

One Hundred from which the Commission derived its authority. The Committee of One Hundred was called together through the good offices of the editors of the *New York Nation*, who made every effort to gather a body of men representative of all shades of American opinion, by inviting the participation of every United States Senator, the Governor of every State, the Mayors of the large cities, college presidents and conspicuous professors, every Methodist, Protestant Episcopal, and Roman Catholic Bishop, the editors of the metropolitan daily newspapers and of the leading organs throughout the country, and prominent citizens distinguished in every department of civil life. It was expected to find through this means a hundred fair-minded citizens who would be able and willing to give some time and thought to conditions in Ireland and to the creation of a commission of inquiry. The responses exceeded expectations; over one hundred and fifty persons accepted membership. This parent Committee of the inquiry includes five State Governors, eleven United States Senators, thirteen Congressmen, the Mayors of fifteen large cities, Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop Keane, and four Roman Catholic Bishops, seven Protestant Episcopal Bishops, four Methodist Bishops, and clergymen, priests, educators, editors, business men, and labor leaders. Thirty-six states were represented in the Committee.

This body elected from its membership a Commission of five members to conduct its inquiry with power to increase its membership. It has availed itself of that power.

Purpose of the Commission.

The situation in Ireland was a proper subject of concern for all peoples claiming either humanity or civilisation. It appealed particularly to Americans, so closely bound by ties of blood and culture to the Irish and English people. Unless moral force could prevail to end the terror in Ireland, physical force seemed to us bound to continue both to deny the possibility of peace in Ireland, and to diminish the possibility of non-intervention of our government in the struggle. It seemed to us that we could best serve the cause of peace by placing before English, Irish, and American public opinion the facts of the situation, free from both agonised exaggeration and merciless understatement; for a knowledge of the facts might reveal their cause, and recognition of that cause might permit its cure, by those whose purpose was not to slay but to heal.

The facts available to us for investigating the situation were the atrocities caused by it. We, therefore, sought evidence of these atrocities from both sides, in the hope that we could make clear to the English on the one hand and to the Irish on the other our desire to do them the service which our common civilisation required as a right, our common humanity as a duty.

Method of Gathering the Evidence.

Every phase of the formation of the Committee of One Hundred and of the development of its plans was promptly brought to the attention both of the British Ambassador and of the President de Valera, who was then in this country. They were promptly informed of the election of the Commission and of its programme and purposes. Each was invited to co-operate with the Commission, to designate witnesses, and to be represented at the hearings by counsel, if such was his desire. Prof. de Valera, President of the Irish Republic, accepted the Commission's invitation. The British Embassy, to the regret of the Commission, took the attitude that while it would do nothing to hinder the inquiry, it would do nothing to assist it; but gave to the Commission the assurance of the British Government that passports would not be refused to Irish witnesses "on the ground that they wished to testify before the Commission." Both the Embassy and President de Valera assured the Commission that there would be no reprisals against Irish witnesses, whatever their testimony.

Witnesses Invited.

Witnesses from Ireland.—From the outset the Commission made every effort to gather evidence that would enable a complete inquiry to be made. The chief administrative officers of Irish cities and towns that were focal centres in recent disturbances were asked to come to this country to testify. These included Londonderry, Belfast, Cork, Balbriggan, Thurles, and Mallow. Cardinal Logue,

the Irish Primate, was asked to send a delegation of the hierarchy to give testimony. Prominent leaders in Irish life, such as Sir Horace Plunkett, George Russell ("A.E."), and Arthur Griffith, were invited. The next of kin of public officials who had been killed on one side or the other, such as Mrs. MacCurtain, widow of the late Lord Mayor of Cork, who was slain in Cork, and Miss Irene Swanzy, sister of Inspector Swanzy of the Royal Irish Constabulary, who was killed at Lisburn, were also invited. Sir Edward Carson, the Ulster leader, was asked to come in person or to send a representative to present to the Commission the case from the official Unionist viewpoint. Similar invitations were sent to Lord French and Sir Hamar Greenwood. None of the three replied, though all refused and repudiated the invitation in newspaper statements.

It is noteworthy that none of the anti-Republican Irish citizens invited gave an acceptance except Miss Swanzy, who cabled that she would come. After the Commission had cabled her the assurance that £300 would be provided for her expense money, she declared that she could not come without her mother, and an additional allowance of £100 was made for her mother's trip. Subsequently a letter was received from her stating that certain information she had received from sources unnamed caused her to decline the invitation.

Transportation of Witnesses.—The other Irish witnesses invited, generally, made efforts to get here in person, or to send representatives. Cardinal Logue cabled that certain bishops were unable to secure passports. George Russell, unable to come, sent an informative statement. Donal O'Callaghan, Lord Mayor of Cork, unable to secure a passport, slipped over without one, as a stowaway. Mr. Peter MacSweeney came as a seaman. Messrs. Morgan and Derham arrived safely on a small trading vessel. Others were less fortunate. Mrs. MacCurtain was shot at and her house was raided and denuded of evidence shortly after she received the invitation of the Commission. Her shattered health—she had given birth to still-born twins a few months after her husband was killed—prevented her from taking the long trip, and two of her sisters came in her place.

Witnesses from England.—The Commission also tried to secure as witnesses a number of British citizens representing various English points of view on Ireland. Unfortunately, members of the British Labor Party delegation that investigated conditions in Ireland have thus far been unable to come to the Commission to give us at first hand the benefit of their inquiry. Their report, however, is before us. Others, such as Mrs. Annan Bryce and Mr. H. W. Nevins, were likewise unable to accept our invitation. The British Branch of the Women's International League sent to us Mrs. Annot Erskine Robinson and Miss Ellen G. Wilkinson, both of Manchester, two of a delegation of ten Englishwomen representing their branch of the League which made a first-hand investigation in Ireland last autumn. They gave direct testimony and presented to the Commission the official report of their delegation. The report on Ireland of the British Society of Friends was also placed before the Commission by Mr. Paul Furnas, of New York.

English Witnesses in America.—One of the witnesses invited by the Commission was the Rev. T. T. Shields, of Toronto, Canada, who accompanied the delegation of Ulster Protestants clergymen on their tour of the United States last year, and who, we were informed, had some valuable documentary evidence on Ireland in his possession. Mr. Shields received the advances of the Commission in a mood of unreceptivity, and the effort to secure his testimony, and possibly that of some members of the Ulster delegation failed. A number of English journalists in the United States were also invited to testify, but in no case was an acceptance received.

American Witnesses.—Valuable testimony was given by fifteen American citizens who had recently visited Ireland, including several journalists. In addition to the direct testimony the Commission has gathered a mass of reports and documents bearing on Ireland, including numerous official British reports and statistics, and the weekly official bulletin of the Irish Republic.

Irish, English, and American Friendliness.—The Commission's inquiry has received cordial co-operation and support from leading citizens representing various groups