

W.S. 1,092.

ORIGINAL

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY 1913-21
BUREAU STATE MILITARY 1913-21
NO. W.S. 1092

ROINN  COSANTA.

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY, 1913-21.
STATEMENT BY WITNESS.

DOCUMENT NO. W.S. 1,092.....

Witness

Michael J. Kehoe,
1 Ardee Road,
Rathmines,
Dublin.

Identity.

Lieut. (Brigade Adjutant)
Irish Brigade, Germany, 1914 - .

Subject.

Joseph Plunket's visit to Germany,
1915.

Conditions, if any, Stipulated by Witness.

nil

File No.S.1447.....

W.S. 1097 - 741

MATERIAL COLLECTED BY THE BUREAU

REGARDING

ROGER CASEMENT.

- A. Personal Statements of Evidence.
 - B. Contemporary Documents.
 - C. Press Cuttings made during the
lifetime of the Bureau.
 - D. Notes on files relating to persons
who have not given evidence.
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MATERIAL COLLECTED BY BUREAU REGARDING ROGER CASEMENT.

A. PERSONAL STATEMENTS OF EVIDENCE.

- W.S. 4 - Diarmuid Lynch - Distribution in 1915 of a pamphlet containing the texts of a series of articles written anonymously by Roger Casement some years earlier, and published in The Gaelic American, New York, and later in Irish Freedom.
- W.S. 85 - Bulmer Hobson - Roger Casement, 1904-1914.
- W.S. 86 - Bulmer Hobson - Comment on R. Monteith's "Casement's Last Adventure".
- W.S. 117 - Maurice Moriarty & Annexe to W.S. 117. - Landing of Casement, Monteith and Bailey, Banna, Co. Kerry, 1916.
- W.S. 123 - William Mullins - s.s. "Aud" and Roger Casement.
- W.S. 126 - Jack McGaley - Arrest of Casement and Bailey, Holy Week, 1916.
- W.S. 168 - Joseph Melinn - Landing of Casement and Monteith, Saster, 1916.
- W.S. 381 - G. Cavan Duffy - Copy of "Lecture on Roger Casement", in 1950.
- W.S. 537 - Michael McDunphy - Note on the painting of The Trial of Roger Casement, 1916, by Sir John Lavery.
- W.S. 551 - Very Rev. T. Canon Duggan - The Casement Brigade in Germany.
- W.S. 558 - Rev. Fr. J.M. Cronin & Annexe to W.S. 558. - His recollections of Casement's last days in Pentonville Prison, including his reconciliation with the Catholic Church.
- W.S. 1365 - Bulmer Hobson - His memories of Roger Casement.

B. CONTEMPORARY DOCUMENTS.

C.D. 173 - Dr. Herbert Mackey - Passages from the manuscript written by Roger Casement in the condemned cell at Pentonville Prison.

C.D. 1 - Photostat copy of letter, dated 1/6/14, from Roger Casement to Colonel Warburton re training of the Belfast Corps of the Irish Volunteers.

C.D. 45 - George Gavan Duffy - Casement Documents:

(a) Correspondence and manuscripts;

Mrs. J.R. Green - writings before execution;

Gaffney - Casement in Germany;

MacNeill - The Unionist Machine.

(b) Correspondence re Irish Volunteers.

(c) Counsel's papers in the trial of Roger Casement, 1916.

C.D. 131 (Group 1) - Monsignor M.J. Curran -

Correspondence with Sir Edward Grey, K.G., M.P., representatives of Foreign Governments in Berlin, and Monsignor O'Riordan, Irish College, Rome, etc., 1915.

C. PRESS CUTTINGS MADE DURING THE LIFETIME OF THE BUREAU.

See P.C. 9.

D. NOTES ON FILES RELATING TO PERSONS
WHO HAVE NOT GIVEN EVIDENCE.

- S. 55 - Office File, Roger Casement - Extract from "Old Meadow", page 39, Cardinal Bourne's memorandum on Casement's reception into the Catholic Church.
- S. 1862 - Dr. James Walsh, Editor, "Catholic Times" - Correspondence re article entitled, "Last Letters of Roger Casement". Name of author not disclosed.

At the suggestion of Rev. Fr. Cronin, see W.S. 588 above, letters were addressed to Very Rev. J. McCarroll (S. 1863) and Monsignor H.E. Daly (S. 1864) in October, 1951, regarding Casement's reconciliation with the Catholic Church. The former did not reply, and the latter died in 1949.

A letter was sent also in October, 1951, to Professor Denis Gwynn (S. 74) regarding a personal statement by Dean Ring on Casement's reconciliation with the Catholic Church, but a reply was not received from him.

Original

m.s.d.
CASING... W.S. 1092.....

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leacÁN miontuairisce

M. J. Kehoe.

Documents compiled and assembled in
the Bureau regarding this witness are annexed
to another statement by him, W.S. 741.


RÚNAÍ

26/9/1957.

CASAINE.....


LEACÁN MIONTUAIRISCENOTE BY DIRECTOR

on the Witness

MR. MICHAEL J. KEOGH, HILTON HOUSE, 1 ARDEE ROAD,
RATHMINES, DUBLIN.

This Witness has been in continual correspondence over the past thirty years with a number of Departments of State, including the Office of the Secretary to the Government in which I was Assistant Secretary from 1922 to 1938 inclusive. While he is believed to have been associated with the Irish Brigade organised by Roger Casement in Germany prior to the Rising of Easter Week 1916, his claims to importance, which he parades on every occasion, are regarded by those who have come into official contact with him as grossly exaggerated and completely unreliable.

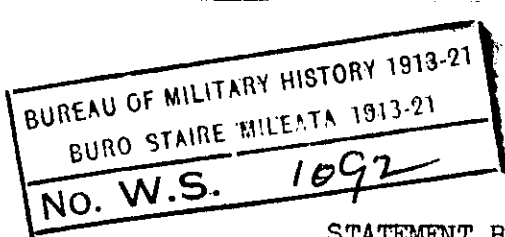
Representing himself in the beginning as having been an N.C.O. in the Brigade, his most recent letters to the press indicate that he now claims to have been a Captain and to have been A.D.C. to Roger Casement. His name is spelled sometimes as "Keogh" and sometimes as "Kehoe".



(M. McDunphy). DIRECTOR.

14 February, 1955.

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY 1013-21
BURO STAIRÉ MILEATA 1013-21
NO. W.S. 1092



W. S. 1,092

ORIGINAL

STATEMENT BY CAPTAIN M. J. KEOGH,
Hilton House, 1, Ardee Road, Rathmines,
Dublin.

The history of the Irish Volunteer Army and its Executive Council which was organising and planning the pending Irish Insurrection would not be complete without a full account of the activities in Germany of its military delegate Commandant Joseph Mary Plunkett who was subsequently first Chief of Staff in 1916 of the Irish Republican Army. He was also co-author with Roger David Casement of The Irish Declaration of Independence of Easter Week.

In opening this narrative it is necessary to mention beforehand that the Irish Race Ambassador, Roger Casement, had been then sent to Germany by the Irish leadership in America and at home to act on behalf of The Irish Freedom Movement in Germany.

It was during Commandant Plunkett's six months' tour of military envoyship in Germany which laid the foundations and fundamental reasons contained in the eventual Declaration of Irish Independence in 1916. In the many conversations and conferences appertaining to our work together I gathered sufficient to believe that these two Irish patriots had laid the groundwork for this declaration as afterwards and still the means of our constitution of freedom.

To elucidate more fully the great difficulties which were placed in the way of either communication or any fixed methods of ways and means towards assisting the home forces it can be easily understood that every secrecy and care should be given by all immediately connected with this project.

Perhaps it would be well to say before I proceed further how it came about that Plunkett was allowed to go to Germany. At Christmas 1914 during the height of what was known as "The friendly Casement

clash with the British Government's representative in Norway" and who had tried by every foul means to either have the ^{Irish Race} ~~British~~ Ambassador secretly murdered or poisoned, the English Government and Dublin Castle had left no stone unturned in the fight to destroy the sympathy of the German Government for the Irish Movement of freedom. In saying so the English Government had sent to Germany its very best Intelligence Officers. These, of course, were not English born; they were mostly Canadian and even some Irish born. Roger Casement, despite all opposition, had what one could term the love of the Irish on his side. Between the 1st December, 1914 and the 1st January, 1915, the Irish Envoy's chief work was in order to prevent these machinations of the enemy against the Gael not only at home but this time in the fatherland of Ireland's gallant allies in Europe.

We were quite conscious of all the facts that every method to destroy tactics, both morally and physically, were being used and especially in America where 20 millions of our Irish people were existing. It was not enough for the agents of Downing Street to invent the now famous forged diaries portraying or intended to dishonour Roger Casement's character and moral good name. The climax of the onslaught insofar as physical violence was concerned reached the point on the 3rd January, 1915 when Roger Casement, the writer his Adjutant, had secured ample documentary proof of the British Government's vile and foulest intentions to have the Irish Government Ambassador removed by using a neutral subject with the promise in writing of a bribed reward of £5,000 and freedom to enter the United States. The reading of this document in short meant - If the said Adler Christianson (a Norwegian subject) will arrange that Roger Casement or his companions are done away with, the above amount will be paid to said Adler Christianson.

Signed - M. de Findlay.

(Findlay was the British Ambassador to Norway).

This document was proof that Casement and his co-partners in the Irish fight in Germany during the last two months of 1914 had been successfully brought to a close and it caused the British Government and Navy an enormous amount of uneasiness and sleepless nights, never mind the amount of coal used in the British Navy's squadrons on the lookout for yachts with neutral flags proceeding to Ireland with the needed arms for the Irish Volunteers.

The immediate result of this showdown was electrifying throughout the world and despite the fact that even the Irish leadership had advised Roger Casement and his companions of the I.R.B. to drop the Findlay affair as the British and its government were trying to bluff us; nevertheless Casement was made of unrelentless determination seldom found even in the Gael.

The Irish Ambassador called through the Foreign Office in Berlin the immediate attention of this latest attempt against the life of Irishmen seeking to bring by every ways and means some assistance as his predecessors T.W. Tone and the many Irish expeditions down the centuries in Europe. At least a dozen neutral Ambassadors including the then United States' neutral Ambassador, Mr. Gerrard. With all the elaborate preparations necessary it was authenticated and published in all European papers and Roger Casement claimed through the Norwegian Government to be allowed to challenge the then British Ambassador in this neutral country, through the medium of Norway's public Courts. It was to be understood that the British had met their final diplomatic Waterloo at the hands of a few Irishmen then in the cockpit and centre of the greatest armed camp in Europe. It is said truly in an old Irish proverb that a coward gives way at the last repulse.

Mr. M. de Findlay, the British Ambassador in Christiana, had been well known to Roger Casement as the assistant political officer of the butcher Kitchener in Khartoum against the Egyptian freedom and the infamous holocaust at Khartoum. The British Government in London when opposed by the challenge of Roger Casement and a proof signed by over a dozen neutral countries' ambassadors in Berlin including the Papal Legate - this evidence gave Jöhn Bull a stomach ache. And around the 10th January, 1915 Mr. de Findlay was recalled and his disgrace involved not only his appointment withdrawal as Ambassador but his final disappearance from British diplomacy. Casement in a published lecture shortly afterwards and in many leading newspaper articles in Germany, Austria and the then neutral Italy summed up the whole matter by the short sentence "De Findlay has become the scapegoat victim of the murder machine and gentlemen in pirates' evening dress at No. 10 Downing Street."

This cleared the air in so far of the most abominable reports that had been flooding from the communications even in the German Foreign Office postbag from its representative in Washington with even newspaper articles and declarations from press, platform and pulpit that how could Irish nationalism delegate such an immoral pervert as its so-called Military Irish Envoy then in the capital of Germany. These pronouncements are abbreviated and shortened in order to give the reason why it was necessary that Ireland's home forces and headquarters in Dublin should be fully informed of all that was happening in Berlin.

It has been proved historically and even then we knew in Berlin how the Secret Agents through photographed facsimile copies of the Congo Red Rubber Scandal of 1903-04 and also the Putumayo South American Red Rubber showup by Roger Casement in 1910-11; his exact writing had been photographed in these reports wherein he had elucidated the many exposures of the methods of perversion used by their White men masters

and destroyers who had used the natives, Negro and Redmen, for their materialistic profits. These pamphlets were printed by the British Secret Service in America and the co-operation of no.10. Downing Street agents such as Professor Alfred Noyes who was the pamphlet editor in Washington and privately distributed in thousands specially to the anti-British Irish leadership and members of the Irish exiles in America. The German Foreign Office had many of its officials who at first doubted the authenticity without going further into the charges secretly sent to Count Berntsdorff in Washington. It was very lucky for the Irish Independence Movement that at that time in Berlin we had at least one strong adherent in the person of Dr. Kuno Meyer who had been from 1891 one of the co-operative founders with E. Machill, Fr. O'Growney and Fr. O'Leary of the Irish Ireland Gaelic League Movement and with Father O'Leary the two were given the freedom of the City of Dublin in 1910, I think, as the nation's thanks for their research work for the rebirth of the Irish Language.. Dr. Kuno Meyer had been in America until shortly before Christmas 1914 and had returned via Spain and Italy to Germany. He had brought the real truth and facts in some cases not very pleasant as she, in European countries, the British propaganda had laid their good foundations for the defamation of the characters of Irishmen such as Roger Casement.

Dr. Kuno Meyer in relating such on his return gave us to understand that the majority of the Irish leadership in U.S.A. had become chloroformed with this British propaganda and with the exception of a few old Irish Fenians such as Joe McCerraty and Jack Tynan who had always known the British game to have Irish sons of freedom denounced and misdoubted with distrust even by those who should know better.

Dr. Kuno Meyer brother of Dr. Edward Kuno Meyer renowned world-famed historian, was then a Director of one of the important

sections of Berlin's Foreign Office; although with those gentlemen and one of the couriers who at that time, early January 1915, namely Mr. J. T. Ryan, a well known Irish-American leader. Up to this we had been engaged so strongly with the De Findlay affair that the matter of the military formation of an armed contingent as the European branch of the home Irish Volunteers had not been given the attention which Roger Casement originally intended. But with the dispersal of our common enemy up to then, Mr. De Findlay and his first withdrawal from Norway, Roger Casement decided to give all his time to this necessary formation of the Irish Volunteers in Germany. We had been reinforced also in the first week of January, 1915 by the Irish Clan na Gael and Sagart Aroon representative from Philadelphia, U.S.A. This priest was a born Irishman from Kiltyclogher, County Leitrim, Very Rev. T.J. Nicholson who had been ordained in Holy Orders in Galveston, Texas. He was a great friend of Joe McGerraty, Philadelphia, the owner of the Irish Bulletin.

Prior to Roger Casement leaving Philadelphia he had arranged with Joe McGerraty that the great Irish priest recently arrived from Ireland, Father Nolan, would be the best choice to follow Casement to Germany. But when Father Nolan had finally arranged for his departure it was found necessary to have a passport. Up until then passports were not necessary but the Casement case and his getaway from America to Germany changed the whole face of British diplomacy even in America. Father Nolan, being a well known priest in the Sinn Fein and Gaelic League Movement not only at home but during his short stay in America the British got the "wind up" when he wanted his visa to pass through Rome. They refused him. And when he said he would go without one the British again produced their threat with "We will arrest you when we get you at Gibraltar^{as} as we have reason to believe that you intend going further than Rome". This refusal brought a volunteer who was a friend of Joe McGerraty, namely Father Nicholson who being an American citizen

for over 20 years could pass through with his American passport, actually through Rome and on to Berlin. Father Nicholson supplied the three leaved shamrock in our fight for Faith and Fatherland.

I must mention that Roger Casement in the initial stages of our negotiations and conferences with the German Government and Military Authorities planned for the concentration of all the Irishmen then prisoners of war in Germany into one prison camp preferably in South Germany. At this juncture with the arrival of Father Nicholson in Berlin I vividly remember his jocular remark when told that he would have to go to join his Chaplains whom Casement got directly from the Irish College in Rome, Very Rev. Dr. O'Gorman, O.P., and Rev. Fr. Crotty. O.P.

We wish to say here that again the astuteness of certain elements even in the Irish College at Rome counteracted any possibility of their colleagues' neutrality. It was the expressed wish of their Superiors in Rome not to meddle in Irish politics in Germany. Father Nicholson, when he asked Roger about this and on learning that Dr. O'Gorman had been known as an Imperialist and Father Crotty was openly a follower of the Parnellite type, started to hum a song and he said it portrayed the ingredients of an atmosphere where he would now find himself as a Fenian. The song had special reference to Hesse - "When the Yoes were in Dunshaughlin and the Hessians were in Coleraine".

It is now vitally necessary to state that our future time would be devoted to the formation of the Irish Volunteers in Germany. Although Roger Casement was quite aware of all the methods to blacken our chances of success we felt assured that the people who counted mostly in Ireland would understand. It has been only a repetition of the unfortunate inner history in the fight for Irish liberty. Before Mr. Ryan had left us on his return via Ireland back to America

he had been fully conversant with our exact predicament in Berlin; also as to the formation. The 2,000 approximately ex-members of the British Army, Irishmen, who were brought from all the various prison camps in Germany to the chief Irish and catholic camp specially brought into being by the German Military Authorities for any born Irishman who was then a prisoner-of-war in Germany materialised. The name of this particular place was Limburg on Lehm, Hessin, Nassau.

Father Nicholson out in the unknown with his priestly duty was to get into contact with the two Irish monks, Brothers Kelly and Keenan at Limburg together with a half dozen of our underground agents such as Sergeant Joe Downing who had been working secretly for a month or so at Limburg camp for the formation of the intended Irish branch. The difficulties were so large that Roger Casement had asked Mr. Ryan to instruct as best he could the headquarters in Dublin as regards these difficulties and if at all feasible to have sent out to us an officer such as Major MacBride who, no doubt, would be well known even by some of the ex-Boer War veteran Irishmen then interned at the Irish camp. In the meantime we had intended to do the best we could as matters stood. I wish to make one emphatic statement before proceeding with regard to advent of Joe Plunkett in Germany. With the formation of the Special Prisoner-of-War camp in mid December as per the 10th clause Irish German Agreement of the 12/12/14 the Germans in the first instance made the vital mistake that they sent from the other camps at least 200 members of Irish Regiments such as the Dublin Fusiliers or Connaught Rangers, N.C.Os and men who were not born Irishmen although members of an Irish Regiment and the opposition in other camps through the whole movement of the transport of Irish regiments to this camp had met such antagonism that these N.C.Os had got the support of their English colleagues to make a written appeal, as they could legally, to the Red Cross of Geneva. And a special petition was signed by officers, N.C.Os and men in these British

prisoner-of-war camps that was contrary to the Red Cross, Geneva Convention and they did not want to be separated from their British comrades.

The German Military Authorities, with the exception of one or two in the beginning and in the rush of war propaganda, had overlooked many facts which in the end counted as very dangerous opposition to our progress. It gave the English Government at home every opportunity to invent most cunning devices placed in the path of Sir Roger Casement and his Irish colleagues in Germany.

As soon as the British Government and Military Authorities at home found that the Irish prisoners were segregated from their British Army colleagues into one special Irish propaganda camp they knew this was the special work of Roger Casement and Company. In Ireland itself in all the garrison cities and towns where the Irish regiments had their so-called home depots the 'West British' Irish type of Ladies' societies were formed to collect funds, food and garments of clothing to be sent to this special Irish camp. And in 1915 a weekly donation of 10/- per man was given to men formerly belonging to an Irish regiment. This money was sent through the Red Cross in Geneva and the Germans changed it into German money. After all it was sterling. They had no alternative but to issue that because when Roger Casement and myself with our liaison officer Captain Hans Boehn, General Staff, Berlin, in order to prevent this money, which was bribery in the pure sense, reaching the Irish prisoners the German authorities had a very sound excuse in not being capable of preventing this money reaching the Irish prisoners. The General Officer Commanding the district in Frankfurt gave us to understand that if they stopped this money and its legitimate delivery from the Red Cross in Geneva that like the Baralon Case in submarine warfare some months previous, the British would stop any German money reaching the Germans in England who were prisoners of war.

Let it be understood that each prisoner-of-war be he Irish, English, French or Russian, among the half million sojourning as guests of the Kaiser in the Fatherland, each of these prisoners of war had qualified international rights per the accepted laws of their Red Cross Convention with headquarters seats in Geneva, Switzerland and The Hague, Holland. They had one letter and one parcel per week. To augment this the Irish Ladies' societies supported by the then pro-Ally Irish people whom the Sinn Fein and Irish Volunteers, both at home and abroad, had tried to convert, came to John Bull's rescue unintentionally and their subscriptions etc. sent to the prisoner-of-war camp in Limburg with balefuls of food and clothing gave those 2,000 semi-educated Irish prisoners-of-war per traditions in the British Army many excuses and reasons for not joining any Irish Ireland Movement by just the phrase put together "We are better here and better looked after as prisoners-of-war than if we were at home".

A comprehensive narrative of Joe Plunkett's visit to Germany during his five months sojourn March to July, 1915, of why and how with its results.

As heretofore mentioned, Joseph Mary Plunkett was the junior member of the Supreme Military Council with his three other colleagues, Pearse, McDonagh and Tom Clarke. He was at that time 29 years of age. He had been for many years in a very bad state of health. He had been a student visitor on the continent and had studied in Paris University.

For some years prior to 1915 especially from 1913 onwards, he was an able literary contributor to the many Irish Republican weekly papers both in Ireland and America. He was for the last two years co-editor of the monthly issue in Dublin of the Irish Review which was one of the

principal literary text works in the Irish Separatist Movements.

In 1912 Roger Casement returned from America and his successful show up of the Putumayo South American Rubber Scandal with the assistance of the then American President William Taft and having finally resigned from the British Agent Consular's service he came to Dublin from New York after consultation with his old friends Joe McGerraty and John Devoy. The partition question in 1912 had got its first roots in the Irish political arena and now we first connect Roger Casement and Joe Plunkett. He ably assisted the Monthly Irish Review by his very fine treatises, probably still unequalled in Rory of the Gael's prophetic words of the coming world war, "Ireland, Germany and the freedom of Ireland".

From then on Joe Plunkett and Casement had been very much in contact with each other. As said previously, Plunkett was the selected one of the 'big four' to go to Germany from the Dublin headquarters at the end of January, 1915. The reasons were obvious that in my special report to Tom Clarke and Casement's also my I.R.B. head centre, that as we could not proceed any further with the 2,000 miscreants calling themselves Irishmen in the Limburg prisoner-of-war camp, in order to get them to join an Army expedition for any future landing in Ireland. Roger Casement and myself being then an American citizen we had decided to convey Captain Ryan's message to Tom Clarke in the middle of January, 1915 in Dublin; we were then determined to go back to America by hook or by crook and ^{what} we did not expose already in the De Findlay murder attempt of the British Government against Irish citizens in Germany we would finally also charge in American open Courts and public press the slanderous acts attributed to Casement that he had sold himself for German gold and had been in the pay of the Germany Government for the past six months in Germany. The half a dozen secret underground agents as British prisoners-of-war in Limburg camp who had been working for nearly two months then with our very

staunch Saggart Aroon, Father Nicholson, the Catholic Chaplain. These men were to be withdrawn at all costs from the British Army and Professor Dr. Kuno-Meyer and his influence in the Foreign Office in Berlin had agreed to get suitable civilian work for them. Father Nicholson, being also an American citizen, would report to the United States also. There was one man we had decided to send to Ireland by the very same way he became world famous as when he landed and successfully gave his invisible ink message as I.R.B. courier from Germany on the 10th April, 1918. He has since been known in modern Irish military story as "The Irishman in a submarine", Sergeant Joseph Dowling. This was the exact position on the 25th March, 1915, a very curious coincidence it being Our Lady's Day, because it was on this date that the present writer had been asked by the chief, Roger Casement, to meet at the Berlin Trans European chief railway station a well known Irish messenger from Dublin in the person of Joseph Mary Plunkett.

In computing and listing briefly many indisputable facts which have since been ignored or covered up as merely a German plot or openly scoffed at by the most or 90% of all the so-called and recent Irish 1916-1921 historical scribes and editors of books published under melodramatic commercialised names, not only in reference to the Easter Week 1916 Insurrection "in the making" especially as far as Casement's and Plunkett's unselfish and brave attempts to augment and reinforce the 1,500 German Mausers landed at Howth from Germany on the 26th July, 1914, and hardly a week before the outbreak of World War No. 1. These rifles were bought from a personally subscribed fund of about £4,000 contributed to the two special collectors Roger Casement and The O'Rahilly, both of whom started this fund with £250 each of their own private money. The result the recent 1913/14 municipal and other elections in Ireland had as Tom Clarke told both Roger Casement and the writer in Dublin at a conference after the Curragh Mutiny in April 1914

and when Lord Carson and Birkenhead with his Orange Volunteer Army in the North had not only landed 30,000 rifles at Larne, County Antrim and other places in the six counties contrary to statute law to prevent any measure of Irish as governing, even if necessary to annihilate in a holocaust all Irish nationalists in Ulster.

The question then in April, 1914 was what was given as an opposition of all these 100,000 of so-called Volunteers followers of the Home Rule or as Government forces parties split all over the 32 counties. These had nothing to defend their minority brothers in Carsonian Six Counties other than imitation and dummy rifles from broom handles and shovels. But I still recall the words of Tom Clarke the funds sent during the past eight years through the Irish Exiles in America have been eaten up and disappeared like 'snuff' at a wake' by the aspirants of Sinn Fein separatists personally made war chest in Dublin is now in April 1914 completely bereft and empty. The elections of the last four successful Sinn Fein Town Counsellors, Tom Kelly, Seán T. O'Kelly, William Cosgrave and the father of Sinn Fein Arthur Griffith to the City Father of the City of the Pale has left the I.R.B. separatists' funds without a red cent. Casement and The O'Rahilly who were both present at this extraordinary I.R.B. centre conference in the back room of that little headquarters of Irish revolutionary tribunal at the corner of the now Parnell Street and O'Connell Street then suffered under the name of Great Britain Street and Sackville Street in honour of the invaders in the 7th century occupying Ireland.

I can still see the excitement in that little back room when Casement and The O'Rahilly who were both the dark horses of any financial troubles especially since the formation of the Irish Volunteer Army in Wynne's Hotel the manifesto of its foundation written specially and read out by the agreement of the Executive Committee of Oglach na hEireann Roger Casement.

Both Casement and The O'Rahilly assured my old 69th officer colleague and head I.R.B. centre for Ireland Tom Clarke in company with Sean McDermott in April 1914 not to worry about the money portion "it will be got even if we have to ^{go}/around personally" said Casement and the O'Rahilly "with caubeen and despite even insults perhaps we will get the money and it is only up to you then in the I.R.B. and military channels to produce and purchase those rifles". I was personally selected as one of the advisory committee for the selection of these rifles when Roger Casement and The O'Rahilly had returned from a visit to their good friends across channel and who with a few dozen other people had subscribed the said £4,000. The selection committee for the choosing of the Howth Mauser German rifle decided to purchase per the sample of the 1898 Mauser German rifle with five bullets in the stock magazine on same meaning of course in soldier's language even today in most English-speaking families either Irish, English or American "five in the magazine or one up the spout" or in the breach of these German rifles. The reason I will also give from the three distinct rifles put before this military officer and I.R.A. selection committee of the Irish Volunteer Army and I.R.B. then in Dublin in April, 1914. On a table in a room in Thomas Street, Dublin, were placed these three rifles, a French, an English and a German. After several mechanical details from the soldiery and armoury expert point of view the German rifle was the most appropriate and as this rifle's bore or barrel dimensions could suit either English or French ammunition being larger by decimal .01, its superiority over the French or English rifle needs no further explanation. This had been the decision when Casement and The O'Rahilly had handed over to Tom Clarke and the I.R.B. the £4,000 they had personally collected from the two dozen about private people in Ireland and some Irish exiles with blood of their forefathers born in the heart of London were only too happy to assist the Irish

Insurrectionary movement in this way. The Howth guns were purchased eventually and landed as aforesaid at Howth on Sunday 26th July, 1914, and a week later at Kilcoole the remaining cargo in a Mexican yacht incognito another 500 German Mausers.

I arrive now at blunder No. 1 as scrutinised and investigated and verified by Commandant Joe Plunkett in Germany in April, 1915 at Hamburg. The rifles which were landed at Howth and Kilcoole were not the selected German Mausers but a definitely inferior almost obsolete rifle from 1870 with only one round of ammunition in comparison with the selected one and marked 20th century rifle, the German Mauser pattern of 1898 with five in the magazine and one in the breach. The person selected for the purchase of these rifles had not for the first time in secret Irish revolutionary matters gravely slipped up. In fact in 1927 when the writer, as one of the first authors of the Irish 1916 narrative story, first pointed these incidents out in the twelve serial articles in the Catholic Bulletin published Messrs. Gills, Dublin, I am only stating what is known since of these 1915-'16 events. The man who did have the Irish Volunteer Military Council authority to purchase these rifles in Hamburg instead of buying the modern pattern went out of his way to purchase a greater number of the inferior and deplorably obsolete 1870 pattern. This man was Mr. Darrell Figgis. I will leave it to all even non-military men to distinguish the causes hereafter of this blunder No. 1 of 1916 becoming even a possibility. Although I always differentiate in all articles of big accounts of this sad affair in my consciousness of knowing from my own Fenian uncle in America the growth and dangers of the notorious blunders always with the Irish freedom movements. As in all curious events arising out of the Casement-Plunkett sojourn in Germany I observe not only for protection of any publisher and also the feelings of people who had participated in such an event by also the old soldier's methods "no names no pack drill."

In this particular instance Joseph Plunkett's remarks to not only Casement but subsequently in the numerous private chats as we were I.R.B. members, this was only natural the person who had been delegated to purchase the rifles in Hamburg had not only selected the wrong one but when that brave soldier Captain Erskine Childers' and his still braver wife Mrs. Childers, an American born, had let the German tug boats in the "Asgard" private yacht with "Old Glory" American Flag at the mast they had successfully got through the meshes of the then British Navy mustered in the English channel and the North Sea outwitting the counter espionage of England's greatest spies. Erskine Childers, his wife and Captain Sheppard then only an Irish soldier on furlough from the British Army had begun offering their cargo at the mouth of the Skelt between Holland and Germany when the purchaser who came with the German tug boats and set sail for Howth where they landed as successfully regarded on the 27th July 1914. The courier's point is especially noted and more curiously covered up by all book authors since 1916 that these rifles were the wrong ones. Moreover the person who purchased them skipped out of Erskine Childers' boat with an excuse at Falmouth, Devonshire, went ashore and when Joe Plunkett and Roger Casement checked the accounts of finance for same and the purchase of the rifles in Hamburg there was a deficiency of some £500. It is evident that this was the first serious slip-up of the I.R.B. in their special selection of dispatch or courier for purchase of the most needed war material in order to make feasible an insurrection in Ireland.

This chapter specially on Joe Plunkett has been during the past 38 years by almost every historian dealing with the 1916 question definitely put in the background as to his exact mission in Germany. Plunkett, as before mentioned, had been attending Doctors for a good many years for a fatal malady. A titled Surgeon, Sir Arthur Chance of Dublin, at Christmas 1914 facilitated him to visit the French Riviera

with a recommendation for special permission by this Irish Surgeon to the British Authorities of Dublin Castle who had been glad no doubt to have got rid of a firebrand in the inner circle Irish Literary Separatist Movement.

With this special permission to get to France and from there to Spain and he was met by a special emissary from America who furnished him with American passport credentials to visit Italy and Switzerland. When he arrived in Berne, the capital city of the German-speaking province of that name, he got in touch with the German Ambassador in Switzerland and had communication through him to the Foreign Office in Berlin to ask permission to enter Germany as he wanted specially to interview the Irish Envoy Roger Casement. Casement had known Plunkett so long that there was no objection to his being allowed to enter Germany. This was about the 20th March, 1915. In order to secure a proper identification of our future military delegate from Headquarters in Dublin I proceeded with Captain Boehn of the German General Staff to the Swiss frontier as I had known Plunkett in Dublin a year before and as two men already had lost their lives in the attempt to murder Casement inter alia spies in Germany one could never be too careful. Of course, I had no difficulties in identification of my fellow I.R.B. man and colleague from Dublin.

In order to obviate any definite criticism of any particular revelation that is made in this narrative I have no other reason than to have the truth revealed and to cover up by such ribald statements in almost every book that one reads up to date that either Casement had been mad or let down by the Germans in the attempt to form his Irish Brigade.

It is always traditional in Irish insurrectionary movements back to 1798 that unfortunately many of the prominent people who might know the truth had either been executed or died in prison. I want to make it

plain for the students of all military history with regard to the Volunteers and the Irish insurrectionary forces were non-combatant. There were only three other men who knew at that time Plunkett's destination. He had even to withhold any information then of his final Berlin object to his most intimate family. If one studies the exact make-up of the seven centuries to the declaration of the Proclamation of the 1916 Insurrection which has been the groundwork stipulated for the future movements to where we are today it will be seen that one of the principal sentences thereafter invoking the aid of 20 million scattered Irish Race in America to the assistance of the then inaugurated freedom at declaration it will not be forgotten if one remark which I make for all future students of the military history that when it is realised the one or two sentences covering Plunkett's six months sojourn in Germany it was added and with the assistance of our gallant allies in Germany this sentence alone to any sensible person was not made without precedence and a background that has heretofore been withheld.

Plunkett's first words and questions were that he hopes that Casement and myself would remain in Germany and not go back to America. One of the objects he was sent specially to Germany for was to secure without any condition whatever as to numbers a military branch of the Irish Volunteer Army in Germany from either military prisoners-of-war, civilian prisoners-of-war and to be augmented or reinforced it was to be hoped later on from America or from Ireland itself. In his speech to Roger Casement who was more or less surprised at this special Envoy and who it was coming from his old friend Tom Clarke it did not take too long for Casement's decision to agree with the requests in this rifle envoyship from Ireland. The German Government took very concrete views about especially that the Irish at home had agreed with the declaration obtained by Casement some three months previously of the German Government's goodwill and every intention to support both

morally or influentially the just demands of the Irish people for a separate independence of its 7th century occupation by a foreign country.

It is obvious here to the most keen intellect that when such men at home in Ireland especially the 'big four', Clarke, Pearse, McDermott and Plunkett. Roger Casement knew also that the World War could not possibly end without an armed conflict in some way or other in Ireland. Plunkett also gave Casement and myself to understand it was decided that as soon as possible and on taking arms that could be procured to reinforce the 1,500 Howth Mausers and about 1,000 other mixed small arms scattered throughout some 20,000 enrolled Irish Volunteer Army in the 32 counties.

I wish this chief pamphlet appeal by Commandant-General Joe Plunkett worded in his own quaint and precise way to his fellow-countrymen in 1915, to be included in my statement. The following is a copy of the pamphlet:

Hesse-Nausa.

28th April, 1915

Here is a chance for you to fight for Ireland's freedom - and in Ireland you have fought for England. Your country's hereditary enemy for 700 years. You have fought for Belgium's supposed neutrality, a scrap of paper in England's Empire interest:- Though it was no more to you as Irishmen than the Fiji Islands. Are you willing now to volunteer to fight for your own country and Irish people's freedom with the moral and military materials of war assistance of the German Government and its armed force - an Irish Volunteer armed continent or M/G. Corps is being recruited and formed here. If interested see your Camp Company German interpreters in P.O. near camp here, who will put you in contact with the Irish Brigade Volunteer recruiting agents

in camp. Or direct contact with with Very Rev. Father Nicholson, R.C., Chaplain, who will put you in touch with Volunteer headquarters staff in Limburg recruiting office.

Remember Bachelor's Walk, Dublin, of 26th July, 1914, and the whole sale murder of unarmed Irish citizens by the K.O.S.B's of John Bull's hireling mercenary army.

God save Ireland.

By undersigned Staff Recruiting Officers,

Irish Volunteers in Germany.

Roger Casement was not surprised but at the same time he wanted to have the decks cleared with regard to any further advance with the recruitment of an armed Volunteer Force from the prisoners-of-war. We had mentioned in our dispatch through Mr. Ryan to both Tom Clarke in Dublin and Devoy in New York that the position in Germany especially when the final showdown with the British Government's representatives in Norway had given the Secret Service of England another field of operation to oppose Casement's work in the German-Irish attempt to form an armed continent for any future expedition or landing in Ireland prior to the end of the World War. Plunkett, in all our conversations, had admitted that right along until the final decision to send him to Germany a good many people who were not in any way conversant with such diplomatic secrets of how any great power dispenses with their most dangerous enemy. Casement was conscious that Plunkett in all his admissions was very candid.

It will not be forgotten that due to dissension in the Executive Committee of the Volunteer Army in June, 1914, Casement was placed in a similar position on distrust and suspicion as was Wolfe Tone in the Rev. Jackson Case in 1793, when the latter had to give up his whole United Irishman's career and go into exile to America.

But as is always the case in Irish History all these executions are found out when it is too late. As in 'Torie's case so with Casement. Casement also took the high road to America and now with every understanding between the two old colleagues of the Home Literary Insurrectionary Movement Casement and Plunkett had come to a decision to proceed and endeavour to fulfil the expressed wishes of the Military Council in Dublin.

The instructions given to Plunkett before he left Dublin were first, that no matter what exact number should eventually join or were willing to join an Irish Army Volunteer Corps in Germany this would be acceptable to the Military Council and if it should be necessary to reinforce any small contingent they would be augmented by Volunteers from either Ireland or from the Irish in America. Secondly, Plunkett was instructed to inform Casement that it had been decided that before this world war would end or at the first opportunity which would be suitable the Irish Volunteer Army would go into an armed insurrection. And thirdly, as the 20,000 approximately enrolled Irish Volunteers in Ireland then had not any more than 3,000 available arms it could be understood that the only place that they could get arms was from their gallant new allies, the Germans.

Those were the main issues at stake because Casement had already pointed out in his dispatch two months previously in January in Dublin and America that after six months of warfare there was very little likelihood that the German Army in Flanders and France would be able to occupy the French Channel Ports of Calais, Dunkirk and Bologne as a successful issue for any expedition of large amount to Ireland.

Roger Casement and Joe Plunkett had reopened further negotiations with the German Foreign Office and Military Authorities and with certain headings and further facilities for recruitment to be carried out among the 2,000 Irish soldiers in prisoner-of-war camp in Limburg.

I have already explained the grave errors committed by the German Military Authorities in concentrating those Irish born soldiers in that camp because the soldiers in the various English-speaking prison camps had given their regiment, name and number as that of an Irish regiment although they were actually English, Scottish or Welsh born. The German Military Authorities nevertheless had those English soldiers removed with the Irish born soldiers to a special Irish propaganda prisoner-of-war camp at Limburg.

The German Military Liaison Officer, Staff Captain Boehm and myself proceeded under instructions from the General Staff G.O.C. to Limburg and Captain ^{Boehm} gave the written instructions to the Commandant of the Prisoner-of-War Camp who had no other alternative but to obey the General Staff orders.

With the assistance of Father Nicholson, the Irish Brigade Chaplain from America and Chaplain in the Camp together with Sergeant Joe Dowling and Sergeant Jack Kavanagh we had little trouble in compiling an exact list of about 200 English, Scottish and Welsh born soldiers and had them removed from this Irish soldiers' camp.

Our next procedure was to have a special Irish barracks about a half mile away from the camp proper with every facility to have the dozen or so Irish soldiers such as Sergeants Dowling and Kavanagh who were acting as underground secret recruiting agents for the previous three months under my instructions through Father Nicholson. This did not occupy more than a week and on the 1st May, 1915, Roger Casement and Joe Plunkett joined me at the Irish recruiting base.

I had decided with Captain Boehm that it would be very appropriate to call up from the camp itself every day about 100 or so of the Irish soldiers for personal interview in order to point out the objects for which the Irish Brigade was being formed.

Joe Plunkett, being under an assumed name of Joe Peters and only myself, Casement and Captain Boehm knowing who he really was, could not in any way speak to the Irish soldiers. Yet, for weeks he had been very busy writing special pamphlets and recruiting leaflets in the language that most Irishmen must know. When the recruiting started these leaflets and pamphlets were distributed throughout the prisoner-of-war camp itself.

Casement, Plunkett and myself had decided on this course because we deemed it proper that in the future no Irishman who had been a prisoner-of-war at Limburg could not say that he had not been personally interviewed or that he did not know the facts of the ideals for Irish Independence which formed the basic foundation of the Irish expeditionary forces.

It may be necessary here to point out that in the past European Irish Brigades of military formation were actually members of Foreign armies in Europe and had fought with them in the various wars as mercenary armies. It was, therefore, the first time in Irish or European history that a body of Irishmen were approached as soldiers of any Army in Europe to join an armed Irish Corps to fight only and solely in Ireland in order to obtain a separate independence for its oppressed people.

In the course of two weeks we had proceeded so slowly in obtaining recruits that we had time to discuss the events which would likely arise when even a small Company or number of soldiers would volunteer. Casement and Plunkett with myself came to the decision that in all efforts to assist any expedition of arms to land in Ireland our small Company of Irishmen should be made into a 20 M/G. Teams machine gun corps.

On the 10th May the recruiting concluded and our full complement up to then made up 20 machine gun teams of total 62 Volunteers. So far as Joe Plunkett's work in Limburg was concerned he went with Casement back

to Berlin after they had given orders to Captain Boehm, the Company Officer, to have these 20 machine gun teams transferred to the future Irish Volunteer Corps situated at Zossen military training camp some 30 miles south-west of Berlin in the province of Branderburg. This was carried out, the men were put into uniform and in their new barracks some two weeks later they were visited by Casement and Plunkett.

The subsequent sojourn of Joseph Plunkett in Germany about the second week in June after it had been decided unanimously and mutually with the Irish on one side and the German military authorities on the other that the Irish Brigade would be simply called The Machine Gun Corps of the Irish Volunteers, i.e. in German Kriegs Freiwilliger Irelander. This decision agreed to by Plunkett as representative of Dublin, it was agreed that five heavy machine guns would be allotted from the 203 Branderburgher Regiment to which the 20 machine gun teams would be attached in the military training camp. A detachment apart from this was given by the German authorities from the regimental machine gun company of 5 German N.C.Os. - English speaking, and 20 machine-gunners. These men were attached to our M.G. Corps. I went with Plunkett then to the military engineering training college near Potsdam about 20 miles south-west of Berlin and I acted as interpreter during a course of engineering military instructions which Plunkett had followed very keenly such as explosion work, mining etc.

The last two or three weeks prior to his departure on the 5th July, 1915, Joe Plunkett availed not only of the opportunity but the advice of his medical doctor whom he had contact with for some months previous to that. He went to the sanatorium near Spandau and every week I would visit him there as it was only 20 miles from our training camp.

It is time to mention that Joe Plunkett came to Germany with all the available knowledge regarding the military situation in Ireland. He had an approximate amount of each barracks in Ireland occupied by the

common enemy. It is obvious from his various explanations to Casement and also in our many chats of a private nature viewing the character and make-up of this young man despite his suffering from a malady he was a live wire in everything that he had undertaken during the five months in Germany. The objects in case of an insurrection any time in the course of the immediate future in Ireland, need I say, was one of the main topics discussed by Plunkett with Casement. Both of them were naturally agreed that the first object of attack would be the fortress stronghold for 700 years of the occupation army, namely Dublin Castle. I remember well what Plunkett said as regards the preparation to successfully take over this barracks or castle. He said that it would take a war strength of at least 200 properly armed Irishmen to hope for any success to gain entrance into Dublin Castle. I am sure that had Joe Plunkett the complete engineering of a No. 1 plan for the insurrection in Easter Week 1916 this would have been his particular care but he was only one man in the insurrectionary tribunal and I can well imagine how he viewed the simplicity of some of the more democratic leadership from the military point of view who maintained that they could take Dublin Castle with a Sergeant's quarter guard, generally a complement of 20 men.

When it was decided that Plunkett would return to America with Father Nicholson via Holland, Casement ensured that Plunkett had every knowledge of the situation he put before the Irish leaders in America and afterwards in Ireland. It is definite that in any future Rising in Ireland the military support that could be given with a transport of arms big or small would be carried out with the assistance of the Germans. He had the wishes to convey to the leadership in America and at home if at all possible to reinforce the armed Irish contingent in Germany by either those from America or Ireland. In many respects which can be gleaned or ascertained from the various points at issue and particularly with the military delegateship of Plunkett in Germany

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY 1913-21
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NO. W.S. 1092

I wish that all doubt or mistrust be cleared about the co-operation between Roger Casement and Joe Plunkett. In particular it was necessary to say that as a great deal of this work had been kept in the background by the military tribunal in Ireland and colleagues of Plunkett in the military council when he returned, the only trace of certain things which might have transpired or any lack of vision was when three months later on there appeared various news items in the Irish American papers "Gaelic America", "Irish World" etc. that in the County Wexford, south-eastern coast were scattered certain propaganda leaflets which were even posted up at the crossroads and outside the chapel doors for everyone to read. The abbreviated contents reads thus - "In case any German landing or the appearance of German troops in Ireland it will be received with welcome and as our allies in case of an insurrection". These reports had been reported to America from Ireland. I had a letter in September from Plunkett and it was decided in America with also Father Nicholson's communications from his new home in Wyoming State, West America. These were the last connections I had with Commandant Joseph Plunkett.

Apart from all this when Captain Monteith arrived in late November 1915 he told me that Plunkett had visited certain of my relations in Ireland and he was quite well apart from his experience when he arrived in America.

In the last 38 years since 1916 the vast majority of Irish historians on the military situation and the preparations for 1916 have made very little impression for the future generations in gaining any insight as to the military mission of Joe Plunkett in Germany. In fact it has been deleted and omitted with only casual remarks such as it has been known that in 1915 Plunkett was for some short time in Germany. If nothing else this explanation with elucidations will elaborate the whole incident.

Signed: M.S. Mac Eochaidh

Date: 10/2/55
- Casement
Plunkett's A/E
40/jr/jmk
1913 - 1916-20

Witness: Sean Brennan

Signed: M.S. Mac Eochaidh