

Irish Independent

Supplement for the Golden Jubilee
of the Insurrection

1916
1966



THE STATUE OF THE DYING CUCHULAIN BY
OLIVER SHEPPARD, R.H.A. — THE 1916
MEMORIAL IN THE G.P.O., DUBLIN.

O'Connell Street and Bridge after Easter Week, 1916, showing the East side wrecked by bombardment.



Liberty Hall, headquarters of the Citizen Army, in ruins Easter Week, 1916.

50 YEARS AGO

Dublin
flames
kindled
a nation's
spirit



This unique photograph — probably the only one taken under fire during the 1916 Rising in Dublin — shows Sackville (now O'Connell) Street lit by the flames of burning buildings. The picture was taken by a "Daily Sketch" photographer.

FIFTY years ago, in Dublin, seven men with a dream led out a small army of Irishmen and women — that Ireland might be free.

The dream was an age-old one, half-formed and rough-shaped at first but becoming more clearly-defined down the years. The United Irishmen gave it substance, Wolfe Tone delineated it, Emmet, the Young Irishmen and the Fenians strove to achieve it.

In the 20th century the Irish language revival movement nurtured it anew — the dream of a free Ireland, owing allegiance to no other authority except her own; a Republic in which the Irish people would resume their rightful heritage as owners and rulers of the land.

The dream

This was the dream of Pearse, Connolly, Clarke, Plunkett, MacDonagh, MacDermott and Ceannt. By force of arms they set out to make reality of the dream. After their fight and their deaths things were never to be the same again in Ireland. The nation had been set upon a road on which there could be no turning back. Age-old traditions never again could be reneged.

"If we today," said Pearse, "are fighting for something either greater than or less than the thing our fathers fought for, either our fathers did not fight for freedom at all or we are not fighting for freedom. If I do not hold the faith of Tone and if Tone was not a heretic, then I am. If Tone said: 'Break the connection with England' and if I say: 'Maintain the connection with England,' I may be preaching a saner gospel than his, but I am obviously not preaching the same gospel."

But there was no mistaking the object for which the men of 1916 fought and died. It is clearly and uncompromisingly set out in

the Proclamation of the Republic:

"We declare the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies, to be sovereign and indefeasible. The long usurpation of that right by a foreign people and government has not extinguished the right, nor can it ever be extinguished except by the destruction of the Irish people. In every generation the Irish people have asserted their right to national freedom and sovereignty; six times during the past three hundred years they have asserted it in arms. Standing on that fundamental right and again asserting it in arms in the face of the world, we hereby proclaim

Fifty years ago this Proclamation was signed in blood by the seven leaders of the Rising. Scores of others also sacrificed their lives for it, hundreds more suffered imprisonment and internment, thousands forfeited freedom, comfort and careers to carry its terms into effect.

Are we today fully mindful of what occurred in that Easter Week of 1916? Have we forgotten the dream for which these men died? We could do worse, perhaps, than perform now a national examination of conscience.

We might ask ourselves

By

Richard Roche

the Irish Republic as a Sovereign Independent State, and we pledge our lives and the lives of our comrades in arms to the cause of its freedom, of its welfare and of its exaltation among the nations.

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

such questions as these. Where is the Republic dreamed of by Pearse and Connolly? How much of Ireland is owned by the people of Ireland? To what extent are the destinies of the Irish people within the control of the Irish people? Does the Irish Republic hold the allegiance of every Irishman and Irishwoman? What price the religious and civil liberty guaranteed in the Proclamation? Can we truthfully say we afford equal rights and equal opportunities to all our citizens? Do we pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation and of all its parts? Do we cherish all the children of the nation equally.

The answers to these questions may be disquieting. They may even be considered out of place as we commemorate the Golden Jubilee of the Rising just now. But, if we are to be honest, we must answer these questions and we cannot try to evade the significance of the answers in a flood of rhetoric and a flurry of flags. We would be less than true to the memory of the men of 1916 if we shirk this duty now.

The function

The purpose of the articles and pictures in this supplement is to honour the soldiers of Easter Week and to recall with pride their ideals and actions. If, in the perusal of its pages, we are also led to an assessment of the situation in Ireland today and, perhaps, to a comparison of the dream with the reality, then this commemorative publication will have performed a useful function and achieved an aim in keeping with the inspiring events described within.

"Believe that we too love freedom and desire it. To us it is more desirable than anything in the world. If you strike us down now, we shall rise again and renew the fight. You cannot conquer Ireland; you cannot extinguish the Irish passion for freedom; if our deed has not been sufficient to win freedom then our children will win it by a better deed."

—P. H. Pearse.



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The seven signatories of the Proclamation of the Republic. From left: Patrick Pearse, James Connolly, Thomas Clarke, Thomas MacDonagh, Sean MacDermott, Joseph Plunkett and Eamonn Ceannt.



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

No braver words than these have been spoken in Ireland in our time; no single event in modern Irish history has been more significant in its results than this proclamation of the Irish Republic on Easter Monday, 1916.

The Rising has been called a poets' insurrection, but poetic vision did not exclude the ability to plan and organise a great adventure and carry it through in the face of difficulties that brought it, at the outset, almost to the brink of disaster.

It was a return to an old and honourable means of trying to achieve national freedom, and it came after half a century in which the use of arms for that purpose had been ridiculed and discredited. The only organised body which had not lost faith in the use of arms in this period was the Irish Republican Brotherhood, a small, secret organisation which had been in existence since 1858.

In August, 1914, immediately after the outbreak of the European War, the Supreme Council of the I.R.B. decided that another armed effort to end British rule in Ireland would be made before the war ended. A Military Council was set up to plan the Rising.

It consisted at first of Eamon Ceannt, P. H. Pearse and Joseph Plunkett. Later Tom Clarke and Sean MacDiarmada joined it, and, in January, 1916, after his much debated "disappearance," James Connolly became a member. Thomas MacDonagh was added in April 1916 and these seven men were the signatories to the Proclamation.

Successful insurrection in arms is not possible without a trained military force. In the establishment of the Irish Volunteers on a nation-wide basis, and of the Irish Citizen Army in Dublin, the Supreme Council saw timely opportunity of training, and to some extent arming, a force sufficient to give insurrection a reasonable hope of success.

Without any disclosure of its existence or its plans, the Council, through its members, influenced the policy of the Volunteer organisation and exercised a measure of control over it. Two years of serious training produced a well-organised body of disciplined men, whose ambition was to serve Ireland in arms—in Ireland. The day of plotting by small groups was over—the day of national action was at hand.

Many difficulties beset the Military Council in its planning. Apart from the hazards inherent in all revolt against a long established regime, apparently enjoying the acquiescence of the population, the necessity for secrecy was reinforced, in the case of the Military Council, by the fact that they were endeavouring to move into action a

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One good fight anywhere, anytime. . . .

THE LESSONS

By
Liam
O Briain

PERHAPS, instead of celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of Easter Week, we should be celebrating the centenary of Fenianism, 1865-67. The tradition is strong and unbroken from one movement to the other.

For one thing, Fenianism continued the tradition of disappointments: the immense disappointments of 1798—the failure of the powerful invading force of Hoche, with his 15,000 veterans at Bantry Bay; of Humbert's too small, but so adventurous band; of the French Fleet, which had gone down so heroically at Lough Swilly, bringing down with it at last the indomitable spirit of Wolfe Tone; the hope crushed before it was really awakened of Emmet's attempt, not quite so mad as generally represented, and which left so strong and loving a tradition after it, especially in the City of Dublin—"he laid down his life for the Emerald Isle"—and the disappointment of 1848, when revolt by a starving because starved, rural population would have been so justified.

Failure

The failure of '48 was due perhaps to revolution being organised by romantic gentlemen like Smith O'Brien and Meagher, with their eyes too much on Paris and not enough on the grim realities of the Irish situation.

John O'Mahony had a chance and missed it. He had a large force somewhere about Carrick-on-Suir. Had he swooped on the port of Waterford and held it for a few days and proclaimed a prohibition on the export of corn while there was still hunger in the country, the results, moral and political, might have been very considerable.

One of the lessons of Easter Week for historians but not yet assimilated by any of them, as far as I can see, is the lesson in reverse that the failure to reverse on such occasions had a depressing, demoralising, discouraging effect on the national moral.

Revivifying

Conversely, one good fight anywhere, anytime, in Dublin, at Ballygarry, at Carrick-on-Suir, at Tallaght or in Kerry in 1867, would have had, as 1916 shows, such a revivifying effect that balliffs, emergency men, agents, and policemen themselves would have had, from an earlier date, a much more grim and strenuous time than they actually had in the eighties and that the land "question," and quite possibly the self-government "question," would have been answered a generation earlier than they were.

That I am sure, is the meaning of Sean MacDonagh's remark to me, as we both lay on the floor in



Two of the men who played vital roles in the planning of the 1916 Rising — Roger Casement (left) and John Devoy, the Fenian veteran, seen together in New York in 1914. National Museum

Richmond Barracks on Low Sunday night: "the only failure in Ireland is the failure to strike."

The memory of the long run of disappointments and adjournments was certainly an important factor in the desperate decisions taken by the seven men in Liberty Hall on Easter Sunday night, to go on with the Rising.

Fenianism had an aftermath over which we have consistently kept a veil for two generations or more and at which it is now time to look 50 years after Easter Week and 44 years

after the death of Michael Collins. I refer to the invincibles and to the events of the years 1881-82-83. Really these years have years of rebellion than the dates above-mentioned submore right to be classed as sequent to 1798.

It was a prolonged state of sub-rebellion or people's revolt with rudimentary organisation and discipline such as is described in French history by the word *Jacquerie*.

There is a quite long list of "crimes" and "outrages" which have a distinct political character and show a bitter determination to achieve something. The picture is darkened by some dreadful happenings such as the frightful slaughter of the Joyce family at Mámtreasna and the merciless killing of the Huddies, a grandfather and grandson stoned to death only a few miles away from Mámtreasna on the shores of Lough Mask.

But the affray in Middle Abbey Street in 1883 in which a Detective Cox was killed reads almost as if it were an ambush or an "operation" of the "Squad" in 1920-21.

Event

As to the outstanding event of the period, the assassination of Burke and Cavendish in the Phoenix Park on May 6, 1882, what are we to think or say? It was an operation planned with Collins-like efficiency, more so indeed than the attempt on the life of the Viceroy, Lord French, in 1920, where an over-hasty move by a very prominent I.R.A. man, subsequently much honoured, caused the failure of an enterprise which, if successful, would have resounded through the world either to our disgrace or advantage.

It is quite certain that it would not have turned the mass of the Irish people away from the enthusiastic support they were giving the I.R.A. and the Republican movement. What moral difference is there between those two events? What difference between Joe Brady and his com-

panions hanged in 1883 and Martin Savage whose life was forfeit to the Ashtown attempt on Lord French and who was mourned as a hero?

It is difficult to say. At any rate the condemnations of the moralists and politicians of all sides were so loud and persistent that the Irish people on the whole accepted that all the "operations" of those years were crimes and outrages. Although it is clear, reading the newspaper accounts of the period, that the invincibles had their resolute body of sympathisers, Joe Brady was relegated to the obscurity of his Kilmalnam grave and never placed beside Robert Emmet in the heart and memory of the people.

Improved

Still, the Invincibles with the Land League did achieve things: a solid improvement in the position of the tenants, the end of wholesale evictions, an English party for the first time proposing Home Rule for Ireland within three or four years of the "Park murders."

Above all, they left behind them their memory, their tradition. The study of the Fenian and Invincible failures, I believe, led Arthur Griffith on to elaborate a more rational method of "cold" revolution for a disarmed people, the policy of abstention from Westminster and the setting



Arthur Griffith

... only failure in Ireland the failure to strike

OF THE RISING

up of a national assembly of elected representatives.

But it did probably more. It gave Arthur Griffith a certain fear of a policy of armed revolt — the fear of internal dissension and its consequences among armed men.

He said to me once: "I am old enough to remember the tail-end of Fenianism, the Invincibles, and their quarrels among themselves. The danger in an armed movement is of turning the guns on one another." He said that about 1919 or 1920 when our movement was at its peak. Little did I think that night that I would see even our wonderful movement succumbing to that danger within two years!

It is understandable that Arthur Griffith should approve of Eoin MacNeill's action on Holy Saturday in sending out his famous cancelling order (although we find him a few days later sending in word to the G.P.O. that he was coming in to join them and actually before the end of the week concerting with MacNeill himself the issuing of a call to the country to rise in support of Dublin).

Policy

But at the same time there is this to be said about Sinn Féin. Without a doubt, the policy of Abstention from Westminster by the Irish nationalist representatives, accompanied by the denial of the right of Westminster to govern Ireland and, above all, by the formation of a national assembly of elected representatives in Dublin which would proceed to take the whole local administration out of the hands of Dublin Castle, as far as it was able, was really a very violent one bound inevitably to produce strong clashes with the Castle.

If taken up with enthusiasm and unity by all the people it would probably have succeeded in a few years, although the big north-east bloc would be there as always.

But what chance was there of the people taking up this policy with unity and enthusiasm? No progress was made between 1907 and 1916. The Irish Party was there apparently as strong as ever, a Home Rule bill was on the stocks. Griffith's faith was that parliamentary action could not succeed, founded as it was on a basis of national apostasy, that "holding the balance of power" in Westminster, was a delusion, that English parties would always combine when their national interest was at stake, and that, when the Irish people had that brought home to them by repeated English duplicity, they would turn to his policy.

Change

Possibly. But how long would it have taken to bring about this revolutionary change?

But what did happen? In an Ireland vastly improved since the eighties, with higher education, much more diffused, thanks largely to the old U.C.D. with a national spirit intensified, spiritualised and romanticised by the work of the Gaelic League and Sinn Féin branches, there grew up a whole generation of

On the march



Irish Volunteers marching through Ballyboden to the Dublin Mountains for exercises on Sunday, May 21, 1914.

young men who, almost imperceptibly, certainly with no encouragement from the heads of the Gaelic League, found themselves to be dreaming of a completely separated Ireland — an Irish Republic, magical word! — and coming back to the old tradition, which had seemed dead, of physical force methods.

These young men filled the ranks of both the Gaelic League and Sinn Féin although their ideal went beyond both. Griffith had some difficulty in keeping his movement within the bounds he had set it — abstention policy, national assembly, non-armed agitation, to recover the position of Grattan's parliament.

To that generation of young men it is not difficult even now — to conceive the electrifying shock it was to see armed drilling and military preparations against Westminster going on in Ulster. With what intense resolution they responded to Eoin MacNeill's call to do likewise!

Statue

There is a statue of Edward Carson outside Stormont. Perhaps we should have one outside the G.P.O.! Perhaps a double one of Carson and MacNeill on the one pedestal as the two founders of modern Ireland!

So it is clear enough what Easter Week was: a swamping, so to speak, of Griffith's partially, and only partially, constitutional movement by the rejuvenated Fenianism of the new I.R.B. that of Hobson, Mac Parais, Sean Mac Dermott, Eamonn Ceannt and all the other Gaelic League young men, their direct link with the original movement being through Tom Clarke and John Devoy: and the opportunity to arm publicly and reorganise being supplied by Carson and the Ulstermen and the scandalous resolve of an English party to "play the Ulster card."

All that I am saying, however, serves to bring out the almost complete cleavage between our Irish Volunteer movement and the mass of the people; the mass of the people who still remained fairly faithful to the Irish Party and who were supplying thousands of soldiers to the British Army to participate in the mighty events then taking place in France, Belgium, the Dardanelles and elsewhere.

At the beginning of this cleavage many people would

have prophesied that it would establish a segregation between two sections of nationalists as complete, or almost, as that between Nationalists and Unionists or Catholics and Protestants.

On the contrary it was an extraordinarily friendly cleavage, in spite of the efforts of a few (mainly, I must say, on our side) to envenom it. I never heard of a row, of a pub-fight or that sort of thing, between Irish Volunteers and British soldiers in 1914, 1915 or 1916. One of the unrecognised consequences of Easter Week was that it healed it such as it was.

Election

When we come to the election of 1918, the nationalist unity is fully re-established. Twenty-five uncontested seats in Munster alone demonstrate that fact. Another thing that is speculative but probable is that the cleavage in our own ranks over the Treaty in 1922 would have been more bitter, certainly, than that of 1914 over recruiting for the British Army, but still would have remained friendly enough had it remained peaceful, had that ever-accursed Civil War not happened, wherever the fault lay that an arrangement was not brought about.

I wonder would it be true to say that Easter



An Irish Volunteer of the 1916 period.

PEARSE SAID ...

"We know only one definition of freedom; it is Tone's definition, it is Mitchel's definition, it is Rossa's definition. Let no man blaspheme the cause that the dead generations of Ireland served, by giving it any other name and definition than their name and their definition."

Week ended the traditional friction between Irish revolutionary movements and the Church? This friction may go back to the early years of the French Revolution, when a profound schism was produced in the Church in France by the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, which schism was followed by years of bitter persecution.

It may go back even further, to 1766, or thereabouts, when the Irish bishops rightly threw over those wretched Stuarts and, not so rightly, gave their whole-hearted allegiance to the House of Hanover.

Opposed

No wonder the bishops were all opposed to the French in 1793, apart from the Hanover recognition. Not only had thousands of priests been massacred or imprisoned and about 30,000 priests forced to leave France; not only were churches and Cathedrals closed everywhere; but the Pope himself had been made a prisoner by rough-handed French generals in Rome.

The French, therefore, were regarded then as the Communists of Russia were regarded a generation ago when the Church was being savagely eliminated in Russia.

To the French republicans the Church was part of the old "establishment" and had to be eliminated with it. At the restoration of the old Establishment after Napoleon's downfall, the Church became part of it again — much too much so.

The new republican and democratic parties, like the old ones, found the Church part of the establishment again — everywhere except in

Ireland and, I think, Poland — and had to meet the official hostility of the Church to their movements.

Certain bishops, like Dr. Moriarty of Kerry and Cardinal Cullen, confused the Irish movements of '48 and '67 with those continental movements which they had observed in their youth.

There may have been a certain amount of such continental influence. The late Desmond Ryan seemed to think so, especially in the case of the Fenian leader, James Stephens. Quite apart from all that, the Irish bishops and clergy would have felt an obligation on them to warn and protect their poor, unarmed people against hopeless and reckless uprisings against utterly overwhelming odds. (Certain low-minded people would assert that the State grant to Maynooth and the oath of loyalty to the British sovereign from 1793 to 1873 had a bearing on all this, but I am not one of them.)

The risk

The young Irishman who, all through the nineteenth century and until 1914, joined a revolutionary organisation felt that he was risking the displeasure of the clergy, to put it mildly.

When we come to Easter Week we feel that a distinct change has occurred. The well-organised Dublin Brigade did not feel that there was any friction between them and the clergy.

The curates were mostly with us, the P.P.s neutral, but not hostile, the Archbishop, Dr. William Walsh, immensely popular and felt to be a very strong nationalist, in spite of his annual Lenten formal condemnation of Fenians and "Ribbonmen," whatever they were. Similarly, on the whole, throughout the country.

Had the bishops known beforehand of the planned Rising, and had they had time, would they have published a condemnation? I think it is probable enough that they would have, on the grounds, at least, of hopeless odds which, indeed, with modern weapons, were more hopeless than ever. But they did not get the time. The Rising got a fair and good start without any

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THE STORY OF THE RISING

body of men over whom they had not complete control.

That was a situation forced upon them by the knowledge that the Chief of Staff of the Volunteers, Eoin MacNeill, and some members of the Volunteer Executive, were opposed to direct offensive action against the British forces of occupation at that time.

There was an opinion shared by many of the Volunteers themselves and, on the practical plane, it had much to support it because of the inadequacy of arms and training and the general lack of resources, or of any reliable indications that there would be much popular support for such a drastic venture.

Up to July 1916, the Military Council had no control over the Irish Citizen Army, and they were gravely perturbed by Connolly's apparent intention to strike along with his 200 men, an event which would have been disastrous to their plans.

The circumstances of his "disappearance" in January 1916, are still obscure but there is little doubt that on that occasion they took him into their counsels and disclosed their intentions to him. They had, just before then, fixed Easter Sunday as the date for the Rising. Thereafter Connolly worked in loyal co-operation with them and the participation of the Citizen Army was assured.

Arrangements were completed with Germany, through John Devoy and the Revolutionary Director of Clan-na-Gael in New York, for the sending of a quantity of arms and ammunition by steamer to Fenit, in Tralee Bay, to reach there between 20th and 23rd April—that is between Holy Thursday and Easter Sunday.

Pearse, in his capacity as Director of Organisation of the Irish Volunteers, issued an order on 8th April for a general mobilisation and manoeuvres of all units of the Volunteers on Easter Sunday.

This was published with the approval of the Volunteer Executive; but, without the knowledge of that body, he issued further secret instructions to the Brigade Commandants in the country detailing the positions which their forces were to carry out the Easter Sunday manoeuvres.

In the South and West these positions were designed to cover the arms landing and place the various Brigades in convenient positions to receive the expected arms. The general plan of operations for the country had been worked out by the Military Council at the end of 1915.

Late on Wednesday of Holy Week MacNeill learned for the first time that an insurrection was being planned for Easter Sunday. Next day he put the question directly to Pearse and Pearse told him that it was true. MacNeill determined to try to stop the Rising.

He told Pearse that, short of informing the British authorities, he would do everything in his power to prevent it. He issued

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The exterior of Liberty Hall before the Rising, showing the famed slogan of the Citizen Army—"We serve neither King nor Kaiser, but Ireland!"

conflict in the people's minds between their, at first, very hesitant and then slowly growing admiration of the big, clean fight the Volunteers were making and their devotion and loyalty to the Church.

This seems to me to be of enormous importance. A few years later we come to the real and foremost consequence of Easter Week—the amazing, the incredible, Rising of 1916-1921, beside which Easter Week, militarily speaking, fades into insignificance, but which would never have taken place without Easter Week.

In this prolonged conflict, fought with a ruthlessness which rivalled that of the Invincibles, ecclesiastical condemnations were, of course, pronounced from time to time, particularly in Cork; but, speaking generally, the Volunteers, or, rather, the I.R.A., were recognised by clergy and laity, as they recognised themselves to be, the forces of a government constituted by the will of the majority of the people.

Cessation

One Archbishop whom I knew, tried repeatedly to bring about a cessation of fighting, a truce, until it was conveyed to him that Dail Eireann stood over the acts of the I.R.A., from which moment onwards, he remained silent.

This attitude was typical. So, when the truce occurred and during the subsequent negotiations, we had a great wave of national unity and enthusiasm among all sections of nationalists, lay and clerical, around the I.R.A. and the members of the Dail.

How we wrecked it! But many things were saved from the wreck and I think that the ending of the old quarrel between the revolu-

tionary movements and the Church in Ireland, thanks to Easter Week, was one of them.

I am not unmindful of the very sharp feelings of the anti-Treatyite combatants in 1922-'23 over the episcopal condemnations nor of those of the more modern successors of the old I.R.A. in Ulster and elsewhere.

But the cases are fundamentally different. These later condemnations were not made in the name of loyalty to the British crown and a majority of the people

approved of and supported them.

I will not ask the usual questions people ask scornfully when they look back on Easter Week. Have we ended Partition? Have we stopped emigration? Have we made Ireland Irish-speaking? Have we established full employment? Have we developed, as we should have, our industrial arm and our agricultural arm? Have we given the poor decent social services?

On all these points my answer would be much the same as that of everybody else. The latter point, that of the social services, has certainly a sting in it. What answer had I to an old-age pensioner some years ago who said to me: "If it weren't for your gallivanting in Easter Week, my pension would be four pounds ten a week instead of twenty-seven and sixpence."

One could give a long and embarrassed answer but would he have listened to it?

Problems

On another point, that of the language revival, I am far from being one of the black pessimists or anti-nationalists who say: "The language is dead and good-bye to it" or "to hell with it." It would be nearer the truth to say that the language has been saved.

No, we have not solved all our problems, we have not yet made a little bit of heaven of this island. But, since 1927 at least, we have conducted our national affairs with dignity and increasing competence.

The country is full of highly educated, intelligent and patriotic young men who are ready to take over and give an entirely new framework to our politics as soon as our old generation passes out.

The country is facing a bright future. Indeed one of the dangers of the future might be materialism, that is, plain greed. Another danger seems to be that our land and industries and building sites are becoming so attractive to foreign capital that the national interest may demand a law such as exists in certain other countries, forbidding

PEARSE SAID...

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

the sale of our basic national assets to foreigners.

Easter Week, 1916, was the culmination of more than a century of protest against the indignity inflicted on this nation by the Act of Union of 1800. All through that period the country could be described as being in a state of suppressed rebellion and on several occasions the "boiling pot," as Yeats called it, was on the point of boiling over.

The sense of humiliation left by the failure of these attempts, created consciously in the minds of a determined minority and unconsciously in the minds of very many more, the resolve that some day, somehow, that sense of humiliation would be eliminated and the world would be shown that Irishmen could fight and die for their own country as well as for others.

Easter Week was the same day and the somehow. The result was almost magical. The country was transformed as nothing else could have transformed it and we are living still on the effects of that transformation.

Easter Week was indeed a great, a necessary, and a glorious chapter in the history of the Irish nation.



Eoin MacNeill, Chief of Staff of the Volunteers at the time of the Rising.

The plan of the Rising

HOW MANY FOUGHT? WHAT WERE THE TACTICS? HOW MANY DIED?

These and other questions are answered by
PROF. M. O DUBHGHAILL

OVER the past decade there has been exhaustive coverage of plans and operations in the 1939-45 war. Through the writings of military historians, and by film and television presentations the informed mind has been much alerted to the science and finesse of global strategy and regional tactics.

It is a human inclination to interpret the unknown in terms of the known, without making due allowance for differing circumstances.

But there is nothing more likely to distort our image of insurgent military operations, in the Dublin area during Easter Week, than to use more recent episodes of street-fighting as a yardstick in their military assessment.

In this context we have especially in mind revolutionary activities in Santo Domingo in the late summer of 1965.

War effort

The 1916 war effort of some 1,500 Irish Republicans, ill-equipped and inexperienced in street-fighting, is Lilliputian by modern standards. When it is our objective to preserve historical balance in its examination, it is essential to keep it so.

Denis McCullough, as 1916 President of the I.R.B. Supreme Council, is the senior surviving executive—participant in Easter Week hostilities. He has often warned research-historians of the danger of out-of-focus presentation with a two-part injunction:

1. Insurgent activities in the Rising had to be precipitated and maintained under the handicap of having to preserve the utmost secrecy and bereft of nearly all the appurtenances of headquarters' staff organisation, logistics and so on.

2. The writer, who either ignores or loses sight of this factor, will inevitably dis-

tort all that he does not destroy in the military history of the insurrection.

In obedience to that two-part injunction, we will consider the numbers in Republican combatants engaged and the casualties incurred, in the Dublin area.

In the post-Treaty years, participation in Easter Week hostilities imparted a halo of ultra-patriotism—sometimes influential in securing political and other preferences.

The promptings of cupidity produced many false claims and synthetic magnification of minor chores. So much so, that it became a cheap sneer in the Irish world of the twenties, that even Phoenix Park could not accommodate all who claimed to have given military service in the defence of the G.P.O. from Easter Monday to the following Saturday.

Research historians are the mortal enemies of bogus pretentiousness. Diarmuid Lynch, in 1936-7, secured the co-operation of other garrison personnel to conduct a scientific investigation into the number of 1916 insurgent fighters en-

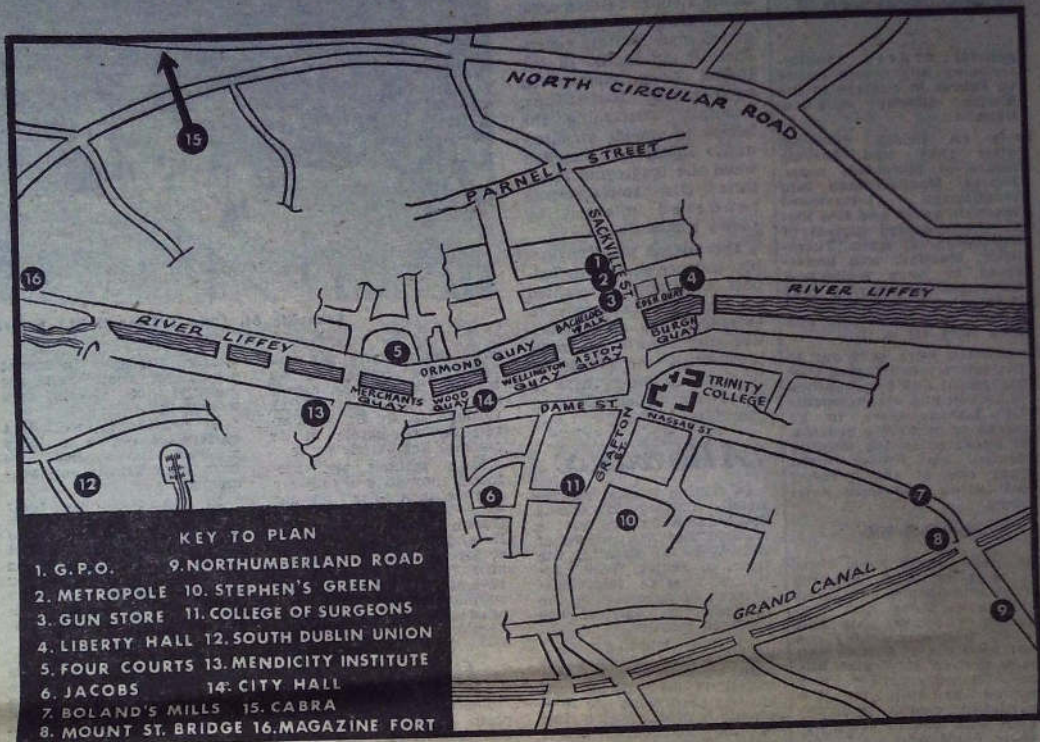
gaged in action in the Dublin area.

The result of his findings accompanies this article in the form of a table. It has been adapted by us, only to the extent of placing the fighting centres in descending order as per the insurgent numbers engaged, and by the addition of the total for column 5.

Otherwise, this is the Lynch tabulation and our best authenticated synthesis of Republican manpower involvement.

An examination of the accompanying map, in conjunction with the Lynch tabulation, gives an overall picture of insurgent garrisoned positions. Their general disposition has been described as a chain of defence points, in an inverted crescent across the southern suburbs, to function as an outer perimeter protecting the central citadel of resistance in the G.P.O. area.

The selection of perimeter outposts as shown, was dictated by their strategic siting covering routes by which British military might approach to mount assaults on the more heavily garrisoned mid-city strongpoints.



KEY TO PLAN

1. G.P.O.
2. METROPOLE
3. GUN STORE
4. LIBERTY HALL
5. FOUR COURTS
6. JACOBS
7. BOLAND'S MILLS
8. MOUNT ST. BRIDGE
9. NORTHUMBERLAND ROAD
10. STEPHEN'S GREEN
11. COLLEGE OF SURGEONS
12. SOUTH DUBLIN UNION
13. MENDICITY INSTITUTE
14. CITY HALL
15. CABRA
16. MAGAZINE FORT

In blueprint, insurgent planning was much more elaborate. As, for example, where it envisaged the closing of the water approaches by sunken blockships; the seizure of the main rail terminals, etc.

For all this, Plunkett, as master-planner, prescribed 3,000 fighters as a minimum requirement. The Easter Monday muster, reduced by the MacNeill countermand to half that number, made the Dublin Rising a mere shadow of what had been intended.

Questionable

It is questionable whether James Connolly, as Supreme Commander in the Dublin area, disposed the small muster available to the best advantage. Or, whether in the confusion of improvisation, any rational re-disposition was attempted before fighting intensified.

Certain it is that the central Republican resistance was made all the more easily overcome by perimeter weaknesses.

F. A. McKenzie, a Canadian war correspondent who happened to be in Dublin during the Rising, wrote some on-the-spot observations on "the general plan of campaign adopted by the rebel leaders". This he praised as showing "considerable skill".

Supplies

As an aside—we are always intrigued by McKenzie's references to the pre-provision made for food supplies to the fighting men.

Particularly so, when he imagined that the main reason for the occupation of Boland's Mills and Jacob's Biscuit Factory was that they might serve as "commissariat centres". Flour and biscuits' diet for Dublin's fighting men!

More than one authentic commentator has referred to the shortage of food supplies during the fighting.

This circumstance must have been at its worst in the College of Surgeons.

Those of us who appreciate his greatness, academic and otherwise, enjoy the personal account of Liam O'Brien, surviving on scant rations there. And, above all, his philosophic reaction: "Ce chluimneadh ar a ghoile a leithéid de lá!"

We accept McKenzie's contention that "there was an ample supply of women helpers for cooking and similar work." But, we failed to discover any planning arrangements to ensure adequate food supplies.

Napoleon's dictum that "an army marches on its stomach" seems to have been mostly ignored—probably on the assumption that the Republican combatants were committed in advance to purely defensive assignments—to standing behind poorly barricaded fire-points, depending mainly on rifles and other small arms to rebel attackers.

Criticism

Insurgent criticism of the master-plan for the Rising began early among the surrendered rank and file. In addition to their general sense of failure and frustration, another circumstance favoured their very human exercise of seeking alibis for defeat—"bionn cead cainte ar lucht caite na himeartha riamh."

That circumstance arose when hundreds of the captured Volunteers found themselves in overcrowded quarters in Richmond Barracks, cheek by jowl with their senior officers (as Clarke, Pearse and Plunkett) for some days after the Saturday surrender.

In that period, their fighting activities appeared so haphazard in retrospect that many doubted even the existence of anything in the nature of a prepared blueprint.

Clarke's assurances, that

Continued on next page

AREAS AS NUMBERED IN MAP	COMMAND POST	GARRISON TOTAL	KILLED IN ACTION		EXECUTED
			Republican	British Military	
1-4	General Post Office	408	9		6
5	Four Courts	282			1
6	Jacobs	185			3
7-9	Boland's Mills	173	6		1
10-11	Stephen's Green	138			1
12	Marrowbone Lane	135			1
13	South Dublin Union	61			
	Ashbourne	59	5		
	City Hall	46			1
14	Mendicity Institute	24			
15	Magazine Fort	11			
16	Cabra Bridge	6			
Add:					
(a)	for later corrections	30			
(b)	others killed in action		44		
GRAND TOTALS			64	103 killed + 357 wounded	14 (with Kent and Casement = 16 Dead Men)

THE STORY OF THE RISING

general orders countermanding any orders issued by Pearse in relation to the Easter Sunday mobilisations.

Early on Friday morning, after they had become aware of MacNeill's order, Pearse, MacDiarmada and MacDonagh interviewed MacNeill again and told him of the expected arrival of the cargo of arms. Thereupon, MacNeill was understood to have withdrawn his opposition, saying that if arms were being imported a fight was inevitable and they were all in it.

Despatches were sent out to the country intimating that agreement had been reached in Dublin and arrangements for Sunday were to go ahead as originally ordered. It appeared to the Military Council on Friday night that one of the greatest difficulties had been overcome.

But, unknown to them then, a disaster had occurred that afternoon which threw all their plans into confusion. The arms ship *Aud*, which had successfully run the blockade of British patrols, arrived in Tralee Bay on Thursday night and waited in vain for the arranged signals and the pilot who was to bring her in to Fenit pier.

No one in Kerry expected the arms before Sunday. The Military Council had for some reason altered the date of arrival to the evening of Sunday, but this message did not reach Germany until after Captain Spindler had sailed, and his vessel was not equipped with wireless.

On Friday evening the *Aud* was captured by British naval forces and that night she was steaming under escort towards Cork Harbour, off which Captain Spindler and his crew sank her next morning with her cargo of 20,000 rifles.

On Friday morning Sir Roger Casement with two companions had been put ashore from a German submarine at Banna Strand, a little north of Fenit. No one in Ireland knew of his coming; he was taken into custody by the police before help could reach him.

When news of the loss of the arms ship reached MacNeill on Saturday he reversed his earlier decision and re-issued his order cancelling the movement of any Volunteers on Sunday, believing that a Rising without the arms was doomed to failure. Complete disruption and confusion had fallen on the plans of the Military Council.

When the full Military Council assembled in Liberty Hall on Easter Sunday morning they faced a situation as daunting as that which confronted Emmet in 1803 or Tone on the storm-lashed waters of Bantry Bay.

With the loss of the arms ship all hope of military victory vanished. Had the arms been landed and successfully distributed the flag of the Republic might have floated over a large part of the country by Monday night.

The Volunteers might have overwhelmed the police in their isolated barracks as

Continued on Page 10.

a plan in which "nothing was overlooked; nothing was forgotten," had been prepared, left many who were by no means doubting Thomases still unconvinced.

This was particularly true of Michael Mallin, Citizen Army Commander in the Stephen's Green area. As a soldier who had acquired some military experience as an N.C.O. in the Indian Army, Mallin was outspoken in his criticisms, especially concerning the failure to provide an alternative plan to function when the insurgents found their city emplacements rendered untenable by enemy bombardment.

There is, as well, convincing evidence that many out-post commanders resented the Pearse-Connolly order to surrender. As an alternative they showed a strong predilection for escape to rural surroundings, there to prolong hostilities as guerrillas.

Allowance

In coming to their conclusions, military historians make due allowance for the failures and frustrations of Holy Week, as dictating the trend of Easter Week hostilities towards improvisation made necessary by the reduction by half of the expected muster.

Judging accordingly, they discount as unavoidable such obvious defaults and omissions as the failure entirely to disrupt the telephonic network; the leaving of the Shelbourne Hotel unoccupied to serve as an enemy fire-point overlooking insurgent positions in the Green, etc.

All these, as defects in insurgent tactics, are historically excusable and, in fairness included in what Connolly described as "the almost unavoidable incidents of a hurried uprising against long established authority."

Resistance

But, excusing them does not imply that, had they been attended to, insurgent resistance would have been far less constrained when subjected to the full brunt of enemy assault from Thursday to Saturday.

In retrospect, it seems that "to hold Dublin for a week and save Ireland" constituted the genesis of insurrection objectives.

The most serious defect in the dispositions of insurgent fighters, to accomplish the first part would appear to be the over-concentration of available personnel.

Observe from the Lynch tabulation the posting of more than a quarter of their effectives in the G.P.O. area and nearly one-fifth in the Four Courts, as against Boland's Mills and the Green being but half-garrisoned.

No reserve

Moreover, there was, evidently, no provision for reserve or mobile units—to come to the aid of hard-pressed defence points or to give the advantages of flexibility.

Neglect of these elementary precautions proved costly as hostilities intensified. The difficulties encountered, in keeping contact routes with outlying garrison centres open, had become insuperable as early as Wednesday. By Friday the re-opening of escape routes—even from the G.P.O.—had to be abandoned as a blood-bath.

In this context one can



Sackville St. (now O'Connell St.) before the Rising.

recall particularly the Friday night sortie, as an attempt to open an escape route from the G.P.O. through Moore St. to Parnell Square—heroic in its attempt but utterly futile.

Even without any profound knowledge of military science, it is clear from our map that control of the Dublin Castle—Bank of Ireland—Trinity College sector was vital; if for no other reason than to provide ease of communications and supplies between the G.P.O. headquarters and the Stephen's Green, Boland's Mills outposts.

Blueprint

The blueprint of the planning authority prescribed the seizure of buildings in the Castle environs to contain its garrison. While this was in course of implementation, the attacking party must have discovered that the Castle guard was so ineffective that the entire building might have been readily seized.

Failure to do so, because of lack of initiative on the part of the local commander, robbed the insurgent cause of an influential morale boost and of much else by way of tactical advantage.

Taking the entirely objective view, one feels that the insurgent failure to garrison however lightly, Trinity College and the Bank of Ireland opposite must be accounted as the most inexplicable neglect of all.

With this bottle-neck, closed by Trinity sharpshooters before dawn on

Easter Tuesday, insurgent scouts en route ran the gauntlet of death and wounding.

As fighting intensified, a battery of enemy artillery directed devastating fire from their Trinity emplacements.

In the beginning their 18-pounder shells added much to the discomfiture of the sorely-pressed Mount Street defenders. Worse was to follow, when they wrought such extensive havoc on the G.P.O. position that it hastened unconditional surrender.

In conclusion, let us venture lightly into speculative history. Is it a reasonable conjecture that it was only their executions that saved Pearse and others from a storm of censure and re-priming for neglectful pre-planning of operations? From being court-martialled therefore, as were the Cork commandants, MacCurtain and MacSwiney?

Axiomatic

It is axiomatic that in history there can be no finality. Which is to say that, in the realm of cause and effect ultimate conclusions are always elusive, and ever subject to adjustments as the movements to which they belong progress towards greater maturity in the passage of historical time.

Just now, we are making an historical assessment of the events of the 1916 insurrection in its Golden Jubilee perspective.

From that re-examination



Mrs. Erskine Childers and Mary Spring Rice on board the *ASgard* at Howth in 1914 after sailing from Germany with a cargo of arms for the Volunteers.



As a 'teacher of teachers' since the mid-thirties in Carysfort Training College, Dublin, the author, M. O. Dubhghaill, needs no introduction to many. Thousands of students of history in Irish schools have found his texts always helpful. He has devoted some 30 years of post-graduate research to the thought-impulses inspiring happenings in Irish history from 1900 to 1921.

many new historical viewpoints have emerged. Only one of these is relevant as an envoi to Easter Week hostilities in the Dublin area.

It is this: by its feeble nature that episode of insurgent belligerency was, through its ill-success, rendered all the more potent as a factor in arousing Ireland's manhood to militant nationalism in the years immediately following.

We are, of course, in that consciously excluding the effects of the executions on the 1917-21 sequelae.

Address

Just before the evacuation of the G.P.O. Pearse, as their Commander-in-Chief, was to address these words to his comrades-in-arms:

"I desire now, lest I may not have an opportunity later to pay homage to the gallantry of the soldiers of Irish Freedom who have during the past four days been writing with fire and steel the most glorious chapter in the later history of Ireland. Justice can never be done to their heroism, to their discipline, to their pay and unconquerable spirit in the midst of peril and death."

In those words there is an epitome of all that might best be remembered in our Golden Jubilee recollections of the Easter Rising.

In them is enshrined for that purpose:

"The spirit wave that came to save

The peerless Celtic soul."

A VOLUNTEER'S STORY

Only 18 at the time, Bill Stapleton relates here his 1916 experiences

THE tramp of marching feet on the dusty roads near Finglas on a warm summer's day in 1915 meant that "B" Coy. 2nd Batt., Dublin Brigade, was on one of its route marches, led by big Tom Hunter, our Captain. Only a few had guns and a motley collection they were—one or two shotguns, a few Howth rifles and one or two Martini Henry single loaders. The remainder of us carried hurleys.

"B" Coy. was formed by those who had broken away from the "National Volunteers" and was one of the first if not the first company of the "Irish Volunteers" in the newly formed "Dublin Brigade." A few of those remembered are Seamus O'Maolinn, Harry Williams, Tom Slater, Ned Lyons, Leo Henderson, Sam Ellis, Peadar O'Reilly and Peadar Kearney, whose song "A Soldier's Song" we often sang on our marches.

Few guns

Arms and ammunition were few and far between in those times. There were, however, a few .22 practice rifles held for general target practice at Father Matthew Park, Fairview, and if and when available, one could purchase a few rounds for target practice for about 2/- Harry Williams and Ned Lyons were good shots and instructed us in target practice and the care of arms.

Guns of any sort were scarce and I had almost given up any hope of becoming the proud owner of a rifle when, after pestering the officers of the Company until I was ashamed to try any more, and was conjuring up ideas of securing a gun in some other way, Leo Henderson, one evening after a parade instructed me to report to Volunteer Headquarters, No. 1, Dawson St., the following day where, he said, I would be issued with a gun.

Waiting

On the following morning before the office was opened, I was waiting outside until Leo Henderson and some others arrived and we went upstairs where a single barrel shotgun neatly contained in a cardboard case complete with cleaning cloths, a pull-through and a small bottle of "Three-in-one" oil. In a separate parcel I was given 12 cartridges.

Late that night I went to the rear of our house, loaded the gun and fired one shot into the night sky to test it. The report seemed deafening and I scampered back to the house and hid the gun behind the deep folding shutters of the window. In my excitement I did not sleep at all that night.

At the first opportunity I had the cartridges emptied and refilled with buckshot by a member of the Com-



Volunteers parading for inspection at Croydon Park, Fairview, before 1916. Fourth from the right in the front row is Arthur Griffith.

pany. This job, I understand, was carried out at this man's home. He melted lead over the kitchen fire and ran it through a tin can, the bottom of which was pierced with holes, into a bucket of water.

In the early part of the year 1916 route marches and parades were regularly but more frequently carried out and with a new fervour and determination. The numbers in our Company had increased, there were more guns and few, if any, hurleys were to be seen.

Marches

Our route marches were still carried out but with a difference. Almost every Company on route marches was accompanied or followed by parties of D.M.P. men. In our favourite marching area, Finglas, there had been a number of clashes with the D.M.P. parties of them chasing us with batons drawn. There was no shooting on our part and many of us held our own when it came to fisticuffs, but many others were unfortunate enough to be injured by baton blows.

The 1914-18 war was at its most depressing level. Huge numbers of Irishmen had joined the British Forces from the National

Volunteers. John Redmond was the leader of the National Volunteers and encouraged his men to join the British Army and fight for small nations.

It was not popular to be a member of the Irish Volunteers, but there seemed to be a new awareness and determination among us. We went about our training in a more resolute manner. There was more .22 ammunition available for practice but we still bought it at so much a round.

General manoeuvres had in a small way been carried out between the various units and we were advised that similar arrangements were to be made with the 3rd and 4th Battalions in the Dublin mountains

around Easter. Early in the week before Easter I was mobilised to be ready with three days' ration to leave for route marches and manoeuvres on Easter Sunday.

I was up early and ready waiting for Seamus O'Maolinn, my section commander, in "B" Company, 2nd Battalion. Seamus came about 10 o'clock looking, I thought, very tired but only to call off the route march and manoeuvres. He offered no explanation but on being pressed he said: "Bill, don't go away from the house and keep your gun and equipment in readiness. I will see you tomorrow morning and tell you everything."

Sunny

Easter Monday dawned a beautiful sunny day. I was up early and waiting for Seamus. He arrived about 10 o'clock, no longer a worried look on his face. He was a new man.

"Bill," he said, "eleven o'clock, St. Stephen's Green West. Three days' rations, gun, ammunition and full equipment." Looking at me silently for a moment or two he smiled, took me by the hand and said: "This is the day," and he was gone like a flash.

I was standing in the

centre of the room with my belt and haversack on, the only equipment I had, and my shotgun in my hands when my mother entered the room. Brave and true Irish woman, she had been a widow since the beginning of the previous year with a family of eight, of which I was the eldest. She had encouraged me in every way to be a good Irish Volunteer, which was anything but popular with the neighbours at that time.

Mother

I feel sure she felt, as only a mother can feel, that she might never see me again and it was to be, indeed, many a long month before she was to know whether I was dead or alive. "God bless you, my son," she said as I hurried out of the room.

I arrived at St. Stephen's Green about 10.30 a.m. There appeared to be great excitement. Parties of Volunteers were there in groups and military formation. There were some inside Stephen's Green where, it was said, they were digging trenches. There was no announcement that this was to be the rebellion—that we were to challenge the might of England, but everybody seemed to know

CEANNT SAID

"I leave for the guidance of other Irish revolutionaries, who may tread the path which I have trod, this advice: never to treat with the enemy, never to surrender to his mercy, but to fight to a finish."

THE STORY OF THE RISING

effectively as the Fingal men did at Ashbourne, and, had the country been swept of this armed force, Britain might have had on her hands a problem of military reconquest far more formidable than that of '98.

But it was not to be. Another insurrection seemed doomed to the same tragic failure as its predecessors. Had the vision of the Military Council failed then, had they been intimidated by the disruption of the plans, there would have been no Rising at Easter, 1916. The British, preparing to strike, had that day almost completed arrangements for the arrest of the leaders and the suppression of the Volunteers.

Faced with the ruin of their plans for a nation-wide Rising, the leaders made a decision of high courage and inspired vision. They decided to rise at noon on Monday. This decision had more significance than the mere choice between inaction and that "leap in the dark" as Connolly called it, which all men must take who plunge into insurrection. Implicit in it is a sense of history—the imperative need for a blood sacrifice to restore the life to a dying nation.

Without arms little could be done in the country, and in fact it was only at Wexford and Galway, and at the home of the Kents near Castletons, that Volunteers came into action.

But the Dublin Brigade and the Irish Citizen Army could fight on a modification of the original plan for the city. Gallantly the men of Dublin justified the confidence of their leaders.

To prevent any isolated offensive action by Volunteers on Sunday, orders were issued by Pearse confirming MacNeill's cancellation of any movements on that day. Late on Sunday couriers were sent out with Pearse's final orders for action at noon on Monday.

Dublin was ringed around by military barracks occupied by British Forces, with none close to its centre except Dublin Castle. Inside that ring the insurgent army established an outer ring of posts in strong buildings around the heart of the city.

Headquarters was at the General Post Office, where Pearse as Supreme Commander, and Connolly as Commandant General of the Dublin District were located. Commandant Edward Daly's 1st Battalion was at the Four Courts, with outposts at the Mendicity Institute, North Brunswick Street, Church Street and North King St. Commandant Thomas MacDonagh's 2nd Battalion occupied Jacob's Biscuit Factory and a number of outposts.

Commandant Eamon de Valera's 3rd Battalion had headquarters at Boland's Mills with outposts from Westland Row to Ringsend and at Mount Street Bridge. Commandant Eamon Ceannt's 4th Battalion occupied the South Dublin Union, Marrowbone Lane Distillery, and adjoining posts. A combined Citizen Army and Volunteer force under the command of Countess Markievicz and



British troops behind a makeshift barricade of furniture and bedding in a Dublin street during the Rising.

that that was, in fact, happening.

One party was marched across the road and entered the College of Surgeons where it was said the Countess Markievicz was in charge. Another party marched to the top of Grafton St. My section was marched towards Cuffe St. led by an Irish jaunting car. Perched precariously on one side of it was Sam Ellis, of my company, clutching a rifle in one hand and with his arm around some boxes of ammunition.

Down Cuffe St. we turned into Bishop's St., past Jacob's factory and into Cross Kevin St. Here there was a barricade of barrels, handcars, shop shutters, etc., at the entrance to Fumalley's Lane, behind which were Volunteers. We marched down Fumalley's Lane, past Barmack's Distillery building, which was also occupied by Volunteers. At the end of the lane there was a second barricade of carts, barrels, etc., manned by Volunteers.

Here I was very pleased to see a 2nd Bn. officer in charge—Commdt. Dick McKee. He was one of my

heroes, tall, dark and in full uniform, looking smart, calm and efficient. We were not to know then that in 1920 as Vice Brigadier of the Dublin Brigade, he would be brutally murdered in Dublin Castle or that I would be one of those selected to avenge his death.

Many people were standing about close to the walls of the houses and at upstairs windows of the surrounding houses, watching us. At first they looked on silently but as the morning wore on and they were joined by others, they became vociferous, jeering at us and shouting "Go home."

Commandant was in uniform, slim, with a pale scholarly face, he contrasted vividly with the broad-shouldered Major, who was smiling and seemed in the best of good humour. MacDonagh asked if everything was all right. We stood to attention and answered: "Yes, sir. He then asked if some of the Cross Kevin outpost were there and I answered: "Yes, sir, myself and a few others." "Good lad," said the Major, tapping me on the shoulder as they passed on their tour of inspection.

Posted

The following day I was posted to a third floor section of the factory and appointed in charge of the Guard. I was indeed proud to be N.C.O. in charge and I continued in this position during the week. The organisation in the factory ran like clockwork. Guard duties, two hours on, four hours off, good hot meals delivered around the various posts, having been prepared by a Cumann na mBan unit in the bake house section of the factory.

There was considerable sniping both day and night and our crack-shots were stationed in the upper roof storey and the fire was returned. On Thursday morning at about 6.30 a.m. I

Police

Three or four Policemen (D.M.P.), one a Sergeant, wandered up to the barricade and were promptly arrested by us and placed under a guard.

The day wore on during which there were moments of tension when we were told that the British soldiers were advancing on us from Harold's Cross or Wellington Barracks direction. On these occasions the lookers-on scamped back into the houses and tension was high, on our part as we sighted our guns and lay quiet behind the barricades. A dead silence prevailed in the streets during such periods until eventually broken by talking and giggling as the residents slowly re-appeared at the windows and hallways of the surrounding houses.

We remained at the barricades until about 10 o'clock that night when we were formed up and marched into Jacob's factory, taking the three D.M.P. prisoners with us. These prisoners were well-treated and spent the remainder of the week assisting in the cook-house, peeling potatoes, etc.

Barricade

During the day on the barricades we had used some of our three days' rations but we enjoyed the hot meal which was prepared for us by the Cumann na mBan unit in the factory.

On the way to Jacob's factory we were subjected to many indignities by groups of women and some men. Various articles were flung at us and some of the rearguard were actually struck. We bore these indignities with patience. These poor people were the relatives of many brave soldiers fighting in France, who had been encouraged to join the British Army to fight, as they thought, for Ireland.

At eleven o'clock on Easter Monday night, we were inside one of the main gates in Jacob's factory putting finishing touches to a barricade set well back from the heavy wooden entrance gates.

Commandant MacDonagh arrived, accompanied by Major John MacBride. The

CLARKE SAID...

"This is the beginning, our fight has saved Ireland. The soldiers of to-morrow will finish the task."

was instructed to report to the bakehouse for special duty. On arrival there Commandant MacDonagh and Major MacBride were holding a discussion with a group of officers. There were 16 or 17 other Volunteers who also had been called for this conference.

Commandant MacDonagh explained to us that an urgent request had been received from Commdt. de Valera at Boland's Mills for some help to relieve the heavy siege they were under. Commdt. MacDonagh then outlined a plan which we were to put into effect.

Eighteen of us had been selected for this action. We were being provided with bicycles on which we were to get as close as possible to the British units based at the Mount St./Grand Canal St. area and attack. We were to keep up the attack as long as possible in the hope that the enemy would think that it was a large-scale offensive or part of a general plan of attack. The result of this action, it was hoped, would ease



Bill Stapleton, a Dublin man, was deported to Knutsford Prison and Frongoch Internment Camp after the Rising and subsequently released in August, 1916. Later, having rejoined the Volunteers, he was promoted Lieutenant in his old Company "B" of 2nd Battalion. He was a whole-time member of the famous G.H.Q. Squad and played a leading part in the capture of the British armoured car and attempt to rescue Sean MacEoin from Mountjoy. Also a member of the Active Service Unit he took part in most of its major operations.

Joining the National Army at its inception with the rank of Staff Captain, on G.H.Q. Staff, he assisted at the taking over of military establishments in various parts of the country. Subsequently he was promoted Colonel and Officer Commanding, Field Training Depot, Army Corps of Engineers.



Jacob's factory where Bill Stapleton fought.

A VOLUNTEER'S STORY

some of the pressure on de Valera's garrison.

Commdt. MacDonagh then introduced Capt. Dan Riordan as the officer to take command of the action. We each selected a bicycle and with the good wishes of our officers, and in a few cases kisses from the Cumann na mBan girls, we left the building by a side door opposite the Adelaide Hospital.

The weather during the week had been fine, dry and sunny, but on this memorable Thursday morning it seemed to be like midsummer. The feeling of freedom of movement after some days confined within the factory, plus the fact that we were going forward to attack, was wonderful.

No fear

I have no recollection of having had any fear or awe at the thought of attacking the British Army nor of the fact that we were a very small, poorly armed group to challenge the might of Britain.

We reached the corner of Lower Mount St. and Merrion St., via Leeson St. and Fitzwilliam Sq. We could hear shooting in the direction of Boland's Mills but, except for this, which was somewhat sporadic, there was no other sound nor were there any people or traffic in the streets.

Looking towards Upper Mount Mount St. and the buildings near the corner of Holles St., there were signs of military occupation. Standing at the corner of the Square and Mount St., leaning against the railings was a khaki-clad figure, obviously a sentry. (Long afterwards we learned that this was common procedure when the British occupied houses, to place a sentry "look-out" on the pavement outside.)

We had not been observed or heard and quietly we laid our bicycles on the ground and took up positions on halldoor steps or lying flat on the sides of the road. For my part I stood behind an electric light standard. Capt. Riordan gave us the signal to fire and immediately the quiet morning was rent with the explosion of guns. I had extra shells for my single barrel shotgun and kept firing at the windows in the houses at the corner of Holles St. I saw immediately that the khaki-clad figure was lying flat on the footpath. Bullets were spattering along the road, hitting the standard behind which I was firing and rebounding off the hollow metal.

Attack

We kept up the attack for nearly half an hour until Capt. Riordan, who was firing from a prone position on the roadway, signalled to retire. Moving as fast as we could, zig-zagging and hugging the railings on each side of the street, we got around into Baggot St., mounted our machines and pushed hard until we reached Fitzwilliam Sq. where we halted for a roll call. The party was complete and none was wounded. All the way back we could hear the firing from Mount St., and we hoped that our effort had given some respite to our comrades in Boland's Mills.

We were in happy mood until we reached St. Stephens' Green, South. Capt. Riordan and four or five others turned up the west side of the Green with the intention of going down

York St. Fire was opened on them from somewhere near the top of Grafton St. but, to the remainder of us who had paused at the corner, they seemed to have got to York St. safely. We decided to go down Cuffe St., and we cycled madly across the road as bullets pinged and spat off the roadway but none of us was hit.

We got back to Jacob's by the same door in Peter St. Inside on the ground was a stretcher and on it one of our party named McGrath who had been hit when running the gauntlet along St. Stephen's Green to York St. It was with difficulty that Capt. Riordan and the few with him had succeeded in getting him back to Jacob's.

I helped to carry the stretcher into the hospital. McGrath was quite conscious and smiled wanly. He was wounded in the abdomen and had lost a lot of blood and in spite of an immediate operation he died within the hour.

By Sunday morning, April 30, the Rising was seven days old. No attack had been launched against us but for the last two days sniping had increased in intensity. The organisation ran like clockwork. There seemed to be less cheerful chatting, however, and even the Cumann na mBan girls seemed to have become rather quiet.

Rumours

All sorts of rumours were rife. Some had it that the whole country had risen and that many contingents had surrounded the city and were attacking the British in the rear. This rumour satisfied us and explained why an all-out assault had not been made on our position. Another rumour, which was most popular, was that at any moment we would evacuate the building, take to the hills and continue the fight for freedom as had been done by our proud forebears down the centuries.

There was a peculiar tension in the air on that memorable Sunday and a feeling that something extraordinary was about to happen. Someone said that a Carmelite priest from the adjacent Whitefriar St. church had been in with MacDonagh and MacBride. We were soon to know. Something extraordinary and startling indeed was happening that we who were there will never forget. We were going to throw down our arms and surrender.

Our comrades in the G.P.O. and other parts of the city had already surrendered the previous day. De Valera, in Boland's Mills, was surrendering at that very moment.

It was early forenoon when we got the order to report to the ground floor.



John MacBride



An armoured car used by the British in 1916. It was built on a lorry chassis in eight hours in a Dublin engineering yard.

Every man, including those on duty at the barricaded windows, was to report. This latter detail only confirmed our worst fears.

There was an extraordinary hush and feeling of tragedy in this large store-room. The faces around me were tense and haggard as they faced towards the rough platform of boxes on which Commdt. MacDonagh and Major MacBride were standing. MacDonagh looked tired but otherwise calm while MacBride was rather grim.

MacDonagh told us, in a quiet, clear voice, that Pearse had already surrendered in the G.P.O. on the previous day and that de Valera, in Boland's Mills, was surrendering at that moment. Most of the other posts had been captured or the garrisons driven out.

Silence

There was a deathly silence for a moment or two and then shouting: "We don't believe this. It is only a trap to get us to surrender."

It was, however, only too true. MacDonagh told us that, at the intervention of a clergyman, he had gone out under a flag of truce and met a senior British officer. He had taken him to Sackville St., which was still burning and where the G.P.O. garrison had surrendered. If we remained, he said, many lives would be sacrificed, particularly those in the surrounding houses, as the British intended to shell us as they did Sackville St. and the G.P.O.

There was shouting and swearing. Strong men were weeping, others sat down with their heads in their hands like exhausted old men. An age seemed to pass. MacDonagh seemed visibly moved but MacBride was grimmer than ever.

MacDonagh

Continuing, MacDonagh said that any of us who did not wish to surrender could escape now but that he and his officers would march out to meet the British officer and surrender to save further bloodshed.

There was an immediate rush by many for the gates, most of them shouting: "We will fight again." Throwing off their equipment, smashing their rifles against

machinery or throwing them on the ground, they left the building.

My first impulse was to run for the gate and escape. I had, in fact, flung off my equipment and dashed my gun to the floor and was rushing towards the gate taking a last look at MacDonagh and MacBride standing silent, with a small group of officers. I stopped dead, so did many others. We could not leave our leaders alone like this, so we walked back.

I picked up a very good "Martini" rifle. At least I would surrender with a real rifle, but I put it back and took up my single-barrel shotgun and my simple home-made equipment. I would surrender with the gun with which I had gone out to fight, the gun which had helped to harass the British at Mount Street, and thus helped de Valera a bit in Boland's Mill.

Forming up in Peter St. and with Comdt. MacDonagh and Major MacBride leading us, we marched out to surrender. Some people peered at us around corners or out of windows in the adjoining houses. I glanced at the grim, unshaven faces around me. They all looked very old and tired.

Officers

A few British officers and N.C.O.s joined us and led us to Bride Street, both sides of which were lined with British soldiers with rifles and fixed bayonets. In the centre of the road was a group of officers, some of whom obviously were senior officers as they had red tabs on their shoulders.

In the middle of the road further on were some unarmed Volunteers from some other garrison who had already surrendered. We halted in the centre of the roadway and, at what no doubt was the last command of Commandant MacDonagh to his Volunteers we reformed into single file.

There was a short pause, then an officer told us to step forward and lay down our arms and equipment in the centre of the road and to empty our pockets. It was deadly quiet. The British officers and soldiers were looking at us quietly and, I thought, with sympathy. At any rate there was no

PEARSE SAID...

"If you strike us down now we shall rise again and renew the fight. You cannot conquer Ireland; you cannot extinguish the Irish passion for freedom. If our deed has not been sufficient to win freedom then our children will win it by a better deed."

rough shouting or conduct towards us. After a short period we were marched off, escorted on both sides by British soldiers to Richmond Barracks (now Keogh Barracks) where, after being kept on the barrack square for a considerable time, we were put into barrack rooms, 30 to 40 per room.

There was no distinction between officers and men and in my room were Commandant MacDonagh and Major MacBride. The rooms were overcrowded and great strain and discomfort was experienced by all. We had to keep up a furious kicking and banging on the door before an escort would arrive to take us to the latrines. Crossing the square escorted by soldiers with rifles and fixed bayonets we were subjected to a string of expletives until we arrived back in the room.

Resting

Commandant MacDonagh and Major MacBride were sitting down, resting against the wall. Like most of the others I was walking round the room. The Commandant beckoned to me to sit down beside him. I sat down and he offered me a sweet from a small paper bag. The Major said: "You must be very tired." They said very little after that, and I must have fallen asleep and slept soundly, for when I awoke the two leaders were gone. I never saw them again. I was told that they had been taken out under escort along with some others. It was only after a long period of solitary confinement in an English prison that I learned they had been executed.

THE STORY OF THE RISING

Commandant Michael Mallin took up positions at St. Stephen's Green and the College of Surgeons.

On mobilisation total strength did not exceed 1,000 men, but this was considerably augmented during the week. It is reliably estimated that the total number participating on the Irish side was about 1,800, comprising 1,600 Volunteers and 200 Citizen Army personnel.

Opposed to them the British had in Dublin on Monday a fighting force of almost 2,500 officers and men, and before the end of the week they had brought in additional troops which raised their strength to five and a half thousand men.

After the occupation of the General Post Office at noon the building was put in a state of defence; outposts were established in commanding positions, many in street corner houses covering the approaches to it; street barricades were erected, and boring commenced through the walls of adjoining buildings, so as to make each block a defensive unit.

At 12.30 the tricolour flag was hoisted at the Henry Street corner of the G.P.O. and a banner bearing the inscription "Irish Republic" was flown at the Prince's Street corner. A little later, Pearse, surrounded by an armed guard, emerged into O'Connell Street and read the Proclamation.

Meanwhile all the other occupied positions were being put into a state of defence. From the moment when the army of the Irish Republic occupied its ring of posts around the heart of the city—around the heart of the historic nation, it could almost be said—its position was one of defence. To defeat it, aggressive, offensive action was the only possible British policy. In that, the Rising was a synthesis of the age-long struggle for freedom.

The British plan was simple and they pursued it consistently during the week; it was to throw a cordon round the Irish positions, extending on the north side of the Liffey from Parkgate to the North Wall, and on the south, from Kingsbridge to Ringsend, and then to strike at the centre of resistance in the G.P.O., using their superior strength to capture or isolate the other insurgent positions.

The first concern of the British was to secure Dublin Castle, then almost unguarded, which they did on Monday evening by getting 180 men into it through the Ship Street entrance. This enabled them to reach Trinity College on Tuesday and gain a position which threatened the G.P.O.

One of the first Irish casualties was at the gate of Dublin Castle, where Sean Connolly was killed. Occupation of the Castle was not part of the plan for the Rising; Captain Connolly's detachment had been detailed to occupy the City Hall and the "Daily Express" building opposite it, but here as elsewhere strength was insufficient.

An effort was made to reinforce this small garrison by a detachment from the G.P.O. early on Tuesday

Continued on Page 14.

*Barricades
and ruins—
commonplace
sights in the
beleaguered
city after
the Rising*



A British barricade and machine-gun post at the railway bridge on the Clontarf Road.



Curious sightseers inspect a barricade in Prince's St., Dublin, after the Rising. In the background is the site of the present "Irish Independent" building.



Searching through the debris in Middle Abbey St., Dublin, after the Rising.

THE WEST AWOKE

The story of the rising in Galway

GALWAY was considered important by H.Q. of the Irish Volunteers. In the separation of the Irish and National (Redmond's) Volunteers Galway remained loyal to the parent body and Liam Mellows was working so hard in organising and drilling that I was sent to assist him when I came out of Belfast Jail early in 1916.

Most of us who were in the I.R.B. understood that a Rising would take place before the European war was finished. The first definite hint that all Volunteers got was early in March when orders were sent out that attempts to disarm Volunteers or to seize arms were to be resisted to the last.

Liam Mellows was again arrested and deported to England. I was served with a deportation order but evaded arrest. I remained in Galway county.

Orders

It was on Wednesday of Holy Week that we got definite orders that the Rising was to begin at 7.30 on Easter Sunday evening. This order must have been known to thousands of people throughout Galway but not one word leaked out.

Liam Mellows had escaped from England and arrived in Galway on Wednesday. He had borrowed a suit of clothes from an Irish priest. This priest was, it appears, a big man. Liam was not big, but at that time ill-fitting or shabby clothes were not unusual on priests of the mission and when Liam, a benevolent-looking, apparently mission-priest walked down the gangway from the boat at Belfast the R.I.C. men on duty saluted him, and he raised his hand in apparent benediction.

There had been many comings and goings between Galway and H.Q. in Dublin the week before Easter, and a code message to start the Rising had been arranged with Brigade Commandant Larry Lardner of Athenry.

Despatch

Eamonn Corbett, Brigade Adjutant, met Liam Mellows at St. Enda's College, Dublin, on Monday, and went home on Tuesday to arrange for Liam's safe reception. On Thursday, Mrs. Frank Fahy brought a code despatch with definite orders about Sunday night.

All the Volunteers and Cumann na mBan were told to go to Confession on Saturday and receive Holy Communion on Easter Sunday. As this is the usual custom at Easter the large number of men and girls



Liam Mellows.

going to the altar was not remarked.

On Easter Sunday morning a priest on a motor-cycle brought MacNeill's countermanding order and all the companies throughout the county had to be informed quickly. It is related that one company was in position surrounding a police barrack at 7.30 p.m. when they got the order.

There were 20 R.I.C. men stationed in Athenry and a few others in a hut at the Model Farm. Only one man remained as B.O. in the barracks on Sunday night. The others had all gone to Benediction and for a walk afterwards. There were 20 rifles for the taking if the original plans had been adhered to.

On alert

On Easter Sunday at 7.15 p.m. a motor-cycle dispatch bearer (I heard that his name was Egan) arrived at Athenry with a message from P. H. Pearse: "Operations postponed for present."

On Monday evening Miss Elizabeth O'Farrell brought another dispatch to Father Henry Feeney (C.C., Clarinbridge, Brigade Chaplain): "Dublin has acted 12 noon today—P. H. Pearse." And again orders had to be sent out quickly throughout the county to each company. But the British were already on the alert every-

where. All the small R.I.C. barracks were evacuated and the forces concentrated in the larger towns.

Two hundred R.I.C. were brought into Athenry where they commandeered a house facing the barracks. Marines and sailors were landed in Galway city and known Sinn Féiners were arrested. Iarchonacht, and Connemara Volunteers were cut off by Galway and the Corrib. Athenry Volunteers had seized the town hall, but they had to leave the town in face of stronger, well-armed forces.

In mobilising to fight, the men of Galway knew well, badly armed as they were that they could not take part in any big attack on R.I.C. barracks or face strong forces of English soldiers. They knew that all they could do was to pin down some of the British and keep them from concentrating on Dublin.

It was hoped, however, that other companies had been mobilised also. The Galway Volunteers succeeded in holding the county, outside the bigger towns, for about 600 square miles between Galway city and Ballinasloe, and Gort and Tuam.

The loss of the Aud was a great blow. The Galway Volunteers were to have got 3,000 rifles. Everything had been planned with men in the railway to distribute the rifles all along the line from Kerry to Galway.

Capture

We had heard about the capture of the Aud but I did not hear at the time that my brother Charles was one of the men drowned at Ballykissane on Good Friday. He had come back from Canada to take part in the Rising. He was probably a member of the I.R.B. and had been armourer to 2nd Batt., Dublin Brigade.

The first act of each company was to destroy telegraphic and railway communications, attack local barracks and barricade certain roads. The first shots were fired by the R.I.C. when Padraig O'Fathaigh, bearing a message to Father Meehan, was ambushed and captured at the priests' house at Kilmara. The first attack by the Volunteers was made by the Clarin-

bridge-Killeen companies on the R.I.C. barracks at Clarinbridge at seven o'clock on Tuesday morning.

The siege lasted some hours and bombs were thrown into the barracks, but the garrison held out. Some R.I.C. men were taken prisoner. One was wounded but not badly. On the same morning Volunteers from Maree and Oranmore occupied the village of Oranmore and besieged the R.I.C. barracks.

In the afternoon the Clarinbridge and Killeen companies arrived at Oranmore on various kinds of vehicles, carts, traps and motorcars. These Volunteers were accompanied by Father Henry Feeney. The attack on Oranmore was planned, but the British arrived, perhaps hearing shooting, or perhaps to strengthen Oranmore. Some police were taken prisoners here. One plain clothes man had to be released as he went out of his mind.

Force

A strong force of police and soldiers from Galway arrived on the scene and a gun battle was carried on for some time, but the Volunteers not having wood supplies of ammunition were forced to retire. A small party under the command of Liam Mellows covered the retreat.

According to reports the British lost 13 men in the skirmish. The Volunteers suffered no casualties.

The Athenry Volunteers had occupied the Town Hall and had attacked the police barracks and another occupied a house facing the barracks but were eventually forced to give up, again through want of ammunition.

Early on Wednesday morning a strong force of police in 13 motorcars, under the command of Inspector Head, and a retired British army captain, Captain Bodkin, came suddenly on 14 men of the Castle-gar Company at Carn Mór Cross.

Volleys

Volleys were fired from the cars but strangely without hitting anyone. The Volunteers took cover behind the walls of a house and returned the fire. Some of the British got out of the cars and attacked, one R.I.C. man was killed and, apparently a few others wounded. The appearance of some Clare-Galway Volunteers on the scene decided the attackers to re-



The writer, Aibhe O Monachain, was born in Belfast. He learned Irish first at Oxford St. C.B. School and joined the Gaelic League when he left school. He joined the Volunteers and the I.R.B. at the beginning of 1914. When Ernest Blythe and Liam Mellows, two Volunteer Organisers, were arrested in the Summer of 1915, he was asked to take up organising and after a period of training in a camp on the Dublin mountains, was sent to Cavan to instruct the Volunteers. Sentenced to three months hard labour, he spent the Christmas of 1915 in Crumlin Road Jail, Belfast. When he was released he was sent to Galway—as his story tells—as assistant to Liam Mellows. Mr. O Monachain was President of the Oireachtas of the Gaelic League in 1961.

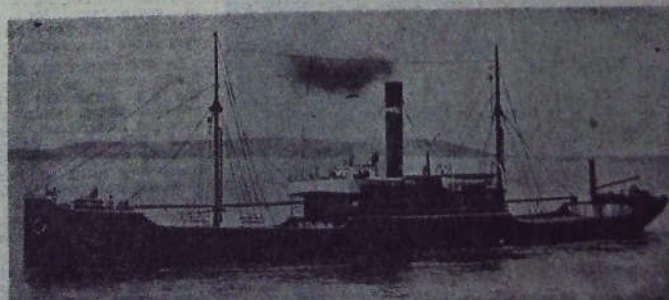
treat. No Volunteers were killed or wounded.

On the same morning a strong reconnaissance force of R.I.C. was driven back to Athenry, and later in the day a gun battle took place at the police hut near the Model Farm.

This hut had been evacuated but presumably a party had been sent out for things left behind. All documents had been burned, but the Volunteers got some important documents here and in other abandoned positions.

All day on Wednesday heavy gun-firing was heard in the direction of Galway Bay. The official report sent out by the British was that warships were getting the range at Athenry to dislodge the "Rebels." It was generally believed—and hoped—however that a fight with German submarines was going on. Well known Sinn Féiners, who had been arrested in Galway city were put on a mine-sweeper and conveyed to England.

A party of Volunteers went to the evacuated R.I.C. barracks at New Inn. The only occupant, the sergeant, was in bed. The Volunteers found an order from the D.I. telling the sergeant to stay in bed and



Motoring to meet the Aud (above), three Volunteers, Charles Monaghan (brother of Aibhe), Don Keating and Dan Sheehan, were drowned when their car plunged off Ballykissane Pier in Co. Kerry. A fourth man, Thomas Molnerney, who was the driver, escaped.



THE STORY OF THE RISING

morning, but it was not successful, and by Tuesday night the position was regarded as untenable and the garrison withdrawn.

The reinforcement comprised a party of Volunteers from Maynooth who had marched to Dublin on Monday, and some men of the Hibernian Rifles who had reported at General Headquarters.

The first shots were fired from the G.P.O. about 1.15 p.m. on Monday. The British 6th Reserve Cavalry Regiment came into O'Connell Street from the north. As they neared Nelson Pillar a volley from the roof and windows poured into their ranks. They suffered some casualties and the survivors retreated.

Another early clash occurred on Monday on the north side of the city. About 3.30 p.m. a party of Volunteers bringing supplies from Father Mathew Park, Fairview, to the G.P.O., came under machine-gun fire from the direction of the Great Northern Railway.

Some of the party took up defensive positions near Ballybough Bridge, while the remainder conveyed the stores to the G.P.O. British infantry advancing towards Annesley Bridge from the Bull Training Camp came under heavy fire from positions hastily occupied in corner houses on North Strand, in Spring Garden Street and Annesley Place, and in Lanister Avenue.

In the fight the British machine-gun was put out of action and the whole body retreated. An hour later they had made no further effort to advance and the Volunteer party continued to the G.P.O. There they were detailed to occupy positions at Fairview Strand and Clonliffe Road corner.

Commandant Ceannt's positions in the extensive building of the South Dublin Union were attacked on Monday by the British cordon pushing up from Kingsbridge.

The attack was repulsed, but the garrison, too thinly spread in the large grounds, was withdrawn to the Nurses' Home at night. This was a strong building which had been well fortified. Sean Heuston's post in the Mendicity Institute was eliminated on Tuesday.

Additions to the G.P.O. garrison strength during Monday made it possible to extend the outposts covering it by the occupation of other buildings early on Tuesday. In one of these—Reis's—a radio broadcasting set was erected, and from Tuesday afternoon to mid-day on Wednesday news of the Rising and of the progress of the fighting was broadcast. On another—the Imperial Hotel—the Irish Citizen Army flag was flown on Wednesday.

The British utilised the Loop Line railway to establish the northern end of their cordon in and around Amiens Street Station. Troops brought from the Curragh to Kingsbridge by special trains were moved into these positions. A strong party of them emerged on Tuesday afternoon to repair the damaged Great Northern Railway line at the Sloblands and came under heavy fire from the Annesley Bridge post.

In two hours' fighting they had numerous casualties. But British strength at this point forced a withdrawal of the outlying Fairview and Annesley Bridge posts late on Tuesday evening, although it made no impression on the nearer G.P.O. outposts on the north side.

Continued on Page 20.

pretend that he was sick, and try to identify the man who came in. The note added, "the Volunteers won't interfere with you if they think that you are sick."

In the hurried evacuation of barracks the R.I.C. had not had time to remove all official documents, and police reports found showed how microscopically the police were used to spy on the people. Small, and often silly-looking, incidents and occurrences were reported in detail, and many of the Volunteers came across reports relating to themselves. All documents were burned, but strangely enough abandoned barracks were not set on fire.

Attack

On Thursday Kinvara barracks was attacked. In these attacks on barracks no hopes of success were entertained as the supply of ammunition was very small, and a good siege could not be kept up, but the attacks had the effect of keeping the R.I.C. pinned down; keep them uneasy, without rest, or—we hoped—sleep.

On the same day a foraging party in search of potatoes met and put to flight a large party of R.I.C. outside Agheny.

That same night a messenger from Ballinasloe reported that artillery was moving out of the town towards Moyode. Preparations were made to send a column of well-armed men, with rifles and shotguns, to ambush the artillery, but advance scouts brought back word that the artillery had returned to the town after going out a few miles. Ballinasloe was crammed with soldiers, and with police from the Northern and Midland Counties.

Numbers

On Wednesday the Volunteers had moved to Moyode Castle. The great number of men who had responded to the call to arms, more than 1,100, was gratifying but nonetheless embarrassing, as there were only shotguns and rifles for a rather small force, although the shopkeepers in the towns had sent out all their stocks of shotgun cartridges.

Married men and youths under 18 were asked as a



In horse-drawn "Black Marias" such as these Republican prisoners were moved to ships for transportation to British prisons and internment camps.

favour to return home, Liam Mellows said that about 500 of the 1,000 were kept on. I do not know now many married men did go but the boys apparently did not remain inactive. They became freelance scouts and spies and were constantly arriving with news from all parts. These were not the only information bearers. Staid men and women and girls arrived with information about the movements of the enemy. The spirit of the people in general was very encouraging.

Even when the number of men had been reduced a good strong force was kept together so that constant necessary outpost and salting duties would not be too heavy, and each company took turns in doing armed duty. The officers, however, got little rest.

The drivers of a tea van, a breadcart and a lorry loaded with flour surrendered willingly and remained with their charges all the week. Horse carts and traps and motor cars were also requisitioned.

Transport was under the charge of Lieut. Matt Neelan, who held many quick preparation drills.

CONNOLLY SAID
"We went out to break the connection between this country and the British Empire and to establish an Irish Republic."

The Q.M. was Capt. Sean Broderick, a very cool, unruffled man and a genius in providing food.

Potatoes, cabbage, etc., were requisitioned from those who could afford it best, but receipts were given. The bigger ranchers provided bullocks, and among other professions represented in the camp were professional butchers.

The people around Moyode were also very generous in supplying huge cartwheels of soda bread, butter and jam, and milk. The girls of Cumann na mBan, about 30, attended to the catering and there was a very pleasant aroma of Irish stew in the camp. Sleeping accommodation was of course, on bare boards.

Confessions

During the week Irish-speaking priests visited the camp and heard Confessions, and in general were very encouraging. Most of the men were from Gael-tacht areas — and at that time there was a good Gael-tacht east of Galway city.

The scouting organisation was particularly good — helped by freelance scouts and spies. Scouts were on bicycles, on horseback and in motor-cars for long distance, and they had a very large free range.

In the meantime, British forces were gathering in the big towns. On Friday evening these began their outward movement toward the Volunteers' position. Moyode Castle would have been very hard to defend. It would have been difficult to barricade all the big windows, so the Volunteers moved out to march towards Clare.

It was rumoured that Cork and Kerry were "out" and the news from Dublin so far had been heartening. After a long march a halt was made at Lime Park. Here bad news was received. Dublin was in flames. Early

on Saturday morning Father Thomas Fahy (later professor in U.C.G.) brought definite news about the situation in Dublin and the failure of the Rising outside Galway, Wexford, Louth and Co. Dublin.

He advised the officers to disband the men. Some wanted to reduce the force to an armed guerilla band and harass the enemy, but Father Fahy was allowed to put the whole case before the men, which he did fairly and squarely, and he gave a bit of prophetic advice, that the men should hide their arms as they would be wanted another day. I was told that not one single gun or rifle was ever got by the police, although they claimed otherwise.

Prisoners

And, so the men went away sorrowfully. The prisoners, R.I.C. men, were left sleeping in Lime Park.

More people than were actually engaged in the Rising were arrested and transported to England, where preparations for the next fight were made by representatives of all Ireland in all the English prisons.

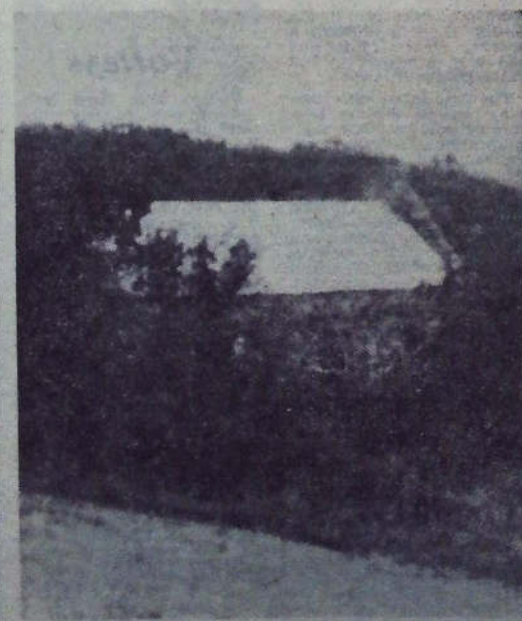
The British military authorities wrote to Father Feeney's Bishop asking his Lordship to deal personally with Father Feeney for his part in the Rising. His Lordship, in a polite reply, asked the British military authorities where did they think that an Irish priest should be in times of danger, if not with his people?

America

Father Feeney's health was very bad and he went to Southern America for a few years. He was made P.P. of Shrule when he returned. Ar dheis De go raib a nam dilih.

Liam Mellows and two companions, Proinsias O hEidhin, Captain of Agheny Company, and the present writer, made their way to Clare. They met good friends on their journey and eventually the Maloney family of Baile Uachtarach, near Tulla.

At Christmas Liam was told by Volunteer H.Q. (now the I.R.A.) to go to America for propaganda work. His adventures on a British Government munition ship going to America is another interesting story. Proinsias O hEidhin and I met again in Cork.



The shed near Tulla, Co. Clare, where Liam Mellows, Aibhe O Monachain and Proinsias O hEidhin went into hiding after the Rising.

National Museum



**MICHAEL
COLLINS
IN
1916**

Michael Collins fifty
years ago as a young
volunteer in uniform
shortly after the
Rising.

"A TERRIBLE BEAUTY IS BORN"

"In ainm dé
7. in ainm
na ngráin
dinnis
romáinn"



- | | |
|------------------|------------------------|
| Patrick Pearse | Sean Hurley |
| Thomas MacDonagh | John Keble |
| Thomas Clarke | Con Keating |
| Joseph Plunkett | Gerard Keogh |
| Edward Daly | Francis Machon |
| Michael O'Meara | Patrick Machon |
| William Pearse | Michael Malone |
| Sean McBride | Peter Manning |
| Con Colbert | James McCormack |
| Estimates Conant | William McDermott |
| Michael Mallin | Charles Monaghan |
| Sean Houston | Michael Mulvihill |
| James Connolly | Richard Murphy |
| Sean McDermott | Daniel Murray |
| John Adams | Richard O'Connell |
| Thomas Allen | Patrick O'Connor |
| William Burke | Patrick O'Mahoney |
| Andrew Byrne | John O'Grady |
| James Byrne | The O'Reillys |
| Louis Byrne | John O'Reilly |
| Charles Carrigan | Thomas O'Reilly |
| Philip Clarke | John Owens |
| Sean Connolly | James Quinn |
| James Corcoran | Thomas Rafferty |
| Edward Coughlin | George Reynolds |
| Edward Costello | Frederick Ryan |
| John Costello | Donnell Shahan |
| Henry Cogle | Patrick Shortis |
| John Cronin | John Tynan |
| Charles Dwyer | Edward Walsh |
| Brandon Dwyer | Philip Walsh |
| Patrick Doyle | Thomas Wierke |
| John Dwyer | Patrick Wilson |
| Edward Egan | Peter Wilson |
| Patrick Farrell | Richard Kent |
| James Fox | Executed in Pontenille |
| George Goughgan | Prison, London |
| John Healy | Roger Casement |
| Sean Howard | Executed in Cork Jail |
| | Thomas Kent |

The General Post Office in Dublin after the Easter Rising in 1916.



A great military parade in O'Connell Street, Dublin, in 1941 marked the twenty-fifth anniversary of Easter Week.



THE SILVER JUBILEE IN 1941

Standing for the National Anthem outside the G.P.O. were Mr. de Valera, an Taoiseach, with his ministers. From left: Thomas Derrig, Sean Lemass, Sean MacEntee, Gerald Boland, Dr. James Ryan, masked by Col. Sean Brennan (Aide de Camp), Patrick J. Little and Oscar Traynor.

When Wexford rose

SPRIT OF 1798 RE-AWAKENED AT FOOT OF VINEGAR HILL

By Seumas O Dubhghaill

ON the eve of the Insurrection the Irish Volunteers in Enniscorthy comprised "A" Company of which Seumas Rafter was captain as well as battalion commandant; James Cullen, senior lieutenant and I, myself, second lieutenant; the Shannon Company with Alec Doyle, Nicholas Cahill and Michael Doyle in charge, and fragments of companies in Irish Street and John Street.

Fianna Eireann under their leader, Michael Mac Eochaidh, were also organised in the town. The Shannon Company remained neutral after the split until November 23, 1915, when they joined up with us.

P. H. Pearse was in Enniscorthy in March, 1916, lecturing on Robert Emmet. On this occasion he arranged a code with us, by means of which the date of the Rising would be made known to us. At this time I was made Brigade Adjutant by him.

On Holy Thursday, 1916, the order for the Insurrection was brought to us by Miss Eily O'Hanrahan, now Mrs. O'Hanrahan O'Reilly, sister of Michael O'Hanrahan who was later executed. The order was as had been arranged by Pearse and fixed the date April 23, 1916.

On the preceding Wednesday I was given a long R.I.C. message in code by one of our men, Philip Murphy, who was an indoor postman. I gave this message to Miss O'Hanrahan to bring back to Dublin.

Codes

Murphy had frequently given me R.I.C. code messages which were short and not very difficult to decipher. Some time after Miss O'Hanrahan's arrival, a document reached me from Volunteer headquarters which, although not referring to Pearse's order, virtually countermanded it.

This document was, in military parlance, a directive. Later in the day a message came from the Irish Volunteers in Kilkenny, to the effect that in their estimation the directive was paramount.

I brought all the documents to Commandant Rafter, who ordered me to go to Wexford town to discuss the situation with the

Brigade Commandant and Robert Brennan.

Here I may state that we never had a full brigade after the split, but we hoped that an initial success would swell our nucleus to full strength.

I carried out Rafter's order and met the Brigade Commander in Robert Brennan's house. Brennan and Mrs. Brennan were also present. After discussing the situation, mixed as it was, it was finally suggested that I go to Dublin the following day (Good Friday), to try to find out how matters were shaping there.

Dublin

I went to Dublin, as suggested, and on arrival went straight to Volunteer Headquarters in Dawson Street, where I found Barney Mellows burning papers. Later Eoin MacNeill and Thomas MacDonagh passed through the outer office and went into a room off it.

Barney suggested that I should discuss matters with them, but, as I knew either of them only very slightly, I did not do so. From Dawson Street I went to Tom Clarke's shop in Dorset Street and found it was not open.

I then went to the Freedom office in D'Olier Street where Sean MacDermott whom I knew well, told me that MacNeill had decided on fighting, and showed me an order from him to Capt O'Connell, who was then in Cork on Volunteer business, to proceed to Wexford to take up command of the Volunteer forces operating there.

This order was brought

and delivered to O'Connell by James Ryan (now Senator), who was then studying Medicine in Dublin.

Sean told me that there was practically no hope of a German landing. As I was saying good-bye to Sean, I remarked: "If we do not meet again in this world I hope we'll meet in a better one." He replied: "We'll meet again in this world," and so we did, as he was put into the room with us in Richmond Barracks, after being paraded with a group destined for internment after the Rising. Alas, he was picked out by a G-man.

From D'Olier Street, I went to Scoll Eanna, accompanied by a man named Luke O'Kennedy, whom I knew slightly. At Scoll Eanna we were met by a lady, whom I believe was Miss Pearse. She said Patrick was not at home, but we could leave a message. "for I know all."

Returned

I returned home in much better spirits than when I set out. I forgot whether I went on to Wexford or left the train in Enniscorthy. This was on Good Friday night. Holy Saturday, one day only, was left to us to make final preparations.

However, most of the preparation had been made already. Patrick Keegan, with his group of eager and loyal helpers, had for many months been busily engaged in preparing all sorts of missiles and explosives for the day; they stored them in a cache or tunnel they had made behind an empty house owned by the Keegans in Irish Street.

The orders for assembly, rations, etc., for manoeuvres on Easter Sunday were

issued, but those Volunteers who were members of the Irish Republican Brotherhood, as many of them were, knew or suspected that something more serious than manoeuvres was pending and many of them went to Confession on Holy Saturday evening.

Captain O'Connell, accompanied by Dr. Dundon of Borris, arrived in Enniscorthy on Easter Sunday morning.

On that morning McNell's order in the *Sunday Independent* had put us into a profound quandary. We did not know what to do or what was happening. A short time later our troubles were increased by the arrival of another order confirming the *Sunday Independent* order.

As the confirmation arrived a group of us was discussing the situation with Father Patrick Murphy, M.S.S., Enniscorthy, who knew all our secrets. Meanwhile the volunteers were gathering at the usual assembly place in Mary Street. We sent them home and decided to await further information.

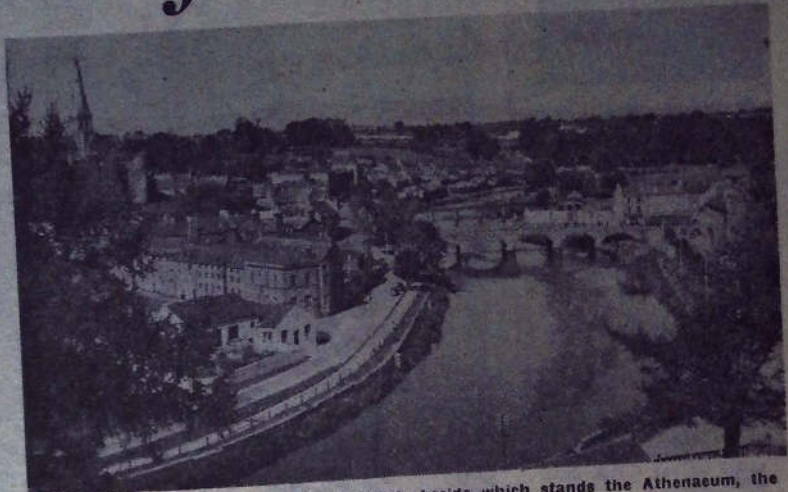
Some time later O'Connell and Dr. Dundon set out for Borris, and still later another order from Pearse reached us; it was read by us as postponing the Insurrection indefinitely, but as matters turned out we had read more into it than it contained.

Order

There was also an order for Captain O'Connell, but as its delivery did not seem urgent, and as I was worn out by the day's happenings, I decided to hold it overnight.

On Easter Monday morning I set out for Borris and on arrival at Doctor Dundon's house I found myself and O'Connell seated by a fire. There was also a lady present, whom I did not know, but who, I later learned, was Miss Wyse-Power.

O'Connell asked me if I had a message, I looked at the lady so as to be sure I could speak before her before replying. I delivered the message. O'Connell said: "This makes matters all right." I asked him if he had had a message that morning, he replied that Miss Wyse-Power had brought an order from Pearse telling him to go ahead with the Insurrection. I said there was probably an order awaiting me in Enniscorthy. He then



Enniscorthy, showing (upper left) the Castle beside which stands the Athenaeum, the headquarters of the Volunteers when they seized the town.



A native of Gorey, Co. Wexford, Seumas O Dubhghaill joined the Volunteers in his native county, rose in the ranks and was one of the leaders in Enniscorthy in 1916. He was deported after the Rising. Elected a member of the Second Dail he voted against the Treaty. Elected subsequently to the Dail he did not take his seat. Still active in Gaelic circles in Co. Wexford, Seamus is also interested in Irish history and archaeology and is a member of the Irish Place-names Commission.

said: "I suppose we may tell Miss Wyse-Power to tell them in Dublin that they will not get any help from this area." I said: "No. I must get back to talk to my brother officers."

O'Connell must have come back with me, or by himself later, as that evening or night we were in Robert Brennan's house in Wexford. Brennan had stated on the previous Friday night that he would go out even if he had to go alone.

He went to the North Station at the time of the arrival of the last train from Dublin and there he learned of the Rising in Dublin.

O'Connell and I cycled back to Enniscorthy and went to Keegan's house in Irish Street where a number of our men were gathered at this late hour. We discussed the situation in the light of the news from Dublin.

Finally O'Connell asked us not to do anything until he found out how matters stood in the counties which were to have co-operated with us. He returned on Tuesday night, weary and dejected, and assured us that if we struck we would do so alone.

On the Tuesday, a fair-



Commandant Seamus Rafter, one of the Volunteer leaders in Enniscorthy in 1916. He was accidentally killed in an explosion in 1918.



Sean Etchingham, one of the Volunteer leaders in Enniscorthy in 1916. He was later Minister for Fisheries in the First Dail. He died in 1923.



Captain Thomas Weaver, an Enniscorthy Volunteer, who was killed in action in O'Connell St. during Easter Week.

THE STORY OF THE RISING

In fact the decisive attack on the G.P.O. came from across the river—from the south.

This attack with artillery brought up from Athlone—was made possible by the early British grip on Dublin Castle and Trinity College. By driving a wedge into the Irish ring of defensive positions at this point the British achieved a twofold purpose.

They established a foothold from which to attack the G.P.O., and they made it unnecessary for the moment to do more than contain the Irish forces in Boland's, Jacob's and the South Dublin Union. Nevertheless, it was not until Friday that their gunners got the range on the G.P.O. accurately.

From Wednesday onwards rifle and machine-gun fire on the G.P.O. and its outposts, particularly those at the junction of O'Connell Street with the Quays, became heavy and ceaseless. Much of it came from Trinity College and the tower of Tara Street Fire Station across the river.

Artillery located at Tara Street shelled Liberty Hall, which had been evacuated since Monday, and from a position in the river below Butt Bridge the gun boat Helga joined in the artillery barrage. In the afternoon a heavy gun at the junction of O'Flaherty and College Streets demolished the upper part of the post at Kelly's corner, and its little garrison was forced to withdraw to the Metropole.

Endeavouring, on the North side, to push forward towards O'Connell Street from Parkgate, the British forces encountered very stubborn resistance from Commandant Daly's posts in the Four Courts and the North King Street area.

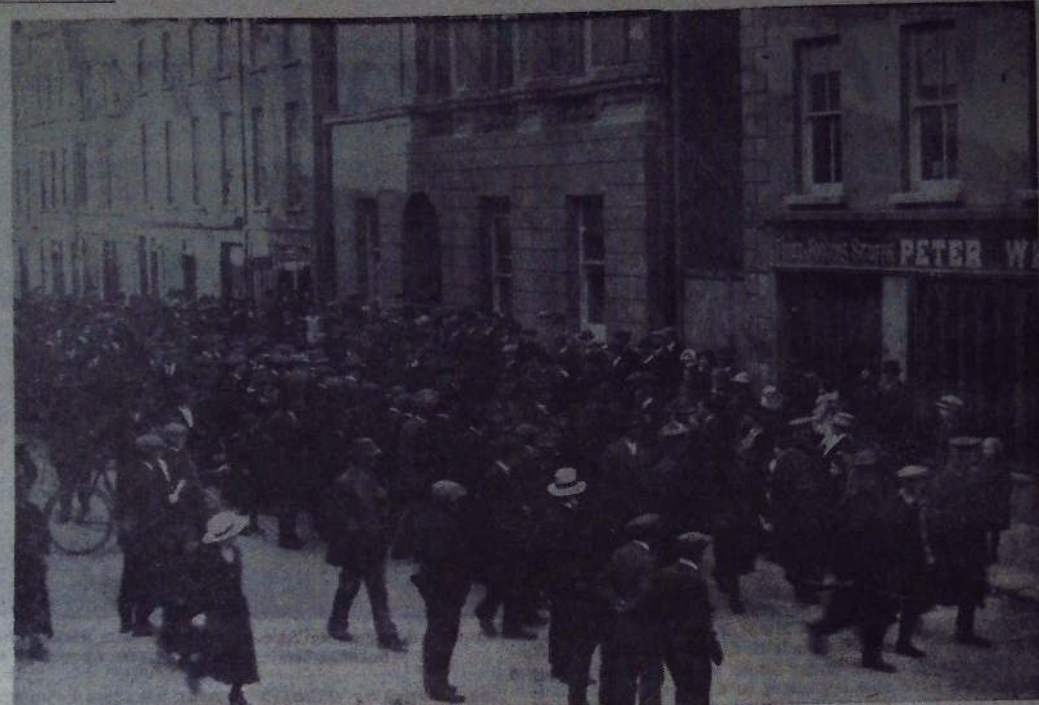
There was heavy fighting in this district, in the course of which a number of buildings were set on fire, but, apart from some changes of position, the area was firmly held by the insurgents.

Two British infantry brigades were landed at Dun Laoghaire late on Tuesday evening. Next morning they were forced to march on Dublin because Commandant de Valera's 3rd Battalion were astride the railway line and denied them the use of it.

The 5th and 6th Battalions, Sherwood Foresters, came in on the Blackrock, Stillorgan, Donnybrook road and arrived in time to take part in the heavy fighting at the South Dublin Union. The 7th and 8th Battalions, marching in via Ballsbridge, were halted by three Volunteer outposts covering Mount Street Bridge. This was the scene of the bloodiest fighting of the Rising.

In the epic defence of this position, 12 men of the Irish Republican Army pinned down two battalions for nine hours and inflicted appalling casualties on them. The British admitted losses of 234 officers and men killed or wounded—in fact more than half their total casualties in the Rising.

This was, for them, an unnecessary waste of troops, since there were several undefended routes into the city which could have been



Volunteers being marched away under escort from the Athenaeum, Enniscorthy, following their surrender.

National Museum.

day in Enniscorthy, the Ferns Company came in and secreted themselves in a grove near the town. This occurred through a misunderstanding. They later came and did their share, the only Company that came in intact.

On the Wednesday we had difficulty in restraining some of our men who wanted to march to Dublin to aid the Volunteers fighting there. On the same evening, Vice-Commandant P. P. Galligan arrived from Dublin with a message from James Connolly ordering us to hold the railway line from Rosslare to Dublin and prevent reinforcements reaching the British forces fighting in Dublin.

After Galligan's arrival, and as a result of it, a meeting of officers was fixed for that night in Rafter's Bridge House. A messenger was sent to Wexford to summon Robert Brennan, who duly arrived in Enniscorthy. I do not remember the names of the officers who were present, but it was decided unanimously to seize the town on the following morning.

Threat

At an early hour the following morning (Thursday, April 27, 1916) we fell in at Keegan's House in Irish Street, marched to the Athenaeum in Castle Street and demanded the keys from the caretaker, who lived close by.

They were given to us under threat. Here we made our temporary headquarters, temporary because the castle beside us would have been an excellent mark for artillery.

Our arms consisted of pikes, made by James Cleary in his forge, a small number of composite carbines, shotguns with buckshot cartridges, some Howth rifles, hand grenades, revolvers, etc.

We posted sentries on banks and at strategic points, set up road-blocks, closed public houses, etc. It was stated in the "Irish Times Handbook of the Rebellion" that we had entrenchments on Vinegar Hill but that we left them hastily when a few shells were dropped on us. This is completely fictitious. We had no trenches anywhere, nor was there a gun or rifle nearer than Wexford town.

Cooking was done in the skating rink attached to

the Athenaeum by Cumann na mBan under their president, Miss Mary White. I believe that not a single member of this organisation failed us—their patriotism was magnificent. Here I feel I should include the name of Miss Eileen O'Hegarty, who came with Robert and Mrs. Brennan, from Wexford, where she was a secondary teacher.

Some Cumann na mBan girls went on a scouting mission to Wexford on the Saturday and brought back news of the arrival of British forces in that town.

The Tricolour was hoisted over the Athenaeum by Mrs. Brennan and Misses Marion Stokes and Gretta Comerford.

Salute

It was saluted by a squad of riflemen under Vice-Commandant P. P. Galligan who gave the order: "In the name of God salute the flag of the Irish Republic."

The Royal Irish Constabulary were confined to barracks. There was sniping from some of our positions and from the barracks; one policeman was wounded. We made no attempt to capture the barracks as we hoped to force the R.I.C. to surrender. We needed their arms and ammunition very badly.

On Saturday afternoon Rev. Father Fitzhenry, Administrator, Enniscorthy, asked for an interview with one of us. It fell to my lot to take the interview. Father Fitzhenry had apparently heard how things were going in Dublin and I do not remember the conversation, but it seemed that our control of Enniscorthy was nearing its end.

News

Later that evening a deputation consisting of Father Fitzhenry and some Enniscorthy business men was received by us; they had some news of the failure in Dublin and appealed to us to accept what, in their estimation, was inevitable.

We were unwilling to abandon our positions except an order to that effect was received by us from Patrick Pearse himself.

An impasse was reached and as a way out of it I expressed my willingness to go to Pearse and receive an order from him to surrender or lay down our arms, pro-

vided the Commander of the British troops in Wexford would give me a safe conduct.

Colonel French, who had connections with Co. Wexford, was the officer in question. He accepted the offer, but said it was usual for two officers to go on such missions.

The late J. R. Etchingham expressed his willingness to come with me. We set out early on the following (Sunday) morning and on arrival at the R.I.C. barracks in George's Street, now Oliver Plunkett Street, Wexford, we were put in the cells and released only when Col. French arrived.

He bawled off the police for treating us as drunks. There was a road-block at Ferrycarrig and a guard in the public house there, and another makeshift block as we entered the town.

We left Wexford en route for Dublin in a British military car, with two officers in the front seat and Etchingham and I on either side of a cadet armed with a rifle in the back seat.

Cell

We were brought to Arbour Hill and ushered into Pearse's cell. A Tommy accompanied us into the cell, while a group of officers waited in the corridor outside.

Pearse told us of the death of The O'Rahilly in Henry Street and of Thomas Weaver's death in the Hibernian Bank in O'Connell Street.

The Dublin Brigade had done splendidly—five days and nights of almost continuous fighting.

He decided on surrender to save the lives of the citizens of Dublin, some of

whom were being shot in the streets by the British military. "I saw them being shot myself," he added.

He wrote the order to lay down our arms, and while the Tommy who accompanied us in the cell was outside submitting the order to the inspection of the officers in the corridor outside, Pearse whispered to us to conceal our arms. "They will be needed later."

We returned with the order to Enniscorthy and read it to our men and Cumann na mBan. The Volunteer officers' surrender was to have been taken at 2 p.m. on Monday, May 1, but Colonel French did not arrive until 4 p.m.

Cadets

He was accompanied by a force of cadets and police. He took the officers' surrender in the Athenaeum and handed us over to the police who brought us to Wexford and lodged us in the military barracks there.

Here we discovered that French's force consisted almost entirely of cadets.

Later we were brought to Waterford Jail, where we were kept until the weekend. In Waterford we found that the police had arrested most of the male inhabitants of Enniscorthy, quite a number of whom had no connection whatsoever with us.

Some of us were sent to Frongoch and others to Dartmoor Prison.

Document

The surrender document was signed by Robert Brennan, Seamus Doyle, Seamus Rafter, Sean R. Etchingham, Michael de Lacy and R. F. King.

Vice-Commandant Galligan had occupied Ferns on the Saturday (April 29) with a force of Ferns and Enniscorthy men and Cumann na mBan. He eventually joined us in Dartmoor.

Of those whose names appear here only P. P. Galligan and I are living. Five of the signatories of the surrender are dead, God rest their faithful souls.

MacDONAGH SAID

"The fierce pulsation of resurgent pride that disclaims servitude may one day cease to throb in the heart of Ireland—but the heart of Ireland will that day be dead. While Ireland lives, the brain and the brawn of her manhood will strive to destroy the last vestige of British rule in her territory."

THE COUNTESS



Constance Gore-Booth, the young, beautiful daughter of a Protestant landowner, was second-in-command to Michael Mallin in the St. Stephen's Green area in the Rising. The wife of Polish Count Casimir Markievicz, she was imprisoned after the Rising and is seen in our picture seated with a wardress in the Red Cross lorry which took her away after her court-martial. When the prisoners were released in 1917 she returned to a tumultuous welcome (below). She was later Minister for Labour in the First Dail. She died in 1928.



What voice more
sweet than hers
When, young and
beautiful,
She rode to harriers?

W. B. YEATS.





used; it was an equally foolish but far more stubbornly sustained effort than sending the Lancers into O'Connell Street on Monday. Carishbrook House was overrun early in the fight, which reduced the defenders to nine—two in 25 Northumberland Road and seven in Clanwilliam House. Lieut. Malone was killed in No. 25, and, after three hours' fighting, two Volunteers were killed in Clanwilliam House. No 25 was overrun and the assault on the sole remaining post became fiercer.

After five hours' fighting its defenders were reduced to four when another Volunteer was killed, but the four fought on. About 8 p.m. a party of the Royal Naval Reserve brought up a one-pounder gun on a lorry, and with incendiary shells set the building on fire. An hour later the four survivors of this gallant defence retired from the blazing ruins, nine hours after they had fired the first shots.

On Thursday it was clear that the main British objective was the G.P.O. and its outposts. The heavy fighting in the North King Street and Four Courts area was an effort, unsuccessful as it proved, to eliminate these obstacles to the principal objective.

Across the river the South Dublin Union garrison held out in severe fighting in which Cathal Brugha was very seriously wounded. There was no very determined assault on the main Republican positions in Jacob's and Boland's.

On Friday the Fingal Volunteers, then the 5th Battalion of the Dublin Brigade, under the command of Commandant Tom Ashe, carried out a most successful action at Ashbourne, Co. Meath. Here 48 Volunteers, in a five-hour battle, out-fought and completely defeated a force of about 70 Royal Irish Constabulary.

When, early on Friday, British gunners got the range on the G.P.O. it was the beginning of the end. By evening, much of O'Connell Street, under a ceaseless barrage of incendiary shelling, had become a raging furnace of flame and smoke. The front of the G.P.O. was burning fiercely; the building could no longer be defended, and it was decided to evacuate.

Members of Cumann-na-mBán, who had worked so devotedly during the week were, with the exception of the nursing section, ordered to leave. The wounded were conveyed to Jervis Street Hospital.

Connolly, who had received a serious leg wound on Thursday, remained in command. At 5.40 p.m., the garrison retreated to a house at the Moore Street end of Henry Place. In the retreat The O'Rahilly was killed.

From the first light on Saturday and all through the forenoon the battle raged with mounting intensity. General Headquarters lost contact with the other commands, each of which was now isolated. A gallant stand had been made, but organised resistance was no longer possible.

At 3.45 p.m., Pearse signed an order for general unconditional surrender. On Sunday, 30th April, the

Continued on Page 24.

WHEN THE FIGHT WAS OVER



Another picture of Countess Markievicz, seen here under guard with Michael Mallin (left centre) in the Lower Castle after their surrender at the College of Surgeons.

Michael Mallin, commander of the Republican forces in the St. Stephen's Green area was a silk weaver by trade. He had been in the British Army but had returned to Dublin to take part in the struggle for independence. His knowledge of military matters led to his promotion in the Citizen Army, and Connolly received much help from him when drawing up his plan for the seizure of Dublin in a rising. After the surrender Mallin was sentenced and executed.



Some idea of the extent of the damage caused by British shelling during the Rising can be got from this picture of ruins in Middle Abbey St., Dublin.

What happened in Ulster?

CONFUSION and chaos, climaxed by frustration, were the lot of those men in the north of Ireland who were ready to play their part in the 1916 Rising. This is the recollection of Denis McCullough of Oakley Road, Ranelagh, Dublin, a native of Belfast.

Denis McCullough, who was 83 last December, was President of the I.R.B. at the time, was in close touch with the members of the Military Committee in Dublin and had mobilised a number of men in Belfast who, as he described it himself, "were prepared to do their share".

He told his story of the happenings in Ulster in an interview as follows:

I had an interview with Pearse and Connolly in 1916 as to what action would be taken by the movement in the North, and Connolly's orders to me on that occasion were: "You will fire no shot in Ulster; we will deal with Ulster when we win through."

The central driving force of the whole movement was the I.R.B. Supreme Council. Their work had been largely propagandist, and to keep a general surveillance on the whole national movement. When the Volunteers were started in 1913, the members of the I.R.B. became active in the movement and because they were men of such high calibre, they exercised a great influence on it.

Subsequent to an original meeting in August, 1914, after the outbreak of war, it was arranged to appoint a Military Committee and Ceannat, Plunkett, MacDonagh, Connolly, MacDermott and Pearse were named to it. I do not recall if Tom Clarke had become

a member of that committee at that time. Clarke was a kind of ferment in the I.R.B. that kept driving it to action.

I had been in prison in 1915 and when I got out towards the end of the year, I realised that I would not be able to do much outside Belfast where I had about 130 volunteers—young Belfast men and boys of the Fianna—and I suggested to the Supreme Council of the I.R.B. that they should appoint a man to organise the areas outside Belfast.

Lost job

Tom Clarke produced a man called Frank Bourke who had told Clarke that he lost his job in the Civil Service in England because of his activities.

Bourke was appointed and was given a salary and a new motor bike, and went to live in Carrickmacross.

The Military Committee in Dublin proceeded to make plans and it became evident that something was afoot.

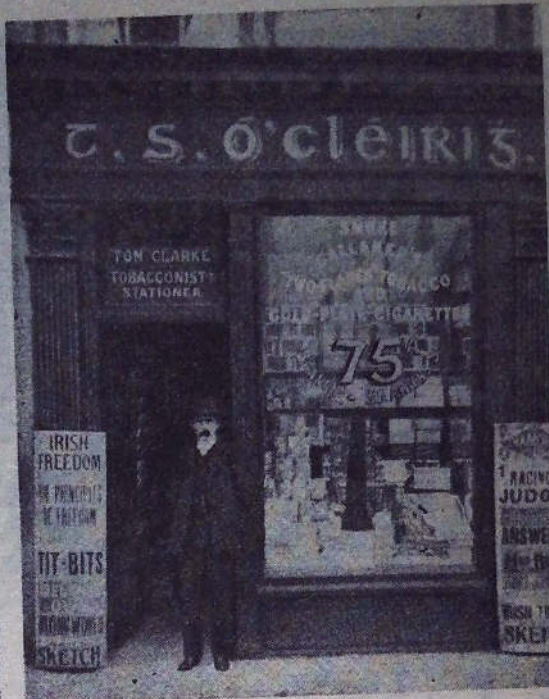
Early in March, 1916, I was summoned by Pearse to come to Dublin. I reported to a meeting in the Keating Branch of the Gaelic League in Parnell Square, at which Pearse, James Connolly and Bourke were present.

No date

Pearse told me about the Rising but gave me no date and no intimation as to when it was likely to be, and Connolly said that our instructions would be to take our men to Tyrone and join the Tyrone men and then start off for Galway to join Liam Mellows.

I told Connolly that this was a very long journey and added that I did not know if we would be able to accomplish it as we were not well enough armed. We had got gellignite through a contact in Glasgow and in Belfast a member of the movement, Charlie McDowell, was in the process of making hand grenades for possible use in attacking barracks.

We also had collected something like 30 to 40 rifles of various calibre and varying ammunition and had them stored in a house at Hannahstown on Divis Mountain.



Tom Clarke standing at the door of his shop in Parnell St., where many of the plans for the Rising were discussed.

I told all this to Connolly and asked if it was proposed that we should attack barracks on our journey and capture whatever ammunition we could.

Connolly said: "You will get your men to Tyrone. Join the Tyrone men and clear out of Ulster with all possible speed and join Mellows. You will fire no shot in Ulster."

I said: "We are Ulstermen. What will happen to Ulster?" and Connolly replied: "We will deal with Ulster when we win through."

I then turned to Pearse and asked him if this was an order and Pearse replied that it was and to obey it strictly.

Despatch

I asked if a date had been fixed yet and was told that none had been fixed, but Pearse told me that he would send me a despatch when that was arranged and the appropriate date was to be a fortnight prior to the one that was to be given in the despatch.

I returned to Belfast and began to prepare urgently. I drew all the money I had out of the bank—about £115 or £120—and got Archie Heron and some of the others in the movement to purchase equipment—haversacks and various things like that—at the

Ulster Volunteer Force Stores.

I heard nothing more from Pearse. I never got any word from him as to the date on which the Rising was to take place.

A member of the movement in Belfast, Alf Cotton, told me on the Saturday before Easter Saturday that he had instructions from Pearse to proceed to Kerry and that £10 had been sent to him for his fare and expenses.

Contact

I telephoned the girl who was later to become my wife — Agnes Ryan, who was a Professor in the Dominican High School in Belfast — whom I knew was going to Dublin and asked her to contact Sean MacDermott and tell him I was going to Dublin and wanted to see him urgently.

In Dublin I stayed in Tom Clarke's house, and although MacDermott came to the house while I was there, he said he could not stop to talk to me.

While people today might think that everything was organised like clockwork, it was nothing of the kind. It was all more or less haphazard, because all of us connected with it were constantly under the surveillance of the police.

I failed to get an oppor-

tunity of talking with MacDermott until the Monday morning of Holy Week when I went to his office in D'Olier Street—the offices of the paper "Freedom"—and insisted on seeing him.

MacDermott told me that the country had been warned and the date fixed and asked me what would we (in the North) do. I replied: "What can we do but go out."

I then returned to Belfast, called the section commanders together and told them that we were going on "manoeuvres." I also told them I was going to confession and advised the others to do the same.

On Good Friday I got a solicitor, who was sympathetic to the movement, to draw up a deed of assignment of the business I had to my mother.

Money

I had given the section commanders money to get their men (about 132 in all) to Coalisland by train, and a man arrived to take me to Dr. Patrick McCartan's home in Carrickmore, Co. Tyrone. Dr. McCartan was on the Supreme Council of the I.R.B. and was very active in the movement.

At Dr. McCartan's house there were two priests — a Father Coyle and a Father Daly, who were the doctor's advisers — and Bourke was also there.

I found complete confusion. I had 132 men coming down from Belfast with two days' rations and they as yet had no plan. We had arranged with a man called Hugh Rogers of Beara, to get the rifles and ammunition down to Coalisland, where they were stored in a schoolhouse.

Priests

I found this confusion and the priests were saying that this was not an I.R.B. Rising; that it was a rising inspired by Connolly. Bourke said he had 60 men ready to start in Carrickmacross and got on his motorbike and went off. But Father Daly said he had been told that Bourke had no men at all, and no arms.

The arguing as to what should be done continued on Good Friday night and the following day. I told them that we were here to join with the men from Tyrone, and that we were to start for Connacht to join Liam Mellows. The priests maintained they would not leave their own parishes and that they would keep their men there.

I went to see a Mr. Patrick McCormack, the representative from Scotland on the Supreme Council.

He had been told to report to me and I told him



Denis McCullough, born in Divis St., Belfast, was President of the Irish Republican Brotherhood in 1914-15. He was Commandant of the Volunteers in Belfast from their inception there and as senior officer was the principal contact for every volunteer travelling to Belfast. In the course of the years he became a member of Belfast Corporation in the Sinn Féin interest and after the Treaty was elected to the Dail for Co. Donegal constituency from 1924 to 1927.



The street corner on the right of this picture is the spot at which The O'Rahilly was killed in the withdrawal of the garrison from the G.P.O.



THE STORY OF THE RISING

Rising ended in military defeat for the Republican forces.

In the 15 ruthless executions of the next 12 days all the signatories to the Proclamation and eight other leaders made the supreme sacrifice. No nobler blood than theirs has fallen on Irish earth in the long struggle for freedom.

The military failure of the Rising proved to be no less significant than the effects of its impact upon the nation's mind. It was the expression in action of an idea essentially spiritual, the translation of an old and vital aspiration into living history.

In Easter Week the historic Irish nation was reborn. For the men who shared in that shining deed Pearse, in one of his last messages, asked the remembrance of Ireland, present and to come. He did not ask in vain. "They shall be remembered for ever."

Florence O'Donoghue in a Thomas Davis lecture on Radio Eireann, afterwards published in "The Irish At War" by The Mercier Press.

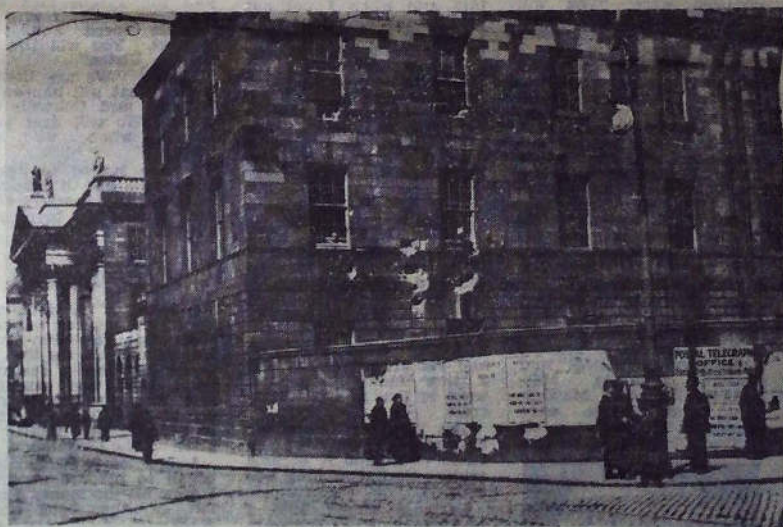


The fighting over, Republican prisoners are marched along the quays in Dublin to the ships that will take them to British jails and internment camps

Right: The Four Courts, Dublin, after the Rising. This was one of the major positions and was occupied by Republican Forces under Commandant Edward Daly. Ironically the wall is covered with British recruiting posters.



The front of the College of Surgeons, St. Stephen's Green, showing the effects of British machine-gun fire.



WHAT HAPPENED IN ULSTER?

Continued from Page 23

the situation. I told him that I had 132 men here; that I had got orders to do a certain thing but could not do it unless the Tyrone men came with us. I told him that I was going to give them an ultimatum that, unless they carried out the order and went on to Connacht, I would take my men back to Belfast.

But the situation was not resolved, and on Easter Sunday I marched with my men from Coalisland to Cookstown and entrained for Belfast, where the men were immobilised and told to return to their homes.

On the journey to Coalisland that morning with Dr. McCartan, a third man—Herbert Moore Pim—had suggested that we should go to Dublin. It was agreed that Dr. McCartan would drive us to Portadown

I first got my men

organised in their sections and started them off, but a mile outside the town the steering of the car broke down and we could not proceed. So I rejoined my men on their way to Cookstown.

The last of my money went on paying their fares back. We were arrested the week following and that was the end of the Rising for us.

It would have been as easy to have brought the men to Dublin as to Tyrone. The whole thing finished in frustration for us.

Obviously some instructions had come to Tyrone from Dublin, when I was asked to come to Tyrone by Dr. McCartan on the Friday. But I could get no elucidation as to what exactly the instructions were.

In all, I spent more than four years in jail for my activities, and spent many hours since discussing and trying to decipher what happened.



Edward Daly, Commandant in Charge in the Four Courts area, was a Limerick man and a brother-in-law of Tom Clarke. He was executed after the Rising.



Saga of a Cork family

ON May 1, 1916, the Kent homestead at Bawnard House, a few miles from Fermoy, was surrounded by a large force of British military and armed R.I.C.

The Kent family had been prominent in nationalist activities for many years, several members having suffered imprisonment in 1889 for "conspiracy with others not to pay their rents."

In the intervening period the Kents fought unceasingly against the forces of British imperialism.

Members of the family were among the first to join the Volunteers in 1913. In 1914 they and Terence MacSwiney mobilised the renowned hurlers of Clonmult and marched through a British recruiting rally in the town of Dungourney.

Thomas Kent was a leader of the I.R.A. in Co. Cork, while his brothers, Richard, David and William, hoarded arms and ammunition in Bawnard House in prepara-

tion for the Rising which they knew was coming.

So, on May 1, when the brothers had returned from being on the run and were at home, their home was surrounded.

"We have orders to arrest the whole family," shouted an officer.

"And we are soldiers of the Irish Republic and there is no surrender," replied Thomas Kent.

The military and police opened fire on the house and the defenders returned the fire. A Head Constable of the R.I.C. was shot dead, others were wounded. David Kent was seriously wounded too.

The defenders' ammunition eventually gave out and they were obliged to surrender. The four brothers and their 80-year-old mother were placed under arrest.

While the others were being handcuffed, Richard, who was an athlete, leaped over a fence and started to

run across a field. A volley brought him to the ground, fatally wounded.

The others were taken to Fermoy military barracks. Our picture (above) shows Thomas and William Kent, wearing handcuffs, being marched under armed escort to Fermoy. David, who had been wounded, was taken to a military hospital.

Thomas and William were later tried by courtmartial. William was acquitted. Thomas was sentenced to death, a fate he met bravely on May 9, his last request being that no Irishman be asked to shoot him.

Old Mrs. Kent was afterwards released, while David was later sentenced to death in Dublin Castle. The sentence was commuted to penal servitude for life and he was jailed in England.

He was released, however, with the other Republican prisoners in 1917 and resumed his nationalist activities. He died in 1930.



Mobilisation—then confusion

THE group above, photographed in 1952 at the old Volunteer headquarters in Sheares' Street, Cork, shows the then surviving members (with deceased senior officers) of the Cork City Battalion of the Irish Volunteers, who were "on active service, under arms, on Easter Sunday, 1916, to achieve the freedom of Ireland as an independent Irish Republic."

In the group are (top, from left): Donal O Ceallachain, Tomas Mac Curtain, Sean O'Sullivan, Traolach Mac Suibhne and Walter Furlong.

Back row (left): Jack Swanton, Frank McCarthy, James O'Neill, Michael O'Connell, Martin O'Donovan, Maurice O'Donovan, Sean O'Riordan, Pat Higgins, Peter Hogan, Ned O'Donoghue, D. Lyons and T. O'Leary.

Back row (right): Donnchadh Mac Niallghus, Micheal O Cull, Riobard Langford, Tadgh Murphy, Andy Murphy, Paddy Healy, Dan O'Donovan, Joe Barrett, Toddy O'Sullivan, Tom Crofts, Paddy Murphy, Leo Canny and Con Twomey.

Third row (from left): Jerry O'Donovan, Joseph Richardson, Con Murphy, Michael O'Neill, Mick Ronan, Jerry Creed, Paddy MacSwiney, James Mooney, Paddy Hegarty, Diarmuid O Donabhain, James Hastings, W. Irwin, Dick Carroll, T. McGillicuddy, Joe O'Shea, Daithi Cotter, Arthur White and Pa Murray.

Second row (from left): Tom Coughlan, James Walsh, Pat Canton, Eddie Barry, Paddy Cotter, James Long, Alan

Busby, Ned Twomey, Jack Keyes, Mick Manning, Mick Noonan, Con O'Connell, G. Gaul, J. McCarthy, J. O'Sullivan, Tom Walsh, James Guess, Sean Kenny and Jerome Hurley.

Front row (from left): Michael Crowley, Con Collins, Connie Murphy, Con O'Callaghan, Seamus Murphy, Jimmy Wickham, Patrick Gaggan, Matthew Wakefield, Sean Murphy, Pat Harris, Donal Barrett, Tom Barry, Liam de Roiste, Liam Russell, Sean Hurley, Jack McGrath and Mark Wickham.

As in other areas at Easter, 1916, confusion reigned in

Cork as a result of Eoin MacNeill's order cancelling movements on Easter Sunday. The three leaders in Cork, Tomas MacCurtain, Terence MacSwiney and Sean O'Sullivan decided, however, to adhere to their original plan to march to meet the Kerrymen who were to hand over a quota of arms from the Aud.

Then, on Holy Saturday, came the news of the sinking of the Aud which once more nonplussed the Cork Volunteers. On Easter Sunday, however, Sean O'Sullivan marched one contingent of Volunteers out of Cork city.

MacCurtain was about to follow with a second contingent when a messenger arrived from Dublin with MacNeill's countermanding order. The city Volunteers were recalled and the county units ordered to disperse.

By Easter Monday, when another order arrived from Pearse and MacDermott telling Cork to rise, it was too late. The British were alerted. Artillery covered the city. It would have been suicidal to take action. Just the same, the Cork Volunteers remained mobilised until the news of the Dublin surrender reached them.

VOLUNTEERS DISPERSE

SIMILAR confusion and doubt in Limerick, Kerry and Tipperary resulted in the Volunteers mobilising on Easter Sunday and dispersing again.

Commandant Michael Colivet, the officer commanding in Limerick, marched on Easter Sunday with 130 men to a camp at Killonan.

Order and countermand followed each other from Dublin until, finally, Pearse's message was received on Easter Monday: "Dublin Brigade goes into action today. Carry out your orders."

Colivet summoned a meeting of his officers but it was decided that, as the orders to Limerick were based on the arrival of the arms ship, they could not be carried out. The Volunteers were marched back to Limerick and dismissed.

On Tuesday Colivet, still distressed about their inability to aid Dublin, called another meeting of his staff. A vote was taken and it was decided by 10 votes to six that nothing could be done.

In Kerry Volunteers also mobilised, but when contact with Casement failed to be made Austin Stack was trailed by police and finally arrested.

Con Collins was also arrested and the Rising passed without action in Kerry except for the wounding of two policemen at Fries, near Killarney.

In Tipperary a Volunteer council of war decided against action because of lack of arms and definite news about the rest of the country.

Sean Treacy toured the county in search of chances of battle until he saw a white flag over the heads of Volunteer

officers driving from Cork and heard from them that all was over.

In Tipperary town Michael O'Callaghan shot dead two policemen who went to arrest him—the sole, desperate blow struck in the county.

Co. Louth Volunteers mobilised on Easter Monday and marched into the north Co. Dublin area. One section marched towards Dundalk through Castlebellingham where some R.I.C. men were arrested. A constable was shot and a British officer wounded when cars were stopped and seized. Some of the Louth Volunteers then went to Dublin and took part in the G.P.O. fighting.

There were also mobilisations of Volunteers in Clare and Killenny, but no actions took place.



Seamus Devoey

Sole survivor of that fateful stretcher-party

THEY were stirring days, times to be proud of, days whose memories, tragic and happy, could never dim for those who played an active part in the events.

One of the principal participants, Seamus Devoey, recalled the incident of Easter Week which he remembers above all others.

Not that the week spent in the G.P.O. with his colleagues of the 2nd Dublin Battalion was not marked by many incidents.

Mr. Devoey, then a Section Leader, recalled how he was commissioned "in the field" by Commandant-General Connolly as he set out at the head of a patrol to probe British defences.

Incident

But Commandant Connolly also featured in the incident which Mr. Devoey recalls most vividly, even though the battle had then been fought and, it appeared then, lost.

He is, in fact, the sole survivor of the stretcher-bearing detail who carried the wounded commander into captivity. And here, in his own words, are the details of that sad Saturday.

"On the Saturday afternoon of Easter Week, following the surrender, I was

**In an interview.*

instructed by Capt. M. W. O'Reilly of G.H.Q., to go to the barricade at the top of Moore Street under a white flag.

"I was to inform the British officer in charge that Commandant-General James Connolly, Commander of the Dublin Brigade of the Irish Volunteers, was badly wounded and would be taken to the Military Hospital at Dublin Castle.

"I was to request this officer to have a passage made in the barricade to help the stretcher-bearers. This his men did and I reported back to G.H.Q.

Formed up

"The bearer party, having removed all arms and equipment, formed up under Captain Diarmuid Lynch of G.H.Q. Their names were Michael Staines, Joseph Fallon, P. J. Byrne, Michael Nugent, Liam Tannam and myself.

"The first stop was outside Tom Clarke's tobacco shop in Parnell Street (then Gt. Britain Street), where Commandant-General Connolly had a few words with the Brigadier - General commanding the British forces in the G.P.O. area.

"We then started for Dublin Castle via Capel St., escorted by an officer and 16 men of the British Army.

Talk

"We arrived at the Upper Yard of the Castle and there was a short talk between Commandant-General Connolly and the British General Staff officers, after which the British Red Cross men carried our wounded chief into the hospital.

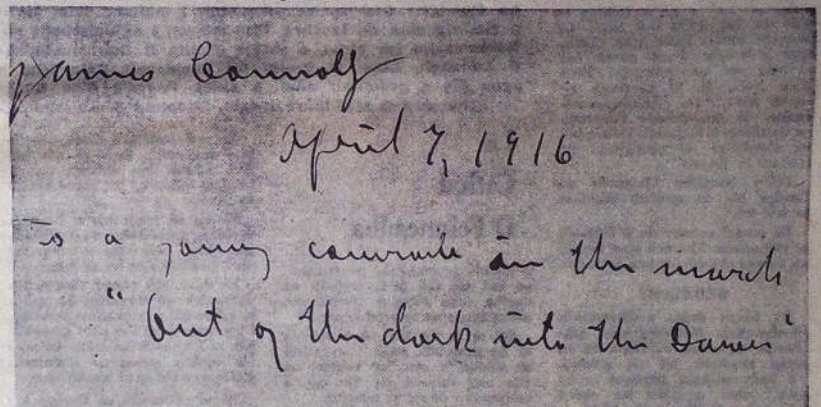
"The officer in charge of our escort then told us we were prisoners of war and we were marched away to Ship Street Barracks. En route we were met in the Lower Yard of the Castle by about 20 very drunk soldiers. As well as I can remember, they were from the Royal Irish Regiment.

"They came running at us with their web belts and our escort officer immediately drew his revolver and ordered his men: 'On guard'.

"He then faced our would-



An unusual picture of James Connolly (extreme right) seen at the lying-in-state of O'Donovan Rossa in the City Hall, Dublin, in 1915. Armed Volunteers stand to attention around the bier. In the foreground are the widow and daughter of O'Donovan Rossa.



James Connolly's autograph in the album of a young soldier of the Citizen Army. The message reads: 'To a young soldier on the march. Out of the dark into the dawn.' It is dated April 7, 1916.

be attackers and shouted: 'Back or I'll fire'.

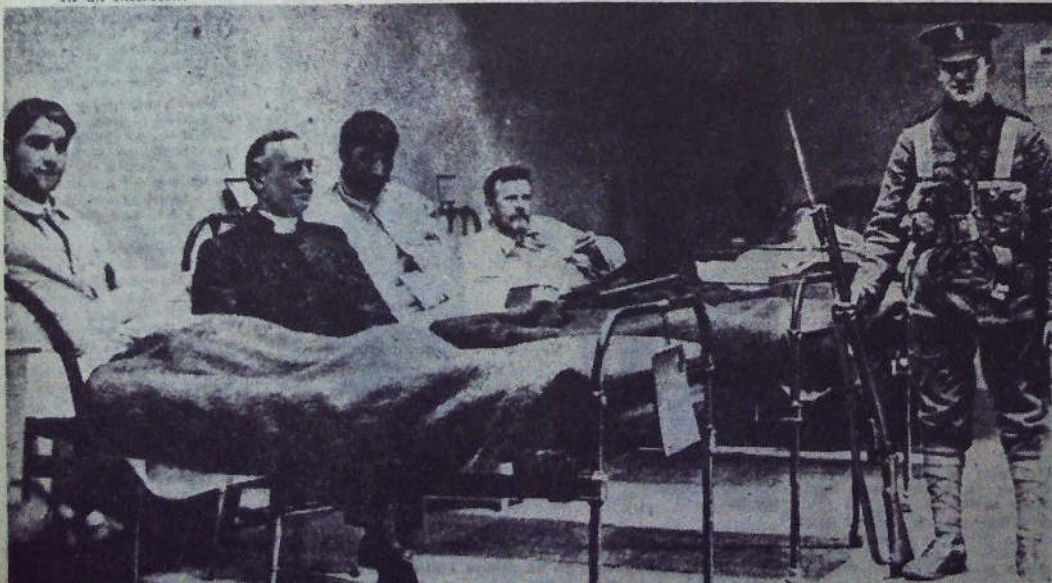
"They were sober enough to back away, but they gave us lots of very foul abuse. An N.C.O. took some of the escort to form a guard around us and so we safely reached our first prison."

The next morning Seamus Devoey and his colleagues were marched to Kilmainham Jail where they spent three weeks before being transferred to Richmond Barracks.

But, he added: "During those 20 days in Kilmain-

ham we heard all the executions that were carried out."

Later Mr. Devoey was deported and was held in several British prisons, including Wandsworth, before his repatriation.



Wounded Volunteers under guard and with a priest in attendance in a temporary hospital in Dublin Castle after the surrender.

James Connolly in his speech to the Field General Court-martial in Dublin Castle on May 9, 1916:

"We went out to break the connection between this country and the British Empire, and to establish an Irish Republic. We believe that the call we then issued to the people of Ireland was a nobler call, in a holier cause, than any call issued to them during this war, having any connection with the war.

"We succeeded in proving that Irishmen are ready to die endeavouring to win for Ireland those national rights which the British Government has been asking them to die to win for Belgium. As long as that remains the case, the cause of Irish freedom is safe."

CONRADH na GAEILGE AGUS AN ÉIRÍ AMACH

An bhaint idir an Conradh agus an Reabhlóid

"FOR if there is one thing that has become plainer than another it is that when the seven men met in O'Connell Street to found the Gaelic League they were commencing . . . not a revolt but a revolution." Silocht é sin as "The Coming Revolution" le Pádraig Mac Piarais.

Scoláirí na fir sin a tháinig le oífe 13 Iúil, 1893 i 9 Sráid Uí Chonailíocht, Baile Átha Cliath, agus ghlacadar d'aon ghuth leis an rún seo ar thairiscint Eoin Mhic Néill, M. Ó Ceallaigh ag cuidiú leis: "Go gceimthar cuid-eacht dá ngóiridheir Conradh na Gaeilge le haghaidh Theangadh na Gaeilge do chongbháil dá labhairt in Éirinn."

Tráth bunaithe Chonradh na Gaeilge bhí an spiorad náisiúnta in iole bri.

Ba bhearr roimhe sin ó briseadh ar chumhacht Pharnell agus fágadh an t-ir gan cheannaire gan aontacht.

BEO BOCHT

Ba bheag duine a shamhlódh go dtiocfadh réabhlóid agus ath-bhreith meann náisiúnta as an gcéad cruinniú úd de scoláirí, "a body without exipence to its back," mar a dúirt an ehad uachtarán, Dubhghlas de hÍde.

B'fhada ó lucht an Chonartha i dtús a ré an Conradh a cheangal le polaitíocht. Chuireadar rompu daoine a mbealladh chun na Gaeilge gan beann ar a dtuairimí polaitíochta.

Nuair a bhí comóradh náisiúnta á eagrú in 1898 ar Éirí-Amach 1798, dhúirtaigh an eagraíocht nua aon pháirt oifigiúil a ghlacadh in imeachtaí an ehomórtha.

Ach is maith an scéalai an ainsir. An aidhm a chuir lucht bunaithe an Chonartha rompu, athbheochan na Gaeilge agus di-Shasannú na hÉireann, ní théadfaí é a bhaint amach ag cruinnithe de dhaoine léannta sa chathair, ba ghá gluaiseacht neartmhar náisiúnta



Ag deireadh na haoise seo caite sea tógadh an pictiúr seo de Coiste Gnó, Conradh na Gaeilge. Diol spéise an pictiúr i mbliana toisc gurbh é tri Chonradh na Gaeilge a tháinig slua de laochra 1916 isteach i ngluaiseacht na Poblachta. Seo a leanas na hainmeacha (ar chúil, ó chlé): Tadhg O Donnchadh, An Gabhar Donn, Donnchadh O Loinsigh, Liam O Broin, An Laoideach, Eoin Mac Néill, Séamus O Cathasaigh; agus (ós a geomhair siúd, ó chlé) Pádraig Mac Cathmhaoil, Seaghan O hÓgáin, Risteárd O Maoibhreandain, Stiophan S. Bairéad agus Domhnall O Conchubhair.

Le Cathal O Feinneadha

a bheadh préamhaithe go daingean ar fud na tíre a spreagadh na daoine chun meas a bheith acu orthu féin agus ar a ndéachas.

Ba mhór an t-athrú a tháinig ar an gConradh nuair a socradh ar thimiri a chur ag taisteal na tíre cun soiscéal na Gaeilge a scaipeadh i measc na ndaoine.

Laistigh de bheagán bliain tháinig fás éachtach ar líon na gersobh.

Foistíodh foireann mhór de thimiri agus de mhúinteoirí taistil agus phléadigh aos óg na tíre isteach sna craobhacha chun éisteacht leis an teachtaireacht.

Fuair siad níos mó ná Gaeilge ón gConradh. Cuireadh ar a súile dóibh go raibh stair ársa ag Éirinn, go raibh tráth ann aular leag Sasannach cos ar thalamh na hÉireann ina raibh sí ina léchraun chreidimh agus eolais don Eoraip, gur choinnigh sí na Gaeilge an dóchas beo in aigne a sinair an lá is lele a bhí i gcéim síos faoi anamacht Gall agus go raibh gléas acu i dtéanga na Gaeilge chun meas a chothú orthu féin, mar náisiún.

FAOI DRAÍOCHT

"Bliss was it in that very dawn to be alive," mar a dúirt Wordsworth faoi Réabhlóid na Fraince.

Bhí mothú den saogas céanna i gceol na ndaoine óga a d'éist faoi dhraíocht le teangeas an Chonartha ag tús an chéid.

Ba cuma leo cad é an jobairt ba ghá chun go bhfoghlaimeodís Gaeilge.

Ní miste fir óga Chraobh an Athar Uí Ghramhna i mBaile Átha Cliath a lua mar shamplaí den diogras iontach seo.

Bhíodh na fir óga seo ag olair i dlíthe tabhairt. D'oibríodh siad dhubbh go dubh gach lá agus ní bhíodh de shaoire acu ach cúpla uair a chloig in aghaidh na seachtaine.

Níor leas leo an cúpla uair luachmhar sin a chaitheamh ag foghlaim na Gaeilge.

Ar ndóigh, bhíodh leabhar de euid an Athar Uí Ghramhnaigh faoin gceantar ag go leor acu agus thapaidís gach deis a bhíodh le fáil acu chun strathéachaint a thabhairt air.

An múinteoir a bhí acu, Seoirse Mac Raghnaill, fuair sé bás san Éirí Amach ina dhiaidh sin ag troid go calma ag Droichead Shráid an Mhóta.

Ba ag an tráth seo a thosaigh daoine ag gabháil chun na Gaeltachta don chéad uair agus cuireadh na céad choláistí Gaeilge ar bun.

Ní chóir, ach oiread, dearmad a dhéanamh ar thionchar na mban ar mhúiscail meannan na linne úd. Ghlac mór chuid ban páirt ghlomhach sa Chonradh an tráth úd agus bhí mná i measc na múinteoirí ab fhearr a bhí ag na craobhacha.

Bhíodh Conradh na Gaeilge leis ag síor thábhait ar dhaoine déantúal na hÉireann a cheannach nuair nach raibh ach an droch mheas ag a lán orthu.

Bhí tionchar mór aige seo mar

léirigh sé gur spéis leis an gConradh stáid eacnamaíochta na tíre.

Ba i Conradh na Gaeilge a d'eagraigh an taispeántas d'earraí Éireannacha i mBaile Átha Cliath don chéad uair i 1904.

Ba óráid bhliantúil é an taispeántas seo ó shin i leith agus é dá riaradh ag comhoibriste de Chonradhóirí is de lucht tionscal gurb é N.A.I.D.A. an t-oirdhe anois.

Bhí daoine a mbeadh a n-áinm in áirde i stair na hÉireann i measc na bhfeir óga a bhí ag teacht isteach sa Chonradh an uair úd, daoine mar Phádraig agus Liam Mac Piarais, Tomás Mac Donnchadha, Seosamh Plúinéid, Séamus O Conghaile, Éamonn Ceann, Tomás O Cléirigh agus Míchéil O Foghlú.

Deirtear gur sa Chonradh a

chéadchás Ruaidhrí Mac Easmainn agus Pádraig Mac Piarais ar a chéile.

De réir a chéile chreid siad nár leor modhanna oibre an Chonartha, dá gfeachtaí iad, chun an Gaeilge a chur i réim sa tír arís.

Ba ghá tacaíocht stáit a bheith ag an ngluaiseacht. Níor mhór eoirse na hÉireann a bhaint amach ionas go bhféadfaí lán-chumhacht an rialtais a úsáid in obair na h-athbheochana.

Lui sé le ceart gur duine de lucht bunaithe an Chonartha, Eoin Mac Néill, a scríobh an aiste ba chúis le bunú Óglaigh na hÉireann i 1913: "The North Began."

Ba in iris an Chonartha, "An Claidheamh Solais" a scríobh sé é. Bhí Pádraig Mac Piarais ina eagraítoir ar an iris chéanna ó 1903 go 1909.

D'fheidhmigh na timiri agus na múinteoirí taistil i móran áiteanna mar bholscairí earcaíochta do na hÓglaigh. Bunaíodh an comhlacht áitiúil go hiondúil ar chraobh na báito.

ARDFHEIS

Ag Ardfheis 1915 den Chonradh a tionsaigh a nDún Dealgan cuireadh scéala na hoifigiúlachta ar an gConradh a bhí tagtha sa Chonradh.

Ag an gceannúil sin leasíodh Rial a Dó, mar atá: "Ní thuit-eongthar clampar creidimh nó polaitícheacht i ngnóthaibh an Chumainn seo" nó "Ní bheidh baint ar bith ag an gConradh le haon cheist pholaitícheachta ná le haon cheist creidimh agus ní bheidh de churam ar an gConradh ach náisiún saor Gaeilch a dhéanamh d'Éirinn."

I measc na ndaoine a bhí i láthair mar theachtai ar an Ardfheis sin bhí Piaras Beaslai, Ua Rathghaile, Tomás Ághas, Cathal O Seánán, "Sealg," Toirdhealbhaich Mac Súibhne, Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh, Éamon de Valera, Gearóid Ó Súilleabháin; agus i measc na ndaoine a thógadh ar an gCoiste Gnótha bhí Seán Mac Diarmada agus Liam O Briain.

Ba i rith na hardfheise céanna a d'éirigh An Craobhúil as an nachtaránacht.

IONTAOIBH

Léiríodh meas an Chonartha air agus an iontaoibh a bhí ag na baili as nuair a fágadh an post folamh ag aíl go bhfuilfeadh sé ina nachtarán orthu ach níor fhuil. I 1916 tógadh Seán O Ceallaigh—"Sealg"—ina nachtarán.

Nuair a chaitheadar a ndúthracht le saoirse a bhaint amach bhí Conradhóirí na linne úd ag aíl go mbeadh an lá leis an athbheochan, nuair a bheadh tacaíocht an Stáit ag an teanga in ionad an stáit a bheith ag iarraidh i a dhíothú mar a bhí le hocht gcéad bliain roimhe sin.

Nach ró-dhóchasach ar fad a bhí an Piarasach nuair a dúirt sé go raibh obair an Chonartha cortha i gceist "at the conclusion of the fight for Essential Irish" agus faoina gháid siad an réabhlóid a thabhairt chun críche.

Tá an réabhlóid, ó thaobh na saoirse di, tugtha chun críche as euid seo tíre ach is soiléir go bhfuil an ghá fós le Conradh na Gaeilge le mian an Piarasach agus a chomradhóirí "Éire ní hambaith saor ach Chaeilch chomh maith" a thabhairt chun críche.

Ní miste dáinn i mbliana seo an chomradhachas a bhí ag na baili ná a mbeadhú do ghach duine a bhfuil cumhacht aige i aon poibí na hÉireann de bharr an jobairt a rinne siad agus iarraidh orthu feachtaint chugó nach in aise a bhí an jobairt.



I mBaile Átha Cliath sea rugadh Cathal O Feinneadha agus ó 1946 tá sé ina státseirbhíseach; is Conraitheoir é ón bhliain chéanna. I 1951 tógadh é ar an gCoiste Gnó agus i 1965 ina uachtarán ar an gConradh.



An Piarasach (ar dheis) ag geilleadh go foirmiúil don Ghinearál Lowe, iasmuigh de shíopa Thoma s Uí Chléirigh i Sráid Pharnell. Tá an Shannaitra Ní Fhearghail taobh leis an bPiarasach.



50 YEARS LATER

"LIBERTY IS A BOISTEROUS SEA"

—Thomas Jefferson

Awaiting freedom from my mother's womb
At Resurrection time, some glint of rebel steel
Pierced deep my soul, so deep
That fifty years have not erased the thrill
The names of Pearse and Plunkett,
Clarke, MacDonagh, Connolly
Ceannt and Sean Mac Diarmada arouse,
Of freedom born in blood.

Wresting freedom from 'a tyrant's hand
Had often been essayed on Ireland's soil.
Essayed at cost, at bitter cost
By men of eager hearts and giant mind, yet still
Each century brought forth
The poets, princes of the pen,
To thrill with their philosophy
A nation's captive hearts.

No lust of blood inflamed their freedom verse
To turn the ploughshare to the sword;
They unlocked hearts, e'en timid hearts
To dreams undreamt of within captive breasts,
And set vast floods of liberty afloat
Upon a sea too long content
With anchored hopes,
And flotsam fears.

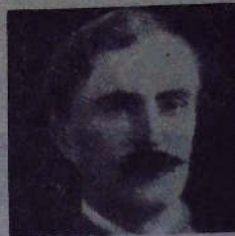
Who can recall an Emmet or a Tone,
A Mitchel or a Davitt or Devoy,
Without a glorious surging of the blood
And anticipation of emancipation
From the long-remembered wrongs
Upon a nation's rights?
Just tribute must be paid by
Freedmen to felon's heirs.

Half a century ago our resurrection came
Heralded by another name, the name of Pearse,
An Apollo with a quiver of words,
Music-tipped arrows to reach the very souls
Of those who longed and longed for freedom's balm;
Gentle leader of a quiet few
Who braved a tyrant's might
To make a bondman free.

Let me praise him who close by Rossa's grave
Praised the virtue of a valiant man
From a heart and tongue pregnant then
With death-decision made for
Freedom's urgent birth:
A man whose spiritual eye could see the joy
Of a ladybird upon a stalk,
Or a rabbit in a field at play.

There were no deaths in Dublin on that
Easter day, some fifty years ago—
Such music makers cannot die
As many mercenary soldiers do
With battles lost or won.
They have but set the music to a song
That ever holds us bound,
Yet leaves us ever free.
Like Pearse or Plunkett,
MacDonagh and Mac Diarmada
Ceannt and Clarke,
And Connolly.

DOMINIC CRILLY



The O'Rahilly was born in 1875 in Co. Kerry. Emigrating to America he returned to build up the Irish Volunteers. He managed *An Claidheamh Soluis* while Pearse was editor. He was killed in Moore St. on April 28, 1916.



Cathal Brugha, born in 1874, was second-in-command to Eamonn Ceannt at the South Dublin Union. At a critical stage in the battle and though wounded in many places, Brugha rallied his men by singing "God Save Ireland." Later Minister of Defence in Dail Eireann he was killed in the Civil War in 1922.



Con Colbert, of Limerick, was little more than a boy in 1916. He was an officer in Na Fianna. A member of the Marrowbone Lane Garrison, he was executed on May 8, 1916.



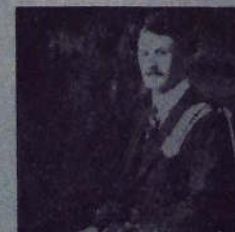
Sean Heuston, of Limerick, was an officer in Na Fianna and in the Volunteers. Nineteen at the time he was in command of the Mendicity Institute where some 20 men held up hundreds of British troops for days. Heuston was executed on May 5, 1916.



William Pearse, younger brother of Patrick. He was 35 at the time of the Rising. He fought in the G.P.O. and was executed on May 4, the day after his brother.



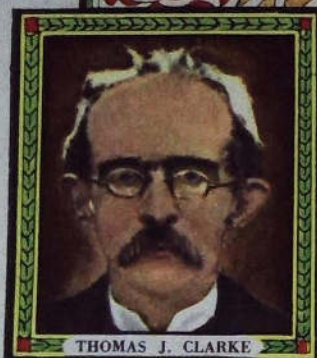
Michael O'Hanrahan was born in New Ross, Co. Wexford, and reared in Carlow. He was a prominent member of the Gaelic League, a journalist and a novelist of note. He was executed on May 4, 1916.



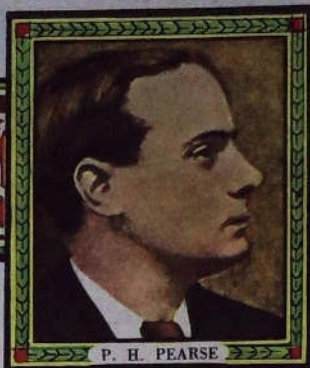
Thomas Ashe, a school-teacher in Lusk, Co. Dublin, was in command of the Fingal Volunteers at the battle of Ashbourne. A native of Kerry and a fluent Irish speaker and musician, he died on hunger-strike in 1917.



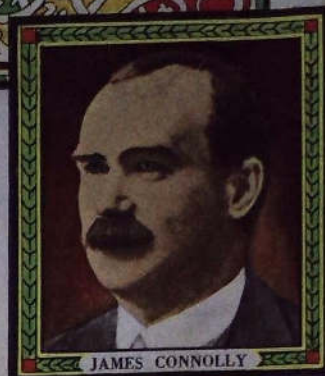
A cherished moment of recollection for Irishmen the world over, when President Kennedy on his 1963 visit to Ireland paid his respects to the memory of those leaders who lie at Arbour Hill, Dublin.



THOMAS J. CLARKE



P. H. PEARSE



JAMES CONNOLLY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Signed on Behalf of the Provisional Government,

THOMAS J. CLARKE.

SEAN Mac DIARMADA.

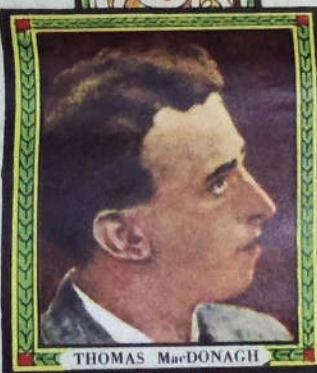
P. H. PEARSE.

JAMES CONNOLLY.

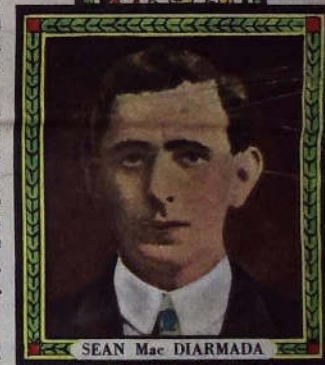
THOMAS MacDONAGH.

EAMONN CEANNT.

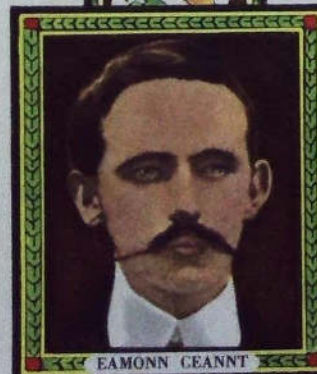
JOSEPH PLUNKETT



THOMAS MacDONAGH



SEAN Mac DIARMADA



EAMONN CEANNT



JOSEPH PLUNKETT