

**ORIGINAL**

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY 1913-21  
BURO STAIRÉ MILEATA 1913-21  
No. W.S. 487

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BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY, 1913-21.

**STATEMENT BY WITNESS**

**DOCUMENT NO. W.S. 487**.....

**Witness**  
Joseph O'Connor,  
152 Rathfarnham, Road,  
Dublin.

**Identity**  
CAPTAIN "A" Company 3rd Battalion  
Dublin Brigade, 1916;  
COMMANDANT do.

**Subject**  
(a) Reorganisation of Irish Volunteers, 1917;  
(b) National activities - military and political -  
1917 to date of Truce.

**Conditions, if any, stipulated by Witness**

Nil

File No. S.425 .....

# ORIGINAL

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BURO STAIRE MILEATA 1913-21

No. W.S. 487

SECOND STATEMENT BY JOSEPH O'CONNOR

152 Rathfarnham Road, Dublin.

Coming back to my release from prison in August, 1916, I immediately summoned the representatives from the Companies who had been released previous to me. The meeting was held at No. 6 Harcourt Street, and there were six men present.

Some time afterwards Cathal Brugha called a meeting in his home at 6 Fitzwilliam Terrace, Upper Rathmines, at which all the Battalions of the Dublin Brigade were represented. The only names I can remember are, Cathal Brugha, Joe McGrath.

Joe McGrath made a statement at the meeting conveying the idea that the meeting had been called on the orders of the I.R.B. I was prepared to accept the suggestion at that time but after consideration and probable discussions with Cathal, I satisfied myself that it was called by Headquarters of the I.R.A.

Cathal Brugha made a strong appeal to all those present to set about re-organising the I.R.A., and when one considers the conditions of the country and the defeat and depletion of a few months previously, it was really a great tribute to the officers of the Dublin Brigade that they so willingly accepted his invitation to resume activities.

From thence the re-formation of the Battalions took place. In our own Battalion we had representatives from "A", "B", "C", "D" and "E" Companies. It required very little organising to re-start the Companies. The first thing we tackled was the re-admission of men who had not responded to the mobilisation for the fight. Any man who was able to prove to the satisfaction of his Company Officers that he made an honest effort to participate in the fight was re-admitted and new members were sought.

Very soon it became possible to hold monthly Battalion manoeuvres, and apart from ordinary inter-Company exercises we had frequent encounters with the 4th Battalion which was also a south side unit. I was nominally in charge of the Dublin Brigade at this time. I had not been properly appointed but it was understood that being the senior officer, my orders were accepted.

During this time the National Aid Society was very active and they had extended in many directions, one of them being in finding employment for the returned soldiers - in this Marie Perolz was invaluable - and another had the task of re-clothing the men on their return from prison. All their activities meant that a general Secretary was required, and applications were sought from returned officers and men. Michael Collins was appointed to this invaluable post for extending connections with all parts of the country. It was very widely understood that it was an I.R.B. appointment, particularly in view of the fact that the

major portion of the work of the Society, that is, looking after the widows and orphans, had been accomplished. Mick was able to give a great amount of attention to the re-organising of the Volunteers in general.

A Committee was formed by the National Aid to work for the release of the sentenced men, consisting of four men and four women. I was on that Committee and we organised the meeting for Beresford Place. I had orders that the meeting was to be held despite enemy action and although very poorly armed we made arrangements for the protection. Later the meeting was proclaimed. I was ordered to take no further action and to put Beresford Place and district out of bounds to Volunteers. Cathal Brugha and Count Plunkett decided to attend and arrived there on an open jaunting car. When the car stopped, the police rushed forward; the crowd closed in; a melee occurred and Inspector Mills in charge of the police was struck a blow with a hurley and died as a result.

This Committee got and published the note written by Harry Boland and thrown from the taxi-cab by him whilst being transferred from one prison to another. It is curious to note that the two Bolands should have been so nearly connected with the jail clearances - Jerry from Frongoch and Harry from Lewis.

The members of this Committee were : Mrs. Clarke, Miss Plunkett, Miss McMahon, Miss Lily Brennan, Fred Allen, Cathal Brugha, Diarmuid O'Hegarty and myself.

After the general release from Frongoch in December, 1916, a convention of Volunteers was held in a house in Great Denmark Street at which an executive committee was elected. I tied for place with Gregory Murphy; we tossed a coin and Murphy was the new member.

When De Valera returned from prison I offered to resign command of the Battalion in his favour but he would not accept, stating that his activity would be in the political line from thenceforward. He, after a very short time in the city, offered to confirm me in the command of the Dublin Brigade, but this honour I refused as I had convinced myself that Dick Mulcahy would have much more time at his disposal to undertake the task. I recommended that Dick be appointed and that I would act as his Brigade Adjutant pending the finding of someone more suitable. This arrangement was agreed to.

The death of Thomas Ashe as a result of forcible feeding during hunger strike was a very important event in the history of the period. It was a profound shock to the ordinary citizens and it was a case for demanding more active opposition to British rule from the soldier type.

The Dublin Brigade took the burial of the remains in hand and on the night of the removal of the remains to the Pro-Cathedral Church the Dublin Brigade mobilised. Our members at this period were not very great and I suppose in my anxiety to put up a decent show in the march from the hospital to the church

I permitted some civilians who were known to our men, to march in the ranks. I had reached Cavendish Row at the head of the Battalion when I heard a noise behind me. I looked around and saw a stampede of all the ranks from Findlater's Church to the place where I stood in Cavendish Row. It was a shocking sight to see so many men behaving in such a silly childish manner and it was one of the worst examples of panic that I had ever witnessed. Fortunately all our own men came together almost immediately and the procession was proceeded with. I made one solemn promise to myself that night that I would never permit civilians into the ranks of the Volunteers again. This was entirely caused by a restive Dublin cab horse frightened by the crowd and the chains attaching his harness to the vehicle clattered on the road. Of course, it was a very definite example of the nervous condition in which our people were living.

After Mass in the Pro-Cathedral his remains were brought to the City Hall. . British forces had taken possession of the City Hall, allegedly to prevent the body of Commandant Ashe from receiving the tribute of respect from the citizens of Dublin. A party of men were detailed to attack the British guard in the City Hall before the arrival of the remains there. The men were actually en route to their objective when the British forces were withdrawn from the building.

After lying-in-state for some days and being visited by practically continuous streams of people, the burial took place on the following Sunday. We had determined, although under Proclamation we were forbidden to do so, that we would carry rifles and show

full military honour to our former comrade. The rifles were collected at Corrigan's yard, Camden Street, on the morning of the funeral. We loaded the rifles into a mourning coach and brought them to the City Hall. We had the men waiting there and armed them direct from the coach. This was all timed to fit in precisely with the start of the funeral proper. All the wreaths had been removed to a waiting lorry and immediately the last man was armed the party took over the guard of honour on the coffin already in the hearse and the funeral started. The gates of Dublin Castle were only twenty yards from the hearse and enemy proximity was responsible for this fineness of preparation. After the burial and the firing of the volleys over the grave, the men were marched to the back gate of the cemetery where we had a motor car awaiting, and after putting the rifles into sacks and into the car, we had a bicycle guard ready to escort the car to its destination which was the rear of the Book Shop in Lower Baggot Street. The entrance to the back was in a lane off East James' Street. One of my Battalion was working in that business and had the keys of the place. It so happened that this place was within fifty yards of a police Barracks, but the enemy did not know what was happening.

The Pierce McCann funeral was another important event. My reason for mentioning these matters is to explain that all such things were used in the training of our men.

In October, 1917, another convention was called as it was felt that the men released from Lewis in July should be entitled to a voice in the control of the Army.

This meeting was held in the rooms inside the G. A. A. playing fields at Jones' Road. Before going to the meeting Seán Fitzgibbon asked me on his own and Eoin McNeill's behalf if I would ask the convention for a hearing as the only authority entitled to an explanation of McNeill's and his own activities in 1916. This I did, but De Valera who was presiding talked the matter out. The gist of his argument was that, to consider McNeill and Fitzgibbon properly, would require the establishment of an Enquiry Committee who would go into the pros and cons and that there was always the danger when such a thing started that differences developed and that more harm than good was done. Needless to say I did not agree with him, but he carried his point of view. I still think it was a great pity that Eoin McNeill was not permitted to explain his actions pre 1916. They must have been good or he would certainly not have sought permission to address such a body of men in person.

The South Armagh Election came on and De Valera was down there working in the constituency when he wrote to me as Dublin Brigade Adjutant asking my co-operation and the assistance of all available men from the Dublin Brigade to prevent the blatant intimidation that was going on. Dick Mulcahy agreed and 100 or more men were organised and brought down to South Armagh. From Newry the men were distributed to the various polling centres and they contributed very materially in having the elections carried out in an orderly manner and an assurance that Sinn Féin would at least get a hearing at the public meetings. This started a custom of utilising the Volunteers in such a manner and it was looked on with

favour by the officers because of the fact that it gave the men that sense of discipline and the N. C. Os. the practice of handling their men, a thing, of course, which was almost impossible under the conditions in which we were living, in the country at that time. With such things as public meetings, the British could not very well interfere with our endeavours to keep order.

As an instance of the enemy activities at this time I give the following. When we returned on Saturday night from South Armagh we formed our men into a column en route and marched from Amiens Street Station to the O'Connell Monument in O'Connell Street and dismissed our men there with full military ceremonial. The following day I had my monthly Battalion manoeuvre in the south county area, but the enemy very strongly interfered and did everything possible to prevent our carrying out our exercise.

Conscription was the big item of 1918 and as one can readily understand the arms position of the Dublin Brigade was desperate, most of the arms of the men who had not responded to the Easter Week mobilisation were not available. I think that the country was very little better off than the city of Dublin, but notwithstanding this we definitely decided that we would oppose conscription by the use of weapons of whatever description procurable. I personally realised the enormity of the task that this entailed and I was very enthusiastic that the decision was to meet force with force, and I worked out and got the Brigade to accept what became known as the "Block System". This consisted of the numbering of a block of houses, say, Wellington Quay, Essex Quay, Parliament Street, Eustace

by the enemy were to open fire or resist enemy activity by whatever means they possessed. Each block was to be in touch with the block adjacent, and if forced from No.1 they were to co-operate with No.2 and they were to force their way, block by block, towards the country where they were to continue their resistance.

The supply of gellignite was fairly plentiful as a result of the recovery of some of the pre-1916 gellignite, and with this we made hand-grenades, some with gun barrel which was scooped and capped, both ends, with a fuse and detonator, the fuse to be lit by ignition. There was something about them that certainly made a fine bang and they were the forerunners of an afterwards very perfect hand-grenade produced by the Dublin Brigade. About this time some of our scientists also produced what became known as "war flour". This was a very substantial explosive.

As the enemy did not impose conscription on the country although we were hourly expecting it to be tried, the inrush of young men into the Volunteers was very great. Unfortunately when the danger of conscription passed a large number of these no longer paraded with the various Companies, but still we felt that they were the better for the training they received during their connection with the Volunteers.

When the Armistice was signed between England and her enemies there was very great jubilation in the city, quite a number of people taking too much intoxicating drink. On that first Armistice night some of the students of Trinity College were demonstrating and whilst

in Grafton Street they met with Pádraig Ó Conaire, who was, when in Dublin, a member of "C" Company, 3rd Battalion. They attacked Pádraig and gave him a very severe beating. They then proceeded to No.6 Harcourt Street, but fortunately the delay in their encounter with Pádraig gave a couple of our lads time to get into that house and close and bar the door. When the mob arrived and found it impossible to enter they proceeded to attack the place with stones and broken bottles. That failed and they attempted to set fire to the place by igniting some materials at the hall door. This failed also and after some time they desisted in their attacks.

When I reached Harcourt Street I found Pádraig Ó Conaire there, heavily bandaged. I placed a guard inside the premises but no further attack was made there.

The command of the Dublin City Brigade or as it became known later on as Dublin No.1 Brigade, was as follows, i.e. as near as my memory serves.

To begin with, the Brigade was commanded by Tomás MacDonagh. I have a distinct recollection of this because on one occasion we were returning to the city and passing the junction of Finglas road and Botanic road Tomás was standing on the footpath. When we had passed, O'Donnell, a former British soldier and now a member of my Company, said to me, "You did not salute the Brigade Commandant when passing". As a matter of fact, I would not have known how to show respect in the proper military form at the time.

Commandant De Valera was MacDonagh's Adjutant. I think Michael Staines was Quartermaster at this time. De Valera was Commandant of the 3rd Battalion; Seán Fitzgibbon, Vice-Commandant, James Byrne, Quarter Master.

Ned Daly was Commandant of the 1st Battalion. I am not quite sure whether it was O'Sullivan or George Irvine was Vice-Commandant. Hunter was in charge of the 2nd Battalion.

Eamon Ceannt was Commandant of the 4th Battalion with, I think, Peadar O'Brien as Vice-Commandant, and Seumas Murphy as Adjutant.

There were very few meetings of the Brigade Council as such as every possible night was taken up with training, organising and equipping the various units. Little or no instructions were given or were necessary. I remember on one occasion getting a direct order from the Brigade Commandant. I had been instructed to supply a protecting party to a recruiting meeting of ours to be held at Dolphin's Barn, and MacDonagh's instructions were that I was to carry rifle ammunition in case it would be necessary to use it.

After the Rising immediately we were re-organised I had taken charge of the Dublin Brigade and in addition retained command of my own Battalion. Diarmuid O'Hegarty was in charge of the 1st Battalion for a short while after the re-organisation, and he was succeeded at a subsequent election by Tom Byrne. Dick Mulcahy was in charge of the 2nd Battalion. Seumas Murphy was in

Brigade Quartermaster.

When the prisoners were released from Lewis and I had refused the official command of the Dublin Brigade, Dick Mulcahy was made Brigade Commandant. Dick McKee replaced Dick Mulcahy as O.C. 2nd Battalion. After the 1918 Election when Dick Mulcahy was returned as Deputy to Dáil Éireann, Dick McKee was elected Commandant of the Dublin Brigade, and Oscar Traynor was appointed O.C. 2nd Battalion. It was under Dick McKee's command that the Brigade really became organised and regular meetings of the Brigade Council began. The important thing that McKee did was the establishment of a munitions factory or factories where the hand-grenades were evolved and later produced in good quantity. This work was very able assisted by Michael Lynch, by Joe Vize and Joe Furlong, and by Mr. Young of the College of Science.

Dick's next great achievement was the founding and publication of "An tÓglach". He was a printer by trade and he produced the whole paper himself. For a long time this office functioned at 10 Aungier Street. The munitions factory was in Parnell Street, trading under the name of Heron and Lawless. In addition there was a factory at Skipper's Alley.

Things at this time were developing very rapidly; engagements of a minor nature were taking place.

During McKee's command the enemy were becoming very active. The Dáil had issued invitations for

subscribers to participate in the National Loan, and a special house was taken at 76 Harcourt Street to transact the business connected with it. John O'Mahony and Dick McKee were visiting there on business when the place was raided. They were both arrested and later sentenced. An attack by the 2nd Battalion was made on the British Lord Lieutenant, Lord French, at Ashtown. He escaped injury in the fight but it was the firm conviction of our Headquarters that the enemy would impose martial law on the city of Dublin in consequence of the attack on their Viceroy.

A meeting of the Dublin Brigade Council was held in a house in Parnell Street, at which I was instructed to take charge of the city of Dublin if the enemy enforced martial law. This message was conveyed by, I think, Dermot O'Hegarty. The enemy did not take the action thought, and McKee was released after a short time.

Peadar Clancy was Dick McKee's Vice-Commandant and Director of Munitions. Shortly before Clancy was captured he had gone on to Munitions and was replaced as Vice-Brigadier by Oscar Traynor. Frank Henderson took Oscar's place as O/C. of the 2nd Battalion. Shortly after Oscar's appointment, Seán Mooney was made Vice-Brigadier and Peadar Breslin, Quartermaster.

Shortly after Oscar's appointment he removed Tom Byrne from command of the 1st Battalion and replaced him by Paddy Houlihan. The Brigade Council at this stage was :-

Oscar Traynor	...	O/C.
Seán Mooney	...	Vice O/C.
Harry Colley	...	Adjutant
Peadar Breslin	...	Quartermaster
Kit O'Malley	...	Assistant Adjutant
Paddy Houlihan	...	1st Battalion
Frank Henderson	...	2nd Battalion
Myself	...	3rd Battalion
Ted Kelly	...	4th Battalion
(He was succeeded by Seán Dowling)		
Liam O'Doherty	...	5th Battalion (Engineers)

At this late date it would be next to impossible to remember all the officers who served in the 3rd Battalion. One can quite understand that such an active unit would have casualties, and the periods of service of the various officers would require vast investigation; still I do think that a record should be made although it would be incomplete.

"A" Company.

Joseph O'Connor  
Seán Guilfoyle  
Seán Golden  
Peter O'Mara  
Patrick Byrne  
Frank O'Grady

"B" Company.

The O'Rahilly  
Martin Ryan  
Charles Murphy  
Peter O'Mara  
K. Ryan  
Seán McMahon  
Jimmy Fitzgerald  
Seán Quinn

"C" Company.

Eddie Byrne  
 Michael Malone  
 Simon Donnelly  
 Paddy Flanagan  
 Joe O'Connor  
 Seumas Kavanagh

"D" Company.

Begley  
 Joe Byrne  
 Michael Cullen  
 Seán Cullen  
 Frank Casey

"E" Company.

Eamon De Valera  
 Liam Tannam  
 Micheál Tannam  
 D'Arcy  
 Micheál De Búrca  
 Noel Lemass

"F" Company.

"F" Company was in Dún Laoghaire and was in charge of Tom O'Connor up to the formation of the 6th Battalion. It was from "F" Company that the 6th Battalion drew its first Commandant in the person of Charlie Somers. Charlie had a very short stay, I think a matter of four or five days, when he was captured and sent to penal servitude for ten years. MacDonnell was then promoted and Chadwick became his Vice-Commandant. The smaller units that I mentioned were gradually amalgamated and, of course, in the nature of things they had grown much bigger as time went on, but they formed the Companies which was the bulwark of the 6th Battalion.

In December, 1918, a General Election was taking place. Sinn Féin was contesting the election on behalf of the Republicans. Their organisation was scant and it became necessary to utilise the volunteer machinery for the purpose of the election, organising, canvassing, arranging meetings, arranging the speakers and generally encouraging the enthusiasm of the people to vote for the re-affirming of the Irish Republic which had been proclaimed on Easter Monday, 1916. Personally I did not like the idea of the Volunteers doing this particular type of work as I thought it diverted their attention from the more serious matters but there was no way out as there were so few to undertake the organising efforts required. As the day of the polling approached we were able to draw off the Volunteers into more soldierly duties, consisting in keeping order, in giving the necessary protection and moral support to the members of Sinn Féin in face of the very highly organised opposition of people who favoured the connection with England.

From the day of the poll until the counting of the votes all ballot boxes were under constant guard day and night. This was done in the full military manner and was again useful for training. The election was an enormous victory for the Republicans and the first meeting of Dáil Éireann was held in the Mansion House, Dublin. This was in my area and the duty of protecting and marshalling that event devolved on me as did all subsequent meetings and monster demonstrations at the same place.

When the Republic was adopted by Dáil Éireann one of the first things necessary was to publish the

Proclamation to the people. For this, special public meetings had to be called for the reading of the Proclamation and the British took very strong action to prevent these meetings being held. A meeting at least in each Battalion area was considered to be the minimum publication. In my case I held the meeting in Hanover Street at the Weigh House. Deputy Charlie Murphy who was an officer in the 3rd Battalion, read the Proclamation and the meeting was dispersed before serious enemy activity could take place.

One of the first things that Dáil Éireann did was to set up Courts to replace those of the British administration. It was well known that one of these Courts was being held at 41 York Street, which premises were also still being used by the Volunteers. The police raided this house and captured 40 or 50 members of "C" Company who were drilling in the hall. Others of the same unit were in the various rooms at classes, etc. These, the police missed, but those that they did capture were sentenced for drilling and were released from prison as the result of hunger strike.

A few weeks after his escape from Lincoln Prison, De Valera was returning to the city. The Volunteers were ordered out to give him a reception and escort to the centre of the city. He was also to have been given the keys of the city at the City Boundary by the Lord Mayor. Everything had been arranged according to plan when the enemy intervened and made various threats of their determination to prevent the reception. We felt it was up to us at this stage to show our men and the British that we were as determined as they were, but

reception was cancelled. I was personally very sorry because it was an additional jolt to the Volunteers and to my mind at least was on a par with the death of Thomas Ashe and was very likely to have a demoralising effect on the morale of the Volunteers. I remember speaking with Arthur Griffith at Grafton Street and while we were discussing the matter I expressed my feelings and compared the event to the O'Connell meeting at Clontarf with which, needless to say, Griffith did not agree, stating that it was admitted O'Connell was afraid, but fortunately we could not accuse De Valera of being afraid.

About this time also they attacked a body of our men training in South County Dublin and captured quite a number of them. These were also sentenced and again released by hunger strike. One can very easily imagine how all this was affecting both officers and men of the Volunteers, constant jumping about from place to place. Some members of "C" Company, 3rd Battalion, were in Dame Street, opposite Commercial Buildings, when a lorry load of British soldiers returning from College Green into Trinity Street passed by. One of "C" Company fired a grenade into the lorry. I think that very little damage was done, possibly it was one of the anti-conscription grenades. We always considered this one of the first attacks after 1916.

The protection given to the Courts was a major point in the development of the guerilla tactics which eventually followed up. The enemy struck; we resisted, and it developed into our striking and their resisting. I think it would be well if we put down here the

Patrol Area."A" Company.

Camden Street, Wexford Street, Redmond's Hill, Aungier Street, George's Street, Dame Street, Parliament Street. This is the area which became known by the British as the "Dardanelles". At Redmond's Hill there was quite a narrow portion of the roadway - this became known as the "Narrows". These were all enemy nicknames on the thoroughfares.

"B" Company.

Dawson Street to D'Olier Street, and straight back to the end of Pearse Street. That would be Baggot Street, the Canal and the Liffey to O'Connell Bridge.

"C" Company.

South Richmond Street, Harcourt Road, Harcourt Street, Grafton Street, College Green, Westmoreland Street.

"D" Company.

Ringsend, Sandymount to Merrion Road.

"E" Company.

Leeson Street to Booterstown Avenue, with Ranelagh and Rathmines, i.e. to Mount Pleasant Avenue.

"F" Company.

Dún Laoghaire.

The enemy decided that they would hold a monster parade to celebrate the signing of the peace with Germany. We were told that this demonstration was to be attacked and we had made very elaborate preparations but the attack was called off at the eleventh hour. Personally, I was very glad that this attack was not proceeded with, for two reasons. One was that thousands of people were on the streets sight-seeing and a very large number of them were in complete sympathy with the British and in their cause of jubilation. If the attack had developed I am certain that great numbers of these people would have been killed or maimed. It was

Cathal Brugha who stopped this operation.

The second reason I was glad was, that it was the first direct proof I had that the training the men had received was bearing fruit. I was able to call off my preparations inside fifteen minutes and not a shot was fired, nor the slightest indication given to the enemy of how near they were to a very great conflagration. Small incidents did, of course, occur, such as the taking of cinema cameras which had recorded the event, and dumping them in the Liffey. These are cases of only very minor importance.

On the shooting of Lord French who was taking the salute at College Green, the attack of all units of the Dublin Brigade was to begin. Except for the fact that each Company was to strike from the point nearest their own area and that they were to retreat in the direction of their own area, the remainder of the attack and retreat was left to the officers on the ground.

Very shortly after getting the Companies in the city working, I undertook the organising of the south county part of my area. Outside Dún Laoghaire and Bray there were no places big enough to produce a Company and I got over the difficulty by organising small units in various areas, eight in all, and afterwards grouped these areas into Companies. Among the areas so organised were: Ballyedmonduff, Ticknock, Dundrum, Shankill, Bray and Enniskerry.

When the Oath of Allegiance was being administered to the men in Shankill, I noticed among those taking the

Oath, Joseph Campbell, the Poet. Some time afterwards I called a meeting of the unit leaders for his home at Kilmelin. During the progress of the meeting our scouts informed us that the place was surrounded by enemy forces, and that we were completely cut off. Naturally, we thought that they were out after us. The forces consisted of military, naval and police forces. They passed the house by and we breathed a sigh of relief. It transpired that some naval units had seen lights been flashed on the hills and they thought that there was communication with German submarines in the Bay; but when the whole thing was investigated there were some poachers on the mountain setting traps and it was their flash lamps they saw.

I have spoken about the monthly Battalion parades. The idea was to tie up the training that the Companies had put in for the previous month and to give the officers experience in handling larger groups of men. We held such a manoeuvre at Glendhu; Seán Guilfoyle was the officer attacking, and Liam Tannam was the officer defending. If Liam could escape from the Glen between a specified time he would succeed. If he was unable to do so the victory would be with the attackers.

On our return I found all the men on the mountain side and the R. I. C. Sergeant protested against drilling. I carried on with my arrangements and marched to Rathfarnham. In the meantime the R. I. C. had sent a message to Dublin for assistance. We dismissed at the Catholic Church, Rathfarnham Village, and there being such a large group of men the officers were missed when the expected reinforcements arrived, and we lost no

I found it very difficult to get the unit in Bray up to strength and I decided that I would try sending a stranger into the town and for this purpose I sent Joe Byrne from the city. He did not succeed very well and I was replacing him by Larry O'Brien, and a meeting was called for the Quarries at Crinkin. Fortunately there were two Quarries in Crinkin, divided by a road. During the progress of the parade the military rushed up on very fast lorries, jumped from the lorries and took the left side of the road whilst we were on the right side. I had formed the belief that if I could get an attack on the Barracks at Bray that it would have a tonic effect on the units in that area, and I gave the job to Robert Moore, O/C. "G" Company, of the 3rd Battalion. While reconnoitring the ground and showing Moore alternative ways back to the city after the proposed attack, we found the road across Ticknock blocked by uniformed R. I. C. They had missed a small laneway and we were able to charge at great speed down Slate Cottage Lane, and so escaped. On the same morning the first attack by the Auxiliaries, dressed as civilians, took place.

The National Loan was organised from a house in Harcourt Street, and the officers and men of the various Companies assisted very materially in making this the great success it was. I was at work one day in Castle Street when a fellow Corporation employee, Peter Lynam, told me that when he was coming to the office he had noticed considerable police activity behind the closed gates of Dublin Castle. I immediately cycled to No. 6 Harcourt Street to warn Collins of the report given to me. I had only given my information when the raid actually occurred. Collins got through the window of the back room, second floor of the house, and gained

a small outhouse which by that time had come under the attention of the police. He re-entered the room we were in. The police when they entered the place, started their search from the top downwards. They, having finished Joe Clarke's apartments at the top of the house, entered the front room of the floor on which Collins and I were. We prevailed on Collins to go upstairs to Clarke's rooms until the raid would have passed over. He did this and had hardly left the room when it was entered by the police. Inspector Lowe placed me under arrest on the landing and proceeded further with his search. In a small apartment on the same floor he discovered Ernest Blythe behind the door. He called the man whom he had detailed to detain me and told them to take charge of Blythe. I took advantage of this to make myself as invisible as possible. Detective Officer Hoey was on the raid and actually examined the papers on which Páidín O'Keefe was working, and otherwise made himself very officious throughout the whole proceedings. That night he was shot in College Street hardly twenty yards from the Central Police Station which he had just left.

An engineering unit which was being organised in the Dublin Brigade and to which I had recommended an engineer friend, Thomas Meade, they were carrying through some practice on the mountains when they found themselves surrounded by Auxiliaries, but these were very well armed. A fight ensued and one of our men was killed and others wounded and quite a number of them taken prisoners. My friend, Thomas Meade, got a sentence of, I think, two years. That was the manner in which the Auxiliaries opened their campaign. They were

given Beggars Bush Barracks as Headquarters, and some short time afterwards they were uniformed and drove round the city in caged lorries, i.e. ordinary lorries with wire netting, to prevent attack by grenades whilst giving the occupants full view of their surroundings. They were in the habit of calling for their letters to the Post Office at Ballsbridge, Dublin, and I decided that would be a favourable position in which to attack them. This attack was carried out successfully and the reports brought back by the men who were in the fight did not redound to the expected bravery of the Auxiliaries. In fact, one of the reports stated that when the attack developed, and the I.R.A. were pressing, one of the Auxiliaries was discovered hiding behind a woman's skirt inside the building. We captured the mails in a motor car and brought them away. We made full use of the report of the fight, particularly that part of the auxiliary hiding behind a woman's skirt, she happening to be inside the building transacting some business.

The officer in charge of this operation was Leo O'Brien and he was ably seconded by Lieutenant William Fitzgerald. There were rifles, revolvers and grenades on the job. It was suggested that a certain house in Ballsbridge should be occupied for the attack, but to avoid any excuse for reprisals we decided to confine the work to the road, the rifles, if we were given an opportunity of using them, to be used from the car driven and commanded by Lieutenant Fitzgerald. I looked on this as a very important engagement. The Auxiliaries had certainly built up a very terrifying picture for our men. They were bristling with guns and swaggered in a very ostentatious manner in all the duties

they had to perform, and I was expecting that they would put up a very stiff fight, but they did not do so. They crumbled up at the first point of the attack and scampered after they exchanged a couple of shots. This was our first attack on Auxiliaries in uniform. During the time I was trying to pull this job off, Lloyd George had asked for "the man on the bridge". I was writing to Collins on some matter and jokingly wrote "what about the man on the bridge?". The reply I got was "the only bridge I am interested in is Ballsbridge". I thought it strange and very unlike Mick.

Whilst training on the Dublin Mountains "C" Company were interrupted by some R.I.C. men. They objected to our men drilling and the officer in charge of the Volunteers disarmed them and tied the three of them together, the Sergeant and two Constables, with their own belts. There was a lot of newspaper talk about this particular incident as it showed the contempt our men were acquiring for the R.I.C. Afterwards they arrested some men, two of whom were from Dalkey - John Doyle and, I think, a man by the name of Harte - neither of whom was in the party connected with the tying up of the R.I.C. We concentrated on a defence for these men, and we produced fourteen substantial witnesses that the men were not in the vicinity of the affair on the particular day.

One of the policemen identified one of the two and could not identify the other. Another of the policemen identified one of the two but could not identify the other. The third man could not identify either. These were the only connections that they were able to prove in their

prove the contrary, but the Court accepted the R.I.C. men's evidence and sentenced our men to three years' imprisonment each. I mention this case particularly as it was one of the cardinal points in the determination to refuse recognition to any of the enemy Courts thenceforward.

The National Volunteers, i.e. the party that followed Redmond's leadership in 1915, had dwindled until very few remained in the organisation and they in Dublin, I think, alone. Thomas J. Cullen, a City Architect, was a Major in that Corps and he appeared to be the senior officer and the only person capable of speaking for them. Cullen came to me with a proposal that the National Volunteers should be taken into the Irish Volunteers as a body with all their arms, equipment and assets. When I was satisfied that the thing was as well organised as I could do I reported to G.H.Q. G.H.Q. accepted the proposed amalgamation and permitted me to accept them all as a Company in the 3rd Battalion. They became known as "K" Company and Cullen became their Captain. They had a fair amount of equipment and I was very glad that they were detailed to my unit.

I understood that all the surplus arms and ammunition in the possession of the Volunteers had been passed over to the Quartermaster of the 3rd Battalion. We had certainly got possession of a fine house at No. 44 Parnell Square which had been purchased by some of the money from America. This place was almost immediately closed by an order of the enemy, but, of course, we utilised it to the fullest extent.

We had captured some gellignite in the city and some

of it was stored in 44 Parnell Square. The Tans raided this place and they found the gellignite, and the search for Cullen whose name was in the Rate Book as being the occupier, was intensified tenfold.

One day Cullen entered his office in Suffolk Street. Enemy spies reported his arrival and in five minutes both ends of the street were blocked. Fortunately on entering he approached the window and saw the first enemy arrivals. An office building next door was in the process of reconstruction. Cullen was the architect. He entered that building and was being shown around by the works foreman whilst enemy forces were searching the house next door for him.

Coming from "K" Company one night Tom Cullen saw that the house he was going to sleep in was under enemy observance. He cycled on and visited four other houses that he had slept in on occasions, all of them were being watched. By this time curfew hour had struck and he had to enter a laneway here of Palmerston Road and stand in the continuous rain until morning.

He had ordered a special train to remove all the moveable goods of a convent of nuns from Wexford to Connemara. Remembering this he made to Landsdowne Road Railway Station; had the train flagged and when it stopped, the nuns took him on <sup>board/</sup> and brought him to Connemara and nursed him for four months and sent him back a new man. He was never in prison until his own former comrades put him there.

As I returned home one night a messenger informed me that Seumas Murray had been arrested and that his home was searched for further arms. It would appear that Murray

was instructed to collect a rifle from a man who had transferred from one Company/<sup>area/</sup> to another. Whilst bringing the rifle across the city, Murray was arrested and his home was searched. I immediately proceeded to Murray's home and enquired of his mother if there was anything in the place that had escaped the attention of the enemy forces. She told me there was. I got some men together and worked late in to the night, removing arms and ammunition from Murray's home, stuff that had been placed in his custody by Cullen on his transfer to the Volunteers.

Cullen was out of town at the time and I determined that I would not risk such a quantity of materials falling into the enemy hands. I instructed Captain Seán Guilfoyle to organise a party to transport the stuff from Winetavern Street to East James' Street, quite a considerable distance across the heart of the city. He adopted the following procedure. He got an officer and three men and dressed them to the part. They procured a builder's handcart with some planks and ropes. They loaded the stuff on to the handcart, and pulling the planks on top, fastened them with the ropes. They pushed the handcart through the city to the new dump. It took them three journeys to clear the stuff and in the meantime I had the other Companies warned to have their Quartermasters and men ready to receive the goods, and we distributed it as evenly as we possibly could among the Companies in the Battalion. Seumas Murray got a sentence of ten years penal servitude.

When I reached his home on that particular night my astonishment was great to discover the quantity of ammunition that had been successfully hidden in the piano.

Seumas was the owner of a horse and cart, and beneath the horse's stable a receptacle had been built to contain rifles and ammunition. Fortunately his mother knew of both places and we were able to remove all the stuff before the enemy re-appeared on the scene.

About this time the Quartermaster, Christie Farrell, of "A" Company, got in touch with some British soldiers stationed in Wellington Barracks, what is now known as Griffith Barracks. They were willing to hand over rifles and ammunition on the payment of a very small sum per rifle and per packet of ammunition, each packet containing fifty rounds; the price in either case never exceeded £1. This was a very valuable source of supply to us and we succeeded in getting up to 100 rifles and probably 1,000 rounds of ammunition before the discovery was made. The procedure adopted was, and this in the depth of winter, that our men should swim the canal from Parnell Road to the iron railings surrounding Wellington Barracks. At 11 o'clock precisely the soldier inside the railings was ready to hand out whatever was available and to receive his reward in return. Our men then swam the canal back again to Parnell Road. There was no other possible way of getting to the railings than swimming the canal, but this they cheerfully did night after night for many nights in succession.

We had organised an engineering class, made up of representatives from each of the four Battalions in the city. They met at North Frederick Street where they were raided and captured. Some of them were released on bail but they did not surrender to their bail when the time came.

We had a First Aid class at 54 Camden Street which was also raided, and the man who was being practised on, i.e. bandaged in splints, was carried out to the lorry by the Auxiliaries.

The big task before the Brigade at this time was the perfecting of the hand-grenade, and I must give full credit to Mr. Young of the Science College, Upper Merrion Street, for his invaluable assistance in explaining and training our men in the production of these invaluable weapons. Little by little we evolved the thing until it was a perfect article with 99 per cent correct firing. After some time we were able to so time the explosion that we got excellent results.

There was no source of supply for .45 ammunition and it was very scarce. To meet this shortage we stripped the .303 ammunition and removed the cordite, reloading the shells with black powder - we made .45 ammunition. I first started this in Denzille Lane. It was later developed in the other areas, particularly at No. 5 South Frederick Street, the home of Mrs. Connolly.

In this connection a very interesting thing occurred. An auxiliary entered Nolan's public-house in Lower Mount Street and struck up a conversation with one of the men drinking in the place. He told this man that he was anxious to help the I.R.A. and that he was prepared to sell them revolver ammunition. The man spoken to was not a Volunteer but he knew someone who was. Word was conveyed to me that the ammunition could be got for one pound per 100 rounds. I put our Quartermaster's section on to the work with instructions that they were to take the ammunition of the first delivery and make a test.

They put a revolver in a vice loaded with our recently acquired ammunition and by the aid of a string discharged the revolver. The revolver was blown into little pieces and if anyone had been holding the weapon he would have been very seriously injured. From the first I had suspicions that it was something like this and had kept the ammunition apart from any other material.

We unloaded the powder which had been doctored by T.N.T., re-loaded the shells and had a very useful supply of revolver ammunition, the T.N.T. we used in explosives. The ammunition was easily identified by a peculiar "Z" stamped on the shell.

The British had issued an order to all persons in possession of shotguns and shotgun ammunition to deliver them to the nearest police Barracks. We had information that such an order was in preparation and in a very large number of cases we were able to collect the guns and ammunition before the police could search the houses where they were known to be. Of course, they had a very great advantage over us in the fact that they had the licence list to work from, whereas we had to depend on local knowledge. In this connection I would mention one thing.

The late Dr. MacArdle informed some of our men that he would like to surrender his shotgun to us. Lieutenant Seán O'Keefe was detailed to see Dr. MacArdle and after being entertained by the Doctor he was given 21 shotguns with some ammunition.

It was really remarkable the manner in which our people assisted us in getting the guns and ammunition

before the police or constabulary could get them. Some of these guns were used with the barrels cut short, whilst the ammunition was all stripped down and loaded with heavier charges. Of course, this meant that only the very best shotguns could be used in the fight.

In addition to this we had repair workshops. Quite a number of the revolvers that we had were ones that had been recovered after the Rising in 1916, and they were very much out of repair. We organised workshops and had the assistance of highly trained helpers in making the arms serviceable. In this connection I might mention James Lambert, a direct relative of the man who made the key to release James Stephens from Harold's Cross Prison.

All of the events that I have mentioned were leading gradually up to the street fighting. I have already explained the divisions of the Battalion area and the Company detailed to each section. In addition to the ordinary patrols each Company had to provide for the policing, and the general protection and good conduct of the area. Central direction was necessarily very limited and too much credit cannot be given to the Company Commanders for the magnificent manner in which they carried out the various duties that devolved on them.

When it was decided to destroy the records in the Income Tax Offices it was merely necessary to detail a Company for each particular job and the officers carried out all the necessary details without the assistance or with very little assistance from the Battalion organisation. In the matter of burning the records at Nassau Street, Captain Seán Guilfoyle was faced with a formidable task in

dividing his position from the Central Police Station. He had to accumulate three enormous heaps of books, papers, files, ledgers, and so saturate them with paraffin that they would all burn and be destroyed sufficiently to render them useless before the arrival of the Fire Brigade which would naturally be summoned when the smoke was seen to come out of the office window. The office was on the front of the street and the place was entered on Saturday afternoon. The caretaker was detained and the work carried through so efficiently that it completely upset the collection of income tax for a very considerable period.

At this time I got an order from the Minister for Local Government, Mr. William Cosgrave, who told me that the ledgers used for the compilation of tax returns in the Dublin Corporation would be available for removal at a certain time and place. I had some men in an ordinary horse cab drawn up to the office door and the men loaded the cab with the ledgers and papers. This was within five yards of the entrance to Dublin Castle.

The street fighting developed mainly in that area - Camden Street, Wexford Street, Redmond's Hill, Aungier Street, George's Street and Dame Street, i.e. the area for which "A" Company was responsible. The passage of enemy forces was so continuous in that street that almost nightly there were clashes between our forces and theirs. Our men became known to the traders in the streets and it has happened that our men were asked by the traders to move further away from their particular premises as they had had it the previous night. Notwithstanding all this it is a very definite tribute to pay to the people of the

district that not once were they of the slightest hindrance to the carrying out of the operation, but in many cases they helped and facilitated our men particularly when some of them got wounded.

It was then that "a friend in need was a friend indeed", because if a man was wounded he was easily captured, and when recovered from his wounds he would certainly be tried and if <sup>of/</sup>any/the enemy had been killed or died as a result of their wounds he would be a subject for hanging. Every man on the street knew that this fate was there before him, but notwithstanding this they felt greatly agrieved if they were not included in the attacking party in the patrol.

The patrol was made up of an advance party of two men unarmed. They proceeded along the particular route, mapped out by the officer. When the leading man saw enemy forces he gave a pre-arranged signal to the man behind, also unarmed. He passed the signal back to the armed party behind which the officer was, and behind him were another two armed men and behind them again were two unarmed men. That prevented their being taken unawares. They had to keep constantly moving and it was necessary to protect themselves to the very best of their ability. Generally, the armed men were quite capable of doing this, but I often admired the courage of the unarmed men in doing their particular task as they were very often the first to be shot down by the quickly advancing enemy sometimes before the actual fight opened.

In Grafton Street and Stephen's Green there were many more ambushes. In fact, in all parts of the

There was an order issued by Cathal Brugha that ambushes were to cease on Saturday evenings in the "Dardanelles" owing to the number of people out shopping during that time. In some cases as the Companies developed we found it necessary to divide up the nights, i.e. one Company on Monday night and another Company on the same district on Tuesday night, and so on. In this way we were able to give all the Companies a hand in the task.

The enemy by this time had constructed a bullet-proof steel pillbox on the railway bridge crossing the Liffey at Beresford Place. It was in an excellent position to command the railway line both sides the Liffey towards O'Connell Street, Tara Street towards Pearse Street, and Beresford Place towards Abbey Street. The troops to occupy this position were at Amiens Street Station about 250 yards away. It was decided that this steel construction should be removed and "K" Company undertook the job. During the night they actually unbolted the erection and loaded it on bogeys and pushed the bogeys to a safe place for the dumping of the steel. Considering all the circumstances this was a very fine operation, carried out in close proximity to the protecting troops and done so efficiently that no interference occurred. A letter of commendation was written by the Chief of Staff to O/C., Dublin Brigade, for conveyance to the Company concerned. The following is the text of the letter :

Ó G L A I G H NA hÉ I R E A N N

Ard-Oifig, Áth Cliath

General Headquarters, Dublin.

24th May, 1921.

Department \_\_\_\_\_

Reference No. \_\_\_\_\_

To: The O/C., Dublin.

I want you to convey to the O/C. 3rd  
Battalion and the Officers and men of "K" Company  
of that Battalion, my appreciation of the work carried  
out by that Company at Westland Row on the night of  
1-2nd. May; and of the information and general surity  
of touch displayed by all concerned on that occasion.

I find that I overlooked till now sending  
you this note of appreciation through an oversight.

Beir Beannacht,

M.

C/S.

"G" Company was a particularly difficult Company to enter for as their men were almost exclusively assistants in the various grocery establishments in the city. They were very poorly armed, and owing to their being a recent formation very unlikely to get arms from the Battalion Quartermaster if he had any.

After some training Bob Moore, the Company Captain, asked my permission to hold up the military police patrols operating in the city. About twenty or so of these men used meet in Westmoreland Street outside the Bank of Ireland. They would assemble there preparatory to reporting back to Dublin Castle for dismissal. Moore surrounded the party and disarmed every man in it, taking both revolver, lanard and ammunition. Unfortunately, the Sergeant in charge apparently had a concealed weapon and drew the smaller automatic and fired on our men. This unfortunate man was shot and that was the only casualty we had that night. It was a fine piece of work done in a workmanlike manner, and, of course, made a very substantial contribution to the armament of "G" Company. They very shortly afterwards had a big engagement in Harcourt Street in which they lost two men killed.

A very emphatic order to all Company patrols was to avoid prolonged action. I will give just one instance to show what I mean. "A" Company had carried out an attack under a section commander and he, as ordered, withdrew his men, proceeding through Camden Row, Bride Street and back to the line by Kevin Street. When he arrived at Wexford Street again the enemy reinforcements were in full possession of the area and he had the great pleasure of attacking them a second time. This would not have been

possible had he protracted the first engagement, the reason being that the enemy posts were always within a few minutes drive for any particular action.

Another order was that one patrol was forbidden to go to the assistance of other patrols, this to avoid big formations. To anyone knowing the city of Dublin and the number of enemy posts in the area, these precautions will be very apparent. When a favourable opportunity arose we were prepared to extend the time and numbers in what we described as planned operations. After careful scouting it was noticed that the enemy were in the habit of doing certain things at certain times, such as the collecting of mails that I have spoken of at Ballsbridge.

It was noticed that a party was frequently at the Tar Works, Ringsend. They were usually Black and Tans and apparently came from Gormanston to get road-making material. It was decided to attack them and Lieutenant Seán MacBride was put in charge of the operation. A rallying fight was made by the Tans, our men being posted at the various junction roads to that on which they were travelling, and as they passed from one party they found themselves up against the same trouble with the next. The last of our parties was at Shaw Street. The Tans drove on; some of the barrels of tar had been ignited and quite a number of their men were wounded. They stopped in Pearse Street opposite the Fire Brigade Station and proceeded to dump the wounded men on the roadway having notified the ambulance to take them to hospital. During this, some of the unwounded men were on the road, i.e. in Tara Street looking towards Butt

Bridge. The ordinary military patrol happened to be passing cross Butt Bridge to take up its customary round of the south side when someone fired and quite a battle was fought in broad daylight between the British military in the lorry and the Black and Tans on the streets.

"K" Company under the command of Captain Harry Farrell selected Merrion Square, Merrion Street and Clare Street as their planned operation. It was customary that the auxiliaries passed along this particular stretch of road at a usual time. The same tactics were adopted, i.e. the auxiliaries were attacked from Holles Street, from midway on Merrion Square and from Merrion Street whilst the road at Clare Street was barricaded and a stand-up fight developed. The enemy withdrew after some time. In this particular fight, Lieutenant Frank Gallagher, who had been seconded from this Company to Publicity of G.H.Q. as Assistant to Erskine Childers, insisted, before accepting the post, that if his Company participated in a planned attack that he should be given the right to resume his position as a Company Officer. He did so in the Clare Street fight.

Dartmouth Road, Ranelagh, is crossed by a railway bridge and the enemy were in the habit of calling on certain houses in Dartmouth Square every night. "C" Company, having scouted out the job, Captain Seumas Kavanagh decided that he would attack them. Apart from the fire and grenade positions necessary to the fight, the railway bridge was of invaluable assistance and quite a big engagement developed. On that railway bridge a particular example of heroism occurred. A man by the name of Graham was throwing a grenade. He was lying in the prone position and having withdrawn the pin, threw the

grenade; to his horror, the grenade struck the lattice side of the bridge and rolled back among his comrades. He was the only one who realised the gravity of the situation, and without a moment's hesitation recovered the grenade and disposed of it.

Another attack was carried through by "E" Company, the idea being to ensure that the enemy would turn off the main Stillorgan Road as the Company was awaiting them in Nutley Lane. This roadway was of peculiar value inasmuch as there were many bends and a short field of fire was necessarily to our advantage rather than to the advantage of rifle men. To get the enemy to turn on to this road, Noel Lemass, the officer in charge, knelt on the Stillorgan Road and as the lorries approached he fired Howth rifle ammunition at the lorries, and then when he found that he had attracted their attention, he ran towards Nutley Lane. The enemy followed him and a first-class fight ensued. This Company also had an engagement with the enemy on Mespil Road within a hundred yards of the Auxiliaries' Headquarters in Beggars Bush Barracks.

Night attacks were another form of engagement. All the Companies were instructed to have men posted on railway bridges crossing public roadways. The idea was to bomb the lorries as they approached the bridge. It was not intended to make a fight of it in these night attacks as to do so would require large numbers of men and curfew being so stringently operating at the time it would be particularly unsafe, but with the plan we adopted one or two men at the most was all that was necessary. They frequently had to return home without the satisfaction of an encounter, but quite a number of them were successful.

In all this time the raids for arms were being carried through as it can be quite understood that the raid was the only means by which the men could be armed. "B" Company raided the Junior Army and Navy Stores with little results. The 1st Battalion raided Collinstown Aerodrome with great success.

"C" Company had been watching Tallaght Aerodrome about the same time that the Collinstown job was being brought off. Unfortunately when we raided Tallaght there were no arms retained there. They did bring back a theodolite which was very useful in training the officers as to the sighting of positions. "D" Company raided the Coastguard Station at the Pigeon House road and procured a number of weapons and ammunition there.

Captain Cullen of "D" Company in the course of his business frequently attended at the Registry of Deeds at the King's Inn, Henrietta Street. After careful scouting he reported that he would be prepared to disarm the guard and take all the arms away. Unfortunately this place was outside the Battalion area quite a considerable distance and it was an order of the Brigade Council that no Battalion should enter another area for operation purposes without the consent of the Officer Commanding that area. This necessitated my reporting the matter at the Brigade Council and the 1st Battalion immediately claimed that it being in their area that they would do the job. All things considered it was agreed that the 3rd Battalion would get a fair amount of the result of the raid, they having being the ones that scouted it out and helped in the planning of the final assault. Whilst not actually in the assault, Captain Seán Guilfoyle

was there as was usual with him when he knew there was trouble expected. This raid was a brilliant success, pulled off on the opposite side of the road to the Black and Tans' Headquarters at the North Dublin Union. The whole garrison was disarmed and rifles, grenades, machine-guns and ammunition were all removed and safely distributed to the various units.

One day Captain Seán Quinn was walking up Grafton Street and from a restaurant opposite Johnston's Court he saw an Air Force Officer leaving a shop and proceeding towards the Green. Apparently whilst sitting inside, his tunic had uncovered the revolver in his hip pocket. The revolver was plainly to be seen as the man walked along the street. Quinn made it his business to be immediately behind him and when they reached South Anne Street, Quinn took the revolver out of the officer's pocket, gave the man a blow in the back of the head and walked off with the weapon. This was done in Grafton Street.

As the enemy police barracks were being evacuated we had orders that they were to be destroyed by fire. In the course of the destroying of the barracks at the Kill-O'-The-Grange, Captain O'Meara was in charge, and having thrown petrol inside the premises he had ordered the men to leave before starting the fire. Unfortunately someone struck a light and the gas from the petrol became ignited. A fearful explosion and fire resulted. O'Meara and those on the ground floor were thrown clear of the building and they realised that two of the men had been trapped inside. O'Meara immediately ordered the bursting open of the steel-shuttered window, on the ground floor and by concentrating on this one spot he was able

to force an entry. The place by this time had become an inferno but he very gallantly took the two men out of the building and had them conveyed to hospital, where they both unfortunately died.

I will now give an incomplete statement of the dates and locations of the attacks on enemy forces in our area. This does not include the operation of 21st November, 1920, nor of the many special operations undertaken by the Battalion. For confirmation of this list I would refer you to the Chronology prepared by the Bureau of Military History.

K	Clare Street	January 1921	attack
E	Mespil Road	January 1921	"
	Nassau Street and Merrion Square	February 1921	"
C	Corner of Bishop Street and Aungier Street	February 1921	"
	Merrion Square	6.2.21	"
	Camden Street	6.2.21	"
	Merrion Square	13.2.21	"
	Lower Mount Street	16.2.21	"
	Camden Street	28.2.21	"
	College Green	1.3.21	"
	South Richmond Street	2.3.21	"
	Pearse Street, 144	14.3.21	"
	Merrion Square	16.3.21	"
	South Richmond Street	18.3.21	"
	Aungier Street	20.3.21	"
	Grand Canal Bridge	22.3.21	"
	Camden Street	28.3.21	"
	Merrion Square	30.3.21	"
	St. Stephen's Green	31.3.21	"
G	Harcourt Street	9.4.21	"

C: Grafton Street	18.4.21	attack
E Sandford Road	19.4.21	"
Redmond's Hill	27.4.21	"
Lower Baggot Street	28.4.21	"
Pearse Street	29.4.21	"
Wexford Street	5.5.21	"
Grafton Street	12.5.21	"
Clare Street	18.5.21	"
Mount Street	23.5.21	"
Stephen's Green Area	24.5.21	3 attacks
Custom House	25.5.21	Guards on Fire Brigade Stations. attack
Stephen's Green	29.5.21	
Trinity College	8.6.21	"
Pearse Street	8.6.21	"
Ringsend	9.6.21	"
Northumberland Road	10.6.21	"
Stephen's Green	10.6.21	"
St. Vincent's Hospital	13.6.21	"
Grafton Street	14.6.21	"
Merrion Square	14.6.21	"
Ringsend Road	16.6.21	"
Dartmouth Square	21.6.21	"
Grafton Street	24.6.21	"
Baggot Street	26.6.21	"
Ringsend Coastguard	30.6.21	"

In the summer of 1920 my wife had been seriously ill and the doctor ordered her a holiday in the country, away from the torment of the city. Through the help of the local unit at Shankill, Co. Dublin, I got a cottage there for a month. On the fourth Friday she visited her doctor and he was so pleased with the improvement in her health that he told her that she could return home.

On Sunday evening we took a walk in a very quiet district to avoid trouble but as we were returning to the cottage and crossing the railway bridge on the main Bray road we saw three lorries stop at the entrance to the village and without the slightest cause firing volleys through the village streets. The shock was terrible and I felt my wife shiver on my arm. To go back was impossible, so we continued on, but I knew that all the good of the holiday was lost.

We left the cottage on Monday, and on Wednesday a local volunteer named Owens was shot dead at that cottage door.

The enemy had evidently traced the arrival of a man by the name of Lynch to the Royal Exchange Hotel, Parliament Street. They raided the man's room and murdered him in bed. This was on 23rd September, 1920. From investigations we made that time we were satisfied that they thought it was Liam Lynch, O/C. 1st Southern Division, with whom they were dealing. Fortunately not so, but an inspection of the bedroom showed that they took no chances. In the wall there was a hole at least four inches deep by nine inches to twelve inches square caused by the bullets fired. Rory O'Connor and I made a plaster cast of the damage to the wall caused by the bullets. No arrest was made by the British of any of the participants.

Among the various activities of the Battalion staff was the enrolment of a very efficient Intelligence service. In each Company an Intelligence Officer was appointed. He was an officer and had a man working under

him in each of the sections. They were constantly on the alert for any information that might be of assistance to the Army or to the administration of the Republic. The men in the sections were advised to keep their eyes and ears open and to convey any information that they might get to their section Intelligence Officer. He in turn transmitted to the Company I. O. and the Company I. O. to the Battalion I. O. and the Battalion I. O. to the Brigade I. O. and the Brigade I. O. to Headquarters. This may appear cumbersome but in actual fact it was very efficient and the transmission of information after it had been thoroughly sifted was amazingly quick. Of course, it must be admitted that we had the wholehearted co-operation of the people during the Tan War in giving us information and in assisting us in every possible way.

Many pieces of information came our way, and I can remember one instance that gave me very seriously to think at the time the instance happened. You will probably remember I was rather shocked at Michael Collins' remark when I made a joke about the "man on the bridge". My next shock was when it was conveyed to me that Cope, Under Secretary to the Chief Secretary of Ireland, and who was well-known to be one of our closest enemies, was regularly visiting the house of Martin Fitzgerald, Proprietor of the "Freeman's Journal". I reported the matter personally to Collins and told him I could deliver Cope into his hand any moment he so desired. The reply I got back almost immediately was, "Don't interfere with Cope". The enemy were perfecting their Intelligence to a very high degree and from our observations and information it was decided that unless a swift and terrible blow was struck they would become so strong they would become a

positive danger to the Army, as instanced the case of the British spy - Hardy. Hardy was actually in touch with Arthur Griffith and was extremely anxious to be introduced to the Army Headquarters, he putting forth the suggestion that information in his possession would be invaluable to them. Griffith arranged that he should meet Army Headquarters and detail his proposals. Actually it was a number of journalists, most of them representing English newspapers, that Hardy met, and when the correct moment came Griffith unmasked the spy for the benefit of those present.

After very careful investigation it was decided to strike on Sunday, 21 November, 1920, at 9 a.m. All the Companies were told to detail parties for the task. Of course, the numbers of men used were small but they had to be very well selected.

"A" Company went to Earlsfort Terrace; "B" Company to Baggot Street; "C" Company to Pembroke Street; "D" Company to Northumberland Road; "K" Company to Morehampton Road. The function of the Cyclists was to stage a very obvious manoeuvre for the county. The object of this being that the enemy who were constantly on the watch would be deluded into the belief that our activities were aimed at an all-day manoeuvre in the open country. The other Battalions took on some parts of the south side area as the enemy Intelligence Officers appeared to have concentrated in the 3rd Battalion area. Fourteen of the British Intelligence Officers were killed and quite a number wounded. One or two of our men were slightly wounded, but notwithstanding the nature of the operation we escaped with very small casualties. A remarkable

thing about the job was that one of the two men who were subsequently hanged, Tom Whelan was not out at all that morning. Paddy Moran was hanged for a shooting that he was not within streets of. When Paddy Moran was in Kilmainham Jail it was arranged by the Dublin Brigade to take him out, and after very careful planning and scouting when the gate bolts were cut, eventually Paddy Moran refused to leave Kilmainham, thinking as he said that he had a perfect alibi for the charges they were preparing against him.

In view of the experience we had with the enemy Courts when fourteen witnesses testified to the innocence of Doyle and Harte for tying up the policemen, how Moran could think that his alibi was going to be accepted I could not understand. In any case they hanged him and Whelan.

The hanging of <sup>the</sup>/six men in Mountjoy was really very annoying and I determined that we would make special efforts to strike back at the enemy. All of my patrols were out that night with definite orders to attack anything and everything of an enemy nature they met, but not a screech of enemy activity could be found by any of the patrols.

When "B" Company was returning to 144 Pearse Street to hand over their revolvers to the men who would be on the bridge that night or street parading next night, they were in charge of Captain Peadar O'Mara, and when passing College Street Police Station, Doran who was with O'Mara, asked his permission to fire a grenade which he was carrying in his hand inside his pocket, at the building in

an effort to try and lob it inside one of the open windows.

O'Mara agreed and Doran threw the grenade, but unfortunately it did not go into the open window but rebounded on to the pavement. Doran saw what was happening, backed very quickly away from the falling bomb and was caught by a tram car, knocked down and his leg crushed and later amputated. O'Mara had him conveyed to hospital and when he saw he was alright he proceeded to Pearse Street to supervise the handing over of the guns. When he got there he found that the enemy had accepted the challenge and were outside 144 Pearse Street and a ding-dong fight proceeding. Our men were both inside and outside the house and some of them gained vantage points in adjoining buildings. The officers and men were in a high state of feeling and they prolonged the fight and gave the enemy time to bring up reinforcements which changed a fine victory into defeat. Our casualties were great. We had at least two men killed and four men seriously wounded, an unwounded man was captured and at least two civilians killed, one of them a brother of Alderman Tom Kelly who was at that time Lord Mayor of Dublin, and who himself had been in charge of the Sinn Féin Bank. This would explain my persistent orders not to prolong a fight. The enemy were so close to all our positions that they could surround the district in a matter of minutes.

After this very much prolonged engagement I thought it wise to seek other accommodation for use as offices. We rented the upper part of a house in Denzille Street in which we were fortunate enough to have placed a caretaker. I think it was certainly within a week when the place was

raided by the Auxiliaries. Captain Guilfoyle was the officer on duty on that particular night and acted promptly in the matter. When he saw there was no chance of getting out he entered the caretaker's apartment, took off his coat, sat down by the fireside with one of Mrs. Mason's children on his knee. The Auxiliaries rushed in about the place and he pretended surprise. One of the raiders actually gave the child a present, and after satisfying themselves there was nothing to be got in the place, they left. They apparently reached not farther than Westland Row when one of their touts informed them of what they had missed. They turned back to re-raid the place and look for Guilfoyle. When they found that the bird had flown their language was anything but nice.

Again we had to shift and a friend employed by Messrs. Pim, George's Street, as foreman of their clothing branch in Drury Street, gave us permission to use that premises after working hours. The remarkable thing was that the enemy never got in touch with that particular Headquarters and we were certainly able to do invaluable work from such a central position. Of course, I avoided as much as possible bringing numbers of officers around the place.

This made the work very exciting and the organisation had to be perfect to survive enemy activities. During the time between Tom Traynor's trial and execution the first serious move for peace was enacted. Lord Derby was here and holding consultations. I was aware of this and had great hopes that Traynor's life would be spared as he had a wife and very big family.

Unfortunately, other people rushed into print and made what we considered impossible suggestions or proposals. It killed that effort to stop the war and Traynor was executed.

On the morning of Tom Traynor's execution President De Valera came to me to express his grief at the loss of a good soldier and well-trying patriot. He had remembered him from the Rising in 1916, and was anxious to accompany me to the Traynor household where he would express the sympathy of the State to the widow and orphans in this hour of their great trial. This I did, and he and I were in Traynor's house consoling with Mrs. Traynor when Monsignor Waters, Chaplain at Mountjoy, called to offer his sympathy, and to tell Mrs. Traynor that her husband had died fortified by the rites of Holy Church and in peace with all men. I was deeply moved on that occasion.

My wife had visited Tom after he was condemned and had brought me a very touching message of faith in our movement and of his loyalty to the cause of Irish freedom. You will remember that it was he who was struck by a bullet just as we launched our bayonet attack on the enemy troops during the fighting in 1916.

We were able to have the wounded men treated by the doctors, some of them in the doctors' homes, and in this connection I would like to mention one very great friend we had - Dr. O'Brien of Merrion Square. Dr. Morrin was also friendly, but the principal place where our wounded men could receive the greatest care and attention was at Mrs. Connolly's house, No. 5 South Frederick Street, where

we had rooms converted into an hospital and Cumann na mBan girls attending our wounded men, day and night, and saving invaluable lives.

About this time I got the one and only rap that I ever definitely recognised as being from the I.R.B. Paddy Flanagan who was O/C., "C" Company, at the time, made a charge that sufficient progress was not being made with the special services, such as first aid, signalling, transport and provision of grenades. I accepted the challenge and an enquiry was held. The thing fizzled out completely as I think a great many of them were surprised that there was such complete loyalty in the Battalion, and this I must say, surprised even myself.

From all the appearance and from my own knowledge I recognised this as an I.R.B. effort to remove me from my command and I was more than pleased when the many officers of the Battalion who were sworn I.R.B. men, stood loyally by me, and hence the withdrawal of the charges, and the whole thing faded out.

Paddy Flanagan of whom I have spoken, was a very "wanted" man by the enemy police. He was identified as the O/C. of a party who had been arrested on the mountains whilst drilling. He was living at Grey Square off Meath Street at this time. After leaving the house at dinner hour he was stopped by two plain clothes policemen who took him off his bicycle. During the talk which followed, Flanagan swung the bicycle around, striking both men and knocking them off their balance, and he himself ran away and succeeded in eluding them. He went to our camp at Glendubh. After some little time the enemy picked up his tracks, and one morning

early Sergeant Corrigan and two men approached the tent, took the revolver from under Flanagan's pillow and wakened him up. In their efforts to make the arrest, Flanagan succeeded in reaching the tent pole and dropped the tent on the four of them. He reached the opening and got into the Rockbrook river and proceeded for some considerable distance up country. He saw a farmer ploughing in a field. He attracted his attention and was supplied with some clothes. He made his way to Dublin and Simon Donnelly rigged him out as best he could.

About this time Seumas Grace, a Lieutenant in "C" Company, was making for the same camp when he was wounded by a shot in the thigh.

The condition that the struggle had reached at this time required the formation of an Active Service Unit. These men were paid a weekly wage and were the nucleus of the Regular Army. There were, I think, 12 or 14 in the group, with an officer in charge. I was invited to recommend an officer and I had no hesitation in recommending Paddy Flanagan for the job. The idea of the Active Service Unit was not to interfere with the work of the Companies but to have a small body of men ready at all hours to do a particular piece of work. To supplement that particular activity we invited all the Volunteers who could surrender their meal hour to report for duty. An enemy party was reported to be attending an enquiry at St. Vincent's Hospital. Word was sent to Peadar O'Mara to attack them. At the same time "A" Company's patrol had acquired the knowledge and they were first to attack.

swarming with enemy of all forms. He was smilingly allowed to pass through with his men and failed to realise the reason for the enemy being so free until he reached Leeson Street where one of his men drew attention to the fact that his, O'Mara's, revolver was protruding from his coat pocket and in full view. Naturally the enemy thought that he was one of their party.

In addition to this Active Service Unit of which I have spoken, there were other men employed - a much smaller body of Intelligence Officers commonly called the "Squad". They were a very fine body of men and frequently beat the British Intelligence in acquiring information. They worked in very close connection with Michael Collins and were in fact his right-hand men. They were also mainly responsible for the execution of enemy spies.

In one of the fights "C" Company had in Harcourt Street, a Headquarters' car came into the fight. The officers in the car, some of whom were wounded, were removed and the car taken, and it was found to contain bullet-proof chest preserves. Leo Duffy was rather proud of his capture. It was an exceptionally fine car. At this time in addition to the Grey Ford captured at Ballsbridge we had a Talbot, a Crosley and a Ford Van. Our great difficulty was in finding places to keep our things safely.

In addition to the Battalion dumps, workshops and dressing stations, the Companies had at least one dump each. "C" Company was at the rear of 43 Fitzwilliam Place. It was our intention to use this as a hospital if we had been so unfortunate as to have men wounded in

the engagements on the 21st November. By this time we had organised Cumann na mBan parties to be at certain parts of the area during the time the patrols were on the streets. Two girls were to be found at these particular points and if any of our men was wounded, wherever he happened to be brought to, the messenger was sent to these known points and the girls were picked up and brought immediately to the wounded man. Cumann na mBan took over from there and looked after the wounded man until he was recovered or till we were able to get him other attention.

Seán MacMahon, O/C. "B/ Company, had, on my recommendation, been appointed Quartermaster General of the Army. This was a very fine change as MacMahon threw himself wholeheartedly into the work as I knew he would. Supplies became much better although in the case of Dublin we had to depend largely on our own efforts. One of the things that MacMahon did was to acquire the rifles and some of the .303 ammunition that we were getting from Wellington Barracks. The total amounted to a considerable sum of money which was paid over, we were told, to Brigade Quartermaster and he was to supply the Battalion with equipment for that money. Unfortunately, this did not happen, and the money was lost. Now I was reduced to my own resources and I had spent a considerable amount of money on acquiring these rifles and ammunition, and the only means of providing revolver ammunition was our own source from Beggars Bush Barracks, of which I have spoken, and our supplies of .303 ammunition, both of which had to be re-made.

For each round of ammunition bought by the Company

experience of abusing men who did not pick a fight and at the same time charge them for the ammunition they used in carrying it out.

About this time I suffered a great loss. "G" Company, so ably led by Bob Moore, had become one of my proud possessions. Moore was working on some job - I am not sure, but I think it was the Bray job - and on returning to Dublin he ran into strong patrol on the South Circular Road and he and his party were captured. They all received sentences of two years. This was a great loss to me as I had great dependance on Moore and the men under his control.

For all the officers and some of the men we had to provide a number of houses where they could get a night's rest. I personally had five such places. Tom Cullen had twelve such places and in proportion as the enemy were closely following them the other officers had places in which to spend the night. I would be deeply grateful to anyone using these notes to pay a particular tribute to the heroism of the women who took us into their homes, fed and sheltered us, although they knew if we were captured in the place that their entire family would be put into prison and probably have their homes destroyed. They never for one moment failed in their goodness to us.

The enemy had armed the D.M.P. with revolvers, and it was a very simple matter to have all of them taken at the one time on the one day. An enemy gang that was giving us a lot of worry was known as the "Igoe Gang". This was a crowd of free lance British police - I would say constituted from various centres of I.R.A. activities.

up men and when they would swoop on Dublin, Cork, Limerick and such places, in the hope that someone of the gang would recognise a man from his district and if such happened there was little compunction about shooting him down.

The whole Dublin Brigade were watching them and whilst they always proceeded on foot through the city they seemed to be fortunate in evading all our attempts to trap them, i.e. to get them into some place where we could have a stand up fight.

An attack on Dublin Castle with the object of destroying the place was under consideration by the Army Council, and I was given the job of scouting out the place and generally preparing to carry out a massed attack, but after further consideration the order was withdrawn in favour of the attack on the Custom House. The Custom House job was done by the 2nd Battalion aided by the Active Service Unit and the Squad. The ordinary Battalion's part in the job was to take possession of the Fire Brigade Stations in our area. To do this, we sent men into the Fire Stations with instructions that no calls were to be responded to from 12 noon till 2 o'clock on the day of the operation. This duty was carried out and no interference in the burning of the Custom House took place. After their release the Fire Brigades proceeded to the fire, but by this time there was very little they could do to check the destructive progress of the fire, had they been ever so anxious to do so.

The British had a premises at Parkgate Street known as the "Shell Factory". Some of "E" Company men were

working in this factory and after very careful scouting of the position and examining all the necessary preliminaries it was decided that the place could be destroyed by fire. This we carried through, and the enemy accepted it as an I.R.A. operation, and in fact put in a claim which, if my memory serves me correctly, amounted to one million pounds for the damage done.

After the very heavy losses sustained by the Dublin Brigade in the fight at the Custom House, a special appeal was made at the Dublin Brigade Council for increased activity by all units to impress on the enemy that the I.R.A. were in no way weakened by the casualties inflicted. We, therefore, intensified our street operations, our night attacks and all the various activities that we had built up at this time. The number of attacks on the enemy of one nature or another carried out by the 3rd Battalion amounted to more than sixty. When one considers the central positions occupied by enemy forces and the resources at their command to get large bodies of men to a particular point in a very short time, we succeeded in demoralising their forces as they never knew where they were going to be struck.

Despite the various peace rumours that were circulated throughout the city a large scale attack on the auxiliary forces was planned and their various haunts had been scouted out. So far as was possible we had provided for a simultaneous attack on all parts of their assemblage, at the various restaurants and licensed houses in the city in which they were in the habit of meeting. In addition, I had arranged that Lower Mount Street would be stopped when the reinforcements would leave Beggans Bush to come to the assistance of their

comrades in the city.

The blockading material was in Holles Street ready to be put into position and the hour for striking was 7 o'clock in the evening. At 6.45 I got a countermanding order calling the whole operation off. This was done on the orders of President De Valera. I was able in these fifteen minutes to call off all the parties although they covered at least twelve different positions in the city, as far apart as Beggars Bush and Portobello and many places in the centre of the city.

A day or two after this the arrangements for the signing of the Truce at the Mansion House and for which we had to provide the guard, took place. I must say a word of thanks and praise to the men who served in the command. From the moment I took over in 1916 until the Truce was signed in 1921 - a more loyal staff of officers it has never been the good fortune of a Commanding Officer to have had under him. I admit that I was strict and very exacting but I always tried to be fair and I think this was the main reason why I got such loyalty and truly great work from the Battalion and from the staff. If I might mention some of them it would be Seán Guilfoyle, Seán Quinn, Larry Ledwidge, Leo O'Duffy.

Almost immediately after the Truce was signed the recruiting for the Army was re-opened. It had been next to impossible to get into the I.R.A. except on transfer from the Fianna or from such well-tried organisation for the period the Tan War. One can readily understand the precautions necessary considering the great advantages that the British had in money, men and equipment.

I often thought that it was a great tribute to our men

despite the amount of knowledge that even the lowest in the ranks had, as to our organisation, that so little was known to the enemy.

We unfortunately had one man who transferred his allegiance entirely to the enemy forces. He was the Company Quartermaster in "B" Company. He got into some difficulties, including financial difficulties, and for some reason best known to himself, he joined the Black & Tans. I often thought that his case was used as the basis of the Informer by Liam O'Flaherty.

During the Truce our principal work was training our men and improving our discipline. The volume of the increase in numbers was very great and necessitated the establishment of additional Companies so that by the end of the Truce there was in the Battalion "A", "B", "C", "D", "E", "F", "G", "H", "I", "K", "L", "M", "N" and Cyclists.

In addition to our ordinary duties as soldiers we had to take over the police work in our various Brigade and Battalion areas. In a vast city like Dublin this was no easy job for men without that particular type of training to take in hand.

During the intensive period of the Black & Tan war the D.M.P. were practically inoperative and there was great danger that the criminally inclined element of the city would take advantage of the situation for their own benefit. We had been receiving reports of the activities of such in our area. We warned the Companies to be on the look out for a raid that would place these

the "G" Company men was crossing the canal bridge at Ranelagh. He saw a melee on the north side of the canal. He investigated and found that a gang of men were assaulting and robbing from an old man. He interfered and they set upon him, beat him up and actually kicked him across the road and into the canal. The sudden plunge into the water revived him and he scrambled out. He reported at 41 York Street and I instructed that he be relieved of all volunteer duties and instructed to try and locate someone of this particular group. He eventually succeeded in doing so but in the process a great calamity was on the point of happening. A car pulled up at a house on, I think, Adelaide Road. A man stepped out of the car; our men tried to seize the man. Guns were drawn fortunately with a mutual recognition. It was Michael Collins visiting at a friend's house. We continued our search for this particularly bad gang of criminals and located them at Powerscourt in our own area. We arrested them. They were tried and sentenced. The leader, known as Hatchet Connor, was deported for ten years.

I have mentioned this particular incident to show the necessity there was for an organised police force, particularly in Dublin, where enemy activity had still to be met with, and for this purpose Simon Donnelly who had become Vice-Commandant of the 3rd Battalion, was seconded to organise such a force. He was, I think, the first Commissioner of Police under our own rule.

After the Treaty had been accepted, a Brigade Council of the Dublin Brigade was called to consider the action of the Brigade. The meeting was attended by

Chief of Staff. The Commandants were called on, each in turn, i.e. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, to state how they and their command felt on the matter of the Treaty.

Those present included :-

Oscar Traynor  
 Seán Mooney  
 Peadar Breslin  
 Paddy Holohan  
 Frank Henderson  
 Patrick Sweeney  
 Seán Dowling  
 Liam O'Doherty and  
 Myself.

I remember that when I was making my statement Dick Mulcahy interrupted to say that they promised a Republican Constitution. I turned to Dick and said, "Put that in writing and I'm with you". He made no further comment and after very careful and unimpassioned consideration the Dublin Brigade unanimously refused to accept the Treaty and promised to do all in their power to help Ireland to function as a Republic.

SIGNED

DATE

*Joseph P. Dowling*  
 8<sup>th</sup> March 1951

WITNESS:

*Seán Brennan Comdt.*

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