Roger Casement: an account from the archives of his reinterment in Ireland

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The return of Roger Casement's remains to Ireland in February 1965 marked the close of a long and troubling epilogue to the 1916 Rising. Before his execution in August 1916, Casement had told his cousin, Gertrude Bannister, that he did not wish his body to remain in Pentonville Prison, but to be buried near the family home in Murlough Bay, Co. Antrim. However, with the creation of Northern Ireland in 1921, the choice of Murlough had unwelcome political implications and reburial in the Free State was clearly a more practical option. It was to be nearly fifty years before this happened. Why did it take so long? The files of the Taoiseach's (formerly President's) Department in the National Archives reveal the fascinating twists and turns of the battle for Casement's reinterment: the vacillations of successive British prime ministers; the reluctance of the Home Office to concede an uncomfortable precedent; the hostility of the Northern Ireland government; and last, by no means least, the enduring controversy over Casement's diaries which caused acute sensitivity and embarrassment to the British and Irish governments.

Copies of Casement's diaries had been in circulation since his trial in 1916. The originals were held in Scotland Yard until the beginning of 1925 when the Home Office, alerted by the imminent publication of a book based on transcripts of the diaries, took charge of them. The originals had been inspected by Michael Collins and Eamon Duggan during the 1921 Treaty negotiations. Duggan later wrote a terse account of this sometime in the early 1930s.

Michael Collins & I saw the Casement Diary by arrangement with Lord Birkenhead. We read it. I did not know Casement's handwriting. Collins did. He said it was bis. The diary was in two parts — bound volumes — repeating ad nauseam details of sex perversion — of the personal appearance and beauty of native boys — with special reference to a certain portion of their anatomy. It was disgusting... Since Collins had never met Casement, how did
Dear Mr. de Valera,

During your recent visit here you spoke to me about your hope that the remains of Roger Casement could be returned to his native land in Ireland and I well know I would take the question as you did to tell you that we cannot comply with your request. The law on the subject is specific and absolute. He repeatedly was not

neatly made tidy, and there is no doubt that as

it will be of little practical advantage, but apart from those legal considerations I am sure that we should avoid the risk of reviving old enmities and reminding the bitter memories of the differences.

Yours sincerely,

(Wilson J. Churchill)

20, Drawing Street,
Whitehall.
October 24, 1933.

Ráid de Valera, Agú.

Copy letter from Winston Churchill to Eamon de Valera in which he refers to the return of the remains of Roger Casement to Ireland would cause (NAI, D7, 57093, Churchill to de Valera, 14 October 1953).

he know his handwriting? There is correspondence about the diaries between Collins and Casement's brother Tom in early 1922 and it is possible that Tom had shown Collins samples of his brother's handwriting. In a letter to Collins on 25 May 1922 Tom advised Collins not to mention the diary to his sister, Mrs Agnes Newman, if he met her and he commented: I won't be happy until the thing is burned. The imprimatur which Collins and Duggan gave to the diaries made the new Free State government diffident about approaching the British for the return of Casement's body. The first request was made, not coincidentally, in 1929-31 when Ramsey MacDonald's Labour government was in power, but nothing came of it. In June 1930 the historian Denis Gwynn, who was writing a book on Casement, asked the Home Secretary, J.R. Clynes, if he could see the diaries, but Clynes refused. It was decided long ago not to make any official statement as to the non-existence of the diaries... The pace quickened appreciably when de Valera took office in 1932. De Valera and his wife had known Casement when he was patron of the summer school at Tawin in Galway which de Valera ran for several years; his son Ruairi, born at the end of 1916, was named after Casement. De Valera had admired and respected Casement, he was a 1916 comrade and for these reasons he was determined that Casement's last wishes would be carried out. In the rocky period of Anglo-Irish relations which followed his accession to power, exacerbated by the British ministers and officials were apt to attribute malice to de Valera's concern for Casement; but in fact the controversy revealed the cultural chasm in Irish and British attitudes to death. What to the Irish was respect for the dead, to the British was a distasteful and morbid obsession. When looking at de Valera's long campaign for Casement's reinterment, the most striking aspect was his determination to keep separate the issues of the diaries and the remains. It is clear that he suspected, even if he did not know for certain, that the diaries were genuine. One can only speculate that he may have been told this by Tom Casement to whom he gave a job on the Irish Press in the 1950s.

In 1934, de Valera was approached by Margaret Gavan Duffy and Gertrude Parry (formerly Bannister) about a report that Universal Pictures in Hollywood were to make a film of Casement's life. Margaret Gavan Duffy's husband, George, had been Casement's solicitor in 1916 and was one of his executors. Her brother, Sergeant Sullivan, had been Casement's chief defence counsel. Gertrude Parry was Casement's devoted cousin and also his heir and executrix. She appreciated that there was little she could do to stop Universal, but was determined at least to frustrate any shoddy portrayal of her cousin. The thought of Roger being made the central figure of some sentimental Hollywood picture (with perhaps an invented love story inserted to give a popular appeal) is simply revolting. She and Margaret Gavan Duffy wanted de Valera to intervene, which he did, asking the Irish consul in Chicago and San Francisco to ensure that the film would be dignified and in all respects worthy of its subject. Not long after this, de Valera himself was approached by Julius Klein, a journalist who was working for Universal Pictures. Klein, who was also planning to write a book on Casement, wanted de Valera's help in giving the true picture of the great character of Roger Casement and requested all available data, letters, photographs, manuscripts, etc., for his book... De Valera's reply was freezing: 'No writer outside Ireland, however competent, who had not the closest contact with events in this country during the years preceding and following the Rising of 1916 could hope to do justice to the character and achievements of this great man... Klein was nothing if not persistent and also tried to enlist George Bernard Shaw for his projects. To no avail.'

Public pressure for reinterment increased noticeably in 1935 and questions were asked both in the Dáil and in the House of Commons. One of the most active organisations was the London Roger Casement Committee, but...
Dear Sir Winston,

I am grateful for your letter of the 14th instants about the repatriation of Roger Casement's remains.

I note that you say that the law on the subject is specific and binding. The opinion of the legal people here is that the law on the subject is to be found in section 1 of the Treason Act, 1914, as amended by section 71 of the Forfeiture Act, 1970, the effect of which appears to be that the body of a person executed for treason shall be disposed of as His Majesty and his successors shall think fit. If that is the position, it would seem that the law on the subject would permit of a determination by the Crown that Casement's remains be now repatriated to Ireland, and that no amendment of your law to permit this being done would be necessary.

I believe that, in August, 1916, the Home Office ruled on section 1 of the Capital Punishment (Amendment) Act, 1916, and suggesting their refusal to allow Casement's body to be handed over to his relatives, after his execution. As I understand the position, however, that Act applies only to persons executed for murder, and does not apply to persons executed for treason.

As regards the political considerations to which you refer, my friend, with all the force I can command, the position which I expressed to the late Lord Baldwin in February, 1916, that the refusal of our request for the repatriation of Casement's remains will make immeasurably more difficult the task of effecting a final reconciliation between the peoples of two nations. Your action in complying with our request — instead of having the effect of reviving old controversies and reawakening the bitter memories of old differences, as you suggest — would, I am quite certain, be regarded here as a statesmanlike gesture in the direction of putting an end to the present state of things.
Frank MacDermot whether he would ask the British government to submit the alleged Casement Diary, if still in existence, to joint examination by a representative of the Government of the Irish Free State and to publish their report as to its authenticity. ... De Valera's reply was extremely revealing: No. Sir, Roger Casement's reputation is safe in the affections of the Irish people, the only people whose opinion mattered to him.  

An unsigned memorandum, probably written by the assistant secretary of the President's Department, Michael McDunphy, predicted that the problem of the diaries would not go away and suggested that they might perhaps be examined confidentially on behalf of the government, but de Valera was reluctant. He regarded the diaries, whether genuine or not, as tainted because of the way they had been used to blacken Casement; he also regarded them as a distraction from the more important issue of the return of the remains.

Hopes of reinterment rose again in 1939 with reports that Pentonville was to be demolished, but nothing happened before the outbreak of war which put the question in abeyance until the late 1940s when the first Inter-Party government also made unsuccessful requests. Gertrude Parry died in 1950 and even de Valera seems to have become despondent by this time, telling one correspondent in July 1951 that at Casement's body was buried in quicklime it has so disintegrated as to be completely indistinguishable from the rest of the grave. The Irish ambassador in London, F.H. Boland, discussed the matter informally with Sir Perceval Liesching of the Commonwealth Relations Office (CRO) in June 1952, but Liesching refused to give any information about the location of Casement's grave. However, an official at the Irish embassy, J.G. Molloy, met Father James McCarroll who had been a chaplain at Pentonville when Casement was there. Father McCarroll gave a description of the prison which Molloy wrote on a chart. He also told Molloy that Casement had been placed in the grave unconfined and the body spread with quicklime.  

In September 1953, de Valera had a friendly lunch at Downing Street with Winston Churchill and asked him to consider Casement's reinterment. Churchill seemed
Sympathetic, but his reply dashed de Valera’s hopes: The law on the subject is specific and binding. No exception has ever been made to it, and there is no doubt that we should be led into great difficulties were we to seek to amend the law now. But apart from these legal considerations I am sure that we should avoid the risk of reviving old controversies and reawakening the bitter memories of old differences. De Valera was plainly unconvinced. The lawyers here held the opinion that the British law governing the matter is contained in Section 1 of your Treason Act of 1914, which gives the Crown absolute discretion as to the disposal of the body of the person executed. Your own first reaction, he told Churchill, was the natural and human one and I am convinced—with a view to good relations between our two countries —the right one. So long as Roger Casement’s body remains within British prison walls, when he himself expressed the wish that it should be transferred to his native land, so long will there be public resentment here at what must appear to be, at least, the unequal obsequies of the British Government.

At the beginning of 1956, Rene MacColl’s book, *Roger Casement: A New Judgment* was published in London and immediately attracted controversy because although he could not admit it, MacColl had clearly had access to the diaries. What particularly disturbed the Irish government were comments made by several reviewers of the book, notably Brian Inglis and Robert Blake in *The Spectator*, that it had entered into some kind of concordat with the British government about the authenticity of the diaries. This brought to a head the dilemma faced by successive Irish administrations in their attitude to the diaries which they indeed suspect to be genuine. After consultation between John A. Costello (now Táoiseach) and de Valera, Liam Cosgrave, Minister for External Affairs, made a statement in the Dáil categorically denying that there was any
agreement on the diaries between the two governments.\textsuperscript{13}

MacColl's was the first in a spate of books and articles about Casement in the late 1950s which kept the diaries and reinterment firmly in the public view. Alfred Noyes' book *The Accusing Ghost or Justice for Roger Casement* was published in April 1957, as were articles in the Sunday Times by H. Montgomery-Flyde. The book which finally spurred the British government to action was *The Black Diaries: an account of Casement's life and times with a collection of his diaries and writings* by Peter Singleton-Gates and Maurice Girodias and published by the Paris-based Olympia Press (well-known for pornography) in 1959. In the foreword, Singleton-Gates recalled that in 1922 when working as a crime reporter for the London Evening Standard a person of some authority in London presented me with a heavy 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. These papers were typed copies of Casement's diaries and, revealed, as Singleton-Gates rather unaccountably wrote, the gross side of this otherwise generous and noble character. When a preliminary notice of the book he subsequently wrote appeared in January 1925, he was summoned to the Home Office and threatened with the Official Secrets Act. The book did not appear and the diaries were removed from Scotland Yard's custody.

The publication of *The Black Diaries* and Singleton-Gates's account of how he acquired copies put considerable pressure on the British government. Frank Biggar, an official at the Irish embassy in London, reported a conversation about the diaries with A.W. Snelling, Assistant Under-Secretary at the CRO. Snelling told him that he had looked at the originals and compared them with samples of Casement's handwriting in Foreign Office files and in his opinion they were genuine. When Biggar asked what would happen to the original diaries, Snelling replied that the British government was thinking of depositing them in some place where they could be consulted by reputable scholars; they would not be destroyed as they were important

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\textsuperscript{13} Above and below: Letters exchanged by Harold Wilson and Sean Lemass concerning questions asked of the British Home Secretary in the House of Commons about the repatriation of the remains of Roger Casement (NAI, D/780/D299, Lemass to Wilson, 11 November 1964; Wilson to Lemass, 16 November 1964).
historical documents. Snelling enquired what the reaction in Ireland would be to the release of the diaries, adding that in view of the present attitude in Britain to homosexuality, few people now in this country would attach much importance to Casement's failings in this respect. Biggar was distinctly dubious: opinion in Ireland had not evolved so far and would probably be not much different from what it was in this country when Casement was on trial.

Shortly after this interview, there was a conference in Dublin attended by Frank Aiken, Minister for External Affairs, Aindrias Ó Caoinbh, the Attorney General, and Colm Gavan Duffy, son of George and Margaret Gavan Duffy, and now, in succession to his father, an executor for Casement. Liam Cosgrave had tabled a Dáil Question asking whether the government would make representations to the British about the diaries. Gavan Duffy had written to the British Home Secretary, R.A. Butler, in April 1959, requesting the return of Casement documents in the possession of the Home Office, pointing out that his father had applied to Sir Ernley Blackwell, Legal Assistant Under-Secretary at the Home Office in 1916, asking him to comply with the mandatory terms of the Felony Forfeiture Act (1870). Blackwell, however, had declined the request without apparent justification. Gavan Duffy's main concern, as he explained to Butler, was that the documents should not fall into the hands of anyone who would endeavour to make some financial gain from them. If returned to him, they would be deposited in the National Library.\(^{16}\)

Over the next month there were further discussions between the Irish and British governments over what to do about the diaries. There were three choices: (1) hand them over to thelegates (not the executors) although this might adversely lead to publication; (2) hand them over to the Irish government; (3) deposit by the British government in the Public Record Office, London. When the Irish cabinet discussed the matter on 30 June (by which time Lemass was now Taoiseach), the general consensus was that the documents should be given to the Irish government with no copy being kept by the British. The second best course would be deposit at the PRO in London.\(^{17}\)

At this point it would seem that, if the Irish government had pressed for the diaries, there was a good chance the British government might have agreed. Lemass and Aiken were certainly very anxious to get them, but the views of Maurice Moynihan, secretary to the government and secretary of the Department of the Taoiseach, were to prove particularly influential. His department, as custodian of the Dáil Election files 1919–22, would probably be given custody of the Casement diaries and what then, he asked Lemass. Did the government intend to keep them, to burn them or to publish them? Whatever course was taken, the inus of verifying the diaries would now fall on the Irish government and stir up endless controversy. In his opinion, they should have nothing to do with them.\(^{16}\) Lemass agreed. On 23 July, R.A. Butler announced to the House of Commons that the diaries would be deposited in the Public Record Office, but caused consternation when he stated that the copies of the diaries which had been circulating had emanated from Dublin. Following an angry press statement by Aiken, he retracted this allegation the next day, accepting the account Singleton-Gates had given in the foreword of his book.\(^{17}\)

With the deposit of the diaries in the PRO, and the gradual acceptance by most people who examined them (though certainly not all) that they were genuine, the controversy faded as a cause of friction between the two governments, leaving the issue of Casement's remains. In the spring of 1961, Lemass decided to make an approach to the British prime minister, Harold MacMillan. In a briefing memorandum, the Department of External Affairs noted that over the previous twenty years the reasons given by the British government for not agreeing to the return had constantly shifted from non-legal reasons — controversy, public demonstrations — to legal — precedent, the need to amend the law, etc. There was also the problem of where reburial would take place. Mulalloween would clearly be difficult, but Casement's sister had selected a plot in Glasnevin cemetery which was subsequently purchased by his American lawyer, Michael Francis Doyle. The important thing, in Doyle's opinion, was that the remains be returned for burial in Irish soil. Lemass agreed and wrote to MacMillan on 18 April. The passage of time has obscured the risks of reverberation of old controversies which led Mr Baldwin in 1936 to refuse the request then addressed to him, and the transfer of Casement's remains would, I feel, be entirely in line with the better spirit which now characterises relations between the
two countries. MacMillan’s reply was regretful, but firm. The difficulties were still insuperable ... The matter appears to me to be essentially one for a uniform rule: either no bodies should be handed over, or the relations should be in every case be given the option of removing the corpse of an executed person. MacMillan went on to refer to the case of Timothy Evans, currently in the news, in which there was also pressure for exhumation and reburying. This illustrates the impossibility of dealing with such issues in isolation. The Royal Commission on Capital Punishment ... found that there would be serious objections to introducing a general departure from the existing practice in regard to the burial of persons executed in prison.

It was over two years before the subject was raised again. In September 1963, Con Cremen, Irish ambassador in London, discussed it with Sir Henry Lintott of the CRO, who once more raised the spectre of old controversies with the addition this time of possible objections from Northern Ireland. The issue was highly political, he told Cremen and advised him to raise it directly with the Commonwealth Secretary, Duncan Sandys. Since the British government was being buffeted by the Profumo scandal at the time, Cremen judged it wiser to postpone an approach to Sandys. With screaming newspaper headlines about sexual misconduct in high places, it was hardly the most opportune time to discuss Casement.

The following year, 1964, was Casement’s centenary and when Lemass met Duncan Sandys in London in March, he followed up the meeting with a letter, urging that a generous gesture by the British government in Casement’s centenary year would be welcomed in Ireland. He also confirmed that a burial plot in Glasnevin was available for the remains. It was three months before Sandys replied, referring to very great difficulties, the departure from precedent and the risk of reviving old controversies. He also mentioned problems with Northern Ireland: If one result of returning the remains were to stimulate a campaign [for reburyal in Northern Ireland], ... it could well do more harm than good to our relations. Lemass was cheered by this letter for, as he told Aiken, it wasn’t a complete negative.

However, the tide was about to turn. Parliament dissolved and in the October general election Labour was returned to power with Harold Wilson as prime minister. Wilson’s personal interest in Casement was to prove decisive. This was by no means clear to Irish ministers and officials at the time. Labour MPs had certainly been making promises about reburyal, but in the past these noises tended to fade when Labour was in government, with some exceptions. Lemass wrote a long and eloquent letter to Wilson on 11 November 1964, pleading for Casement’s reburyal and promising his readiness to cooperate in every way with a view to ensuring a very favourable reaction to a gesture by you directed towards solving this long outstanding question which has been an unnecessary source of friction between our two countries. In a short reply, Wilson said the matter was being considered.

Two months later, on 14 January 1965, the Irish Ambassador in London, J.G. Molloy, was told the request would be granted. There were delays in January because of the lingering death of Winston Churchill, which did not occur until 24 January and was followed by the state funeral. However, from the evidence of a conversation between Paul Keating, councillor at the Irish embassy in London, and J.D.B. Shaw of the CRO, it was clear there were still lingering doubts and reservations on the British side, especially in the Home Office. They wanted assurances, Keating was told, that Casement would be buried in Dublin and that there would be no unfriendly demonstrations. They also wanted the transfer of the remains to be effected with the utmost secrecy because of the ghoulish sensationalism of the Sunday papers. Keating assured Shaw that his government would do everything to avoid embarrassment to the British authorities although the funeral would demand a certain amount of pomp and circumstance. The conversation then turned to the diaries and whether they would have any effect on the funeral. Keating’s response was a model of tact. As far as the Irish people were concerned, the Casement diaries were completely irrelevant to the question of the return of the remains or of the respect in which Casement himself was held. Admittedly a number of authorities considered them to be genuine but, equally, a number of Irish people had the other opinion. In any event, the diaries, if genuine, showed a strange aberration which had little to do with the character of the man as he was known by his friends. ... Our main concern was the return of Casement himself. Shaw told Keating that there would be no difficulty in identifying the grave, although how much would be left of the body was not known.
Keating said that even if little remained, the symbolic gesture was really important. The correspondence between Lemass and Wilson on the formal transfer of the remains was kept private although they both made statements in their respective parliaments. In his letter to Lemass, Wilson stated that the grave could be identified although the condition of the remains was unknown. We hope that no question would be raised as to their authenticity, he stressed. He also wanted assurances that there would be no difficulties with Casement's surviving relatives. Lemass reassured him on both points.

On 21 February, two Irish officials, Sean Ronan, Assistant Secretary of the Department of External Affairs, and Andrew Ward, a principal officer at the Department of Justice, went to London to arrange the transfer of the remains. Strict secrecy was the order of the day. Ronan later wrote a remarkable report on the events of the next two days which was occasionally macabre, often moving and a fitting final chapter to the long saga. On the morning of 22 February he, Ward and Keating met a phalanx of British officials at the Home Office. They offered to put them in touch with a discreet undertaker who would be able to cope with such a delicate task. The offer was accepted. The location of the grave had been identified and the exhumation would be done by prison officers. It was estimated that since the body was buried at a depth of about ten feet, exhumation would take six to eight hours. The Irish officials expressed a wish to be present at all stages of the exhumation as at any time we might be called upon to testify as to certain facts. It was also hoped that the Catholic chaplain at the prison could be present. This was agreed. The exhumation was to take place after dark because of the risk that it might be seen by prisoners. Afterwards the coffin would be placed overnight in the prison chapel.

After this meeting, Ronan and Ward went to see the phlegmatic undertaker recommended by the Home Office. They settled on the make and finish of the coffin. Later that afternoon, before leaving the embassy for Pentonville, Ronan and Ward were surprised to receive a phone call asking them to call back at the Home Office. There they met the Permanent Under-Secretary, Sir Charles Cunningham, and the Assistant Under-Secretary, H.B. Wilson. Cunningham asked what would happen if no remains were found. Since this question was hypothetical, Ronan and Ward did not give a direct answer as it might have affected the diligence with which the prison authorities would search for the remains. They also had private information that the quicklime might not have destroyed the skeleton. Cunningham then referred to possible repercussions in Northern Ireland, but Ronan and Ward did not think these were likely. The meeting then concluded with a surprising offer. The Home Secretary, Sir Frank Soskice, was anxious to pay for the coffin: it was a gesture which they felt they should make and were glad to make. The offer was accepted with appreciation.

Exhumation began at 4.50 p.m. that afternoon. Ronan, Ward and Keating were present, as were six prison officers who were to do the digging and a number of other officials from the prison and the Home Office. At one point there were fifteen people standing by the grave. The weather was cloudy, cold and damp with snowflakes and rain. The burial ground was illuminated by two high-power lamps on stands and there was a brazier to provide some warmth for the huddled group. The location of the grave, as Ronan noted with interest, tallied generally with de Valera's recollections in June 1917 when he was detained at Pentonville. He, Ward and Keating inspected documents produced by Home Office officials which identified the various graves. These revealed that Casement, contrary to popular legend, was not buried next to Henry Crippen, but between two men called Kuhn and Robinson.

The work proceeded at the rate of about two feet per hour, with the prison officers working in half-hour shifts. After two and a half hours, the grave began to fill with water, the result of a damaged culvert, and the exhumation became progressively more arduous and unpleasant. Shortly after 8 p.m., the first bones were dug up and at this point it was noticed that a prisoner was covertly observing the proceedings through a mirror reflected in his cell. The deputy governor of the prison immediately left to warn him off. A substantial part of the skeleton was finally recovered, to the considerable relief of Sir Charles Cunningham who was standing by at the Home Office in case nothing was retrieved. The bones consisted of the lower jaw, eight ribs, several vertebrae, arm bones, shoulder bones, a number of smaller bones and the skull, virtually intact and still covered with bits of the shroud. The bones
terminated. The bones were put in the coffin which was then taken to the chapel. After prayers, the Irish officials returned to the embassy to report to the Ambassador. At 12.30 p.m. the following afternoon, 23 February, six prison officers, some of whom had worked on the execution the night before, carried the coffin shoulder-high through the corridors of the prison with great reverence. Ronan noted.

The coffin was placed in a plain blue van which, followed closely behind by the Irish officials, drove to Northolt military airport. A specially chartered Aer Lingus plane arrived at 2.30 p.m. and took off for Dublin an hour later.

The state funeral took place on 1 March. A few days later President de Valera, who had given the graveside oration, asked Ronan to Áras an Uachtarán to hear his account of the exhumation. He was, Ronan remembered, extremely moved.3

In his report Ronan paid tribute to the British officials involved and the fullest and friendliest cooperation extended to himself, Ward and Keating. In particular, he praised the prison officers who performed the exhumation with a great deal of humanity and even reverence. When the Irish officials offered to give them extra gratuities and suitable mementos of the occasion from the government, this offer was declined as contrary to regulations, though the Home Office later relented and agreed that letters of appreciation and small pieces of Waterford crystal could be given. After almost fifty years, it was an unexpectedly gracious and gentle ending to Casement’s long journey.

My special thanks to Felix Larkin for his contribution to this article and also to the staff of the National Archives and the National Library. I would also like to thank Dr. Maurice Moylan and Mr. Sean Ronan for their valuable recollections.

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1 National Archives, Ireland (NAI), Department of the Taoiseach (DT), S 9606a. ‘E. Duggan’s manuscript’
2 NAI, DT S 9606a, Tom Casement to Michael Collins, 23 May 1922.
3 Denis Gwynn, The Life and Death of Roger Casement (Lape 1970), p 19
4 NAI, DT S 7804a.
5 NAI, DT S 7805a, de Valera to Baldwin, 5 February 1936; Baldwin to de Valera, 24 February 1936.
7 NAI, DT S 9606a.
8 NAI, DT S 7805a.
9 NAI, DT S 7805b, Loghian to Boland, 6 June 1952.
10 Ibid. Note by J.G. Molloy, 5 July 1952.
13 NAI, DT S 9606D/94, Biggar to External Affairs, 13 May 1939.
14 N. Sealing (1959, 1959) was being somewhat disingenuous about changes in British attitudes to homosexuality. Homosexual acts were still illegal in 1959 and were not decriminalised until 1967.
15 Ibid. Note by Aiken, 23 May 1959.
16 Ibid. Maurice Moylan’s note, note of Government Meeting, 30 June 1959.
19 Evan had been hanged in 1950 for the murder of his daughter. The case was reopened in 1965 and he was given a posthumous pardon. His body was exhumed and reburied in November 1965.
20 NAI, DT S 7805D/63, Cremin to External Affairs, 6 September 1965.
21 NAI, DT S 7805D/95, Lemass to Sandy, 25 May 1964; Sandy to Lemass, 27 August 1964; Lemass to Aiken, 31 August 1964.
22 Ibid.
23 NAI, DT S 9606/190, DT S 7805D, memorandum by the Department of External Affairs, 31 January 1965.
24 Ibid.
25 Ibid.
26 Ibid.
27 Sean Ronan interview, 27 February 1996. This was not the first time Casement had crossed Sean Ronan’s path. In 1956, as Irish Consul in Chicago, he represented the government at the funeral of Robert Moncure, who had accompanied Casement on his ill-fated mission in Germany and on the final journey to Ireland.