



The
Amazon
Journal
of
Roger
Casement

Edited by Angus Mitchell

THE AMAZON JOURNAL
OF ROGER CASEMENT

To Gertrude Bannister
“Gee”

THE AMAZON JOURNAL OF
ROGER CASEMENT

EDITED AND WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY
ANGUS MITCHELL

LONDON
ANACONDA EDITIONS

First published by Anaconda Editions Ltd 1997
in association with The Lilliput Press, Dublin
Introduction and additional notes © 1997 Angus Mitchell
All rights reserved

Anaconda Editions Limited
84 St Paul's Crescent, London NW1 9XZ
web-site: <http://www.anaconda.win-uk.net/>
email: editions@anaconda.win-uk.net

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

Casement, Sir Roger

The Amazon journal of Roger Casement

1. Casement, Sir Roger – Diaries 2. Casement, Sir Roger –
Journeys – Amazon River Region 3. Amazon River Region –
Social conditions

I. Title II. Mitchell Angus

981.1'05'092

ISBN 1 901990 00 1 pbk
1 901990 01 X hbk

Printed and bound in Great Britain by
Redwood Books, Trowbridge, Wiltshire

CONTENTS

Maps	6
Preface	7
Abbreviations	12
Glossary	13
Part one: The Diaries Controversy	15
Part Two: The Voyage to the Putumayo	57
Part Three: The Putumayo Journal	115
I La Chorrera	118
II Occidente	139
III Ultimo Retiro	188
IV The Road to Entre Rios	214
V Entre Rios	224
VI Matanzas	253
VII Entre Rios Revisited	267
VII Atenas and the Return to La Chorrera	319
IX The Exodus from La Chorrera	325
X The <i>Liberal</i> Returns to Iquitos	408
XI Iquitos	452
Part Four: London Bound	489
Bibliographical Note	508
Index	512

Illustrations between pages 256 and 257

MAPS

Map I — General map of the Amazon Basin	58
Map II — Map by Captain Thomas Whiffen	116

PREFACE

In November 1993 I was commissioned by a London publisher to write a book about the Putumayo atrocities — an all but forgotten episode in the disastrous annals of the Amerindian tribal experience at the hands of the Western world. The events of this genocide remained in the public eye between 1909 and 1914. Besides being a well-documented aspect of the long, tragic, extermination of the Amazon Indian, what gave the telling of this story a peculiar interest were the documents that stood at the centre of the narrative, the infamous *Black Diaries of Roger Casement*. In March 1994 those diaries were finally released into the public domain under the Open Government Initiative, and it was something of a surprise to discover that three of the four *Black Diaries* dealt in the most part with Casement's voyages into the Amazon to investigate the Putumayo atrocities in 1910 and 1911. For the next two years I steadily gathered relevant documentation and puzzled over what happened long ago in the darkest forests of South America. Though I was aware of the accusations of some Irish historians claiming that the *Black Diaries* were forged, my initial belief in their authenticity rested upon the opinions expressed by official British history, Casement's recent biographers and current orthodoxy among anthropologists.

In April 1995, after returning from a three-month trip across northern Peru and down the Amazon, I signed a further publishing contract to co-edit "Casement Diaries" with Dr Roger Sawyer, whose biography *The Flawed Hero* contains the fullest bibliography on Casement and was of invaluable service to my own research. It was our intention to publish diary material that had never before been published, including the most explicit diary of all, the 1911 *Letts's Desk Diary*. Permission was obtained from the Parry family, Casement's most direct relatives, to publish the documents.

In the summer of 1995 I spent six weeks at the National Library of Ireland (N.L.I) in Dublin going through two large metal boxes containing Casement's personal papers relevant to his consular career in Brazil and his part in the Putumayo atrocities. Among them was the massive manuscript of his Putumayo Journal and a number of fragmentary diary entries describing other parts of his voyage. Perhaps because of the sheer size of this archive it had been almost wholly overlooked. During my last week of work at the N.L.I. my

Preface

understanding of the Putumayo atrocities had to be seriously revised as I began to have grave doubts about the authenticity of the *Black Diaries*. There was, quite simply, too much documentation that did not add up and too much to suggest that Casement had been the victim of a brilliant, though sinister, scheme hatched by British intelligence to prevent him attaining martyrdom upon his execution for treason in 1916. It was also clear that Casement's biographers had only touched the surface of his Amazon investigations. When I returned to London I began to make my own investigations into the authenticity of the documents and was forced to investigate the rumours surrounding the *Black Diaries*. In October 1995 over one hundred and seventy closed Casement files were opened twenty years early, also under the Open Government Initiative, and after eighty controversial years the Casement affair was effectively exorcized by the British government. But an ensuing correspondence in *The Irish Times* showed that though the British press was unequivocal in its portrait of Casement as the "Gay Traitor" there was still a strong lobby of Irish opinion that was not prepared to let the matter rest.

The breakdown in the Anglo-Irish peace process in early 1996 seemed to bring a reaction to the mounting interest in what might politely be called republican elements in Irish history. The book I had originally intended to write no longer reflected my understanding of Casement's life. It was clear that if Casement's reputation was ever going to be cleared of the defamation it had undergone, it was necessary for his genuine writings to speak for themselves. What mattered was the publication of his own narrative through the reconstruction of his own chronicle built from what remains of his own genuine journals and letters. Only by printing primary material and showing how it differed from the *Black Diaries* might this deeply entrenched lie about the man be cleared up and the opinion, conjecture and straightforward lies surrounding his character be historically exposed.

My attitude to the *Black Diaries* also changed. There now seemed no need to publish them unless one wished to throw oil on the fire. They have poisoned the reputation of Casement and muddied the waters of South American history. To publish them only serves to inspire more hatred and create more public confusion over a serious issue. Perhaps least of all do they serve the gay community or merit a place in twentieth-century homosexual literature. They were manufactured in an age when acts of homosexuality were considered sexually degenerate. Whoever wrote the diaries had a desire to portray Casement and homosexuality as a sickness, perversion and crime for which a person should suffer guilt, repression, fantasy, hatred and, most of all, alienation and loneliness. These are not the confessions of a Jean Genet or Tennessee Williams, W.H. Auden or Oscar Moore. Rather than sympathizing with

Preface

the struggle of the homosexual conscience, they are clearly homophobic documents.

After three years' work it also became clear that the Putumayo atrocities were a far more complicated and detailed affair than I had ever imagined. The whole "economy" of wild rubber that boomed between 1870 and 1914 gave rise to two of the worst genocides in the history of both Africa and South America — genocides that were a well-kept secret at the time and have been overshadowed by the even greater horrors wrought subsequently this century. Some of the horror the world has witnessed in the last few years in Rwanda, Burundi and Zaire (formerly the Congo Free State, renamed as the Democratic Republic of Congo), the war that continues in the frontier regions of the north-west Amazon, even the murder of Chico Mendes and the execution of Ken Saro-Wiwa are all historically rooted in the horrors committed in the Congo and Amazon in the collection of rubber a century ago. The African writer Chinua Achebe has said that "Africa is to Europe as the picture is to Dorian Gray", and though South America is a more peaceful continent than Africa, the Amazon basin remains one of the most brutalized ends of the earth where the last significant community of Amerindian people is being forced to live out its apocalypse.

It is hoped that the publishing of *The Amazon Journal of Roger Casement* will stimulate deeper awareness of the historical tragedy, as well as confirm his place as a great humanitarian. It is also hoped that those who are prone to confuse rhetoric for evidence, biography for history or official history for truth might now come to know the facts for themselves.

My work on this subject has been helped by many friends, friends of friends and librarians. In England my thanks are due to the staff at The British Library; Public Record Office at Kew; British Library of Political and Economic Science; Rhodes House Library, Oxford; the Bodleian Library, Oxford and especially to Dr Jeremy Catto at my old college, Oriel.

In South America, to the former Spanish Consul Carlos Maldonado in Lima; Alejandra Schindler and Joaquín García Sánchez at the Biblioteca Amazónica in Iquitos; to the staff at the Biblioteca Amazónica in Leticia. In Brazil to the highly co-operative staff at the Archivo Público in Belém do Pará and Manaus and at the Palácio Itamaraty, Rio de Janeiro. It should be said that Iquitos, Leticia and Belém have three of the most beautiful libraries in which I have had the pleasure to work.

At the National Library of Ireland I must extend a special thanks to Gerard Lyne of the manuscripts department, who threw so much revealing light on the whole subject; to Father Ignatius at the Franciscan Library Killiney; to Séamus Ó'Síocháin and his wife Etáin at Maynooth; to Margaret Lannin at the National Museum of Ireland, who was so

Preface

helpful in tracing the various indigenous artefacts that Casement brought back from the Amazon.

Among correspondents I must thank Maura Scannell for her effusive botanical knowledge, Michael Taussig, Father James McConica, Sir John Hemming, Ronan Sheehan, Veronica Janssen, Andrew Gray, Jack Moylett, Eoin Ó Maille, Howard Karno and the antiquarian book dealer Arthur Burton-Garbett. Miriam Marcus led me through the critical labyrinth of Conrad and the heart of darkness debate and proof read the script. John Maher kept me on the historical level and did vital work in perfecting the final draft.

But my greatest debt of thanks must extend to Carla Camurati, who supported me with a loyalty and belief which was utterly Brazilian, and gave me peace of mind in the highlands of Brazil to get quietly on with my work.

My father did not live to see the publication of this book — but his own humanitarian achievement in setting up the HALO Trust (Hazardous Areas Life-Support Organization), which by the time of his death on 20 July 1996 had become the largest mine-clearing charity on earth, was a great inspiration to many besides myself. I hope that the diffusion of these papers, which I trust will reveal the real Roger Casement, will help in the historical understanding of Casement the man and of the complicated relationship between Britain and Ireland. Casement would have deplored any continuing bloodshed. Equally intolerable would have been the hypocrisy that continues to guide so much international foreign policy where “trading interest” is given priority over human interest.

ANGUS MITCHELL
Sítio Ajuara, Albuquerque
Brazil 1997

ABBREVIATIONS

A.P.S.: Aborigines Protection Society
A.S.A.P.S.: Anti-Slavery & Aborigines Protection Society
B.B.: Blue Book
B.D.P and F.: *Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*
D.V.: *Deo volente* — By God's will
F.L.K.: Franciscan Library Killiney
FO: Foreign Office
HO: Home Office
H.S.I.: Handbook of South American Indians
LSE: London School of Economics
N.L.I.: National Library of Ireland
N.A.I.: National Archive of Ireland
O.G.I.: Open Government Initiative
P.A.Co: Peruvian Amazon Company
PRO: Public Record Office — Kew
P.P.: Puerto Peruano
R.H.: Rhodes House
S/P: Peruvian Sol

GLOSSARY

- Alvarenga*: Amazon river craft.
- Amazindian*: Collective name for the tribes of the Amazon basin.
- Arroba*: A measure of weight equal to 32 lb, or 14.75 kilograms.
- Batalon*: Small Amazon river craft.
- Blancos*: Hispanic whitemen.
- Borracha*: Rubber.
- Caboclo*: A person of Indian or mixed Indian and white heritage.
- Cachaça*: Sugar-cane alcoholic spirit.
- Cacique*: Tribal chief.
- Caboclo*: Literally “copper-coloured” applied to an Indian.
- Cafuzo*: Offspring of Indian and Black.
- Cepo*: Stocks.
- Chacara*: Planted land.
- Cholo*: A person of Indian heritage.
- Chorizo*: Sausage-shaped bale of rubber.
- Correría*: Premeditated attacks on tribal communities in order to enslave.
- Cushmas*: Long skirts worn by the Indian slave women.
- Delegado*: Delegate.
- Empleados*: Subservient Company employees.
- Estradas*: Forest pathways.
- Fabrico*: Rubber season normally lasting seventy-five days.
- Farinha*: Flour.
- Maloca*: Widely used Amazonian term to describe Indian thatched dwelling.
- Montaña*: Name for the forested eastern foothills of the Andes descending towards the Amazon basin.
- Muchachos de Confianza/Muchachos*: Confidence boys — armed Indian quislings used by the Chiefs of Section to kill and torture.
- Pamalcarí*: Name given to the thatched roof that covered part of smaller Amazon river craft.
- Puesta*: A rubber delivery — one *fabrico* (rubber season) might be broken up into five *puestas* (deliveries).
- Quebrada*: Waterfall.
- Racionales*: Employees of the company able to read and write.
- Rapaz*: Colloquial Portuguese for “chap” or “bloke”.

Seringueiro: Brazilian term for rubber tapper equivalent to Peruvian *cauchero*.

Sernamby: Poor quality rubber.

Tula: Large woven frame used for carrying rubber.

Veracucha: Local Huitoto word for the whiteman.

Veradero: Forest path.

PART ONE

THE DIARIES CONTROVERSY

— Well, says J.J., if they're any worse than those Belgians in the Congo Free State they must be bad. Did you read that report by a man what's this his name is?

— Casement, says the citizen. He's an Irishman.

— Yes, that's the man, says J.J. Raping the women and girls and flogging the natives on the belly to squeeze all the red rubber they can out of them.

— I know where he's gone, says Lenchan, cracking his fingers.

— Who? says I.

James Joyce, *Ulysses*

THE DIARIES' FIRST APPEARANCE

Sir Roger Casement (1864–1916), the humanitarian and Irish revolutionary, was put on trial at the end of June 1916 on a charge of High Treason against the British Crown. He had served the British state as a conscientious consul in both Africa (1895–1904) and South America (1906–13), until his resignation from the Foreign Office in the summer of 1913 when he began to devote his energies to the cause of Irish freedom. At the end of October 1914 British intelligence got wind of Casement's efforts to bring about a German–Irish alliance. Despite efforts to undermine his activities, it was not until April 1916 that he was eventually arrested on the beach at Banna Strand in County Kerry, on the south-west coast of Ireland, hours before the outbreak of the Easter Rising in Dublin.

On the fourth and last day of his trial for treason, an exchange took place in court between the Attorney-General, Sir Frederick Smith — leading the prosecution counsel — and the Chief Justice, which referred publicly for the first time to “Casement's diary”.¹ It is the earliest recorded public mention of such documents. The “Casement diaries” have become the most taboo documents in Anglo–Irish relations. Casement was an indefatigable writer, and diaries and diary fragments in various forms have been preserved to this day in both England and Ireland. The question of whether he wrote the pornographic diaries, known as the *Black Diaries*, is a matter that still rankles over eighty years after his

¹ Verbatim Report of trial and appeal pp. 201–202 HO 144/1636 — Chief Justice: “Mr Attorney, you mentioned a passage in the diary. Is there any mention as to whose diary it is?”

Attorney-General: “It was a diary. I will give your lordship the evidence of it. It was a diary found.”

Chief Justice: “I know, but as far as my recollection goes there was no further evidence beyond the fact that it was found. Whose writing it is, or whose diary it is, there is no evidence.”

Attorney-General: “I do not think I said it was the diary of any particular person. I said ‘the diary’. By ‘the diary’ I mean the diary which was found, and it is in evidence as having been found.”

Chief Justice: “I thought it right to indicate that, because it might have conveyed to the jury that it was Casement's diary. There is no evidence of it.”

Attorney-General: “You have heard, gentlemen, what my lord has said. If there was any misunderstanding I am glad it should be removed. It was a diary found with three men as to whom I make the suggestion that they had all come from Germany. There is no evidence before you as to which of the three the diary belonged, but whoever kept the diary made the note that on 12 April, the day the ticket was issued from Berlin to Wilhelmshaven...”

The Diaries Controversy

execution. Many Irish and others continue to believe that Casement was the victim of British Intelligence. Now that the documents are in the public domain historians should be able to make more balanced conclusions about the private character of this very extraordinary man.

When rumours about Roger Casement's "sexual degeneracy" began to percolate among newspapers, politicians, ambassadors and gentlemen's clubs in July 1916, those who had known him most closely found it hardest to believe. The coteries of intellectuals and friends who had known the man personally had never had a whiff of any kind of impropriety. But in that dark, apocalyptic summer of 1916 it was doubtless reconciled in the minds of most, that a man capable of co-operating with Germany — and who had himself admitted to treason — was capable of anything.

In the month between his trial and execution, as the battle of the Somme raged on the Western Front, no less than six petitions were raised urging the government to grant a reprieve. But on 18 July a Cabinet Memorandum made reference for the first time to the *Black Diaries*. It alleged that the documents clearly showed that Casement "had for years been addicted to the grossest sodomitical practices".² Material circulated at the highest government level in both Britain and the United States wholly undermined the campaign for clemency and successfully prevented³ Casement from attaining martyrdom.⁴ The intellectuals, humanitarians and those of high public standing who had gathered round Casement were completely confused by the accusations. Though most did not believe it, there was little they could do. Early in the morning on 3 August 1916 Casement was hanged.

² Cabinet Memorandum HO 144/1636/311643/3A — dated July 15, circulated at Cabinet meeting on July 18: "Casement's diaries and his ledger entries, covering many pages of closely typed matter, show that he has for years been addicted to the grossest sodomitical practices. Of late years he seems to have completed the full circle of sexual degeneracy, and from a pervert has become an invert — a 'woman' or pathic who derives his satisfaction from attracting men and inducing them to use him..."

³ In March 1922 Michael Collins began a correspondence with Casement's brother, Tom, about "a matter that I cannot write about — or at least is so lengthy as to make it difficult for me to write about it." The precise nature of the "matter" was never made clear but the correspondence between the two men opens N.A.I D/Taoiseach S9606 — Roger Casement Diaries.

⁴ It is not clear exactly who was shown diary material, either photographed extracts or typed copy. Copies were seen by King George V, John Redmond, a number of representatives of the British and U.S. press, the American Ambassador Sir Walter Page, the Rev. John Harris (on behalf of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Randall Davidson), Sir William Wiseman [see letter HO 144/23454]. The Home Office did, however, admit in March 1994 at the time of the release of the *Black Diaries* that they had engineered a smear campaign to counteract the pleas for clemency and it is probable that the Intelligence services began their campaign against Casement well in advance of his capture.

The Diaries Controversy

THE SECRET LIFE OF THE BLACK DIARIES

In 1921 the prosecutor in Casement's trial, the Lord Chancellor Sir F.E. Smith, later First Earl of Birkenhead, showed certain diaries, purported to be by Roger Casement, to the Sinn Fein leader Michael Collins: the first occasion on which an independent Irish witness was shown the documents. Collins claimed he recognized Casement's handwriting — a judgment that apparently satisfied Irish opinion. Nevertheless, access was closed to the diaries. Not long before his death in 1935 T. E. Lawrence tried to obtain access to the diaries, as he toyed with the idea of writing a biography of Casement, but his request was denied and without seeing them he understood the book was worthless. His view of Casement, nevertheless, is interesting:

Casement. Yes, I still hanker after the thought of writing a short book on him. As I see it, his was a heroic nature. I should like to write upon him subtly, so that his enemies would think I was with them till they finished my book and rose from reading it to call him a hero. He has the appeal of a broken archangel. But unless the P.M. will release the 'diary' material, nobody can write of him. Do you know who the next Labour P.M. might be? In advance he might pledge himself, and I am only 46, able, probably, to wait for years: and very determined to make England ashamed of itself, if I can.⁵

In the 1930s the first two Casement biographies appeared. Denis Gwynn wrote *Traitor or Patriot: The Life and Death of Roger Casement* (1931) and G. Parmiter published *Roger Casement* (1936). Both biographers remained almost silent on the subject of the secret diaries. Parmiter's few thoughts on the matter are reflective of the darkness in which the mystery had been shrouded:

While the appeal was pending there began to appear rumours which have persisted to the present day. These rumours took the form of imputations against Casement's moral character, although for a long time they were never openly made. They made their way through the smoking rooms of clubs into ordinary conversation, and have latterly found their way into print.

The story that was put about was that Casement for many years led a life of gross moral perversion, and it was said that there was in existence a diary, in the possession of Scotland Yard, which was nothing more than a record of indecencies committed in London, Paris, Putumayo. Eventually there appeared photographic copies of pages of this diary which emanated, unofficially, from Scotland Yard. Those of Casement's friends who saw these reproductions had no doubt but that the diary was in Casement's handwriting. These photographic copies had a considerable circulation and even found their way to America. This propaganda to blacken Casement's moral character had considerable effect and alienated a large amount of sympathy from him.

While Parmiter had little doubt that the diaries were "propaganda", such accusations were more directly aimed in 1936 when an Irish-American academic, Dr William Maloney, published the daringly titled

⁵ Quoted in Malcolm Brown (ed.), *The Letters of T.E. Lawrence* (J.M.Dent 1988). The letter of mid-December 1934 to Charlotte Payne-Townshend, wife of George Bernard Shaw, is held in the British Library.

The Diaries Controversy

book *The Forged Casement Diaries*, in which he openly accused the ascendant nationalist faction in the coalition War Cabinet of 1916, along with high-ranking members of British intelligence, of forging the diaries. He revealed how the alliance between British Naval Intelligence led by Captain (later Admiral) ‘Blinker’ Hall and the Assistant Commissioner, London Metropolitan Police, Sir Basil Thomson,⁶ had both the motive and the expertise to devise the forgery and how everyone including the Prime Minister, Herbert Asquith, became party to this conspiracy to expose Casement as a “degenerate”. W.B. Yeats contributed his song “Roger Casement” and poem “The Ghost of Roger Casement”, and a party of “forgery theorists” was born.

George Bernard Shaw, in a letter to the *Irish Press* of 11 February 1937, made an interesting comment about attitudes current in 1916:

The trial occurred at a time when the writings of Sigmund Freud had made psychopathy grotesquely fashionable. Everybody was expected to have a secret history unfit for publication except in the consulting rooms of the psychoanalysts. If it had been announced that among the papers of Queen Victoria a diary had been found revealing that her severe respectability masked the day-dreams of a Messalina it would have been received with eager credulity and without the least reprobation by the intelligentsia. It was in that atmosphere innocents like Alfred Noyes and Redmond were shocked, the rest of us were easily credulous; but we associated no general depravity with psychopathic eccentricities, and we were determined not to be put off by it in our efforts to obtain a pardon. The Putumayo explanation never occurred to us.

A few days later, on 17 February Irish President Eamon de Valera was asked if he would take the matter of the diaries up with the British government. “No Sir,” he replied, “Roger Casement’s reputation is safe in the affections of the Irish people.” But behind the scenes an internal memorandum drafted by the Irish Department of External Affairs for de Valera showed that despite the government’s non-intervention, they were deeply suspicious of the diaries.

Whatever may be the view of the present generation in Ireland regarding Roger Casement, it must not be forgotten that history has often been built on statements which to the generation concerned were obvious lies but which by clear distortion, combined with persistent propaganda, have in time been accepted as historical facts.⁷

⁶ Thomson, Sir Basil Home (1861–1938), is the man credited with discovering the *Black Diaries*. Thomson was born in Queen’s College, Oxford, and brought up at Bishopthorpe, Yorkshire, after his father’s appointment as Archbishop of York. Following Eton and Oxford, Thomson entered the Colonial Service and at the age of twenty-nine became Prime Minister of Tonga. In 1913 he was made Assistant Commissioner, Metropolitan Police, and Director of Intelligence (1919–21). In 1925 he was dismissed from the post after a breach of public decency laws. He wrote over thirty books of fiction and history, including a scholarly introduction and edition of Hernan Gallego’s sixteenth century text under the title, *The Discovery of the Solomon Islands*. His five conflicting accounts of how he “discovered” the *Black Diaries* continue to this day to confound the matter.

⁷ N.A.I. D/Taoiseach S9606 — Roger Casement Diaries.

The Diaries Controversy

The renewal of the world war saw the controversy rest until the 1950s when the matter was raised once again in Parliament,⁸ forced by the claims of a new generation of forgery theorists. The historian Dr Herbert Mackey published a number of books arguing foul play. The poet Alfred Noyes, who was attached to the British FO during the First World War and was prominent in circulating the Casement slanders, argued in *The Accusing Ghost — Justice for Casement* (1957) the most coherent case as to why he now accepted the diaries as forged. But despite their emphatic arguments, the idea that the British intelligence would have gone to such lengths to destroy Casement seemed unlikely.

In 1959 the long spell of secrecy over the contents of the *Black Diaries* was finally lifted with their lavish publication in Paris, outside the jurisdiction of the British Crown, by the Fleet Street newspaperman, Peter Singleton-Gates, and the publisher of censored material, Maurice Girodias. In his Foreword to the book, Singleton-Gates related how:

In May 1922 a person of some authority in London presented me with a bundle of documents, with the comment that if ever I had time I might find in them the basis for a book of unusual interest. The donor had no ulterior motive for wishing such a book published; his gift was no more than a kind gesture to a journalist and writer.⁹

But Singleton-Gates's efforts to publish the diaries had been prevented in 1925 by the Home Secretary, Sir William Joynson-Hicks, and his Chief Legal Adviser, Sir Ernley Blackwell, under the Official Secrets Act. The publication of the *Black Diaries*, as they were now christened, seemed to endorse the genuineness of the documents. From 10 August 1959 the Home Secretary permitted historical researchers to see manuscript material which generally corresponded with Singleton-Gates's faulty published text. Despite considerable interest in the British and Irish press the only effort at anything near a scholarly analysis was a short essay by an Irish academic, Roger McHugh, published in a small Belfast-based

⁸ On 3 May 1956 questions about the "authenticity" of the diaries were raised by the Unionist MP for Belfast, Lt-Col. Montgomery Hyde, but requests that the British government should set up an independent enquiry and investigate the matter were turned down because (a) it would once again stir up political passions and (b) it might be unfair to Casement — "There is a fundamental principle that no official disclosure should make it possible for anyone further to blacken the memory of a man who has been imprisoned and hanged."

⁹ In 1995 it became clear that Singleton-Gates had acted as a "front" for the Head of Special Branch, Sir Basil Thomson, and that it was Thomson who handed Singleton-Gates the typescripts of the *Black Diaries* following his dismissal from New Scotland Yard. See HO 144/23425/311643/207. Letter from Brigadier General Sir William T.F. Horwood, Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, to the Rt Hon. Sir John Anderson, Permanent Under-Secretary at the Home Office — 21 January 1925. This revelation about Singleton-Gates raises questions about the role of the British press and publishers in authenticating the *Black Diaries*. Discussions with former friends and colleagues of Maurice Girodias suggest, however, that he was not privy to Singleton-Gates's secret.

The Diaries Controversy

magazine *Threshold*¹⁰ in 1960. McHugh cast a number of well-argued aspersions over the legitimacy of the documents. He threw doubt on the serious discrepancies between the PRO diaries and eyewitness accounts of material exhibited in 1916 as Casement's diary. He highlighted several suspicious internal discrepancies and contradictions. He demonstrated how the chronology of the diary campaign, establishing their alleged discovery was part of a wartime propagandist intelligence initiative against Casement launched well before his arrest. Finally, he analysed how official accounts of the provenance of the *Black Diaries* were mutually contradictory.

Although McHugh's arguments were never properly refuted, once access to the *Black Diaries* had been granted there followed three considered biographies of Casement. Each one accepted almost without question the "authenticity" of the *Black Diaries* — and none of the biographers made the slightest effort to make any historically based scientific analysis of the documents themselves or refute McHugh's scholarly evaluation. Instead they preferred to base their judgments on the confused, often conflicting maze of circumstantial evidence surrounding the appearance of the documents and the "official" statements that apparently backed up their authenticity. Certainly, as the social taboos about homosexuality began to break down following the sexual revolution of the sixties and the implementation in 1967 of the 1957 Wolfenden Report recommendation in favour of the legalization of homosexuality between consenting adults, Casement's "treason" and "homosexuality" were attractive characteristics for biographers and publishers looking to sell books.

Casement's life was interpreted in terms of paradoxes — he was seen as a "fragmented and elusive" character, but nevertheless as a man capable of protecting native peoples on while quietly "perverting" them to satisfy his mounting sexual libido. His sexuality mirrored his treason, and his ambivalent and contradictory character extending from "emotional deprivation, religious uncertainties, the duality of his political commitments" was bound up with his "sexual perversion" and homosexuality.

The Irishman and former editor of *The Spectator*, Brian Inglis, published *Roger Casement* (1973) and tried to place his subject within the context of other well-known homosexuals — André Gide, Marcel Proust, Oscar Wilde. His argument against the forgery theory was brief but adamant:

Nevertheless the case against the forgery theory remains unshaken. No person or persons, in their right mind, would have gone to so much trouble and expense to damn a traitor when a single diary would have sufficed. To ask the forger to fake the other two diaries and the cash

¹⁰ *Threshold*, "Casement — The Public Record Office Manuscripts" Summer 1960 No. 4 Vol 1.

The Diaries Controversy

register (and if one were forged, all of them were) would have been simply to ask for detection, because a single mistake in any of them would have destroyed the whole ugly enterprise. Besides, where could the money have been found? Government servants may sometimes be unscrupulous, but they are always tight-fisted.

In *The Lives of Roger Casement* (1976) Benjamin Reid took a more psychoanalytical approach and analysed Casement in terms of Freudian personality conflicts — a man who was “at ease with his anus”. He tried “to look at the character of the man behind the great events in which he was involved”. Casement was seen as the “fearless hypochondriac”, the “fanatic traitor” and “fanatic patriot”. In two lengthy appendices, Reid tried to prove the “authenticity” of the *Black Diaries* and rightly stated that to accept the fact that Casement was a “practising homosexual” it was necessary “to accept the diaries as genuine, for it is there that nearly all the evidence lies”. Roger Sawyer, the most recent biographer, accepted the results of an “ultra-violet” test carried out before Singleton-Gates and another well-known witness, that established “without any doubt” that the diaries were “entirely in Casement’s own hand”. The results and nature of this test have not yet been released and in the light of what is now known about Singleton-Gates’s special relationship with Basil Thomson, Sawyer’s emphatic argument in favour of Casement’s “disease” is hard to accept.

With these three biographies the case seemed to rest. The *Black Diaries* were generally accepted as genuine and Casement’s official portrait eighty years after his death was no longer that of the sufferer of “sexual degeneracy” who had been hanged for treason, but of a “gay traitor”, a confused, ambivalent figure, a lonely and misguided idealist, worn out by years spent defending primitive peoples in tropical climes. Whilst his humanitarian work in Africa and South America was seen as the greatest human rights achievement of his age, his character was seen as “flawed” due to his treacherous support of Germany, his eleventh hour conversion to the Catholic Church and his sexuality, as detailed cryptically in the *Black Diaries*.

While Casement’s last biographers considered that they had understood the inner character of their subject, they failed to get to the heart of the vast amount of diaries or journal material scattered between the Public Record Office (PRO) in Kew, the National Library of Ireland (N.L.I.), Rhodes House, Oxford (R.H.) and the Franciscan Library Killiney (F.L.K.). To some extent their efforts were thwarted by the fact that they were forbidden to make photocopies of the documents. It was also the case that the documentation dealing with Casement’s life is immense and is scattered in archives across the world. Moreover, the *Black Diaries* dealt in the main with Casement’s South American consular career, which, though certainly an important chapter of his life, was overshadowed by his two decades in Africa, his involvement in the Irish republican movement and his trial and execution.

The Diaries Controversy

Following the release of the material constituting the *Black Diaries* in March 1994 and over one hundred and seventy closed Casement files in October 1995 the whole matter of “Casement’s diaries” was effectively deemed to be history. In anticipation of the release, and to coincide with the acceptance in Ireland of the status of homosexuality, the BBC produced a short radio programme weighted heavily in favour of the validity of the *Black Diaries*. A handwriting expert spent a day comparing material in both London and Dublin and satisfied himself that “the bulk of handwriting ... is the work of Roger Casement”.¹¹ To its detriment, the programme failed to make any mention of a new generation of forgery theorists who had been lobbying the BBC for some time to look into the whole matter of the *Black Diaries* in the light of their own revelations.

The controversy over the *Black Diaries* persisted and the lengthy correspondence in *The Irish Times* (between October 1995 and June 1996) showed just how confused the whole subject remained. For the historian it might best be sorted out by first of all listing the different extant diaries and relevant documentation available to researchers. Let us begin with the documents whose authenticity is most in doubt.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE DIARIES

The *Black Diaries* consist of five hard-back books of varying size contained in a dark green security box in the Public Record Office at Kew. The first item, known as the *Army Book*¹² — a small field-service notebook — is an apparently innocuous document with the first entry referring to the death of Queen Victoria and brief entries between 6 and 13 February 1902 and a short account of Casement’s movements on 20 and 21 July when he was travelling in the Belgian Congo. It holds no obvious sexual references and is filled with a few abstract notes about distances and railway times, transcriptions from foreign newspapers and two rough sketch maps.

The first sex diary, as such, is a small *Letts’s Pocket Diary and Almanac*¹³ — covering the months of Casement’s investigation into the Congo from 14 February 1903 to 8 January 1904 with a few notes added

¹¹ “Document: The Casement Diaries” — BBC Radio 4, 23 September 1993. The handwriting expert was Dr David Baxendale, who had many years’ experience working for the Home Office. With regard to the 1911 *Letts’s Diary*, Baxendale stated that “the bulk of the handwriting in there is the work of Roger Casement”, while in the diaries in which it was alleged there had been interpolations he stated that “the handwriting of all the entries which were of that nature correspond closely with Mr Casement’s handwriting”. Opinion of handwriting experts, though it may help satisfy public opinion, is not generally considered in academic circles to be reliable evidence.

¹² HO 161/1

¹³ HO 161/2 — The complete text with minor alterations was reproduced in the Olympia Press publication of *The Black Diaries*.

The Diaries Controversy

at the beginning and end. It is written mainly in black ink with a minimum number of entries in pencil. There are two days per page except Saturday, which has a single page. The pages for January have been torn out. The diary records sexual acts in London, the Congo, Madeira, the Canary Islands and Sierra Leone, mainly with native boys.

The next diary is the *Dollard's 1910 Office Diary*,¹⁴ interleaved with pink blotting paper. This diary appears to correlate with Casement's movements as he left his post as Consul-General at Rio de Janeiro in February 1910 and journeyed by boat back to England via Argentina. The main body of this diary, however, coincides with Casement's first voyage to the Amazon at the end of July 1910 and continues uninterrupted until the end of the year. Entries are in both pen or pencil with a few isolated words and expressions in bold blue crayon, while a number of leaves of blotting paper have been written on. There are three days per page and no space for a Sunday entry. Sex or sexual fantasies occur in Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Mar del Plata, London, Belfast, Dublin and, with most frequency, up the Amazon at Belém, Manaus, Iquitos and in the Putumayo. The original is extremely messy and has been corrected, written over, crossed out — a fact that is not immediately identifiable from the microfiche. There are also several variant styles of handwriting.

The *1911 Letts's Desk Diary* — the document that has never been published and is the most explicit and pornographic in its content — follows on directly from the last entry for 31 December in the *1910 Dollard's Diary* as Casement arrived in Paris for the New Year of 1911.¹⁵ Rebound in green buckram, this document has been heavily restored. Once again the majority of the diary is written in black ink and pen. The first three days of the week are on one page, the last four on another and this diary too is interleaved with blotting paper. At the beginning are four pages of notes or memoranda in a variety of handwriting styles and written in black ink and pencil, transcribing innocuous quotes from Peruvian newspapers or passages copied from works on the flora and fauna of the Amazon. They mirror the variant styles of handwriting adopted elsewhere in the diary. After day by day entries for the first eighteen days of January, as Casement spent New Year in Paris before returning to London after his first Amazon voyage, there is a rough (unidentified) sketch covering a page in February, and a very untypical signature "Sir Roger Casement

¹⁴ HO 161/3 — Also reproduced in the Singleton-Gates/Olympia Press edition of 1959.

¹⁵ HO 161/4 — has never been published although excerpts appeared in H. Montgomery Hyde, *Famous Trials: The Trial of Sir Roger Casement* (Penguin 1964). In another publication, *A History of Pornography*, Montgomery Hyde wrote of the *Black Diaries*: "... the descriptions of homosexual acts which they contain are undoubtedly the frankest which have ever appeared in an open English publication." Although Montgomery Hyde is best known as an author and barrister he also had a distinguished career as a British Intelligence officer and Unionist MP for North Belfast (1950–59) — whether such a combination of public posts made him a suitable voice to "authenticate" the diaries is open to question.

The Diaries Controversy

CMG” opposite May, the month Casement received news of his knighthood. After that the diary is blank until 13 August when the entries resume and detail the movements that coincide with Casement’s second voyage up the Amazon to Iquitos and into the Brazilian-Peruvian frontier region of the river Javari. During this journey the sexual references are almost of daily occurrence and of the most plainly explicit nature. Long, cryptic entries of fantasy mix with nights of exceptional sexual athletics and endless descriptions of cruising along the waterfronts of Pará, Manaus and Iquitos. The most explicit entry takes place on Sunday 1 October, the start of the pheasant-shooting season in England. By this account the diarist did little on this journey except fantasize and seek out willing sexual partners or seduce under-age boys at every opportunity. After a short stay in Iquitos and an expedition to try and arrest some of the fugitive slave-drivers, the document details the return down the Amazon to Pará and then north back to Barbados. At the end are a couple of pages of figures detailing expenditure during the voyage. 1911 was in a number of ways a year of great changes for Casement. The knighthood he received for his humanitarian work, and specifically for the success of his investigation into the Putumayo, turned him into an internationally respected figure and a household name throughout the empire. Behind the scenes it was the year when he began to publish his anti-British propaganda essays, and to record the reasons for turning his back on loyalty to the empire.¹⁶

The last diary, known as the *Cash Ledger*,¹⁷ is a record of daily accounts written in a blank hardback cash book. It briefly records “Expenditure” for February and March 1910 and then begins a day-by-day account of financial outgoings for 1911, from 1 January to 31 October. At the end there are a few more brief entries about 1910. There is a photograph of Casement’s baby godson, Roger Hicks, glued to the inside front cover. It is written almost wholly in pen, and a number of sexual references look as if they have been interpolated into the text. The portrait of Casement revealed by this document is utterly contrary to the image of Casement presented by genuine reports, letters and memoranda that have survived. In the seven months that Casement spent in Britain between his two Amazon voyages, he was certainly working on a number

¹⁶ A number of these essays were published in Herbert O. Mackey (ed.), *The Crime Against Europe: The Writings and Poetry of Roger Casement* (C.J. Fallon Ltd. 1959). The earliest, “The Keeper of the Seas”, written in August 1911, shows that Casement’s anti-British attitudes partly derived from his experiences on his 1910 voyage into the Amazon when he first began to realize the damage wrought by the “white man’s civilization” and English “trading interests”. Casement’s propaganda writings are another aspect of his life that have been overlooked by biographers, though they clearly show him to have been both a competent historian and something of a political visionary as well as one of the most active anti-imperialists of his time.

¹⁷ HO 161/5. This document was printed as an appendix in the first edition of Singleton-Gates’s *The Black Diaries*.

The Diaries Controversy

of different levels but rather than sexual they are better described as anti-imperial. In the first months his priority was the writing of his substantial reports on the Putumayo atrocities which he delivered on St Patrick's Day. In the subtle wording of these reports he clearly laid the blame for the outrages against the Putumayo Indians on rampant capitalism. After delivery to the FO he devoted his time to the Morel Testimonial, and the deepening rift in Anglo-Irish affairs. From what can be reconstructed of his movements, activities and views during these months, Casement was starting to see the whole problem of slavery and ethnocide in a global dimension. He began to ally his own crusade in the Putumayo with the Mexican revolution and the overthrow of Diaz and his alliance with American business. Despite his knighthood, his views were becoming actively extreme. Behind the scenes he put pressure on not only humanitarian groups but both the Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches to support his action. He lobbied several MPs to persuade the Foreign Office itself to act. He directly attacked the Monroe Doctrine and American interference in both Mexico and South America. The ledger serves as a sinister mask obscuring Casement's emerging revolutionary character.

The physical characteristics of the *Black Diaries* vary significantly from the journal that Casement kept during his 1910 Amazon voyage and whose authenticity has never been doubted. This document is written on one hundred and twenty-eight unbound loose leaves of lined, double-sided foolscap and covers the period from 23 September to 6 December 1910, the seventy-five days that Casement spent travelling through the Putumayo and his return to and departure from Iquitos. It is the document that is variously referred to as the "white diary" or "the cleaned-up version", since it does not contain any sexual acts or fantasies. For the purposes of clear identification in this argument it is referred to as the Putumayo Journal¹⁸ and it forms the bulk of Casement's *Amazon Journal* reproduced in this volume.

Besides the manuscript version of this document there is a typescript version, also in the possession of the National Library of Ireland,¹⁹ bound in two volumes of green buckram. There have been a few basic corrections in pencil to some spellings in this typescript, apparently in the hand of Casement, otherwise it is a pretty accurate copy of the manuscript. Also held among the Casement Papers at the N.L.I. are a number of fragmentary diary entries²⁰ covering both of Casement's

¹⁸ MS 13,087 — [25]. This is held among the Casement Papers at the N.L.I. and has uninterrupted daily entries from 23 September to 6 December 1910.

¹⁹ MS 1622/3. This document of 408 numbered pages amounts to 414 pages.

²⁰ There are fragmentary entries for the following days: August 24/26/27/28/30; a letter dated 5 September headed "To be part of my diary"; September 10/11/12/17; fragments of a conversation with O'Donnell at Entre Rios on 25 October 1910; December 20. For his 1911 voyage up the Amazon to Iquitos there are fragmentary entries for November 4/9/11/16/27/28/29/30; December 1/5/6.

The Diaries Controversy

voyages into the Amazon during 1910 and 1911. These fragmentary entries are written on the same double-sided foolscap in pencil in the manner of his Putumayo Journal and are written in the same open and naturally fluent style. They, too, do not contain any sexual references and despite their fragmentary nature often appear to be part of a much larger document.

The other important diaries that should be described are Casement's *German Diaries*.²¹ Beginning on 7 November 1914, they record Casement's efforts at the outset of the First World War to recruit an Irish Brigade from among captured Irish prisoners of war in Germany. These diaries consist of two black hardback notebooks at the N.L.I. and are not a day-to-day record but written sporadically in both pen and pencil with some German newspaper articles glued into them. A later, more complete, section of this diary can be found at the Franciscan Library Killiney. This is a photographed document of one hundred and thirty-two pages — running between 17 March and 8 April 1916 —²² which, from the content of the document, is indisputably a copy of Casement's *propria manu*. It is unclear where the original might be found, if, indeed, it survives. It appears, however, to be photographed from loose leaves of paper.

It should also be noted that there is one "diary extract" held at Rhodes House, written in black ink in Casement's own hand.²³ These four pages have been directly copied from Casement's manuscript Putumayo Journal. These extracts were apparently copied by Casement at the end of 1912 and sent to Charles Roberts, the chairman of the Parliamentary Select Committee Enquiry set up to investigate the atrocities. They tell us little except that Casement did refer to his genuine Putumayo Journal whenever he needed. Also at Rhodes House is Casement's lengthy correspondence with Charles Roberts talking about his diary and a two-page document titled "Casement's Diary Index of Marked Passages" which collates with the (top) typescript of the Putumayo Journal held in the National Library of Ireland. The title of this document, however, indicates that it refers to another (bottom) copy of the same typescript where some relevant passages had been marked. There is no trace of this copy and it is probably lost.

The only other documents that are central to assessing the "authenticity" of the *Black Diaries* are the voluminous Foreign Office files held at the Public Record Office in London.²⁴ In these files are found

²¹ MS 1689 and MS 1690 — Two notebooks 21 x 16cm.

²² Franciscan Library Killiney — Eamon de Valera Papers File 1335.

²³ MSS Brit Emp S22 [G 335] — *Extracts from my diary* — p. 70 Saturday 29 October 1910 at Chorrera. These deal with Casement's visits to the store at Chorrera and his conversations with the one wholly British employee of the Company, a Mr Parr.

²⁴ FO Putumayo Files are as follows: FO 371 / 722; 967–968; 1200–1203; 1450–1454; 1732–1734; 2081–2082.

The Diaries Controversy

the official narrative of events and dozens of letters and memoranda sent by Casement to the Foreign Office regarding his Putumayo investigation.

PROVENANCE

The provenance of both the *Black Diaries* and the Putumayo Journal is often confusing to trace accurately but it is important in establishing their authenticity to try and ascertain when they were first seen or described in the form we know them now, and if they are likely to have passed through the hands of British intelligence. We know that five trunks of Casement Papers were seized by Scotland Yard at some point between late 1914 and April 1916. These trunks were later returned to Casement's cousin, Gertrude Bannister (Mrs Sidney Parry), via George Gavan Duffy, Casement's solicitor,²⁵ although what documentation was retained by Scotland Yard will never be known.

The *Black Diaries* are engulfed in a cloud of confusion and conflicting statements as to their origins. How or when they came into the possession of Special Branch in the form they have now has never been made clear and is only muddied by the five directly contrary declarations²⁶ of the Assistant Commissioner of New Scotland Yard, Sir Basil Thomson, the man who claimed to have "discovered" the *Black Diaries*. Permission has never been granted to examine Scotland Yard's records of the process of search and seize — it is anyway unlikely that they would reveal much. What is clear is that there was no clear description of the five bound volumes held today in the PRO until Roger McHugh described them in 1960 and even the Cabinet Memorandum that first gave official recognition to the diaries is indirect in its description and refers to "typed matter".

Early in May 1916 Captain Regina Reginald Hall of Naval Intelligence "called a number of press representatives and showed them what he identified as photographic copies of portions of Casement's diaries describing homosexual episodes".²⁷ A little later the diaries were

²⁵ PRO HO 144/1637/311643/178. This material constitutes a list of the Casement property which was returned to his next of kin. Although we know from this list what was returned, it does not inform us what was not kept by the authorities only to be subsequently destroyed. The large amount of missing documentation dealing with Casement's Putumayo Journal is discussed elsewhere in this study.

²⁶ Sir Basil Thomson's five conflicting statements as to how the *Black Diaries* came into his possession are well known and therefore not repeated. See Singleton-Gates *op. cit.*, pp. 21–5.

²⁷ I have stuck here to the story as told by Reid in *The Lives of Roger Casement*, p.382. Henry Nevinson tells a different story in *Last Changes Last Chances*: "Early in June, a member of the Government had called various London editors together, and informed them

The Diaries Controversy

shown by Hall to a representative of the Associated Press, Ben S. Allen.²⁸ In a statement, Allen later described the manuscript he had been shown by Hall:

It was a rolled manuscript which Hall took from a pigeon-hole in his desk ... The paper was buff in colour, with blue lines and the sheets ragged at the top as if they had been torn from what, in my school days, we called a composition book. The paper was not quite legal size.²⁹

Another possible witness to the physical state of the *Black Diaries* was the secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society, the Rev. John Harris. Harris sent a petition to the Foreign Office on behalf of Casement's humanitarian colleagues the day after the 18 July Cabinet memorandum and made six clear points as to why the humanitarian lobby doubted the accusations of moral misconduct. The points of the petition are worth reiterating:

1. Casement's whole life and conduct was a perpetual and vigorous protest against the prevailing immorality.
2. Habitual immorality would have been impossible without the knowledge of his associates.
3. To our knowledge Casement was scrupulously careful to do nothing which might at any time compromise his public work in this respect.

that in searching among Casement's papers they had discovered a diary, alleged to be in his handwriting, though his name did not occur upon it; and this diary was held to prove that for some years he had been addicted to 'perversion' or 'unnatural vice'."

²⁸ "Hall showed it to me at first at the conclusion of the regular Wednesday weekly interview with the American correspondents, and told me the Associated Press could have it for exclusive publication if it wished it ... The diary was in manuscript in what I recall as finely written in the handwriting of a person of culture and originality.

I told Hall that, while the A.P. was not interested in scandal for its own sake, because of the importance of the individual and the events in which he was playing such an important role, we might use it. However, I told him it must be authenticated completely before we would use it, and I saw only one way of doing so, and that was by permitting me to show it to Sir Roger Casement then in Pentonville. If he were to acknowledge it as authentic I would then submit the document to my chief in the London Bureau of the A.P. Hall neither assented to nor denied this request, but replaced the manuscript in his desk.

For several weeks thereafter he showed me the diary repeating the offer, and on each occasion I made the same stipulation ... Late in the negotiations Hall showed me some typewritten excerpts from the diary, evidently designed to illustrate the innuendo of perversions. Nothing in the copy I read showed anything except the ravings of the victim of perversions.

I recall my horror at those revelations. I cannot recall that any vigorous effort was made to press the diary on me, but the effort was repeated several times, and it was stated that the contents were of such significance that its publication would prove of great news interest. After the execution of Sir Roger the subject was dropped and I heard of the diary only casually until several years after."

²⁹ Statement held in the N.L.I.

The Diaries Controversy

4. In all Casement's journeys and work, he had been accompanied by reputable Englishmen who would have promptly discovered any such depravity and turned from him with loathing. Not one of these men has ever suggested, so far as we know, that Casement was other than a most lofty-minded person, and, furthermore, these are, we believe, amongst those who find the allegations most incredible. This incredulity is based not merely on Casement's character but on the grounds of the impracticability of secretly living such a life in the tropics.
5. At no other time either in Africa or South America have the enemies of Casement cast the shadow of suspicion upon his moral conduct, although in the Putumayo they did not hesitate to do so with reference to a British Officer. Both in Africa and in South America conditions were such that friends and enemies would quickly have discovered any such lapse.
6. If the allegations in the "diary" are in Casement's handwriting, clearly accusing himself of these practices and are not translated extracts from the documents of third parties, then it is submitted that they constitute proof of mental disease.
 - (a) It is unthinkable that a man of Casement's intelligence would under normal circumstances record such grave charges in a form in which they might at any time fall into the hands of his enemies.
 - (b) Is it not a fact known to medical science that certain mental diseases often take the form of self accusation of those things which normally the sufferer most loathes?

Within hours of presenting his petition Harris was called to the Home Office and on 19 July, in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, he described that meeting, but referred to the diaries in the vaguest of terms:³⁰

Sir Ernley Blackwell placed everything before me yesterday at the Home Office, and as a result, I must admit with the most painful reluctance that Sir Roger Casement revealed in this evidence is a very different man from the one up to whom I have looked as an ideal character for over fifteen years.

My distress of mind at this terrible revelation will I am sure be fully appreciated by your Grace. The only consolation is that there appears to be no certain evidence that these abominable things were practised in the Congo — it may be that our presence checked them.

Equally unidentifiable is the nature of the "diary" offered by the Attorney-General, Sir F.E. Smith, to Casement's defence counsel in the days before the trial so that they might plead a case of "Guilty but insane". The only person to see this diary was the most junior member of Casement's defence counsel, Mr Artemus Jones, who had been chosen by

³⁰ HO 144/1636/311643/3a. This is a copy of the letter sent to Sir Ernley Blackwell for HO records.

The Diaries Controversy

Casement's prosecutor, the Attorney-General. Jones described the document handed to him by the Attorney-General as "a number of typewritten sheets, bound with covers of smooth brown paper. The text was in the form of a diary, the entries being made on different dates, and at various places, including Paris, also towns in Africa, and South America (the names of which would be well known to those familiar with Casement's activities in the Congo and Putumayo)".³¹

To conclude from eyewitness statements made about diary material in the weeks between Casement's arrest and execution, it is not possible directly to marry the "diary material" that was photographed and circulated in 1916 or described by independent witnesses at the time of Casement's trial with the *Black Diaries* held in the PRO today. If we accept Singleton-Gates's word, then the typed copies that came into his possession in May 1922 (excluding the *1911 Letts's Desk Diary*) were copied from the diaries held in Sir Basil Thomson's safe at Scotland Yard. Singleton-Gates also describes being shown two of the original diaries by Sir Wyndham Childs, Thomson's successor at Scotland Yard — although he was only shown one Letts's diary, presumably the *Letts's Pocket Diary* for 1903, as well as the *Dollard's 1910 Diary*.

The *1911 Letts's Desk Diary* remained something of a mystery until its release in 1994. A typescript of this diary was not handed over to Singleton-Gates along with the other papers he received from Sir Basil Thomson. Nothing was known about this document until the first published description including brief excerpts appeared in 1960 in H. Montgomery Hyde's *The Trial of Sir Roger Casement*. But the published extracts only hinted at the true nature of this document. Biographers too have seemed reluctant to scrutinize this document too closely, since it unequivocally portrays Casement as both a pederast and obsessive fantasist. Casement's 1911 Amazon voyage has been rather briefly passed over by biographers as little more than a sexual odyssey — an officially sanctioned cruise along the harbour-fronts of Amazonia. But the evidence of an American doctor, Herbert Spencer Dickey, who travelled with

³¹ Artemus Jones conveyed this in a letter to Dr Maloney (quoted in Singleton-Gates); the letter continued: "Most of the entries related to trivial personal matters, common to diaries. At intervals appeared the passages to which the Crown attached importance in the event of the defence putting in a plea of insanity. In these the diarist describes acts of sexual perversion he had committed with other men."

As the document had been handed over for the purpose of being shown to Sullivan, I deemed it my duty to keep it locked up in the chambers until he arrived in London. I did not show it, for that reason, either to Professor J.H. Morgan or to the solicitor instructing the defence, Mr Gavan Duffy.

The fact of its existence, however, was known to both. On Sullivan's arrival in chambers I gave him the verbal message from the Attorney-General, and at the same time I took out the document from the drawer. Sullivan's reply was: 'There is no question of our pleading guilty. I don't see what on earth it has to do with the case. I don't want to read it — give it them back.'

The Diaries Controversy

Casement during much of his 1911 Amazon trip, directly contradicts this view.³²

What has recently come to light is that extensive repair work was carried out on this document by the repairs department of the Public Record Office as recently as June 1972 — who authorized the work is unclear. The diary was bound in green buckram and a number of pages were faced in silk to support the flimsiness of the paper, others were given a gelatine size and others still left alone (it appears that the diary is either unaccountably composed of paper of different weights or some pages have decayed more rapidly than others). According to a spokesman for the PRO, the restoration was standard procedure for a document in a bad state of repair and the work was overseen by a Master of the Supreme Court of Judicature who made a comparison between the repaired document and a photographic reproduction of the diary taken before the work was carried out.³³

THE PUTUMAYO JOURNAL

The early provenance of Casement's Putumayo Journal can be more easily traced. When Casement handed over the responsibilities of the Putumayo investigation at the end of 1912 to Charles Roberts, the Chairman of the Parliamentary Select Committee enquiry (P.S.C.), among the documents of evidence he felt might be relevant to the enquiry he offered Roberts his diary:

I have dug up my diary of my days on the Putumayo — a very voluminous record indeed, for I wrote day and night when not tramping about interrogating — and I find I was absolutely right in the references I made to young Parr in the committee. Not perhaps to the actual word "piracy", which is immaterial in itself, but as to his opinions expressed to me at the time and recorded at the time. You see I was isolated and had to keep my mind very much alert and to record all that I noticed or heard. I did this as faithfully as a man could do for pen and pencil was never out of my hand hardly and I often wrote far into the night. The diary is a pretty complete record and were I free to publish it would be such a picture of

³² H.S. Dickey is the most important and convincing witness to Casement's behaviour on his 1911 voyage. Dickey tells his remarkable story of his years as a freelance doctor in Colombia, Peru and Brazil in *The Misadventures of a Tropical Medico* (Bodley Head 1929). Dickey was closely connected with the Peruvian Amazon Company and spent over ten years working in the north-west Amazon and never heard a single rumour about Casement's alleged "degeneracy". In the latter half of the 1930s Dickey entered into a correspondence with Dr William Maloney and was close to finishing a biography of Casement titled *Casement the Liberator* or *The Incurable Irishman* {F.L.K. De Valera 1334} which he hoped would put an end to the controversy over the diaries, but it was never published. Dickey's statement regarding his voyage with Casement is held in N.L.I. J. McGarrity Papers MS17601 (3).

³³ According to a PRO spokesperson, this photographic reproduction was destroyed after the examination, at least no record exists of its whereabouts. The PRO was not prepared to state who did the repair work, although keeping such information confidential at the PRO is standard practice.

The Diaries Controversy

things out there, written down red hot as would convince anyone. I have read through some of it this morning dealing with my last stay at La Chorrera and I find young Parr several times referred to and his remarks recorded at the time. As between that record then on the spot and written with only the desire to record, and his memory two years later there cannot be much doubt. I did not misrepresent him. I am thinking of having the whole diary typed. It is extensive and much of it written with pencil — I can read every word of it — so could you or another, but it could be read so much quicker if typed — and I may get it done and send it to you ...

The diary makes me sick again — positively sick — when I read it over and it brings up so vividly that forest of hell and all those unhappy people suffered. Its virtue is not its language — but its date and its being a faithful transcript of my own mind at the time and of the things around me. If I can get it typed before I go away I'll send you a copy. I am chiefly deterred by the cost — it will cost several pounds to type — and I have already spent hundreds of pounds out of my private purse over the Putumayo and I feel I am not justified in spending more.³⁴

On 31 December 1912 Casement, feeling exhausted and ill, left England for some badly needed rest in the warmer climes of the Canary Islands, taking the diary with him. On 24 January 1913 Roberts sent Casement a telegram via the British Consulate in Tenerife asking for Casement to send his diary.³⁵ Casement replied on 27 January from Quiney's English Hotel in Las Palmas enclosing the diary and describing its value as evidence in the Parliamentary Select Committee enquiry.³⁶

³⁴ R.H. Brit. Emp. S22 G.355 Casement–Roberts Correspondence December 1912.

³⁵ N.L.I. MS 27, 842 “FOLLOWING RECEIVED HERE STOP CAN YOU SUPPLY ME WITH YOUR DIARY IMPORTANT. CHARLES ROBERTS.”

³⁶ R.H. Brit. Emp. S22 Casement–Roberts Correspondence. “Your telegram reached me at Orotava, 110 miles away on Saturday. I came over here at once, arriving this morning or last midnight and now send you the diary. I had it with me, but have not read it for two and a half years! It is often almost unintelligible altho' I can read it all. Naturally there is in it something I should not wish anyone to see — but then it is as it stands. If you want to go through it I advise you strongly to have it typed first by an expert. It will take an expert to read it and decipher it. Remember it is less a diary than a reflection — a series of daily and weekly reflections.

As a diary it must be read in conjunction with the evidence of the Barbados men, which ran concurrently with most of it. Also I have two notebooks in which are other portions of the diary and sometimes letters are to go in when I have left blanks.

The value of the thing, if it has any value, is that it is sincere and was written with (obviously) never a thought of being shown to others but for myself alone — as a sort of aide memoire and mental justification and safety valve.

If you get it typed I should like a copy for myself — also, whatever typist does it there are bound to be many mistakes that I alone can correct, as I know always what I meant to write or did write when the text is not clear. ...

There is much, as you will see in my diary, would expose me to ridicule were it read by unkind eyes — its only value is that it is honest — an honest record of my own mind and of the things round me at the time. I was greatly overworked on the Putumayo — for I had no clerk or secretary and the mass of writing I had to do on top of the daily fights and enquiries and interrogation generally carried me far into the night to the detriment of my eyes — which gave out on the way, as you will see in the diary. I am sometimes very hard on individuals as you will see — as Gielgud and Cazes — but I wrote then with resentment strong in me and I could not forgive then those people and others who (as I thought and really still think) had tried to hide the evil. I did not then know that I should be able to

The Diaries Controversy

On 1 February, Roberts wrote to Casement saying the diary had been received and had been sent off to be typed.³⁷ On 5 June, the day the P.S.C. issued its report, Roberts wrote to Casement: “What shall I do with all your documents? ... I have your diary, and the typewritten copy I have for you, and a good deal besides!” On 7 July Casement was invited to lunch by Roberts when the manuscript and one copy of the typescript were presumably handed over. What then happened to the documents is a great deal less clear.

It seems probable that the manuscript version of Casement’s Putumayo Journal remained at Ebury Street and was confiscated with other papers when Casement’s Pimlico apartment was raided by Special Branch, probably towards the end of 1914. The manuscript was clearly not returned to the Casement family with his other papers, which we know from the statements of his loyal cousin, Gertrude Bannister, made in a correspondence in 1920 with Casement’s elder sister, Nina.³⁸ Her view of what happened was as follows:

The real story is this ... While he was in the Putumayo he kept a diary in which he jotted down all the foul things he heard of the doings of the beauties out there whose conduct he was investigating. He used it later for his notes and reports. As it contained his own movements, comments, etc. and was an ordinary private diary it was not sent in with his papers to the Putumayo Commission [*i.e.* the committee headed by Charles Roberts]. When he was talking things over with the head of the commission he referred to his diary and was asked to send it to them for information. He did so. Now among the papers that were handed over to me by Scotland Yard in 1916 were all the Putumayo things, but no diary.³⁹

Gertrude Bannister’s story might be confirmed by the list of possessions and papers returned to the family via Casement’s solicitor, George Gavan Duffy, on 17 August 1916, where the list clearly states that among articles returned by Special Branch through the Home Office to Casement’s solicitor were “A quantity of envelopes, reports and

convince the Foreign Office and get them to take the line I wanted and I felt very fierce and furious against the men who had connived at concealing the crimes.

But there — you have the diary, such as it is and form your own judgement. If you get it well typed I can fill up from my other notebooks any discrepancies or omissions.”

³⁷ N.L.I. MS 13,073 [36 I–iii]. “The Diary has just arrived with your letter. It has gone to be typed by an expert. Very many thanks.”

³⁸ Casement’s cousin Gertrude Bannister (Mrs Sidney Parry), known affectionately to Casement as Gee, and his sister Agnes Newman (Nina), were the two women closest to Casement throughout his life and more so towards the end. Gertrude Bannister began a personal campaign after the war to find out the truth about the sexual allegations — that she had no doubt were “lying propaganda”. She employed a top London solicitor to lobby the Home Office on her behalf. Her efforts are detailed in a correspondence with Nina held among the De Valera Papers {F.L.K. De Valera 1334/2} and a statement she made on 10 January 1926 — N.L.I. 11488. Her main request to the Home Office was for the return of Casement’s genuine Putumayo Journal.

³⁹ F.L.K. Eamon de Valera Papers [1334]. Letter (4 May 1920) from Gee to Nina, Rockport, Cushendun, Co. Antrim.

The Diaries Controversy

manuscript dealing with the Putumayo Atrocities”.⁴⁰ The diary, or Putumayo Journal, eventually reached the National Library of Ireland in 1951 after the death of Gavan Duffy (1882–1951). It was part of a large bequest of Casement Papers subsequently classified as Special List A15 — Casement Papers 1889–1945.

OTHER JOTTINGS

Casement’s *German Diaries* have yet another provenance worth elucidating since they throw revealing light on how conscientious Casement was about his diaries and on the form such journals or diaries took. Before leaving Munich at the end of March 1916 Casement entrusted to his German solicitor, Charles Curry, “all he possessed in this world, his personal effects and writings and left various instructions chiefly regarding his diaries and their publication upon the close of war”. The contents of these notebooks were eventually published in 1922.⁴¹ The diary referred to during the trial described in the first footnote, and quite possibly the one alluded to by F.E. Smith in his book *Famous Trials* — where he noted that the things buried in the sand by Casement just before his arrest included “some weapons, some maps of Ireland of foreign origin, and three coats, one of which contained Casement’s diary”⁴² — is surely the diary referred to by Captain Robert Monteith in his memoir of the Easter Rising, *Casement’s Last Adventure*. Monteith says of this two-page sketch beginning on 16 February and ending on 12 April:

The diary found in Casement’s bag was a series of rough notes from which he wrote his diary proper. The names were fictitious. For Dublin must be understood Berlin; for Lough Ree: Munich; Wicklow: Wilhelmshafen. ... His last entry is full of humour: “April 12th left Wicklow in Willie’s Yacht.”⁴³

These two pages of diary notes are clearly the ones referred to by the Attorney-General during Casement’s trial. They appear to correspond with the photographic diary held among the de Valera Papers, which

⁴⁰ HO 144 1637/178. The manuscript referred to in this list most likely refers to the manuscript drafts of Casement’s interviews with the Barbadians also held in {N.L.I. MS 13,087}.

⁴¹ *Diaries of Sir Roger Casement — His Mission to Germany and the Findlay Affair* (Arche Publishing Co. Munich 1922).

⁴² Birkenhead, The First Earl of, *Famous Trials of History* (Hutchinson 1926). An interesting article written on the subject is by Gerard Lyne, “New Light on Material Concealed by Roger Casement near Banna Strand” in *Journal of the Kerry Archaeological and Historical Society*, No.19, 1987.

⁴³ The two pages of this encrypted “diary” are photographically reproduced in Monteith’s privately printed edition of *Casement’s Last Adventure* (Chicago 1932). It does not appear in the 1953 edition. Originals are in the N.L.I. Monteith landed with Casement on Banna Strand on the morning of 21 April but escaped the hand of the law and after months of lying low finally made his way to safety in America.

The Diaries Controversy

seems to be a fuller version of these rough notes. The fact that Casement kept encrypted notes which he later used in writing up his diary proper is also interesting.

From looking at the nature and provenance of the various diaries it becomes clear that Casement conscientiously kept diaries or journals during large parts of his life, and that these were most detailed during the more momentous occasions either during his humanitarian investigations or his last adventure as a leader of the Irish uprising of 1916. It also seems probable that a large number of these personal notes fell into the hands of British Intelligence. The Putumayo Journal has survived because it was typed up as evidence for Charles Roberts and the P.S.C. Other journals and jottings that Casement kept and which he refers to in writing that has survived were apparently lost.

FRAGMENTARY DIARY ENTRIES

By far the most convincing documents in helping to expose the *Black Diaries* as forgeries, which have to date been overlooked, are the fragmentary diary entries and letters that have survived in the National Library of Ireland and among the Foreign Office papers held at the PRO giving account of Casement's movements in the Amazon. These documents either talk directly of the diary he was keeping or clearly contradict the narrative as told in the *Black Diary*.

The earliest of these is the important conversation Casement had with the rubber speculator and Iquiteño trader Victor Israel on the night of 24 August just before the S.S. *Huayna* crossed the Peruvian–Brazilian frontier. As well as serving as an important insight for Casement into local attitudes among the expatriate business community, the conversation laid out the parameters of Casement's investigation. Why is there no mention of this conversation in the corresponding Black Diary entry? The probable explanation is that this fragmentary diary entry was not accessible to the author of the *Black Diaries*.

On 13 September 1910, the night before Casement and the Commission left Iquitos for the Putumayo, Casement sent Gerald Spicer, at the American desk in the FO, a letter giving brief account of his days in Iquitos and enclosing lengthy statements of interviews he had already held with some Barbadians, British subjects recruited by the Peruvian Amazon Company. The Foreign Office received the document on 29 October and had the letter and statements printed as a Confidential Document.⁴⁴ The letter stated:

I am keeping a diary, and part of the statement of Bishop is really a leaf of my diary — the last part. It is only sent you in case I might get lost or disappear or something up there or die

⁴⁴ FO 371/968. Confidential 39408.

The Diaries Controversy

of fever, and my papers might be overhauled before they reached Iquitos, or they would be at the mercy of the people who are in real dread of our visit. I am viewed with grave suspicion already ...

What this clearly shows is that Casement was keeping a diary before he arrived in the Putumayo and before his Putumayo Journal proper began, although only a few fragmentary entries have apparently survived from before 23 September. It also illustrates clearly the nature of the diary that he was keeping, made clearer from the fragment he sent to the Foreign Office which is referred to in the letter. It is scribbled in pencil on the same double-sided foolscap as his main journal. It seems reasonable to deduce that the fragmentary entries that have survived are genuine. It also might be argued that since they have survived they did not fall into the hands of British Intelligence. Although this cannot be proved, it is clearly possible in the light of a letter Casement sent to Mallet at the Foreign Office in 1911:

My Putumayo Papers are all locked up in Buckinghamshire. I have telegraphed for the case to be sent here and will tackle the matter as soon as it arrives. I will stay in Ireland till end of month — but will write more fully when I get my papers.⁴⁵

Similar fragmentary entries giving account of his 1911 journey also follow the format of the 1910 fragments and are scribbled on loose double-sided sheets of foolscap and appear as if they have been extracted from a larger and more complete document. Though they combine to give a very fragmented picture of things, they contain enough inconsistencies with the corresponding dates in the *1911 Letts's Diary* to suggest that they too somehow avoided the long arm of British Intelligence. Finally there are Casement's Foreign Office despatches, including some of the letters which he himself stated formed "part of my diary". What is interesting here is that Casement kept draft copies of many of his missives to the Foreign Office.

⁴⁵ FO 371/1201 — Casement to Mallet — Ardrigh, Antrim Road Belfast, 15 April 1911. One of the central arguments that tries to sustain the authenticity of the *Black Diaries* maintains that a lot of Casement's papers, also describing licentious activities, were held in a black box that was burnt by Casement's friend Francis Joseph Bigger, the owner of Ardrigh, the house where Casement normally stayed when he was in Belfast. However, the story of the black box, as related by René MacColl, depends upon a statement made by the nephew of F.J. Bigger to a "well-known resident of Cork" — a man later identified as John J. Horgan — more than forty years after Casement's execution. It should also be remembered that Casement asked Bigger to "bury" rather than "burn" the papers in the telegram intercepted by British Naval Intelligence in 1916. On close inspection the whole story of Bigger and the burning of the black box becomes untenable. For a memoir of Casement and Bigger see Cathal O'Byrne, "Roger Casement's Ceilidhe" in *The Capuchin Annual*, 1946–7.

The Diaries Controversy

CONTRADICTIONS BETWEEN THE DIARIES

By constructing the narrative of Casement's voyage from undisputed documentation, whether journals, fragmentary entries or letters, it becomes possible to make a comparison of his genuine material relating to his 1910 Amazon voyage with the narrative of his trip as told in the 1910 *Black Diary*. If this is done it becomes clear that the *Black Diary* is riddled with inaccuracies and inconsistencies that describe events in a completely different way. It also becomes impossible to contend that Casement used a shortened *Black Diary* to write subsequently his Putumayo Journal since there are far too many textual inconsistencies in the *Black Diary* to support such a view.

Those who wish to continue believing in the veracity of the *Black Diaries* should ask themselves why Casement should have kept such an incriminating document about his person when he realized that his every step was being watched and he was moving through an atmosphere of fear, suspicion and death. The possession of such a document also directly contradicts the cautious (and ultimately ironic) view he has of his diary already quoted in his letter of 13 September. The figure of Roger Casement who emerges from it is so different in general attitude and moral values from the Casement portrayed by the *Black Diaries* as to be totally irreconcilable.

The Putumayo Journal, fragmentary diary entries and FO despatches are all written in Casement's clear and succinct English prose and show his grasp of language. Throughout he is lucid, emotional, direct, structured and thoughtful. It is filled with intelligent comments by a man with a highly active inquiring mind and touches on a number of different subjects including botany, ethnology, anthropology, history, politics, race and religion, while keeping its eye firmly on the matter in hand: compiling a case against perpetrators of atrocities. It is arguably the most important surviving document Casement wrote and shows what a remarkably controlled and clear mind he possessed even when he was physically suffering and in enormous danger. Moreover, it shows how his treason developed through direct experience of the corruption and degeneration of British imperial methods that rose so clearly to the surface during the Edwardian era.

The *Black Diaries*, by contrast, have been written to mystify, befuddle, confuse and conceal. More often than not they are utterly misleading in their meaning. Far from appearing as a serious-minded figure, they portray Casement as a perverter of the innocent, a corrupter and fantasist. The language is charged with innuendo and exaggeration. Casement did describe the physical prowess and beauty of native men (and women) and his comments can be interpreted as unselfconsciously erotic, but his descriptions of racial stereotypes and physical attributes are more in the mode of an anthropologist than a sexual obsessive. Genuine phrasing is

The Diaries Controversy

distorted in order to convey ambiguous sexual connotation. Sense has been confused, truth obscured. Genuine characters have been extracted from the context of the Putumayo Journal and given new roles as sexual partners or objects of fantasy.⁴⁶

Casement's recent biographers have explained the existence of these two parallel diaries in terms of a sex diary and a "cleaned-up version" — a "black" and a "white" diary — as if Casement were a Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde character. The argument can appear convincing if it is put in the context of the fact that for most of this century, certainly during Casement's lifetime, homosexuality was driven underground, and homosexuals until recently were forced to lead double lives. But such an argument fails to take into account the small and hostile world in which Casement moved and the fact that his every move, while investigating in one of the most dangerous frontier regions of the world, was being watched by enemies who wished him dead.

Analysed as texts, once Casement's genuine narrative is compared to corresponding *Black Diary* entries it becomes impossible to believe in the authenticity of both accounts. The genuineness of the diaries has always depended upon the argument that they were factually fool-proof. But the texts are frequently inconsistent and diverge in time and place.

It has been considered best to leave the exposure of the inconsistencies and inaccuracies that emerge through a comparison of the texts to the footnotes since they are too detailed to elaborate fully here. But it is worth expounding on two important inconsistencies that have a wider significance. The first involves Casement's eyes.

From the outset of the voyage Casement began to suffer a chronic eye infection which he referred to with mounting concern in his correspondence with friends and Foreign Office colleagues as he journeyed up river. The earliest mention is in the letter sent to Spicer on 11 August. Three days later he scribbled to Tyrrell:

my eyes have got very bad — that is why I write in pencil, they had shown signs of weakness just before I came away, but had improved at home. On arrival at Pará the bad symptoms returned and the ship's doctor says I am threatened with Chronic Ophthalmia. The worst is that there is no doctor where we are going and it is not a cheerful prospect to have a complete breakdown of eyes in the wilds of the Amazon forest.

⁴⁶ Painstaking investigation has been carried out over the last two decades by two Irish researchers, Eoin Ó Máille and Michael Payne. Using detailed computerized analysis of key-words and expressions, they have shown that the linguistic finger-print in Casement's genuine writings is completely at odds with the linguistic finger-print of the *Black Diaries*. Their findings were recently presented at a symposium organized by The Roger Casement Foundation and are published in *The Vindication of Roger Casement — Computer Analysis and Comparisons* (privately printed 1994). Certainly such scientifically based analysis has more credence than the opinion of hand-writing experts and is increasingly gaining acceptance among scholars. It was instrumental, for example, in establishing the identity of the previously anonymous author of the *roman à clef* based on Bill Clinton's presidential campaign, *Primary Colors*. Testing by the Cusum (cumulative sum technique) is another method that might throw more revealing light on the matter.

The Diaries Controversy

Over the next two months the problem continued until the night of Wednesday 12 October when he was forced to bandage both eyes and was rendered momentarily blind, albeit at night. In all he mentions his eye problem on more than fifteen separate occasions in his correspondence and journals — and at times at some length. By contrast, the *Black Diary* avoids any mention of the eye infection until eighty days after the outset of the journey when it is rather nonchalantly mentioned in the entry for 10 October.

Casement's eye infection had two far-reaching effects. Firstly it forced him to be as economic with his writing as possible and avoid unnecessary strain. Why then he would have bothered to keep two diaries repeating the same information is hard to explain. More significant, however, is the fact that it also forced him to write in pencil rather than pen.

On 4 September he wrote:

My eyes have got no better — rather worse I am afraid — and that is my chief reason for using pencil. I find it less strain to write with pencil than with ink — in latter case one has to look closer at the paper and form the letters more distinctly.

Yet harder to explain is why the *Black Diary* entry for 12 October, the night of Casement's blindness when his eyes were at their very worst, is written in ink. All Casement's writings either side of that date are in pencil. Pen is used with far greater frequency in the *Black Diary* than in the undisputed writings.

Another point that makes little sense in this long saga is the comment Casement made about his sexuality on 29 September, after he had witnessed his first Indian dance at the rubber station of Occidente. Surrounded by the perpetrators of atrocities, he wrote:

I swear to God, I'd hang every one of the band of wretches with my own hands if I had the power, and do it with the greatest pleasure. I have never shot game with any pleasure, have indeed abandoned all shooting for that reason, that I dislike the thought of taking life. I have never given life to anyone myself, and my celibacy makes me frugal of human life, but I'd shoot or exterminate these infamous scoundrels more gladly than I should shoot a crocodile or kill a snake.

Exactly why Casement should have made such a direct statement about his "celibacy" while keeping a parallel sex diary has yet to be satisfactorily explained. There is not a single witness to Casement's alleged sexual antics on the Amazon as detailed by the 1910 and 1911 *Black Diaries*, and certainly South America was the main theatre for his "sexual degeneracy" if the documents are to be believed. Moreover, Casement's principal enemy on the Amazon, the Peruvian rubber baron, Julio Cesar Arana, knew all about Casement's "secret" activities such as recruiting labour for the Madeira–Mamoré railway and trying to organize an anti-Aranista party during his second voyage to Iquitos in 1911. In December 1911, when Casement made a hasty exit from Iquitos, the local

The Diaries Controversy

newspapers were accusing him of being a “British spy” and “secret agent”, but all such suggestions are edited out of the *Black Diary*. Eighty years on these documents continue to confuse and confound.

WHAT ARE THE BLACK DIARIES AND WHY WERE THEY FORGED?

The question inevitably arises: what are the *Black Diaries* and why did British Intelligence go to such complicated lengths to forge them? The strategy had both short-term and long-term objectives. The short-term aim of the *Black Diaries* was directed at Casement’s execution. They were an effective way to mislead Casement’s powerful lobby of supporters and officially to defame Sir Roger Casement — the humanitarian hero, knighted in 1911 for his epic journeys in defence of tribal people on behalf of the British Crown. They are an example of a type of ruthless intellectual sabotage the British excel at when it is a matter of defeating the enemy. Granted the fact that it was wartime, and given the nature of Casement’s “treason”, the *Black Diaries* were an exceptional means of destroying an exceptional enemy.⁴⁷ The rumours of Casement’s “sexual degeneracy” that were circulated before and after his trial in 1916 confused almost everyone; Casement’s powerful lobby of supporters retreated into silence, Casement’s martyrdom was prevented and the clemency appeals thwarted. His Irish supporters were in retreat, devastated by the execution of the leaders of the Easter Rising. All were fearful of speaking out in defence of a man whose treason was so clear, at a time when each day tens of thousands of British volunteers (many of them Irishmen) were being slaughtered on the front-line of the Somme. For the rest of this century the *Black Diaries* became the means by which Casement’s “treason” was explained and rationalized in public.⁴⁸

There was, however, a secondary “historical” motive for forging the *Black Diaries* that becomes clear once the documents are analysed outside the confines of the Anglo-Irish conflict and the biographical sensationalism of Casement’s life. Casement’s investigations into atrocities in both the Congo and Amazon are unique, officially sanctioned

⁴⁷ For a well-argued essay on this subject see Owen Dudley Edwards, “Divided Treasons and Divided Loyalties: Roger Casement and Others” in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 1981. In this essay Dudley Edwards argues convincingly that Casement was given an unfair trial, although the verdict of death was just given the fact that he had been wilfully employed and decorated by the British Crown. Whether Casement should have been granted a reprieve as a result of his humanitarian achievement was clearly avoided by the use of the *Black Diaries* — a fact now conceded by the British government.

⁴⁸ See Daniel Pick, *War Machine: The Rationalization of Slaughter in the Modern Age* (Yale 1995). Pick develops a number of theses that can be considered relevant to understanding the forging of the *Black Diaries*, especially on psychoanalytical theories and views of degeneracy and effeminacy current at the start of the century and during the First World War.

The Diaries Controversy

sources in understanding the horror that underlay wild rubber extraction from tropical forests. In these investigations, Casement collected the statements and oral testimonies that helped build a factual case supporting the historical heart of darkness which lay in the shadowy soul of Euroimperialism and the White Man's vision of civilization. Although the *Black Diaries* make impressionistic references to the horror — they cleverly scale that horror down, Casement emerges as the “degenerate” rather than the imperial systems he was investigating. It is no accident that the *Black Diaries* coincide with Casement's main humanitarian investigations into rubber atrocities in both Africa and South America, and most specifically with the Putumayo atrocities where British influence was most active and direct.

BRITISH INFLUENCE IN THE AMAZON

In the latter half of the nineteenth century British influence in the Amazon far exceeded that of any other nation. As a consequence of a series of botanical voyages of discovery by the English naturalists Spruce, Wallace and Bates in the 1850s, Britain was the first nation to realize the vast economic potential of wild rubber lying within the world's largest tropical forest. In 1855, Richard Spruce published in *Hooker's Journal of Botany* the first description of how rubber was gathered by milking the tree through small incisions in the bark, collecting the latex in a cup beneath the wounds and then coagulating it by dripping the liquid onto a spit above a slow fire until it formed a black oval-shaped bale.⁴⁹ Subsequent travellers to the Amazon regions all commented on rubber and the increasing boom in the industry which helped “regenerate” the ailing state of Pará, still in decline from the social rebellions of the 1830s. By the 1880s the profits from rubber gave birth to the modern Amazon towns of Manaus and Iquitos — and the opera house in Manaus is still held high as the great symbol of the civilizing of the jungle.

When the Amazon was opened up to international trade in the 1850s, British capital and navigational expertise backed the first steamboat company. Before long, boats began to travel weekly between Liverpool and Pará, and navigation extended over two thousand miles upriver to a naval yard at Iquitos, also developed with British naval expertise. As the

⁴⁹ Richard Spruce, *Note on the India Rubber of the Amazon* (1855). Richard Spruce (1817–93) was a self-taught botanist. He voyaged to the Amazon in 1849 and after learning Portuguese and Tupi-Guarani at Santarém he started exploring the vast tropical waterways of both the Brazilian and Peruvian Amazon, venturing as far as the Ecuadorian Andes and Pacific coastal regions, collecting thousands of plants and making detailed scientific notes about his botanical observations. Although he published many learned articles on his botanical findings, the account of his travels was not published until after his death by his life-long friend Alfred Russel Wallace.

The Diaries Controversy

age of sail gave way to steam, both the Brazilian and Peruvian governments were equipped and re-equipped with arms, gunboats and commercial ships and river launches made in Britain. British–South American banking alliances played an equally important role in bringing investment to the area. All the while, British Consuls were central to keeping the Foreign Office and other government departments informed of developments in the wild rubber industry.

The commercial uses for rubber made strides in pace with increased demand. From its basic waterproofing qualities, rubber was “vulcanized” by the American, Charles Goodyear. In a more stable, heat-resistant state it was used for insulating wiring and in the 1890s became the prime commodity in the reinvention of the wheel. Rubber was paramount in the production of tyres for first the bicycle and then the motor car. Throughout the period 1870–1909 British finance drove the Amazon rubber industry forward, and as the rubber frontier pushed farther west so the demand for labour grew more acute. A great part of the Brazilian industry was built upon the migration of tens of thousands of *nordestinos*, fleeing the droughts of north-east Brazil, into the rubber frontiers of Acre and elsewhere. In many of the more obscure contested frontier regions, rubber exploiters arrived with no better intentions than enslaving the native Amazon Indians and forcing them to do the work under threat of death.

While Britain realized the potential of the wild rubber industry, it also saw the impracticalities and drawbacks of extractive economy. In 1876 the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew, in co-operation with the British Foreign Office and the legendary plant-hunter, geographer and historian, Clements R. Markham,⁵⁰ at the India Office, masterminded the unauthorized exportation of 70,000 seeds of rubber from the Amazon. This legendary botanical “theft” was carried out by Henry A. Wickham — a colonial adventurer living at Santarém. After many unsuccessful efforts to domesticate the plant *Hevea brasiliensis*, trees were eventually introduced to south-east Asia (Malaya, Dutch East Indies and Ceylon). But

⁵⁰ Markham, Sir Clements Robert (1830–1916). Geographer, historian and grandson of William Markham, Archbishop of York, after schooling at Westminster he entered the navy aged fourteen and spent four years on H.M.S. *Collingwood* sailing between South American Pacific coast ports, picking up a knowledge of Spanish. Between 1852–3, inspired by William H. Prescott, he wandered among Inca ruins of Peru and remained fascinated with Peru for the rest of his days — writing a great deal about the country. He entered the Civil Service in 1853 and in 1860 was ordered to collect Cinchona trees and seeds in the montaña of eastern Peru — helping to domesticate this extractive commodity. In 1893 he was made president of the Royal Geographical Society and was often consulted on South American boundary disputes. He was also very active in promoting the whole idea of Arctic exploration and retained close association with a group of naval officers. He is perhaps best known for his extraordinary literary output, including twenty volumes of translated texts for the Hakluyt Society, some twenty biographies and numerous historical studies, many on Peru. He burnt to death in his bed on 30 January 1916. He supported Peru’s claims to the Putumayo region

The Diaries Controversy

it was not until 1910 that plantation rubber became competitively productive, forcing the virtual collapse of the Amazon rubber industry. But between 1890 and 1910, as the market demand began to outstrip the means of supply, so those parts of the world from which wild rubber was extracted were turned into slavocracies at the mercy of the White Man's rule.⁵¹ The widespread atrocities committed in the Congo Free State alerted a group of European humanitarians to the problem. Casement was the "official" sent on behalf of the British Foreign Office to investigate these atrocities. Following his 1904 report he campaigned tirelessly for reform in the Congo and his correspondence with the acting secretary of the Congo Reform Association, E.D. Morel, shows Casement to have been an original thinker over issues of slavery, human and civil rights.

In 1910 Casement was sent to investigate the activities of an Anglo-Peruvian rubber company working in the frontier regions of the north-west Amazon. Whether the British Foreign Office's motives in sending Casement were directed by humanitarian rather than commercial considerations is a question that might be investigated further. Howard Karno has suggested that the British Foreign Office used humanitarian issues for imperial and commercial ends.⁵² The chronology of Casement's humanitarian activities in the Amazon played nicely into the hands of the rubber market, and the publication in July 1912 of the Blue Book containing his reports turned much investment away, but the British Foreign Secretary's motives for investigating the Putumayo atrocities — and it was certainly a personal campaign on the part of Sir Edward Grey — seemed genuine from the outset. The British public was outraged by the stories and Grey wished to know something of the truth.

While British capital controlled the major part of the Amazon rubber market, it is clear that few people had much of an inkling of the vast tropical slave kingdoms to which rubber extraction had given rise. What Casement found in the Amazon outdistanced the horror he had helped reveal in the Congo, and he became the singular witness to that horror. Although other explorers and travel writers such as Col. P.H. Fawcett, James Bryce and Geraldine Guinness had made fleeting revelations about the cruelties that resulted from rubber extraction, it was Casement alone who produced the historical evidence defining the genocide. While the

⁵¹ Of more recent accounts, Warren Dean, *Brazil and the Struggle for Rubber: A Study in Environmental History* (CUP 1987), puts forward an excellent thesis on the "theft" of the *Hevea brasiliensis* and the Brazilian rubber market before and after the boom. Barbara Weinstein, *The Amazon Rubber Boom (1850–1920)* (Stanford 1983) deals more solidly with economic aspects of it all. British economic influence in the Peruvian Amazon is well covered in G. Pennano, *La Economía del Caucho* (Iquitos 1988), the most informed Peruvian history with an important bibliography. Brazil's main historical contribution to the Amazon rubber boom is Roberto Santos, *História econômica da Amazônia, 1800–1920* (São Paulo 1980).

⁵² Howard Karno, "Julio Cesar Arana, frontier *cacique* in Peru" in Robert Kern, *The Cacique* (Albuquerque 1973).

The Diaries Controversy

writings of E.D. Morel are the indispensable source in the condemnation of the atrocities committed in Leopold II's Congo Free State, so Casement's official and unofficial reports and despatches are the evidence for defining the widespread tragedy that underwrote the Amazon rubber industry. Genocide only becomes meaningful if the plight of the victims is described, recorded and popularly sensed.⁵³

Britain's self-proclaimed position during the Edwardian age as the country of free trade that brought about the abolition of slavery was one that would have been clearly undermined if Sir Roger Casement's "unofficial" revelations had been allowed more air to breathe. Casement's role as consul limited what he was allowed to say about the affair in the public arena and certainly encouraged his increasingly subversive character, as he witnessed for himself the moral breakdown of the British free-trading empire. By the end of 1912 his two and a half years of tireless investigations into the Amazon rubber industry ended in a six-month-long Parliamentary Select Committee Enquiry. What that enquiry did or did not eventually prove might be argued elsewhere. But once Casement turned against the British empire, and the motivations behind his treason were analysed, it was clear that the evidence he had collected during his Amazon investigations was as potentially subversive of the historical reputation of the empire as the man himself.

The forging of the *Black Diaries*, therefore, had what might be termed an historical motive and was the means by which Casement's unofficial revelations were obscured. Ingeniously, they threw a smoke screen around the whole position of British influence in the Amazon which Casement referred to directly in his pseudonymous letter to *The Daily News* — published on 1 March 1912.⁵⁴ By focusing on Casement's personal "degeneracy", the *Black Diaries* succeeded in diverting attention from his real private revelations about Britain's role in the Amazon rubber industry.⁵⁵

Both in the Congo and Amazon, Casement had uncovered the horrors committed by the "White Man's civilization". It turned him first into a virulent anti-imperialist and gradually into a full-blown revolutionary. By 1916 his "treason" clearly shocked and frightened the inner circle of government when it was realized just how long he had been working to undermine the system.

⁵³ The genocide of the Amazon Indian is the last study in Frank Chalk and Kurt Jonassohn, *The History and Sociology of Genocide — Analyses and Case Studies* (Yale 1990). It is hoped that this text might serve their needs in helping define the genocide of the Amazon Indian.

⁵⁴ In this letter signed D. MacCAMMOND and written on 29 Feb 1912, Casement clearly lays the blame for the Putumayo atrocities on the duplicitous intentions of British trading interests.

⁵⁵ In the recent ten-volume *Cambridge History of Latin America*, the Putumayo atrocities receive a curt footnote: an example of how history is as capable of concealing the truth as it is of throwing light on it.

The Diaries Controversy

The process of forging the documents would have been comparatively easy although it undoubtedly required great expertise in its execution. When British Intelligence moved in on Casement at the end of 1914, among his confiscated papers they found genuine diaries and journals detailing his journeys into the Congo and Putumayo. Using this material they would have been able, without too much difficulty, to construct the *Black Diaries* with experiences, phraseology and impressions cannibalized from genuine writings. On the surface these documents appeared to be factually fool-proof and contained a host of references and indications to give the appearance of being actual documents. The forging of the handwriting was carried out with great skill, although since there is no evidence that the *Black Diaries* held in the PRO were described by anyone in 1916, it is probable that the forger had several years to perfect their look. Though the formation of letters and the style of the writing is often hard to distinguish from genuine material, it ultimately fails the test of authenticity by its total lack of fluency. All Casement's writings, whether notes, letters or journals, contain a fluency of script — as if Casement was working under enormous pressure and at great speed. The *Black Diaries* completely lack this. The words seem to stutter out onto the page — they are deliberate and contrived.

THE HISTORICAL VALUE OF CASEMENT'S AMAZON JOURNAL

The Amazon Journal of Roger Casement is a major primary source for the history of the Amazon, in the most decisive moment of its destruction, and deepens our knowledge of both European and U.S. foreign policy in South America. It is also a basic source for the history of the humanitarian movement — a subject that is in need of much greater historical research. As an investigation into atrocities it is perhaps unequalled and in a number of respects sets a precedent. Many of the grievances expressed by Casement are as current today as they were in 1910. The whole matter of land rights remains fundamental to the future stability of both Peru and Brazil. Brazil's *Movimento Sem-Terra* (MST) demanding agrarian reform has much in common with Casement's analysis of land rights back in 1910. Equally, as a defence of the lifeways and assertion of the counterhistory of Amerindian tribal culture in a continuing struggle for its ancestral territories the journal has tremendous value.

In terms of current debate, *The Amazon Journal* is linked most directly to the heart of darkness and the conflict between civilization and savagery. Interest in the Putumayo atrocities has found new momentum recently as a result of the work of the American anthropologist Michael Taussig. In his pioneering and far-reaching study *Shamanism, Colonialism and the*

The Diaries Controversy

Wild Man: A Study in Terror and Healing,⁵⁶ Taussig makes a convincing connection between Casement and Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*. When reading Casement's *Amazon Journal* it is hard not to draw parallels with this extraordinarily powerful metaphysical work describing a river journey in search of the darkness at the heart of the white man's civilization. Casement's Putumayo Journal, coupled with the oral testimonies he recorded during his interviews with Barbadian overseers, serve as important evidence in analysing Europe's historical heart of darkness. There is no chapter in the whole process of extermination of South America's pre-Columbian tribal life recorded in so much depth of detail, with the possible exception of the writings of the sixteenth-century Spanish monk Bartolomé de las Casas.

While Casement's voyage is of unquestioned epic proportions, it breaks with many of the traditions of the age. Instead of being the journal of an imperial adventurer it becomes the journal of an anti-imperial investigator.⁵⁷ At the outset of the voyage Casement is clearly seen defending British imperial methods against those adopted by the Spanish and Portuguese; by the time he returns downriver, commerce and international trade have become the true villain and destroyer of the tribal way of life. He had also cut through the "jingoism" that underlay the rubber industry and the concept that commerce was a means of "civilizing" primitive peoples. As Casement had worked tirelessly to reveal the genocide committed in Leopold II's Congo Free State and expose the horrors set in motion by Stanley's exploration of the African interior, so in his Putumayo investigation he set out to expose the brutal excesses wrought by four centuries of Spanish and Portuguese conquest. This journal is one of the most important indictments ever made against perpetrators of atrocities and imperial system building, and exposes the genocide of which international commerce is capable.

⁵⁶ Michael Taussig's thesis is best summarized in the final footnote to Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (Routledge 1992), which states that "when one tries to comprehend the practices and semiotics of terror one finds that they are constructed not only out of what is Not seen, said, known, but also out of what people do see, say, and know AND what people do not see but hear others say they have seen; on what people do not hear said, but hear or read others who say they have heard it said; on what people did not do themselves but heard others say they saw done, and so on. The cultural and ideological engine of terror, argues Taussig, runs not just on the (distorted) conceptions each side holds of its enemy, but on the distorted conceptions each side holds about the distorted conceptions its enemy holds about it."

⁵⁷ The demystifying of imperialism and the assertion of a counterhistory are subjects dealt with by Mary Louise Pratt *op. cit.* Through analysis of the exploration of the interiors of Africa and Latin America and the manner in which explorers claimed territories for European empires, she reinterprets the historical force wielded by European ideologies and the legacy of white supremacy in those continents. Although she only makes a brief reference to Casement, his *Amazon Journal* might serve as an important text for supporting her view of counterhistory.

The Diaries Controversy

The Amazon rubber boom that breathed new life into most South American economies between 1870 and 1914 occupied a period filled with both grand adventure and widespread, unrecorded ethnocide. The legend of Fitzcarraldo and the huge fortunes amassed by the rubber barons; the building of the Madeira–Mamoré railway; the Opera House in Manaus and the Panama Canal are epic components in the narrative of interior exploration, engineering endeavour and the “civilizing of the jungle”. What such ventures cost in terms of tribal life will never be known — but there can be little doubt that these four and a half decades of South American history, directly coinciding with Europe’s Age of Empire, saw an extermination of tribal culture as great as the slaughter wrought when the Conquistadors first laid foot on the New World. Just as the act of killing Indians in the period of early conquest had been justified as a religious act, so in the South America which Casement described it was considered a civilizing act.

*

NOTE ON THE EDITING

One of the principal criticisms from the readers kind enough to scrutinize *The Amazon Journal of Roger Casement* in proof stage was the sheer length of the document. Although I had no doubt that the text could easily be edited down, I was ultimately convinced by the more scholarly recommendation that publication of the complete text was necessary in order to create a source that might serve other independent investigations of the diaries controversy. Curtailment of the text would have undermined the value of the the book in this respect, and although there are moments when the narrative is repetitious and sometimes little more than a sequence of detailed jottings — each scribbling has intrinsic value in understanding Casement’s state of mind.

The inclusion of the parallel *Black Diary* entries was deemed unnecessary since these are already available in printed form. Those interested in cross-checking the text with the *Black Diary* should seek out the web-site of the publishers, where the text has been made available, or refer directly to the copies held in the Public Record Office at Kew.

The correspondence that Casement posted on his way out to Iquitos forms the opening section of the journal. His stay in Iquitos from 31 August to 14 September has been assembled from fragmentary diary entries and letters. It follows, as far as possible, his day-to-day activities. The main body of the book is composed of the Putumayo Journal, the document described in the introduction. The transcription was made from the autograph manuscript since the typescript version contains a signifi-

The Diaries Controversy

cant number of errors. It begins at 2.15 p.m. on 23 September 1910 and ends with Casement's departure from Iquitos on 6 December. A few letters and one fragmentary diary entry found elsewhere have been inserted into this narrative as well as the very revealing page that appears in the autograph manuscript but was left out of the 1913 typescript. Chapter divisions and italicized headings have been used to break up the text to allow for easier reading and retrieval. It is also hoped that the detailed index will allow readers an easy means of reference to the long list of *dramatis personae*.

Silent editing of the text has been kept to a minimum and arises where the manuscript has presented difficulties in transcription. Punctuation has occasionally been amended. He used ampersands frequently instead of the word 'and'; these have been changed where appropriate. There are a number of spelling inconsistencies — most often among proper names and local words such as Chacara, Igara-paraná — again, these have been generally corrected. The local Peruvian currency *soles* has been abbreviated to S/P\$: in 1910 there were roughly S/P \$10.5 to £1 sterling.

The reader should bear in mind that besides keeping this journal, Casement wrote out in long-hand the statements of the Barbadians, and their evidence formed the heart and soul of the case he built defining the atrocities. These were later published in the Blue Book [PP 1912–1913 Cd 6266) LXVIII]. Anyone wishing to consult the Barbadian statements further should refer to that document or PRO FO 371/1200 or to NLI MS 13,087 (27/i–viii). Casement averaged between three thousand and four thousand words a day during the seventy-five days he spent travelling through the Putumayo — a considerable workload.

The final section, describing Casement's return journey from Iquitos, comprises a few letters, brief information obtained from passenger lists and some details Casement provided on arriving in London. His concluding essay tracing the historical background to the destruction of the Amerindian tribal world is undated but it is likely that it was written on that return voyage. It mirrors in every respect the physical nature of his journal.

In the footnotes the name of the main tribe mentioned in the narrative, the Huitotos, is occasionally spelt in the alternative form Witotos. The term Amazindian is also often used instead of the more historic word Indian.

A second volume of documents relevant to Casement's activities during 1911 and the reconstruction of his second voyage up the Amazon made during the latter half of that year will be published in 1998.

The Diaries Controversy