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STATEMENT BY WITNESS

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Witness

Mr. Frank Henderson,
83 Moibhi Road,
Glasnevin, Dublin.

Identity

Captain 'F' Company, 2nd Battn.
Dublin Brigade 1915.

Subject

(a) National activities 1898-1916;
(b) Howth Gun-Running 1914;
(c) Easter Week 1916 - Fairview and G.P.O.
(d) Imprisonment and Release.

Conditions, if any, stipulated by Witness

Nil

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ORIGINAL

STATEMENT BY FRANK HENDERSON

83 Moibhi Road, Glasnevin, Dublin.

Family traditions on both sides gave me an early separatist and physical force outlook. This was strengthened later on by reading of 1798 literature, and by the 1798 Commemoration which took place in 1898.

I was also influenced, as were many other young people, by the following events -

The Boer War, which started in 1899. There were pro-Boer meetings in Dublin, and feeling was very pro-Boer. Major John MacBride headed the Irish Brigade in the Transvaal, and became the popular hero about whom songs were sung.

1897 was the Jubilee Year of Queen Victoria of England, and she paid a visit to Dublin either in that year or in 1898. We had demonstrations and protest meetings in Dublin. James Connolly, one of the signatories of the Proclamation, and the I.R.B. organised several marches, in one of which was carried a coffin labelled "The British Empire", which was thrown into the Liffey. The city was decorated by the Loyalists, and there were frequent conflicts at night between the Trinity College students and the citizens. The storm troops of the latter were the "coal porters" - the dockers at the North and South Quays.

About this time the Irish language revival movement began to get publicity and people began to be interested in it to some degree. I myself began to learn Irish at school about 1900.

At that time also there was a weekly journal called "The United Irishman", which was Arthur Griffith's paper. It was a separatist publication. It was very well written, and even people who did not agree with Griffith's views, or believe

in separatism read it from the literary point of view, and it made many converts.

The Gaelic League was spreading. Gaelic Athletic Association Clubs began to be established in the city, and most of them were Circles of the I.R.B. Feiseanna and Aeridheachta were held both in Dublin and throughout the country, and they brought young people together. In June every year there was a pilgrimage to Wolfe Tone's grave at Bodenstown. I was at one pilgrimage about 1898, but they were dropped for a while and then started again after a few years.

About 1897, when Queen Victoria visited Ireland, Maud Gonne, who afterwards married Major MacBride, organised an opposition outing for children to Clonturk Park. The loyalists held celebrations for children, whom they invited to open-air parties. Maude Gonne held opposition parties, which were very lively because the police gave them great attention. King Edward VII visited Dublin in the early 1900's and the National spirit was aroused by separatist propaganda.

Most of these activities were organised by the I.R.B.

Home Rule agitation became very acute. There was opposition of a very active nature in Belfast, which stirred up the people here very much. There followed in course of time the Curragh Mutiny and the Ulster Volunteers. The formation of the Ulster Volunteers gave the opportunity which brought men like John MacNeill out into the open on the side of physical force.

About 1910 another weekly paper called "Irish Freedom" was started by the I.R.B. Sean McDermott was editor of this paper. "Irish Freedom" advocated an armed rising.

I was not a member of the I.R.B. at this time, although most of my colleagues were. Later on I became a member - about 1918.

Shortly before the formation of the Irish Volunteers the Irish Citizen Army was formed in 1913, following attacks on strikers in Dublin by the police. That was the famous strike of 1913, when there were a few men killed. Following that, the Irish Citizen Army was started by Jim Larkin, Captain White, and probably in the background at the time was James Connolly. He was outwardly at that time a minor figure, but he was probably the driving force. The Irish Citizen Army was formed primarily to protect the working men in Dublin in view of what happened in the 1913 strike, but no doubt Connolly had revolution in his mind all the time.

The formation of the Irish Volunteers had been openly advocated, and it was arranged that there would be a public meeting in Dublin in October, 1913, to set them going. A few weeks before that I was approached by some colleagues in the Gaelic League and in the G.A.A. and asked to give out hand-bills advertising the meeting at Masses. I distributed them in Glasnevin at the "Wooden Chapel". That district was looked after by the Lámh Dearg Hurling Club, which met in Glasnevin, and most of the members would have been members of the I.R.B. at the time. I also gave out hand-bills at the A.O.H. hall in Parnell Square. Piaras Beaslaí was responsible for giving them out there. We chose the A.O.H. hall because it was a meeting place for young men - we had not any A.O.H. tendencies ourselves. The inaugural meeting was held in the Rotunda Gardens. There was a structure there, which was burned during the Civil War, known as the Swiss Village, and there was a big covered hall in it. The meeting was going pretty well, and there was great enthusiasm, but the Irish Citizen Army, or a number of its members, intervened because some of the people who were on the platform had been opposed to them in the strike, and a rather discouraging interruption took place. They howled down L.J. Kettle and some others who were opposed to

Larkin. I was present at that meeting. A lot of men who had come to join went away in disgust saying that Irishmen could never agree. Many of these men did not join the Volunteers until after the Howth gun-running. Amongst those who were on the platform were Pearse, John MacNeill, L.J. Kettle and also Peadar Macken, who was prominent in Gaelic and in labour circles and was one of the men who tried to get order there that night. Bulmer Hobson was there, and, to the best of my knowledge, The O'Rahilly was there.

A lot of people joined the Volunteers that night, and the names of intending members were taken. There were stewards there who took names and addresses. As far as I remember there were no membership cards given out there, but they were given out shortly afterwards.

About a week after that, the first meeting of "B" Company of the 2nd Battalion took place in the Clann na h-Eireann Hall, Fairview, at Ballybough Bridge. "B" Company of the 2nd Battalion was to cater for the men of Fairview and Drumcondra districts mainly. "C" Company of the 2nd Battalion met about the same time at 25 Parnell Square, and it might be described as the City Company.

In the beginning, before it was a properly organised Company, there was a man named Kerrigan in charge of "B" Company. I forget his Christian name; he was a brother of Joe Kerrigan the Abbey actor; a man named Magee, who helped in the drilling; Tom Hunter, who was second in command of the Company probably from the start, but if not actually at the start after a very short period. Kerrigan was in charge, as he had been associated with some movement in which men had been drilling. He was the only one, except Magee, who knew anything about drilling, and he was very well liked. He left us at the time of the split. Other members of that Company

were Arthur Griffith, who drilled for some time with the Company, L.J. Kettle, Sean McGarry, the late Thomas Markham and Harry Boland, who was in "F" Company later, but this was the parent Company.

"A" Company was reserved for the National University students. The man who was to take charge of it was named Fergus Kelly, a University student himself and a member of another Company of the 2nd Battalion. He is now an engineer in Bórd na Móna or in the E.S.B. As a matter of fact "A" Company was not formed and it was a blank in the 2nd Battalion until near the Truce, when I formed an "A" Company - they were cyclists - to fill up the blank, after the burning of the Custom House in 1921.

There was intensive drilling and marching. The discipline was very good, and the importance of it was emphasised by the training officers, who were mainly Kerrigan, Magee and some ex-soldiers of the British Army. After a while manoeuvres on a large scale were held, and all the Companies of the Dublin Brigade took part in them. Notably was one in which we mobilised at about five o'clock in the morning, marched out to Rathfarnham and had a mock battle on the Dublin mountains. There was another manoeuvre at a later period at Swords. We marched from Dublin to Swords, held a mock battle and marched back again. It is important to stress that the discipline was very good.

As a Company we probably met only once a week, I think on Tuesdays. In addition we had Battalion and Brigade parades and manoeuvres. When this had gone on for a while men began to ask about arms, but there were no arms. This led up to the Howth gun-running.

I think there had been some promise of arms in this period

by John Redmond, and there had been some arms imported by him, Italian rifles, for which there was no ammunition. This only intensified the call for arms for which there would be ammunition, and the Howth gun-running took place in July, 1914, on a Sunday, just a few weeks before the outbreak of the European War.

The gun-running at Howth was rather cleverly done by the people responsible for it, because there had been a march out to Baldoyle a week before the Howth gun-running took place, and the rumour was spread that we were going out to get arms, with the result that all the police were after us. That was either the Sunday or the Sunday week before the actual gun-running. We were followed on the first occasion and every movement watched. The police saw that when we came to Baldoyle, we sat down, ate our lunch and came home after doing a bit of drilling, so that when the actual day came they paid us very little attention. Beforehand, we were told that we were going to Howth for a march. That is all we were told, but some people did know that we were going out for arms, and I knew although I should not have known. It was the late Tom Markham told me, but it was kept a secret from most of the men.

Some time previous to the Howth gun-running "B" Company became too large, and "F" Company was formed. I was transferred to "F" Company. The first Captain of "F" Company was Magee, the man I have already mentioned, the 1st Lieutenant was M.W. O'Reilly, and the 2nd Lieutenant was Jim Connaughton, who was afterwards transferred to Limerick, where he died some few years after the Rising.

At the time of the Howth gun-running I was an N.C.O. in the Company, either a Corporal or a Sergeant, I do not remember which. "F" Company marched down to the pier at Howth and I

was in charge of a section. We were fairly near the ship, the "Asgard", when she arrived, about two hundred yards away, I suppose. It was very well timed. Just as the head of the column got to the end of the pier she sailed into the harbour. The ship had been lying out near Island's Eye. The guns were passed out from hand to hand from the ship and we held on to them. We did not have any ammunition, although a good supply which was taken away by a special party was landed from the "Asgard". The local police were held up by specially appointed men, and their barracks and the telephone system temporarily seized. I suppose we were about an hour or more on the pier. The idea of the organisers was to get away as soon as possible, because we had to march back to Dublin.

We started our march back to Dublin, and there were rumours as we got near the intersection of Charlemont Road with Howth Road that the police and military were on the Clontarf Road. The column was then diverted by Charlemont Road to Malahide Road, when we saw police and military on the road in front of us. Our column halted, and the leaders parleyed with the police. Outstanding on our side was Thomas MacDonagh, who was Commandant of the 2nd Battalion. I think all the Volunteer leaders took an active part in the gun-running in some capacity.

Some of the police advanced and tried to force their way through us, because at that time the police could almost make any crowd run if they drew their batons, but they were not let through. Some of them were inclined to be friendly, some were a bit frightened, and some were hostile. As a matter of fact, there were a few men in the D.M.P. sacked after that for being too friendly. With some of them all their sympathies were with us. After a while we saw the King's Own Scottish Borderers kneeling down on one knee and pointing their rifles

at the column - that might indeed be what we saw at the start but in any case while MacDonagh and the British Chief of Police and, I think, the military officer were discussing the matter among themselves, we must have got word to get away through the fields as quietly as possible while the parleying was going on. At that time there were no buildings on the Malahide Road on the right of our column and there was a gate convenient to where we were halted. The opening of the gate faced away from the city, and our men got quietly through there and were able to get away nearly all the rifles. I should mention that that gate through the fields brought us to Croydon Park, which was the headquarters of the Irish Citizen Army, with whom we were not then too friendly. The relationship between us was not very definite at the time, there was a certain amount of hostility and a certain amount of friendliness. The Citizen Army men took some of the rifles from our men to help to store them.

After a while the British police and military officers noticed what had happened and said something to MacDonagh to the effect that the Volunteers had disappeared. Portion of the column was re-formed somewhere near the city, probably around Fairview, and marched to town. Following that the incident of the shootings at Bachelor's Walk occurred, of which I have no personal knowledge, as I remained in the vicinity of Philipsburgh Avenue helping to "dump" rifles.

After the Howth gun-running there was a great influx of recruits into the Volunteers. Young men who had doubted the sincerity of the Volunteers were quite sure of it now, and flocked in. New Companies were formed everywhere. In Fairview "B", "E" and "F" Companies were brought up to full strength. "E" Company took its recruits mainly from around Seville Place and North Wall areas. There was also a small Company, "G" Company, formed in the Glasnevin district

The first officer in charge of "E" Company was Thomas Markham. He was a Civil Servant, and like all the Civil Servants he could not appear publicly. Thomas Weafer became Captain. He was one of the recruits after the gun-running, but his sincerity and his ability for leadership struck everybody, and he became Captain shortly after joining. Some of the men in his Company who became prominent afterwards were Seumas Hughes, late of Radio Éireann, Sean Russell, who became Adjutant and was Adjutant at the time of the Rising. The Company Adjutant at that time was something like the Company Sergeant to-day.

Following the influx into the Volunteers, the whole Volunteer movement was in a very promising state, but the European War was declared a couple of weeks after that, and attempts made by John Redmond previously to capture the Volunteers for his own political purposes were continued. Then there was Redmond's promise to the British Government to use the Volunteers for the British Government, and that caused the split, which was a very serious thing. I cannot give you the actual date of the split. We were beginning to get arms then from British soldiers. Following the outbreak of the European War there was recruiting in Ireland by the British Government. They held posts around Dublin, and a lot of these were manned by men some of whom would sell their rifles for a drink, and some of them would just hand the rifles over to the Volunteers because they were the Volunteers.

The split depleted our Companies very much. The majority went with Redmond. We aimed at having one hundred men in the Company at the time, and in "F" Company about sixty went with Redmond and forty remained with us. At the time of the split tempers were a bit frayed, and men felt very keenly. It was a time of great sadness, tears were shed at the

meetings when the split took place. The Companies made their decisions at meetings at which votes were taken, and each of these meetings was presided over by a man sent down from Headquarters. The man who presided at the meeting of "F" Company was Frank Fahy, the present Ceann Comhairle, and his conduct at the meeting earned the approbation of both sides.

Most of the men who remained loyal continued, but it was heartbreaking for a while because, naturally, some of them got discouraged and fell away and the numbers diminished for a while. We went ahead with our training and appointed our new officers and N.C.O.s. There had been about twenty long Lee-Enfield rifles in "F" Company previous to the split. I believe they had been supplied by Headquarters. They had not been given out to the men but were in the keeping of the Quartermaster of the Company, who took the Redmond side. Representatives of both sides of "F" Company met after the Split to arrange the division of the Company's property in the ratio of the numbers on each side. I was one of these representatives and we succeeded in securing most, if not all, of these rifles by foregoing a mutually agreed share of the rest of the assets. M.W. O'Reilly was the other representative of the "MacNeill side".

After the Split the Volunteer organisation had a weekly newspaper called the "Irish Volunteer". I think it was edited by John MacNeill himself. It was very well written and I believe was responsible for attracting a number of new men into the Companies. The publicity from that newspaper and Pearse's pamphlets succeeded in getting a number of new men into the movement and these were of a very good type. It was felt that these men could be depended on, because they knew what they were doing when they joined. Possibly a lot of them thought beforehand that it was all political bluff.

The arming went ahead. Small arms, including revolvers and a few automatics, were imported secretly and distributed. Rifles became available in different ways, sometimes by bribing soldiers in barracks. Arms and military equipment were also on sale to a limited extent at Lawlors, Fownes Street, and at Whelans, Upper Ormond Quay. Training was intensified, with plenty of route marching and manoeuvring in small parties across country.

Some time before the Rising, I cannot place the date but I suppose it would be about six months before the Rising, the Irish Volunteers held a recruiting campaign to offset the recruiting campaign of the British. The Volunteer recruiting campaign was a remarkable success. The man who stood out most prominently in that campaign was Thomas MacDonagh. Some of the Unionist and pro-British papers said at the time that if they had a public speaker like MacDonagh on their side they would have thousands of young Irishmen in the British Army. This campaign strengthened our forces greatly. Some of the men who had taken the Redmond side at the Split returned to us.

Some time in 1915 I was elected Captain of "F" Company, when M.W. O'Reilly, Captain following the Split, was transferred to the Brigade Staff as, I think, Assistant Brigade Adjutant. Owing to the fact that I was not a member of the I.R.B. there was a delay on the part of G.H.Q. in appointing the date of the election for Company Captain, as it was anticipated that the members would elect me. Oscar Traynor was elected 1st Lieutenant, and Patrick Sweeney, now deceased, 2nd Lieutenant. Sweeney had been Q.M. before he was appointed 2nd Lieutenant, and he continued to do a good deal of Q.M.'s work. Amongst the N.C.O.s we had Harry Colley, I think he was Company Adjutant at the time of the Rising, Major Charlie Saurin, Arthur Shields of the Abbey Theatre, and John Ward. The late Harry Boland was a member of "F" Company.

That brings us up to the end of 1915, and we intensified our drilling, marching and had lectures in the Company. Our officers were trained along with the other officers of the Brigade. Lectures were held every week at Brigade Headquarters, generally on a Saturday night. Brigade Headquarters was first in Kildare Street, for some time in Pearse Street (opposite Tara Street) and afterwards at No. 2 Dawson Street. We were lectured there by Pearse, MacDonagh our own Commandant, Ceannt, Major John MacBride and Monteith, who was a 1st Battalion instructor and officer. James Connolly also lectured us on Street Fighting, of which it was said he had had experience in Mexico. He held that the British would never use artillery against the buildings in the city owing to the amount of English money invested in such property. As far as I remember everybody going to those lectures was armed with a revolver; it was quite common to come armed to the Volunteer parades. Amongst the men who attended those lectures were Dick McKee, afterwards O.C. of the Brigade, and Peadar Clancy.

At these meetings the officers were gradually brought to the realisation that there would be a rising soon, without being told so in actual words. It was the preparation of minds more than anything else. Discipline was emphasised at almost every meeting, and the importance of the closed mouth was very successfully instilled into the men. An example of this is the fact that two officers who attended these meetings were punished for breaches of discipline. They were reduced in rank for the time being. Their rank was restored with great ceremony by Thomas MacDonagh a week or two before the Rising. This is to emphasise what the discipline was like. In my opinion the discipline was marvellous.

There were other meetings of officers besides the Saturday night meetings. There was one about three months

before the Rising, which I think must have been a meeting of the Second Battalion officers because it was presided over by Thomas MacDonagh. I was there, my brother Leo Henderson was there, Oscar Traynor and others whose names I cannot now remember were there. At that meeting Thomas MacDonagh told us definitely that there was going to be a Rising. He did not say when, but he said it would be in the near future. He told us it would be an all-Ireland Rising, that we would not win, but that we would keep fighting the British for so long that we would attract world-wide attention. He said the fight would start in the cities, that as far as we were concerned it would be in Dublin, that after about a week's time we would be driven out of the city and we would take to the country, where we would put up a great fight for some time, but that eventually we would have to capitulate. MacDonagh also told us that this would be followed later by another fight, in which we would not be successful but would be nearly successful and from which we would get the greater part of what we were seeking. They were prophetic words. MacDonagh said that the first fight would stir the young men who were not with us as yet, and that we would have a fight in which practically the whole country would take part, that the whole country would rise the second time and it would be a fight of a different nature. As it turned out the second fight did not take place as soon after the first as he appeared to me to think, although, of course, preparations began immediately the survivors were able to pick up the threads of organisation.

There was another meeting at No. 2 Dawson Street on a Saturday night about a couple of weeks, at the most three weeks, before the Rising. I think every officer of the Dublin Brigade was present at that meeting. Some of the men at the meeting were in uniform and some were not. We were

addressed, as well as I can remember, by Eamon Ceannt who spoke to us about preparations for battle. MacDonagh also spoke as well as Ceannt, because I think both of them mentioned what they had done. For example, they said they had provided themselves with raincoats, leggings and marching boots. Ceannt mentioned that he had made his Will. There was a short pause, Pearse came in, and, after a dramatic silence of a few moments while he stood with his head down, he raised his head quickly and said, "Is every man here prepared to meet his God?" He said it not loudly but with the force of tremendous seriousness. After that, Pearse proceeded to tell us that any man who was not in earnest now was his time to get out. Only a very small number, one or two men, did not turn up after that. Pearse said more, but that is all I can remember.

As regards the defence of meetings, the Headquarters staff themselves used to meet weekly, I think on Wednesday nights. Men were detailed at these meetings to guard against surprise, and cordons were thrown out to the different police barracks and to Dublin Castle, with a system of relays so that word could be got to Headquarters if any unusual activity was observed. These men were armed with revolvers. I was made Battalion Scout Commander, and I think it was by virtue of that position that I had charge of this business. I find from my notes that I used to have men from "E" and "F" Companies in turn, and perhaps sometimes together. I find also from my notes that this duty commenced on Wednesday, 25th August, 1915, and was continued on every Wednesday evening for some time. I do not know what date it was discontinued, but it went on up to fairly close to the Rising. I think that a similar system was followed for the meetings of officers.

In the meantime raids for arms and explosives were being

carried out by the Volunteers. There was a notable raid on the London North Western Railway at the North Wall, which was conducted personally, I think, by Captain Weafer of "E" Company. I knew about the raid but I was not on it. They got a number of British military rifles. Small quantities of explosives were got in some other places.

On Whit Sunday, 1915, there was a train excursion to Limerick on which the Dublin Companies went down with arms and ammunition, and those who had uniforms wore them. Each Volunteer paid his own fare. We had a recruiting march around Limerick and we marched through Irishtown. At that time a lot of the men from there were serving in the British forces and we had a very hostile reception. We had all sorts of missiles thrown at us. Not alone were Volunteers from Dublin on that excursion, but there were also Volunteers from Tipperary and Limerick Counties, and I think from Cork and Kerry, taking part in it. There was a Company from Galbally and a Company from Ballylanders; they were strongholds of the Irish Volunteers. During the march some women ran in and tried to tear the uniforms off the men, some spat in their faces. We managed to keep our ranks, but the trouble started again when we re-formed to go home, and sticks and stones were produced. Some of the Redemptorist priests came along, got up on some prominent places and appealed to the crowd not to have bloodshed. We got away eventually, and only a few men were hurt. We had very strict orders that we should not injure anybody, because if we did it would only do harm to our cause. We got back to Dublin safely without further incident.

On a Saturday night in February, 1916, there was a raid for arms by the police in Great Brunswick Street, now Pearse Street. The raid was on the house of the Fitzgeralds, who were prominent Volunteers in the 3rd Battalion. There were

orders at the time that we were to defend our arms in our homes, and the Fitzgeralds would not admit the police. Word was got around and the mobilisation of the Brigade took place. The 2nd Battalion mobilised around Ballybough; all arms and ammunition were brought out and it looked for a while as if the Rising was going to take place that night. Men were prepared for it, and not alone arms and ammunition, but military equipment of all sorts was brought out, and we waited in disciplined groups in the streets at Fairview and Ballybough, the other Battalions in their own areas. I suppose we must have been a couple of hours on the streets. I do not know whether the police went away or not, but in any case we got the order to dismiss. The men were told that night to be prepared for anything, and I believe, from what I heard afterwards, that the event very nearly precipitated the Rising. That was a great test of the men themselves, because there was always the doubt before that as to how many men would turn out when it would come to the point.

Another event was the review in College Green on St. Patrick's Day, 1916, when Eoin MacNeill, who was Chief of Staff, took the salute. All the Companies of the Dublin Brigade took part in it and it was a great success. All traffic was held up for a few hours. The men were well drilled, and were what we at the time thought well armed. This review hardened discipline, strengthened the spirit of the Volunteers, and also got us some recruits.

One incident, which is worth recording, took place during that review. Some British military officers coming from the Castle tried to get through. The 3rd Battalion was at the flank nearest the Castle, where the military officers came and were held up by the 3rd Battalion in charge of Eamon de Valera. The British officers insisted that they would not be turned

aside, but Eamon de Valera was just as insistent that they would not get through. It looked for some time as if it was going to be nasty. De Valera said he would use force, if necessary, and eventually the officers thought better of it and went off.

The actual review was preceded by a march around town. I was in charge of "F" Company, and we numbered forty-four men there that day. We had been left with about forty men at the time of the Split and it fell away after that, so we were delighted to get forty-four out on that parade. The number of men of "F" Company who went into action in Easter Week was 65. About half were in the G.P.O. area and the other half in Jacob's area.

I referred to a number of outstanding events which led up to establishing the spirit of the Volunteers and hardening them for the fight. I might also mention the Bodenstown Pilgrimages. In the few years preceding the Rising they were re-organised on a military basis and the Volunteers really took charge of them. No alone would there be Dublin Volunteers at those pilgrimages, but there would be Volunteers from Kildare, Wexford and possibly some from the South but I cannot say for certain. These things all helped to harden the spirit of the Volunteers for the coming fight

On Sunday, 1st August, 1915, the O'Donovan Rossa funeral took place, when Rossa's body was brought from America and re-interred here. The Volunteers took charge and appeared in uniform - those who had them - under their military leaders, with arms, ammunition and equipment. That was the occasion on which Pearse made his famous oration at Glasnevin.

It was about this time also at a Sunday morning parade in a field at Little Finglas that revolvers were distributed for the first time. They were mostly .32 revolvers, and they were distributed by one of the Plunkett brothers, I think it was George Plunkett. This was after the Redmond split, but I cannot give the date.

Another rather important event was a raid on the 2nd Battalion Headquarters at the Father Mathew Park in Fairview on a Sunday afternoon by the Dublin Metropolitan Police. That raid took place a very short time before the Rising, only a matter of weeks before it. Some Wexford Volunteers had come up to town and were taking ammunition away in a motor car. The car was stopped in College Green by the D.M.P. during a traffic jam. Probably the car was followed from the place where the ammunition was picked up, in Liam Cullen's house in Philipsburgh Avenue. Cullen was a member of "F" Company; he was also an important I.R.B. man. Cullen's house was adjacent to the Father Mathew Park, the Headquarters of the 2nd Battalion. Immediately following that the police raided the Father Mathew Park. At that time there was a miniature rifle range there which was used all day on Sundays. There were a good many Volunteers in the place at the time, and Oscar Traynor, 1st Lieutenant of "F" Company, took charge of the proceedings, barred the gate and refused entrance to the police. He told them that any of them attempting to come in would be shot. Meantime men were sent around the city to collect all the Volunteers they could, and in a short time most of the Companies of the 1st and 2nd Battalions had come, as well as some of the prominent leaders. As far as I can remember MacDonagh came, but at a later stage. I think The O'Rahilly was there.

I myself was in Parnell Street, round about the Rotunda, when I heard about the raid. I got the word from a Volunteer who is now a priest in England, Father Tom Donoghue. There were calls to Tom Clarke's shop, which was quite close, and some men were picked up there. We proceeded to Father Mathew Park. The police retreated after a while and did not attempt to force their way in.

That raid was another of the events which helped to

strengthen the morale and determination of the Volunteers.

The Headquarters of the Battalion had changed from the Clann na hÉireann hall to Father Mathew Park, Philipsburgh Avenue. The Father Mathew Park adjoined Croydon Park, where the Irish Citizen Army trained. At what date the Father Mathew Park was taken over as Headquarters I cannot say, but it would not have been very long after the formation of the Volunteers, because the Clann na hÉireann hall was small, and there was no outdoor parade ground attached to it. The Howth gun-running was in July, 1914, and it was in the Father Mathew Park that the Volunteers assembled that morning, so that it was taken over some time previous to July, 1914.

Training:

Training included foot drill, extended order drill, marching, including night marching, scouting and moving across country in small bodies.

There was a branch of Cumann na mBan attached to the 2nd Battalion at that time, and they drilled also in Father Mathew Park. Their drill included marching, stretcher drill, cleaning and care of rifles and first-aid. I drilled them for some time.

A miniature rifle range was established in the Father Mathew Park. It was used mainly on Sundays by different Companies of the Battalion, and probably the 1st Battalion also practised there.

There had been some earlier training at Larkfield in Kimmage before the Split, but that was very far from us. There was a miniature rifle range at Larkfield also.

Ball ammunition was fired at Croydon Park, which adjoined

the Father Mathew Park, on a range belonging to the Irish Citizen Army. By arrangement the Volunteers were allowed to fire some ball ammunition.

Thomas MacDonagh took over charge of the 2nd Battalion actively, and he instilled discipline, punctuality and sobriety into the Volunteers. He was very particular as regards these three things. One of the things that he often said regarding punctuality was that the Volunteers when told to mobilise at a certain place at a certain time should arrive on parade as if they had come out of the ground, so that if a stranger was on the spot two or three minutes before the appointed hour there would be nothing unusual to be seen. The Volunteers were to appear as if out of nowhere. That was very important training, and it was a feature of the Volunteers, even the pre-1916 Volunteers. They saw the importance of it and took various measures to ensure punctuality such as correct timing of watches, knowing the time necessary to walk to and from different points in the city, etc.

Another thing MacDonagh did was to select men to serve as engineers, that is to say men employed at any of the building, or engineering or allied trades. They were organised in engineering groups in the Companies and were given lectures and training in military engineering.

After the Redmondite split Tom Hunter was Vice Commandant of the 2nd Battalion, and he fulfilled his duties well. He was very well liked and he was a great help to MacDonagh. In addition to MacDonagh's appointment as O.C. of the Battalion he had a G.H.Q. appointment and was very often not able to be present at the various Battalion events, but Tom Hunter took charge in MacDonagh's absence. Hunter had been Captain of "B" Company after the Split.

Organisation:

The Company aimed at having one hundred men. There was a Captain, 1st Lieutenant and 2nd Lieutenant, these were the commissioned ranks. In addition we had a Company Adjutant, Quartermaster, four Section Leaders and eight Squad Leaders. There was a first-aid squad attached to each Company.

The organisation of the Company included a mobilisation system, which was a very important thing. The idea was to be able to get all men, with their equipment, on parade at a certain spot in the shortest possible time. This was the way we worked it in "F" Company and it was much the same in every other Company - The Company roll was divided into mobilisation groups. These groups were not the same as the Sections or Squads; they varied in size and were made up according to the locality in which the men lived. Theoretically the Companies were formed on a territorial basis and belonged to certain districts, but in actual fact, while each Company centred on a certain district, they were spread over different parts of the city, because one man might bring along a friend who lived in another part of the city. One man in every group was charged with knowing every man within his group, his house, his place of work, his haunts, and the reliable members of his family with whom a message could be left if the man was not at home.

A very steady reliable man in the Company, whom we termed "the Pivot" was responsible, on receiving a mobilisation order from the Captain, for getting in touch immediately with the men in charge of each mobilisation group and setting the machinery in motion. "The Pivot" reported to the Captain when each group mobiliser had carried out his portion of the system and given a satisfactory account of his calls on the men in his group. The system included arrangements for substitutes in case of sickness or other such accidental happenings among

group mobilisers, and for the subdivision of groups if they were too large for one man to manage alone.

This system worked very well, and we prided ourselves in "F" Company - the other Companies were the same - that it was foolproof. We had surprise mobilisations and they worked well. The danger of being called out by irresponsible people, or on a false alarm, was got over by the fact that everybody knew everybody else so well and the men knew who their mobilisation leaders were. The mobilisation leaders were trusted men, who would not act until they got orders from their superior officers.

In the beginning the mobilisers had written lists, until they got them off by heart, and as well as I can remember these lists were soon destroyed because they knew exactly where to go.

Brigade Headquarters also organised an insurance scheme, which was called "An Cumann Cosanta", for the protection of men who were victimised for being members of the Volunteers. Michael O'Hanrahan had charge of that scheme. He was executed for the part he took in the Rising.

Thomas MacDonagh, during the course of his training and his talks to the men, informed them that quite a number of prominent doctors had been approached and had promised to co-operate in the event of hostilities breaking out. He also told the men that arrangements had been made for looking after the relatives of those who might be killed or injured. That information was a relief to men who were worrying about their dependents.

Some time before the Rising an incident occurred, of which Thomas MacDonagh took advantage to give us a warning about discipline. The Irish Citizen Army held a parade - I forget the occasion of the parade - and there was either interference or threatened interference by the British. It looked as if

there would be trouble, and a number of Volunteers went to Beresford Place, where the Irish Citizen Army used to parade, and identified themselves with the parade. MacDonagh availed of that incident to impress on the men that they should take orders from their own officers only. He mentioned that the Irish Citizen Army was a friendly army. There was a good understanding between the Volunteers and the Irish Citizen Army at the time.

Arms, Uniforms and Equipment:

Uniforms and equipment had to be purchased by the men themselves. In every Company an arms fund was established, and the men paid into it. Men who were unable to purchase their own arms were helped from this fund. Almost every man in "F" Company was armed in some way or another. I cannot say now how many rifles we had, but there were rifles, bayonets and a fair amount of ammunition. There were also shotguns and revolvers in the Company. The ordinary sporting cartridges for the shotguns were emptied and refilled with buckshot. We did that within the Company, mainly at the house of Volunteer Terry Simpson at Goosegreen, whose two sisters were members of Cumann na mBan and took part in the Rising as well as himself.

As regards equipment, the question of whether a man had a uniform or not depended on his means, but practically everybody had a bandolier, haversack and ammunition pouches. We had a fair number of uniforms in the Company. Whipcord breeches were very common, they were either green or a neutral colour. We also had some converted R.I.C. greatcoats, which were waterproof and were very serviceable.

Coming up near the Rising, men were encouraged to get emergency rations. First we were encouraged to get Horlick's

Malted Milk Tablets, tinned beef, chocolate and cheese. One thing of importance that every Volunteer was exhorted to carry was a box of matches.

The Rising:

Large scale manoeuvres were notified to the Volunteers for some time previous to Easter Week, 1916. The people were used to seeing men going around carrying arms in military formation, and carrying out manoeuvres even in the city, so that nobody took any particular notice after a while.

In connection with these manoeuvres it was notified that they were to be on a larger scale than usual; that all arms, ammunition and equipment were to be carried; that men who had not been in the habit of parading openly with their Companies, such as Civil Servants, men employed by such firms as Guinness's who might be victimised, would be mobilised. These men would not march with their Companies but would keep near them on the footpath and their arms would be carried by other members of the Company. The orders were to carry several days' rations, I do not know whether the number of days was specified. The officers of "F" Company, probably on the recommendation of Thomas MacDonagh, decided to issue printed mobilisation slips on this occasion.

The mobilisation order was issued about a fortnight before the Rising. The word of the mobilisation came gradually, it was just mentioned, and then more about it the following week in greater detail. That brought us up to Holy Week, and during that week the Companies of the 2nd Battalion were paraded in strength on their parade nights in Father Mathew Park. "C" Company, however, may have been paraded in their usual hall in 25 Parnell Square. Each Company in turn was addressed by Thomas MacDonagh on the different parade nights. In these addresses,

which were very impressive, MacDonagh did not actually say that there was going to be a fight, but I do not think anybody was left under any misunderstanding. Each of these addresses was like the final exhortation of a General to his troops before going into battle. MacDonagh gave no direct indication that there was going to be a Rising, but most of the men guessed from what he said that it was coming off. The officers who were members of the I.R.B. probably knew definitely that it was coming off. I knew, although I was not told directly and I was not a member of the I.R.B. at the time.

The Companies of the 2nd Battalion at that time were "B", "C", "E", "F", and "G" Companies. There was also probably a "D" Company, consisting of men who were on night work and men like grocers' assistants who would be working late and who could only come on parade on Sunday mornings, but whether it actually existed at the time of the Rising or not I do not know for sure. My impression is that there was a Company which embraced such men in the 1st and 2nd Battalions. Men like Paddy Moran, who was afterwards hanged, and Martin Savage belonged to it. After the Rising it was formally known as "D" Company of the 2nd Battalion, but beforehand it seemed to embrace both the 1st and 2nd Battalions.

During Holy Week stores of ammunition and equipment began to be kept in the pavilion in the Father Mathew Park, and during the latter end of the week there were all-night armed guards on these stores.

As far as I know there is not much known about the original plans for Easter Week. I was told after the Rising by Dick McKee, later O.C. of the Dublin Brigade, that he was to have seized Trinity College with his Company. He was in charge of "G" Company, and he was to have established communication with the 3rd Battalion through Lincoln Place and Westland Row, and

that I, with "F" Company, was to have seized the Bank of Ireland. We would then dominate that portion of the city and the approaches towards the centre from Dublin Castle. I have an impression that Dick McKee knew of those plans from Thomas MacDonagh.

It might be no harm to mention at this stage that after one of the parades in Father Mathew Park during Holy Week, Thomas MacDonagh asked me if I would accompany him when he was leaving as he wanted to have a chat with me. I was very busy with Company work on that particular night, probably Holy Thursday night, and I asked him if he could excuse me as I had a couple of hours of Company work to do at the time. He did excuse me, saying that he would see me again. He was probably going to tell me of my part in the plans then. I have always regretted not going with him as that was the last time I saw him.

Good Friday was a Bank Holiday. Most of the men were not working and there was great activity in Father Mathew Park, the completion of all Company arrangements for the manoeuvres.

On Good Friday evening I heard that a vessel bearing arms, the "Aud", had been captured somewhere on the South coast. I heard that from my brother Leo, he was in the I.R.B. and I was not. I think the I.R.B. officers knew a good deal about it. There was also something published in the evening papers, I think on Friday, about a stranger having landed on the coast of Kerry and having been brought a prisoner to Dublin. It was rumoured that this stranger was Casement. This may have been Holy Saturday, but I am practically certain it was Good Friday. I heard about the arms ship on Friday and I feel almost certain that I heard about Casement's capture on Friday also from my brother Leo. I was very enthusiastic on Friday until I heard of Casement's capture, the sinking of the "Aud", and later the

mishap to the men at Ballykissane Pier, Killorglin, who had gone to meet Casement, and it seemed to me then that we were going to have a repetition of all the previous insurrections.

I should also mention that Micheál O'Hanrahan, who was Q.M. either of the Battalion or of the Brigade - his actual position has been disputed - was in our house, which adjoined Father Mathew Park, at about seven o'clock on Good Friday evening. He had come to see my brother Leo. I knew O'Hanrahan very well and I said to him as he was going away, "Well, Micheál are we going out on Sunday and not coming back again?". He answered, "Yes, we are going out, and not coming back".

On Saturday preparations continued in Father Mathew Park. The printed mobilisation slips were filled in by Lieutenant Oscar Traynor, who, I think, had printed them, and myself that evening, and were given to the men responsible for distributing them. We spent a good part of that Saturday afternoon making sure that we were leaving none of the Company roll out of the mobilisation. We completed our arrangements then about getting our ammunition and equipment into the Park, as well as collecting the rifles and ammunition of men who had been excused drilling, such as Civil Servants and others in certain business houses which were hostile.

The Captain of "B" Company was Peadar O'Reilly, who was a delicate man. We got word on Saturday that he got a haemorrhage of the lungs, and Leo Henderson, who was Lieutenant, was appointed Captain. O'Reilly was brought to the Mater Hospital. The other officers of "B" Company were Paddy Daly and Micheál Murphy. Eamon ("Bob") Price was Captain of "C" Company; Thomas Weafer was Captain of "E" Company, and Dick McKee was Captain of "G" Company. Captain Liam Breen was one of the Brigade engineering officers, as also was Liam Daly of Phibsboro', not

to be confused with another Liam Daly in "E" Company. Our Battalion first-aid officer was J.J. Doyle. Thomas MacDonagh was a member of G.H.Q. Staff, he was in charge of the 2nd Battalion for the Rising, and Tom Hunter was Vice Commandant of the 2nd Battalion. A good many of the orders came from Hunter on account of MacDonagh's position. Tom Slator was probably Adjutant of the 2nd Battalion.

The 1st Lieutenant of "F" Company was Oscar Traynor. Patrick E. Sweeney was 2nd Lieutenant. I am not sure who was Adjutant, I think it was Harry Colley but I am not sure. Colley was Assistant Adjutant of the Brigade afterwards. Our Q.M. was Patrick(?) Breen, who did not turn out. Charlie Saurin was an N.C.O. in the Company at the time. Captain M.W. O'Reilly had gone from "F" Company to the Brigade Staff about a year before the Rising. The man who acted as "Pivot" in the mobilisation scheme in "F" Company was Sergeant John McQuaid. He afterwards joined the British Army owing to difficulties at home following the Rising. He had been a splendid Volunteer.

In the original mobilisation scheme for the Rising we were to mobilise at Beresford Place. The 2nd Battalion were to march from there to St. Stephen's Green. Thomas MacDonagh had told us that we would be mobilised under the protection of the arms of a friendly army, meaning the Irish Citizen Army. The details of the mobilisation are subject to verification by other people who might remember more, but my recollection is that we were to march across to St. Stephen's Green after mobilising at Beresford Place after dinner on Easter Sunday.

I had been at eight o'clock Mass on Easter Sunday morning, and was having my breakfast when a knock came to the door and a member of the Company, Conway McGinn, came in, produced the "Sunday Independent", and said, "Have you seen this?", showing me the communication which MacNeill had sent to the paper

calling off the parade. After that, to the best of my recollection, a letter came from a friendly local priest drawing attention to MacNeill's order and asking us to obey it.

Some time after, as we were wondering what was going to happen, an order came from our Battalion Headquarters telling us that the manoeuvres were off temporarily, but that all Volunteers were to "stand to arms" and on no account was any man to leave the city. I think that order was a written order. Although MacNeill was Chief of Staff there was no confusion as to what order was to be obeyed, because we were in the habit of receiving orders through our own immediate superior officers. This bears out what I have already said about discipline. Everybody was wondering by this time what was going to happen, because MacNeill was a much respected man. The order to "stand to arms" was conveyed to everybody in the Company through the mobilisation scheme, and men were appointed to do guard duty over the Companies' equipment in the Father Mathew Park, with the usual reliefs. There was a large amount of ammunition and equipment belonging to the different Companies of the 2nd Battalion, and I think also a good deal of 1st Battalion and G.H.Q. equipment, possibly some explosives and electrical equipment stored in the pavilion and outhouses of the Father Mathew Park. That meant that they had to be guarded all night, and the police spies began to be very active that Sunday night while our men were on guard. There was a lot of noise with both sides tramping about, and I got very little sleep that night. I was just beginning to get to sleep between six and seven o'clock in the morning when a message came to me from Tom Hunter, Vice Commandant, asking me to provide him with a number of cyclists, I think he said at ten o'clock that morning. I do not remember what number he wanted, probably eight or nine. I sent back word to Hunter that I was unable to provide him with

the men because we had only a couple of cyclists in our Company. I did not attach any importance to that message, I thought it was merely routine, and went off to sleep.

A further order came from Hunter at about nine o'clock while I was still in bed, to the effect that the Company was to parade with all arms and equipment at St. Stephen's Green at ten o'clock that morning. Tom Hunter must have delivered that message in person, or else he was very near to hand. I said to him as soon as I saw him, which was in a very short time, that it would be impossible to get the Company to Stephen's Green at ten o'clock, and his reply was, "Do your best, and get as many men as you can". There was no doubt then as to what was going to happen, and I proceeded to set the mobilisation scheme in motion. I had to go some distance to get the "Pivot", but I relieved him of some of the work by calling on some of the men on my way to him. I saw McQuaid, the "Pivot", and told him what I had done. I then went home to get ready myself. On my way home I passed Tom Clarke at the Tolka Bridge at Ballybough. He was proceeding on foot towards the city.

McQuaid lived on the East Road, then commonly called the Wharf Road, just at the point where the Great Northern Railway crosses. Some of the men lived as far away as Dominick Street, others as far away as Goose Green and Dollymount.

As the men were being mobilised I got a written order from Paddy Daly, I think he was an officer in "B" Company, probably one of the Lieutenants. The order said to give him one reliable man for a special job, and it was signed by James Connolly. This order was addressed to the Captain of "F" Company, probably my name was on it, and it was nearly ten o'clock when I got it. The special job was the blowing up of the Magazine in the Park, and the man was to report to Garry

Holohan, I cannot remember at what time. They were collecting men from different Companies to carry out this job. The order did not state what the special job was, but I had been told about it some time before by Lieutenant O. Traynor.

I immediately queried the order, and the words I used to Daly were, "Who is James Conndly?" Daly got annoyed, and I reminded him of the warning that had been given to us by Commandant MacDonagh that we were only to take orders from our own superior officers. Daly then said to me, "Look at the other side of the order", and on the other side of the order, which was written on a small single sheet of paper, was a note signed by MacDonagh himself instructing me to carry out any orders given to me by James Connolly. Volunteer Bob Gilligan was then assigned to the job and went off.

A short time previous to handing Volunteer Gilligan to Paddy Daly I had a conference with Tom Hunter as to what the position was, and we decided that I would get half of the Company over to Stephen's Green right away, and keep the other men as they came along to guard the large amount of stores in Father Mathew Park.

About this time people whom we knew to hold important positions in the movement began to arrive and warn us about going out and taking part in something that was not authorised. I knew that the I.R.B. was at the back of everything, and I knew that some of these people were important people in the I.R.B. Sean Lester was one of the men who came along and told us that everything had gone wrong and warned us about taking part in carrying out the mobilisation order. Some of the people who were with Sean Lester told us that there had been some rioting in the town, and that the Irish Citizen Army only had gone into action. I did not know Lester, but I was told by some of the other officers present that the principal

spokesman was Seán Lester, who was a reporter on the "Evening Mail".

This led to a conference of the officers who were present. These officers were: Captain Thomas Weafer, myself Captain Frank Henderson, Captain Leo Henderson, and Lieutenant Oscar Traynor. I had carried out Vice Commandant Hunter's orders to get about half the Company over to Stephen's Green, and they were gone by this time. Captain Weafer and Captain Leo Henderson had done the same in regard to their Companies.

There was a certain amount of indecision as to what was to be done. Lieutenant Traynor was the only one who was in favour of proceeding immediately into town. I knew I was the only officer present who was not a member of the I.R.B., and I felt myself in a rather difficult position. I said, "This thing should be settled by an order from the senior officer present, and the senior officer is Captain Weafer". That was accepted by everybody. Weafer took charge and stated that he would go and see James Connolly personally and get the position cleared, that in the meantime the Volunteers present were to demobilise in small groups and go to certain houses, about half a dozen men to each house. He got the addresses and other particulars of these local houses, which were spread over Fairview and Summerhill on the way to town. I myself went to the house of Volunteer Conroy in Richmond Cottages, Summerhill, and in about half an hour an order came from Weafer to re-mobilise immediately. I cannot be sure what time of the day this order arrived, but I think it may have been before the G.P.O. was taken and that it may have been in Liberty Hall that Weafer saw Connolly.

-We re-mobilised as quickly as possible. Weafer told us that when we re-mobilised we were to proceed to town immediately. Whether it was to the G.P.O. or to Liberty Hall

we were to go I cannot remember at this stage.

Although I do not actually remember it, I am almost certain that a guard was left over the stores, etc., in Father Mathew Park. A horse lorry had been commandeered to carry the heavy stuff to where we were going, and I am almost certain that it was previous to the temporary demobilisation. A difficulty arose about the driver, who got timid, and refused to drive the lorry. After we remobilised a man was got who was both willing and able to take charge of the vehicle.

A few men who had been present when the order for demobilisation was given did not report back. I do not think there would have been more than half a dozen such men, and in some cases the fact that they did not come back was probably due to the difficulty in getting in touch with them.

When we re-assembled, Captain Weafer proceeded to form the column for the march into the city. According to my estimate there would be from 80 to 100 men there. Captain Weafer took charge of the main body, with which was the horse lorry and the various stores. He had from 30 to 50 men in the main body.

The advance guard of about 25 men was in charge of Leo Henderson, Captain of "B" Company, and the rearguard of about 25 men was in charge of myself.

The men in the column were not all from one Company. There were men from "B", "E" and "F" Companies of the 2nd Battalion, and also some 1st Battalion men.

The men in the column were greatly heartened by the action of Father Walter McDonnell, a Curate in Fairview parish, who came into Father Mathew Park, heard Confessions, and gave his blessing to all present before we moved off.

During the time of the temporary demobilisation we noticed that there was a great stream of refugees coming out from the city. It was a very pitiful sight in many ways, because there were families carrying a few belongings, hastily put together. Many of them showed traces of terror. Some of these people gave us heartening news, saying that our people held the city and had already defeated the British in a couple of battles; others told us the direct opposite.

The column finally moved off, at, I think, about three o'clock in the afternoon, but I am not certain of the time. We proceeded from Father Mathew Park down Philipsburgh Avenue, turned right at the junction with Fairview Strand, proceeded over the Tolka Bridge at Ballybough, and along Ballybough Road towards the canal bridge at Summerhill. When the rearguard, of which I was in charge, got on to Ballybough Road, the sound of rifle and machine gun firing was heard, faint at first and then becoming very loud as if it was in close proximity to us. When the rearguard reached the junction of Bayview Avenue with Ballybough Road, I noticed that there was a body of armed men in Bayview Avenue near the North Strand end. I did not know at the time who they were, but I found out afterwards that they were the advance guard who had been sent down that direction by Captain Weafer to engage a British column which was coming from a training camp at the Bull Island, Dollymount, towards the North Strand. Captain Weafer had got information about this British column from scouts. When Captain Weafer came very near the crown of the hill, formed by the bridge crossing the canal, he stopped suddenly and gave me the signal to retreat. I concluded that the British forces were coming along Summerhill and that we were about to be attacked from that direction.

I sent one of my men to Captain Weafer to ask him for

further orders. In the meantime he signalled to me to retreat at the double.

After a short time the man I had sent to Captain Weafer came back and told me that my orders were to seize a position commanding the Tolka Bridge at Ballybough. I proceeded in the direction of the bridge at the double, midst the jeers of some people on the footpath that I was running away.

I was making up my mind what position I should seize, and, as I saw that Captain Weafer was retreating with the main body, I decided to cross the river and seize a house, part of which was occupied by Gilbeys, Ltd., as a shop and wine store. It was a two-storey house and was occupied as a residence by an old lady and her daughter, as well as by Gilbeys, Ltd. It had a good commanding position in regard to the Tolka Bridge, and there was a window on the Fairview side of it which commanded a view of the approach from Fairview, along Fairview Strand towards the bridge. I had noticed this house before, because we had been instructed to watch out for buildings with commanding positions.

We had to turn the old lady and her daughter out of the house, and I immediately proceeded to sandbag the windows and to put the house into the best condition we could for defence. Meanwhile there had been very heavy firing fairly close to us, but we could see no British troops. By the time we had the house ready for defence and got our men in positions at the windows the firing had stopped. There was dead silence all around, and not a soul to be seen on the streets.

I tried to find out what the position was as regards Captain Weafer, but I could not see him or any of his men. I never saw him again. I learned afterwards from some of the men who were with Captain Weafer's part of the column, that

three or four positions between North William Street and Clonliffe Road had been entered by his men, and that when he learned from his scouts that the British column coming from Dollymount had been beaten off and had retreated towards the North Wall, he himself with his men proceeded towards the city. I received no orders or communication from him after his order to seize a position commanding the Tolka Bridge.

I decided to stay where I was and get in communication with G.H.Q. After a while my brother, Leo Henderson, who had been in charge of the advance-guard, came along with his men. He told me that he had been to the G.P.O., that James Connolly had told him to come back and reinforce our garrison, and that I was to remain there until I got further orders.

Some little time after we had seized the house we were now in, we were rejoined by Oscar Traynor, who, during the time between the temporary demobilisation and the present time, had been to G.H.Q. and to the Magazine Fort in the Phoenix Park. Oscar Traynor confirmed the order from James Connolly that we were to stay where we were until further orders reached us. He also told us that the G.P.O. and all O'Connell Street, as well as some of the adjoining streets were in the possession of our forces. Also that Captain Weafer had arrived at the G.P.O., and that he had spoken to him at a barricade in Abbey Street, near the Abbey Theatre.

From time to time we were reinforced by men who had been unable to join their own Companies, but who had been told by people on the streets that there were Volunteers in Fairview. Some of these men were from the 1st Battalion, as well as from our own Battalion.

When it was clear that the intention of G.H.Q. was that we were to remain in Fairview, I decided to occupy another house, so as to gain complete command of the bridge over the

Tolka from the city. The house we decided on was Lambe's public-house, which gave us a complete view of the approach to the bridge from the city, and also defended it from an approach from Drumcondra direction via Richmond Road. Lambe's was on the North-West side of Tolka Bridge, and Gilbeys on the North-East side. The two positions were about fifty yards apart.

We had now three officers in Gilbeys; myself, Oscar Traynor and Leo Henderson. After having a short conference we decided that the three officers would stay in Gilbeys, which, although it was the smaller building of the two we had seized, appeared to us to be a more important one on account of its position. I appointed Sean Russell, who at the time was Adjutant of "E" Company, in charge of the garrison in Lambe's public-house.

We made out the general routine orders of sentries, and tried to arrange times for rest, and so on. We then proceeded to stock our position with food. The first thing we did was to send to a butcher in Fairview, opposite Philipsburgh Avenue, for fresh meat, for which we offered to pay. He refused to give the meat to our men, so we took it by force. We also held up a bread-cart, which, I think, belonged to the D.B.C. We took what we considered was sufficient bread for the time being, and gave the man a receipt in the name of the Irish Republic. The driver of the bread-cart was friendly. We also filled all the available vessels with water. This was in accordance with the instructions we had received from time to time in regard to street fighting.

After a short time we learned that there was a force of men in occupation of the offices of the Wicklow Chemical Manure Company at the junction of North Strand Road and Poplar Row. That was on the city side of the Tolka and was about 200 to 250 yards from our position. We did not know who they

were, but after some time we learned that they were mainly men from the Citizen Army, who had been sent there by James Connolly. This body was in charge of a man named Craven, whose Christian name I cannot remember. He was one of the men who came over from Liverpool. He went to America many years ago. The second in command appeared to be Vincent Poole, a member of the Citizen Army. This was told to me by some men of my Company who had not joined us up to this, and had reported to Craven when they found that he was in action, but who preferred to be with their own Company when they learned that we were at Ballybough. Amongst those who came to me from that position were Harry Colley and the late Harry Boland. I was very glad to get men like Harry Boland and Harry Colley. They were a great help to the men, both by force of example and by their cheerfulness.

During one of our conferences that first evening, I was questioned as to whether we had our line of retreat made out. This was a matter the importance of which was impressed frequently both on officers and men during our training in the period before the Rising. We had a general line of retreat made out, although it would be very difficult to say where we would eventually get to if we had to retreat from the position.

We sent frequent communications to Headquarters reporting on what was taking place, the number of men we had, and the measures we had taken to defend our position.

No incident of note occurred during the night. We could hear the firing going on in the city, but there was no action on our part at all.

The party under Captain Craven at the North Strand Road bridge over the Tolka had skirmishes with a party of British on the Great Northern railway. The British were forming an

armoured train, and the engine had been driven down along the line over the sloblands a few times, while they were equipping the armoured train. Some civilians were killed by fire from the British on the G.N.R.

Nothing further happened during the night.

On Tuesday morning we held up, searched and questioned several suspicious-looking people who were hanging about our position, but without any result.

We had scouts out at all times, and as there were rumours that the British were advancing from the North we had pushed these scouts out as far as Malahide on their bicycles. During the morning these scouts brought us word that British troops had arrived at Malahide; later that they had come as far as Howth Junction and had disentrained there. Later in the day we learned that two forces of British troops were advancing, one along the Malahide Road towards Fairview, and the other along the Swords Road towards Drumcondra.

The armoured train appeared to have gone up towards the North early on Tuesday, and, acting on G.H.Q. orders, we attempted to blow up the G.N.R. line at the sloblands with gelignite. There was only a small quantity of gelignite, and our men were inexperienced in the use of explosives, so we were not very successful. This attempt was made, as far as I can recollect, about midday on Tuesday.

Having thought this over again, I now feel that the attempt to blow up the G.N.R. line was carried out by Craven and on Monday evening. The party he sent to do it included a couple of my own Company who rejoined me later and told me about the attempt. One of these was Harry Colley, who was badly torn by barbed wire at the railway line.

We kept G.H.Q. informed of the movements of the British as our scouts reported. I think G.H.Q. also had reports independent of us. I was aware that they got reports of the general movements of the British through a friendly telephone operator named Matt Costello, who was a member of "B" Company. He was also in touch with us at Fairview on Monday and Tuesday. His reports were made under the name of "Brian Boru".

Later in the day we ourselves decided to attempt to blow up one of the Great Southern and Western railway bridges on Clonliffe Road, as this was an important line leading from the North Wall to Kingsbridge. We had no gelignite with us, but one of our men, Seumas Daly, who lived in Dollymount, had some dumped in his house. We sent out for the gelignite, but we did not get it in time as our orders to vacate the position came before it arrived.

At about six o'clock in the evening our scouts reported to us that we were almost within a pincers between two British forces, one of which had arrived at Drumcondra from Swords, and the other had arrived at or about the junction of Malahide Road with Clontarf Road. This latter body was said to be slowly proceeding towards Fairview.

We prepared for the defence of our position, and addressed our men, preparing them for the fight that appeared to be about to take place. They were all in the best of spirits, determined to do the best they could.

We dispatched a messenger to G.H.Q., informing them of the position. This messenger returned with a written dispatch from James Connolly, in which he congratulated us on the good work which we had done already, and ordering us, if we could possibly do it, to retire immediately on G.H.Q. From the wording of the dispatch, which I read to our men, I am sure

that Connolly thought we would never reach the G.P.O. We had at the time about 66 men, all told, and there was also the force at the North Strand end under Captain Craven, which I think consisted of about 25 men. In the dispatch from James Connolly he made me responsible for conveying the order to Craven's force, who were to follow us to G.H.Q.

We formed up on the road outside Gilbeys, made sure that we had all our arms and ammunition, and marched off. I warned the men before they started that it was going to be a forced march.

When we crossed the river to the city side and were passing by the junction of Clonliffe Road with Ballybough Road, we could see the British troops forming up at the Drumcondra end of Clonliffe Road. Craven's men were at the time coming up from their position, and I sent word to him of the position of the British and told him to take all the care that he could in passing Clonliffe Road.

We were also told by our scouts that the British were in possession of Amiens Street railway station, and that snipers were in the tower of the station.

We had a fair number of rifles, shotguns and revolvers. The rifles were mostly British long Lee Enfields, a few of the short Lee Enfields, a few German Mausers, some Howth Mausers, and there was a fair amount of ammunition for them all.

The British did not fire on us from their position at the Drumcondra end of Clonliffe Road. This may have been due to the fact that we had a few prisoners who were dressed in British uniforms. I think the prisoners had been taken mostly by Craven's party, who picked them up around the place.

We proceeded along Ballybough Road. I marched at the

head of the column, with Lieutenant Oscar Traynor on one side of me and Captain Leo Henderson on the other. As far as I can recollect Sean Russell was in the rear. We were preceded by scouts on bicycles. These were young boys who were able to get around without exciting suspicion, and they kept us informed of the best line of advance, which was straight along Summerhill and Parnell Street until we got to Cumberland Street. The scouts informed us as we were approaching Cumberland Street that the British were at the Parnell Monument, so we could not proceed any further along Parnell Street without being seen by them, as the road takes a bend just there. We accordingly turned left into Cumberland Street, then right into Waterford Street, and left into Marlborough Street. The danger point in Marlborough Street was the crossing over at Talbot Street, on account of the British forces being in the G.N.R. station. However, we got across without any casualties, turned right into Sackville Place, at the O'Connell Street end of which we encountered the barricades which had been erected by the Republican forces.

Firing was coming into O'Connell Street, apparently from the Parnell Monument direction and from the O'Connell Bridge direction.

We halted when we came to the barricades. Oscar Traynor dashed across the road in a zig-zag fashion, reported our arrival, and asked what we were to do. He returned with orders that we were to get across the road in small groups. We got across and under the portico of the G.P.O. without casualty. On the way across I noticed barbed wire barricades at the Pillar. There was also an overturned tram-car serving as a barricade at North Earl Street. There were other barricades between Abbey Street and O'Connell Bridge.

When we arrived under the portico of the G.P.O. where the

front entrance then was, we were fired on by our own forces who were in possession of the Imperial Hotel over Clerys. This was apparently due to the fact that we still had prisoners in British uniforms, and these had to dash across the road, the same as ourselves, and some of the men who were at the windows assumed that the British were attacking. A few of our men were slightly injured, and some confusion ensued as some of our men replied, without waiting for an order, to the fire which was coming from the Imperial Hotel. At this point James Connolly rushed out of the G.P.O., stood out on the road, held out his arms and shouted to the men in the Imperial Hotel that we were friendly troops and not to fire any more. The firing then stopped. I noticed that a couple of light cables of wire or rope stretched from the G.P.O. to the Imperial Hotel, and that they were used for conveying communications in small cans or boxes to and fro. These continued in use until destroyed by enemy fire.

James Connolly was dressed in the dark green uniform of the Citizen Army, with, I think, slacks of the same colour, and he had the slouch hat of the Irish Citizen Army, caught up at one side.

We then proceeded into the G.P.O. where we were addressed by Pearse, who was also in uniform. Pearse stood up on a large table in the public hall of the G.P.O., congratulated us on what we had already done, and prepared us for what was to come. We were all very deeply moved by his address.

We observed that the inside of the G.P.O. was prepared in a military fashion for siege or attack, windows were sandbagged and men were in position at them. The Cumann na mBan had a field hospital in a room just off the main hall. G.H.Q. officer appeared to be in consultation in the main hall, repairs and alterations to which had just been completed before the Rising.

Immediately outside the G.P.O. there were barbed wire and other obstacles, placed so as to hold up any force that would attack the building. There were also Republican Police in front of the G.P.O. These were ordinary Volunteers who had just been given military police duties. I think some of them had some kind of batons but I am not quite sure. They had to question anybody coming in towards the entrance, and they were also to keep looters and inquisitive people away. They had to question anybody leaving the post office as well.

After Pearse's address he handed us over to James Connolly, who, he told us, would issue orders to us.

Connolly first sent some of our men across the road to reinforce the garrison in the Imperial Hotel. I think that only a small number of men went over, probably not more than ten or twelve. Connolly then sent a party of about 22 men into the Metropole Hotel in charge of Lieutenant Oscar Traynor, and he ordered me to proceed with my brother, Leo Henderson, and about 22 men to Henry Street. There were no Republican forces in Henry Street at that time. Our orders were to make entries at two different points into the buildings flanking the G.P.O., and to erect two barricades, one at the O'Connell Street side of Moore Street and the other at the far side of Moore Street. One entry was to be made at McDowell's jewellery shop and the other at Bewley's provision shop. McDowell's shop at that time would be where the G.P.O. Arcade is now, and Bewley's would be about where Woolworth's is now. We were to enter these premises and make sure that any civilians who were in them were sent away. We were to put the buildings in a state of defence, and to bore through the walls, first to one another, then to the G.P.O., and then West towards Arnotts.

As we went round to Henry Street there was not any great firing in O'Connell Street, but we went around in single file,

hugging the wall. It was comparatively safe then in O'Connell Street. When we got round into Henry Street there did not appear to be any danger from fire by the enemy.

Remembering my experience in Fairview, when we had to turn people out of the houses when seizing them, I was very glad to find that the places we were to seize in Henry Street had already been vacated, with the exception of Bewley's stores where there was a caretaker who was inclined to give a little trouble in the beginning, possibly from a sense of duty. At the same time he did not appear to be friendly disposed to us, but he had no choice in the matter. It might be well to mention about Henry Street, that right opposite Moore Street was the Coliseum Theatre and from that point down to near Arnotts the upper portions of the houses were used as residentia flats. I ordered my brother to take charge of the entry at McDowell's shop, and I remained at the Bewley's shop entry myself.

As soon as we made the entry, I detailed men to fill all available vessels with water, and to take up position on the second storey and to break the windows on that storey. This was in accordance with the directions we had received during training.

I also sent a party of men out to collect all the food they could get in the provision shops in Henry Street. As Henry Street was a centre for provision shops we obtained all we wanted of food that would keep. We sent large supplies of it to the G.P.O., retaining enough for our own garrison's use.

We proceeded to raid stores in Henry Lane to get tools for boring through the walls of the houses. We got the necessary tools in some of the stores there. We also proceeded to erect the barricades ordered by James Connolly, and we had to use

whatever was at hand. The barricade that I personally supervised was the one at the West side of Moore Street. There was a tailor's shop close by in which there was a very good stock of cloth, which we brought out in bales to form the foundation for the barricade. The mob was fairly thick around Moore Street and Henry Street, and they proceeded to run away with the bales of cloth as quickly as we put them in position. In order to try and stop this, I ordered shots to be fired over the heads of the mob, but they had by this time got so used to the shooting that they did not mind it. I then ordered the men with bayonets to fix bayonets and charge the crowd but on no account actually to use the bayonets. This had the desired effect.

The boring of the walls was started at the same time. Leo Henderson worked from his position towards the post office, and I worked from Bewleys towards him. As it was very urgent to effect a passage right through to the post office we worked at it all night. Our work was made very easy by the fact that we had five brothers named Ring, four of whom were carpenters. We also had a friend of theirs named James Hunter, who was experienced in building work, and he was a great help. Their services were invaluable for the boring, especially when we came to the Coliseum wall, which was unusually thick. Following the instructions which we had received during lectures, we staggered the breaches in the wall as far as possible. By Wednesday morning we had a passage made from Bewleys right through to the post office. We then proceeded in the other direction, towards Arnotts. However, before this passage was complete, some time during the night, I received an order to report to Pearse in the G.P.O.

Having reported progress, at which he seemed pleased, Pearse ordered me to take a party of men and erect barricades

in Henry Place and Moore Lane, in order to hold up any attempt by the British to advance by the back lane from Parnell Street and Moore Street. We completed this work in the darkness of the night in deserted streets, and reported back when it was finished. That brings us to Wednesday morning.

We continued to work hard at the borings in the direction of Arnotts.

The mob, who appeared to be seized with looting madness, gave us a lot of trouble during the early part of the day, but when the firing began to increase as the day went on they began to ease off. There were some casualties amongst the looters.

The attitude of the civilians towards us was mixed. Some were very hostile and some were friendly. A milk-man brought us milk two or three times during the day. He came again on Thursday. He volunteered to do this and refused to accept any payment. After about midday on Thursday we saw him no more. It would not then have been possible for him to get near the place.

The front of the Coliseum Theatre commanded the approach via Moore Street from Parnell Street, and we took special care to have a constant look-out from the windows and to have men ready to deal with any situation that might arise there.

Later in the day, Henry Street seemed to be raked with machine gun fire from both ends. The firing appeared to come from the tower of Amiens Street railway station and from Capel Street. British snipers were also very busy from this on. We tried to locate them from the roofs of our own buildings, but I do not know that we were successful. There was apparently one stationed about McBirneys, and several times he very nearly inflicted casualties on us while we were on the roofs.

At this period many non-combatants were killed in Moore Street and Henry Street. Among these was the father of Eimer O'Duffy, who apparently was running from Moore Street into Henry Street to escape fire from the direction of Parnell Street when he ran into a burst of machine gun fire. He died in the middle of the road, and was attended to spiritually by Father John Flanagan, who was attached to the Pro-Cathedral. Father Flanagan was later Canon Flanagan of Fairview. He was one of the bravest men I ever met. He attended Mr. O'Duffy and others in the middle of the street while the firing was going on. He also came into the post office and gave spiritual aid to the men there.

During the afternoon James Connolly came to my position through the passage we had made via the walls, and ordered me to have ready for him in about five minutes' time eight or ten - I am not quite sure of the number now - of the best men that I had. He said that he was going to lead them down to Liffey Street to try to dislodge a British party who were reported to have occupied some buildings there, and to have cut off some men whom Connolly had sent down via Abbey Street. As many of the men under my command at this time were not of my own Company and were unknown to me, I could only afford to select half of the number required from the men I knew. The others whom I selected appeared to me to be the best of the strangers. I had in mind that although I was giving Connolly a party of men, I was still responsible for the defence of the buildings I was in. I told off these men, lined them up and explained to them what they were required to do, and went away to complete some other task.

When Connolly appeared again, half of the men I had selected were not to be found. Connolly angrily demanded of me why I had not obeyed his order. I explained to him that

I did not know all the men under my command at the time, and that, bearing in mind my responsibility as regards the position I was in, I had given him as many of my own men as I could reasonably afford, which would be about half the number he had asked for. I told Connolly that I could depend absolutely on my own men, but that the others did not appear to be as well disciplined, and that I did not know what had happened to them. Connolly accepted my excuse, but ordered me to have the full number of men ready in about three minutes' time. I then selected men to replace the missing men, and everything was in order when Connolly came again.

Amongst the men of this party were Tom Ennis, later Commandant of the 2nd Battalion and in charge of the burning of the Custom House; Sean Kerr, a member of a well known Republican family in Liverpool; Patrick Shortis, who was killed in Moore Street at the time of the evacuation of the post office, and Patrick Lynch, who died last year. These were all first-class men.

With this party Connolly went out into Henry Street, while it was still under fire. He led the party in single file down to Liffey Street and seized some buildings there. He had some skirmishing with the enemy and was out all that night, returning the following morning via Abbey Street. I believe that Connolly succeeded in dislodging some party of the enemy and also in rescuing his own party who had been cut off. Amongst those in the party who were cut off was the late Sean Milroy.

I later discovered the men who had been missing from my post, and spoke to them very severely about absenting themselves. Their action, I believe, was entirely due to lack of appreciation of the importance of discipline.

During this day, Wednesday, rumours were very prevalent that the Germans were in Dublin Bay and on the Naas Road; also that there had been big fights in the streets of Limerick, and that the Pope had sent His Blessing. In order to verify whether the account of the Germans being in Dublin Bay was correct or not, I took an early opportunity of going up on to the roof of the post office, from which there was a splendid view over the Bay. However, I could see no ships of any kind in the Bay.

Our force in Henry Street, which had started at about twenty-two, was augmented from time to time by men sent from the G.P.O. I think about a dozen extra men, altogether, were sent.

During the evening I noticed that fatigue was beginning to tell on our men, and, as the interior line of communication to the G.P.O. had been established, I arranged periods of off-duty to allow the men to rest. In order to show how fatigued our men were I may mention that I came upon one of the look-out men in the Coliseum, early on Thursday morning, standing in the window with his head resting on the outer sill, fast asleep.

Nothing of note took place during Wednesday night except that there was continuous rifle and machine gun fire. Several buildings had gone on fire at this time, both in O'Connell Street and further down towards Capel Street.

From the time we came into the buildings in Henry Street there were about half a dozen members of Cumann na mBan attached to us. They cooked our food and served it to us, and remained on the alert for any eventuality.

On Thursday we continued boring towards Liffey Street in compliance with our orders. By the afternoon we had arrived at

the outer wall of Arnott's warehouse.

All day Thursday the sniping by the enemy was continuous. He appeared to be establishing himself more firmly in houses at the junction of Mary Street and Capel Street, from which point he poured heavy rifle and machine gun fire in our direction. During the day on Thursday a shell struck the G.P.O. This, I believe, came from the river, on which the British had the S.S. "Helga", or it might possibly have come from a gun which the British planted at the Crampton Monument. This shell appeared to shake all the buildings. Meanwhile, the fires were spreading in the adjoining streets, probably the result of the firing of incendiary bombs by the British.

In reply to orders from the G.P.O., we sent to them further large quantities of food which we had seized from the shops in Henry Street. We, however, kept enough food for our portion of the garrison, and continued our arrangements to cook what we required for ourselves.

In the afternoon of Thursday, while boring through the walls close to Arnotts, we noticed that a British armoured car had come down Henry Street from Capel Street direction and had halted just opposite our position. It had come down noiselessly and we had not noticed it until it was right opposite to us. I knew it would be no use opening rifle or revolver fire on it, and we had no bombs. I immediately sent to the G.P.O. for bombs and for a couple of men who knew how to use them. The bombs we used at that time were very crude, they were tin-cans of different sizes filled with some kind of ready-made shrapnel, and a long piece of fuse protruded from the top. A match had to be lit and the fuse ignited in this way. None of our men had any experience with bombs, and I was very anxious that men with some experience would come along to use them, as I knew there had been some accidents already

in the G.P.O. when the men attempted to use bombs. Two men arrived quickly. The occupants of the armoured car appeared to be unaware of our presence, and I gave orders for absolute silence to be maintained. Before the two men who arrived had sufficient time to ignite their bombs, the armoured car moved back towards Capel Street to its original position. I reported this episode to G.H.Q.

About this time I was told that Commandant Edward Daly, who was in command of the Four Courts area, was endeavouring to link up with us, and I was ordered to keep a sharp look out for his men and to render them, if they came, all the assistance I could. While watching for his party, we observed that the enemy had arrived at the junction of Parnell Street and Moore Street. An officer appeared at first and must have been under the impression that we were not occupying the buildings dominating Moore Street. He appeared to be supervising some task which he had allotted to his men, probably the erection of a barricade. I had this position covered immediately by as many riflemen as we could get into position, and I withheld fire for some time in the hope of getting a large target. Eventually as it appeared as if the enemy were about to get under cover, I gave the order to fire and some casualties were inflicted, including the officer. We allowed his men to carry the officer away. After that the enemy withdrew from that position and we saw no more of them that day.

I made frequent visits to G.H.Q. to report progress generally. I saw Pearse, Connolly, Tom Clarke, Joseph Plunkett, The O'Rahilly and Sean McDermott.

As night approached, it was apparent that the fires which had been caused by the enemy were increasing in volume, and were getting nearer to us. I went up on the roof of the

G.P.O. in the darkness to get an idea of the position, and found that we were practically surrounded by fires.

Some time during the night of Thursday I got an order from G.H.Q. to withdraw all my men to the G.P.O., as an attack on the main position appeared to be imminent. Our men were allowed a short rest and were then allocated to different posts in the G.P.O. buildings facing O'Connell Street.

From that on I was in the position of being an officer attached to G.H.Q. Staff, without any particular task to do except what would result from the trend of events.

At this time O'Connell Street appeared to be a blazing inferno. The fires were terrific. The roaring of the flames, the noise of breaking glass and of the collapsing walls was terrific. The flames from the Imperial Hotel and from Hoyte's drug and oil stores at the corner of Sackville Place were so fierce that they almost touched the walls of the G.P.O., and we could feel the heat of them.

That brings us to Friday.

Enemy fire, including sniping, was becoming more intense, and with a few of my own men I went up on to the roof of the G.P.O. to reinforce our snipers who were there. We spent several hours of the early morning exchanging shots with the enemy snipers.

Later in the morning all the members of Cumann na mBan were ordered to leave the building, which they did very regretfully. They had a splendid field hospital in a room in the G.P.O., and had prepared food for the garrison from the beginning of the occupation of the G.P.O.

During the afternoon of Friday, incendiary bombs set the roof of/the G.P.O. on fire. The flames spread rapidly over the

roof, and the building was soon burning around us.

James Connolly at this time was suffering from severe wounds in his leg and was on a stretcher, from which he commanded the garrison. This was in the main hall of the G.P.O. facing O'Connell Street. Hoses were used to try to extinguish the flames, but the hoses were useless.

The whole garrison was then ordered to assemble in the main hall, and were told that an evacuation was about to take place. That would probably be coming on towards six o'clock in the evening. It was believed at the time that the British would attack on foot from the direction of Lower Abbey Street, as they were known to be in force there and in Marlboro' Street. When the garrison assembled in the main hall they got ready to cope with such an attack, and although everything seemed pretty hopeless at the time, the spirit of the men was magnificent and the whole garrison sang The Soldiers' Song in a spontaneous outburst. There was a suggestion of making a burst through to Parnell Street and seizing Williams & Woods factory.

The position from the fires was very serious by this time, and the evacuation had to proceed as quickly as possible. The building was almost empty when Sean McDermott, who was near me at the time, exclaimed that the men in the Metropole Hotel had been forgotten and were in danger of being left behind. He asked for a volunteer to see that the men in the Metropole were withdrawn and that they followed the main body, which had gone across Henry Street and into Henry Place and Moore Street. I undertook this task, as I was unattached, and McDermott impressed upon me that I was to make sure that no member of the garrison of the Metropole Hotel was left behind.

I got in touch with Oscar Traynor, who was in charge of the Metropole Hotel garrison, and he succeeded in bringing all his

men in safety to the G.P.O. under cover of a barricade in Prince's Street. That barricade was directly in front of where the Capitol Theatre and the Prince's Bar is now, and communicated with a large gate leading into the G.P.O.

Before the general evacuation of the G.P.O. began, the wounded were moved first to the Coliseum Theatre and later were brought to Jervis Street Hospital.

After I had got in touch with Oscar Traynor I was ordered by Diarmuid Lynch to assist in bringing all the explosives to the basement of the G.P.O. Diarmuid Lynch was an officer attached to G.H.Q. About half a dozen of us took part in this job, and we brought grenades and other explosives down some long passage into the cellars of the G.P.O. Owing to the amount of water that had been poured on to the roof, we were working in the wet and were drenched through.

When all the explosives had been placed in the cellars we retired to the door of the G.P.O. in Henry Street, facing Henry Place. The shooting down Henry Street at this time was very intense, and for a long time it was impossible to cross the road. In our little party, which numbered about a dozen, were P.H. Pearse and Willie Pearse. I believe that P.H. Pearse had already been across the street into Henry Place, but had returned to make sure that everything was in order. One of the Plunketts, I believe it was George Plunkett, was also in our party.

P.H. Pearse, while we were waiting near the door, said that he would take a final look round the G.P.O. to make absolutely certain that nobody had been left behind. He was away for a long time, and we were getting nervous lest he had been hit by some of the bullets which were coming in through the windows at the time. While we were waiting we heard steps

coming down one of the passages, and a man whom I knew to be Seamus Kavanagh, and who was lame, opened the door, put his head out and asked us was anything wrong. He explained that owing to his lameness he had been given some duties of a clerical nature for some of the G.H.Q. officers, that he had been overcome with fatigue, got into a corner somewhere and fell asleep, and was unaware of the evacuation. Pearse eventually came back and stated that nobody appeared to be in the building. During lulls in the enemy firing we dashed across Henry Street in ones and twos. The bullets appeared to be striking the ground at our feet as we rushed across.

I am certain that our party was the very last to leave the G.P.O.

When we got across the street, there was a cry that we were being attacked, and we threw down a rough barricade of whatever was at hand, to fire from in case the British came down the lane after us. George Plunkett was along with me at this hastily erected barricade. However, there was no attack. It was beginning to get dark at this time.

There was great confusion in Henry Place. A couple of men were killed by stray shots from the enemy, and one man, Henry Coyle, a member of my own Company, was killed when trying to burst open a door with his rifle, which was loaded. After some time I noticed that Sean McLoughlin appeared to be taking command. I tried my best to restore some order amongst the men in the rear of the column, and McLoughlin told me that he had been given command and was placing me in charge of the rearguard. I established my party in a bottling stores at the corner of the lane which runs parallel to O'Connell Street and Moore Street as far as the Rotunda Hospital.

The men at this time were suffering very much from cold

and hunger, and we had no food of any description with us. For the first time during the week I noticed that it was a bit hard to control the men, and I decided that the best thing to do would be to get them some hot drinks and food. I saw to my dismay that the building we were in had a stone floor and not even a water tap in it. I noticed that at the junction of Henry Place and Moore Street some of our men were going to and fro with kettles of hot water, so I decided that I would go there and see what I could get. Sniping was going on around us and we had to be pretty careful. I placed Charles Rossiter in charge of the rearguard during my absence and told him and the men what I was going to do and that I would be back soon with food and hot drinks. I then went off to the house at the corner of Moore Street, and I must have collapsed here, because I remember nothing else until I woke up lying on the floor in the darkness. I found, when daylight came, that I was in a house at the Southern corner of the junction of Henry Place and Moore Street.

I went out into Henry Place and found that the rearguard party had been withdrawn from the stores I had occupied the previous night. In a short time I saw Sean McDermott, who told me that our men during the night had bored through the houses in Moore Street in a Northerly direction towards Parnell Street. At the junction of these two streets the British had erected a barricade which was manned. He said that, in order to draw the attention of the British off the men who were boring through, he wanted a "mock barricade" erected where we were, at the junction of Moore Street and Henry Place. I took charge of this operation, and, with the aid of ropes, we ran out a cart into the middle of Moore Street. We also threw out boxes and everything else we could find. We managed to fill a couple of sacks with clay and placed them in position at the corner. Immediately the cart appeared the British opened fire, which

was very intense. Amongst the men who fired from the barricade were the late Harry Boland, and Tom McGrath recently deceased. Shots were exchanged for a period, the duration of which I cannot now estimate. At one period during the firing, some kind of a missile fell beside our barricade. I was told afterwards that this was an incendiary bomb which did not explode.

About this time we made efforts to get some food, but there appeared to be no food ready for consumption. A few tins of sardines and a small amount of chocolate were got, but this was not sufficient for the men. There were sacks of flour in one of the shops we occupied, but we had no means of preparing anything to eat with the flour.

About midday Sean McDermott told us that a truce had been arranged and that officers on both sides were discussing the details. He gave us strict instructions to remain very quiet, not to expose ourselves to fire, and to be careful not to fire any shots ourselves during the duration of the truce, as he was quite sure that there were many among the enemy who would avail of any excuse to open fire on us again.

Previous to this the British had been firing down Moore Street indiscriminately when anybody appeared on the street. Many civilians who lived in the small streets and lanes off Moore Street were killed at this time.

Later in the afternoon Sean McDermott told us that agreement had been reached and that we were surrendering as prisoners of war. I believe he said that we were surrendering unconditionally, but this has been disputed. Accordingly, we filed out into Moore Street with our arms and ammunition, formed up under our officers, and marched off with our rifles at the slope, through Moore Street, Henry Place into Henry

Street and Upper O'Connell Street, as far as the portion extending from the Gresham Hotel to Parnell Street corner. We were all lined up on the East side of O'Connell Street. I happened to be beside Joseph Plunkett; beside him were Tom Clarke and Seán McDermott. We were all lined up facing the opposite, i.e. the West, side of O'Connell Street, and were ordered to throw down our arms and ammunition in a heap on the road. I noticed at this time that there was a gaping hole in the wall of the C.Y.M.S., which was almost opposite. It appears that it was struck by a shell.

Our names were taken by British officers, many of whom were very truculent. There was one of them who behaved like a soldier and a gentleman. Joseph Plunkett was singled out by one British officer for particular insult. Plunkett was ordered to step forward from the ranks, and he was ignominiously searched. He had his Will in his pocket, and the British officer passed some very rude remarks about Plunkett's courage, asking him was he making his Will because he was afraid he would die. I remarked at the time that Joseph Plunkett paid not the slightest heed to what this British officer said to him. He had been talking to us in the ranks before the incident about the Rising generally, its effect, and about some steps he had taken in regard to publicity in foreign lands. When he had been maltreated by this officer, he stepped back into the ranks and resumed his conversation exactly where he had left off

One of the Volunteers, named Henry Ridgeway, was wearing a Red Cross armlet on his uniform, and he was picked out of the ranks by a British officer who asked him what he was wearing on his arm. Ridgeway told the officer, who said, "I don't recognise your d--- Red Cross", and tore off the armlet with a beyonet.

Our arms and ammunition were thrown down in a heap in the middle of the road. Some men broke their weapons before they

threw them down. We were also ordered to throw down any ammunition we had and to empty our pockets of everything that was in them. Our names and addresses were then taken.

About this time it was getting dark, and I noticed on the far side of the street a small number of men in a strange uniform which appeared to be of very light green colour. Tom Clarke, who was near me, said that he wondered if these were the men of Casement's Brigade. We had heard rumours during the week that the Germans had landed some troops, and Clarke's remarks left me under the impression that he believed the Germans had succeeded in landing some troops which included the men of Casement's Brigade. At a later period I formed the impression that these men were members of the Local Reserve of old time soldiers whom the British had got together in Dublin, popularly known as the "Gorgeous Wrecks". This name was taken from the wording on their epaulettes - Georgius Rex.

There were no citizens on the street at this time, but I noticed that there were some people in civilian dress in the Gresham Hotel who were at the windows looking on at what was taking place.

I should have mentioned that we left behind in Moore Street a few wounded men who were later picked up by the British Medical Unit. Most of these were only slightly wounded. There was one man, however, seriously wounded, Joe Kenny of "B" Company, 2nd Battalion, who never properly recovered. He was severely wounded in the leg.

We were marched over to the green plot inside the railings of the Rotunda Hospital, in front of the main entrance. We were not long there until we were joined by the garrison of the Four Courts area, amongst whom was Ned Daly, the

Commandant of the area, and Fionan Lynch. The area of the green plot was extremely small, and we were ordered on no account to stir off the grass but to keep lying down there. Accordingly, we were actually on top of one another. The night spent there can be described without any exaggeration as a night of horror.

Tom Clarke was maltreated shortly after we arrived at the plot. He was taken away somewhere for a while and many of the men around me told me that his boots were taken off, although I did not actually see that happening. At one period I noticed Michael Collins protesting vigorously to the British officers at the maltreatment of Tom Clarke. The conduct of many of the British officers during the night can only be described as savage. In particular, Captain Lea-Wilson, who was later shot during the Black and Tan period in Wexford, was brutal. Some of the Dublin Metropolitan Police also uttered sundry threats during the night, but one or two of them were inclined to be rather decent. There were three or four women amongst the prisoners, and they also had to spend the night along with the rest of us on the green plot. I forget the names of the women who were there. James Connolly's secretary, who died a few years ago, was one of the three or four women who were there. She was from Belfast and her family name was, I think, Carney. We received no water and no food during the whole night. Several times, British officers and other ranks came around jibing at us about what was going to happen to us, and asking us if we would like food, or if we would like smokes, etc.

All during the night there was intermittent firing from the tower of the Rotunda Hospital, which was occupied by British troops. During the night we could also hear the shrieks of the patients inside, who appeared to us to have gone out of their minds.

Early in the morning, some time after daybreak, we were ordered to stand up and to get ready to march off. At this time Seán McDermott's stick, without which he could not walk, was taken from him and he was obliged to lean on the shoulder of whoever was next to him in the ranks. A D.M.P. officer, to whom McDermott said that he was unable to walk without his stick, asked him what he was doing in an insurrection, and Seán replied that there was work for everybody to do in the movement.

We marched down O'Connell Street, which was still burning on both sides. A flag was still flying from one corner of the G.P.O. As far as I can remember it was a tri-colour, flying at the Prince's Street corner, but I am not quite certain. It appeared to be sticking our horizontally from the corner of the building. When we reached O'Connell Bridge I noticed that there was a big gaping hole in the centre of the bridge. This appeared to be the result of the explosion of gas-pipes. We continued down Westmoreland Street, College Green and Dame Street. In Dame Street I noticed that there were a few civilians about, and these people cursed us as we went by. We continued up Cork Hill, Christchurch Place, Thomas Street and James's Street.

When passing the Catholic Church in James's Street there was a priest inside the railings, as well as a great number of people who apparently had been attending Mass. At this point I noticed some priests of the Capuchin Order going by in some sort of a British Army vehicle. They were going in the direction of Inchicore. I think Father Aloysius was one of them. As there was firing going on in this vicinity, we made a detour down Steevens' Lane, and turned into John's Road.

When we came near the Islandbridge end of John's Road, I noticed a number of British soldiers in the grounds of the

Royal Hospital, Kilmainham. These soldiers shouted to us that our friends the Germans had been heavily defeated in several battles, and that many of their ships had been sunk.

We continued via Kilmainham to Richmond Barracks. There were a few civilians knocking around in the vicinity of the barracks. During the whole march we had not been allowed any food or water. There was a very heavy escort of military, almost two to every prisoner. The soldiers were mainly of the Royal Irish Rifles. A great many of them were from Belfast and were very unfriendly. Amongst them, however, were some men from other Counties in Ireland who were inclined to be sympathetic and who handed their water bottles around. The soldiers who did this were abused by the other soldiers.

When we got into the barrack square we were halted and searched several times. Some of the searches were official and some of them were carried out by the soldiers themselves for the purpose of getting money, tobacco and other personal belongings from the prisoners. After standing in the square for a long period, the length of which I cannot now estimate, we were brought into a room which they called "the gymnasium". Before we entered this room we had to pass through a kind of turnstile, where every man was scrutinised by D.M.P. and military officers, who picked out leaders and other men against whom they were about to bring charges. These men were put in a corner of the room separate to the main body, Amongst those picked out were Tom Clarke, Joe Plunkett, Seán McDermott, Seán McGarry, Fionan Lynch and my brother, Leo Henderson.

We were kept lying on the floor for a long time and eventually water was brought in to us in buckets, and we got some hard biscuits to eat. We were then locked in the room.

Pearse was not with our party, as he had been taken away

at the time of the surrender. James Connolly had been removed on a stretcher from Moore Street. The stretcher was carried by Volunteers, one of whom was Seamus Devoy.

From time to time a British officer or a D.M.P. man would come into the room where we were and have a look at us. Some of the D.M.P. men picked out a few of our men and put them amongst the special group. These people who came to look at us were all very unfriendly. Later in the evening, however, the door was opened by a private soldier who told us he was from County Clare. He wanted to know what he could do for us. He was very friendly, and brought in buckets of drinking water.

Rumours began to get around then that we were going to be sent to the Curragh, or out to France to dig trenches.

At one period somebody suggested that we ourselves should go through our pockets and see if we had any documents. I discovered then that I had a copy of a dispatch I had sent to James Connolly from Fairview, and also the dispatch that James Connolly had sent to me, ordering us to withdraw from Fairview. These papers had escaped the several searchers. I regretted that I had to destroy these documents, which was a difficult thing to do because in the one grate in the room there was just the smouldering remains of a fire which barely sufficed to burn the papers, and all matches had been taken from us.

As it was getting dusk in the evening we were all - except the special group which had been picked out by the British military and police - ordered out to the barrack square, and were told that we were about to be moved off somewhere. They served us with tins of bullybeef and a few hard biscuits, and told us that we were to be careful with

this food as it was all we would get for some time. While we were in the barrack square, more Republican prisoners were marched in, including the garrison from Jacobs and the College of Surgeons.

It was getting dark when we marched off. We marched out of the barracks and turned towards Kingsbridge. To the best of my recollection the route we followed to Kingsbridge was via James's Street and Steevens' Lane. We crossed the Liffey either at Kingsbridge or at the next bridge nearer the city and marched along the North side Quays until we got to Grattan Bridge. By this time it was completely dark and there were no street lamps lighting. All the houses and shops were in darkness and the streets were deserted. We re-crossed the Liffey at Grattan Bridge and continued as far as Butt Bridge, where we crossed again and proceeded along the North Wall as far as the L. & N.W.R. station, whence we proceeded by the underground passage to a steamer which was waiting for us.

All along the route, in addition to our escort, which consisted of a double line of troops on both sides of the column, there were detachments of soldiers, even in the underground passage. During the march from the barracks to the boat, a few of the British soldiers passed round their water bottles to us. During our march there were occasional sounds of rifle and machine gun fire. This firing did not appear to be very close to us.

When we got on to the steamer we had a very good view of the burning city. We were immediately put down into the cattle lairs. British soldiers were posted all round the ship and challenged us any time we made a move. There was talk of submarines being in the Bay. I fell asleep soon after the boat left the Quay, and I do not remember anything more until we arrived at Holyhead.

We disembarked at Holyhead and went immediately into a train which was waiting for us. This would be about midnight or very early in the morning of 1st May.

Apparently we had been divided into two parties, for, while one lot went to Knutsford jail, the party I was with arrived eventually at Stafford station at about seven o'clock in the morning. We were lined up in the square outside Stafford station, and a crowd of civilians began to assemble and pass insulting remarks. A couple of them attacked some of our men. A British N.C.O., Staff Sergeant Shaw, at this point seized hold of one of the attackers, pushing him away and said, "These men at any rate had the courage to fight".

We were marched then towards the jail. On the way there we were heartened by seeing some of the posters of the morning papers, one of which referred to the "Seven Days War". The fact that they referred to our fight as a "War" helped to cheer us somewhat. We also saw the announcement, "Fall of Kut", on a poster.

We were marched into Stafford jail. This jail was composed mainly of two separate buildings, one known as "The Crescent" and the other as "The New Prison". We were marched into the portion known as the Crescent. Before the war it had been a women's jail, but had been turned into a military detention prison. Military prisoners had been cleared out to make room for us. After being medically examined and our names taken, we were shown our cells, warned not to talk or attempt to communicate in any way with one another, and locked in.

Amongst the prisoners in Stafford jail with us were Michael Collins, Murt O'Connell, Denis Daly from Cahirciveen, Sean Flood, Brian O'Higgins, Sean MacEntee who was later taken away from the jail and brought back to Ireland for

courtmartial, and at a later period Darrell Figgis and Harold Moore Pim.

For one month we were locked in our cells almost for the whole time, with the exception of about an hour's exercise every day. The British military here, with one or two exceptions, were very decent men. The Staff Sergeant, to whom I referred earlier, an old soldier who had volunteered for the War while he was in America, told me at one period that he had been supplied with batons before we arrived, and told to expect the worst possible type of ruffians. He told me that he had replied that he had soldiered for a good many years in Ireland and had found Irishmen generally not of that type, and that he would give them a chance before he would use the batons.

The first Sunday after our arrival we were not allowed to go to Mass, but on the second Sunday we attended Mass, which was celebrated in the prison church. Military guards were all over the church during Mass, and the priest, Father Moore, who afterwards became a very kind friend to us, referred during his sermon to our "crime", etc. Later during the week Father Moore came amongst us, and, having had some conversations with us, changed his opinion of us and became a very warm friend of ours. Although his name was Moore he was not of Irish descent; he told us that he belonged to an English family of Moores. There was also a Canon Keating whom we saw on a few occasions, but, although a very priestly man, he had not the slightest sympathy with us and did not understand anything about us.

After one month's solitary confinement, during which period some of us got jobs to do which occupied us a good deal during the day, such as cutting bread, serving meals, etc., we were allowed free association with one another, and our cells were unlocked night and day.

There were four landings in this portion of the jail, and our organisation at the time was that we had two leaders on each landing.

During this second month we were allowed to receive parcels from home, to see visitors, and to buy extra food if we had the money.

The first news we had of the executions was about a fortnight after our arrival, when we were told verbally by Staff Sergeant Shaw that some of our leaders had been shot. Other than that we did not get any news for the first three or four weeks.

When we were allowed associate with one another we began to see our fellow-prisoners in the other portion of the jail known as the New Prison. They consisted mainly of men from Galway and other parts of the country, a few from Dublin city and Dublin County.

About the beginning of July we learned that we would be moved to a camp at Frongoch in North Wales. We went there by train in batches of fifty or so. Before we were moved, those of us who were in uniform were told that we would have to leave our uniforms behind, and we were served out with suits of clothes of very poor material and very bad fit, known as "Henry Martins". Before being sent to Frongoch we were all moved over to the other portion of the jail.

Nothing eventful happened during our journey to Frongoch. The particular party that I was in arrived at about six or seven o'clock in the evening at the portion of the camp known as the North Camp. This portion of the camp was composed of wooden huts. The South Camp, which was quite close to the North Camp, was a converted disused distillery. Both portions of the camp had been used previous to our arrival as an internment camp for German prisoners.

On arriving at the camp we were addressed by the British Adjutant, who read out the rules and regulations to us. We also had a short address from Sergeant Major Newsome, who was nicknamed "Jack Knives" by our men. Although his address to us was full of threats for breaches of camp regulations, our experience of "Jack Knives" afterwards showed us that he was a very kindly although very rough-mannered man.

Inside the camp itself the running of things was left to ourselves, subject, of course, to inspections by the British Commandant. When I arrived, M.W. O'Reilly was our Camp Commandant in the North Camp. We were allotted to huts which held about twenty-five men each. Each hut immediately elected a hut leader, who was responsible to the British authorities under their regulations, and also to our own Commandant under our own regulations. The huts were inspected every morning by the British Commandant, accompanied by our own Commandant. Fire precautions included the forming of a volunteer fire brigade from amongst us. We also organised concerts, etc. Under Prisoner of War rules we were entitled to select certain of our men for working parties in connection with the camp work, and these men received prisoner of war pay from the British.

While these working parties were carrying out their tasks around the camp, some breaches of the regulations occurred and the men involved in them, along with our own Camp Commandant, were charged before the British Commandant and penalised by being put in the guard-room. Paddy Daly, later Major General Daly, was one of those penalised. He immediately went on hunger-strike, which secured the release of all the men who had been put into the guard-room, but resulted in the removal of M.W. O'Reilly to Reading jail along with some other men from both the North Camp and the South Camp.

The British military chaplain attached to the camp was Father Stafford, a Dublin man.

Batches of men were released from time to time, until about the end of July when we were told there would be no more releases, and we were then all moved down to the South Camp. There were about enough men left to fill either of the camps.

Shortly after we went down to the South Camp, the British Adjutant read out a communication concerning us which he had received from his authorities. This communication stated that we were going to be treated as prisoners of war but that we were not prisoners of war, that we belonged, as prisoners, to the Home Office, and that they were handing us over to the War Office for the purpose of our internment, but that the Home Office might take us back again. This was a very long communication, and when the Adjutant had finished reading it the whole camp burst into the song, "We're here because we're here".

I should have mentioned that before the releases started we were all brought by train in batches, from Frongoch to London to appear before a Tribunal presided over by Judge Sankey. At this Tribunal we were asked questions about the part we had taken in the Rising. Most of the questions seemed to be directed to getting us to make a confession of being misled by our leaders and being sorry for what we had done. The journey from Frongoch to London and back occupied three days. In London we were kept at Wandsworth Prison and the Tribunal sat in one of the offices of the prison. Some of the other parties of our men when brought to London were kept at Wormwood Scrubs Prison, where the Tribunal also sat.

The British Commandant was a very tactless man, who was fond of taking up our leaders on small points, and this led

to several encounters with him. The first encounter of any magnitude was one when the British authorities were apparently about to pick out any of our men who had been resident in England previous to the Rising, and who, under British law, were liable for military service. The men whose names were called out refused to answer and the British authorities made an attempt to segregate us. They picked out some of us whose names they thought they knew, but they were wrong in a great many cases.

We had gone back to the North Camp at this time, and those of us who were taken out from the main body were transferred to the South Camp. The men thus transferred would possibly be about a quarter of the whole number in the camp. I was amongst this number, and when we got down to the South Camp we decided to go on hunger-strike. We had brought down some food with us and it was agreed that we would finish up whatever food we had, and when it had been consumed we would commence the hunger-strike. This strike lasted for three days, during which time the British Commandant got frightened and did not come to inspect us in the mornings as was his habit. "Jack Knives", who had shown his sympathy with us on a few occasions, cooked our food and implored us to take it, but, of course, we refused it. On the third day word was conveyed to us that we were being brought back to our comrades in the North Camp, and the hunger-strike was, accordingly, called off.

Shortly afterwards the British made a more determined attempt to remove our men who were liable for conscription, and they sent in a large body of troops who were distributed around the camp with fixed bayonets. The men were then ordered to their respective huts, and British officers went

to each hut in turn calling out the names of the men. This had occurred so suddenly that there was not time to make any plan, but word had been got around to some of the huts to refuse to answer the names. It worked out that some huts did answer and others did not. In the long run, although it appeared to be dividing our forces at first, this proved to be of great benefit to us. The men who did not answer to their names were brought down under armed guard to the South Camp. These men were told that all their privileges would be removed, that they would not be allowed write letters, receive parcels or anything else of that nature. When any of these men reported sick, the doctor was not allowed to give any treatment to them unless they gave their names. The doctor came round every morning, and as no names were given to him he was not allowed to carry out his duties. This appears to have driven the doctor out of his mind, and he was found drowned in the river shortly afterwards. He was a native of the district and not a military doctor.

As the prisoners' hospital was situated in the South Camp, and according to the British organisation the food, etc., for it was supplied from the North Camp rations, we were able to establish communications. A number of men who were genuinely sick were in hospital, and a ration party of our men came down three times every day from the North Camp surreptitiously carrying letters, tobacco, and all the things that the men who were penalised had been getting previously.

During all this time, both in the North and South Camps, the nucleus of the future I.R.A. was being formed, mainly through the activities of the leading men of the I.R.B. who were interned with us.

About three days before Christmas, the order came for

our release, and we were sent home, the countrymen first and the city men later. With the exception of a few men who were too ill to travel, the Camp was cleared on the day before Christmas Eve, 1916.

SIGNED Frank Henderson

DATE 6th May 1949.

WITNESS M. Brennan Comdt.