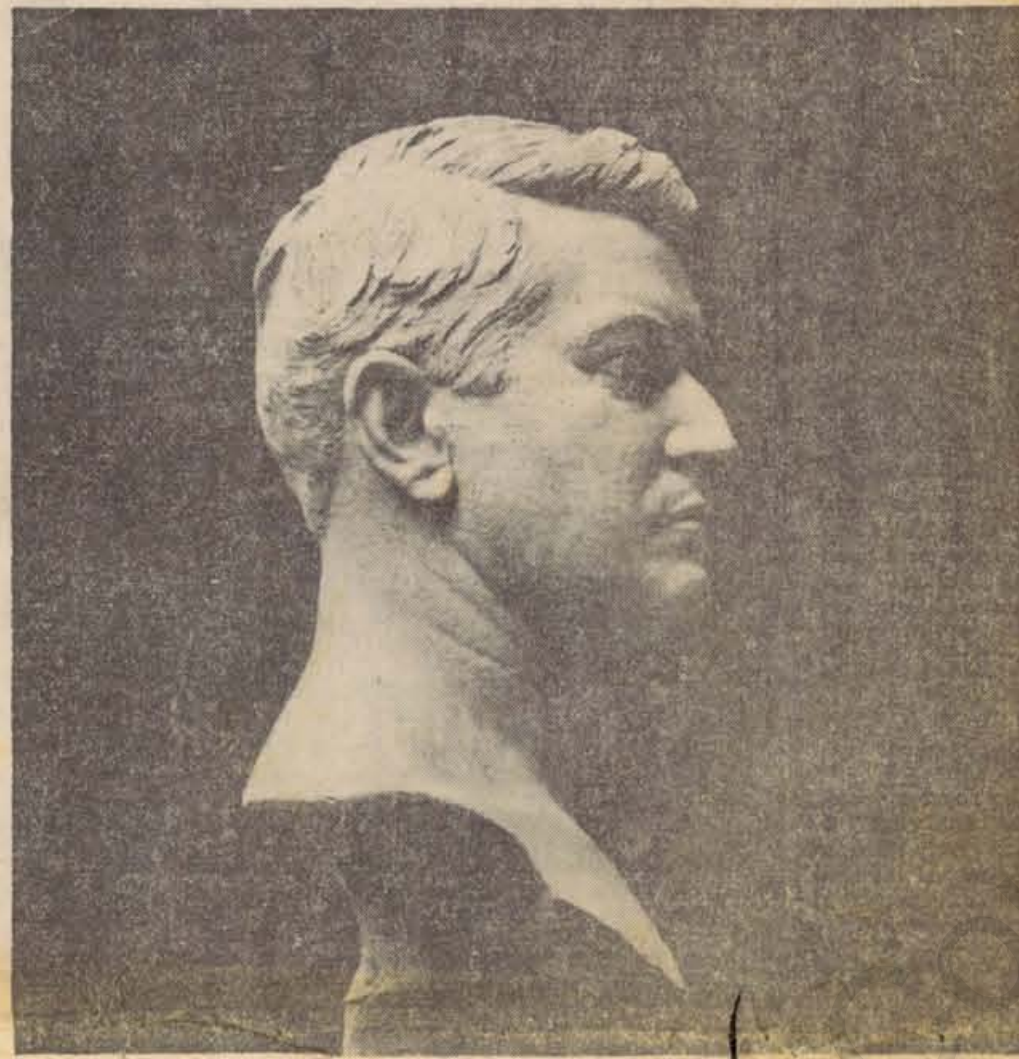
Many of the new recruits did not even know what they were joining until they arrived in Dublin. In many instances the local Republican Police officers did not go into any great detail beyond telling the eager young men that Mick Collins wanted them for a job in Dublin.

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 murmur 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 Provisional Government, Eamon Duggan, who, though loyal to Collins, lacked the organising ability demanded of him.



Michael Collins: his agents in the 'Republican Police' carefully screened the new 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 Ring and 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 Artillery 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'Brien ready and willing to take on the Free State Army. The few remaining officers, under Brennan and Superintendent Sam 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 a 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 Dublin.

For a two-month period, the new Civic Guard was divided into two rival groups, each with the full paraphernalia 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 time.

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 would ask to be disbanded along with them. 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 I.R.A. not to inflict physical injuries on the new force.

The Provisional Government would finally move against the Anti-Treaty forces in the Four Courts.

Collins visited the camp four times in a period of ten days and a compromise arrangement was worked out 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 Treatyite group won 58 of the 128 seats, compared with only 35 for the Anti-Treatyites, 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 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.



Eoin O'Duffy believed that the guards should serve the Irish people and the law rather than any party in power.

GUARDIANS OF THE PEACE



THIS is the first of four extracts from "Guardians of the Peace" by Conor Brady.



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.

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 step towards a return to normality.

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 "Guardians" — 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 sours 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.

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 go unarmed among the community at the earliest possible opportunity.

The Kildare mutiny had left a serious discipline problem and O'Duffy immediately addressed 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 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 statutes in a community which, 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 Irish people and the law rather than any party in power. It was to him a vital canon in his philosophy of government for the people by the people.

O'DUFFY OUTLINED a strategy of passive resistance for the Guards to follow when confronted by the force of arms. It worked well but it depended on the exercising supreme discipline and confidence on the part of every guard faced with the necessity of putting it into effect.

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 gunmen were not there. If he found an opportunity to disarm and arrest the gunman, so much 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 obliging the assailant to take it from him. If ordered to leave his station, the guard should refuse and force the assailants to carry him out if necessary. If ordered to put 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 be driven from the roadside but he was not to be driven from his designated areas.

In most areas local people had no foreknowledge 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 blue uniforms. But reaction varied very much from place to place. In Waterford the Guards were

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 anyone even to speak to them for some weeks after their arrival.

LIAM LYNCH, the Chief of Staff of the Anti-Treaty 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 barracks 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 to the Civic Guards was that they only terrorised them slightly. They inflicted sufficient casualties and damage to make the new police a cause célèbre to 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 gunmen and violence.

NOT ALL the Guards were disciplined enough to withstand the tension and strain of living unarmed and unprotected, perhaps thirty miles away from the next police station, among a people who seemed friendly enough in the daytime, but from whose numbers armed raiders would come at night.

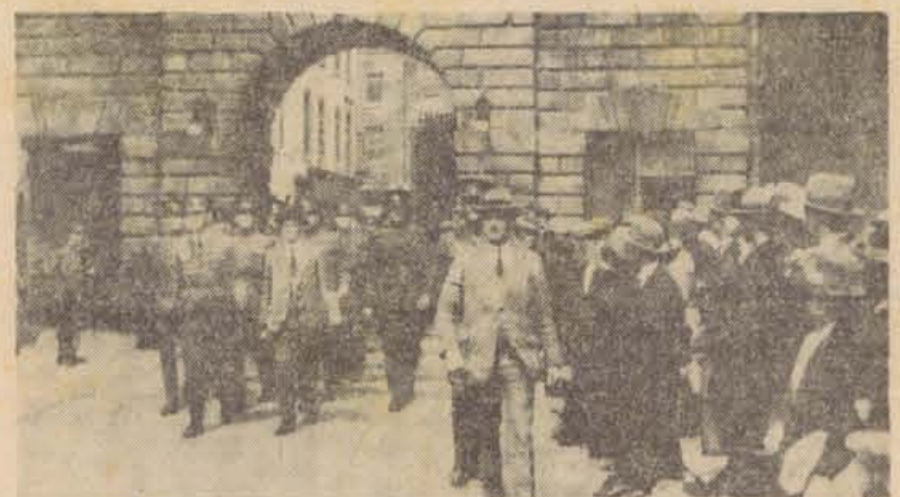
In some instances Guards simply took off for England, America or some other refuge, often after repeated pleas to headquarters for some improvement or other in their conditions had gone unheeded. In at least one instance an entire station party disappeared, leaving books and station records behind, neatly balanced with a final entry noting 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 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 themselves 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 potter 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 drunkenness had become the norm for the menfolk of many western areas and the attendant evils of violence, poverty and mental deterioration were widespread.

Almost immediately they arrived in their stations, guards began to find themselves in receipt of information about the potter 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 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 the 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 over.



Commissioner Michael Staines leads the Guards into Dublin Castle.

TOMORROW: The setting up of the Special Branch; the Garda versus the I.R.A.; the death of O'Higgins.

GUARDIANS OF THE PEACE



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 13, 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 it 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 perhaps 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.

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 political and economic welfare of the country demanded that the Free State should stand on 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 one which was to cost the Garda Síochána dear 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 listening-posts among the people.

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 in large 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 unexpectedly, O'Higgins asked David Neligan to take charge of the new unified detective branch with Inspector Billy O'Connell as second in command.

Neligan 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 paid 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 convey the same message to leaders of the Republican movement elsewhere.

Meanwhile O'Higgins had become increasingly conscious of the advantages of amalgamating the Garda Síochána and the D.M.P. He was opposed by both O'Duffy and Murphy. But there were 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 as much co-operation as they wanted from the Garda in the provinces and there were great difficulties in maintaining adequate liaison between the two forces in joint operations.

The amalgamation, however, provided the

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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 Síochána's role in combating armed crime. Since the withdrawal of the army, O'Duffy had reported, the Garda were simply not able to cope. The Garda were being publicly humiliated and held up to ridicule by men who knew 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 Garda were given some support.

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 Ford car.

Clearly the new units would detract somewhat from the ideal of the unarmed guard but that difficulty was overcome by O'Higgins's suggestion that the new detective should be regarded as an extension of the D.M.P. detective system into the provinces rather than as an armed section of the Garda Síochána. The only alternative was to make arms available to the unarmed guards or to invest certain units of the army with a police role for as long as necessary.

By September, 1925, the necessary administrative 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.

The effectiveness of the S Branch swiftly 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 intimidation and the threat of the gun in the normal execution of their duty. They retained the essential characteristics of an unarmed police force with the backing, where necessary, of colleagues trained and competent in the use of firearms.

The IRA's widespread use of violence and intimidation had led to the emergence from 1923 onwards of an unofficial, but equally determined Garda policy of harassment and counter-intimidation.

An even more ominous feature of these years was the growing tension between the police and the community at large. As the Garda sought desperately to cope with an extraordinarily difficult situation, the methods which they were forced to employ were to alienate an ever increasing section of the community. In certain parts of the country, notably in Co. Clare resentment against the Garda was rapidly assuming extremely dangerous proportions.

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 traumatic effect on the government. A new Public Safety Act was passed, becoming law on August

The Special Branch is established

12. Habeas Corpus was temporarily suspended in certain circumstances and the right of trial by jury was also qualified. These measures 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 stirring 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 support of the Cosgrave government.

The year 1928 was also to see a sinister 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 decision to sabotage the processes of law through threats, violence and, where necessary, assassination. A widespread 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 man named Healy for shooting at Garda.

The campaign confronted the Garda with a new and extremely serious problem. Increasingly throughout the country the Garda and S. Branch detectives found that conventional police methods and the ordinary processes of law were no longer effective. Apart from a period of just over a year after the killing of Kevin O'Higgins in July 1927, there were no emergency powers, no Public Safety 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 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'Higgins 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 very 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 Garda 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 Cows'.

EXPLAINING the inadequacy of the ordinary civil and criminal law in the Garda's endeavours to control the IRA, O'Duffy told the Government 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 surveillance to their every movement and generally make their connection with conspiracy and murder a non-paying proposition."

The Government attempted to ameliorate the situation by pushing a Juries Protection Bill through the Dail in 1929. But it did little to prevent the general lawlessness which became more and more rampant as the institutions of justice became less and less workable.

It was in Co. Clare that the bitter war between Republicans and police reached its highest point of intensity.

Most of the trouble centred around the area of Kiltrush and its immediate environs, where the director of the IRA was T. J. Ryan. Events in the county during 1927 and 1928 had necessitated 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 Kiltrush.

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 Garda in Co. Clare, superintendents throughout 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



Kevin O'Higgins who succeeded Eamon Duggan as Minister for Home Affairs.



Garda and Special Branch men outside the home of Supt. Curtin, who was shot dead when he took steps to prosecute the I.R.A. for illegal drilling.

wanted wider powers of search, arrest and detention 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 started by the Cumann na mBan, half appealing to jurors, 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.

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 organisations, including the IRA, Saor Eire, Cumann na 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, easily penetrable by agents and perhaps, in a roundabout 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 emergency, and Article 2A became operational.

The final round was now to be played out between the Cosgrave government and the irconcilable 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.



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 I.R.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 god 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 Sin Feiners.



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 dependent on the support of the seven Labour Party members for his majority to form his government.

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 self-effacing 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 Síochána had now become quite invidious. The men whom, only six brief years earlier they had tracked down, persecuted, 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, Arthur Hill barracks was visited by the Minister for 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 of 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 Garda's was concerned, however, was clear. It was "Hands off the I.R.A."

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 Garda's 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 Garda's 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 Fáil's Conor Maguire, and the few Garda's who did forward files for directives found it impossible to get 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 the Garda's 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 on the 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 Fáil'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 Garda's 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 do, anyway.

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 Government was crime no longer and was rather the legitimate by-product of the unfulfilled ambitions of Republicans.

The Garda's, 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 Fáil supporters.

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 filling them with sticks and bottles. Mulcahy retreated to safety, using an upturned chair to hold off his assailants. A number of Garda's drawn from the detective branch and from the various districts around the Metropolitan Area stood by without inter-



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 Garda's 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 Fáil 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 Garda's 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 Garda's 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 J. J. 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 enquiry was not the dismissal of relatively unknown 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 Garda's to compensate temporarily for the detectives' loss of livelihood.

The Government was furious and yet delighted at Neligan's leaving himself open. Together with 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 Síochána 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 event.

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 impression that some devilish plot against the State was being hatched out between Army and police.

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 government, 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 Síochána 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

GUARDIANS OF THE PEACE



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 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 replied 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."

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 1932 election campaign de Valera was cutting the IRA adrift to some extent. He did 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 O'Duffy makes most sense. The signs of an 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 services.

In addition, de Valera had appointed a new Minister for Justice, Paddy Rutledge, a harder stronger man than Geoghegan.

The ambiguous relationship with the IRA which the coming to power of the Fianna Fáil government involved for the Garda's was now further complicated by the emergence of the strengthened Army Comrades Association. It had been possible — but only barely — for the Garda's to co-exist for almost a year with the IRA and that coexistence depended upon the Garda's ability to swallow their pride and allow themselves to 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 Garda's continuing their passive acceptance of IRA violence. Their dilemma was now acute. If they refused to intervene in the nightly violence, they would be abandoning 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 Fáil and IRA was an academic one in the eyes of most of the Garda's at this stage, and taking supporters of the government through the courts in large numbers was an unproductive practice.

The Garda's 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-ACA 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 Garda's 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.



Ernest Baird.

A leader of 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 Ballycampsie to Belfast with his family when he was 13 and his memory recalls that he felt "like a real chlodhopper" 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 Dundonald on the outskirts of Belfast is now the owner of two thriving chemist shops — one in Belfast and the other in Co. Down.

"I moved to Belfast after my father decided 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 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 Mr. Baird. "In fact, I would say it is my greatest motivating influence."

However, he feels it is a mistake to "super-impose 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 interested 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 felt he did not speak for the Ulsterman at all."

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 seriously."

Dominic Cunningham



Commissioner Eamon Broy arriving for the 'Secrets Case' trial.

TOMORROW: O'Duffy leads Blueshirts; Traynor picks 'Broy Harriers'; Gardai intervene in Blueshirts riots.

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Violence as the Blueshirt threat grows

ON 20 JULY, 1933, the day he was formally announced as Director-General of the A.C.A., 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 of Ireland, to oppose unreservedly all Communist 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 stage—and 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 allies.

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 spotted.

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 police 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 alienate 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 Síochána 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 strengthened. Violence on the streets had increased and the normal processes of law had been set at naught 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 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.

Immediately O'Duffy had made his announcement, Commissioner Brody was summoned to meet de Valera and Rutledge, the Minister for Justice. If O'Duffy chose to make Leinster House another General Post Office, Rutledge put it, would the supposedly non-political forces of the state refuse to move against him? Brody 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. Brody's own mind on the attitude of the Guards was undecided, and his uncertainty did little to reassure de Valera and Rutledge.

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 beforehand were not very great. The Guards were a great unknown as far as Fianna Fail were concerned. 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 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 corps for the

defence of government buildings and Leinster House. The whole process of selection, recruitment, induction and training for the new recruits took less than three days in all.

This was not simply an imposition of party followers on the police organisation. These were duly recruited policemen, bringing to full strength an overworked and underequipped 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 safe 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 demurred quietly and the parade was cancelled.

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 Rutledge 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 later the 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 generated fresh violence, and the IRA, for their part, were prepared to do more than their share in bringing it about.

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 lead the new party and Cosgrave was to lead it in the Dail. And for as long as the Young Ireland Associa-

tion retained its individual identity within the Fine Gael organisation the prohibition order on the Blueshirts was effectively nullified.

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.

Brody now found himself in precisely the same situation with the Blueshirts as had O'Duffy with the IRA, prior to the insertion of 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 Government for a directive for his officers, but none was forthcoming. Rutledge 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 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 IRA and Fianna Fail 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.

Shortly before eight o'clock the IRA group attacked the platform and the Blueshirts retaliated with ashplants, staves and knuckledusters. 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 IRA, 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 confusing 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-IRA 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 adherents by his policy of eroding support from the IRA, 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 IRA, (although another two years were to pass before the IRA 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 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 rigour 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 the terms of the Treaty of 1921. The move, 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 brought on by the recession in the cattle trade, farmers in many 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 "Brody 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 bailiff 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 Tipperary.

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 remorseless 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'Duffy's role in Irish politics and his abortive attempts to channel the strength of his remaining followers into support for the Spanish Nationalists in the Civil War were followed by his death in 1944 at the premature age of fifty-two.

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 Panaslipper into second place in the Epsom Derby and his grandfather on his mother's side, Jack Moylan, was also a noted jockey who made his mark too in Classic events. So Pat was keeping up the family name when he scored on Polygamy at Epsom.

His first ride in public was for trainer Seamus McGrath, with whom his father was associated for quite a time and then he went to the famous apprenticeship "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 Pigott was a great jockey, but he added significantly: "Pat Eddery will do for me."



PAT EDDERY . . . heading 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 Pat Eddery is hitting for the Everest peak on the flat, Ron Barry is enjoying a much-needed rest after all the travelling and the riding exertions involved in retaining his National 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 apprentice 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 Playford.

But two of his greatest triumphs to date have been to win the Cheltenham Gold Cup on The Dikler and the Whitbread Gold Cup on Charlie Posthen for Fulke Walwyn.

Ron's biggest ambition now is to win an Aintree Grand National.



Ms. - representation



I 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 "Ms."

her husband's name, why swallow the camel and baulk at the 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 if 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 to 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,

they've only to look at the Independent 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 of 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 guess—most of the amateur secretaries and P.R.O.s are very painstaking, even giving phone numbers for possible further 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 school nowadays?—and beginning the letter "Dear Sir."

There are only five music critics in the Dublin newspapers and I do think that secretary of a musical society or choir should take the trouble to look

Gryphon, the "medieval rock" group, above, whose latest album includes a fantasia called "Midnight Mushrooms," 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 long-established and highly-regarded group, started her letter "Dear Critic." She may have thought that this got her neatly out of bother, but I don't.

Still, perhaps I should not be too upset by that particular one—it must be one of the few occasions when that adjective and noun are to be found in juxtaposition.