

ORIGINAL

BUREAU OF M.
BUIO STAIRS MIL.
No. W.S. 155

ROINN  COSANTA.

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY, 1913-21.
STATEMENT BY WITNESS
DOCUMENT NO. W.S. 155.....

Witness

Alderman P.S. Doyle, T.D.,
Avondale,
Tyrconnell Road,
Inchicore, Dublin.

Identity

Quartermaster of South Dublin Union Garrison,
Easter Week, 1916;
Lord Mayor of Dublin 1941-1943; 1945-1946.

Subject

Replies to Bureau Questionnaire on 1916
- Sections A. and B.
C.D. No.97 is attached.

Conditions, if any, stipulated by Witness

Nil

File No. S.274.....

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY 1913-21

BURO STAIRÉ MILEATA 1913-21

No. W.S. 155

Ref.: S. 274

BURO STAIRÉ MILEATA 1913-21

(Bureau of Military History 1913-21)

QUESTIONNAIRE

on

The Rising of Easter Week 1916
and Associated Events



To Mr. Peadar Doyle, J.P.

Abendale, Lymington Rd.

Dublin

Sublin

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26 Westland Row,
Dublin

Phone: 61018

A.—PERSONAL FACTORS.

1. At the commencement of the Rising were you a member of any of the five organizations which took part, viz.:

The Irish Volunteers	yes
Irish Citizen Army	—
Fianna Éireann	—
Hibernian Rifles	—
Cumann na mBan	—

2. Were you a member of the Executive, H. Q. Staff, etc.?

No

3. To what unit, e.g., Brigade, Battalion, Company, etc., were you attached?

Dublin Brigade. IV Batta
F Coy

4. Did you take part in the Rising?

yes.

5. Were you in uniform?

yes. but not in full.

6. What was your rank or office at the commencement of the Rising?

Co'y - Q.R. Master.

7. When and by whom were you appointed?

I was appointed on nomination by Capt
Con Colbert on formation of Coy F. 19

8. Was your rank altered during the Rising?

yes.

In what circumstances and by whom? On mobilized by
Capt Con Colbert on Easter Monday. I was ordered to go as
Staff orderly to Comdt. E. Leamy's quarters at
Emerald Sq. Dolphin's Barn at 10 am. I was later
appointed Q.R. Mtr to Garrison. South Dublin Union.

9. What posts or offices did you hold previously?

As Master of Loy from formation.

10. Who were the officers of your Brigade, Battalion and/or Company immediately prior to and during the Rising?

11. Which of your Unit officers took part in the Rising?

12. Who were appointed to replace those who did not turn out, and by whose authority?

13. At the time of the Rising were you a member of the I. R. B.?

No

14. If so, what was your position?

15. When did you join?

In what circle?

Where did it usually meet?

Who was its centre?

How many members were there?

Can you give names?

By whom were you introduced and by whom were you sworn in?

** Did not join but was invited. + refused*

** At a lecture "on the Brokers' Disease" 41 Parnell Sq Dublin - in '98 Club. some years before the Rising.*

B.—THE VOLUNTEERS PRIOR TO THE RISING.

1. To what extent and in what way were the I.R.B. responsible for—

- (a) the formation of the Irish Volunteers, and
(b) the direction of its policy?

2. What were the channels through which it exercised its influence?

3. What members of the I.R.B. held key posts in the Volunteers, and how was that arranged?

4. Did the circumstances leading to the expulsion of Mr. John Redmond's nominees from the Executive of the Irish Volunteers on 24th September, 1914, have any bearing on the holding of the First Annual Convention on 25th October, 1914? If so, how?

The Convention would in my opinion have been held in any case but it was considered imperative in view of the large number who refused to resign from Volunteers owing to the split.

5. Had arrangements been made to hold the Convention before the expulsion?

Convention was intended, to the best of my belief.

6. Did the First Convention clarify or develop the stated policy of the Volunteers in any way?

It had the effect of clarifying the position? Those who remained loyal to the IRISH Volunteers anticipated a Rising

7. How many delegates at that Convention were members of the I.R.B.?

No knowledge

How many were supporters of the Irish Party?

How many were supporters of Sinn Féin, i.e., Arthur Griffith's policy?

How many had no affiliation with any political party?

Can you give names?

8. Between the First Annual Convention on 25th October, 1914, and the Second on 31st October, 1915, how often did the General Council meet?

No knowledge

Are the minutes of these meetings available?

9. Was general policy discussed at these meetings?

How far was there unanimity of outlook within the Council on policy?

10. Did the Second Annual Convention on 31st October, 1915, consider policy, or clarify it or develop it in any way?

Not aware

Can you give particulars?

Who led the discussions?

What decisions on general policy were made?

11. Seven G.H.Q posts are mentioned in the report of the Second Annual Convention of the Volunteers of 31st October, 1915. According to information given in various issues of the *Irish Volunteer* and elsewhere, these posts and the occupants of some of them, were:

1. Chief of Staff—Eoin MacNeill.
2. Director of Arms—The O'Rahilly.
3. Director of Training—Thomas McDonagh.
4. Director of Military Organisation—P. H. Pearse.
5. Quartermaster—Michael Staines.
6. Director of Military Operations—
7. Director of Communications—

REMINISCENCES OF FIVE YEARS SERVICE OF AN IRISH VOLUNTEER

Alderman P.S. Doyle, F.D.

ORIGINAL

2097

The policy of physical force had been preached for centuries in Ireland. Great and courageous efforts were made from time to time and many great Irish leaders - Tone and the United Irishmen, Fintan Lalor and Young Irelanders, John Mitchell, etc., advocated it, but it was only after the Boer War that militant nationalists created an impression that there was little or no hope of Ireland gaining her freedom unless they armed themselves.

No physical force movement properly so called existed in Ireland in the 20th Century until the foundation of the Ulster Volunteers in the year 1912. That movement was unique inasmuch as it was founded to oppose and not to achieve National independence. It was also different from other physical force movements in Ireland in that it was to a great extent open instead of secret. On account of its apparent open character it was regarded at the time, and is even at this date regarded as theatrical rather than real. Whether or not it was ever intended to be a real movement is of little practical concern to-day. Its founders and those prominently associated with it during its period of growth were scarcely people who, in any set of circumstances, could be visualised in open conflict with the forces of the British Crown for the purpose of forcing the British Government to release its hold in this country. The truth probably is that the leaders of the movement were playing a political game in the interests of their own ascendancy in Ireland and in the interests of the British political party, with which they were associated. It is also probably true that the rank and file of the movement knew in their hearts that they would never be called upon to oppose the Crown forces, that the mere fact of their organising would achieve the political objects of the leaders, and that incidentally they would be left with a powerful organisation for the domination of those of their fellow-countrymen who differed from them in their political faith.

These objects were in fact achieved in full by the Ulster Volunteers but only because the ruling part in England were weakened and luke-warm in their avowed policy of extending a very modified and attenuated form of self-government to Ireland. If that ruling

party had possessed one half of the conviction and determination of their opponents, the Ulster Volunteer movement would have been put to the test, and that test must inevitably have exposed the weakness and hollowness of the movement, notwithstanding the fire-eating speeches and martial demonstrations that were such prominent features of the movement.

Apart however from these considerations the Ulster Volunteer Movement had a value for Ireland which the history of the succeeding ten years very clearly demonstrates.

The Arms Act had been repealed and technically at all events any Irishman could possess arms. Notwithstanding this, however, there can be no doubt but that if a national Volunteer movement had been started with the avowed object of national independence before the foundation of the Ulster Volunteer Movement, such national Volunteer movement would have been speedily suppressed. England would not have allowed the possibility of another 1782. It was only under cover of a movement like the Ulster Volunteer Movement that the National Volunteer Movement became possible. That possibility soon became apparent to those who, in the coming decade, were to become Ireland's political and military leaders and in 1913 the British Government, having tolerated the foundation and growth of the Ulster Volunteer Movement, had to look on while a similar national Volunteer movement took shape.

There is little doubt but that even in these circumstances the British Government would have moved but for the fact that, secure in the consciousness of their own strength, they preferred to believe that the new movement, like its sister movement in the North, was merely theatrical and they were fortified in that belief by the attitude of the people generally towards the movement and particularly by the attitude of the then national political leaders.

Neither of the Volunteer movements impressed itself on the public mind as a force to be reckoned with, until the Larne Gun-Running coup was carried out by the Ulster Volunteers. This was probably theatrical too, but it forced the public imagination and the National Volunteers had seriously to consider the question of arming. The result was the Howth gun-running episode which gave the first arms to the Volunteers and nearly precipitated a conflict with British forces on the same day.

That was the last Sunday of July, 1914, and it was on that day that shots were first fired in anger in the streets of Dublin by British forces in a conflict which did not end for seven years.

As I have already stated the spread of the Volunteer movement was sensational and all over the country meetings were being held and companies formed, etc. Like every other individual who took an active part in the movement, there were many interesting and non-interesting incidents, that one could relate. It is my intention to refer to some of them and to give my own personal observations and experiences. Like most who attended the historic gathering at the Rotunda Rink Dublin on 28th November (?) 1913, I then joined the Volunteers and notwithstanding all the enthusiasm, it took some time to get the various districts moving in a disciplinary way throughout the country, and every effort was made to get men of every party to join the Volunteers.

At Rathfarnham in June 1914, Patrick Pearse, speaking as Commander declared that the Irish Volunteers should belong to no section of the Irish People, or make use of their arms except at the call of the Nation.

The Inchicore organising meeting was fixed for the last Sunday in July, 1914, the day of the Howth gun-running and elaborate arrangements were made to focus public attention on this meeting - all the principal leaders were billed to speak. Late on the previous Saturday night there was a whispering rumour that there was "something doing" on the Howth Road the following Sunday, 26th July, 1914. Being chiefly responsible for the organising of this meeting at Inchicore, I was obliged to return from Fairview as the meeting had been fixed for 4 p.m. Prior to that hour two bands and several thousand people had assembled at the meeting place. At 4.30 there were no speakers and an empty brake for a platform. The Reverend Father T.W. Ryan, C.C., now P.P. of High Street, stepped into the breach and presided at the meeting. I was then faced with the embarrassment of standing up on a public platform for the first time, and having referred to the Ulster Volunteers and our justification for claiming the right to arm, a message was conveyed to me

that the South-Wales Borders had fired on the people at Bachelor's Walk, and I accordingly took steps to close the meeting as quickly as possible, and I fully realised the seriousness of the position in having such a large crowd gathered in close proximity to the Military Barracks. However, in doing so I requested the attendance of all desirous of joining the Volunteers at a neighbouring field on the following Tuesday. Over 1,000 men attended, companies were formed and Drill Instructors appointed.

The Howth gun-running and its aftermath gave a tremendous fillip to the Volunteer movement but normal developments got no chance of proceeding by reason of the outbreak of the Great War within a week.

In the hectic excitement of that early war period, volunteering became suddenly fashionable. The political leaders of the nation lost their heads and pledged the country to support England in the War. They claimed the leadership of the Volunteers and to a certain extent got it. The Volunteer Movement was inundated by members who at the time had no real sympathy with the real ideals of the Volunteers. Rapidly the Volunteer Movement was being converted into a recruiting instrument for the British Army.

The inevitable split came when it could no longer be avoided. It may be out of place to refer briefly to this rather unfortunate upheaval as it affected the F. Co. IV Batt., of the Irish Volunteers and of which I held the post of Quarter Master. Having no records I cannot name the date, but I have a clear recollection of noticing that following the decision of the Executive Council, resolutions were sent to all Companies, pledging allegiance to the respective leaders. There were general Committees made up of the Chief Officers of the Battalion and non-active members. On a particular Friday evening after Drill practice, I noticed that some people who were conspicuous by their absence from meetings, for some time were in attendance on that particular occasion. At that time the Company's funds were about £150. At the meeting referred to, as anticipated, the Resolution pledging allegiance to the National or Redmondite Volunteers was moved but defeated by four votes to six, as a result of which one of the Trustees resigned and immediate steps were taken to fill his place. The late

Councillor Patrick O'Carroll, was appointed as on that particular night several important financial transactions, deferred from the previous week, had to be fulfilled.

It is not possible for me to express our disgust and indignation in seeing such a splendid organisation of about 1,000 men assembling twice weekly for Drill and occasionally taking part in route marching and field marching now breaking up. On one occasion 500 men marched and took part with the Dublin Brigade to Saucerstown, Swords, and on another occasion left Inchicore in the small hours of a Sunday morning and marched to the Dublin Mountains and back. The feeling of most of those taking part was that we were to obtain rifles and there was much disappointment that the rumour was not true. Such was the enthusiasm. But as I have stated the "split" came with all its evil effects. The decision that a majority of the Committee of the Inchicore Volunteers had decided to stand by the Executive Council was generally known the next day, and night after night the numbers attending drill-parade were showing a considerable falling off, until finally some 49 members remained and on the approach of the winter the use of the Emmet Hall was obtained from the Irish Transport Workers' Union free of rent.

It was now that the real Volunteer movement, with a minority of the members, but purged from Imperialism, again emerged and proceeded to prepare in earnest for the struggle which more far-seeing people said "must come sooner or later" as the authorities were becoming more vigilant coupled with the change of public opinion, and in some places a hostile feeling against the Volunteers, the work of organisation which had to commence again and on a very definite understanding became very difficult. There were many stirring and exciting events at this and other Volunteer quarters that tested the sincerity of those who had remained staunch and there are many stories to be told, but I will be content to refer to the remarkable courage and daring of Captain Con Colbert, who was in full charge of the F. Coy., IV Batt. throughout the whole period. Lecturing one night in Emmet Hall he warned those present who numbered about 30, that if there was anyone in their Company who was afraid to die they should make up their minds by the coming week as to their future intentions.

He did not intend to lose his own time and efforts unless they were up their minds definitively as to their action when "the day came". He pointed out that among in mind several members of the Company who would not be required to resort to this "special" obligation but that other work would be prescribed for them. May I say here and now that nothing was done to make such provision as I am led to be in a position to state that with a couple of exceptions the Company with its arms and banners carried on intensely and consistently throughout the year.

Training and drill on various continued unabated throughout 1914, 1915 and up till October 1916. The members were trained in the art of war. Arms were obtained wherever and whenever possible. The progress of events was not until October 1916, Sunday, which was the day that once more in our battle with the invaders for a year.

On April 17th, 1916, the Dublin Battalion of the Irish Volunteers held a grand parade in the City. Different sections paraded at the various City Churches and later the whole force assembled in College Green and they certainly made a splendid display, marching with a march past. About 2,000 Volunteers took part and all of them carried rifles and bayonets. Bands played national music and it was the first display of its kind since 1798.

"It is the natural right of the people of every nation to have control of their own national affairs, and any body of the people is entitled to assert that right in the name of the people". This extract from a leaflet distributed that day explained itself.

Protestation (Orders) were issued later against certain leaders of the Volunteer Battalion. A great meeting was held in the City and a largely attended meeting of protest was held in the same place, presided over by the late German Patriot, Dr. J. P. Kelly. Meetings were held throughout the country and incidentally recruiting meetings were the cause of great disturbances and disturbances

propaganda of the Irish Volunteers. Occasional outbursts by prominent Loyalists calling on the British Government to take decisive action to curtail the activities of the Volunteers and at the same time to counter the opposition to Recruiting for the British Army were made and the only reply was to the effect that the activities of the Organisation were receiving close attention.

It would be impossible to enumerate the many interesting incidents of this period on any occasion like the present.

On Good Friday night, there was a special mobilization order for parade at the Quarry 3rd Lock. It was dark but fine and as the members of the Company made their way to the meeting place there was great surprise to find that there was a policeman on duty at this particular place. However, having passed through the entrance without comment, we were next confronted with an Irish Terrier, who was fortunately chained up. The first job was placing a guard on the Policeman and another on the dog. Then Robl Call and a distribution of several thousand rounds of ammunition. Quite recently one of the men who spoke to me on that Good Friday reminded me of his query - "What is going to happen?" My reply was "I don't know but whoever outlines the next couple of months will have something to be proud of." At the time I did not know that I was a prophet. Within an hour the Company dispersed and all looked forward to Easter Sunday mornin' for the Great Parade.

No detailed history of the rising has yet been written and it is not my intention to deal with the wider issues of such a history.

Apart from the spectacular side and the gesture to the world which it constituted, the Rising was a small affair staged by a handful of determined men among a not too friendly population against the forces of an Empire in arms.

Historians may dispute as to the ~~wisdom~~ wisdom or otherwise of that demonstration but none can deny the splendid courage of those who signed the proclamation of the Republic, of those who commanded the various positions which were occupied and finally of those who for a week stubbornly held the British Empire at bay.

The names of Plunkett, Connolly, Kent, Clarke, MacDermott, and McDonagh will live for ever blazoned in letters of gold on the pages of Irish history. In signing the Proclamation they voluntarily signed their own death warrants.

Similarly, those who commanded the various posts, the signatories of the Proclamation, Cathal Brugha, Willie Cosgrave, Eamonn de Valera Ned Daly, and all the others, some living, some dead, ranked themselves forever with those who throughout the ages of our Turkish Night battled for freedom.

It would be invidious of me to attempt to apportion praise to living or to dead. All were animated with one soul and strove for one object. Ireland subsequently acknowledge them all. They interpreted her mind which she did not know herself and their names and deeds will remain among her most treasured possessions.

So much for the general march of events. It is my honour to have been a Volunteer in 1916 and to have played my small part in Easter Week, and I will now proceed to relate to you some little incidents which had their serious as well as their humorous side, prior to 1916, and the impression which that memorable occasion left on my mind. I will also give you some idea of what life was like for sentenced Volunteers in English prisons during the following years.

On Saturday morning I paid a visit to the Headquarters at Dawson Street and found all the furniture and paper, etc., had been removed.

The week just passed was a week of the hardest work I have yet known. Preparations were being made for the general Parade on Easter Sunday. Early on Saturday evening the news of Sir Roger Casement's arrest reached Dublin and created quite a sensation, which was followed quickly by his arrival at Kingsbridge under armed escort.

At 10.30 that night the late Councillor W.P. Partridge called at my home. He had just returned from Tralee where he had gone that morning with a despatch from Headquarters. We discussed the situation generally regarding the "parade" arranged for the morning (Sunday) and the developments resulting from the capture and arrest of Sir Roger Casement the official announcement of which, on 24th April, was as follows-

" During the period April 20th to 21st an attempt to land ammunition in Ireland was made by a vessel under the guise of a neutral merchant ship but in reality a German auxiliary in conjunction with a German submarine. The Auxiliary sank and a number of prisoners, including Sir Roger Casement, were made."

I had a good shake-hands with Bill Partridge that night or rather morning and our next meeting was in Lewes Prison nine months later.

Easter Sunday morning all were astir but the arrival of the Sunday Independent gave the announcement that the "Easter Manoeuvres" would not take place.

Mr. Eoin MacNeill, Chief of Staff's letter changed the whole position. The letter was as follows -

"Owing to the very critical position, all orders given to Irish Volunteers for to-morrow, Easter Sunday, are ~~xxx~~ hereby rescinded and no parades, marches, or other movements of Irish Volunteers will take place. Each individual Volunteer will obey this order strictly in every particular."

So Easter Sunday passed off in a kind of subdued disappointment and anxiety as to what might happen next. Those who were directly interested and who had definitely decided to "pin their colours to the mast" felt that all was gone and that another link was to be added to the long chain of ill luck and misfortune, that had so often in the past dashed the hopes and aspirations of Irish Nationalists. This was how I felt and thought, to be in the hands of the enemy was one thing, but to be subjected to derision and contempt was uncomfortable and discouraging. So it cannot be claimed that the Volunteers enjoyed any popularity at this period of their existence but there was a remarkable change later.

Feeling somewhat the worse of the exertions and excitement of the previous week, I decided to rest on Easter Monday, but as it afterwards transpired the Council or Headquarters Staff had been in session over night and in the early hours of Easter Monday a mobilisation order was issued by Commandant Thomas MacDonagh to the effect that the four City

Battalions would parade at 10 a.m. that day - Full arms and equipment and one day's rations.

At 9 o'clock the Military Council at full strength deliberated on the drafting of an emergency Proclamation. In Dublin, the Volunteers who answered the mobilisation order assembled at their posts at 10 o'clock as directed. In the meantime the authorities were deliberating in Dublin Castle and it had been decided to arrest and intern the leaders. This decision was postponed in view of the all-Ireland mobilisation being called off.

I was reading the Daily Independent at five minutes past nine precisely, when Captain Con Colbert knocked at my door and inquired for me. My wife having directed him to my room he said to me "Good morning, Peadar", "Get to Emerald Square, Dolphin's Barn by 10 o'clock act as Staff Orderly to Commandant Eamonn Ceannt". "Where will I find him?" I enquired, "You will have to find him yourself" he replied, and left saying that he was going to Blanchardstown.

I immediately dressed and bade what at the time I thought was a last farewell to my wife and family. I walked by Golden Bridge Grand Canal and arrived at Emerald Square at 10 a.m. precisely, to find that I was to first to arrive excepting a Policeman on duty. I will leave it to your imagination as to how one could or should feel under the circumstances, parading for about half an hour attired in a semi-military uniform, fully armed and 500 rounds of ammunition, etc., and your only companion a Policeman. However, relief came at last by Paddy McGrath shouting through a yard gate "Come in out of that". On entering the yard there was the late Mr. John McCabe's cart loaded with war material and flying two large tri-colours.

It was now nearing 11.30 and over 100 Volunteers had by this time assembled, including Officers Eamonn Ceannt, Cathal Brugha, Liam T. Cosgrave and Con Colbert.

At this time, while the Volunteers were assembling at half a dozen centres in the City, the Citizens were bustling through the city to take the fullest advantage of enjoying themselves. It was

gloriously fine and there was no thought in the ordinary mind that an insurrection was in the making. However, they had not long to wait and at or around the hour of 12 o'clock, Dublin was awakened and knew that there was something more than a Volunteer parade afoot.

The order to "move off" was given and parties marched to take over the Dublin Union and Marrowbone Lane Distillery and Jacob's. The route to the Dublin Union was by Cork Street, Robert Street, Basin Street, into James' Street and sharp to the chime of 12 o'clock the leaders had the keys of the Gates in their possession and some fifty men were inside and persons desiring to leave were permitted to do so. The Gates were then bolted and complete possession of the whole situation taken.

As Staff Orderly to Commandant Ceannt and Brugha an inspection with the Survey maps of the buildings was made and men armed with Howth Rifles, etc., were posted on various parts of the grounds and buildings.

On entering the Convent one of the Nuns who opened the door inquired from me if we had come to read the Gas Meters? I politely but quickly replied "No sister, but we are in a hurry".

At that time the present site of the Corporation Cottages, Ceannt's Fort, named after Commandant Ceannt was known as McCaffrey's Orchard. About one dozen men were stationed here under cover of the trees and no sooner had they taken up their posts than a detachment of Infantry marched from Richmond Barracks. Our men immediately opened fire and there was a number of casualties on both sides but it was generally believed that the military suffered the most killed. This had the result of holding off the attack contemplated. I think it was in this affray that Volunteers Owens and Donnellan were killed and Dan McCarthy and a couple of others wounded.

The Dublin Union was one of the strong positions held by the Volunteers and several attacks were made from different points and there were a number of very stiff encounters. Having decided

to make the Garden Huts the Headquarters, we took possession of a large room facing the Canal Walk. Ceannt and Brugha and Cosgrave took Council and I had the privilege of writing the first despatches to the O/c's at Marrowbone Lane and Jacob's Factory. During the dictating and writing of the despatch bullets were coming through the window of the hut and when I left to give the despatches to Volunteer Jos. O'Gorman we were subjected to a volley of rifle fire from a number of about 10 soldiers who had mounted the canal wall opposite and about 200 yards distant. Fortunately their aim was not so good or perhaps it was the difficult position they held on the wall that embarrassed them, at any rate they were driven off. It was now evident that with the small force available it was not possible to defend the entire area and Cosgrave, who had a general knowledge of the buildings, suggested that the stone building on the west side would be the Headquarters. I then got orders to have our ammunition removed to this position at the Nurses' quarters which lay at an angle with, and adjacent to the front offices, both granite buildings overlooking the Square.

Inside the front gate of James' Street, there were roughly 48 men defending the whole position, 25 of whom were in the Nurses' Quarters, as an attack was anticipated from the Canal side and we had not long to wait.

How to get the boxes of ammunition and equipment removed from the dray to the new quarters set me thinking, because at this time I was isolated from the Company. My instructions were to command a group of inmates to handle the goods but I had no experience of that method. I tried another way and put a price on the job. In less than ten minutes it was completed and so I got out of a difficulty. The siege had now begun and all hands settled down to barricading. Although there had been a good deal of skirmishing around the whole Union area, it seemed quite evident that the sniping and roar of the Howth Rifle fire left the military who already had quite a number killed, that they did not feel quite sure of their position.

Commandant Ceant fixed a large tricolour flag to the top window of the west wing, which seemed to act as a challenge to the Crown forces. A machine gun was placed on the roof of the Royal Hospital and it played on our flag and quarters from dawn to dark.

Towards evening matters quietened and our men started to break through the 18" granite walls in order to keep in communication with the main building. The work was a somewhat difficult job but it was soon completed. The problem of providing protection for the attendant in bringing food to the Hospital and particularly to the Mental Wards was attended to with many exciting incidents. When the day was coming to a close fresh outposts were selected for duty and it was not without its alarms.

My companion in a large room facing out on to the Square had just taken on "Watch". It was very dark, so I rested on the opposite side of the room. He got into trouble with his Howth Rifle by a cartridge getting jammed. However, all I can remember is the flare and the noise for it accidentally went off with a bang and alarmed the "camp".

On the following day, Tuesday, a determined attack was made from the inside of the Union Grounds and a rush was made to the barricades towards the door or porch entrance to our Headquarters. The attack was repulsed and several soldiers were killed. So quick was the fire from the Volunteer quarters that the leader was shot dead and the others made their retreat.

There was one amusing incident in connection with this attack. One very tall soldier got into the Carpenters' Shop which was at that time near the front gate, and as he knew from an occasional shot that he was "covered" he remained there until taken out in a coffin. I happened to meet this soldier afterwards in Richmond Barracks and he himself drew up the conversation and enjoyed it immensely. He further admitted that the authorities were of opinion that there were at least 500 men defending the Union and had they know there were only 50 he said "none of us would have ever left alive."

It was while keeping watch that Volunteer Frank Burke, Mr. Cosgrave's step-brother was shot, the bullet passing through his throat.

On the following morning, I went to the top room of the building where he lay to see him and were it not for Liam O'Flaherty who shouted "lie down" I would have met the same fate as there was a continuous sniping and machine gun fire from the Royal Hospital. I was on my hands and knees when a bullet passed through both sides of the wooden partition of the passage about 4" over my body. I said a prayer for Frank Burke, Liam O'Flaherty and myself.

The control of rations and the feeding of the garrison had up to this stage been overlooked so this post was allotted to me on the Tuesday evening. Of food we had full and plenty and frequently small parcels of cooked food were thrown over the wall and messages of a friendly nature gave us the impression that there was a change of opinion in our favour in the City.

Wednesday was the day of calm before the storm. On Thursday some of our men had just partaken, and others were disturbed from their midday meal, by the call of "Enemy attack - to your guns". Cosgrave raised the alarm and sent me to inform the group in charge of Captain Murohy at the Front building which was surrounded on all sides by a considerable force of military.

This was my first venture to reach the other party of our men as there was always the danger of sniping. In making my way as instructed, I found that the barricades which had been erected by our men had been removed from a door and it was just a coincidence that a group of soldiers carrying some material, who were making their way towards this entrance were noticed in time. When they saw they were under observations they decamped. Had these soldiers made their way through the door in question, our two forces would have been separated and the results of the day's fighting would have been quite different.

I discussed this point with Samonn Ceannat the following day. Although I insisted that I had passed through this particular door and that it was my contention that the inmates were responsible, still he insisted that the barricades had not been removed. But he was satisfied that if the military had got through we would have had a different story to tell.

However, having delivered the message to Captain Murray, I made my return, scaling ladders, etc., and when about to enter the kitchen which I had left 15 minutes previously I met Sean McClynn running towards and informed me that we were surrounded. We climbed on to an outhouse, got on to a roof and then climbed a wall on to the main building. This was about 3.30 o'clock p.m. and both of us lay on our back on the roof valley under machine gun fire from the Royal Hospital and a sniper from a house on the South Circular Road.

With reference to the latter, a Mr. Hogan, the tenant of the house referred to informed me a couple of years afterwards that two officers of the British Army were about arresting him on a charge of signalling to men on the roof of the Dublin Union and that they hesitated because they were under the impression that the two men referred to had been shot.

It was close on 11.30 p.m. when we heard Gannet and Coarave whistling "God save Ireland" quite close to where we lay and it was then only that we ventured to leave our position. On our return to the Headquarters we realised the desperate fight that had taken place, although we had been expecting every minute that the whole building together with ourselves would have been blown sky-high.

Captain Brucke lay unconscious on the kitchen floor having lost a great quantity of blood due to his eighteen wounds. It transpired that the military were close enough to hear him challenge them to "come on and fight" with the result that their fire was concentrated on the direction from which the voice came. Immediate steps were taken for his removal to the Infirmary and on Friday Father Gerard, C.C.C., arranged for his removal to a City Hospital. May I avail of this opportunity of paying tribute to this kindly priest and to the other priests who ministered to our spiritual needs during the week.

The attack on this occasion was the most severe and last of the week and the greatest possible credit is due to the defenders who courageously held the position. The attack commenced about 3 p.m. and continued for close on four hours and it was estimated that at least 600 military took part.

The building consisted of six sections, Cathal Brugha, took charge of one, Samonn Ceannt the other upstairs, and Liam T. Coogrove the ground floor.

The severity of the fight may be gleaned from the damage done. There was little or no plaster left on the walls of the rooms, furniture was broken and it was only the strong granite stone walls that could withstand the machine and rifle fire and several attempts were made to undermine the building by boring.

On Friday there was a lull in the operations and on Saturday morning the surrender of the Volunteers was contemplated because on Friday a petrol shell struck the roof of the G.P.O., and the whole building burst into flames. Pearse gave the order to remove the wounded and evacuate the Post Office and he himself was the last to leave the blazing headquarters. New headquarters were then established in Moore Street. The Post Office collapsed in a roar and it looked as if all Dublin was in ~~flax~~ flames.

Despatch carrying was on the wane. The last news on Friday was not reassuring. In the provinces all was quiet. Contrary to expectations the military had bombarded anything that came in their way; they were in a frenzy and had stopped at nothing; their determination was to level the city.

Pearse accordingly summed up the position as follows - "I desire now, lest I may not have an opportunity later, to pay homage to the gallantry of the soldiers of Irish freedom who have during the week been writing with fire and steel the most glorious chapter in the later history of Ireland."

The Headquarters staff decided that enough had been done and that it was time to arrest the slaughter of the civil population by British shells and bullets. Dublin had been redeemed from many shames and made her name splendid among the names of Cities and as I heard Pearse say one night in Brunswick Street "Dublin has one great shame to wipe out and that is that no man risked his life to save Robert Emmet." Dublin has wiped out that shame.

On Saturday, it was decided to capitulate and on Sunday morning a message to that effect reached the Dublin Union addressed to Commandant Ceant and later Commandant General Thomas McDonagh accompanied by Father Augustine, O.F.C.M., Church Street attended officially. Commandant Ceant then addressed the whole group of men and informed them of the decisions of Headquarters. Suggestions were made that all should escape, as there was no military guard. I was one of those to make the case for a complete surrender on the grounds that he had stood together all through the fight and ought to stand together to the end. This was agreed to but nevertheless several broke away. The call to parade in the Square at the Union was no humiliation. We marched along to the gate to be met with marked enthusiasm by a great crowd of people. All along the route to St. Patrick's place we were greeted with great jubilation particularly in the poorer areas.

The surrender took place with the Volunteers in military formation all guns, etc., being laid on the ground. Major Armstrong, who was in charge of the military, personally questioned all the Volunteers as to their names and addresses and made a demand for the surrender of all arms. We then marched to Richmond Barracks under an elaborate military escort and packed into rooms in which we had barely room to stand.

The following members of the F. Coy. IV Batt. were on active service during this Easter Week in different areas. That is 42 out of 49.

(See List.)

The journey from St. Patrick's place to Richmond Barracks was not so free and easy as the journey from the Union. The presence of the Military escort somewhat encouraged those who had no sympathy with the Volunteers and I well recollect hearing many uncomplimentary shouts when we passed the street crossings at Kilmainham and at Richmond Barracks Gate. Certain people at the latter place very definitely informed the Military Guard when we were passing through that they were not Sinn Feiners. Some years later when the English had left it was amusing to hear their voices

shouting "Up the Republic".

The wholesale arresting of men in different parts of the city and country took place and very soon the Barracks was full. Immediately it was possible to get any of the "G" men to identify different people, most of those unidentified were drafted off to Internment camps in England.

Those who had carried arms or were in any way identified with the Volunteer movement were subjected to rigid interrogation and inquiry. For this purpose some hundred or more were removed to the Gymnasium. There was a glass door at the entrance to the Hall, through which we could see "The Prince" and other prominent " " men who were watching their "prey". As they identified anyone they immediately entered and picked us out from the Group. In my case and in several other cases, a local policeman came over and asked some question. "Such and such" "Where have you been" and getting no answer he retired. Then a Military Officer came and took each one away. There were in one group about 16 or 18 of us who were courtmartialled next day - 36 men in all were courtmartialled and we now had the Hall to ourselves under an armed guard. Major John McBride, who all along had no doubt of his own ultimate fate, provided us with rugs and coats which he hired from the Guard at 6d each as the cold was intense.

I think it was on Monday morning that Major MacBride called over Inspector Love and said to him in my presence that he thought that some mistake had been made by my selection as one of the Headquarter Staff. Love inquired my name and then retorted is it "so and so" of Inchicore. Yes, was the Major's reply, and the result of McBride's inquiry is still a mystery. I refer to this incident for the purpose of paying tribute to a great man. MacBride when questioned at his courtmartial said "I fought against England in South Africa, I fought against them in this revolt for Irish freedom and if I live and it is necessary, I would fight against them again."

P.H. Pearse, Thomas McDonagh, Tom Clarke, Joseph Plunkett were not in this particular Group. Eamonn Ceannt came to us early one

morning and gave instructions that each of us was to make the best defence possible. Ceannt's face was badly torn by a soldier when shaving him. Ceannt himself made a masterly defence on some legal points but bade us all farewell.

The Courtmartial consisted of three Army Officers. The charge made against myself was generally the same "That you took up arms and conspired against his Majesty's Government with a view to helping our friends the Germans",

Q. You took part in an armed Revolt against the Government at Jacob's Factory - Guilty or not guilty.

A. Not guilty of helping the Germans and not guilty of being in Jacob's factory.

A series of other questions and answers followed and a query if any witnesses were available.

The last I saw of Sean MacDermott was on Wednesday when a party of about eight of us were being brought under Military escort to Kilmainham jail and on that Wednesday morning, P.H. Pearse, Edward Daly, ~~Edward Daly, Michael Hanrahan and William Pearse~~ T. McDonagh and Tom Clarke were executed. On Sunday Joseph Plunkett, Edward Daly, Michael Hanrahan and William Pearse were executed and the others to suffer the death penalty were Con Colbert, Eamonn Ceannt, Connolly, Sean MacDermott, H. Heuston, M. Mallin and John MacBride and Thomas Kent in Cork, a total of 15. During the nights or early mornings it was easy to realise that the executions were taking place and no one knew their fate until Saturday at midday when we were somewhat consoled when a Military Officer accompanied by a Sergeant entered the cells and conveyed to us the decisions of the various courtmartials. At about three o'clock that evening we were conveyed to Mountjoy Prison. When passing out of Kilmainham Prison I met a well known lady, Miss Gifford at the gate and she very kindly undertook to take a note home for me. When we arrived at Mountjoy we enjoyed our first wash for several days - our hot bath on reception was a luxury. Prison clothes were supplied and the usual regulations, viz., photographing, finger prints, etc., were enforced.

On the whole things were quiet generally. On Friday (after a week's lodging here) a warder came to my cell and inquired how I was progressing with my P.C. sack - my first attempt at sack making. He told me to leave it for someone else to finish and to get ready to leave for an English prison. An hour later we were on our way to the North Wall and put aboard a B. & I Boat. As well as I can remember I think there were 57 prisoners in the group around for Portland Prison.

A military officer came to us in the hold of the boat and inquired as to what we wanted. Tom Hunter told him very quickly that we wanted tea, sugar and cigarettes. He left and returned with a good supply. He then asked several questions and summed up by saying that he was at the battle of Mons and that it was only "so and so" to the battle in O'Connell Street, but that we the Volunteers must have known that he was an Irishman and although he had not even a stick of rhubarb with which to defend himself he did not even get hit. He further remarked that we started the "racket" too soon and he bid us good night and good luck and the boat steamed off.

The Port Holes were our only means of observation and when passing Lambay Island and Ireland's Eye, Seamus Hughes gave us the "Last Glimpse of Erin" ~~xxx~~ in his usual great style.

All went well until we reached Holyhead sometime after midnight. A large crowd awaited us here and in double file we were taken from the Boat to the train between a double file of Military with fixed Bayonets. The crowd which was exceptionally hostile surged around us. When our train stopped on a later part of our journey a crowd gathered around our reserved carriages, and the O/C in charge, however, gave instructions for all blinds to be drawn and no person was permitted to loiter near our carriage. Our military escort on the whole were not unfriendly and they invariably sought "Rosaries".

We reached Portland Prison about 7 p.m. that evening and were immediately paraded in the Reception Hall and the Riot Act was read to us. Several of the warders here were half-castes and offered us very little consolation. We were committed to our cells and given a change of clothes, which consisted of a buff coloured jacket, boat cap, corduroy

breaches, with the broad arrow prominently displayed all over in zig-zag form, black and red stockings and black shoes. The Reverend T. O'Loughlin, the Prison Chaplain paid us an early visit and gave us some consolation.

For the first month we were in solitary confinement making sacks in our Cells. Portland Prison was looked upon as the principal prison in England for discipline and cleanliness. Several of the warders were very strict and some of our men were frequently punished by being confined to the "Clink" a dark cell and bread and water for the trivial offences, such as talking.

The Governor was a very critical man and never lost an opportunity of abusing any prisoners who were brought before him. There are many strange stories regarding him.

However, as I have stated the fullest discipline and regulations were enforced. The whole 57 Irishmen were stationed in one wing of the Prison. Our daily exercise consisted of half an hour after breakfast and half an hour after dinner. Letters were permitted once a month and in lieu of a visit. The letters were subject to censorship and an enquiry took place in which a number of our prisoners were questioned as to who were Cathleen O'Houlihan and Mary Byrner. One answered that they were two very old sisters and that they had very large families.

A surprise order met with general resentment and protest. All hands were paraded but in small groups for a "Dry Bath" which took the form of a "surprise search". Everytime one left his cell he was searched and on the day chosen for the "Dry Bath" every article in the cell was thrown about and there was very little time given for tidying again.

Coming near Christmas the demand of our friends at home were beginning to bear fruit. After seven months in Portland and Dartmoor the whole 125 prisoners were removed to Lewes Prison. Here there was general rejoicing as many of those who had been actively engaged during the Rising had not an opportunity until now of comparing notes. The Authorities however endeavoured to prevent association, talking, etc., but in this they failed, ~~xxxxxxxx~~. A Committee was formed consisting of Eoin MacNeill, Eamonn de Valera, E. Duggan and Thomas Ashe who prepared

a programme for an appeal to the Governor and through him to the Government for political treatment.

It was decided that -

1. We were to refuse to work, except for our own comfort and cleanliness.
2. We were to refuse to exercise with criminals or associate with them except at Church.
3. Our hair was not to be shaved.
4. The abolition of certain rules.

The presenting of these proposals in the course of a few months was decided on and every prisoner was made fully acquainted as to what was expected of him. When hostilities commenced it was pointed out that there was very little hope of the Government Home Office yielding to our request and that all kinds of punishments would be imposed and if necessary very drastic measures would be taken insisting on the observance of the Prison Rules and that small groups would be transferred to different English Prisons and forced to associate with criminals. The whole group was then divided up in various working parties and at the conclusion of Exercise the prisoners would file up in the respective parties, Laundry, Workshop, Garden, Sweeping, Cooking Etc., There was an occasional invasion on the M.O. to complain.

On the first hair-cutting day at Lewes, a few of us were ordered to the ground floor for a "hair cut". Just as the Barber, was operating, the Governor, whom I must here state was a human, decent man, observed that ~~it~~ I was remonstrating with the barber and he inquired the cause. I told him that the machine was pulling the hair out instead of cutting it and later that night he called to my cell and inquired if I was the man who had his whiskers pulled. I replied that I was and he said he was very sorry but that it was his fault.

One day the stirabout was exceptionally thin and I applied for cards for the M.O. Willie Corrigan was about third to get as far as the doctor's room. He was asked what was wrong and when he made his complaint the Doctor replied that "he would see into it". Corrigan answered by saying "well Sir, if you do, you'll see the bottom."

There was one of the party who for some reason or other used to reserve all the day's food, breakfast, and dinner until the rea-

hour. The Sweeping gang which consisted of R. Brennan H. Boland and two others, raided this man's cell one day and eat all his potatoes, leaving him only the skins.

The Governor at Lewes wanted his house decorated. A painting job had already been done by our painters and Decorators "Thornton and Co.," and he was so pleased with the work that they were approached and promised to do a good job. The Governor's house was some distance from the Prison. After thinking the matter over, the work was started on an estimate supplied by the Engineer. The work was a few weeks in hand when the Engineer queried the cost and the job showing no signs of completion although there was a general approval of the workmanship. However, a strike was declared and the work was only resumed on conditions that there would not be any further interference. When it was finished the Governor brought his friends to see it and it was some time before anyone realised that the doors and panels etc., had been painted Green, white and orange. Before the walls were painted one of the gang^{was} selected to keep the Warder in charge engaged talking on the political situation in Ireland, and relating all kinds of stories and tales, while the painters were in the meantime busy painting "This house has been decorated by the Irish Prisoners of War, 1917." before putting on the wall paper.

Bill Partridge was in very poor health and was given an open air job at the Prison entrance. The Warders here had an opportunity of talking and they always availed of it. Having complained that he usually got very sick crossing the Irish Channel as it was very rough the Warder queried as to why he did not come all the way in the train - Wasn't there an Irish Mail and a "connection" with England. "There is" says Partridge "but not by rail."

The occasion of the Longford Election was one of general enthusiasm when the news came through that Joe McGuinness had been elected, he was chaired through the grounds.

The different religious festivals were fully observed on an elaborate scale and our songsters, Gerald Crofts, Seamus Hughes, and T. Bevan etc., ably contributed at the special services at Xmas and Easter, together with the Prison Choir.

The publication of a Journal which was named "Lewes Laughter" *Mr Biddell?*
"The Bugle"

was given very favourable support. Almost every one of the group in some way or another assisted in its publication and manufacture. Our literary men contributed articles in Irish and English and it was without doubt a valuable souvenir but unfortunately it was captured on the occasion of the order confining all prisoners to "Separate Cells."

The starting of a satirical journal "Lewes Laughter" was interrupted by the "breaking up" of the Prison, which I will now describe from memory.

Messages had already passed between the Prison and our people in Dublin and on Whit Saturday an expected wire in code arrived for Harry Boland "Uncle Bob is dead." As this message was in care of the Chaplain he called on Boland and expressed his regret and undertook to say a Mass on the following Sunday. Boland had no alternative but to explain and full confidence was maintained.

On Whit Sunday at exercise the word was passed round that all articles on loan were to be returned and that a search would be made at any time. On Monday morning, as exercise had concluded the air was full of electricity. All Working Parties had assembled for their respective occupations when as arranged the Prisoners' Committee headed by Mr. de Valera, approached the Chief Warder, who stood in the centre of the grounds and handed him an ultimatum based on the lines already referred to, demanding political treatment. Precisely at the moment of the handing of the papers, which consisted of several sheets of foolscap, the whole body lifted their caps and gave three ringing cheers. Sean Etchingham shouting said "Oh boys that has been heard in Ireland." The cheers brought the Governor from his office. The Head Warder explained the position to him and both advanced to the men and the Governor informed them that he could not comply with the request as it was a matter for the Home Office.

The Warders were in a state of panic and from what we could learn they had never experienced a mutiny before. The Governor also invited anyone who did not wish to be punished as a result of this insubordination to step forward. No one complied and the order was then given to put the prisoners in "separate cells" that is solitary confinement. Our leaders fully anticipated the general course of

events that would take place and orders had been given in advance to meet every situation. .

It was arranged that after tea each evening prisoners could if they so desired, indulge in singing, but it should cease at 8 p.m. This routine was followed throughout the week and all were in solitary confinement. However, a note was given to the cooks to pass round when serving meals which was to the effect that when any number of the prisoners left their cells on Saturday or Sunday morning for Church, they were to place books in their doors and bang them on their return. The note was intercepted and we were not permitted to leave our cells for Mass on Sunday. Mass was said in the Main Hall.

However, on Sunday evening as arranged, singing continued as usual until 8 p.m. and we afterwards learned that a great crowd of residents gathered each evening outside the prison to listen to the singing and that our Chaplain, Dr. O'Loughlin, was often addressed as the Sinn Fein Priest.

Sharp at the striking of eight, Harry Boland sang "God save Ireland" and all joined in. As prearranged, at the finish of the song, a general cheer was accompanied by every prisoner breaking one pane of glass in his cell. It was not possible for me to describe this incident, it was a scene not to be forgotten. I happened to be in a Gate Cell on the ground floor and I have no hesitation in saying that I sympathised with the Governor as he entered the Hall bearheaded. The noise and turmoil of a few moments ago was now "dead" and complete silence prevailed. The next morning the warders called and took an inventory of the damage done in each cell. This breaking up of material in the cells continued on a greater scale than was anticipated. In one case a man named O'Brien took all the screws from his cell and when the warder opened it that mornig it fell asunder - this was certainly an engineering feat. Rumours then spread that certain prisoners were being transferred elsewhere and the uproar continued to such an extent that there was nothing left unbroken that could possibly be broken. Pandemonium continued and on Wednesday of that week the first couple of newly constituted parties were despatched in full prison regalia

handcuffed and in chains. On Thursday Paul Galligan and I were handcuffed together and with four others, Robert Brennan, the two Bevans and Faulkner, were linked together with a brace chain when on the public road. Immediately any of these groups left the Prison there was continued singing of national songs which had the warders who were in charge, in a state of frenzy. Our destination this time was Parkhurst and the journey from Lewes was a long one.

At Brighton, Station, nine of us were put sitting in a Waiting Room. Sitting right opposite I saw a very familiar face, in the person of Michael Staines, now Senator Staines. Using a little Irish, I spoke loudly to a couple of my companions, who were a couple of yards away from me, and I got a reply in return which brought a smile to Michael's face. Later on when we were in our compartments on the train, Staines approached, with a view to entering the compartment as an ordinary passenger, but he was told that he could not get accommodation. The Warder, turning to Paul Galligan and myself, inquired who was the intruder. I replied that he was possibly a Pressman and that he should not be let into our carriage as we did not want him. Taking a Prayer Book from my pocket, I tore the blank leaf from the end of it and a version of what was taking place, together with the names of those travelling, was then written on it. Galligan rolled this slip of paper up in the form of a ball and as the train moved off, Staines on the alert on the platform, the paper was "shot" out to him and he held it under his foot, until the train left.

On the following morning the "Independent" fully reported the removal etc., from which the following is an extract

IRISH PRISONERS AT LEWES REMOVED TO OTHER JAILS.

(passed by Censor.)

"The authorities, it is understood, intend (says our London Correspondent) to transfer nearly all the 117 Irish Prisoners who were incarcerated at Lewes Prison to other Prisons. So far about 30 prisoners have been transferred; Professor De Valera and Mr. Thomas Hunter to Maidstone and the following amongst others to the number it is believed of 20 - Robert Brennan, Enniscorthy, Thomas and Charles Bevan, Peter Doyle, J. Faulkner, George Plunkett (all of Dublin) Joe Burke (Oranmore) and Peter Galligan (Cavan) to Parkhurst Prison

(Isle of Wight). Other prisoners have been distributed throughout England. T

The Prisoners, it is stated, have been compelled to leave all their personal belongings, their books, etc., behind them at Lewes. The appearance of a batch of Irishmen on the platform at Brighton Station, the terminus of the Lewes branch line, created some sensation and considerable speculation among the many who were on the platforms of this important terminus. From their appearance, the men were obviously not ordinary criminals. Some people mistook them for German Prisoners, others for conscientious objectors, but the real identity of the prisoners was soon discovered. The disclosure increased the curiosity of the spectators, but there was no manifestation of anything beyond surprise."

On arrival at Southampton, we were escorted to a waiting steamer. On entering the Saloon we noticed that our company crossing to the Isle of Wight, was not up to our expectations. There were a number of British soldiers, one of whom stood over six foot high. We were all seated on one side, as were all chained together. Bob Brennan started the racket by singing "At Boolavogue when the Sun was setting we drove the English far away". Instantly this giant crossed over to us and the aggressiveness started. The warders appealed for the cessation of the songs but we gave the appeal the deaf ear and the soldiers got boisterous. Strange to relate we won and it was only when we reached Parkhurst Prison that we ceased singing.

The Parade took place with the usual retort "We won't stand any nonsense here". As Galligan and I were on the hospital list, ^{we} were sent to hospital cells.

Next day we were all paraded individually before the Governor who expressed a wish that our term there would be as short as possible but that we would have to conform to the rules. We were next invited to take exercise but refused. Pressure was brought to bear on several but only one gave way.

Sunday mornig came and we were looking forward to meeting our other companions as we had been isolated for the previous few days.

Leaving my cell which was on the fourth storey, I saw a party of Prisoners of all shades on the ground floor. When I reached the end of the stairs a man with three red bars on his coat, equalling three years, beckoned to me. I went over to him and stood in the file beside him. He shook my hand saying "I am an Irishman too" - "Do you know so and so." I said "Yes, He is O.K.". "Keep your heart up" he said "do not mind these fellows here they are the scruff of England and if you want to do the same here as you all did in Lewes we will be with you."

We got the order to march and when we arrived at the Church we found that all our companions had got together. Mass over we anticipated trouble and it came. Marching to the exercise ground Brennan whispered when I give the word "One step to the rear" be on the alert. In a few moments we got the "Halt." then "stand at ease." Brennan then gave his order which was responded to and the excitement commenced. The result was that we were again ordered to separate cells. We had only reached our cells when we heard glass breaking and it transpired afterwards that a Scotchman thinking that there was another revolt had joined in the "scrap".

I was confined to bed sick on Monday. When the Doctor entered the cell the first question he asked was "Is this another Irishman" and when the Warder replied "Yes" he said "there is nothing wrong with him that I see."

We were again brought before the Governor on Monday to explain our conduct in Church. In replying to the queries of the Governor I remarked that we would refuse to give any undertaking regarding our future conduct in Church and that we in Ireland always knew how to conduct themselves. "Well" he said "you will not get to Church again until you promise."

Further requests were made to us to exercise and offers of unlimited time were of no avail.

Frank Lawless who had not been barbered for some weeks was set upon by four warders and in attempt made to cut his hair with the result that two bunches of his hair were pulled out in the struggle.

The next important move was when the Orderly on my landing shouted through the door "Aye Paddy you are going to be released - Bonar Law said so in the House last night." Coming ~~events~~^{events} cast their shadows before.

About three o'clock on that Saturday we were all assembled

in the main Hall of the Prison. The Governor, like those under whose charge we had recently served, expressed his pleasure at our departure. Canon Conway P.P., and His Curate a Father O Lehane from Cork made a fervent appeal to us - they highly appreciated our manliness, our honest of purpose, but as his position was not a rosy one, he felt that he would have to bear the burden which would result if we made any demonstration on our departure which would disturb the other inmates of the prison. He sought one favour of us, that we leave the prison without display and he offered prayers for our safe return home.

Half an hour later we again paraded and the gates were opened. We formed up in military formation and marched about a quarter of a mile to the Gate but no man spoke. Passing the prison proper we could see the other prisoners at their cell windows. Cries of "Up Ireland" could be heard from all quarters. At the main gate there was a verandah on which a large number of residents, the elite of the district, had assembled and we were more than surprised by the hearty send-off we received from them. Having boarded our train for London, we were met at different junctions by the other remnants of our Group who like ourselves had a couple of rough weeks. When we reached London some time after Midnight, there was a number of covered brakes awaiting our arrival. I should have mentioned that we were still wearing prison dress so that we were most conspicuous.

I cannot recollect whether the brake in which I was seated was the first to leave the Railway Station, but just as it left the building, a woman appeared under an Electric Lamp and shouted "There's the prisoners" and threw a stone which broke the plate glass window behind where I sat. The broken glass injured the eye of one of our men - a Kilkenny man.

It was after 1 a.m. when we reached Pentonville Prison where we took up our lodgings for the night and some, if not all, will never forget that night. The cells were far from clean and it seemed that the cells allotted to us had not been inhabited for a long time. Knowing that Sir Roger Casement had been imprisoned here we felt for him and the next day there was an invasion of the burial ground and we paid a visit of his grave.

On Sunday morning we were all astir early. Father Carey who

ministered to Sir Roger, had not been informed of our arrival and he felt it very much. However, he provided a special Mass for us at which two Warders assisted. On our return to our cells the usual morning rations were extended but of prison fare we had quite sufficient and we were all overjoyed.

The Pentonville staff was augmented by Warders from Dartmoor and Portland Prisons. Some, or should I say most of them, were not unfriendly but those of this class were disciplinary. We fully appreciated their position which as can be reasonably imagined was not fully understood and fifteen months experience of a type other than criminal prisoners, left a great impression on them.

There were a few who went out of their way to make our position unbearable if they could do so - there was one of this type at Portland named Kent. It was often thought that he overdone his job and he was mainly responsible for all the Bread and water punishments which our men received at Portland.

To-day we were at a "loose end" free and easy, chatting and passing the time while we were being fitted out in readymades. Kent was the only man in Pentonville that day to whom nobody spoke and he certainly felt his position very keenly. We learned later that he was dismissed the following week for bringing out a letter for a prisoner. While I was awaiting by turn for a suit, I went as directed to the Hospital for a tonic. As I entered the ward I was surrounded by about six warders who questioned me as to the Irish situation.

No. 1 enquired what was therow about the Chairmanship of the Mansion House Convention - Why not put the fellow in the job who was creating all the trouble "Mr. Sinn Fein?" When I explained No. 1 was subjected to a good deal of banter.

What a change, we were now trying to identify one another in our new readymades and as we passed from the Tailors shop we paid a visit to the Prison Department of Finance and any man who had brought money into prison with him in the first instance ~~XXX~~ had it refunded in full and those who had none on arrival received 5/-.

Our Departure was kept very quiet. Vehicles had been provided and we started for Euston Station. Having crossed the road towards the entrance to the station, we were urged to hasten our steps and the whistle of the engine also warned us that there was no time to

lose. A lady dressed in Green informed us that the train was a special one, and that it was leaving an hour before the usual time and that there was great disappointment among the Irish in London as they had 124 hampers provided for the prisoners but it was not impossible to have them delivered in time. Post Offices were closed and no telegrams could be sent.

We boarded our train and at the first stop raided the station restaurant. The Waiters informed us that the train was unexpected and advised us to wire to Chatham to have teas ready. This was done and at Chatham we thoroughly enjoyed the repast. We reached Holyhead in good time. Here a few minutes were devoted to drill and military formation which was repeated on board the Royal Mail Steamer.

We had a pleasant crossing and reached Dublin on scheduled time to the chorus of "Ireland we bid you the top of the morning."

It was the story of a very simple, earnest doings, but it was the beginning of an achievement by the people of this country for their country that few of us dared to try and foresee. When I see all that has been accomplished since, and I need not enumerate it, I ask myself what ~~man~~ manner of men brought this about. They were simple-minded, unpretentious, lacking in bluster or self-assertiveness. They came from all ranks of society, and yet there was not one of them who could not associate on the easiest possible terms, and discuss in the readiest possible way, their work and their objects, with any other person in the Movement. Tom Clarke, who had grown old in English Goals as a punishment for his work for Ireland, could associate and work and be the confidant of young Sean McDermott, and Seamus Connolly, the foremost figure in the Labour Movement, could be the friend and confidant of Tomas MacDonagh, who was a professor in the National University. Padraig Pearse, one of the foremost figures in the language and educational Movements in the country, could associate and work and plan with the most ordinary worker on the Dublin quays. There were Soccer and foot-ball and Rugby men. They came from the staff of the Abbey Theatre, as well as from the ranks of the Trades Union. There was not one of them in their own way, and in the isolation of their work, who felt his insignificance as I did when I stood in Emerald Square to take my little part in the Rising - and saw no-one but a big policeman in front of me - but they all knew in these moments that the rest were there, and

even though they did not see them, they knew it and they felt the call "Come In!"

We have to work in the same spirit to-day, because however isolated individual workers may feel from time to time - the rest are there. Each of them is doing his own bit of work, and the call is "Come In!" If we do not falter to-day in the work that we are doing, the spirit that guided over the work of 1916 and brought from it the great fruits, will watch over our work to-day and bring no lesser fruits.

Reader S. Doyle.
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