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COSANTA.

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY, 1913-21.

STATEMENT BY WITNESS

DOCUMENT NO. W.S. 651

Witness

Diarmuid Lynch,

Tracton,

Ballyfeard,

Co. Cork.

Identity.

Member of Supreme Council of I.R.B. 1916.

Subject.

The Countermanding Orders of Holy Week, 1916.

Conditions, if any, Stipulated by Witness.

Nil

File No.....S.30.....

Form B.S.M. 2

CASAINC W.S. 651

## teatán mionuairisce.

The Countermanding Orders of Holy Week, 1916.

The attached eight-page printed document entitled:

"The Countermanding Orders of Holy Week 1916" Diarmuid Lynch

is a printer's proof.

The article was written by Diarmuid Lynch early in 1947 for publication in An Cosantoir. It was, in the first instance, submitted by the Editor of An Cosantoir to Mr. Bulmer Hobson for his comments.

Mr. Hobson, who was intimately connected with the incidents covered by the article, and whose name is frequently mentioned therein, replied to the effect that "statements about myself and about certain other matters just do not happen to be true".

In view of all the cicumstances, the Editor decided to postpone publication of the article and forwarded copies of it together with Mr. Hobson's original letter to the Bureau for inclusion in

Mr. Hobson's letter is registered under No. W.S.652.

KEEPER OF RECORDS

No. W.S.

## Week.

## DIARMUID LYNCH.

THAT part of the article on Commandant Tomás MacCurtain published in the February, 1945 issue of An Cosantóir which dealt with the failure of the Cork Brigade to participate in the Easter Week Rising suggests thoughts: First, that the conflicting orders issued from Dublin to the Irish Volunteers at Easter-time, 1916, which so mystified Commandants outside Metropolitan area, remain a mystery even to-day to any one who has not made an intensive study of prior developments among the men who then controlled or sought to control the destiny of the Volunteers; second, that a chronological sketch showing the sequence of events would help to elucidate the situation.

In October-November, 1913, a Provisional Committee was formed in Dublin to bring into existence a Volunteer organisation. Eoin MacNeill was elected The majority of the Com-Chairman. mittee were members of the Irish Republican Brotherhood, a fact unknown to the minority (which included the Chairman) the I.R:B. being a secret body, the continued existence of which was unknown to the public.

At a public meeting held on November 25th in that year, the "Irish Volunteers" organisation was formally established. Its objects were declared to be:

- 1. To secure and maintain the rights and liberties common to all the people of Ireland.
- 2. To train, discipline, arm and equip a body of Irish Volunteers for the above purpose.
- 3. To unite for this purpose Irishmen of every creed and of every party and class.

The "rights and liberties" mentioned were never defined, nor were the means whereby they might be "secured." Some people construed them as meaning defence of the anticipated "Home Rule" position—to oppose which the Carsonite Volunteers had been organised previously in the North. The I.R.B., with an eye not alone to the hostility of the British Government to the establishment in Ireland of any organisation, national and military, in character, but also to the antagonism of the Irish people in general. at that time to any policy savouring of "extreme-ism" or opposed to that of the Irish Parliamentary Party, decided not to oppose openly such a construction. For itself, however, the I.R.B.—true to the Fenian tradition of the 'sixties, which it' had ever fostered, definitely construed the terms to mean: maintenance of the right of Ireland to national independence as a Republican State, and to secure that right through an Insurrection in arms.

This difference in outlook on the aims and objects of the Volunteers existed also among the members of the governing body of the Volunteer organisation. To this can be traced the serious crux which arose in Holy Week, 1916. If the revolutionary aims of the I:R.B. or its purpose to enlist the Irish Volunteers as a fighting force in an Insurrection were to succeed, it necessarily had to-keep them secret from men who held different views.

In June, 1914, Tom Clarke and Seán MacDiarmada—representing the "Executive" of the I.R.B.\*—were definitely opposed to Redmond's demand that the Provisional Committee should co-opt twenty-five nominees of his, which in

<sup>\*</sup> This "Executive" comprised the President, Treasurer and Secretary of the Supreme Council. When the Council was not in session, control of the organisation vested in the Executive."

THE COUNTERMANDING ORDERS OF HOLY WEEK, 1916.

would give him control of that body and of the Volunteer organisation. for surrender to Redmond, but induced sheld by him in the I.R.B., but was iper-mitted to retain membership in that Council I.R.B., not alone decided to vote Hobson was Bulmer Hobson, Secretary of the Committee and a member of the Supreme compelled thereupon to resign all offices other members of the Committee to support his view. Redmond thus won control of the Volunteers. organisation.

loyal to the original Committee; these In the following September, Redmond Volunteers behind Britain's war effort. 10;000 "Irish Volunteers" remained attempted to throw the strength of the Ninety-five per cent. of those enrolled ". National Volunteers." Approximately The Split in the Volunteers ensued followed Redmond under the retained the original title.

Convention, 'and proposed (among other/ Volunteers ''. (including MacNeill-Chairman, Hobson -- Secretary, Pearse, MacDiarmada, etc.) issued a call for a Twenty members of the re-organised " Irish the Provisional Committee of points) to

- the inaugural " 2. Re-affirm without qualification the manifesto proposed and adopted at meeting.
- Oppose any diminution of the ment which now exists as a Statute on paper, and which would not now have reached that stage but for the Irish Irish self-govern-Volunteers." measure of

While proposal number three gave colour with the additional purpose of winning back from Redmond as many as possible to the construction placed on the term In this the I.R.B. leaders were guided by of those who followed him at ,the Split. " by the so-called "imoderates"; on the Committee, the the same considerations as at the incepthe Volunteers in 1913 J.R.B. members of it had no misconcep ". rights and liberties tion on this point. ij

held on October 25th, 1914. Its policy was, generally speaking, a reiteration of It elected an The Irish Volunteer Cony previous declarations.

Rising was actually imminent. He then did his utmost to the did his utmost to the day the plans which Executive Committee Legisland to Red-Subsequent to Redthey and their colleagues of the Military as a purely defensive one, and he, due to Pearse and MacDiarmada did not until Holy Week, 1916 (and then only ciable extent until Holy Week, 1916. Over this period Hobson did occasionally stress the purpose of the Irish Volunteers attitude of MacDiarmada and Pearse than not force an issue on this question; it of their insurrectionary preparations, that what may be termed the "moderate" element and that of the revolutionary his former positions in the councils of the J.R.B., had a deeper insight into the that possessed by his "moderate" colwould not suit 'their purpose to do so. But, so well had they guarded the secret mond, the difference in outlook between wing of the Volunteer Executive Committee was not emphasised to any appreby chance), did Hobson realise that a Council had perfected for it. leagues.

throughout the country, especially in the partiin organising and training the various force :as :a whole .gradually, and .perhaps From the very inception of the Irish most populous centres, took a leading the rank and file of the Volunteers, the unconsciously, became imbued with an Volunteers, men prominent in the I:R:B. this and the further fact that the secret organisation was well represented among "offensive" rather than a "defensive" Companies and Battalions.

Pearse's writings and speeches were a 1915, marked a tremendous step in the powerful influence in that respect; O'Donovan Rossa's funeral on August 1, same direction. The marching contingents were marshalled by Commandant teers headed by their officers, formed the Headquarters Staff; uniformed Nolun-Comas MacDonagh on behalf of the I. V. most striking feature of the procession

Volunteers comprised the firing party at, Pearse's oration (from uote) was a clarion call to the nation, and particularly to the Irish Volunteers: which w

taken as speaking on behalf of a new generation that has been re-baptised: in the Fenian faith, and that has pose to you then that, here by the if there is anything that some other, I, rather than one of the such unshakable purpose, such high able strength of soul as belonged to makes it fitting that I, rather than with him and shared in his labour and in his suffering, should speak here; it is perhaps that I may be accepted responsibility of carrying out the Fenian programme, I prograve of this unrepentant Fenian, we grey-haired men who were young here by the grave of this uncomand gallant courage, such unbreakrenew our baptismal yows; that conquered and unconquerable man we ask of God, each one for himself O'Donovan Rossa.

and you others, who are associated: ourselves; as he avowed himself in the dock, Irishmen of one allegiance are bound together and must stand together henceforth in brotherly. one definition of freedom: it is Tone's definition, it is Mitchel's served: by: giving: it, any. other name " Deliberately here we now avow dom of Ireland. And we know only union for the achievement of the freedefinition, it is Rossa's definition. Leting man blaspheme the cause that the: dead generations of Ireland and definition than their name, and only. We of the Irish Volunteers with us in to-day's task and duty their definition.

tion. And the seeds sown by the Our foes . . . cannot undo the miracles of God who ripens in the hearts of young men the seeds sown young men of '65' and '67' are coming to their miraculous ripening toby the young men of a former genera-The Defenders of this

everything, think that they have They think that they have foreseen the fools, the fools, the fools! - they have left us our Fenian dead, and think that they have purchased half of us and intimidated the other half, while Ireland holds these graves, be at Realm have worked well in secre provided against everything; they have pacified Ireland. Ireland unfree shall never and in the open. peace:"

That the Volunteers who heard,, and read, these inspiring words felt themselves "re-baptised in the Fenian faith," and, were confirmed in the determination to " carry, out the Fenian programme, cannot be doubted.

the freedom of Ireland " as defined by perfecting plans " for the achievement of f Few, however, realised that Pearse and his I.R.B. colleagues were at that moment Fone and Mitchel and Rossa.

the then "Executive" of the Supreme Council,, I.R.B. (on which, I substituted MacDonagh early in April: Thus the Military Council eventually numbered Ioseph Fom Clarke and Sean MacDiarmada (the which title it became known in after years. James Connolly, was co-opted for MacDiarmada) appointed a "Military Committee." The original members of Tenceforth, the body may be termed "THE MILITARY COUNCIL "-by seven-the seven signatories to the Easter In the summer of that year (1915) resident in Dublin) actively, co-operated two members of the I.R.B. "Executive" Proclamation, of the Irish, Republic, the latter were Padraic Pearse, ate in January; 1916; and: Plinkett and Eamonn Ceannt.

problem of prime importance. Mindful of the 1914 surrender to Redmond-contrary to: the judgment of the I.R.B. tion of the whole Volunteer force could The date of the projected Rising had been selected by the endrof 1915;; the method by which the effective participabe arranged without exposing the secret surpose of the Military. Council was a Executive—the question of such partici

THE/COUNTERMANDING ORDERS OF HOLY WEEK, 1916.

camouflage in the first and third para-0, Pearse's order appeared in due course In the light of subsequent events, the in the Irish Volunteer of April 8th, 1916. graphs is of particular interest: at the opportune moment.

- The object of the manoeuvres " I. Following the lines of last year, hold manoeuvres every unit of the Irish Volunduring the Easter Holidays. is to test mobilisation with teers will equipment.
- Each Brigade, Battalion or Company commander, as the case may be, will, on or before ist May next, send' to the of Organisation a detailed report of the Manoeuvres carried out by his unit. P. H. Pearse, Commandant Director

Director of Organisation."

dants as to the areas in which their respective "manoeuvres" were to be secret orders to the Battalion Commanheld. Nor did he inform them of the his was published with the approval of the Volunteer Executive and of Eoin MacNeill, Chief of Staff, but Pearse did not tell them that he had already issued ultimate purposes which those manoeuvreś were intended to serve.

Volunteers at Lough Gur, Co. Limerick, about the end of March, 11916, inadvergot an inkling that Commandant MacNeill when reviewing a muster of Pearse had issued certain orders of which he had not been aware, The O/C, on tently

Chief-of-Staff had cognizance of all orders issued, casually remarked that he hostilities." This seemed rather peculiar as Commandant of the Limerick Brigade had received instructions to "hold the line of the Shannon in the event of actual to, MacNeill but he did not dwell on the subject, and its real significance did not , that occasion, in the belief that the I then occur to him.

veyed. I happen to know that the initial British Government held I had not, on entering a "From bird, area," fulfilled the strategic positions to be occupied by the been envisaged at the end of 1915: Cork, to be transmitted orally by "me to the autumn of 1915, on instructions from Dingle, and other coastal points in the There is no other evidence available to was to hold the County to the south and Battalions of the South and West had Limerick, Clare and Galway were to hold the line of the Shannon to Athlone. These details were given to me by Pearse at Saint Enda's in January, 1916; they were My mission had no south-west to ascertain the most suitable regulations pertaining to registration by was classified as an "enemy alien" and show the approximate date on which these secret instructions had been issued by Pearse, nor by whom they had been conwest of the Boggeragh Mountains-left flank contacting the Kerry Brigade which was to extend eastwards from Tralee; [Though irrelevant here, the reason for spot at which a ship-load of arms from Germany could be landed and from which Limerick was to contact Kerry on the further association with these despatches. my disconnection with this phase may be mentioned because of its relationship with Pearse, I paid a special visit to Tralee, they could be most expeditiously distributed. I reported in favour of Fenit, which was the point eventually chosen. Another result of this visit was that the south, Clare and Galway to the north "friendly aliens," and in January, 1916 served me with an Order under which a matter of historical interest. was, however, cancelled; respective Commandants.

Spy /Wednesday, April 19th, the Castle document" was read at of the Dublin Corporation. To cope with the alleged plans of the Castle authorities as detailed therein, MacNeill, Chief-of-Staff, issued an Order that day to the Irish Volunteers:

fend themselves and each other in small groups so placed that they may "Your object will be to preserve the arms and the organisation of the frish Volunteers. . . . In general you will arrange that your men debest be able to hold out."

The fact that the Volunteers were thus keyed up at this particular moment/suited the Military Council admirably. But, a rude shock was in the aimig.

Bulmer Hobson (according to Le Roux in Tom Clarke and the Irish Freedom Movement), at a meeting of the Volun-teer Executive held that same evening from which he deduced that a Rising was tion with what he had learned at Lough Gur; both decided to block the plans. Wednesday), overheard a conversation between I.R.B. members of that body contemplated. He immediately informed Late that night (apparently) they MacNeill who now coupled this informa

person heretofore, are hereby cancelled or recalled," and that officers in Munster should "report to Commandant O'Conreceived and any arrangements made or nell as required by him on the subject of any special orders which they had drafted an order instructing Commandant authorising him to "take chief command also stipulated that " all orders issued by Commandant Pearse, or by, any other I. J. O'Connell to proceed to Cork, and . . over all Volunteers in Munster." I to be made by them in consequence."

Pearse at St. Enda's and put to him the On Holy Thursday night, MacNeill (accompanied by H\dbson) called on direct question as to whether an Insur-Pearse answered in the affirmative. MacNeill then said that Government, to stop it. he would do his utmost short of informing rection was planned.

ing took further steps to call off the Easter manoeuvres of the Irish Volunteers ordered by Pearse as Director of Organisation.

to participation by the Irish Volunteers able on the basis of his interpretation of also furnishes justification for the Military Council in having withheld its revolutionary plans from MacNeill and from the This attitude of MacNeill with respect the inaugural policy of the Volunteers, It in an armed insurrection is understand-Volunteer Executive as a whole.

gainsaid. And, had the Volunteers not participated in the Easter Rising, this The fact that Easter-time, 1916, was a time at which Britain was engaged in a of that opportunity to fight for the most "opportune moment" for Irishand when many small nations sought to body pledged to secure and maintain men to strike for Ireland's freedom---a secure or maintain their independence by engaging in that conflict—cannot now be question would have arisen in after years: Why did the Irish Volunteers—a military certain undefined "liberties," -not avail achievement of National Independence? desperate struggle with a powerful enemy

The supplementary orders drafted Holywere sweeping in character, but as these Thursday night by MacNeill and Hobson do not seem to have been promulgated (for a reason apparent in the next paragraph) it is unnecessary to quote them.

Before I p.m. MacDonagh arrived at the Copy of MacNeill's order pertaining to immediately reported its contents to Clarke and Connolly; this was the first intimation they had of it or of any other O'Connell St. address: I showed the stated that MacDiarmada and himself Commandant O'Connell (dated April further as to what he meant, MacDonagh and Pearse, as I learned later) had interroth) reached an office in O'Connell St MacNeill order to him, and he asserted Fomás Aghas and myself about noon. It was read there move of MacNeill's to stop the that " the matter is alright." early on Friday.

f' Good Friday afternoon, 1916). Thus the disaster which threatened the Rising; that it was to commence on and we are all in it." MacDiarmada also camé down stairs where he found Pearse. and MacDonagh waiting; the three details were furnished to me by Eoin firm, substantially, MacDonagh's remarks viewing MacNeill:; between 8 and 9 time and received MacDiarmada in his told him that a Proclamation was to be on being complete. MacNeill then dressed and Pearse, after receipt of MacNeill's o'clock Friday, morning they called on Rathfarnham. He was in bed at the time, recited to him facts pertaining to the that a shipload of arms and ammunition "In view of that, the fight is inevitable asked what its terms were MacDiarmada stated that the document was not yet tacted MacDiarmada and MacDonagh; the three of them lost no time, in inter-MacDiarmada for the first was expected from Germany,; MacNeill on hearing this for the first time, replied: MacNeill on August 14, 1936. They conultimatum on Holy Thursday night, conhim at his residence, Woodtown Park, He also told MacNeill visitors joined him to breakfast. issued on Easter Sunday ;, Easter Sunday.

That for Cork was taken by Jim Ryan (now Minister for Ashoultuse). It read: plans of the Military. Council' had been The way was at once sent despatches to various centres. " Commandants MacCurtain and MacSwiney, are to proceed with the rumours of the crux just overcome should have reached the country, MacDiarmada Lest news or warded off—temporarily. again clear for action:

Rising, Commandant O'Connell is MacCurtain's reply: "Tell. Seán we will blaze away, while, the stuff lasts," ? ) as per to go forthwith to ( previous advices.

showed that the Military Council had the Cork situation well in hand Saturday, orders and events confused the whole morning, April 22nd: position.

the control of Pearse, MacDiarmada, etc.; efficient arming, of the Volunteers in the The Military Council received word that he despatched messengers throughout the South and West had thus become impos-News of the capture reached visers into conference that night and decided once more to take matters out of Saturday that the Germani arms ship had MacNeill. later.; he called several adcountry with this countermanding order : been captured by the British:\* sible.

" Volunteers completely deceived. All orders for special action are hereby cancelled and on no account will action be taken."

Limerick; others elsewhere. Thus the plans of the Military Council, were againdisrupted. The Rising, based on those About 10 p.m. her summoned Jim. Ryan. (who had just returned from the South) be delivered to Commandant MacCurtain,. Cork, The O'Rahilly, was despatched to. and gave him copies of this order—one to plans was scheduled to commence the following afternoon (Easter Sunday)!

\* The 'statement in An Cosantoir of. February, 1945; that "the Aud was under conbluffed British naval units whenever she passed them: en route. The proof of this is evidenced by the fact that more than twenty. iours elapsed' between her arrival (5 p.m. hursday) and the hour of her virtual arrest by the British (1 p.m. Friday)— during which. time the cargo of arms could have been landed had the Volunteers been at Fenit to fundous, observation from the time she left port until-she arrived in Tralee Bay," gives a wrong impression. Captain Karl Spindler's account of the voyage—"The Mystery of the under the neutral Norweigan flag, successfully account of the voyage—". The Mystery of the Casement. Ship."—demonstrates how the Aud

tori die en planation y receive: them.

The British had been on the look-out for the German steamer Libau. She, in her Norwegian guise as the Aud, fooled them. She also fooled the Captain of Shatter II twelve hours olded the Captain of Statter II. twelve hours ther arrival in Tralee Bay, when the latter nterviewed Spindler at 5 a.m. Good Fidday. But, papers found on Casement on his arrest atter that morning (Spindler p. 169) evidently directed suspicion in a special manner to the direct The challenge of the British "wireless that afternoon can thus ailung The challenge of the British one o'clock

HE COUNTERMANDING ORDERS OF HOLY WEEK, 1916.

midnight (Saturday) MacDonagh arrived at 27 Hardwicke Street-MacDiarmada's headquarters for the Saturday night's cancellation order, 'the following appeared in 'the Sunday night-with news of MacNeill's latest countermand. The situation was appalby virtue of my membership on the Supreme 'Council, I.R.B., was called on 'by Connolly and Ceannt, who had not It was decided to call a full meeting of the Military The four sat in conference—in which 'I, To ensure widespread circulation of ling. Pearse and Plunkett arrived later. Clarke, stayed at their own homes that night, Council for next morning at Liberty Hall MacDiarmada to participate. Independent, April 23rd.: were not available.

tion, all orders given to Irish Volunments of Irish Volunteers will take. " Owing to the very critical posiparades, marches, or other moveare hereby rescinded, and no Each individual Volunteer will obey this order strictly in every teers for to-morrow, Easter Sunday, particular. place.

Undismayed, the Military Council in to the various Commandants mence in Dublin next day at confirming MacNeill's cancellation of that day's manoeuvres; Second: That the Rising would comsession at Liberty Hall, Easter Sunday forenoon made two important decisions: To send despatches immediately EOIN MacNEILL." First:

allotted positions on Easter Monday. he Dublin Battalions could occupy their The first was intended to obviate the politan area might start operations before Also, that should the British perchance on their part of impending action by the possibility that units outside the Metrofollow-up of MacNeill's countermand, any suspicion Volunteers may thereby be allayed. become aware of this

one were despatched from Liberty Hall Messages implementing decision number

about I p.m. In addition to the twofold purpose mentioned in preceding ing note written 'by Pearse at 5:5 p.m. vince MacNeill also that the Rising had been called off—thus obviating any Sunday, that the intention was to conparagraph, it is obvious from the followfurther untoward action by him:

" Commandant MacDonagh is to countermanded the Dublin parades COD firmed 'your countermand as the leading men would not have obeyed " To Eoin MacNeill, Woodtown Park call on you this afternoon. it without my confirmation." to-day with my authority.

DAY, EASTER MONDAY, was the Council\_THAT THE RISING WOULD vital one. These indomitable men could not 'be swerved from the task to which The second decision of the Military COMMENCE IN DUBLIN NEXT they had set their hand. Couriers were notified to the present that Sunday evening at the rooms of the Keating Branch of the Gaelic League, North Frederick Street, Pearse arrived there about 8 p.m. He had ready on small slips of paper a brief despatch, in his own writing, which read:

Carry out your " We start operations at noon to-A. H. PEARSE. day, Monday. instructions.

"oppor tune moment" had arrived. No human act could now stop the Rising. The illeffects of MacNeill's countermands had been discounted so far as the Dublin Battalions were concerned, and Hobson was under arrest since the afternoon of Good Friday. Even had the British military machine in Ireland got into action prior to noon Easter Monday, the fight would tions would thereby have taken a different Some of these left Dublin that night have gone on, though the initial others not until next day. The

to be forwarded that night to

the country Battalions. .

noon-despatches to this effect

was signed either P. H. D. When during the last few terrible days the plans of the Military Council were at \* The

Or P.H. Presse

times on the verge of irretrievable disaster, these valiant men remained unshaken in their resolve. Once the Insurrection got under way, their heartrending experiences were for the most part forgotten by them. They had "saved Ireland's honour" and were content.

We who have had opportunity to ponder on incidents in Ireland's fight for Freedom during the subsequent years, may well feel that the outcome of those experiences of Holy Week, 1916, were Providential in more than one respect.

The valedictory words of Padraic Pearse, Commander-in-Chief, of the Irish Republican forces, written in the burning G.P.O. on Friday, April 28th., 1916 (with respect to the failure of most of the country battalions to participate in the Rising) will serve as a fitting close to this review of what proved to be a bewildering chapter in the history of the Insurrection:

"Of the fatal countermanding order which prevented those plans from being carried out, I shall not speak further. Both Eoin MacNeill and we have acted in the best interests of Ireland."

There is, however, another noteworthy phase: Historians when design with previous Irish revolutions belaboured the fact that the organisations responsible for them were cursed and thwarted by spies and informers. They also insinuated that all Irish revolutionists against British domination were "easy marks " for such spies, and were fools to think that their plans could be kept secret from the eyes of the British Government. These critics side-stepped the well-known fact that every great Power has had its spies continually prying into the military secrets of its rivals -often with considerable success. point I wish to stress in conclusion is that . neither the leadership of the I.R.B. in 1916 nor that of the other organisations which participated in the Rising of "Easter Week" was cursed by either, spies or traitors. Herein we' have splendid testimony to the extreme care in recruiting exercised by the men responsible for the I.R.B. over a generation (coupled with propitious circumstances). and in particular to the methods followed by the members of the Military Council who guarded their secrets so jealously from the British that the insurrectionary forces were enabled to march unopposed into their several strategic positions on Easter Monday, 1916,