

ORIGINAL

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY 1913-21

BURO STAIRÉ MILE TA 1913 21

No. W.S. 638

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BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY, 1913-21.

STATEMENT BY WITNESS

DOCUMENT NO. **W.S.** 638

Witness

Patrick Caldwell,
54 Croydon Green,
Fairview,
Dublin.

Identity.

Member of Irish Volunteers, Liverpool, 1914 - ;
Member of Kimmage Garrison, 1916.

Subject.

- (a) National activities 1914-1921;
- (b) G.P.O., Dublin, Easter Week 1916;
- (c) I.R.A. Intelligence, 1919-1921.

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Statement by Patrick Caldwell

54, Croydon Green, Fairview, Dublin.

Liverpool Volunteer Company:

About the month of August, 1914, I went to England and took up employment in the city of Liverpool. Following the split in the Volunteer Movement as a result of John Redmond's recruiting speech at Woodenbridge, I read in a paper called "The Irish Volunteer", which was in circulation in Liverpool at the time, a telegram congratulating the Dublin Executive on their action in repudiating Redmond's recruiting speech. About the 1st October of that year I joined the Company of the Liverpool Volunteers at Duke Street in a house, part of which was used by the Volunteers for drilling and lectures. Frank Thornton was then in charge of the Company and Thomas Craven was Lieutenant.

All through 1914 and 1915 the only activities undertaken by the Company were drills and route marches through the suburbs.

In the summer of 1915 Thomas Craven, 1st Lieutenant of the Company, was replaced by John P. O'Hickey who came over from Dublin. Craven reverted to 2nd Lieutenant as a result of a Company election. A second Company of the Volunteers existed in Bootle. I cannot say very much about that Company as we had little intercourse with it. However, I knew some of its officers including Captain Sean Hennessy, whom I had met at social functions.

When the landlord of the premises which we occupied in Duke Street got to know that drilling was taking place in the hall he approached the Gaelic

League which was the body he had it let to and asked them to take steps to have this drilling stopped. The result was that we moved from there to a basement in the premises of a Mr. P. Cahill, Scotland Road, Liverpool.

Early in the year 1916 a mobilisation parade of the entire Company was ordered for a suburb - at Birkenhead, Cheshire. The mobilisation orders were supposed to have been signed by Seán MacDermott. The Company turned out in strength and partook of a route march. Following this mobilisation parade a controversy took place between the officers as to the authenticity of the signature of Seán MacDermott to the mobilisation order. This resulted in a disagreement that eventually led to the resignation of the three officers of the Company. A special meeting was then held to fill the three commissioned positions. Thomas Craven became Company Captain with William McNeive and Seamus Donegan as Lieutenants. I should have mentioned that about the spring of 1916 a number of the members of the Company had been issued with .32 revolvers and a small quantity of ammunition. The rank and file of the Company were very annoyed over the disagreement amongst the officers as we felt that at that particular time more unity than ever was required in view of the Conscription Act which had gone through the House of Commons.

The Kimmage Garrison:

The Company Commander, Tom Craven, became uneasy about the position of his men in England should Conscription be immediately enforced. He seemed to come to a very quick decision and ordered the entire Company to be ready for transfer to Dublin. I was

ordered to proceed to Dublin at once and on arriving there accompanied by Mr. P. Supple, who was a member of the Bootle Company, reported to William McNieve, one of my Company Officers who had gone to Dublin in advance to make necessary arrangements for the transfer of the entire Company. On the instructions of G.H.Q. we were located in a Mill belonging to Count Plunkett at Kimmage. The remainder of the Company were sent over in small groups. The command of the Company was given to George Plunkett by G.H.Q.; Captain Craven resented this. The maintenance of the Company now began to cause a certain amount of trouble but the people behind in Liverpool subscribed sufficiently generously to keep the Camp going, supplemented presumably by grants from G.H.Q. The chief actor in the Liverpool side keeping these funds going was Neil Kerr.

When I came over I was immediately appointed Quartermaster by Lieutenant McNeive. We were all maintaining ourselves out of our own resources in the initial stages. We were soon joined by the King brothers - John and Patrick - from Liverpool. John succeeded me as Camp Quartermaster by mutual agreement. In the meantime some of us endeavoured to relieve the financial position of the upkeep of the Camp by trying to get civilian employment. Five of us decided to take up employment in the De Selby Quarries at Jobstown, County Dublin. Before leaving the Camp to take up employment Captain Plunkett paraded us before Seán MacDermott, saying, "These are the men who have decided to leave for work in the Quarries". Next morning George Plunkett told us that it was alright for us to go. Apparently there was some doubt as to the advisability of our taking up employment. By the

time we left the Camp the Kimmage garrison was full time employed by Captain Plunkett on the filling of cartridges with buckshot and also the making of crude bayonets and home-made bombs. My employment with the Selby Quarries was approximately of six weeks' duration from the 1st February to about the middle of March when Craven and myself returned to the Camp.

On our return to the Camp it was obvious to me that its members had increased considerably. In addition to the Liverpool Company, the Bootle Company had arrived together with men from Glasgow, Manchester and London. The last additions to the garrison were Seamus Brennan and Peter Bracken who arrived there the morning following a shooting affray with R.I.C. at Tullamore.

Easter Week 1916:

While we were not aware at Kimmage that a Rising had been definitely decided on we, nevertheless, felt that a clash would soon take place. We knew that we were arming for some purpose.

On Easter Sunday morning very early, about 6 or 7 o'clock, Thomas Craven came into the Camp after an all night meeting in Liberty Hall, and told me to get dressed and come along with him as we were going out to the De Selby Quarries to commandeer gelignite there and take it to Liberty Hall. The two of us accompanied by a Glasgow man named Sandy Carmichael went to a taxi which was waiting. As we were going to the car I met Captain Plunkett and told him the mission we were on at the same time asking for his consent, which he gave. In the car with Thomas Craven were two brothers named Golden from 2nd Battalion. We ordered the driver of the car to take us to the Quarries at Jobstown. On

arriving there we met two of our men who had been living in a hut there - Martin Walsh and Patrick McDermott. After a strenuous couple of hours' work we got as many boxes of gelignite loaded into the car as it would carry. I was then left behind to prevent the alarm being given for at least an hour. I was told later that the gelignite was, in fact, delivered to Liberty Hall. I walked back to Kimmage having heard Mass at Saggart. On arrival there about 12 o'clock it was announced that the parade which had been ordered for 12 o'clock was off. I could hear the men around me grousing and passing remarks to the effect that, "They have funk'd it". For the remainder of the day a certain number of men were confined to the camp, including myself.

At about 11 a.m. on Easter Monday, Captain Plunkett again instructed us to parade under arms with two days' supplies of provisions. Our arms consisted of a shot gun and pike to each man. Pikes, incidentally, were also made at Kimmage. I think it was 100 rounds of shotgun ammunition we were given, and a certain number of us had revolvers. When the Company paraded it was about 60 strong. When the Company 'fell in' George Plunkett appointed two Section Commanders. Seamus Robinson was one and Joe Gahan was the other. We moved out of Kimmage in from about 15 to 20 minutes from the time we 'fell in', and marched down in fours to Harolds Cross Road where we boarded two trams and proceeded into the City. Captain Plunkett paid the tram fares. Arriving at O'Connell Bridge we dismounted from the trams and marched to Liberty Hall. We were kept standing to attention there for some time. Finally, we marched up Abbey Street. I was in the second section under Joe Gahan.

When we marched into O'Connell Street our section commander, Joe Gahan, shouted, "Military coming; man the barricades". Why he shouted this direction I cannot say as, in fact, there were no barricades erected at the time. I think what he meant was to put up barricades.

Up to this time no statement had been made to us that a Rising was about to take place. When I heard the order about the barricades it recalled to my mind a lecture that had been given in Kimmage previously by P.H. Pearse on street fighting and barricades. Evidently Joe Gahan was thinking of this at the time he referred to the barricades. We did not, in fact, erect barricades in O'Connell Street. The section Commander led us to Mooney's public house in Abbey Street which we tried to occupy but the Manager had banged the hall door against us and we could not get entrance to the upper part of it. Martin Gleeson, who was with us, fired a shot at the lock but it failed to make any impression and then we moved a couple of doors further down Abbey Street and occupied the Ship Hotel. We got to work immediately in barricading the windows. We were expecting to be attacked at any time although we did not know what we were supposed to do, but as nothing happened the section commander said he would go outside and contact somebody for definite instructions. He returned in a short time, ordered us to evacuate the building and led us out the backway up as far as Talbot Street and then across to the G.P.O. I then saw a green flag, with the words, "Irish Republic" printed across it in white, flying from the flag staff of the G.P.O. My impression of the exact position of the flag is not very definite but I seem to recollect that it was flying nearer to the Henry Street side of the G.P.O.

than to Princes Street end. The fact that the Irish Flag was flying on this particular building was the first clear indication I had that a Rising was in progress. The main door of the G.P.O. was open and we marched in. On entering the building one of the first men of prominence that I saw was Tom Clarke. He said, "There are rifles here if any of you want them, but there is no ammunition for them". I looked at them and decided that it was better to use the shotgun with which I was more familiar.

We were broken up into small groups and allocated positions in various rooms throughout the G.P.O. I was sent to a corner room on the second floor overlooking O'Connell Street and Henry Street. On entering the room we found it contained a small number of postal packets. John King, who, I think, had been a section commander for some time with the Kimmage garrison, entered the room and gave instructions that the windows were to be barricaded, etc. At this time there were about five or six armed men in the room. On that afternoon (Monday) we saw a detachment of British cavalry coming up O'Connell Street from the direction of the Rotunda. As the detachment came near Nelson Pillar it was brought to a halt. Simultaneously with this, fire was opened on it from the various rooms in the G.P.O. including the room I was in. The cavalry detachment did not return the fire but retreated. The only casualty I observed was one dead horse. Later that evening, Monday, a Captain Cullen took charge of all Volunteers in that room. He ordered two of us to transfer to another room overlooking Henry Place. This room contained a large water tank and I was instructed to ensure that it was kept full at all

times. In addition to keeping the water tank full two of us - Dave Begley and myself - had to do guard duty at the window overlooking Henry Place. We took it in turns to watch this window and it was not until Wednesday that a third man belonging to a Maynooth detachment came to our assistance. Except for occasional shots which seemed to enter this room we were not otherwise under any fire. On entering the room that I had first occupied on Monday I observed the ceiling showing signs of fire and on going upstairs to the room above it I saw Captain Cullen directing a number of Volunteers in an endeavour to combat the flames. The British had been shelling the G.P.O. for some time before this. Their efforts to combat the flames were unsuccessful and the entire roof gradually became enveloped in flames. Up to this the downstairs rooms showed little signs of the fire and everything proceeded as usual until about 9 or 10 o'clock on Friday night when we were all ordered to a large main room on the ground floor. The entire garrison was mobilised there and addressed by Commandant-General Pearse. I cannot remember his exact words but I know that he informed us that we were to prepare to evacuate the G.P.O. as he considered it no longer tenable. Jim Connolly was on an iron bed with his foot bandaged. Some members of the Cumann na mBan were attending to him. I was told to stand by the bed to assist in carrying him. While standing there a man with whom I had been intimate, named Andrew Furlong, was wounded in the knee. I cannot say where the shot came from I went to his assistance and he gave me his gun. When I returned back to Connolly's bedside some of the members of Cumann na mBan said I was carrying too much equipment and somebody else was selected in my

place to carry the bed. I returned to Andy Furlong. Myself, Alexander Carmichael, Andrew Friel - members of the Kimmage garrison-were told by somebody, whose name I can't remember, to take him down to Jervis Street Hospital. A guide came along and directed us through holes in the wall to the next house and so on. I don't know how far we were able to take our wounded man - probably a distance of about four houses. The officer in charge at that particular time was M.W. O'Reilly, now of the New Ireland Assurance Company. When we got about five houses away Captain William Pearse overtook us and ordered us back to the G.P.O. A disagreement arose about this order between W.M. O'Reilly and Willie Pearse. O'Reilly wanted us to go ahead as he maintained we were very near Jervis Street Hospital and Pearse said no, that we were to return to the G.P.O. I then intervened, saying to O'Reilly, "Willie Pearse is a senior Captain and, therefore, we must obey his orders." Finally Captain O'Reilly gave way and on the return journey we found, by experience, that it was easier on the wounded man to be carried by two men than by three. Volunteer Carmichael and Friel carried Furlong back to the Post Office while M.W. O'Reilly and myself followed them. When we got back to the Post Office we found that it was for all practicable purposes completely evacuated by the Volunteer garrison. William Pearse brought us to an exit door facing Henry Place and Patrick Pearse was standing at this door at the time and he instructed us to make a run for it into Henry Place. The wounded man was taken across first. Patrick Pearse went across soon after and I followed immediately behind him and joined two Volunteers who were behind a barricade in Henry Place.

I have heard arguments from time to time as to

who was the last man to leave the G.P.O. on the day of its evacuation. My recollection is that it was either Willie Pearse or M.W. O'Reilly. When I was making for the barricade these two men were standing at the door-case of the exit door facing Henry Place. I am positive that no other Volunteers were in the building at that particular time.

Commandant Johnie McLoughlin, a Fianna boy, gave us instructions to evacuate the barricade and move up Henry Place towards Moore Street. At this time he was carrying a sword in his hand. As we passed Moore Lane we came under British rifle fire for a short time but got safely through to a house at the corner of Moore Street. We entered this house and found that a number of houses running down Moore Street had been bored through to provide a line of retreat. Sometime on Friday night Harry Walpole came into the house that I was in and looked for a party of Volunteers to deal with a supposed enemy patrol in Moore Lane at a point immediately in rear of our houses. I asked him was he sure they were enemy, adding that he would want to be very careful as some of our men who formed the Kimmage garrison also spoke with a cockney accent. He there and then agreed to drop the idea of bring^{ing} out a patrol. In the particular house which I was in on the Friday night Tom Clarke was there also. He was seated on a chair and when I spoke to him he said he was feeling out of sorts and asked me could I get him a cup of tea. I obliged him and when he had partaken of the tea he said it had done him a lot of good.

It was ominously quiet on Friday night and Saturday morning and we were wondering what was the cause of it. Sometime on Saturday evening all

Volunteers who were in occupation of houses in Moore Street were ordered out into the Street. We were there addressed by Captain Frank Henderson. With him was Joseph Mary Plunkett. He informed us that we were to surrender. We were told that we would have to pile our arms in O'Connell Street. Then we were given a "Right Turn" and marched into O'Connell Street. At this time we were guided by British soldiers stationed along the route at intervals. We threw the arms in a heap in O'Connell Street and then formed up in either single or double line in O'Connell Street. Tom Craven and Sean MacDermott were standing beside me. I remember an altercation between Sean MacDermott and the British Officer in charge, namely Captain Lee Wilson. What gave rise to it I cannot say, but I can recall MacDermott saying, "We can still go back to our positions" and Lee Wilson rejoined, "You have ~~no~~ damn positions to go back to". Sean MacDermott's comment was, "We can see about that". A rather amusing incident occurred at this time. A British officer who had been examining the ammunition that we had deposited in O'Connell Street opened a shotgun cartridge and shouted to Captain Lee Wilson. "Look at this bally cartridge; it has five bullets, each of which would kill a bally elephant".

That evening we were marched to the Rotunda and remained in the green plot of grass overnight until the following morning. While there I saw Tom Clarke being called out and taken over to a special place. Joseph Mary Plunkett was also taken out. These men were searched according as they were called out. Captain Lee Wilson found a letter in the backpocket of Joseph Mary Plunkett's clothes and he shouted around, "This bally fellow thinks he's going to be shot", and

then, as an afterthought, he handed the letter back to Plunkett, saying, "Keep it, you will be shot". Several others were called out from time to time whom I cannot recall at the moment. I do, however, remember Michael Collins being called out and Lee Wilson saying across to some other officers to "search his so-and-so boots", adding, "I wouldn't trust that so-and-so". I could not understand why Collins was called out from the many prisoners who were there as he was not a prominent man at that time. My guess is that his name was confused with another Collins whose papers had been confiscated by the British Government sometime previously.

Deported to English Gaols:

On Sunday morning the prisoners were formed up in four and marched under heavy escort to Richmond Barracks. We were not long there when we were put into a large room, and members of the Detective Division were brought in who picked out men that were subsequently courtmartialled. On the following evening the remainder of the prisoners were marched down the Quay for deportation to gaols in England. After a rough crossing and a tedious train journey I found myself with a good many of my comrades in Knutsford gaol. This was a military prison and the discipline was very rigid. The first five weeks there we were kept in solitary confinement and food supplies were very meagre and scanty. At the end of five weeks conditions improved somewhat. We were allowed visitors and the discipline was relaxed. We were then allowed to mix and talk to one another. This was a great privilege. Up to this we had to march round in single file and were allowed no intercourse or communication with each other. We were also

deprived of hearing Mass for a number of Sundays and then at the first Mass we attended the Chaplain explained that he had interceded on our behalf that we might avail of the privilege of attending Mass. He also informed us that we might have no qualms about eating meat on Fridays. Alfie Byrne was one of our first visitors. I did not know him then but some of my comrades told me who he was. From the first free Sunday we began mingling with each other. From then on visitors came from all over England and even from Ireland every Sunday. The presents of food they brought were very welcome and added considerably to the prison menu. On the Sunday that the first visitors came I was taken from my cell and brought to an interview room. I found that Thomas Craven had also been brought there and a stranger, dressed in civilian attire accompanying the Camp Commandant, inspected both Craven and myself. He then questioned us on our movements on Easter Sunday. We denied all knowledge of the raid on the quarry. After a short interrogation I told him I refused to answer any further questions. He had the driver of the taxi with him but the driver did not identify us. Some of the Dublin prisoners told me afterwards that this man was Sergeant Maye of the R.I.C. at Tallaght. It was obvious that he wanted to associate me with the capture of the gelignite from the De Selby quarries. A second attempt was made later on to identify us with this incident. This time the two quarry foremen were brought over and I was again paraded before them in company with Tom Craven. They did not, however, identify us.

About August practically all the prisoners were transferred to Frongoch. I was amongst the last to leave Knutsford for that place. Two of my hut-mates

Frongoch were Dick McKee and Joe Trimble. We were located in the North Camp. A couple of weeks later I was taken to London to appear before the Sankey Commission which was considering the case of each prisoner with a view to his release or further detention.

While in London awaiting a call from the Sankey Commission we were accommodated in Wandsworth Prison. When I was called before it I was questioned as to my activity on Easter Sunday. I did not give a truthful account of my activities on that day. This was not a sworn statement. Following my appearance before the Commission I was sent back to Frongoch with the other prisoners. When the Commission had finished its hearing some prisoners were released, but I was detained. Owing to the continued release of prisoners during the summer and autumn the North Camp was closed and all the prisoners in it were transferred to the South Camp which was a disused distillery.

About October of that year, 1916, an attempt was made to conscript for British military service certain prisoners who were detained in Frongoch. The King brothers, Patrick and John, and the Noonan brothers, Jack and Ernest, were taken out, and forced to join some regiment. I believe that they refused to take the Oath of Allegiance subsequently. A second attempt was made to conscript one other prisoner, Hugh Thornton. In this case the prisoners sensed what was intended for the individual and advised him not to answer his name. A general roll call then of all the prisoners was ordered and the majority of them refused to answer their names. However, as Thornton feared that the other prisoners might be unduly punished he came forward voluntarily

and surrendered. Those who answered their names were transferred back to the North Camp where they continued to enjoy the recognised privileges such as letters from home etc. This arrangement worked very well for us as the prisoners in the North Camp were able to receive parcels of cigarettes etc. and smuggle a quantity of them to the South Camp by the fatigue parties.

As a protest to Hugh Thornton being taken away for military service a short hunger strike took place in the lower camp. It only lasted three days as Father Stafford, the prison Chaplain, succeeded in settling it. I should mention that this hunger strike was not highly organised. It was merely a spontaneous protest on the part of the prisoners. After that things settled down and the normal routine of the Camp continued until Christmas Eve when we were notified that a General Release had been ordered. We were released that evening and travelled during the night by a special train and boat to the North Wall, arriving in Dublin on Christmas morning. Breakfast was provided for us at Fleming's Hotel in Gardiner Street. John O'Mahoney was the proprietor of it at that time. While the city prisoners returned to their homes those of us who resided in the country were accommodated in different places in the city. I and a few others spent a few days at St. Enda's Schools, Oakley Road, Ranelagh, where Mrs. Pearse catered for our requirements. I did not leave the city at all and accommodation was provided for me later at the house of Mrs. Malone whose son, Lieutenant Michael Malone, had been killed at Mount Street Bridge during the insurrection. After about three months I obtained employment in the Dublin Corporation through

the influence of Alderman Tom Kelly. Two very prominent officers in similar employment with me at the time were Commandant Joseph O'Connor of the 3rd Battalion and Commandant Thomas Byrne of the 1st Battalion.

Volunteers Re-organised:

We were not long back from prison when we were informed that the Volunteers had again been reorganised by men who were released earlier from Frongoch and other prison camps. I think instructions were issued that all prisoners should return to their units. That raised a question for me as to what unit I should join as the Kimmage garrison no longer existed. George Plunkett held a meeting of the Kimmage garrison and informed all present that it could not be reorganised as a separate unit and that Volunteers, if they wished to continue their service, should be attached to one of the Battalions of the Dublin Brigade. Although residing in the south side of the city I joined "F" Company of the 1st Battalion which was a north city unit. It was through Michael Collins's influence that I joined this particular Company as he pointed out to me that the Company had been greatly reduced in strength due to a number of important men who served in it being transferred to Headquarters. Tom Byrne was the Battalion Commandant and my Company Officer was John O'Connor who is now a Solicitor. O'Connor resigned the captaincy after about a month in order to continue his studies for the Bar. His place was taken by Frank McCabe. At that time the Quartermaster was, I think, Michael Kelly, a brother of the President.

Early in 1917 a Sappers' Company was formed within the Brigade. This Company was, I think,

representative of all Companies of the Dublin Brigade. I think that approximately two to four men from each Company were selected to form it. I was one of the selections from my Company and the instructors were Andy Fitzpatrick and Seán Ó Broin. This latter is now in the Post Office Service. Lectures were given to us on the operation of field telephones and instructions on how the telephones throughout the city and suburbs were planned. We were taken round the city in small groups and shown the underground system of telephonic communication as well as the overhead systems. Our chief instruction concerned the methods to be adopted to put these systems out of order if and when required for future military operations. Most of the lectures were given in Columcille Hall, Blackhall Place. As the organising of the Dublin Brigade progressed, an Engineer Battalion was subsequently formed and the Sappers' Company was incorporated in it.

I. R. B.

During the summer of 1919 Michael Collins approached me and asked me would I go to Cavan to reorganise the Irish Republican Brotherhood there. I should have mentioned that when in Liverpool in 1915 Thomas Craven had been asking me a number of questions about my previous life which caused me to wonder at the time. When on an outing at a place called Eastham in Cheshire, one Sunday, Stephen Lannigan, late of the Revenue Commissioners' Office, mentioned the matter of my joining the I.R.B. and I told him that Mr. Craven had been asking me some questions which rather puzzled me. He then broke off the conversation stating that he would leave the matter

to Mr. Craven. As a matter of fact, it was not until we were working at the De Selby quarries that Craven actually swore me into the Irish Republican Brotherhood. The organisation was reorganised in Frongoch internment camp. A man named Tobin of Wexford reorganised as many of the Kimmage garrison as possible in one unit. This remained intact after our release. At one of the earlier meetings of our group, which was held at Parnell Square (the Keating Branch of the Gaelic League premises), our group was christened "The Sean MacDermott Circle" and Michael Collins was the Centre. I was elected Secretary. Meetings were held monthly and activities were confined to the introduction of new members. Collins was at this time appointed Volunteer organiser. Very often the question of suitability of officers for Volunteer Companies was discussed at these meetings. The Volunteer units at the time were electing their own officers and efforts were made to instal the most suitable type of man for commissioned rank. It was at one of these meetings that Michael Collins told me to report to Seán Ó Muirthille regarding the reorganisation of the I.R.B. in County Cavan. My work in Cavan consisted of travelling from parish to parish and contacting the men who had already been in the I.R.B. The chief centre of both I.R.A. and I.R.B. activities in the County Cavan at that time was in the village of Ballinagh. The Centre there was Peter Conaty who later became Chief Centre for the whole of Cavan. We organised new Circles in areas hitherto untouched. We went, I think, from Swanlinbar in the west to Bailieboro' in the east. When a general meeting was held and a County Board had been elected, I was transferred to the County Monaghan

where I reported to Eoin O'Duffy who was then County Engineer, I think, and had as his assistant Dan Hogan. O'Duffy had Monaghan fairly well organised and I was chiefly used by him to visit areas where he did not wish to identify himself with I.R.B. activities. At this time O'Duffy explained to me that he had been using the I.R.B. as an Intelligence Organisation for the Volunteers and that he was working on a scheme to have all communications between Belfast and Dublin carried by Volunteer and, if possible, I.R.B. members only. We got this route extended from Clones in the County Monaghan as far as Mount Nugent in Cavan, but we never got the Meath end of it fixed up.

I then returned to Dublin and after a short time I was sent by Seán Ó Muirthille this time to ^{Tipperary} to try to reorganise that County. My chief contacts in Tipperary were Eamon O'Dwyer of Gooldscross, Frank Drohan of Clonmel and Sean Duffy of Clonmel, Sean Duffy also of Tipperary town and Eamon O'Neill of Cashel who was a teacher in Rockwell College. I think the latter was looked on as the Centre for Tipperary. I found these men very enthusiastic but rather hesitant in embarking on any activities. From a remark that one of them dropped I came to the conclusion that they did not trust me. I went back to Dublin and reported my impression to Sean O'Muirthille. About a couple of weeks later the latter sent for me one Saturday evening and told me to meet him on O'Connell Bridge at, I think, 7 o'clock, on Sunday morning and we went to a Convention which he had arranged in some country part of Tipperary somewhere near Rearcross. We were driven in a taxi by Joe Hyland and a Convention of the Tipperary men

was held at which Mr. Sean O Muirthille explained the entire situation. He assured them that there was no conflict of interest between the I.R.B. and the I.R.A. that both organisations were out to achieve the same end. I think this conflict arose over the Tipperary men's inclination to follow the advice of Cathal Brugha that the I.R.B. was no longer necessary. I believe Ó Muirthille stated that Cathal Brugha had taken him into the I.R.B. in the first instance, but that he did not recognise the right of any man to take him out of it again, and as a result of his appeal the Tipperary County Board was re-formed. During my travels throughout the country on I.R.B. organisational work I also visited Frank Barrett, O.C. West Clare Brigade. He had an office in the family hotel in Ennis. I found that his policy was similar to O'Duffy's in Monaghan, that is using the I.R.B. as an Intelligence Organisation for the Volunteers.

G.H.C. Intelligence.

In the autumn of 1919 Dick McKee spoke to me in the shop of Seamus Donegan, 10A Aungier Street, where he was printing An t-Oglach and told me to report to Liam Tobin. I reported to the latter in Crowe Street, I think. At the time I did not know what appointment Tobin held but I sensed, however, that it had something to do with Intelligence. He did not enlighten me during my first interview with him; he simply told me that I had been recommended by Dick McKee. He accordingly told me that I was to go to South Anne Street and watch a certain house there and report if I saw any plain-clothes policemen frequent it. I kept the place under observation for about three days and only observed two plain-clothes men on one occasion

entering it. I reported to the office in Crowe Street every morning and evening and soon found myself meeting other members there who were engaged on similar work.

He explained to me what the Intelligence work consisted of and gave me a rough idea of what my duties were likely to be. From then on my duties as a member of the Intelligence Staff mainly consisted of observing and reporting on the movements of persons whose names and addresses were given to me by Liam Tobin or Tom Cullen.

British Intelligence Officer:

A British Officer whose name, I think, was Barnes was, I believe, in charge of Military Intelligence, G.H.Q. Parkgate Barracks. Liam Tobin gave me his particulars and told me to watch and memorise the frequency of his movements in and out of barracks. I was told this officer generally drove in and out of barracks in a horse and trap and that he resided on the North Circular Road close to the Phoenix Park. For about four or five days I walked and dallied along the roadway from McKee barracks round to the Phoenix Park, North Circular Road and but I never once saw him.

Molloy - British Agent:

About the middle of March, 1920, Joe Guilfoyle and myself were given the job of watching out for a British agent going under the name of Molloy. I think his real name was Bernie McNulty of Foxford, County Mayo. I think we picked him up in O'Connell Street. At the time he was talking to Liam Tobin and Tom

Cullen and when he left them we followed him around. He walked round for about an hour and he went into a shop apparently to buy cigarettes. While he was inside Guilfoyle left me. In the meantime Molloy came out of the shop again and I kept after him until he went into the Lower Castle Yard. There I left him and reported the matter next morning to Liam Tobin. The latter simply said, "That is correct". About a week later Joe Guilfoyle and myself were instructed to meet Tom Cullen and Liam Tobin in Grafton Street between 7 and 8 p.m. I met them at the appointed place and Tom Cullen brought me into a doorway and handed me a .45 Webley Revolver. Tobin told me that the job on hands was the execution of the British agent, Molloy, that it was to be done by members of the Squad and that we were to ensure that the Squad ~~and~~ ^{was} not interfered with from any unexpected source. I think an appointment was made by Tobin and Collins to meet Molloy in Grafton Street. In any case I saw Molloy outside Noblett's at the junction of South King Street and Grafton Street. He walked down towards Wicklow Street but was followed closely by the two men who were to carry out the actual shooting. I think it was originally planned that this shooting should take place in Grafton Street but for some reason or other Molloy was allowed to go as far as Wicklow Street where he was shot in the vicinity of the National Bar. Following the shooting the crowd became threatening and wanted to hold the two members of the Squad concerned for the police, but these men drew their revolvers and got safely away. The public did not realise at that time who the shot man was, or the organisation responsible for his shooting.

Alan Bell - British Financial Agent:

Alan Bell was a British financial expert engaged in examining the various Banks' Accounts in this country with a view to locating or identifying Dail monies. A decision was arrived at that this man should be eliminated. I was present at Crowe Street when plans for his execution were discussed, and each man detailed to the part he was to play. About eight members of the Squad and Intelligence were to watch out for him on the morning, I think, of the 26th March, 1920. It was known that he would travel at a certain time on the Dun Laoghaire tram. A number of us were detailed to board the tram. Some of them were to enter the lower saloon and Joe Guilloyle and myself were to go upstairs with others. The idea was that when the lower party would leave the tram to carry out the execution those of us upstairs would take steps to prevent the tram from moving off for some time and further prevent interference to members of the Squad who were carrying out the job. A cyclist was instructed to report whether or not Bell was on the tram. The party boarded the tram at Ailsebury Road at a signal from Tom Keogh who was the cyclist in this case. As I was going towards Aillesbury Road to carry out my instructions Tom Keogh saw me and indicated to me that the tram had gone. At this particular time I heard shots being fired which I learned later were by the men who shot Bell. I walked up a side-road which led to Donnybrook. A motor-cyclist with a sidecar passed me. He must have passed by the scene of the shooting because he reported the matter to the police at Donnybrook.

District Inspector Roberts:

I was sent to Amiens Street Station by Liam

Tobin to watch out for a man by the name of Roberts. He handed me a photograph of Roberts in the uniform of the Dublin Metropolitan Police. At certain times for a period of three or four days I remained on duty at Amiens Street Station without result. On one occasion I followed a man who looked very like him, but Tom Cullen had a good laugh about this as several had apparently made the same mistake. About a week after this more definite information was given to me that it had been ascertained definitely that Roberts would arrive at Amiens Street Station on a particular morning. I took up my position at the Station on the morning in question and saw him leaving the station and entering a car. I reported this to Liam Tobin and he instructed me to return the next morning and this time to go on to the platform and observe all movements from the time Roberts left his carriage until he drove away in the car. I did this for several mornings and noticed that each morning he had an escort of two plain-clothes policemen and a plain-clothes driver. My presence there on so many mornings must have given rise to suspicions as on one occasion I saw one of the two plain-clothes men talk to Roberts and look in my direction. The latter merely shook his head and entered the car as usual, while I followed at a distance and watched the car proceed through Storex Street to the Castle.

On the morning of the 22nd June, 1920, members of the Squad under Paddy Daly were detailed to shoot Roberts. As I was the Intelligence Officer who could identify him I was instructed to watch out for him and give warning of his arrival to the Squad. We took up positions near the railway bridge at the corner of Brooks Thomas, Abbey Street, I took up a vantage

point about middle of the Custom House and when I saw the car coming from Amiens Street Station direction I gave the pre-arranged signal, that is to say I took out my handkerchief and brought it to my nose at the same time starting to walk away. I had not gone very far when the shooting started. When I turned round I saw one of the escort trying to get out of the car. He was pulled back by the second escort and the car then accelerated towards Butt Bridge. The car was attacked by grenade and revolver fire but Roberts was only wounded. He resigned from the Police and I don't think only further action was taken against him.

Intelligence Reports on Managers of G.W. and G.S. Railways:

Apart from British agents and spies my Intelligence duties were extended at one period to procuring as much information as I possibly could regarding the General Manager of the Midland Great Western Railway, namely J.F. Keogh, and also the Manager of the Great Southern Railway - E. A. Neale. This was the time when railway employees, engine-drivers and guards were being dismissed by the railway people for refusing to work trains conveying British troops and police. As regards Keogh of the Midland Great Western Railway, the information I collected about him was his place of private residence, the time he left for his office, the time he returned, the registration number of his motor car and where he parked it and the location of his office in the Boradstone Station. I obtained similar information though not as detailed about Neale of the Great Southern Railway. I passed the information to Liam Tobin but, so far as I know, no action was taken. I believe it was contemplated to have these men made

prisoners should they continue to dismiss railway employees who felt it their patriotic duty to have nothing to do with the movements of British Army forces.

Captain Hardy:

About the first week of September, 1920, I was sent down to Kingsbridge Station to look out for a car bearing the letters XA, I think, but I cannot remember the number that followed. The car that I was looking for was at the station but I noticed that a car bearing the same registration letters but a different number leave a military office in John's Road frequently and that its occupants were obviously plain-clothes policemen. I reported this to Liam Tobin but he did not seem to be interested. A few days later, however, he called me into his office and said, "That car number you gave me now transpires to be Tudor's car and I want you to get all the information you can about its movements". I kept the number of this car in my pocket in a notebook. A few days later Tobin sent me up to Harcourt Street to keep watch on a British Intelligence Officer by the name of Captain Hardy who he knew used to visit an hotel there. I kept up this watch at certain times for a period of a couple of days. One evening, about 6 o'clock, I saw a man with a limp go into the hotel having got out of a small van. At this time I was not sure whether this was Hardy or not but Joe Gullfoyle came along and I reported my suspicions to him. We both decided to watch and make sure if these were the men we were looking for. We left the spot where we were watching and went in the direction of Camden Street via Montague Place. When we reached an archway leading into this place a British Officer and two soldiers ordered us quietly to get inside a Crossley tender. The men who ordered

us into the van was Captain Hardy who, incidentally, was the man I had seen enter the hotel a short time before that. We were taken to Dublin Castle and questioned. From the questions we knew that they were endeavouring to link us with members of I.R.A. Intelligence. When I was being searched I had a notebook in my pocket containing the number of Tudor's car. Simultaneously with my being searched Joe Guilfoyle was also being searched and he had in his possession a letter from Liam Tobin to a Mr. McCabe of the Plasterers' Union, asking to get some members of his Union to supply information about the Castle which was then undergoing repairs by them. The officer who was searching Guilfoyle became quite excited when he found this note and said to Captain Hardy, who was searching me, "We have here a letter from the notorious Liam Tobin". With that Hardy forgot all about me and directed his attention to Guilfoyle. When I got a chance I was able to destroy the paper containing the number of Tudor's car by chewing it. A short time later we were taken to the Bridewell. About 3 o'clock in the morning Captain Hardy and a number of others whom I can't remember now came in and asked for Guilfoyle. They told him to get ready to leave. He had left his coat beside me and was allowed to return to it. He then told me that he was being asked to sign a statement to the effect that his personal effects had been given back to him. He asked my advice about giving his signature as we both felt that Hardy wanted it with a view to comparing it with that on other documents that had been captured from time to time. Another view we took of it was that the signature was for evidence that Guilfoyle had been released and that no blame could be attached to the military authorities if he

were found dead after alleged release. My advice was that he had no option but to sign. The party then left the Bridewell with Guilfoyle and about two hours later he returned. He told me that he had been taken out to some golf links at Dartry and there blindfolded. They threatened to shoot him if he did not tell them the whereabouts of his brother, Seán. He said that of course he did not give them any information. He added that Hardy did not give him any rough handling; in fact he spoke to him in confidence, advising him to tell where his brother was, that it was better for all concerned and that no harm would come to either of them as a result. Guilfoyle told me that Hardy further said to him, "You know we have full authority to shoot any I.R.A. man as we think fit, that we have been guaranteed immunity from any disciplinary action, no matter how extreme". Guilfoyle was returned to the cell none the worse of his adventure and the next day, about midday, an order came for his release. I was informed that I was being transferred to Mountjoy gaol. I was taken out to the back of the Bridewell where I was placed in an armoured car which conveyed me to Mountjoy prison where I was in the category of an untried prisoner for a period of about three months. Sometime in November, Captain Hardy swore a deposition against me that in searching the premises where I stayed he found a membership card of the Sinn Fein organisation. As a result I was tried by courtmartial and having waited a considerable time for the verdict I was told that the courtmartial was illegal and that I would have to be tried a second time. At the second trial I was sentenced to three months' imprisonment to date from the date of my arrest. I was released sometime in the beginning of December.

While in prison we heard the shooting in Croke Park on Bloody Sunday and we also knelt in prayer on the morning of Kevin Barry's execution. When I was notified of the date and place of my trial, which was Marlboro' (now McKee) barracks, I was able to let a visitor know these particulars who conveyed them to Liam Tobin, but he afterwards explained they were unable to take any action.

After my release I walked round the streets in the vicinity of Crowe Street where I expected to meet some of my former Intelligence Officers. I forget which of them I met, but I was told to report at the office.

Shortly after my release Liam Tobin instructed me one morning to go to Kirwan's public house in Parnell Street where I would meet a man named D.P. Walsh. On arrival I found Michael Collins and Walsh in the premises. I was introduced to the latter and it was explained to me that he and I were to take two bicycles to Dun Laoghaire and hand them over to Dan Breen and another man who would accompany him by road to Tipperary. Dan Breen at this time was almost recovered from shotgun wounds received at Drumcondra sometime before that. We cycled out to Dun Laoghaire and met Breen and the other man there, handed the bicycles over to them and returned to the city.

General Tudor - Intelligence Reports on his Movements:

While I was in prison the Intelligence staff was considerably increased. Frank Thornton had finally left his employment in the Insurance Company and was attached to the Intelligence Department permanently. From then on any instructions issued to me were, as a general rule, given by Thornton.

I was put back again on the tracking of General Tudor and another assignment I received was to watch out for Sergeant-Major Hepworth who was, so to speak, Captain Hardy's right-hand man. He was with Hardy when Guilfoyle and myself were arrested. Tom Cullen introduced me to a Sergeant named Harte of the Dublin Fusiliers who had something to do with food distribution in Dublin Castle. Obviously this man was doing Intelligence work for us. He gave us correct descriptive particulars of Hepworth and others whom we were looking for. It transpired, however, that these particulars would not help us in establishing their identity. We were never able to track down Hepworth. I believe he left Dublin shortly after that. In the meantime we had obtained full particulars of the exact route taken by General Tudor when travelling from John's Road to the Castle. It took me a considerable time to mark out this route as I had to take up positions at various street corners along the entire route in order to make sure that I would have him routed correctly. As a result plans were made to eliminate Tudor. The attack did not come off as for some reason or other he began to change his route and took a different one each day and his visits to the Castle became irregular. Further efforts were made to ascertain Tudor's movements, this time through the agency of a man named Gunner Doyle who was very friendly with Tudor's driver. It was usual for Doyle to approach the driver each day and judiciously and indirectly inquire where the car was going that day. However, nothing came of this as the driver himself was unaware of destinations or times of leaving the Castle until about an hour before leaving. This source of information also petered out because Doyle left the country and went to England.

The Igoe Gang:

The Intelligence Department was making every effort to track down two squads of R.I.C. men operating under Sergeants Igoe and Killeen. In common with other members of the Intelligence Squad I spent a considerable amount of time observing and watching out for the movements of these Police Squads. On a few occasions I met up with them accidentally and reported the direction they were travelling back to headquarters.

An tOglach:

Sometime in January, 1921, I was transferred from G.H.Q. Intelligence to the Adjutant-General's Branch. Liam Tobin instructed me to report to Gearóid O'Sullivan who was then Adjutant-General and had an office at Ormond Quay. The latter put me in charge of the distribution of An tOglach.

An tOglach was printed at the back of the shop at 10A Aungier Street owned by the Gleeson family. It was customary for me when on the Intelligence to leave my revolver there when not actually required. I now began working in the office at the back of that shop on the distribution of An tOglach. The circulation was between four and five ^{thousand} copies every week. These had to be made into parcels of varying numbers and transmitted to the O.Cs. of Brigades throughout the country and I think to some in Great Britain. I was assisted in this work by a young man named Bennett. Each parcel had double wrappers, the outside one addressed to an accommodation address not suspected of being closely associated with I.R.A. activities and the inner one addressed to the O.C. concerned. Mr. Pierce Beasley was the editor and

the copy was carried from him to Aungier Street by a typist. The only one whose name I can now remember was a Miss Dooley. Joseph Cullen was the compositor and Charles Walker the machinist. The paper for the journal was supplied by Mr. Patrick Mahon of Yarnhall Street whose premises are now owned by James Ardiff. Mr. Ardiff used to relieve Joe Cullen when the latter was on holidays. When posting the parcels to the various accommodation addresses it was usual for me to divide them and post only a few in each Post Office. The stationery for the Adjutant-General's Department was printed at 10 Aungier Street, the paper for this purpose being supplied by Andy Hyland who managed a book binding establishment in Claredon Street. I continued on this work up to the Truce on the 11th July, 1921.

Signature Patrick Caldwell
 Date 25th January 1952
 PATRICK CALDWELL.

Witness William Jony Bondt.

