

W.S. 741

ORIGINAL

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY 1913-21
BURO STAIRÉ MILEATA 1913-21
No. W.S. 741

ROINN  COSANTA.

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY, 1913-21.

STATEMENT BY WITNESS

DOCUMENT NO. W.S. 741

Witness

Michael J. Kehoe,  
 1 Ardee Road,  
 Rathmines,  
 Dublin.

Identity.

Lieutenant (Brigade Adjutant) Irish Brigade,  
 Germany, 1914-1919.

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STATEMENT OF MICHAEL J. KEHOE,

No. 1 Ardee Road, Rathmines, Dublin.

I was born in Wexford in the year 1891. My people were farmers. I was educated in St. Patrick's College, Tullow, Co. Carlow. I immigrated to America at 16 years of age and continued my education at Fordham Catholic University. At 18 years of age I joined the National Guards Regiment known as "The 69th Irish Volunteer Regiment". I returned to Ireland in August, 1913. I had to work as free-lance correspondent for the "Newark Monitor", a paper owned by a relation of my mother's. I sent back articles on the political situation in Ireland and on the growth of the Volunteer Movement. In 1914 I went to Germany direct from Ireland in the company of a friend of my uncle's who was a German, and had been a Captain in the New York Police Force. I remained in Germany and found employment there.

Roger Casement arrived from America and landed in Germany in 1914. He came on Norweigan steamer "King Oscar" by way of Oslo, then known as Christiania, capital of Norway, and landed in Germany on the 1st November, 1914. He had some most important negotiations with the German Government immediately regarding future action in course of the war and its definite connection with Ireland. His idea was to get an assurance that Ireland and the Irish people would be free from any molestation, and that military action would not be carried out on that country.

I was in the old town of Paderborn, Westphalia, at that time. I was working there. I was contacted by a

German Officer who had been on the German General Staff, and also by his brother who was a Press representative. They put me in contact with Casement. I found that an aspect of Casement's work from a military point of view was to do what had been done by Wolfe Tone, 1795-1798, in France. This was to form from natives of Ireland then in Germany, and interned (whether prisoners of war or civilians) an Irish Brigade.

There was an Internment Camp outside Berlin called Doebritz. In this Camp were several hundreds of Irishmen, soldiers in the British Army who were captured, and civilian people who had been in Germany or from cargo ships in ports, Hamburg, etc., and were taken prisoners on the declaration of war. The soldiers were from British Army and Irish Regiments who were captured on the retreat of the British Army from Mons, Flanders and France.

The German Government reply is well known. It was published in the German Press and in the Press of all neutral countries at the time and it came to be published in the Press in Ireland eventually through the influence of the Irish in America. The contents of the reply amounted to the fact that the German Government appreciated the formal approach made to it by the great Irish Nationalist leader, Roger Casement. They gave him a safe passage by intervention through German Ambassador in Norway, when the attempted attack was made on his life at Christiania by British Minister Findlay. The reply also assured the Irish people at home and abroad that the German Government and German people had nothing but goodwill, good intentions and sympathy for the future independence of Ireland. It also assured the Irish people that at no time

would the German Military Authorities launch any attack on Ireland during the course of the war.

I met Casement in Paderborn with a Catholic Priest who had been ordained in 1870 in the diocese of Waterford and Lismore. This priest's name was Fr. Barncassel. A friend of his who was in the Press business had met Casement in Berlin sometime previously. Roger Casement was then known as Mr. Hammond. This was around the end of November, 1914. He had secured Mr. Hammond's (Casement's) address privately from a Foreign Office colleague, and he told me he should like us to have an interview with Casement. This was arranged and the result was the discussion of the contents of a future agreement with ten clauses for the formation of an Irish armed contingent for the sole purpose of attaining the independence of Ireland. The first recruits for this armed contingent were to come from Irish natives in Germany or from the Irish in America. It was to be officered by Irish officers, trained and supplied with arms by the German Government. This agreement was signed on the Irish side by Roger Casement and signed on the German side by Herr Zimmerman. He was State Secretary.

Those ten clauses were very acceptable from the Irish point of view especially the assurance that the Brigade would be used for the sole purpose of Ireland's cause, that is the landing in Ireland of an expedition, which would assist the home forces in an armed insurrection against the occupying British Army. The clauses were more or less known to the authorities of the prison camps in Germany. Instructions had been issued to all the prison camps for the segregation of the Irish prisoners of war, where Irishmen were located who had been captured in France

and Flanders as members of the British Army. Sennelager Prisoner of War Camp in Westphalia was one of those general camps. There were about that time approximately 5,000 British soldiers in this camp. Among them were 1,000 Irish from the various Irish Regiments - The Dublin Fusiliers, The Royal Irish Regiment, The Connaught Rangers, The Leinster Regiment, The Munster Fusiliers, etc. These were together in English prisoner of war camps for English Army soldiers. At that time Sennelager Camp was one of the largest prisoner of war camps in Germany. Approximately 25,000 prisoners - Russian, French, Belgian and British were there, mostly in ordinary Army large tents used to house cavalry and artillery horses and equipment, etc. This can be understood on account of the great shortage of sufficient barracks, etc. in wartime and especially with Germany's position and over 500,000 prisoners.

During one of the discussions which I subsequently had with an officer who had been introduced to me by Roger Casement and who was called Captain Bohem and was of the general staff of the German Army, he told me he would get me into contact with the Prison Camp Authorities. This he did. He had mentioned that he had spent many years in America and while there he had become very familiar with the Irish character. This knowledge he had acquired while working for twenty years in Milwaukee, as Manager of a brewery there, where many Irishmen worked.

Captain Bohem was really only on leave with his Irish American wife and two children in Germany when the war was declared. Having been a former German Army Officer he was attached to the German Chief of Staff and he told me that the German Authorities in the camp in Sennelager had made various blunders with regard to the Irish question

almost causing a general riot in the camp. In brief it amounted to this. A German Officer who spoke very broken English had stood up in the camp where there were many thousands of English Army soldiers present, and addressing the Irishmen present said, "All Irishmen know from the sad history of their unfortunate country that whenever war occurred in Europe, the Irish people and insurrectionary representatives had always got into contact with the enemy of England on the Continent at the time of each European War since the Spanish Armada". This German Officer was apparently very well versed in Irish history, especially the periods of the Irish "Wild Geese", for he quoted from Seumas Fitzmaurice in 1580-1600 with the Spanish armies down to Wolfe Tone with the French from 1794-1798. He said that by orders of the Kaizer Wilhelm II and his German Government the Irish prisoners of war would be segregated and would be put into a different camp, and treated as good Irishmen, and as friends of the German people should be treated. This information, together with other arrangements he had also published in a printed address to the entire Sennelager British Army prisoners. There must have been up to 5,000 in the camp. This action was premature and Captain Bohem, the German General Staff Officer, was sent down to the camp. He contacted myself and Fr. Berncassel and we went into deliberation to see how we could rectify this blunder and premature action by the German Prison Camp Authorities.

Before going any further I wish to state that the Englishmen and many of the Irishmen - officers and N.C.Os. in the various Irish regiments - were antagonistic in every way to the Irish question in German Prisoner of War Camps, and openly declared, "Oh! it is certain that Major McBride of Boer War Irish Brigade fame is in Germany and behind all this".

Many of the officers and N. C. Os. were not born in Ireland. This element in the Sennelager Prisoner of War Camp drew up a petition and had it signed by all the representatives of the Irish Regiments, both N. C. Os. and men, and forwarded it to the German Emperor Kaizer Wilhelm II and to the German Government. They stated that as British Army soldiers they resented this division and, therefore, petitioned as prisoners of war to retain their status with their British comrades in one camp if possible. The German Government were obliged, of course, to take notice of this and that was the reason Captain Bohem was sent to investigate the position. Captain Bohem, Fr. Berncassel and myself visited the Camp Authorities and Captain Bohem acted in his General Staff official capacity. The result of this was that all the prisoners of Irish extraction which I could find on the nominal roll as being actually born in Ireland were eventually separated and sent to a German Barracks outside of the Prisoner of War Camp proper. The Archbishop of Paderborn came with Fr. Berncassel to the Irish Camp at Sennelager and celebrated Mass there. Archbishop Schulte was a fluent French and English speaker and I well remember his sermon to the good Irish Catholic soldiers. Archbishop Schulte was subsequently Cardinal of Cologne City. He went so far as to say that Germany was proud of the 150 Irish-born Saints who had laboured from the 6th century in Germany. Roger Casement had appealed to Archbishop Schulte personally to ask the Pope to send two Irish Priests from the Irish College in Rome to minister to the spiritual needs of the Irish prisoners of war at Limburg-on-Lahn special Irish Camp. This was eventually done a month later at Christmas, 1914, when the 1,500 Irish prisoners were drafted some 300 miles further, south-west to Limburg-on-Lahn

and there they had two Irish Priests from Rome. These were Dr. O'Gorman, O.P., and Fr. Crotty, O.P. The Irish Camp was situated about three miles from Limburg town which St. Killian founded as part of his Bishopric in the 6th century. Today the Cathedral is still called St. Killian's Dome. The Camp itself was an immense improvement on the Sennelager Camp, because it was constructed with wooden huts and contained everything which a soldier would wish to have as his living quarters. These facilities were for 2,000 Irish prisoners of war amalgamated from all the various camps, which was now one unit separated into companies. They had every facility as soldiers with one exception: they were entirely surrounded with barbed wire charged with electricity. The German soldiers, mostly Catholic, in that area were very sympathetic and understanding as regards the reasons for which these Irishmen were concentrated in Limburg Camp.

Prior to the 1,500 prisoners coming to the Irish Camp, Roger Casement had gone to Limburg to see the various small groups of Irishmen who were concentrated there up to the week before Christmas 1914. He had also sent there two Irish students who were captured in a monastery in Belgium. Their names were Brother Kelly and Brother Warren. A German Professor by the name of Schuman told me, as Casement had already impressed upon me in all my consultations with him, that when I was recruiting men as candidates for the future Irish contingent, if possible, I should always select some young ex-Christian Brothers' boys as Casement had observed himself that these were always familiar with the history of their country and were the best type for the future proposition.

The Germans were still bound by International Red Cross laws. Of the many mistakes made by the Prison Camp Authorities, one was that of allowing the infiltration of born Englishmen who had non-Irish names and non-catholic and were also born in Liverpool, Birmingham and other English towns though they belonged to Irish Regiments, into the intended solely Irish camp at Limburg. This camp was intended to be an Irish Catholic camp. Casement had informed me that he was awaiting the arrival of a famous Irish Sinn Féin Priest who had been only a couple of years in America and who had offered to get to Germany by hook or by crook. This priest's name was Father Nolan. He was stopped by the British Ambassador at Washington, U.S.A. from travelling to Rome. This is the way he put it himself: The British went so far as to tell him "We know exactly where you are going". "That infernal traitor Casement is in Germany and we know you wish to join him".

It is necessary to remark here that no matter how one tried to observe military secrecy in the greatest armed concentration in the world, which was then in Germany, certain international laws and rules of conduct had to be observed when dealing with prisoners of war of a belligerent nation. Fr. Nicholson of Philadelphia, born in Kiltyclogher in Co. Leitrim, but ordained in America, and also an American citizen, was in an altogether different position in relation to the British Government, to Fr. Nolan. Fr. Nicholson had no difficulty in obtaining his American citizen's passport to Rome. He arrived in Germany shortly after the beginning of the New Year, 1915. He was not in the restricted capacity of the two other priests from the Irish College, Rome, in that

he was free to say anything anywhere apart from his spiritual duties. He owed obedience almost entirely only to the Superior of his Order. The other two priests were bound to obey instructions from the Superiors of the Irish College in Rome and to observe these instructions strictly. These instructions laid great emphasis on the observance of neutrality, i.e. "No Irish politics".

Fr. Nicholson took over from Dr. O'Gorman, O.P., who went back to Rome. Dr. O'Gorman said that he had very little sympathy with the German people on account of the intense wartime propaganda which he had known prior to his arrival in Germany. However, after three months of warfare and the evidence of his own eyes that the German people were not the monsters and barbarians which the propaganda had alleged them to be, he had like St. Thomas "believing on seeing" changed his opinion. He attended to the spiritual needs of the Irish. Because I had spent ten years in America prior to 1914, I was very happy to have an Irish-American colleague to work with in the person of Father Nicholson.

Fr. Nicholson went among the prisoners in the camp. There were many arguments in the camp with regards to the recruiting pamphlets, leaflets, etc. which were distributed in the camp. These arguments indicated the outlook of the Irishmen in the British Army at the time. By this time Casement saw that we would have a very hard battle to prove to the Irish that there was any necessity to do something to help the Irish Volunteers in Ireland. It must also be known that through exchange of prisoners and various other channels the British Government had become quite alert to the real cause of the Irish Camp at Limburg. Now, they termed it "Casement's - The Traitor Irish Camp".

One of the things which militated against the success of our recruitment campaign within the camp was the influence of the West British-Irish and Army Garrisons of Cork, Limerick, etc. Ladies Society in Dublin. These societies were looking after the interests of the soldiers of the Irish Regiments who were then prisoners of war in Germany. In the ordinary course, parcels and food were allotted to each prisoner in any Army, from homeland or family, to the extent of one per week. Because of the various societies looking after the interests of the Irish Regiments, the Ladies Society in Dublin, Cork and Limerick, etc. concentrated on the prisoners of war in Limburg and the prisoners received parcels in excess of the number usually allowed. Money was also subscribed in Ireland by the West British Garrison in Ireland, and sent to the Red Cross in Geneva to be distributed by the Irish representative, senior N.C.Os. etc. of the British Army in Limburg. In some cases the weekly allotment was as high as 10/- per week per prisoner. We, as responsible Irishmen, who were endeavouring to organise an armed force for the expedition to Ireland, knew that this money was tantamount to a bribe and was a scheme to destroy the ideals of Irishmen. We tried to have this money stopped but the German Army Authorities informed Roger Casement, Captain Bohem and myself that this money could not be stopped. The Germans issued camp money in place of the English currency. They pointed out, of course rightly, that if they stopped this amount weekly which they issued in accordance with the instructions of the Geneva Red Cross, the British would then stop their money and subsidies to the German prisoners in England.

There was a great help in the very strong position which Fr. Nicholson, the Chaplain, had, who being

independent of any promises to observe neutrality, took charge of much of the underground work in camp for the recruitment of likely candidates for the Irish Brigade. The first contingents, which came from the various prisoner of war camps to Limburg, weren't proud of their Irish nationality. I would say that 200 of those prisoners who were supposed to be Irish, were actually English, Scottish and Welsh born, who had been in the Irish Regiments. They came on expectation of better conditions alone. These had been in Limburg Camp prior to the advent of the larger contingent of approximately 1,500 from Sennelager Camp.

I had made arrangements there to have all Irish prisoners segregated from English or any other foreign born elements. These elements were the greatest barrier which we encountered when we tried to recruit in Limburg. The German Professor Schuman was the established delegate by the German Government to assist the recruitment campaign and give general assistance to the mission of Roger Casement. I found with him and the two monks that the new recruits who joined the Irish contingent were about a half dozen. Names were given to me in the very initial stages in camp as likely candidates. Among these names was that of Sergeant Jack F. Kavanagh of Dublin in the first instance, as former member of Sinn Féin and Gaelic League, and Sergeant Joe Dowling, who eventually became in 1918, famous as the Irishman in the German submarine landed as I.V. and I.R.B. courier off the coast of Clare, and as the man Mr. Lloyd George was being continually questioned about in the House of Commons as the Irishman "who would not speak". Sergeant Dowling, Sergeant J.F. Kavanagh and Br. Nicholson were my principal underground co-operatives.

During the months of January and February, 1915, I had a very difficult task between Limburg Camp and assisting Casement with Captain Bohem. I might be one week in Limburg and the next week in Berlin until we K.O'd. Mr. Findlay, the British Ambassador at Christiania, was totally defeated in all his plans to have our leader either removed or murdered by one of his staunchest friends, Adler Christensen. He was truly proved in 1914-16 a Viking equal of the days when we had the Norwegians in Ireland. It was proved beyond doubt with the help of the majority and important neutral Ambassadors, including the American Ambassador, then in Berlin, January 1915, that a deliberate attempt was made by the British Government and its Ministry to bribe a neutral subject, the said Adler Christensen - the valet of Roger Casement - with the written official promise of £5,000, if he captured or did away with the "infamous traitor, Casement" with or without companions. This faithful Norwegian was to receive £5,000 if such a thing took place.

The British Ambassador had also, with the consent of the British Government, given a written guarantee that if the said neutral Norwegian, Adler Christensen, would carry out this action, he would be given every <sup>immunity and/</sup> assistance to get to the United States. Mr. Findlay was recalled from Christiania in disgrace on 1.2.1915, by request of Norwegian Government. This was the first international blow to England's murderous intrigue and diplomacy, and it was a great victory for the Irish Insurrectionary Movement in Germany, and also for the Irish Republican Movement in the U.S.A. and at home. But Casement's moral character was then being libelled also by English lies and by forged diaries.

On the removal of this obstacle Roger Casement and myself returned to Limburg from Berlin at the beginning of February, 1915, with a new arrival from the States in the person of an old colleague of mine of the 69th Irish Volunteer Regiment, U.S.A.'s National Guard Army, and also of the I.R.B., to which we both belonged for five or six years before the outbreak of war. This was Major J.T. Ryan. He was a born American of Irish descent and was well known subsequently as President of the Irish Self-Determination League in U.S.A. We decided then there was very little use in trying to recruit by way of the slow process of the prisoner of war camp underground movement, and it was decided to take some of the already joined Irishmen out of the camp and get them into the Irish Brigade uniform as quickly as possible. Sergeant Dowling, Q.M.S. Quinlisk and Sergeant J. Kavanagh of Irish Volunteer M/G Corps were the first to be taken from the prisoner of war camp. These were now outside the camp and we had two specially constructed hutments as the Irish Brigade Headquarters outside the prisoner of war Limburg camp proper.

While we were at work on this project Casement told me that we were going to have a new - Irish Volunteer officer - arrival from Ireland itself. I knew Casement very well and I knew it was the first time for three months that he felt that we were on the right road. The name of the new arrival from Ireland was none other than Joseph Mary Plunkett. He arrived on the 25th February, by U.S.A., France, Spain, Italy, Switzerland and from Berne, where he had sojourned for a short time with his future uncle-in-law, Gerald Barry-Gifford.

Joseph Plunkett had wired through the German Ministry in Switzerland to the German Government, his desire to visit

Germany and to confer with the other Irish Leader - Roger Casement - being in full confidence with Roger Casement with regards to any of these matters which would be of diplomatic importance.

It was necessary to maintain great secrecy regarding the movements of all our activities, and any information regarding the arrival of men such as Plunkett could not be published even to our own Irishmen in case the British secret service would come to know. Joe Plunkett or Joe Peters as we were to know him, came incognito as an American citizen, furnished with an American passport. Roger Casement confided in me and told me no one in the camp should know it was Joseph Plunkett because he had to return to Ireland later on.

The German Authorities, both Government and Military, asked Casement before they gave permission to Commandant Plunkett to enter Germany and after proving that his credentials and his knowledge of Irish affairs were sufficient to allow him to enter Germany. Of course, Casement knew Plunkett well as co-editor with T. McDonagh of the "New Statesman" and a writer in "The Republic" and other insurrectionary papers. After an assurance from Roger Casement and seeing his credentials were in order, the German Government permitted him to enter.

There was more than one reason for these elaborate precautions. Casement feared most the British Inter-Allies Diplomatic Military Authorities. The principal difficulty was that the exchange of wounded prisoners even from Limburg to Holland and Switzerland went on. The Limburg Irish Camp had become the main target of the

British Secret Service. Every opposition was put in the way of our recruiting in the camp. Even in the camp itself, it was seriously gossiped that the priest from America, Fr. Nicholson, was not a priest but a Fenian from America. This propaganda had gone so far that at one of the Masses Rev. Crotty admonished the men not to listen to such disreputable accusations against a priest of God. He said he could no longer tolerate such goings on by people who were not Catholics and not Irish and had no place in a catholic camp. "If there are any such among you", he said, "you had better leave this place. You will get every facility to go to another camp. If I hear any more of this I will be forced to return to Rome and take other steps".

The various English and other British nationalities of N.C.Os. and men had taken it on themselves to leave no stone unturned to create a feeling among the remainder of the Irishmen that after the war they would be treated as enemies of the British Crown. This anti-Irish propaganda had come to a head and after a conference with Commandant Plunkett, Roger Casement, Fr. Nicholson, Captain Bohem and myself, it was decided that we could not succeed until all these hostile elements had been removed from the camp. This was done. The German Camp Authorities had made very grave mistakes in the first instance in allowing these in. I may add that some of the military authorities were not very helpful to any of the pro-Irish military concerned with the Casement project. The General Staff in Berlin had delegated Captain Bohem and myself to go through the complete 2,500 nominal roll of the camp and check up on the lists. We unearthed about 150 such culprits and they were removed in a very short space of time to Gessen Prisoner of War Camp, Nassau.

Captain Bohem, Commandant Plunkett and myself specially supervised the immediate project of the general welfare of Irish prisoners of war. By the end of April, 1915, we had the camp in a pretty good state. The elements against the Irish insurrectionary movement were removed and the remainder of the men in the camp were satisfied that they were good riddance.

I should like to mention that besides the weekly allowance of camp money issued to the prisoners of war from the West British-Irish Ladies Society, the Red Cross of many societies in Ireland had sent parcels and more than the usual amount of foodstuffs to be distributed among the special Limburg Irish Camp. This was overstepping the rule in other prisoner of war camps. Press accounts arrived from Ireland through the "Independent" and the "Cork Examiner" which were smuggled in by devious ways into the camp. According to these the general cry of the prisoners was heralded "Why should we join the Irish Brigade? We have a weekly allowance of more pay than we had as soldiers at home. We have more food than we would have as soldiers at home". This is an instance of how clever the long arm of the British Secret Service was in that its propaganda could reach the Irish Camp in Germany. To all Irish leaders and to the present generation, such methods are easily understood, because they know of the subsequent regime of terror of the Black and Tans in Ireland. This instance illustrates the great difficulties which were in the way of Casement and Plunkett in coping with the situation in Germany during the first half of 1915.

During the first couple of weeks after the arrival in Germany of Joseph Plunkett, I was given to understand

that my superior officer on the Irish side was Joseph Plunkett and Captain Bohem on the German side. I was personally acting in the capacity of Intelligence Officer and agent to both. My principal duties were contacting recruiting agents in the camp. Plunkett decided that we would have to take steps to interview each man individually in the camp. It was arranged that this would take place outside the camp. The object of this arrangement was to ensure that afterwards no single man in the camp could say that the reasons why he had been asked to volunteer to fight for Ireland were not made quite clear to him. Leaflets had been composed and edited by our immediate O/C. Commandant Joe Plunkett. These leaflets were distributed in the usual manner through Fr. Nicholson with the Irish-American papers, i.e. "The Gaelic American", "The Irish World" and other revolutionary papers from Ireland. One of the best samples of the work of Joseph Plunkett is contained in an appeal to the Irish prisoners of war in Limburg:

"Here is a chance for you to fight for Ireland and in Ireland. You have fought for England - your country's historical enemy for seven hundred years. You have fought for Belgium and a scrap of paper in England's interest, though it was no more to you than the Fiji Islands. Now, are you willing to fight for your own country with a view to securing the complete independence of Ireland with the moral and material assistance of the German Government? The Irish Brigade is being formed here. The object of the Irish Brigade shall be to fight solely for the cause of Ireland in conjunction with the Irish Volunteer Army in Ireland and under no circumstances will it be directed to any German end. The Irish Brigade

shall be formed and shall fight under the Irish Flag alone. The men of the Irish Brigade shall wear a special distinctive Irish uniform and have only Irish officers. The Irish Brigade shall be clothed and fed, equipped with arms and ammunition by the German Government as a free gift in the cause of Irish freedom. It will be situated near Berlin and its members will be treated as Volunteers of Ireland and as guests of the German nation and the German Army. After the war ends, without the objects of the Irish Brigade not having been achieved, viz. the freedom of Ireland, the German Government undertakes to send each member of the Irish Brigade who may so desire it, to the U.S.A. with the necessary means to land in that country in accordance with the Immigration Laws. The Irish Societies in America are providing money to support the Brigade, as Irish soldiers in Germany. If you are interested in this campaign you should see your German - soldier - interpreters in the camp who will put you in touch with the Irish Brigade Recruiting Agents or with the Headquarters staff in Limburg. Irishmen! remember Bachelor's Walk and the K.O.S.B. who murdered your comrade Irish citizens in Dublin on the landing of the first German rifles at Howth on 26th July, 1914, and "God Save Ireland".

With the arrival of Commandant Joseph Plunkett, the Military Council delegate of the Irish Volunteers in Dublin, the German Government Foreign Office adopted a more promising attitude towards the Irish matter of recruitment in Limburg Camp which was heretofore almost a complete failure. Things were so bad that Casement had decided, before the arrival of Plunkett, to return to America. I was to go with him. Sergeant Dowling was to

go to Ireland direct. The remaining six Recruiting Agents were then to be withdrawn from the camp and given suitable employment in civilian life in Germany. The Chaplain, Fr. Nicholson, being an American citizen, would return to his own country - U. S. A.

Joseph Plunkett arrived after having made a very dangerous trip. From now onwards Casement and Plunkett were given every facility and help by the German Authorities. A pullman car was placed at their disposal in order that they might visit the German Government Prime Minister who was at the time temporarily in Charleville, France - General Headquarters of the Army. Casement and Plunkett came back after a week's visit to France and Flanders, and after this week they were quite convinced that the propaganda which described atrocities carried out by the Germans in the course of the war, was exaggerated and false in many instances. They had spoken to citizens of Belgium and France and investigated for themselves. Plunkett was a great French scholar; in fact a literist in the French language. He spoke German in very small quantities. I remember him saying during the course of a conversation, when he had heard the story of the British soldiers attack on Casement and of our own uphill task regarding recruiting for the Irish Brigade, he said he was more than surprised that we had stuck it out; in fact, he said it was almost a miracle that we were able to do so.

We had a candid opinion of Commandant Joe Plunkett, one of the greatest members of the Irish Militant Movement in the person of the future Chief of Staff in the G. P. O., Easter Week 1916. He also said that if we didn't get those West British Irish soldiers out of the camp and get the Volunteers to fight in Ireland we would "shanghai" them out of it.

Our difficulty will be easily understood at that time after six months of a world war. The Germans had given us and the 2,500 Irishmen in the Irish Camp at Limburg every facility. The recruiting campaign was obviously a failure with us until the arrival of Commandant Plunkett. This was on account of the extensive propaganda throughout the world which said that the Irish were volunteering in tens of thousands at home to fight for the freedom of Belgium and the other small nations. To overcome this obstacle we had to devise other means, and we knew it would be a slow process. The first step was the sieving out of all elements who had frustrated our success in the camp. During the time that Casement and Plunkett were visiting the West front lines (they went to within 50 yards of the front French lines) Captain Bohem, Fr. Nicholson and myself went down to Limburg to segregate and superintend the removal of all the antagonistic elements from the camp. Our headquarters was about a half a mile from the camp proper. About 100 Irishmen came to us daily and each man was interviewed individually by Sergeant Dowling and myself. Plunkett didn't actually take part in the interview for obvious reasons, because of his planned return to Ireland. Quite an amount of damage had been done by the German Authorities in allowing some displaced men to be transferred to camps of the International Red Cross for inter-allied soldiers' prisoners of war camps in Holland and Switzerland. During the preparations for recruitment, Captain Bohem and myself found it necessary to enforce a strict censorship on parcels and letters. The reason for this was that there were various means of smuggling anti-Irish papers, such as the "Cork Examiner"

and the "Irish Times" into the camp. During the previous months large numbers of these had got into the camp.

Up to the class of old landsturm reserve officers the German Military Authorities were very friendly to this Irish Camp, but so far they had underestimated the extreme value to the German people and war machine of the Irish Camp, or that the Irish people were represented by 20 million Irish people in America who were also proving themselves pro-German, and were against the common enemy of Germany and Ireland, even more so than the type of immigrant who left Germany for America. When we had surmounted these difficulties we came into a better field of operations. The first week of recruiting campaign under Commandant Plunkett, we had quite a number of recruits for the Irish Volunteer contingent. There were elements in the camp in opposition especially certain types of West British garrison type N. C. Os. and did everything in their power to prevent the Irish countrymen from joining. They had even divided the German soldiers into two separate opinions in camps as regards the pro-Irish and otherwise. These and various other attempts were made to prevent successful recruiting for the Irish Brigade.

The methods adopted by us to procure men for our project was simply this. Each man spent almost a full day in the outside camp recruiting barracks. He was then facilitated with food during that day and after full consideration, he decided to join. We had no way of getting him safely out of the main camp than to send for his kit through the German soldier interpreter, because if the Irish soldier had gone back to the camp to procure same he would be severely treated by the pro-British element.

I should like to say here that the Irish clergymen who were acting as Camp R.C. Chaplains there, with the exception of Fr. Nicholson, were, in the majority of cases secretly taunting the Irish Volunteer recruiting propaganda and put forward sly arguments against the real ideals intended - pro-Irish Ireland. In some cases they in Companti, Irish element prisoners of war, asked why the Irish Priests from Rome didn't promote the recruitment project as did the Fenian Priest from America. The neutrality clause which bound the saggarts from Rome from the Irish College was perfectly understandable to both the Irish leaders - Casement and Plunkett. But as An Saggart Aroon, Fr. Nicholson, said to Fr. Crotty O.P., in my presence: "To be Irish - Irish of reality".

After two weeks we had some fifty men duly sworn in by Commandant Plunkett as Volunteers of the Irish Volunteer Army and of Irish liberty. I wish to emphasise here by arrangement with the Irish representatives and the German Government, we had decided not to take as Volunteers any married ex-British Army Irish prisoners of war soldiers. The reason for this was that we had foreseen possible future reactions against the families of these men at home in Erin. However, we were unable to stop one man from joining the Irish Volunteer contingent even though he was a married man. This man's name was Michael O'Toole. He had been a second division Civil Servant in Ireland in the British Civil Service. He was a native of Dublin and a fluent Irish speaker and had passed into the second division of the Civil Service in 1902. He had been a candidate with Justice O'Byrne in the same division. He was an Irish-Ireland physical force advocate and member of I.R.B. Dublin Centre.

O'Toole made himself known to myself and asked if he could not speak to the Irish delegate, Commandant Joe Plunkett, as he knew him personally. I was very surprised at this but later on I found how he had arrived as a soldier in Germany. Commandant Joseph Plunkett said he couldn't stop him and that it would be impossible to prevent his entrance in Irish Brigade M/G. Volunteer Corps. Plunkett said he would try when getting back to Ireland to arrange that his wife and child would be looked after. All this became known at the trial, 29th June, 1916, of Casement because the actual names of the men who joined the Brigade in Germany were known prisoners of war. The British Army allowance to the family of O'Toole, Dublin City, was suppressed. The question of the family allowance by the British was a reason why we could only successfully recruit single men in our adventure. For all these reasons the recruitment had progressed very slowly and also for the various reasons stated heretofore that the time was very long drawn out of recruiting and the British Secret Service in London influences against us had time to do their dirty work. These influences worked not only within the camp itself but from the outside - from West British-Irish clique in Ireland - by means of money which was sent us as definitely intended bribes to the Irish Camp. This was done as soon as the British Military Authorities had discovered the actual reasons for the concentration of the 2,500 Irish-born ex-soldiers of the British Army at one camp. They called it "Casement's Propaganda Camp".

During the progress of this drastic recruiting campaign Joseph Plunkett had proposed various means of getting Irishmen from the camp, in sections, to work, and there we would have a better chance to get them to understand the purpose.

The majority of Irish prisoners of war in Limburg had thought it would be like the former Polish prisoners of war on the 23rd, 24th and 25th August, 1914, when the quarter million at Tannenberg, Battle of Captured Russian Army, with many Polish citizens in Polish Brigades, were used by the Russians. The future President of the Polish Republic of Poland, Field Marshal Joseph Pilsudski, had formed a Polish Brigade in 1915 to fight with the Germans for the freedom of their country - Poland, against the Tsar's Imperial Russian Armies of Occupation in Poland itself. Again, there was another Volunteer contingent of Czechs which was formed by the Russians as former Austrian Army prisoners of war, to fight against their historical enemy of Austrian Holy Roman German Empire. It is unnecessary to quote to any student of Irish history from 1913 onwards that the Northcliffe Press and London Government, 10 Downing Street, scattered British propaganda 1914-16 throughout the world. It stated that Irishmen were being recruited in Germany for the German Army. This had to be refuted.

The German Authorities had almost lost hope of any success of the Irish Brigade because of the thousands of Irishmen whom they were aware were decoyed into the British Army after the split in September 1914 in the Irish Volunteers. It must be understood that due to the efficiency of the German Secret Service the German Authorities always knew the exact facts regarding what was taking place in Ireland. Notwithstanding this knowledge they could not understand how after all the trouble and expense involved in concentrating in one camp 2,500 men, Irish prisoners of war, there was so little success in the recruitment, with every fighting chance to fight actually on Irish soil alone for Irish freedom.

About the 25th May, two weeks after the small support so far of the Irish Volunteer Corps recruitment, Casement, Plunkett, Fr. Nicholson and myself had decided to immediately send those fifty Irish Volunteer recruits to their new home - a German Army Barracks which was to be the Irish Brigade Headquarters of the Training Camp and was situated at the Prussian Guards Military Training Grounds, Zossen. It was thirty miles south-west of Berlin.

Arrangements were made to put the recruits into Irish Brigade uniform. Then with photos and pamphlets, and other leaflet propaganda, Commandant Plunkett had decided to restart a further campaign at a subsequent suitable time.

It is most unfortunate to be forced to say here that the phlegmatic mind of the Teutonic Army and prisoner of war camp disciplinarians failed to understand and carry out several vital requests made to them by the Irish leaders.

After a few weeks I received a letter which had been specially sent from Zossen by Sergeant Dowling. This secret letter was conveyed through our old friend Professor Kuno Meyer of the Foreign Office. He was a former well-known Dublin University Professor and a great Gaelic scholar. In 1910 he was the first and only foreigner (German) to receive with Fr. Art O'Leary - famed Gaelic scholar - the Freedom of the City of Dublin. He was one of the few actual friends of the Irish leaders in Berlin, and at Christmas 1914 returned from the U.S.A. The majority official mind of the German Foreign Office and also the more arrogant Prussian Army type of mind of the

General Staff refused to quickly put the men into uniform at Zossen by Berlin. Sergeant Dowling had sent a full report to me. This I immediately gave to my O/C., Commandant Plunkett, who was then sojourning at the Order of Palatine Fathers' Monastery at Limburg on Lahn.

The real facts of the case were that contrary to our request the fifty men had not been sent to the Barracks at Zossen so as to be attached to the German Infantry of 203rd Regiment there, but were brought to another camp some three miles further on at Wandsdorf, which was known as "The Half Moon and Crescent" Camp and was really a propaganda camp for the North African and Indian Mahommadans who were soldiers of the allied armies. These were coloured soldiers who were in this propaganda camp. Some of them were already in Turkish uniform, trained by Turkish Officers and N. C. Os., and according as a regiment had been completed these former French and English Army allied soldiers were then sent on to Turkey and Sultan's Empire Army, which was allied to the German-Austrian armies of Triple Alliance and Central European Powers.

As a result of all this information we had no option but to proceed to Zossen immediately and leave Limburg recruiting campaign for a further period.

Roger Casement, Commandant Plunkett and myself, with the German General Staff Officer, Captain Bohem, proceeded immediately to Berlin. There, Roger Casement and Joseph Plunkett got in touch with the German Signatory of the Irish-German Agreement V. State Secretary Herr Zimmerman at the Foreign Office. He was also State Secretary to the German Government. This approach was the correct Irish-Ireland diplomatic procedure. The result was

that Irish Envoy Roger Casement and Commandant Plunkett, accompanied by Count Von Wedel who was Foreign Office Military Attaché, then visited the General Staff of the German Army. Here, the reasons were given for the appeal against the counter action by the Military Authorities at Zossen, and it was very definitely pointed out that it was a breach of the Irish and German Agreements of 12th December, 1914. The Army Authorities at Zossen had stated that they had no proper barracks to house the Irishmen in. Yet they were as usual adamant and maintained that they had acted in accordance with the agreement so long as Irishmen were in another camp and away from their English associates, since it would be only a very short time when proper barracks would be constructed. This was done in the course of one month.

On the 4th July, 1915, Commandant Plunkett, Fr. Nicholson, the Irish Brigade Chaplain, with Chief Roger Casement, visited Zossen Military Training Camp to say goodbye to their compatriots before leaving for America. Certain decisions were arrived at during the last days of this farewell visit.

The Irish contingent was to be composed of ten machine-gun teams. This meant that the number sufficed that would be required for a composite company of ten machine-gun teams presently in Irish Volunteer Corps. Commandant Plunkett had promised us as well as Fr. Nicholson that when they would arrive at their destination certain overtures would be made to the Irish insurrectionary leaders in the U.S.A. and Ireland to try and send Irishmen, even Irishmen of Irish descent from America, or from Ireland direct, to reinforce the Irish while guests in the German fatherland as soldiers.

Commandant Plunkett and Fr. Nicholson, after celebrating the Declaration of American Independence in Germany, (Fr. Nicholson being an American citizen), left Germany then and went via Holland to the U.S.A.

During the last month of Commandant Plunkett's sojourn with us, I accompanied him to Spandau, which was a Training Camp for Engineering and General Technical Units which would do special work. He underwent a short course of two weeks' training in explosives and in other matters which would be useful.

As I have mentioned in a recent paragraph the Irish Brigade was transferred from Limburg to a barracks in Zossen. There was a misunderstanding with the German Government and Roger Casement and Commandant Plunkett due to the fact that the German Military Authorities were not sufficiently informed who those civilians were. The civilians were, of course, the Irish prisoners of war who had been taken out of khaki and put into civilian clothing while awaiting the uniform of the Irish Brigade. General Schneider was the G.O.C. of this largest training camp then in whole Germany 1915, of at least 10,000 men training for the various battle-fronts in France, Russia, Serbian-Balkan. He was an old 1871 Franco-Prussian war veteran and as can be imagined he was a strict disciplinarian. When the ex-Irish prisoners, and now free Irishmen, were sent to the camp they were put into the barracks with the German Regiment to which they were to be attached, namely the 203rd Brandenburger Regiment. Therefore, several misunderstandings arose regarding disciplinary matters.

These were the circumstances responsible for the letter which Sergeant Dowling sent to me. He was

dissatisfied with the transfer of the Irish prisoners to the Half Moon Camp after two weeks first in German Barracks to the Mahomedan Propaganda Camp three miles further on at Wundsdorf. A change was brought about when Casement, Commandant Plunkett and myself arrived and had negotiations with General Count Von Wedel in Berlin. He was Aide-de-Camp, not only to the Kaiser Wilhelm himself, but was also attached to the Foreign Office Department. Count Von Wedel accompanied us, and as a result of this intervention the whole thing was settled to the entire satisfaction of both the Irish leaders, Casement and Plunkett. The future title of the Irish contingent was then decided upon. It was to be known in English as "The War Irish Volunteers" and in German "Kriegsfreiwilliger Irlander". From this on the German soldiers understood that these Irishmen were duly recognised under the Irish-German Ten Clause Agreement for the formation of the Irish Volunteer armed contingent.

Before they left Germany for the U.S.A. - 5th July, 1915 - Fr. Nicholson and Commandant Plunkett told us that they would try to send reinforcements for the Irish Brigade from Ireland or from America. It had given them great pleasure to see the Irishmen in their proper barracks and in Irish Brigade field green uniform. This Barracks was situated at the Zossen German Training Camp, Province Brandenburg, some thirty miles from Berlin. The men were attached for rations and bedding, etc. to the 203rd Regiment. New life had come into the Irishmen. They had suffered much disillusionment since they had joined the cause for Irish Independence, but now these green-clad soldiers were full of new hope and their marching song was, what is now the Irish National Anthem - "The Soldier's Song", and the traditional "Vive la the Irish Brigade", etc.

Here I want to mention that after consultation with Commandant Plunkett, Roger Casement, Fr. Nicholson and our temporary O/C. Captain Bohem, and on the recommendation of Casement and Plunkett, it was decided to try to get the world-famous Major John McBride of the Irish Brigade which fought with the Boers 1899-1902, from Ireland to Germany. He would be well known to all the Irish prisoners at the Limburg Prisoner of War Camp. This was decided upon because Casement's object was to launch another recruiting campaign among the 2,000 odd Irishmen still at Limburg. In this as in many other matters finance was an obstacle. It was from the Irish in America and from the Irish leaders there Casement was subsidised. The principal person in this work was Mr. Joseph McGarrity of Philadelphia. He was a well-known Irish invincible and Clan na Gael leader in U.S.A., and also Real Estate Hotel Owner, of long years acquaintance with Casement.

The new Barracks was a wooden structure raised on a brick wall foundation, constructed especially for the Irish Brigade. It was a thoroughly good building and a suitable barracks to contain approximately 100 soldiers. It was sub-divided into two large rooms with one small room at each end, one for Warrant Officers and one for N.C.Os. Each room had all the necessary equipment, wash-hand basins, etc. The ordinary Irish Volunteer, N.C.O's and soldiers, had to go to the ordinary German soldiers' canteen for their rations. These were the same as the rations of the German soldier.

Captain Bohem was temporary O/C. of the machine-gun teams, Irish Brigade, as they were called from this on. As I have already mentioned this German General Staff Officer

had a fluent knowledge of the English language in the American dialect as he had spent over twenty years in Milwaukee as a Brewery Manager. He had full sympathy for the Irish point of view and as a German Officer could always intervene very quickly on behalf of the Irish soldiers in regard to military matters.

Up to this there had been no decisions made as to who would be the future officers and N. C. Os. As I had been the Recruiting Officer and Assistant Adjutant to Commandant Plunkett for the three months previously and had been associated with Casement, I was appointed Adjutant of the ten machine-gun teams known as "A" Company, Irish Brigade. My rank was Lieutenant. There were also Company Sergeant Joseph Dowling, Q. M. S. Timothy Quinlisk, Sergeant M. O'Toole, Sergeant Seán Kavanagh and Sergeant J. (Beverly) Bailey. The Corporals were, J. McGranaghan, P. Delamore, Seán O'Mahoney. There were four Lance Corporals: M. O'Callaghan, Peter Golden, Harry Burke and Willie McGrath. This constituted twelve N. C. Os. and forty-four men.

Our equipment consisted of five heavy Maxim machine-guns. We also had two Trench Mortars for drill purposes. The men were equipped with side arms in the usual fashion. They consisted of ordinary rifle and bayonet. By the terms of the agreement with the military officers in command at Zossen and the Irish leaders, it was agreed that the Irish Warrant Officers and N. C. Os. would carry the same side arms as the regular German Army N. C. Os. The Q. M. S. would be equipped with a small short duty sword; the N. C. Os. and Corporals would be equipped with the regular long German bayonet. At all times when walking out the N. C. Os. and Men of the Irish contingent would

always be equipped with the ordinary belt and bayonet, and as per regulations of German Army N. C. Os. rank received the customary equal salute exchange similar to salute of officers.

Much friction arose in regard to the drill propositions and we had arranged for the transfer of one German officer (English speaking) and five N. C. Os. (one Sergeant and two Corporals) and twenty privates of the Machine-Gun Company of the 203rd Regiment.

The friction arose with the Germans concerning the training of machine-gunners, as many of the men of the Irish Brigade had been trained as machine-gunners in their Irish Regiments in the British Army and wished to still carry on their drill in the manner in which they had been trained. When a little oil had been poured on the troubled waters these men finally agreed to fall in line and re-learn the German method of training with machine-guns. The five teams would carry out their usual training and whilst they were thus occupied the remainder would carry on with either throwing hand-grenades or musketry with rifles. It was difficult to find a system to suit two languages - German and English. This difficulty was very well contended with and greatly lessened when we had the German N. C. Os. attached because all of them spoke very good English. In this way the training was greatly expedited. The training hours were the usual ones required of German soldiers.

Reveille was at 6.30 in summer time. Physical instruction followed. Then all went to the close-by ranges for the usual training practices under actual war conditions. About 1,000 yards from us on the firing range a demolition company might be firing at a very low

flying bomber of the Flying Corps. On other days when off duty we had lectures on various military points, and also some of the German officers who were interested in athletics, had arranged for practices and training in sports and games - inter German and Irish. Included in this was boxing, football, etc. Many of the Irishmen excelled in all these. Some of them became champions in the Irish Army in 1922.

Since Plunkett's departure - on 4th July, 1915 - Roger Casement was anxiously awaiting news from Ireland regarding the efforts he was to make to get reinforcements for the "Wild Geese" in Germany. Fr. Nicholson and Commandant Plunkett told the Irish in America of the great efforts which were being made in the land of our future gallant allies, and on hearing of these efforts the Irish in America put into operation the various requests made through these two men. One result was that the Irish-American John McGoey came to Germany. Another who came was John Kenny but he had to go back again via Ireland. He was an I. R. B. courier.

In September we had a visitor direct from Ireland in the person of Tommie O'Connor from Dublin.

One mistake which was made by the Irish in America was the publication of Irish Brigade photographs prematurely. These photographs were of the various groups of the Irish Machine-Gun contingent, and had been sent through the Diplomatic Bag of the German Secret Service, to the Irish leaders in America. These photographs, with a declaration drawn up by Casement, were published in the Irish-American papers. The declaration was signed by the Officers, N. C. Os. and Men of

the Irish Brigade. This declaration was a full statement of the reasons for the foundation of the Brigade and its aims and objects. In this there were many precedents in Irish history, such as the expedition in 1797-1798 of Wolfe Tone from France under similar circumstances when England was at war. This publication appeared in the "Gaelic American", "The Irish World" and the "Irish Bulletin" in Philadelphia. This was a great mistake because it made the identity of the former members of the British Army easy for the British, and it was a definite proof brought forward by the English at the subsequent trial of Casement.

Fr. Nicholson informed me by letter that he had got into disfavour with the American Hierarchy because of his interference in Irish affairs in Germany, and he was not allowed to go back to his former home - Philadelphia, but was transported, as he said himself, The letter came from Laramie in Wyoming. On the way from Germany to U.S.A. early July 1915, he was publicly insulted as a U.S.A. citizen and searched physically when a British armed patrol boat in the North Sea stopped the Holland-American neutral ship on voyage to the U.S.A.

The leaders of the Irish in America were John Devoy and Judge Cohalan. The Clan na Gael met in September, 1915. Certain friction arose on account of the misunderstanding of the Ten Clause Agreement with the Germans but especially regarding No. 7 = "These Irishmen, sitting at leisure and "skin safe" in big chat conference, objected to the fact that Casement agreed to have the Irishmen of the Brigade employed to fight with the Egyptians for this small Nation and sister cause to Ireland". In case future historians would come to any false conclusions regarding this clause

it must be understood that it was a voluntary side issue only and as an alternative if we were unable to get to Ireland. Later when I visited America in late 1919 and talked with my old friend John Devoy, he admitted that they now understood that England had used very powerful propaganda to defeat the aims of the Irish Brigade.

In November, 1915, I was delegated by Casement to go to Berlin to await the arrival of Captain Robert Monteith. He was the instructor of the Dublin Brigade of the Volunteers 1913, 1914 and 1915. It was decided that Captain Monteith with two other N.C.Os. who had not been in Limburg before in the Irish uniform would start a fresh recruiting campaign. This was done and the result of the campaign after two weeks was three Volunteers. The question of further recruits in Limburg was at a standstill. I cannot give any reason for this other than that the majority were living in the hopes of returning to Ireland just as ordinary prisoners of war. Some said that the Irish Brigade would be used to fight with the Germans in France? Many reasons had been given both to myself as a Recruiting Officer and to Captain Monteith.

Captain Monteith was likely to be known only to the Dublin-born Irish prisoners of war. The men from the country did not know him and this was a drawback as regards recruiting, and as mentioned with Commandant Plunkett's departure in July, it was decided to get over Major John McBride who would be known to everyone.

In the meantime we had information from Ireland through the various I.R.B. courier-messengers that there would be a definite attempt to strike a blow for freedom in the course of the next year. We knew through

Commandant Plunkett that Ireland had Brigades of Volunteers with enough men to man an Army Corps to the extent of approximately 20,000 men. We believed we would get arms and equipment from the Germans. This situation was very well debated in all its aspects before the return of Commandant Plunkett to Ireland in July 1915 via U.S.A., and to come on same ship conveying the mortal remains of the famed Fenian of 1867 - O'Donovan Rossa - to the patriots plot in Glasnevin on 2.8.1915.

Christmas 1915 came and went and a new year broke, which is a historic one in the history of Ireland.

When Roger Casement, Commandant Plunkett, Captain Bohem and myself returned from Limburg in June, 1915, having seen the men fixed up in their new quarters, Casement and Plunkett then decided that the men would be duly attested in the Irish Volunteer Corps. The oath was in writing and was signed by each individual member. The contents of the declaration was of the following nature:-

"I, Volunteer \_\_\_\_\_ hereby declare, after due deliberation, I wish to join the Irish Volunteer Corps under Roger Casement, and will serve faithfully and obey all orders which may be required in connection with any expedition in co-ordination with the Irish Volunteers at home, as per the Ten Clauses of the Irish-German Agreement of 12.12.1914. In case of our plan for landing in Ireland being defeated, I will be agreeable to accept the conditions and assistance of either the German Government or the Irish Revolutionary Societies in America. I make this declaration in full belief that I am an Irish Volunteer soldier.

Signed \_\_\_\_\_

The Irish leaders had also drawn up the pay allowances. This was not a Regular Army pay and it was understood by the men that it was possible that it would vary. While under arms and training the Irish Volunteers would receive this allowance to defray their small arms kit expenses and also for cigarette money. The rates of pay were as follows, from the 1st July, 1915, onwards:

Volunteers	-	3/-	per week
L. C.	-	5/-	" "
Cpl.	-	7/6d.	" "
Sgt.	-	10/-	" "
W. O.	-	15/-	" "

As far as the N. C. Os. were concerned this was equivalent to the German Army N. C. O. pay. The ordinary German soldier only received 3d. per day.

When Captain Monteith arrived in Zossen he took up quarters with myself. The Machine-Gun Corps was divided into two Companies - "A" and "B". "A" Company was composed of:

3	Sergeants
2	Corporals
2	Lance-Corporals
40	Men

This was the Machine-Gun Company. With these were the attached German soldiers from the 203rd Regiment. These consisted of one German Officer, 5 Sergeants and 20 soldiers. These were attached for training purposes to "A" Company. The remainder of the men, approximately 20 Volunteers, made up "B" Company, which was an Infantry Company, and carried out training in hand-grenades and trench mortars.

After about two weeks had elapsed, Casement decided he would launch a further recruiting campaign. He appointed Captain Monteith, Sergeant O'Toole and Sergeant Bailey to go to Limburg. The result of their

recruiting efforts was, as already stated, three Volunteers. This concluded our efforts with the renegade Irish prisoners of war soldiers in Limburg. Captain Monteith was now recognised as 1st Lieutenant of "B" Company of the Irish Brigade in accordance with the existing German Army order regulations.

Roger Casement told me that the German Military Authorities had explained to him that since they had failed to capture the Channel Ports they considered it would be impossible to attempt an expedition to Ireland.

Since the expedition to Ireland could not be successfully accomplished, members of the Brigade were asked if they would volunteer for war service in Egypt in accordance with Clause 7 of the Agreement. By helping the Egyptians to route the British from their country they would be helping a sister cause to the Irish cause. To this proposal forty of the Irishmen of the Machine-Gun Company agreed. This was done by means of the declaration drawn up by Roger Casement, and a copy of this declaration was sent to the Irish leaders in America, and with the photographs of the men of the Brigade, was published in the Irish-American papers in New York and Philadelphia.

The Clan na Gael and I. R. B. leaders called a National Convention of the U. S. Societies for the self-determination of Ireland in Carnegie Hall, New York. The attendance of 2,000 openly protested against Roger Casement attempting to use Irish Volunteers to fight with the heathen Turks in Egypt. Thus, Roger Casement gained his home-run stroke to force more concentration to matters in Ireland. Reports of the

proceedings at this conference were fully published in papers which arrived in Germany from America on the 8th October, 1915. We read all these. Nothing transpired until the end of October.

Captain Monteith was sent direct from Tom Clarke and the Military Council of the Irish Volunteer Army of Ireland for the sole purpose of coming on to Germany to represent the Irish Volunteer Military Council in Germany. Of course, the Clan na Gael in U.S.A. had sent him to Germany via Norwegian cargo boat as a "blind passenger". He had definite word for Casement that there would be an attempt, with the aid of men and arms from Germany, to attempt a landing in Ireland in the spring of 1916, and that there would be an insurrection in an endeavour to gain Irish independence. This information was conveyed to the men of the Irish Brigade by Roger Casement and they were very well satisfied with the information given to them and were now prepared to continue their training with this object in view - their return to Ireland to take part in a rising there.

The reason Captain Monteith was told to bring the message from Ireland direct concerning the arrangements for the proposed Irish insurrection, to Casement personally, was to obviate any risk of Casement and the Irish Brigade going via Austria and fighting for Egyptian independence with the Central Powers Army. This direct message from Ireland to the Irish Patriot in Germany made Casement very happy. His one object was to give the Brigade every assistance and to encourage the Germans to give arms assistance to Irish Volunteers in Erin and let them see that the Irish Volunteer Army Executive Council at home meant business. Casement also remarked to me that the declaration and photos of <sup>the</sup> Irish Brigade published in U.S.A. helped and/ "forced the issue".

During the time Captain Monteith was (early November, 1915) at Limburg Irish prisoners of war recruiting campaign, I was called to Berlin for a special conference by Roger Casement. The conference decided that an investigation should be carried out in Limburg into the reports which had reached us that there was lack of enthusiasm there by the recruiting officers. I was chosen as one of the investigators, with Captain Boehm, because of my acquaintance with the entire German and Irish personnel of the camp. Professor Kuno Meyer, the former Gaelic Professor of Dublin University, 1895-1910, who was staying at Casement's Hotel and was then Director of the English-Speaking Department in the Berlin Foreign Office, together with Count Von Wedel, Chief of Foreign Office, who took part in this conference, came with us. It was held to discuss the visit to Limburg Prisoner of War Camp of this last effort to get Irish prisoners of war to join the Irish Brigade.

By a strange coincidence on the very day of this conference a communication had arrived from America enclosing a newspaper article by a Mr. Freeman. This article defamed Roger Casement. This letter was from Joe McGarrity of Philadelphia who was a great friend of Casement's. This letter also urgently requested that something should be done by Casement and those immediately associated with him in Germany to fight to counteract the influence this article was having on the Irish people in America and all over the world. In the weekly "Gaelic American" (Irish newspaper owned by Devoy), Mr. Freeman had said there must be some truth in the publications by Professor Alfred Noyes of the English Oxford University, and several other pro-English writers sent to U.S.A. by

London Government to defame Casement. The letter said also by Joe McGarrity, Casement's good friend, that Casement was being denounced from press, pulpit and pro-English lecture platform by all demoninations and classes in the U.S.A. and some Irishmen in America. They said he was an immoral "diary writer" and unfit to lead the Irish Volunteer soldiers in Germany or in any movement anywhere for Irish freedom. These diaries have been proved now in U.S.A. to all in Ireland as forgeries by "John Bull's coy tauts."

The arrival of Monteith in Germany coinciding with this letter and publication from America gave food for thought as Captain Robert Monteith, then in 1915, claimed great friendship with Devoy. I connected this incident with the "very old man", almost indotage, ex-Fenian John Devoy. I had known him for eight years in America and I knew he was a disturber in many Irish affairs in the U.S.A., and a political henchman of Tammany Hall smear politics for Irish vote-cathcing in New York, and was known from his record, both in U.S.A. and at home subsequent to the failure of 1867 Fenian Rising, as the "Guilty, My Lord"/<sup>compromising/</sup>type of Irishman before English Courts. It was also known that he purchased his freedom shortly after his trial by a "Ticket of Leave" with a free passage to New York. Besides, six months prior to this, in March, 1915, one of his not too secret agents, Broder, had to be put in his place by forcible tact by Casement and myself in Berlin. He had admitted that he went behind Casement's back and negotiated secretly in the Foreign Office, Berlin, as a so-called agent from Clan na Gael, and we discovered afterwards that the U.S.A. Clan na Gael or I.R.B. knew nothing of

him, but he had been sent by Devoy from U.S.A. and in a far too sly scheme: the German Foreign Office "tipped us" in time.

The German Foreign Office, especially Count Wedel as Chief of Foreign Office and Casement's best friend, were thoroughly aware of all those intrigues. It was decided at this special conference that Casement should write a minute report and send it to the open Press in America with a challenge to Mr. Freeman of "The Shylock breed" to prove the allegations he had made. This Casement special open letter and challenge silenced Devoy and his sub-editor Mr. Freeman.

Also at the conference was discussed the incident of a German soldier in uniform making a public speech denouncing the Irish patriot, Casement, a few days previously, at mid-day during the enormous traffic at Potsdam Main Railway Station in the centre of Berlin. There was always a sentry on most German Railway Stations and a guard inside the main hall door. The Sergeant of the guard heard this German soldier making the speech, and before he got very far he was arrested for making a treasonable speech against the German Government and connection with Roger Casement, Irish Envoy. When the Sergeant asked him to show his pass it was discovered that he was none other than the military German Independent Socialist member of the Reichstag German Parliament and was subsequently known as the Communist Leader - Earl Liebknecht in German 1918-1919 revolt. His father also had been a Socialist Communist Leader with the Mid-19th century Socialist Karl Marx. The subject of his speech was that it was a shame for the German Government to permit the arch-traitor, Roger Casement, to inveigle

British subjects, Irishmen, to fight with the German Army against their own country. The German Parliament decided a few days later that "Liebknecht" had committed a treasonable act, as Member of Parliament, and that he would be handed over to the Military Authorities as a soldier. He was subsequently tried by them and sentenced to five years' imprisonment. This incident was related to us at the conference, but we afterwards read about it in the German and Neutral papers. This was the second attempt to have Casement defamed in Germany. Those "not too clever" tactics proved that England's "spy net" and dupes were busy in Berlin.

When the conference was over I proceeded to Limburg Irish Prisoner of War Camp, to find out how the recruiting was going and to investigate reports which had reached us of very poor results. We discovered that the Irish Recruiting Officers were very lackadaisical in their efforts to get further recruits for the Irish Volunteer Machine-Gun Corps of the Irish Brigade.

After a thorough examination of the position we found the cause of the failure to be the transfer from Limburg of the prisoners who had Irish names or otherwise but were not of Irish birth, to the English Prisoner of War Camp. The Irish-born prisoners had counted them as friends and British Army comrades in their <sup>Irish/</sup>Regiments, but here they were an influence against the Irish Volunteer Movement. Another cause was that this camp to which they were transferred at Giessen-Hesse-Nossan, was known as a punishment camp, and the so-called Irish prisoners resented being sent to it. This caused much friction and termed revenge for not joining <sup>the</sup> Irish Brigade. The three men who had volunteered, returned with us to Zossen, Irish Brigade Headquarters by Berlin.

Now the question of more intensified training for the Brigade was decided on because of the likelihood of the Brigade going to Ireland in the near future. Not only was there a question of the training in arms but there was also the question of using the two commands - the German and the English. This training continued throughout the winter of 1915. At Christmas a football match was arranged, as part of the festivities, between the Irish Brigade and the German soldiers of the 203rd Brandenburger Regiment. The Irish team won. This was followed by a Smoking Concert comprising Irish and German songs, etc. At this concert an argument arose between some elderly German soldiers and members of the Irish Brigade. The Irishmen resented some remarks made by the Germans to the effect that the Irish Brigade was only "Home Front" garrison soldiers who were too long at rest and should be out fighting against their common enemy - Seán Buidhe and company. A fight developed and in the melee there were some casualties as a result of fisticuffs. Half a dozen Irishmen were arrested and about the same number of Germans. These had to go before the Military Authorities, and both sides who were found guilty received due punishment. In the course of a few weeks I read a distorted account of the incident in the "Daily Mail" and which could be read in all Berlin hotels, which had found its way into the Irish Training Camp. It said that the Irish Brigade had knocked hell out of the German-Prussian Guards at Zossen by Berlin.

The manner in which this could get into the English papers was curious. America was still a neutral country, 1915-1916, and knowing this, English agents, mostly Canadians, had got into Germany disguised as Americans.

Press correspondents did this in large numbers. Casement knew this and had given instructions to the men that they were not to disclose any information regarding their activities with the Irish Brigade to anyone they met in town and especially if they met foreigners.

Training went on monotonously for the first two months of the year 1916. In the beginning of January we had a visit from Tommy O'Connor, the I.R.B. courier from Dublin. As an I.R.B. member I knew him in U.S.A. and in Erin. I was present when he told Casement that in a very short time an insurrection would take place in Ireland. He asked Casement if it would be possible to send a courier to Ireland in a submarine when arrangements had been completed by the German Authorities for the landing of arms and men on the Irish coast. This courier was to bring full particulars regarding the landing arrangements. Casement said that he would endeavour to do this when he knew something definite. Tommy O'Connor left Germany about the second week in January and went to America. A courier from Irish Volunteers Headquarters in Germany was eventually sent by Casement to Ireland on the 20th March, 1916, and got there end of March.

On the evening of the 7th April, Casement sent for me to show me a letter which was addressed to him and had come through German diplomatic channels from Berne, Switzerland. The letter was from Count Plunkett, the father of Joseph Plunkett. We didn't know at that time the letter was from Count Plunkett, but it had the secret code word "Ashling", which had been arranged between Joseph Plunkett and Casement prior to Commandant Plunkett's departure in July, 1915, for U.S.A. and Dublin. This code secret word was written on top. From this we knew

it came from someone who knew Joe Plunkett but not himself. The gist of the letter was that an insurrection had been planned to take place in Dublin on Easter Sunday, 1916. This coincided with Dublin Headquarters' decision eventually to change date of arms landing by "Aud" from Friday to Sunday.

It specified:

- (1) that the German aid should be landed in Tralee Bay between dawn on Good Friday and not later than dawn on Easter Saturday;
- (2) that the expedition should consist of German Officers and the machine-gun teams of the Machine-Gun Company of the Irish Brigade which was to augment the landing and Irish Volunteer Army at home. It emphasised that the following of these instructions exactly was imperative;
- (3) it also said that a submarine would be necessary to block the entrance to Dublin Harbour to stop re-enforcements reaching Dublin.

It pointed out that the time was very short and requested immediate action. Casement, Monteith and myself went to the German Admiralty regarding this letter. Captain Heydell discussed this letter with his superiors and a telegram was sent to the German Ambassador in Berne, Switzerland, to have the following answer from Casement given to the Irish delegate who was waiting there. This message read:-

- (1) A ship disguised and loaded with 20,000 rifles, five million rounds of ammunition, ten machine-guns and two million rounds of ammunition for same, explosives, land-mines, hand-grenades, and bombs, will be off Innistooskert Rock, Tralee Bay, N.W. 16<sup>o</sup> on Good Friday, 21st April, 1916, at daybreak.

- (2) No German officers or armed Irishmen going with first expedition, because German Naval operations would be first necessary to engage the British Fleet so as to clear the way for the expedition.
- (3) No submarine can be sent to Dublin for the same reason.
- (4) Can you reach Dublin before Easter Sunday? A letter with fuller information follows."

It was known subsequently that this Irish messenger from Dublin in Berne left there suddenly and did not wait to get Casement's answer.

When this message was despatched, Casement and myself went to the German Foreign Office and saw Count Von Wedel and enquired what would be the future of the Irish Brigade in Germany and what exactly it was proposed to do now arising from the Irish request for arms.

Count Von Wedel told Casement that in view of messages which had been received from the Irish leaders in America and from Irish Headquarters, Dublin, Casement should remain in Germany to carry on in behalf of the Irish Republican Movement as heretofore, and that the Irish Brigade Machine-Gun Company with the twenty-five attached German machine-gunners would be sent on the "Aud" gun-running ship. That ship had been specially constructed so as to conceal the machine-gun's contingent en route to Ireland. Von Wedel then said "I will now transfer the whole matter to the Military Attaché at the Foreign Office who will no doubt give you full details of the military preparations for the transport of the Irish contingent in the "Aud". The Attachés were Captain Madonly, Captain Huelson and Major Haugwitz. A conference was arranged with those officers on the following day.

They, "the German Foreign Office 'Holy Trinity'", opened the conference by saying to Casement: "You are already aware that you must remain here, and the Irish Brigade Machine-Gun Company will accompany the "Aud" to Ireland". Casement very much resented being left behind in Germany and he informed the Military Attachés that they should take no further action regarding him until he would discuss the position with members of his Brigade and find out what their feelings in the matter were. We returned to Count Von Wedel at the Foreign Office and informed him that we were proceeding immediately to Zossen Military Training Camp to discuss with the men the new position which had arisen. Casement also told Von Wedel that he resented the remarks of the Attaché, Captain Madonly, when he said "that the men of the Brigade could be forced under martial law to leave Germany for Ireland without Casement, and Casement could be forcibly retained". Von Wedel pointed out that the Foreign Office were always agreeable to whatever Casement wished but appreciated how Casement felt about these remarks made by Captain Madonly. This ended the Foreign Office conversation and we proceeded to Zossen. On the way we fully discussed the conference and Casement said to me in his usual confidential manner, "It is quite possible that the Brigade may be got at by intrigue to get them to disobey my orders and to act directly on the orders of the German Military Authorities. But let them dare try it", he added, in his usual fighting demeanour. I agreed to inform the Brigade of the position and ascertain their wishes. I felt I owed this to Casement. When we put the question to the men at Zossen they were in general agreement with whatever Casement thought best. They were willing to abide by his decision. We asked them to appoint a small committee to

act on behalf of the men. Casement drew up an agreement. Two N.C.Os. and two men signed this declaration on behalf of the Brigade. On the following day, the 9th April, Roger Casement said he would leave me in complete charge of the Irish Brigade Machine-Gun Company in Zossen and he would take Monteith with him to Berlin for further negotiations. I felt relieved of all further responsibility in the matter and determined to carry out Casement's instructions and see that the men were at least satisfied that everything was being done correctly. (We always addressed Captain Monteith as Captain although the Germans only recognised him as Lieutenant in view of the small number of men which comprised his Company 'B', and in fact, on account of the small strength of Irish Volunteers under arms in the Brigade).

Casement said that he would like to take an N.C.O. with him to Berlin. After due deliberation they decided to take Sergeant Bailey. Casement told me that Bailey was chosen by Monteith. The choice was influenced by the fact that Bailey was an expert in Morse and Signalling, although I had recommended Sergeant Joe Dowling or Sergeant Seán Kavanagh as best to go with Roger Casement. They proceeded to Berlin on the 9th April, 1916. On the 11th April, Casement sent for me and in a last private conversation he told me the following: "I have succeeded in securing that I will be sent on a submarine to Ireland and I am taking Captain Monteith with me and Sergeant Bailey also on the submarine."

He thanked me for all I had done to help him to recruit the Irish Brigade and for the help I had given him. He asked me to look after the Irish Brigade during the remainder of our sojourn in Germany in the meantime in case they would be sent for after the successful landing of the "Aud" expedition and himself in Ireland.

He wrote a farewell letter to the Irishmen of the Brigade and asked me to read it to them. This letter reads as follows and dated:- Berlin. 11th April, 1916.

"Comrades of the Irish Brigade, we are going to-night on a very perilous journey and have been forced to leave you without a word of farewell or further explanation. It was not possible to tell you or to explain a few days ago or even now fully why we did not bring you. One reason, perhaps the chief one, why you are not accompanying us to-day is to keep you out of the very grave danger we have to face. We are sure that all of you would have faced those dangers, too, seeing that it is in the cause of Ireland's Independence we go, but we have decided it was unfair to you to appeal to your courage in a matter where all the elements of danger are very apparent and those of hope entirely wanting. You must therefore, forgive us for going in silence from you and leaving you to the continued inactivities that have already been so harmful to you and contrary to your hopes when you volunteered for service of Irish Freedom. Should we live, you will know and understand all. If we do not return or you hear no more of us, you will know we have gone to do our part in our country's cause according to what we deemed was right. Adjutant-Lieutenant M. S. Boyle Kehoe is commissioned to look after the wants of the Irishmen, Volunteers of the Irish Brigade, during their stay in Germany. When the war is over your many friends at home in Ireland and in U.S.A. will certainly have you in their care and affection; meantime you may have many hard and unhappy days to face, many trials and temptations too, and perhaps harsh things to endure. Bear all

with brave stout Irish hearts, remembering that in what you did, you sought to serve your country, and that no Irishman could give to that cause more than you gave. You gave yourselves. Having given yourselves so freely, keep yourselves bravely. Be obedient, disciplined, and patient, and rest assured that whatever happens to us who are going from you to-day, you will find many friends in the world and your names will be honoured in Irish story".

This farewell letter was signed:

Roger Casement, Chief

Robert Monteith, Captain.

He told me they were proceeding immediately to Kiel Harbour Naval Station, and leaving Germany by submarine that night. The "Aud" was on its way since the day before. On 10th April, 1916, I returned to Zossen and before he departed from Kiel he wrote me a further letter and he said:

"A Chara,

Were I not to go, and I would be amply justified in stamping out the whole project of allowing a handful of Irishmen and machine-guns to proceed alone - and were I then to skulk here in safety in a matter where the entire hope of success was wanting, I would incur the contempt of all men and be branded a coward for all time.

If the boys at home are to be in the fighting line then my place is with them, were I to perish in the attempt. Keep the gun practices going in case you may be sent for later on. Show a united front remembering that we who are leaving you behind do what we think right in the cause of our beloved country.

If you do not hear from us again or that we are no more, having given yourselves so freely, keep yourselves proudly and your names shall be honoured still in Irish story".

Signed: Roger."

It would be well for all Irish historians to study closely the soldierly actions of Casement throughout his militant mission in Germany.

I assembled the men and read Casement's farewell letter to them on the 12th April, 1916. We heard no more until Tuesday of Easter Week, 25th April, 1916, and second day actually of the Easter Week hostilities in Dublin, Galway and Wexford.

In the German Daily Press, 25th April, 1916, a short account was given in all the German papers of the insurrection in Ireland. Also included in the news was an account of the landing of three men on the coast of Kerry from a German submarine. It said that two had been arrested and one was still at large. The men of the Brigade were most anxious to know who the man was who was still at large. They were hoping it was Casement.

On the following day news came through that Casement had been arrested a day after landing from submarine, and that the "Aud" had been sunk after being time-bombed by her crew, near Queenstown. All through Easter Week the German papers published what information they had regarding fighting in Dublin and rest of hostilities in Erin. Captain Boehm told me that the Germans had dropped leaflets to the Irish Regiments on the Western Front giving full information as to what was taking place at home. Also there were newspaper reports of the German Naval attacks

on East coast of England and towns of Hartlepool and Scarborough shelled by German Navy.

The 1916 insurrection met with general appreciation in Germany, both from the civilian and military point of view. The Germans were filled with admiration at a small nation like Ireland rising against such a powerful enemy as Britain, and being able to carry on for a whole week of warfare notwithstanding the fact that the German aid had not succeeded in landing. The arms and ammunition could not reach them because of the sinking of the "Aud" by its own crew after waiting at Fenit Pier, Tralee Bay, for over twelve hours for the unloading assistance which never came.

The interests of the Irish Brigade in Germany were well looked after in Zossen Training Camp by the Camp Adjutant, Major Malzahn. He sent for me and told me to continue with the training programme and keep the men intact - give them no Easter holidays week-end passes to Berlin in case they would be needed to proceed to Ireland in the immediate future.

The Irishmen then seemed to fully appreciate Casement's decision not to have them sent to Ireland on the "Aud", because they now understood that if they had gone they would have been trapped by the British without getting a chance to fight. Roger Casement had proven himself a worthy son of his father - Young Irelander and Rebel Leader in 1847 - Colonel Roger Casement, a true friend of John Mitchell.

On Sunday, 30th April, Captain Boehm reported to me from Berlin and told me that information had come through that the fight in Dublin had ceased and that the Irish Brigade should now await further developments.

The Brigade continued to train with the German soldiers for about two months following the Easter Week surrender. During that time there were several approaches made by me to ascertain what would be the future of the Brigade to Captain Boehm of the German Army General Staff, "Our Mediator". He suggested that there was very little reason now for continuing with active service military training, and that it would be better to have the Brigade performing the duties of ordinary garrison guards, or if any of them wished they might transfer to civilian life and carry on in trades best suited to them. Arrangements to this effect could be made and they would be given sufficient protection.

I put these proposals to the men. The majority of them wished to transfer to civilian life as they felt that for them there was no further object in continuing as active soldiers. About twenty of them wished to transfer to the German Army.

When the news came through that Casement's trial was over and he was executed on 3rd August, 1916, the Brigade as a whole was transferred to the 2nd Schlawe Battalion, 16th Army Corps, Danzig, and then the German Authorities began negotiations with the various factories around Danzig, city on Baltic coast, and with the farmers around who wished to employ men. Practically every day one or two men of the Brigade left to take up civilian employment. They were given permission to wear their Irish Brigade uniforms whenever they wished, but wore civilian clothing while working. The twenty men who wished to join the German Army were allotted German soldiers' duties around the German Barracks in various capacities. Sergeant Dowling and two N.C.Os. remained in

the Camp with the men. I was transferred with five machine-gunners to the Stolp German Air Corps Aerodrome in Province Pomerania on the Baltic Sea.

The men were now widely dispersed in their occupations and had very little contact with each other. The German Authorities facilitated them by way of getting correspondence from them back to their friends in Ireland through the Red Cross, to which they were still known as prisoners of war. One difference to the heretofore status was the Irish Volunteers adopting "incognito" names in correspondence to their home in Ireland.

At Christmas, 1916, two other men and myself of the Brigade joined the Machine-Gun Company of the 16th Infantry Bavarian Regiment at Munich, Bavaria. I held the rank of Lieutenant given to me in the Casement Irish Brigade. The other man was a Corporal and the other was a Volunteer. This was a purely voluntary action and thoroughly understood by our Bavarian Regiment comrades in arms.

I kept in contact with the Military Section of the Irish Brigade Headquarters at Danzig, West Prussia, through Sergeant Dowling. Before the transfer of the Brigade to Danzig, Captain Boehm approached me and asked me to nominate for him someone who would be a good German speaker and writer as he required such a person in the Counter Espionage Section attached to the Foreign Office at Berlin. I nominated Sergeant Michael O'Toole, previously mentioned as a former Civil Servant in Dublin, and a fluent Gaelic scholar, French being a second language as a Second Division Irish Civil Servant and O'Toole had become a German linguist.

About Christmas, 1917, Captain Boehm wrote to me and

asked me to come to Berlin to see him. I went there and saw Boehm and Sergeant O'Toole. Captain Boehm told me that through the newly reorganised Military Executive Council of Irish Volunteer Army, representations had been made to the German Foreign Office Department and the German Army Authorities from Ireland direct regarding the possibility of supplying arms to be landed from large submarines on the west coast of Ireland. I was told in a conversation with Captain Boehm that Sergeant O'Toole had already suggested to him that the best way ~~was~~ of getting arms transferred from the submarines would be through the Irish fishermen on the west coast of Ireland. These were all native Irish-speaking men so it would be necessary to have an intermediary on the submarine who would be an Irish speaker. The project was discussed and, knowing that Sergeant O'Toole was a fluent Irish speaker, I suggested that he should be sent to the west coast of Ireland in any future expedition.

I returned to my Regiment in Munich and sometime at the end of March, 1918, I was again summoned to Berlin where Captain Boehm told me that Sergeant Dowling was sent in the submarine instead of Sergeant O'Toole as I had suggested. He also told me that Dowling had specific instructions to get in touch with the Volunteer Executive in Dublin and discuss arrangements for the supply of arms by the Germans through submarines. Sergeant Dowling did land off west coast of Co. Clare, successfully got the message to proper Dublin G.H.Q. (10th April, 1918) Irish Volunteer Army. But was later on betrayed at Ennistymon railway station and captured en route to Limerick and Dublin.

I took part in the big German Offensive on the Western Front from April to August, 1918, with the 16th Bavarian German Regiment. At the end of August my Regiment was transferred to Riga on the Eastern Russian Front. I remained there until the end of October.

At the end of October, 1918, I had a letter from Sergeant Kavanagh requesting me if possible to come to Danzig as the war was drawing to its close and he wished to discuss the position of the Irishmen. I secured permission from my O/C. to return to Danzig and met Sergeant Kavanagh there. He told me he was concerned for the future of the men of the Irish Brigade. He also told me that the men looked up to me and expected me to look after their interests. I understood the situation and I got in touch with the German Authorities and they arranged to have the members of the Casement Brigade assembled at Danzig. As this was a seaport on the Baltic Sea and viewed in general as dangerous to remain there and as a Naval Base, I visualised it being taken over by the Allies and saw the consequent danger to the Irishmen of the Brigade. I pointed this out to the General Staff Officer at Danzig who conveyed my idea to Berlin, and it was eventually agreed that the men ~~should~~ should be brought to Munich - the Headquarters of my Regiment. They were issued with free passes on the train, and in a short time they were assembled in Munich, Bavaria, where they were accommodated in the German Barracks of my 2nd Bavarian Guards Regiment.

With the end of the war on the 11th November, 1918, and the consequent abdication of the German Emperor, Kaiser Wilhelm II and going into exile in Holland, a socialist revolutionary upheaval took place in Germany.

King Ludwig II of Bavaria had also to abdicate. Portion of the garrison in Munich became extreme spartanistic socialist. This split in the garrison led to serious fighting between the two elements. Some of the Irishmen took part in this on the side of the democratic non-extreme socialists' elements. Two of them were killed, their names being Volunteer Patrick MacSweeney and Volunteer Patrick Carr.

During the general demobilisation shortly before Christmas 1918, the Irishmen became separated. Some went back to Berlin and some went to Pomerania on the Baltic to their various German friends. While in Munich about the end of November, 1918, I made representations to the German Authorities to consider the question of having the members of the Casement Irish Brigade given a safe passage to America as per the Casement agreement. But "Herr Kurt Eisner" of the Shylock breed, the pro-communistic and self-installed Prime Minister of a so-called socialist Bavaria a la Soviet Republican Regime - in a seven-eighths Catholic Bavaria - point blank turned down such proposals. He said we Irishmen were dupes of Kaiser's Government.

The members of the Irish Brigade knew that the Bavarians were much more friendly than the Prussians, so many still wished to remain in Bavaria. Some were still in Berlin. The men in Munich had got some very good jobs through the influence of Professor O'Curry of Munich University, an Irish-American friend of Roger Casement. A German who took the greatest interest in the fortunes of the Irish Brigade at this time was Count Bothner, whose father at that time was Lord Mayor of Munich. At least half of those who elected to remain in Munich with me as members of the new Republican German Army were sent to do

temporary frontier guard on the Tyrol-Italian boundary.

Shortly before Christmas, 1918, men of the Irish Brigade were utilised by the Socialist Government in Berlin to go to British Prisoner of War Camps to distribute leaflets and deliver propaganda speeches on behalf of the new Socialist Republican Government. While doing this some of them got into severe altercations and squabbles with the British prisoners. When these things came to my knowledge I didn't like the idea and got the Foreign Office to stop such use of Irishmen. I got together about half dozen Irishmen of the Brigade from both the military side and the civilian side in Munich and we saw Professor O'Curry and placed our objections before him. He advised us to go to Mr. St. John Gaffney, ex-American Consul General in Munich, a born Irishman, who was dismissed by U.S. President Wilson in 1916 because he was a friend of Roger Casement and helped the Irish cause in Germany. He was one of the founders in America in 1915 of the Irish Sons of Freedom Association. We made strong representations to him to have the terms of the Casement Irish-German 1914-1916 Agreement carried, i.e. that the members of the Brigade should be given a safe passage to America. The new German Socialist Republican Government refused to honour the original contract made with Casement in December 1914, and disclaimed all responsibility for the men of the Irish Brigade. He (St. John Gaffney) promised us he would very soon be going to Switzerland and Paris Conference and he would get in touch with the Irish representatives of Dáil Éireann there and put the matter of the Irishmen in Germany before them. This was not carried out by St. John Gaffney or by a T.D. "on the run", then in Berlin around Christmas 1918, whom I interviewed prior to return to Ireland.

In the middle of January, 1919, Professor O'Curry sent for me in Munich and told me that in unofficial and semi-official quarters in Berlin through a so-called Irish-German spy, efforts were being made to get members of the Irish Brigade to accept repatriation as British prisoners of war. This had actually been done in a dozen cases, or so, and to the disgraceful interference of some American-born persons who were ex-members, 1917-1918, of the so-called German-Irish Society in Berlin. The Irishmen who accepted were not given any guarantee by the British Inter-Allied Commission in Berlin of protection when repatriated. They (Irishmen) were given a ticket on the train to Cologne a/Rhine, G.H.Q. British Army of Occupation in Germany, but when they arrived there they were arrested immediately by a British military guard. They were then transferred to England and put in military prison. When some months had elapsed they were courtmartialled and dismissed from ~~from~~ the British Army with ignominy. The remainder stayed in Germany. Some of them married German girls and a few Irishmen are still living there in Germany - 1952.

I remained in the Republican German New Reichmeller Army until 1920, and took active part against Red Soviet in Baltic area. I was discharged in February, 1920, and found my way to Ireland via Holland. I served with the I.R.A. and gun-running activities from Germany until the Anglo-Irish Truce on 11th July, 1921.

Early in August, 1921, General Collins and the Dáil Eireann Minister for External Affairs - Mr. Gavan Duffy approached me and asked me if I would go to Germany and try to collect any of the Irish Brigade who were married

there and who wanted to come home. I went back to Germany in September, 1921, and after some effort I got in touch with three married men of the Brigade and through the German Foreign Office, Berlin, claimed for them and their families' railway and passage home to Ireland on an Irish boat owned by McGuinness and Briscoe, Dublin, viz. "The City Of Dartmund" cargo ship, in March 1922, and the first ship to maintain the right to fly the Republican Irish Flag "Tricolour" en route on high seas from Hamburg to Dublin.

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The following is a list of members of the Casement Irish Brigade in Germany 1914-1916, "A" and "B" Companies, 10 Teams Machine-Gun Corps, Irish Volunteers.

1. Michael S. Kehoe.  
Assistant Organiser and Recruiting Officer of the Brigade and Adjutant.  
Born in Co. Wexford. Still alive.
2. Captain Robert Monteith.  
Ex Company Commander "A" Company, 1st Battalion, Dublin Brigade, Irish Volunteer Army.  
O/C. "B" Company, Irish Brigade.  
Born Co. Wicklow. Still alive.
3. Timothy Quinlisk.  
Brigade Quartermaster Sergeant. Served in the British Army. Captured in France. His rank was Corporal in the 18th Irish Regiment.  
Born Waterford. Dead.
4. Company Sergeant Joseph Dowling.  
Served as a Corporal in the Connaught Rangers.  
Born in Port Laoighise. Dead.

5. Michael O'Toole.  
 Brigade Sergeant. Served in the Irish Guards.  
 Held the rank of Lance Corporal. Irish Civil  
 Servant.  
 Born in Dublin. Died in 1936.
6. Daniel Julian Bailey, alias Beverly..  
 Sergeant Signaller. Served in the Royal Irish  
 Rifles. Signaller Corporal.  
 Born in Dublin. Dead.
7. John Francis Kavanagh.  
 Brigade Sergeant. Served in the South Irish Horse.  
 Held the rank of Ferrier Corporal.  
 Born in Dublin. Still alive.
8. John McGranaghan.  
 Brigade Corporal. Belonged to the Royal Irish  
 Fusiliers.  
 Born in Co. Kerry. Still alive.
9. Patrick Delamore.  
 Brigade Corporal. Served in the Munster  
 Fusiliers. He was Lance Corporal in the Band.  
 Born in Waterford. Still alive in Germany.
10. Seán O'Mahoney.  
 Brigade Corporal. Served in the Dublin Fusiliers.  
 Born in Co. Clare. Dead.
11. Michael O'Callaghan.  
 Brigade Lance Corporal. Served in the Munster  
 Fusiliers.  
 Born in Mallow, Co. Cork. Still alive.
12. David Golden.  
 Brigade Lance Corporal. Served in the Munster  
 Fusiliers.  
 Born in Co. Kerry. Dead.
13. William McGrath.  
 Brigade Lance Corporal. Served in the 18th Royal  
 Irish Regiment.  
 Born in Newbridge. Dead.
14. Harry Burke.  
 Brigade Tailor. Belonged to the Dublin Fusiliers.  
 Born in Dublin. Still alive in America.

15. Jeremiah O'Callaghan.  
Belonged to the 18th Royal Irish Regiment.  
Born in Mallow, Co. Cork. Dead.
16. Maurice Meade.  
Brigade M. G. Stores. Served in the 18th Royal  
Irish.  
Born in Emly, Co. Limerick. Still alive.
17. Patrick O'Hoolahan.  
Served in the 18th Royal Irish.  
Born in Waterford. Died in Germany, 1916.
18. James Kennedy.  
Served 18th Royal Irish.  
Born in Waterford. Still alive. Head Porter  
in Labour Exchange, Waterford City.
19. Patrick Murphy.  
Served in the Royal Irish Regiment.  
Born in Belfast. Dead.
20. Michael Dowling.  
Irish Brigade Piper. Served in the Irish Army.  
Born in Mooncoin, Co. Kilkenny. Died 1952, while  
serving in the Irish Army.
21. Patrick Sweeney.  
Born Co. Galway. Dead.
22. John McSweeney.  
Born in Clonmel, Co. Tipperary. Still alive.
23. Patrick Keogh.  
Irish Brigade Bugler. Volunteer.  
Born in Thurles. Now alive in America.
24. John O'Donoghue.  
Served English Army.  
Born in Manchester. Now dead.
25. James McCabe.  
Born in Lancashire. Now dead.

26. John Collins.  
Served in the Dublin Fusiliers.  
Born in Dublin. Now dead.
27. John O'Neill.  
Served in the Dublin Fusiliers.  
Born in Dublin. Dead.
28. John O'Curry.  
Volunteer. Served Royal Dublin Fusiliers.  
Born in Dublin city. Still alive.
29. John Stacey.  
Volunteer. Served in the Dublin Fusiliers.  
Born Dublin city. Still alive.
30. John Barnacle.  
Volunteer.  
Born in Dublin. Dead.
31. Thomas Wilson.  
Volunteer. Served in Dublin Fusiliers.  
Born in Dublin. Still alive.
32. Patrick Carr.  
Volunteer. Served in Dublin Fusiliers.  
Born in Dublin. Died in Germany.
33. John Greer.  
Volunteer. Served in the Royal Irish Fusiliers.  
Born in Wicklow. Still alive.
34. Patrick Forde.  
Volunteer.  
Born in Celbridge, Co. Kildare. Still alive.
35. John Davis.  
Volunteer.  
Born Co. Kildare. Dead.
36. John Murphy.  
Volunteer. Served in the 18th Royal Irish  
Regiment.  
Born Co. Wexford. Dead.

37. Patrick Waters.  
Volunteer. Served in 18th Royal Irish Regiment.  
Born in Co. Wexford. Dead.
38. James Carroll.  
Volunteer. Served in Royal Irish Regiment.  
Born in Waterford. Still alive.
39. Thomas McGrath.  
Volunteer. Served in the Royal Irish Regiment.  
Born in Waterford. Still alive.
40. John Fulford.  
Volunteer. Served with the Royal Irish Regiment.  
Born Waterford city. Dead.
41. James McCarthy.  
Served with the Munster Fusiliers.  
Born in Cork. Dead. Believed killed while  
serving in I. R. A.
42. Cornelius O'Rahilly.  
Belonged to the 18th Royal Irish.  
Born in Rathcoole, Co. Cork. Still alive.
43. Frank Sewell.  
Served in the Munster Fusiliers.  
Born in Co. Kerry. Dead.
44. Michael Ryan.  
Served in the Leinster Regiment.  
Born in Limerick. Dead.
45. Patrick McGrath.  
Volunteer. Served in the 18th Royal Irish  
Regiment.  
Born in Co. Tipperary. Dead.
46. Thomas Tracey.  
Volunteer. Served in the Munsters.  
Born in Co. Tipperary. Dead.
47. Thomas Harte.  
Volunteer. Belonged to the Munster Regiment.  
Born in Co. Tipperary. Dead.

48. Patrick McMahon.  
Volunteer.  
Born in Clonmel, Co. Tipperary. I believe dead.
49. Patrick McDonagh.  
Volunteer. Served in the Leinster Regiment.  
Born in Galway. Still alive.
50. John Lynch.  
Volunteer. Served in the Leinster Regiment.  
Born in Offaly. Dead.
51. John Daly.  
Volunteer. Belonged to the Connaught Rangers.  
Born in Co. Mayo. Dead.
52. John Long.  
Volunteer. Served with the Connaught Rangers.  
Born in Co. Roscommon. Dead.
53. James Brandon.  
Volunteer. Served in the Enniskillings.  
Born Derry city. Still alive.
54. John Mallon.  
Volunteer. Served in the Enniskilling Fusiliers.  
Born in Donegal. Dead.
55. James Carr.  
Served in Royal Irish Rifles.  
Born in Belfast. Dead.
56. John McGoey.  
Born in Donegal. Became American citizen.  
Joined the Brigade direct from America. Dead.

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY 1813-21	
BURO STAIRE MILEATA 1813-21	
NO. W.S.	741

SIGNED

MICHEAL S. Mac EÓCHADHA

DATE

29.10.'52.

WITNESS

*W. Ivory Comdt.*  
(W. Ivory) Comd't.