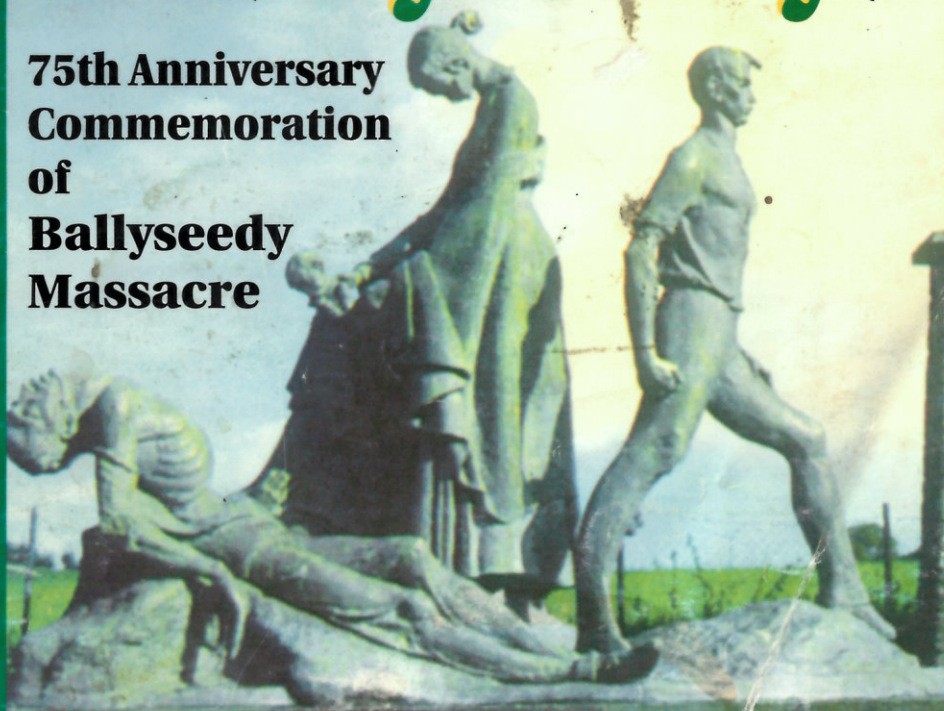


Ballyseedy

**75th Anniversary
Commemoration
of
Ballyseedy
Massacre**



1923

1998

BAL



THESE MEN WERE ALL
MURDERED BY THE
BRITISH ARMY ON THE
NIGHT OF MARCH 6TH/7TH 1923
AT BALLYSEEDY MASSACRE
THEIR NAMES ARE
RECORDED ON THIS
PLAQUE

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941
96

...FISH UP HOLDERS AND FEARLESS DEFENDERS OF THE IRISH REPUBLIC,
...MEN OF KERRY, WHOSE NAMES WE TRACE WITH PRIDE AND REMEMBER WITH
...SUFFERED MARTYRDOM ON THIS SPOT ON THE NIGHT OF MARCH 6th/7th, 1923.

The Ballyseedy Martyrs

PATRICK HARTNETT **Ennismore, Listowel.**

Aged 23 years, Company Captain, 6th Batt. Joined the Volunteers in 1917. Fought in the Black and Tan and Civil Wars. Lived and worked in his father's farm at Ennismore. Captured in a neighbour's house and taken to Tralee. He is buried in Dysart Burial Ground near Lixnaw.

TIMOTHY TUOMEY **Kilflynn.**

Timothy Tuomey of Kilflynn, of 2nd Batt, Kerry No. 1 Brigade IRA, captured by Free State troops in a dugout along with John Shanahan and Stephen Fuller on the 21st February, 1923. Taken to Ballymullen Barracks to be interrogated under torture. They were given some kind of trial in the Workhouse, Tralee on March 3rd, but were not told of the sentence. They were kept for three days more. Shanahan had collapsed before the 6th March; his illness saved him when his comrades were taken to be murdered by mine explosion at Ballyseedy Cross on 6/3/1923. Tim Tuomey is buried in Kilflynn in the same grave as his comrades George O'Shea, and Aero Lyons, who was killed at Clashmealcon Caves.

JOHN O'CONNOR, **West Terrace, Liverpool.**

John O'Connor, West Terrace, Liverpool, was married, father of two children, when murdered at Ballyseedy Cross Roads by mine explosion on 6/3/1923. He lies buried in the Republican Plot, Rath Cemetery, Tralee.

GEORGE O'SHEA, **Kilflynn.**

Aged 26 years, Captain, Kilflynn Company I.R.A. Joined the Volunteers in 1917 at a meeting in Kilflynn president over by Austin Stack.

JAMES WALSH, **Lisodigue, Tralee.**

James Walsh of Lisodigue, Tralee, 9th Batt. Kerry No. 1 Brigade I.R.A. James Walsh was well known to be in danger, being a leader, and a man with influence among the people, when captured at Derrymore near Tralee; taken to Ballymullen Barracks for interrogation. Following ill treatment, all the prisoners were scarred, bruised and suffering; James Walsh had a broken wrist. Buried in Republican Plot, Rath Cemetery, Tralee.

MICHAEL O'CONNELL, **Fahaduv, Castleisland.**

Michael O'Connell, native of Fahaduv, Castleisland, was only twenty-two years of age. Since 1918 had been a Volunteer in 7th Batt., Kerry no 1 Brigade. Captured in February.

JOHN DALY, **Fahaduv, Castleisland**

John Daly of Fahaduv, Castleisland, 7 years in the Republican Army, member of Castleisland 7th Batt., Kerry No. 1 Brigade, I.R.A., when captured on 4th February, 1923. Grievously injured by torture in Tralee Jail. Buried in Castleisland.

PATRICK BUCKLEY, **Scartaglin.**

Patrick Buckely of Scartaglin, resigned from R.I.C. to join I.R.A. Before being taken to Ballymullen, an officer accused him of having "deserted" from the R.I.C. and of giving over a R.I.C. barracks to Michael Brennan in Clare before the Truce. Married with five children. His friends believed he was safe in jail - he had done so much for Ireland against the Black and Tans. Buried in Castleisland.



BACK: Tim Tuomey, Michael O'Connell.
CENTRE: Jim Walsh, P. Buckley, John O'Connor.
FRONT: Pat Hartnett, G. O'Shea.

We were unable to get a picture of John Daly, Ahaneboy, Castleisland

I gCUIMHNE

I gCuimhne Cosantóirí cródha calma agus cúl tacaí dílse de Phoblacht na hÉireann, cuimhnighimid go bródamhail agus go hurramach ar an ochtar Ciarraidheach so a d'fhulaing mairtíreacht ar an láthair seo ar oidhche an 6adh - 7adh de Mhárta, 1923:

**Padraig O Buachalla, Padraig O hAirtneada, Sean O Conchubhair,
Tadhg O Tuama, Sean O Dalaigh, Michael O Conaill, Seoirse O
Seaghdha, Seamus Breathnach.**

Tógadh an Cuimhneachán so freisin i gcuimhne a gcomrádaithe:
**Donnchadh O Bruadair, Michael O Raghaill, Sean O Gealbhair,
Seamus O Tailliuir**

A fuair bás ar son na hÉireann sa cheanntar so agus i gcuimhne na bhfear eile de Bhriogáid a hAon, Ciarraidhe, Arm Poblacht na hÉireann, a d'éag in áiteanna eile agus go bhfuil a n-ainmneacha greanta annso thíos.

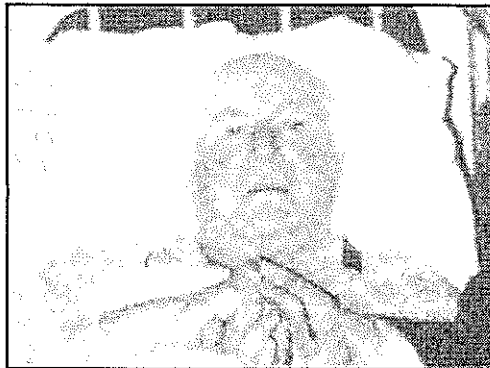
*Iodhbairt uasal agus gníomh gan eagla;
Scríobhtar a marbhna go glégeal árd;
Tógtar a leacht agus cantar a gcuimhne
I gCiarraidhe dhílis na laoch go bráth.*

Brian Na Banban.

The meaning of the Memorial:

Yann Renard-Goulet's marvellous sculpture is richly symbolic.

The prostrate figure represents the prisoners who made the supreme sacrifice for Ireland. Behind him the figure of a woman stands for all Irish mothers, wives and daughters who suffered loss, and symbolises Ireland. She holds a child, symbol of the future, innocent though in the presence of death. The fourth figure is that of a strong determined youth, who strides manfully on to continue the struggle.



Survivor Stephen Fuller pictured in Edenburn Hospital 1983

What really happened at Ballyseedy

You can still find bullet-marked walls in Ballymullen Barracks, Tralee. There, young Kerry men faced squads after "interrogation" carried out by officers beating them with a hammer. Worse than these "authorised killings" were the atrocities carried out "unofficially". Of these, one act will always stand out in infamy **the blowing up of nine prisoners at Ballyseedy Cross on the Tralee-Castleisland road.** How the bomb-blast that blew eight men to bits actually threw one of the intended victims to safety is a miracle story in itself; today, over sixty years later, the survivor lives.

Accepting the Treaty with Britain, the Free State government began to impose its terms, to undermine the Republic and "to hold Ireland for England".¹ They began the Civil War by opening fire (with 18-pound guns 'lent' them by British General Macready) on their former comrades in the Four Courts. In August '22, Free State troops invaded Kerry by sea, landing the Dublin Guards with big guns and armoured cars at Fenit pier. The Republicans, after a brave stand at Sammy's Rock on the Fenit-Tralee road, realised they had but one answer to such overwhelming firepower; they abandoned the towns, avoided open conflicts when vastly outgunned and outnumbered, and resumed the guerilla-type campaign so successful against the Black-and-Tans.

The countryside remained largely in Republican hands. In a matter of weeks the Free State drive bogged down. On 30th September the Free State press admitted the I.R.A. could not be beaten - unless extraordinary measures were adopted. The Free State government now "under contract with the enemy to maintain his overlordship" recruited large numbers of ex British soldiers and anybody else prepared to wear khaki uniforms dyed green and to hound Republicans for thirty shillings a week.² Then they began a reign of terror. In a gruesome celebration of the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, they took Rory O'Connor, Liam Mellows, Dick Barrett and Joe McKelvey from their cells in Mountjoy and shot them dead, without trial, on the 8th of December. They rounded up, jailed and interned over 12,000 prisoners in their concentration camps in the Curragh. Staters bombed the homes of Republican families, raided houses, arrested suspects and shot prisoners out of hand. Official executions reached seventy-seven; unofficial killings far more. Propaganda smeared the I.R.A. as "irregulars", and hate language issued through the press used Lloyd George's term "reprisals" to cover every outrage committed by government agents.

The Free State army claimed they would "finish Kerry"³ by the end of the year. They failed. Dorothy Macardle in *Tragedies of Kerry* shows how Kerry resisted and suffered during the Free State reign of terror. This terror reached its tragic climax in March, 1923, in triple atrocities at Ballyseedy, Tralee; Countess Bridge, Killarney, and Bahaighs, Cahersiveen.

As Kerry was divided into three Brigade areas, centres on Tralee, Killarney and Cahersiveen, the Staters decided to stage a massacre in each area in order to strike terror into the whole county. The murders were to be staged

1. F.E. Smith (Lord Birkenhead) told the British Parliament that the effect of the Treaty would be "to hold Ireland for England with an economy of British lives".

2. The Free State private's pay came to thirty pieces of silver.

3. According to a letter from Free State General Murphy to C-in-C Mulcahy, 7/12/1922.

75th Anniversary Commemoration of Ballyseedy Massacre

carefully to convince the outside world that no such killings had taken place. Dead men tell no tales. But in each case, every detail came to light and the horrible truth was revealed.

Tralee, as the capital of the county, came first. Republican prisoners were held in the old Workhouse (later St. Catherine's Hospital) and in the jail near the barracks. After midnight on March 6th, 1923, soldiers went to these prisoners and brought into the guardroom in the barracks a group of nine prisoners: Pat Buckley, John Daly, Pat Hartnett, Michael O'Connell⁴ John O'Connor, George O'Shea, Tim Tuomey, James Walsh and Stephen Fuller. As they had been "interrogated" previously, most of them had serious injuries. At least two had broken arms. Jom Walsh, for instance, had been listed for transfer to the Curragh concentration camps the previous day, but had to be left in Tralee because he was too badly injured to move. Some had already faced "mock executions" where firing squads fired near but not actually at them, so they may have suspected similar treatment that night. But this time, it was real.

The atmosphere in the guardroom was menacing; the soldiers were in an ugly mood. First the prisoners were told they were to go out the road "to remove a mine", although they obviously were in no physical condition to do that, or do any kind of work. The real intention became clear when soldiers took their cigarettes away from them, leaving them one each: "That's the last smoke you'll ever have", a captain said.

Outside, lorries waited to take the prisoners the three miles to Ballyseedy where a by-road branches off to the right towards Farmer's Bridge. The night was clear, moonlit, and bitterly cold. The convoy halted about 200 metres on the Tralee side of the cross and the prisoners were marched that distance up to a gateway on the roadside. There in the moonlight they could see a log lying on some recently disturbed earth and loose stones. Soldiers tied each prisoner's hands behind his back, bound each man's ankles and knees, and then roped all nine together in a ring formation around the log. They worked methodically until Tim Tuomey asked for a minute to pray. Instead he got a blow on the head from a rope-end. One of the captors jeered in an Irish accent: "Ye Irish bastards!" Then, the soldiers began to move away, some up the hill through Brick's field overlooking the road, others back towards their lorries. The last officer to leave threw off the prisoners' caps, saying: "Ye can be praying away as long as ye like". Then he backed off too.

The nine, sensing their last moment had come, tried to hold their comrades' hands through their bonds. They called out: "Good-bye, good-bye, lads". Then the mines exploded. **The horror of the massacre still remains imprinted in the minds of local people who saw the frightful remains next morning and witnessed the crows eating human flesh from the branches of trees for days afterwards.** On the night, however, nobody from the neighbouring houses dared venture out. They knew that to do so meant certain death. They listened, and some prayed.

Later the soldiers returned to "mop up". Then they heaped some unrecognisable human remains into nine coffins. A statement issued from the barracks said that all nine prisoners had died while working to remove a booby-trap mine laid by their own comrades in the I.R.A. Neither then nor for a long time after did they learn that someone could contradict their lie. They

4. Michael O'Connell's name has been incorrectly given as James

75th Anniversary Commemoration of Ballyseedy Massacre

did not know that one intended victim, as if my miracle, had survived the holocaust. Eight men, not nine, died at Ballyseedy.

SURVIVOR

The force of the explosion hurled Stephen Fuller right across the road. Falling, dazed, but conscious that he was alive and unhurt⁵ he quickly realised that the blast had even burst apart the cords used to tie him. As the soldiers came out from their cover after the detonation he crawled along the shelter of the ditch into the river at the roadside. He could hear the moans of his dying comrades - then, at least five explosions as grenades were thrown among them amid heavy gunfire from the soldiers. The intense cold of the water forced him to crawl out of the water, on through Penders's field, every second expecting to be seen and fired on. But no, the soldiers never imagined that anybody could have got away. They had so overkilled their victims that they could not make a correct body-count among the mutilated remains. They returned to barracks and listed nine men⁶ "killed accidentally" while removing a mine planted by "irregulars". Later, as we shall see, they had to concoct a different press-release when it became known that one man lived to tell what really happened that fateful morning.

Fuller crawled on, not knowing that the soldiers still did not realise that he was not among the victims. Eventually, he reached a friendly house, Currans at Honlon's Cross, a mile away where he stayed until next day when Johnny Connor and Johnny Duggan took him to Daly's at Knockane. He hid successively in Burkes, Boyles and in a dug-out on the farm owned by Herlihy's at Meenathee, Rathanny, where he remained for seven months. Even though the Ceasefire ended the Civil War hostilities in April, it was unsafe for him to move out. The State wanted no witness alive to relate the truth. He still had to avoid his own home in Killflyn for fear of raids, for several months more. **By then the State came up with a different attempt to excuse the inexcusable: a reprisal.**

"A REPRISAL"

The State's first "excuse", that the deaths occurred accidentally during the removal of the I.R.A. mine, depended on leaving no witnesses. Stephen Fuller's miraculous escape ended their best hopes of propagating that lie successfully. Then, (and only then) they fell back on their second-best excuse, the Lloyd George leath-sceal: reprisal.

Months before, in December 1922 the Free State O.C. in Kerry General W. R.E. Murphy⁷ issued a proclamation that if the I.R.A. continued to attack his men he would as a reprisal shoot Republican prisoners to be shot.⁸ Con Casey, Matt Moroney, Jerry 'Nunky' O'Connor (natives of Tralee) and Tom Devane (Dingle); later Peter O'Connell's name was added. Humphrey Murphy, O.C. Kerry No. 1 Brigade, I.R.A. dealt quickly with his Free State namesake's

5. His clothes were almost scorched from his body. Later he found that gravel and small stones from the road had been blown in under his skin, even under his fingernails. A gruesome rumour that the arm of a dead comrade was still tied to Stephen Fuller is not true.
6. Mrs. O'Mahony, Castleisland, recalls seeing the body of her brother, Michael O'Connell, in a coffin which had the name "Stephen Fuller" on the outside.
7. Ex-British Brigadier, later Commissioner of the Guards.
8. None of the five names hostages was executed, Con Casey, later Editor of The Kerryman, recalls their being told in Ballymullen Jail that their sentences had been commuted. Some days after they heard gunfire as other prisoners were shot, but evidently the Free State at that stage regretted their reprisal threat.

75th Anniversary Commemoration of Ballyseedy Massacre

hostage threat by replying that, if carried out, he would counter by shooting seven prominent Free Staters, whom he then named. This finished the "reprisal" - until in the aftermath of Ballyseedy the apologies of state terror resurrected it. In fact, until then, it was noteworthy that the Staters wanted to forget that their threat had ever been issued. No "threat of reprisals" was issued before Ballyseedy. Different prisoners were involved, none of them, so far as they knew, was under sentence of death. Nor did Republicans carry out any counter measures in the way of reprisals after Ballyseedy.

Early in March, 1923, however, a raiding party of Free State soldiers found a Republican dump at Knocknagoshel. The dump was mined and the explosion killed two privates and three officers, one of whom had notoriously tortured Republican prisoners. This was to become the pretext for the Ballyseedy "reprisal".

Efforts to link the Knocknagoshel explosion to Ballyseedy must be exposed as lying propaganda. All armies lay mines against their enemies in time of war; taking prisoners out from jail and tying them over mines is not warfare; Nor does another excuse stand up, one half-heartedly advanced sometimes that "some officers" in Tralee acted savagely, without orders, and carried out the massacre, unauthorized. Article 4, of the Hague Convention (1899) laid down: "Prisoners of war are in the power of the hostile government, but not of the individuals or corps who capture them. They must be humanely treated".

Some Free State officers disassociated themselves from and expressed horror at the Ballyseedy atrocity. One related that he went to Dublin to complain about such "excesses" and was dismissed for his efforts.

The most damning evidence comes from Free State sources. The Free State Defence Minister lied in the Dail about what happened. "Prisoners held locally were to remove obstacles. At Ballyseedy, Killarney and Caherciveen prisoners were killed by trapmines laid by their own comrades against Free State soldiers... "The following month (April 7th, 1923) a Military Enquiry in Tralee was still saying that the "accident" happened over an I.R.A. mine - and even added that two Free State officers and a sergeant had been injured in the same blast! This piece of window-dressing was so far-fetched that they never produced the men supposedly injured."

Ten years later, after Free State General Eoin O'Dully (Blueshirt founder) left the Guards, he stated that "he had nothing to do with the Ballyseedy **ambush**". He must not have been told, or perhaps he forgot, that the story had been altered to one of "reprisal".⁹

COUNTESS BRIDGE AND BAHAGHS

Nor was Ballyseedy the only outrage. Next morning came Kerry 2's turn when five more prisoners were taken out for similar treatment at Countess Bridge, Killarney. Again the miracle: four - Stephen Buckley, Jerry O'Donoghue, Dan O'Donoghue and Tim Murphy - died amid bombs and a hail of bullets, but Tadhg Coffey lived to tell of their deliberate, pre-planned murder. Five days

9. There was obviously a concerted effort to confuse the Knocknagoshel explosion, which happened as a random act of war, with the deliberate terror-killings at Ballyseedy and elsewhere. The "injured soldier" cover-up was, however, used two days later at Ballyseedy when Seamus Taylor was killed nearby and one of the soldiers wore a sling on his arm for an hour or so after as "proof" of an ambush.

10. Free State "records" of the "accident" appear in the daily papers of march 8th and in Dail Reports on March 27th and April 13th and 17th.

75th Anniversary Commemoration of Ballyseedy Massacre

later, on March 12th, five prisoners of Kerry 3rd Brigade were blown to pieces on the road outside Baghaghs Workhouse, Caherciveen. On this occasion, nobody survived, but a Free State officer became so disgusted at the action that he insisted on letting the truth be known. Truth came out in regard to each atrocity "

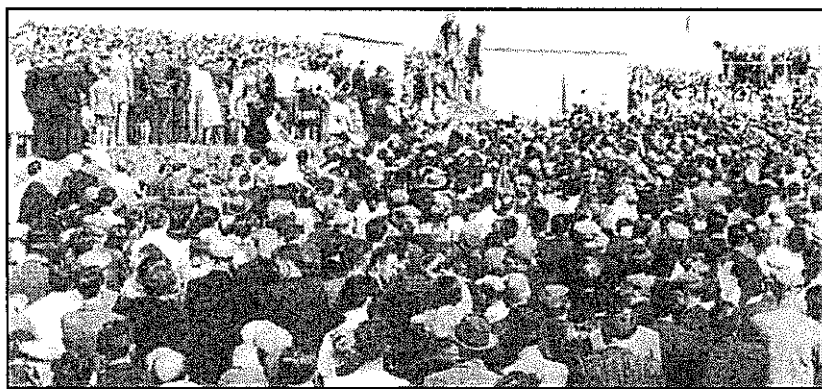
Kerry had more to suffer, however. On March 14th, far away in Donegal, three Kerrymen, Charlie Daly, Dan Enright, and Tim O'Sullivan were taken out of their cells in Drumboe Castle and shot, along with their Derry comrade, Sean Larkin. On April 18th, Aero Lyons had to come out of Clashmealcon Caves and was riddled as he fell from the cliff top; already Tom McGrath and Pat O'Shea had drowned as they tried to swim from the caves; on April 25th Richard (Rudge) Hathaway, James Greaney and James McEnery were shot against the wall in Ballymullen.

Many people who should have protested at the atrocities remained silent, either through fear during those terrible days, or from some even less worthy motives. God knows. Cant covered many foul deeds. Hypocrites in high places held sway. As Austin Clarke said:

*They are the spit of virtue now,
Prating of law and honour,
But we remember how they shot,
Rory O'Connor.*

It is fitting, too, that Kerry people should remember our own with pride.

THE BALLYSEEDY MEMORIAL



The Republican Movement desired that a fitting memorial should be erected at Ballyseedy Cross. Local committees began to organise, collect and prepare, their efforts co-ordinated by An Coiste Meánach whose officers were: John Joe Sheehy (chairman); Jack Godley, Sean H. Ryan, Jimmy O'Loughlin, Mick Lynch (Spa), Dan Ryan, Dan Joe Conway, Sean Doyle, Mick O'Brien, Denis Fitzgerald, Jim Savage and Eamon Corkerry.

Kerry, well supported by Kerry's exiles, responded generously and the committee engaged the famous Breton sculptor Yann Renard Goulet, who designed the bronze heroic figures of the memorial.

11. *Tragedies of Kerry*, by Dorothy MacArdle, provides an excellent concise account of Ballyseedy, and the reign of terror in Kerry. Also see *Kerryman*, January 30th, 1981, and Richard Behal's article "Ballyseedy - 60th Anniversary". *An Cumann Cabhrach*, 1983.

What Ballyseedy means to me

**Ruairí Ó Brádaigh,
President of Republican Sinn Féin**

The Irish revolution initiated in the 20th Century by the Easter Rising of 1916 came to its fullest and finest flowering in the summer of 1921. It was stopped by the British government through what is known as counter-revolution.

This meant that it was halted in its tracks and a section of the revolutionary leadership was suborned and drawn into collaboration with the English enemy.

These former Republican leaders with their personal followings and their supporters were then induced to enforce on the Irish people England's alternative to Irish Independence: that is two partition states with direct British occupation of the Northern Six-County statelet.

With arms, money and military personnel from the British they performed their task by dark and terrible means, which not even the British forces had dared to employ before the world. But now they had Irishmen led by former revolutionaries to do their work for them, i.e. to break the people's allegiance to the All-Ireland Republic.

Secret courtmartials, with the death penalty for possession of arms and even of documents, were followed by secret executions and burial in prison yards and inside barracks walls. Torture and shooting of unarmed prisoners became commonplace and the press was strictly censored. There was no radio or television service of course in those days.

But the weapon most used to strike terror into people's hearts was reprisal - calculated and sudden. The most notorious of these was the Ballyseedy Massacre.

It was followed by a carefully planned cover-up as to what actually happened. This reached up even into the new 26-County Parliament itself and was articulated there by the Free State Minister for Defence. A recent courageous television programme has exposed Ballyseedy as a cold-blooded and deliberate mass - murder of unarmed and helpless prisoners in what was in effect a matter of policy by the 26 - County State. The first great reprisal, openly and unashamedly avowed as such by the Leinster House Cabinet, was the execution without trial of the Republican leaders, Rory O'Connor, Liam Mellows, Dick Barrett and Joe McKelvey on December 8, 1922. They had been prisoners of war for over five months.

Their deaths were stated officially to be in reprisal for the shooting dead the previous day of one Leinster House Deputy, who was also a Free State Army officer and the wounding of another.

Both had voted for the Bill which had purported to "give the (Free State) troops power to kill their prisoners in an authorised way to prevent men from taking upon themselves authority to execute people in an unauthorised way" (The Irish Republic by Dorothy Macardle, page 732).

Eight such executions has already taken place in Dublin when Deputies were shot following a public warning to all who had voted for the secret executions of prisoners of war.

75th Anniversary Commemoration of Ballyseedy Massacre

Among the eight mentioned was Erskine Childers whose Habeas Corpus action was before the Free State courts when he was done to death. There was no restraint of law of any kind on the counter-revolutionaries.

Even Republican Deputies to the All-Ireland Dáil were not exempt from the unofficial killings of prisoners. Séamus Devine, TD for Sligo was one of a party of six Volunteers killed by Free State forces following their capture on Ben Bulbin mountain in September 1922.

The Ballyseedy Massacre followed the deaths of five armed Free State soldiers in a trigger-mine explosion at Knocknagoshel. The IRA stated the bomb was intended for one of the five who had been torturing prisoners in Castleisland military post.

In the television programme Prof. Tom Garvin of the Dept. of Politics, UCD is quoted as saying that in so far as any particular action was permissible in warfare, a trap-mine against enemy soldiers was an act of war. Not so Ballyseedy, or Countess Bridge, Killarney, or Bahaghs near Cahirciveen.

These three massacres of unarmed prisoners were the unofficial reprisals which accompanied the official executions in Tralee and many other centres in 1922-23. They were part of the "greater evil" which Liam Mellows wrote would follow his own execution without any semblance of a trial.

The "greater evil" continued into the 1940s when Republicans like Maurice O'Neill of Cahirciveen were shot within 72 hours of a drumhead courtmartial from which there was no appeal of any kind. Likewise, Charlie Kerins of Tralee was executed by the British imperial hangman in Mountjoy Jail in 1944.

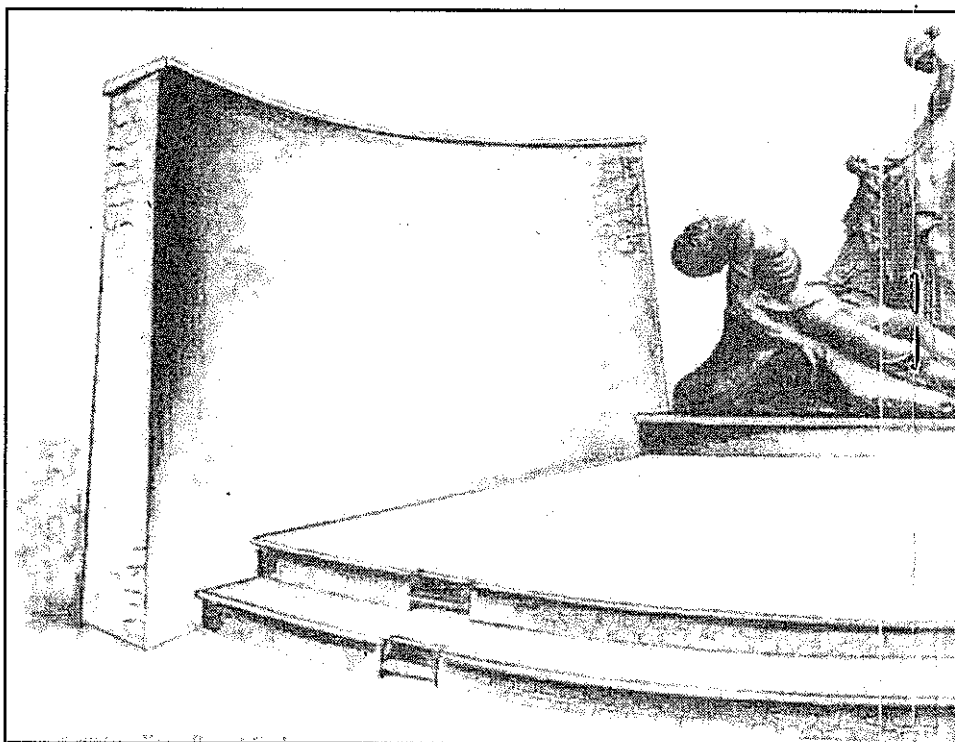
Now in 1998, 75 years after Ballyseedy, the counter-revolutionary weapon is in use once more. Having met the people's resistance in the Six Occupied Counties by massive coercion since 1969, the British Establishment has fallen back once more on compromise with a view to dividing and reducing the popular support for the struggle.

If the new scheme for modernising and strengthening British rule in Ireland is put into operation with the support of former Republican leaders and their arrangements. This will mean helping the British to repress those who will continue the struggle for Irish national independence.

The strength of the resistance of continuing British rule will determine the level of repression brought against it in response. With greater understanding of the interaction of such events and the support of Irish people at home and abroad, committed and faithful Republicans can ensure that counter-revolution does not again succeed in Ireland, leaving in its trail new atrocities comparable to Ballyseedy.

Those who do not learn from the mistakes of the past are condemned to repeat them, unfortunately. The real peace worth striving for in Ireland is a permanent peace and the lesson of Irish history is that this can be achieved only through an English commitment to eventual disengagement from our island.

The rest is up to ourselves as a people. There must be political space for all of us, of whatever tradition, to live and develop here in peace and co-operation without the divisive British presence. That way can the ghosts of Ballyseedy be finally laid to rest.



Tralee
(1st and 9th Batts.)

John Clifford
John Conway
Daniel Daly
Thomas Drummond
Eugene Fitzgerald
John Fleming
Michael Flynn
Thomas Flynn
Daniel Foley
Patrick Hanafin
William Harrington
Thomas Hawley
Cornelius Healy
Frank Hoffman
Sean Moriarty
William Myles
George Nagle
James O'Connor
John O'Sullivan
Jeremiah O'Sullivan
Pat Reidy
Michael Ryle
Michael Sinnott
James Walsh

Ardfert
(2nd Batt)
and Lixnaw
(3rd Batt)

Thomas Archer
James Barry
John Cantillon
Edward Greaney
James Hanlon
Reginald Hathaway
John Houlihan
John Lawlor
Timothy Lyons
Michael Maguire
William Mac Carthy
James McEnery
Thomas McGrath
Michael Nolan
Daniel O'Driscoll
George O'Shea
Patrick O'Shea
Timothy Tarrant

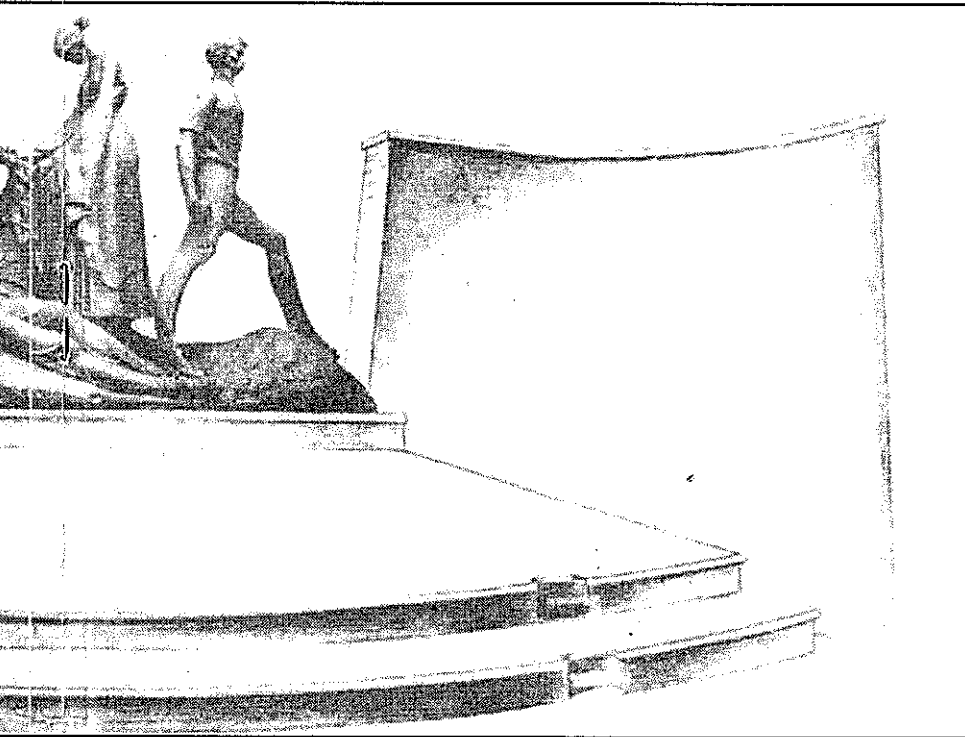
Castlegregory
(4th Batt)
and
Dingle
(5th Batt)

Thomas M. Ashe
John Casey
Jas. J. Cronin
Maurice Fitzgerald
Thomas Greaney
Patrick Kennedy
Daniel (Bob) McCarthy
Michael McKenna
Thomas Moriarty
Thomas O'Sullivan
Timothy Spillane



DIED ELSEWHERE

Thomas Ashe	Lispolo
Charlie Daly	Knockane
Daniel Enright	Listowel
Timothy O'Sullivan	Listowel
Patrick Foran	Lisselton
Charles Hanlon	Listowel
James Hickey	Knocknagoe
Charlie Kerins	Tralee
Michael Mulvihill	Ballycuff
The O'Rahilly	Tarbert
Thomas Russell	Dingle
Patrick Shortis	Ballybunion
Austin Stack	Tralee



Roll Honour

ED ELSEWHERE

Lispolc	Dublin
Knockane	Donegal
Listowel	Donegal
Listowel	Donegal
Lisselton	Limerick
Listowel	Limerick
Knocknagoshel	Tipperary
Tralee	Dublin
Ballyduff	Dublin
Tarbert	Dublin
Dingle	Clare
Ballybunion	Dublin
Tralee	Dublin

Listowel (6th Batt) and Ballylongford (8th Batt)

Edward Carmody
Patrick Dalton
Michael Galvin
Patrick Hartnett
John Lawlor
John Linnane
Jeremiah Lyons
Michael (Bob)
McElligott
Daniel Scanlon
John Sheehan
Patrick Walsh

Castleisland (7th Batt)

Michael Brosnan
Patrick Buckley
John Daly
Thomas Fleming
Parick E. Kenny
Bertie Murphy
Daniel Murphy
Michael O'Connell
Denis O'Connor
Jeremiah O'Leary
John Prendiville
John Savage
Richard Shanahan
James Walsh

Ballymacelligott (Part of the 7th Batt)

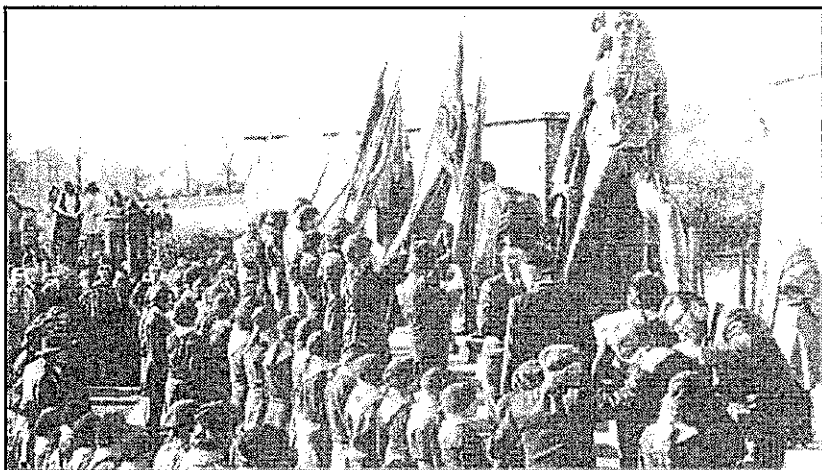
James Bally
Denis Broderick
Michael Brosnan
John Browne
Robert Browne
John Flynn
Patrick Herlihy
Richard Laide
John Leen
John McMahon
John Reidy
Maurice Reidy



75th Anniversary Commemoration of Ballyseedy Massacre



On Sunday, August 30th, 1959, the Monument was unveiled by May Daly, of Knockane, in the presence of vast crowds. Séan O Dubhda delivered the oration on behalf of the Republican Movement. The programme reminds us: "From this day forth all who pass this way will know that the men of Kerry who fought and died for Ireland are not forgotten and that their memory will endure as long as this bronze memorial stands at Ballyseedy. Their task is not completed. Irishmen, dedicated to the completion of their task, are in jails in Ireland and in England. While you are honouring the patriot dead of North Kerry remember that Irishmen following in their footsteps are behind prison bars. The great memorial to all our patriot dead will be the establishment of the Irish Republic for which they died.



GOLDEN JUBILEE 1973

To mark the 50th Anniversary of the Ballyseedy massacre, the Republican Movement held a memorial ceremony in march 1973. Republicans from all over Ireland attended, including contingents from the Six Counties. Maire Drumm, in her address, said that the sacrifices made by the people of Kerry in that period had inspired the people of the Six Counties in today's struggle and helped them bear their sufferings.

Memories of Ballyseedy

Dan Keating

I was arrested on the last day of August 1922, in Tipperary. Gerry Moyles was my commanding officer and Donnacha Donoghue was 2nd in command. We were taken to Portlaoise and conditions in the prison were terrible. We were ordered to burn the jail and all the fires in the cells, we were told would start simultaneously. The fire brigade were called and we were herded out into the compound. The soldiers were overlooking the compound and opened fire on us killing Vol Paddy Hickey. We were returned to our cells which were full of water and we had to endure this for about a week. Michael Collins visited the jail to speak to Tom Malone, otherwise known as Sean Forde. He offered Tom the position of O/C First Southern Division of the Free State Army. Tom told him he felt insulted that any Republican would be coerced into joining the Free State Army. Collins on his way out told Governor Twomey to paint the tops of the walls white and if anyone tried to escape riddle them. Collins met his own end a few days later down in Cork. In March 1923 we were transferred to the Curragh where I remained till I was released in March 1924. The Massacre at Ballyseedy has left an indelible mark on my mind and even after 75 years it is still as clear as if it were yesterday.

*Some fell in the proud red rush of war
and some by a treacherous blow,
Like the martyrs hour in Dublin town
and their comrades at Drumboe,
and a hundred more in the barrack squares
and by lonely roadsides too,
Without fear they died and we speak with pride
of the martyrs of '22.*



This photograph shows Veteran Republican Dan Keating, Ballygamboon, Castlemaine, Co. Kerry, unveiling a memorial stone at Ballymullen, Tralee, June 1995 in honour of the Republicans executed there by Free State firing squad in 1923. Dan Keating joined the IRA in 1920 and saw active service against British Crown Forces. In 1922 he was part of the Republican forces who occupied Ballymullen barracks for three months.

75th Anniversary Commemoration of Ballyseedy Massacre

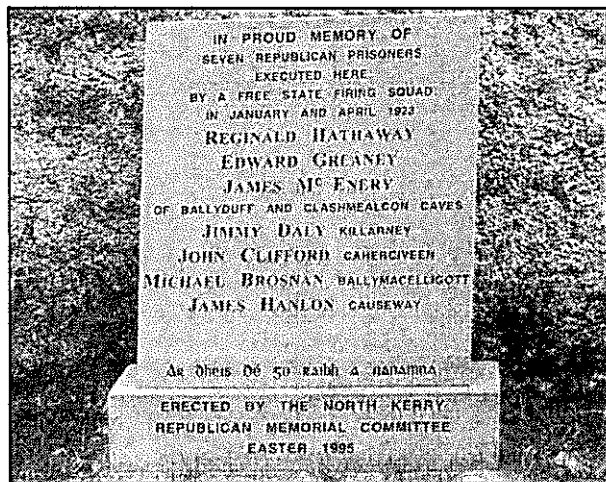
Extract of Oration given by Derek McKenna of Caherciveen

We are here today to honour the memory of seven brave soldiers of '22, seven of the legion of the rearguard. Seven of the seventy-seven shot in jails and barrack yards by their former comrades. James Daly, John Clifford, Michael Brosnan and James Hanlon faced the Free State firing squad here in this year on January 20th 1923. They were luckier than their fellow volunteers done to death at Ballyseedy, Countess Bridge or Bahaghs. The other three volunteers commemorated today are Reg Hathaway, who came from England to fight and die for the Irish Republic, Captain James McEnery and Edward Greaney having survived the horrors of Clashmealcon cave where their fellow volunteers Aero Lyons, Patrick O'Shea and Tom McGrath made the final sacrifice. Aero Lyons being pulled up the cliff, the rope broke (or was it cut), he lay far down on a ledge, a machine gun spoke. On April 23rd 1923 the three survivors faced the green and tan firing party. Jim McEnery said in a letter 'I have been in the Republican Army since 1916. I fought the Tans and it is hard to think that my own countrymen are putting me to death'.

We are told to forget the past and all the wrongs done specially in 1922-23 but here in Kerry we will never forget the bloody deeds, especially those of the Dublin brigade of the Free State army:-

*'Shell shattered fortress and shot scarred barricades
trumpet the story of the gallant fight they made,
Weary, out numbered, undaunted and unafraid
God bless the soldiers of the rearguard.'*

The soldiers of the rearguard who fought and died in 1922 gave their lives for the 32 county democratic Republic of All Ireland as visualised by Wolfe Tone and his comrades standing on Cave Hill outside Belfast. They fought rather than accept a 26 county state and to defend the Republic. Those who followed in their footsteps in the 1940s like P. McGrath, Tommy Harte, Darcy McNeela and our own M. O'Neill and Charlie Kerins did not die for seats in a Leinster Houses 26 County Republic.



75th Anniversary Commemoration of Ballyseedy Massacre

Volunteer Jim Daly:

A native of Knockeenduff, Killarney; he joined the IRA at its formation and served with distinction not alone in Kerry but also in Cork, Limerick and Clare. He was a fitter by trade and worked on the Tralee-Dingle railway line. A top class engineer in the IRA, he served faithfully until his capture on 20th of December 1922. Possession of a rifle was enough for the Drumhead courtmartial to sentence him to death and this was carried out on 20th of January 1923.

In Kilcummin Church, Father Brosnan refused to pray for Jim's soul, but Volunteer Stephen Buckley who was in the church went to the altar rails as the mass was ending and called on all present to pray for him.

Volunteer Stephen Buckley was murdered by Free Staters on March 7th at Countess Bridge along with Volunteer Jer Donoghue, Vol. Tim Murphy and Vol. Daniel Donoghue.

Vol. Edward Greaney:

A native of Ballyduff, he was captured in Clash Caves on April 18 and taken to Tralee Gaol. He joined the IRA in 1918 and was on active service in Limerick City in July 1922. He remained an active member until his capture and death. He was executed in April 24 1923.

Volunteer James McEnerney:

A native of Ballyduff, he was captured with his comrades in Clash Caves on 18 April and moved to Tralee Gaol. He joined the IRA in 1916 and became 2nd Lieutenant of his Company. He remained an active member until his capture. He was executed on 24 April 1923.

Volunteer Stephen R. Hathaway:

A native of Berkshire England, belonged to the British Army and during a round up in North Kerry he deserted, giving as his reason his abhorrence of English Rule in Ireland. He joined the IRA and trained his local company during the truce. He was captured in Clash Caves and moved to Tralee Gaol. He was executed with his two comrades on 24 April 1923.

Volunteer John Clifford:

A native of Caherciveen he was arrested in a dug out near Ballymacelligott by Free State troops and forced to walk to Tralee, heavily loaded with articles that were captured with him. He was executed on 16 January 1923 and buried within the precincts of the gaol. From the time he joined the IRA at its formation until his capture, he was considered one of the bravest soldiers in his company.

Volunteer Michael Brosnan:

A native of Ballymacelligott, he was a very active and brave volunteer. Since 1916 he took part in different engagements against the black and tans and was in the attack of Gortalea and Scartaglin RIC Barracks. He fought in Limerick Cork and Tipperary against Free Staters and remained in active service until his capture. He was executed on 16 January 1923.

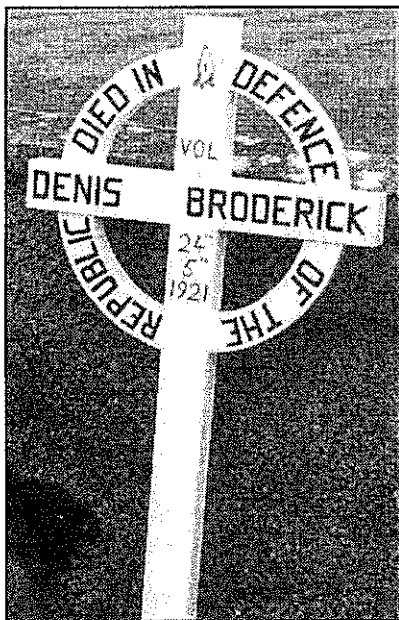
Volunteer James Hanlon:

A native of Causeway, he was captured on 20 October 1922 at Ballyheigue in possession of a rifle and ammunition. He was moved to Tralee Gaol and was tried by Drumhead courtmartial. He was executed on 20 January 1923.



The White Crosses

The White Crosses stand in silent witness to the crimes that were committed against the soldiers of the Republic and while these crosses stand no one can forget or deny the evil deeds that were done in Kerry. Republican Sinn Fein in Kerry have replaced approx 10 crosses over the last 2 years and would now like to thank any person who contributed to the purchase and painting of same. A special thanks for painter Pat Enright for sign writing all the crosses.

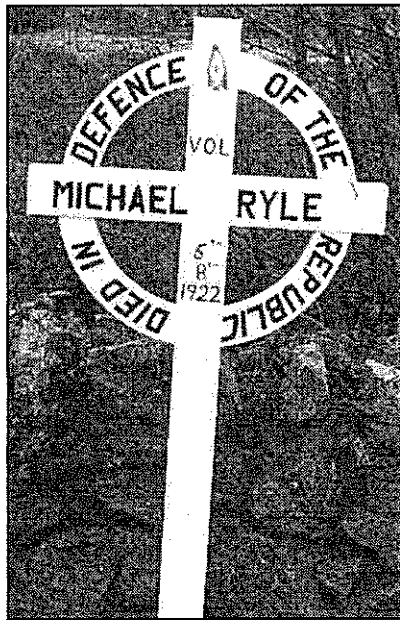


Vol. Denis Broderick

A native of Cragg Castleisland, he was killed at Ballycarthy Cross on May 24, 1921. he was on sentry duty while his company were engaging in

destroying a bridge. They were surrounded by the military and

Denis Broderick was fatally wounded. He was a sincere and brave volunteer.

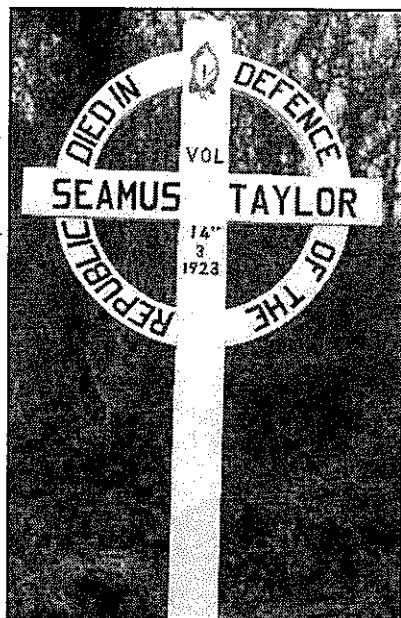


Michael Joseph Ryle

Volunteer Michael Joseph Ryle: A native of Pembroke Street, Tralee, he joined the Fianna at 14 years of age, performed his duties all through the British Regime in a heroic manner.

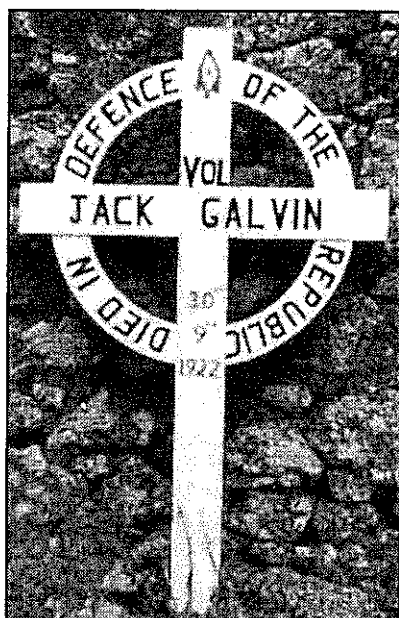
He participated in the fight against Free State troops after the landing at Fenit on August 2nd. He was shot by

Free Staters at Ballycarty on 5th August 1922 while scouting for a party of IRA engineers.



Vol. Seamus Taylor

Seamus Taylor was arrested at his mother's house in Glencar by Free Staters and taken to Killorglin Barracks. His sister Sheila sent in a coat to him but in the censors office they filled the pockets with ammunitions and when Seamus opened the coat the bullets fell out and as a result he was beaten pitilessly by the troops. He was taken from Killorglin and on the roadside near Ballyseedy Wood, he was taken out and riddled with bullets. Word was sent to his father that he had been killed in an ambush. When his people collected his body in Tralee they could not recognise him. He was buried alongside his brother Joe in Glencar on the 14th March. The Taylor brothers, Captain Joseph, and Adjutant Seamus gave their lives for the 32 county Republic.



Vol. Jack Galvin

On September 25 1922 Republicans attacked Free State Forces in Killorglin town. The fight lasted 29 hours after which 20 Republicans were captured, several wounded and four killed. After 4 days in Killorglin Barracks the prisoners were put into lorries to be moved to Tralee. At Ballyseedy the lorries halted as two trees had been felled across the road. While clearing Jack Galvin was kept in the truck as he had a broken hand and was in severe pain. When the trees were cleared shots were heard from behind one of the trucks and Jack Galvin's riddled body was dumped behind a ditch. Jack Galvin was a marked man since he had shot the infamous Captain Burke off his horse on top of Castlemaine Bridge. He was considered one of the bravest volunteers in Kerry in that period.

1916 Proclamation

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 to reveal itself, she now seizes that moment, and supported by her exiled children in America and by gallant allies in Europe, but relying 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 the 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 exhalation 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 opportunity 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,
P.H. Pearse,
Joseph Plunkett.

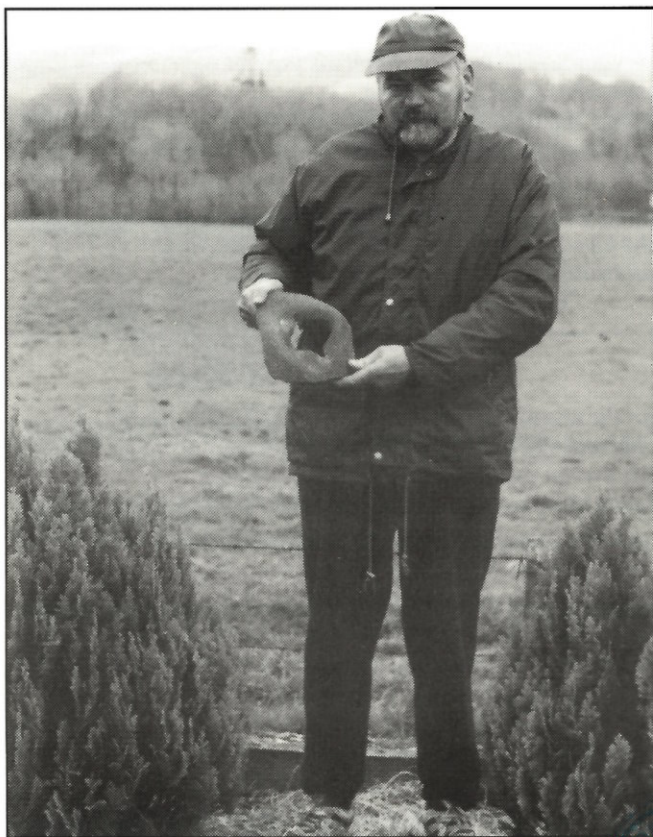
Sean MacDiarmada,
Eamonn Ceannt,

Thomas MacDonagh,
James Connolly,

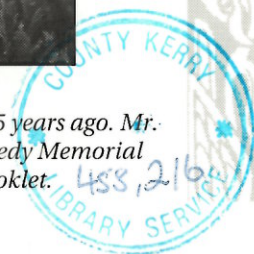
75th Anniversary Commemoration of Ballyseedy Massacre

*Ballyseedy Memorial Committee
wish to congratulate Pat Butler and all concerned for
the excellent documentary shown on RTE recently.*

*Ballyseedy Memorial Committee wish to thank
The National Graves Association of Ireland
and especially John Houlihan for their great support
when part of the Memorial
was removed illegally in the recent past.*



*Ballyseedy Memorial Trustee Matt Leen
holds part of the mine which was used on that fateful night 75 years ago. Mr.
Derry Brick of Caherbreagh kindly loaned this to the Ballyseedy Memorial
Committee for inclusion in our commemorative booklet.*



Pat Hartnett

In proud and loving memory of Captain Paddy Hartnett, No 1 Battalion, Kerry Brigade, I.R.A., murdered by Free State soldiers, on 6th March, 1923.

*Above your grave the daffodils are springing,
And April winds are crooning soft and low,
And, in the trees anear, the birds are singing,
The songs they sang you in the long ago.*

*Below, the river windeth thro' the meadows,
And hovering gulls on snowy pinions soar,
And in this hollowed haunt and shadow,
Perpetual peace abideth ever more.*

*Here side by side your loved ones now are sleeping,
So, there are fewer hearts to break for thee,
Aye, fewer hearts to soothe themselves with weeping,
For you who died for Ireland's Liberty.*

*Sleep on, your Sacrife is consummated,
And Ballyseedy's Fatal night is bye,
The Traitors' thirst for true men's blood is sated,
And o'er your grave the grass is waving high.*

*We, who have kept the faith await the morning,
When slavery's night shall break in Freedom's day,
While thy loved grave, mute symbol of proud scorning,
Defies all traitorous wiles, and points the way.*

Rita Cronin, Finuge.

Tuomey and O'Shea

*It was on the seventh day of March, Nineteen Twenty Three
Two noble souls for ever went into eternity,
O Lord, it was an awful sight all on that fatal day,
They cruelly murdered six young men with Tuomey and O'Shea.*

*At Ballyseedy's steeple view that lies near sweet Tralee
The cowardly Staters laid a mine as you may plainly see
The explosion shook the mountain and was heard for miles away.
This brutal murder of six men with Tuomey and O'Shea.*

*They tried to hide this shameful deed and frame it best they could
But one of them he did escape through Ballyseedy Wood.
The secret he unfolded before the dawn of day,
That he might relate that awful fate of Tuomey and O'Shea.*

*One word to Stephen Fuller you were left the tale to tell,
Mulcahy's hounds were thirsty to take his life as well,
But the Virgin Mary spared her child before the dawn of day,
May the Lord have mercy on their souls, young Tuomey and O'Shea.*

Mrs. Nora Leahy, Glenoe, Kilflynn.

Present Committee of Ballyseedy Memorial

John Godley
Maurice Dowling
George Rice
Stephen Brosnan
Joe Touhy

Michael O'Brien
Vincent Fuller
Matt Leen
John Foran
James McCannon

Maitiu O Dubhda
Jackie O'Sullivan
Tom Lawlor
John Mangan

*We think today of brave Charlie Daly
and his comrades at Drumboe,
Liam Mellows, Rory O'Connor, Dick and Joe,
Cathal Brugha in the Four Courts
Liam Lynch on the slopes of Knockmealdown,
What fearless, unselfish, patriotic soldiers,
To lose one was a disaster,
To lose them all was catastrophic.*

*John Kells Ingram spoke their
Epitaph when he wrote:*

*They rose in dark and evil days,
To right their native land
They kindled here a living flame,
That nothing could withstand*

Copyright of all photographs and articles written in this Booklet "Ballyseedy" 75th Anniversary" are the property of The Trustees of Ballyseedy Memorial. All proceeds from this booklet will go to the Treasurer of Ballyseedy Memorial Committee for the future upkeep and maintenance of this Historic site.

75th Anniversary Commemoration of Ballyseedy Massacre

Is mian linn-ne iontaobhaithe leacht Cuimhneachain Bhaile an t-Síoda ag an bpointe seo, ár mbuíochas agus ár meas ar an gCéad Choiste Bhaile an t-Síoda a chur in iúl, is iad sin, Seán Mac Sithigh, Cathaoirleach, Sean Mac Giolla Dé, Leas-Cathaoirleach, Sean H Ó Riain, Runaí, Seamus Ó Lochlainn, Cisteoir agus Michéal Ó Loinsigh, Cisteoir.

Ár mbuíochas freisin leis an gCoiste Meanach agus le gach Fó-choiste eile a bhailigh airgead, anseo in Eirinn, i Sasana, sna Stáit Aontaithe, gan Astrail agus in aiteanna eile ar fúd an domhain. Eacht eile as gcoitiantacht ab ea é seo an tráth úd.

Is mór ár meas ar n-iariontaobhaí Sean Ó Sabhaois - trocaire air Rinne se sar-obair agus é ina bhall den Choiste. Tá moladh mór tuillte ag an Ailtire Uinseann Mac Eoin agus ag an Dealbhóir Yann Renard Goulet de bharr a n-eagoitinne agus a ndeireadh.

I ndeireadh báire ba mhaith linn a dhearbhu go gcoimeádfar beó go deo na ndeor cospóirí uaisle agus prionsabail na bhfear a fuair bás i mBaile an t-Síoda ar son na gcospóirí seo.

Maitiu Ó Dubhda Michael O'Brien
Maurice Dowling John Godley
Matt Leen

We, the present trustees of Ballyseedy Memorial wish to put on record our grateful appreciation and gratitude to the original Ballyseedy Committee, namely, John Joe Sheehy, Sean Godley, Sean H. Ryan, James O'Loughlin and Michael Lynch, their central Committee, and all other Sub-Committees, who raised funds in Ireland, England, U.S.A., Australia and other parts of the world.

This was a super human effort at that time. We also appreciate the trojan work done by our late trustees, Sean Savage. The Architect, Uinseann MacEoin and Sculptor, Yann Renard Goulet deserve much praise for their originality and design.

We would also like to state that the noble ideals and principals for which these men died, at Ballyseedy, will be kept alive as long as rivers flow and grass grows.

Maitiu Ó Dubhda Michael O'Brien
Maurice Dowling John Godley
Matt Leen.

Kerry Comhairle Ceantair of Republican Sinn Féin in conjunction with Ballyseedy Memorial Committee are proud to commemorate the noble men of Ballyseedy and all others who gave their lives for the 32 county Irish Republic. Seventy-five years on, Republican Sinn Féin alone remain true to the ideals and principles for which these men and women died for.

Chairman: Matt Leen
Secretary: Stephen Brosnan
Treasurer: Maurice Dowling

700

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