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IRIS ORONZ ÁTA CLIAȚ DUBLIN BRIGADE REVIEW

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THE TONIC THAT "GETS TO THE ROOT" OF HAIR TROUBLES



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EDITOR'S NOTE

The articles in this Review, dealing with the activities of the various Battalions and Special Services of the Dublin Brigade, while containing authenticated data, do not purport to be exhaustive records.

They have been compiled by men who served in these units, and are intended primarily to serve as an outline of the history of the Brigade.

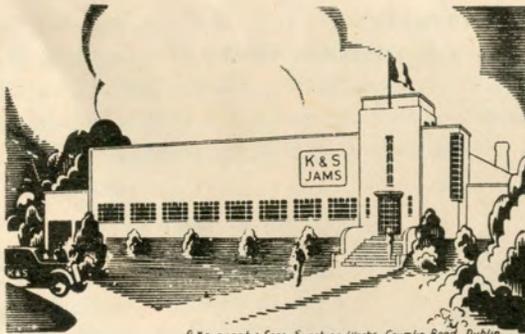
The complete history of the Brigade is a work which, we hope, will be undertaken during the lifetime of its surviving members.

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Foreword

AMONG those who held the honoured title of Officer Commanding the Dublin Brigade was Patrick Pearse, who only relinquished the title to Tomás MacDonagh during Holy Week, 1916, in order that he could be in a position to devote himself solely to his new post of Commander-in-Chief of the Irish Army in the field.

Tomás MacDonagh, who took over the Command from Pearse, can hardly be regarded as ever having officiated in the office of Brigade Commandant as he was practically restricted to the command of the men in the Jacob's Factory position from the beginning of the Rising to its end.

After the reorganisation of the Volunteer Movement in 1917, Richard Mulcahy was appointed Brigade Commandant, a position which he held with distinction until March, 1918, when he was promoted to the position of Chief of Staff.

The late Richard (Dick) McKee was then appointed to the Brigade Command, but he was arrested almost immediately and was sentenced to a period of imprisonment. On his release, he undertook a thorough reorganisation of the Brigade Unit, but was again arrested before this task was completed. This continued interference with his work, which he regarded as being of supreme importance, appeared to urge him on to still greater activities and, during his term of office as Brigade Commandant, special mobilization schemes were perfected, as were also many of the Special Services.

His death was due to his extraordinary devotion to his duty. On the night of Saturday, the 20th November, 1920, he was working in his office in Lower Gardiner Street up to a few minutes before Curfew, which was then fixed at ten o'clock. This left him little time by which he might have made a detour in order to throw off the shadowers, who were always lurking at hand. He was tracked to the house in Lower Gloucester Street, where he was temporarily residing and, in a raid which took place in the small hours of the morning of the 21st November, 1920, he was taken prisoner and brought to Dublin Castle where he was later brutally done to death, together with Peadar Clancy, another Dublin Brigade Officer who had been appointed to the position of Director of Munitions.

As Vice-Brigade Commandant, it was my duty immediately to take over command. About a week later, I was elected Brigade Commandant by the assembled Officers of the Dublin Brigade, and I held this position until arrested in August, 1922, during the regrettable Civil strife following the Treaty settlement.

The position occupied by the Dublin Brigade in this war was unique. It carried out most of its activities in the midst of a gigantic and highly-trained modern army, equipped with all the most up-to-date armaments and with the experience of the Great War behind it. There was also at its disposal a highly-trained Intelligence and Secret Service Staff. Yet, in spite of all these factors, the fighting activities of the Dublin Brigade were carried on relentlessly and without the cessation of war activities for a single day.

Dublin Brigade Council: July, 1921



[Lafayette.

Back, left to right—COMMANDANTS G. BOLAND, J. GRIFFIN, P. HOLOHAN, F. HENDERSON, J. J. DOYLE,
AND T. ENNIS.

Front, left to right—COMMANDANTS A. McDONNELL, H. COLLEY, BRIGADE COMMANDANT O. TRAYNOR,
COMMANDANTS C. O'MALLEY AND SEÁN MOONEY.

The weapons with which the Brigade was equipped were often crude enough. Usually, they consisted of a rifle or a shot gun, a pistol, revolver or a home-manufactured hand grenade and, more often than not, these were secured from the forces which they were fighting. Ammunition for these weapons was hoarded and protected as, I imagine, drops of water would be in the desert. Yet, it was with this equipment that a mighty army was literally held at bay.

The value of the work accomplished in Dublin against the English Forces will, I fear, never be fully realised nor properly estimated during the lifetime of the present generation. It is questionable if any other Unit of the Republican Army in the field caused more anxiety to the British Authorities. The intensity of the conflict as well as the immensity of the damage to English prestige, by that conflict in the capital city of the country, as well as the world publicity which it received, was possibly one of the most telling factors in compelling English statesmen to sue for peace. It must be remembered that morning, noon and evening saw a ceaseless conflict being waged in the main thoroughfares of our city. Daylight or darkness, summer or winter, made no difference. Grimly relentless, the various Units struck with all their might, but in such ordered fashion, that the enemy had no idea as to where the next blow would fall or how it would be dealt. The natural sequence to all this was that public opinion abroad was aroused and England was defending herself in a dozen different capitals at the same time. There was only one thing to be done and that was to stop the conflict, and so the call for a Truce came, not from the Republican Army, but from the Statesmen of England.

The story of the Dublin Brigade's part in the fight for Irish Independence is a story that will not only make the blood of the old warriors course as freely as in the days when they did battle, but it should also bring a glow of pride to the cheeks of every Irish person who reads, and who believes that these men, in conjunction with their comrades-in-arms throughout the country, ably upheld the centuries-old fight for freedom and that they are, in the main, responsible for the measure of freedom enjoyed by the Irish people to-day.

OSCAR TRAYNOR.

First Battalion Council



[Lafayette.
Back, left to right—LIEUTENANTS SEÁN DEVINGTON, T. McGRANE, CAPTAINS SEÁN PRENDERGAST,
J. GOLDEN, A. DOWLING, M. MADIGAN, AND S. KAVANAGH.
Front, left to right—CAPTAINS P. J. RYAN, P. GARLAND, COMMANDANT P. HOLOHAN, VICE-COMMANDANT G.
IRVINE, CAPTAINS F. DALY, AND W. CORRI.

The First Battalion

FORMED in 1913 as a unit of the Irish National Volunteers with North Dublin City as its area, the battalion was one of the strongest units in that Organisation. The year 1913 and part of 1914 were entirely devoted to recruiting, organising and military training. In July, 1914, it took its allotted part in the now famous Howth Gun-Running, "A" Company supplying a number of the volunteers who boarded the yacht and unpacked the Mauser rifles. In the following month the Dublin Brigade paraded 4,000 strong at Parnell Square, at 4 o'clock on a Sunday morning and marched to Ticknock, in the Dublin mountains, where a sham battle took place. The battalion was well represented, but it was to be the last time many members would be together as the "split" was soon to come. The Irish Parliamentary Party, under the leadership of the late John Redmond, endeavoured to obtain complete control of the National Volunteers. A minority seceded and formed the Irish Volunteers. The ranks of the First Battalion of the Irish Volunteers numbered only a handful of men, but they were the foundation members of the First Battalion of the Dublin Brigade, who set about preparing for the Rising in 1916 and the subsequent struggle. Intensive organisation and recruitment went on. Many comrades who had remained in the National Volunteers left that Organisation and joined the Irish Volunteers subsequently. The ranks were growing strong and the First Battalion had a big membership. On Whit Monday, 1915, "A" Company of the battalion organised an excursion to Limerick City in which the Dublin Brigade took part. A parade was held in Limerick, but the people of that city gave the Irish Volunteers a very hostile reception. They little thought then that in a few years they would realise their mistake and erect, as if in reparation, a monument to their fellow citizen, Commandant Edward Daly of the First Battalion of the Dublin Brigade, and his comrades of 1916.

When the O'Donovan Rossa funeral was taken in charge by the Irish Volunteers in Dublin in 1916, the battalion paraded in strength and supplied a guard of honour when the body was lying in state in the City Hall. It was to "A" Company of the battalion that the graveside arrangements were entrusted on the day of the funeral to

Glasnevin. This was the most important event of the year for the Irish Volunteers. Robert Monteith, Commandant of the First Battalion, was deported by the British Government and subsequently reached Germany to take a leading part in the organisation of the Irish Brigade there. By the end of the year the battalion was well organised and fairly well equipped with Mauser and Martini rifles, and a large number had procured the uniform of the Irish Volunteers. The manoeuvres, field exercises, indoor drilling and parades had done much towards making the various units of the battalion an efficient section of the Dublin Brigade of the Irish Volunteers. The signalling, first aid, intelligence and such services had reached a high standard of efficiency, and the opportunity would soon be given to display it, for at this stage every member realised that the fight was not far away. On St. Patrick's Day, 1916, the battalion, under the command of Commandant Edward Daly, took part in the Church Parade to SS. Michael's and John's Church, Exchange Street, for the Mass arranged by the Dublin Brigade. After Mass the Volunteers marched to College Green and were reviewed by Commandant General P. H. Pearse, Thomas MacDonagh and other members of the Executive Council of the Irish Volunteers.

Shortly after orders were received to prepare for special manoeuvres, to be held on Easter Sunday, 23rd April, 1916. There was intense activity in the battalion, procuring arms, ammunition and equipment. Lists of stores, shops, vehicles and articles which could be used for military purposes were compiled. The volunteers were ready and knew that something more exciting than manoeuvres was about to take place. On the 22nd, orders were received to parade next day with full arms, equipment and rations for 24 hours. The famous order cancelling the mobilisation appeared in *The Sunday Independent* next day. The result was that only a small number attended and later dispersed to their homes with instructions to "stand to" with arms and equipment and await further orders. On the following morning, Easter Monday, a special mobilisation took place, and at 11 o'clock the battalion of approximately 300 volunteers—officers and men—were on parade under the command of Commandant Edward Daly. He addressed the assembled

men and said that an Irish Republic would be proclaimed that day at noon, and the battalion would shortly be in action against the English army in Ireland. He stated also that he expected that the First Battalion would operate against the enemy with courage and discipline, and that the Irish Volunteers would henceforth be known as the Irish Republican Army. The battalion headquarters was established in the Father Mathew Hall, Church Street, and positions were taken up in North Brunswick Street, Church Street, North King Street and houses were occupied at points of vantage in the surrounding areas. Barricades were erected in the streets and manned. Just as the various units were taking up their positions a party of mounted British Lancers galloped up Church Street, charging a small party of volunteers. Commandant Daly gave the order to fire, inflicting casualties, whereupon the troops fled through North King Street to Arbour Hill barracks. This was the first engagement of the battalion. The remainder of the day was spent strengthening the position occupied, sniping the enemy in occupation of the Railway Station at Broadstone, and in keeping the dome of "King's Inns" free of enemy snipers. Supplies were commandeered and the Republican Proclamation was posted up in the area. Other positions were taken over during the week, among them Linenhall barracks, which was set alight, the fire spreading to the adjoining premises.

An unsuccessful attack was made on the Broadstone Station; it was a very strongly held enemy position. A number of the D.M.P. and R.I.C. men and a number of British soldiers were taken prisoners by the volunteers in the area during the week and the battalion had a number of casualties, including Volunteer John Cromeen, a member of "A" Company, who was killed in Church Street by enemy snipers on Wednesday, 26th April. Very heavy fighting was now taking place all over the area. The North Staffordshire Regiment was engaged when trying to cut through North King Street from Bolton Street by volunteers in positions in O'Reilly's licensed premises, known that week as "O'Reilly's Fort" and in the Blanchardstown Mill premises and Monks Bakery in Church Street. Ultimately the North Staffordshire Regiment advanced on the volunteer position by cutting through the houses in North King Street. During the advance they murdered many unarmed civilians. After being repulsed on three occasions with heavy losses the English soldiers eventually succeeded in reaching the corners of North King Street and Church

Street. Meanwhile the battalion headquarters had been moved to the Four Courts, whither many volunteer officers in the area had gone to hold council. A lull in the fighting followed and the junior officers, in the absence of the senior volunteer officers, held a hurried council as they realised fiercer fighting was about to start. The North Staffs. made terrific onslaughts on the volunteer positions and notwithstanding heavy losses succeeded in breaking through the volunteer lines and isolating the occupants who took up other positions in houses in Church Street and in the vehicle building premises of Messrs. Moore in North Brunswick Street. Heavy losses were inflicted on the English soldiers, especially when crossing the North King Street barricade, where 7 or 8 of them lay dead for several days before being removed. The opportunity was given to remove them but the British sergeant, who was intoxicated, would not agree to a cease fire offered by the volunteers to take in wounded, some of whom died from exposure and wounds requiring immediate attention. The sergeant was killed late the same day, when he exposed himself in a window of a house in Church Street. The battalion suffered a number of casualties; Philip Walsh, Peadar Manning, Seán Howard and a boy, J. Dwan, were killed. A battle was fought against the same regiment of British soldiers in Cuckoo Lane, the I.R.A. inflicting heavy losses before retreating to the Four Courts on the orders of Comm. Daly, with one man wounded. The reorganised party in Church Street were never dislodged and surrendered from their positions only after obtaining a specially procured order signed by Commandant P. H. Pearse.

The Four Courts was occupied at 12 noon on Easter Monday by various units of the battalion. As will be seen elsewhere in this REVIEW, reinforcements were sent from the G.P.O. during the week of men from other battalions. The late Seán Flood was the first man to enter by the gate in Chancery Street, where the main party going into occupation also entered led by the late Lieutenant Joseph McGuinness. One of this party, Lieut. Thomas Allen, was killed in the defence of the building on Friday of that week. The adjacent Bridewell Station and Police Court were taken over and a number of the D.M.P. who were on duty in the buildings were taken prisoners. An amusing incident occurred in the Bridewell when it was taken over on the Wednesday without opposition. The rooms were examined systematically. No sign of life was observed anywhere, but it was

noticed that a fire was lighting in the charge room. An exhaustive search was made and 22 D.M.P. men hiding in the coal cellar were discovered. They were placed in the cells—2 to each—until Commandant Daly came along later and ordered their release. He had prisoners taken during the fighting in Church Street area coming along from the Father Mathew Hall. They arrived, mostly R.I.C. men and British soldiers, in charge of the late Senator Eamon Duggan. They were lodged in the cells lately vacated by the D.M.P. prisoners and held until the general surrender.

While the Four Courts was being put in a state of defence, parties were erecting barricades of commandeered cars and vehicles across the street in the vicinity and occupying outposts for these positions in corner houses at the bridges. An enemy party comprising two companies approaching on the southern Quays towards Capel Street met with the same reception as did the column of Lancers earlier in Chancery Street. They retired on being fired at. Some of the Bridewell garrison were taken away to reinforce the positions in North King Street. One of them, Vol. P. O'Flannagan, a member of "C" Company, was killed in action there a short time afterwards. Very heavy fighting was now taking place from the Four Courts and from the outpost positions near Greek Street overlooking Winetavern Street Bridge. These positions had been subjected to heavy enemy fire and at one stage Lieut. McGuinness feared an assault on the Four Courts at this point. Should such an attempt take place it was to be repelled by "Tin Canister" bombs which he provided. It was not attempted however. At the barricade at Church Street Bridge the late Vice-Brigadier, then Lieut. Peadar Clancy, of whom more will be heard in this article, was in charge. Two at least of many thrilling incidents of which he was the leading light during this memorable week are worth recording. On Monday night late the party in position at this bridge, after hearing sounds in the distance, discerned a column of infantry accompanied by army lorries rumbling along the Quays from the Phoenix Park direction. Lieut. Clancy gave orders that no move should be made until he gave the call. He allowed the column to advance between two arc lamps which were burning brightly; then the order to fire was given. The horses under the foremost lorries were shot and thus any ordered advance by the infantry behind was completely held up. The enemy retired completely routed. On Thursday night the same party defending the same bridge was menaced by troops

who had managed to occupy a house at the corner of Bridge Street. The enemy were sniping all round from this house when Lieut. Clancy after a survey of the position arranged a barrage of fire from all corners of the Four Courts to be directed towards the snipers. While this was in progress he calmly walked across the bridge carrying tins of petrol. Having broken the windows and poured the petrol into the building he set it on fire and so burned out the enemy. Members of the battalion who witnessed these and other incidents, to this day speak of the wonderful coolness displayed by this young volunteer who was destined to become Vice-Brigadier of the Dublin Brigade of the Irish Republican Army and whose ultimate fate was to be murdered by Black-and-Tans in Dublin Castle five years later.

On Tuesday or Wednesday a private motor car approached the barricade at Church Street Bridge from Arran Quay church direction. Seeing the barricade, the chauffeur stopped the car and attempted to get it into reverse gear. Lieut. Clancy, noticing this, immediately jumped over the barricade. He advanced shouting "Halt" but the driver persisted in his efforts to reverse whereupon he was fired at and wounded in the hand by Lieut. Clancy, who made the occupants of the car prisoners. In addition to the driver, Lord Dunsany who was also wounded and a Colonel Lindsey, were in the car. They were brought into the Four Courts, from which place Lord Dunsany was sent in the Corporation ambulance, summoned by the Four Courts Garrison, to Jervis Street Hospital to have his somewhat more serious wounds attended to. On his departure, he shook hands with all the men manning the position, saying: "Although in different uniforms, we are all Irishmen and you are all gentlemen." Lindsey was afterwards the principal witness for the prosecution against most of the Four Courts garrison who were sentenced.

The expected big attack by the enemy on the Four Courts was launched on Thursday, 27th April, but the men of the First Battalion could not be dislodged, although they were harassed on all sides. The enemy had occupied, among other vantage points, the Dispensary in Charles Street and the nearby Medical Mission in Chancery Place from which point a determined effort was made to dislodge the volunteers. A party from the Four Courts rushed the position under cover of a barrage of rifle fire and darkness. They attacked the Medical Mission building by rushing across the road with lighted bombs of the tin-can variety and placing them against the door. The

noticed that a fire was lighting in the charge room. An exhaustive search was made and 22 D.M.P. men hiding in the coal cellar were discovered. They were placed in the cells—2 to each—until Commandant Daly came along later and ordered their release. He had prisoners taken during the fighting in Church Street area coming along from the Father Mathew Hall. They arrived, mostly R.I.C. men and British soldiers, in charge of the late Senator Eamon Duggan. They were lodged in the cells lately vacated by the D.M.P. prisoners and held until the general surrender.

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On Tuesday or Wednesday a private motor car approached the barricade at Church Street Bridge from Arran Quay church direction. Seeing the barricade, the chauffeur stopped the car and attempted to get it into reverse gear. Lieut. Clancy, noticing this, immediately jumped over the barricade. He advanced shouting "Halt" but the driver persisted in his efforts to reverse whereupon he was fired at and wounded in the hand by Lieut. Clancy, who made the occupants of the car prisoners. In addition to the driver, Lord Dunsany who was also wounded and a Colonel Lindsey, were in the car. They were brought into the Four Courts, from which place Lord Dunsany was sent in the Corporation ambulance, summoned by the Four Courts Garrison, to Jervis Street Hospital to have his somewhat more serious wounds attended to. On his departure, he shook hands with all the men manning the position, saying: "Although in different uniforms, we are all Irishmen and you are all gentlemen." Lindsey was afterwards the principal witness for the prosecution against most of the Four Courts garrison who were sentenced.

The expected big attack by the enemy on the Four Courts was launched on Thursday, 27th April, but the men of the First Battalion could not be dislodged, although they were harassed on all sides. The enemy had occupied, among other vantage points, the Dispensary in Charles Street and the nearby Medical Mission in Chancery Place from which point a determined effort was made to dislodge the volunteers. A party from the Four Courts rushed the position under cover of a barrage of rifle fire and darkness. They attacked the Medical Mission building by rushing across the road with lighted bombs of the tin-can variety and placing them against the door. The

bombs exploded but did little damage and the assault was unsuccessful. It is interesting to note here that the troops in this position consisted mainly of the Lancers who were repulsed earlier in Chancery Street when they attempted to prevent the occupation of the Four Courts. The battalion sustained a casualty on this Medical Mission operation, one man being wounded when trying to get back to his position. The volunteers were now sorely pressed; sniping from the higher buildings in Lord Edward Street, from the Medical Mission and from the tower of the King's Hospital School, Blackhall St., and from many other places was having effect. An Artillery Field Piece was brought into position under cover of armoured cars (G.S.R. boilers mounted on lorries) after a number of casualties were inflicted by I.R.A. snipers from the Four Courts. From the junction of Essex Quay, Wood Quay and Exchange Street the enemy gun crew registered four clean hits. The replaced windows are noticeable in the rebuilt (after 1916) Four Courts, the new stones identify them to the present day. As a result of the bombardment internal reorganisation of the defence positions in the building had to be undertaken. While this was being done other things were happening in other places. The end was near. It was a gallant stand no doubt and just as some of the garrison were talking of fighting it out to the last man a party with the late Father Albert, O.M.Cap., was observed approaching the buildings carrying a white flag. Word was sent to Comdt. Daly who received the priest's message, an order from Comdt. Gen. P. H. Pearse to surrender. All the Officers were assembled in the refreshment rooms of the building and Comdt. Daly read the order. They demurred at first; they wanted to fight it out but their leader sternly ordered them to obey. He understood their feelings, however, for he added: "I am sorry, men; that is what I would like to do. It is as hard for me as for you, but I have received orders from Gen. Pearse to surrender and as a soldier I must obey." In a few more minutes the men were retired from their posts and when they heard the news many of them smashed their weapons to atoms rather than surrender them.

Another post that fell to the lot of the battalion to defend was the Mendicity Institute, Ushers Island, under the command of Captain Seán Heuston. The defence of this post is one of the most glorious episodes of the Rising. For three days its Commander with a small garrison of men of the battalion of which he was a company

leader held out against the onslaught of well-trained, fully-equipped and experienced English soldiery. Every time the post was attacked the attackers were resisted with heavy losses. Eventually the defenders, worn out by the continuous fighting, with several of the small garrison wounded and the position surrounded on all sides without any chance of escape, were forced to give in. Captain Heuston, in order to save the lives of his gallant little band, ordered a surrender. When the attackers saw the small number of defenders who had inflicted such heavy losses on them they became enraged, and singled out Captain Heuston for harsh and brutal treatment. Some of his comrades were treated similarly, one of them, Vol. Peter Wilson, of Swords, was shot dead after the surrender had actually taken place and before the garrison had left the Mendicity yard. They saved Captain Heuston only to execute him on the 8th of the following month in Kilmainham Jail. A mere youth, he proved himself a man, and fully justified the confidence reposed in him by the Irish Volunteer Executive. Execution was also the fate of the Battalion's gallant Commandant, Edward Daly. He went to join his comrades who had fallen in the fight under his command. Those members of the battalion who did not succeed in connecting up with their units managed to take part in the fight at other points, such as the College of Surgeons, Jacob's Factory, Cabra and the General Post Office. Just as no mention of the fight in these places would be complete without mention of the parts played by First Battalion men, the fighting in the main positions occupied by the battalion would be likewise incomplete without reference to the little band of volunteers from Castleknock and Chapelizod which made its way under Lieut. Larry Murtagh, recently deceased, to Larkfield and from there to the G.P.O. and on to the Four Courts Area.

Deportation to England and long sentences of penal servitude in some cases was the lot of the survivors. England had settled with the rebels for this generation, so she believed, but the survivors of the battalion, with those of the other battalions of the Dublin Brigade, returned home to resume the fight and lead a risen nation. Commandant Gen. Pearse had prophesied this.

Re-forming the ranks after release from Frongoch, Knutsford and Stafford jails and other places of detention in England, it early became clear that the spirit had not been broken. Drilling, training and meetings were taking place again in the old haunts, notably the Colmcille Hall, Blackhall Street.

The officers and men who had been sentenced to penal servitude were released later and a parade was held to welcome them home. One of their number, Lieutenant Joe McGuinness, had been elected Sinn Féin M.P. for Longford. Members of the battalion had helped to secure his election. Election work was also carried out by the battalion at Waterford, Armagh and Clare. In addition to this work the companies were reorganised and drilling and arming went on apace, and when in September, 1917, Thomas Ashe died on hunger strike in Mountjoy Prison the First Battalion turned out in strength with the other battalions of the Dublin Brigade, to give him a military funeral. Delegates to conventions held in Croke Park and elsewhere were appointed and armed guards for these meetings and those of the Sinn Féin were provided.

The collection of arms was also proving successful, and a large number of rifles was secured mainly through the efforts of the late Lieut. Peadar Breslin, who had contacted British soldiers at Wellington, Portobello and Royal Barracks. This work, always attended with risk of capture and imprisonment, was carried out in a very open and daring manner. The rifles were thrown over the barrack walls or passed through the railings at the rear of the barracks by military to the battalion members waiting outside and taken to the battalion dumps. It was due also to the late Lieut. Breslin's ingenuity that the famous dump at 5 Blackhall Street, in a subterranean chamber under the basement, was never discovered, although the premises were raided and wrecked on many occasions by military and auxiliary police. Another story in which Lieut. Breslin figured is worth relating. Information was received that a Redmondite volunteer residing at Marlboro' Road, Donnybrook, was in possession of a Howth rifle. Having decided to get it for the battalion, Peadar dressed in a British Officer's military uniform and accompanied by the tallest volunteer in his company acting the part of a "G" man of the D.M.P., called at the address given. The owner of the rifle had arranged to hand over the weapon to the authorities, and accordingly received the supposed "G" man and British officer very cordially and handed over the Mauser without question. He was much perturbed, it is said, when the authorities called later to collect the gun.

Thus the preparation for the coming fight went on, drilling, field exercises, manœuvres, armed parades and occasional appearances in public when guards of honour and firing parties were required at the funerals of comrades like John Cullen and William

Staines, members of the battalion. The recruiting efforts had met with much success also, the ranks were swelling, new companies were formed, transfers were effected to special squads, as on the formation of a cyclist company within the battalion and the creation of another Battalion of Engineers known later as the Fifth Battalion.

When the General Election of 1918 took place, the battalion was well organised for election work, many members being sent to assist in weak districts in the country. First aid, observation and armed patrol squads were formed about this time. Another general raid for arms was carried out in the area. In addition, arms were imported through private channels, and, of course, by G.H.Q. A large quantity of .303 ammunition, imported from the U.S.A. by G.H.Q., and stored in the premises of Messrs. Dodds, of Smithfield, and Messrs. McAvoy's, of North King Street, was removed just in time to prevent it falling into enemy raiders' hands. The battalion also took an active part in resisting Conscription. On November 11th, 1918, England's war in France ended, and that night the battalion patrolled its area to prevent rowdiness by English soldiers and sympathisers celebrating victory over Germany.

The death of Vol. Richard Coleman at Usk Prison in England brought the Dublin Brigade out again on public parade. The battalion was very well represented on this, the last of such parades, before the second stage of the fight started in earnest. Members were detailed for special duty on the several occasions the battalion, brigade and G.H.Q. were meeting, and for several brigade operations, such as the attempted rescue of an important officer of another battalion and the attempted raid on an R.I.C. convoy at Harcourt Street, conveying munitions to the country. Members of the battalion were also on special duty on the day in October, 1920, when Seán Tracey was killed in Talbot Street.

Several members were seconded for special services and important G.H.Q. appointments, the most notable being the appointment of Peadar Clancy to the post of Vice-Brigadier and of Peadar Breslin to Q.M.G.'s Staff. Before the departure of the latter, the biggest and most daring raid for arms was carried out by the battalion on Collinstown Aerodrome. The raiding party left Parnell Square at about 11.30 p.m. on Wednesday, the 20th March, 1919, and travelled to the aerodrome in motor cars. The approach was by the Ballymun and Swords Roads, the party dividing itself

into two sections for the purpose. One party overpowered the sentry and entered the guard-room by the front entrance. The other section crept across country and succeeded in effecting entrance by the rear of the guard-room, both parties meeting inside. The entire guard, comprising about 30 soldiers, were made prisoners. Within sight of the huts about 200 men of the Royal Air Force were accommodated. While the main body was securing the soldiers in the guard-room and collecting the arms and equipment, two volunteers had gained access to the transport shed. They cut the pipes of all the military lorries and cars garaged there, and prevented pursuit by that means. A capture of 75 rifles and a large quantity of ammunition and equipment was safely brought to the I.R.A. dumps at Clonliffe Road and at the Naul, Co. Dublin. The car, a four-seater Buick, in which 50 of the rifles were being brought to the North Fingal Brigade, was the property of Mr. William Corrigan—a well-known name—from whom it had been commandeered for the raid. When about half-way to the Naul a tyre burst as the result of overloading, of course, and when proceeding at a walking pace, one of the springs broke, but in spite of these occurrences, the consignment was safely delivered at 2.30 a.m. on Thursday morning. The car was driven about two miles away from the dump, where it had to be abandoned. The crew of three men—one of whom, the driver, was a member of the Brigade Transport Service—had to walk to Dublin, which was reached at 10 a.m.

In the following month the battalion lost one of its best company officers, Captain Peadar Healy, after a short illness, but as in the case of the men lost in 1916, other men stepped forward to take his place and carry on the work to which he had devoted himself.

Towards the close of 1919 the I.R. Army and the political arm, Sinn Féin, were working so well and so effectively together that English administration was almost crippled in Dublin. The battalion was compelled to preserve law and order in its area, and one of the duties in this connection carried out was the arrest of a terrorist gang located in Moore Street and known as the "Sons of Dawn." They were tried and sentenced to be flogged, and the sentence was duly carried out by the battalion. About this time also members were sent to Cork, Waterford and Tipperary to exhibit in local cinemas a film advertising Dáil Bonds. More exciting work, however, lay ahead, and specially selected men of the battalion, under the command of the late

Brigadier Dick McKee, attempted to capture an ammunition train at Ashtown, Co. Dublin. The attempt failed owing to the train passing through the station before scheduled time. An attack on another train—a troop train this time—at Newcomen Bridge was also unsuccessful as a result of the premature action of one of the attacking party. In the attack on Lord French, then British Lord Lieutenant in Ireland, the battalion was represented, as indeed it was in practically all the big engagements that took place in Dublin.

Early in 1920 members of the battalion, under the command of Peadar Clancy, held up an armed British military lorry at Berkeley Road with the object of rescuing Robert Barton, who was thought to be a prisoner in the lorry. The occupants were disarmed, and the hold-up was highly successful, if disappointing. It was accomplished by means of a long ladder on a hand-cart being drawn across the road, compelling the lorry to stop. An abortive raid for ammunition was carried out on the B. & I. premises on the South Quay by the Brigade, and again the battalion was represented. The information was misleading, as the imported ammunition was not located on either of the two raids carried out on successive nights. When the raiding party on this operation was retiring, it was encountered and attacked by D.M.P. men in various parts of the city. A police sergeant was killed and another wounded, while an I.R.A. man was badly wounded and others were captured by the police. It was believed to be as a direct result of this operation that Curfew law from 12 midnight until 5 a.m. was proclaimed all over Dublin by the enemy. It was rigidly enforced, but even such a measure as curfew could not prevent volunteer activity. Several members of the battalion arrested on the raid for ammunition on the South Docks were imprisoned in Mountjoy Jail. They went on hunger strike with other prisoners in the jail, who included Comdt. Peadar Clancy, and after ten days' fasting were released under the Cat-and-Mouse Act. They were taken to Jervis Street Hospital where they remained only a short time before leaving in order to avoid re-arrest and trial by court-martial.

Ceaseless activity was now taking place everywhere by the I.R.A., and when G.H.Q. issued orders to destroy Income Tax Offices in the city, the battalion received instructions to destroy the head office in Beresford Place, which was successfully accomplished by fire on April 3rd, 1920. In June a party raided the King's Inns, Henrietta Street,

and having disarmed the English military guard, captured a machine gun, thirty rifles and the entire equipment, ammunition and a number of hand-grenades in their possession. Several of the more active men were transferred. Some were sent to London to operate in the capital city of the enemy, others were retained to form the famous G.H.Q. squad. Closing the ranks again and electing new officers to replace those taken away, battalion activity showed no signs of diminishing. The houses of many enemy supporters in the area were raided, as the inhabitants were suspected of possessing arms. Other methods to procure arms had to be undertaken, and a unit of the battalion attacked a party of British military in Church Street on 20th Sept., 1920, killing and wounding a large number. In the affray, which did not work out to plan, Kevin Barry, a member of H. Company, was captured and an officer and volunteer were wounded. In addition to the military matters, civil affairs were also attended to by the battalion in its area, the most notable of which was the arbitration by battalion officers on the instructions of the Brigade in the rents dispute case between the Dublin Artisans Dwelling Company and its tenants in several Dublin districts. While the arbitration court, attended by the majority of the tenants in the Arbour Hill district, was in session in a hall there, the British military from the adjacent barracks raided the meeting. No arrests were made, as the I.R.A. arbitration officer succeeded in making his escape and saved the documents, which had been hidden in a water jug during the raid.

When Professor O'Carolan's house in Drumcondra was raided by the enemy, a famous Tipperary column leader was wounded. He later succeeded, by the aid of friends, in reaching the Mater Hospital, which the Brigade were informed would be raided for him. With members of the battalion, Brigadier Dick McKee and Peadar Clancy assembled at Eccles Street armed with bombs to attack any enemy party who attempted to enter the hospital. An armoured car approached, but no attempt was made to enter. The wounded I.R.A. man was taken that evening by volunteers to a place of safety, and the protective squad withdrew. Shortly after this, Mr. Peter O'Carroll (father of an officer of the battalion) was murdered by Black and Tans at his home in Manor Street during a raid for his sons.

Kevin Barry had been tried and sentenced to death. A plan was evolved to effect his rescue. It was arranged that one of his

relatives should go to Mountjoy Jail, where he was imprisoned, and seek an interview with him. It was believed that the interview would be granted and given in the prison governor's office which was close to the main entrance gate. A selected rescue party of comrades of his battalion were to rush the gate, shoot the guards, and having taken possession of the main entrance, withdraw with Barry. The attempt was not made, however, as the relatives would not give the necessary permission or participate in the manner indicated. The Brigade then drew up plans with the aid of the battalion to rescue him on the eve of the date fixed for his execution. While the rescuers were actually in position, this attempt was abandoned also; as word was received from Brigade headquarters that he was to be reprieved. The men of the battalion were confident that the rescue could have been successfully carried out, but Kevin Barry was executed the following morning, 1st November, 1920.

Activity was intensified, and before the month had ended a mortal blow was dealt to the enemy forces in Ireland by the operation on what became known as "Bloody Sunday." The houses in the battalion area which were suspected of accommodating British Intelligence Officers were raided without result, as none of the fifteen Intelligence Officers executed that day by the I.R.A. had spent the previous night in any house in the area. The battalion lost one of its best men, Vol. Thomas Ryan, later that day when Black and Tans fired on a crowd of spectators gathered at Croke Park where an inter-county football match between Dublin and Tipperary was in progress. He had been on all the big jobs, including Collinstown Aerodrome, carried out by the battalion. In fact, he took part that morning in the fruitless raid on the houses listed for attention in Marlboro' Road and North Circular Road. On the following day the Brigadier, Dick McKee, Conor Clune, a brother of Archbishop Clune of Melbourne, and the indomitable Peadar Clancy, who was the Vice-Brigadier, fell into the hands of the enemy and were murdered in Dublin Castle by Black and Tans.

An attack on an armoured car at Phibsboro' almost resulted in its capture, but unfortunately the battalion lost a man killed in the action. He was William O'Connell, a native of Lombardstown, Co. Cork, where his comrades of the battalion sent his remains for burial. Raids and surprise attacks for arms went on daily and with fair success. At Kingsbridge Station

rifles and war material were captured on two occasions at least. The enemy's mails were also captured on several occasions—at Dominick Street, Kingsbridge, and on their way to and from the Depot in Phoenix Park. In addition to those already mentioned, ambushes were carried out in Blackhall Street, at Cross Guns Bridge, and in North Frederick Street, and on a troop train at Killester. Enemy property was destroyed wherever possible. In the G.S.R. Goods Yard, at Conyngham Road, the battalion destroyed on several occasions waggons of enemy goods, one of which included a dismantled aeroplane.

The order to place on the streets all the armed patrols possible, ready for attack as opportunity presented itself, was now issued by G.H.Q. of the Irish Republican Army. The supporters of British rule in Ireland were not overlooked, notwithstanding the I.R. Army's pre-occupation with the military forces. The Belfast Boycott, as it was named, of English goods handled by anti-Irish business houses, was being rigidly enforced.

In all these operations the strength of the battalion was diminishing. The capture by the enemy in a raid on G.H.Q., in Eustace Street, of a number of names and addresses of members of the battalion, depleted the ranks still further. The battalion area was combed by the enemy for members. Many fell into their hands, including forty men arrested on parade in Lourdes House, Buckingham Street. They were interned in camps and jails throughout the country. Losses in action and transfers from the battalion to fill the latter gaps were also suffered. Section-Commander Michael Magee, who had been transferred from the battalion to the Dublin Brigade active service unit some time earlier, was mortally wounded when retiring with his comrades after an ambush at Clonturk Park, in Drumcondra area. He was wounded while crossing a wall and was captured by Black and Tans, who removed him to King George V, now St. Brigan's, Hospital, where he died.

At this time the enemy held many important prisoners, the fate of whom was in the balance, and any opportunity to effect their rescue was eagerly watched. With this end in view, a raid was made by members of the battalion on the railway works at Broadstone for bolt cutters used in the famous Kilmainham Escape. Among the best men transferred to flying columns in various parts of the country and to the A.S.U., and Brigade Special Services, Lieut. Frank Flood will rank with the highest. He was

captured in action at Drumcondra and was executed on 3rd March, 1921, at Mountjoy Jail. On this occasion six volunteers made the supreme sacrifice, including Patrick Doyle and Bernard Ryan, also First Battalion men transferred earlier to the A.S. unit and captured with Frank Flood in the Drumcondra engagement. In the attack on the Custom House, Seán Doyle, then a member of the A.S. Unit, transferred from the battalion previously, and a brother of Patrick Doyle, received wounds from which he subsequently died. A number of members of the battalion also took part in the capture by the G.H.Q. "Squad" of an armoured car at the abattoir, North Circular Road, and in many other operations. A special word must also be given to the Cyclist Squad organised within the battalion. It rendered invaluable aid on practically all the battalion's major operations.

Continuously active and eager as ever for action, the battalion took its allotted part in the destruction of the Dublin Custom House. Among other activities, it prevented the Dorset Street section of the Fire Brigade reaching the huge fire that resulted from the operation.

The battalion area was searched for every opportunity to strike at the enemy, and a plan to attack a party of R.I.C. men which, under arms, staged a church parade to Aughrim Street every Sunday, was laid. The parade was usually protected by advance and rear guards of Black and Tans. Two squads of the battalion were to make the actual attack with machine guns operating from two motor cars which would travel along the right flank of the marching R.I.C. men, firing the machine guns as they sped by. The entire vicinity was held to facilitate the escape of the car parties; all preparations were made, houses and business establishments quietly taken over, roads blocked by commandeered horse-carts and trams, when as the R.I.C. men and their Black and Tan escorts turned into Aughrim Street it was found that a spring in one of the machine guns was broken and the weapon was quite useless. It was with the greatest disappointment to the men that their commandant called off the attack. The following Sunday, preparation was again made for an attack, but G.H.Q. this time called it off. It was learned later that negotiations for a truce were in progress. All subsequent plans, such as the proposed attack on walking parties of Black and Tans on the streets, and the general attack on all enemy positions on the eve of the truce, were likewise cancelled at the last moment.

The Second Battalion

WHILST in training and preparing for the forthcoming Rising in Ireland, the Second Battalion, Dublin Brigade, when asked for a test of its fitness and loyalty acquitted itself excellently by contributing to the carrying out of the world famous Howth Gun-Running, so well known for its first big surprise and good result. The "German Mausers," which were obtained, inspired the men because of their having now something to give effect to the idea of the organisation. Hope and spirit were maintained at a high level until Easter Sunday, 1916, a mobilisation order was issued for Father Mathew Park. Soon a countermanding order called the parade off, but to stand by for further orders. In the meantime a guard was left to watch over the ammunition and stores. The Battalion was re-mobilised on the following Easter Monday morning for St. Stephen's Green. A shop, then known as the "Byon," was adopted as temporary headquarters, from which final orders were issued for the positions to be occupied, the main body taking over Messrs. Jacob's biscuit factory, with outposts at Little's of Cuffe Street, Delahunt's of Camden Street, Barmack's in Fumbally Lane, and the district known as "The Tenters." In fortifying Jacob's it was soon discovered that Portobello Bridge, an outpost of Portobello Barracks, was covered from our position. At this enemy outpost a British soldier was shot, thereby forcing them to erect barricades. From our main position we also controlled the Birmingham Tower of "Dublin Castle," again forcing the enemy to fortify that position also, from which they were using a machine gun.

During the ensuing week raiding parties were sent out at various times, over forty being sent to relieve the pressure on Bolands' Mills, thus checking the enemy activities; this sortie having effected its purpose, and while returning to the main body, had one of the men fatally wounded. Early in the week an attack was made by the enemy forces on the Bishop Street front, but owing to our concentrated fire they retired and no further frontal attack was made during the week. In the whole period of occupation the morale of the brave and few was splendid.

Towards the end of the week communication came through from General Head-

quarters relative to the surrender, and so our Commanding Officer, Thomas MacDonagh, left under escort to have the order verified. On his return he stated to the staff the position and later communicated with the garrison the decision to surrender, which was received with very mixed feelings indeed, but carried out by vacating the position in military order under their own immediate officers and laying down the arms at St. Patrick's Park, marching therefrom to Richmond Barracks, where they joined other units of the Dublin Brigade, thus ending a glorious week of a fight against overwhelming odds.

Though the main body of the Second Battalion occupied Jacob's Factory and surroundings, large numbers, owing to hasty re-mobilisation, joined up with other garrisons throughout the city, all acquitting themselves creditably; one of the Battalion's most efficient officers, Thomas Weafer, gave his life early in the week in the O'Connell Street Area. Another section in the Fairview Area did very effective work as an outpost of general headquarters.

While the greater majority were in English prisons and internment camps, those who escaped arrest got to work in keeping the Organisation together, which gradually filled up as releases took place, until the general re-organisation on the release of the sentenced men, when the whole Brigade was established under its new title "The Irish Volunteer Republican Army."

The Second Battalion established its headquarters in Clonliffe Hall, Clonliffe Road, where a staff of Instructors undertook the training of Officers and N.C.O.'s of the rapidly increasing companies, such work being carried on with marked success until the Unit was equipped to resume its activities. The first public demonstration of renewed strength was the Thomas Ashe funeral in September, 1917, in which this Battalion took no mean part, some forming the firing party, the armed rear guard being composed of one of its companies. At the first All-Ireland Volunteer Convention held at Jones' Road, portion of the armed guard was supplied by this Battalion. In April, 1918, Conscription was passed by the British; but, due to the firm stand made by the Volunteers, it was not enforced upon Ireland. This demonstration was followed by the suppression of our army and kindred bodies,

with the inevitable result of augmenting the various companies, some amongst us increasing 100 per cent. Almost immediately we paraded again as a military force in the funeral of Richard Coleman, who had died in an English prison. We later endeavoured to rescue Robert Barton from Mountjoy Jail, who at another period actually did make good his escape which, together with many other escapes, caused perplexity to the enemy forces.

This Battalion determined on giving a good account of itself in the war for Irish independence, engaged in very many and varied activities, as the following summary of most notable incidents will readily indicate:—

An attack on Lord French and his armed bodyguard at Ashtown Cross; Lieut. Martin Savage lost his life in that stern battle. A well-planned raid for arms on Collinstown Aerodrome resulted in complete success, the enemy being taken unawares. The capturing of a number of arms and ammunition from the British and Irish Shipping Company. A raid on mails in Dominick Street, from which valuable information was obtained relative to enemy plans and activities. Destroying of British income tax offices with their contents, thus very much confusing local government administration and causing great loss of revenue. The setting fire to the police barrack in Raheny, Co. Dublin, rendering local administration very difficult. Raid on the chief sorting office, the Rotunda Rink, capturing therefrom the mails belonging to "Dublin Castle," the headquarters of the enemy, who were angered very much and suffered loss of pride by this capturing of documents. Raid on King's Inns building, surprising the guard and taking away of guns, ammunition and stores. Ambushes on British lorries, each usually containing 15 to 20 fully armed soldiers and police, in Talbot Street, Parnell Square (where one of our men was wounded but taken away to safety), junction of Dorset Street and Blessington Street, Binns Bridge, Drumcondra, Ballybough Bridge (where one of our men was wounded), junction of North Circular Road and Ballybough, Whitehall. Raid for arms and equipment on Rev. Green's, North Great George's Street. Raid on Clarence Hotel—in this case a District Inspector of Police had arrived not long before with guns and ammunition; during the raid much difficulty was experienced by the two men holding up the full billiard room at rear of hotel, the billiard attendant and porter evidently scenting the cause and wanting by any means to get word out to the enemy; however, the guns were captured. Unfortunately the



RICHARD COLEMAN.

D.I. was not present to receive his guests: as the last of the raiding party left the hotel three lorries of soldiers and two armoured cars whirled round from the nearby Dublin Castle only to find their prey had speedily vanished. A good quantity of gelignite taken from Great Northern Railway. Relieving the Air Force of their rifles at the Vegetable Market. Burning of 250 motor lorry tyres, destined for the British troops, at British and Irish Shipping Company. Capturing of an immense British Army stores at Messrs. Wallace, Portland Row.

An invitation was sent to Dublin Castle regarding rebel meetings at 100 Seville Place. They did not, however, jump to the occasion, fortunately for themselves, as the Battalion lay in waiting all along the Great Northern Railway, very fully armed and in full command of all approaches to Seville Place. The warmth of the host was not accepted.

On another occasion a cordon of about 300 armed enemy soldiers cut off the Summerhill-Mountjoy Square district for three days, during that time interrogating every man within the boundary, putting them through the second degree in the centres of the roads, also searching all houses. On the second night our Unit paraded at Oriel Hall, Seville Place, were supplied with Winchester

Second Battalion Staff Officers



[Lafayette.

Back Row, left to right—CAPTAINS H. COLLEY, P. P. GALLIGAN, COMMANDANT LEO HENDERSON, CAPTAINS T. MELDON, AND A. DOYLE.

Second Row, left to right—LIEUTENANT J. W. COLLINS, CAPTAINS J. WARD, C. DALY, J. MOONEY, J. FOLEY, LIEUTENANT R. HEALY, AND CAPTAIN J. DOYLE.

Front Row, left to right—CAPTAINS T. SLEATOR, M. W. O'REILLY, COMMANDANT F. HENDERSON, COMMANDANT T. ENNIS, BRIGADE COMMANDANT O. TRAYNOR, AND CAPTAIN P. O'DALY.

rifles, grenades and revolvers, and awaited instructions for a massed attack, which unfortunately did not happen, owing to the impossibility of coaxing away from the barricades the crowds of women and children who curiously looked on the military movements within the cordon until the early hours of each morning, thereby spoiling what most likely would have been the best battle of the entire war since 1916. Headquarters Staff meetings at Gardiner's Place, guarded by this Unit, were never interfered with, supposedly because of the possible displeasure. The capturing of about 50 British military passes from the A.B.C. Printing Works, O'Connell Street, proved a great asset, as they were used all over the country to great advantage; many armed camps were penetrated with the aid of those leaflets.

The Dublin Brigade decided on special armed squads to deal with enemy secret service agents. North Dublin played a very conspicuous part in this very important work, coping with their opponents very brilliantly after careful planning and investigations. Towards the end of 1920 this enemy service increased its activities owing to the demoralisation of their army, and so it became imperative to take action against this body. Again this Battalion was called upon to render service which was successfully accomplished on November 21st, when a number of those agents succumbed to the far superior though infinitely smaller Volunteer Army. There were regular nightly armed patrols, prepared to take on anything that came their way. In this connection a very notable and frequent feature was the passing speedily, at a distance, of fully-manned military lorries, often three to four times. It is thought they were taking stock, looking for easy approach and encirclement, but their cunning was always foiled. The interrupting at and breaking up of British recruiting meetings were often well done.

On the eve of the Truce, in conjunction with selected members from the full

Dublin Brigade, armed groups were placed at all important or prominent points in the centre of the city to engage groups of officers and auxiliaries who were expected, as many were known to have booked for the evening performances at the different theatres, or had other appointments. This big job was, however, called off at the eleventh hour, because of reasons better known to our superiors.

The Battle of the Custom House prior to cessation of hostilities, is generally agreed to have had a very material effect on the bringing about of the Truce and subsequent negotiations. The Second Battalion formed the major portion of the body that took over the building, dismissed the big staff housed therein, destroyed all official papers and afterwards made a gallant stand against the attacking forces, who were equipped with big guns, machine guns, rifles and all material at their disposal, until the structure became a mass of flames. Daniel Head, Patrick and Stephen O'Reilly and Edward Dorrins were killed.

The other fight which did immense credit to this same section of the Irish Volunteer Republican Army was the attack on the L.N.W. Railway Hotel, a stronghold of the Auxiliaries. The surrounding district at the North Wall was very congested and hence did not afford much facilities for the offensive, but courage and determination compensated. Actually a Volunteer walked up to the main entrance, shot and disarmed the guard, thus initiating the battle that was fierce while it lasted, ending in defeat for the defenders and further laurels for the combination known as the "Gallant Second." Another incident out of the ordinary was the attacking and capturing of an armoured car, which was at once used to gain admission to the almost impregnable Mountjoy Prison. No prisoners were released however, but location was learned which proved very valuable in later attempts. Two enemy soldiers were killed in this combat.

"We of the Irish Volunteers, and you others, who are associated with us in to-day's task and duty, are bound together and must stand together henceforth in brotherly union for the achievement of the freedom of Ireland."

—P. H. Pearse.

The Third Battalion

THE month of November, 1913, saw the formation of the Irish Volunteers, following the monster meeting held in the Rotunda Rink. And among the Units organised was the Third Battalion, Dublin Brigade, the members of which were drawn from the South-East portion of the city. The Headquarters of the Battalion were in the Workmen's Club, 41 York Street, Dublin, and in the early days of the Organisation the enrolment of members and their initial training was carried out in the hall attached to the premises. Amongst the first officers to be appointed to the command of Companies were Professor Eoin McNeill, The O'Rahilly, Seán Fitzgibbon and Eamon de Valera. At a subsequent date the system of appointing officers by the Executive was substituted by the method whereby each Company elected its own officers from the ranks.

As the strength of the Battalion increased it became necessary to seek additional training ground, and an open space in the rear of Lower Camden Street and Camden Row was acquired, and it was from here that the Battalion marched out to Howth via the Father Mathew Park, Fairview, where it joined the other Battalions of the Dublin Brigade on that historic Sunday, July 26th, 1914, when the first arms were landed and distributed to the assembled Volunteers.

Most of the men who participated in this event returned to their homes the proud possessors of Mauser rifles, in spite of the fact that the British military held up the column on its return at Howth Road and attempted to disarm our men. In this they were unsuccessful, although ammunition had not been issued. If cartridges had been available it is certain that many lives would have been lost, and only God knows what the effect would have been on future events. The frustration of the attempt to disarm the Volunteers had a tragic sequel. When the British soldiers were returning to barracks they opened fire on a crowd of civilians—men, women and children, at Bachelor's Walk, and killed three men. The funeral of the victims was the occasion of a great public demonstration in which the Third Battalion participated.

In August, 1914, the Great War broke out, and when, on September 24th, the Provisional Committee of the Volunteers decided to sever its connection with Mr. John Redmond,

following the latter's declaration of policy (that the Volunteers should help to fight England's battles), the organisation was split throughout the entire country. The ranks of the Third Battalion were considerably depleted, but this ill effect was balanced by the knowledge that those who remained loyal to the Executive and Ireland, now that the issue and purpose of the Volunteers was made clear, were setting to work in training and collecting arms with a spirit of enthusiasm that augured well for their sincerity when the time came to answer the call. During the period between the foregoing episode and the Insurrection of 1916 the Third Battalion, together with the other units of the Volunteers, were engaged (along with their other activities) in attempting to prevent recruiting for the British forces, and while so engaged several members of the Battalion were arrested outside Croke Park.

On Whit Sunday, 1915, a parade of Volunteers took place in Limerick, in which the Dublin Brigade participated and the Third Battalion was represented in force.

In August, 1915, the remains of the Fenian leader, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, were brought to Ireland for interment, and at the funeral the Third Battalion was selected to perform certain special duties, and this was considered as a tribute to the general efficiency of the Unit.

In the interval between the "Split" and Easter Week, 1916, the organisation and training of the Battalion had been continued with determination, and the officers and men had been exercised in field training and street fighting. The high degree of proficiency reached was to be demonstrated when the Battalion was so well tested during the week of the Insurrection. By the beginning of 1916 the Battalion had increased its strength to approximately 400 men, organised into six Companies—A, B, C, D, E and F (Dun Laoghaire). They were well organised, equipped and armed, and considered by their officers to be capable of rendering a good account of themselves under active service conditions.

Due to the doubt and confusion in the minds of many men, because of the order countermanding the mobilisation for Easter which had been published on Easter Sunday, the number of men who responded to the mobilisation on Easter Monday was

Third Battalion Staff Officers



[Lafayette.

Back, left to right—CAPTAINS L. KAVANAGH, J. DOYLE, G. WHITE, L. NUGENT, AND J. O'CONNOR.

Second Row, left to right—CAPTAINS G. HEUSTON, C. FARRELL, M. CONNOLLY, LIEUTENANT SEÁN CONDRON, CAPTAINS J. FITZGERALD, H. FARRELL, AND F. CASEY.

Front, left to right—CAPTAINS P. CONDRON, M. TANNAM, T. J. CULLEN, VICE-COMMANDANT SIMON DONNELLY, Q.M.G. SEÁN McMAHON, CAPTAINS L. LEDWIDGE AND S. KAVANAGH.

only about 120. In spite of this great handicap, however, the spirit of the men on parade was high, as they proceeded to carry out the orders issued to them.

In the plans for Easter Week the G.H.Q. Staff had allotted to the Third Battalion the task of defending about two miles of railway line, railway workshops, Bolands' Bakery, Bolands' Mill, a large section of canal, the Gas Works, railway bridges, canal bridges, and the numerous avenues of approach to those positions.

To organise and defend an area of this extent against a strong enemy would normally require the employment of thousands of troops armed with machine guns and supported by artillery. And when one considers the numerical weakness of the Third Battalion, armed only with rifles, revolvers and shot guns, and remembers that this small force sustained the repeated attacks of a greatly superior force, armed with the most advanced modern weapons, for almost the entire week, it can be claimed without fear of contradiction that the part played by the battalion reflects the greatest honour on all officers and men concerned.

Among the outposts occupied by the battalion was one at No. 25 Northumberland Road, a private residence which stood at the right hand junction of Northumberland Road and Haddington Road as one faces Ballsbridge, and a support position in Clanwilliam House, which was situated on the left hand side of Lower Mount Street and in rear of the Canal Bridge. These posts controlled one of the principal avenues of approach from Dun Laoghaire. The defence of this area was in the hands of about twelve men under the command of Lieutenant Michael Malone and Section-Commander George Reynolds.

On Monday and Tuesday the men in these posts were subjected to some vigorous sniping by British troops who had gained entrance to some houses in the vicinity, but no attempt was made to dislodge our men by assault until Wednesday, April 26th.

On that day an enemy force consisting of two battalions of the Sherwood Foresters—^{300 strong}—were reported to be advancing through Ballsbridge, and in a short time were seen approaching with great caution availing themselves of every piece of cover. The small garrison of No. 25 Northumberland Road allowed the British to advance to point blank range before opening fire, with the result that the enemy were thrown into disorder and suffered many casualties. After this check the enemy took cover and subjected the house to a fierce fire from



LIEUT. MICHAEL MALONE

**Officer in Charge of Outposts, Mount Street Bridge,
Killed in Action, 1916**

rifles and machine guns. The garrison of "25" replied to this with effect and the duel continued for some time. Seeing that this method of attack was not meeting with success in forcing the surrender or evacuation of the garrison, the enemy then resorted to an assault with grenades, and this enabled them to carry the position after reducing the interior of the house to a shambles. In the final infantry assault Lieutenant Malone was killed.

Having disposed of one obstacle the enemy continued their advance, but had not gone far when they were again checked by a well-controlled volume of fire from Clanwilliam House, which was under the command of Section-Commander Reynolds. This house completely dominated the roadway because of its position. Viewed from the Ballsbridge side it seemed to be out of line with the rest of the street and to appear to stand in the middle of the bridge. The defenders were consequently in a position of great advantage, and used it to the utmost. Reorganising their forces after the first failure to cross the bridge, the enemy attempted an assault in force but were again driven back as the Volunteers poured forth a steady, well-aimed trail of lead from their rifles and revolvers. So effective was their fire that the roadway was strewn with dead

and wounded, who lay there for hours unattended.

Throughout the day the British charged again but without attaining their objective, and had eventually to resort to the use of incendiary bullets and bombs to make the house untenable. Only when the building was in flames and three of the noble defenders had been killed, did the British pass the bridge. The names of the Volunteers killed were Section-Commander George Reynolds, Volunteer Richard Murphy and Volunteer Patrick Doyle.

The casualties of the British forces in this engagement were admitted by the British Commander-in-Chief, General J. G. Maxwell, in his official report, as 4 officers killed, 14 wounded, and 216 other ranks killed and wounded.

In the course of this report General Maxwell also states—" . . . at about 8 p.m. after careful arrangements the whole column, accompanied by bombing parties, attacked—the battalions charging in successive waves—and carried all before them." What a tribute from the enemy! That they had found it necessary to employ 800 infantry assisted by bombing parties "charging in successive waves" to pass a bridge held by a handful of amateur soldiers, and what a glorious chapter in the history of a glorious week was written in fire and blood by this gallant band! May their memory live for ever!

Having forced the passage of Mount Street, the British reinforcements continued on towards Trinity College, establishing posts on the way, and from this until the surrender on Sunday the battalion was subjected to attack after attack by day and night. To give an accurate detailed account of all that transpired within the Third Battalion zone of action during the week of the Insurrection would require more space than is available. But perhaps the reader may be able to estimate the courage, determination and morale of all ranks by comparing the relative strength and armament of the opposing forces. On one hand is found little more than 100 badly armed men, whose training had been received in the hours after their work and business was completed, and on the other hand we have the might of the British Empire at the peak of its military strength and with the experience gained in two years of active warfare.

Throughout the week the men of the battalion conducted themselves in the most chivalrous manner and observed most scrupulously all the rules of warfare, and in no case did any action of theirs dishonour the glorious cause for which they fought. The British, on the other hand, ignored the

rules of war whenever it suited their purpose, as is instanced in their use of the roofs of Haddington Road and Westland Row churches as machine gun posts, and the windows of Sir Patrick Dun's Hospital as posts from which they sniped our men.

About noon on Sunday, April 30th, the Battalion Commander, Commandant Eamon de Valera, received the order to surrender from two members of Cumann na mBan (Miss O'Farrell and Miss Grennan), and after some delay he went forward to the British officers who had accompanied the girls, and arranged the details of laying down of arms, and thus brought to a close the first military active service in which the Third Battalion had participated. But a tradition had been created which was to be the inspiration of many in the years immediately following when the battalion would again write its name across the pages of Irish history.

The battalion's casualties during the week were seven dead and seven wounded. They were not heavy considering the terrific odds.

* * *

The period following the Rising, with its attendant executions, imprisonments and martial law, had a profound effect upon the Irish public, and from careless indifference and an acceptance of British occupation, the people caught the fire and patriotism which had animated the men of the Irish Volunteers, and the Fenian spirit again ran throughout the country. The Irish Volunteer prisoners in English jails and internment camps became national heroes. The aim of an independent Ireland became the goal of the Irish people—thus justifying the foresight and actions of the minority, who had awakened the masses from their national unconsciousness. This was the atmosphere to which the Easter Week men returned after their release from jails and camps, and when G.H.Q. ordered the reorganisation of all units, the Third Battalion was again to the fore, and in a very short time could report that all the old companies were again ready to take the field when called upon, with greatly increased numbers. The area allotted to the battalion was from Ringsend along the south side of the Liffey to Capel Street Bridge, a large section of the south city and county, including a portion of the Dublin mountains as far as Bray. This was subdivided into thirteen company areas, which were designated A, B, C, D, E, G, K, and cyclists within the city area and five company areas in South County Dublin. The latter companies were later transferred to another battalion, and their activities are not covered within this article.

During 1917 the companies of the battalion were actively engaged in training, and each week-night was devoted to drill and lectures in the use of weapons and the various phases of warfare. In addition, selected men were detailed to attend special classes in which they were instructed in signalling, engineering, first aid, musketry (advanced), and other specialist services. And each week-end would find units engaged in rifle practice and tactical exercises in the Dublin mountains. During one of the rifle practices, K Company were unfortunate in having one of the men, James Gallagher, killed as a result of an accident on the range. This was the first casualty to a Volunteer after Easter Week. The Volunteers entered into all those activities with a spirit of eagerness which it would be very hard to equal. To appreciate this it will have to be realised that the men were for the most part in employment, and had to sacrifice a very large part of their recreational time to engage in the task they had voluntarily undertaken.

As the larger part of the weapons which had been available before Easter Week had been surrendered or captured after the Rising, the reorganised army had to make provision for new supplies, and had, of course, to do so under less advantageous conditions. But as long as the enemy possessed arms, the Volunteers felt that ways and means could be found to separate them.

This resulted in a keen friendly spirit of rivalry being born within the battalion, each company endeavouring to supplement its armament by larger quantities than the others and by better planned operations. The European War being on, and in consequence soldiers on leave from the various fronts were daily arriving in Ireland. And as each soldier had to carry his rifle with him while on leave, the men of the battalion availed of the opportunity provided, and in consequence the battalion could boast of being fairly well armed with Lee-Enfield rifles and ammunition.

Another source of supply was the homes of British officers and people who were hostile to national aspirations. In many of their homes could be found weapons of all sorts, which had been brought home from some of the battlefields as souvenirs or had been acquired in some other way. Our men became very proficient in obtaining information of such cases, and very soon would pay a visit and commandeer the guns for the use of the Irish people's army. These raids for arms were very numerous, and resulted in the acquisition of a mis-



SECT. COMMANDER GEORGE REYNOLDS
Killed while in Command of Clanwilliam House,
Mount Street Bridge, 1916

cellaneous collection of arms and equipment which were always welcomed by the Quartermasters. As an instance of the speed and accuracy with which information was obtained the following may be quoted. A newly-arrived British Provost Marshal took up his residence in Haddington Road, Dublin, and within a few hours was called upon by some members of "K" Company, who persuaded him to surrender a number of guns in his possession, on the pretence that they were police officers who were engaged in taking up the weapons to prevent them falling into the hands of rebels. The British countered our activities by ordering all troops arriving in Ireland on leave to deposit their arms at the place of disembarkation, and by instructing all law-abiding persons to surrender any arms in their possession to the police or military authorities.

Even the enemy's barracks were not safe from our men, and "A" Company succeeded in obtaining a supply of rifles and ammunition from Wellington Barracks, Dublin, and "B" Company were similarly successful in a raid on the British Embarkation Store at the North Wall, where they procured seven rifles. "D" Company carried out a raid on the Coastguard Station

at Ringsend, and also obtained some equipment. Each of the remaining companies were also active in a similar way, and all company quartermasters were experiencing difficulties in finding safe deposits for their very valuable stores, particularly as the British Intelligence Service were using every method known to them to discover the whereabouts of the dumps. Raids for arms by enemy forces became more frequent as each week passed. On one occasion the battalion dump at St. Michael's Hill was in danger of a raid, and the entire stores, consisting of rifles, revolvers, ammunition, grenades, gelignite, etc., was removed to other dumps within a couple of hours, under the very eyes of the enemy's police, without the loss of a single article.

Our drill halls and training centres were also the object of considerable attention from both police and military, and in consequence alternative ground had to be provided. To avoid the danger of raids during training, it became necessary to guard each hall and also to place men on watch at all police and military barracks to observe any enemy movement which might be preliminary to a raid taking place. This duty was carried out by the cyclist company, and was performed with commendable success. On several occasions their keenness and speed prevented the enemy from making captures of men and arms. Of course, the enemy's raids were not always abortive, and on one occasion a company was surprised in 41 York Street, and although many of the men escaped through a skylight, a number of officers and men were arrested and received sentences varying from three to six months imprisonment.

During 1917 the Irish National Volunteer Hall at 44 Parnell Square was raided by "K" Company, and a number of rifles, ammunition and documents were captured and sent on to G.H.Q., and a short time later the same company again raided the premises and entered into occupation. This hall remained in the hands of the Irish Volunteers throughout the period of the Anglo-Irish War, and was a very useful acquisition as a training centre and headquarters.

The battalion also took part in the Longford election in April, 1917, where it performed duty of a protective nature. This was necessary because of the organised intimidation against the Sinn Fein party, and were it not for this protection it is possible that the election would have resulted in the defeat of the Sinn Fein candidate, Joe McGuinness, an Easter Week man, who was then a prisoner in Lewes Gaol.

Duty of a similar nature was performed in South Armagh and East Cavan during the year. Members of the battalion also took part in the defence of Sinn Fein headquarters at 6 Harcourt Street, when it was attacked on the night of 13th November, 1918.

When conscription was threatened in 1918, and headquarters decided to contest its application to Ireland by a recourse to arms, the Third Battalion was found to be in a very advanced state of organisation, and ready to meet the enemy and inflict casualties out of all proportion to the number of conscripts which he would obtain. Elaborate plans for defence had been drawn up, and included a scheme whereby each company would become a self-contained independent unit with its complement of men trained in engineering, signalling, first aid and other necessary special services. Each officer and man knew in advance the part he would be required to play, and felt confident of his own and his comrades' ability and loyalty to carry out the orders issued.

During the General Election of 1918 the battalion also gave its aid to the Republican Party, and when the First Dáil was called into being as a result of Sinn Fein's success, the Third Battalion contributed its quota of men to act as guard and defend Ireland's first Republican Government, when it met in the Mansion House, Dublin, on 21st January, 1919, and subsequent dates.

After the establishment of the Republic by a majority vote of the Irish people, the enemy's effort to subdue the movement was intensified, and raids, arrests and imprisonments became the daily routine, and in consequence the effort to train and equip the army became more difficult. Training centres, unit headquarters and dumps had to be changed with increasing frequency, but this had no ill effect on the morale of the men, in fact it can be claimed that the opposite was the case. Our losses in arms and equipment within the Third Battalion were relatively small, and were soon liquidated by raids on the enemy's stores and the homes of his friends. Among the places raided were the Junior Army and Navy Stores, British and Irish Steam Packet Co. (three times), a British "Q" ship at North Wall, from which a number of shells were captured, together with small arms; and the most fruitful source of all was a shed at the docks which was being used as a clearance store for arms and ammunition which had been evacuated from the Western Front. The quantity of supplies taken out of this store was very great, as the Third

Battalion had succeeded in getting its men on to the store staff, and had consequently no difficulty in locating and marking down the most suitable material for our needs.

The battalion also participated with other battalions in the raid on Collinstown Aerodrome on March 20th, 1919. This was one of the most daring and successful raids carried out during this period, and resulted in the capture of a large quantity of arms and ammunition.

In pursuance of the policy of An Dáil, that the enemy's civil administration should be hampered and destroyed where possible, it was ordered that all income tax offices should be raided and all records found should be burned. Within the Third Battalion area there were about ten of these offices, and they were concertly put out of operation on the night of April 3rd, 1920.

The numerous successful attacks on R.I.C. barracks throughout the country had forced the British to evacuate a large number of isolated barracks and withdraw the men to the cities and towns, where they could be assured of prompt help from the military forces in the event of attack. This evacuation was the signal for our men to immediately demolish the buildings and so prevent the enemy from re-occupying them when occasion demanded. This task was carried out within the Third Battalion area in April, 1920, when four barracks were destroyed. But the battalion were unfortunate in having two members lose their lives as a result of an accidental explosion at Ballybrack, Co. Dublin.

In June, 1920, the British Army guard on the King's Inns was surprised and their entire arms and equipment captured. Although this was not a Third Battalion operation, a number of our members participated and performed their tasks efficiently.

To "G" Company, Third Battalion, must be given the credit for the disarming of twelve British military policemen at 10 o'clock on the night of July 29th, 1920, in College Green, Dublin. This daring coup was carried out without a hitch, and displayed the high standard of discipline and efficiency that existed within the battalion.

This general efficiency had been observed by Brigade and General Headquarters, and they proceeded to levy toll by transferring men to various appointments outside the battalion, and as a result the battalion could claim to have its men serving on many Brigade and Divisional Staffs from Cork to Donegal, and even on the Army Council in the person of Seán McMahan, who was appointed Quartermaster-General, an office

which he filled with distinction during the most difficult period of the fight. For the working of his department it was necessary to organise a staff of men who combined courage with resourcefulness and initiative, and it was from the Third Battalion that he selected a large proportion. The G.H.Q. Intelligence Department also had men of the Third Battalion serving on it, and when the Brigade Active Service Unit was formed, its first commander was a Third Battalion man, the late Commandant Paddy Flanagan, of "C" Company, and approximately twenty other men from the battalion were also selected for this important unit. At a later stage in the war, G.H.Q. decided to send a number of men as organisers and instructors throughout the country, and for this purpose required men of intelligence and keenness, and as "C" Company, Third Battalion, had a number of University students in its ranks who were willing to perform this duty, between fifteen and twenty of them were sent to various districts where they performed their work to the satisfaction of G.H.Q.

The battalion also suffered the loss of a number of officers and men through arrest and imprisonment because of their military activities, and its representatives could be found among the leading elements in every fight and strike that occurred in jails and camps to obtain recognition for their status as political prisoners.

Arms of all descriptions were by this time available to all units, and they included a good supply of hand grenades, which had been manufactured in our own munition works, an institution which had been set up by the Quartermaster-General. These weapons were of special use in the city streets, and together with revolvers and pistols were the exclusive armament of our men, as rifles were impracticable because of the limited space and the difficulty of concealment. In consequence, practically all our rifles and shot guns were sent to G.H.Q. for distribution amongst the country brigades; where they were used to arm the flying columns.

The coming of the Auxiliaries and "Black and Tans" to reinforce the regular British Army was the signal for the I.R.A. to resist the campaign of ruthless savagery which these forces proceeded to inflict on the Irish people. The personnel of these forces were well qualified to carry out the mission allotted to them, as they were composed of ex-British officers who had served during the war and of ex-convicts, many of whom had been serving sentences for the most heinous forms of crime. Discipline was not

encouraged among them. They were free to commit and did commit innumerable crimes against the Irish people. And their memory will live for all time as one of the worst blots on the reputation of the Bloody British Empire. The Third Battalion was the first unit in the Dublin Brigade to engage a party of Auxiliaries, whom they surprised at Ballsbridge Post Office while escorting mails to their headquarters at Beggars Bush Barracks. The mails were captured by our men, and were of considerable value to our Intelligence Officers at G.H.Q., who obtained very important information from them. The battalion also took part in a raid at Westland Row Railway Station, when the mailed despatches from England to Dublin Castle were captured.

The time was now ripe to intensify the war against the Crown forces, and the Third Battalion, by its discipline, enterprise and daring, soon made itself conspicuous as one of the premier units in the army. Night after night, units of the battalion could be found on the streets carrying out attacks and ambushes on the enemy, and even during the day the unemployed members were engaged in similar activities.

It can be claimed that at least 100 armed attacks were made by units of the Third Battalion. One part of the battalion area, the line of streets formed by Aungier Street, Wexford Street, Redmond's Hill and Camden Street, was referred to by the Crown forces as "The Dardanelles" on account of the numerous attacks made on the enemy passing over this route. A considerable number of casualties were inflicted on the troops and Auxiliaries as a result of the ceaseless activity of our men.

To ensure the success of all operations carried out against an enemy whose numbers and armament were so greatly superior to ours, it was necessary to prepare each operation by careful observation of the enemy's habits and movements, and to so direct the attack that the element of surprise would not be absent. The men of the battalion soon became very proficient in applying this principle, and in consequence most of the battalion's activities were carried out without any loss to us of men or arms.

In the operations carried out on "Bloody Sunday," 21st November, 1921, the units of the battalion performed their tasks with their customary efficiency, and in most of the operations allotted to them their objective was attained.

In March, 1921, a large body of Auxiliaries and troops were ambushed in Brunswick Street (now Pearse Street), and in the course



LEO FITZGERALD

B. Coy., 3rd Battalion, killed in action, 14th March, 1921

of a very prolonged fight, "B" Company had two men killed, Bernard O'Hanlon and Leo Fitzgerald, and another of their men, Thomas Traynor, was captured and later executed. The men of the company, however, had the satisfaction of knowing that they had inflicted severe casualties on their enemies.

The biggest ambush which took place in the Dublin Brigade area was carried out by "K" Company early in 1921, on a line running from Lower Mount Street—Merrion Square North—Clare Street to corner of Kildare Street. Over this route the enemy were attacked from three points, and suffered a number of casualties, but the attacking company came out of the fight without any loss.

This company also carried out a daring raid at Westland Row Railway Station, during curfew hours, on the night of 1st-2nd May, 1921, when they seized and carried away a large quantity of armoured plating which was used on look-out posts over a large section of the railway line. For this operation the company had the distinction of receiving from the Chief of Staff, G.H.Q., a written commendation for the splendid manner in which they had carried out this difficult operation.

May 14th, 1921, saw the destruction of the Custom House, Dublin, an outstanding operation which struck at the heart of the

enemy's civil administration. To effectively carry it out it was necessary to employ a large number of men, and the Third Battalion played a very prominent part, each company supplying its quota of men to perform protective duty for the men actually engaged in setting fire to this very extensive building. Other Third Battalion men were posted at Tara Street and Ballsbridge Fire Stations to prevent the sections of the Brigade from responding to the frantic appeals which were sent out when the conflagration started. Our men performed their duties on this occasion with the same ability as they had displayed in all previous operations.

The Third Battalion was always prepared and ready to act when the opportunity presented itself, and it continued its activities against the enemy up to the night of the Truce on 11th July, 1921, and contributed in no small way to the success which brought about this great victory for Irish arms.

The enemy never disclosed the true

number of his casualties in any fight because of the danger of wrecking the morale of his men, which was strained to breaking point. But our men knew that their attacks were effective in inflicting casualties, and we are confident that, were the correct figures available, they would make a considerable number.

The Third Battalion did not, of course, escape without casualties, but our losses in killed, executed and men who died from wounds were small in proportion to the number and seriousness of the attacks made, and in all did not exceed thirty. Of our wounded, many are still alive, and some can be found in asylums, hospitals, workhouses and sanatoria, and are a living indication of the brave, unselfish spirit that animated all ranks throughout the years of the fight. In the words of Commandant-General James Connolly, quoted from his last Order: "Never had man or woman a grander cause, never was cause more grandly served."

COMMANDANT DE VALERA'S COMMAND.

A RE-UNION

OF ABOVE WILL TAKE PLACE

AT 41 YORK STREET,

On Thursday, 2nd August, 1917.

At 8 p.m.

Address by Comdt. De Valera.

TICKET, 1/-

Name

Andy McDonnell

Gaelic Press, Printers, 30 Upr. Liffey Street, Dublin.

A Re-Union of all men who had taken part in the Rising, under the command of Commandant De Valera, was held at 41 York Street, on August 2nd, 1917.

Commandant De Valera, in the course of his address, explained the positions to be held by the Third Battalion, and how he had gone over the ground prior to the Rising with great difficulty, making good use of the railway between Lansdowne Road and Westland Row Stations.

About 120 men attended the Re-Union; admission was confined to those who had taken part in the Rising under the command of Commandant De Valera.

The total number in this command was roughly 180 strong.

The above is a photograph of the actual ticket issued to Andy McDonnell, then a member of E Company, Third Battalion.

Fourth Battalion Council



[Lafayette.

Back, left to right—CAPTAINS P. LAMB, F. X. COUGHLAN, D. O'BRIEN, B. BRADY, F. DOWLING, AND A. T. WALSH.

Front, left to right—CAPTAINS J. KINSELLA, T. DOYLE, J. DONNELLY, COMMANDANT SEÁN DOWLING, VICE-COMMANDANT C. BYRNE, AND CAPTAIN S. O'SHAUGHNESSY.

The Fourth Battalion

STARTING in 1914 with 300 men out of 2,500 on the register before "the Split," these members of the Fourth Battalion realised the meaning of P. H. Pearse's words at the eventful meeting of the 25th November, 1913, in the Rotunda. They knew where they stood when the split in the Fourth Battalion took place in historic Larkfield, which later became famous as Battalion Headquarters. Situated in the Kimmage district, at that time open and largely country, Larkfield was garrisoned up to the date of the Rising. In addition to its use as Headquarters of the battalion it was garrisoned as a General Headquarters by a company of volunteers consisting of Irishmen who had returned from England to take part in the fight. This special unit was very closely associated with the Fourth Battalion, and a number of the surviving members joined companies in the battalion on the reorganisation subsequent to the Rising. In these pleasant surroundings, the important business of organisation was carried on apace by the men who earlier stood fast in a vain effort to keep the ranks intact. It is worthy of mention that the Inchicore Company (subsequently known as F) must be given the honour of having the least number of defections. It was consequently the strongest unit in the battalion at this time. The remaining units were then intensively organised and to good effect. Many who had joined at the Recruiting Office, opened in March, 1914, in 34 Camden Street, and who were puzzled by the confusion in National thinking at the time of the split, now rejoined. Perhaps it was the sight of Pearse that inspired them, for there in 34 Camden Street he was to be seen at the time—austere, scholarly and very serious looking, the brain and motive power of the whole organisation.

Weekly collections for the purchase of arms were made in the ranks. Instruction in the use of rifles and other training was given for the momentous days ahead. A ballot used to be held in the units for the rifles purchased as they became available. The source of supply, however, could not fulfil the demand, and the now well-known decision to import arms on a large scale was taken. This would provide an opportunity to test the volunteers, and the success of the training could be judged. The decision to import arms was destined to be

the first of the most notable events that preceded 1916, and is known to-day as the Howth Gun Running. The event can also be regarded as the most important. It was surely the first milestone, and the "Fourth" took its allotted part. On the way back, now armed with fine but unfortunately empty Mauser rifles, the men felt proud of their achievement.

In military formation the Irish Volunteers marched as far as Howth Road. The Fourth got through intact, and were in fact in the front line when reaching the City end of the Howth Road, although they were in the rear at the commencement of the march. The story of this episode makes thrilling reading, but only a passing mention of the Fourth Battalion's small part is permissible in this article.

With many more men in possession of rifles, more serious work at future parades could be undertaken. A realisation of the power of arms, in the hands of tried and tested Irishmen, gave a sense of security even in the midst of danger. Some time previously, a number of rifles had been captured from the men who broke away at the split in the volunteer ranks, and these with others picked up in divers manners, had been augmented by the Howth Mausers. It was natural, after proficiency in their use had been achieved, that the opportunity to parade under arms in public was looked forward to with eagerness.

Meanwhile, the Fourth was waiting patiently, training, marching, drilling, and getting to know each other better and better in the process. On parade with his men, handling rifles, could be seen again P. H. Pearse—his presence was truly inspiring. Soon another big event was announced, and before long the great Rossa was brought home for burial in native earth. The volunteers paraded again this time to give a military funeral to the Fenian leader. A Fourth Battalion man, Pearse himself, delivered the oration; this was a big day in the lives of the volunteers and a proud day for the Fourth Battalion.

The strength of the Fourth Battalion immediately preceding the Rising, was approximately 1,000. The number taking part in the Rising was 200, but it must be explained that owing to considerable confusion which arose from the famous order cancelling general mobilisation, many even

of this number connected up with units in positions held in the main by other battalions. A large number were also prevented from joining their own or any other unit for the same reason. The positions held were Marrowbone Lane Distillery, Watkins' Brewery, Ardee Street, Roe's Distillery, James's Street, and the South Dublin Union. The Fourth Battalion went into positions as a unit of the volunteers as reorganised shortly after the "Split" on a company basis. The unit was made up of commandant, vice-commandant, adjutant, quarter-master and six companies known as A, B, C, D, E, F under company captains. The Commandant, Eamonn Ceannt, and his Vice-Commandant, Cathal Brugha, were in charge of the Dublin Union. The garrison of Roe's Distillery became isolated and disbanded early in the week. Capt. Colbert vacated Watkins' Brewery on the Wednesday, and reinforced the party in possession of Marrowbone Lane Distillery. E Company (on account of the deep personal interest taken by Commandant-General P. H. Pearse, who was its captain) had the honour of being specially selected to form part of the garrison of the G.P.O. As already mentioned, the confusion in mobilisation resulted in several members of other units joining the garrisons of Marrowbone Lane and the South Dublin Union. On the other hand, several members of the Fourth Battalion, unable to join their own units, succeeded in taking part in the fight in the Church Street area and College of Science notably.

No mention of the part played by the Fourth Battalion in this memorable week would be complete without reference, however brief, to the 23 members of Cumann-na-mBan and the 7 members of the Fianna who formed part of the garrison of Marrowbone Lane Distillery, and to the detached single member of the Citizen Army and two members of another unit of the volunteers who reported to this post. Another company with close associations with at least two, if not three, of the leaders of the Rising was F Company of the Inchicore district. Its captain was Con Colbert. It is recalled that Capt. Ned Daly, who commanded the Four Courts Garrison (where a muster of Fourth Battalion men fought in the Rising) used to train and drill the officers and men in musketry and small arms practice at week-ends in the fields around Inchicore and Ballyfermot. An idea of the thoroughness of the preparations for the Rising can be gained by the type of training practised. Perhaps a different kind of fighting to that which took place was envisaged. In any event, it is recollected that Capt. Daly

would divide the unit into two sections, one taking up a position in the Phoenix Park, the other half to get through unobserved. This unit was also associated closely with another of the leaders, Joseph Plunkett, who, as Director of Supplies in the period before the Rising, often called to take away petrol and similar useful materials which the unit had collected in the Inchicore area.

A little story of a member of D Company, vouched for by the member himself, will help to show the trials and difficulties of the leaders in getting their men into positions during Easter Week. This man, not being mobilised, looked into Larkfield to see if anything was doing on Easter Monday. Not a soul was about, but the Rising was on, and soon a number of men came on the scene, in the same way as the man who lived to tell this story. The little band grew in numbers, meanwhile having gone home to collect their rifles and shotguns. Just as they were about to decide on leaving, to seek admission to some already occupied position, a messenger arrived from Commandant-General Pearse looking for reinforcements. Taking everything they could the little party (now numbering about 30 men) set out under cover of darkness for the G.P.O. The route was via Kenilworth Park, Lower Kimmage Road, Kerilworth Square, Rathgar, Ranelagh, and Leeson Street Bridge (where they were in grave danger from volunteers in position in the Mount Street area, who, as it was, nearly mistook the party for enemy troops). On to Stephen's Green, Dawson Street, Duke Street, Grafton Street, past Trinity College (which was actually garrisoned by the enemy) and without incident arrived into the G.P.O. at 2 a.m. on Tuesday morning, 25th April. The gallant messenger and leader of the party, killed a short time later at the very place (Trinity College) past which he successfully led his men, was Section-Commander Gerald Keogh of D Company, Fourth Battalion. The little party which had answered their leader's call was led by Section Commander Keogh into the main hall of the G.P.O., where P. H. Pearse now addressed them. He thanked them for coming in, obviously pleased at their action and rejoicing that more men had answered his call. The address finished, he arranged for their distribution to posts considered weak in numbers and equipment. Some had rifles and were sent with their more effective arms to the Four Courts. The men carrying the shotguns were retained for the defence of the G.P.O. The rest of an eventful week is history and does not come within the scope of this article, but

the Fourth Battalion claim as members, on their Roll of Honour, P. H. Pearse, E. Ceannt, Con Colbert. As is now well known, they were, with the other leaders, executed in the battalion area against the walls of the infamous Kilmainham Jail. Their dreams had come true, Ireland's honour had been redeemed and the "Fourth's" contribution to the sacrifice was heavy.

In a short time the Fourth Battalion was alive again, in the pre-Rising formation of company units. Recruiting commenced and the ranks swelled to such an extent that new companies were added. In addition to the Companies A, B, C, D, E, F in action in 1916, G, H, and I were formed.

The Unit C was actually strong enough

men could be heard again in the old places familiar to volunteers. Even the public have a fair knowledge of these haunts, in Oakley Road, Larkfield, and of the new places now required to meet the expansion in Crumlin, Mount Argus Brickworks, Dollymount in the Dublin Mountains, Lansdowne Valley, The Sandpits, Ballymount Lane, St. Endas, Whitehall, Templeogue and several other places in and around the area allotted to the battalion. Preparation for an offensive was again afoot, this time on a different basis. A different type of organisational detail was necessary.

Accordingly the battalion area was divided up into company areas, and meeting halls for each unit chosen in each area for indoor



VOLUNTEER PARADE BEFORE 1916

to steward the funeral of Volunteer Coleman who died as a result of his confinement in an English Jail. Once again organisation was afoot and subscriptions for arms resumed. The European War was still raging, and although the British garrisons here had been strengthened, the activities of the I.R.A. (as the volunteers were now known) were on the increase. The execution of their leaders was not the deterrent it was designed to be, and the people were beginning to understand. This made organisation less difficult, and at the funeral of Thomas Ashe, who died on hunger strike in Mountjoy Prison in 1917, the Fourth Battalion paraded in uniform and under arms, with other units of the organisation. This was the first armed parade since the Rising. Quietly the work of organisation went on, marching

drilling, instruction in the use of short arms, and the collection of intelligence reports. A Company met in premises in Mount Argus, Rathmines Road, Terenure; B Company in James's Street, York Street, Wine-tavern Street, Aungier Street and Francis Street. In Oakley Road, Larkfield, Cork Street, Weavers' Hall, and Donore Avenue C Company met; while in Harold's Cross and Portobello, D Company could be found. In St. Enda's, Rathfarnham, E Company paraded. Inchicore was F Company's area, and G Company used Larkfield and Cuala House, Rathmines, and some of the places used by A Company. The battalion staff, of course, had access to these meeting places, and in addition to Larkfield, had other special meeting places like the old football ground now built on at Dolphin's

Barn, and a well-known mill stores at Thomas Street. Into the ranks of the Fourth Battalion came a group of lads known as "Fianna Saoirse." They had been organised after 1916 by older boys who had taken part in the Rising as members of Fianna na hEireann. They formed H Company of the battalion, and had meeting places in the Blackpitts and Clarence Mangan Road districts.

The Conscription crisis found the battalion's ranks swollen almost beyond capacity, and it was recognised on all sides that the only effective protection against Conscription was the volunteer army of Ireland. But when the danger had passed, and especially when the war ended in November, 1918, the majority of the mushroom volunteers ceased to take further part in the work.

Meanwhile, details of internal organisation were being perfected, and lines of communication were laid down. In fact the organisation in the Fourth Battalion was actually inside the British Postal Service. An account of its working will be found later on in this article. Independent of this activity, a first-class Intelligence Service was built up in the companies. Purchases of arms were made from enemy troops and short arms were imported through friendly seamen and others. Raids for arms and other types of war material were carried out by each company in its area. The success of these operations can be judged by the fact that towards the close of 1918, the companies found it necessary to establish secret arms dumps in their areas, principally in stables, farmyards, graveyards, in the open country, and often in municipally owned property. Workshops for the repair and manufacture of war material were also established, sometimes on the same site as a company arms dump. The companies were getting into their stride; they were becoming more daring; the raids for arms were, as it were, the signal to commence action on a large scale. Unfortunately a number of members were arrested in these operations, and the enemy, no doubt expecting a virile and long resistance to their efforts at suppression, opened the famous internment camp at Ballykinlar. In a short time the ranks were closed again, the gaps being filled by carefully selected recruits, many of whom were men who had been demobilised from the British Army at the close of the European War.

In the Fourth Battalion area the number of strongly fortified enemy positions were many. In fact nearly all of the enemy troops in occupation of Dublin City and its

environs were quartered in the area of this battalion. Military barracks were situated at Portobello, where a battalion of infantry and a company of artillery were usually quartered. Close by was Wellington Barracks, on the South Circular Road, in which one battalion of infantry was stationed. In Inchicore, Richmond Barracks had one battalion of infantry and one company of cavalry within its walls, while within sight, as the crow flies, was Islandbridge Barracks. It was a supply depot, consisting of infantry, cavalry, artillery, army ordnance and army service corps.

In Ship Street Barracks, at the back of Dublin Castle, one battalion of infantry and one company of artillery were in residence. In addition, outposts for these strongholds were situated in Dublin Castle, Marshalsea Lane Barracks, James's Street, the Royal Hospital (Kilmainham), Inchicore Works, the Viceregal Lodge, the Hibernian Schools, the Magazine Fort and Trinity College. If these posts account for all military strongholds, it must be remembered that the Police Force and their barracks, had also to be contended with. In the area, police were in Dublin Castle, the headquarters of the Metropolitan Police and the Political Detective Branch. The Metropolitan Police Depot was situated in Kevin Street, and there were stations at Chancery Lane, Newmarket, Rathmines, Terenure, Crumlin, Chapelizod and Kilmainham. The Black and Tans and Auxiliary police forces had quarters in Dublin Castle and held another position in Rathmines known as Lissonfield House.

At some time or another plans of attack on all these positions were drawn up, redrawn, and abandoned as wiser counsels prevailed. Some of them, if carried out, would have meant the complete annihilation of the attackers! The odds were too great, but despite the vigilance and diligence of the forces occupying these positions, the battalion (now comprising about 700 to 750 men) carried on continuous drilling, rifle and revolver practice, field manœuvres, the manufacture and storing of munitions, and at the same time kept on harrowing the enemy within their own lines.

It is permissible here to digress to give the promised account of the Battalion Postal Intelligence Organisation. In the area, four sub-district collecting and sorting post offices were situated in James's Street, Rathmines, Portobello, and Rathgar. Volunteers who were regular members of the enemy postal staff in these offices included officials, sorters and letter carriers or postmen. Should the mail of any unfriendly

person residing in these districts be suspect or required for any reason, it only needed a word to any one of these men for the required correspondence to be intercepted and handed over for inspection and perusal—or inspected on the premises, and if found necessary a copy taken before forwarding to its destination. By this means much valuable information was secured, especially that relating to men on the run, meeting places of units of the volunteers, and names and addresses of members—not already known to the enemy forces.

In some cases a copy of the information, with the name of a known enemy supporter or informer substituted, was forwarded to its destination. If the writer's name and address were appended, a communication was directed to him or her, to meet at a given time and place a supposedly enemy agent, to be suitably rewarded. In the meantime, one of our men would be instructed to play the part of the agent, meet the informer, and seize him (by force and blindfolded if necessary) to stand trial before a Court of Inquiry.

The Postal Unit also played a leading part in the safe delivery of correspondence of wanted men who were on the run. The methods of delivery were simple. It was arranged that all correspondence coming from friends of the wanted man would be sent under an arranged fictitious name and the address of an enemy supporter. The postman on that particular route, on receiving such letter or parcel, would deliver it to the person for whom it was intended. Information from other sources was also coming in and men were ever on the watch for possible sources of supply of arms. As a result a number of Lee Enfield rifles came into F Company's possession in 1918. The other companies were also busy, and a fair amount of arms and war material was collected. Some of the operations also struck at the civil side of British administration, as instanced by the seizure in the area of bicycles of Post Office messengers. In James's Street Post Office a notice to Post Office officials was posted in one of the rooms prohibiting the staff from delivering telegraph messages in the Cork Street, Dolphin's Barn, and Marrowbone Lane areas as the messengers usually returned without their bicycles. All units were now in action, and an audacious if abortive raid for arms was made by members of A and C Companies on the Customs House in 1919. In addition the companies were carrying out scout duty and observation of enemy movements. As a result of intelligence gained in this way, a cycling

party of eight British soldiers were held up and stripped of their equipment and machines at Kilmashogue by E Company in the same year. About this time also all County Council offices were raided and stripped of their records. Income Tax offices were also raided and records destroyed, and the raids for rates by all companies yielded about £3,000 in the battalion area. These funds were handed over to the brigade, together with about £10,000 collected by other units in the Dublin area by means of demanding bearer cheques. The work of cashing these cheques was carried out by members of A, B, C, D, and F Companies.

To show cause for the absence of any documentary materials that would assist in relating incidents of the period under review, it is worthy of notice that, owing to the failure of an officer to destroy a written temporary record, there resulted about this time an unfortunate capture by the enemy of names and addresses of men available at short notice for surprise or exceptionally favourable attack on enemy patrols and positions. As a result, a large number of members were arrested and interned in Ballykinlar, together with further arrests of volunteers on suspicion in the panic that now prevailed in Government circles. The ranks were becoming further depleted, although still more men than arms were available.

The raids for arms having been carried out, attention was directed to another type of raid. This time useful material fell to the I.R.A. from the Belfast boycott. Clothing and food were collected by units of the battalion in large quantities from Belfast firms carrying on business in Dublin. The reasons for the boycott are too well known to detain us here. It is interesting to notice, however, that foodstuffs and wearing apparel were repacked in Dublin firms' cartons and sent into Ballykinlar to supplement the rations, and as comforts for the use of the prisoners.

All sections of enemy administration were being struck at in some way or another. For instance, enemy propaganda came under notice, and the attention of the battalion was directed to it on Armistice Day in 1919 when films of processions and demonstrations were seized and burned under the nose of Dublin Castle in Dame Street. Still more men were being arrested as a result of these and other activities, and through the work of the special British Intelligence system which now operated in conjunction with some members of the D.M.P., who had special local knowledge and were keen on promotion.

The battalion suffered in numerical

strength, in common with other units of the brigade. Further organisation work became necessary, and the membership was reviewed again with a view to tightening up the ranks and areas. The Junior Unit H was joined with B and D Companies and later B and D were amalgamated. In Harold's Cross and Rathmines, G was formed by members from A and C, both of whom were considerably over strength, the area being extended to take in Rathgar. On completion of this work, the companies were ready for an intensive guerilla campaign soon to be launched. Arms and men were available, intelligence services working, friendly houses listed, enemy positions noted, arms and equipment dumps secure; every detail appeared to have been noted, the companies were patrolling the streets, observing enemy movements, noting vantage points for attack. Much had been learned from these operations, and in a little while the attack opened simultaneously in all areas on special instructions from General Headquarters. It was natural that the question of replenishing ammunition was not overlooked. It was realised that unless captures were made the supply would soon run out. It was unlikely, in the early stages at least, that the "hit and get away" tactics would give hope (save in very exceptional circumstances) of replenishment coming from this source. The enemy had concentrated on cutting off our sources of supplies, especially from overseas and from members of her own forces, and with such a measure of success that G.H.Q. found it necessary to issue instructions to all units to exercise the strictest economy in the use of ammunition. All battalion quartermasters were ordered to submit a return, showing the amount of ammunition on hands in their respective areas, specifying the calibre, and indicating whether suitable arms were available for its use.

The returns must have had an alarming effect on G.H.Q. Immediately following their submission, instructions were issued to all battalion commandants to collect material suitable for the manufacture of grenades, which from now onwards were to be used extensively. This order brought forth such a miscellaneous collection of ideas and gadgets, with directions for use in various types of warfare, that even had an attempt been made to try out one half of them, the result would have been more disastrous to Volunteers than to the enemy.

It was here that the Fourth Battalion took a leading part. Their first contribution consisted of two 60 lb. graphite crucibles,

large quantities of plumbago, core gum, moulding sand, cores, and the necessary raw materials required in the manufacture of an up-to-date grenade. An assurance was given that the supply could be maintained. Suitable premises were next secured in the area and fitted up as a miniature foundry, and soon two trusted volunteers were engaged on whole time work making grenades. The supply was steady but slow, owing to the limitation of space and the necessity for secrecy. So it was decided to speed up their output, to have the necks, rings and pins, levers, strikers, anvils, and springs manufactured in an engineering works in the Inchicore district. In addition quite a large number of grenades were turned out at the foundry there. Grenades were manufactured by other battalions of the Dublin Brigade, but the supply was small and irregular, and in at least two instances was short-lived, having been discovered by enemy forces before they had got properly organised.

It seems that each battalion favoured a particular design of their own, resulting in the manufacture of four different types in the brigade area. The consequent confusion in interchanging parts when required was next attended to. In order to get over the difficulty, it was decided to standardise one of the four types, resulting in the selection of the specimen submitted by the Fourth Battalion. This grenade was afterwards known to all units throughout Ireland as "The Number 9."

The manufacture of the grenade was brought to a fine art by the technicians attached to the brigade engineers. It was a perfect specimen of its kind and very effective. A tribute was paid, by a British munitions expert, when giving evidence at an inquiry held in Dublin in 1920. He stated that he had examined the "bomb" produced, and in his opinion it was more accurate and destructive than the official (British) Mills grenade. He elaborated on the thickness of the case, the accuracy of the segmentation, and the resulting scattering of the "devilishly devised pieces."

A supply of demonstration grenades was also manufactured for use by units at the evening instruction classes. These had a triangular piece cut from the top of the neck to the centre of the body of the shell, thus exposing the mechanism of all parts and their action when fired. In this way proficiency in their use was achieved.

The Fourth Battalion was also the first in the Dublin Brigade to found and equip a factory for their own requirements. This

was done by a few officers of the Fourth Staff, and was successfully carried on without the knowledge or sanction of General Headquarters. The machinery and materials were supplied from the same sources as those supplying G.H.Q., but so closely was the secret guarded that the existence and locality of this (then very modern munition works) were not revealed until after the signing of the Treaty. It was situated in the Thomas Street area. Transporting the raw materials and delivering the finished articles was not the least of the worries connected with it, but one source was so simple and audacious that it was never suspected.

The modus operandi was through a chimney sweep. This honest man owned a horse and dray, also a large store in which he stored the soot collected by his sweeps. This soot was afterwards sold by weight to a chemical manure manufacturer, and in order to help to balance the scales in favour of the sweep, his horse and dray were sent to a foundry in the Inchicore district to be loaded with burnt and cast moulding sand, which when mixed with soot gave it the required "bit of body"—as he himself put it. Had "the powers that be" guessed what that innocent but dirty looking material contained, the credit of being the pioneers of munition manufacturers might have gone to some other unit in the I.R.A. Be that as it may, the battalion was ever occupied with the arms' problem. When the grenade project had been working satisfactorily, an armoury was established in Brown Street for the repair and manufacture of parts for all classes of arms. A qualified gunsmith was in charge in full-time employment in the workshop which was fully equipped with lathe and necessary tools. There is no doubt that information concerning either of these munition works would have brought a handsome reward from the Castle authorities. They were not discovered by the enemy despite the fact that their existence must have been known to the needy inhabitants of both localities.

The narration of a few exploits may show how progress to this stage was made. It is necessary to go back a little and to leave the area for a while. It was early in the month of May when information was received by B Company Intelligence Section of a considerable dump of arms in Greystones belonging to a company of Carsonite Volunteers. The information stated that any attempt to collect the arms would have to be carried out swiftly and without any prior investigation, as the dump was in a shed in a very exposed place and under

observation from all sides. It was decided to act at once.

At a company parade, volunteers for immediate and dangerous work were called for. The response was splendid—every man without exception offered himself, and it fell to the officers to make a selection. Eventually twelve men, including officers were picked. The arrangement was that the party would pick up a guide, also a member of the company, at 2 a.m. at a given point in Greystones, and he was to take the party directly to the dump.

One half of the party, all fully armed, left the City on bicycles early on the night before the raid. This party was to scout around Greystones and to report at 2 a.m. to the appointed place.

The remainder of the party, also fully armed, left the City later by motor car. The journey from the City was uneventful until, a short distance beyond Bray, where a lorry full of British troops parked in a side road was encountered. The car proceeded so unconcernedly that it was allowed to pass without as much as a challenge. The presence of these troops in such a place afforded not a little food for speculation. About two miles further on the car party met with a body of volunteers carrying out night



Typical Members of the Auxiliary Corps
("Auxies")

manceuvres. They promptly halted the car, and demanded proof of identity before allowing the party to proceed.

When the car party arrived at the appointed place, awaiting the cyclists to report—some of whom had already done so—brilliant headlights were observed approaching from the Bray direction. Immediately it was suspected that the military party encountered earlier were coming. The cycles were quickly hidden and some of the party ordered to take cover behind the ditches. The remainder were posted around the car with instructions to take what cover possible, and two men (to whom all honour!) in a cool and calculating manner, opened the bonnet of the car as if something had gone wrong. They were fully exposed if anything had happened. The orders were that no one was to fire except interfered with, and even then the first shot was to come from beside the car, where the officer in charge was posted. After that the party was to do its best, no time being left for further plans.

It was a tense few moments as the lights approached. The party was calm and ready. The only fear now was that the missing cyclists would turn up at the wrong moment. The lights steadily approached, drew level with the vehicle, slowed up; it was the British military as suspected earlier. With a cursory offer of help, which it might hardly be added was declined with thanks, they passed on. Shortly afterwards the missing cyclists reported, all members accounted for, and the party proceeded to the business of the night. A number of guards were posted and the remainder of the party proceeded to the dump.

The door of the shed was forced as noiselessly as possible and there without doubt about fifty or sixty short Lee Enfields were beheld, neatly arranged in racks around the walls. But alas! on closer examination they proved to be dummies. They were perfect in every detail even to the oil lock in the butt, but the metal parts were all soft castings.

It was decided to take the lot. They were afterwards used in the battalion for drill purposes and on a few ceremonial occasions. From the point of view of an increase of the arms equipment of the company the raid was a failure, but from the point of view of testing the nerve, resource, coolness, and morale of officers and men in an emergency it was an unqualified success.

The whole matter was duly reported by the company and later by the battalion to General Headquarters. The company officer,

strange to relate, was immediately suspended and ordered to appear before a courtmartial to answer charges of (1) carrying out a major military operation without instructions from General Headquarters, and (2) being an officer of the Fourth Battalion carrying out a major military operation in another battalion area without the permission and co-operation of the battalion officers of that area. However, the suspension was soon withdrawn.

Another such incident on the road to the more intense guerilla campaign will also be of interest. Later, in fact towards the close of the same year, the same company planned a raid on Trinity College which, strictly speaking, was also outside the battalion area. It happened that B Company had a member who was an engineering student in this Imperial seat of learning. It was thus possible to obtain an amount of information concerning the enemy Officers' Training Corps of the College. A report gave details as to the quantities of arms and ammunition in the College, where they were stored, particulars of the armed guards (which was a detail of regular British troops inside the walls), their number and all other necessary information. Remembering the earlier censure of the company officer, the matter was at once reported to G.H.Q. through the battalion officer and instructions were issued to obtain maps and plans of the College, marked to show the places in which the arms were stored, the position of the guard, etc. These maps were immediately prepared by the engineering student member of the company. Almost at once General Headquarters made plans for the raiding of the College, and B Company, as the unit from which the information came, was selected to carry out the raid, acting under Headquarters and battalion officers. The plan, briefly, was that a party of volunteers in a lorry, aping enemy troops and dressed in British army uniforms and armed, some with rifles and all with small arms, was in best garrison fashion to drive into the College, overpower the guards (without discharging firearms, if possible), collect the stuff and get away with the capture.

The selected party, most of whom had already proved themselves on similar raids, although they were well aware that something big was on, were of course kept in the dark as to when and where the operation was to be carried out—or, as it was described in those days, "brought off." For the few days while matters were being arranged, the party was frequently paraded without, as in later times, rehearsing some at least of the details, and so it never knew

the moment it would be decided to bring off the coup.

After much delay the order came through. The raid was to be carried out at 7 p.m. on the evening of the day on which the order was received. The raiding party was instructed to parade that evening at 6 p.m.; but, shortly before that hour, the company officer received information from General Headquarters that a hitch had occurred, and that the project had been definitely abandoned. When the party paraded at 6 p.m., it was simply dismissed and informed that the contemplated work was not to be carried out. Another disappointment for B Company, but another proof that it was ever ready and always anxious for work, however dangerous or difficult. It may justifiably be assumed that it might have been a very successful raid judged by the earlier attempt to capture arms, and allowing for the different circumstances, if Headquarters had not enforced its authority.

All companies in existence at the time sent delegates and provided guards for the Volunteer Convention in Croke Park on October 27th, 1917, and a little earlier still to the volunteer meeting held at the Custom House on the 10th June of the same year. On the 21st January, 1919, the first meeting of the representatives elected to Dáil Éireann in the 1918 election was held, and the battalion provided its contribution from the companies of the usual protection for the session, as it did also on the occasion of the extraordinary Árd-Fheis in the Mansion House on April 8th, 9th, 10th and 11th of the same year.

In the following May a special session of the elected representatives of the people was held. The battalion ordered all companies to take up the special duty of protection, day and night, to prevent interference and arrest of the delegates. Similar duty was performed during the first meeting of the then President of the Republic (after his escape from an English prison) held in premises in the vicinity of the famous Leeson Street Bridge. The battalion's contribution to the Dáil Courts organisation also deserves mention. The Courts functioned in the area under the battalion's protection and their decisions, where necessary, were enforced by men of the battalion.

Further attacks on British administrations were made. Among the earlier of these was an ambush, successfully carried out by F Company at Tyrconnell Road, sometime around October, 1919. It was a daring operation, in that countless enemy troops were situated within a short distance of the

scene in Richmond Barracks, Kilmainham, and the Royal Hospital, while the adjacent Naas Road was ever a dangerous place with enemy troops motoring to and from Dublin, Baldonnell and the Curragh. Later on members of the same company, while armed and patrolling in their area, came into contact with an enemy patrol of military. In the ensuing skirmish one of the four attackers was wounded but got away safely. The same disadvantages operated against the attackers as in the previous attack, as the scene of the engagement was Grattan Crescent—actually nearer to the more important of the enemy positions mentioned.

Everywhere the companies were watching an opportunity to strike. Every move of the enemy in the area was reported. At Rathmines Road, within earshot of Portobello, A Company staged an attack which, if of short duration, was an indication to the military that their presence so near would be no deterrent. The enemy realising this, formulated plans to deal with this new type of "hit and get away" attack. An armed auxiliary police force was first organised and consisted in the main of British army officers and men, unemployed and unemployable, who had been thrown on the scrap heap after the great European War. They were recruited on the pretence of establishing law and order in Ireland. The enemy under the scheme abandoned positions considered at the time as of no advantage. The I.R.A. proceeded to destroy the buildings so vacated.

In the district of Ballyboden, K Company destroyed by fire and dynamite Rockbrook Barracks, and a thoroughly good job was made of it, rendering it unfit, unless by reconstruction, to be again occupied. Shortly after Crumlin Barracks was destroyed in the same manner by members of B and F Companies. This was a difficult job as it was a strongly-built structure. Some of the party sustained several burns on the hands and face. Their comrades got them safely away through the fields after much difficulty as the enemy (presumably informed of the attack) came on the scene just as the party was retiring. If the informer had been discovered it is possible he would have suffered the same fate as that meted out to all spies and informers discovered in the country at the time. The summary methods of the I.R.A. for dealing with spies and informers threw the enemy espionage system into disorder, and our counter-espionage was so efficient that few of the "touts" went for long undiscovered. The following example illustrates this.

An Intelligence Unit of the battalion had an active agent in the employment of that

impregnable bulwark of Imperialism—"The Kildare Street Club." During the close of the year 1920, the Castle authorities were daily receiving reports of "rebel atrocities"—the official description—in the districts of Inchicore and Dolphin's Barn. Coup after coup was brought off without a single person being made amenable. True to the best traditions of the school in which its members were brought up, and in such necessitous circumstances, "The Kildare Street Club" decided (probably by request) to lend a hand in running the culprits to earth. Their first move in this direction was to employ the services of a British ex-soldier, a native of the disturbed districts and presumably possessed of a knowledge of all suspected members of the organisation in them. The unfortunate dupe set to work with enthusiasm—but his very enthusiasm was the cause of his undoing. No sooner had he submitted his first report stating that he had made contact with the local I.R.A. forces than information was received from our agent in "The Club" of such an indisputable nature that it was imperative to deal with him immediately. The evidence left no possible shadow of doubt. The spurious names and places supplied to him as a trap by the local I.R.A. were included in his report. Copies were compared and agreed in every detail. The sentence of the courtmartial was carried out within one week of the agent's appointment. As a result, the second report to reach "The Club" was that their employee's body (with two bullet wounds in it) had been found in a local sandpit, and on a card secured to his clothing were the words: "*Executed by the I.R.A. Spies and informers beware.*"

The army of occupation were now getting desperate, and desperate situations could only be remedied by desperate means. If they had won the first round (militarily not morally) in 1916, the enemy surely lost the succeeding rounds in the resumed struggle. With their regular troops becoming demoralised, discipline was hard to maintain, especially among the Auxiliary Corps where none ever existed. To augment this murderous body of "Auxies" (as they were called) another special unit was organised by the enemy—no doubt in the hope that by murder, plunder, and terrorism they would subdue the "rebels"—and in due time came to be known by the infamous title of "Black-and-Tans." The letting loose of this corps of blackguards, desperados, jailbirds, murderers and irresponsibles (many of whom were released from English prisons and reprieved of some of the worst crimes)

was just another indication of the plight of their masters. Nevertheless, they must have had hopes of success, for in addition to their superior arms they armoured their transport, mounted machine guns behind the loop holes and caged themselves in their vehicles with wire netting. This latter move was to prevent the bombs or grenades hurled at them from falling into the lorries. They travelled in large numbers, with and without military, often accompanied by armoured cars. Sometimes they ventured out in mufti, in small and large numbers, on various kinds of nefarious work. Their specially organised Intelligence Service operated from the Castle.

At Harcourt Street Railway Station, G Company attacked a party of military, and one of their number, Volunteer Power, was killed, the remainder retreating successfully. That there were enemy casualties is certain, but no details could be ascertained. Close by, and again near Portobello, A Company ambushed a lorry of military, wounding five and without casualties to their own party. At the other end of the area, C Company raided the enemy's wartime munitions works in Parkgate Street (now Cahill's Printing Works), and captured war material, destroyed more material and equipment, without loss to the party.

Out in the suburbs, E Company engaged a party of military in the vicinity of Kenil-



Members of an I.R.A. Outpost.
(Snapped during the Truce)

worth Square and inflicted losses the extent of which were never made known. There were no casualties on the attacking side. The fight was on now as fierce and as continuous as it could be made at every opportunity. Every unit of the battalion had been in action—some more, some less—and with the ranks thinning out as a result of wholesale arrest and casualties (although the latter were small), it was getting increasingly difficult to keep the unit up to strength. The companies, however, kept up the attack in the city and rural districts of the battalion area. Away out in Templeogue, which at that time was about five miles from the city boundary, a party from K Company lay in wait for a convoy of military, opened fire, with disastrous results to the enemy. This engagement lasted a considerable time, but the attackers successfully retired, without loss or injury. Nearer the city, and on the way to the scene of K Company's ambush, G Company took on a party of military and fought them in Terenure, with what result it was never ascertained. The retreat was accomplished in this case also without injury to our men, despite new tactics tried by the enemy. Hitherto when attacked, they usually stopped, dismounted, and discharged their weapons in the directions from which they were being attacked even if the attackers had vanished. The new method was to send one vehicle of troops in advance of a main body of several lorry loads accompanied by one or more armoured cars. The idea was to entice the attackers to open fire on the first car, the main body with armoured car to sweep down on the scene and annihilate everyone in the vicinity, attackers alike with citizens who happened to be about at the time.

But the stout patrols of the companies had the ruse observed before many chances to give it effect were obtained. Every company area was being patrolled by observation parties and by the armed parties who were disposed to go into action any time a favourable opportunity arose. One such patrol from F Company accounted for a number of enemy despatch riders using motor cycles at Rialto Bridge, which was outside that company's area. Every day now these company patrols brought off some such job, big or small, in the battalion area. It might be said indeed that the I.R.A. was in complete control, in that armed enemy troops could not move about except in large numbers, or in mufti, in which case they might not be recognised. In the area containing open country it was possible to attack by sniping from safe

distances in fields. This was particularly so in F Company's area, and so well did this company do its work that it is true to say that it was in virtual control of the main arterial Naas Road so frequently used by enemy troops leaving and entering the city. The road was used daily by Royal Air Force troops stationed in Baldonnell Aerodrome. A number of them used to come to town every evening to theatres and the like in military lorries. Although regarded as enemy troops in the same way as other uniformed forces of the Crown, it was in their armed escort cars F Company was principally interested. Accordingly it was decided to attack the whole party with a view to disarming the escort. The scene of the ambush was selected at a point about two hundred yards from the still well-known Red Cow Inn, on the Clondalkin side of the Naas Road. The weapons used were rifles, shotguns, grenades and small arms, and although the primary object of the ambush failed owing to a hitch in the plans whereby F Company unavoidably but gallantly missed a capture of more than a couple dozen rifles and a few machine guns, at least five casualties were inflicted on the enemy and only one among the attackers.

The mention here of rifles brings to mind the existence of a little "transport by water" organisation in the battalion area. A member, with a sympathetic family and a number of friendly workmen, was engaged in the business of distributing turf in the city. He brought the turf on his own horse- and motor-barges from the bog areas in the country served by the Grand and Royal Canal systems. His discharging bank was situated at Harolds Cross, where he also resided, right under the eye of the garrison in Wellington Barracks. In these cargoes of turf on the up-journey, and miscellaneous goods on the down-country trips, arms were transported safely to and from the country battalions. A noteworthy series of such transportation was carried out without discovery, when General Headquarters decided to effect an exchange with country units of rifles and shot guns for short arms, which could be used more effectively in the city areas, while the rifles and shotguns were in fact the proper equipment for the newly-organised Flying Columns in counties outside Dublin. Another type of service provided by this member is worthy of mention. The owner established contact with a number of enemy troops of the adjacent Wellington Barracks, and found that it was possible to purchase arms from some of them without much risk to themselves. Separating the barracks from

the public only a wall and a railing of iron bars was the dividing line. Over this wall and through the railing on the turf bank the weapons (mostly rifles) were obtained. A goodly number, together with ammunition, were procured in this way. Both found their way to the Flying Columns concealed in the goods transported by the turf barges on their return journeys.

In connection with the supplies of ammunition, particularly for short arms, the enemy knew some of their troops were lending a hand. They determined to stop it, and almost succeeded in doing so. When they believed this source was definitely under control, they tried another means of striking a deadly blow at the forces of the Republic. Acting under orders, numbers of military were sent out to contact with members of the I.R.A. or others sympathetic to them. They were instructed to make it known that they were in a position to procure small arms ammunition. In the area of A Company, contact was established with a member by some military from Portobello Barracks, who duly brought along the promised ammunition—for, of course, a small specified reward. It was noticed that it was of a non-regulation brand, being marked "ZZ," which would read in another position "NN," but no suspicion was aroused until a member of C Company to his dismay saw his revolver blown to pieces as a result of using it in an ambush in Thomas Street. His hand was also injured, but this is the only recorded accident before the ammunition was recalled from issue. It was, of course, explosive ammunition manufactured and issued deliberately to achieve the result mentioned in the one recorded consequence of its use.

As if to get level with F Company for coming into its area or partly so on the attack of despatch riders at Rialto Bridge, B Company invaded their area and raided an enemy line of communication in G.S.R. Works in Inchicore. The telegraph equipment was dismantled and put out of action although an enemy armed guard was on duty within twenty yards of the telegraph office while the operation was in progress. Some time earlier, F Company had added another episode to their history. Near the scene of the ambush of the Air Force escort at Red Cow, a number of lorries of the same force and a few military lorries were seized and destroyed by burning at Clondalkin. These were attached to the Tallaght Aerodrome, the troops of which also used the Naas Road extensively.

In the city area, C Company's activities take a prominent place. Mention of this

unit recalls the name of its gallant, and now famous officer, the late Commandant Paddy O'Brien, to whose untiring energy—no member of the unit or of the battalion will begrudge this tribute—C Company's area was reckoned one of the most active in the Dublin Brigade. Perhaps its best work, if any engagement should get a preference, was its ambushing of a tender full of Black-and-Tans. The lorry was travelling in the direction of Kingsbridge on the south side of the river. It had as an escort two armoured cars running parallel with it on the North Quays. Just as it reached Ushers' Quay, where C Company was patrolling, Capt. Paddy O'Brien (who was in charge of the party) rushed into the roadway with another member and opened rapid fire into the tender. They were nearly abreast of it. Almost simultaneously a well-aimed grenade found its way into the centre of the lorry and exploded loudly. The lorry accelerated, no doubt with a cargo of injured occupants, on its original course. The exact enemy casualties were never ascertained, but only two minor casualties were suffered by the attackers, one from an injured hand, the result of a grenade splinter, and the other a bullet wound sustained in the hand. This patrol was indeed fortunate to get away so lightly, as in addition to the defence put up from the Black-and-Tans in the tender, both armoured cars opened fire across the river. Indicative of the indomitable courage and determination of the late Commandant O'Brien and his men in C Company is the fact that the patrol went out on this occasion resolved (as stated by its officer to one of the men on patrol) not to dismiss until an ambush of some kind had been carried out.

A party of four, including three members of C Company and one of B Company, raided Messrs. Henshaw's, Christ Church Place, and commandeered about six dozen large woodcutters' axes, almost at the backgate (one might say) of Dublin Castle. These axes were consigned to the Royal Irish Constabulary Depot, Phoenix Park, to be used, no doubt, in that body's attempt to uphold the authority of the English King against the forces of the I.R.A. Later on another party of four raided Messrs. J. & C. Parkes, in the Coombe, and seized a quantity of toilet goods, including dozens of razors, strops and like material, which were consigned to the same place. The pace set by this unit was intense, even single-handed attacks were frequently made on the enemy in the area. A member held up and disarmed a British despatch rider in Marrowbone Lane and commandeered his motor

cycle. After a member of the Battalion Active Service Unit came on the scene offering help, the motor bike was taken to a friendly house on the Crumlin Road, for safety and possible use by the company in the future.

The incident had an amusing sequel. The despatch rider, after leaving the scene of his first experience, met a party of Black-and-Tans at the corner of Marrowbone Lane and Cork Street. They were hailed by him and pointed out the direction in which his attackers had gone. He mounted their tender and gave chase. At Dolphin's Barn a friendly D.M.P. man, who had seen the motor bike pass only a few minutes before, directed the pursuing tender, or rather mis-directed it, along the South Circular Road. It was learned that the tender of Black-and-Tans were returning at the time from the Fumigating Depôt of the Dublin Corporation in Marrowbone Lane, where they had deposited a large quantity of bed clothes. The attackers went to the Corporation Depôt, obtained a Corporation car, loaded on it the bedclothing and drove to the Dark Lanes, Crumlin, and there destroyed their cargo by burning. About the same time the company received information that a considerable quantity of bed linen was about to be despatched from the premises of the Harold's Cross Laundry, again to the Depôt. A party held up the car in Donore Avenue and escorted it to the same spot in the Dark Lanes, Crumlin, where the linen was burned. Another operation of the same nature was carried out by this unit when, as a result of information coming to hand, a canal boat containing materials for the erection of barricades at Killaloe by the Royal Irish Constabulary was taken in charge at the first lock and escorted to the fifth lock, where the cargo was unloaded and destroyed.

Not far from the scene of these operations and in the immediate vicinity of Dolphin's Barn, the armed parties of C Company on their daily and nightly patrols were seeking combat where it could be found. They engaged in a number of skirmishes with results to the enemy that could never be accurately ascertained, but without loss or injury on their own side. They were particularly vigilant in the matter of the movements of strangers in the area who might be suspected of being enemy agents. One such came under notice. In a licensed premises, at Dolphin's Barn Bridge, a suspicious-looking stranger was observed by the barman, who directed the attention of a member of the battalion to him. Observed through a mirror on the premises, the

stranger was noticed to be carrying a Webley revolver, the ring of which was protruding from his pocket. It was noticed also by the observer that the stranger was regarding him intently over the top of a Dublin evening paper. At once enquiries were set afoot to discover the identity of the stranger. It was disclosed by the Intelligence Service that he had taken up residence in the Crumlin district and that he had come from Ballykinlar Camp, where many battalion members were interned. He had been chief clerk there for some period before coming to reside in Crumlin. In another while the nature of his work in the area was established beyond all doubt. As a result, instructions were received for his execution, the second to be so authorised in the battalion area since the war began.

He was held up in Cork Street by Fourth Battalion Active Service Unit members, assisted by members of the company, a few days later, and instead of putting up his hands when called on to do so, he attempted to draw his revolver. Fire was immediately opened on him, and although he was severely wounded, it is believed he recovered to become a permanent invalid—being wheeled about in a bath chair ever since. In the execution of the orders received to dispose of this enemy a regrettable accident occurred. A little girl who happened to be in the vicinity at the time was fatally wounded. Reference to this unfortunate occurrence revives memories of another tragic incident in the same street less than twenty-four hours after. And, strangely enough, all had a sequel almost in the same space of time. A member of the execution party and two other members of the Active Service Unit were on their way unarmed to Mount Argus when they were held up by a party of enemy troops with short arms. Refusing to put up their hands and getting into grips with the soldiers, this member was fatally wounded in the stomach in the course of the mêlée and expired on admission to the Meath Hospital where he was carried by companions. In the hospital at the one time lay the severely wounded enemy agent, and in the mortuary of the institution the remains of the little girl, named Keegan, and those of gallant Gus Murphy, Section Leader, Battalion Active Service Unit.

The following incident will show how the disturbed situation existing could not be exploited by people planning to commit crimes in the hope that the I.R.A. would be blamed. Information was received that an attempt would be made to rob Cork Street Post Office on a certain evening. It was planned by the robbers numbering

four, all of whom were to be armed, to pass by the office, suddenly wheel and enter in twos, the last man entering to secure the door behind him. A party of five members of C Company were waiting nearby, having the Post Office under cover. Along came the robbers and proceeded to act according to plan. Immediately the watching party rushed across the road, burst open the door, to behold the postmaster and his assistant held up by the raiders. They were disarmed, taken prisoners, and the robbery frustrated.

Our narrative now takes us out into the less sheltered part of the battalion area, to the district of Terenure (at that time open country), where A Company operated. The attack this time was on supplies consigned to Kilbride Camp by the now defunct Dublin and Blessington Steam Tram system. A party of five members of this unit was returning from patrol duty at Templeogue Road. On reaching Terenure they were informed by the Company Intelligence Officer that a wagon of military stores was in the tram depôt yard at Terenure Road, South, and was due to leave for the camp at 7.30 a.m. the following morning. Having obtained the number and position of the wagon, the five men reported to a Company Officer, who was ill at the time, to ask for the necessary orders for its destruction. The operation would have to be carried out that night during curfew hours. It was within half an hour of curfew when the news was received, that is 8.30 p.m., curfew commencing at 9 p.m. A quantity of petrol was procured. The party proceeded to the University College grounds opposite the tram depôt. It was decided to lie under cover until midnight. The intervening hours were spent under the trees in the grounds exchanging yarns and eating cheese sandwiches provided by the officer from whom permission to fire the consignment had been received.

During the waiting time from 9 p.m. to the appointed hour of midnight, the enemy was very active in the vicinity, the usual patrol cars dashing up and down the adjacent roads. At midnight the party proceeded across the grounds towards the depôt.

Having reached the Templeogue Road, which divides the college grounds from the tram depôt, a careful watch had to be made to see that no enemy patrols were guarding the consignment. The "all clear" was given, the party advanced across the road and scaled the wall into the depôt, located the wagon, the doors of which had to be forced open. While this was in progress a signal to get under cover was received.

An enemy lorry, approaching from the city, halted at the gates for a few minutes and then resumed its journey in the direction of Rathfarnham. The forcing of the locks on the wagon was then resumed. The wagon opened, the work of arranging its contents, in such a manner as to ensure complete destruction, then commenced. Some straw was sprinkled with petrol and set alight, and having waited to see the fire had taken a good hold, the party retired back to the college grounds and from there across country to Mount Tallant Convent grounds at Harold's Cross. A stop was made several times to look back, and all that could be seen was a vivid red glare in the sky. Occasional sounds of explosions were heard as the fire reached the spirits and beer stored in the wagon. Having reached the convent grounds, the only place the party could find to take shelter for the rest of the night (curfew did not end until 6 a.m.) was the stable in which pigs were housed. Having evicted them, to the accompaniment of much noise, the party took possession of this abode and remained there until the following morning, and then dispersed to their respective homes and occupations. The following day it was reported that the operation was a complete success; the wagon and its contents were completely destroyed at a cost to the enemy of several hundreds of pounds and a shortage of rations in the camp. The difficulties that had to be contended with, whether the operation was in the country or the city, can be judged from the descriptions already given.

In Thomas Street, B Company (assisted by members of C Company) attacked an enemy party travelling from Dublin Castle towards the Royal Hospital, or possibly going to Kilmainham Jail or Richmond Barracks. It was a very successful ambush, although the numbers of the enemy casualties was never disclosed. No loss or injury was sustained by the attackers. Shortly after, another ambush was carried out in this street by members of D, B and C Companies. As in the former case, short arms and grenades were used. The latter, as already related, were manufactured in a side street off the scene of the ambushes. It was a successful operation also, without mishap to those attacking. An amusing incident occurred during the second engagement. The enemy dismounted from the lorries when attacked. The attackers with short arms withdrew down the side streets as a precaution against civilian casualties. The unexpected decision of the enemy was responsible for the bombers (positioned

further on) not getting an opportunity to throw their grenades. One of the bombing party was surprised to see a number of the enemy approaching on foot, holding up all and sundry for searching.

The bomber promptly turned into the licensed house on the corner of Bridgefoot Street, in a quandary. He had a brain wave, however, for walking down the shop he stopped beside two local residents whom he knew, and put the bomb he was carrying into the half-filled glass of porter one of them was drinking.

Although this was done in full gaze of the proprietor and many customers in the shop at the time, not a word was spoken of it when the enemy almost in the next moment arrived to search those present. The bomb, of course, could not be observed in the glass of black liquid flowing over as a result of the displacement.

Another case of quick thinking by a member of the same company comes to mind. A large party of enemy troops raided a favourite haunt of members of the battalion, a tobacconist's shop, No. 95 Cork Street. Many were arrested, but the member referred to drew his revolver and fired, making his escape through a back window of the ground floor of the shop. He was fired on and wounded in the stomach and hands, but somehow contrived to gain admission to a house (through the back entrance, of course) a few doors farther down the street. Once inside the house he divested himself of his coat, and put his now empty revolver in a pot of clothes that was on the fire. Just as he was taking a little child on his knee and sitting nearer to the fire, the enemy rushed into the room. Seeing nobody there but the mother, child and the apparent father in his shirt sleeves with the baby on his knee, looking particularly innocuous, they left to proceed with the search for their opponent elsewhere. On their departure he collapsed from loss of blood, and was taken to St. Vincent's Hospital where the good Sisters registered and detained him as a case of rheumatic fever.

As mentioned earlier, enemy troops had been sent out in mufti to cope with the armed patrols of the companies, for the tactics of the attackers were by their very nature revealing themselves slowly, but this counter measure was as ineffective as all that were tried before. They moved around in groups of two or more together. One such pair was encountered in Patrick Street by B Company while on patrol duty. They were disarmed, but allowed to report back to their own barracks in this case. In

another case, a pair were discovered prowling around Thomas Street. They had been in several licensed houses, and becoming loud spoken, appeared to throw caution to the winds. In one house situated on the corner of Meath Street and Thomas Street, in the block bounded by St. Catherine's Church, they demanded and were given drink, stating the I.R.A. would pay for it. News of their behaviour soon spread, and soon members of C Company had them under observation. They were arrested by unarmed members, bluffing the possession of firearms, in a little shop in Bridgefoot Street, whither they had gone, it is believed to rob any available money and where they behaved abominably towards the female owner. They were tried by court martial and given the option of allowing themselves to be put on board ship that night to take them out of the country or—! One was agreeable to accept the offer, the other was defiant to the last, and just before being executed in Crane Street (at the back entrance to Messrs. Guinness's Brewery) stuck out his chest and pointing to it said, "Put it there."

Another of these "gentlemen" was located visiting in the Cork Street area, and one day leaving by the roundabout route that took him on to the canal from St. James's Walk (or as it is better known, by the "Back of the Pipes,") he was met just as he emerged and executed by the Battalion Active Service Unit on the banks of the Grand Canal at a place commonly called the Gut, after making a desperate effort to evade his attackers by attempting to jump across the narrow stretch of canal. Almost within a hundred yards of this spot a party of ten members of C Company descended on a military party with heavy lorry engaged in discharging and transporting supplies from a boat in the Canal Harbour. Several tons of flour and the lorry were captured and destroyed in this operation, some of the flour by throwing it in its bags into the water, while more of it was taken away later in the evening by poor residents of the neighbourhood, who showered blessings on the attackers for the windfall.

Of the same nature was the capture and destruction and distribution, on three separate occasions, of consignments totalling over thirty tons of meat being transported from premises of the Dublin Cold Storage Company in Mill Street to the Royal Barracks on Victoria Quay. The first and second occasions were without incident, other than it was established that the Cold Storage Company would be at no loss by the seizure.

On the last occasion the party of members of B and C Companies captured (in addition to commandeering the meat) five small arms from three Dublin Metropolitan policemen and two detectives who were guarding the premises. They were quietly placed inside the gates of Warrenmount Convent adjoining. The customers in a nearby licensed house were then "conscripted" to assist the party in loading three lorries, commandeered earlier, for the transport of the meat to the stables of a well-known carrier in Herberton Lane. Only one of the lorries, however, unloaded as arranged in the stables, the other two proceeded to Captain's Lane, Crumlin. After seeing the horse unharnessed in the stables in Herberton Lane, one of the party on leaving was confronted by a party of the Auxiliary Force, who jumped out in the lane from behind a wall where they had been in hiding. The other two were similarly captured, tried and sentenced to ten years penal servitude.

One of the three later had an experience as a result. It is worth relating, as it gives an unusual slant on the combatants on both sides of the unequal conflict. He was brought from Lissonfield House to Dublin Castle in the small hours of the morning following his arrest. He was interrogated there at great length by an Intelligence Officer. On being asked his rank he replied "Volunteer," and clarified it by adding "private," "If you were a Volunteer or private," queried the Intelligence Officer, "how did you come to be in charge of a unit of I.R.A. outside Marlborough Street Church on the occasion of the funeral of the Archbishop of Dublin, last April?" Prisoner, not to be beaten, replied, "On that occasion there was an understanding that there would be a 'cease fire' period during the Archbishop's obsequies, but our Battalion Staffs were well aware that you would have your 'touts' out to obtain the description and if possible the names of the various Volunteer officers taking part in the funeral parade. Consequently, men of rank and file were asked to undertake duties of officers for the occasion to hoodwink your 'touts.'" "Damn clever," was the reply—whether the Intelligence Officer meant the readiness of the answer or the tactics disclosed by it, is a matter for conjecture.

What started as an interrogation developed into quite an interesting discussion on the methods of the opposing armies. "What chance have our fellows," continued the Intelligence Officer, "when you chaps hide in lanes and fire shots and

grenades as our fellows pass by in lorries?" "What alternative have we?" retorted the prisoner. "There can be no comparison between the I.R.A., ill equipped as they are, and your army of occupation, of efficiently armed thousands with the most modern armaments at your disposal. We are compelled through force of circumstances to conserve both our ammunition and personnel from day to day, so that when we succeed in ambushing your forces, this being the only method of warfare we can adopt against you with any hope of success, we beat a retreat so that we may live to fight another day.

"During the world war," added the prisoner, "I take it that you, as a patriotic Englishman, did your bit for your King and Country. Suppose that the allied armies had met with a complete and crushing defeat and that the German troops entered England and that Germany administered the government of that country? They would take up all arms and weapons and leave you in the same position as you have tried to keep Ireland for 700 years. In spite of this, would you not consider it your duty to do your damndest to drive the German invader out of England and recapture it for the English? Bearing in mind your comparatively defenceless position against the might of a well-equipped German army of occupation, you could, in the circumstances, adopt no other method of warfare, with any hope of success, than the guerilla warfare tactics adopted by us against your army of occupation here." The Intelligence Officer gave up the argument by graciously admitting, "That's certainly a point of view that didn't occur to me, and now I suppose you'll tell your friends on your release, if you are ever released, what a dirty hiding you got in Dublin Castle?"

"On the contrary," answered the prisoner, "I admit I was quite windy coming in here for interrogation, knowing of the beatings and worse that have taken place here, but I seem to have been lucky in coming across one who can see both sides of the argument."

The Intelligence Officer then 'phoned for an escort to take the prisoner to the guard room, although the Auxiliary escort who brought him to the Castle were waiting in the corridor outside. On arrival of the military escort, the Intelligence Officer told the corporal in charge that he would be held responsible for the prisoner's safety—glancing significantly at the Auxiliaries at the same time. On the way across the Castle Yard, the prisoner got a nasty crack on the head from the butt of an Auxiliary's

revolver. The British sergeant in the guard room dressed the wound.

The cost in personnel of these activities was heavy. A big percentage of the membership of the battalion were in jails serving sentences, detained awaiting trial, and interned in Ballykinlar or in one or other of the camps which had been opened lately. The Fourth Battalion had members in all of these prisons, and as a consequence a reshuffle of the companies took place. It was natural that ideas of rescuing or effecting escape of some of them by assistance from outside should be conceived. A plan to help the escape of prisoners in Arbour Hill Detention Barracks was put into operation by C Company, but it failed on account of the carelessness of a prisoner who wrote from the prison a note, which, passing through the usual prison censor, aroused the suspicions of the authorities. Although this attempt failed, the battalion was destined to figure in an escape and rescue that will remain for ever famous in the annals of the period, that of Simon Donnelly, Ernie O'Malley and Frank Teeling from Kilmainham Jail, a detailed account of which appears elsewhere in this Review.

An indication of the I.R.A. treatment of prisoners and its good results occurred when a party of British military on duty in the Herberton Lane district encountered some members of the battalion engaged on removing a dump. One of the soldiers carrying out the searching of the crowd recognised one of his erstwhile captors. He escorted him over Rialto Bridge instead of searching him, and at the same time disclosed his identity as one of the soldiers detained on the Naas Road at the time of the escape and rescue from Kilmainham Jail.

Unlike the other Dublin Battalions, the Fourth suffered no loss of men on the actual operation of executing if not the entire, certainly the leading, men of the enemy Intelligence Service on what has become known as Bloody Sunday. Members of the battalion were on duty at several points in the vicinity on that morning. In the Pembroke Road district, E Company was on duty, B and G on Ailesbury Road, C at the Standard Hotel, Harcourt Street, F at the Eastwood Hotel in Fitzwilliam Street, and A Company were in Leeson Street. The wholesale arrests that followed this highly successful if disagreeable work seriously depleted the ranks. Further reorganisation became necessary, but the attacks were sustained. In Cork Street a small party of three C Company members and a member of Fourth A.S.U. attacked a patrol of Black-

and-Tans in tenders as they were passing Donore Avenue right in front of the tobacconist's shop mentioned earlier. Out in the country, in F Company's area, enemy troop trains from the Curragh were ambushed by this unit at Ballyfermot on two occasions, inflicting heavy casualties on the enemy each time without any loss to the attackers.

The armouring of the enemy's transport was an important part of their equipment, and a blow at them in this direction was struck also. The Inchicore Works of the Great Southern Railway had just taken delivery on their behalf of large consignments of steel plating. One evening, F Company, with about eighty members, took possession of the entire works, situated within a few minutes' distance of Richmond Barracks. In the course of the night the plating was loaded on to G.S.R. motor lorries, and at 6 o'clock in the morning, at which hour curfew ended, the cars drove off with the capture. Some of it was taken to Clondalkin and dumped there, more of it on a lorry that was overloaded and broke down as a result, was dumped into the Grand Canal above Inchicore, where some of the plates can be seen up to the present day.

General Headquarters had drawn up plans to destroy the seat of civil administration in the Custom House as a decisive blow. The battalion's contribution to this operation consisted of members of C Company entering the Fire Brigade Station in Thomas Street, dressing themselves in the firemen's tunics, helmets and equipment and putting all available hose piping on the fire engine and driving it to the grounds of a house in Quigley's Lane, Crumlin. The fire, of course, was in the opposite direction, and the Custom House was burning fiercely when the member remaining behind in the station to attend to any telephone calls left the station an hour afterwards. A similar operation was carried out the same day by G Company at the Fire Station at Rathmines Town Hall.

The munition factories were still functioning. A further one was opened in the premises of the well-known bacon curers in Cork St. for the manufacture of shotgun ammunition and the filling and charging of the grenades manufactured in Vicar Street. Raids for technical equipment were carried out under the nose of Dublin Castle on the premises of Messrs. Mason and of Messrs. O'Callaghan in Dame Street. In the premises of the bacon curers firing practice was also indulged in; it was no longer possible to do so in the open as was the case in 1918 and 1919, when the enemy rifle ranges in the fields

around Inchicore and Crumlin were used in the night after having been used during the day by enemy troops from the surrounding barracks. As a result of the success of the Kilmainham Jail episode a plan to attack and disarm the guard on the Royal Hospital was drawn up. An attempt was to be made to rush the gates, when opened to admit a tender or motor vehicle of the enemy. It was abandoned as the avenue, edged with elm trees on both sides and nearly half a mile long, would give the enemy a splendid chance of defending themselves while the attackers would be locked in or hemmed in by troops at their back. It is not generally known that it was through the grounds of this institution the bodies of the 1916 leaders were taken from Kilmainham Jail after execution for burial in Arbour Hill. It afforded a short cut and avoided the use of the main road around Island Bridge.

As the period to the end of the conflict was narrowing, some form of action took place every day. The guard on the hospital in Stephen's Lane was sniped from James's Street. It is interesting to mention that this hospital contained large numbers of enemy casualties from over the entire country. Most of the battalion were now on the run,

and could not use their own homes for fear of arrest. As a result, friendly houses nor suspected by the enemy came to the rescue. In addition, sleeping quarters were improvised in the bacon factory in Cork Street with the consent of the owners, most of whose staff were active I.R.A. men, as well as in premises of market gardeners in the Rialto and Crumlin districts. These premises were also used as jails by the battalion to detain suspects until such time as their identity could be established. In the Rialto quarters about twelve members slept there regularly in the lofts of the stables, with loaded revolvers beside them.

Rumour was now busy that the end was in sight, but seemed to have been ill-founded when the battalion was ordered to stand-to for a "do or die" attack on every enemy position in the area. The Castle, headquarters of the enemy in Dublin, and its flank barracks in Ship Street were to get special attention. The operation was called off after several special parades were undertaken with members on each occasion actually in position to attack. It was subsequently disclosed that the enemy had been warned of the contemplated attack. The Cease Fire order was received a few days afterwards and the Truce was declared.

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The Fifth Battalion

(ENGINEERS)

WHEN the Volunteers were successfully re-organised after Easter Week, the whole position was reviewed in the light of past events to discover in what respect our organisation could be made more effective for pursuing the aims for which it was established, and among the conclusions arrived at were the following—that we should manufacture our own explosives and munitions, if at all possible, and that we should train men as military engineers.

The G.H.Q. Staff appointed a Director to prepare a scheme for the formation and training of such a unit, suited to the nature of the country, and adapted to the infantry guerilla tactics which it was decided to adopt.

The type of men required was procurable in the Dublin Brigade, which was the best organised unit in the country. Instructions were issued to each of the Battalion Commandants to select twenty-five suitable men, and constitute them into an Engineering Section attached to his battalion. The selected men were drawn from the building and allied trades, electrical and railway workers, quarry-men (for their experience of explosives), telephone and telegraph workers, engineering students, etc., together with a supporting section of sappers.

Each battalion was responsible for the speedy destruction of all enemy communications, property and armaments, within its own area. This arrangement continued for a short period, when G.H.Q. decided to amalgamate all Engineering Units into one battalion, to be known as the 5th (Engineers). This battalion was attached direct to Brigade H.Q. Each section was formed into a company (one company for each of the four battalion areas), and the strength of each was considerably increased. The companies consisted of four sections: No. 1, Telephone and Telegraphs, and Electrical Supplies; No. 2, Bridge, Building and Demolition; No. 3, Railways; and No. 4, Road Destruction and General Mining Work. Each section was under a Section Leader, who was assisted by two Squad-Leaders, who were responsible for the quick mobilisation and ordinary drill required for instilling discipline. The Section Leaders were chosen

for their particular knowledge of the work entrusted to each section.

In order to accomplish the aim of the G.H.Q. Staff, it was necessary to reproduce conditions as near as possible to those of actual warfare, and this entailed the setting up of camps in suitable positions near the City of Dublin where intensive week-end training in all branches of military engineering was carried out.

It is as well to mention here that every unit had to be self-supporting as regards the purchase of their firearms, and the expenses of meeting halls for indoor lectures.

In the early days previous to and during the week of 1916, most of the Volunteers appeared to have little or no knowledge of the power of explosives. Grenade cases then consisted of boot polish tins, cocoa tins, etc. They were charged with gunpowder and fitted with a time fuse which was lit with a match. Such a grenade would hardly blow a hat off. In 1916 the demolition of the Nelson Monument with a couple of sticks of gelignite would have been considered feasible by some. So it was evident from the start that a good deal of experiment was necessary and a considerable amount of data had to be compiled about every explosive it was possible to get at that time, and it was due to the enthusiasm of the four companies that in a short period the necessary data on about twenty-five explosives was compiled. The relative strength of each compared with gun cotton (taken as standard) was ascertained, the type of detonation required for each explosive, its characteristics and the necessary precautions to be taken in storing, etc. The "British Army Formula for Hasty Demolition" used gun cotton as a basis for calculation of the quantities of that explosive required for a variety of operations, and, utilising the data compiled, it was a simple matter to make the necessary adjustments in our calculations for any of the explosives we possessed.

Hand Grenade.

Before the Quartermaster General's Department started manufacturing grenades on a large scale, our units were making (and experimenting with) rather crude types of our own design. We first started with

Fifth Battalion (Engineers) Council, July, 1921



[Lafayette.

Back (left to right) :—LIEUTENANTS E. WHELAN, C. MCCARTHY, P. PURFIELD, and M. KERR.

Second Row (left to right) :—LIEUTENANTS H. KENNY, J. O'CONNELL, E. CULLEN, E. KELLY, J. MURPHY and M. KELLY.

Front (left to right) :—LIEUTENANT J. O'HARA, CAPTAINS S. J. O'REILLY, J. RYAN, T. MCMAHON, G. HOLOHAN, and T. KEEGAN. *Inset* : CAPTAIN M. CREMEN.

ordinary gun barrel piping with a bottom welded on one end and a screwed cap socket on the other end with a hole drilled in the cap for the fuse. The piping was serrated in rings for shrapnel effect on explosion.

Our greatest problem with this type was in finding a speedy means of igniting the fuse. One method devised was in covering the exposed end of the fuse with match composition. We managed this by soaking the heads of matches in a small tin of very hot water just under boiling point. When the match composition became plastic, we simply smeared it on the end of the fuse and shaped it like a cone. It was then allowed to dry for 24 hours, and when dry could be quickly ignited by rubbing a match-box across the composition. This was an improvement on the old method of lighting the fuse with a match. However, we were not quite satisfied with this method from the point of view of speed, though it was the best we could do at the time without resorting to machines, etc.

One day a volunteer from Meath cycled to Dublin and met some of our unit in Parnell Square. He came specially to show us a method he had devised for quickly igniting the fuse. It consisted of a portion of a bicycle pump connection; the metal screw that fits over the valve. It had a small hole drilled across the bore between two flanges, which served a double purpose. When the fuse was inserted into the screwed hole in the connection, it was fastened in place by inserting an ordinary pin in the hole which passed through the side of the fuse covering out through the other side, and then bent around the groove between the flanges out of the way. The same hole also served the purpose of a gas escape. The top or narrow portion of the connection was a nice press fit for a gun cap. So, to light the fuse it was only necessary to strike the gun cap on or by any hard object, when the cap exploded and immediately ignited the fuse. We adopted this method at once and soldered the cycle connection on the grenade tops, making a one-piece job of the lot. It also allowed us to shorten the length of the fuse and thereby the time of the explosion (which was of very great importance to us) to a matter of three seconds, as against the British Army grenade (Mills Bomb) of five seconds. With five seconds, the enemy would have time to throw the grenade back at us. The ideal aimed at was two seconds, as three seconds would allow an enemy on the alert to throw it out of a moving car before the explosion occurred.

The ideal grenade was later achieved by

the Q.M.G.'s Munition Department and manufactured by mass production methods. It was somewhat similar in outward design to the Mills Bomb, with cast iron serrated body, machined neck complete with striking pin and lever. It differed internally in so far as that timing could be adjusted from a maximum of four seconds to a minimum of two seconds. This could not be done with the Mills Bomb.

Trap Mines.

Experimenting with trap mines was also part of our job, and great care was needed for this work, as the slightest slip or mistake meant certain death to the operator. They were first constructed for the purpose of protecting dumps and later became a feature in barricading.

There were mechanical and electrical trap mines. The electric types were made in the form of a box with hinged lid, containing explosive electric detonator and battery with brass contact pieces so placed inside that when the lid was raised only a fraction of an inch the charge exploded. The mechanical type was constructed of a steel cylinder about nine inches diameter, sixteen inches long and half-inch thick, with flat circular metal ends, one of which was drilled and tapped with screw thread to take the neck and firing set of the standard hand grenade; the lever of the grenade neck was left straight instead of curved so that it was only necessary after inserting neck in mine to turn it upside down so that the weight of the mine kept the lever in place; but should it be lifted from the ground or pushed over on its side after the pin was withdrawn, it would almost immediately explode.

In the acquisition of suitable equipment for the training of the companies, little assistance could be given by our G.H.Q. Raids on enemy depots, or on their stores in transit, generally supplied their needs; if not procurable by those means, civilian sources were tapped. The equipment was generally stored in houses occupied by members of the companies, who were responsible for its safe custody. Members of the companies rented stables, which were situated in central but unfrequented places. These were known as dumps, and were under the charge of the Quartermaster. The storing of engineering equipment in premises occupied by our members was no easy job, as a raid and eventual discovery entailed a long sentence of imprisonment, and in the later stages of the war, "a death sentence."

In the year 1918 the first of our week-end

camp was started at Kilmashogue and Edmondstown, Rathfarnham; our training was rather intensive and included bridge-building, tree felling, and the use of high explosives.

During this period the various companies had carried out and completed a full survey of all telephone and telegraphic communication, vital points were marked on large-scale maps, and by this means it was possible at very short notice to dislocate enemy communication and eliminate the possibility of surprise in the event of operations being carried out by our forces.

Our equipment in the early stages was in the main very primitive. Experiments proved that the detonators, fuses and explosives could not always be relied upon. On a couple of occasions we had nasty accidents, but this was not to be wondered at. With material coming from so many different sources, and no information as to its age, etc., it was impossible to guarantee its effectiveness. Many a well prepared operation owed its failure to frozen gelignite, defective detonators, etc.

The Q.M.G.'s Staff came to the rescue and set up a special department to remedy the situation. "War-flour"—a substitute for gelignite—was manufactured by the Chemical Unit, and a new type of exploder was introduced. All unreliable equipment was scrapped, and munition depots were fitted out with modern machinery, and staffed mainly by men from our battalion.

The experiment with the new explosive ("war-flour") was carried out at Kilmashogue, on the site occupied by the camp of No. 3 Company. This was selected as the most suitable place, owing to its rocky nature and the presence of quarries. It was indeed an ideal spot and considered safe. The Brigade officers ordered a mobilisation of No. 3 and 4 Companies for Sunday, 19th September, 1920, for the purpose of testing the destructive powers of this new explosive against that of gelignite, lumite, robinite, etc. They intimated that they would be present, and fixed the time for mobilisation at 12.30 p.m. Everything was carried out to schedule, the work was very satisfactory, and confirmed the faith of the Brigade and G.H.Q. Staff in the effectiveness of the new explosive, and established it as the most suitable for our purposes. While the experiments were being carried out, the enemy had evidently been informed of our activities, and, massing a large number of "Tans," succeeded in surrounding No. 4 Company, who, being unarmed (on instruc-

tions), had no option but to surrender. About thirty men were arrested and sentenced to terms of imprisonment. This disorganised No. 4 Company, and was a severe blow to the battalion, as we lost some of our best officers and men. On this occasion we also suffered our first casualty. Seán Doyle (a youth of 19 years) was shot dead by a party of "Tans" who were lying in ambush among the furze. This was the first appearance in Dublin of this infamous force and here they had their first "victory," but had our men been armed a very different story would be told.

Calls were frequently made on the battalion for officers and men to proceed to the country units for the purpose of supplying technical knowledge in the preparation of mines and to assist in the destruction of barracks and other buildings likely to be occupied by the enemy, also the destruction of railways used for carrying troop trains.

The autumn of 1920 saw the war intensified both in town and country. In the country Flying Columns were formed, and those units generally remained together doing all the work entailed by active-service conditions. It was impossible to establish such units in the city, so it was decided to adopt a system of armed street patrols. Those patrols generally consisted of from eight to ten men under an officer or non-commissioned officer. Their duties were to patrol the streets mostly used by the enemy, and under suitable conditions to engage them by an attack with hand-grenades and revolver-fire. Rifles were not used, as it was impossible to carry these through the streets without attracting attention. This form of activity was very effective, though it was very often attended by casualties on our side, due to the fact that the enemy had all the advantages, the protection of armoured lorries and a swift get-away, while we stood out as targets. In this form of activity the engineers were restricted from participation by the specific orders of the Director of Engineering, who was not prepared to risk the loss of comparatively highly trained men by permitting them to engage in ambushes. These restrictions were relaxed towards the close of the period. Dermot O'Dwyer, of No. 1 Company (a young student from Tipperary), was killed in an ambush in North Frederick Street, and Tommy Bryan, arrested after an engagement at Drumcondra, was executed in Mountjoy Prison. This was the punishment meted out to all who were arrested after an ambush and found in possession of arms.

The battalion, though depleted in strength,

continued its activities, and when a further call was made for volunteers to give whole-time service in the Active Service Unit, many of our men were transferred. In addition, we formed an Active Service Unit of our own within the battalion, comprised of men who were free in the day-time. They were at the disposal of the Brigade, and operated with the Active Service Units in many engagements, such as the attacks on troop trains at Killester, burning of the Custom House, seizure of rifles at the North Wall, attack on Auxiliaries at London North Western Hotel, destruction of "Tan" equipment at South William Street, attacks on enemy at Holles Street, Frederick Street, etc. The battalion was also responsible for the mining of roads leading into the city. This operation was carried out during the night. Other activities were: destruction of enemy transport at G.S. Railway, North Wall; seizure of food supplies and

equipment in course of transport, burning of Stepside Barracks, destruction of Dollymount Coast Guard Station, seizure of complete telephone and telegraph equipment from Aldborough House, also the seizure of motor lorries and motor cycles from the same building. Raids for equipment were also carried out at the premises of the Dublin Dockyard Co. and many other places in the city and suburbs. The activities of the engineers were not confined to Ireland. Some of our men were detailed to carry the war into the enemy's country, and as a result valuable docks, power houses and other important places were destroyed in England.

With half of our men in prison or internment camps, some wounded and others executed, we were still hammering away, increasing our activities day by day, with those who were left, when the Truce came in July, 1921.

Sixth Battalion Council, July, 1921



[Lafayette.

Front Row, Sitting (left to right) :—NEIL McNEILL, Batt. Q.M. ; ANDY McDONNELL, O/C. Batt. ; MICHAEL CHADWICK, Vice O/C. ; TOM CARDIFF, O/C. Transport.

Back Row, Standing (left to right) :—CAPT. J. FOLEY, O/C. F. Company, Deansgrange ; CAPT. NED O'BRIEN, O/C. B. Company, Ticknock ; DR. J. J. LOFTUS, Batt. M.O. ; CAPT. J. CURLEY, O/C. A. Company, Dundrum ; CAPT. L. O'BRIEN, O/C. C. Company, Bray ; CAPT. W. WALSH, O/C. D. Company, Dunlaoghaire.

The Sixth Battalion

Dublin Brigade (South County Dublin)

PRIOR to Easter, 1916, there were two companies in South County Dublin, "F" Company in Dunlaoghaire, under Captain Tom O'Connor, "G" Company in Blackrock, under Captain Tim Finn. There was a section in Bray, and a section in Milltown and Dundrum attached to "E" Company, Third Battalion; most of South County Dublin was in the Third Battalion area.

After the Rising it was decided to organise South County Dublin and put it on a regular footing under the command of O/C., Third Battalion, Dublin Brigade. Early in 1917, Captain Liam Tannam was transferred from "E" Company, Third Battalion, to start a company in Dundrum and organise South County Dublin. The Dundrum Company was known as "H" Company. Units were started in Barnacullia, Ticknock and Glencullen. Intensive training was started at once, gun-barrel grenades were made and filled, shotgun ammunition was collected and refilled. Pikes were made in a mountainy forge.

The organisation was pushed ahead, units were started in Bray, Shankill, Golden Ball, Deansgrange, Loughlinstown, Cornelscourt and Dalkey. The work of training was growing. Units had to be visited each week; to make this possible, Lieut. A. McDonnell was transferred from "E" Company and M. Chadwick from "A" Company, Third Battalion, to assist Captain Tannam in the county.

The Dunlaoghaire and Blackrock Companies were well established by this time, with a large number of men already trained in the use of rifle and small arms. The work of organisation did not pass unnoticed. Police were active in many ways; still the work went on. Completed grenades were tested in the mountains, arms were bought or collected, route marches, day and night manoeuvres were carried out.

Early in 1917 the enemy made a move, Captain Liam Pedlar was arrested, Captain Tannam and others followed, 1918. The vacant positions were filled and the work went on, police raids for company rolls became common. July, 1918, warrants were issued for the arrest of 20 men in Deansgrange, the men were ordered from home

and taken to a camp in Ticknock where they remained until the military made it unsafe, the camp was then removed to Tibbradden. 'Flu and lack of food would make this a story in itself.

Units were now well organised along the coast from Merrion to Bray and from Enniskerry to Milltown, the only transport available for this work was a push bike. It was often the lot of the organisers to leave Bray by road for Dublin in the small hours. Various officers were sent from the Third Battalion to give special courses of training to the organised units, Simon Donnelly, Peadar O'Mara, Miceal De Burca, Noel Lemass and others. Vacated barracks were burned, one with tragic results, late 1919 a big round-up by military on the



(Reproduced by College Studios.)

ANDY McDONNELL, O/C. Sixth Battalion,
July, 1921.



(Reproduced by College Studios.)
 BRIAN MCNEILL (late Adjutant, Sixth Battalion),
 later killed in action in Sligo.

mountain near Glencullen resulted in the arrest of Capt. Noel Lemass and a large number of men from the Blackrock Company. The Bray Unit was getting a lot of police attention yet they managed a successful landing of arms not far from a military post.

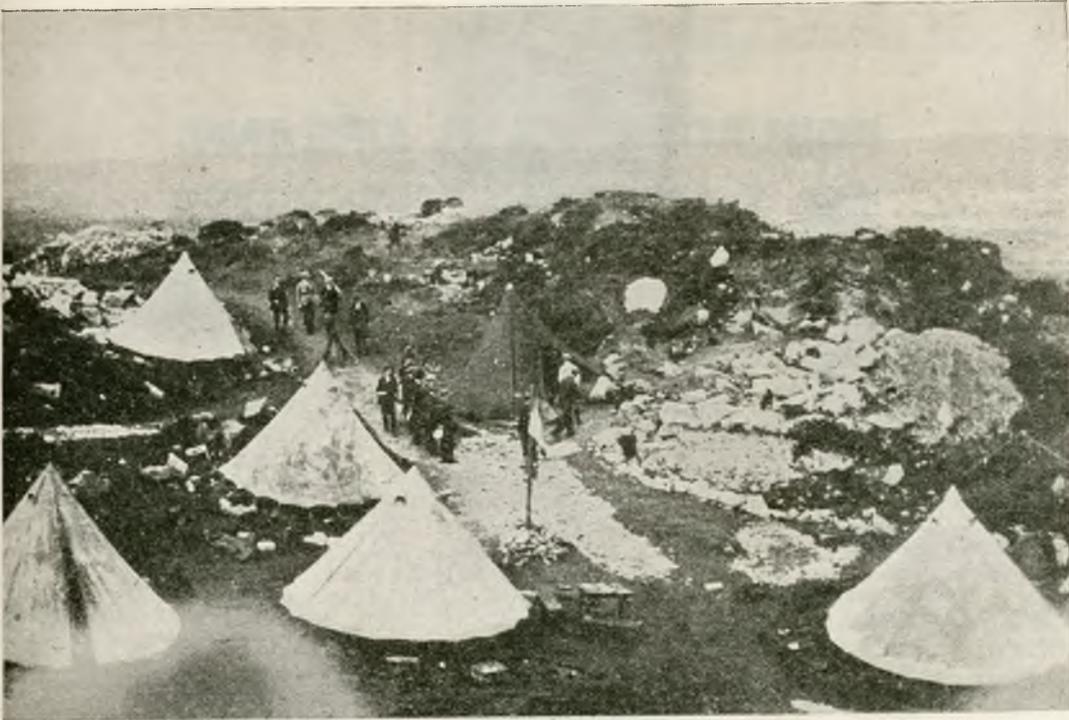
The organised units were now run on Company lines and in most places under the command of local officers. The Dundrum Company now under Capt. Curley, took action and ambushed the military in Roebuck, Deansgrange Company attacked a police patrol, Capt. Somers, O/C. Dunlaoighaire, was arrested. November, 1920, it was decided by G.H.Q. that the organised units in South County Dublin should be made a battalion in the Dublin Brigade, and so the Sixth Battalion was formed with A. McDonnell as Commandant and M. Chadwick as Vice-Commandant, both of whom had

taken an active part in the organising of the county.

With the formation of the battalion the county had to look out for arms, contacts were made in various parts of England and purchases were made by two of the Battalion Staff with almost clocklike regularity. The arms and ammunition were brought to Ireland by members of the Dunlaoighaire Company. Activities were many and varied in all areas. Dunlaoighaire Company made regular attacks on the naval base and military convoys to and from the mail boats. Deansgrange Company never missed a chance of an ambush on the Main Bray Road, paying particular attention to the Barracks at Cabinteely and police patrols; enemy officers found Foxrock unsafe for sight seeing.

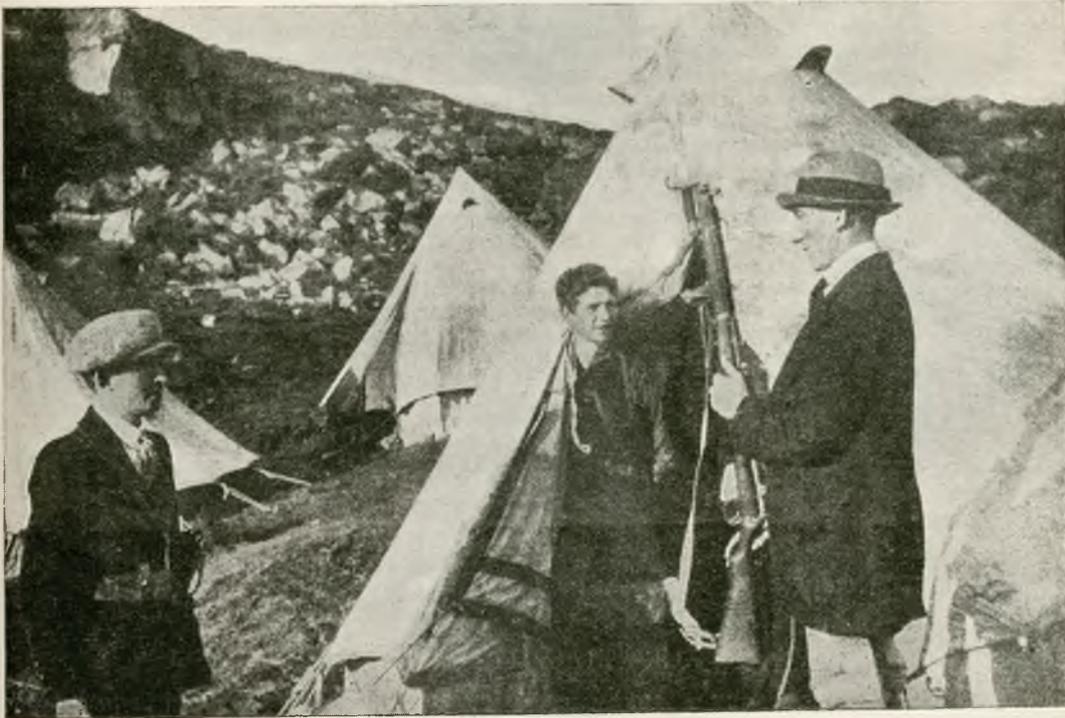
Dundrum Company ambushed military at Rosemount, Roebuck and Churchtown, attacked the barracks at Dundrum, attacked police patrols, had a running fight with Auxiliaries at Classon's Bridge. Bray Company ambushed military at Crinken, attacked the barracks and patrols, burned military lorries at Bray Station, shot up military officers at Enniskerry. Blackrock Company ambushed military at Temple Hill, Rock Road, Merrion Avenue and Merrion Road, the Merrion Road ambush was an attack on a very big convoy coming from the mail boat, a running fight took place in which an armoured car took part. Dalkey Company accounted for patrols at Ballybrack, Sallynoggin, etc. Ticknock Company ambushed military at Streamstown, attacked secret service agents at Ballycorus, mined the Scalp Road, etc. Spies were dealt with in all the company areas in the usual way, roads were trenched, bridges destroyed, mails raided, enemy property seized and destroyed. Dead and wounded were many and we take this opportunity of paying tribute to the men of the Sixth Battalion who died for the Republic. May they rest in peace.

July, 1921, the Dublin No. 2 Brigade was formed, taking in the Sixth Battalion, Seventh Battalion and East Wicklow. There were five battalions in the brigade, A. McDonnell, O/C. and M. Chadwick, Vice-O/C.



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SIXTH BATTALION CAMP, BARNACULLIA, JULY, 1921.



(Reproduced by College Studios.)

SIXTH BATTALION CAMP, BARNACULLIA, JULY, 1921.

POBLACHT NA H EIREANN.
THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT
OF THE
IRISH REPUBLIC
TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

IRISHMEN AND IRISHWOMEN: In the name of God and of the dead generations from which she receives her old tradition of nationhood, Ireland, through us, summons her children to her flag and strikes for her freedom.

Having organised and trained her manhood through her secret revolutionary organisation, the Irish Republican Brotherhood, and through her open military organisations, the Irish Volunteers and the Irish Citizen Army, having patiently perfected her discipline, having resolutely waited for the right moment to reveal itself, she now seizes that moment, and, supported by her exiled children in America and by gallant allies in Europe, but relying in the first on her own strength, she strikes in full confidence of victory.

We declare the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland, and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies, to be sovereign and indefeasible. The long usurpation of that right, by a foreign people and government has not extinguished the right, nor can it ever be extinguished except by the destruction of the Irish people. In every generation the Irish people have asserted their right to national freedom and sovereignty: six times during the past three hundred years they have asserted it in arms. Standing on that fundamental right and again asserting it in arms in the face of the world, we hereby proclaim the Irish Republic as a Sovereign Independent State, and we pledge our lives and the lives of our comrades-in-arms to the cause of its freedom, of its welfare, and of its exaltation among the nations.

The Irish Republic is entitled to, and hereby claims, the allegiance of every Irishman and Irishwoman. The Republic guarantees religious and civil liberty, equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens, and declares its resolve to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation and of all its parts, cherishing all the children of the nation equally, and oblivious of the differences carefully fostered by an alien government, which have divided a minority from the majority in the past.

Until our arms have brought the opportune moment for the establishment of a permanent National Government, representative of the whole people of Ireland and elected by the suffrages of all her men and women, the Provisional Government, hereby constituted, will administer the civil and military affairs of the Republic in trust for the people.

We place the cause of the Irish Republic under the protection of the Most High God. Whose blessing we invoke upon our arms, and we pray that no one who serves that cause will dishonour it by cowardice, inhumanity, or rapine. In this supreme hour the Irish nation must, by its valour and discipline and by the readiness of its children to sacrifice themselves for the common good, prove itself worthy of the august destiny to which it is called.

Signed on Behalf of the Provisional Government,

THOMAS J. CLARKE,
SEAN Mac DIARMADA, THOMAS MacDONAGH,
P. H. PEARSE, EAMONN CEANNT,
JAMES CONNOLLY. JOSEPH PLUNKETT

Reduced Facsimile of the Proclamation of the "Irish Republic"

Promulgated on Easter Sunday, 23rd April, 1916, at Liberty Hall, Dublin.
The seven signatories to this document were all executed.



THOMAS J. CLARKE



SEAN MacDIARMADA



THOS. MacDONAGH



P. H. PEARSE



JOSEPH PLUNKETT



EAMONN CEANNT



JAMES CONNOLLY



(Reproduced by College Studios.)

SIXTH BATTALION.—SECTION OF F. COMPANY AT LEOPARDSTOWN, JUNE, 1921.

Fianna Eireann

(Boy Scouts of Ireland)

"We believe that Na Fianna Eireann have kept the Military Spirit alive in Ireland during the past four years, and if the Fianna had not been founded in 1909, the Volunteers of 1913 would never have arisen."—P. H. Pearse, February, 1914.

THIS is the testimony of Pearse to the work of Fianna Eireann during the darkest years in the history of the modern struggle for Irish Independence. It was the first Organisation to come into the open under the old war-scarred banner, and it had to contend with the full force of public indifference and derision. Many of the older generation shook their heads and doubted, and we heard the wise telling us on every side that the days of fighting for Ireland were gone for ever. We knew that our inspiration was right, and it was strong in the enthusiasm, faith and high purpose engendered by association with such comrades as Colbert, Heuston and Mellows, as well as by the advice and encouragement of Pearse and his comrades, and that of Roger Casement. We are glad and proud that the honour of being the first modern Army will always remain to the Fianna.

In 1909 Madame de Markievicz took the first steps with the help of Con Colbert and others. She went into the highways and byeways in the search for boys, willing to work for the Independence of Ireland. The original members took it in turn to stand in uniform with a large flag outside the first hall in 34 Camden Street, Dublin, and invite boys to join. By degrees about 80 boys or about six Sluaighte were enrolled.

By December, 1910, there were Sluaighte in Dublin, Limerick, Derry, Cork, and Belfast, and the first Ard-Fheis had been held. The Belfast Sluagh was the first regiment wearing Ireland's uniform to climb Cave Hill, and stand at Mac Art's Fort, where Wolfe Tone and the United Irishmen stood, and promise as he promised to work for the Independence of Ireland. The holding of the Second Convention in July, 1911, disclosed the fact that the Organisation had extended to Dundalk, Clonmel, Newry, Waterford and Limerick. This year Liam Mellows joined,

and by the following year he was Secretary of the Dublin District Council. Seán Heuston was in charge of the Limerick Sluagh.

In 1912 the Executive took stock of its financial position, and realised that our chance of achievement in our generation was in danger of being frustrated through inadequate resources. In this difficulty Liam Mellows proposed early in 1913 that he should throw over all his prospects in life, and go on the road as a Fianna Organiser, at the magnificent salary of 10/- per week, and in April, 1913, he started on a life of ceaseless activity for the Republic, never relaxing his efforts until his death.

In 1913 Seán Heuston came to Dublin and took charge of a North City Sluagh parading in Hardwicke Street. He was another of the type of Liam Mellows, taciturn, a born leader, and possessed of great capacity for work. He also laboured in Fianna Headquarters, 12 D'Olier Street, his evenings being taken up until midnight with the details of Organisation and Training.

With the founding of the Volunteers in November, 1913, the value of the work of the Fianna was immediately manifest. Four members were on the Provisional Committee, and Liam Mellows was its first effective Secretary. Fianna Drill Halls in Dublin and throughout the Country were immediately utilised; Fianna Officers became Volunteer Officers (in many cases having higher rank in the Volunteers than in the Fianna). Hand in hand with the spread of the Volunteers the Fianna grew rapidly. A Handbook was compiled and issued containing articles by Casement, Pearse, Colbert and others, and this was adopted by the Volunteers.

The Fianna participated in the Howth Gun-Running of 26th July, 1914, and marched along with the Volunteers from Dublin bringing their Trek-Cart, and with it were the first to reach Erskine Childers' yacht, "The Asgard." On the return journey the ammunition with the marching column was in the Fianna Trek-Cart, the Fianna being entrusted with the task of delivering it safe to its destination. This trust was not misplaced.

Fianna Eireann Ard Fheis—1919

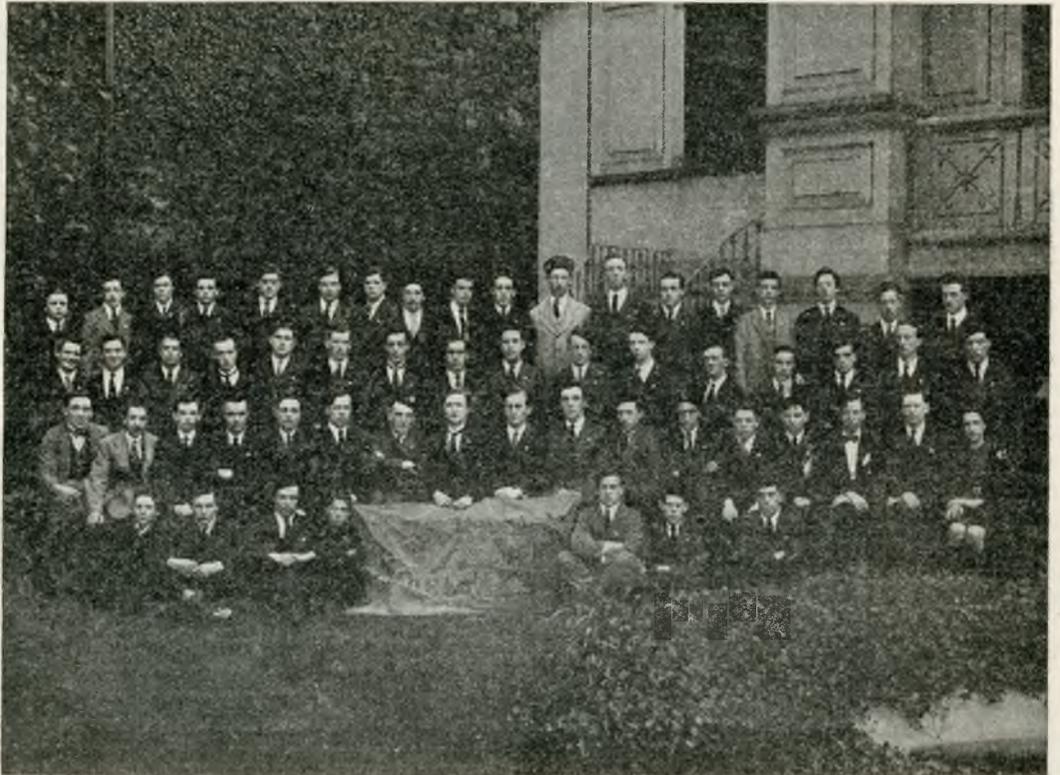


Photo by]

[Keogh Bros.

Included in this group are :—EAMON MARTIN, BARNEY MELLOWS, GARRY HOLAHAN, LIAM LANGLEY, JOE REYNOLDS, REV. FATHER O'DONOHUE, PADDY HOLAHAN, SEAMUS POUNCH, FRANK McMAHON, THE LATE JOE MCKELVEY, THE LATE DAN McART, MARTIN O'NEILL, BRENDAN O'CARROLL, DERRY McNEIL, SEAN SAUNDERS, BOB CONLAN, SEAN CAFFREY, PADDY DUNNE, C. CLARKE, THE LATE P. FITZGERALD, P. O'BRIEN, A. TUKE, KEVIN McNAMEE, PETER BYRNE, LIAM MURPHY, J. CASHEN, EAMON NICHOLSON, R. McLAUGHLIN, JIMMY O'CONNOR, HARRY CARRICK.

Before the Insurrection there were eight Sluagh in Dublin, under the control of the Dublin District Council and this Council governed the affairs of the Dublin Fianna until the Insurrection. Several of the officers were in touch with the Military Council of the Irish Volunteers which was undertaking the responsibility of the forthcoming Insurrection.

On Easter Monday, 1916, officers of the Fianna were given command of important sections of the operations.

A party commanded by a Fianna Officer, and manned almost entirely by Fianna rushed the Magazine Fort, Phoenix Park, disarmed the guard, and made an almost successful attempt to detonate the explosives stored therein. This was to be the signal for the Rising. From the Fort they retreated to the Four Courts area, participating in the attack on Broadstone Railway Station (in which the O/C of the Dublin Fianna was severely wounded), also participating in the capture of Linen Hall Barracks, as well as in the desperate duel which preceded the surrender in North King Street, when the enemy forces were separated from the defenders only by the width of a street.

Capt. Seán Heuston was in charge of the Mendicity Institution, on Usher's Island, opposite the Royal Barracks. With his small garrison he held out for three days, and directed the defence with coolness and ability during the attacks. He was promoted on the field. Liam Staines, a member of "F" Sluagh was severely wounded during the attack.

In Marrowbone Lane, Con Colbert was second in command, taking charge at the surrender.

The Fianna Chief, Madame Markievicz, held the College of Surgeons, some Fianna boys fighting under her leadership.

Fianna officers and boys also fought in the other Posts, and boys took on the dangerous work of despatch carrying, scouting and reconnoitring.

Seán Heuston and Con Colbert were murdered by the defender of Small Nations on the 8th May, 1916.

* * *

Liam Mellows' part in 1916 is testified by Commandant-General Connolly in his Order of the Day, 28/4/1916, "—In Galway, Capt. Mellows, fresh from his escape from an Irish prison is in the field with his men." His subsequent escape to America and activities for the Republic there, would take more space than is allotted here. Suffice to say that when he returned to Ireland he became Director of Purchases on G.H.Qrs.



SEAN HEUSTON

Staff, I.R.A. as well as being a member of Dáil Eireann representing Galway. His activities are a matter for his biographer, and we hope to see the story of his life appearing before long. He is now sleeping peacefully in Castletown Churchyard, Co. Wexford, and his life is an inspiration to future generations of Irish boys.

* * *

Shortly after the Insurrection a Provisional Committee was formed in Dublin. This Committee undertook the task of organising the Dublin Fianna until the Officers who had been arrested were released. This Committee ceased at the end of 1916 when the general release from Frongoch had taken place.

From January, 1917, a huge organisation campaign was in full swing, both in Dublin, and throughout the country, and owing to the strength of the Dublin Brigade, two battalions were formed (North and South Dublin), and a Brigade Staff was appointed. The Dublin Brigade Area consisted of Dublin City and County.

In August, 1917, the Convention was held and Madame Markievicz was elected Chief Scout. The first public parade of the re-organised brigade was held on the occasion of the funeral of Tom Ashe in September.

In 1918 when the English Government threatened to impose conscription on the nation, the Dublin Brigade Commando was



LIAM MELLOWS

formed. This unit comprised picked members of the brigade, whose duty it was to co-operate with the Irish Volunteers in the event of conscription being enforced in Ireland. These boys were attached to the battalions under the control of a Fianna Officer. The duties allotted to the Fianna were signalling and the use of small arms.

In May, 1918, two of the Headquarters Staff (Chief Scout and Adjutant-General) were arrested by the English Government as participants in the "German Plot," and shortly afterwards the English Military Governor in an address referred to the Fianna as "poisonous insects, and should be stamped out."

During this period the attacks of the enemy were greatly increasing: halls raided, parades being attacked by police and military, and boys being arrested for wearing Fianna uniform; but yet they did not daunt the spirit of the boys, and the result was an increase in membership of the Brigade. This period saw the formation of the "Fianna Post." This activity related to the collection and delivery of letters in the Dublin Area, on the lines of the system operating in the Post Office. Circulars were sent to sympathisers intimating to them that they could leave their correspondence in certain call offices when they would be collected at certain periods and delivered at charges obtaining in the Post Office.

Classes were also established throughout the Brigade, signalling, first-aid, scouting, etc., as well as Gaelic and history classes. Transfers from the Fianna to the Irish Volunteers commenced at this period.

After the formation of the Republican Government in 1919 the work of organisation became more intensified, and the Fianna spread throughout the country. With the return of the Chief Scout and Adjutant-General (who had escaped from his English jail), arrangements were made for the holding of the Annual Convention. That Convention was a great success and at it the Fianna promise was altered to read:—"I pledge my allegiance to the Irish Republic, etc." The Executive and Headquarters Staff elected at this Convention undertook full responsibility for the activities of the organisation throughout the country. Simultaneously the activities of the Dublin Brigade increased. The Fianna took an active part in all the major operations of the Anglo-Irish War, and provided a valuable stream of recruits for the I.R.A., but owing to the short space allowed it is impossible to give a complete list of these. There is one point certain that the most effective part played by the Brigade was the activity of the Intelligence Department, when it is remembered that all information thus supplied was genuine and results carried out owing to same were always successful. Several major operations in Dublin were the result of Fianna Intelligence.

It is also impossible to give a complete list of those members who fell in the fight, but it may be stated that by murder and conflict the Fianna casualty list was large, and the operations of the enemy were as equally divided as against the Senior Branch of the Republican Forces.

The two organisations were joined together for mutual support towards the end of 1920, and the Fianna took an increasing part in the activities carried out by the Irish Republican Army, in some cases under the command of their own officers, and as a result of the agreement the Dublin Brigade was divided into five battalions.

The following is a copy of the Order sent out by the Adjutant-General, to all Units after the "Agreement":—

MEMORANDUM NO. 1.

FIANNA EIREANN.

G. H. QRS.,

DUBLIN, 1921.

To Each Fianna Officer.

A Chara,

As a result of conversations between the Ministry of Defence, and Fianna General H. Q.

Staff, the Fianna has now been recognised as one of the Units at the disposal of the Republican Government. This means that the Fianna will assist the I.V. in every manner possible under our own Officers, and though acting in co-operation with the I.V. will remain in most respects a separate Organisation. The connecting link between the I.V. and Fianna will be the Liaison Officer. The following will explain how the scheme affects Sluaghite or Companies:—

1.—The Fianna shall assist when required, the Army of Ireland in operations. Each Company or Unit will work under its own Officer who will be responsible to the I.V. Officer in charge of operations.

2.—Fianna Battalion Areas will correspond with those of the I.V. Each Battalion will have its Battalion Comdt. who will give instructions to the various Companies. The Fianna Battalion Comdt. will be responsible for the carrying out of certain operations to the I.V. Battalion Comdt. (or Brigade Comdt.) and to Fianna G.H.Q. only. This means that all Instructions from I.V. to Fianna come from I.V. Brigade Comdt. or Battalion Comdt. to Fianna Battalion Comdt. who will transmit them to units in his command.

3.—The Fianna Battalion Comdt. will keep constantly in touch with Battalion H.Q. of I.V. and will be summoned when necessary to I.V. Brigade or Battalion Council Meetings. In other words he will be the connecting link, or Liaison Officer, between Fianna and I.V. In cases where there is no Fianna Battalion Comdt. the Senior Fianna Officer will act as Liaison Officer, until such time as Battalion strength will have been reached.

4.—Where the Fianna Organisation is incomplete the I.V. will organise Companies of Fianna, placing a Section Leader of I.V. in charge until such time as the Company may be sufficiently organised to elect their own Officer.

5.—On attaining the age of 18 a Boy, unless his services are necessary for the successful management of the Company, will be transferred to the I.V. Such transfers must be made in writing and countersigned by the Fianna Battalion Comdt. These transfers which are of the greatest importance must be made regularly, and a record must be kept in each Company of such transfers.

TRAINING.

Arrangements are being made whereby selected members of the Fianna (Officers and Boys) shall attend I.V. Officers' and Section Commanders' Classes. Circulars on Training in special branches will be issued by G.H.Q. in due course.

In the meantime each O/C. will immediately train the Boys in Despatch carrying (including correctly delivering verbal messages).

Morse Signalling and Reconnaissance. Specially selected Boys of good Physique can be trained where opportunities are available in Bombing, Rifle Exercises, etc. The Fianna must supply Trained men to Ireland's Army. Intelligence work may be also included in the Programme of training. This must be done carefully and with the sanction of the I.V. Battalion Comdt.

OPERATIONS.

The Fianna must not carry out operations without having previously obtained (through the Fianna Battalion Comdt.) sanction from I.V. Battalion Comdt. This will prevent overlapping and extra work.

REPORTS.

Regular Monthly Reports must be sent by each O/C. They can, until regular Battalion Areas are defined, be sent direct to G.H.Qrs.

COMMUNICATIONS.

As the British Post is unsatisfactory and dangerous, arrangements are being made with I.V. G.H.Qrs., to make use of the I.V. lines of communications. Care should be taken that no frivolous correspondence is sent through these lines. Only urgent and necessary communications should be forwarded in this manner. Interview the Battalion Comdt. I. V. on this matter.

GENERAL.

The intention of G.H.Qrs. Fianna is to make the Fianna a live Organisation. G.H.Q. has been recognised and will give you every assistance possible. We must supply the trained man-power for Ireland's fight. Officers will thus realise the importance of enforcing discipline, and organising and training their Boys. Let us work for Ireland.

ON FOR FREEDOM, FIANNA EIREANN

BARNEY MELLOWS,
ADJT-GENERAL.

The above agreement was carried out very harmoniously between both organisations, with a marvellous spirit of co-operation and loyalty and our activities helped in a large measure in forcing England's Prime Minister to call for a Truce, which was called on 11th July, 1921.

In conclusion I wish to refer to the last message of our dead Chief, Liam Mellows—
"The Fianna Ideal can save the Future."

This last message from Liam, shows how

keenly he realised the need that exists for a continuous and forward educational policy. Everywhere the movement of youth is bringing new life into idealism drowned in the mire of conflict. One hope and one dream we have always kept. The vision of Ireland Free, and the hope that by our work we may bring the day of Freedom nearer, i.e., a Sovereign Independent Irish Republic, as Pearse, Connolly and Mellows visualised. We have but to continue our old work, with the Ideals of Ancient Ireland, with the memory of those who have testified by heroic example to the still potent strength of that old ideal, and we will thus do the utmost honour to our dead. The Old Fianna has a task before it; the

education and training of the coming generation in the Republican Faith. We can best show that we are the successors of Colbert, Heuston and Mellows by our own individual example, by acting nobly, by working strenuously without honour or award, by living the lives of great Irishmen, and we can thus attract the generous impulses of youth. Every Old Fianna boy is a representative of his organisation, and by his work for the nation, for the general principles of good citizenship, and for national unity, the Old Fianna organisation will be judged. Let us be jealous of our honour and keep it untarnished, for if we are lacking, the work of those who have died under the Fianna banner will be for naught.



[Lafayette.]

Group of Officers First Battalion

Filleadó na Féinne*

An Craoibín Doibhinn do Sgríob

Na bíodó doró-meisneac do deo

as sior-cur an ceo ar bur seoróe

as siob-se as simuimeac s as ráo

so bfuil éine boéc crátóce san bris.

atámaloro as fanamaint le fao

as sol san seac a s as caoi

as súil so tucparó an lá

oibeoras an cráo so óinn,

a s so tucparó so soirto an fiam,

an buróean nár séill oo h dois,

asus pásparó an crann bí crion

fá blac agus sseim aris.

is soirto so tucparó an fiam.

Cao é an doróeas so ar an spéir? Cao é an tuidé seo ar an ngréin? Cao é an smíto seo ós ar seiomn, as bainc óinn soluis an lae, agus as ar tacaacó, tá sí com trom sin? Feuc ar néall tób as leatnugó agus as sior-leatnugó, feuc é as cur amac óá sglacán de féin mar prácán móir, ó táob so táob na spéire? Cao é? agus feuc na doime as torus a tuisceacó as dearcacó suas air agus as osnaoil. Cao fáe bfuilto as tarraimís a n-anála com trom sin, amail agus óá mbeicóis o'á múlacó. Cao fáe a bprácan sin com bán agus com mí-licéac sin, mar doime acá as fanamaint leis an bparaise o'éirige os a seiomn, nó leis na sléibcib oo turcim na muillac? Cao é an sóre spéire i sin, cao é an tír i seó, cia h-lao na doime?

Oról! A éararo mo éoróe, innseacáro mise sin tuit. ar talam seal na h-éireann acá tú i o'seasán, agus sin spéir na h-éireann os oo éiomn, agus sin muinntir na h-éireann acá as torus na tuisceacó.

Acé cao oo beir okra féacaint mar sin, cao fáe bfuil siac o'á múlacó agus óá tacaacó as nro éigin nac léir óóib, agus cao é an néall áiróbeal tób sin os a seiomn?

Is é an néall oo éib tú acá o'á múlacó, tá siac tacaacó as an aéir ó h néall sin. amail prácán móir tób, acá an néall sin agus a óá sglacán since amac asige eoir sin agus eolas na sreime beannuige agus é as séiróacó neime as a sób, as bainc a n-aisne agus a meisnijs de na doime agus as cur ceo agus fuacá ar a seoróe.

Cia h-é an doróeacé a tús cúnacó oo h prácán an nro sin oo óéanah?

Innseacáro mé sin tuit. Sin spioracó na sacanac, sin an déarlacac. Tá an srian múcca asige, agus is é oo sgar an ceo agus an tsioc ar éoróicib na doime boéc acá ino h ar talam fóo-glas na h-éireann. Oo bí uair, am, agus oo lomkuis an srian com seal agus com teic os éiomn na tíre seo agus oo lomkuis sí os éiomn don tíre o'á r pós sí ariam. Oo bí uair, am, a raib an spéir seo com slian agus com seal sin sur bain sí sáir luteasme as na doimib le teann-acas iao oo beic beo fúicí. Oo bí uair, am, a raib meisneac agus móir-meanna, asigeantacé agus áro-innleacé mis na doimib sin, acá anois com tuiató-méileac agus com lasbrígeac sin. Tánnis átrausacó okra agus feuc anois.

Asus inisim tuit an firimne munar h-innseacó tuit riam so o'ci seo i. Tá an bo'sa déanta éeana a seuirfeas mac macar éigin urcar, leis, tóir an bpréacán úr-srahna neimeac oo rime an oisóbal sin agus oo bán óinn teas na sreime.

Acéirim leac so bpeicim an lá as teacé, muar béiróeas ruais ar an óá sglacán tób sin, agus tósparó na doime acá leac-naró agus leac-múcca, a seim aris, agus móran acá oo teic so tiorcáb a b'ao ear saile, le tól o anáil marbáá bréan an éim thóir sin, fuilpó siac aris, agus cónnóacó siac so socair sacca amas as a seairde agus a n'gaoil. agus tucparó áro-méanna agus meisneac móir ar ais aris amas na doime, agus tuispó aris na doime nar tuis, agus léisfó aris na doime nar leis, agus sgríobparó na doime nar sgríob, agus o'éamparó sionmarca na doime nac noeamaró sionm riam, oibreacáro na doime nar oibris, planróacáro na doime nar planróas, pásparó na doime nar pás, meabracáro na doime nar meabkuis, cúnimeacáro na doime oo dearmacó, agus na doime oo bí as sol beiró siac as saime, na doime bí ar mí-béil béiró siac lán-érimna, na doime bí na tóose curpó siac lúis acá. Seaspáró muinntir na tíre seo aris san slabra ar corp ná ar anam, com saor agus bíorar ariam, i lácair o'é agus na doime. agus ní fao uaim an t-am sin: "Is soirto so bfuilpó an fiam."

* Reprint of article contributed by Dr. Douglas Hyde to the *Fianna Handbook*, 1913.

Kevin Barry Tortured By His Captors

The story of Kevin Barry's martyrdom on the scaffold is too well known to need re-telling. But many people forget the suffering which he had to undergo while held a prisoner by the British military. In vain efforts to get him to betray his comrades, his captors tortured him. How cruelly they did so, and how bravely this boy-soldier resisted their efforts, may be judged by the Statement (given here-under) which was made by Kevin Barry while he lay in Mountjoy Prison under sentence of death.

I KEVIN BARRY, of 58 South Circular Road, in the County of the City of Dublin, Medical Student, age 18 years and upwards, solemnly and sincerely declare as follows :

(1) On the 20th day of September, 1920, I was arrested in Upper Church Street, in the City of Dublin, by a sergeant of the 2nd Duke of Wellington's Regiment, and was brought under escort to the North Dublin Union, now occupied by military. I was brought into the guard room and searched. I was then removed to the defaulters room by an escort with a sergeant-major. The latter and the escort belong to the 1st Lancashire Fusiliers. I was then handcuffed.

(2) About a quarter of an hour after I was placed in the defaulters room two commissioned officers came in. They both belonged to the 1st Lancashire Fusiliers. They were accompanied by three sergeants of the same unit. A military policeman who had been in the room since I entered it remained. One of the officers asked my name, which I gave. He then asked for the names of my companions in the raid or attack. I refused to give them. He tried to persuade me to give the names, and I persisted in refusing. He then sent the sergeant out of the room for a bayonet. When it was brought in the sergeant was ordered by the same officer to point the bayonet at my stomach. The same questions as to the names and addresses of my companions was repeated with the same result. The sergeant was then ordered to turn my face to the wall, and point the bayonet to my back. I was so turned. The sergeant then said he would run the bayonet into me if I did not



KEVIN BARRY
(H. Coy. 1st Batt.)

Hanged in Mountjoy Prison, November 1st, 1920.

tell. The bayonet was then removed and I was turned round again.

(3) The same officer then said to me that if I persisted in my attitude he would turn me out to the men in the barrack square, and he supposed I knew what that means with the men in their present temper. I said nothing. He ordered the sergeants to

put me face down on the floor and twist my arm. I was pushed down on the floor after my handcuffs were removed by the sergeant who went for the bayonet. When I lay on the floor one of the sergeants knelt on the small of my back, the other two placed one foot each on my back and left shoulder, and the man who knelt on me twisted my right arm, holding it by the wrist with one hand while he held my hair with the other to pull back my head. The arm was twisted from the elbow joint. This continued, to the best of my judgment, for five minutes. It was very painful. The first officer was standing near my feet, and the officer who accompanied him was still present.

(4) During the twisting of my arm the first officer continued to question me as to the names and addresses of my companions, and also asked me for the name of my company commander and any other officer I knew.

(5) As I still persisted in refusing to answer these questions I was allowed to get up and I was again handcuffed. A civilian came in and he repeated the questions with the same result. He informed me that if I gave all the information I knew I could get

off. I was then left in the company of the military policeman; the two officers, the three sergeants, and the civilian leaving together.

(6) I could certainly identify the officer who directed the proceedings and put the questions. I am not sure of the others except the sergeant with the bayonet. My arm was medically treated by an officer of the Royal Army Medical Corps, attached to the North Dublin Union, the following morning, and by the prison hospital orderly afterwards for four or five days.

(7) I was visited by the court-martial officer last night and he read for me a confirmation of sentence of death by hanging, to be executed on Monday next, and I make this solemn declaration conscientiously believing same to be true and by virtue of the Statutory Declarations Act, 1835.

KEVIN GERARD BARRY.

Declared and subscribed before me at Mountjoy Prison, in the County of the City of Dublin, this 28th day of October, 1920.

(Signed) Myles Keogh,

A Justice of the Peace for the said County.

Proposed Old I.R.A. National Memorial Hall

“ There are in every generation those who shrink the ultimate sacrifice, but there are in every generation those who make it with joy and laughter, and these are the salt of the generations, the heroes who stand between God and man.—P. H. PEARSE.

THE FOUNDATION of the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF OLD I.R.A. saw the beginning of a movement to restore to the nation that unity of purpose and solidarity of organisation which, twenty years ago, brought forth the highest qualities of self-sacrificing patriotism in our people. Realising that, though circumstances may temporarily confuse the issue, the people's aspiration towards freedom is never entirely lost, the Association aimed to re-knit the broken and leaderless ranks of the men who had previously rallied the Nation in 1916 and borne the brunt of intensive warfare in the subsequent years.

Our country's history can show no period so rich in sacrificial service and crowded with heroic exploits as that which began with the armed Proclamation of the Irish Republic in Easter Week, 1916. Never before were the people so inspired with the ideals of resurgent nationality, so whole-heartedly united in organised pursuit of those ideals and so keenly determined on their final fulfilment.

To the men of the Irish Volunteers (subsequently re-named the Irish Republican Army) must the greater credit be given for having in that period provided the spear-head of the national advance; and for having operated with such resourcefulness, bravery and tactical skill that five years of intensive warfare saw England seeking a military truce.

The call for national unity issued by the Veterans of the War of Independence through the N.A.O.I.R.A. has been responded to by the country as a whole. The old spirit has been rekindled and the ideal for which so many noble lives have been sacrificed has been saved from the danger of national disunity.

In the work before them, the members of the National Association of the Old I.R.A. are deeply mindful of their duty to their fallen comrades. The memory of those dead soldiers must ever be the inspiration for future generations, and only by keeping that memory fresh can we be sure of sustained loyalty to the cause for which they offered up their lives.

In announcing its intention to erect a National Memorial Hall to commemorate the fallen soldiers of the I.R.A., the Association is confident that this worthy project will receive the support of all who cherish their memory. It appeals with assurance for the funds necessary to bring the project to early fruition.

It is proposed that the Memorial Hall should be erected on a central site in Dublin and designed in such proportions as to provide a worthy commemorative symbol and a significant reminder to this and all future generations of the sacrifices made on behalf of the Republic.

A Memorial Hall Fund has already been opened, and in its aid the Association has organised several functions which, however, can be expected to realise only a very small proportion of the cost of purchasing the necessary site and erecting an adequate building. It is hoped that most of the money required will be raised by voluntary subscriptions, and this Appeal for Funds is accordingly being circulated among all known well-wishers of the Scheme.

The Active Service Unit

by

Padraig O Conchubhair and Paddy Rigney

ABOUT the middle of December, 1920, the British offensive petered out. Their forces were exhausted and physically incapable of maintaining the tremendous pressure. They were satisfied to some extent with the results. The prisons were full to overflowing, and those who had evaded capture during the incessant raids on dwellings, halls, and public places were on the run, and unlikely to be a source of trouble for some time. They could boast they had "murder by the throat."

As pressure relaxed, the organisation closed the broken ranks, a new Brigadier was selected to take the place of Brigadier McKee who had been murdered, officers were appointed to fill the vacancies caused by the wholesale arrests, and a new force was created to implement the G.H.Q. offensive policy. This new force was drawn from Brigade personnel, each Battalion supplying a number. The task of individual selection was left to the company officers. In this way it was hoped to get together a unit composed of the best fighters in the Brigade. Fifty was the full strength of the Unit. It was divided into four Sections which were organised on the same territorial basis as the four Battalions of the Brigade. Each section would operate inside its own area, and in operations too big to be undertaken by a section, two sections would be grouped as a half company under the command of a Lieutenant. The new organisation was called the active service unit, afterwards known as the A.S.U.

On New Year's Day, 1921, the same day that the British officially adopted the policy of reprisals in Ireland, the unit came together for the first time in Oriel Hall, Seville Place.

It was a memorable occasion, and the results which followed are not likely to be forgotten by those now living who attended. The pick of the Brigade were there, numbering about fifty men: labourers, tradesmen, shop assistants, clerks and students of many professions, all united in that never to be forgotten spirit of comradeship which then existed in the I.R.A.

None of those present were in any doubt as to the service they were asked to volunteer for. The Brigadier (Oscar Traynor) addressed the men on parade, and explained that they had been selected for whole-time active service, which would involve them in very grave risks and possibly many would be called upon to make the supreme sacrifice, and that they should henceforth consider themselves as the nucleus of the standing army of the Irish Republic. "Your future activities," he said, "will be directed by G.H.Q., and the Government of the Republic will accept full responsibility for your operations against the enemy and for your future welfare."

The late Paddy Flanagan, who was selected to command the Unit, also addressed the men, and he left no doubt in the minds of those present as to the risks they would be expected to undertake. He also said that if anyone present felt that he was unable to undertake such a duty he was at liberty to say so, but not one man moved in the ranks.

For some weeks after the meeting in Oriel Hall the sections assembled under arms at various points. The section commanders were in touch with company headquarters, which was located over a shop in Temple Bar. During those first weeks the company staff tried out a system of directing the activities of each section. A proposed action on the part of the section had first to be submitted to the company headquarters. This was found unworkable. It was hard to locate suitable subjects for attack, which recurred with a regularity that permitted of delay for full consideration and planning. A few combined operations of three and four sections under the command of Lieut. Johnny Dunne failed for this reason, although he was moderately successful in operations at Merrion Square, Charlemount Bridge, and Parliament Street.

Daily the men assembled under arms to spend seven or eight hours playing cards or dodging enemy raiding parties, becoming more exasperated as time went on, exposed

Active Service Unit



[Lafayette.

Front Row :—JAS. CARRIGAN, THOS. FLOOD, JOHN DOLAN, CHRIS. O'MALLEY, PADRAIG O'CONNOR, PATK. RIGNEY, WM. STAPLETON.

Middle Row :—ROBT. PURCELL, JOHN WILSON, PATK. BRUNTON, MICHL. WHITE, GEO. NOLAN, PATK. COLLINS, JOS. MCGUINNESS, PATK. LAWSON, W. CORRI.

Back Row :—PATK. O'CONNOR, PETER LARKIN, JOHN FOY, M. WALKER, PATK. DRURY, JOS. KAVANAGH, JOS. O'CARROLL, GEO. WHITE, SEAN CONDRON, PATK. MORRISSEY, JAS. MCMANUS, JAS. DOYLE.

to all the nerve racking suspense of being under arms without the relief of action.

Company Headquarters, at length, saw that it was impossible to direct the actions of each section, and left the initiation of minor offensives completely in the hands of the section sergeants as long as they reported a couple of times a day and sent immediate details of any actions. The waiting period was useful in that it afforded opportunity to members of the sections to become acquainted and to try out and disregard the instruction regarding the use of lanyards which had been received from company headquarters.

The sergeants tried out a system of patrols along main routes. The section trailed along in pairs and attacked any suitable target that presented itself. This scheme was soon abandoned, as it was found that the best targets appeared in the section of the patrol where they could not be attacked without the risk of losing the greater part of the section.

The next scheme to be tried was the selection of a number of positions along the main thoroughfares which would be manned in succession for a period, and any lorry, or, in fact, any enemy, that passed through would be attacked. The number of suitable positions was limited. To be of any use, a position should have the following requirements: a large number of lanes or by-streets leading off the main street, and leading to one rallying point in rear; it should be extensive enough to contain the section without crowding, and it should be straight so that the men could see one another. A position very much favoured by No. 4 Section was Thomas Street—from Francis Street to a little laneway a short distance from Meath Street. If the full section was being employed, it would be disposed as follows: a pair at Francis Street, a pair at Vicar Street, a pair at a butcher's shop which had an opening direct into the lane at the back, a pair at Meath Street, and a pair at the laneway above mentioned. The rallying point for this position was the Coombe. It was found after a short time that it was not necessary to use these positions except on rare occasions, as by co-operation with the company I.O.'s, sufficient information was available regarding the regular passage of enemy patrols or parties at various points. At least one operation, big or small, every day was the object of each section, and as the men became more experienced and the sergeant more ambitious, the area of operations was extended to take in part of the county. No. 4 Section manned many times, without success, positions at Inchicore,



THE LATE COMDT. PADDY FLANAGAN

Terenure, Crumlin and Templeogue, carrying out at the same time in the city smaller actions that kept their average of one action per day.

A couple of men were detached to the Fourth Battalion, who were carrying out the rescue of O'Malley and Teeling from Kilmainham Gaol. The A.S.U. members were given the important task of escorting the escaping prisoners and of assisting them to fight their way out if attempts were made to recapture them. They co-operated in every way with the local company. They helped Barney Keogh to make the rope ladder. They helped to guard the military prisoners captured on the Sunday night when the rope broke. Their services as escort were not required, as the escaping prisoners walked away unchallenged and unescorted, having escaped some time before the time expected. Some more were taken to assist the G.H.Q. Unit ("the Squad"), who had also taken the greater part of No. 3 Section, and who were engaged in an attempt to locate and destroy the murder gang then stationed in Dublin.

The offensive spurred the British into action again. Patrols were increased, as were the numbers employed on escorts. Regular patrols and the enlarged escorts gave the A.S.U. the opportunity of arranging attacks, which were availed of to the full.

Their moral was much enhanced by the manner in which the British attempted to avoid fighting or fired blindly and hurriedly left the field. Daily patrols were attacked, transport destroyed, and all kinds of stores captured. The enemy also introduced about this time a system of patrols by police in mufti. These patrols had all the elements of surprise, as no hint had been received of their employment until No. 1 Section, when engaged on an attack on a patrol car at Arran Quay, were surprised by a ground party and only escaped with difficulty. The men of No. 4 Section were also surprised when attacking a carload of officers at the corner of Grantham Street and Camden Street. They were meeting with a spirited resistance when they were suddenly attacked by civilians. The surprise was complete. The section hastily retired to Heytesbury Street, carrying their wounded comrade, Paddy Rigney, who was hit in the knee. The attention of all sections was directed to these patrols, but apparently they were withdrawn, as they were not encountered again. Towards the end of March a party of R.I.C. were attacked at Ballyfermott. They were induced to visit the area by the burning of many cars and lorries by an active group of Inchicore juveniles. The information that they had come into the area was sent to the company headquarters when most of the men were not available. Sweeney with four of his section proceeded to a point on the road from Fox and Geese to Chapelizod. They were not long there when the four police arrived. They opened an immediate attack, and after a short time an armoured car approaching from the direction of Fox and Geese made them retire. One policeman was killed, two were badly wounded (one afterwards died), and one escaped unhurt. The attackers did not suffer any casualty, although from one cause or another three guns went out of action.

Shortly after, these same juveniles pointed out a position from which it was possible to attack Richmond Barracks. The attack was made one morning when the guard was being changed in the outlying posts. Approximately 100 men were marched in column of route, head on into the attack. It had been impossible to obtain a Lewis or other machine gun, so the operation had to be carried out with automatics. The range (almost 400 yards) was too long for accurate fire, still the officer in charge and about eight others were killed or wounded.

In April a successful attack was carried out at the Half-Way House, Crumlin. The Air Force personnel, going on local leave, were usually escorted by an armed party of

about 16 men. This escort was necessary to protect the lorries in which the leave men travelled, as the Air Force had by this time lost up to thirty cars and lorries. The men went on leave at about 4.30 p.m., and reassembled in Wellington Barracks, to return to barracks a about 10.30 p.m. On several occasions the section had waited in position to attack them. One night they narrowly escaped disaster by mistaking the leading lorries of a large convoy for the returning Air Force. The mistake was discovered in time to prevent the attack. The impossibility of working the men day and night without rest shelved the operation for a time.

A change in the routine was reported. The armed escort now returned to Baldonnell, having escorted the unarmed leave men to Wellington Barracks. On receipt of this information, Micky Sweeney, the section sergeant, decided to attack them, and immediate preparations were made to do so. The arrangements were simple. The good shots were placed in position behind a wall which enfladed the road. Their duty was to concentrate on the driver and bring the car to a halt. The remainder of the section were placed extended behind a low hedge which gave a little cover from view, but not from fire.

Sweeney and McGuinness were to stand on the road and attack the car with grenades, the former with a very big one that he had been carrying for months. The plan was so simple that there was little room for mistakes. There was a short wait and the approach of the car was signalled. As it moved into the position the attack began. The enflading party opened a heavy and accurate fire on the driver, who although protected with body armour was badly hit. The car swerved on to a high bank on the side of the road which tilted it to an angle of 45 degrees facing right into the main body of the section extended behind the low hedge. Whilst in this position it received a rain of grenades and revolver fire. The driver all the time was subjected to a well sustained fire from the party behind the wall. He made a desperate effort, brought the car on to the road again and right through the position. He drove his load of dead and wounded, for practically all in the car were hit, as far as Red Cow before he collapsed. Sweeney and McGuinness were wounded, Sweeney very severely.

The Auxiliaries came that evening and burned down the inn near the scene of the action as a reprisal. Just before the attack the Fourth Battalion O.C. approached Sweeney to leave the operation to a column

of unemployed which had just been organised in his battalion. Sweeney refused and insisted on his right to carry out operations in any part of the area. Their refusal to withdraw caused strained relations between the units until matters were put right by the battalion commander, John Dowling. In some other matters this commandant showed remarkable forbearance in dealing with the A.S.U. who were inclined to take a high-handed attitude in many things.

On the 25th of May the company came together again in a store in Little Strand Street. A plan was chalked on a blackboard and when the company were assembled the captain went into the details of the coming action. The plan was that of the Custom House. The action of each man was laid down. Numbers 1, 2 and 3 sections were detailed for positions inside and No. 4 was outside, along with some companies of the brigade, with the duty of holding off any enemy that might approach or attempt to interfere with the burning of the place.

To criticism of the plan the captain replied that he had no responsibility, that the plan was there to be carried out and that the Brigade Staff, who were responsible for the operation, were convinced that the job would be completed and the men dispersed before the enemy received any information of the affair. The men moved off to be prepared to occupy their allotted positions at zero hour which was 12.55 p.m. Prompt on time the operation commenced, the inside staff proceeding about their allotted tasks, preparing the building for firing, collecting the employees and taking the necessary steps to prevent communication with the outside. It had been calculated that the operation would take half an hour, which meant that the dispersal would take place about 1.30 p.m.

It was twenty-five minutes past one . . . the work inside was proceeding to schedule . . . the men on guard outside watched the minute hand of the Custom House clock as it slowly moved towards the half-hour. . . . It looked as if the staff calculations were right—that it would be a bloodless victory. A Rolls Royce armoured car dashed down Eden Quay and along to the front of the Custom House facing the river. The car pulled up. An officer leaped down revolver in hand. The sentry outside retreated along the Quay, turning now and again to engage the officer who was in hot pursuit. Almost simultaneously two loaded lorries of Auxiliaries and another armoured car drove rapidly from Gardiner Street and pulled up under the Custom House facing Liberty Hall. This party had the

Brigadier and Capt. P. O'Daly (O.C. of "The Squad") on the steps outside the door under their levelled rifles. The outside party advanced from the pathway in front of Liberty Hall and Brooks Thomas and a shower of grenades fell in and around the lorries. Taking advantage of the confusion the Brigadier and O'Daly ran through the Auxiliaries and joined the attackers outside Liberty Hall. The armoured cars opened fire and mingled their dread double tap with the dull boom of the grenade and with the sharp crack of the rifle. A further reinforcement arrived, debussing at Eden Quay, and rushing to join their comrades under the railway bridge in front of the Custom House. When the attack opened some person inside blew a blast on a whistle. This was the prearranged signal to withdraw. There was some confusion. The place had not been fired. The O.C. ordered them back to finish the job detailing others to hold back the enemy who were trying to force their way in. The fighting outside became fiercer as the Vickers Maxims from the armoured cars sprayed bullets like water from a hose on any point that seemed to offer resistance. Flesh and blood could not stand up to such a fire. They were forced to give ground. Their position was impossible. No. 4 section was stationed at Butt Bridge. It was not long in action when the parties were located by the crew of one of the armoured cars and a large party of Auxiliaries changed front and from the cover of some barrels on the Quayside, brought them under a heavy fire. For a quarter of an hour the fight was maintained and finally they were forced to retire at 1.50 p.m., their ammunition exhausted. At that time, the columns of black smoke announced that the men inside had done their part.

On the following day the company assembled in their store in Little Strand Street. No. 4 section was the only one complete. Most of the unit had been captured. There was one killed, Dan Heade.

It was decided that the unit should get into action again as soon as possible in case the enemy would get an idea that the losses suffered at the Custom House had incapacitated or broken the morale of the army. A policy of intensive sniping was considered best and put into effect. The results were gratifying. The enemy morale was very poor. They panicked, fired wild, and maintained a fire on suspected positions long after the snipers had withdrawn. There was an unfortunate accident during sniping operations at a cricket match at Trinity College between the "Gentlemen of Ireland" (*sic!*) and the military officers. A

Miss Alexander-Wright (a spectator) becoming frightened started into the line of fire of one of the snipers and was killed. The accident was very much regretted by the man concerned.

Sniping was not a new type of operation for the men of the unit. It had formed the basis of a sensational trial during the early days when two men were courtmartialled for refusing to obey orders. They had in fact objected to a sniping position chosen by the company officer, and refused to use it. They were severely reprimanded and fined by the court. Although the refusal to carry out orders cannot be excused they were not altogether wrong regarding the position and had their objection been couched in different terms to those used it is probable that the Company C.O. would have seen the justice of their case.

Sweeney, the sergeant of No. 4 Section, was many times mentioned in dispatches for daring sniping operations and details of many of his exploits were published in *An t-Oglách* in order to encourage others to emulate him.

At this time the unit had a narrow escape from destruction. It was usual to assemble in Little Strand Street to arrange the work of the day. The number of weapons suitable for sniping being limited, the majority of the men would be left in the store to await orders. There was a large accumulation of captured material in the place. There were over fifty typewriters seized in a city repair shop as well as a large quantity of telescopes, opera glasses and other optical equipment brought in by the men sent to raid for binoculars, map measurers and material required by G.H.Q. The men who raided Dixon & Hempenstalls and Chancellors were not too particular and took with them anything they thought might be useful. The material the Army could not use was left lying in the store. There was an uneasy feeling about the place, as in addition a man had been confined there for some days and tried on a charge of espionage and convicted. He was brought to a city hospital wounded and proceeded to make a statement to the British Authorities. The information that he was trying to do so was immediately conveyed to Company H.Q. The captain gave orders that the man should be "liquidated" without delay. It was carried out. The crude performance brought down on the unit the wrath of G.H.Q., just as it brought on G.H.Q. the wrath of the medical fraternity. The controlling authority of the principal refuge of the army wounded requested the evacuation of all I.R.A. casualties within twenty-four hours. Other

good friends were also antagonised and it took all the diplomatic skill of G.H.Q. (as well as the *plamás* of Collins) to placate the medicals offended by the violation of the hospital sanctuary. The captain came in for most of the blame and this was the culminating point in a series of disputes between them. This shooting, the stocks of captured material in the store, and the fact that a fight would be impossible made the unit jumpy. It was decided to put them on the streets where they would be just as accessible as in the store. They were ordered to Thomas Street. One of the company staff—Stevenson—remained behind in order to bring any messages. With him was also left the favourite sniping weapon of No. 4 Section, a medium parabellum. The men of the unit had just cleared the store, some were still in Little Strand Street, when two lorries of Auxiliaries arrived at the store, gave the same knock as usual, and Stevenson answered thinking that some one had returned. They spent a good part of that day loading the lorries with the captured material. The military arrived and saved Stevenson from the Auxies who were incensed at the notches cut on the handle of the parabellum. They evidently understood the significance of the markings. The party in Thomas Street attacked and wounded a British officer and escort.

Early in June the unit (or what remained of it) were called together. The vacancies in the ranks were being filled and new officers appointed as the company officers had resigned following the incidents before mentioned. The men of the unit were sorry to lose the captain. He was a valiant fighter and had stood between them and G.H.Q. on many occasions. Captain Paddy O'Daly was appointed O.C. The new men were all there and having reorganised the sections the company dismissed. The reorganisation was followed by an increase in the number of attacks on patrols and escorts, and in a try out in new methods. The old organisation ("The Squad") had been amalgamated with the A.S.U. and among the effects they brought with them was a Ford van. This, lined inside with captured British body armour, was used throughout the city manned by three or four men armed with a Thompson Gun and automatics. The British also tried new schemes and although they did not succeed in taking the initiative they forced the I.R.A. to exercise caution in all their operations to avoid being surprised by some unfamiliar trick. Only this constant vigilance saved the sections when the system of circular patrols by armoured cars was introduced. This system reduced the time

available for attack to fifteen minutes, the time taken by a car completing the circuit.

A system of simultaneous parallel patrols worked in conjunction with the armoured car patrol was another feature of the British come-back. It was one that might well have been successful if tried with men of good morale and who were led by officers with initiative, but the British troops (officers and men) were too demoralised. The scheme of surrounding a particular area and conducting a house to house search was reintroduced. It met with fair success at first. In Inchicore, operating in this way they captured almost all the juveniles and some other first-class fighters who were in the habit of co-operating with the A.S.U. and who were a real loss. Another disconcerting feature was the improvement in the enemy intelligence.

The problem of ammunition, always a worry, became a nightmare. There were a large number of parabellums and Peters idle through want of ammunition and those in action were strictly controlled to conserve the supply. The .45 ammunition was also running low, so an issue was hailed with joy. The first action after the issue removed a good deal of the joy. The ammunition (home-made) split the cases, jambed the cylinders of the revolvers and rendered the weapons useless. It was also responsible for the wounding of Simon McInerney who covered the retreat of the Section. This .45 had been made from a consignment of .45 rifle ammunition landed with great difficulty and daring by a number of Headquarters and 3rd Battalion officers under the impression that it was revolver ammunition. There were few rifles in the army that could fire this ammunition so the Munitions Dept. cut it down to fit revolvers but did not reduce the charge with the result above mentioned.

A full strength company operation was planned for June 25th. There had been a large concentration of troops in Belfast for the opening of the Northern Parliament. It was intended to attack the troops returning by train at a position selected at Killester, a low wall gave a little cover to the two sections carrying out the main attack. The railway permanent way was mined by six 30-pound land mines and the new weapons (the Thompson) were in position on a rise that enfiladed the railway. The other two sections were in position north of the road. They were given the task of firing the train with petrol and the leader was by a rapid fire to warn the main body of the approach of the train.



A TYPICAL I.R.A. FLYING COLUMN.

The train was due to pass the position at 9.45 and the Howth train was due to pass in or about the same time, so a man was placed far up the line to signal the military special. As the men were moving into position a patrol of Auxiliaries passed but did not notice anything. A train approached the "look-out" signalled a civilian train and it was let pass through the first part of the position. As it passed the main position some men lost their heads and bombarded it as it passed. No one was hurt, fortunately, although the Brigadier and some of his staff were in the carriage that was struck. The unit beat a hasty retreat. The military special was just behind the Howth train and the troops had been detained on to the line. The second special was derailed at Adavoyle, Co. Armagh, with a loss of four killed, thirty injured and thirty horses killed.

That evening another offensive scheme was tried out. The A.S.U. were reinforced by some city companies and it was proposed to occupy the area Grafton Street—St. Stephen's Green—Kildare Street—Nassau Street, which was the area holding cafés patronised by enemy forces. The orders were that all enemy forces met were to be shot. The district was divided and a definite area allotted to each party, which had each its own intelligence officer attached. Seven o'clock was the zero hour and at that time the party responsible for Grafton Street were in position. The street usually crowded was almost empty. Two enemy were located and shot by the party operating Anne Street—King Street area. Most of the men failed to get to their places in time as they found it had to penetrate the enemy patrols in the centre of the city who were very active on this evening. The Brigade as a whole went into action. Attacks, raids, destruction of stores followed one another in quick succession. The British were broken, driven off the streets, and reduced

to the barest troop movements necessary to maintain their posts. Their Commander-in-Chief had reported to the Chief of the Imperial General Staff that, although the soldier would do his best, there was little hope of beating the I.R.A. unless they replaced their worn-out officers and men.

Three men were captured during a raid on a laundry in Inchicore owing to careless planning on the part of the officer who allowed the manager to escape and alarm the guard at Kilmainham.

At this time a successful action was fought at Dolphin's Barn. A touring car, with enemy intelligence personnel, was reported as passing each evening at 8.30 p.m. It was arranged to attack them. Six men were placed at the square at Dolphin's Barn and four at the laundry turn. A touring car approached the square and the signal was given to prepare for attack. The people about saw the signal and recognising some of the men dashed to cover. It was a false alarm and a hasty signal given to allow it through. After a delay of about half an hour, during which the square remained deserted, the car came. The people who had sheltered became tired of waiting for something to happen and began to move about again. There was a wild dash for cover as the attack opened. The driver of the car was hit almost immediately and the car (a Ford) came to a halt. Whilst the spare driver worked frantically to change places with the wounded man, the three officers in the back of the car returned the fire. Two of the officers were out of action when the car got on the move again, and the surviving officer maintained a fire so rapid and so accurate that it was with difficulty the attackers avoided being hit. The car moved rapidly away when the drivers had changed places and passing the laundry the party there attacked them with revolvers and grenades. The gallant officer was here put out of action. Two volunteers from the 3rd Battalion who chanced to be passing at the time were wounded.

Early in July another operation was planned on similar lines to that carried out in June in Grafton Street, but on a bigger scale. It was designed to cover the entire city and to involve every company in the Brigade. The operation was scheduled to begin at 7 p.m. but was cancelled at 4 p.m. The counter order reached the A.S.U. immediately, as the officers were at Brigade Headquarters waiting orders. Some of the companies were actually in position when called off. The negotiations for a truce were proceeding and it was thought that

an operation of the magnitude of that contemplated would stop any overtures for peace.

The half company were allowed to carry out a train ambush at Ballyfermot outside Inchicore. The men assembled with bicycles at Fairbrothers' Fields and were cycled by pairs to the spot chosen for the ambush, the road bridge on the Fox and Geese—Chapelizod Road was the right of the position. Two men and the machine gunner were on the bridge, the remainder of the men were extended behind the low bank. The two men on the road were charged with the duty of firing the goods wagons by throwing down a quantity of petrol as the wagons passed under the bridge and a lighted sack as they emerged from under the bridge. The train was in sight when precise information arrived from an Inchicore worker as to the exact position of the stores. The petrol tins with the tops cut off were balanced on the parapet of the bridge, the lighted sack on the other. The train arrived at the bridge. The petrol was dumped down on the wagons as they passed underneath and the flaming sack as they emerged from under the bridge. J. H. McGuinness with the Thompson opened an oblique fire on the carriages and after a little changed his position and poured a stream of nickel .45's on the roofs. The men along the embankment opened a rapid fire of revolvers and grenades as the portion occupied by the military passed. With the stores wagon in flames and an odd return shot the train sped on its way. It pulled up at Clondalkin station to have a badly wounded civilian removed. The military portion of the train was put in to the Curragh siding and held there under guard. No information was given of casualties, but examination of the railway carriages would go to show that they were considerable. An extensive operation that night against the Air Force was cancelled by Brigade.

The train ambush at Ballyfermot was the last action fought by a unit of the Dublin Brigade. The A.S.U. on Sunday night—Monday morning (10th and 11th July) occupied and held the extensive railway works at Inchicore, covering the removal of a few tons of coke and pig iron which were required by the Munitions Dept. They could not evacuate before 9.30 a.m. and received a great reception from the workers. The unit were given a short holiday and moved to a training camp and kept there until they were brought in to perform the guard duty at Earlsfort Terrace when the Dáil met.

The Pre-Truce Intelligence Department

By Frank Thornton

THE Intelligence Department of the Dublin Brigade contributed to a very large extent to the success of its various units in the fight against the British Forces. This body of men and women attached to the various units carried on their work in a quiet and unassuming fashion and rarely got credit for their achievements even from the Army itself. Owing to the nature of the work, it was necessary to keep their names secret and very often they found themselves accused of being afraid to join the Active Service Forces. It was necessary for them to work secretly to meet all classes of individuals, very often those who were actually attached to the enemy forces, and as a consequence of their meeting with members of the enemy forces, to endanger their own lives.

It is, therefore, the intention of this short article to give full credit to all those who by their activities on Intelligence made it possible for the Army to locate and defeat the enemy.

At the end of 1919 our Intelligence Service was negligible. It only existed mainly through the activities of a few persons who had been grouped together by the late Michael Collins and the late Dick McKee who was then O.C. Dublin Brigade. This small band of workers laid the foundation of what was subsequently to be one of the finest Intelligence systems any army could boast of.

About the end of 1919 the Cabinet entrusted the late Michael Collins with the organisation of Intelligence and after gathering around him a number of men withdrawn from the Dublin Brigade, he proceeded to set up an Intelligence System in each Brigade Area. Each Brigade was instructed to appoint a Brigade Intelligence Officer and he received his instructions to set up a Brigade Intelligence system consisting of Company I.O.'s. Each I.O. was responsible for the Intelligence in his own particular area and gathered around him a

number of trusted persons from within and without his own Company or Battalion Area.

A definite system of collecting information was set up and instructions issued to use every friendly person in the neighbourhood and if at all possible to get in touch with friendly persons in the enemy forces. In this way, in a very short time quite a useful Intelligence System was set up.

The Brigade I.O. constantly kept his Brigade Staff informed of all enemy activities in his own area and transmitted all such information to G.H.Q. Subsequently, when the Division was set up all this information went through the Divisional I.O.

In Dublin early in 1920 a number of men were picked from the Dublin Brigade to form a General Headquarters Intellig-



AUSTIN STACK



EAMON DE VALERA

ence Staff. It should be remembered when talking of G.H.Q. Intelligence that the Dublin Brigade should feel proud that it was from the ranks of its members that this Staff was formed. Very close co-operation was soon in evidence between the newly-formed G.H.Q. Intelligence and the Dublin Brigade Intelligence, which resulted in the many successes for our Army during the war. The spirit of co-operation and self-sacrifice that existed during those days will always be remembered by those who worked together on this most important arm of our activities. No sacrifice or hardship was too great for those heroic men and women who gave so willingly and who have got so little credit.

G.H.Q. Intelligence Staff could never have succeeded in the huge task it had undertaken were it not for the enthusiastic support it got from the Intelligence Units attached to the various Companies.

Successes were many, but its crowning success was the securing of the necessary information of the personnel and location of the British Secret Service which was operating outside of Barracks in Dublin City. It required months of enquiries before the job was got on the way, but through the enterprise of its personnel it succeeded in getting placed in the various houses

occupied by the enemy its own Intelligence Staff, and in a very short period afterwards was in a position of not alone collecting information on the movements of the British Secret Service, but was actually able to procure copies of the various reports that Service was making to its own Headquarters.

There is no doubt that the British Secret Service was securing information about our activities and personnel, which, if allowed to continue, would have finally resulted in the destruction of our Organisation. But the Intelligence Department of the Dublin Brigade (acting in co-operation with G.H.Q. Intelligence) worked with such zeal and enthusiasm that in the Autumn of 1920 it was able to present a complete report as to the personnel and whereabouts of practically the whole British Secret Service in Dublin.

This information was placed before the Cabinet and G.H.Q. Staff and was found to be so reliable and so authentic that the destruction of the Secret Service was ordered. This, as everybody now knows, was carried out on the 21st November, 1920.

This success, together with numerous other brilliant successes achieved before and subsequent to that date, resulted in completely demoralising the enemies and removing from them their greatest asset, their Secret Service.

The men and women of our Secret Service will always be remembered by the people of Ireland and even if they do not get the credit that they are rightly entitled to, they will always be happy in the knowledge that they rendered the greatest possible service to their country.

The events of 21st November, now commonly known as "Bloody Sunday," so completely demoralised the enemy that in their panic they revenged themselves on the defenceless thousands which had gathered at Croke Park on the afternoon of that day to witness the football match between Tipperary and Dublin. It will always stand to the discredit of Britain that she loosed her murder gang on a defenceless crowd and shot them down without any warning, simply to avenge a military defeat. In carrying out this massacre at Croke Park, however, it must be remembered that England had always adopted this method in the past in dealing with Ireland. The fact that she was confronted with a disciplined and trained Irish Nation that was defeating her armies in the field, and outwitting her Secret Service at every turn, was driving her to desperation. A disciplined Army watched her every move, and a patient loyal people assisted in every way to help that Army achieve victory.

The massacre of "Bloody Sunday" must be always remembered and held up to the youth of the country as an indication of what English Rule meant then in Ireland, and means to the present day in the Six Counties, which are still under British control.

It is sad to relate that from time to time, attempts have been made to belittle events such as the operations carried out by the Irish Republican Army on the morning of November 21st—"Bloody Sunday" and particularly as all such operations were carried out by the Army under instructions from the Cabinet of An Dáil.

This, like all other operations, was a military objective and was part of a deliberate programme designed to drive the enemy from our country, and requires no explanation or apology. The Volunteers always accepted full responsibility for their actions and still glory in the achievements of those days. It will always be their aim to hand on the glorious traditions of the fight against English Rule so that the youth of the country will realise what sacrifices had to be made to obtain the partial freedom we now enjoy.

The work commenced by the Insurrection of 1916 is yet unfinished, the country is now partitioned. Every effort must be made to rally the Nation in a last big drive to sweep away the Boundary and achieve in this generation the complete freedom of all Ireland, economically as well as politically; an Ireland free in every way from English control, speaking its own language, reviving its own culture and shaking off the control of English financiers.

The men who so bravely faced the British Army in the past can be a tremendous influence in the future advance towards freedom. They must rally all the best



MICHAEL COLLINS

elements in the Nation around them and, believing in the work they have undertaken, make one last effort to bring about the complete independence of the whole country, always having as their inspiration the teaching of Tone: "To break the connection with England the never-failing source of all our political evils."

This article does not in any way attempt to write the history of Dublin Brigade Intelligence, but purely aims at giving a brief review of its activities and in a small way to pay a tribute to the great work which it achieved during the fight for freedom.

A Diary of Easter Week, 1916

by

Ignatius Callender

THE week preceding Easter, 1916, was one of ceaseless activity on behalf of the Irish Volunteer movement. Recruiting meetings were held all over the City of Dublin and in the country. I remember the meeting held in Blackhall Street outside the Colmcille Hall. The meeting was addressed by Thomas McDonagh and resulted in getting many good recruits for A. D. and G. Companies. I met Thomas McDonagh after the meeting and he was delighted with the enthusiasm of the people and the results of the meetings.

During the week the air was full of rumours, at Company meetings there was record attendance, Companies vied with each other in their purchase of arms, ammunition, etc. Men whom one would think should have bought boots or other wearing apparel, cheerfully provided themselves with munitions instead; they were inspired with such great enthusiasm that they forgot their own personal needs. At the meeting of "D" Co. 1st Batt., there was a record sale of "stuff" and many remarks were passed such as "Thank God I am now well prepared," "I wonder will I get a Victoria Cross," "I may be Chancellor of the Exchequer in the new Government," etc. The Irish Volunteers and Irish Citizen Army consisted of men in every walk of life: labourers, messengers, drivers of carts, civil servants, doctors, solicitors, bank clerks, company directors, professors, merchants, etc., etc., all drilling, route marching, manoeuvring side by side, all inspired with the same idea—namely to try to break the chain of English slavery that held Ireland so tightly for so long. They were a grand lot of fellows. I doubt if any country in the whole world ever possessed a Voluntary Army like the Irish Volunteers or the Irish Citizen Army of Easter Week, 1916.

The scenes in almost every chapel on Saturday night were amazing—the chapels were crowded with men and boys for Confession. Similar scenes were witnessed on the Sunday morning, thousands of men and boys receiving Holy Communion. The only

orders which the Irish Volunteers or Irish Citizen Army had were for a parade with arms, ammunition and rations for Sunday, but for some reason—perhaps divine inspiration—they prepared themselves for any emergency.

I attended 8 o'clock Mass at Arran Quay on the Sunday (Easter), on my way home I bought the *Sunday Independent* and was amazed to read the order from Eoin MacNeill calling off the parade—the use of the public Press, I thought, was an extraordinary way to call off a mobilisation, particularly as the Volunteers had a very efficient mobilisation system. Before going home to breakfast I went round to Colmcille Hall. I met several Volunteers there seeking confirmation or contradiction of the *Sunday Independent* notice. I, of course, could give them no information on the subject, but advised them to return later. In the rooms of Colmcille Hall, there were dozens of boxes of ammunition and high explosives. I allowed no one into the rooms. After breakfast I returned to Colmcille. After some time Seán Heuston arrived. He told me that should any member of his Company arrive I was to inform them that they should remain at the Hall for further orders.

Blackhall Street was a scene of ceaseless activity all day, hundreds of Volunteers arriving there all eager for information. Except for the interval for dinner and tea I was at Colmcille all day. About 8 p.m. a meeting was held in one of the rooms. Seán Heuston, Ed. Daly, Ml. Staines and several other prominent Volunteer officers were present at the meeting. Volunteers guarding the doors jokingly referred to the meeting as a "War Council." The meeting lasted about one hour, after which all the officers left with the exception of Seán Heuston. About midnight Seán sent myself and several others out to make a survey of the surrounding district to find out if any "G" men (plain-clothes police) were watching Colmcille House. We found no "G" men and reported to Seán accordingly. He then dismissed us with instruc-

tions to remain at our homes till instructed otherwise. We left Seán Heuston, J. (Joe) Byrne and "Frank" Cullen on guard all night at Colmcille Hall. (When going to Colmcille after breakfast on Sunday I brought my revolver, rifle and ammunition with me and put them in one of the hiding places in the library).

On Easter Monday I had breakfast about 9.30 a.m. About 11.15 a.m. I was contemplating going to Colmcille, when a boy arrived at my house and, asking for Mr. Callender, he handed me a letter addressed to myself. He said that he had instructions to hand it to me personally as it was strictly private. On opening the letter I found an enclosure addressed "Major J. MacBride" and a covering note as follows:

*Dear Mr. Callender,
Please deliver the enclosed to Major
MacBride at once, most urgent.
Yours faithfully,
Seán MacDermott.*

I worked under the direction of Major MacBride, who was Water Bailiff to the Dublin Corporation, a fact which accounts for Seán MacDermott's note to me. I immediately proceeded to 4 Sir John Rogerson's Quay, on the off-chance of finding MacBride there, as I knew that he had often attended at his office on holidays, in connection with part of his duties, the daily inspections of ships arriving in the Dublin Port overnight. On my way along Burgh Quay I was surprised to see Seán Heuston marching at the head of "D" Company (about 14 or 16 Volunteers. "D" Company was always a small Company). I halted and asked Seán the meaning of the Company being "out." He just answered "fall in." I showed him the letter for MacBride and the covering note from Seán MacDermott. He told me to get MacBride's letter delivered if at all possible, then to call to the Weigh House, Eden Quay, for the automatic revolvers, etc., which I had care of (for M. Staines), to get in touch with Staines, and afterwards to report at Mendicity Institute. On arriving at MacBride's offices, I was disappointed to find that he had not been there that morning. Neither I nor the caretaker knew MacBride's private address. I now decided to get in touch with my brother (John) who was an assistant to MacBride and who had often been out to MacBride's house near Dun Laoghaire. On my way I called at the Weigh House for the revolvers.

On crossing Butt Bridge I saw a large crowd of people outside of Liberty Hall; saw the Citizen Army "move off" followed

by a cab heavily laden with boxes. It was now obvious that something unusual was on foot. Arriving at O'Connell Bridge about 12 noon, I saw a few Volunteers making an attempt to rip up the roadway. They were not making much progress, probably they were amateurs at such work. I got the tram at O'Connell Bridge for Sarsfield Quay, saw Andy Fitzpatrick on Ormond Quay carrying his rifle and ammunition, going towards O'Connell Street. The tram on which I was travelling was brought to a standstill at Queen Street, where all traffic was being held up by M. Scully, who was armed with a revolver. Proceeding along Ellis's Quay, fire was opened from the Mendicity. I rushed into McDonagh's shop for safety, here I found my brother John. I asked him for MacBride's address and he agreed to take the letter and try to get it delivered to MacBride, as he knew the actual road and house where MacBride lived. I gave him the letter and then returned under fire to my own house to get a few sandwiches (my house was only about 100 yards from McDonagh's shop). Having got a few sandwiches, I left again, but had not gone far when my mother ran after me and, opening my coat, she pinned on my vest a small badge of the Little Flower, saying "you're all right now, the Little Flower will protect you." I am sure I owe my life to the Little Flower's protection, as I had a few narrow escapes, as will be seen in some of the following pages.

I went direct to Colmcille Hall to get my rifle but could not get it as the room in which I had it hidden was locked and I had no key to get in. I had lent the key to Seán Heuston the previous night. I was joined shortly after by Wm. McDonagh and two other Volunteers who wanted information about the situation; as we were about to leave we heard the sound of a motor outside and looking out saw a British Red Cross ambulance pull up at the old Weigh House at the Queen Street end of Blackhall Street. Armed soldiers got out of the ambulance and took up a position behind the Weigh House overlooking the Colmcille Hall. We considered that we were now in a dangerous position, and after a consultation decided to take our chances of getting away safely. McDonagh and myself left first and turned to the right, moving leisurely so as to avoid suspicion, the other Volunteers turning left. Passing St. Paul Street we saw three or four soldiers lying on the ground with their rifles pointing towards Blackhall Street. They did not challenge us, and, of course, we pretended to take no notice of them. I parted with McDonagh and went to Mur-

nanas at Blackhall Place. My ignorance of where I should go or what I should do was beginning to have a bad effect on me. I joined in the Holy Rosary offered at Murnanes for the success of the Rising.

As I was about to leave Murnanes, Andy Finucane, 2nd Lieutenant of "D" Company arrived. I was greatly relieved. I asked him for official instructions or orders, as my officer. He told me he had just come over the barricades of King Street. He had a pile of notes from the men behind the barricades, and handing them to me told me to get them delivered at the various addresses and report afterwards at King Street or Church Street. I had to cover quite a wide area with these messages and several times found myself within the British cordons. Going to a house at Cabra I saw the first barricade, behind which was Seamus Fallon (I had a short chat with Fallon). The barricade consisted of house furniture and a few poles and was commanded by only a few Volunteers. I was on the move until late that night, but succeeded in delivering all my messages.

On Tuesday morning I crossed the Hammond Lane barricade about 6.30. In Church Street I met N. Lennon and many other Volunteers whom I knew. I met Pierce Beasley, who told me that a Volunteer was required at Headquarters for special work. I offered my services and went with him to North Brunswick Street, where I saw Ed. Daly, E. Morkan, E. Duggan and N. Laffan. Commandant Daly told me he wanted a volunteer to go to the G.P.O., also to act as intelligence officer and on secret service. I volunteered in the presence of those present and was then given a message for James Connolly at the G.P.O. I went via N. King Street, Ryder's Row, Parnell Street and Henry Street and entered the G.P.O. by the front door in O'Connell Street (door under the portico). On my arrival in O'Connell Street, I was amazed at the number of people who were in the street. They were mostly jubilant with what was happening. Inside the G.P.O. everything was orderly and no sign of any confusion. I saw a Volunteer pick an old telegram from the floor, and handing it to J. J. Walsh, ask "will this pass the censor?" Walsh read the telegram and just smiled. I saw many Volunteers and Citizen Army men whom I knew.

On my arrival at the Post Office James Connolly was engaged giving orders. After a little delay I was presented to him and handed him Daly's message. I had never met Connolly before and he impressed me very much by his remarkable coolness. He

asked many questions as to the surrounding of the Church Street barricades, he seemed to have a good knowledge of the district. Receiving a reply for Daly, I went to the Eden Quay Weigh House for M. Staines' cycle and then returned to Church Street. The cycle was a great help to me. I was at least ten times in the G.P.O. on the Tuesday, with messages from Daly. On one of these occasions I was told by a Volunteer at the G.P.O. that thousands of Germans had landed at Kerry and were marching on to Dublin and had arrived at Kildare. I told this to several Volunteers at Church Street and they were delighted that help was so near. On my second last visit to O'Connell Street on Tuesday, I saw the commencement of the fire at Lawrence's (then situated between Earl Street and Cathedral Street). About an hour afterwards the whole premises were in flames. I saw the Dublin Fire Brigade under Lieutenant Meyers tackling the job of extinguishing the fire. They were brave men, and I as a Dubliner felt proud of them. I saw Gerald Crofts in charge of eight or ten Volunteers, each of whom, in addition to arms and ammunition, was carrying various size tin cans out of which small strings were protruding. I asked Gerald what was the idea of the cans, and he told me they were "bombs" to be thrown from the top of the Imperial Hotel opposite the G.P.O. in the event of an attack by the cavalry, that he and the others were going over to the Imperial. I wished him and his companions good luck.

After my first visit to the G.P.O. I was sent to make a survey of the district outside of the barricades, particularly the North-Western district. I crossed the barricades at North King Street and went (cycle) via Dorset Street, Blessington Street (delivering a message at a Volunteer's house in Blessington Street) Berkeley Road, where I met a party of about 14 Volunteers marching (I believe from Kildare). I spoke to one of them and gave him information and instructions as to how they could reach the G.P.O. or Church Street area. They were marching on each side of the street on the footpath, about 20 yards apart, carrying rifles and ammunition. They had been on the march since the previous night. I continued along Phibsboro, Glasnevin as far as Finglas Bridge, turning to the left here and on to Blanchardstown and Castleknock, calling to Mooney's house to give a message to his sister. At Castleknock railway a train had been derailed, a length of rail having been removed. In the village of Castleknock I met a large party of British artillery. I

saluted and spoke to several of them while cycling alongside of them. One of the soldiers, particularly friendly, of whom I ventured to ask where they were bound for, said they heard that there was trouble in Dublin and they were under orders for the Phoenix Park. He asked me if I knew what all the trouble was about and I said I had only heard a rumour that there was trouble in Dublin and that I was going into the city to find out for myself. I continued through the Park, leaving by the North Circular Road gate. There was much military and police (R.I.C.) activity about the Marlboro' Barracks and R.I.C. Depot, but strange to say I was not questioned by anybody. I continued along the North Circular Road and crossed the barricade at North Brunswick Street. On Tuesday evening a light drizzle of rain began to fall and continued for several hours; my clothes were wet through and, as I had no overcoat, on my last report to Daly he permitted me to go home for a change of clothes and to get something to eat, as I had nothing to eat since early morning, with the exception of a small piece of brown bread which I got in the Weigh House when I went for Staines' cycle. He dismissed me with instructions that I was to report on the following morning, but before doing so I was to have a good look around for enemy movements.

I left by the North Brunswick Street barricade. Just as I was about to cross, Larry Lawlor, who was in a window overlooking the barricade, shouted to me "Iky look out." I leaped into a hand-cart in the middle of the barricade and crouched down, then I heard laughter from the windows; it was only a joke being played on me—such was the spirit of the Volunteers notwithstanding the seriousness of the situation, they always found time for a little humour. Having crossed the barricade, I went through Red Cow Lane, King Street, Blackhall Street to my home, passing through the British Cordon at Barrack Street without interruption. Before leaving Daly on the Tuesday I told him that I had 110 rounds of .303 at home. He said it would possibly be required and if at all possible to get it to Church Street area. On the following morning my mother came into my bedroom and saw me with the ammunition. She asked me what I intended doing with it and I told her that it was required at Church Street. She told me to give it to her and that she would get it delivered. I did not like to do this, but the question was, how was I to get it through, as there were hundreds of soldiers between our house and Church

Street. I gave it to her. She put it inside her blouse and taking 2/6 and a milk jug went off on the pretence that she was going to Stoneybatter to get milk, eggs and rashers for breakfast for Lieutenant Anderson and Captain Connolly (of the Pals R.D.F.). A Major O'Hara questioned her and, fortunately, another officer who was near bade her "Good morning, Mrs. Callender." O'Hara allowed her to pass on, she got the "stuff" safely delivered at Mrs. Murnane's house in Blackhall Place. One of Mrs. Murnane's daughters got it safely over the barricades at King Street. Daly, later on the Wednesday, told me about the safe delivery of the "stuff" and asked me to thank Mrs. Murnane and my mother, as it was badly needed owing to a scarcity of such ammunition.

On the Wednesday morning, having shaved, washed and put on a clean collar, I had breakfast at about 6.15 a.m. in the same room in the Lucan Restaurant as Lieutenant Anderson and an officer of the R.D.F. My mother was the proprietress of the Lucan Restaurant, 2 Sarsfield Quay, from where the last meals of P. H. Pearse were served on the 1st and 2nd May, 1916. Other Irish Volunteer prisoners at Arbour Hill prior to Easter, 1916, whose meals were supplied by my mother were Alexander McCabe (Sligo), Liam Mellows, Seán McDermott, Ernest Blythe, Hegarty, Bolger, Eoin MacNeill. All the payments for those meals were made by order of Seán McDermott, with the exception of P. H. Pearse and E. MacNeill's meals. After breakfast I waited for an opportunity to get away unnoticed, and succeeded about 6.45 a.m. Crossing Watling Street Bridge, I went along the Quays. My object in going along the Quays was to try to get in touch with Seán Heuston at the Mendicity; this was a particularly dangerous route to have taken, as I was directly in the line of fire between the Mendicity and the attackers on the opposite side of the Quay. Of course I dare not attempt to return, and had to continue onwards at all risks, getting to Bridgefoot Street. I interviewed a shop-keeper (Mrs. Smith) who assured me that there was no possible way of getting into the Mendicity from that point. I then continued through Usher Street and on to the Quay and crossed the barricades at Church Street Bridge and on to Daly, whose H.Q. had now been changed to Father Mathew Hall, Church Street.

I was instructed by Daly and Morkan to go out again via Church Street Bridge for a survey of High Street and surroundings and to ascertain nearest position of British

IRISH WAR NEWS

STOP PRESS!
THE IRISH REPUBLIC

(Irish) "War News" is published to-day because a momentous thing has happened. The Irish Republic has been declared in Dublin, and a Provisional Government has been appointed to administer its affairs. The following have been named as the Provisional Government—

- Thomas J. Clarke.
- Seán Mac Diarmada.
- P. H. Pearse.
- James Connolly.
- Thomas Mac Donagh.
- Kathleen Ceannat.
- Joseph Plunkett.

The Irish Republic was proclaimed by a poster, which was prominently displayed in Dublin. At 9.30 a.m. this morning the following statement was made by Commandant-General P. H. Pearse:—

The Irish Republic was proclaimed in Dublin on Easter Monday, 24th April, at 12 noon. Simultaneously with the issue of the proclamation of the Provisional Government the Dublin Division of the Army of the Republic, including the Irish Volunteers, Citizen Army, Hibernian Rifles, and other units, occupied dominating points in the city. The G.P.O. was seized at its noon, the Castle was attacked at the same moment, and shortly afterwards the Four Courts were occupied. The Irish troops held the City Hall and stormed the Cowle. Attacks were immediately commenced by the British forces and were every where repulsed. At the moment of writing this report, (9.30 a.m. Tuesday) the Republican forces hold all their positions and the British forces have nowhere broken through. There has been heavy and continuous fighting for nearly 24 hours, the small bits of the enemy being much more numerous than those on the Republican side. The Republican forces everywhere are fighting with splendid gallantry. The populace of Dublin see plainly with the Republic, and the officers and men are everywhere cheered as they march through the streets. The whole centre of the city is in the hands of the Republic whose flag flies from the G.P.O.

Commandant-General P. H. Pearse is commanding in chief of the Army of the Republic and

is President of the Provisional Government. Commandant-General James Connolly is commanding the Dublin districts. Communication with the country is being cut, but reports so hand show that the country is rising, and bodies of men from Kildare and Enniskill have already reported in Dublin.

MORE TIRACY

The condition of affairs illustrated in the following comments from "The Advocate," a New York Irish Republican paper, is not at all unlike that on the Irish coast. In its latest issue "The Advocate" says:—

Since the British Government began to enter the world we have been informed by some of our Swedish acquaintances that the Irish cheques they had sent to the old folks at home have never reached their destination. If this be true, and we begin to wonder to know it, then the British Government is guilty of a most villainous kind of money robbery which the citizens of the world can share. Sweden is just now experiencing a depression in all kinds of business owing to being cut off from other countries by Great Britain, and consequently a Irish help from their allied brethren is much needed in Swedish households. Now, if any one asks what Great Britain hopes to accomplish by preventing the called Swedes from holding their money deposited at home? The reason is not far to seek. The Socialist party is very strong in Sweden, and is growing stronger in proportion to the increase in the difficulty of the masses to create and meet. Now, Great Britain knows that were it not for the opposition of the Socialists Sweden would long since have turned the war on the side of Germany, hence it is to her interest to add by every means at her disposal to the Socialist's power. Therefore in robbing the mass of these little cheques he is robbing the living people of the means of rising over the dull seasons, and aspects that, driven by necessity, many will turn to the Socialists in their extremity, and the Sweden's continued neutrality will be secured. This is the explanation our Swedish acquaintances give of England's driving conduct in this regard. In the honour of our race, human nature, let us hope the case is not as bad as it is said to be.

IRISH WAR NEWS

THE IRISH REPUBLIC.

DUBLIN, THURSDAY, APRIL 26, 1918.

"IF THE GERMANS CONQUERED ENGLAND"

In the London "New Statesman" for April 24th, an article is published—"If the Germans Conquer England," which has the appearance of a very clever piece of satire written by an Irishman. The writer draws a picture of England under German rule, almost every detail of which exactly fits the case of Ireland at the present day. Some of the sentences are so exquisitely appropriate that it is impossible to believe that the writer had not Ireland in his mind when he wrote them. For instance:—

"England would be constantly by the busy moral criticisms of German statesmen who would assert—quite correctly, no doubt—that England was free, free indeed than she had ever been before. Political freedom, they would explain, was the only real freedom, and therefore England was free. They would point to the flourishing railways and farms and colleges. They would possibly point to the contingent of M.P.'s, which was permitted, in spite of its deplorable inordinance, to sit in a permanent minority in the Reich-

stag. And not only would the Englishman have to listen to a constant flow of speeches of this sort; he would find a respectable official Press potent bought to do by the Government to say the same kind of things over and over, every day of the week. He would find, too, that his children were coming home from school with new ideas of beauty. They would ask him if it was true that until the Germans came England had been a truly country, constantly engaged in civil war. . . . The object of every schoolbook would be to make the English child grow up in the notion that the history of his country was a thing to forget, and that the one bright spot in it was the fact that it had been conquered by cultured Germans."

"If there was a revolution, Germany would deliver grave speeches about 'dualismity,' 'impugnability,' 'reckless agitators who would ruin their country's prosperity.' . . . Political soldiers would be encouraged in every barracks—the English conscripts having been sent out of the country to be trained in Germany, to fight the Chinese—in order to exert in the aid of German necessity, should English soldiers come to blows with it."

"England would be exhorted to abandon her own genius in order to imitate the genius of her conquerors, to forget her own history for a larger history, to give up her own language for a 'universal' language—in other words, to destroy her household gods, one by one, and put in their place

troops. I went via Usher Street and Bridgefoot Street. The British had now advanced to Bonham Street. I was challenged here, searched, and nothing being found on me, I was allowed to proceed. At the top of Bridgefoot Street I turned to the right, as there were no soldiers in sight, and went towards the South Dublin Union (I heard in the G.P.O. the previous day that E. Ceannat held the S.D.U.). British soldiers were at the Fountain in James's Street, Bow Lane and Stevens' Lane. Many of the residents of this side of James's Street were about their hall doors. I was not challenged, but could not get further. Returning towards the city passing James's Street Post Office I saw a wire, about 30 feet high, tacked on the Post Office wall. I traced this as a communication wire with Dublin Castle (it was tacked along the name boards of the various shops). Proceeding along Thomas Street, I met P. J. MacManus at John's Lane Chapel. I spoke to him for a few minutes on the situation, continued on past the City Hall and Dublin Castle, where I saw the British military. Unchallenged, I proceeded on past Trinity College into D'Olier Street, where I met Andy Clarkin, and got some information from him.

The "Stop Press" Edition of the *Irish*

Times was on sale in D'Olier Street at 6d per copy. I bought three copies. The crack of rifle shot in this area was almost incessant, with occasional spurts of machine-gun fire. O'Connell Street and Westmoreland Street were deserted. I got safely across Westmoreland Street to Fleet Street and now decided I must return to Church Street with my information. Passing the Telephone Exchange, Crown Alley, I was surprised to see behind the sandbags on the window-sills British soldiers, as I understood that this was one of the buildings occupied by the Volunteers. A Tommy from behind a sand-bag called on me to halt, pointing his rifle at me, another Tommy advanced from behind the Telephone gate and searched and questioned me. Assuring him that I was a "Good boy," I was allowed to proceed. Arriving at the corner of Essex Street and Parliament Street, I met an old lady sheltering at the Essex Street corner. She wanted to cross Parliament Street to get to SS. Michael and John's Chapel for 11 o'clock Mass, but could not do so owing to heavy firing from the City Hall in the direction of Capel Street. It would be almost courting certain death to attempt to cross Parliament Street, and after waiting about 15 minutes, I decided to try to stop

IRISH WAR NEWS

Irish war news. Such as England would be an English nation, with, without even a single...

and heads of the nation... From Agents to private world... King Leopold was not used in the...

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If there is one personality which the canting hypocrisy of England is not more than another to play upon the religious susceptibilities of Catholics...

A protest signed by all the leaders of political and religious thought in Belgium was sent to Washington for presentation to Congress...

That is not so long ago, and Belgium cannot be ungrateful of the campaign of calumny which such hated lick-lickers as Alfred Mareel, Sir Conan Doyle, Macpherson, and the lesser fry...

IRISH WAR NEWS

A CHANGE OF FRONT

"M.P." writing in the orthodox "Freeman's Journal" (Friday), says the Parliamentary attitude towards the Irish Volunteers is a new and almost unheard-of instance of light. Referring to the...

a principle that of Home Rules have invariably adopted—the principle of an annual vote... We know the story of the English House who finding a need on the condition upon its honor...

THINGS THEY OUGHT TO TAX

The British Exchequer appears to be hard up. Why not tax the following sources of revenue... Resolutions of Confidence in the "Party"...

the firing by a ruse. I took the old lady's umbrella and, tying my handkerchief on the end of it, began to wave it from under cover of the Essex Street corner.

After about 5 minutes firing ceased. Taking the old lady by the arm and holding my "White flag" aloft, we got safely to the other side of the street. The old lady said she would pray for me, and I am sure she kept her promise. On reaching Wood Quay end of Essex Street, I went through Fishamble Street, John's Lane, Michael's Hill, Cook Street and Bridge Street...

same time, "it will be a great consolation to her to know, should I be killed, that I have been to Confession and got Absolution, as I have not been to Confession for ——" Later that day I was able to deliver his message to his wife, who exclaimed: "Oh! thank God!" When McA— asked me to deliver his message, he had a bandage round his head from a slight wound. After leaving Father Costelloe I continued on to the Father Mathew Hall and reported to Daly. He then gave me a message for James Connolly (G.P.O.), but before going to Connolly I was to try to get to the Broadstone Railway Station to find out if it was occupied by artillery as a rumour had spread that artillery were in position there and were about to open fire on Church Street area.

Proceeding towards North King Street, I saw Peadar Breslin making frantic efforts to hand a plate of food to Tom Nolan from the window of N. 128 to the window of No. 127 Church Street. Continuing along North King Street, I was confronted with the most formidable barricade I had yet seen. It was at least 14 feet high, and I was helped over it by Wm. O'Carroll. Going along Bolton Street, Dominick Street, I arrived at the Broadstone. There was not a soul about. After surveying the surroundings

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I ventured nearer to the gate and pretended to push it. After some little time a railway porter came forward and asked what I wanted. I said I wanted to try to get to Galway, as I was on my holidays and I wanted to get out of Dublin while this "*Racket*" was on. He said: "No trains were going out and God knows when any would leave the Broadstone again, that the place was full of military." I said, "they are everywhere" and asked him what kind of military, artillery or infantry? He said, "there are no artillery, but hundreds of infantry." I then left for the G.P.O. passing Dominick Street Chapel. I wrote my name and address in my Third Order of St. Francis book, which I happened to have on me at the time, so that I could be identified in the event of being killed. Arriving at Moore Street, I met a Volunteer on duty who gave me instructions how to get into the G.P.O. I had to go to Randall's Boot Shop, then opposite Moore Street. Going up to a front room over the shop a Volunteer pointed out a large hole in the wall. I went through the holes in the walls of the various buildings, arriving in one of the offices of the G.P.O. The first person I met there was M. Staines. We exchanged greetings. I told him I had a message for Connolly and he brought me to him.

There was incessant firing to and from the G.P.O. at this time; but no undue excitement, everybody was cool. I could hear the rattle of machine-gun fire against the G.P.O. defence. As I was about to give my report to Connolly he summoned P. H. Pearse, who was joined by Seán McDermott, The O'Rahilly and another. When I completed my report with the aid of a map of Dublin produced by Connolly, and having answered numerous questions, I was warmly thanked by Connolly and Pearse. Pearse and Seán McDermott shook my hand very heartily. M. Staines was also present and has very kindly written into my autograph book proof of this particular incident, of which I am very proud. Seán McDermott was one of the most lovable men I ever knew and as I looked at him that day I thought to myself "There's a happy man," for he surely looked the very picture of happiness, there surrounded by the brave lads making a fight against the Common Enemy of our country. Before leaving the G.P.O. again, I met Brian O'Higgins. He was in a room near the Henry Street corner. He, too, was the picture of happiness that day.

On leaving the G.P.O. building through the hole in the wall, having been escorted some of the way by Staines, on my way I got lost in one of the buildings. Seeing a

man standing in a dark corner I shouted "Where's the hole in the wall." Getting no reply, I repeated the question, and moving nearer to him I saw it was a wax figure. I was in the Wax Works Exhibition. Having reached Randall's, two Volunteers brushed my clothes with white tissue-paper, as my clothes were very dirty with the lime and plaster from the openings through which I had to pass. On my way to Church Street this time I ventured through Henry Street, being helped over the barricade at Williams' by Mr. O'Brien, a well-known Forester. I safely arrived at H.Q., Church Street and conveyed Connolly's message and report *re* Broadstone. Daly then sent for Denny O'Callaghan and instructed him to take a small party to attack the garrison who were in the windows of the Broadstone building and who were now giving trouble by their continuous firing. The attacking party inflicted heavy casualties on those in the Broadstone, without any fatal losses to themselves. Peadar Breslin was one of the leaders in the attacking party. He had been promoted Lieutenant that day by Daly. Breslin was very proud of his part in this exploit.

I was next sent to try to get information *re* the British soldiers besieged in Charles Street (Ormond Quay). I crossed the barricade at Mary's Lane (M. Fenlon's) and getting on to the Quay, went towards Charles Street, had a look at the situation there. There were several waggons of ammunition there, in charge of Tommies, since the outbreak on Monday. They had been conveying waggons of ammunition from the North Wall and had just reached the Four Courts a few minutes past 12 noon. When attacked from the Four Courts, they took cover in Charles Street. The soldiers were in the houses and were fully armed. I spoke to one of the soldiers and he asked who I was. I said I was a newspaper reporter. He then said the people of Charles Street were very kind to them and to mention in any report I would be making that they were very grateful to the people for their kindness. If reinforced by additional men these soldiers would have been a danger to the Chancery Street end of the Four Courts. When I reported to Daly, he again sent me to Connolly to report (*re* Charles Street), and as a result of my interview with Connolly it was decided that Charles Street should be attacked, first for the purpose of clearing away a danger and second, for the purpose of capturing the ammunition. It was agreed between Connolly and Daly, through me, that a few Volunteers from the G.P.O. would be sent to Mary's Abbey corner, over-

looking Charles Street, to engage the attention of the military, while a party was to be sent from the Four Courts to attack through Chancery Street houses. The signal was to be a certain number of rifle shots and the time 8 p.m. This attack never came off, as the military from the City Hall had been advancing towards Capel Street and cut off the chances of a successful reconnoitre from the G.P.O. On returning to Church Street on this occasion I had a very narrow shave. Outside the Chapel I saw the wood pavement covered with long nails sticking up about 6 inches. Curious to know the purpose of this, I stopped and asked Arthur Gaynor what was the idea of the nails. He informed me that they were to prevent a cavalry charge through the street should the barricade be successfully reached. While I was talking to Gaynor a shot was fired, the bullet hitting the wall only a few yards away from us.

Again reporting to Daly, he gave me a further message for Connolly. This time I left via Mary's Lane into Mary's Abbey and Abbey Street, by order, so as to find out if British were advancing. I had not got far as some of the houses on the right hand side of Abbey Street were now occupied by military. From one of the windows I got a very peremptory order to "get back." I returned to Jervis Street and passing on to Parnell Street again got into Moore Street via Cole's Lane, etc., and thence through Randall's to G.P.O. and returning via same route to Daly, who was now beginning to look very tired and haggard, his tunic was torn on the sleeve. I believe he had not closed his eyes since the outbreak on the Monday. I was jaded by now. I had nothing to eat or drink since my breakfast, with the exception of a penny packet of biscuits. While in the Father Mathew Hall after giving my message to Daly, I met Kathleen Martin, who asked me to have a cup of tea. Needless to say, I accepted the offer: I think I had at least four cups of tea and must have eaten almost a loaf of bread. I had the tea in company of J. K. O'Reilly (Sen.). After tea I waited for Daly's return, and having done a few runs inside the barricade I was dismissed for a rest. Daly was at all times solicitous for each and every one of his men. He cared nothing for himself or any hardship he endured. It was a grand thing to have been associated with such a man, even in such a small way as I have been. I will treasure his memory for ever. Gentlemanly, courteous and brave. The spirits of the lads behind the barricades were simply astonishing, notwithstanding the anxious times through which they were

passing. The want of sleep, the anxiety for dear ones at home and many other hardships. They were always full of fun and enjoyed any joke passed on. They were wonderful!

On Thursday morning I was on the move early, having had breakfast about 6 a.m. I came in contact with Anderson (Pals, R.D.F.). He commented on my appearance, so early in the morning. I had another clean collar on this morning and a shave. I believe he had some suspicion as to my movements. It was quite a long time before I could venture to get away. The Mendicity having surrendered on the previous day, gave the military an opportunity of advancing further on the Quays. When my chance came I left, going through Watling Street. I was stopped by Capt. Connolly (Pals, R.D.F.) whom I knew. He demanded to know why I was "out," and I said that I heard a rumour that my aunt was seriously ill. He permitted me to proceed. Watling Street was sand-bagged at every corner, also Bridgefoot Street. Near the Blanchardstown Mills, Thomas Street, I was again held up and questioned and ordered to return. I went back, and going through Crane Street, in hope that I could get through, but was again held up at the corner of Thomas Court, I tried to be as unconcerned as possible, but it did not work this time. I would not be permitted to proceed further, and, as I was seemingly the only civilian on foot that morning, I considered myself lucky that I had not been made a prisoner. Getting into Thomas Street again, I was again held up at Watling Street, Thomas Street corner. Connolly coming on the scene permitted me to return down Watling Street. Movement was becoming more difficult every moment. During the evening I made several efforts to get through to Church Street, with a lot of useful information. About 7 p.m. I had almost succeeded, getting as near as West Arran Street (Arran Quay), which was sand-bagged and manned by British soldiers. Unfortunately I could not get through. I was now virtually a prisoner, as the order was: "Keep in," "Doors closed," "Keep away from window," and at night time "Put out those lights"; the commands sometimes being accompanied by rifle shots. Through Thursday night and Friday morning rifle and machine-gunfire never ceased.

On Friday morning the Quay was alive with military. About 12 noon I ventured to stand at the hall door, after a while I casually sauntered down towards the Esplanade, hoping I might get round by Infirmary Road and on to the North Circular

Road and eventually to Church Street or some other area, but I would not be allowed beyond the Parkgate Street side of Kingsbridge. Here I was held up and questioned by a very aggressive officer who threatened that if I did not return at once in the direction from which I had come, I might take the consequences. I naturally took the hint and returned. For the remainder of Friday and Saturday I was "out of action," the order "Keep indoors," "Get away from that window," being very rigidly enforced. The general demeanour of the officers was by now becoming very arrogant, they were beginning to show their hand.

About 6 p.m. on Saturday firing seemed to be easing down, and after a little time residents of the Quays began to return to their hall doors. Some of the soldiers told the people that "all is over," "the H.Q. has surrendered." Looking down the Quay I saw Styles and Davis at their shop doors talking. I went and joined them. After some time I went towards Queen Street Bridge, and having crossed the Bridge I met J. Merriman, with whom I began to speak. I had only been a few minutes in conversation with him when an officer who "held me up" on the previous Thursday in Thomas Street came on the scene, challenged me for a pass. I told him I had not got one. He asked me why I was "out." I said that I understood the "trouble" was now over. He replied, "I am not satisfied with your explanation or your movements," and put me under arrest. I was then brought by a Tommy to St. Catherine's Church, the Tommy getting instructions "there is to be no conversation whatever with the prisoner." The Tommy was not a bad sort of fellow and we spoke "under breath" as we walked towards the Church. He was not a bit complimentary in his reference to his officer. I would not like to put in plain words some of the things he said. Arriving at St. Catherine's Church, there was a crowd of people (about 70 or 80) outside the railings. They were being addressed by a *high up* officer, who was sitting on an easy chair, inside the railings. As I stood there with the Tommy, I heard the officer advising the people to be "law abiding" and to assist in the course of justice, and saying that the people responsible for all this trouble would be severely dealt with. When he had finished his speech I was brought before him, the Tommy explaining that Captain — bade him bring the prisoner here. The officer, a kind of a *half caste* and surly in appearance, asked me several questions all at once and without waiting for an answer ordered the Tommy to

"take the fellow away." The Tommy brought me down the street a little, halted and then said, "I dunno wat the 'ell to do wit you." As there was no officers seemingly about to whom he could appeal he said to me, "I think you ought to bolt." I said "Right O!" He said, "off with you—but don't go down that street again (Bridgefoot Street) or that so and so Captain will put a bullet through you."

We then parted, I going in direction of John's Lane Chapel. I was again held up outside the chapel by an officer. There was one of the John's Lane priests near, whom I saluted. The officer would not allow me to proceed further and I then went down Vicar Street, Engine Alley, Ash Street, and on to the Coombe. Near J. C. Parkes' premises I met P. J. MacManus. I asked him what were my chances of getting to Jacob's Factory and he replied "hopeless." I continued on into Patrick Street, Wood Street, Golden Lane to my aunt's house, where I stayed for the night and till about 4 p.m. on Sunday, and having heard that the garrison at Jacob's had surrendered, I left my aunt's with the intention of getting home again. People by now were at hall and shop doors in almost every street. When passing by James's Street Chapel I saw Eamonn Ceannt and his gallant little band marching towards the city (possibly for Dublin Castle). They looked a bit haggard—but proud as they followed their gallant leader, who was marching side-by-side with a British Officer. After a lot of trouble and diplomacy, I reached home about 9.30 p.m. And so ended one of the most glorious weeks in the whole history of our country.

For several days after the surrender, movement was almost impossible. Any person who ventured away from his own door was held up, questioned and searched, almost every few hundred yards. It was almost courting disaster to be seen with hands in pockets. The officers adopted a general attitude of domineering arrogant authority over all with whom they came in contact. In my opinion and the opinion of many, they were an incompetent pack. Their general attitude was a complete contrast to that of the Volunteer officers. Generally speaking the Tommy was not a bad fellow. Personally I found him a decent fellow, even if at times his language was not all that could be desired. Often I heard him speak of the officers in terms not very complimentary.

On the first announcement of the executions on 3rd May, feeling gradually began to turn in sympathy with the Volunteers. The people began to realise that the fight was

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one for the Freedom of Ireland. On each succeeding day the feeling of sympathy became more pronounced, as executions were announced.

On the 8th May, I was so horrified by the announcement of the execution of my company captain and intimate friend, Seán Heuston, that I decided it was time something should be done to try to stop further

executions. I called on a priest friend and discussed the situation with him; we decided on certain action. I am happy to say that as a result of the priest's action and the speech made by John Dillon in the English House of Commons, on the 11th May, that Asquith promised that, with the exception of the two men already sentenced, no other executions would take place.

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(Written in Lewes Jail by J. J. Burke, and put to music by J. J. Hughes, a fellow-prisoner, this song was published after the release of the prisoners in June, 1917, and although banned and burned by the armed forces of Britain, was widely circulated and sung a'round the country during the Terror.)

I.

When all the world thought Ireland dead,
Her bright hopes quenched, her spirit fled ;
She rose again from out the tomb,
Vanquished the vile surrounding gloom ;
She conquered all unholy fears,
She spurned the recreants' coward sneers ;
Flung off those fetters forged of old,
And Freedom's beauties did unfold.

II.

The men who were for Ireland slain,
They have not died for her in vain ;
Though slaughtered in an Empire's wrath,
They've shown a nation Freedom's path ;
Sold, kissed by Judas, sadly shamed,
Deceived, degraded, and defamed,
There was no other way to free
Our country but on Calvary.

III.

Oh ! Resurrected, Freedom fair,
Always may Ireland worship there ;
Always with us be men to give
Their lives that this our country live ;
To keep our land, our people true,
Like those who died for her and you ;
And guard for aye that Flag whose rays
Illumined those glorious Easter days.

The Rôle of Dublin in the War of Independence

By J. J. O'CONNELL

WHEN reviewing the struggle which began in Easter Week and ended in July, 1921, the rôle of Dublin is very commonly misunderstood. This is, doubtless, because this was the first time in the history of the Irish Wars that the national military effort was directed from Dublin. In the Confederate War Kilkenny was, in effect, the Irish capital and centre of government; in the Jacobite War Dublin was in Irish occupation only at the beginning; and it was not until the time of the United Irishmen that the importance of holding Dublin was fully realised. Emmett grasped the significance of this point completely; and that he did so is his surest claim to recognition as a military leader.

The importance of Dublin was always great and varied. It was the main centre of national life and material resources; and it was by far the most important communication centre in the country. It was also the place where military intelligence could best be organised. With modern technical developments this natural advantage tended to increase; so that in the latest period the importance of the capital was relatively greater than at any earlier time.

Now, whereas in the earlier conflicts the English rulers could enjoy undisputed control of Dublin's resources; and even in 1796-8 the United Irishmen could only challenge them tentatively; by the period 1916-21 the pendulum was definitely swinging the other way. English control of the resources of Dublin—in every sense of the word "resources"—was from the beginning stoutly disputed, and in the end wrested away. It was a long-sustained and gradual effort, and its real significance has often been missed—even by people who should know better.

A very common assumption is that Dublin shot its bolt in 1916; and that the rest of the country bore the subsequent brunt of what is popularly, and quite wrongly, called the "Black-and-Tan War." Without in any way detracting from the merits of the country generally, it must be stated right off that such is not the case.

It is the aim of the present short sketch to correct the misapprehension in question and to put the work of the Dublin Volunteers, as such, into the proper perspective.

And, for fear the exposition might be regarded as too partial, it may be desirable to allude in passing to one serious mistake made in Dublin in 1916—i.e., the wholesale surrender of arms. It is true the Volunteers on that occasion fought *en bataille rangée* and not as guerillas; but, even so, it should have been possible to "dump" at least some of the very respectable store of serviceable arms that were, in point of fact, surrendered. They would have proved of enormous use when, later on, a more effective method of utilising them had been elaborated. But, when once this criticism has been passed, it is not easy to pick many more holes in the work of the Dublin Volunteers.

It has been said earlier that in 1916-21 for the first time military operations on the national side were directed from Dublin. For the first time a real G.H.Q. Staff, located in Dublin and in great part employing the capital's resources, organised and directed the efforts of the country as a whole. The whole national military effort was based on, and controlled from, Dublin. This was particularly the case during the vital—and forgotten—period of re-organisation after Easter Week, 1916—i.e., the all-important years: end of '16-17-18. That re-organisation was very largely carried out in and through Dublin.

When, under the first Dáil in 1919, a regular G.H.Q. Staff began again to function, it was located in Dublin and continued so all during the pre-Truce period. This Staff was able to "carry on" uninterruptedly—though at times hard pressed. This was due to the continued vigilance and efficiency of the Dublin Brigade, on which complete reliance could always be placed. And this consideration very naturally leads us to review the story of the Dublin Brigade during the years in question somewhat more fully.

Dublin had, of course, been organised as a Brigade Area long before anywhere else



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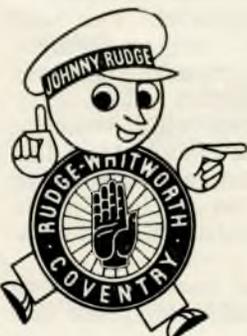
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—indeed, almost from the start of the Volunteers. It could, thus, at all times dispose of a personnel better organised and better trained than most of the men down country. It thus afforded a ready instrument for immediate operations and a vital link in the matter of co-operation with the rest of the country. Let us consider briefly these two aspects.

And first as to actual operations in Dublin. In this respect it can fairly be claimed for the Dublin Brigade that it elaborated a quite new technique for guerilla fighting in a large city—and it applied that technique with far-reaching effect. During the two last years prior to the Truce—especially during the vital last year—the influence of Dublin's activity was very important indeed. The Dublin Brigade held pinned in and around the city **at least one-fourth of all the British armed forces in Ireland**—military and police. The Brigade thus fulfilled the rôle of a Containing Force in a singularly effective way. Had the additional forces immobilised by it been at any time available down-country, the British could at one time or another have concentrated an overwhelming strength for some sudden operation—say in Cork, Tipperary, or elsewhere. Such sudden concentrations were sooner or later bound to meet with important successes. There would, in that case, have been grave danger of seeing the down-country Volunteers beaten in detail. The persistent "Holding Attack" of the Dublin Brigade frustrated all attempts at concentrations of the kind in question.

This very vital rôle of the Dublin Brigade was not fully realised at the time by the down-country Volunteers—nor even by the rank and file of the Dublin men. But it was fully realised by G.H.Q., and recorded in the form of a "Situation Map," prepared for the Director of Intelligence, the late General Collins. Incidentally, it was also implied, if not expressed, in British Reports and Orders; although, naturally, they were

only seldom and partially available for reference. The manner in which this "Holding Attack" was sustained in spite of strain and casualties is to the eternal credit of the Dublin Brigade.

The resources of personnel at the disposal of the Dublin Brigade enabled G.H.Q. to do much more in the direction of organising and training throughout the country generally than would have been possible without such a nucleus. For example, there were the numerous Instructional Courses for down-country officers, especially in 1919 and 1920. The fact that the then Brigadier, the late Dick McKee, was at the same time Director of Training, facilitated this policy very considerably. Similarly, it was possible to carry out experiments about armament and equipment, to organise the distribution of material, etc., etc.

Especially valuable in this regard was the manner in which, at a later date, the Brigade was able to contribute to the sort of strategic "organisation-push" initiated around Christmas, 1920. At that period it was an aim of G.H.Q. to work up areas where the Volunteer organisation, although relatively backward, gave a promise of quick results—in the sense of a speedy response to organising activities. This was essential in order to ease hostile pressure in other localities. The Dublin Brigade was asked to call for Volunteers for this special and dangerous work; and the response was gratifying in the extreme. Relays of picked men were thus made available for the vital work of feeding the down-country fighting. The process was repeated at intervals of a couple of months, and was continued practically right up to the Truce.

This has, necessarily, been only a brief and very general sketch of what was a very important and vital part of the national struggle of those years. Much of the work in question was anything but spectacular; but, for all that, it is well that it should be recalled.

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Kilmainham Jail Memories of 1916

by

Convict Q. 163

VIVID memories of a previous visit twenty-three years' ago were awakened by a "sight-seeing" visit made recently to Kilmainham Jail. As I passed through the dark corridors, and gazed into the almost air-less dungeons in the condemned quarters of this nightmare edifice, I witnessed again the terrible scenes, and went through the nerve-racking tortures, which were witnessed and experienced by my colleagues following Easter Week, 1916. Down the grim passages I walked again in memory to the cells wherein groups of us were flung (three or four together) to await our courts-martial, and to be manhandled and kicked about by half a dozen drunken soldiery who rushed in on us with fixed bayonets at intervals during the night and day. The blood-bespattered walls, and the bruised and battered faces of my comrades appeared in front of me as I looked into one of the cells from which one of us was taken during the night to be murdered, but escaped owing to the intervention of an officer who arrived as the victim's tunic was being bayoneted off his back by drink-maddened soldiery. . . . In the Main Hall, I saw the cells in which many of my comrades spent some time before receiving the sentence of death. . . . Every corner of this evil place is hallowed by the footsteps of our glorious dead. Each cell is haunted by the spirit of one or other of the great patriots who spent dreary days and nights therein.

In the chapel other memories rushed back over the years to take possession of my mind. The chapel—now only a shell—with the figure of the tortured Christ on the Cross outlined in charcoal above the niche where stood the altar at which the priest said Mass on Sunday, the 7th of May, when I knelt beside Eamonn Ceannt, and not far from Seán Heuston, Con Colbert and Michael Mallin, who went to meet their Maker on the following morning. In the gallery looking down on us, were the members of the Cumann na mBan. These splendid women of Ireland smiled and cheered us up as we were leaving after Mass.

Morning brought us the volleys which sent our gallant leaders into eternity, and

inscribed their names for ever on the hearts of the Irish people. These early morning volleys! Awakening, as from a dreadful nightmare, the sounds of these messengers of death would almost make one scream out in anguish, and, when their significance struck one's mind, send up a heart-felt prayer to God for the victims of an Empire's wrath. I heard again these fateful and fearful volleys, but I could say then, in the words of one of the men who were condemned to death:—

*"The men who were for Ireland slain,
They have not died for her in vain;
Though slaughtered in an Empire's
wrath,
They've shown a Nation freedom's
path. . . ."*

As we waited to learn what was to be our lot, some of us wondered if we had made fools of ourselves in fighting for a country which, on the face of it, did not want anyone to fight *for it*. The jibes and jeers of the people as we were being led from Richmond Barracks to Kilmainham Jail by the British soldiers; their attempts to strike some of us, and spit on us; gave rise to thoughts like these. But the volleys . . . they settled everything. . . . And the remark of one of the girls in the hostile crowd: "They are our own anyway, God help them!" gave me comfort, and hope in those dark hours.

The iniquitous and noisome dungeons of this horrible place are lighted up and made sacred by the illustrious patriots who for over one hundred and twenty years have suffered and died for Ireland behind its walls. And gazing on the ugly edifice now fast hastening back to the dust from which it sprang, one is conscious of the wonderful fact that it failed in the devilish purpose for which it was used, if not devised. Stone walls, iron bars, nor all the nameless and endless tortures associated with this bastille, failed to vanquish Irish Nationality. Ideals survive the hangman's rope, and the tyrant's bullet. The dead who died for Ireland triumphed. Such is the lesson to be learned from Kilmainham Jail.

Irish Republican Prisoners' Escape from Kilmainham Gaol

ON the Sunday morning, November 21st, 1920, the Dublin Brigade of the I.R.A. carried out a series of operations in the City. They were very efficiently carried out and were of great importance. During the operations a Volunteer named Frank Teeling was wounded and captured by the enemy. This was the only casualty the I.R.A. suffered.

The trial of Teeling was somewhat delayed, but eventually he was tried by Court Martial, found guilty and sentenced to be hanged. Before and after his trial he was confined in Kilmainham Jail with a number of other Irish prisoners. Prisoners were continually going and coming and amongst some of the new arrivals was an I.R.A. officer known to the enemy as Stewart. This prisoner was in reality Ernie O'Malley, a very capable and efficient officer attached to one of the Tipperary commands. He was greatly admired by all who knew him for his daring qualities as a fighter and organiser. Had his real identity been known to the enemy, the same fate would have fallen to him as had befallen many of his gallant comrades, as for instance McKee, Clancy and Clune who were foully butchered in Dublin Castle on a pretence that they were trying to escape.

The fate of O'Malley, however, lay in the balance, and that of Teeling was already pronounced. Accordingly G.H.Q. of the I.R.A. set about to endeavour to rescue the two men. Many anxious weeks of patient reconnaissance by trusted Volunteers and Intelligence Officers, in many cases conducted personally by the Officer in Charge (Oscar Traynor) of the Dublin Brigade at the time, produced a very feasible plan for the rescue and escape of the men concerned.

On Friday, 10th February, 1921, another prisoner named Simon Donnelly was lodged in Kilmainham, having been captured in the vicinity of Dublin Castle whilst on Intelligence work. The Governor of the prison at the time was a Lieutenant May, a very aggressive and tactless individual for such a position. Dealing with Republican prisoners required a very patient official! Our men within the prison were continually in a state of revolt, prepared for anything that came

their way. Accordingly it is not to be wondered at that Donnelly found himself at loggerheads with May before being five minutes his prisoner. He immediately ordered the new prisoner to be lodged in a cell that was absolutely empty and devoid of even the scanty cell furniture allowed all prisoners.

The Irish prisoners were confined in what is known as the old prison. This particular part of the building had been condemned as unfit and unsanitary by the Authorities. However, it was again brought into use for our men and it left a lot to be desired; but while it had many disadvantages from the point of view of comfort, it had many advantages in other ways. For instance, the modern cell door is secured with a lock and key, the key naturally being always in the possession of an official, while the cell doors in this portion of the prison were secured by strong cross bolts and ordinary padlocks. Indifference by the jailers generally resulted in only the bolt being used, and in the case of my own cell, I was able when the door was bolted, to put out my hand through the peep hole, which was about 3 inches in diameter (as against the modern one which is about 1½ inches), and draw back the bolt. However this was not necessary save on a few occasions, as the prisoners had won their fight for association and general recognition as prisoners of war.

On Saturday morning I immediately recognised Ernie O'Malley in spite of his having grown a very heavy moustache. I had not seen him for some years. Teeling I had never met and did not know. I was not long in being taken into the confidence of the men concerned in the escape, and got to know all the details. I was informed that an attempt would be made on Sunday night by our comrades outside to send across a rope ladder over the boundary wall which is about 30 feet high. I might mention that it was a very easy matter for us to get from our cells to the prison yard, no precautions being taken to lock the door leading from the building to the yard itself, the enemy believing that the 30 feet wall was sufficient. I also learnt that two soldiers of

the guard who occasionally acted as warders, were giving us a great deal of help and were also acting as couriers between the prisoners and our comrades outside. It also transpired that two revolvers and a bolt cutter had been smuggled into us. In all these preliminary plans, our comrades outside under Brigadier O. Traynor gave whole-hearted support.

The wall surrounding the prison was a very thick old-fashioned stone wall and contained one large gate which gave access to the yard and admitted carts in or out. It was secured by a heavy cross bolt, 5 or 6 feet long, and then fastened by a large padlock. It had been decided that if possible the padlock should be cut off the gate and thereby dispense with the rope ladder, hence the bolt cutter; but it transpired later that the bolt cutter would not work, as sufficient leverage could not be got from it, to cut the bolt. It must be borne in mind that having to be smuggled in, it could not be very big.

However the previous arrangements for the attempt to be made on Sunday night were adhered to. In the meantime word had been conveyed to our comrades outside of the failure of the bolt cutter and they immediately got to work to make a pair of bends to fit on the handles of the cutters. Previous to the attempt being made the bolt cutters had been tried by one of our men, who reported the defects and possible remedy.

* * * *

At the appointed time on Sunday night we made our way down to the yard and over to the part of the wall near the gate, where the rope ladder was to come across. Our comrades were outside and it was possible to whisper to them through the gate. They informed us that it had been found necessary to take prisoners some soldiers and girls who were loitering about, and remove them to an unknown destination.

At last the signal was given to throw over the rope; this was accomplished after a few attempts and as the rope came into our hands, our anxiety knew no bounds. We started to pull to bring across the rope ladder. It seemed heavy, very heavy; we pulled again, harder and harder, but the rope did not move. Now we were still as anxious and pulled harder still; soon the rope gave way and our hopes were shattered. What was happening now manifested itself. The top of the wall was flat and weather-beaten and the joints of the stone work very open. The rope had locked in one of these grooves and naturally it was equivalent to trying to pull the top off the wall.

There was nothing for us to do now, but return to our cells, sorely disappointed; Teeling, in particular, returning as it were to his death, as his execution by hanging was due to take place in the course of a few days. O'Malley's position was little better and Donnelly's completed the trio.

Sunday night we had spoken, as we were sorely disappointed. Monday morning, a few soldiers acting as a fatigue party got orders to clean up an old cell on our landing. This was used as a store and full of all sorts of rubbish. We had previously complained about it; on the Sunday night we had hidden our precious two revolvers and bolt cutters in this store. When the fatigue party made known their mission we had a terrible shock fearing our precious cutters would be discovered, but our shock should not be compared to the one the soldiers got when we offered to do their work; inviting them into our cells to have some tea and a smoke, to which they willingly agreed. We accordingly saved our precious articles, even at the loss to a small degree of our prestige, in becoming as all were servants to the soldiers.

I learned on Monday evening that the bends for the bolt cutters had come through and it was decided to try them Monday night. Our friends the two soldiers were all the time doing their part. There was no arrangement with our comrades outside as to Monday night's attempt, the time being too short to get in touch with them. It must be remembered that by now the enemy had learned of the soldiers and girls being taken prisoners on the Sunday night. Naturally their suspicions would be aroused, and it was to be expected that extra precautions such as double guards and patrols would be posted. Accordingly the risk of discovery had greatly increased. It was eventually decided that we would make the attempt as early as possible after dark, shortly after six o'clock being decided on.

A soldier by the name of Roper was on duty that night and I got into conversation with him, to detract his attention (according to plan). He told me it was his birthday and that he was due for demobilisation the following week and he seemed very happy about returning home. I offered him my congratulations and a happy journey home. This all took 10 to 15 minutes, and in the meantime my pals had got down to the yard and were working on the bolt. I also slipped away and as I passed Paddy Moran's cell which was open, I asked him to come along. I told him the great risk it was, as now it had become a case of life or death. Poor Paddy was to be court martialled in a few

days for an act he had no part in whatever. He was fully satisfied he could not be found guilty of it and decided to await his trial and as he believed emerge a free man. As he told me, to go then would be in reality an admission of the charge. So I bade him good-bye and started to join my comrades, who by now had twenty minutes start of me.

I shall never forget the nerve-racking ordeal of crossing the yard, it was covered with a substance called breeze which crunches under the foot. Expecting as I did to walk into a hidden sentry at every step and having a bayonet plunged into me, it seemed like a peal of thunder every time I trod on a piece of breeze. Eventually I reached my comrades at the gate and learned that the bolt cutters had worked. We were all the time on the alert with our revolvers ready for any emergency; a quantity of grease and butter which we had saved from our rations was put on the bolt and we started to work it back. This was a very tedious and critical job. It was from outside this gate that the British prisoners had been taken the previous evening and it was possible that we would still have to use our revolvers as we were expecting to confront a guard outside the gate.

* * * *

At last the bolt was fully drawn back. Now to open the gate! First a half inch and peer out . . . another bit and peer out again . . . this operation a dozen times! Thank God, no guard! We walk out quite casually, to avoid suspicion. Down a back road and hide, in the garden of a private house, our precious articles which we had not to use. We pass by an enemy stronghold, Richmond Barracks, along the banks of the canal. Just as we are about to cross a



THOMAS WHELAN,

With two of his guards in Mountjoy Prison, shortly before he was hanged.

bridge an enemy armoured car, flashing a searchlight, halts on the bridge and scans all around. . . . We lie down in the grass to avoid the rays of the searchlight, believing our escape has been discovered, and as we had hidden our revolvers we were now, if apprehended, at the mercy of the enemy. . . . After a while the armoured car proceeds on its way. We board a tram for the city, separate at different points . . . free again to join our comrades in the fight for freedom.

Gun-Running

by

J. J. Burke

RIFLES were landed at Larne early in 1914 for the Ulster Volunteer Force—a body organised by leading British Imperialists at home and abroad with the declared object of defeating any attempt which might be made by the British Parliament to grant Ireland the measure of freedom enshrined in the Home Rule Bill then engaging the attention of Westminster. It was said at the time that these guns were “run” with the connivance of the British Government. At any rate, the whole affair was most spectacular. A battery of cameras saluted the gun-runners, and the adventure was enthusiastically applauded by that portion of the British Press which is reputed at all times to hold in its gigantic paws the reins of Government in Britain.

The real leaders of the Irish Volunteers—namely, the Irish Republican Brotherhood—secretly welcomed the coming of guns into the hands of Irishmen, cherishing the hopes that these arms might one day be used to overthrow the system they were expected to sustain. The I.R.B. welcomed the gun-running at Larne for another reason. They believed that if a minority of the people were encouraged to fly to arms to oppose the wishes of the majority, then the Nationalists would realise that force was the only weapon which could be relied on to make Britain sit up and take notice. Events justified the hopes and beliefs entertained by the I.R.B.

A goodly number of the guns supplied to the Ulster Volunteers fell from time to time into the hands of the Irish Volunteers. Even before the Howth gun-running, the Volunteers in Dublin held many of the rifles “run” into Larne.

On Sunday—July 26th, 1914—the guns were landed at Howth. Four battalions of the Dublin Brigade mobilised at Croydon Park, Fairview, and set forth on a forced march, under sealed orders. As the Volunteers swung along the Strand Road, a placard of an English Sunday paper supplied a commentary on the situation then existing in these words: “WAR CLOUDS

GATHER OVER EUROPE.” The next day an English daily told the world that the first shots fired in the European War had been fired in Dublin. A week later, Britain was shedding crocodile tears over the rights of small nations, and sent the King’s Own Scottish Borderers (heroes of the Bachelors’ Walk Massacre) to defend poor little Belgium! It should be remembered that the King’s Own Scottish Borderers opened fire on a crowd of unarmed men, women and children at Bachelors’ Walk—killing several and wounding over twenty.

The day was warm and the pace was hot, but not a man of the eight hundred on parade that day fell out of the ranks. The six odd miles to our then “unknown destination” were covered in good time. We reached the Pier at Howth as the small boats brought in the rifles from Erskine Childers’ yacht in response to signals from Fianna Scouts announcing our arrival. What a cheer rang out as the first sections of Volunteers rushed at the double up the Pier to receive the precious cargo! How the Volunteers—many of them since dead in the service of Ireland—hugged the old Mauser rifles! Not a few eyes were dimmed with joy and pride at the vision of Freedom which these old guns conjured up. The Volunteer who doubted that Ireland was right in the middle of the straight road to Freedom at that moment was—well, he was not at the Howth gun-running. Marching back to the city with our rifles on our shoulders, we felt free, and firmly believed we carried the keys by means of which the doors of Liberty would be opened for our country. Such was the effect of the landing of the guns at Howth on the men who up to that time were practically an unarmed body of citizens.

As the Volunteers, singing gaily the songs of Freedom of their early days, marched proudly along, the British authorities woke up. The March of Triumph and Defiance of Irishmen into the Capital of their country was more than the good old British Empire could stomach. A detachment of the King’s Own Scottish Borderers, with bayonets

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fixed, blocked the thoroughfare near the end of Howth Road, while a large force of Dublin Metropolitan Police (with batons drawn) stood to the right of the troops, a little in front. A mile or so up the road, a Fianna Scout (on a cycle) delivered a message to our Commandant—Eamonn Ceannt. The Volunteers were halted, while a hurried council of war was held. In fifteen minutes we were on the move again. The Fourth Battalion, to which I was attached, was then at the rear of the column. The leading companies of Volunteers fell back gradually, as we approached the danger zone—and so, “according to plan,” as I later learned—“A” Company of the Fourth was in front as the Volunteers reached the human barricade. (While a hundred thousand rounds of ammunition had been landed with the guns, not a round had been issued to the Volunteers at Howth.) Our company opened out across the roadway. The police made several rushes at the Volunteers in an endeavour to get the guns. Each time, with clubbed rifles, the Volunteers repulsed the attackers. In the end the police retired behind the soldiery. Only a few paces now separated the Volunteers and troops with fixed bayonets.

The Volunteers grimly awaited eventualities while the late Mr. Darrel Figgis was explaining matters to the officer in charge—and the other battalions were getting away with the guns. We had not very long to wait. The officer “got wise” to the ruse, and gave his men the order to charge. Our Commandant—Eamonn Ceannt—who was executed after 1916, opened fire on them with an automatic pistol. As one of the Borderers was making a lunge at me, my gun came down on his shoulder and he fell to the ground. Another made a lunge at me, and stuck me in the left side as my rifle came down on him. . . . Feeling groggy, I dropped and rolled to the side of the road. . . . The old Mauser which had slipped from my grip as I fell was handed back to me by Commandant Eamonn Ceannt a week later as I lay in bed recovering from the effects of the bayonet thrust.

With the exception of four or five rifles, all the guns were saved, as well as the ammunition. A conservative estimate

places the number of guns landed at 900, together with 100,000 rounds of ammunition.

On the following Saturday night, eleven hundred guns and 150,000 rounds of ammunition were landed for the Irish Volunteers at Kilcool. The night was pitch dark—so dark indeed that it was impossible to sight the yacht from the shore. However, about midnight contact was established by means of a flash-light, and small boats went out to the larger craft—a yacht owned by a well-known Dublin surgeon—and took off the cargo. Only a hundred Volunteers took part in this exploit: a Volunteer Cycling Corps from Dublin and a number of Volunteers who travelled by train and motor from the Capital. The Volunteers who arrived by train reached Kilcool as night fell. Two members of the Royal Irish Constabulary who were patrolling the railway platform were held up at the point of a porter bottle by Dinny Callaghan, and detained by Seán MacDiarmada while the operation was being carried out. As the rowing-boats, manned by Volunteers, brought the guns from the yacht, the others had to wade knee-deep in the water to take them ashore. Working feverishly, the job was at last finished. The rifles and ammunition were loaded on charabancs and started for Dublin. At Little Bray the cars broke down, and the guns were transferred to motor cars and conveyed to St. Enda's, Rathfarnham, whence they were distributed to various units throughout the country.

The yacht which brought the guns to Kilcool, and the one which the previous Sunday had landed the guns at Howth, had taken over the rifles and ammunition in mid-seas. Both yachts were scheduled to arrive on the previous Saturday and Sunday—that is the 25th and 26th July—but the arrival of the Kilcool guns was postponed owing to enemy activity around the Irish coast.

As a result of these exploits, thousands of young men, and old men, too, joined the ranks of the Volunteers. The spirit of enthusiasm among the rank and file of the Resurgent Nation was aroused by these events—and that spirit never flagged during the years of struggle which lay ahead.

Wanted : An Anti-Partition Movement

THE opinion is widely held that if the question of Partition is left alone for long enough it will settle itself ; for, argue those who hold this opinion, if the Nationalists in the Six Counties continue their present rate of proportionate increase it is only a matter of time until they constitute an absolute majority of the electorate and thus be in a position to capture a majority of the seats in Stormont. This, like all over-optimistic views, fails to take into account the realities of the situation in the Six Counties.

If the Six Counties were under a democratic and tolerant regime there can be little doubt that time would undo Partition. But the Craigavon regime is neither democratic nor tolerant ; it is fascist in everything but name, depending for its continuance in power on gerrymandering, boycott, and pogrom ; it has taken every precaution against the possibility of an increasing Nationalist population ever being allowed to make its weight felt even should it, in spite of all obstacles, eventually form an absolute majority in the partitioned area.

The principle adopted by the Craigavon administration to overcome the normal results to be expected from universal adult suffrage is this : Where a party controls 51 per cent. of the votes in 51 per cent. of the constituencies it is electorally in an unassailable position. (Note that 51 per cent. of the votes in 51 per cent. of the constituencies is less than 26 per cent. of the total electorate.) But in order to do this effectively it is necessary that the voters be divided up, according to the political convictions held, and by some means or other compelled to reside in certain well-defined areas, so that these areas may be gerrymandered.

When the Six County Government was established, the dividing up of the population in accordance with the political views held had been already achieved by the British in pursuance of their policy of "Divide and Conquer"—a policy as old as Imperialism itself. The method of division adopted by the British was to instil sectarian bitterness in the minds of the non-Catholic majority in the North, and by that means to blind them both to their historic Republicanism and to the fact that their interests were identical with those of their fellow-Irishmen. Craigavon had but to make use of the material bequeathed to him by the British

—in whose interest it is still used—continue, principally by means of the Orange Order in which he holds high office, to keep sectarianism at boiling point, and covertly encourage pogroms as in 1920-22 and 1935.

In Belfast and Derry it is by means of these pogroms, or the threat of them, that the Nationalists are compelled to live in the colonies so essential to the success of gerrymandering, since it is only by living together in large bodies that they can manage to survive at all. In the country areas and in the smaller towns the main weapon used against the Nationalists is the boycott ; for, in spite of unceasing sectarian propaganda from platform and Press, there have been, outside the cities, comparatively few instances of pogroms.

It is not necessary to go further unto the details of the situation in the Six Counties. Enough has been said to make it obvious that if the question of Partition is ever to be settled some positive action is needed. It is not sufficient to sit back and wait for something to turn up, nor is it sufficient to send polite notes asking the British Government to use its influence with Craigavon. It must be clearly understood that Craigavon is a British Imperialist working in the interest of British Imperialism ; that it is the policy of the British Government to keep Ireland divided ; that British troops are in occupation of the Six Counties ; that British money is being spent lavishly to maintain the Craigavon regime, and that it was the British themselves who partitioned the country.

No sectional or provincial organisation can tackle the problem. What is required is an Anti-Partition Movement as widespread, as determined and resolute, as clear-sighted as was the Anti-Conscription movement of 1918, which compelled Britain to eat her words and retreat from the position that she had taken up. Anything short of that is foredoomed to failure. The National Association of Old I.R.A. believes that such a movement is possible ; it has taken the initiative by forming the National Anti-Partition Council in Dublin, it is lending its assistance in spreading the movement to other centres in the south ; and, in conjunction with the National Anti-Partition Council, it is negotiating with Anti-Partitionist groups and organisations in the North with a view to finding a basis of co-operation.

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When a Nation-wide movement is being launched it is imperative that it starts off on the right foot, otherwise it will stultify itself. The Anti-Partition Movement must, therefore, place the blame for Partition where it belongs—on England; and, this is of vital importance, the greatest care must be taken to keep the movement free from all trace of sectarianism; for to allow the religious persecution of the Nationalists in the Six Counties to tinge with sectarianism the Anti-Partition Movement in the South would be but to fall into the same skilfully-laid Imperialist trap as the Pro-Partitionist elements in the North have fallen into.

The first task of the Anti-Partition Movement must be to educate the people of the whole 32 counties of Ireland, not only on the evils of Partition but also on the dangers inherent in it—conscription in the Six Counties, embroilment in England's wars, etc. In addition, all interests, whether British Imperial interests or Irish vested interests which, either openly or covertly, act in such a manner as to assist in the maintenance of Partition must be ruthlessly exposed. When this is done the greatest obstacle to the abolition of the Border—the Irish people's ignorance of the true state of affairs existing in the country—shall have been removed.

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The Failure of "Ninety-Eight"

by

R. Jacob

THE insurrection of 1798 was a peasant rebellion in fact though not in organisation, and like most peasant rebellions, it was a hopeless struggle against insuperable obstacles.

The United Irishmen in the years 1795-1797 must have had reasonably great hopes of success in the war of independence for which they were preparing. They had combined with the Defenders and had 300,000 men nominally enrolled in the army of liberation, though only a fraction of these had any firearms. They had continual expectation of help from the republican government of France, then at war with England. They had gained over a large proportion of the Irish militia, who were mostly forced conscripts.

But Fate turned every weapon against them, and brought all their work to ruin.

To begin with, the leaders of the movement in Dublin in 1796-97 were much better fitted to lead a libertarian political movement than an armed revolution. In his Journal for August 5th, 1797, Tone records news from Ireland, brought by two Northern United Irishmen named Tennant and Lowry, which told how good chances were lost for want of daring and resolution.

"TO GIVE UP THE BARRACKS OF DUBLIN."

"The persecution in Ireland is at its height, and the people there, seeing no prospect of succour which has been so long promised them, are beginning to lose confidence in themselves and their chiefs, whom they almost suspect of deceiving them. They ground their suspicions on the great crisis of the mutiny (the mutiny on the British Fleet at the Nore) being suffered to pass by without the French Government making the smallest attempt to profit by it, and I can hardly blame them. . . . By what Lowry and Tennant tell me, there seems to have been a great want of spirit in the leaders in Dublin. I suspected it very much from Lewines' account, though I saw he put the best side out, but now I am sure of it. . . . The people have been urgent more than once

to begin, and at one time 800 of the garrison offered to give up the barracks of Dublin if the leaders would only give the signal; the militia were almost to a man gained over, and numbers of these poor fellows have fallen victims in consequence. It is hard to judge at this distance, but it seems to have been an unpardonable weakness, if not downright cowardice, to let such an occasion slip. With 800 of the garrison and the barracks to begin with, in an hour they would have had the whole capital, and by seizing the persons of half a dozen individuals paralyzed the whole Government. . . . I am surprised that Emmet did not show more energy, because I know he is as brave as Caesar of his person. It seems to me to have been such an opportunity missed as we can hardly expect to see return."

The moral courage to seize an opportunity by taking great risks for others as well as oneself is rarer than the personal courage which Tone knew Thomas Emmet to possess and the want of it has ruined more than one promising revolution.

ELUSIVE "FRENCH HELP."

It may be that the hope of French help, and the belief that action must not begin till it came, really ruined Ireland's chance of liberty. But considering the difficulty of providing firearms for the multitude of willing hands in Ireland, the belief in the necessity of a French landing was natural. Arms were the great need. Edward Lewines went to Paris in June, 1797, with instructions from "the Executive Committee of the United People of Ireland," to solicit from the French Government the assistance in troops, arms and money necessary to enable them to take the field, and he and Tone agreed that "It was not a strong military force that we wanted at this moment, but arms and ammunition, with troops sufficient to serve as a *noyau d'armee* and protect the people at their first assembling."

If such an expedition had reached Ireland that summer of 1797, success would have been certain.

Luck—or chance, if you prefer the word—had an enormous share in destroying the web so carefully woven by the United Irishmen. The French were admittedly weak at sea (another reason against trusting to their help) but even their naval inadequacy would not have saved British rule in Ireland without the help of the storm in Bantry Bay at Christmas, 1796, and the calms and contrary winds at the Texel six months later.

SOWING DISTRUST BETWEEN CATHOLICS AND PROTESTANTS.

When French help failed repeatedly and Government persecution intensified, waves of discouragement passed over different parts of the country, especially the north-east, where the Union was most highly organised, and weapons would be given up—sometimes for fear of the hideous consequences if they were discovered by raiding soldiers or “gentlemen” in command of militia, sometimes by the persuasion of the clergy, who, Catholic and Protestant alike, were almost all on the side of the Government and against the United Irishmen. Towards the end of 1797, Castle agents managed, by means of bold forgeries and lying tales, to sow distrust of their Catholic comrades among the northern Presbyterians, many of whom (according to John Mitchel) withdrew from the Union, which was never again so strong in Ulster as it had been. In this year, too, their newspaper, the Northern Star, was finally suppressed, its machinery destroyed and its office pillaged by the military. Its last editor was Dr. Porter, a Presbyterian minister (he was hanged in 1798), for Samuel Neilson had been in prison in Dublin since 1796.

INFORMERS WRECK MOVEMENT

When the year 1798 opened, there was still hope for the people's cause. The Government were determined to force them into resistance when no French expedition was to help them, so with martial law began the era of British soldiers living at free quarters among the people in districts where the United Irish movement was thought to be strong, and making murder, outrage, torture and arson their daily sport. In the spring of 1798 there was concentrated in Ireland a force of 130,000 soldiers, including British regular troops, twelve regiments of English and Scottish militia, and the few regiments of Irish militia which were not suspected of sympathy with the people. As Sir Jonah Barrington put it, “Mr. Pitt counted on the expertness

of the Irish Government to effect a premature rising,” and he gave them General Lake with these military forces to be their instrument.

But more powerful than Lake's army to wreck the movement were two informers, Thomas Reynolds and Francis Magan. When the Leinster Directory met in Dublin on the 12th March, it was by Reynolds' information that the Government knew where to find them, and so the Leinster counties were left without leaders or co-ordination.

The new Directory fixed the rising for the 23rd of May, independent of French help, and some hope remained while Lord Edward Fitzgerald was still free. Except Thomas Russell (in jail since 1796) he was the only man among the heads of the United Irishmen who had experience as a military officer, and he was to command the people's army. But Magan, helped by Francis Higgins, accounted for him, and with his capture on the 19th of May, all chance of success died. Bonaparte in the same month left Ireland in the lurch and sailed with a French expedition for Egypt. This mistake of his, which he is said to have bitterly regretted in after years, was another instance of Ireland's bad luck.

IGNORANCE AND CONFUSED COUNSELS.

The plan of the new Directory was that on the appointed day the forces of Dublin, Wicklow, and Kildare should march on the capital and take possession of it. But John Sheares as well as Lord Edward was taken, and there was no leader left who understood the plan. The rising took place on the 23rd of May, but it was like a living creature deprived of its brain. The men of each locality were fighting in the dark, not knowing what to aim at or what was being done (if anything) in the next county, and ignorance took the heart out of them, while the Castle Government had all the forces of England at its back, and every advantage of wealth, power, knowledge, and organisation.

The men of Wexford, armed mainly with pikes, with no skilled leaders, and under every possible disadvantage, won victory after victory and held the county for nearly a month. When they marched north to Arklow, Miles Byrne said: “I think we mustered 20,000 at least, but we had not 2,000 firelocks fit for use.” (This deficiency of arms was largely due to the activities of the clergy, who had spent months urging the

people to give up their arms to the British authorities). They were met at Arklow by a regular army of cavalry, Durham Fencibles, and yeomanry, and a four-hours battle followed. The Wexford men (who had a corps from Limerick with them) were left in possession of the field, but for lack of capable and well co-ordinated leadership they turned back to Gorey instead of going on through friendly Wicklow to the capital. Ignorance and confused counsels kept the people's army from using its strength. The defeat at New Ross destroyed the hope of help from Waterford and Kilkenny, and finally the main rebel army, for sheer want of firearms was overwhelmed by the British artillery at Vinegar Hill.

The fact that the rising was social as well as national—an uprising of the enslaved and feared "common people"—helps to explain the ferocious cruelty with which it was provoked and suppressed by the Anglo-Irish landlords, by the two branches of the same Government in London and Dublin, and by the military officers.

TREACHERY IN THE NORTH.

In the north-east the revolution collapsed through the cleverness of the richer classes and the weakness or treachery of almost all the leaders except Henry Joy McCracken. Russell the first appointed general for Down, was in prison, a Presbyterian minister named Steele Dickson, elected in his stead, was arrested just before the date for the rising. So was Neilson, who had been free for some months. Simms, the general for Antrim, ignored the signal for the 23rd of May, and when McCracken and James Hope remonstrated with him, he resigned his command. Other chief officers of Antrim not appearing, the duty of leadership fell on McCracken, and he sent fighting orders to the Colonels of the Antrim army—which orders three of these colonels sent straight to General Nugent, commander of the British forces in the area. A messenger sent to Down (says Hope) proved unfaithful, so that the Down men had no knowledge of affairs in Antrim till they heard of the defeat of McCracken's men at Antrim town on June 7th.

In spite of all this, McCracken's determined leadership might have brought at least temporary success in Ulster if the British had not been so ably helped, not only by the defaulting leaders and the informer Hughes who broke communications with Down, but also by rich men of all sorts, who formed a

network of powerful influences to discourage, intimidate, confuse and deceive the poor men who made up the rebel army.

No wonder that McCracken wrote to his sister, "The rich always betray the poor." Hope tells how, after the defeat at Antrim, "the people continued to flock into Ballymena for two days, but treachery was too well organised in the middle ranks, particularly among the rich farmers, who discouraged their neighbours with contradictory reports." A veteran officer of Volunteers who had command at Ballymena, proposed to march for Dublin with 11,000 men under him. The march began, but the army was followed by a man on horseback "who rode along our lines, reporting that peace had been made, Lord O'Neill had forgiven his tenants a year's rent and they had gone home—the men at Toomebridge had accepted terms." These lies produced a mutiny. "We returned to Kells and on the roth learned that leaders in Ballymena had deserted and the people dispersed."

BAD LUCK AGAIN.

Men from Bangor, Killinchy and Hollywood then marched to Saintfield in Down—the soldiers fled at their approach, and under the command of Henry Munro they marched to Ballinahinch where they met an army of horse, foot and artillery sent from Belfast. A great battle followed, lasting off and on for two days, when the people's victory was at last destroyed by another stroke of bad luck—a bugle sounding retreat was taken for the signal for another charge, confusion led to panic, and victory turned to defeat.

Hope says, "While any prospect of serving our cause appeared to exist, a few of us remained in arms; our ranks at length diminished, the influence of the merchants on the manufacturers, and that of the manufacturers on the workmen, formed a strong chain of pecuniary interests in the province of Ulster, so that shelter and relief of any kind afforded to those who stood out, was at the risk of the life and property of the giver."

So died the revolution in the north, stabbed in the back and strangled.

The most definite mistake seems to have been the neglect to seize the opportunity when the garrison offered to give up the Dublin barracks. With the capital in the hands of the United Irishmen, the northern rising would probably have

followed promptly according to plan ;
a good start and unified leadership
would have given the revolution a fair
chance of success.

No conspiracy could guard against skilful
informers, and no badly-begun, unco-
ordinated local insurrections could stand up

to the force, guile and cunning of the
propertied classes with their backing of
ferocious military power. A sudden successful
start, which would have spread panic among
that propertied class and taken them and
the military chiefs by surprise, was the only
chance for the people's cause.

AMBUSH

*A lorry in the distance
droned on to head the hill.
A curlew from a cloud-bank
called out a cold, "Who will?"
A blackbird seeking shelter
sped down the little rill . . .
Guerillas at the ready
lay waiting there to kill.*

*A horn on the high-road
gave forth a warning toot.
A night-owl off to forage
called back a gruffer hoot.
A weasel sleek ahunting
slipped by a bramble root . . .
An outlaw on his keeping
lay waiting there to shoot.*

*A smoke-pall from a chimney
spread low across the vale.
A filly in the meadow
sprang back and turned tail.
A sparrow pluming feather
swerved off a wooden rail . . .
As outposts of the column
set up a leaden hail.*

*A wreckage by the hedgerow
showed black against the green.
A stillness in the evening
spread shrouds where life had been.
A dog-fox in the distance
barked out a bold thirteen.
Afoot—the flying column
set leagues of space between.*

Conn O Maeleaclainn

The Devil's Crew

(Dublin, 1916)

The poets have chanted their pæans of
praise

To the men who were pure of soul ;
I tell of a bunch who in different ways
Find a place on the muster roll ;
'Tis very low down, still you'll all agree
They have earned their places there,
Tho' their principal pastimes seemed to be
To drink and gamble and swear.
The chances are just a thousand to one
This tale won't appeal to you ;
Still, whether you like the yarn or not,
Just give the devil his due
While I strive to outline, minus trimmings
or shine,
My tale of the Devil's Crew.

Oh, a holy crush ! not one of us
But of devilment had his share ;
We all had our jags on the backs of the
books
And most of us some to spare.
We sang our songs, and courted the girls,
And quaffed of the eau-de-vie,
And seldom saw home till the rays of dawn
Shot up from the Irish Sea.
We had no friends 'mong the "unco guid,"
Tho' some of the brave and true
Would grin and say : " That bunch, we
guess,
Are not God's chosen few,"
While the word-spinning hypocrites passing
by
Said : " They are the Devil's Crew ! "

There were none of us burdened with easy
wealth
When first we were planted here ;
The earnings we should have trebled by
stealth
We flung to the winds on beer.
And why should the worker worry himself,
In the 'midst of a crazy slum,

'Bout the where-withal or the where-with-
which,
Or the day that might never come ?
So we looked on the cheerier side of life,
As all good comrades do,
Recounting our various jamborees
With Mary and Jane and Sue,
While the plaster invertebrates passing by
Said : " They are the Devil's Crew ! "

Irish ? Yes ! As pure as ever was made,
We drew our blood from the high green
hill,
And up from the hazel glade :
The Barrow and Nore, the Suir and
Boyne
To our sinew and bone paid toll,
But Dublin town, with its smoke and
brown,
Laid claim to our rebel soul,
And the love in our hearts for the mother-
land,
That stronger and stronger grew,
Was never discussed, tho' we often spoke
Of the things that we hoped to do
If God in His own good time would give
One chance to the Devil's Crew !

One holiday morn when Ireland called
And we joined in the great parade,
You never saw such an unsoldierly crush
Since first the world was made ;
But in spite of the canting cowards who
preached
From the depths of an easy chair,
One thing shall live when most things die :
" By G——, boys, we were there ! "
Tho' there wasn't one decent equipment,
Either second-hand or new,
Save a water-flask here or a haversack there,
With maybe a puttee or two ;
But a bandolier, bayonet, and rifle were
strapped
On each man of the Devil's Crew !

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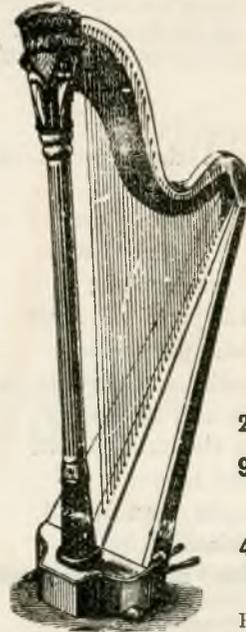
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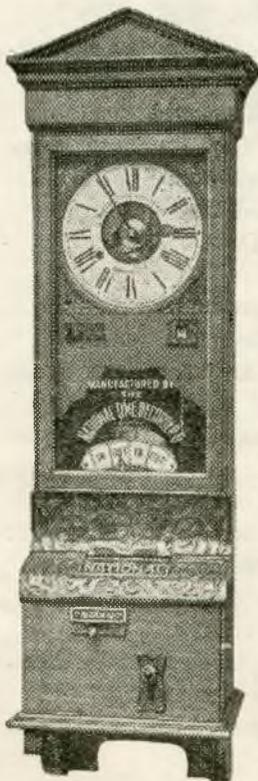
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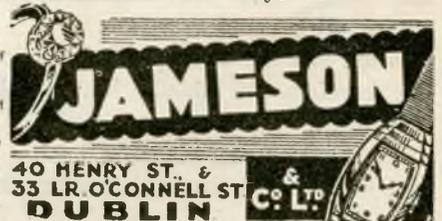
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From the crackle and crash of the first red
night,
And the spluttering bullets tore—
When one fellow dropped like an empty
sack,
And another in anger swore ;
While a kid with rapidly glazing eyes
Was crooning an Irish song,
And died as he watched the tiny stream
Of his heart's blood creeping along—
We stemmed the rush of the khaki tide
Whenever they came in view,
Spending red days and hideous nights
In proving our worth tho' few ;
There were brave lads there, but the pick
of the bunch
Were known as "The Devil's Crew !"

You know the rest—one short red week,
The dream of a nation free—
An affair that gladdens an old man's heart
With a glorious memory.
Our leaders were wise and learned men
With a wisdom we never knew,
They gave their orders and we obeyed,
A thing we thought hard to do ;
For had the orders been "Carry on !"
I'm telling a thing that's true—
The last shot fired from Dublin's ruins
Would come from the "Devil's Crew" !

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It is generally admitted that examination of the eyes and the prescription of glasses should, if possible, be made in all cases by qualified medical practitioners. Hitherto, however, the services of these eye specialists have been available only in the hospitals or by private consultation at the usual specialists' fees, and the general public has been obliged to seek advice from sight-testing opticians. In view of the supreme importance of proper attention to the eyes in the interests of health and efficiency, the Irish Free State Medical Union has now co-operated in the establishment of an Eye Service Scheme which provides for all of limited means a medical eye examination and glasses at reasonable inclusive charges.

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