

W.S. 1,019

**ORIGINAL**

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY 1913-21  
BURO STAIRÉ MILEATA 1913-21  
NO. W.S. 1019

ROINN  COSANTA.

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY, 1913-21.

STATEMENT BY WITNESS.

DOCUMENT NO. W.S. 1,019.....

**Witness**

Right Hon. Sir Alfred Bucknill,  
48, Melton Court,  
London, S.W.7.

**Identity.**

Deputy Judge Advocate General to the  
British Forces in Ireland in 1916,  
in connection with the trials of Irish  
leaders in the Rising of Easter Week, 1916.

**Subject.**

Trial and execution of the leaders  
of the Easter Week Rising, 1916.

Conditions, if any, Stipulated by Witness.

Nil

File No. S.1838.....

Form B.S.M. 2

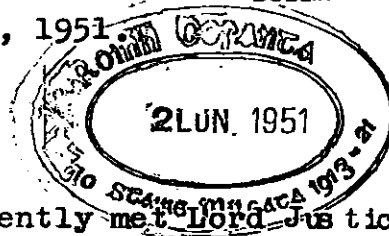


# ORIGINAL

ROINN GNOTHAI EACHTRACHA  
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH  
DUBLIN

1 August, 1951

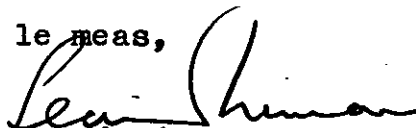


A Chara,

Our Ambassador in London recently met Lord Justice Bucknill, who has retired from the post of Lord Justice of Appeal. He told Mr. Boland that he was Deputy Judge Advocate General of the British Forces in Ireland at the time of the Rising in 1916 and was concerned with the courtmartial of a number of leaders, including Mr. de Valera. He added that it was he personally who brought the letter from Padraig Pearse to Sir John Maxwell accepting responsibility for the rising and asking that the lives of the other leaders should be spared.

Mr. Boland found Lord Justice Bucknill inclined to be very friendly and helpful and suggested that, if the Bureau had any gaps in their records of that period which he might conceivably be able to fill, he was sure he would be glad to do so.

Mise, le meas,

  
Rúnaí.

P.S.Ó Braonain Uas.,  
Secretary,  
Bureau of Military History,  
26 Westland Row.

S.1838.

15 Meán Fómhair, 1951.

Rúnaí,  
Roinn Gnóthaí Eachtraha.

With reference to your letter of 1st ultimo, regarding Lord Justice Bucknill, who recently retired from the post of Lord Justice of Appeal, the Director would be grateful if the Ambassador in London would approach the Lord Justice and ask him to place on record anything of which he has had experience in connection with the Rising of 1916 and subsequent events.

The practice of the Bureau is to seek to obtain a full record of a witness's own experiences rather than to get any person to fill in the gaps in other statements as it is not the function of the Bureau to decide whether any particular statement is accurate or complete. For that reason, it is desirable that Lord Justice Bucknill's complete story should, if possible, be placed on record.

The Director, who as you are aware is Secretary to the President, wishes me to make it clear that any information given to the Bureau, whether in the form of statements, letters or other documents will, except where the donor himself expresses a wish to the contrary, be treated with the strictest confidence until such time as the collection as a whole is released for study by historians, and that will not be during the lifetime of any person who took part in the events and developments with which the Bureau is concerned. If Lord Justice Bucknill wishes, his story and/or any associated documents can be placed under the Director's personal seal for a stipulated period of years, and that, in fact, has already been done in a number of cases.

He desires me to add that the giving of material to the Bureau in no way affects the right of a witness to use it in any way he himself wishes, whether by publication or otherwise.

I am enclosing a copy of this letter, together with copies of an informative leaflet issued by the Bureau in case the Ambassador would like to use them in communicating with Lord Justice Bucknill.

(Signed) P.J. BRENNAN

Rúnaí.

# ORIGINAL



ROINN GNÓTHAÍ EACHTRACHA  
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Confidential

BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH  
DUBLIN

P.248.

27 Lúnasa, 1954

Rúnaí,  
Buro Staire Mileata, 1913-21.



--  
--  
With reference to your letter of the 15<sup>th</sup> September, 1951, regarding the offer of Lord Justice Bucknill to place on record his experiences in connection with the Rising of 1916, I am directed by the Minister for External Affairs to inform you that, early last year, our Ambassador in London had Sir Alfred to lunch and received from him the accompanying papers. I enclose Mr. Boland's account of his conversation with Sir Alfred.

You will note the wish expressed by Sir Alfred that his name would not be mentioned in connection with this matter during his lifetime.

I am to <sup>regret for the</sup> express/delay in transmitting the accompanying documents but it was only recently they were returned from the office of the former Taoiseach, who has retained three photostat copies thereof. The negative of the photostat is in the possession of this Department.

*Seán Ó Súilleabháin*  
Rúnaí,

Iadhtáin:



The Director spoke to Mr. Seán Nunan today and inquired if it would be possible to get Mr. Boland, our Ambassador in London, to ascertain from Lord Justice Bucknill when the manuscript statement received from him (Lord Bucknill) was written. Mr. Nunan said he would make the necessary inquiries.

RUNAÍ.

2.9.54.

# ORIGINAL



ROINN GNÓTHAÍ EACHTRACHA  
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH  
DUBLIN

P.248.

21st September, 1954.

Dear Michael,

You will remember our recent conversation regarding the Bucknell papers which we sent you on 27th August and your enquiry as to the exact date on which Sir Alfred wrote his account of his experiences here in 1916 (the original of which is included in the documents).

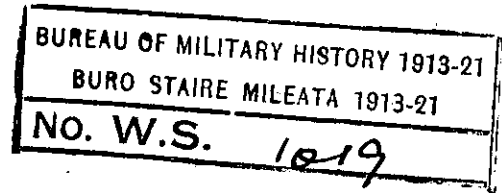
I have now heard from Fred Boland that it is not possible to state the precise date you require but it can be taken that the account was compiled from recollection within a week or so prior to the 4th February, 1953 - the date on which Sir Alfred gave the document to Fred.

Yours sincerely,

Michael McDunphy Esq.,  
Bureau of Military History, 1913-1921,  
26 Westland Row,  
DUBLIN.

(Copy)

IRISH EMBASSY,  
LONDON.



Confidential

5th February, 1953.

Dear Sean,

Following receipt of your letter, 338/347, of 12th January, I got in touch with Sir Alfred Bucknill and he came to lunch with me here yesterday. He is an invalid and has been laid up with osteo-arthritis.

2. He gave me the enclosed account of his experiences following the Rising and the few papers attached to it. The papers seem to be of little value. The sheet of paper containing a list of names was removed by him from a nail on the wall immediately over the printing press in Liberty Hall on which the Proclamation of 1916 was printed. He thinks it is a list of names of the men who worked on the machine. It seems to me more likely to be an allocation of duties among members of the Citizen Army in Liberty Hall during the actual fighting. The pencilled notes opposite the names apparently indicate hours of active duty. The other paper with the cartoon on it was found in a wooden box which had apparently been used to import firearms from the United States. The British authorities, Sir Alfred said, were never able to make head or tail of it.

3. Sir Alfred's account of his experiences is not perhaps of great interest but he added some details in conversation with me during the lunch.

4. He told me that the officers in charge of the execution squads had to report to him, as legal officer of the Command, for the certification of the deaths. It was one of these officers who told him that Thomas McDonagh was whistling when he came down from the steps into the execution yard.

5. Sir Alfred said also that he had seen suggestions that the Taoiseach had not been executed because he was an American citizen. His recollection was that this had nothing whatever to do with it. If any single factor was more responsible than another, it was the murder of Sheehy-Skeffington. His reason for saying this was as follows. When General Maxwell was sent over, he was

given a pretty free hand to deal with the insurgents but he was told by the Prime Minister personally that at all costs, whatever was done would have to be done legally; there would have to be a complete answer to possible criticism in the House of Commons. Sir Alfred was specially attached to General Maxwell to look after this aspect of the matter.

6. When he got down to business in Dublin, Sir Alfred found that the legal powers available were by no means watertight. General Maxwell proposed to proceed with court martials and executions under D.O.R.A.; but D.O.R.A. did not provide for the case of armed insurrection. For that reason, it was necessary to charge the insurgents with "aiding the enemy" and in order to bring the cases within the four corners of this charge, it was decided to use in evidence the postscript to Pádraic Pearse's last letter to his mother. The prosecution would have been in some difficulty without this postscript.

7. As soon as the executions began, the Prime Minister in London started to get apprehensive and frequent queries were received as to the basis upon which General Maxwell was proceeding. Sir Alfred had to prepare the replies to a lot of these. A list had been prepared of the men to be executed on the basis of documents found on captured men or in occupied buildings. The Taoiseach's name was mentioned as a Commandant in one of these documents which was written and signed by Connolly (a copy of this is attached to Sir Alfred's statement). It was on this document they relied in courtmartialling the Taoiseach. In the middle of the exchanges with Downing Street, the case of Sheehy-Skeffington, who had been shot a week or more before the executions began, started to assume importance. Skeffington had friends in the Irish party who were assailing the Prime Minister with questions. Downing Street regarded General Maxwell's replies about the Skeffington case as wholly unsatisfactory and under repeated questioning General Maxwell had to admit that a mistake had been made. The reply was a peremptory order from the Prime Minister to General Maxwell that there were to be no more executions pending a personal discussion which the



Prime Minister intended to have with General Maxwell a day or two later. Sir Alfred says that when he got this order General Maxwell asked him for a list of the men awaiting execution and the Taoiseach's name was the first on the list. When the Prime Minister met General Maxwell in Dublin on 12th May, he decided that there were to be no more executions except of men against whom charges such as the murder of prisoners could be proved. Sir Alfred told me that his recollection of these matters is pretty clear and he is fairly sure that the above is a correct explanation why the Taoiseach was not executed in 1916.

8. I stated in my letter of 26th July, 1951, that it was Sir Alfred Bucknill who brought the letter from Padraic Pearse to General Maxwell accepting responsibility for himself and asking that the lives of his men should be spared. This is not correct. Sir Alfred was the bearer, not of the letter, but of the reply. He handed this personally to Padraic Pearse who was walking up and down in the barrack square of - he thinks - Richmond Barracks. Pearse, who seemed quite calm and self-possessed, thanked him for the letter, read it and put it in his pocket without comment. Sir Alfred said he had no knowledge of the contents of General Maxwell's reply.

9. Sir Alfred said that the remains of the printing press in Liberty Hall were put in wooden boxes and brought up to Command Headquarters at Parkgate. He thought they might possibly still be there. He also said that the chair on which James Connolly was executed - which was an ordinary kitchen chair - was subsequently brought to Kilmainham and was still there when he left Ireland in 1919. He thought it might possibly still be extant. The back of the chair was badly damaged by the bullets.

10. All the executions were ordered to take place at 3.45 a.m. in the morning.

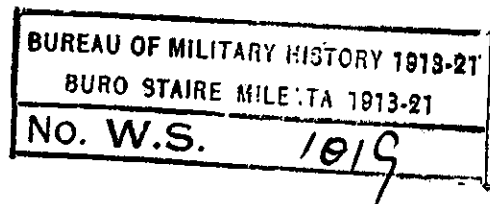
11. On handing me the enclosed account and the papers, Sir Alfred Bucknill asked me for a personal assurance that his name would not be mentioned in connection with these papers, or any matter disclosed in them, during his lifetime. I told him that he could rest assured that his wishes in

this respect would be scrupulously respected.

Yours sincerely,

F. H. BOLAND

Sean Nunan Esq.,  
Secretary,  
Department of External Affairs,  
Dublin.



Letters of an English Soldier in Ireland.

~~During the last 6 months I have seen several towns, all affected by the Great War.~~  
~~London, Paris, Ypres, Antwerp, Alexandria, Cairo, Jerusalem. And now I am~~  
 in Dublin. My first scene in Dublin was one of civil war. We arrived in  
 the very early hours of the morning and steamed up to North Wall, ~~at 10 o'clock~~  
 silent and dark. The ~~down~~ Custom House stood out against a background  
 of fire. ~~There~~ There were at least 4 distinct fires burning, and great  
 flames were leaping up in different places as if the whole city north  
 of the ~~river~~ ~~was~~ ~~happily~~ was doomed. Occasionally we heard the crack of a rifle  
 or the ~~top~~ ~~top~~ ~~top~~ <sup>knocking</sup> of machine gun fire. We arrived at the quay and  
 found a vessel lying alongside with a gun mounted on her bows. The  
 crew of this vessel had left me there was one man on board in charge of  
 the gun and he helped us to tie up alongside. A staff officer then  
 came on board, an Irishman who was wearing the military cross ribbon  
 earned in France. He ~~appeared to be~~ was a man of invincible cheerfulness.  
 "Sure, we've had a fine fight" was his ~~main~~ answer to all the  
 questions thrust at him. After a while another staff officer arrived with  
 2 cars, and we got ashore on to the quay, which had a primitive  
 barricade of large barrels. After some delay in getting our luggage  
 ashore we mounted the cars and drove away to Royal Hospital. It  
 was impossible to go direct as the Four Courts, & the Post office  
 were held by the rebels & there was no other way except to go round  
 by the North Circular Road. We passed Liberty Hall, which had been  
 shelled on the previous day, and then pursued a somewhat  
 exciting course owing to the excessive vigilance of our pursuers  
 who challenged us about every 50 yards. On one occasion the  
 leading car did not pull up sufficiently quickly and 3 of a

picquet had their rifles up to their shoulders. If that car had not pulled up a few seconds later it would have most certainly have been perforated.

Friday

We arrived safely at ~~the wall~~ Royal Hospital about 3 a.m. on 28/4/16, and after a cup of tea went to bed for a few hours

~~on the following~~

~~Breakfast over. I was helped General Byrne to sleep a moment~~

~~to a chair for the purpose of smoking~~

I cannot remember that anything exciting happened on the Friday.

We had a sentry patrolling the little wall running between the garden & the drive & he occasionally had a shot at something, what I never discovered. There was also another sentry who patrolled along the embankment behind the wall looking towards the Dublin Union. I looked over this wall and could see very distinctly the Republican Green flag hanging from one of the windows of the Union. General Maxwell threw out a hint that some one might like to earn 2 guineas by bringing the flag in, but it remained there so far as I know until the surrender on the Sunday.

There were a good many troops quartered at the hospital, & they slept in the corridors. There was also a divisional train picketed in the field looking towards the Kilmainham Gaol, on the N side of the avenue. I wandered about the house on Friday morning & found a bullet mark on the wall of the drawing room, which had come through the window apparently from the direction of Park Gate.

On Saturday morning I was busy drafting a paper for General Byrne and after lunch went down with him to Parkgate. Whilst we were there, we heard that probably the whole affair was over, and shortly afterwards Pearse the rebel leader arrived, and ~~was introduced~~ saw General Maxwell. ~~He~~ Pearse surrendered unconditionally and sent out notices to his followers to do the same. I saw this man later on in the day at Hill Barricks where he was removed. I went there with General Byrne. Pearse was dressed in green uniform with yellow staff tabs and he had a ~~the~~ hat rather like a Colneals with the side turned up. He was tall and well set up, with high cheek bones and eyes deep set. I remember that he said he had brought ~~2~~ some money with him to pay for his food and he requested that he might have special food, but this request was not then granted.

~~On the following morning I went to Kilmainham prison to see how~~

It was obvious from the commencement that there would be great difficulty in getting sufficient legal evidence to prove any particular offence against any particular person, and that the only thing to do was to get the names of officers who could identify prisoners as having taken part in the fighting or having surrendered with arms in their hands. In talking with an officer a Lieut. Watson of the Royal Irish Rifles, who was in charge of a detachment of men at Royal Hospital, I found that he had been engaged in the fighting at the Dublin Union

had helped to take a good many prisoners here who were now at Kilmainham. I told General Byrne this, who arranged with H. Q. that the evidence of this officer should be taken, but nothing was done, and on the Sunday I went to Kilmainham and took a Summary myself of his evidence in the case of various men whom he called men in his company identified.

The prisoners that I saw there were in rather a deplorable state. Some of them had been wounded and they all looked dirty & unkempt. I was very surprised to hear of men, Beazley & Duffan say they were solicitors.

The leader at the Union was Kurt, who was not ~~there~~ taken prisoner by Mr. Watson, but several of the prisoners said that he was in command there. A man called Irvine, a <sup>secondary</sup> ~~primary~~ school teacher was second in command.

I gathered from most of the statements made by the accused that they had no knowledge on the Sunday morning that there was going to be a rebellion, until they were suddenly rushed in ~~to~~ to the South Union gate at the double and taken in to the huts where the fighting took place where they were told to barricade themselves as they were about to be attacked by the military. This was their version.

It is undoubtedly true that some of the company or battalion of the Irish Volunteers who were taken to the South Dublin

Union lined the hedge on the left side of the road and ambushed the Royal Irish Regiment who were marching down. The Castle killed several of them. The Irish, as I was told by officers there, had not the slightest idea of what they were in for, and were marching along in fours, when they were fired on. They then doubled back under cover and attacked across the fields in open order whilst another party worked their way round to the canal <sup>side</sup> and attacked there. They then stormed the huts, where they found the Rebels mixed up with the patients and a most horrible confusion.

I never heard that any man was tried for firing on the troops in this ambush. So far as I know no rebels captured in Mellin were executed. Irvine, the most prominent man captured there, was sentenced to 70 years penal servitude.

on Sunday (April 30<sup>th</sup>) a large number of rebels surrendered  
and they were brought up to Richmond Barracks. I saw  
\* ~~for~~ the Countess Markievicz arrive there at the head  
of her company. When I saw her she was standing  
~~with~~ ~~grawing~~ an group in the barracks square with  
a number of young women prisoners standing  
behind her. She was dressed in ~~a~~ dark green knickerbockers  
& puttees and ~~she~~ wore a green hat ~~and~~  
with cock's feathers in it. I saw her again on another  
day when she was brought to Richmond Barracks  
from Kilmamshan for a summary of evidence to  
be taken. She was brought over in a motor ambulance attended  
by a woman & a guard of soldiers. I took the summary of evidence  
in her case, and from the statement of a page boy at an  
hotel facing Stephens green it appeared that he saw her  
fire her revolver at a window in the hotel from which  
an officer in uniform was looking out. The bullet struck the  
window sill. When I asked her whether she wished to say  
anything, she said "we dreamed of an Irish republic and  
thought we had a fighting chance". Then for a few moments  
she broke down and sobbed.

Pearse, Mac Donagh and Clarke were tried on the first day  
that the Court sat and were all condemned to death  
executed on the following morning at Kilmamshan Gaol.



Pearse during the time of waiting before his trial had written a letter from prison to his mother which was used in evidence against him at his trial. This letter is now attached to the proceedings in his case and is interesting because he says there "I have reason to believe that the German expedition in which I embarked actually set sail but was defeated by the British Fleet." ~~It was reported that the expedition was defeated~~

Pearse appears to have been a very considerable orator. I was told that he was really a wonderful speaker. He made the funeral oration at the burial of G. Donovan Rossa at Glasnevin cemetery in 1915. I saw him saluted by some of his men who were also waiting trial in a very respectful manner. One of the Royal Irish officers told me that after the rebels had been driven out of the Post office by the fire razing there, they collected in the side street by the Coliseum and seemed uncertain what to do & then Pearse came up and spoke to them and in a few minutes they were cheering and rushed after him in the direction of Moore Street.

Pearse made an appeal to General Maxwell to spare the lives of his followers if he forfeited his own life. I had

To hand Pearce General Macmillan's letter in reply but do not  
know its contents.

I believe from what these <sup>three</sup> were present at his execution  
to know that these three men and indeed all who were  
executed died bravely. Macmillan indeed came down  
the stairs whistling. They were blindfolded in a  
passage and had a piece of paper pinned on their  
coats over the heart and were then led out. They  
were shot at two different spots in two different  
yards in the Gaol. I saw the places of execution. They  
could not be overlooked from any windows, but the noise  
must have been terrific. It frightened the people living  
near who thought it was artillery. Each firing  
party had 12 men, & the executions took place at  
3.45 a.m. At first I used to sleep very badly  
at Royal Hospital because I could not help thinking  
of these unfortunate men dying, who more than 1/4  
mile away, and on the first occasion I heard the march  
of the firing party going out from Royal Hospital but  
I never heard the firing. I believe that P. H. Pearce  
did not see his mother before his execution because  
the motor which was sent for her was stopped by the  
pickets & she did not get through. A very poor arrangement  
was made to get the relatives to the gaol for the night

before the execution, and a priest was always in attendance  
at the execution & burial. A large part was dug at  
Arbro Hill Detention Barracks and the bodies were  
removed there for burial.

The difficulty of collecting evidence in the cases was very  
considerable, as it was necessary in every case to prove  
that the accused had surrendered into arms from some  
place which had been held by the rebels and where  
fighting had taken place. In many cases no lists  
of prisoners had been taken but no officer could  
identify the accused as the person who had actually  
surrendered and of course there was the risk of people  
giving false names & addresses which in fact was  
done in several cases. Beyond the proclamation of the

Irish Republic which contains the names of 7 signatories  
we know very little of the prime movers in the rebellion.

Copy attached

A document was found as one of the prisoners type  
written & signed by Curry which mentioned the various  
Commandants in Dublin, Mr. Donagh, Kent, Mallin,

De Valera & Daly were specifically mentioned there.

Beyond these 2 documents there were I think hardly any  
of any value beyond the actual surrender of Pearse,  
signed by him & by Mr. Donagh and Clarke, and  
various orders signed by Curry. An Army order  
appointing Mr. Boyd as Commandant ~~General~~ at ~~the~~

Factory was found, and an order by Connolly to J. J. Hennessy  
to seize the machinery at all costs was found, also  
a paper signed by Mr. Deane ordering all persons  
at the camp to report at Liberty Hall <sup>on the Sunday</sup> ~~in the evening~~.  
These were I think the only documents referring to  
the actual operations which were used at the trials.  
We were not able to prove the Proclamation of the  
Republic at first owing to the fact that no copy  
had been saved, but subsequently a part of the type  
was found at Liberty Hall. As we wanted to prove  
this in Mr. Deane's case Capt. Wheeler & I went  
down to Liberty Hall & had a search there. We also  
took true impressions of the type. I took away 2 copies  
& gave General Dwyer one, intending to keep the other  
but ~~that~~ ~~to~~ ~~hand~~ ~~over~~ to General Macswell, who  
sent it on to the Prime Minister & never saw it  
again. The type was carefully removed at my suggestion  
& packed in a box & taken to H.Q. where it probably  
still is.

Liberty Hall was pretty well searched by the troops  
at first. When I went there a guard had been placed  
over it & no one could get in without an order.  
The type of the Proclamation was in its frame  
leaning against the wall in the inner little room

which was screened off from another room. Both these rooms were  
behind the actual printing room & seemed to lead ~~to~~ us to  
a shop which sold collars & clothes. ~~Also~~ I found the  
printer's file which the N.C.O. who showed us round, himself  
a professional printer; told us was used by the printer  
to put the copies on pins which he worked. I found the proof  
of the 'Committee's' was 'Hyman here' copies were  
written on it. I also found what appeared to be  
a time table for all day & night work, probably  
needed for printing the proclamation. The N.C.O.  
said that ~~the~~ ~~there~~ ~~was~~ ~~not~~ ~~enough~~ ~~type~~ ~~to~~ ~~print~~ ~~the~~ ~~whole~~ ~~proclamation~~  
~~and~~ ~~proclamation~~ probably there was not enough  
type to print the whole proclamation & therefore  
the top half was printed first & then the type  
was reset & the bottom half was printed. We  
searched diligently to find a proof of the top half  
but failed.

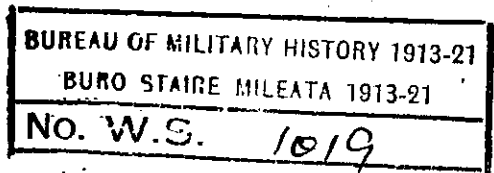
Liberty Hall was in itself in a state of utter  
compression - The <sup>floors of the</sup> rooms upstairs were covered with  
old newspapers & magazines, which it was suggested  
was used as beds to lie upon. There were a certain  
number of boxes in some of the rooms, presumably  
the remains of food. In two rooms we found evidence

of cartridges being reloaded. A large amount of N<sup>o</sup> 5  
shot was on the floor and on the window sill, and  
there were numbers of wads lying about. I also  
picked up an iron lot of rammer & a wooden  
rammer in one of these rooms which must have  
been used to help reload the cartridges as they  
fitted the cartridge 12 bore very well. I found one  
other cartridge partly loaded as if the rammer  
had failed to get the wad down & had bent the  
cartridge which might happen if the rammer  
was not quite true. I also found a hollow iron ~~bar~~  
~~rod~~ tube in the other room which I  
think was probably used for the same purpose.  
In another room we found a large number  
of wooden boxes despatched from America which  
had contained the shot guns which were used by  
the rebels. I could not find any invoice there  
we picked up a rather remarkable document  
~~offer~~ offering a reward for the capture of "Black  
Lube" which must have been picked up in one  
of the guns. I imagine.

We went into Condlips room but everything had  
been searched there. His ~~to~~ bureau had been

burst open into a crowd which was still there, and  
everything had been removed. There was a cafe in rear  
of the dome stairs rooms which was still there & unopened.  
This was subsequently opened by representatives from  
HQ. but nothing was found in it.

We found a very large number of maps & costumes  
& paints for making up, but these were probably  
used in the theatricals at Liberty Hall. There was  
a little theatre & stage unopened in ~~the~~ large  
room adjoining the printing & room.



Letters of an English soldier in Ireland.

My first scene in Dublin was one of civil war. We arrived in the very early hours of the morning and steamed up to North Wall, silent and dark. The Custom House stood out against a background of fire. There were at least four distinct fires burning, and great flames were leaping up in different places as if the whole city north of the Liffey was doomed. Occasionally one heard the crack of a rifle and the knocking of machine gun fire. We arrived at the quay and found a vessel lying alongside with a gun mounted in her bows. The crew of this vessel had left but there was one man on board in charge of the gun and he helped us to tie up alongside. A staff officer then came on board, an Irishman who was wearing the military cross ribbon earned in France. He was a man of invincible cheerfulness. "Sure, we've had a fine fight" was his answer to all the questions thrust at him. After a while another staff officer arrived with two cars, and we got ashore on the quay, which had a primitive barricade of large barrels. After some delay in getting our luggage ashore we mounted the cars and drove away to Royal Hospital. It was impossible to go direct as the Four Courts and the Post Office were held by the rebels and there was no other way except to go round by the North Circular Road. We passed Liberty Hall, which had been shelled on the previous day, and then pursued a somewhat exciting course owing to the excessive vigilance of our picquets who challenged us almost every 50 yards. On one occasion the leading car did not pull up sufficiently quickly and three of a picquet had their rifles up to their shoulders. If that car had pulled up a few seconds later it would have most



certainly have been perforated.

We arrived safely at Royal Hospital about 3 a.m. on 28/4/16 (Friday), and after a cup of tea went to bed for a few hours.

I cannot remember that anything exciting happened on the Friday. We had a sentry patrolling the little wall running between the garden and the drive and he occasionally had a shot at something, what I never discovered. There was also another sentry who patrolled along the embankment behind the wall looking towards the Dublin Union. I looked over this wall and could see very distinctly the Republican green flag hanging from one of the windows of the Union. General Maxwell threw out a hint that someone might like to earn two guineas by bringing the flag in, but it remained there so far as I know until the surrender on the Sunday.

There were a good many troops quartered at the hospital, and they slept in the corridors. There was also a divisional train picketed in the field looking towards Kilmainham Gaol on the N side of the avenue. I wandered about the house on Friday morning and found a bullet mark on the wall of the drawing-room, which had come through the window apparently from the direction of Park Gate.

On Saturday morning I was busy drafting a paper for General Byrne and after lunch went down with him to Parkgate. Whilst we were there, we heard that probably the whole affair was over, and shortly afterwards Pearse the rebel leader arrived and saw General Maxwell. Pearse surrendered immediately and sent out notices to his followers to do the same. I saw this man later on in the day at Arbour Hill Barracks where he was removed. I went there with General Byrne. Pearse was dressed in green uniform with yellow

staff tabs and he had a hat rather like a Colonial's with one side turned up. He was tall and well set up, with high cheek bones and eyes deep set. I remember that he said he had brought some money with him to pay for his food and he requested that he might have special food, but this request was not then granted.

It was obvious from the commencement that there would be great difficulty in getting sufficient legal evidence to pin any particular offence against any particular person, and that the only thing to do was to get the names of officers who could identify prisoners as having taken part in the fighting and having surrendered with arms in their hands. In talking with an officer, a Sec. Lt. Watson of the Royal Irish Rifles, who was in charge of a detachment of men at Royal Hospital, I found that he had been engaged in the fighting at the Dublin Union and had helped to take a good many prisoners there who were now at Kilmainham. I told General Byrne this, who arranged with H.Q. that the evidence of this officer should be taken, but nothing was done, and on the Monday I went to Kilmainham and took a summary myself of his evidence in the case of various men whom he and other men in his Company identified.

The prisoners that I saw then were in rather a deplorable state. Some of them had been wounded and they all looked dirty and unkempt. I was very surprised to hear two of them, Beazley and Duggan say they were solicitors. The leader at the Union was Kent, who was not taken prisoner by Mr. Watson, but several of the prisoners said that he was in command there. A man called Irvine, a secondary school teacher, was second in command. I gathered from most of the statements made by the accused that they had no knowledge on the Monday morning that there was going to be a

rebellion until they were suddenly rushed in to the South Union gate at the double and taken in to the huts where the fighting took place, where they were told to barricade themselves as they were about to be attacked by the military. This was their version. It is undoubtedly true that some of the company or battalion of the Irish Volunteers who were taken to the South Dublin Union lined the hedge on the left side of the road and ambushed the Royal Irish Regiment who were marching down to the Castle and killed several of them. The Irish, as I was told by officers there, hadn't the slightest idea of what they were in for, and were marching along in fours when they were fired on. They then doubled back under cover and attacked across the fields in open order whilst another party worked their way round to the canal side and attacked there. They then stormed the huts, where they found the rebels mixed up with the patients and a most horrible confusion.

I never heard that any man was tried for firing on the troops in this ambush. So far as I know no rebels captured in the Union was executed. Irvine, the most prominent man captured there, was sentenced to 10 years' penal servitude.

On Sunday (April 30th) a large number of rebels surrendered and they were brought up to Richmond Barracks. I saw the Countess Markievicz arrive there at the head of her company. When I saw her she was standing gnawing an orange in the barrack square with a number of young women prisoners standing behind her. She was dressed in dark green knickerbockers and puttees and tunic and had a green hat with cock's feathers in it. I saw her again on another day when she was brought to Richmond Barracks

from Kilmainham for a summary of evidence to be taken. She was brought over in a motor ambulance attended by a wardress and a guard of soldiers. I took the summary of evidence in her case, and from the statement of a page-boy at an hotel facing Stephen's Green it appeared that he saw her fire her revolver at a window in the hotel from which an officer in uniform was looking out. The bullet struck the window sill. When I asked her whether she wished to say anything, she said "We dreamed of an Irish Republic and thought we had a fighting chance". Then for a few moments she broke down and sobbed.

Pearse, MacDonagh and Clarke were tried on the first day that the court sat and were all condemned to death and executed on the following morning at Kilmainham Gaol. Pearse during the time of waiting before his trial had written a letter from prison to his mother which was used in evidence against him at his trial. This letter is now attached to the proceedings in his case and is interesting because he says there "I have reason to believe that the German expedition on which I counted actually set sail but was defeated by the British fleet."

Pearse appears to have been a very considerable orator. I was told that he was really a wonderful speaker. He made the funeral oration at the burial of O'Donovan Rossa at Glasnevin Cemetery in 1915. I saw him saluted by some of his men who were also waiting trial in a very respectful manner. One of the Royal Irish officers told me that after the rebels had been driven out of the Post Office by the fire raging there, they collected in the side street by the Coliseum and seemed uncertain what to do and then Pearse came up and spoke to them and in a few minutes they were cheering and rushed after him in the direction of

Moore St. Pearse made an appeal to General Maxwell to spare the lives of his followers if he forfeited his own life. I had to hand Pearse General Maxwell's letter in reply but do not know its contents.

I believe from what those who were present at his execution told me that these three men and indeed all who were executed died bravely. MacDonagh indeed came down the stairs whistling. They were blindfolded in a passage and had a piece of paper pinned on their coats over the heart and were then led out. They were shot at two different spots in two different yards in the gaol. I saw the places of execution. They could not be overlooked from any windows, but the noise must have been terrific. It frightened the people living near who thought it was artillery. Each firing party had 12 men, and the executions took place at 3.45 a.m. At first I used to sleep very badly at Royal Hospital because I could not help thinking of these unfortunate men dying not more than  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile away, and on the first occasion I heard the march of the firing party going out from Royal Hospital but I never heard the firing. I believe that P.H. Pearse did not see his mother before his execution because the motor which was sent for her was stopped by the picquets and could not get through. Every arrangement was made to get the relatives to the gaol on the night before the executions, and a priest was always in attendance at the execution and burial. A large grave was dug at Arbour Hill Detention Barracks and the bodies were removed there for burial.

The difficulty of collecting evidence in the cases was very considerable, as it was necessary in every case to prove that the accused had surrendered with arms from

some place which had been held by the rebels and where fighting had taken place. In many cases lists of prisoners had been taken but no officer could identify the accused as the person who had actually surrendered and of course there was the risk of people giving false names and addresses which in fact was done in several cases. Beyond the proclamation of the Irish Republic which contained the names of seven signatories we knew very little of the prime movers in the rebellion. A document was found on one of the prisoners, typewritten and signed by Connolly, which mentioned the various Commandants in Dublin. McDonagh, Kent, Mallin, de Valera and Daly were specifically mentioned there. Beyond these two documents there were I think hardly any of any value beyond the actual surrender of Pearse, signed by him and by McDonagh and Clarke, and various orders signed by Connolly. An army order appointing McBride as Commandant at Jacob's factory was found, and an order by Connolly to J.J. Heuston to seize the Mendicity at all costs was found. Also a paper signed by McDermott ordering all persons at the camp to report at Liberty Hall on the Monday with arms. These were I think the only documents referring to the actual operations which were used at the trials. We were not able to prove the Proclamation of the Republic at first owing to the fact that no copy had been saved, but subsequently a part of the type was found at Liberty Hall. As we wanted to prove this in McDermott's case Capt. Wheeler and I went down to Liberty Hall and had a search there. We also took some impressions of the type. I took away two copies and gave General Byrne one intending to keep the other but handed it over to General Maxwell, who sent it to the Prime Minister and I never saw it again. The type was carefully removed at my suggestion and packed in a box and taken to H.Q. where it probably

still is.

Liberty Hall was pretty well ransacked by the troops at first. When I went there a guard had been placed over it and no one could get in without an order. The type of the proclamation was in its frames leaning against the wall in the inner little room which was screened off from another room. Both these rooms were behind the actual printing room and seemed to lead into a shop which sold collars and clothes. I found the printer's file which the N.C.O. who showed us round, himself a professional printer, told us was used by the printer to put the copies on from which he worked. I found the proof of the Countess's War Hymn there, copies March written on it. I also found what appeared to be a time table for all day and night work, probably needed for printing the proclamation. The N.C.O. said that probably there was not enough type to print the whole proclamation and therefore the top half was printed first and then the type was reset and the bottom half was printed. We searched diligently to find a proof of the top half but failed.

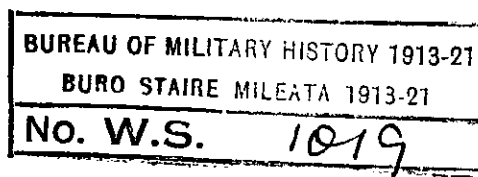
Liberty Hall was in itself in a state of utter confusion. The floors of the rooms upstairs were covered with old newspapers and magazines, which it was suggested were used as beds to lie upon. There were a certain number of bones in some of the rooms, presumably the remains of food. In two rooms we found evidence of cartridges being reloaded. A large amount of No. 5 shot was on the floor and on the window sill, and there were numbers of wads lying about. I also picked up an iron sort of rammer and a wooden rammer in one of these rooms which must have been used to help reload the cartridges as they fitted the cartridge 12 bore very well, and I

found one or two cartridges partly loaded as if the rammer had failed to get the wad down and had bent the cartridge which might happen if the rammer was not quite true.

I also found a broken iron tube in the other room which I think was probably used for the same purpose. In another room we found a large number of wooden boxes despatched from America which had contained the shotguns which were used by the rebels. I could not find any invoice there but picked up a rather remarkable document offering a reward for the capture of "Black Luke" which must have been packed into one of the guns I imagine.

We went into Connolly's room but everything had been ransacked there. His bureau had been burst open with a crowbar which was still there, and everything had been removed. There was a safe in one of the downstairs rooms which was still there and unopened. This was subsequently opened by representatives from H.Q. but nothing was found in it.

We found a very large number of wigs and costumes and paints for making up, but these were probably used in the theatricals at Liberty Hall. There was a little theatre and stage underground in a large room adjoining the printing room.





# \$4,000 REWARD FOR THE CAPTURE OF BLACK LUKE

## DESCRIPTION.

HEIGHT. 5 Ft. 10 ins.

BROAD SHOULDERS.

HEAVY IRON-GREY BEARD.

HARD FEATURES.

BROAD SLOUCH HAT.

RED SHIRT.

WHITE-BUCKSKIN WAIST COAT.

BLUE SCARF.

WHITE-BEARSKIN CHAPS.

HEAVY MEXICAN SPURS.

S.W. FIVE-SHOOTER.

CARTRIDGE BELT.

BROWN RIDING GAUNTLETS.

Owner of Cow Pony known on Trail as "Devil-Fire"



WANTED FOR CATTLE RUSTLING  
TRAIL AGENCIES.  
PARTICULARS TO BE BROUGHT TO

COL., STOCKS  
OR  
LIEUT., JACKSON.

OF THE SOUTHERN CAMP CROYDEN CREEK  
NORTH CAMP.

2/11/1914 29 years old  
army



# THE GAELIC PRESS

30 UPPER LIFFEY STREET, DUBLIN,  
7th April 1916.

Mr. Nolan,

Liberty Hall.

A chara,

The forme will not be ready till 6, o'clock. Could you send machine man to tea from 5 to 6 o'clock, so that he could work ahead after that. I will call down about 5 o'clock.

Yours truly,

← Bristol 10 Feb 17

6 Nov

8 Nov 12 10 2

8 Birmingham 8 10

8 Melbury

8 Princes 2 10 4

8 St Mark

8 Brennan 4 30 6

THE LANG · BENEFIT CONCERT

PART I.

- |                |  |  |
|----------------|--|--|
| 1. Song.       | Die Wacht am Rhein                       | Mr. Andrew Dunne.                              |
| 2. Dance       | Three Hand Reel                          | The Misses B. McKenna,<br>R. Drew & K. Nugent. |
| 3. New Song    | "Brit-Huns"<br>(by C. de Markievicz).    | Mr. Gerald Crofts.                             |
| 4. Recitation. | Selected.                                | Mr. Shawn Connolly.                            |
| 5. Song        | Selected                                 | Mr. Brian O'Higgins.                           |
| 6. New Song    | "Draw the Sword"<br>(by Theo Fitzgerald) | Miss Molly Byrne.                              |
| 7. Song.       | "Comrades in Arms"                       | Juvena Quartette.                              |
| 8. Sketch      | "When Wexford Rose"                      | Fianna Players.                                |

PART II.

- |                |   |                                     |
|----------------|---|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Song.       | Selected.                                   | Mr. Brian O'Higgins.                |
| 2. Song.       | "O'Donovan Rossa"                           | Miss Lily O'Byrne.                  |
| 3. Song. (New) | "Ireland to Germany"<br>(by Maeve Kavanagh) | Mr. Gerald Crofts.                  |
| 4. Recitation. | "Mike O'Leary"<br>(by C. de M)              | C. de Markievicz.                   |
| 5. Song        | "Mountains of Pomeroy"                      | Mr. Morgan.                         |
| 6. Dance.      | Double Hornpipe.                            | Miss Rita Drew and<br>Miss McKenna. |
| 7. Song.       | "Ceo Drodherchta"                           | Miss M. O'Byrne.                    |
| 8. Song.       | Selected                                    | Master Treacy.                      |

FINALE

Song. - "The Memory of the Dead" - Mr. A. Dunne.

Typed by:-  
"Foley's"  
Dublin.

Irish Paper.

Archer Hill Barracks,  
Dublin.

1st May, 1916.

My Dear Mother,

You will I know have been longing to hear from me. I do not know how much you have heard since the last note I sent you from the G.P.O.

On Friday evening the Post Office was set on fire and we had to abandon it. We dashed into Moore Street and remained in the houses in Moore Street on Saturday evening. We then found that we were surrounded by troops and that we had practically no food.

We decided in order to prevent further slaughter of the civil population and in the hope of saving the lives of our followers, to ask the General Commanding the British Forces to discuss terms. He replied that he would receive us only if I surrendered unconditionally, and this I did.

I was taken to the Headquarters of the British Command in Ireland, and there I wrote and signed an order to our men to lay down their arms.

All this I did in accordance with the decision of the members of our Provisional Government who were with us in Moore Street. My own opinion was in favour of one more desperate sally before opening negotiations, but I yielded to the majority, and I think now the majority were right, as the sally would have resulted only in losing the lives of perhaps 50 or 100 of our men, and we should have had to surrender in the long run as we were without food.

I was brought here on Saturday evening and later on all the men with us in Moore Street were brought here. Those in the other parts of the City have, I understand, been taken to other barracks and prisons.

All there are safe and well. Willie and all the St. Enda's boys are here. I have not seen them since Saturday, but I believe they are all well and that they are not now in any danger.

Our hope and belief is that the Government will spare

the lives of all our followers, but we do not expect that they will spare the lives of the leaders. We are ready to die and we shall die cheerfully and proudly. Personally I do not hope or even desire to live, but I do hope and desire and believe that the lives of all our followers will be saved including the lives dear to you and me (my own excepted) and this will be a great consolation to me when dying.

You must not grieve for all this. We have preserved Ireland's honour and our own. Our deeds of last week are the most splendid in Ireland's history. People will say hard things of us now, but we shall be remembered by posterity and blessed by unborn generations. You too will be blessed because you were my mother.

If you feel you would like to see me, I think you will be able to visit me by applying to the Headquarters, Irish Command, near the Park. I shall I hope have another opportunity of writing to you.

Love to M.M., M.B., Miss Byrne, X X and your own dear self.

P.

P.S.

I understand that the German Expedition which I was counting on actually set sail but was defeated by the British.

*I think it is very  
likely that the  
expedition will  
be successful*

Army of the Irish Republic  
Headquarters, (Dublin Command)  
28th April, 1916.

TO SOLDIERS.

This is the 5th day of the establishment of the Irish Republic and the flag of our country still floats from the most important buildings in Dublin, and is gallantly protected by the Officers and Irish soldiers in arms throughout the country. Not a day passes without seeing fresh postings of Irish Soldiers eager to do battle for the old cause. Despite the utmost vigilance of the enemy we have been able to get in information telling us how the manhood of Ireland, inspired by our splendid action, are gathering to offer up their lives if necessary in the same holy cause. We are here hemmed in because the enemy feels that in this building is to be found the heart and inspiration of our great movement.

Let us remind you what you have done. For the first time in seven hundred years the flag of a Free Ireland floats triumphantly in Dublin city.

The British Army, whose exploits we are for ever having dinned into our ears, which boasts of having stormed the Dardanelles and the German lines on the Marne, behind their Artillery and Machine Guns are afraid to advance to the attack or storm on positions held by our Forces. The slaughter they suffered in the first few days has totally unnerved them and they dare not attempt again an infantry attack on our positions.

Our Commandants around us are holding their own.

Commandant Daly's splendid exploit in capturing Linen Hall Barracks we all know. You must know also that the whole population both Clergy and Laity of this District are united in his praises.

Commandant MacDonagh is established in an impregnable position reaching from the walls of Dublin Castle to Redmond's Hill, and from Bishop Street to Stephens Green.

(In Stephens Green, Commandant Mallin holds the College of Surgeons one side of the Square, a portion of the other side, and dominates the whole Green and all its entrances and exits.)

Commandant De Valera stretches in a position from the Gas Works to Westland Row holding Boland's Bakery, Boland's Mills, D. & S. E. Railway Works and domination of Merrion Square.

Commandant Kent holds the South Dublin Union and Guinness's Buildings to Marrow Bone Lane and controls Jaimeson Street and district.

On two occasions the enemy effected a lodgment and were driven out with great loss.

The men of North County Dublin are in the field, have occupied all the Police Barracks in the district, destroyed all the Telegraph system on the Great Northern Railway up to Dundalk, and are operating against the trains of the Midland and Great Western.

Dundalk has sent 200 men to march on Dublin and in the other parts of the North our Forces are active and growing.

In Galway, Captain Mellowes fresh from his escape from an Irish Prison is in the field with his men. Wexford and Wicklow are strong and Cork and Kerry are equally acquitting themselves creditably. (We have every confidence that our allies in Germany and our kinsmen in America are straining every nerve to hasten matters on our behalf.)

As you know, I was wounded twice yesterday and am unable to move about, but have got my bed moved into the firing line and with the assistance of your Officers will be just as useful to you as ever.

Courage Boys, we are winning and in the hour of our victory let us not forget the splendid women who have every way stood by us and cheered us on. Never had a man or women a grander cause; never was a cause more grandly served.

Signed.

JAMES CONNOLLY,  
COMMANDANT GENERAL,  
DUBLIN DIVISION.