**NYPL Maloney IHP 34**

**Casement speech at Philadelphia,**

**2 August 1914**

 We are met today not alone to mourn the dead, but to rejoice with the living.

 Those who were killed last Sunday in the streets of Dublin, died in a great cause.

 If we view the struggle aright, it was something all Irishmen should be proud of. An unarmed people a “mob”, as it is termed, were fired on and bayoneted by a regiment – a regiment of an Army of Occupation.

 The Army of Occupation had been ordered out to disarm the young men of Dublin, who had just succeeded in landing a first consignment of arms – It was thought that, in face of a British regiment with fixed bayonets, the Dublin Volunteers would surrender the rifles they had just been given. But the Dublin Volunteers refused to surrender their arms, and although they had no cartridges for those rifles, they kept them and they repelled this first attack of British authority in Ireland to disarm the advance guard of Irish nationality.

 Some of the Volunteers we know, were bayoneted and are lying now in hospital. Among them, one brave Irishman, Michael Judge, a member of the Governing Committee of the Irish Volunteers, lies grievously wounded. We hope and pray that the wounded may recover.

 One thing we are certain of – that after last Sunday's work, Ireland will recover.

 She will recover the right to bear arms and without that right, all other guarantees are illusory.

 For over a century, Irishmen have been deprived by the will of another people of the right to bear arms. Alone among all the peoples of Europe, Irishmen have been forced to go through life as if they were felons in their own country – for an Irishman to possess a rifle or to learn to use one was a felony.

 Generations of Irishmen, for well over a hundred years, have been sent to jail, transported as convicts, branded as criminals and herded with thieves and murderers on convict hulks or in prison yards for aspiring to bear arms in defense of their country.

 Patriotism was a thing to be tried by court martial or convicted by packed juries.

 The man who sought to drill or learn the use of arms was marked out as a felon and expiated his crime in jail.

 This has been the sole article of the Irish constitution since 1798: “The Irishman may arm in every cause hut his own.”

 But the spell of disarmament is broken today.

 The Ulster men, the Loyalists, defied the Law and called an army into existence.

 Forty years ago, Michael Davitt was sent to jail for daring to send fifty guns into Ireland. Yesterday Sir Edward Carson sent 50,000 rifles into Ireland, and today he called upon King George V. at Buckingham Palace as an honored guest. Tomorrow he may be Lord Chancellor or Prime Minister of the Kingdom.

 We owe thanks to the Ulster men for taking up arms. For, if we differ with them on some points, possibly on many, we are at least one with them in this – that it is the right of every free man to bear arms in defense of what he believes to be right.

 Ulster, two years ago, broke the spell of British disarmament laid upon Irishmen. It was broken with impunity, for two years ago it was thought that only Ulster and Ulstermen could be armed in defiance of the laws.

 But last Sunday Dublin showed that what Ulster could do with impunity, Ireland and Nationalist Irishmen dared to do, even with the shedding of their blood and laying down of their lives.

 All honour to the Dublin Volunteers and the brave poor men and women and boys of Dublin, who, when the dawn of Freedom showed on the glint of those rifle barrels, coming in on the road from Howth, ran forth to aid with their naked hands, the assailed vanguard of Irish Freedom.

**[Contained in Maloney typescript here, but I have not yet found original in Casement’s handwriting – JO’L]**

 Ulster Volunteer and Volunteer of Ireland are all one at bottom.

 Both stand for Irish manhood against British dictation. The Ulster volunteer says he will decide for himself, by arms if need be, the form of government he accepts. It is true he says that he wants the present form of government from Westminster, but while he says this, how does he act? He arms against Westminster. He declares that neither Whig nor Tory shall put him down. Not forty General Elections of British Electors shall decide his fate. He stands out with the Red hand for his badge and declares, as Shane O’Neill declared: “Ulster is mine – by the sword I won it, by the sword I keep it.”

 His leader, Sir Edward Carson, while protesting an abject loyalty to the Crown – “prepared to go on his knees to the Sovereign”, asking only to be ruled from London by Englishmen, in the very same breath tells these Englishmen to leave Ulster to decide her own fate. He derides the British House of Commons. Here, for instance, is what he said on the 21st of May – he was speaking of the Parliament Act, one of the acts of that great great assembly whose authority he declares must never be impaired over Ireland, and here is how he refers to the Mother of Parliaments “You may discus an much as you like, but to alter anything after discussion, will be against the law – and that is your British House of Commons under the Parliament Act.”

 And yet it is this impotent body he tells us, in the next breath, is to have unquestioned rule over the destinies of Irishmen.

 Again, after protesting his fervent loyalty to the Crown, for which he and every Ulster Volunteer is prepared to lay down their lives, – but not their rifles – he stated with reference to the Volunteers being armed with Mausers in defiance of the Crown. “Well I can only say to them, that that was what I always intended to have, and if they would like a little more information, I tell them that, from day to day with all their fleet and all their preparations, I am going to have more Mausers. (Loud cheers).”

 And this is Ulster Loyalty to the Crown!

 Who are “they”? Whose fleet is it thus mocked? The fleet thus set at defiance is that of Sir Edward Carson. The laws thus outraged and set at nought are those of the Imperial Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland, he says must eternally make Irish Law. And these flouts and taunts and jeers come from the Chief Loyalist of all Ireland! From the spokesman of the “loyal fellow subjects” who are determined, come what may, never to be put out of the Parliament, they thus venerate as the sole bulwark of their liberties and the chief object of their contempt.

 Well, to me as a simple Irishman and not a British politician, Sir Edward Carson is not the Chief Loyalist of all Ireland, but the Chief Fenian of all Ireland. You remember Sir Phelim O'Neill, who went forth in 1641 to do what Sir Edward Carson is doing today – to defy British authority in Ulster and drive it into the sea? And, how was he treated? They hanged Sir Phelim O'Neill and stuck his gory head on the spike of Dublin Castle with a placard thus: “Chief Traytour of all Ireland.”

 The Chief Traitor of 1641 becomes the Chief Loyalist and Privy Councillor and prospective Lord Chancellor of 1915! How weird are the workings of the British Providence in Ireland!!

 The trust is that all this turmoil comes from England, and largely from the British Press. There would be peace in Ireland tomorrow amity and good will in Ulster between Catholic and Protestant, were it not for the English press and their agents in Ireland.

 I'd like to see all the editors given six months in jail, and then we should have peace to discuss our own affairs together. All these diatribes about “Ulster on the brink”, “The grim, determined men scarcely able to hold on any longer,” “The powder magazine with the spark,” etc., etc., are merely designed to send up the circulation of vapid English Journals and in order to achieve that end, they would gladly upset the circulation of our blood and spill it, too.

 But, we are not going to play their game. The “War Correspondents” may go back across the Irish Sea. Ireland will send a horrid message to England and the London papers. Our answer to their full– blooded scream is this:

 “We can mind our own affair”. Ulster will not fight and Ulster will be right. We, Ulstermen are all Irishmen, and at bottom, we Know and understand each other and need no interference from British political parties or from British Press.”

 Sir Edward Carson is quite right. Get guns, get Mausers, “For all their fleets and their preparation,” as he so loyally declared in Belfast a few weeks ago.

 Why a friend of mine, a Fenian, **[Patrick McCartan]** loaned his motor car eight weeks ago to help in the gun running from Larne, and he'll do it again when his Protestant neighbors ask the loan of it. One good turn deserves another, and I look to the day – and not far distant day – when Ulster Orangemen and. Munster Nationalists will run guns together for the common defence of the shores of Ireland, and when all Irishmen will march under one banner and show the world at length, that Thomas Davis' words have been fulfilled and that Orange and Green have carried the day.

**Casement handwritten draft**

**NYPL Maloney IHP 34**

 The Irish Volunteers stand, first of all, for an armed Ireland. Next for a United Ireland.

 We believe that an armed Ireland will be the surest means not only of ensuring present peace among Irishmen, who differ in political outlook, but of begetting a friendship that must end in a sense of national unity that shall ultimately obliterate party divisions and make our purposely divided country one and indivisible.

 We stand for an armed Ireland, above party and open to all creeds. That was and is the aim of the founders of the Irish Volunteers of 1914, just as it was the aim and achievement of the Irish Volunteers of 1782.

 We aim today at uniting Irishmen on a platform of armed comradeship that shall bind the Volunteers of North and South together, to bury with the bayonets of a citizen army that master curse of Ireland sectarian animosity.

 We believe that Irishmen armed, drilled and disciplined will be better Irishmen in every sense of the word, and we look to the sense of manhood, thus begotten, to inspire not enmity but good will among sections of our people.

 The Volunteers of 1782, began in Ulster, just as today's later Volunteers arose in Ulster.

 Beginning in Ulster, the armed men of 1782 ended by uniting all Ireland in an armed and triumphant demand for complete legislative independence and national autonomy. The policy of the founders of the Irish Volunteers of 1914 is that of the Volunteers of 1782. It is wide enough to cover all Ireland and deep enough to embrace all Irishmen.

 We aim not at conquering, coercing or weakening the Ulster Volunteers, who today are separated from us in political belief – we aim at winning them by manly action derived from the example of self reliance they have shown to England and the world. We believe that the more we arm and the better we drill our men the nearer we shall come to a friendly understanding with the Protestant Volunteers of the North.

 We look beyond immediate political issues. Home Rule may be lost or won – the Irish Volunteers shall remain to achieve a united Ireland. While every Irish nationalist is a Home Ruler, in as much as he stands for legislative freedom for his country, the Irish Volunteers stand for a new phase of Irish national effort that is, after all, only a very old one.

 We stand for an Irish national demand that shall rest its claims not on votes given in another country or the play of party politics elsewhere but on the armed and disciplined manhood of a brave people determining to be free and prepared to give their lives to win that freedom.

 Irish freedom thus won by self sacrifice can never be, will never be a threat to any man or to any country.

 Patriotism is one of the highest forms perhaps the highest form of morality.

 The man who loves his own country, and would unselfishly shed his blood for it will never assail in another man, or in another land the thing he venerates in himself.

 Nationality, love of country comes from God's right hand – and the man who loves own land best is bound to be the best citizen of the world.

 It is not nationality that ever threatens, or ever has threatened the peace of the world – it is the foe of nationality, Imperialism, that is the enemy of mankind. For just as the love of country, like the love of family, has fallen on man from on high – so the lust of territory, the greed of gain, the desire for dominion over others – all these things that go to make empires and feed imperialism – these have risen from below. We may affirm it, I think, that nationality comes from God, Imperialism from the Devil.

 Ireland when she seeks to realize her national life is in truth obeying a Divine command. Have you ever thought who was the first Imperialist, whom it was he fought to tempt, and what was the answer given?

 When our blessed Lord was tempted in the Desert the dazzling form the great temptation took was the proffer of imperial dominion. We read in Holy Scripture, and the word was surely written for all the small peoples of the earth, that our Lord Himself set the seal of divine command on love of country. When he was tempted of the devil he was taken up onto an exceedingly high mountain and shown all the Kingdoms of the earth and the Tempter said: “All these will I give Thee if Thou will fall down and worship me”. And the Divine Nationalist replied: “Get thee behind me Satan” and turned him to the little beset, beleaguered, and beloved Kingdom of the Jews. The divine love that preferred Jerusalem to all the Kingdoms of the earth, gave salvation to mankind.

 When Irishmen, then, set their own country first and prefer the welfare of a small island to all the temptation of imperial rule and greatness they are but obeying the divine injunction and conquering by love the power and dominion of evil. In this great cause, this trust confided to our race, we go forth with clean hands and pure hearts. We seek ill to no land. Ireland has never wronged another people, and never shall. The rifles we seek are not the symbols of aggression but the weapons of defence. Give us those and we shall not misuse them.

 ln this work of arming Ireland all can help. Every Irish–American man and woman can help. It is their duty to help – I appeal to them to do their duty. An armed Ireland will be a threat to no man – and will not seek to rob or misgovern others. If need be Irish–Americans should be prepared to go to Ireland. But first let them help us to put rifles into Ireland.

 I said every Irish woman can help. They are doing so at home. Ulster women are helping the Ulster Volunteers; and in Dublin, Cork and Limerick the women are with the men – to a man! The task of Irish women is to inspire and uplift the men. In that they are perhaps best fitted of all the women of the world – for the beauty that is theirs is not of face or brow only, but a beauty of heart and a virtue of soul that have never been wanting.

 To the women of Ireland then I would say, in the words of an Irish poet! herself a worker in the cause of Irish freedom, I would say these words:

“Rise from your knees, oh daughters, rise,

Our Mother still is young and fair;

Let the world look into your eyes

and see her beauty shining there;

Grant of that beauty but one ray,

Heroes shall spring from every hill,

Today shall be as yesterday

The Red blood flows in Ireland still.”