Fliocht Póisín

Liorta Laoċha na Poblaċta

They Died for Ireland

The Republican Dead

Volume 11

1920

"We are living in strange times and from some utterances by certain people, we should not be here at all to remember with pride those men who died with guns in their hands. Rather would it seem that we should apologise for them"

Tom Barry
(1897-1980)
Former Chief-of-Staff, Irish Republican Army
Speaking in 1970

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Many thanks to my father, Liam, my siblings and my daughter, Saorlaith, who have supported me over the course of completing this volume during what was the period after my mother's passing in January 2023. Their closeness, encouragement and spirit were the driving forces to complete this book.

This book is partially dedicated, firstly to my late mother, Ann, who passed down to me a respect of the past combined with intrigue for the details in the lives of the lesser known. A lady, reared in working class Irish Manchester, she could, after sixty years, recite, word for word, the ballads relating to the Manchester Martyrs, Kevin Barry and other Irish revolutionary events that she had learned as a child in 1950s Manchester. Alongside this dedication to my mother, this volume also remembers the sons and daughters of Ireland across the world who left Ireland as a result of political disenfranchisement, particularly in the mid-1920s after the counter-revolution; a vast diaspora across the world who remembered what many here chose to forget.

Let Erin Remember

Fuiscirt Póirín - Liosta Laochra na Poblachta
Imleabhar II
1920

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Introduction

1920, a year of terror, bloodshed, murder and mayhem. One might agree that Ireland had not seen such terror since the summer and autumn of 1798, surpassing the crackdowns after the Fenian uprising in 1867 and the land wars of the 1880s. It was a year that saw an escalation in republican deaths; the IRA bringing the war to the British authorities and the British retaliating by vicious acts of reprisals and bloody mayhem. It was a year which saw young men dragged from their beds and shot in the open; a barrage of shots fired into a sport's crowd; creameries, farmhouses and streets burned to the ground across Ireland and the re-emergence of sectarian disturbances across urban parts of the North. The plight across Ireland would make the news across the world with much focus given towards the hunger-strike of the Cork Gaol strikers and Terence MacSwiney. Lloyd George and his cabinet in Westminster would harden their approach towards Ireland while the IRA continued unwinding Dublin Castle's intelligence network. It was a year of political gridlock. The January and June elections solidified the Sinn Féin position on Irish independence. This, combined with a growing fear and frustration born out of British reprisals, saw the republican movement gaining more support. Throughout the pages of this book, the ferocity of 1920 is well defined. The Irish Republic, under threat, had to face on this policy of terror with an equal measure of ferocity. Tom Barry famously stated in an interview, "They said I was ruthless, daring, savage, blood-thirsty, even heartless. The clergy call me and my comrades, murderers, but the British were met with their own weapons. They had gone in the mire to destroy us and our Nation and down after them we had to go". Such a quote perfectly elaborates the events of this period. With Dáil Éireann driven underground, leaders imprisoned and thousands 'on the run,' across the country, the Republican movement continued to remain somewhat firm. The IRA, suffering from continuous arrests and casualties, continued their policy of organising solidly armed and trained units within the shadows. 1920 was the year in which its mettle was proven.

The project is now drawing close to being three years in existence. Since the release of Volume 1 during the summer of 2023, the rejuvenated interest in the period, born out of the 2016 centennial commemorations had shown great signs of waning. It felt as if everything had been discussed and what could be commemorated solely honored in the eyes of some. 2023, the centenary of the end of the Civil War saw a dreadful approach to commemoration by the State. There was no defined effort by the State to face up to events, carried out in its name during those dreadful years. The Decade of Centenaries saw an array of excellent publications produced by an array of leading and local historians. Few, however, focused on the national rolls of honour. The highly anticipated 2020 publication, *Dead of the Irish Revolution,* by Eunan O'Halpin and Daithi Ó Corráin, was a tremendous volume of inspiration to this series. Understanding that their scope covered all deaths from 1916 to late 1921, some simple errors were found in their recording of IRA casualties, which will be remedied in this collection. Of course, without any disrespect to their immense research, the authors should not face any fault for this considering the titanic scope that they had before them. With little mention of a second volume to cover the dead of the later part of the Truce and the Irish Civil War period (1922-23), all that has been published to list the Republican dead of that period has been *The Last Post.* Originally published in 1932 by an infantile National Graves Association, this version of *The Last Post,* and its subsequent editions, covered the names of casualties from across the country, however, this too was found to contain several errors; again, to no fault of those researching, as sources were particularly poor to rely on. With so much released and debated in the last decade and an array of material made public by archives, we can now understand this period much more definitively. I hope this series equally captures the ferocity of the times.

After the release of Volume 1 (1916-1919), the support from academic historians and the public was wholly encouraging. To read the feedback, particularly from relatives of those named within the book and who shared their emotions on their relative, was indeed powerful. After a century, the names of those who died do remain alive in their family households across Ireland; their portraits often adorn the walls and their relatives are openly engaging with helping this project to construct a solid biographical picture of their deceased relative. I thank each and every person who supported and have continued to support the fruition of this series.

Colum Ó Ruairc
Samhain, 2022.

Abbreviations

Organisations

IRA = Irish Republican Army / Óglaigh na hÉireann
IV = Irish Volunteers (1914-1919)
IRB = Irish Republican Brotherhood
C na mB = Cumann na mBan
ICA = Irish Citizen Army
NFE = Na Fianna Eireann
IRP = Irish Republican Police
RIC = Royal Irish Constabulary
RIC-AD = Royal Irish Constabulary - Auxiliary Division
DMP = Dublin Metropolitan Police
RUC = Royal Ulster Constabulary
UVF = Ulster Volunteer Force
USC = Ulster Special Constabulary

Military Abbreviations & Translations

Coy = Company
Batt = Battalion
Bde = Brigade
Div = Division
HQ = Headquarters
GHQ = General Headquarters
Cmdt. = Commandant / Battalion O/C
V/C = Vice Commandant
QMG = Quartermaster General
M/O = Medical Officer
O/S = Officer of Signals / Signal Officer
O/T = Officer of Training
T/O = Transport Officer
I/O = Intelligence Officer
QM. = Quartermaster
Gen. = General
Col. = Colonel
Capt. = Captain
Lieut. = Lieutenant
Vol = Volunteer / Óglach
Fian = Na Fianna Volunteer / Scout.
Pte. = Private.
Sgt. = Sergeant.

Other Abbreviations

MSPC = Military Special Pension Collection (Irish Military Archives)
BMH = Bureau of Military History (Irish Military Archives)
WS = Witness Statement (Irish Military Archives)
TLP = The Last Post
DOTIR = The Dead of the Irish Revolution

Descriptions of Military Structure

Section – A sub-unit within a company, averaging around 30 volunteers was commanded by a Section-Commander. This unit generally consisted of a particular number of volunteers from a townland or neighbouring townland.

Company – A company, with membership ranging between 30 and 120 volunteers, was an organised entity of sections that represented a parish or a cluster of townlands within a parish, depending on the local population and organisational efforts. They were subordinate to the Battalion Staff. They consisted of a large number of volunteers, and a staff committee, commanded by an elected Captain, followed by a First-Lieutenant, a Second-Lieutenant, an Adjutant, an Intelligence-Officer and a Quartermaster. Having limited resources, a company was generally restricted and operated as a support to ASU groups and helped gather local intelligence and promote republicanism in their respective neighbourhood.

Battalion – A battalion consisted of several companies and in some cases, an ASU, depending on the strength and resources available. A battalion's population often ranged from several hundred to over a thousand volunteers, depending on the local population and organisation. The staff was elected by the vast membership and consisted of a Commandant, Vice-Commandant, Battalion-Adjutant, Battalion-Quartermaster and a Battalion Intelligence Officer. The Battalion Staff was subordinate to the Brigade Staff and engaged with the officers of each company.

ASU – The Active Service Unit, or the Flying Column as they were informally recognised as, was a group comprised of well-armed volunteers, noted for their marksmanship and abilities to survive in the harsh outdoor elements. They also contained men who were on the run from the British authorities. These units began to appear in operation in some parts of Ireland by 1920 with most brigades across Ireland having their own brigade effective ASU by the time of the 1921 Truce. Being restricted with arms and ammunition, it was unwise to completely arm companies across Ireland so an ASU was charged with representing the Republican Army's effectiveness militarily. These units engaged in guerrilla action against the Crown forces and many Republican casualties of the 1919-21 period were members of these fighting units. During the Civil War, when Brigade and Battalion staff officers were depleted by arrests, resignations or killings, the ASU groups continued to remain somewhat operational, particularly in Kerry and Dublin.

Brigade – The Brigade was a cluster of battalions, representing in some cases whole counties or large swathes of territory and comprised of thousands of volunteers. The Brigade Staff was led by a Brigadier and consisted of a Vice-Brigadier, a Brigade Adjutant, a Brigade Quartermaster, a Brigade Intelligence-Officer and a variety of other officer roles that presided over various departments such as Transport, Communication, Munitions, Training, Signals, Engineering etc. Each Brigade was subordinate to GHQ before Divisions were organised in early 1921. When ASU groups from various battalions strengthened with experience, numbers and resources, their most battle-able were promoted to the Brigade ASU.

Division – With some brigades gaining more battle experience and better training than others there was a continuous need for reorganising of the army by GHQ saw the need for Divisions to become operational by early and mid-1921. This somewhat took away the responsibility of GHQ from dealing independently with brigades and was only effective during the Truce period. A division represented large swathes of provinces or several counties, depending on the area's population and effectiveness.

GHQ – The General Headquarters Staff of the IRA was the overall command committee for the Army, which was overseen by the Chief of Staff, followed by the Adjutant-General. Richard Mulcahy and Gearóid O'Sullivan would hold these ranks respectively throughout the 1919-21 conflict.

preface

Few in January 1920 could have predicted that the sporadic, if often intense and shocking, political violence of the preceding twelve months would flare into a revolutionary war of international significance. Those wedded to the belief that the mandate of the First Dáil entitled Ireland to national self-determination, sovereignty and republican democracy were buoyed by the local election results of the new year. Sinn Fein triumphed across the country winning control of 172 urban and rural councils of a possible 206. The republican position was thus reaffirmed emboldening IRA GHQ to direct more numerous and ambitious armed attacks on the forces of the Crown at home and abroad. Maximizing combat potential against a powerful and experienced enemy entailed careful assessment of a multiplicity of factors. These included realistic appraisals of unit strength, quality of training, leadership skills and war material. This underpinned tactical innovations in guerilla warfare, as well as logistical, financial, intelligence and propaganda support. By the end of the year the IRA were indisputably the premier irregular fighting force in the world.

In the countryside GHQ, working closely with brigade level IRA officers, developed the 'flying column' system in which suitably highly motivated and physically fit full time Volunteers were selected for wide ranging operations in their own areas. Networks of auxiliaries and helpers enabled the cadres to avoid military and RIC centres of strength and to traverse terrain that favoured highly mobile forces. The cities of Dublin, Cork and Limerick, meanwhile, witnessed sniping and grenade attacks at close quarters within well garrisoned and formerly rear echelon zones. Elaborate countermeasures developed by the British Army, including sandbagged checkpoints, curfews, use of armoured fighting vehicles and aerial reconnaissance, failed to regain firm control. Contemporaneous experimentation with command detonated landmines and other forms of explosives by the IRA unnerved the military.

Between January and July 1920, the regular soldiery was reinforced by well-paid and heavily armed mercenaries, generally ex-servicemen and demobilized officers, organized as the 'Black and Tans' and 'Auxiliaries'. The spurious 'policing' classification assigned to the imported contractors was belied by their operational role which extended to callous and often murderous acts of reprisals against Irish property and people. Yet the morale of Irish republicans was not deflated and counterinsurgency in Ireland produced a storm of reputational damage across the United Kingdom and its Empire. Vast sums of money were contributed to the IRA and Sinn Fein in the United States of America.

In hindsight, the programme of targeted assassinations by special detachments of the RIC and British Military Intelligence was counterproductive. The death squad shooting in March of Tomás MacCurtain, Major of Cork City and O/C Cork No.1 Brigade, may have served a crude revenge motive but at considerable political cost. His IRA and IRB comrades were by no means intimidate and by April had effectively nullified the RIC in many sectors. The destruction of over 300 mainly evacuated RIC barracks in a forty-eight-hour period demonstrated the potency of armed republicanism. IRA escalation that month to successful attacks on defended barracks underlined their growing prowess. Westminster, burdened with chronic debt from the 1914-18 ordeal, could ill-afford the estimated £20 million budget to prevent Irish independence in 1920. When, in September 1920, the Mallow Barracks base of the elite 17th Lancers fell to the IRA, nobody could feign nonchalance at the situation in Ireland. The prior promulgation of the Restoration of Order Act Ireland, legalizing internment and court martial of civilians, proved ineffective and had the unintended consequence of boosting the strength of the proliferating flying columns.

The signal failure of the military to preserve law and order in Derry and Belfast when Nationalists were persecuted in quasi-pogrom circumstances, exposed a dangerous, long term fault line. Legal, yet politically unsound, measures continued to blacken the British war effort. Hanging eighteen-year-old student Kevin Barry on 1 November 1920 was lawful under prevailing codes yet incredibly unwise in view of the strength of the international clemency lobby. This followed the grueling hunger strike of Terence McSwiney who died in Brixton Prison, London, after protesting his status as a political prisoner for seventy-four days. Many British Liberals were perturbed by the turn of events while the scale of the Corconian's funeral, a seeming modern martyr, confounded Conservative opinion that the IRA lacked popular endorsement. Victory by force alone, clearly, would not be achieved in Ireland and the once mooted alleged threat of 'terrible war' rang hollow. If the

IRA's destruction of Britain's main intelligence network in Dublin on 21 November 1920 exemplified the scale of the challenge, the 'Bloody Sunday' massacre in Croke Park laid bare the bankruptcy of state policy.

Although incurring regular combat and prison casualties, as well as harassment of their families and presumed civilian support base, the IRA continued to perfect its tactics and general efficacy in the course of 1920. On 27 November the IRA's Liverpool Brigade burned millions of pounds worth of warehouses, commercial goods and dock facilities in their adopted city, a reiteration of the Fenian strategy of 'taking the war to the enemy'. In Cork, the near annihilation of a motorized Auxiliary patrol at Kilmichael the following day proved that no military asset was untouchable. The perceived necessity of declaring Martial Law in the whole province of Munster on 10 December did not instill pro-Government elements with confidence and the subsequent looting and torching of the commercial heart of Cork City bordered on degeneracy.

Westminster attempted to regain the initiative by passing the Government of Ireland Act on 23 December 1920, a much-altered version of the Home Rule Bill that should have birthed an independent Ireland in 1912-14. The 1920 variant theoretically brought not one but two sub-national parliaments into being in Belfast and Dublin. It was patently obvious that this fait accompli would not eventuate amidst the chaos of a conflict which had rendered the whole country ungovernable in any meaningful way. Moreover, backed by the mandate of the December 1918 General Election, Sinn Féin and the majority of elected Irish politicians remained committed to the unitary Irish Republic embodied in spirit by the First Dáil. As the year drew to a close, it was the Republican Movement that possessed the dynamism to greet 1921 with optimism and confidence. This important volume illustrates the magnitude of the historic struggle for Irish sovereignty.

Dr. Ruan O'Donnell,
University of Limerick

TAKING THE WAR TO THE RIC

The Attack on Carrigtwohill RIC Barracks, 2-3 January 1920

The time would be about the month of October 1919, when I put up a proposal at a Brigade meeting in Cork that every RIC barracks in the brigade area should be attacked and captured on a certain night, the attacks to be simultaneous. I believed, in fact, I was convinced at the time, that the capture of at least 90% of the RIC barracks in the area would involve nothing more than walking in and taking them. This applied, in particular, to barracks in the country districts where discipline was lax. The policemen, especially on Saturday nights, were usually out and about, or maybe, engaged playing cards in the barracks with local men, some of the latter were quite often members of the local Volunteer company. Entrance to the barracks would be a simple matter and the success of the project would, in my opinion, so far as my command in East Cork was concerned, be practically assured. The brigade were 'taken with' the idea, but decided to refer the proposal to GHQ Dublin. Tomás MacCurtain, the Brigade O/C., was deputed to go to Dublin to put the proposition to GHQ that all RIC Barracks in the country be attacked on one particular night. When MacCurtain returned from Dublin, some time later, he said at a brigade meeting that GHQ considered that the remainder of the country was not so well organised as Cork and that, consequently, the proposed attacks should be confined to the area of the Cork No. 1 Brigade. This area 'ran' roughly from Youghal, thence to Cork City by the coast to Gougane Barra in the west, back north-east to Fermoy and down south to Youghal. The brigade agreed to make arrangements for the attacks, and a night was fixed for the operation. It was then the month of December 1919. A few days before the date fixed for the attacks, an order was received by Brigade HQ from GHQ Dublin, countermanding the proposed operations. The brigade were at a loss to understand the reason for this decision by GHQ and promptly sent Tomás MacCurtain to Dublin again to find out what had gone wrong. When MacCurtain returned to Cork, he told us that Mick Collins had said that an attempt was to be made in Dublin to shoot Lord French, then Lord Lieutenant, and that the success of this job was more important, from the publicity angle, than the proposed barracks attack. MacCurtain was given an automatic revolver while in Dublin, to take part in the attack on Lord French, which did not, however, materialise at that particular time. I have a clear recollection of MacCurtain showing us the gun on his return to Cork and referring to the abortive attempt on French's life, saying: "That was what I got out of it". It was however, agreed by GHQ that three RIC barracks be attacked in the three different brigade areas of Cork, the barracks to be selected by the respective Brigade O/C. The Brigade Council then decided that one of the barracks in my area should be attacked and I selected Carrigtwohill as one offering the best chance of success. My main reason for selecting Carrigtwohill was that I had three active companies in the district within a radius of six miles and the nearest British garrison was at Cobh, six miles to the south. At this particular time, early January 1920, it was observed that all RIC barracks were being fortified against attack by having steel shutters put on the windows with loop-holes for firing. It is my opinion that some word may have reached the British authorities of our intention to stage a general attack on barracks a few months previously, hence the precautions now being taken. As I have

mentioned, we had the date fixed for these general attacks which were called off by GHQ only about two nights before they were to come off. Many men of the various companies in the brigade were aware of the forthcoming operations. It is possible that somebody talked and the news got to the ears of the British" – **Cmdt. Mick Leahy**, 4th Batt, Cork No.I Brigade, (BMH-WS 1421).

"*Carrigtwohill is a village situated on the main Cork and Waterford road, about ten miles east of Cork. The RIC barracks was in the main Street, one of a row of houses. It was a stone-built building with a slated roof. The windows were steel-shuttered back and front and the garrison consisted of ten men under a sergeant. My plan was to open the attack on the front and rear of the building with rifles and grenades. When the attack as on for some time, I proposed to call on the garrison to surrender and, if they refused, I would then blow a hole in the gable-end of the barracks and take the place by assault. I fixed Saturday night, 2nd January 1920, for the job, and decided to use the Cobh, Midleton and Knockraha companies to carry out the operation, as they were the best armed companies in the battalion. I instructed Diarmuid Hurley, captain of the Midleton company, to have all available men assembled at 10 p.m. in Carrigtwohill schoolhouse, situated on a by-road on the south side of the village. I contacted Martin Corry (now a member of the Dáil), captain of the Knockraha company, and arranged that he should parade his company (about 35 in number) at Knockraha at about 9 p.m. (Knockraha is six miles north west of Carrigtwohill) when he would get further instructions from me. On that same Saturday afternoon, I called the officers of the Cobh company to a meeting at my home in Ballywilliam, Cobh. The officers were: Captain Ned Stack, Lieutenants Dáithí O'Brien and Jack O'Connell and Jack Stack. We arranged that about 40 Cobh men would take part in the night's operation. I also selected, as a dispatch carrier, a man named Jack Higgins of Cobh. It was arranged that the Cobh officers would commandeer a motor and bring it to Carrigtwohill that night conveying some rifles and grenades, which I had obtained on loan from the brigade for the proposed attack. I left Cobh by bicycle for Carrigtwohill about 9 p.m. on 2nd January 1920. En-route, I met up with about 30 of the Cobh Volunteers cutting trees to block the road from Cobh to Carrigtwohill. Arriving in Carrigtwohill about 10 p.m. I went to the schoolhouse where Diarmuid Hurley had his Midleton men (numbering about 35) and gave instructions for the blocking of the Cork-Carrigtwohill-Midleton road by knocking trees and erecting stone barricades. About 20 men were detailed for this work. The Knockraha men under Martin Corry then received instructions to block the Knockraha-Cork-Carrigtwohill road. These blocking operations completely isolated Carrigtwohill. I should, of course, add that telephone and telegraph wires leading to and from the village were also cut*" – **Cmdt. Mick Leahy**, (BMH-WS 1421).

"*At midday on 3rd January, 1920, Dáithí O'Brien called to my place of business in Cobh and told me that there was a hitch in connection with the van. He said that the only Volunteer we had who could drive, refused to do so as the van was the property of a personal friend of his. Knowing another driver who, although not a Volunteer, was a sympathiser, I approached him and asked if he would do a job for me. He agreed and afterwards became one of the most trustworthy men in the Cobh Company. As a precaution, we did not give him any advance information as to the purpose for which we required him. On the evening of 3rd January, 1920, I called for my friend and got him out of his home on some pretext, eventually taking him to the home of Miss Howes, The Square, Cobh, very close to where the van was parked. Dáithí O'Brien then told him of the job we wanted him to &o that night. He was delighted. We gave him his tea, not allowing him out of our sight until we went with him to where the van was parked. We proceeded in the van to Collins's house, Tay Road, Cobh, where we collected the rifles and ammunition and continued our journey to Carrigtwohill. We arrived in Carrigtwohill about 10 p.m., where the guns we brought were distributed amongst the Cobh men. In Carrigtwohill I met Michael Leahy, the Battalion O/C, who instructed me to select a man with a revolver and go through the village to the schoolhouse, where I was to pick up two men from the Midleton Company armed with revolvers. The party of four of us were then to go on to the main Street and, on the firing of tile first shots by our main attacking party, we were to shoot any RIC who might be on the street when the attack on the barracks opened*" – **Capt. Michael J. Burke**, Cobh Company, Cork No.1 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1424).

"*The attack opened about 11 p.m. with volleys of rifle and revolver fire we had received a few rifles from the brigade to help us out on the barrack windows front and rear. The RIC replied vigorously with rifles and grenades. They also sent up Verey lights to summon assistance. This went on for more than half an hour. Michael Leahy, the O/C, then decided to blow a hole in the gable end of the barracks, to gain admittance. Tom Hyde of Ballinacurra, an engineer in the County Council, removed a few stones from the gable, and John Moore of Cobh, a quarryman, inserted some sticks of gelignite The subsequent explosion blew a hole in the barrack wall, sufficiently large to admit one man at a time. While this was going on, we were keeping up spasmodic fire on the barracks, with a view to keeping the enemy's attention distracted from the men laying the gelignite. When the breach was made, Diarmuid Hurley, captain of Midleton company, Joseph Aherne, 1st Lieutenant, Volunteer Cronin and I entered the barracks, Hurley leading the way. Tadhg Manley, who was also on the spot, wanted to enter too, but he was ordered to remain outside, as he was required to see to the safety of the arms we hoped to capture. In fact, it was arranged that Tadhg should take the guns to his own home at Tubbereenmire, about four miles from Carrigtwohhll. Then we entered the barracks, we found ourselves in the dayroom, but could see little in the intense darkness. A few shots were fired down the stairs by the RIC, and we replied. Hurley shouted upstairs,*

"We are in. Come down and surrender". There was a lull in the firing, and then a voice from upstairs enquired if we would let a woman out. Hurley said, certainly". The sergeant's wife then came down, and asked Hurley what would happen the RIC if they surrendered Hurley said they would be quite safe if they came down, one by one, with their hands up. He added that, if they did not do so, he would burn the barracks. The woman went back and had a consultation with the RIC. She again came down, and was taken by a Volunteer out of the building to friends in the town. The next thing I saw was the RIC filing downstairs with their hands up. They were then handcuffed in pairs and marched out on to the street, under a guard. While this was happening, more of our men had come through the breach, and were engaged searching for arms and ammunition. I was lucky to get a new Webley revolver which was lying on a table. I had this revolver with me during the subsequent years of fighting. The captured carbines, belonging to the garrison, revolvers, ammunition, a few shotguns and grenades were taken away and loaded on a car driven by Joseph Aherne. Tadhg Manley accompanied him. The captured stuff was removed to Tadhg's home at Tubbereenmire, and put in a safe place. None of it was afterwards recaptured by the British. It must have been about one o'clock in the morning when we left Carrigtwohill. We had been in the village since 10.50 p.m. the previous night. The captured police were marched a few miles outside the village where they were addressed by Commandant Leahy and advised to resign from the RIC. They were left to make their way back as best they could" – **Lieut. Michael Kearney**, Midleton IRA, Cork No.1 Brigade, IRA (BMH-WS 1418).

"*I formed all our lads up in the village street, congratulated them on the success of the job and, when they had sung a verse of the Soldier's Song, dismissed them. The attack on Carrigtwohill barracks lasted in all about 2 ½ hours from the time we opened fire until the capture was completed. No British relieving force arrived on the scene until the forenoon of January 3rd. Our men suffered no casualties; neither did the RIC garrison*" – **Cmdt. Mick Leahy**, (BMH-WS 1421).

"*Orders were received from [Brigade] HQ that all battalion areas were to increase their stock of arms and ammunition from all possible available sources. In consequence of this order, the IRA attacked and captured the local RIC barracks at Carrigtwohill early in January, 1920. For security reasons and to avoid suspicion being aroused in the locality, the local company (D Coy, 4th Battalion) was not called on to participate in the attack. About 6 a.m. the following Monday, I was closely interrogated by a party of RIC under the D.I. from Midleton, but when they found me at my lodgings it threw off suspicion from me and other members of 'D' Company. As far as I can recollect, the attack started about 11 p.m. and finished about 4. a.m., when Sergeant Scott and his party of RIC men surrendered to the IRA, who captured a good supply of rifles, revolvers and ammunition. The password for the night was "Soldiers are we", and reply "Whose lives are pledged to Ireland*" – **Section-Cmdr. Francis Healy**, Carrigtowhill, Co. Cork, (BMH-WS 1694).

The dynamited hole at Carrigtwohill RIC Barracks which allowed the IRA to enter the barracks, forcing an eventual surrender of the garrison.

"*On the 8th January an unsuccessful attempt was made to capture Drumlish RIC Barracks [Co. Longford]. This was principally a first Battalion Job. Seán Connolly and Seán MacEoin were in charge. A cart-wheel box filled with gelignite was thrown through the 'Fanlight' but this failed to go off. I had no immediate part in the attack as I was in charge of a party of three on the road leading from Ballinalee to the village. We had for armaments two revolvers and two shot guns*" – **Capt. Frank Devine**, North Longford IRA, (BMH-WS 496).

"*The following were present at the meeting of the Staff Officers of the 1st Battalion, Longford Brigade, which was held on December 28th, 1919:- Myself (Battalion Commandant), John Duffy (Adjutant), Frank Whitney (Vice O/C), Pat Kiernan (Quartermaster) and Seán Connolly (Vice O/C, Brigade Staff). The plans were reconsidered, and found satisfactory. They were as follows: The barrack was to be surrounded, silently and on all sides, by twenty men, at a distance of two hundred yards. Four men were to approach the southern gable, and insert in the ground, under the foundations, ten pounds of gelignite, in two charges, with two electric detonators in the two charges (one each). Before they started to mine the gable, one man was to walk up to the door, light an ordinary fuse (with a match) in a bomb, weighing fourteen pounds, and throw it through the fanlight. Should this blow open the door, five men were to rush the door, and perhaps capture the place at the point of the bayonet, the reason for five men being that we had only five rifles with bayonets. Should the bomb not make an opening sufficiently large, the mine was to be put in the gable, as arranged, and it was expected that this would make a hole sufficiently large to allow the place to be rushed. Our information was that there were in the barracks twelve RIC, one Sergeant, one NCO and eight soldiers - twenty-two men, all told. The barracks was fortified with sandbags and steel plates on the windows, the door being secured by a chain, and could not be rushed at night. It might be rushed in daylight, but the difficulty in disarming twenty-two men was considered impossible unless we had short arms. Our stock of revolvers was very small - only four. The night plan was, therefore, decided upon. We decided on testing the loyalty of the whole Brigade with this operation, by sending out instructions to all Battalion O/C's to block several roads leading to and from Longford, Granard, Arva and Mohill to Drumlish, this order to be sent out one day in advance of the date named for the attack. We fixed the night of January 5th, with myself in charge of the operation, Tom Reddington, Brigade O/C, and Seán Connolly, Deputy Brigade O/C, as onlookers and to assist me by advice as the attempt to capture the barracks developed. We picked our men for the attack by taking a few from each company, about eight, and the Battalion Staff, making a total of thirty-six, all ranks. Amongst those selected were ex Commandant B. Masterson, P. Cooke, Granard Company; Pat Finnegan, Columbkille Company; Patrick Kiernan (Red), Drumlish; M.F. Reynolds, Terence Doherty, - Clarke, - Keogh, M. Gormley, Paddy Cooney, Killoe Company; P. Callaghan, J.J. Killane, Clonbroney Company; John Sullivan, Ballinamuck Company. These are the names that come to my mind now, but there was at least one other from Killoe, whose name I will not mention, but who gave me the laugh of the night after we left Drumlish, and many a laugh since. The arms of the party were made up of five service rifles (one Mauser rifle), five revolvers, the remainder being armed with shotguns, two hand grenades which had been purchased from soldiers, and the three charges of gelignite made into three huge bombs, one detonated with ordinary fuse and the other two, as already mentioned, with electric detonators. The gelignite had been purchased in Dublin in November, 1918, and was kept very carefully in Henry Tynan's of Leitrim, Ballinalee, at one time, in the barn, and at another time, in the drain at the end of Moorehead's, a Protestant's place, about fifty yards from Tynan's. Mobilisation was for 9 p.m. at Edward Cooney's of Dooroc. Every man and officer were to get there as best they could. The order was sent out, that morning, that all roads were to be blocked, as outlined, at 11 p.m., which was the hour decided upon for the attack. There was no absentee at 9 p.m. in Dooroc - all answered the roll. We nearly had a mutiny over the distribution of the arms, as every man wanted a rifle, and we had but six, all told. No one wanted the shotguns. The revolvers were for the officers. Michael Gormley had one of the rifles home with him from the British army; he must get his own; it was given to him. Terry Doherty was an officer in the British army; it was felt he should have one; he got it. No one disputed the right of these two, because no one could say that he could make better use of them. Distribution was finally effected, after much grumbling. The order to fall in was given. Small advance and rear guards were thrown out, and a start was made for Drumlish. Frank Whitney, who lived opposite the barracks, was excused participation. He only had to watch the movements of the RIC and soldiers, see if all were in the barracks, report to us outside the town, and then return to his house and go to bed. He reported that all were in the barracks, and we gave him fifteen or twenty minutes to get inside and get to bed before we moved. We were in position at about 11.30 p.m., and, by this time, we could hear trees falling upon the roads in all directions. A crux arose over the difficulty of lighting the fuse of the bomb which was to be thrown in on the fanlight. For fear of any accident, the late Seán Connolly, who was supposed to take no part, took the bomb and walked up to the door. He coolly lit a match, ignited the fuse, and smashed it in on the fanlight. A policeman ran to the door, but ran back when he saw the fuse spitting and burning. We awaited the explosion which came in a few seconds - but what appeared to us to be hours. It came, not with the crash we expected, but just as a sharp crack. The detonator only exploded, and the gelignite remained as it was. We came to the conclusion that the bomb was broken in pieces by the fall, and that, in some way, the gelignite separated from the detonator, and that that was the reason why there was no explosion. Fire was opened from the barracks in all directions. Fire was opened by us on the front and rear of the premises. Our men started mining the end which had no window, and, after half an hour, the mines were firmly planted underneath the gable. The cable was*

attached to the detonators, and the stand-clear was given. The cable was then attached to the battery, contact was made, and the two detonators exploded, but nothing more. The gelignite was useless - we might as well have had the bombs charged with soap. We did not know the difference between gelignite in good condition and in bad. We then tried to smash the windows in, by having a grenade burst on one of them. B. Masterson, a bomb thrower in the Great War, did his best, but to no avail. I decided to take out the bombs from underneath the gable. In the meantime, desultory firing was kept up on the front and rear of the barracks, the occupants of which were using so much ammunition that we had hopes that, if we stayed long enough, we might be able to force a window and effect an entrance. The occupants were called upon to surrender at various intervals, but they knew that, if our explosives were like what we had thrown in, they had nothing to fear from cur threat to blow up the barracks. No one was supposed to say anything to the beleaguered garrison but myself. Imagine my surprise to hear, from the rear of the barracks, a call, in very emphatic language, to the garrison to surrender, or they would be blown to perdition. This happened three or four times. I went round to investigate, and I found the party in the rear alright. I asked them who was shouting. They said it was someone over on their left, and to their rear. I went around, and found T. Q., a Volunteer from Killoe, with his back towards the barracks, and he firing straight up in the air, and every shot he fired, he called on the garrison to surrender. I tapped him on the shoulder with my revolver, and he gave a shout, saying, "I surrender!" He prayed and blessed and blowed when he found out that it was his commanding officer and not one of the RIC. He then coolly informed me that he was wounded, and that he felt the blood running down his leg. He was not wounded. The bombs were, by this time, removed from under the foundations and the earth replaced. We decided on one final effort to blow out the door. We had one Mills bomb left. A young Volunteer went up, under fire, and threw the grenade through the fanlight again. It did not explode. I never knew the reason why. We decided to call off the attack at about 5 a.m., and returned to Dooroc, very sad men, having failed in our objective, but thanking God that we had the gelignite safe, and deploring the ammunition lost or wasted in the affair" – **Cmdt. Seán MacEoin**, Longford Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1716).

Commandant Seán MacEoin, 'The Blacksmith of Ballinalee'

MacEoin's forge in Ballinalee, Co. Longford. Source: www.longford.ie

THE MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS, JANUARY 1920

"*In 1920 there had been no Municipal, Rural or County Council Elections for about 6 years and Sinn Féin in preparing for an early election decided to contest all seats; selected candidates and had all election machinery in order when the date for elections was fixed. The Municipal Elections took place in January, 1920. In Dundalk a majority of Sinn Féin candidates were returned on the Urban Council and Peter Hughes, ex-TD (brother of the 1916 leader) was elected Chairman. I was elected to this body. Many of the Municipal bodies elected in 1920 with Republican majorities immediately passed resolutions pledging allegiance to Dáil Éireann. We did not do so immediately after we were elected on the advice of Peter Hughes*" – **Cllr. James McGuill**, Dundalk Municipal Council, (BMH-WS 353).

"*During the month of January, 1920, the local elections for County Councils and Rural District Councils were held under the proportional representation system, and my spare time was pretty fully occupied in connection with this event. My father and the other TDs had thrown themselves wholeheartedly into the business of securing the election of Sinn Féin nominees, and so the services of myself and my cars were in continuous demand to take parties around the country to address meetings, protect these meetings from police interference, and to make all necessary arrangements for a complete take-over of the details of local administration after the sweeping victory which was expected at the elections. Petrol supplies were limited at the time, but from all kinds of unexpected places came donations of petrol to keep our cars on the road and thereby help to ensure our victory*" – **Joseph V. Lawless**, Swords, Co. Dublin, (BMH-WS 1043).

"*After the municipal elections in January 1920, the Local Government Department sent a form of resolution of allegiance to Dáil Éireann to each municipal authority having an effective republican majority. The authority was requested to adopt the resolution and have thirty copies, signed and sealed, forwarded to the Department. To each body having a majority composed partly of republicans or partly of constitutionalists a form of resolution was sent for adoption calling for the recognition of "such form of government as the majority of the Irish people may select". These authorities were also asked to forward thirty copies, signed and sealed, to the Department. The response did not come up to expectations. Even by the 8th of June 1920, all the local authorities had not complied with the request to forward the resolutions and it was necessary to repeat the request. Pending a definite decision as to the authority to be exercised by the Minister in relation to local authorities, the Department could not do more than give advice to the newly elected municipal authorities having effective republican majorities and exercise a limited amount of supervision over them*" – **T.J. McArdle**, Secretary, Department of Local Government, An Dáil Éireann, (BMH-WS 501).

A Municipal Council Chamber, Co. Cork. Source: www.ucc.ie

Sligo IRA volunteers on parade.

"*At a brigade meeting held in the Town Hall, Dungarvan, in January 1920, it was decided to attack the RIC barracks at Ardmore, Co. Waterford. This barracks had a garrison of 12 men, some of whom had been transferred from vacated barracks in the neighbourhood. The building was a two-storeyed stone and a slated one. It was loopholed for firing and was in the main street of the village. The. intention was that a land-mine be exploded against the gable end of the building and the barracks then rushed and captured. At about 12 o'clock, midnight, on January 17th, 1920, approximately, 30 men, practically all of whom were from my own battalion (3rd), were in position. at the front and rear of the barracks. Upwards of 40 others were on outpost duty on the roads leading from the village, having erected obstructions to prevent the approach of enemy troops by road, principally from Youghal five miles to the east, or from Dungarvan twelve miles to the west. As the party who were detailed to place the mine in position were about to do so, a shot rang out, fired accidentally by one of our men. Immediately the RIC in the barracks were alerted and the garrison opened heavy fire with rifles and bombs. It was impossible for us to place the land mine in the place originally intended and to put it elsewhere near the barracks would result in the neighbouring houses being blown up. We replied to the enemy fire with shotguns and rifles, but, as the element of surprise in the attack was now gone and all hope of capturing the garrison gone with it, it was decided, after about half an hour, to call off the fight. We suffered no casualties on that occasion and I cannot say whether or not the RIC suffered any. Although the RIC garrison sent up Verey lights for assistance immediately firing commenced, our men dispersed without meeting any enemy forces*" – **Cmdt. Jim Mansfield** (*inset*), 3rd Batt., West Waterford IRA, (BMH-WS 1229).

"*Whilst some of our lads were preparing positions for the attack, one of them (not in my party) accidentally discharged his rifle. This had the effect of putting the police garrison on the alert. Immediately the shot rang out, heavy rifle fire was opened by the police, and bombs were thrown by them through the loop-holes windows of tile barracks on to the street. Verey lights were sent up to summon assistance. The Marines in the coastguard station then opened fire and they too commenced sending up Verey lights. We replied to the fire as best we could, with what effect I cannot say. After about half-an-hour of this, we were ordered by George Lennon, Brigade Vice O/C, to break off the action and get away. It was obvious, now that the element of surprise had gone, that it was useless to continue the engagement, more especially as our supply of ammunition was very limited that night"* – **Capt. James Fraher**, Dungarvan Coy, 1st Batt., West Waterford Bde, IRA, (BMH-WS 1232).

An intriguing photograph, taken at St. Mary's College in Hammersmith, London, 1920. (L-R) Reginald Dunn, (Executed in August 1922), Seán Phelan (Killed at the Upton Ambush, February 1921), J. O'Sullivan & Tom Monahan. All were active IRA volunteers.

"*Detectives from the G Division had been shot on the Dublin streets. Soon this important political intelligence branch was reduced. They had always followed at the heels of our men; they knew all the important officers, TDs and prominent men in other national organisations. Now they moved about at bullet's risk. I met Seán Treacy's grin as he cycled past on a bicycle. He had grown a thin moustache since I had met him with Dan Breen and Séumas Robinson in north Tipp. Robinson was given to pedalling also. Both were on intelligence work; they were helping to reduce the number of detectives. 'We asked Michael Collins to send you to south Tipp,' said Seán. 'He told us that Kerry had asked for you, but we'll wear him down and we'll go back with you.' Collins now had another office in Dawson Street, in Eileen McGrane's flat, where I often sheltered. He was very busy. He was raising the internal loan. De Valera was pushing the foreign loan in the United States, but it would be necessary to prove that the people at home were willing to subscribe. I was due to for Kerry, he said. We went over a map of the county whilst he talked of the names of battalion officers. 'He's a good man, blood good, you know; and he's a louser, but it'll be hard to get rid of him.' Later in the dug-out he told me I was to go to South Tipp. Raids were expected in Dublin. I had seen men who looked like detectives near the dug-out. Collins laughed: 'We'll know when a raid is coming and we'll have everything packed up.*"' – **Ernie O'Malley**, GHQ Organiser, *On Another Man's Wound*, p. 178-179.

"*Many a good Presbyterian came and offered their services to the Irish cause. Those men who had the spirit of Tone, Henry Joy McCracken and William Orr could not stand idly by and see the country that gave them birth being trampled on by the English Wolves. They tried to teach their co-religionists the truth of Irish Nationality and to try to kill that English invented bogey that Irishmen of different religious beliefs could not live together in peace. Those men were successful to a great extent; but England's agents saw what was happening and fearing the unity of the whole Irish people, tried all the naivish tricks possible to conceive so that they could apply that maxim with which they built their Empire "Divide and Conquer" The English controlling Orange Lodges, received instructions from their Grand Masters that Sinn Féiners and Catholics were to be attacked. Paid agitators were put to work and religious bigotry fostered to such an extent that miniature riots between Unionists and Nationalists broke out periodically. This consisted of stone-throwing, catch-cries and party songs such as 'God Save The King' and 'The Soldiers Song'. There were usually a number of shop windows broken and sometimes the pilferring of their contents took place. The Royal Irish Constabulary played the part of restoring order after some damage had been done*" – **Liam Brady**, Derry Fianna Éireann, (BMH-WS 676).

"*Many light skirmishes were now taking place in the brigade area, some ambushes were undertaken, without much success, but fortunately no casualties were recorded. One attempt at ambush, however, had disastrous consequences, as one of the men Volunteer Michael Darcy of Cooraclare, while being pursued by some enemy forces attempted to cross the river east of Cooraclare village and was drowned. I attended the funeral, which was characterised by a show of British force. No attempt was made to arrest anybody at the funeral. The military did not travel as far as the graveyard and volleys were fired by the boys when the grave had been filled in*" – **Brig. Art O'Donnell**, West Clare Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1322).

19th January 1920

D'ARCY, Michael:

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *A Coy (Cooraclare), 3rd Batt, West Clare Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 15 March 1897. Son of Michael D'Arcy and Margaret Campbell. His brother Patrick D'Arcy was executed by the IRA on suspicion of informing in June 1921.
Address: Cooraclare, Ennis, Co. Clare.
Occupation: Farmer.
Death: Having engaged as a spotter in a failed ambush on an RIC police lorry that was transporting furniture, belonging to an RIC officer, D'Arcy was chased from the scene and tried to cross the flooded Doonbeg River. As the RIC pursued and fired on him, Darcy panicked and got into difficulties and eventually died by drowning. Locals who had tried to rescue D'Arcy were fired on.
Buried: Kilmacduane Graveyard, Cooraclare, Co. Clare.
MSPC Ref: DP64.

"*Subsequent public inquiry showed that Michael Darcy was pursued across the countryside by police who were unable to prove that they had been fired upon. He fell into the Cooraclare river and when efforts were made by five men to rescue him the police lined the river's banks and fired upon the rescuers and drove them back. They fired also at Darcy as he was drowning*" – **Irish Bulletin**, 7 June 1920, p.1.

"*I made it my business to be seen by the Thurles police about the town so that they would come to the conclusion that I had nothing to do with the attacks. I think it was on the following day or the day after that one of these police, Constable [Luke] Finnegan, called on me at O'Connell's and told me that they knew in the barracks which of the Thurles Volunteers were out that night and that these men would be rounded up in a few days. This Constable Finnegan knew everyone in Thurles well as he was the policeman who dealt with the sugar ration cards during the First Great War. For some time previous to his visit to me he had shown himself to be very hostile to the republican movement and was known to us to have been busy 26. making inquiries concerning the activities. of members of the IRA in the town. After Finnegan's conversation with me, I had a chat with another of his colleagues, Sergeant Hurley, who was friendly towards the IRA and from time to time gave valuable information to us. The sergeant told me that Finnegan was compiling a list of men whom be suspected of being involved in the recent attacks on the RIC barracks. I decided it was time to put Constable Finnegan out of action. On the night of 20th January 1921, Jerry Ryan, Mick Small and John McCarthy (Goorty) and myself, all armed with revolvers, watched for Constable Finnegan in the vicinity of his own home in the Mall. He was returning from the barracks at about 10 o'clock and was about 10 yards from his house when we fired at him. He was badly wounded and died the following morning. Later that night the RIC and military ran amok in the town. They fired shots at random and went through the streets discharging shots through the doors and windows of the houses and business places of Sinn Féin supporters. On the following day the English Labour Party "Fact Finding Commission", headed by Mr. Clynes, arrived in Thurles and were able to see firsthand the depredations caused by the British garrison on the night before and to observe the state of terror which the incidents created among the civilian population. I went out into the Mall and there met Mr. Clynes and his colleagues and gave them a lot of information they wanted. After that, they visited a number of the damaged houses and examined everything in detail. They came into "Mixey" O'Connell's place which was badly wrecked and were shown the bullet-riddled room in which his maid and baby slept, Statements were taken from several people who had been eyewitnesses to the behaviour of the police and soldiers*" – **Brigadier James Leahy**, Tipperary No.2 Brigade, IRA (BMH-WS 1454).

British 'Tommies,' supported by an armoured transport, carried out raids across Ireland.

"*About this time things were getting very hot. Every movement was watched. The leading Volunteers from Craughwell, Athenry, Tuam, Carnmore, Castlegar, etc., were finding it very hard to meet in Galway. So Fionán Lynch came to Galway (early 1920) and the county was divided into North, South, East, West and Galway Brigades, the latter which included out to Claregalway, Oranmore, Carnmore and, on the west side, Barna and Bushypark. After that, each unit acted more or less on their own. I was re-appointed Quartermaster for the Galway Brigade; not that I was any better than the others, but I worked at the University and it was an ideal place for hiding arms in the building cellars, presses, lofts, garages, etc. Whenever we could, we bought arms from soldiers. A Canadian soldier home on leave went to Frank Hardiman and offered his rifle for £3.0.0. Frank told me that night, so I sent M. Kavanagh and my brother, Michael, to said soldier and got the rifle. Another man named Crowley, Waterlane, sent John Connor to me with an offer of a rifle for £2.10.0. After that, when soldiers came home, they were not allowed to bring home rifles. We also contacted two soldiers from Renmore who wanted to desert and they offered us four rifles for £10.0.0. provided that we would give them 2 old suits of civvies. George Nicolls and Tom Flanagan supplied the clothes. I supplied the money. Tom Reddington, M. Kavanagh and Mike Hynes collected the rifles just outside Renmore Barracks at 2 a.m. and handed over money and clothes. We also got two rifles from Dublin and 500 rounds of ammunition, We had two good men on the Railway, Joe Hennigan, a checker, and M. Kelly, guard's van. We got the two men that gave us the four rifles from Renmore to Dublin with M. Kelly and lost them there*" – **Brig. QM. Thomas Hynes**, Mid-Galway Brigade, IRA (BMH-WS 714).

"*The RIC now started raiding and searching houses of prominent members of Sinn Féin and IRA. My house was raided a few times and I went on the run, that is to say, I did not sleep at home at night but otherwise I performed my normal duties. About this time, we purchased two rifles (Mausers) and 400 or 500 rounds of ammunition. We also got a few revolvers in the same consignment which was received from our General Headquarters in Dublin. For this lot of armaments, we paid Headquarters about £22. To get this money, we ran dances and raffles and so forth. Our men also paid a small weekly subscription. We had now obtained the services of an ex-Sergeant-Major of the British Army to give us training in the rifle and we had some firing practice also. Our strength had increased slightly by now*" – **P.J. Cannon**, Islandeady Company, Mayo Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 830).

British troops on the roof of the Four Courts in Dublin, keeping watch of the Quays as the conflict intensifies, 1920.

Éire Dear

(AIR: Citizen Army Anthem)

Erin dear, the dawn is breaking,
See the sun-burst thro' the sky;
We have heard you calling, calling,
Calling us to do or die.
See Mother dear, the silvery glow,
Heralding the dawn of day,
Leading us to peace and victory
Thro' the storm of Freedom's Day.

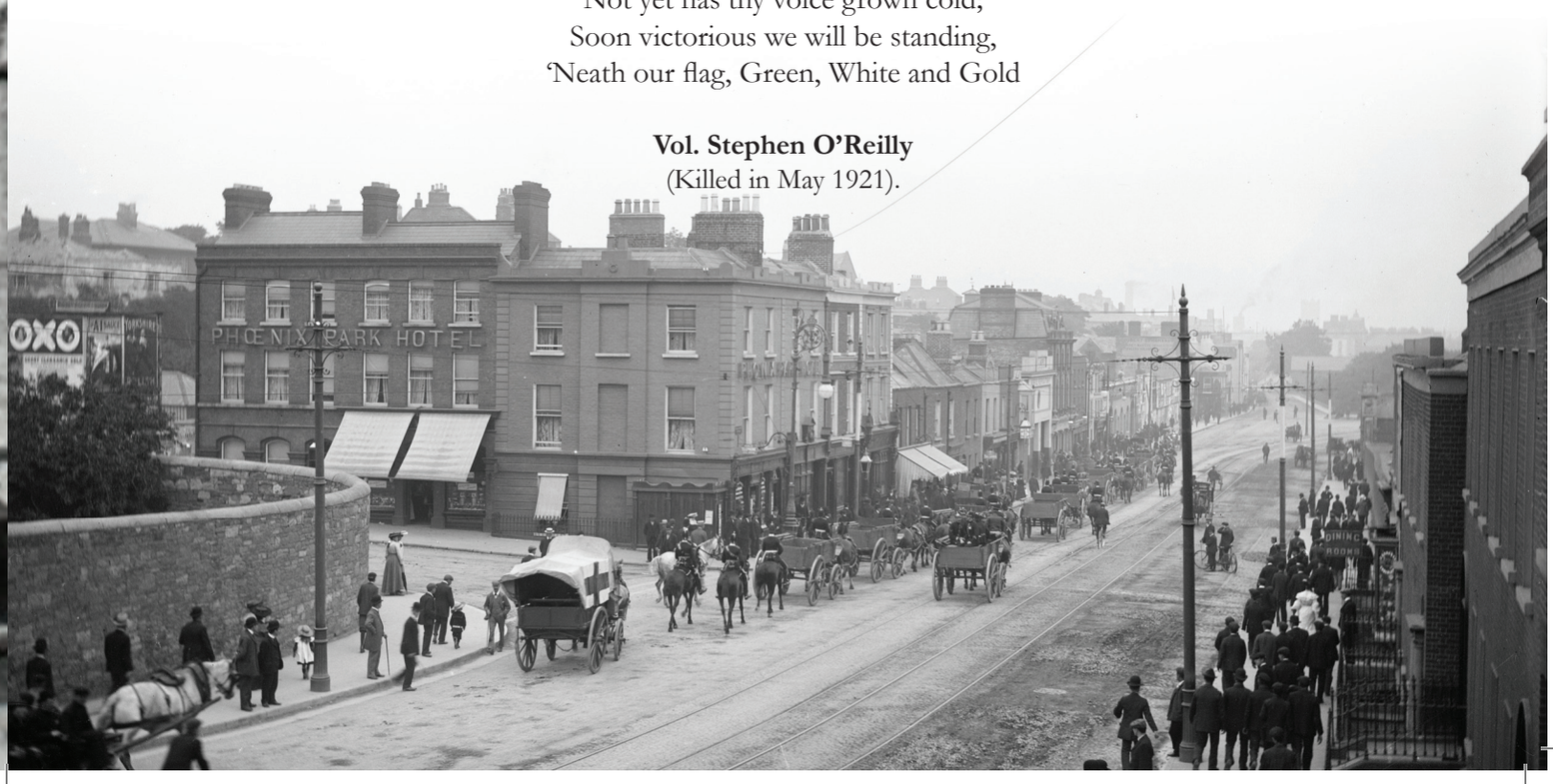
Chorus

Eire dear the storm is breaking,
Raise your head erect and see –
See they sons are firmly standing
Determined that thou shalt be free.

We love you Erin, we hate your foe.
Before our God we pledge and vow,
Come life or death, come weal or woe.
The Saxon from our land must go.
We have heard your sweet voice calling
To avenge the martyred dead.
To avenge the poor heart-breaking,
Oh, lift again, thy bleeding head!

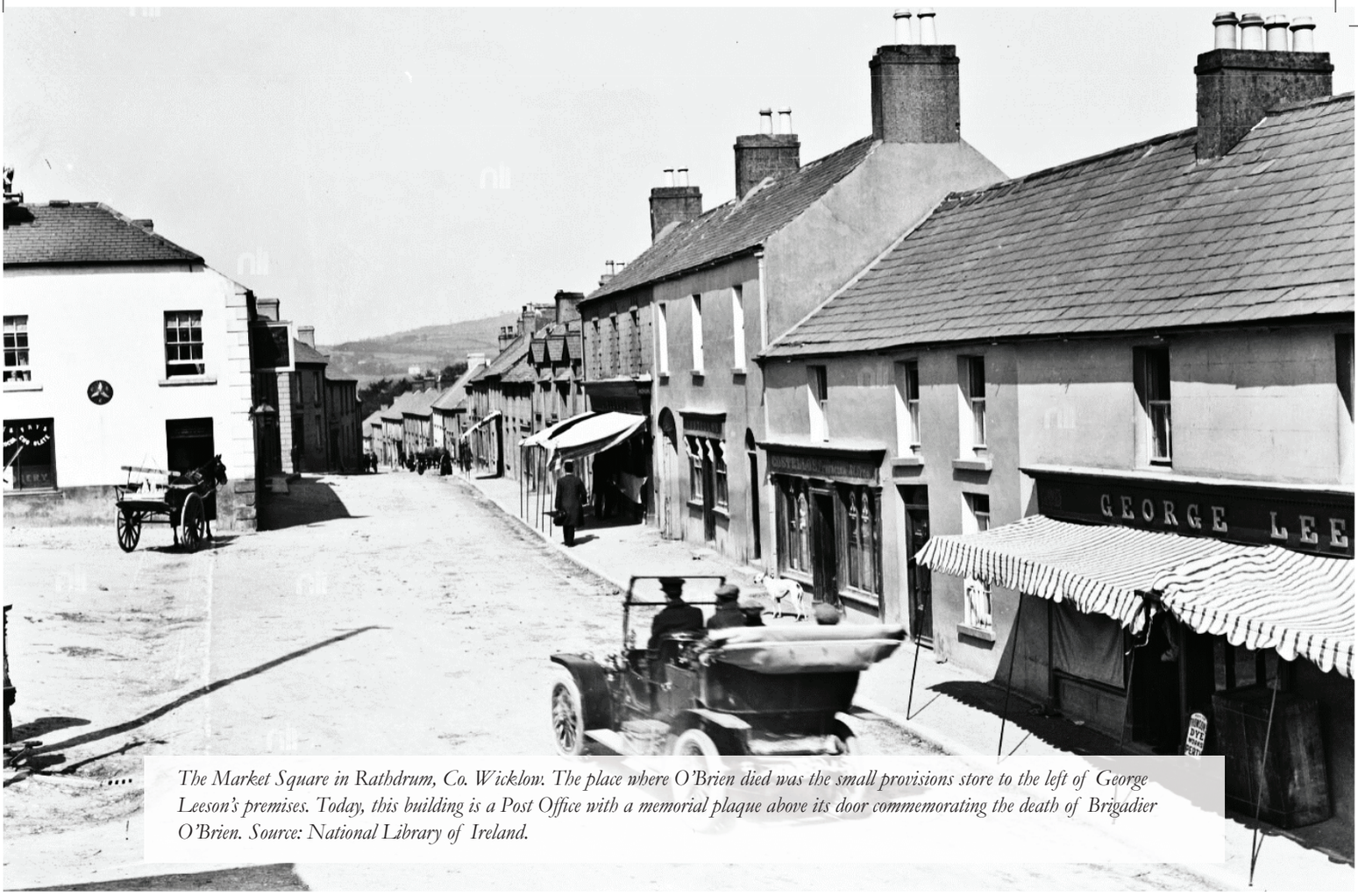
Soon, aye soon, oh Mother Eire.
Soon thy past revenged shall be;
Thy labour soon will be rewarded
With Freedom, Peace and Victory.
We have heard you, heard you calling,
Not yet has thy voice grown cold;
Soon victorious we will be standing,
'Neath our flag, Green, White and Gold

Vol. Stephen O'Reilly
(Killed in May 1921).



THE MASTERING OF INTELLIGENCE

During the time I was meeting Michael Collins in Foley's, in the early stages, he often discussed with me the papers that I had been sending for the previous two years, which he referred to as their "correspondence course". In discussing these, it became obvious that he still did not understand the complete background of the detective organisation, and we decided that it would be necessary for him to go into the office and read the record books himself. From ten o'clock each night until six in the morning, it was usual for one man mostly not of the political staff to be on duty in the detective office, and that man had the cipher, in case telegrams arrived. It frequently happened that the detective, who was on a week's night duty, would have to go. to the courts during the week, when he had cases. In that event, he would be relieved by someone for whatever night he required off duty, and I was frequently chosen for the single night's duty like that. So, meeting Mick one night in April, 1919, I was able to tell him that I would be on duty the following night from 10 p.m. to 6 a.m. We arranged that, at twelve o'clock, he would ring up to make certain that it was I who was on duty, as there were frequently last-minute changes. He was to use the name "Field", and my name was to be "Long". In due course, I went on duty at 10 p.m. Most of the detectives, who were unmarried, usually went to bed at about 11 p.m. From about 11 p.m. that night, reports began to come in about shootings in Store St. and other areas, and I wondered was fate going to take a hand. I also learned that, in the uniformed B. Division, which did duty around that office, the Inspector on night duty was Inspector Daniel Barrett. While the average uniformed officer would give the G. Division a wide berth, Barrett was an ignorant, presumptuous man, who would be quite capable of reporting that there was a light on in the office at night, the secret office being on the first floor. It was a semi-circular office, with maw windows and with blinds only over the bottom windows. It became obvious to me that I could not switch on the electric light in that room. The secret small room, which held the books, had no electric light. Therefore, candles would be necessary. While thinking this out and, at the same time, receiving the messages about the shooting, Sergeant Kerr of the Carriage Office, who was a single man and sleeping in the building, was in the office talking to me, which was quite a usual practice. When it was nearly 11.30 p.m. I tried to break off the conversation with Kerr as much as I could. At about 11.45 p.m., he said he would stay up and give me a hand, in view of all the messages. Finally, we had almost a row, and he left for bed at about 11.50 p.m. At twelve o'clock, Mick ran up, saying "Field here. Is that Long?". I said: "Yes. Bring a candle". The new building at Pearse St. had, of course, a brand-new set of keys, and there was a master-key, in case any of the other keys got lost. I had made myself another master-key, by filing one of the ordinary keys. That key would be necessary to open the secret room. In due course, at about 12.15 a.m., Mick Collins arrived, accompanied by Seán Nunan. I had told him, and whoever came with him, to be armed and also to have sticks, because one would never know what might go wrong. I duly let them in, showed them the back way and the yard door to Townsend St. in case anything happened, and gave them the general lie of the land. No sooner had I done so than a stone came through the window. I was just wondering again if the British fate was going to take a hand. I looked at them, and they looked at me. I told them to go into a dark passage and to wait near the back door, in the shadow. On looking out on Great Brunswick St. I saw a British soldier in custody of a policeman. I opened the door and inquired of the constable what was wrong. He said: "This fellow is drunk and he is after throwing a stone in through the window". He took the soldier to the police station next door. I went back and told Mick what had happened. On inquiring if he had brought the candle, he said: "No". He thought I was having a joke at his expense. All DMP stations had a member, called Staff Sergeant, equivalent to an army quartermaster sergeant, whose job, amongst others, was to maintain a store on the premises. Staff Sergeants knew that, as long as they had too much left over of any article, they were always safe, but if too little, they were in for trouble. The result was that the store was packed with plenty of materials, such as soap, etc. I thought of my precious master-key, opened the store and found plenty of candles, boxes of matches, soap, etc. Having taken a couple of candles. and a couple of boxes of matches, I brought Michael upstairs. With the master-key I locked the main doors of the dormitories, which were on the top floor. The same key opened the political office and opened the secret small room, built into the wall, which contained the records. I gave Collins and Nunan the candles and, getting them to close the door fairly tightly, I left them to carry on their investigation. I then went downstairs. No sooner was I down than there was a heavy knock at the door. I opened it and found the same constable back again, inquiring as to the value of the broken glass. I gave him a rough estimate and he left. I went upstairs, told the boys what the noise was about, and came down to look after telephones, etc. Michael stayed from about 12.15 till about 5 a.m. There were many reasons for his visit. He wanted to know the background of what he called the correspondence which they had received from me, the exact degree of British knowledge as regards the Volunteers, Sinn Féin and other national organisations. Michael wanted to ascertain who, of their people, were known and, still more important, who were not known. He wanted to try to gauge the mentality behind the records, and then to use the police secret organisation as a model, with suitable improvements and modifications, for Volunteer requirements. It was obvious that, sooner or later, these records would be taken to the Castle because at nearly every hour of the day a ring would come to the office asking for particulars, in writing, of Suspect So-and-So. As a matter of fact, not very long afterwards, the books were taken to the Castle" – **Éamon 'Ned' Broy**, Detective-Sergeant, DMP, (BMH-WS 1280).



The Market Square in Rathdrum, Co. Wicklow. The place where O'Brien died was the small provisions store to the left of George Leeson's premises. Today, this building is a Post Office with a memorial plaque above its door commemorating the death of Brigadier O'Brien. Source: National Library of Ireland.

12th February 1920

O'BRIEN, Séamus (Jim):

Rank: Brigadier.

Unit: *East Wicklow (Independent) Brigade, IRA. Served in the Enniscorthy Garrison with the Wexford Brigade, I.V. during the 1916 Rising.*

DOB: 3 May 1893. O'Brien was born in Morriscastle, Kilmuckridge, Co. Wexford to John O'Brien and Mary Mitten.

Address: Market Square, Rathdrum, Co. Wicklow.

Occupation: Grocer.

Familial: After his release in 1916, O'Brien married Ellen Darcy in July 1919. Their daughter Margaret O'Brien was born shortly before O'Brien's killing.

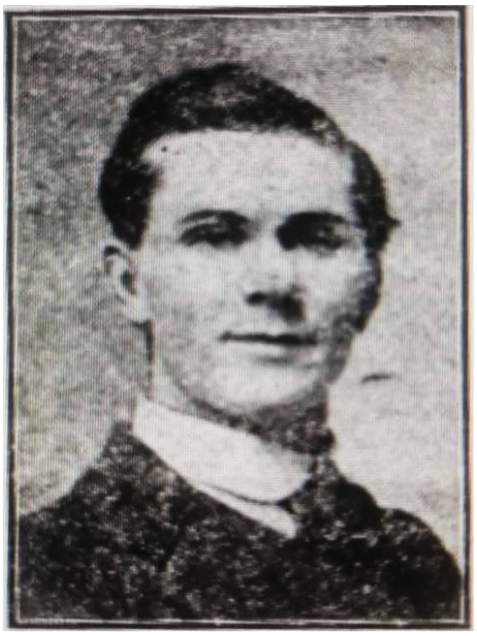
Death: O'Brien and several volunteers attacked a two-man patrol of RIC constables in Rathdrum's Market Square around midnight on 11 February. When the patrol passed, the IRA fired one shot, striking Constable Mulligan in the shoulder before quickly dispersing. O'Brien was mortally wounded while trying to flee and died moments later in the front hall of Arthur Leeson's residence.

Buried: Ballyvaldon Graveyard, Blackwater, Co. Wexford.

Image Source: www.wexfordcountyarchive.com / O'Brien & Flynn families.

MSPC Ref: 1D307.

"Séamus O'Brien was shot in an ambush on RIC in Rathdrum town on the night of 11th February, 1920. Fox, Darcy, Paddy (Red) Byrne and Jack Walsh were with him on this occasion. They were using the revolvers, which I had loaned him, and they proved ineffective. Sergeant Mulligan was in charge of the RIC patrol" – **Adjt. Matt Kavanagh**, East Wicklow Brigade, IRA (BMH-WS 1472).



"*As a result of an armed attack on two police constables in Rathdrum on Thursday night, Mr. James O'Brien (inset), partner of the firm of Messrs. O'Brien & Walsh, Merchants, Rathdrum, was shot dead almost beside his own front door, and Constable Mulligan, one of the constables on patrol, was slightly wounded on the shoulder. The encounter took place in the Square, opposite Mr. Leeson's drapery shop in the Main Street, and from the facts to hand, it appears that Constables Doherty and Mulligan were proceeding up the hill at the church and stopped a half a minute to speak to Mr. A. Leeson, who was standing at the hall door of the lower shop. Having parted with him, they walked on about twenty yards and noticed three men standing together at Mr. Leeson's drapery door. The police passed by and immediately a shot rang out. Constable Mulligan cried out, 'I am shot.' The police then returned the fire at the three men, who were running away towards the Church. The police saw nothing else, as Constable Doherty, thinking his comrade seriously wounded hurried him off to the barracks. Only one shot was fired by their assailants, although Constable Mulligan states there were two, and the police fire which was returned, with fatal effect on Mr. O'Brien, who, it was stated, staggered into Mr. Leeson's arms in the hall, sobbing, 'Save me, Save me!' He was attended by Rev. Father Burke, C.C. and Drs. Power and McDermott immediately after, but death it was said, was almost instantaneous… On Friday morning, at 8 o'clock, police and military made a minute search of several houses in the town, and in Mr. O'Brien's house they found three revolvers, two in a sewer pipe in the yard and one in a box, in addition to a commandant's uniform of the Irish Volunteers, which was discovered in a water closet*" – **Wicklow Newsletter**, 14 February 1920, p.7.

"*The cortege to Rathdrum Station was very large, including 500 young men. The coffin was draped with the tricolour, and the deceased's cap and uniform rested on it. Prayers were offered up in the Catholic Churches. Rev. Father Burke accompanied the funeral to Rathdrum Station. On arrival at Gorey, the 'Dead March' was played by the War Pipers' Band. Ballyvaldon is 16 miles from Gorey, and the cortege extended two miles in length. Rev. J. Hickey, C.C., Litter, and Rev. T. Redmond, C.C., recited the prayers at the graveside. An oration was delivered by T.D. Sinnott, Enniscorthy*" – **Freeman's Journal**, 17 February 1920, p.3.

The memorial dedicated to Jim O'Brien outside his former grocery, Rathdrum Market Square, Co. Wicklow. Author's Collection

EVENTS IN BEARA, CO. CORK, 12 FEBRUARY 1920

"For the attack Volunteers were drawn from the Companies of Eyeries, Inches, Castletownbere, and Bere Island. It was planned that about twenty men would take part in the actual attack, while a number of others would be involved in scouting and outpost duty. Besides a number of shotguns, the Volunteers had eight rifles, four of which had been captured in the raid on Eyeries RIC barracks, and the other four captured from the British at Castletownbere. The mine to be used in the attack was assembled by Corney O'Sullivan of Inches, then a member of the engineering staff of Cork Number One Brigade, and the explosive was supplied from the gun-cotton captured by the Beara Volunteers in 1918. On 12 February, the attacking party assembled at Inches, about one mile from Eyeries, at 8.00 p.m. Thence the party moved across country to Allihies, a distance of about seven miles. When close to their destination, they removed a wooden plank from a haybarn as it was required in order to lay the charge of gun-cotton. The Allihies barracks was an isolated building in the village. There was a stone wall enclosing a yard in front of the building, and a section of the Volunteers armed with shotguns took up positions behind the wall. The remainder of the attacking party, armed with rifles and shotguns, were placed in various positions at the front and rear of the barracks. While these sections were moving into position, the gun-cotton slabs, which had been tied to the fourteen-foot wooden plank, were placed in position, and a detonator and fuse were fixed to the charge. The charge was then borne by Christy O'Connell and Corney O'Sullivan and placed at the base of the rear wall, underneath the only window in the wall. It was tamped with bags filled with earth. The fuses were then lit and the two men dashed for cover. They had barely reached a safe spot when there was a loud explosion, and a breach about fourteen feet wide and extending from the ground to the eaves of the roof was blown in the wall. For a moment the Volunteers hesitated to rush the breach as they were taken aback by the extent of the damage caused by the explosion; besides, they assumed that any members alive inside the building would immediately surrender…

When the dust cleared, the attackers found that two cross walls at either end of the breach were still standing and offered cover to the police within, so that there was no means of exposing them. At this point all sections of the attacking party opened heavy fire on the building and called upon the inmates to surrender. They refused to yield. For about two hours the Volunteers besieged the barracks, but eventually, when they realized that there was no hope of capturing it, they decided to withdraw. Following this attack, the RIC not merely withdrew altogether from Allihies, but also from nearly all the small barracks in the area; and shortly after their departure the evacuated barracks were destroyed by explosives and fire by members of the local Volunteer units. In consequence, a large part of the Beara Peninsula was cleared of enemy forces, and made available as a safe place for tending wounded Volunteers of the Brigade, as well as a haven for those 'on the run' and in need of a rest…Among those who took part in this operation were Peter O'Neill, Christy O'Connell, Corney O'Sullivan, Jeremiah McAuliffe, Denis O'Neill, Jack 'Shamrock' O'Sullivan, Mort McCarthy, Jim McCarthy, Mike Walsh, Neilus O'Neill, Mike O'Sullivan, David O'Connell, Christy McGrath, William O'Neill, Ned Harrington, Dan O'Sullivan, Jim O'Sullivan, Florence O'Sullivan, Tim Harrington and Michael O'Sullivan" – **Brig. Adjt. Liam Deasy**, Cork No.3 Brigade, *Towards Ireland Free*, p.93-94.

The devastated RIC barracks at Ballytrain, Co. Monaghan, Feb. 1920.

THE BALLYTRAIN ATTACK, 14 FEBRUARY 1920

"*A short time before the attack on Ballytrain RIC Barracks early in January 1920, Ernie O'Malley came to Co. Monaghan as a GHQ organiser. He spent a good part of the time he was in the county in Monaghan town. O'Malley worked very hard whilst in Monaghan, travelling from one Company area to another, drilling, lecturing and training the Volunteers. He proved a great organiser. He was in Monaghan when the attack on Ballytrain came off and he took part in it. Ballytrain RIC Barracks was attacked on the night of the 14th February 1920. Ballytrain is between 18 to 20 miles from Monaghan town. Six men were detailed from each Company in north Monaghan to travel to Ballytrain for the attack. The following, as far as I can remember, travelled from Monaghan Company for the attack: Phil Marron, George McEnarney, Gerald Gillanders, Joseph Hamill, James Flynn and myself. Another man, not selected to travel, Gerry McCourt, got into a car and came along also. Charles Emerson and John McCann also travelled to the attack as members of the Battalion Staff…The charge of the explosives was placed against the upstairs portion of the barrack gable and was tamped in by stones etc. to ensure that the explosives took effect on the barrack wall. When the shooting commenced on the barracks the police were asked to surrender by Owen O'Duffy, who was in charge of the attack, through a megaphone or long horn. The police refused to surrender. The fight lasted in all about four hours. When the mine was exploded the police signified their willingness to surrender and came out with their hands up. We captured rifles, revolvers and ammunition in the barracks. I cannot now state how much stuff was captured in the barracks*" – **Adjt. Thomas Donnelly**, Newbliss IRA, (BMH-WS 519).

"*I was at the taking of Ballytrain barracks – the first barracks taken north of the Boyne – with Eoin O'Duffy, the Brigadier. That night two RIC men had tried to halt me at Clones. They were armed, but I was anxious to reach the attack centre without having to fight, and I knew that if police were wounded, the RIC would be active that night. I kicked out at one constable with my foot and I flattened him to the roadway. I then dismounted and fought until I was able to knock out his companion with a misdirected punch. A policeman who had been praying during the attack was blown by the explosion of our gelignite through a partition wall without injury. There were, I think, nine police and that meant nine bright carbines, bayonets, revolvers, hand grenades, Very lights and ammunition. O'Duffy was energetic and commanding*" – **Ernie O'Malley**, GHQ Organiser, *On Another Man's Wound*, p.147.

24th February 1920

DEVITT, Máirtín:

Rank: Vice-Brigadier.
Unit: *Mid-Clare Brigade, IRA. Originally attached to 4th Battalion.*
DOB: 3 November 1894. Son of Michael Devitt and Ann Daly.
Address: Cahersherkin, Ennistymon, Co. Clare
Occupation: Draper's Assistant.
Death: Devitt was instantly killed by a gunshot wound to the head as he rose from cover to engage a four-man RIC patrol during the Formoyle Ambush at Crowe's Bridge in Inagh, Co. Clare. The ambush party were restricted by the presence of civilians in the line of fire, leading to the killing of Devitt and the wounding of Ignatius O'Neill.
Buried: Clouna Graveyard, Ennistymon, Co. Clare. Devitt's headstone was unveiled by Tom Barry in April 1954.
MSPC Ref: 1D21.

"We are getting ready to fight against the foreigners and to finish the job the Fenians set out to do" – Máirtín Devitt

"*I heard of Devitt's death on the night on which he was killed and learned that his funeral was to take place on the following night from Inagh to Cloonagh. On my arrival at Inagh the next night there was a big congregation of Volunteers there from all parts of the brigade area, including the officers of the Brigade Staff. The body of our deceased leader was uncoffined, and though I was told that it was the intention to secrete his body away in some hiding place until a more suitable opportunity arose later on to give him a proper Christian. burial in his family grave, I was amazed when I ascertained that no arrangements had been made to provide a coffin. I brought the matter to the notice of the Brigade O/C and a few other prominent officers, and prevailed on them to delay the funeral until I came back with a coffin from Ennistymon. In Ennistymon, to which I had to travel by car owned by Miko Nestor, I arranged with Michael Henchy, undertaker, to get a coffin ready, and then had it conveyed in a side car past the military post in the Workhouse to Blackwells. After that a motor car, supplied by Mahony's s garage and driven by Michael Kennedy, came along, also as per prior arrangement. We transferred the coffin to the motor and drove to Inagh, arriving there about midnight. The body was immediately coffined and, followed by hundreds of Volunteers, the funeral cortege reached a sparsely populated part of the Cloonagh district known as Russa. between 3 and 4 o'clock in the morning. Here Volunteers were dismissed. A small party remained behind to convey the coffin to its secret hiding place - a rick of turf convenient to the road. Devitt was buried temporarily on 25th February, 1920, and three weeks later RIC and military from Ennistymon found the body. I have never heard a satisfactory explanation as to how this occurred, and whether the location of his coffin was wilfully betrayed by some of the men who hurled him or whether it reached the ears: of the authorities through loose talk or otherwise is, so far as I'm concerned, merely a matter of speculation. An inquest was held on him and his remains were then handed over to his people. The verdict of the jury was that Martin Devitt died while fighting for the freedom of his country, and the funeral which then followed was one of the biggest ever seen in Clare*" – **V/C Thomas Shalloo**, 5th Batt., Mid-Clare Brig. IRA, (BMH-WS 1075).

"*About the end of February 1920, the Vice O/C of the Mid-Clare Brigade, Martin Devitt, had been killed in an engagement with the RIC at Fermoyle, and Ignatius O'Neill, O/C. of the 4th Battalion, was badly wounded while going to his rescue. I was not in this scrap, but I took over charge of the 4th Battalion after O'Neill being wounded. On hearing of Devitt's death, I went to Ennis to report the matter to the Brigade O/C, Frank Barrett. As I was returning from Ennis, I met a large party of IRA men in Inagh who had assembled to attend Devitt's funeral. I did not attend the funeral, but remained around Inagh that night. I was very tired and, besides, did not agree with the idea of burying him in a clamp of turf and without Christian burial. Devitt's death was really a bad blow to the IRA in Mid Clare, and his loss, which was a big one to me personally, was very much felt in the later fighting against the British. He was utterly fearless, strictly honest and very resourceful, and was held in higher regard by the rank and file of the organisation than any other officer in the Mid-Clare Brigade. I never met another man during that period who was quicker to perceive an opportunity to hit the enemy and more ready to avail of it. He always chose the most dangerous part*

of an operation for himself. He was buried, temporarily of course, in a bog in the Cloonagh district, and the discovery of his body three weeks later by the RIC gave them great cause for jubilation which they made very evident. How the police got information as to the place of his burial is still a mystery to me, but though I made a very close investigation of this at the time, I am satisfied that it was loose talk among the Volunteers themselves that ultimately enabled police to discover the body.l \After Devitt's death, activities slackened for a period. For some months prior to this the police started to move from place to place in tenders and, as well, had withdrawn from all the smaller stations in the country to big concentrations in larger towns" – **Cmdt. John Joe 'Tosser' Neylon**, 4th Batt., Mid-Clare Brig., IRA, (BMH-WS 1042

OTHER SIGNIFICANT EVENTS ACROSS THE COUNTRY

"*The day of 9th February was a fair day in Midleton and it was customary for a few RIC from Castlemartyr to do duty in Midleton on fair days, returning to Castlemartyr later in the day on bicycles. Hurley was informed that two RIC - a Sergeant O'Brien and Constable Collins from Castlemartyr were on duty in Midleton and he decided that they should be captured on their return journey. Hurley's idea was to bring the captured RIC back to Castlemartyr and when the barrack door was open to admit the sergeant and constable and he (Hurley) with a party of men from the Midleton Company would rush into the barracks and hold up and disarm the garrison. When the fair at Midleton was over that evening the two RIC men set out for Castlemartyr on bicycles and were waylaid and captured at Churchtown North, approximately midway between Castlemartyr and Midleton, by Tadg Manly, Michael Hallihan and Michael Desmond all of "A" Company. Hurley was immediately informed of this and ordered a mobilisation of the Company near the village of Castlemartyr, all arms to be carried. We arrived there about 9 p.m. by which time the two RIC men had, also, been brought and guarded close to the village. Hurley now spoke to Sergeant O'Brien and Constable Collins and told them what he intended to do (use them to gain admittance to the barracks). Both the RIC men, particularly Sergeant O'Brien, refused point blank to co-operate. Threats of shooting were of no avail; they would have nothing whatever to do with the plan to enter the barracks. Notwithstanding this, Hurley decided to go ahead without the help of the captured RIC. He, first of all, detailed a few men to go down the village and take prisoner any N.C.O. man out of barracks. Then, with Joseph Ahern, Tadg Manly, Seán Hourihane, Jack Ahern and myself, he approached the barracks and quickly ran up the steps to the door, while we crouched close to the wall near him. Hurley knocked. A voice said "Who is there". Hurley replied, "Sergeant O'Brien, it's alright". The door then opened about fifteen inches as far as the security chain on the inside allowed. When Hurley saw the door being held by the chain, he tried to smash the chain with the butt of his revolver. The constable inside (Lee was his name) fired with his revolver through the opening. Hurley did likewise. Eventually, Hurley succeeded in smashing the chain and effecting an entry. We rushed in after him and I remember seeing Constable Lee bleeding from an eye wound received from a blow from the butt end of Hurley's rifle. We rushed upstairs and found a few of the garrison in bed. The place was searched quickly for arms and ammunition and when these had been collected Hurley, seeing the plight of Constable Lee, sent one of our lads for a priest and doctor. We then withdrew and made our way back to Midleton after releasing Sergeant O'Brien and Constable Collins. We captured about nine rifles, revolvers and a plentiful supply of ammunition and some grenades. We also got a Verey light pistol, something we had never seen before*" – **Lieut. John Kelleher**, Midleton Coy, 4th Batt., Cork No.1 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1456).

"*This raid took place between 8 a.m. and 9.30 a.m. opposite the west side of Parnell Square. Jim Slattery, Paddy Kennedy, Joe Dolan, Charlie Dalton, Tom Kehoe and myself and other Volunteers were present. Pat MoCrea was in charge of the motor van in Dominick St. - the van which already mentioned was taken in the raid on the N.A.B.C. garage. The mails were in an ordinary two-wheeled horse-drawn vehicle, with a driver and a postman sitting up on a dicky-seat. The van left the Castle and travelled via Dame St. College Green. Westmoreland St., O'Connell St., into Parnell St. One of the Intelligence Officers gave the signal as the van turned into Parnell. St. Our position was just standing at the edge of the footpath. As the van had to slow down when turning into the Square, Jim Slattery and Torn Keogh stepped off the path and caught the horse by the reins at the head. I joined with them and ordered the driver and postman to get down, which they did. Jim Slattery mounted the van and drove it along Parnell St. into Dominick St. where the mails were transferred into our own motor van and driven away to our dump in Mountjoy Court, off Great Charles St. near Mountjoy Square. The remainder of us made ourselves scarce. Tom and I went to the dump afterwards. When we got there, the whole Intelligence staff, which included Joe Dolan, Liam Tobin, Frank Saurin, Frank Thornton and Tom Cullen, were already at work going through the mails, opening every letter; so we took a hand also. There were special leather bags with official correspondence and these were dealt with by the senior officers. There was a humorous side to this. As we were opening the letters, now and again we would come across a pound-note and, when the sound of the crispy notes was heard, all. work would cease and everyone would turn towards where the noise came from. In the sorting out, there was a huge number of police photographs of people who were applying for passports to emigrate. Attached to each application was a seven-and-sixpenny postal order. Some*

of these were crossed and made payable to the Under-Secretary, but the majority were blank. So, when the Intelligence staff had finished their work and left the dump, leaving only three of us - Jimmy Slattery, Tom Keogh and myself, I got a brainwave. I said: Hey, lads, how about changing some of these postal orders?". Jimmy said: "Oh, leave it to you, Vincie! You would think of something like that". Tom remarked: "Let's have a shot at it." So we waded through the letters flung all over the floor and picked out all the postal orders that were blank. We divided the member among us and then burned all the letters and any papers lying around and left. As I lived on the south side of the city, I parted with Jimmy and Tom, making arrangements that we would all meet at Tom's house in Richmond Crescent that night at eight o'clock. We promised that all monies received from the postal orders would be pooled, that there should be an equal share among the three of us and that there was to be no flanking. So I started on my first call. I went into Parnell St. Post Office and changed two orders there. That was the first 15/- . I next called into the Post Office in Westmoreland St and changed another order there; then I went to Duke St. Post Office, changed one there, went home, had my dinner and started off again. My next call was to Aungier St. Post Office, and passed two orders there. I carried on into Camden St. and passed another one in Camden St. Post Office. Went up to Harcourt Place and cashed two more there. I said to myself: "You are doing well".' I then went on to Merrion Row and cashed two more. I think, as far as I can recall, that was the last postal order and the last post office. All the cash was in half-crowns. That evening I went over to Richmond Crescent and met Jim and Tom. They both said to me: "Well, Vincie, how did you get on?". I remarked.: "Oh, all, right - changed the lot". So, with that, I put all the half-crowns on the table and they did likewise. Somehow, I don't think they had done as good business as I had. However, we were all comrades in arms and it was a fair divide all round' – **Vincent Byrne**, the Squad, IRA (BMH-WS 423).

"I left Arklow [Co. Wicklow] in January, 1920, and went to Liverpool. I was attached to the IRA there. While I was in Liverpool, preperations were being made for the operations which were carried out there, such as the burning of the timber-yards. Commandant Hugh Early was our O/C at the time. I left Liverpool and came back to Arklow again in June 1920. During my absence a raid had been made on Kynoch's Factory, in which the Arklow Company seized 50 cwt, of gelignite. When I came back, I took part in operations for the purpose of getting this gelignite into the hands of Dublin IRA. It had to be raised from the dump and, because of it having become frozen, it was doubly dangerous. We packed it in fish boxes camouflaged with fish on top and put it in charge of the guard on the mail train who conveyed it to Dublin, to our headquarters, where it was diverted to different parts of Ireland. I understand it turned out to be very useful. The guard on the train was Ted Crowley, he lived at Barton Street, Tinahely. During July and August, 1920, on a couple of occasions twice we made attacks on a barracks at Naas. It was just a case of firing a few revolver shots not to capture the barracks, but for the purpose of harassing and annoying the RIC. We also burned a couple of outlying abandoned RIC barracks. There were in Arklow at that time eighty RIC men in the barracks and half a Company of the Sussex Regiment, increasing the garrison there. We also destroyed Aughrim RIC barracks which had previously been evacuated." – **Adjt. Andrew Kavanagh**, Arklow Coy, East Wicklow Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1471).

Some leading members of the Squad (L-R): Mick McDonnell, Tom Kehoe, Vincent 'Vincie' Byrne, Paddy O'Daly & Jim Slattery

"Early in February, Ted O'Sullivan, Commandant of the Bantry Battalion, brought a quantity of the gun-cotton captured in 1918 from the Royal Engineers on Bere Island from Trafrask, three miles east of Adrigole, to the Carbery shore at Gearhies – a most dangerous operation because Ted transported the explosive by boat while enemy destroyers swept the sea in the vicinity with their searchlights. Having succeeded in landing his cargo, Ted transferred it to Johnny Sweeney's of Maughanaclea, near Kealkil, where I collected it and brought it by pony and common cart via Coosane Gap, Coppeen, and Newcestown to Brigade Headquarters at Laragh – a journey of over thirty miles. Next, the Brigade commander, Tom Hales (inset), took counsel with Ted O'Sullivan and the engineer of the Bandon Battalion, Pat O'Sullivan, to examine the possibility of constructing a mine from the gun-cotton for use in the proposed attack on Mount Pleasant RIC barracks. Ted had worked in the barytes mines near Bantry where he had gained some experience of gelignite explosives. Pat, on the other hand, had but a general knowledge of gunpowder and gelignite explosives. The use of gun-cotton as an explosive was entirely foreign to all of us, though we knew that its potential was far greater than that of gelignite. With the limited knowledge they had, Ted and Pat set about assembling the mine, and when it was ready, we planned the attack. The RIC barracks at Mount Pleasant was a large stone building standing in a farm yard. Originally, it had been occupied by a farmer, but for some years it was rented by the RIC from its owner, and at the time of our contemplated attack it was garrisoned by six policemen. A linny or farm shed extended the full length of the rear wall of the building, and formed part of it. Our plan was to enter the linny, and place our manufactured mine against the side of the barracks in the hope that the explosion would breach the walls for a storming party. To do this it was necessary to enter a gateway in the surrounding wall of the farmyard and to cross to the linny. Having decided on a plan of attack, the Brigade O/C mobilised approximately forty men from Companies north of the Bandon River and twelve from the Dunmanway Battalion, and arranged to carry out the operation at one o'clock in the morning of 27 February. When the main body of Volunteers was in position with six picked men in readiness to rush the expected breach in the wall, Tom Hales, Ted O'Sullivan and I advanced to the gate. Ted was carrying the mine – indeed though it weighed nearly half a hundredweight, he had carried it together with some Mills bombs all the way from Laragh, a distance of nearly three miles. We opened the gate of the farmyard, and as we were about to enter a burst of fire came from the linny, and Ted was wounded in a finger of his left hand. It was only then we realized that the garrison had been alerted by the accidental discharge of a shotgun two fields' distance from the barracks, and this upset the whole plan of attack. Nevertheless, Ted, despite the wound he had received, put an alternative phase of the attack into operation. He threw six Mills bombs onto the roof of the main building hoping they would roll down on to the roof of the linny, explode there, and put the defenders out of action. Unfortunately, the bombs rolled from the roof of the linny, and exploded harmlessly on the ground. Meanwhile our men in front had opened fire with shotguns and the five service rifles we had with us for the operation. The RIC continued firing and suddenly Verey lights rose from the building, transforming the inky darkness of the night into noonday brightness and summoning help from Bandon five miles away. This was our first experience of Verey lights and it was a rather disturbing one. Thereupon we withdrew in order taking the mine with us, and all the outlying units posted for scouting and guarding were ordered to retire" – **Brig-Adjt. Liam Deasy**, Cork No.3 Brigade, IRA, *Towards Ireland Free*, p.95-96.

2 THE NATIONALIST AND LEINSTER TIMES.

BALTINGLASS R.I.C. BARRACKS ATTACKED.

WEST WICKLOW SENSATION

TWO CONSTABLES SHOT.

ARRESTS AND REMANDS.

On Saturday evening about the time the last train arrived in Baltinglass, the town and surrounding district was thrown into a state of consternation and commotion by the raid made on the R.I.C. Barracks. The hour was about 7.40 p.m. The Police Barrack is situated in the street that leads to the Railway Station, and being a sort of market day in Baltinglass the usual week-end throng in that part of the town was largely augmented by a number of train-going people. Up to the hour mentioned there was nothing in the local conditions to prognosticate any untoward happening. There was nothing sensational or melo-dramatic in the air; the quiet—almost picturesque—little town at the foot of the mountain present its usual Arcadian appearance. Of course, like every other place in Ireland, the universal topic was uppermost in the minds and on the lips of the populace, but tranquility reigned supreme.

opened and 5 or 6 men rushed across to it. Shots rang out immediately, and he believed at least there of them were aimed at him. One bullet injured the joint of the left index finger and smashed the top of his thumb; another went through his tunic and grazed his right thigh, while similar injuries were caused to his leg a little lower. His own door had closed behind him.

He was unable to see clearly what was happening, but he thought it probable that the man who shot Constable Malynn would have been within three or four feet of him at the time.

"HANDS UP" ORDER.

Constable Robinson stated that he and Sgt. Kavanagh, Constables Bellew and Malynn were in the barrack at the time. When the rush was made for the door he heard a voice shout "Hands up!" At

THE REGIME IN IRELAND.

CONDEMNED BY CATHOLIC HIRERARCHY.

At a meeting of the Irish Catholic Bishops held at Maynooth on Tuesday, Cardinal Logue presiding, the following statement or manifesto was issued to the Irish people:—

The principle of disregarding national feeling and national rights, and of carrying everything with the high hand, above the head of the people has, we are sorry to say, become a general rule of government in Ireland, and has brought about the dreadful consequences and disorder from which the country unhappily suffers, and which we view with deepest distress.

The legitimate demand of Ireland she should be accorded what is now the acknowledged right of every civilised nation, and for the establishment of which as a world principle, the late war was waged, at least ostensibly, at the cost of so much suffering and misery, the right, namely to choose her own government, has not only been denied to her, but every organ for the expression of her national life has been ruthlessly suppressed, and her people subjected to an iron rule of oppression as cruel and unjust as it is ill-advised and out of date.

SORROWFUL TRAGEDIES.

The result is what might have been easily foreseen, violent collisions and retaliations

THE EDUCATION BILL.

"UNTIL IRELAND IS GOVERNED BY HER OWN PARLIAMENT, WE SHALL RESIST."

The Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland assembled on Tuesday at Maynooth, his Eminence the Cardinal Primate presiding.

The following pronouncement was adopted:—

1.—We endorse the statement issued by our Standing Committee in condemnation of the Education Bill, which is the most denationalising scheme since the Act of Union, and we recommend that statement to the earnest study of our people.

(Last Easter the principal of the Bill was rejected by anticipation with a resolution published by the Standing Committee. We direct that both documents be republished and read in the churches, together with the statement now issued).

2.—Until Ireland is governed by her own Parliament we shall resist by every means in our power any attempt to abolish the Boards of Primary, Intermediate and Technical Education.

3.—The Bill is an attempt on the part of the British Government to grip the mind of the people of Ireland and form it according to its own wishes. We are convinced that the enactment of the measure would deprive the bishops and clergy of such control of the schools as is necessary for that

THE IRISH "CONVENT

THROUGH AN AMERICAN SPECTACLES.

At the time of the so-called Ir vention, the following address was by Hon. James M. Curley, M Boston, Mass. We are indebte reader and a friend for the favou pamphlet

I appreciate as Mayor of Bost confidence in me which the invit your organisation to present Irelan for justice at the bar of public conveys. The honour is doubly view of the fact that I am a nativ ton, and have never been privilege the land of saints, scholars and n Ireland.

As an American, I approach th without hatred or passion, and solely by the desire to serve the my birth, America, and do my p humble citizen to maintain her re her honour, righteousness and ju

The United States has never d sword except to right wrong, de justice, and make the world better the service and sacrifice she has as a nation on behalf of humani 1776 America took up arms for truction of the theory that king divine right, and the only divin that should be recognised was th right of liberty in man. For eig weary years in support of this courageous men and devoted wom supreme sacrifice, and the fruits labours is this splendid Republ

Do You Want a Job?

YOU CAN JOIN THE R.I.C.

"The Finest Constabulary Force in the World."

PAY - -	10/- Daily; Temporary Bonus 12/- weekly for Married Men, 6/- weekly for Single Men, in addition. Service Pay is also issuable in certain cases—1/- and 2/- a day.
UNIFORM - - -	Free to all Recruits; Boot Allowances of 1/6 per week extra.
QUARTERS - - -	Free Subsistence Allowance in addition when away from station, on duty.
LEAVE - - - - -	A Month's Leave on Full Pay every twelve months. A Free Railway Warrant from Ireland to your home and back.
PENSIONS - - -	Pensions on the Highest Scale payable to any police force in the United Kingdom.
PROMOTION - -	Opportunities for Men of special ability occur frequently
COMPENSATION	For wounds received in action generous Compensation is paid

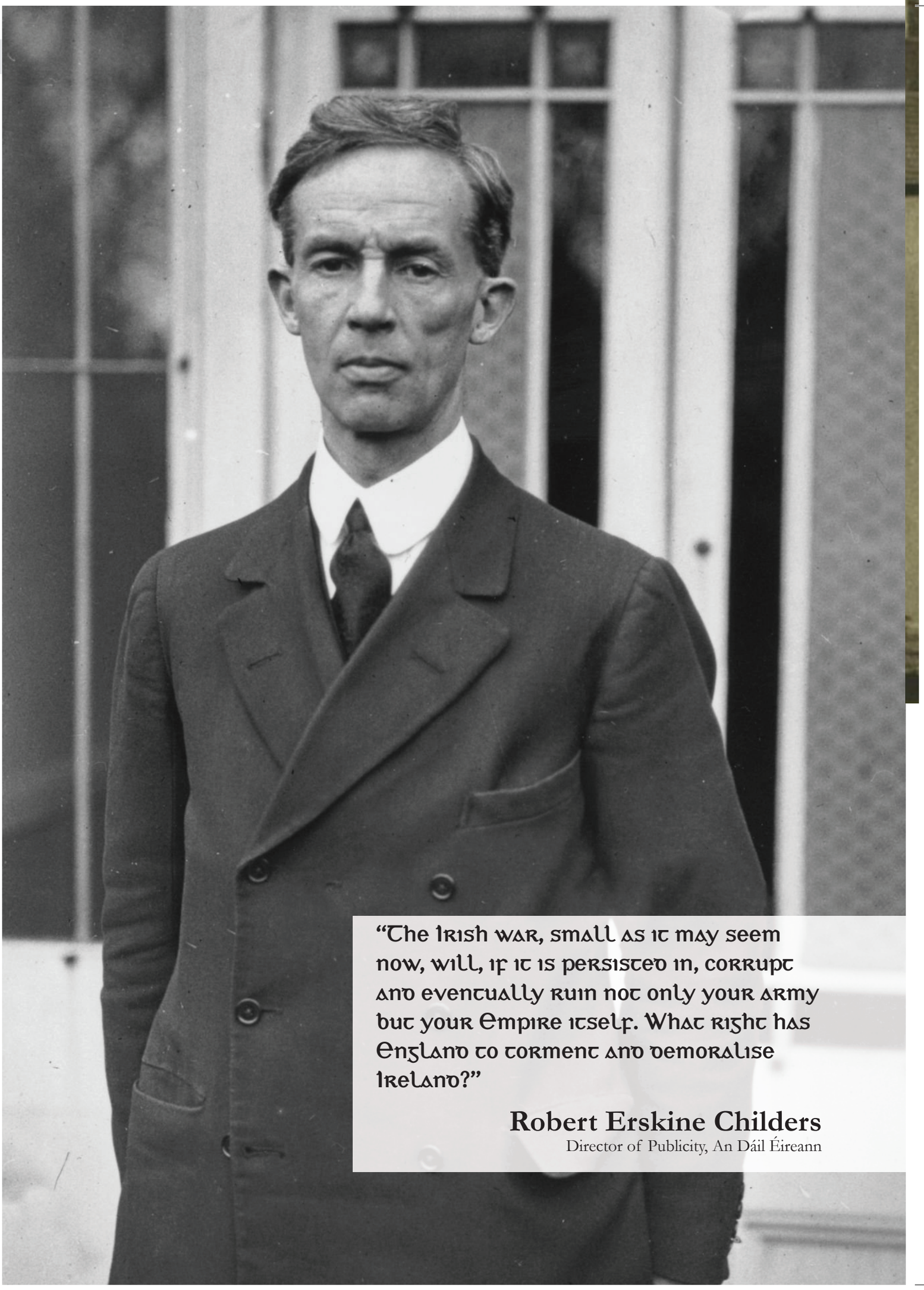
If you have the Physique—If you have a Good Character
And especially—If you are an Ex-Service Man

You can join the R.I.C. to-day.

Call at any Army Recruiting Office or write to, or call at, either of the following Addresses

LONDON:	LIVERPOOL:	GLASGOW:	DUBLIN:
The Recruiting H.Q., Great Scotland Yard, S.W.1.	The Recruiting Office, 19, Old Haymarket.	The Recruiting Office, 130, Bath Street.	Commandant: R.I.C. Depot, Phœnix Park.

¶ REMEMBER IF YOU DON'T LIKE THE JOB—YOU CAN GIVE A MONTH'S NOTICE—AND LEAVE.



"The Irish war, small as it may seem now, will, if it is persisted in, corrupt and eventually ruin not only your army but your Empire itself. What right has England to torment and demoralise Ireland?"

Robert Erskine Childers
Director of Publicity, An Dáil Éireann

A fortified RIC barracks in Co. Clare equipped with steel shutters. Many rural stations were abandoned by early 1920 with the depleting RIC consolidating to urban barracks. The abandoned barracks across Ireland would later be burned by the IRA. New recruits to the RIC were predominantly British however 20% of the new 'Black and Tan' recruits and 10% of the new Auxiliary Corps were Irishmen.

THE ARRIVAL OF THE BLACK & TANS, SPRING 1920.

"Ostracisation of the Royal Irish Constabulary had been enforced for over a year. They would not be served with drink or foodstuffs in many shops; people would not be served with drink or foodstuffs in many shops; people would not speak to them. Their patrols were disarmed and barracks taken by surprise; individual police who pointed out houses and men to the military were shot down. Many police resigned; there were not recruits enough to fill their places. Their Inspector-General had been given indefinite leave of absence. The deputy Inspector-General had been replaced by an adviser, a British general. Four Divisional Commissioners, military men, had been appointed to more thoroughly militarise the RIC. The commander of the troops, General Frederick Shaw, was superseded by General Nevil Macready. Shaw had asked for more troops. He wanted to impose martial law through Ireland, but it was not the policy of the British government to admit that there was a serious situation in Ireland. They had another trick in the bag. At a cabinet meeting Macready was assured of full support for his campaign. A Divisional Commissioner, Lieutenant-Colonel Bryse Ferguson Smyth, had put it up to the police in Kerry to shoot Republicans. Some threw off their uniform tunics. Smyth had to seek protection in another room in the barracks. All the Royal Irish were not thoroughly dependable now. Later Smyth was shot dead in his club in Cork City. In England, ex-servicemen were recruited for service in Ireland by advertisements in the paper. Major-General Hugh Tudor, who had reorganized and improved police transport, was responsible for recruiting. A knowledge of modern warfare was their chief contribution to the maintenance of law and order. They wore khaki tunics and black-green trousers whilst awaiting their RIC uniforms. The people called them the 'Black and Tans'. That also was the name of a hunting pack of beagles in County Limerick. It was felt that they would quickly suppress what was known as 'disorder.' They had burned and bombed some shops and houses in County Tipperary" – **Ernie O'Malley**, *On Another Man's Wound*, p.198-199.

"*Now we heard the full story in its setting of life in Cork, where the first of the new police reinforcements from Britain had begun to arrive in the month of March. The name 'Black and Tans', which had been coined for these unfamiliar arrivals, was new then, but was one that would become synonymous with brutality, murder and fear. They were brought in as reinforcements and wore a*

mixture of the police and British army uniform – khaki trousers and blue coat, or vice versa, and they never looked drilled in either. They were a mean, bad lot, without courage, boozers and looters" – **Máire Comerford**, Cumann na mBan, *On Dangerous Ground*, p.137.

"*This new British terrorist force had been in Dublin and in Meath and they had rampaged through the country for about four or five months before they came to Macroom Castle. During that time, they had burnt cows, destroyed creameries, killed old men and old women and looted all in front of them*" – **Tom Barry**, *speaking in 1966.*

"*In Dublin, control of the IRA activities was easier. Orders for the week were read by the Company O/C at the weekly parades, and these orders had to be obeyed. And it was not until the Black and Tans started to parade the streets and provoke the public that GHQ issued orders for attack. Even at that these attacks were intended to be confined to the Black and Tans and Auxiliaries. Attacks on the ordinary military were not encouraged except where they could be relieved of their arms without shooting. But when the Dublin boys, both city and county, got on the move, they made up for their long period of waiting. Their attacks increased daily until for a long time before the truce every Company in the city and county of Dublin had their almost daily attacks in their patrol areas. And the Active Service Units were striking harder and harder each day in every part of the city and suburbs. The enemy never knew where the next attack would come from. They expected one from every street corner*" – **Lieut. Laurence Nugent**, K Coy, 3rd Batt., Dublin Brig., IRA, (BMH-WS 907).

"*To relieve the tedium of our placid days Mr. Lloyd George decided to recruit all the ex-jailbirds, adventurers and murderers that he could round up in England and by the offer of generous terms, induce them to come to Ireland with no questions asked for the purpose of stiffening up our poor spineless Police. They arrived in January, 1920, were dubbed Black & Tans by the people, and so began a more savagely, intense warfare*" – **Joe Leonard**, the Squad, IRA (BMH-WS 547).

"*On occasions all four British forces operated together, that is, Regular Troops, Auxies, Black & Tans and RIC. The total strength at its peak must have touched the hundred thousand mark, a very formidable force. Confronting them in the main were the peasant Volunteer soldiers of the IRA, small in numbers and poorly armed"* – **V/C Simon Donnelly**, 3rd Batt., Dublin Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 481).

A patrol of the new members of the RIC known informally as the Black & Tans. Their ruthlessness and barbarity would transition the path of the war into a gruesome and terrifying experience for the people of Ireland.

"Sons and daughters of the Gael, wherever you be today, in the name of the motherland, greetings. Whatever flag be the flag you guard and cherish, it is consistent with your highest duty to link yourselves together to use your united strength to break the chains that bind our sweet, sad mother. And never before have the scattered children of Éire had such an opportunity for noble service. Today you can serve not only Ireland but the world"

Éamon de Valera, TD

St. Patrick's Day Address,
USA

"*On Monday night between 11.30 and 11.45 the police barrack at Hugginstown, Co. Kilkenny, was attacked by a party of armed men, numbering 150 to 200, and after a fierce fight lasting about 50 or 60 minutes, the garrison - one sergeant and five constables - surrendered and delivered up their arms to the raiders. Constable Thomas Ryan, one of the defenders, was seriously wounded during the fight - his right arm being practically blown away - and he died shortly after 6 o'clock on Tuesday morning, after receiving the last Sacraments from Rev. Fr. Hoyne, C.C., Hugginstown. Sergeant Nealon also received a slight wound under the left eye, caused by a splinter from a bomb or a piece of flying glass. When the arms - six rifles and two revolvers - were delivered up to them, the raiders departed, leaving a quantity of unexploded bombs, a box of cartridges and four bottles of petrol behind. It is thought that two of the raiders were wounded. Hugginstown, the scene of the attack, is a small village of about 18 or 20 houses, situated in the centre of a lonely bleak stretch of country about 15 miles from Waterford and the same distance from Kilkenny. It is about 2 ½ miles from Ballyhale railway station and is only a quarter of a mile distant from the scene of the Battle of Carrickshock which took place on December 14, 1831, in the closing stages of the fight against the tithe laws…Monday night's battle suddenly began… with a loud explosion and a volley of shots. There was then a short pause of one or two minutes when firing opened again, to which the police in the barracks replied with rifle and revolver fire and hand grenades. Then followed a series of deafening explosions from the bombs and band-grenades thrown by the raiders. These mostly came from the back and sides of the barrack and. the loud reports continued incessantly for about three quarters of an hour, when Constable Ryan, who had been upstairs throwing hand grenades through the window and a hole in the gable-end, tottered down the stairs into the day-room with his right arm almost blown away. He collapsed on the floor with the cry "they got me through the window". He lay bleeding and moaning on the floor and after a few minutes he called for a priest and doctor*" – **Brigadier Thomas Treacy**, Kilkenny Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1093).

19th March 1920

FAHY, Michael:

Rank: Captain / Battalion Adjutant.
Unit: *B Coy (Kilkee), 5th Batt., West Clare Brigade, IRA.*
DOB: 27 October 1900. Born to John Fahy and Anne O'Reilly.
Address: O'Curry Street, Kilkee, Co. Clare.
Occupation: Electrical Engineer / Wireless Operator.
Death: Fahy died in Barrington's Hospital in Limerick City after accidentally discharging a gunshot into his thigh whilst at a meeting in Kilkee in December 1919. The wound proved damaging to his health and he eventually succumbed to meningitis.
Buried: Kilferagh Graveyard, Kilkee, Co. Clare.
MSPC Ref: DP7097.

"*Michael Fahy was our most energetic and prominent Officer and indeed the first Commandant of the real IRA in Kilkee. Had he lived I am certain that the 5th Batt. would have taken a much more prominent part in the subsequent fight than it did. He accidentally shot himself in the thigh (whilst on the run) with a pistol one night and the "boys", after much difficulty and with the help of Dr. C.C. Hickey (now a priest) got him to Barrington's Hospital, Limerick, where he was arrested, and shortly afterwards, died. I was one of the firing party at his funeral at Kilferagh Graveyard*" – **Adjt. David Joseph Conroy**, 5th Batt., West Clare Brig., IRA, (BMH-WS 809).

Poulnabrone Portal Tomb, Co. Clare

THE MURDER OF TOMÁS MacCURTAIN

"The details relating to the murder of Tomás MacCurtain on the morning of 20th March 1920, have received much publicity; nevertheless, it may be well to record certain facts related to me by Mrs. Tomás MacCurtain and by James Walsh, his brother-in-law, the latter an officer of my battalion who was in MacCurtain's house on the night in question. On 19th March 1920, Constable Murtagh of the RIC was shot dead by men of the 1st Battalion at Pope's Quay, Cork. Murtagh was shot early that night. At about 2 o'clock on the morning of 20th March 1920, a party of RIC men, under the command of District Inspector Swanzy, left King St. Barracks for MacCurtain's house. They were armed with rifles and revolvers, some of the party having blackened faces. Before reaching the house, they were clearly seen by a Corporation street lamplighter who was at the time, extinguishing the lamps (gas) in the vicinity of MacCurtain's house. This man gave evidence subsequently at the inquest on MacCurtain. He was told to clear away by the RIC who surrounded the block of buildings in which was McCurtain's house. They then knocked at the door of the Lord Mayor's home. Mrs. MacCurtain came downstairs and inquired "Who is there?" A voice replied: "Police on duty". Mrs. MacCurtain opened the front door and was immediately held up by two RIC men with blackened faces, carrying revolvers. Two more RIC, also similarly armed and disguised, rushed into the house and up the stairs. At the top of the stairs, they called out to MacCurtain to come out. He answered from his bedroom: "All right, I'll be out". He partly dressed and came out from his bedroom on to the landing wearing only a shirt and trousers. Without any more ado, the two RIC men shot him, then turned to run down the stairs. Just at that moment, James Walsh, brother-in-law, already mentioned, appeared on the next upper flight of stairs, being aroused by the shouts of the police. The two RIC men who had shot MacCurtain turned and fired at Walsh who threw himself flat on the landing. The bullets missed him. The two RIC men then ran out of the house and joined the party outside; the lot then returned to King Street Barracks. Walsh gave evidence at the inquest as to the description and accents of MacCurtain's murderers. The following morning, having heard of the murder, I went to Tomás's house where I saw his body laid out on a bed. I spoke to Mrs. MacCurtain and Jimmy Walsh who told me the facts I have relate" – **Cmdt. Michael Murphy**, 2nd Batt., Cork No.1 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1547).

20th March 1920

MacCURTAIN, Tomás:

Rank: Brigadier.
Unit: *Cork No.1 Brigade, IRA.*
DOB: 20 March 1884. Born in Ballyknockane, near Mourne Abbey, Co. Cork, to Patrick Curtin and Julia Sheehan.
Address: 40 Thomas Davis St, Cork.
Familial: On 28 June 1908, MacCurtain married Eibhlís Walsh. Their children were Patrick (b.1911), Siobhan, Maura, Síle, Eilish and Tomás Óg MacCurtain (1915-1994). Tomás Óg would become a prominent IRA Executive Officer during the 1940s and 1950s. In 1940, having shot Garda Detective Roche, MacCurtain was to be executed but this was commuted to imprisonment due to his prominent Republican name.
Occupation: Clothing Factory Manager / Lord Mayor of Cork City (Sinn Féin).
Death: Between midnight and 1.30am, 20 March 1920, MacCurtain's 36th birthday, a group of RIC officers, disguised with blackened faces entered the MacCurtain home and shot Tomás MacCurtain three times in the chest, in the presence of his wife, before fleeing. District-Inspector Swanzy was immediately blamed for the murder of MacCurtain and was later targeted and assassinated by the IRA in Lisburn, Co.Antrim with MacCurtain's own revolver in August 1920. The order to kill Swanzy was sanctioned by GHQ.
Buried: The Republican Plot, St. Finbarr's Cemetery, Cork.
MSPC Ref: DP22353.

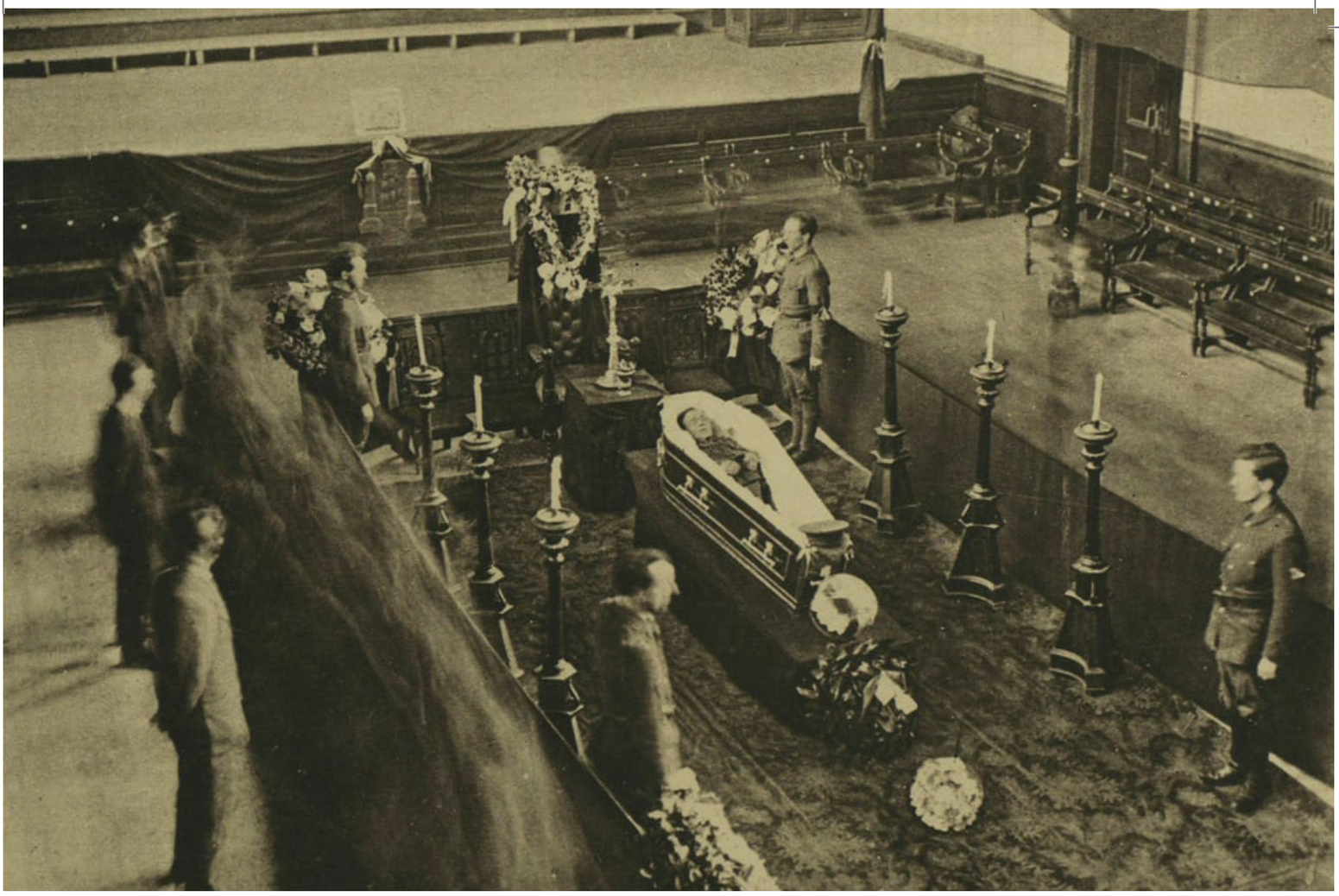
"*The funeral next day from Cathedral to the Republican Plot in Wilton (St. Finbarr's Cemetery) was of national proportions. Dáil and Republican Government were fully represented and even Cathal Brugha and Michael Collins with other headquarters officers of IRA marched in the procession. We, A Company, were the leading company of the Cork City Brigade, our place being right behind the bier on each side of which marched the Guard of Honour in Volunteer uniform. There was no sign of enemy*

soldiers or police anywhere on the funeral route. Arrived at cemetery gates, A Company was deployed to guard the entrance and only immediate mourners, Dáil and Government party, Cork Corporation, Volunteer Pipers Band, Brigade Staff and Guard of Honour were admitted to graveyard. There was no oration. The Last Post was sounded and then a firing party of six Volunteers, with rifles appeared from nowhere at the order of "Firing Party advance" and three volleys were fired over the mortal remains of Tomás MacCurtain, Lord Mayor of Cork, Brigade Commandant, Cork No. 1 Brigade, the first notable victim of British terror reprisals in Ireland. All Cork was Incensed at MacCurtain's foul and brutal murder, especially his comrades of the IRA. At the inquest a verdict of wilful murder was returned by the coroner's jury against the RIC from King St. Barracks and D.I. Swanzy was named as the leader of the murder gang. The official British reaction was typical of British methods. MacCurtain had been killed by Sinn Féiners, they contended, masked and disguised Republican conspirators who wiped out MacCurtain because they mistrusted him. This was how the murder was described in the British Press and in the Official Reports of Dublin Castle. With malevolent vileness which knew no bounds or scruples, the British authorities in Ireland, not satisfied with having slaughtered Tom MacCurtain before the horrified eyes of his wife and children, now did their damnedest by their devilish propaganda to brand him as a renegade and a traitor to his comrades and to Ireland. They tried to blacken his character as they did four years earlier with Roger Casement. They wished to confound and confuse and sow the seeds of discord with their foul lies, Their damnable attacks on MacCurtain's memory only increased the cold fury of the Cork IRA" – **Michael V. O'Donoghue**, Cork No.1 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1741).

"*Mrs. MacCurtain was pregnant. This killed the babies (twins, and she had always wished for twins); the birth came much later fortunately in a good Nursing Home or she would have died. All the details of this are well known. We Irish had, at that time a Civil Government, Irish Mayors and Corporations, Irish Courts of Justice, even police to keep order. This worried the British Government more than the war I think, because they could not say it was murder. After Tomás' murder Terry thought he should take his place. It meant, of course, the end of his life*" – **Mrs. Muriel MacSwiney**, (BMH-WS 637).

"*The night after Tomás MacCurtain's murder, men of E Company (1st Batt., Cork No.1 Brigade), mounted guard on his house, as it was rumoured that Mrs. MacCurtain was in danger from further vengeance by the enemy*" – **Vol. Maurice Forde, et.al**, E Coy, 1st Batt., Cork No.1 Brig., IRA, (BMH-WS 719).

Crowds gathered outside MacCurtain's house, March, 1920. Source: Irish Examiner Archive.



(Top): Brigadier Tomás MacCurtain lying in state in the Cathedral of St. Mary & St. Anne, Cork, March, 1920, Source: Illustrated London News, 3 April 1920; (Below): The cortege of MacCurtain's funeral travelling along Camden Quay, Cork, as it proceeds towards St. Finbarr's Cemetery. Source: Irish Examiner Archive.

THE APRIL 1920 HUNGER STRIKES

"I was re-arrested on March 8th, 1920, to finish my sentence and taken to Mountjoy Prison. On arrival there, I was appointed by the then Adjutant-General (Gearóid O'Sullivan) as Officer-Commanding all sentenced prisoners. Another strike was arranged and, on Holy Thursday night, the sentenced men in "A" wing wrecked their cells and bored through the walls from cell to cell, as had been done in the former strike. We were handcuffed and removed to "C" Wing, which we also smashed up. We were again handcuffed, this time with hands behind back, day and night, until Easter Monday when the famous 1920 hunger-strike started. There were fifty-four sentenced prisoners under my charge in "C" Wing, and about fifty untried men under Peadar Clancy and Tom Hunter in "A" Wing. The untried men did not take part in the smash-up strikes but did take part in the hunger-strike. The hunger strike lasted for ten days. The Irish Labour movement, taking a hand in the matter at this stage, called a general one-day stoppage of work. Following this, all the prisoners were released. I was sent to the Mater Hospital. I still have a medical chart which I brought with me from the hospital. Entries on this chart show: "Temperature, 103. Condition, Very Weak". After a fortnight in the Mater Hospital, I was discharged" – **Adjt. Maurice Crowe**, Tipperary No.3 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 517).

"On Holy Thursday, 1920, I was arrested in Tipperary town, and taken to Cork Gaol…After about a fortnight in Cork Gaol, a big batch of us were transferred to Belfast in two destroyers. We were put on board in Cobh in the small hours of the morning, and anchored in Belfast Lough that night. The trip was a nightmare affair, with rough seas and the prisoners packed like sardines into the hold of the destroyer. Everybody was vomiting all over everybody else, so no wonder we did not look our best when we were ushered in to the boys already in Belfast jails. Some of us had not long to wait in Belfast until we were on our way to Wormwood Scrubbs. This time, it was a small, if somewhat select, crowd that boarded the destroyer at Belfast, and were landed at Pembroke docks in Milford Haven, on the following day. There were only fifteen in this batch which included Frank Barrett (Clare), Pax Phelan (Dungarvan), P. Brazil and Seán Matthews (Waterford), D. Sullivan (Tralee), and all the remainder were from Hugginstown. This trip was also pretty rough but, in this case, we spent most of the time up on deck, and, apart from being very sick, we had nothing else to complain about for a while. Apart from the personnel of the destroyer, we had as escort a section of British military under a Lieutenant and an RIC man, who was probably there for some legal technicality. Sometime during the day, we had a visit from a Naval Lieutenant who ordered us to proceed to clean up the mess we had made of the deck. We were to sweep up the place, then get on our knees and mop up every particle, and make the deck as spotless as we found it. He brought along a bucket and mops. Needless to say, we laughed at him, and this got his dander up properly, so much so that he announced he was going to put us in irons.

He proceeded to put his words into action and had two fellows in irons, when the policeman came on the scene, and informed the Lieutenant that he didn't think he was entitled to put us in irons. He said he had been back and forth several times, escorting prisoners, and had never seen them being asked to clean up the place after being sick, and anyhow, he added, both himself and the military had done their share of the vomiting and would clean it up. Sick, sorry and tired, we arrived in Wormwood Scrubbs, about seven o'clock at night, and were put into what they called reception cells, pending the allocation of regular cells to us. We learned from the prison Chaplain the joyful news that a hunger-strike had started there that morning. He also informed us that about a hundred prisoners were on strike, and sixty not on strike. We saw nobody else that night, but we had quite enough to chew on until morning. In the exercise compound the following morning, we were made aware of the true position. It was that a hundred were on strike, sixty not on strike, and the two sections were at daggers drawn, each side trying to justify their own position. Both sides put their case before us (the fifteen new arrivals). The hunger-strikers declared they had the approval of GHQ for the strike, and the non-strikers maintained they had sent a special courier to Dublin and had been refused permission to strike. Frank McGrath of Nenagh and Joe McDonagh were leading the strikers, and Jim Lawless, Dublin, was leader of the non-strikers. After we had heard both of their stories, we decided to adjourn and consider our own position. We decided that, no matter who was right or who was wrong at the start, it was up to every man now to go on hunger-strike, and we appealed to the non-strikers to join in at once, and have a united front against the common enemy. The appeal succeeded, and everybody went on strike that day. The strike was successful (it was the last successful hunger-strike), and the prisoners were all released, after doing from fifteen to twenty-one days on strike. During the strike, I became one of the most popular prisoners in the place, for the simple reason that I was the only prisoner in the place who had cigarettes to give away, and cigarettes were things that everybody wanted very badly" – **QM Seán O'Carroll**, Tipperary No.3 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1702).

"We were held in Limerick Prison awaiting trial for two months. There were about 30 prisoners with us some of whom had been in tor over six months without any charge having been preferred against them. Conditions generally were not bad and we were allowed to exercise together every day in a large yard. Eventually we decided to go on hunger strike and sent an ultimatum to the Governor of the prison that unless we were tried or released within seven days the hunger strike would start. On the termination of the seven days nothing had happened and the "Hunger Strike" Starter. After four days, Thomas Keane, who was very young and delicate, was in a bad way, as also was Jimmy Griffey. The latter had his health badly affected by the big hunger strike in Mountjoy In 1917 and really was not physically fit enough to participate in the second one. The Prison Governor, Mr. Faulkner, was a nice man and was more or less in sympathy with us. He visited our cells several times night and day, especially Keane's whose health was very much worrying the prison doctor. On the seventh day of the strike, all the men on hunger strike were released. After a few days of home treatment, I had fully recovered and reported fit for further IRA duty" – **Vol. William McNamara,** Mid-Clare Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1135).

Cathal O'Shannon recuperates in the Mater Hospital after the Hunger Strike, April 1920. Fr. Augustine, who offered solace to the 1916 leaders before their execution, sits alongside O'Shannon. Source: National Museum of Ireland

Maurice Crowe (Tipperary) and Michael Carolan (Belfast) recuperate after the 1920 Hunger Strike in the Mater Hospital. Source: Military Archives of Ireland.

"Easter Monday, April 5th, 1920, Mountjoy Jail Hunger-strike starts. Called together in the cage by Phil Leddy to tell us of the strike and to give the following pledge:- 'I pledge myself, to the honour of Ireland and the lives of my comrades, not to eat food or drink anything except water until all here have been given prisoner-of-war treatment or are released.' We had taken breakfast that morning, the last food. for about 12 days. Contact was made with GHQ outside through a friendly warder. We were promised every support outside; the fight inside was on and the world would know it. I do not intend to go into details of the strike as it is all given in "Days of Fear" by Frank Gallagher, who kept a day-to-day diary. The second day of the strike, while in the cage, Giggler wanted to know if there was a mathematician in the party, the reason - someone had been sentenced to 5 years for having 10 rounds of .303. Giggler had been caught with a revolver and 30 rounds and was anxious to know what he was likely to get. The general shout was "Giggler, you are a Lifer", and Giggler laughed. Things were much the same for a few days. Some men took to bed, others were even more lively and were told by Larry Ginnell to keep up the laugh as it was something the British could never break. The prison suddenly came to life: extra warders, day and night on the landings, not looking for trouble but willing to do anything if we would only take food. Dr. McCormick was the Prison M.O., a nice sort of old chap who wore a brown bowler hat. I think there was a second Dr. McCormick and he came from Kilkenny. While "Brown Bowler" took everything in his stride with a joke and a laugh, his opposite number was very serious and as the days went by it was obvious he was very nervous and frightened in case one of us should die. To recall this is light and easy; in actual fact, that hunger-strike was to me a frightful experience, not just hunger but the loss of sleep during an endless night, restless, to be honest, afraid and wondering what was to be the end. Let no man say he was not frightened on hunger-strike. It is a shocking weapon, and the British were just as much afraid of it as we were. The uncertainty: prisoners all well and a few hours later stretcher cases pass your door, the heart gives out suddenly, and the doctors knew it. One death and it was front page news the world over. Routine remained the same. Breakfast, dinner and tea were brought as usual and left on your table. Each meal was left until the next one arrived. During the first few days, some of us pushed the food out through the window, down on the sentry below. Cockney curses not heard since Richmond Barracks. Others broke the spy hole glass and poured or spooned the food through the hole. As the days passed, the food was just ignored, but it kept on coming, to tempt or just blind regulations. More doctors as the week drags on; as men faint or collapse they are taken by stretcher to the prison hospital. More prisoners arrive from Newry and Tipperary and start to strike at once. The cell doors are now left open, a bad sign. Men are too weak to move about the wing. Telegrams sent to relatives by the Governor (in my case to my mother, "Your son very low, visit advised), dirty trick. I knew nothing of this until my mother and sister were brought into the cell to find me on my mattress on the floor, covered by a few army blankets. I am sure I looked a lot worse than I really was. My mother made up her mind there arid

then that I was dying. The warder stood by during the visit but I did manage to tell my sister to change the date on the telegram and come next day. The cell doors were left open from now on, day and night. Visits from military doctors, things were moving outside. Huge crowds gathered outside the jail and we could hear the singing of hymns all day long and well into the night. The sentries had been doubled inside the jail, while armoured cars and military tried to control the crowds outside. A friendly warder slipped me a paper, great news. Labour had decided to take a hand and called a general strike. This was answered to a man. Nothing moved: Dublin and many parts of the country had stopped work in support of our demand. I felt much better having read the news and passed the paper along to cheer others. Visitors were coming and going; evidently the Governor had sent telegrams far and wide. Maurice Brennan had a visit from his father, who had come from Charleville, Co. Cork. I had a visit every day; the date on the telegram changed each day. The news from outside was great: the people were with us, they dare not let any of us die. The Governor was in constant touch with Frank Gallagher and Phil Leddy. All sorts of rumours. Warders say Lord French will not budge in spite of repeated appeals. Even our old enemy, the 'Irish Independent', has asked the authorities to move quickly in order to avoid disaster" – **Cmdt. Andrew McDonnell**, 6th Batt., Dublin Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1768).

"*During those four years of struggle the prisoners knew they could play a major part. If the greatest possible number of troops, warders, officials could be tied down to the jails, there would be less for the lads to fight outside. We knew what risks had to be taken. Thomas Ashe had set the standard*" – **Frank Gallagher**, *The Four Glorious Years, p.132*.

"Immense crowds filled the North Circular Road outside Mountjoy Prison, extending to Cross Guns Bridge, and from there back around the northern side of the Mater Hospital to Eccles Street. Here the people gathered, hour after hour, while the rosary was repeated for the prisoners. I remember an armoured car on the scene, and that a tank arrived – the first we had seen. When the tank turned to go north, over Cross Guns Bridge, it skidded on the setts, and failed to proceed. Then, to our immense satisfaction, it began to smoke and the word went round that it was on fire – a delightful spectacle. Up dashed the fire brigade. When the brigade saw the tank on fire it turned away, leaving it there. And that was no surprise. Captain Connolly of the fire brigade was brother to Seán Connolly – killed in the attack on Dublin Castle in 1916. He and his men were popular idols, full of dash and gallantry. From the time Dublin Corporation gave its allegiance to Dáil Éireann, they were free to do the things they wanted to do anyway, within the limits of municipal green tape. After the failure of the tank, an aeroplane came overhead and continued to observe, perhaps threaten, the crowds. I was wedged beside a splendidly tall, immensely powerful and devout young woman, wearing a shawl and carrying a large basket in the crook of her arm, at about the height of my shoulder. We were all saying the rosary but she was rotating as she watched the plane. As the basket bruised its way across my back, I heard her prayer tangle with her imprecation against the aeroplane: 'Holy Mary, Mother of God – oh! May you fall down, you divil! May you fall down in the canal where you won't hurt anybody – and pray for us sinners now and at the moment of our death, Amen.' The prisoners we ardently prayed for in April 1920 were on hunger strike; the trouble was caused by their treatment – as common criminals. Sixty-four men, led by Peadar Clancy, had started the strike after they had failed to get agreement about political treatment. Outside, we discussed the situation with anxiety, pity for the men involved, and mounting anger against enemy authorities. From the end of the first week every day made a new record of endurance and deaths were awaited hourly. On 12 April, the workers of Dublin left their jobs in a sympathetic strike. When the prisoners were on their ninth or tenth day without food, and the workers three days on strike, the Castle weakened" – **Máire Comerford**, *On Dangerous Ground*, p.128-129.

British troops and armoured vehicles blockade the vicinity of Mountjoy Gaol, Dublin, April 1920.

"The 13th April, excitement is running high. The Governor has been in to make an offer of release on parole. Turned down; word is passed around, the strike goes on. Many who had crawled around, now went to bed, all hope gone. I was one of that lot. That night was the longest one for me, it just went on and on. All cells open, all awake but silent. Next day things start to hum again. There is some sort of form to be signed and we all go free. Once again, a flat refusal. Back comes the Governor; a verbal undertaking will be accepted. Leddy and Gallagher get stiff. They feel we have won and will accept nothing but unconditional release. Warders are just as excited as we are, they say the hospitals outside are all ready for us. I do not exactly remember the time but it was late in the evening when cheers, the first for a long time, brought me out on the landing to be told we had won, all going out. The Governor stood in the circle and a name was called out The prisoner made his way down the spiral stairs and the Governor read out something. The prisoner, just stood there and was then passed on to a warder, who took him to some ambulance men to be rushed away. The Lord Mayor, Larry O'Neill, stood in the hall with some Friars from Church St. Slowly, very slowly, we were going out, but would my name ever be called. I saw Gallagher and Leddy go. They were the leaders. Others followed, and all the time I stood on the top landing, watching and listening. I would say it was about 11 p.m. When I was called, and the mad rush I had planned for hours did not happen. I was stuck to the ground, nerves or weakness I do not know, but I was helped by a warder and brought before the Governor to hear the following:- I, George Munroe, Governor of H.M. Prison Mountjoy, do hereby release the body of one Andrew McDonnell, relying on his or her honour to return to H.M. Prison Mountjoy on or before ..... Evidently this was the form we were to sign. On refusal, poor Munroe satisfied his conscience by reading it over to each prisoner, and so the awful delay. All over. I was taken care of by Father Albert and the Dublin Ambulance men. All nearby hospitals were full. The last of us were taken to the Richmond Hospital" – **Andrew McDonnell**, Dublin Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1768).

"*The doctor called in every day with the same prescription, although after a week he used a stethoscope and took my pulse and temperature. At this stage I began to get nervous, feeling that I should be nearly at the end of my tether since Tom Ashe died after only six days on hunger strike. I was not comparing like with like. Tom Ashe died from forcible feeding, not from hunger. We got no newspapers, but an air of excitement began to permeate the jail. Every now and then some of the prisoners would break into patriotic songs: 'The West's Awake,' 'The Felons of Our Land', 'A Nation Once Again'. The warders were very sympathetic to us. They told us about the thousands gathered in demonstrations outside the prison, protesting and saying the rosary for our welfare. They told us that a nationwide general strike had been declared and rumours were going around that we were about to be released…I was taken out of the prison in an ambulance with another man who had been hospitalized during the strike. We were driven through a cheering crowd, hysterical with joy, en-route for the Mater Hospital*" – **Vol. C.S. 'Todd' Andrews**, E Coy, 4th Batt., Dublin Brigade, IRA, *Dublin Made Me*, p. 150-151.

A British armoured vehicle, near Mountjoy Gaol, Dublin, April 1920. Note the chalked slogan, 'Up Sinn Féin' written most likely by someone within the large crowds close to the prison, on the rear of the vehicle.

27th March 1920

McCARTHY, James (Jimmy):

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *D Coy (Inch), 1st Batt., Tipperary No. 2 Brigade, IRA*
DOB: 17 July 1889. Born at the Mall, Thurles, Co. Tipperary, to James McCarthy and Ellen Ryan.
Address: 7 Fianna Road, Thurles, Co. Tipperary
Occupation: Baker.
Death: McCarthy was shot and killed at his home by RIC assailants around 01.30a.m., in revenge for the shooting of two RIC constables in The Ragg. He immediately succumbed to gunshot wounds to his heart and chest.
Buried: Holycross Abbey, Co. Tipperary
MSPC Ref: 1D414.

"On 24th February 1920, the people of Thurles woke in the morning to find that during the previous night the doors of houses of a number of Sinn Féin supporters had been painted with the letters RIP. It was known that this was done by the police and not much heed was paid to what was generally regarded as an act of vandalism rather than a portent of murderous consequences. At that strong particular time, patrols of police and military went around the town of Thurles by day and night. It was decided to attack the patrol at night time. This was a risky kind of operation because on some nights two different patrols moved through the town. It was noticed by our scouts, who had been making a note of the enemy's movements, that the patrol usually rested at the Market House for about an hour. The attack was planned to take place here. Our men would use lanes the in the vicinity as firing points. The operation was to be under my own control and I proposed to use about 25 men, including some experienced Volunteers from 3rd Battalion, among them Jim Stapleton. I had asked the latter to come into Thurles early in the night as there were some details regarding the attack that I did not wish to decide on finally until I had consulted him. Stapleton, travelling in company with Paddy O'Brien, Silvermines, and Jim Larkin, Upperchurch, was on the way into Thurles when he and his companions called into Larry Fanning's public-house in The Ragg for a drink. They were not long inside when two RIC men named Heanue and Flaherty came in, apparently for refreshments also. On the spur of the moment, the IRA trio decided to attack the police and so opened fire with

revolvers. Constable Flaherty managed to escape, but Heanue was shot dead as he as trying to get inside the counter. This shooting upset my plans for the attack on the night patrol and obliged me to abandon it. The shooting in the Ragg led to widespread raiding by police and military around Thurles and its neighbourhood. Enemy patrols were increased and became very vigilant in the ensuing weeks. On the night of 27.03.1920, a party of RIC went to raid McCarthy's in the Mall at about 1.30am. Four of this family were members of the IRA. One of them, Jimmy, went to open the door for the raiders and, as soon as he had done so, they shot him dead" – **Brigadier James Leahy**, Tipperary No.2 Brigade, IRA (BMH-WS 1454).

29th March 1920

O'DWYER, Thomas Anthony:

Rank: 1st Lieutenant.
Unit: *D Coy (Inch), 1st Batt., Tipperary No. 2 Brigade, IRA.*
DOB: 21 January 1899. Born to Michael Dwyer and Catherine Fanning at The Ragg, Thurles, Co. Tipperary. He was a cousin of Vol. Michael Ryan, who was murdered in October 1920.
Address: The Ragg (Bouladuff), Thurles, Co. Tipperary.
Occupation: Shopkeeper.
Death: O'Dwyer was shot and mortally wounded in the bedroom of his family residence by masked members of the RIC. O'Dwyer succumbed to the gunshot wounds to the chest.
Buried: St. Mary's Cemetery, Drom, Co. Tipperary.
Ref: www.fanningfamilyhistory.com.

"*I went with the 'flying column,' which was armed with rifles, to Bouladuff where Dwyer's body was being waked. I placed the column behind a wall in front of the wake-house with instructions to keep the place covered but not to fire without my orders. I was in the house when a party of RIC, under District Inspector Goulding of Thurles arrived in a tender. With a Head Constable, the D.I. was about to enter as I stepped out the door wearing a revolver in a holster which was clearly visible to the police. The D.I. and I stared at each other, but he made no effort to interfere, nor did any of the rest of the police. I don't think they were aware of the presence of the column who were waiting for my signal to open fire. The body was brought to the Church that night. Next day, without firearms, we accompanied the remains to within a quarter mile of the graveyard and then fell out of the procession. The military had taken possession of the graveyard and the firing of volleys over the grave was postponed until midnight when the soldiers had gone and the ceremony could be carried out in peace*" – **Brigadier James Leahy**, Tipperary No.2 Bde, IRA (BMH-WS 1454).

Thomas O'Dwyer's homestead – the scene of his murder by an RIC revenge gang

At 12.30 five men knocked at the house of Thomas Dwyer, part of whose premises consist of a shop. Dwyer's sister, Mrs Delaney, heard the knocking, and got up and asked: "Who is there?" "Friends" was the reply. "Is Tom inside?" She suspected something was afoot, and told them through the keyhole that Tom was not in. They replied that they knew that he was, and that they would break in the door if it was not opened quickly. Mrs Delaney, when interviewed to-day, said that she was terribly frightened. Her brother was in bed but a short time, having remained outside as he had a presentiment that he would be shot. He told them earlier the day that he feared that his end was near. She went to his room and told him about the men at the door. Returning to the door which the men were kicking, she had just turned the key when the five men burst in. Mrs Delaney screamed at their appearance. They wore false beards and masks, and they carried rifles. Brushing her roughly into the kitchen, one man covered her with a rifle, while the other four passed towards the room where her brother Thomas lay. The doomed man appeared at the door wearing his pants, with a lighted candle in his hand. The men appeared to know their man quite well, for the moment they got a glimpse of him they fired. Dwyer fell mortally wounded, pierced by two bullets, one of which smashed the candlestick in two. While he lay on the ground one of the assassins said "Has he enough?" and another replied "Give him another," so another shot was fired into the body. Dwyer gave a moan, and the murderers made off, first asking Mrs Delaney "Is there anybody else to be shot here." They slammed the door, and while they were on the roadway outside the house, they fired several shots apparently at random. The screams of Mrs Delaney aroused the neighbours, who ran for a priest and a doctor. Father Hayes arrived in time to administer the last rites of the Church. Dr. Power, Borrisoleigh, also came, and did all that he could, but Dwyer expired an hour after the shooting. Two men were seen running from the back of Dwyer's house across the fields after the murder" – **The Irish Times,** 30 March 1920.

"Towards the end of 1919 or 1920, Ernie O'Malley started a Brigade Training Camp for Brigade and Battalion officers in the Ballinagheglish area. For each lecture or instruction given by him he issued us with typed notes or memos. He stayed here on his first visit for eight days and nights and slept at Henry Brennan's of Cloontogher, Kilteevan. He always, of course, slept during the day and worked at night. Ernie left us to go to the North Galway Brigade travelling on cycle through Ballymoe. At Ballymoe he was recognised by the RIC who tried to intercept him. Ernie opened fire on them and they fired also, hitting him on the wrist. He escaped by jumping into the river and then made his way back here. Joe Finlay and I arranged to get him across Lough Ree to the Longford side of the Shannon to the Newtown-Cashel area where a car was to meet him to take him to Dublin for treatment. The bridges across the Shannon at Athlone and Lanesboro' could not be used as they were being well watched by the British Forces. He got back to Dublin alright" – **Brigade QM Matthew Davis**, South Roscommon Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 691).

The Cork Gaol Hunger Strikers, 1920: (Front) Rody Kennedy, Seán O'Meara, Nurse, Dr. Michael Sexton & Con O'Donovan. (Middle) Tom Caplis, Unknown, Unknown, Timothy Kennedy, Michael Kennedy & Roger Caplis; (Rear) Unknown, Martin Ryan & Unknown. Source: www.photoalbumoftheirish.com.

EVENTS ACROSS IRELAND – APRIL 1920

"*By the spring of 1920 the RIC had evacuated their barracks at Murrisk and at the Quay in Westport and at Easter time of that year, in conformity with the rest of the country, these premises were destroyed by our men, being burned down and rendered uninhabitable. These were the only two places evacuated in the Westport area. There was no Excise Office in Westport, so we had not the opportunity of raiding one of them. The newspapers reported the burning of the evacuated barracks and the raiding of the Excise offices throughout the country, and it was very pleasant to realise the extent of the Volunteer organisation and how it could act as one unit throughout the land. A consignment of one hundred and fifty gallons of petrol arrived, at Westport Station for Anthony O'Malley of the Sound. The RIC took it from the station to the Barracks for safety and then reloaded it on the train for Newport. Tom Ketterick, Bruddy Malone, Charles Gavin, and some, others held up the train outside the town and took the petrol off. This was dumped in the Carrowkennedy area. I don't know what our heads had in view or how they thought they would use it. Cars at this time were very few and their use was very restricted by the police*" – **Batt. Adjt. Ned Moane**, Westport Batt., Mayo Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 896).

"*About a week or ten days after my release, I arranged to have the Excise Offices in Athlone raided and also some ex-RIC barracks, which had not been previously burned, destroyed. I personally took charge of the operation at the Excise Office. We entered the office, holding up the caretaker at about 11 p.m. and remained there until 3 a.m. Amongst the men accompanying me on this mission were Thomas Mannion, George Manning, Brian Mulvihill, Frank O'Connor and Michael Conniffe. We destroyed as much records, files and documents in the place by burning them, as we could, in the time available*" – **Cmdt. Séumas O'Meara**, Athlone IRA, (BMH-WS 1504).

"*About this time, too, the RIC barracks at Adrigole and Eyeries in the Beara district were evacuated and later destroyed by the Volunteers. And the same occurred at Kenneigh in the Dunmanway area, Ballygurteen and Milltown in that of Clonakilty, and Ballinspittle in that of Bandon. Ballineen barracks remained. But by the time we were free to devote our attention to it, its personnel had been increased – very likely as a measure to cope with anticipated attack by the Volunteers – and for a period the RIC force there was replaced by two platoons of the Essex Regiment from Kinsale*" - **Brigade Adjt. Liam Deasy**, Cork No.3 Brigade, *Towards Ireland Free*, p. 104.

"*The tempo of activities increased all over the country, raids and arrests became more numerous, occupied Police Barracks were being attacked and usually captured or vacated with the result that the Police Forces were unable to cope with the IRA. This led up to the advent of the Black and Tans who were composed of the most tough and desperate of the British ex-Army Forces in the late war, supplemented by members of the RIC, who acted as guides and spotters. They were called Black and Tans as their uniforms were a mixture of khaki and police outfits. This force soon made themselves felt everywhere. Raids, shootings and burnings were becoming commonplace. The IRA retaliated wholeheartedly and ambushes and attacks occurred frequently, particularly in Dublin, Cork, Tipperary, Kerry and to a less extent in Connaught, parts of Limerick and Ulster. Income Tax Offices in cities and large towns were raided and contents destroyed. Raids for arms and ammunition were of frequent occurrence viz British and Irish Steam Packet Company at the North Wall, Kings Inns, on Military, Police and Convoys, raids for mails at Rotunda Rink in Dublin and at various points in the country. A good many of the RIC resigned sooner than carry on with the measures adopted by the Black and Tans. Those of them who remained and who were active with the new Force suffered the same fate. They had heavy losses in many ambushes. The IRA suffered casualties but not to the same extent. Some were murdered in cold blood in their homes or taken out and shot outside. Many of them were not prominent in the fight but as revenge for local ambushes the innocent, even clergy, women and children were not spared*" – **Jack Shouldice**, Dublin Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 679).

THE INTELLIGENCE WAR INTENSIFIES

"Jack Jameson, alias John Charles Byrne. This was a very interesting individual. He came to Dublin with the highest recommendations from the late Seán McGrath and Art O'Brien in London. It would appear from information which we got afterwards that his technique was rather good. He posed as one of these fiery Communistic speakers who appeared on the platform in Hyde Park every Sunday morning and at that time the communistic platform was erected next to the Irish Self-Determination League platform at the same venue all the speakers on the communistic platform, including Jameson, made it a point to support the Irish Self-Determination League's policy, and possibly as a result of this technique they gradually wormed their way into the confidence of a number of the Irish Self-Determination League leaders. On numerous occasions they handed over arms and ammunition to Seán McGrath and Art O'Brien and then early in January, 1920, came forward with a proposition to create mutiny in the English Army and Navy in different parts of both Ireland and England. I am not fully aware of what the proposition was in detail that was put up, but it

evidently impressed the London leaders because they contacted Mick Collins, who agreed to meet Jameson in Dublin. He actually met Mick Collins in Dublin. I was not present at this first meeting but perhaps Liam Tobin would be in a position to throw further light on it. Following the meeting, at any rate, he was handed over to Tobin, Cullen and myself. It would appear that his chief activity as far as we were concerned was to procure arms and ammunition on this side of the water. It is rather a peculiar thing that sometimes the cleverest of men are caught out because somebody on the opposite side takes a dislike to them but that is actually what happened in the case of Jameson. Tom Cullen had forcibly expressed his dislike of the man from the beginning, and possibly this had reactions on myself. In any case there were none of us impressed. It was decided to start laying traps for him. He fell into the first trap laid. He arrived with Liam Tobin outside New Ireland Assurance Society's building at 56 Bachelor's Walk. These premises were situated over Kapp & Petersons, at the corner of Bachelor's Walk and O'Connell Street - the New Ireland Assurance Society occupying the second floor. Jameson handed over a portmanteau full of Webley revolvers to me in the hall of Kapp & Petersons, which he stated he had smuggled into the country. His story was that he got them in through communistic channels. They were handed over to me in the hall door of Kapp & Peterson's, Bachelor's Walk. I immediately walked straight through the hall and down the steps into Kapp & Peterson's basement, and Tobin took Jameson away. When the coast was clear, I handed the portmanteau of revolvers over to Tom Cullen who was waiting at 32 Bachelor's Walk which was the Quartermaster General's [Michael Staines] stores. Before all these things happened, we had contacted Jim McNamara of the Detective Division, who was working for us, to keep his ears open for any unusual occurrence on that day, particularly if he heard of any raids to try and give us the information in advance. about mid-day I got a message from McNamara telling me that the New Ireland Assurance Society's premises at Bachelor's Walk would be raided at about 3 o'clock. I naturally had a good look around the premises to make sure that no papers or any documents or guns or any description were left around. I Joined Tobin and Cullen at McBirney's on the far side of the river at 3 o'clock to await developments. On the stroke of 3 o'clock a large force of military and police arrived and surrounded the building. They immediately went down into the basement and ransacked it upside down but naturally didn't find any revolvers. They then ransacked the whole building from cellar to garret but by a strange coincidence they found an old Irish Volunteer cap, which evidently belonged to one of the staff, hidden in the basement. The finding of this cap of course convinced them that they were on the right track and that this must be some sort of a Headquarters of the IRA. However, the raid was abortive and they went away …Suffice to say that following other incidents which happened it was finally decided that, Jameson was a spy and as such would have to be shot. He met Paddy O'Daly and Joe by appointment; making sure that no accomplice was shadowing the party he was brought out by tram to meet Mick Collins at Ballymun Road. Naturally Collins wasn't there but Jameson was told that he was going to be shot. He violently protested to the very last that we were shooting one of the best friends that Ireland ever had. I think it is sufficient to say that Sir Basil Thompson clinched the matter when he described Jameson (alias Byrne) as one of the best and cleverest Secret Service men that ever had" **– Frank Thornton**, GHQ Intelligence, IRA, (BMH-WS 615).

A group of those who had partaken in the hunger strikes include Commandant Tommy Donovan (7th Battalion, Tipperary No.3 Brigade, IRA) in the front holding the sign, 'We Have 'Em.' Donovan would be killed in October 1920. Brian na Banban Ó hUiginn sits on the extreme right.

Constable [Harry] Kells was on the list for elimination, and we went out specially to look for him on the morning of the one-day strike over the hunger-strikes in Mountjoy. We got information that he lived somewhere in the vicinity of Pleasants Street and that he would walk down Camden Street because there was no trams running on that day. On our way we picked up Hugo MacNeill. MacNeill was not a member of the Squad at the time, but he knew we were patrolling and he asked could he come along with us. We told him he could help us. We divided up, and patrolled in twos. Hugo MacNeill was with Joe Leonard, I think. We heard a couple of shots and looking up Pleasants Street we saw Hugo MacNeill and Joe Leonard, I think, sauntering down as if nothing had happened. We asked them what the shooting was about, and MacNeill said, "Kells is up there if you want him". "Where?" said I. On the footpath, answered MacNeill. I did not actually see Kells being shot, but he was shot alright" – **Paddy O'Daly**, the Squad, IRA, (BMH-WS 387).

6th April 1920

BYRNE, John:

Rank: Captain.
Unit: *C Coy (Kilcruise), 4th Batt., Laois Brigade, IRA.*
DOB: c.1891. Son of Michael Byrne and Anne Harding.
Address: Gracefield, Ballylinan, Co. Laois.
Occupation: Timber Contractor for Mullaghmore Mines / Farmer's Son.
Death: Byrne died from serious burns received during the IRA's burning of the abandoned RIC barracks at Luggacurren, Co. Laois, on 3 April 1920. This operation, ordered by GHQ to all IRA brigade areas nationwide, was commanded by Brigade Adjutant, Laurence Brady and James Ramsbottom, who also oversaw the burning of Timahoe RIC barracks. While in the process of setting fire to the building, the petrol caught fire, causing severe burns to Byrne. Another volunteer, Peter Hunt, was also burned during the operation but survived. Byrne succumbed to his wounds several days later while in the care of his sister, Mrs. Brigid Keightly, at Fossey, near Timahoe, Co. Laois.
Buried: Rathaspick Graveyard, Ballylinan, Co. Laois.
Image Source: Gerry Mulhall, Co. Laois.
MSPC Ref: 1D441.

"It is a spiritual appeal, then, that primarily moves us. We are urged to action by a beautiful ideal. The motive force must be likewise true and beautiful. It is love of country that inspires us; not hate of the enemy and desire for full satisfaction for the past"
– Terence MacSwiney

9th April 1920

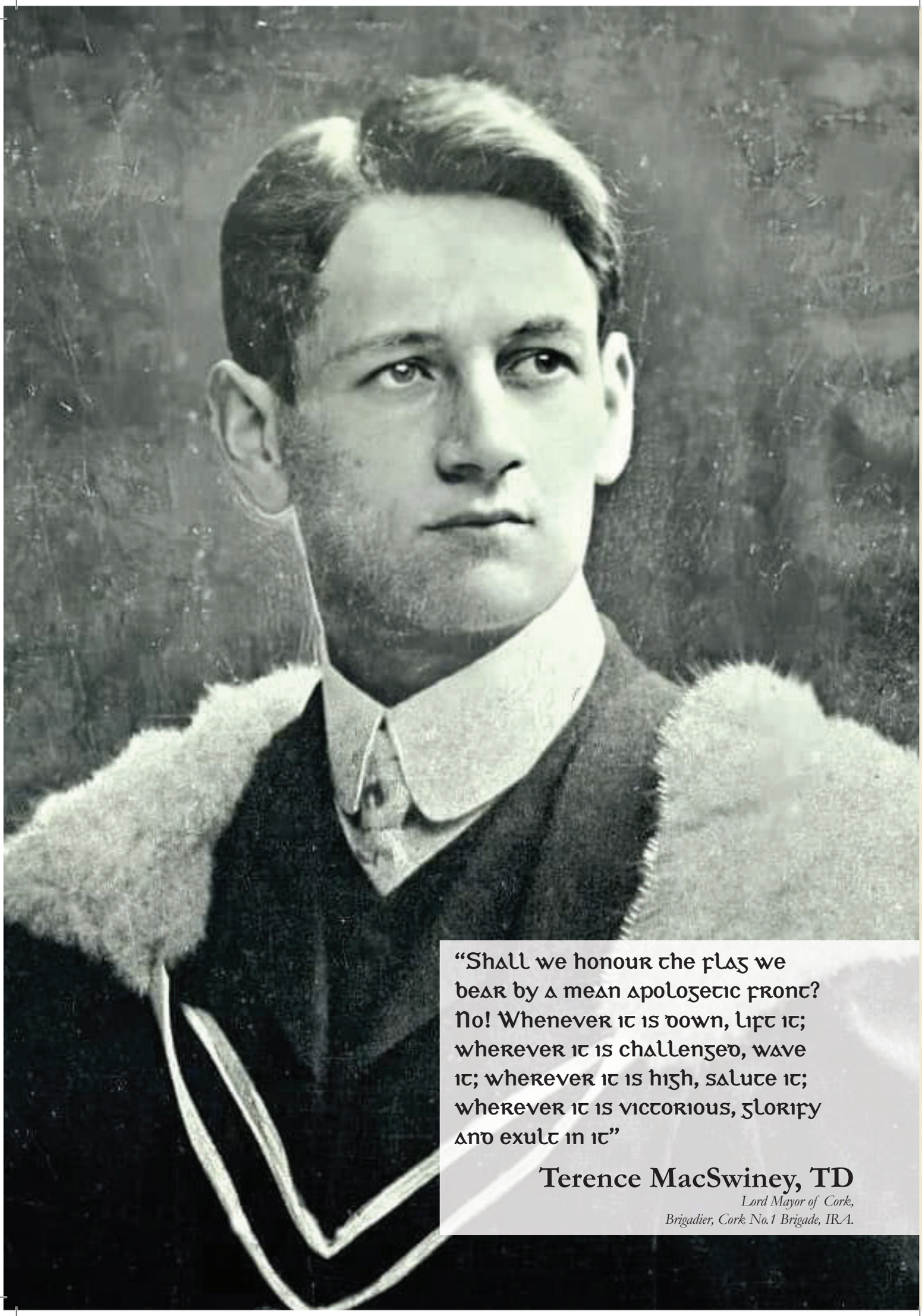
MORRISSEY, Patrick:

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *H Coy (Ballymacoda), 4th Batt., Cork No.I Bde, IRA.*
DOB: c.1892. Son of David Morrissey and Mary McCarthy.
Address: Garryvoe Upper, Lady's Bridge, Castlemartyr, Co. Cork.
Occupation: Farmer.
Death: Morrissey died at Cork's North Infirmary from septicaemia and haemorrhage as a result of gunshot wounds received during an arms raid on James Griffin's house at Pilmore, Youghal, Co. Cork, which occurred on 6 April 1920. Griffin had barricaded himself in a room and shot through the door as Morrissey tried to force it open. Morrissey was carried to a safe location but when a doctor arrived, he was conveyed to the North Infirmary, where his name or address were specifically not given. He died from the wounds received. Morrissey was simply recorded as John Walsh during the inquest.
Buried: Old Mogeely Cemetery, Castlemartyr, Co. Cork.
MSPC Ref: DP7951.

"We find that Alderman Tomás Mac Curtain, Lord Mayor of Cork, died from shock and haemorrhage caused by bullet wounds; and that he was wilfully murdered under circumstances of the most callous brutality; and that the murder was organised and carried out by the RIC [Royal Irish Constabulary] officially directed by the British Government. We return a verdict of wilful murder against David Lloyd George, Prime Minister of England; Lord French, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; Ian Macpherson, late Chief Secretary for Ireland; Acting Inspector General Smith, of the RIC; Divisional Inspector Clayton, of the RIC; District Inspector Swanzy, and some unknown members of the RIC. We strongly condemn the system at present in vogue of carrying out raids at unreasonable hours"

The verdict given by the jury in the inquest of Tomás MacCurtain, Cork, April 1920.

The Shandon Bells Tower of St. Anne's Church overlooking North Gate Bridge, Cork City. Source: National Library of Ireland



"Shall we honour the flag we bear by a mean apologetic front? No! Whenever it is down, lift it; wherever it is challenged, wave it; wherever it is high, salute it; wherever it is victorious, glorify and exult in it"

Terence MacSwiney, TD

Lord Mayor of Cork,
Brigadier, Cork No.1 Brigade, IRA.

14th April 1920

THE CANADA CROSS SHOOTINGS, MILTOWN MALBAY, CO. CLARE

HENNESSY, Patrick:

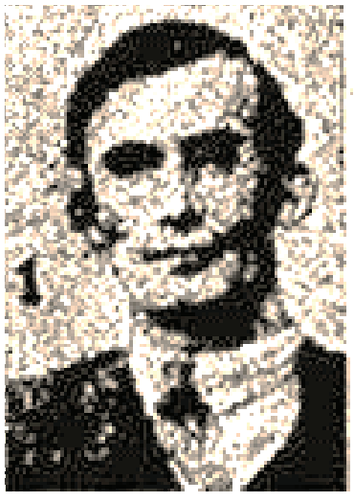
Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *G Coy (Miltown Malbay), 4th Batt., Mid-Clare Brigade, IRA.*
DOB: 11 March 1889. Son of Anthony Hennessy and Mary Connolly.
Address: Church St, Miltown Malbay, Co. Clare.
Occupation: Farmer.
Familial: Hennessy married Bridget Blake on 26 January 1918 at St. Joseph's Church, Miltown Malbay, Co. Clare. Their children were Joseph, Michael (b.1918) and Patrick, who was born weeks after the death of his father.
Death: On the late evening of 14 April 1920, a large bonfire event was held at Canada Cross, Miltown Malbay to celebrate the release of prisoners following the successful Mountjoy Gaol hunger strike. The name Canada Cross was uniquely and ironically born out of Republican commemoration, when in 1866, the people of Miltown Malbay congregated at the crossroads to celebrate the Fenian Brotherhood's attacks on Canada. As the evening started to darken, the RIC, disliking the congregation of a large jubilant crowd, called for assistance. A unit of Crown forces, consisting of the Royal Highland Light Infantry arrived in Miltown Malbay to help the RIC disperse the crowd. At 22.40, the police and military opened fire on the crowd, who had failed to disperse. Hennessy, the All-Ireland football champion of 1912, 1916 and 1917, was shot in the chest on Main Street and died instantly. His remains were quickly taken and conveyed to his homestead. Vol. John O'Loghlen was also mortally wounded during the opening shots, falling unconscious beside the bonfire. He was carried to Kinucane's, where an Act of Contrition was said before he died. A civilian and father of ten children, Thomas O'Leary, was also killed, and nine others wounded.
Buried: The Canada Cross Memorial Plot, Ballard Graveyard, Miltown Malbay, Co. Clare.
MSPC Ref: DP4353.

"The crowd were good-humoured and were singing songs, but otherwise were orderly and were in no way truculent towards anybody. I was 'on the run' at the time and took no part in the proceedings, but I was watching everything from Kinucane's shoemakers shop about 100 yards away. In the midst of the celebrations a party of seven or eight armed soldiers came along from their post in the Temperance Hall, passed by the crowd and went on to the RIC barracks. After a short time, the soldiers, accompanied by some RIC men under Sergeant Hampson, left the barracks and headed straight for the crowd. As soon as they reached the outskirts, Sergeant Hampson drew a revolver while the other policemen and soldiers took up firing positions around him. The sergeant called on the crowd to disperse and simultaneously fired from his revolver. The other police and soldiers also opened fire. People began falling all over the place and there was a wild stampede. I saw a Volunteer named John O'Loghlen fall within a few feet of the blazing tar barrel. Thinking that he might be burned in the flames, I rushed out of Kinucane's to his assistance. On the way I met Pat Maguire, a local blacksmith and called upon him to help me remove O'Loghlen. Though I was not aware at the time, Maguire himself had been wounded through the thigh, but nevertheless he helped me in carrying O'Loghlen up to Kinucane's. Poor O'Loghlen was unconscious. After uttering an Act of Contrition into his ear, another Volunteer named 'Dido' Foudy had come along and I dispatched him for spiritual and medical aid. Foudy came back in a few minutes in a most excited state. On his way to the priest's house, he tripped over the dead body of another man who turned out to be Thomas O'Leary, a most inoffensive individual who belonged to no organisation. Foudy was again sent off to complete his errand, which he did. In the meantime, I heard that Patrick Hennessy, also a Volunteer, had been killed. I went to his home to which his corpse had just been taken and remained there until the early hours of the morning, when I went off to Ballard for a few hours sleep" – **Capt. Ned Lynch**, Miltown Malbay Coy, 4th Batt., Mid-Clare Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1333).

The Canada Cross Memorial to Patrick Hennessy, Thomas O'Leary and Jack O'Loghlen, Ballard Cemetery, Miltown Malbay, Co. Clare. Source: Mid-Clare Brigade Commemoration 100 (Facebook)

Canada Cross, Miltown Malbay, Co. Clare. Source: Mid-Clare Brigade Commemoration 100 (Facebook)

O'LOGHLEN, John (Jack):



Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *G Coy (Miltown Malbay), 4th Batt., Mid-Clare Bde, IRA.*
DOB: c.1891.
Address: Ennistymon Road, Miltown Malbay, Co. Clare.
Occupation: Tailor.
Death: See HENNESSY, Patrick.
Buried: The Canada Cross Memorial Plot, Ballard Graveyard, Miltown Malbay, Co. Clare.
MSPC Ref: DP2746.

"There were further sensational disclosures at the inquest of the three victims of the Miltown Malbay shooting on Wednesday, two witnesses stating they saw a constable discharge two shots from the courthouse door and run back to the barracks. Evidence was also given to show that Sergt. Hampson was under the influence of drink on the occasion, that when coming up with the police and military, he told them to "Be getting ready," that Constable M'Donnell was seen firing, and that afterwards a constable remarked that it was right to kill them, making use of a foul expression at the same time. Mr. Lynch, KC, who closed the evidence for the next-of-kin, drew attention to the fact that while the entries for that night in the RIC diary referred to the going out and return of Sergt. Hampson, 6 constables and the military, the examination of 3 revolvers, and 3 bombs by the sergeant, it contained no reference to the fact that three persons were shot dead and several wounded that night" – **The Liberator (Tralee)**, 4 May 1920, p.3.

"England's idea was to make Ireland an English province. For her purposes, Irish civilisation was to be completely blotted out. The Gael was to go. Our lands were to be confiscated and given to aliens. Our industries were to be effectively destroyed. Everything that tended to remind us of the past, everything that tended to retain our Irish outlook, everything that helped to keep us a distinct people, everything that tended to keep alive in us memories of our Gaelic civilisation and of our Irish nationality, freedom and prosperity, was to be obliterated"

– Michael Collins

The Mountjoy Hunger Strikers, 1920: Front (L-R) E. Kean, M. Gleeson, Frank Gleeson, Frank Gleeson, M. McCoy, M. Gray & T. Smith; Second Row (L-R) Michael Lynch, Christopher 'Todd' Andrews, P. Daly, P. Byrne, Maurice Crowe, Michael Carolan, M. Breen, M. Spillane, J. O'Neill & M. Lynam; Third Row (L-R) M. Molloy, P. Clynch, F. Loughran, M. Cooke, T. Tate, J. Larkin, P. O'Rourke, J. Burns & Phil Shanahan TD; Back Row (L-R), J. O'Rourke, A. Hall, J. O'Hagan, J. O'Neill, P. Shields, S. O'Carroll, D. Fitzpatrick & P. Molloy.

"*I got no welcome in Terenure on my return except from my parents and my friends in E Company. The local population could not be said to be enthusiastic Republicans. When I got home, I reported back to the Company, which was about to burn the old police barracks at Rockbrook near Glen Dhu. [F.X.] Coughlan would not let me take part in the job, reckoning I was not yet fit*" – **Vol. Christopher 'Todd' Andrews**, E Coy, 4th Batt., Dublin Brigade, IRA, *Dublin Made Me*, p.154-155.

"Constance Markievicz TD was known to go about disguised as an old woman, popping up here and there on street corners. She would hold a brief meeting, then disappear; there were hundreds, perhaps thousands, in her own constituency – around St. Patrick's Cathedral – to protect the Countess, always watching for her. The Chief Commissioner of the Police issued a special circular about the Countess to all stations in the Metropolitan District in January 1920; a sergeant gave his copy to Fergus O'Connor, who subsequently allowed me to copy it. In the circular the Chief Commissioner impresses on all superintendents the 'grave importance of securing this woman's arrest', who, he added, 'may possibly be heavily veiled and difficult to recognise'. He ordered his superintendents to have 'at least three cyclists on duty' in every division to put a stop to these suddenly convened meetings" – **Máire Comerford**, *On Dangerous Ground*, p.134-135.

"There was a lull until April 24th, when a sergeant of the DMP was shot dead near Clonakilty. On the 25th, a small party under the Battalion Adjutant, Jim O'Mahony, intercepted and shot dead a sergeant and constable on patrol near Upton. Two carbines and ammunition were taken. Next a group under Charlie Hurley's leadership attacked a police patrol from Timoleague at Ahawadda. Three police were killed, one wounded and all arms and ammunition were taken" – **Tom Barry**, Bandon, Co. Cork, *Guerilla Days in Ireland*, p.13.

"We want to set Ireland on fire: and we think our personal sacrifice not too high a price to pay…Let Irish blood be the first to fall on Irish earth – there will be kindled, a crusade for the restoration of liberty that not all the fires of hell can defeat"

– Terence MacSwiney

"During the month of April 1920, a fortunate strike was made by the Bantry Battalion Quartermaster, Michael O'Callaghan. An RIC escort was bringing a large quantity of gelignite and four thousand detonators from Cork to Bantry. By an oversight, when changing trains at the Drimoleague Junction, the policemen forgot the detonators, and the carriage containing them continued on to Baltimore. There they were discovered by the Battalion Quartermaster. This valuable find came at an opportune time not only for the Bantry Battalion, but also for the Brigade when land mines operated by electric exploders became such an effective means of destroying enemy transport in ambushes during the year ahead. Ralph Keyes, Captain of the Bantry Company, and Seán Cotter, Battalion Adjutant, were released from Wormwood Scrubs prison in May after a hunger-strike lasting twenty-three days. They were transferred to different medical centres, and Ralph found himself in St. James's Hospital, Balham. One night after nine days of convalescence he felt sufficiently recovered to slip away quietly from the hospital and go to stay with a family of his acquaintance named O'Sullivan living in St. James's Street. Here he was given the warmest of welcomes for the head of the household, a native of Bantry who, when he emigrated to England, brought with him the best of Fenian traditions: his three sons became active members of the IRA [including Joe, who rose to rank of London Battalion I/O, and was executed in London in August 1922 for his part in the assassination of Sir Henry Wilson]. *Under the motherly care of Mrs. O'Sullivan, Ralph made a rapid recovery, and in the evening time he eagerly discussed the progress of the war in Ireland. In these discussions he constantly referred with regret to the lack of arms to prosecute the struggle until on a given night one of John O'Sullivan's sons, Paddy, a Vice-Commandant in the Volunteers, brought news of the possibility of securing arms if only they could be conveyed to Ireland. Ralph quickly suggested a solution. He urged that a trial consignment of arms be sent as a case of machinery and addressed to G.W. Biggs & Co. – the principal merchant in Bantry and a well-known loyalist to boot. In December the first case of arms, labelled 'machinery parts' arrived at Bantry Railway Station, and was safely diverted to its proper destination. In February 1921, a second case arrived and in March a third; in all nine rifles were thus added to the armoury of the Bantry Battalion"* – **Brigade Adjt. Liam Deasy**, Cork No.3 Brigade, IRA, *Towards Ireland Free*, p.107-108.

"Early in Apri1 1920, I took part in the destruction of income tax records at the Income Tax offices in the town [Tralee, Co. Kerry]. *Paddy Cahill took charge of the operation. He had no difficulty in entering the building. I, with a number of men of the Tralee Battalion, assisted by men from other battalions, collected all documents in the building, took them into a yard adjoining the tax office and set them alight. Heavy ledgers and files were taken by pony cart some distance outside the town and destroyed there. While the job was being carried out, a number of men of the Tralee Battalion were on guard armed with revolvers. Some of the men who took part were Paddy Garvey, who later became brigade adjutant; Joe Griffin, John O'Sullivan and James O'Connor"* – **Cmdt. Michael Doyle**, 1st Batt., Kerry No.1 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1038).

A Black & Tan, armed with a Lewis machine-gun, on patrol.

The grave of Thomas Mulholland, Castletown Cemetery, Co. Louth. Source: The Louth Volunteers 1916 (Facebook).

17th April 1920

MULHOLLAND, Thomas:

Rank: Company QM.
Unit: *C Coy (Dundalk), North Louth Batt., IRA. Mobilised with the Louth Volunteers during the 1916 Rising.*
DOB: 18 October 1887. Son of Patrick Mulholland and Bridget Callaghan.
Address: Carrickrobin, Kilkerley, Dundalk, Co. Louth.
Occupation: Yardman.

Death: On the night of 16 April, a nighttime operation was launched to procure weapons by holding up RIC constables on patrol. The IRA unit, consisting of ten Volunteers under the command of Patrick Culhane, accosted and started beating three policemen, near Patrick Walsh's gate at the junction of John Street and Bridge Street, Dundalk. Mulholland was shot and fatally wounded in the collarbone by RIC Sergeant, Joseph Bustard, who immediately fled the scene. After the shooting, Mulholland was found on John Street, opposite St. Nicholas' Church. With the bullet having pierced the top of his lung, Mulholland's condition worsened through the night in the County Infirmary and he eventually died after surgery at 00.20 a.m.
Buried: Castletown Cemetery, Co. Louth.
MSPC Ref: DP23383.

"When headquarters recommended attacks on RIC barracks' we made plans to carry out our instructions but we were faced with a scarcity of rifles so we decided to attac5k three armed patrols of RIC who generally patrolled the Town simultaneously and if successful, obtain the much-wanted rifles for use in barrack attacks. Bad luck dogged us at every move. For one reason or another the disarming of those patrols were postponed on at least two occasions and on the night on which the operations were carried out, we had the misfortune of losing one of our best men, Thomas Mulholland" – **Cmdt. James McGuill**, North Louth Battalion, IRA, (BMH-WS 353).

(Above) The site marked X where Thomas Mulholland was shot on Bridge Street, Dundalk. Source: The Louth Volunteers 1916 (Facebook).
(Below) The funeral of Mulholland at Friary Church.

Huge crowd at the Friary Church for the funeral of Thomas Mulholland in 1920

18th April 1920

FOGARTY, Patrick Thomas:

Rank: Section-Commander.
Unit: *F Coy, 2nd Batt., Dublin Brigade, IRA. Originally attached to B Company, 1st Battalion, Irish Volunteers. Attached to the Cabra Bridge Outpost during the 1916 Rising.*
DOB: 20 May 1896. Born at 5 Fingall Street, Dublin, to Thomas Fogarty and Margaret O'Toole.
Address: 79 Fitzroy Drive, Drumcondra, Dublin.
Occupation: Tailor. Employed at *Republican Outfitters*, Talbot Street.
Death: Fogarty died from pneumonia at his mother's residence at 3 Brighton Ave, Clontarf. Fogarty had contracted pneumonia when enforcing crowd control outside Mountjoy Gaol, under bleak weather conditions during the Hunger Strikes of April 1920.
Buried: Glasnevin Cemetery, Dublin.
MSPC Ref: DP256.

NEVILLE, Daniel:

Rank: Lieutenant.
Unit: *D Coy (Ballysteen), 4th Batt., West Limerick Brigade, IRA.*
DOB: 26 May 1895. Born at Shannon House to Michael Neville and Johanna Sheehan.
Occupation: Farmer's Son.
Address: Ballyaglish, Askeaton, Co. Limerick.
Death: Neville was shot dead during an arms raid on Peter Switzer's residence at Moig, Pallaskenry, Co. Limerick. Switzer, noted for having a rifle at his residence was already waiting in an upstairs room when the IRA unit approached his farmhouse. Switzer derived from the German-Palatine community in West Limerick and was unpopular in the locality, including the Palatine community for his purchase of a farm which was centre of an agrarian dispute. Switzer was eventually shot and killed by the IRA in January 1922.
Buried: Castletown, Pallaskenry, Co. Limerick.
MSPC Ref: DP8860.

"In 1920 the Ballysteen Company attempted a raid for arms on the house of Peter Switzer, a loyalist. Something like this had happened at the same house in his father's time, in the days of the Land League. The house is about 1 ½ miles from Pallaskenry in the Castletown area. Switzer got up in a kind of turret over the hall-door and opened fire on the raiders, shooting one dead. This was Dan Neville, a farmer's son. Jackie Finn, our Brigadier, reported the matter to Dick Mulcahy when in Dublin shortly after, and [Richard] Mulcahy said on no account were reprisals to be taken against Switzer. After the shooting, Switzer, who was an elderly man and a fighting Protestant, used to come to church armed. We did not shoot him but we took him by surprise one Sunday morning and got two revolvers off him. Then we drove him in a pony and trap to his house and demanded more arms. He refused, but his womenfolk, thinking he would be shot, brought us out a shotgun and ammunition. We then released him unharmed" – **Cmdt. James Halpin**, 4th Batt, West Limerick IRA, (BMH-WS 811).

"In a physical contest on the field of battle, it is allowable to use tactics and strategy, to retreat as well as advance, to have recourse to a ruse as well as open attack; but in matters of principle there can be no tactics, there is one straight forward course to follow and that course must be found and followed without swerving to the end"

- Terence MacSwiney TD.

BREEN, Seán:

Rank: Battalion QM.
Unit: *2nd Battalion, West Clare Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 15 June 1898. Son of Michael Breen and Catherine Murphy
Occupation: Farmer.
Address: Kiltumper, Kilmihill, Co. Clare.
Death: On 18 April 1920, a party of Kilmihill based IRA Volunteers, with a goal of seizing arms, attacked a group of RIC constables as they left 11am Mass at Kilmihill, Co. Clare. The event occurred as the congregation emptied from the Church. RIC Sergeant Carroll was killed in the shoot-out. As Breen chased another Constable through the crowd, he was shot in the head and immediately killed.
Buried: St. Michael's Old Church Graveyard, Kilmihil, Co. Clare.
MSPC Ref: DP454.

"The first armed attack on British Forces in my Battalion area took place in Kilmihill on 18th April, 1920, when the local Volunteers attacked a party of RIC on a Sunday morning after 11 o'clock Mass. The Volunteers participating in this attack were Seán Breen, Battalion Quartermaster, Martin Melican, John O'Dea and a fourth man whose name I forget. They were armed with revolvers and they opened the attack outside the Church gates as the congregation was coming out. In the first burst of fire RIC Sergeant Carroll was killed and Constable Collins wounded. The third policeman retreated back through the congregation taking a zig-zag route. He was followed by Seán Breen a very tall man who towered above the people about him. The policeman fired without regard for whom he hit, but Breen, being under the disadvantage of knowing every member of the congregation, hesitated to return the fire. On account of his stature, he was a fairly easy target at close range and, as he closed in on the policeman, the latter shot him through the forehead, killing him outright. Military, who were stationed in Kilmihill at the time and RIC, were quickly on the scene. Breen's body was taken by them to his uncle's place in the village. A military guard was placed over it until the next day when an inquest was held. The Jury returned the verdict that "John Breen was shot dead while fighting for his country by Constable Martin". Breen's body was handed over to his relatives after the inquest and on the following day his funeral to Kilmihill graveyard took place. The corpse had been taken to the Chapel on Monday evening escorted by the Kilmihill Company. Next day, at the funeral, upwards of eight hundred Volunteers participated in the parade which followed the coffin. I was in charge of the Volunteers on the day of Breen's burial. They mobilised in front of Kilmihill Catholic Church and were drawn up in ranks waiting for the funeral to start when a military armoured car came up the street. On meeting the Volunteers, it drove very slowly against the front bank, attempting to knock down our men. They refused to yield and after repeated attempts the armoured car withdrew without having upset our ranks. The village bristled with troops and policemen who had machine guns posted all over the place, outside the police barracks, outside the Church and around the graveyard. As the coffin was going past the police barracks a machine gun was trained on it but there was no firing. The Volunteers marched in military formation at the funeral and the internment took place without incident, nor did tie British authorities attempt to make any arrests. I would like to say that sanction for the attack on the police at Kilmihill was sought by the local Company from the Battalion Council, and that not alone was approval given, but assistance was also offered, which was not accepted. Breen and his companions felt they were capable of succeeding without the aid of outsiders" – **Cmdt. John Flanagan**, 2nd Batt., West Clare Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1316).

KILMIHILL SHOOTING—INQUEST OPENED

CORONER'S STRONG WORDS

Mr. Thos. Lillis opened the inquest on the remains of the two victims of the Kilmihill shooting last evening, which, after evidence of identification, was adjourned until May 11.

The inquest on John Breen was held first. Mr. J. B. Lynch, solr., appeared for the next-of-kin; Head-Constable Sweeney represented the police.

Tendering sympathy to the family, the coroner expressed regret that such an awful and turned into a vary. Deceased would be 22 years old in May, and was an only son.

The inquest on the remains of Sergt. P. J. Carroll was then opened. Cornelius Carroll, Scorlugstown, Kells, identified the remains of his son, who was about 40 and unmarried. He had 21 years' service. Witness last saw him alive about six months ago when on holidays.

The Coroner tendered sympathy to the father and family, and hoped that any irritation got up by the awful happening would disappear, that a better feeling might even grow out of it, and that there would be no further violent deaths. He

Old Anymosity Amons the Limerick City IRA

"Up to this time there had been a distinct cleavage and much bad feeling between these units arising from the circumstances of the foundation of each Battalion. The 1st Battalion was the unit which existed from the Redmondite split in 1914, while the 2nd was formed after 1916 and was mostly composed of men who, up to the Easter Week executions had been very hostile to our movement and had been followers of the political party of John Redmond. It was men such as those who afterwards formed the 2nd Battalion who were foremost in the assault upon the Dublin Brigade when the latter came to Limerick on a recruiting parade on Whit Sunday, 1915. This fact was not forgotten by those who composed the 1st Battalion, and was the chief cause of the bad feeling between these units. Even now in 1951 there are some whose memory of that Whit Sunday parade nourishes a feeling of ill-will towards the assailants of the Volunteer parade. However, in the April of 1920, or it may have been late March, an honest effort was made to bring the units together, and there was an exchange of appointments to establish the give and take atmosphere necessary for a settlement. I was temporarily relieved of my appointment and my job given to a man named Liam O'Sullivan. O'Sul1ivan was a harness-maker by trade and had a shop in the same street as mine but on the other side, He lived directly across the street from my shop and on the first morning after he had taken up his new appointment he seemed to have got alarmed when the usual couriers arrived to hand him their various messages. Coming across to my shop he said to me in the presence of my assistant, Miss Kilmartin (who is still employed in my shop) "You had better keep all these" handing me the bundle of messages etc., "as my place might be raided", with which he walked back to his own shop. From then on to the Truce, a matter of some weeks, I had to accept the worry and responsibility of handling and safeguarding all the intelligence reports and messages, while Sullivan had the honour and glory of holding the appointment of Brigade I.O." – **Acting Brigade I/O, Éamon Dore**, Mid-Limerick Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 515).

Events in North Kerry

"About a month after the attack on Ballybunion RIC barracks, the Battalion staff decided to capture and burn down the local RIC barracks. Tom Shanahan was in charge. The RIC in the barracks, which was a wooden hut, numbered six men. It had been decided that the attacking IRA would occupy the Parish Hall next door to the barracks on a Saturday night and that on the following Monday morning while the most of the RIC were at Church that it would be a simple matter to rush into the barracks and overpower the one or two men on duty. I, with about twelve men of the Company, assembled in the Parish Hall on the Saturday night as arranged. The next morning all but two of the RIC went out to Church. This left one RIC man only on guard while another one, who was friendly to us and who had been on duty the night before, was in bed. Shortly after the RIC had gone to Church, the man on duty at the barracks happened to go out into the yard of the barracks. He saw us as we wade for the door and succeeded in reaching it and chaining it before we got there. Before the end of that week this barracks was evacuated by the RIC. The nearest RIC. barracks to Lixnaw was now at Ahabeg three miles from Lixnaw" – **Lieut. Jack Lynch**, Kerry No.1 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 967).

"The night of March the 31st (Thursday) was fixed for the attack on Scartaglin RIC barracks. Thomas McEllistrim was to take charge and all arrangements were left to him except that I was to have the place scouted by local Volunteers and place outposts on all roads leading to Scartaglin. The Battalion O/C was not informed of the attack; neither was. the Castleisland Company. Other companies in the battalion took part. The plan of attack was to blow in the gable and windows with explosives and set fire to the building with bottles of paraffin and other inflammable material. The breach made by the explosion was not sufficient and a fire which had started was put out accidentally by water flowing from a storage tank which had been hit by bullets. The attack failed but had the effect of the place being evacuated in a few days. The six occupants of the barracks were transferred to Castleisland and Tralee. One of our men, Ned McCarthy of Brehig, was wounded in the shoulder during the attack. The RIC moved out on Saturday, and although there was a general order to burn all vacated barracks, we decided instead to dismantle the barracks. The job was done on Easter Sunday 1920. The barracks was of the hut type, built in sections of pitch-pine. About sixty men of the Scartaglin Company were put to work and in a couple of nights it had been completely removed to a safe place. It was subsequently auctioned to people in the area, realising about £180 which was sent to Dublin for arms. We could have got revolvers but did not consider them suitable and decided to wait for rifles, which we never received though some few did come to the Brigade" – **Capt. Peter Browne**, Scartaglin IRA, Kerry No.2 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1110).

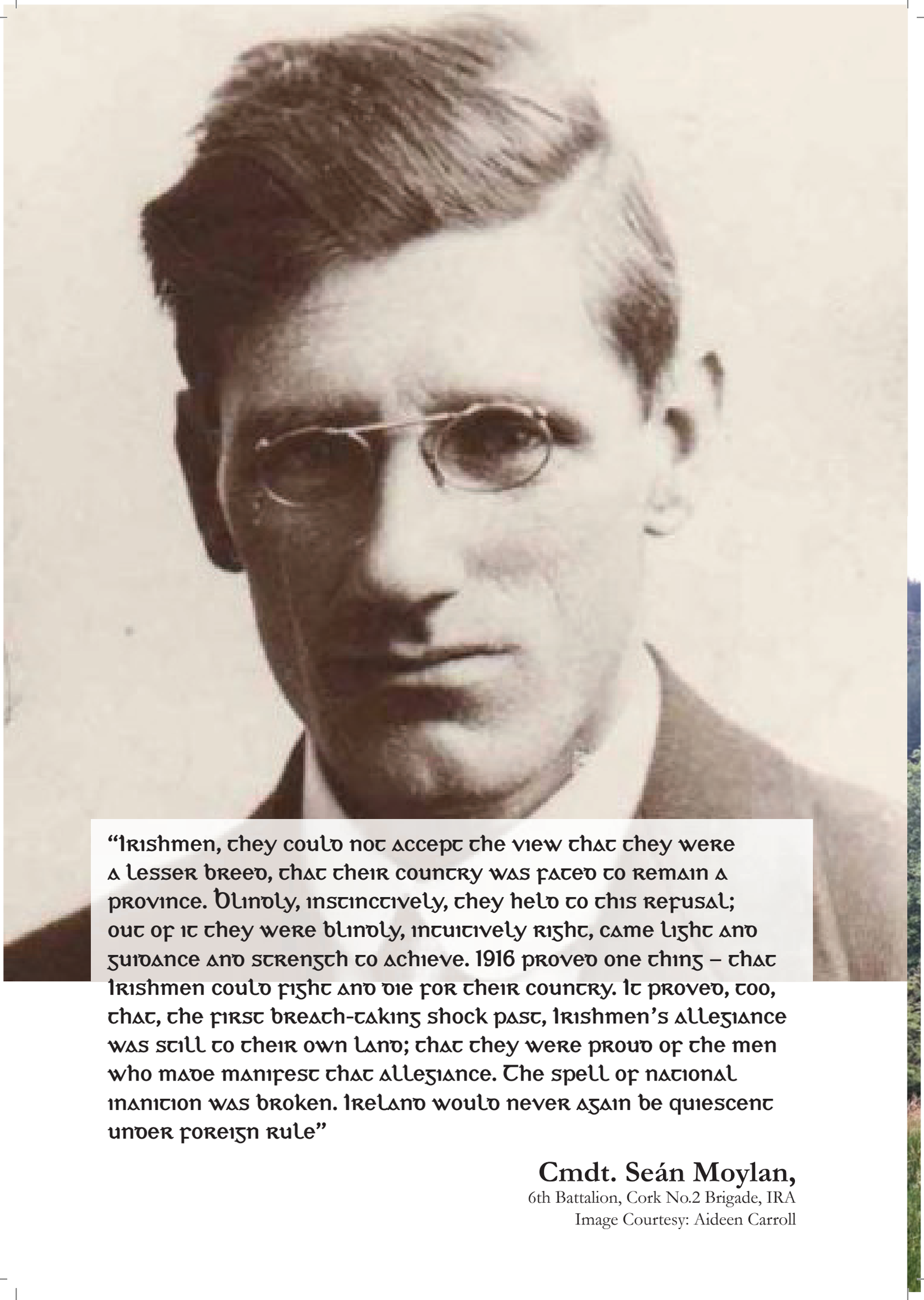
"In May 1920, an IRA party including T.P. Shea, Patrick Walsh and Patrick Corridan attacked a party of RIC, in charge of Sergeant McKenna at Gale Bridge, Listowel. The RIC were on their way from Listowel to Ballylongford. I was not in this attack. Sergeant McKenna was shot dead and two RIC were wounded. The next morning the RIC raided my house in Bridge Street. I was not at home at the time. When they had left the furniture and everything in the house were in disorder" – **Lieut. Thomas Carmody**, Ballylongford IRA, Kerry No.1 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 996).

Wormwood Scrubs Prisoners, 1920. Front (L-R) Felix Cronin, Tipperary; Miss Egan & Pat O'Leary, Kilmurry, Co. Cork. Back (L-R) Paddy Crowley, Kilbrittain, Co. Cork (Killed in Feb. 1921), Dan Canty, Newcestown, Co. Cork & Flor Begley, Bandon, Co. Cork.

North Cork

"Releases after a hunger strike at Wormwood Scrubs prison, London and the escape of Paddy McCarthy from Strangeways Prison, Manchester, had brought a number of us, pioneer Volunteers, together again. The fact that the number of men now on the run and not distracted by any other occupation had increased considerably had made the work of organisation easier; had brought about a strengthening of the Brigade and Battalion Staffs and made available for swift and decisive action the necessary force. The force of circumstance had brought an Active Service Unit into being. And if these men had been welded into a cohesive force, the Irish people were matching them step by step in effort and sacrifice. The railway men about this time were refusing to handle trains on which British troops were travelling. This meant, of course, the dismissal of engine drivers and guards. I spoke one Sunday afternoon to the Constituency Committee of Sinn Féin and asked them to collect one thousand pounds for a fund in support of the railwaymen. It was subscribed and lodged with the officials of the men's union within a week. This was not a forced contribution. It was a spontaneous gift from a people who realised they had a country and were determined to do their duty to it" – **Cmdt. Seán Moylan**, 6th Batt., Cork No.2 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 838).

"With the withdrawal of the RIC from outlying districts a certain amount of lawlessness resulted. Robberies, assaults and land disputes occurred and threatened to increase. The battalion had to cope with these and, by way of arrest, deportation, warning and general dispensation of summary jurisdiction, did so. The fact that such outbreaks of crime were immediately dealt with resulted in the making easier the work of the battalion in the later days when the issue was more closely knit on the more purely military front. These activities, however, placed a very heavy burden of work on the battalion, but also developed an esprit-de-corps, and an independence in outlook and action which were needful to them in the days ahead. The total number of men who joined the (6th) battalion approximated to the male population of the district between the ages of 16 and 45. The total number of Volunteers on roll remained practically constant. There were very few defections and only 3 fatal casualties. On the 11th July 1921, the number on the battalion rolls was 904, and on the 1st July 1922 the number was 843" - **T/O Thomas Roche**, 6th Batt., Cork No.2 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1222).



"Irishmen, they could not accept the view that they were a lesser breed, that their country was fated to remain a province. Blindly, instinctively, they held to this refusal; out of it they were blindly, intuitively right, came light and guidance and strength to achieve. 1916 proved one thing – that Irishmen could fight and die for their country. It proved, too, that, the first breath-taking shock past, Irishmen's allegiance was still to their own land; that they were proud of the men who made manifest that allegiance. The spell of national inanition was broken. Ireland would never again be quiescent under foreign rule"

Cmdt. Seán Moylan,
6th Battalion, Cork No.2 Brigade, IRA
Image Courtesy: Aideen Carroll

ONLY OUR RIVERS RUN FREE

When apples still grow in November,
When blossoms still bloom from each tree,
When leaves are still green in December,
It is then that our land will be free.

I wander her hills and her valleys
And still, through my sorrow, I see,
A land that has never known freedom,
And only her rivers run free.

I drink to the death of her manhood,
Those men who'd rather have died,
Than to live in the cold chains of bondage,
To bring back their rights were denied.

Oh! Where are you now when we need you?
What burns where the flame used to be?
Are you gone like the snows of last Winter?
And will only our rivers run free?

How sweet is life but we are crying,
How mellow the wine, but it is dry,
How fragrant the rose but it is dying,
How gentle the breeze but it sighs
What good is in youth, when it is aging?
What joy is in eyes that cannot see?
When there is sorrow in sunshine and in flowers
And still only our rivers run free

Mickey MacConnell

9th May 1920

GLEESON, Francis Aidan (Frank):

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *F Coy, 2nd Batt., Dublin Bde, IRA.*
DOB: c.1898. Liverpool, England. His parents were natives of County Tipperary.
Occupation: Clerk.
Address: 34 Cadogan Rd, Dublin.
Death: Gleeson died at the Mater Hospital after suffering complications during an operation for appendicitis; an issue created during his participation in the Mountjoy Gaol hunger strike. To avoid the authorities, Gleeson often used the alias of Aidan Redmond and is cited as that in the group photograph of the hunger strikers. His brother, Vol. Joe Gleeson, helped in the raising of the tricolour over the GPO on Easter Monday 1916.
Buried: The Republican Plot, Glasnevin Cemetery.

"Another death, that of Volunteer Gleeson, which took place at the Mater Hospital, was recorded. Volunteer Gleeson was attached to the 2nd Battalion. At the removal of his remains to Fairview Church and funeral the next day, the Dublin Brigade paid him fitting honours" – **Capt. Seán Prendergast**, Dublin Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 755).

"On 9th May, Frank Gleeson, who was a member of "F" Company, 2nd Battalion, died on hunger strike in Mountjoy. Then was a huge parade of Volunteers at his funeral, and several high-ranking Volunteers from all over the country, amongst them, Terry MacSwiney, attended. The strength of the parade and the amount of public sympathy seemed to have an effect on the enemy. If my memory serves me, I think the Volunteer demands for treatment as prisoners-of-war were conceded" – **Batt. Adjt. Harry Colley**, 2nd Battalion, Dublin Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1687).

The IRA in England, 1920

"The Irish Self-Determination League had its headquarters in London and from the outset was under the Presidency of Art O'Brien, with Seán McGrath as Secretary. Its whole purpose was the organisation of the Irish population in England with the object of bringing the Irish case before the English electorate. So far as my area was concerned, the Tyneside district, which embraced Northumberland Durham and Yorkshire, was governed from a Central Council in of which Richard Purcell was President and I was Secretary. Both Purcell and I engaged in the work of opening new branches. Later on, Purcell became a paid organiser of the I.S.D.L. After a time, we were both dissatisfied at the rather ineffectual nature of our work, depending as it did solely on the cultivation of a favourable public opinion. We discussed the establishment of Volunteer units. Early in 1920, in fact, we did recruit a number of companies of Volunteers in South Shields, Jarrow, and Newcastle-on-Tyne. Their operations consisted in providing funds with which to obtain arms, weekly, parades and the acquisition of munitions of one kind or another. While this was proceeding, we made cautious inquiries as to how our position could be regularised and finally got in touch with Liam McMahon of Manchester whom we knew to be an active IRA officer there. In November 1920, he. attended a meeting in Newcastle and met all the Volunteers from the companies already formed and administered the oath. At the same time, brigade headquarters staff was set up consisting of Officer Commanding, R.J. Purcell; Quartermaster, G.F. Barrington (myself) and Adjutant, David Ftzgera1d. In November, 1920, Rory O'Connor visited the area, met the Brigade Staff and arranged to send over M. McEvoy to confirm appointments, inspect the companies and report. The organisation now consisted of (in addition to the Brigade Staff already mentioned) six companies, as follows: A Company (Jarrow & South Shields) O/C - John Connolly; B Company (Hebburn) O/C - James Connolly; C. Company (Newcastle) O/C. John King; D. Company (Wallsend) O/C. E. McAndrews; E. Company (Bedlington) O/C. A. Mullarkey & F. Company (Consett) O/C. John Larkin" – **Brigade QM Gilbert Barrington**, North England IRA, (BMH-WS 773).

"Following the deliberate: burnings by the Auxiliaries, the Army Executive decided, that the Volunteers in the English cities should adopt retaliatory measures in their areas. I was summoned to a meeting in Dublin at which Michael Collins was present. A general discussion took place on the question of activities to be carried, out in Manchester and other cities in England where Volunteer units existed. It was felt that the people in England should be made conscious of what. the people in Ireland were suffering as regards depredations carried out by the Crown Forces. And it was to be definitely understood that any burnings the IRA might carry out

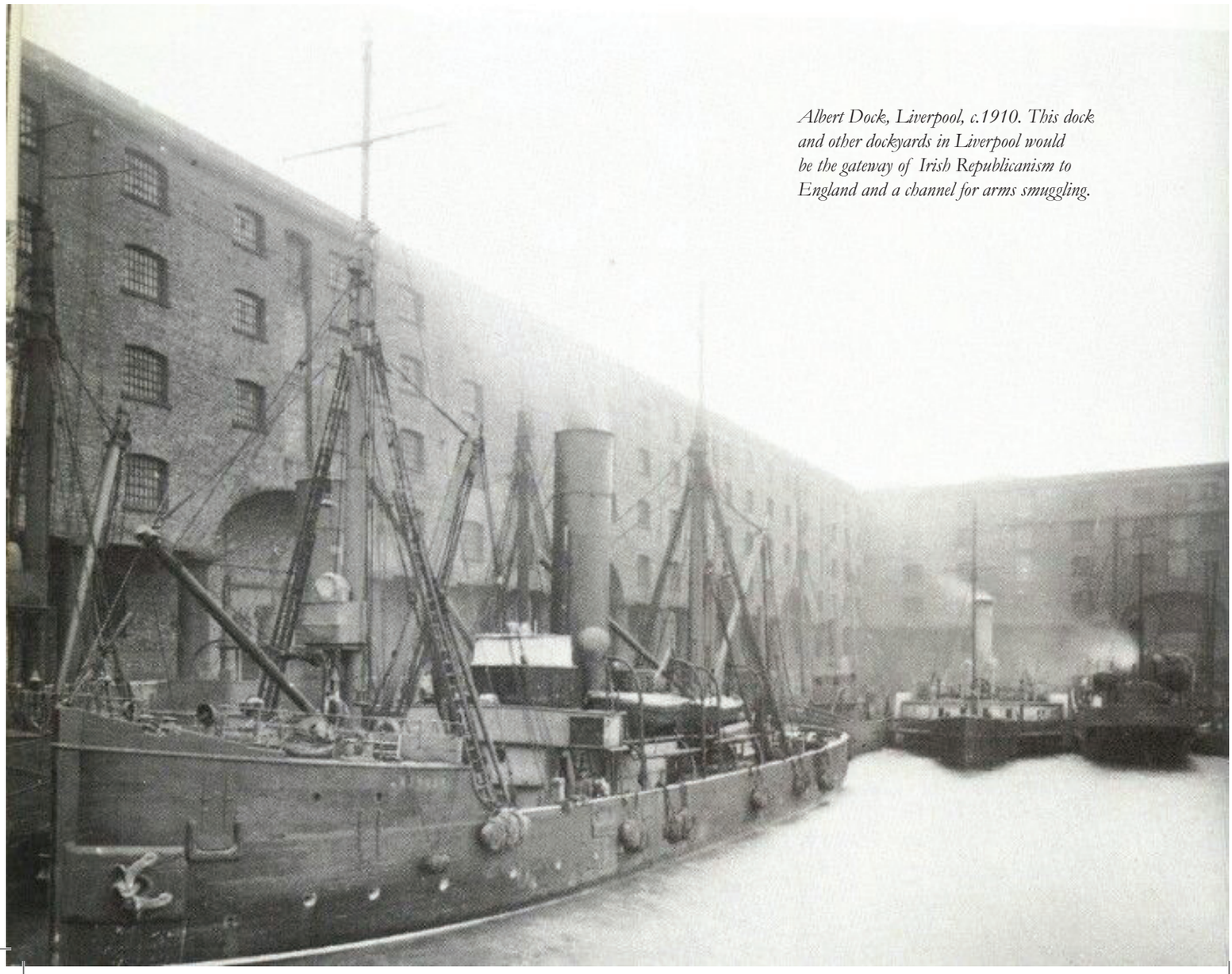
in Manchester would not be solely for the purpose. of reprisals but merely to bring; home to the British people the sufferings and conditions to which. the Irish people were being subjected sub by their police and soldiers here. two places were mentioned at the meeting where an attempt should be made to prevent their functioning in the ordinary way, namely the Electrical Power House. and the Waterworks. I returned to Manchester accompanied by Mr. Cripps., a chemist who understood electrical construction and the Power House system. We succeeded in getting him to go through the Electrical power House as a visitor. He reported' that, it was possible to put. this plant out of action by the use. of a. certain' amount of explosive material. At some later' stage: an attempt was: made on the, lines he planned. The: attempt failed but the authorities realised what had happened. A. number of Volunteers entered the. Power Station one night and put a. quantity of explosives beside the main transform. it was ineffective but some of the. purpose was served because all the Manchester newspapers the next day had the. headings "Power Station attacked' by IRA." Another attempt on the main Water Supply was made at Heaton Park. While a large hole was blown in the main by the explosion, sufficient damage was not done to stop the complete flow of water and the city was not inconvenienced in any way as alternate supplies were available, it had a similar result on public opinion as in the case of the Power House. The press gave it wide publicity. And even though we had failed to put both places entirely out of action we were serving our purpose, namely to excite the. sympathy of the English people. At this time the 'Manchester Guardian' was giving a lot of publicity to the Irish situation. C.P. Scott was the editor of the Guardian at the time, a very able literary journalist. He was sympathetic to the Irish Cause and made several attacks on the British Government for giving the British military and Auxiliaries such a free hand in Ireland for their blackguardly methods. We had planned to burn warehouses in Manchester on the same night as they were burned in Liverpool, the 27th November, 1920. But the burnings in Manchester did not materialise on that night. It was felt that our units were not sufficiently organised to carry out the destruction of warehouses; on a large scale. When our units were properly organised, warehouses and haystacks in outlying districts were burned from time to time. The damage done from a financial point of view was considerable. I think it must have been in the neighbourhood of £600,000 for which the British Government had to pay the Insurance Companies concerned" – **Cmdt. Patrick O'Donoghue**, Manchester IRA, (BMH-WS 847).

"Early in 1920 I joined the Volunteers in Liverpool. I was working as a coachbuilder in Williams of Denbigh Street. I took part in raids for passports in Liverpool on a few occasions and I also did duty at the docks the time of the General Strike there. This Strike was a sympathetic Strike for Ireland. Hugh Early was a leader there at that time and also P. Roland. I went to Manchester about the month of June, 1920 and got attached to the Manchester Division, I got transferred. Joe Flood was in charge of Manchester and also Pat Donoghue. I did several jobs there with Flood and Charlie Harding who was O/C of Great Britain at the time. Flood and I lighted the Grand Stand on Hyde Road Football Grounds [Manchester City FC] *and burned the Corporation hay and raided Horrocks & Crewdson on another occasion. In connection with the raid on the Grand Stand, Paddy McHugh, Harding, Flood and myself went in across the gate and set the Stand on fire"* – **Capt. Thomas Morgan,** No.2 Coy, Manchester IRA, (MA/MSP34REF19573).

"In connection with the procuring of weapons in England - my account is partly assumption - the extensive Irish population, even the unorganised members associated with Irish communities or even those of Irish dance halls, somehow always knew what to do with a gun or a weapon if they managed to acquire one. Of course, members of Sinn Féin clubs and especially members of the IRA and IRB were always on the lookout for weapons that might be of use. The type of weapon and its lethal value varied considerably, some being very inadequate such as pin-fire revolvers, old rusty grenades from the previous world war. Revolvers, even of more modern pattern, varied very much in their calibre. I think the .44 revolver was of a Canadian pattern. Even there were Peter-the-Painters. The latter were modern at that time. On one occasion some German machine-guns were sent from Newcastle complete with the sleighs belonging to them. They had, apparently, been in use on the eastern front of the World War. Unfortunately, the sleighs were kept in a backyard - one of our dumps - and in a raid by police one of our best men, Seán Fitzgerald, was arrested. Fortunately, the guns had been dispatched to Dublin before that. Seán Fitzgerald had been a very active, worker. He was an associate of Tom Clarke and the pre-l916 group. He was an elderly man and had a link with the Fenians. He knew O'Donovan Rossa and other Fenians during his youth. On that occasion only two or three machine-guns came into our hands. I don't know how they were procured in Newcastle" – **Vol. Patrick Daly**, Liverpool IRA, (BMH-WS 814).

"In October, 1920, Rory O'Connor, who was Director of Engineering of the IRA and George Plunkett, came over to Liverpool and contacted Tom Kerr and myself. We were planning to blow up the Dock gates at Liverpool, and a plan for this operation had been submitted to GHQ, Dublin. There were four main entrances into the Liverpool Docks. The water was kept at the necessary level in the Docks by large Dock gates. At low water in the river there would be a difference of twenty-five feet between the level of the water in the river and that of the Docks. One gate might serve three or four different docks, All the trans-ocean going vessels berthed in these docks. If the dock gates were blown out by explosives It would mean a sudden drop of twenty-five feet or so in the water level of the docks, resulting in the grounding of the ships and the general entanglement of the vessels on breaking their moorings. It is hard to really visualise what would have happened; some of them might even turn over on their side At least it would

have caused great confusion and damage and upset sailings and communications for a considerable time. The British authorities in Dublin raided the house at which Dick Mulcahy was staying. Mulcahy was then Chief of Staff of the IRA. He succeeded in getting through a window and escaping, but a number of documents belonging to him were found by the raiding party. Among the documents found was our plan for the destruction of the Dock gates. During the next few days these plans were published in all the leading English newspapers including the Liverpool papers. The British now placed a very strong guard on the Docks and that was the end of our proposition. The Docks in Liverpool are fenced in. Within a week we had a new plan in motion. Outside the Docks there are roadways and streets of warehouses. Most of these warehouses dealt in cotton which is a very inflammable material. We planned to set fire to these warehouses. We procured bolt-cutters to cut the locks on the warehouses and, on the night of the 27th November, 1920, we set fire to fifteen of these warehouses and two timber yards. The one I set fire to was in Effingham Street. I was accompanied by two other men, one of whom stayed at the door and, the other man took up position at the corner of the street. We were armed with revolvers. We had bottles of paraffin which were held for us by sympathisers in places nearby. I went upstairs to the top of the warehouse and set a couple of bales alight. I then came down and set five or six bales on the ground floor alight. I had to cut the bands on the bales with the bolt-cutters. Having set the bales alight I made my escape. That night one of our men named Matt Ginnity, who was from Kells, County Meath [died while interned during the Civil War], *was badly beaten up by a mob in Parliament Street where he was doing a similar job to mine. A local man named Ward, who was one of the mob, was shot by one of our men. It was Bobby Duggan from Wexford that did the shooting. For the following few days, the British press made great play of how the young Catholic boy Ward, while returning from his religious duties, was shot by the Sinn Féiners. Also arrested that night were Tom Kerr; our O/C, Mike O'Leary, his brother Denis and Hugh McCaughey from Tyrone. A man named McPartlin, who was minding the door for me, was arrested a few days later. McPartlin was charged with the murder of Ward, but they had no evidence to connect him with the affair and he was acquitted. In Effingham Street the warehouses were so badly damaged that the walls were bulging and people in the adjoining streets had to evacuate their houses. Fire Brigades from as far away as Manchester, St. Helen's and Prescott were called in to deal with the fire"* – **Cmdt. Hugh Early**, Liverpool IRA, (BMH-WS 1535).



Albert Dock, Liverpool, c.1910. This dock and other dockyards in Liverpool would be the gateway of Irish Republicanism to England and a channel for arms smuggling.

The Attack on Cloyne RIC Barracks
8 May 1920

"*Cloyne is a village in East Cork situated about five miles south of Midleton and about 16 miles from Cork. The nearest military garrisons were at Youghal, 16 miles east, Fort Carlisle 8 miles south, and Cork to the west. It was situated almost in the middle of the battalion area and appeared to me, therefore, as most suitable for a successful attack. The barracks itself was a three-storied one, stone built and slated. It stood in the main street of the village and was flanked by two publichouses. There was a garrison of about ten men and a sergeant. I obtained some additional rifles and grenades from Brigade HQ in Cork for this operation. The date was 8th May 1920. For some time past I had the idea of getting the whole battalion into action in order to give the men the feeling that they were actually taking part in the fight for independence so, for the Cloyne attack I mobilised the entire battalion comprising upwards of four hundred and fifty men. Again, I selected my attacking force from the Cobh and Midleton companies to about 40 in number. These men were armed with rifles to the number of about 20. The remainder carried revolvers. I timed the attack for, so far as I can now remember, 11 p.m. By then, the village people would be indoors; all would be quiet. From about 8 p.m. onwards, parties of men from various companies were engaged blocking roads and cutting telegraph and telephone wires, thereby completely isolating the village of Cloyne. Men from the Cobh company, who were not actually assigned to the barracks attack, crossed the harbour at East Ferry to the mainland about four miles from Cloyne, and stood guard armed with rifles and revolvers at East Ferry, to prevent British reinforcements from Cobh crossing to Cloyne by that route. Men from Aghada blocked the roads leading to Cloyne from Carlisle Fort and the coastguard station at Rochestown Point. The Youghal-Cloyne, Ballycotton-Cloyne and Midleton-Cloyne roads were also blocked. Obstructions in the nature of felled trees and heaps of boulders were used to make the roads impassable. In view of my experience at Carrigtwohill barracks attack I decided to adopt more direct tactics at Cloyne. Instead of a preliminary opening by rifle and shotgun fire, which, in view of the steel shutters on the windows, proved ineffective at Carrigtwohill, and was more or less waste of valuable ammunition on our part, I decided, in the case of Cloyne, to commence the attack by using gelignite to blow in the side walls of the barracks from inside the two public-houses adjoining the barrack building. my intention then was to throw in petrol through the breaches, set the place on fire and compel the garrison to surrender. Things did not, however, work out as I anticipated. The attacking party assembled in the Cloyne Technical School shortly before 10 p.m. that night and at about 10 p.m. I placed a party of 15 men with rifles and shotguns on houses opposite the barracks and about half a dozen in positions at the rear of the barracks. Just before 10 p.m. I sent a couple of men into each of the public-houses on either side of the barracks to hold the doors open for us when the pubs closed at 10 p.m. The remainder of the attacking party, numbering about 20, came in twos and threes up the village street about a few minutes after 10 o'clock to enter the public-houses as arranged.*

We found that the pub door on the Ballycotton (east) side of the barracks was still closed. The pub door on the Midleton (west) side was open all right. Some of our lads entered the pub on the west side and we proceeded to smash with an axe the panel of the pub door on the east side. Seeing this wasn't successful, I grabbed an iron bar off the window shutters, broke the shutters and the window and got into the pub with about eight others. While we were doing this, Diarmuid Hurley of Midleton fired with a revolver through a loophole in the steel shutters of the barracks and then dashed into the pub on the west side of the barracks with his party. The RIC were, of course, now alive to what was happening. They fired here, there and everywhere through the barrack windows, chucked out grenades and sent up Verey lights. Our lads from the houses across the road opened up on the barracks with rifles. The party with which I vas now proceeded to get the occupants of the pub out. Beds were dismantled and bedsteads and mattresses placed up against the wall to protect the men (those boring holes and setting fuses) from grenades. I got out on to the roof of the public-house with the intention of throwing a bomb down through the skylight of the barracks, but I was fired on by our men across the road who mistook me for one of the RIC, and I had to beat a hasty retreat. Holes were drilled in the party wall from the public-house in which we were and gelignite inserted. Then we found we had blown a hole through which we could see four of the rooms on the ground floor of the barracks, none of the holes were big enough to allow us through, so further charges of gelignite were inserted and exploded. Meanwhile, Hurley from the pub he occupied on the other side of the barracks was also trying to blast his way into the barracks. He blew a small hole insufficiently large to give entrance, so he decided to throw some petrol into the breach he had made and start a fire. He did this just as our second explosion went off, with the result that we, on our side, could not for the time being enter the lower rooms of the barracks because of the flames from the blaze started by Hurley. All this time the garrison was 'flaking' away with rifles and grenades. Our lads from the front and rear were replying. We fired from revolvers into the barracks through the breach in the wall on our side. Hurley did the same on his side, when I decided it was time to have a showdown. I shouted to the RIC that the place was on fire, that we were coming in and that they should surrender. There was no reply for a while and then I was told by one of our lads outside that a white cloth was put out by the RIC from one of the top windows. I rushed into the lower rooms (two of which were actually on fire) through volumes of smoke followed by our lads and shouted to the garrison to come down with their hands up. They came down and were marched out on to the street under an armed guard. We rushed up into the barracks through a room which had not caught fire. As we went upstairs, we were met with explosions from ammunition which the

flames had now reached. We searched desperately through the smoke and flames and collected all the guns we could lay hands on. I had brought the RIC sergeant back into the burning barracks with me to help in locating the arms and ammunition. In the corner of one room, I saw a box actually on fire. I rushed to get hold of it as I suspected it contained ammunition. The sergeant shouted to me not to touch it as it contained grenades. Needless to remark, I left it severely alone. When all of the guns and ammunition which could be 'rescued' were got, I left the barracks with the sergeant and came out on to the village street. There I found that Diarmuid Hurley had been wounded in the right arm from a bullet, fired by himself, which had ricocheted off a stone. He was also burned on the arm setting fire to petrol. The wound was not serious. It was dressed that night by Dr. Power of Cloyne. One RIC man (who, I well remember, had a strong Cockney accent) had been wounded in the head. His sergeant asked to have a doctor for him and I told our lads to take the policeman to Dr. Power for immediate, treatment. The man got fixed up all right. Before we left the village that night he sent for me and thanked me, saying: "You are a Christian; only for you I would have bled to death". I well remember his words. He told me he was resigning from the RIC. After the engagement I 'fell in' the men in the street and dismissed them with instructions how to proceed to their various districts. Messages were sent to all our men on scout and road-blocking work that the job was finished. The attack on Cloyne Barracks lasted about three hours. I cannot say with any accuracy the number of arms, or the quantity of ammunition we captured; but definitely, some police carbines and revolvers were taken. These were taken away by car to a safe destination. The RIC garrison were marched under guard to a place about four miles from Cloyne, where they were left to make their way back as they pleased" – **Cmdt. Mick Leahy**, 4th Batt., Cork No.1 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1421).

"Any Irishman who joins the service of the enemy, the RIC, at the present time must be regarded and dealt with as the worst type of traitor. We have no desire to be harsh to those who in older and more peaceful time joined through ignorance, not understanding what they did, and who, in these days, have shown no malevolence in the work they are compelled to do against the Irish Republic; but there is no excuse for the Irishman who dons the uniform of the enemy for active service against his countrymen at the present time"

An t-Oglać,
15 April, 1920, p.4.

An RIC & British Military convoy, Co. Limerick. Source: National Library of Ireland

10th May 1920

CLINTON, Mark Anthony:

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *Newcastle Coy, 4th Batt, Meath Brigade, IRA.*
DOB: 12 March 1897. Born at Clogga, Co. Meath to Joseph Clinton and Kate Osborne.
Address: Cormeen, Co. Meath.
Occupation: Farmer's Son.
Death: While harrowing a field belonging to a relative at Rosemount, near Moynalty, Co. Meath, Clinton was shot and fatally wounded. The horses which pulled his harrow were also killed. The cause of death was land agitation. The group that shot Clinton were known as the Cormeen Gang and were known to the Clinton family and the dying Clinton, who wished to forgive his assailants when he was found by his father. After Clinton expired from his wounds later that day, the IRA initiated a crack-down on the Cormeen Gang and eventually tried and executed its leader, William Gordon.
Buried: Old Moybologue Graveyard, Co. Cavan.
Ref: Dungan, M. *Four Killings: Land Hunger, Murder and Family in the Irish Revolution*, 2021.

"*A further Republican police incident in the Meath Brigade area which involved myself and the truck took place about a month later. This was the arrest of another gang which was afterwards proved to have been responsible for the shooting of a Volunteer officer, Mark Clinton, of Moynalty. The daily newspapers at the time characterised the murder of Clinton as a purely agrarian crime and it had, in fact, some such significance, because Clinton, who farmed in the district, had taken over a farm from the Irish Land Commission which had been claimed for division amongst certain local British ex-servicemen. Clinton was shot dead as he was ploughing a field on this land, and the newspaper report of the crime shocked a public that had begun to get accustomed to daily reports of violent death in one form or another. I think that what made this particular murder seem so savage was that as well as Clinton, the murderers also shot dead the two horses attached to the plough, leaving all three to be found in their gore sometime later. Having carried out the necessary investigations, and having marked down those believed to be implicated in the crime, the Meath Brigade was now ready to arrest them and bring them to trial before a Republican Court… We deposited our prisoners as well as the Volunteer party about a mile or two before we reached Dunboyne, where they were met by a local Volunteer party who were there to conduct them on foot to their destination. I heard long afterwards that a Republican Court had convicted and sentenced to death one of the gang charged with this murder. A number of other members of the gang were sentenced to deportation, and these sentences after confirmation by the Dáil department were duly carried out*" – **Joe V. Lawless**, Fingal Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1043).

"Following the murder of a Volunteer named Mark Clinton in May, 1920, by two men named Gordon and Carolan, eleven men, including those two, were arrested by Seán Boylan, Brigade O/C, assisted by local Volunteers. The prisoners were detained at Boltown House, Kilskyre, in our company area, for some time. They were…eventually tried by an IRA military court. Gordon was executed, and the other ten men were deported. While they were detained at Boltown House, I helped to guard them with other members of Stonefield Company. It was Gordon who actually shot Clinton. Carolan shot two horses with which Clinton was ploughing" – **Adjt. Peter O'Connell**, Stonefield Coy, Meath Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1659).

Derry IRA, Creggan, 1920

The Attack on Hollyford RIC Barracks, Co. Tipperary
11 May 1920

"There was a police barracks on a pass in the hills at the village of Hollyford. The Hollyford captain described the barracks, but I had no clear picture in my mind. I walked to the pass. The road below ran with a stream through a cut; above and below the village the hill slopes were steep. Houses straggled on either side of the road; the barracks looked down on thatched roofs and zinc outhouses. It was a high, two-storeyed, whitewashed building, larger than the usual barracks and long. There were many windows protected by steel shutters; loopholes were cut into the walls. In front a porch jutted out with slits for rifles. The gable-end near the road had a window high up and loopholes on the ground floor; a lean-to building about fourteen feet high, loopholed, ran from the gable-end to the rear. On the far side of the road was a rugged stone wall. It would give us a little cover. The gable-end might be blown in with explosives. Séamus [Séumas Robinson], Seán [Tracey] and I talked with the Hollyford captain that evening in a small, slated house [O'Keeffe's of Glenough] *a mile from the village. He had close on a half-hundred of gelignite, a little blasting powder, a few pounds of gunpowder, a good supply of fuses and two boxes of detonators. 'Is the gelignite in good condition?' I asked the captain. 'I don't know but I'll see.' 'And bring all the fuses and explosives you have,' said Séamus. We looked at my map, picking out the police and military barracks marked in coloured inks. My notebook gave their strengths. Within nine miles were four barracks; within less than fourteen were Shevry, Kilcommon, Annacarty, Cappawhite, Doon, Dundrum and Rearcross. Pallas, a large barracks, Goold's Cross and Tipperary were twenty miles away, and Newport twenty-seven. There were military garrisons also at Dundrum, Tipperary and Newport. Newport and Tipperary were the chief danger. We pencilled places where the roads had best be blocked to hold up their reinforcements. The gelignite was frozen. Two men put on pots of water in the kitchen to thaw it whilst we talked in another room. There were eight rifles in the battalion; outs made thirteen; about twenty rounds for each rifle and four hand grenades. There were ten or twelve police in Headford. The woman of the house made tea and potato-cakes for us. We sat at the kitchen fire. Jim Gorman, lieutenant of Hollyford, blinked the rain from his eyebrows as he shook himself on the flagstones. 'The ground floor of the barracks is six feet higher than the ground outside; you might as well try to shift the Rock of Cashel,' he said. Gorman had leathern jaws tight with lines, and blue eyes glinting out of a tanned face. He was an Irish-Australian. He had fought through the World War and was a crack shot. He had assurance. He could curse better than any man in the hills. We decided to burn out the garrison by an attack on the roof. We had, none of us, tried to burn out a garrison before"* – **Ernie O'Malley** *(inset)*, GHQ Organiser, *On Another Man's Wound*, p.189-191.

"After a long discussion it was decided to use ladders to gain access to the roof and I was appointed to take charge of the arrangements for the procuring of the ladders and for the hoisting of them against the barrack wall. In this connection, I should like to mention that the walls were about 30 feet high and a ladder long enough for the job could not be got locally, so I arranged with a tradesman to splice three or four ladders together and this gave us one of sufficient height. Meanwhile, arrangements were made for the blocking of all roads leading to Hollyford and for manning the road blocks. Practically all members of the battalion who were not actually engaged in Hollyford were on this work, and we also got some assistance from other areas. Brian Shanahan, Commandant of the 4th Battalion, with some of his men held a post on the road between Tipperary Town and Hollyford, while men from Tipperary No. 3 Brigade held the road from Hollyford to Thurles. At Shanahan's farmhouse, about a mile from Hollyford, the final arrangements were made on the day of the attack. Mud bombs were made and, as the gelignite was frozen, it gave us severe headaches as we thawed it out. Here, too, I and my section rehearsed the carrying and hoisting of the ladder. This was necessary as we needed to be able to do it quickly and noiselessly when it came to erecting it against the barrack. It was a tricky and delicate job. That night a supply of paraffin oil and inflammable materials were deposited in the creamery, which was located about 80 yards from the barracks, and men were detailed to drew the oil in buckets from the creamery as it was required" - **Cmdt. Tadhg O'Dwyer**, 3rd Batt., Tipperary No.3 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1356).

"At eleven o'clock cyclists told us that Volunteers on the outposts had begun to fell trees and to put stone barricades across roads. They would cut telegraph and telephone wires at midnight. As I inspected outposts in the Kilcommon direction I met Jim Gorman. There was a good position in the pass, but no stones or trees near. 'Can you block the way quickly?' I asked. 'Yes,' he said, kicking a pile of sticks and shovels with his foot. 'I can have them throw the road over the ditch.' Séamus and I were to climb the ladders.

Seán Treacy would take charge of the attacking party below – seven riflemen and five shotguns. We walked quietly towards the village, picked men carried the ladders, others had zinc buckets of paraffin oil. We halted close to the barracks. There would be a night guard on duty. There was lights in a few houses. Séamus and I had two revolvers each, grenades, bursting charges, supplies of fuse, detonators and hammers to smash the slates. On our backs a tin of petrol was tied, sods of turf which had been soaked in oil hung around our necks from cords. The oil sopped onto our clothes. The men with the ladders took off their boots; they tied them around their necks. When Seán's men had found positions that commanded the windows we moved towards the gable. The ladders were placed in position; Séamus' was to one side, mine against the chimney. I intended to sit on top of it so that I could fire through the roof. I hoped the peelers would not use their rifles through the flue. Buckets of paraffin and petrol were placed on the ground near the ladders. I told the men to get back as we began to climb slowly, weighed down by our supplies. They refused; not until we were on the roof. They were in danger. They had no cover. The loopholes looked down on them. We crawled onto the roof, smashed slates with hammers, poured in petrol from our tins. We lit sods of turf and threw them through gaps. Flames came with a yellow roar. We crawled further along the roof, banging with hammers. I lit the fuses of two bursting charges. We lay flat on the roof. Then came two loud explosions, bits of slate flew; a piece hit me on the head. Police fired rifles and revolvers. We poured in more petrol. Flames flaunted out of the darkness.

We got back to the edge of the roof. Below I saw flashes through the loopholes; police grenades burst. I climbed to the chimney; the top was cemented over. I sat dangling my legs. Shots were fired from the partition walls of the barracks. I used both revolvers, reloaded and emptied again. The police fired through the roof of the lean-to building. I lay flat on the chimney. We emptied our tins of petrol. There were great holes in the slate roof; smoke and flames were blown by the wind against and away from us. Our hands were burned. Séamus brought up buckets from below. I helped to carry them up and we poured them in. Jim Gorman dashed across with two rattling bucketfuls. I flung in the grenades; the second rolled and caught in the eaves. As I gripped the hot slates, I shouted to Séamus who was coming up the ladder; his head was on the level with the roof when the grenade exploded. It deafened him. I had told the men below not to shout. A silent attack would make the defenders feel the unknown quality of it; it would unsteady their nerves and make them more uncertain in the darkness of what was to come next. Below now I heard men taunt and police and shout. My language out-coloured the flames, but the shouting continued. I went down for a rifle. Police had been firing at us through the roof; splinters of slate had been splashed about by bullets. I fired a few clipfuls through the roof of the lean to from the top of the chimney and down into the building itself. That must have driven them out beyond the partition wall. The remainder of the building would not catch. We tried to get across by the eaves, but the heat drove us back. We splashed in our last two buckets of petrol. Flames rushed up suddenly and cut across the ladders. I got to the chimney. I could see Séamus on his ladder clinging to the ledge. My hands and face were burning hot, my hair caught fire; I rubbed my hands through it. My coat was alight. I could not get down the ladder through the fire; neither could Séamus. This looks like the end, I thought, as I lay flat on the chimney whilst the flames waved and thrust forward with the wind. I quickly fired into the roof, the rifle was hot…The flames went down. Séamus and I met on our ladders. 'O golly,' he said, 'I'm all burned.' Dawn came slowly" – **Ernie O'Malley**, *On Another Man's Wound*, p. 191-194.

Hollyford RIC Barracks, Co. Tipperary

11th May 1920

NOLAN, Michael (Mike):

Rank: 1st Lieutenant.
Unit: *E Coy (Kilmoyley), 2nd Batt., Kerry No.1 Brigade, IRA.*
DOB: 9 August 1895. Born in Kilmoyley, Co. Kerry to Charles Nolan and Honora McCormack.
Occupation: Farm Labourer.
Address: Kilmoyley, Ardfert, Co. Kerry.
Death: Nolan was killed during the local IRA's bungled attack on Captain E.M.P. Wynne RM at Ballymacandrew Cross near Ardfert, Co. Kerry. The group of seven ambushers had hoped to intimidate Wynne to prevent him revoking the publican's licence of Dan Donnelly, who allowed the local IRA meet at his premises. As Nolan pointed his shotgun at Wynne, the movement of his comrades momentarily distracted him, allowing Wynne to draw his revolver and shoot Nolan. Wynne later regretted the death and gave his condolences to the Nolan family before fleeing from Kerry.
Buried: Old Ballyheigue Cemetery, Co. Kerry.
MSPC Ref: 1D350.

14th May 1920

DUNNE, Thomas:

Rank: Company Adjutant.
Unit: *F Coy (Dún Laoghaire), 6th Batt., Dublin Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 11 January 1896. Born in Ballysize, Hollywood, Co. Wicklow, to James Dunne and Bridget Nugent.
Occupation: Grocer's Assistant.
Death: On the evening of 12 May 1920, IRA units from across South Dublin set out to burn several abandoned police barracks at Kill O'The Grange, Crumlin, Blanchardstown and Besseborough. On the same night, nearby Ballybrack RIC barracks was also targeted. The straw which was to be used in the attack had already been pre-soaked in petrol, which proved fatal, as Dunne and another volunteer, Pat Meaney, a native of Carlow, suffered serious burns before the barracks could be vacated. Dunne succumbed to the burn wounds several days after the event while being medically treated in the Mater Hospital, Dublin. On the same night, an IRA picket in Killiney, Co. Dublin, shot a civilian for failing to halt.
Buried: St. Kevin's Cemetery, Hollywood, Co. Wicklow.
Image Source: Jim Dunne & Seán Mag Leannáin, Hollywood, Co. Wicklow.

A burned ruin of a firmer RIC barracks, Co. Cork.

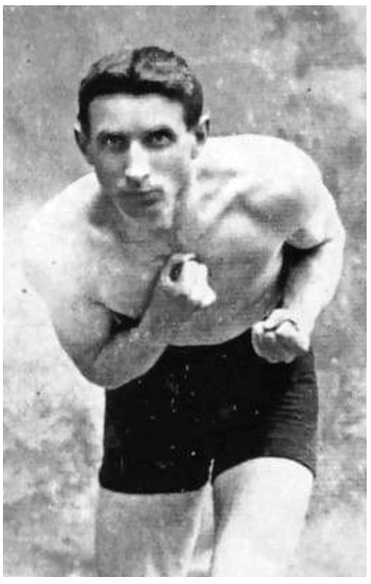
"We decided to intensify operations against the British in our area by attacking them in some of their strongholds – the police barracks. It was no longer safe for the Peelers to patrol the roads. They seldom ventured to move any distance from their barracks. We could meet them in the open for that reason. But if the mountain would not come to Mohammad, then Mohammad must go to the mountain. We had to go to the police and attack them on their own grounds. In the Spring of 1920, there had begun the evacuation of the small outlying RIC barracks because of the danger that the garrisons might be cut off. The British were concentrating on the larger barracks where the garrisons had been strengthened and the buildings fortified with steel shutters and barbed wire entanglements. Between 1 January and 30 June 1920, 351 of the vacated barracks were destroyed and 105 damaged. In the same period fifteen barracks occupied by the RIC were destroyed and twenty-five damaged. The operations extended to almost every county in Ireland. In this way we prevented any possibility that about four hundred of these posts would ever again be occupied by the enemy. Hundreds of links in the British military chain had thus been severed, for the Peelers had now abandoned all pretence of being a police force. They were openly and avowedly a military force, not for the suppression of crime but for the holding of the country by brute force. When the RIC disappeared from a village, our Volunteer police took over their duties. We also set up our own courts, and the enemy courts were boycotted" – **Dan Breen**, Tipperary No.3 Brigade, IRA, *My Fight for Irish Freedom*, p.103-104.

"We stand on the ground that the English Government in Ireland is founded in usurpation and as such deny its authority. But if it be argued, assuming it as Ireland's case, that a usurped authority, gradually acquiesced in by the people, ultimately becomes the same as legitimate, the reply is still clear. For ourselves we meet the assumption with a simple denial, appealing to Irish history for evidence that we never acquiesced in the English usurpation. But to those who are not satisfied with this simple denial, we can point out that even an authority, originally founded legitimately, may be resisted when abusing its power to the ruin of the Commonwealth. We still stand on the ground that the English Government is founded in usurpation, but we can dispose of all objections by proving the extremer case"

– Terence MacSwiney

The Vindictive Killing of Limerick IRA Officer, James Dalton

15th May 1920



DALTON, James Michael:
Rank: Captain & Battalion I/O.
Unit: *C Coy, 1st Batt., Mid-Limerick Brigade, IRA.*
– Irish Republican Brotherhood.
DOB: 2 September 1872. Dalton was born in Limerick's Lying-In Hospital to Enoch Dalton and Mary Fortune.
Occupation: Clerk.
Address: 5 Clare St, Limerick City.
Familial: Dalton married Annie Kelly on 14 January 1899 at St. Michael's Church, Limerick. Their eleven children were Lily Mary (1900-1932), Patrick (b.1901), Kitty (b.1902), James (1904-1904), Eileen (b.1905), Josephine (b.1906), Annie (b.1908), John Alphonsus (b.1909), Michael Anthony (b.1910), Ethel Mary (b.1915) and Enoch McDermott Dalton (b.1918).
Death: Dalton, a former Irish Lightweight boxing champion and senior all-Ireland football champion, had been one of the earliest members of the Irish Volunteers in Limerick. He was viciously gunned down close to his home, dying instantly. By 1920, several factions of the IRA in Limerick City had grown considerably hostile to one another. Dalton was accused by some circles within the 2nd Battalion for spying after he was spotted leaving a detective's home only weeks before. Dalton's honour was later reinstated as that of an effective Intelligence Officer within Limerick's IRA. He was shot six times at close range within view of his daughter, Kitty. It was later claimed, particularly by his descendants, that Dalton's murder was ordered by leading and influential elements of Limerick's republicans in order to protect wrongdoings of some Limerick officers, who were reputedly engaged in burglary. GHQ Intelligence officer, Frank Thornton established that Dalton's services had been duty bound and his name was cleared of any informing. An Dáil Éireann would also denounce his murder and issued a statement clearing his name of spying. The 1st Battalion would later be dissolved.
Buried: Mount St. Lawrence Cemetery, Limerick.
Image Source: Sarah Ryan, Co. Limerick.
MSPC Ref: 1D467.

"Some months later there was a local man shot as a spy, a Volunteer named Dalton. I did not agree with this shooting, but got much notoriety because of it. His mother-in-law, for a week after the shooting, came to the door of my shop every morning, and kneeling on the footpath outside, came into the shop on her knees, cursing me and my people in-law, the Daly's. Needless to say, it was very uncomfortable while this exhibition went on and I was actually present on two or three mornings" – **Éamon Dore**, Mid-Limerick Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 515).

"Concerning my connection with the IRB, it was Liam Forde [who] enrolled me into the IRB just before the shooting of Jim Dalton of the 1st Battalion. Liam Forde, who also belonged to the 1st Battalion was at that time one of the heads of the IRB. When Dalton was shot, the IRB. were doing their best to trace the person or persons who had done the shooting. certain members of the 2nd Battalion, the QM., Martin Barry, in particular, was suspected of the shooting, as far as I know. Barry was a very hard man to get at the time and they decided that I was the only one that would get him. I went into Limerick city and contacted Martin Barry after Forde telling me what to do. I took him out to Castleconnell and he was put under arrest there by the IRB. It was the IRB that arrested Martin Barry for the shooting of Dalton. He was kept at Castleconnell at Anthony Mackey's, out in the eel-weir for about a week and then he was released. The whole thing fizzled out, however, as no clear evidence could be brought to sustain the charge against Barry" **– Adjt. Richard O'Connell**, Mid-Limerick Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 656).

"I was sent to Limerick to investigate the shooting of Jim Dalton. I was accompanied by Joe Dolan. It appeared that Dalton, who was a Volunteer attached to the 1st City Battalion, Limerick, had been shot by Volunteers of the 2nd City Battalion, Limerick, on

the assumption that he was working as an enemy agent. Dolan and I got down to our investigations and after a week's careful survey we were able to establish the fact that Dalton, as an Intelligence officer of the 1st City Battalion, Limerick, was only doing his duty as such and had contacted certain enemy agents, i.e. 'G' men, and had met them fairly frequently and had secured some very valuable information from them. Unfortunately, at that time in Limerick some estrangement existed between the two Battalions, brought about, I understand, by the failure of Limerick to fight during 1916; the Second Battalion being a new Battalion, formed after 1916, while the First Battalion was chiefly of those who had been volunteers at the time of the Rising. However, we were able to prove conclusively and submit sufficient definite evidence to GHQ that Dalton's name was completely clear" – **Frank Thornton**, GHQ Intelligence, (BMH-WS 615).

"Dalton, a former pugilist, physically a splendid specimen of a man, was later shot dead in the street in Limerick, supposedly as an informer. That deed, as I have learned from Piaras Béaslaí, was a tragic mistake, indeed a crime. Poor Jim was no informer. He was an IRB man who used to go, an odd time, to the Limerick RIC barracks for an after-hours drink in their canteen, as he was rather a thirsty soul. That, undoubtedly, was rash of him, and naturally made him suspect. Some of his comrades in the Brotherhood accused him of being an informer. This charge he indignantly denied, and demanded an inquiry. Such an inquiry at top level was held, Piaras Béaslaí being a member of the court which resulted in his complete vindication. Nevertheless, despite that, an indisciplined group took it on themselves to go forth and shoot the poor fellow. [Michael] Collins, I heard, was mad at what they had done; for, not only was an innocent man deprived of his life but the decree of the Supreme Executive of the IRB was blatantly disregarded" – **Judicial Commissioner Kevin O'Sheil,** (BMH-WS 1770 Section V).

27th October 1925.

To:
Lieutenant Tully,
Adjutant General's Dept.

Subject - Claim - Annie Dalton, 12 lelia Street, Limerick.

In reply to your minute of the 23rd inst. James Dalton (deceased) was shot dead on 15th May 1920 by members of the I.R.A. under the following circumstances.

He was accused by some members of the I.R.A. in Limerick of being a British Spy. This accusation was entirely without foundation and was due to personal jealousy and animosity between "rival factions" which existed in the Volunteers in Limerick at the time. An Enquiry was ordered by the Dail, at Mr. Dalton's own request, into the accusation made against him and resulted in a verdict that there was no guilty or dishonest motive on his part and that the suspicions in this respect were unfounded. He had the finding of the Enquiry when shot. Soon after his death the Dail unanimously voted his widow a National Grant of £500. as a vindication of his character and for the education of his children.

The rank held by the late Mr. Dalton in the I.R.A. was equivalent to Captain.

(Sigd.) D. O'Sullivan, Captain
for DIRECTOR OF INTELLIGENCE

Military Service

A letter from 1925 from Capt. D. O'Sullivan detailing James Dalton's insistence that he was being wrongly accused of spying. MA/MSPC/W1D467, p. 28

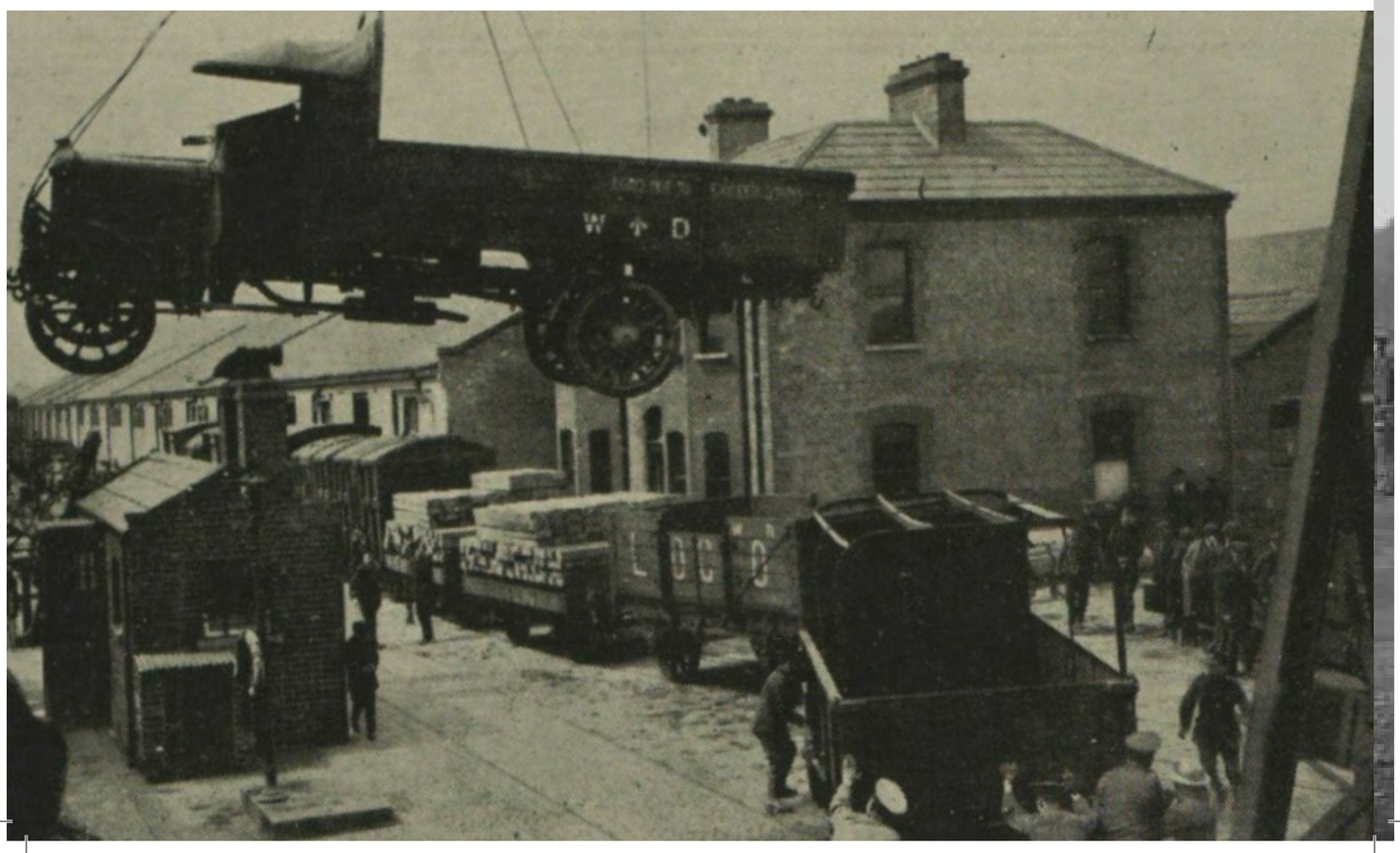
"An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth. Therefore, a life for a life"

Threats issued by British Military Intelligence in Ireland to TD's and other leading Republicans.

THE MUNITIONS OF WAR STRIKE, May-Dec. 1920

"We nicknamed Michael Donnelly "The Bishop" because of the fact that when advocating socialist theories as against the present-day capitalist system he always quoted scripture, his strong line on most occasions being the Sermon on the Mount, where it is said that it is harder for a rich man to get into Heaven than it is for a camel to get through the eye of a needle. Donnelly worked as a casual docker at the North Wall. One evening he was very worried about a development that was likely to take place at what was known as the military boat, which used to discharge at the North Wall Extension. It was expected that this boat would be taking supplies into Ireland for the Black and Tans and the British Army, and Donnelly's view was that these supplies should be stopped at their source and no attempt should be made to unload any ship carrying arms to supply the British forces in Ireland. He and I discussed the matter at length, and we both agreed that some effort should be made to prevent the unloading taking place. Later in the evening Donnelly contacted William O'Brien and Thomas Foran [General President of the Irish Transport Union] and convinced them of the logic of his idea. The reaction of both these men was to send a telegram to the Union delegate, Larry Redmond, to proceed to the North Wall Extension next morning and hold up the ship. This was the germ of the idea that brought about the Munitions of War Strike of 1920" – **Frank Robbins**, Irish Citizen Army, (BMH-WS 585).

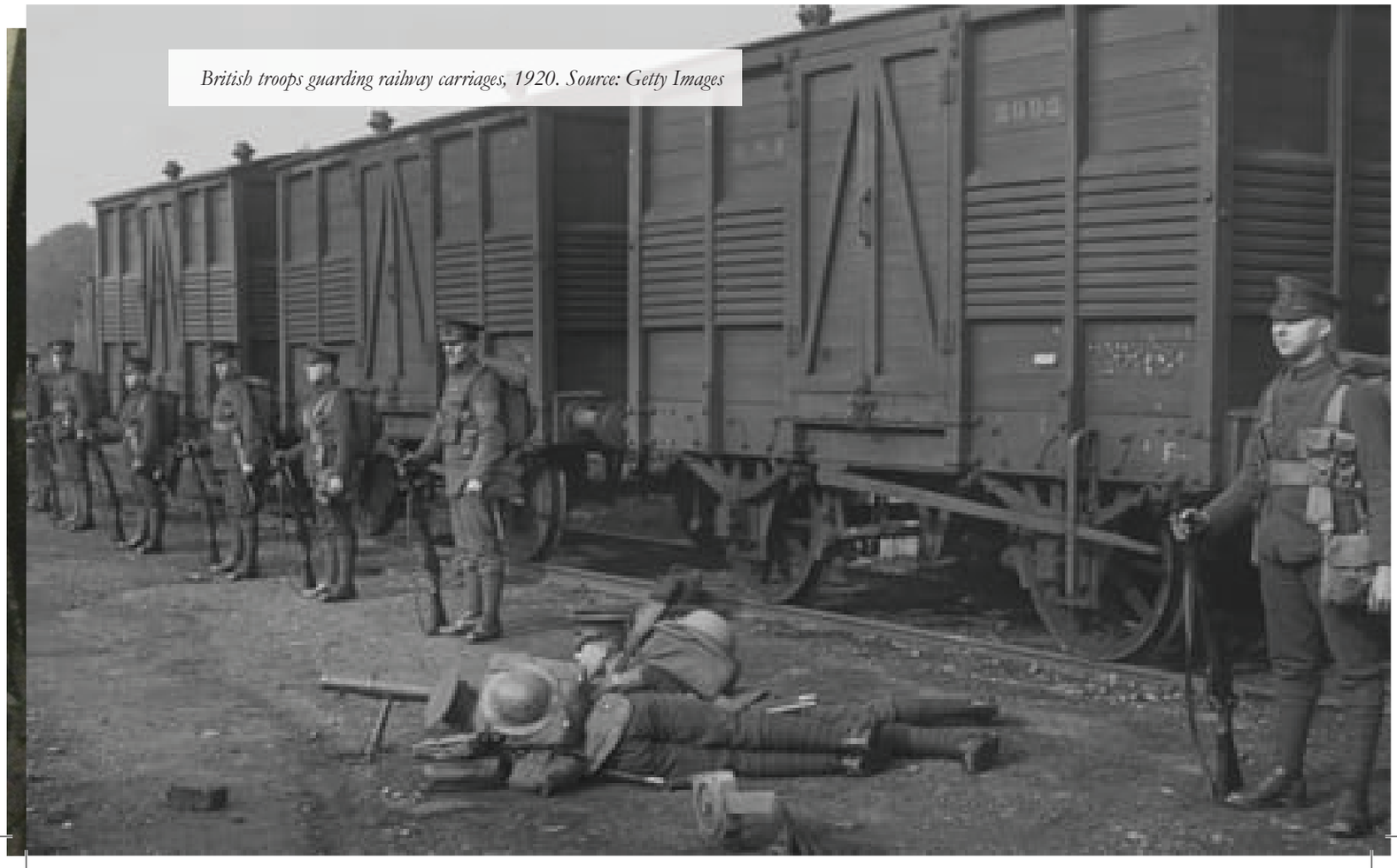
"MUNITIONS OF WAR FUND: - A chara, the North Wall Railwaymen, Dublin, rather than assist in providing the Army of Occupation with munitions for the war against Ireland, have already sacrificed £1,600 per week, and it is probable that all Irish Railwaymen will be affected in a short time. This is not a Railwayman's fight alone, nor a Trade Unionist's fight – It is the NATION'S fight. It is YOUR FIGHT. It is a fight for all the people of Ireland, irrespective of Creed, Class, or Politics. It is a fight against self-extermination. It is the duty of every man and woman in Ireland to support these brave men. You are hereby directed to call a special meeting of your Cumann and make arrangements thereat to have a collection made in your Chapel area at an early date. All monies thus collected should be forwarded to the Secretary of your Comhairle Ceanntair, who will in due course transmit them by cheque to Mr. Thomas Johnson, Treasurer, Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress, 32 Lower Abbey Street, Dublin. - Pádraig Ó Caoimh, Secretary" – **A Sinn Féin HQ Directive to all Cumainn, 28 June 1920.**



"In June 1920, the 'Munitions Strike' took place. This was a strike in which Railwaymen (drivers, firemen, guards) refused to carry enemy troops or war material. As a result of their refusal, several men were dismissed at Mallow (Co. Cork). Towards the end of June, I was instructed to act as 'Guard' on a train carrying military and police. I refused to do so and was dismissed. When eventually 19 men had been dismissed for the same reason, the O/C. Hallow decided to take the stationmaster (Michael Slattery) prisoner and to detain him for a time. Amongst those who were dismissed were:- Michael Gyves, Maurice Fitzgerald, Wm. Condon, John Barrett, Denis Bennett, Wm. Moloney and Richard Dunne. This action was taken as it was considered that the stationmaster was responsible for ensuring that the maximum amount of hardship was inflicted by selecting, on every possible occasion, married men, although on occasions single men were available. He was taken prisoner by the Company O/C. and some others early in July 1920 and removed, I think, to the Lombardstown area where he was detained for some days" – **John C. Murphy**, Mallow, Co. Cork, (BMH-WS 1217).

"When the railway men decided to take action against the carrying of British forces or munitions on the railway there was a meeting held in Clonmel in Corboy's public-house at the back of the railway which was attended by all the railway employees. I was appointed as their leader to take such strike action or whatever was necessary to enforce the decision not to carry British troops, police or munitions. It was my duty then to inform the driver and guard of the train if any armed party or munitions were going aboard and to ask them to withdraw their services. Actually, this only happened in Clonmel on two or three occasions. I can remember two occasions at least. When they saw that we would not carry them the military did not do anything further about it. They made no further attempt to travel by rail. On one occasion the British officer in charge of a party which proposed to travel on the train became rather nettled when I informed him that the train crew would not proceed until they had left the train. I explained to him that I was acting on the orders and by the decision of the National Union of Railwaymen. I explained that if we failed to carry out the instructions of our Union it might have serious consequences for us and that, in fact, we might be shot by the IRA. I thought he was going to carry the matter further but apparently, he accepted my explanation and moved away with his men, and so the train proceeded without them" – **Lieut. Thomas Halpin**, 5th Batt., Tipperary No.3 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 742).

"I took part with others in dealing with a man named Stutt. This man had persistently disobeyed a GHQ order against railwaymen handling trains on which British military or munitions were being carried. Stutt was arrested by the IRA and tarred and feathered as a punishment for ignoring our repeated warnings…About October, 1920, an old man named Arthur Gribben, a member of the IRB, was arrested by the British Authorities for refusing to signal a troop train which was travelling over his; section. Gribben was over 65 years at the time of his. arrest. He was sent to Crumlin Road Prison in Belfast but was released after a short time" – **Vol. James Short**, Armagh Independent Battalion, IRA, (BMH-WS 534).



British troops guarding railway carriages, 1920. Source: Getty Images

21st May 1920

MEANEY, Patrick:

Rank: Company QM.
Unit: *F Coy (Dún Laoghaire) 6th Batt., Dublin Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 24 October 1895. Born in The Ridge, Old Leighlin, Co. Carlow, to Patrick Meaney and Bridget Doolan.
Address: 100 Monkstown Rd, Dublin.
Occupation: Pub Manager.
Death: Meaney died at the Mater Hospital, Dublin, from burn wounds received during the IRA's burning of the abandoned Ballybrack barracks on 12 May 1920. Meaney and another officer, Thomas Dunne, had been handling the petrol-soaked straw before it was ignited.
Buried: Tomard Graveyard, Ballinabranna, Co. Carlow.
MSPC Ref: 1D273.

"At first the general public did not want the war. They seemed to forget that their vote at the general election led to the formal establishment of the Republic. Many were of the opinion that freedom could be won without any effort on their part. However, as the war progressed, the vast majority of the people stood by us and cheerfully took their share of the risks and hardships"

– Dan Breen

"*In the south of Ireland, particularly in Limerick, there had been sensational attacks on barracks. This seemed surprising to Volunteers in Dublin – at least it was to me – and I was anxious to know from whence this fervour sprang. So I wrote to Garret MacAuliffe, who was then brigadier of west Limerick. I think, and he asked me to come down to Limerick, and to bring some stuff with me. It was arranged that I take down to Limerick hand-grenades, revolvers and ammunition. It looked to me as if our GHQ was particularly generous with arms and ammunition where there was real military action. I took to Limerick nearly one hundredweight of varied ammunition – some hand-grenades the size of Mills bombs, and some as large as coconuts. Garret MacAuliffe had told me to 'make no arrangements' and that I would be 'picked up'. The terms were vague, but knowing Garret well, I was satisfied that he would make an 'arrangement' that would work. On my journey to Limerick, I actually conversed with a young Englishman who was enroute to join the RIC in Cork. I changed trains at Limerick Junction. About sixty RIC men were waiting to board the same local train as myself. I went to the extreme other end of the train, and found a dirty carriage in which were a large number of plate-layers and railway workers. These men must have sensed my predicament, for, when I hurriedly entered their carriage, they all crowded at the windows and deterred the RIC from entering our portion of the already-crowded train. I expected to be met at Rathkeale Station, but this was not the case. On alighting, I found myself alone. I was carrying a clerical hatbox that was big enough to contain a bishop's mitre – but which was packed with ammunition and grenades. A number of the local RIC had met the train, apparently to guard the large number of RIC who were travelling further south. As both of my hands were engaged with my packages, and as I would have to pass the RIC in order to leave the station, I departed by a little side entrance. A porter promptly saw my difficulty, took the ticket from where I held it between my teeth and opened the little gate quickly for me…The station for Rathkeale is some distance from town proper. I was walking very slowly towards the town when the local RIC group eventually caught up with me. I asked them to assist me in carrying my packages, and this they did very civilly. Perhaps my clergyman's innocuous hatbox saved the situation*" – **Vol. Joe Good**, *Inside the GPO,* 1916, p.249-251.

THE ATTACK AT KILMALLOCK, CO. LIMERICK 28 May 1920

"Approximately eighty members of the Charleville Battalion were engaged in blocking the roads between Buttevant and Kilmallock to prevent enemy reinforcements moving to Kilmallock from North. Cork. In addition to supplying the road-blocking parties seven others and myself, namely, Con McCarthy and Seán Cronin of Charleville, P.J. O'Brien and Jim O'Brien of Effin and Michael O'Regan, P.J. O'Reilly, Daniel O'Brien and myself from Liscarroll, actually took part in the attack on Kilmallock Barracks. P.J. O'Brien of Effin and myself, who had had previous experience of using a rifle, were with the party in position in rear of the barracks and the remainder of our lads were employed with the parties engaged in throwing bottles and containers of oil through the breaches in the roof of the barracks from the adjoining houses. A member of the Churchtown Company - Charles Winter - succeeded in bringing a rifle from Ballyvonaire Military Camp on the night Kilmallock was attacked, having got it from an old soldier with whom he was acquainted. Thus, the Charleville Battalion, with a strength of approximately 400 men, on the 1st June, 1920, was the proud possessor of one Service rifle"- **Capt. Patrick O'Brien**, 4th Batt., Cork No.2 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 764).

"The attack on Kilmallock barracks took place on the night of 28th May 1920. We assembled in a field just behind the town and we were allotted our positions by Seán Forde. I forget who was in charge of our section. Our position was right opposite the barracks, in Cleary's Hotel. We went to the door of the hotel and Jim Crawford knocked at the door. The door was opened by the late Joe Crowley who, with some other Volunteers, was staying in the hotel as "commercial travellers". We went in and took up our positions. We made a barricade at the windows with pillows and cushions and waited for the signal which was to come about midnight. When it came it was a long, drawn-out whistle all the lights in the street were put out and the shooting started. With me were Bill Hayes (who was later a Major-General in the army), Bill Fraher of Galbally, Seán Lynch, whom I have referred to before, Mick Quirke of Galbally. We had some lads from 3rd Tipperary Brigade there too. They included Dinny Lacey, Patrick (Pack) Dalton, Paddy Power and Bill Hartnett. Others whom I remember seeing during that night were Jim Moloney, now farming near Limerick Junction, and the three McCarthys from Kilfinane, Jack, Justin and Dan. The local Volunteers had procured a horse-drawn tanker of oil belonging to the patrol companies. It was brought to a point near the barracks from where the oil was pumped on to the barracks, the roof of which had been well broken by our men who had occupied the house next door. At different times during the night, we sang "The Soldiers' Song". It was taken up from house to house, all singing in loud voices, Seán Forde would ask us to stop singing every now and again and he would then shout out to the police to surrender. This continued until 3 or 4 o'clock in the morning, when two or three of us left the hotel by the front door and made our way to another house. Tadhg Crowley was there. There was a rumour that the police had retired to a lean-to building at the back of the barracks. Three or four of us went to a laneway at the Courthouse where there was a shed overlooking the rear of the barracks. With the help of the others, I climbed up on this shed. The roof was slated, and there was a jagged hole in it which I thought was from age, but later learned that it was from a bomb. All I could see was a loop-holed window at which I fired five or six shots as best I could. Then I had to come down off it. It was most insecure with no foothold on it. Liam Scully was killed about that time. He was not in our section in the hotel. He was a Kerryman and a teacher of Irish. He had a premonition of his death. He went to Confession some time before that and told the priest that he had a premonition that he was going to be killed. Day was breaking, and it was getting very bright, when the attack was called off. It could have been some time about 6 o'clock in the morning. The barracks and the lean-to building were practically burned out. Forde thought it was too dangerous to keep the men there any longer, as military reinforcements for the garrison might cone so we withdrew. Again, our ammunition was almost exhausted. Two of the RIC men were killed and a share of them were wounded" – **V/C J.J. O'Brien**, 6th Battalion, East Limerick Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1647).

"During our attack on Kilmallock Barracks, one of the Volunteer attackers was heard to shout out, 'Come out, Bruce, and surrender – this isn't '67!' When I inquired into this incident, I discovered that the RIC man being called out was a grandnephew of one of the men who had occupied the same barracks in 1867, and the Volunteer was a grandnephew of one of the earlier attackers" – **Joe Good**, *Inside the GPO, 1916*, p.225.

"I don't think anybody ever found out how many were there in all. There were some Tans there, whose names were never given nor whose presence was never admitted, and the names of some of the people who were killed there were never published - some of the Tans that were killed. It was our first experience of meeting the Tans. It was the first time they had been seen around there. We used what I call these big home-made percussion bombs in Kilmallock but they were very dangerous. At one time we nearly had a very serious accident in the house in which we were filling bottles of petrol and paraffin oil. We had brought up a petrol wagon which we had commandeered, pumped petrol into buckets and bottles, which we then threw at the roof of the Barracks. In this way we got the roof on fire. We were up in the garret, with all the bombs and explosives and everything else, filling bottles of petrol, when

the place went on fire but we managed to put it out, fortunately. I shouted for a bucket of water and somebody came along with a bucket. I flung it into the blaze but it was paraffin oil was in the bucket. We managed to put out the blaze somehow. Somebody kept his head and we got wet blankets and, wet sacks and stamped it out. We used an awful lot of ammunition. The fight lasted all night long. In fact, I was reprimanded very severely by Gearóid O'Sullivan afterwards for the amount of ammunition I had 'wasted'. I remember I said to him as a retort, "How many of them did you capture with less?". There was a man named Liam Scully, whose name should be mentioned in connection with this attack. He was killed in Kilmallock. Sometime about six months ago (1953), shortly after the "Sunday Press" was established, I saw my name mentioned in that paper. It was in the course of a newspaper controversy about teachers and the part teachers had played in the national movement, and whoever wrote this letter, under a nom-de-plume, quoted me as one of the teachers having taken part in the national movement and, who had taken away this dead man in his arms. Somebody from Kilmallock wrote a reply. He did not say anything against me but he said that I did not take away Liam Scully because I had left the scene when Scully was shot. It mentioned that Liam Scully, who was also a teacher, had died in his, the correspondent's, arms in Kilmallock. Well, it was not I who took him in off the street. It was a man named Tobin. It was not Tobin that wrote in the newspaper. The man who wrote to the paper might have been there helping. He said that I had left Kilmallock before Scully was shot, but that was not true at all, of course. It was in my car Scully died, the car I was driving. We took him away down to West Limerick and we left him in a house down there. I went on that night to his own place, somewhere between Tralee and Killarney, and brought back his brother, I think Donnchadh O'Hannigan came along too, and a Fr. Dick McCarthy. We went on down to Scully's native place. Ballylongford is the name of it, I think, and brought back his brother. The following morning, we buried Scully in a place called Templeglantine. There is a monument to him there. It is not too far from Abbeyfeale. That is what I wanted to say in connection with that" – **Vice-Brigadier Tomás Malone** (*alias* Seán Forde), East Limerick Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 845).

SCULLY, Liam:

Rank: Captain.
Unit: *E Coy (Kilmallock), 4th Batt., East Limerick Bde, IRA & ASU.*
– Kerry Brigade, I.V. (1914-1918)
DOB: 28 October 1891. Born to John Scully and Ellen Jones, at Shanacashel, Glencar, Co. Kerry.
Address: Ballynahill, Co. Limerick.
Occupation: National School Teacher & Gaelic League Organiser.
Death: Scully was mortally wounded by a gunshot wound to the head, which he received in the later stages of the IRA's attack on Kilmallock RIC Barracks, in Co. Limerick. Scully was noted for his heroism, exposing himself on the street while directing orders to Volunteers. It was during such exposure that Scully was shot. His large headstone memorial was unveiled in June 1927 by the veteran Kerry Republican, Austin Stack.
Buried: Glantine Graveyard, Templeglantine, Co. Limerick.
MSPC Ref: 1D270.

A unit from the East Limerick Brigade, IRA

DISTURBANCES IN DERRY CITY, JUNE 1920

"On my return to Derry in the Spring of 1920, I was told Jim Kirby was O/C of all Derry units (IRA) and that the numbers were so reduced that it almost disappeared. The McGrath brothers and some of the native Volunteers in the city had been arrested or had gone to seek employment elsewhere. I remember at this time, talking to Alfie McCallion and we discussed the situation and decided to reform the unit in a more stabilised form. We got this underway during the month of May, 1920. In June 1920, we had a Company strength of about 50 men. Jim Kirby was away during this period in Co. Donegal, and I think that Paddy Shiels was then in Gaol. In June 1920, I remember walking up Bishop St. with Alfie McCallion one evening. We heard a volley of shots coming from Fountain St. into Bishop St. We were walking towards the scene of the shooting and when we arrived there, we heard that people were wounded and some killed. We decided to exploit the situation and mobilise the unit. It was assembled that evening in the Shamrock Hall, the usual place of parade for the unit. A general scare spread in the city, and some excitement existed. A lot of lapsed members of the Volunteers flocked into the Shamrock Hall that evening and a section of the Cumann na mBan under Kathleen McGuinness of Chamberlain Street. The unit paraded, armed, and we proceeded to occupy St. Columb's College. On our arrival at the College, we were welcomed by the Dean, Fr. James McGlinchy, and the President, Dr. McShane. Both these priests were in the Sinn Féin organisation and were two fine Irish priests…We got information later that a large British force had arrived in Belfast and were actually on their way to Derry. This eventually transpired to be a battalion of the Dorsetshire Regiment with an armoured corps attachment. We procured some bombs and inflammable material and planned to attempt to occupy the section of the city west of the river. Whilst these arrangements were under way the British brought the Dorsets and their attachments into action. The armoured cars encircled our positions and by machine-gun fire destroyed most of our street barricades. Those barricades were made of sandbags, flour bags, sugar bags, etc. which machine-gun fire reduced in a very short time. Eventually the personnel manning the outer defences who were mainly ex-British soldiers with a national background were dislodged and came into the College, handed over their arms and were sent home" – **Capt. Michael Sheer**, Donegal Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 803).

"*In June 1920, there was let loose a "hell" of a pogrom by the Orange element in Derry directed against their Catholic neighbours. This pogrom was supported by the British military forces who shot down on a Saturday night a large number of people of which fourteen died. On the following Monday, the IRA took the field and they took possession of St. Columba's College as a military position"* – **Vol. Dominic Doherty**, Derry Independent Battalion, IRA, (BMH-WS 846).

"All this was part of the plan that was to prepare the way for coming events. On Thursday, June 18th, 1920, a Protestant gentleman sent word to a Republican Officer that the Dorset Regiment were handing over rifles and ammunition to a certain section of the Unionists so as to create trouble and if possible, a civil and religious war. The Republican Officer thought that the story was too fantastic and dismissed it as such. But on Saturday night, June 20th, 1920, about 8 o'clock a drunken squabble took place between two men at Bishop's Gates. Naturally, this attracted a small crowd but when the fight was over and most of the people had dispersed a group of Orangemen numbering about twenty, armed with British Service Rifles, started firing down Fountain Street and Albert Street into Bishop Street and Long Tower Street, which was purely a Nationalist district. Their first shots struck John O'Neill, wounding him in the leg near the knee and killing an old man named John McVeigh, who received a very nasty wound on the neck. The Rev. Father O'Neill was just in time to administer the last rites of the Church after making his way through a barrage of bullets. John Farren who had just come from the Long Tower Church, where he had been to confession, received two ricocheted bullets in the stomach. He must have died in great pain. Another man called Mallet, who was to travel to the USA the next week was hurrying home when he received a bullet in the back and died a short while afterwards. While this was taking place another section of armed Orangemen came marching over London Street, down Bishop Street, firing shots, one of which struck and killed a Mr. Price, who was stopping at the Diamond Hotel. The Orangemen were led by an ex-Army Sergeant, taking up positions in the Diamond, they started firing down Butcher Street and into Waterloo Street, killing a man named McLaughlin and wounding a woman who came to his aid, waving a white apron. Four armed policemen, who were on duty, moved away leaving the centre of the city in the hands of the Orangemen. Those attacks lasted from 8 till 11 o'clock, killing 5 people and wounding 24. No police or soldiers came to the assistance of the Nationalists although there was a battalion of the Dorset Regiment and hundreds of police in the city at the time. Those attacks were only a test to see what resistance they would receive from the IRA and the Nationalist people in general. Seeing there was no attempt to counter-attack or even to defend, the British controlled Orangemen thought that the time was ripe for the taking over of Derry City. The next day was Sunday and everything was peaceful except for the wild rumours that flooded the city. Most people thought that the worst had passed and prepared to go to their work as usual on Monday morning but when the Nationalist dockers and coal porters started their work at the Quay they suddenly came under a hail of bullets, fired at them from the other side of the water by at least 20 rifle-men. Factory girls and all other class of workers found their way blocked by snipers who had placed themselves on the most strategic points throughout the city. The snipers on Sam Taggart's flat roof, John Street, controlled a commanding position of the Bridge, John Street, Foyle Road, Abercorn Road, foot of Bridge Street, and part of Foyle Street. The snipers on the roof of Frew's Hotel, Carlisle Road, controlled Orchard Street,

part of Bridge Street, Market Street and a large portion of Derry Walls. The snipers on Walker's Monument, the Protestant Cathedral, Bishop Street, the Orange Hall and the Masonic Hall, Magazine Street, and had a commanding view over most of the Nationalist area of the city and things were such that for a time the city was completely in the hands of the Orangemen. In the Waterside district a similar state of affairs existed. Attacks were made on the Nationalist districts of Cross Street, Irish Street and Chapel Road. A group of armed Orangemen took up positions at the head of King Street about a hundred yards from the British Military Barracks. No attempts were made to remove them. Communications between Derry and the Waterside were carried out by expert morse and semaphore signalers. All this proves that a well thought out and highly organised plan had been carried out by the backing and approval of the British Government and not as some people thought the work of a number if irresponsible youths. After Saturday night's events, a mobilisation of IRA took place in the Owen Roe Hall, off Bishop Street, on Sunday night, to consider means of protection for the Nationalist population. The Volunteers were lined up and all members who had any firearms with them or at home were told to take one step forward. About 15 stood out, two having rifles and the rest having revolvers, some of which were out of date, and without any ammunition, thus proving beyond all shadow of doubt that the IRA had not expected the sudden outbreak of the Orangemen and were not prepared for it. After an investigation into the cause of the shooting, when all the facts were made known it was evident that the Orangemen were being used by the British Government to start trouble between the different religious groups in the North of Ireland. The IRA were ordered to take stern measures against the armed Orangemen and at the same time they were to protect the lives and property of all citizens, even the Unionists. This order was carried out, to the best of their ability and on Monday morning, about 11 o'clock, Patrick Shiels, a Republican officer, who later became O/C of the city, came marching up Waterloo Street with a group of armed men, numbering 12. Three had rifles and the rest had revolvers. When they got to Butcher's Gate, each man fired a shot in the direction of the Diamond where armed Orangemen had installed themselves. Believing they were being attacked by a large number of IRA, the Orangemen, without returning the fire, retreated up Bishop Street, over London Street and into Fountain Street which was their main stronghold. It is true that a large number of Protestants were ignorant of the cause of the attacks and showed their disproval of the whole dastardly affair. In the meantime, the Nationalist population had reached the end of their endurance and small sections were preparing to attack Unionist shops but the IRA sent men armed with hurley sticks to guard all Unionist shops and people who would be likely to be attacked, while in the Unionist districts no such protection was given to Nationalists. Many Catholics were driven from their homes and had to seek shelter with friends in other districts…Thus started the campaign of horror that was to be used to keep the Catholics and the non-Catholic people from ever uniting. Britain's plans succeeded and the flow of non-Catholics into the IRA was halted. The Derry Magistrates called for Martial Law to stop the June fighting" – **Liam Brady**, Derry Independent Battalion, IRA, (BMH-WS 676).

The Diamond, Derry City – this location was held by armed loyalists before being dispersed by the IRA under Patrick Shiels.

29th May 1920

SHERIDAN, Thomas:

Rank: Captain & Battalion V/C.
Unit: *B Coy (Drumbrade), 2nd Batt., Cavan Brigade, IRA.*
DOB: c.1897. Son of John Sheridan and Margaret Delaney.
Address: Drumrooskey, Co. Cavan.
Occupation: Farm Labourer.
Death: On 27 May 1920, during an attempt to disarm two RIC constables at Crossdoney, Co. Cavan, Sheridan received several gunshot wounds to the abdomen and groin. He was rushed to the Mater Hospital in Dublin under an alias and eventually succumbed to the wound. The family homestead was raided and partially burned by Crown forces after the funeral.
Buried: St. Felim's Graveyard, Ballinagh, Co. Cavan
Images Source: Sheridan, S., (2nd edn), *What if the Dream Come True*, Cavan, 2017.
MSPC Ref: 1D211.

"In May 1920, a fair was being held in Crossdoney. It was usual for a couple of the RIC to proceed from Ballinagh to Crossdoney and do patrol duty there during the fair. The police were usually armed at this time with revolvers and it was decided to hold them up enroute and relieve them of their weapons. Strict orders were received from the battalion O/C that no lives were to be taken in this attempt. My brother Tom and six or eight men took up a position behind the hedges on the roadway between Crossdoney and Ballinagh. Only three or four of this party were armed with revolvers of different calibre and these included my two brothers, Tom and Pat. The remainder of the party were unarmed and it was their duty to disarm the police when they were held up and then to tie them up so that they could not get back to the barracks and raise the alarm until our men were clear away. One man was positioned on some high ground and his duty was to warn the main party of the approach of the RIC. The men taking part in the affair were Tom Sheridan, my brother, who was in charge; Pat Sheridan, another brother; Peter Reilly, who manned the lookout position; John Delaney, Harry Masterson, William Brady, John Finnegan, Edward Smith, Joseph Caffrey and John Corr. All the party wore masks. A sergeant and a constable left the barracks in Ballinagh and proceeded on foot towards Crossdoney and were duly signalled as approaching the ambush position by the lookout man. When the police had reached the required position, my brothers, Tom and Pat, and Delaney and Masterson jumped on to the road and called on them to put their hands up. The sergeant, as if surprised, stepped backwards and, as he did so, he drew an automatic pistol which was an unusual weapon for police to carry, and opened fire. My brother Tom was hit immediately three bullets entering his hip and groin. Pat was also hit receiving a bullet in the leg below the thigh. This bullet travelled down his leg and made its exit around the calf of the leg. Our men returned the fire and the sergeant was severely wounded in the leg and the constable put his hands up immediately. Both men were relieved of their weapons…When Pat was hit, he crawled across the fence into the field and got off the road. A man named Connolly, who was going to the fair with a horse and cart, put Pat into the cart and took him away from the scene. Delaney and Masterson remained with my brother Tom and the other Volunteers dispersed…I found my brother lying in the field alongside the road. Delaney, Masterson and I carried him across country to a house named McMahon's. He was seriously wounded and bleeding profusely and was asking for a priest. I immediately proceeded on a bicycle to Ballinagh Chapel. The Curate, Father Tom Kelly, had just finished saying Mass and he came immediately to my brother. Although I had passed the RIC Barracks on my way to the chapel I did not see any police or activity by them. A doctor had also been sent for, but he had not arrived so far. Father Laurence Corr also arrived at McMahon's, having heard of my brother being wounded. After the priests had attended to my brother, and while we awaited the doctor, we could see the police beginning to move in our direction, so we were compelled to move him again. He was placed in a horse and trap and driven to a point on the road where a motor car picked him up and took him to the Columcille area in Co. Longford. Soon after he had left for Longford, Dr. Charles Burke arrived. He followed my brother in his car to the Columcille area, where he treated him. That night, he was moved by the Longford Brigade to the Mater Hospital, Dublin, where he was entered as a patient under the name of Thomas Murphy of Kilkenny. The shooting took place on Thursday, 27th Nay 1920, and he died on the following Saturday morning. My father and mother travelled to Dublin to see him on that day, but he was dead when they got there. Some form of inquest was held at the Mater Hospital at which the local RIC attended. His remains were taken to Ballinagh on the following Monday or Tuesday and he was buried in Ballinagh Cemetery with full military honours. A firing party of Volunteers armed with revolvers fired three volleys over his grave. The RIC did not interfere with the funeral and kept indoors while it was taking place" – **Cmdt. Seán Sheridan**, 2nd Batt., Cavan Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1613).

IRA suspects held prisoner in Bandon Barracks, Co. Cork, 1920. Source: Imperial War Museum, Q-71708.

EVENTS IN THE NORTH-EAST, JUNE 1920

"I happened to be travelling to Co. Down with a friend. We were travelling by car. We were asked by Joseph McKelvey who was Battalion O/C in Belfast to bring some arms to Co. Down. We were travelling in the vicinity of Crossgar so that was how I came to be in this attack. The Barracks was situated in a row of houses. The plan of attack was that we should force our way into the house on each side, take the people out of them, blow in the walls of the Barracks with explosives and then to pump petrol through the holes. In the houses opposite the Barracks there was another party, armed with rifles and shot guns. They were to keep the Barracks under fire accordingly as the Garrison showed any sign of activity. This was the general plan. It seemed simple at the time but there were certain factors which militated against success. The first was the bad training in the East Down area where training was of a very low standard. We assembled at the Schoolhouse about two miles from the town of Crossgar and we started to detail the various parties to different posts during the attack giving them detailed instructions As an indication of the bad training of the men in this area - there was a bombing party which was to go into the houses on each side of the Barracks when the attack took place and when the petrol was pumped in they were to throw in bombs to set the petrol ablaze. The men who were detailed for this bombing party had no idea of the mechanism of bombs which were of the Mills Band Grenade type so I was given the job of instructing these men. I brought the instruction down to the very minimum they would need. I instructed then how to pull the pin from the bomb and told them that the bomb would explode five seconds after throwing it. I instructed them to keep their hands on the levers after pulling the pins. When I had given this instruction, I told them to remain where they were so they would not get picked for some other party. I was then called away to fix a rifle which some fellow had taken to pieces and could not re-assemble. I just got back in time to find one of the bombing party with the pin extracted from the bomb and was just about to let the lever fly off, He appeared to be under the impression that nothing would happen if he did not throw the bomb. I just saved it in time. There was considerable difficulty in keeping the men under control. Sometimes a man would find himself picked on two or three different parties owing to the fact that they were moving about the hall. We were practically a full hour late when we finally moved down to attack the Barracks. The two parties took sledgehammers to break their way through the doors on either side of the Barracks. The problem was to get into the houses before any bombs would be thrown from the Barracks. On the door of the house which I was to enter the bar was evidently wooden and we could not force it. It struck me that the best way of getting in was to leave the door and knock the window-frame in. By this means we succeeded in entering the house in time. The Officer in charge of the whole operation was Joe McKelvey. When we got into the house, we found that the reconnaissance which had been carried out by the local people was inaccurate. They had reported that there were two compartments on the ground floor of the house with a substantial stone wall between them. The intention was that when the walls were being blown-in we would find cover from the explosion in the second compartment. When we entered the house, we found that it was built with one compartment on the ground floor and one above it. The room on the second storey had an ordinary wooden floor which was the ceiling of the kitchen. We experienced some difficulty in getting the family out of the house owing to the fact that the police were throwing out occasional bombs. We managed to get them clear alright. The difficulty was then that our party would have to leave the house while the explosion was taking place and work their way back to the house after the explosion. We slipped out of the house in ones quietly, each man leaving immediately after a bomb had burst. The last

man to leave - apart from the Engineer - evidently lost his nerve. He rushed out of the house and ran into the centre of the street. This was the first sign the police could see of a target and, consequently, there was heavy firing both from the Barracks and from our people opposite the Barracks. When the Engineer on our aide had his job completed and the fuses lit, he came out before the explosion would take place. When the gelignite exploded the officer in charge of the operation refused to allow anyone to take a chance on getting back to the house through the bombing. The exploding bombs made very heavy reports and, due to inexperience, he judged the effectiveness of the bombs by the noise they made. I volunteered, on a couple of occasion to go through with the petrol and pump it in but I was refused permission. I would like to make it clear that this was not weakness on the part of the officer in charge of the operation but simply that it was the first time that he had come up against the realities of fighting. He evidently did not relish the idea of having some of his men killed. This impressed upon me the fact that an officer must always take the possibility of having some of his men killed. The fight continued for about two hours and all this time there were continuous bomb explosions from the Barracks. The party on the other side of the Barracks were able to stay in the house while their explosion was taking place. It appeared later that their explosion was not very effective. Another thing that impressed itself on me was that in an action, co-ordination and inter-communications between the different units is vital…It was found impossible to make contact with the other groups. The attack more or less broke itself off. During the attack it was arranged that for the purpose of preventing the police signalling by means of Verey lights, a number of men in the party opposite the Barracks, who were equipped with shotguns, would shoot through loopholes in the defences and also, it any lights got out, they were to try to shoot them out of the air. This appeared to be very effective for only two or three lights altogether functioned. We learned after the attack that the remnants of the Ulster Volunteer Force in the area had a scheme for coming to the aid of any barracks that might be attacked. A group of UVF did mobilise in the vicinity of Crossgar but they did not appear on the scene. Afterwards they said that they were waiting for orders to move up to the assistance of the Barracks but evidently nobody gave the order. The Belfast party, when the fight was over, walked back to Belfast by road and we had actually got into the city and were back borne before anything in the way of British reinforcements had left Belfast to go to Crossgar. It seemed that the British forces were as inefficient as we were but they had not the same excuse. This attack served a purpose by showing us our own weaknesses both from the point of view of training an equipment and it also exposed a certain lack of determination to carry an operation through even at a certain coat in casualties" – **Capt. Roger McCorley**, (*inset*) Belfast Battalion, IRA, (BMH-WS 389).

6th June 1920

McCREESH, Peter Charles:

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *Mullaghbawn Coy, 3rd Battalion, North Louth Brigade, IRA.*
DOB: c.1892. Son of Francis McCreesh and Mary Brannigan.
Address: Aughanduff, Silverbridge, Co. Armagh.
Occupation: Farmer's Son.
Death: After attending an *aeríocht* outside Cullyhanna, local IRA Volunteers attempted to disarm several RIC officers who were on patrol. After an exchange of shots, an RIC constable and Peter McCreesh were badly wounded. McCreesh died shortly afterwards, having received a fatal wound through the back which penetrated his lung. There is some dispute over McCreesh's death, with sources stating that he was not involved in the hold up and was wounded while trying to escape from the fracas. It is indicated in *DOTIR* that McCreesh was a civilian.
Buried: Mullaghbawn Cemetery, Co. Armagh.
MSPC Ref: 1D67.

"On the 6th June, 1920, sports was held near the village of Cullyhanna, Co. Armagh. I was not at the sports. A clash took place after the sports in the village of Cullyhanna in which two RIC received wounds, one of which proved fatal and a Volunteer of the Mullaghbawn Company was killed and a Volunteer officer from Dundalk was seriously wounded… An officer of the Volunteers and a few from the Mullaghbawn Company decided to attempt disarming the three RIC. Amongst the attacking party there was only one small automatic carried by the officer and two .22 pin fire revolvers of antique fashion. The plan of the operation was to call on the police to put up their hands and if they refused to attempt forcibly disarming them. The attempt was made in the village of Cullyhanna, opposite a public house, where a large crowd of people had assembled listening to the bands playing. When the order, 'Hands Up!' was given, Sergt. Holland drew his revolver and opened fire on his attackers. The two other police were grappled with and one of them disarmed and wounded. Sergeant Holland wounded the Volunteer officer in the foot and he received three or four bullets in his body. The Sergt. succeeded in driving off all his attackers with revolver fire, killing Peter McCreesh instantly. He was removed to hospital himself and died the next day. At the funeral of Peter McCreesh, the Volunteers marched in military formation and gave full military honours at the burial in Mullaghbawn cemetery. A large force of RIC was present at the funeral and did not interfere in any way with the funeral arrangements" – **John McCoy**, Armagh IRA, (BMH-WS 492).

Republican prisoners, Jack Keohan and Roger Foley, were forced to parade the Union Jack along the streets of Dungarvan, Co. Waterford, Armistice Day, 1920. Source: Pathé.

The Dáil Courts

"Sinn Féin and the Sinn Féin Courts were well organised in the area (Fingal, Co. Dublin). The courts were well supported by the people and the British Petty Sessions Courts and suchlike were almost completely deserted" – **I/O Thomas Peppard**, Fingal Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1399).

"One of the first departmental activities of Dáil Éireann was the setting up of Republican Courts. I was not a prominent member of the Sinn Féin organisation. I was, however, anxious to get the Courts under way as soon as possible. As Senior Officer of the IRA in North Louth, I was asked to help in getting the Courts established. I, with others, was asked to go on a committee set up to select Court Justices in all the various districts; Peter Hughes and I were delegated to call on selected persons in each area where Courts were being established. We got refusals in some cases but we eventually got men to act as Justices and the Courts were got going in all North Louth districts. I found that it was difficult to get men to act as Justices in Local Courts as the majority of eligible persons did not like to be put in the position of adjudicating in matters concerning their neighbours and in some cases their relations. John B. Hamill, Solicitor, Dundalk, gave great help in the setting up of the Courts. When we had the Courts operating, we called on all local Solicitors and suggested that they should have all their clients' cases tried in the Republican Courts, and the majority refused but eventually after the Courts started to operate and established a good reputation for fair and honest decisions, Solicitors' clients were asking their Solicitors to have their cases tried in our Courts. Eventually, the local Solicitors came into the Republican Courts with their cases and the British Courts were practically boycotted. Republican Courts functioned in every parish and a higher Court – the District Court was established. In the District Court, P.J. Berrill was the first Registrar and it was due mainly to him that the Court functioned so efficiently. Berrill was both intelligent and hard-working and gave all his energies to his work. The setting up of the Courts necessitated the establishment of a Republican police force whose duties were attendance at the Courts, protection of the Courts, the enforcement of Court decrees and orders, collecting fines, etc. The police force was imbued with a high sense of duty and soon gained a great measure of respect. It was about this time that an intense boycott of the RIC was ordered. The RIC were the eyes and ears of the British Government. They were men of fine physique and were a well-trained force. They felt their position keenly when their friends and acquaintances and in some cases their relations ceased to speak to them or render any of the little courtesies that makes life pleasant. No Republican would speak or shake hands with them. The reaction of some of the RIC to this boycott was an inclination to indulge in all sorts of petty tyranny and in some cases actual prosecution of the people generally" – **Cmdt. James McGuill**, North Louth Battalion, IRA, (BMH-WS 353).

An open-air Dáil Court

"The possibility of striking at the British Court system in the country had often been talked of in Sinn Féin circles. One after another, the government services had been taken over. It was not, however, till the Spring of 1920 that an attempt was made to challenge the elaborate machinery of the law. The Dáil Cabinet in Dublin seem to have felt that success was doubtful and fora long time, although they watched with interest, held back formal approval of steps which were taken in the country. We in South Mayo realised that it would be difficult to persuade litigants to abandon the existing civil courts as a forum for the adjustment of civil cases unless an alternative was provided. Eventually, approval was given from Dublin to the setting up of arbitration courts. There were two reasons for this. One was that, as parties making use of the tribunals to be set up signed a form of submission to arbitration, it would be difficult for the British Government to put forward a plausible ground for interfering with the sittings. Success was immediate and surprising. surprising. Many litigants who had begun proceedings in the Courts were readily persuaded to withdraw and submit the dispute to arbitration. Arbitrators were chosen by the Sinn Féin Clubs to deal with the smaller type of case. These Courts later became the Parish Courts. The Comhairle Ceanntair, however, chose the personnel for cases which, in the ordinary way, would have come before the County Court. At a very early stage a system of District Courts was devised for the whole of the county of Mayo. At what stage they became known as District Courts I do not clearly remember. A feature of these Courts which aided largely in making them successful in Mayo was that we were able to secure that a solicitor always presided. We were fortunate in Mayo in having as leading men in the Sinn Féin organisation, a solicitor in each area. Patrick J. Ruttledge came from Ballina to preside over the Courts in South Mayo, while I went to either East or West Mayo to preside there. Thomas Campbell, lately Circuit Court Registrar in Wicklow, also presided over Courts outside his own area. I believe, despite claims made for other areas, that we in Mayo were the first who successfully established Sinn Féin Courts…Looking back, it is not easy to understand how we were allowed so easily to "get away with it" in those critical months when we were steadily establishing the Courts and gradually undermining the British system. The Courts were carried out with a quiet dignity and great seriousness. There was not much ceremony.

It was quickly evident, however, that Sinn Féin was determined to see that everybody who accepted their jurisdiction was given a patient hearing and a fair deal. After a short time, however, there arose a case which was to put the whole system to a searching test. Near Kilmaine in South Mayo, two landowners, each occupying holdings of land of roughly fifty to sixty acres; the estate of which these 'holdings formed part was under the control of the Chancery Court in Dublin. On the same estate were a number of tenants whose holdings were small and uneconomic. An agitation in which the well-recognised forms of boycott, threat and intimidation were used was started by the small holders. Their objective was to compel a division of the two larger holdings amongst them. I was engaged as solicitor for the claimants. My clients readily agreed that the dispute should be submitted to the Sinn Féin District Court. The two tenants of the larger holdings were requested to agree to this course. They refused. Things looked bad when the local Parish Priest, the Rev. Martin Healy, paid me a visit. He explained that the two men, against whom the agitation was directed were unwilling to submit to the arbitration of a local tribunal. He stated, however, that if Arthur Griffith would send down arbitrators from Dublin, they would submit the case to them. I thought this proposal reasonable. Corning to Dublin I put the problem before Arthur Griffith. During the discussion it was evident that Griffith was afraid that the tribunal would not be able to enforce a decision unfavourable to the agitators. I stated that I believed that the IRA would be able to enforce such a decision. It was a gamble upon which the future of the Courts in the west, and perhaps elsewhere, depended. Arthur Griffith eventually agreed to do as suggested. Those he sent were Kevin O'Shiel and the late Art O'Connor - subsequently Minister for Lands in the Republican Government. The venue chosen was the Town Hall, Ballinrobe. The Court was to sit in public. Naturally public interest was aroused and, when the arbitrators sat, the Hall was packed. At the last moment there was a hitch which seemed likely to make the proceedings futile. The solicitor who had been acting for the two large holders decided that he would not represent them in Court. The situation was saved at the last moment when Father Healy announced that he would plead the case. It was an exciting day. The proceedings were watched from a distance by members of the RIC who did not, however, interfere. The hearing went on in due solemnity and was fully reported in the newspapers. One leading newspaper referred to the proceedings and described our activities as "a monstrous usurpation of the administration of justice". Judgment was given in favour of the two owners who had been attacked. My clients, despite my advice, refused to accept the decision. The IRA police, however, under the orders of Commandant Thomas Maguire, seized the sons of some of the most defiant and at night took them away to an unknown destination which was in fact an island on Lough Corrib. After a week's imprisonment, they promised obedience and, on promises being given that no further agitation would take place in the locality, they were allowed to go home. Thenceforward, the Courts were firmly established. Their success made it possible successfully to boycott the County Courts and later the Assizes at Castlebar" – **Conor Maguire**, Legal Advisor, (BMH-WS 708).

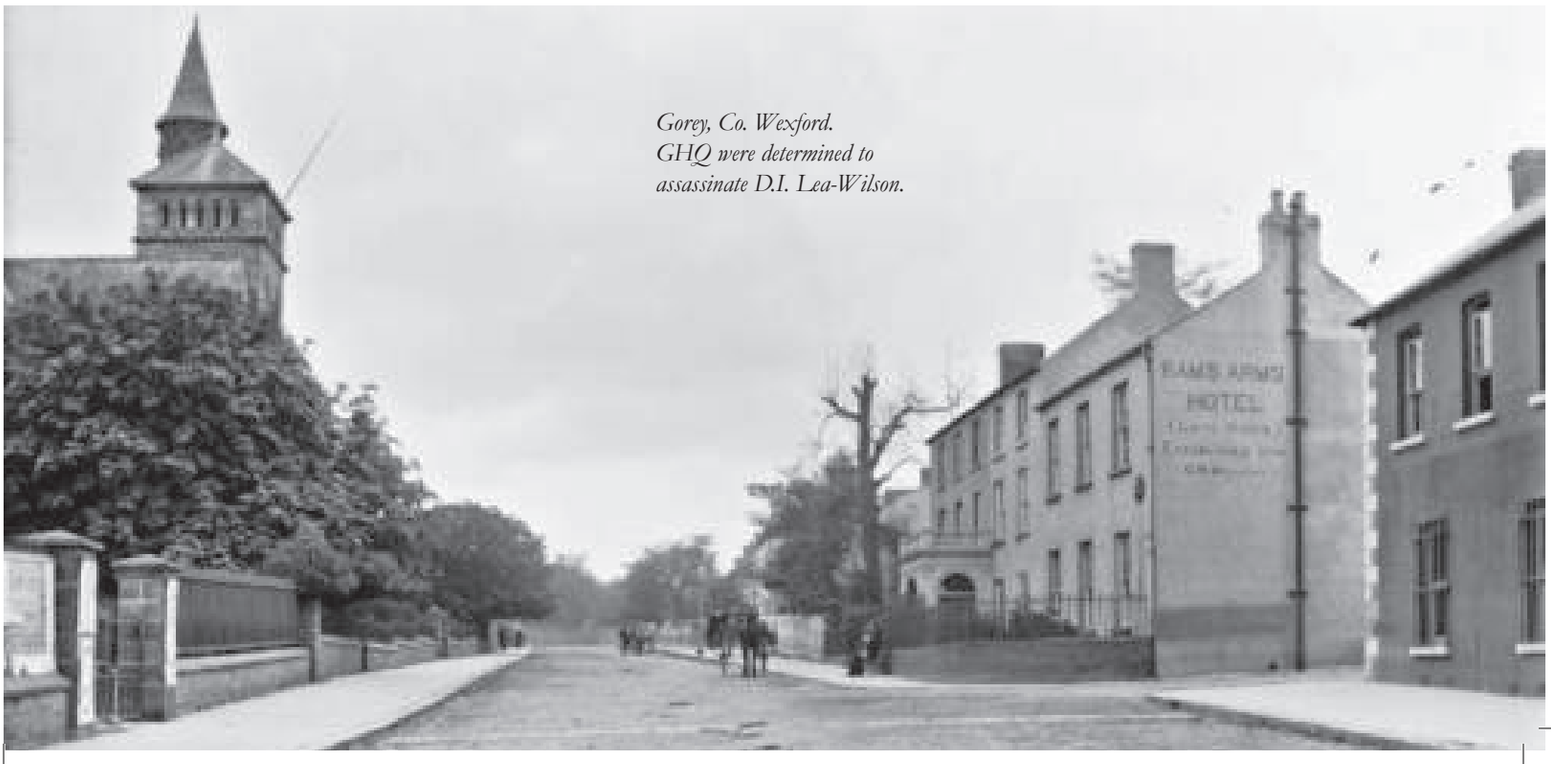
"By decree No. 5, First Session, 1920, the First Dáil provided as follows: "1- That Courts of Justice and Equity be established. "2- That the Ministry be empowered, when they deem fit, to establish Courts having criminal jurisdiction". (x) It fell to Austin Stack as Minister for Home Affairs to implement this; decree…Stack lost no time in putting it into effect. "The formidable task of drafting the Constitution and Rules of Court was entrusted to James Creed Meredith, K.C., Arthur E. Clery, B.L., Cahir Davitt, B.L., Diarmuid Crowley, B.L., Hector Hughes, B.L., Conor A. Maguire and Kevin O'Shiel…There was to be a Parish Court for each Parish area. Each Court was to consist of three members, one of whom could be a clergyman. No legal qualifications

were required. They were to be appointed provisionally in the first instance. They were to select their own chairman and two could form a quorum. Their jurisdiction in civil cases was limited to claims not exceeding £10 in contract and tort, and to claims in ejectment in respect of certain small tenements. They had a summary criminal jurisdiction in respect of certain petty offences. In the case of offences other than these they had jurisdiction to investigate, take evidence, and return the accused for trial before the District Court at a Circuit sitting, or to refuse informations as the case might be. They had no jurisdiction to determine any question of title to land. For each parliamentary constituency capable of returning a member to Dáil Éireann there was to be a Court called the District Court. This was to consist of five members of whom two might be clergymen. As in the case of the Parish Courts there was no requirement as to the qualifications of the Judges, who, in the first instance, were to be provisionally appointed. They were to select their own chairman and three could form a quorum. They were to hold ordinary sittings once a month. At such sittings they had jurisdiction to hear appeals in civil cases from the Parish Courts in their district, and an original jurisdiction which was in the main commensurate with that of the County Court except that they had no jurisdiction in chancery. The country was to be divided into four Circuit Districts. There were to be four Circuit Judges who, after the first appointments, were to be persons legally qualified of not less than six years standing. Each was to go Circuit three times a year, holding a Circuit sitting of the District Court in each District on the Circuit chosen. At these Circuit sittings the Circuit Judge was to preside, and the Court could exercise both an original and an appellate jurisdiction. It could hear appeals from the Parish Court in criminal cases, and from the ordinary sittings of the District Court in all civil cases other than Parish Court appeals. Save that, possibly, it had no jurisdiction co-ordinate with that of the Parish Court, its jurisdiction was at such sittings otherwise unlimited. If he so desired, the Circuit Judge could sit alone for the trial of equity suits. On the criminal side it had jurisdiction to try all persons returned to it for trial by the Parish court. There was, finally, to be a Supreme Court consisting of not less; than three judges who, after the first appointments, were to be persons legally qualified of not less than twelve years standing. It was to have jurisdiction to hear appeals in certain cases heard at Circuit sittings of the District Court, and an original jurisdiction co-ordinate with that of the District Court at a Circuit sitting" – **Cahir Davitt**, Circuit Judge, (BMH-WS 993).

THE KILLING OF PERCIVAL LEA-WILSON

"*Percival Lea-Wilson, D.I., RIC, shot dead in Gorey under direction of GHQ officers, viz: Frank Thornton and Liam Tobin. Joseph McMahon and Jack Whelan also took part in the shooting and Liam O'Learv was one of the scouts. Reports had been received in Enniscorthy of Lea-Wilson's aggressive attitude towards people who were forced to remain on the street even under raft when frequent and unnecessary raids were carried out for the sake of upsetting the household"* – **Cmdt. Ned Balfe**, Wexford Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS1373).

"I was not concerned in the shooting of Lea-Wilson which took place in Wexford. Torn Kehoe, Pat McCrae, Tom Cullen and other Wicklow men were picked to carry out his execution. Men who knew the country were sent, because they would have to take to the hills. I think it was Pat McCrae who drove the car with Tom Kehoe and Tom Cullen, to New Ross. I do not know who the other men were… I think Joe Hyland was there too. Captain Lea-Wilson was not shot because he ill-treated Seán McDermott and other prisoners in 1916" – **Paddy O'Daly**, the Squad, IRA, (BMH-WS 387).



Gorey, Co. Wexford.
GHQ were determined to
assassinate D.I. Lea-Wilson.

"I was crossing the bridge in Enniscorthy on my usual evening visit to "Antwerp" (Volunteer Headquarters) in Mary St. when I met Éamon Balfe. Éamon was O/C 1st Battalion and I was Captain of 'A' Company at the time. He stopped me and whispered the very important news that I had been chosen with two others, Mick Sinnott (brother of T.D. Sinnott) and Joe McMahon, a native of Kilmaley, Co. Clare, employed at the time as a coach builder at Breen's Rock Factory, Enniscorthy, (Joe died three months later as a result of injuries received when experimenting with "the Tailor Bomb" in Co. Cavan) to accompany two GHQ officers on a special job. The presence of those two officers - Frank Thornton and Liam Tobin - in our area meant there was something special on the political menu. I knew I was being honoured when I was asked to accompany those men, but I was nervous and felt much afraid; no, not, I hasten to add, afraid for my own personal safety, but afraid I would let down those who placed their trust in me. Though I had been under fire a few times I guessed this was going to be different, and it was too, but later that evening when I met those four brave men, felt their confidence and heard their plans for the execution of District Inspector Lea-Wilson, Royal Irish Constabulary, Gorey, all my fears vanished…I did not sleep much that night and was up early next morning to see Joe Goodall, the driver of a lord hackney car that was jointly owned by Jim Cullen, O/C 2nd Battalion and T.D. Sinnott, O/C Wexford Brigade. This was the car that was to be used on the job. Joe handed over the keys of the car and garage and Mick Sinnott soon had her tank filled with good British petrol, and in less than half an hour we were on our way to keep a date with death at Gorey. On the way to the rendezvous, I was told that Wilson was an officer in the English Army during the l914-18 war and was in charge of some prisoners, one of whom was Tom Clarke (one of the signatories to the 1916 Proclamation) after the insurrection in Dublin. It was for something he ordered or allowed his troops to do to the person of Tom Clarke that night as he lay asleep on the grass in the Rotunda Gardens that he was now going to pay for with his life… We drove to this point and stopped the car at the edge of the footpath. Thornton and myself took up a position in front of the car. We were leaning over the radiator; the bonnet of the car was up and we were looking for an imaginary fault in the engine. We were hidden from view of anyone approaching from the bridge though we had a good view through the windscreen and the window in the back of the car. Tobin was on the road side of the car and standing close in to its side. Sinnott was seated at the wheel. McMahon sat crouched in the back, a kind of reserve in case of a surprise. We were "all set" when the Sergeant's cap (he was taller than the Inspector) appeared on the horizon. They appeared to be coming up out of a hole in the ground as they walked up the incline to the bridge where they chatted for a moment. The Sergeant saluted as they parted company, the Sergeant back to barracks and the Inspector back from whence he came. He opened his newspaper and was reading its headlines as he walked towards the place of execution. (I wonder if he was the first to read a newspaper as he walked to his death). A woman dressed in black had now appeared on the bridge. She was about thirty or forty yards behind Wilson. She was a young woman and was walking much faster than the Inspector. Thornton whispered that the Inspector would reach the ambush position first, and that's how it worked out. He got there first and when he lifted his eyes from the paper as he was passing our car Thornton and myself fired at point blank range. He dropped the mail-bag and newspaper, covered his head with his hands and started to run towards his house. We blazed away at him as he ran. Tobin was firing from his position on the road. Joe McMahon jumped out of the car and fired as he ran along the footpath. When the Inspector fell dead, about fifteen or twenty yards from our car, he must have been hit at least a dozen times, but just to make sure we hit him again as he lay stretched full length on the footpath. We left him, his mails and gun to show it was an execution and not a hold-up. As we reloaded our guns, I looked back to see what happened to the woman in black and saw her coiled up on the footpath like a dog asleep on a door mat oblivious of the whole affair. We collected the Inspector's morning paper - it was The Irish Independent. Thornton started to sing "The Constitutional Movement must go on and on and on for evermore". We all joined in the chorus as we sped away to the safety of the home of the brothers Pat, Jim and Tom Doyle at Coolree, Ballindaggin, Enniscorthy" – **Seán 'Waxer' Whelan,** Wexford Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1085).

THE LOCAL ELECTIONS, JUNE 1920

"Another important phase of the Irish situation had developed. The Local Government elections had taken place in June, 1920, resulting, as everybody in Ireland anticipated in a complete victory for Sinn Féin…The analysis gives a very complete account of the returns. and of the significance of the results. These not only confirmed the general election of December, 1918, but also the Municipal elections of January, 1920. In the municipal elections three-fourths of the contests had been won by Sinn Féin; in the County Council nine-tenths were won. The results of the election were a complete answer to the misrepresentation of the English press that the Parliamentary elections of December, 1918, did not for one reason or another represent the true feeling of the country, whether on the ground that the register was not up to date or that it was fought on momentary issues such as conscription. Of course, the Irish Parliamentary Party was unheard of at any election held afterward" – **Monsignor M. Curran**, Irish College, Rome, (BMH-WS 687 Section 1).

18th June 1920

LOUGHRAN, Patrick:

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *A Coy (Dungannon), Dungannon Batt., Tyrone Bde, IRA.*
DOB: c.1897, Son of Patrick Loughran and Jane Hobbs
Occupation: Market Trader.
Address: Quinn's Row, Anne St, Dungannon, Co. Tyrone.
Death: Loughran was mortally wounded by a gunshot wound to the abdomen during the attack on Cookstown RIC Barracks. The bullet perforated his intestines, resulting in peritonitis. He died of his wounds at the Royal Hospital, Belfast, on the following day. His funeral cortege attracted thousands to Dungannon, with over 2,500 IRA Volunteers and Cumann na mBan paraded alongside groups representing the Ancient Order of Hibernians, various local councils and the ITGWU. Denis McCullough, the former President of the IRB gave the graveside oration.
Buried: St. Patrick's Cemetery, Dungannon, Co. Tyrone.
MSPC Ref: 1D59.
Ref: *Fermanagh Herald*, 26 June 1920, p.5.

"*The men selected for the attack from Dungannon started for Cookstown that Wednesday night. I travelled with others by car and when we arrived at an arranged point in Cookstown we were met by Constable Leonard* [a friendly RIC constable]. *When Leonard saw the number we had with us he said he considered the party small for the job. But there was nothing for it but to attack it as there was to be an inquiry into the leaving of the barrack door open on the previous Friday night and some other recent irregularities that had been noticed in the barrack routine. We had only about twenty men altogether including two motor drivers and three other men who were detailed for scout duty. The police in the barrack numbered eleven…I should mention that Cookstown is an Orange town. There were no active Volunteers in the town from the neighbourhood. The friendly police in Cookstown would not trust any of the Cookstown men and none of the local men knew of the attack. This placed us in the unfortunate position that we had no local guidance in planning this affair or the valuable help that local men could give during the attack. When everything was ready, we entered the barracks by the backdoor which was left on the latch. About fifteen men in all entered. Before we entered the barrack each man knew exactly what his duty inside was. The first thing that was done as soon as we entered the barrack was to take possession of the Day Room where the two Constables, on duty there, were tied up without showing any resistance. The Head Constable and his family occupied the second floor of the building and over this on the top floor the Constables not on duty occupied four bedrooms. As the guardroom was being captured the men allotted to the top floors proceeded up the stairs past the Head Constable's door. Three men were detailed to look after the Head Constable's portion of the house. The Head Constable's door was locked and it was hoped to get it open by a ruse and the men there knocked on the door and asked that it be opened. When this request was made the Head Constable opened the door slightly and pushed his daughter out through it on to the landing. One of the men brought her down to the dayroom for safety. During the time she was being taken down firing started from the Head Constable's room through the door. When this firing commenced, we knew that our plans had become upset as the whole element of success depended on our getting through our work without shooting taking place. We had not enough men available to deal with the situation that the shooting brought about. Even under the most favourable circumstances, therefore, the shooting made our work hopeless. The firing on the second landing prevented the men on the top landing getting quietly into the RIC Constables rooms upstairs. We were forced to evacuate the upper portion of the building and we proceeded to make our retreat from the barracks through both the front and backdoors. A Volunteer named Patrick Loughran was wounded during the exchange of firing inside the barracks. Albert Tally and another Volunteer named Loughran removed a wounded man out the front door and put him into the motor car that conveyed the Dungannon men to Cookstown. We took the wounded man to Dr. Owens of Pomeroy. He gave him immediate medical attention and called in Father Larkin who administered the last rites necessary for a seriously wounded man. Loughran was removed to the Royal Victoria Hospital in Belfast where he died two days later"* – **Capt. William Kelly**, Dungannon Batt., Tyrone Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 893).

[**Author's Note:** Capt. William Kelly was grandfather of Patrick Joseph Kelly, a leading commander in the East Tyrone Brigade, IRA, who was killed at the ambush of Loughgall, Co. Armagh, in May 1987].

"A sensational attack, lasting two hours, was made on Cookstown Police Barrack, Co. Tyrone, yesterday morning, but after a fierce fight the raiders were forced to withdraw. An extraordinary feature of the affair is that forty Ulster Volunteers, armed with revolvers, were assembled a quarter of a mile, from the scene, but did not assist the garrison, as they were 'waiting for orders' – **Evening Herald**, 18 June 1920, p.1.

BRETT, Thomas (Tommy):

Rank: Lieutenant.
Unit: *A Coy (Drombane), 3rd Batt., Tipperary No.2 Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 16 May 1895. Born in Clonmel Military Barracks to Thomas Brett and Ellen Cantwell.
Occupation: Farmer.
Death: On 7 June 1920, during an attempt to hold up an RIC despatch rider on a motorcycle, Brett was fired at by the officer and shot twice, receiving injuries in the hip and thigh. He was sent to the Mater Hospital, Dublin, eventually dying from toxaemia. Over 3,000 people attended Brett's funeral, including a large representation from the IRA and Cumann na mBan.
Buried: Templebog Cemetery, Drombane, Co. Tipperary.

"On 07.06.1920, our brigade lost a very good Volunteer when Tommy Brett, an officer in the Drumbane company, on that date received a wound that resulted in his death in a Dublin hospital a few days later. About 2 o'clock on 07.06.1920, which was a Sunday, Brett and three or four of the men of his company were standing about the village street in Drumbane when they saw a British military officer from Nenagh arrive on a motorbike outside the RIC post. Coming to the conclusion that this man had brought a dispatch to the police and that he would be returning by the same route in a short while, they decided to hold him up a couple of hundred yards outside the village. Brett bad a revolver and he was the only armed member of the party who waited on the roadside for the officer to show up. The latter on his motor bike came along after half an hour. He was called. on to halt but, instead, drew his revolver and tired, shooting Brett through the chest. The officer did not stop and got back safely to Nenagh. The wounded man was brought by motor car to the mater Hospital, but he did not respond to treatment and was dead in two or three days. His body was brought home by train to Thurles. We had planned to give him a military funeral and I went into Thurles that night to complete arrangements. I was sitting upstairs in Dwyer's public-house in the Main St, when twelve police raided the place. I escaped through a skylight on to the roof. where I remained until I got word that the raiders had gone. I went back again to the room I had left but I was there only a short while when the police made another raid. I escaped by the same exit and made up my mind to get away from Dwyer's altogether. The roof of that house was about five feet higher than Molloy's next door. As I got to the edge of Dwyer's roof I slipped and, in filling, went right through the glass roof of Molloy's on to the floor of the shop. The drop was nearly 30 feet and I was badly shaken. to make matters worse, the glass roof badly gashed both of my legs causing me to bleed profusely. Fortunately, someone heard the crash and Dr. Barry was brought to me. He inserted nine stitches in my legs and ordered me to bed to rest. Next day, I took charge of the parade from the railway station and headed it until I got outside the town. I was not able to walk any further and got a lift on the hearse as far the graveyard in Drumbane where there was a force of military in occupation. I gave instructions that any man who was likely to be arrested should not enter the graveyard and there was no firing party at the graveside. That night, at 12 o'clock, a firing party discharged three volleys over the grave" – **Brigadier James Leahy**, Tipperary No.2 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1454).

"Armed police and soldiers, fully equipped, were posted in all directions. They held possession of the adjoining fields and encircled the graveyard. Platoons of military lay flat with loaded rifles right across the passage along which the remains were to pass. This evoked intense resentment, but the clergy successfully calmed the people. To approach the cemetery a large field had to be crossed. Large crowds surged in unaware of the presence of armed forces. At this stage an excited military officer with revolver drawn, doubled, leading his platoon of men. "Use your bayonets", he shouted, "if the fellows don't obey orders". The invading crowd promptly stood to, and with hands raised over their heads, were searched. Their mourning badges were forcibly torn off. In many cases, religious emblems, such as Sacred Heart medals, were seized and trampled upon, parties were pulled out of motors, covered with guns and searched. All who entered the graveyard had to undergo the ordeal. Even the officiating clergy, the chief-mourners and bodyguard accompanying the coffin were not exempted. The burial then proceeded, the armed forces turning their guns towards the people, who while kneeling and joining in the Rosary, were covered by sentries who smoked cigarettes" – **Fermanagh Herald**, 26 June 1920, p.5.

THE LISTOWEL MUTINY

"On the evening of June 16th, 1920, a phone message came from the County Inspector, RIC, Tralee, which was Headquarters. The phone message was an instruction to send a policeman to the railway station to take over an important despatch. The despatch contained transfers for all the policemen at Listowel Barracks with the exception of three sergeants and one constable who were to remain in Listowel to act as guides to the military who were to be in possession of Listowel Barracks at twelve noon on the following day, 17th June…Beyond the fact that we were to be out of the barracks by twelve noon the following day and transferred to various outposts in Kerry, we had no idea as to what the next move might be. We held a meeting in the dining-room. The men were all excited. Some were disappointed over the transfers; some were disappointed over various things. After a lot of discussion, I personally addressed the men in the day-room. I pointed out that a war had been declared on the Irish people and that, looking at the case from the most selfish point of view, we had to consider our own position. We were asked evidently to take part with the military in beating our own people. I might find myself shooting the mother of one of my comrades, while he would be shooting my mother in Galway. I pointed out that in a war one of two things must happen. We had either to win or lose. I assumed that we would win the war with the assistance of the British military. When we had defeated our own people, the British military would return to their own country and we would remain with our own people whom we had, with the assistance of the British Government, crushed and defeated. That would be the best side of our case. If we lost the war, the position would be still worse. I suggested that, instead of going on transfer, we would hold the barracks and refuse to hand over to the British military. We bad bombs, rifles and revolvers, and any amount of ammunition; and there was no reason why we could not hold the barracks at least for a few days.

To this, I got a rousing cheer from each and every man. They immediately agreed that we would refuse to hand over the barracks. There was not one dissentient voice in it. The men were all there, including the Sergeant but not the District Inspector or the Head Constable. It was then decided that I would represent the men who were about to be transferred from the barracks, and Constable Lillis would represent the four men who were to remain in the barracks. At about nine o'clock on the night of the 16th. I phoned on behalf of the men to the County Inspector, Tralee, and informed him of our decision to refuse to leave the Barracks. He cut me off without replying. Later that night a further phone message came from the County Inspector to our District Inspector Flanagan instructing him to have the men ready for parade at ten on the morning of the 17th. When County Inspector Power O'Shea arrived on the 17th, we were lined up in the day-room on parade. He commenced to lecture us on the seriousness of our attitude regarding the refusal to go on transfer and explained that the military had to be in the Barracks at twelve noon on that date and that the same applied to all headquarters stations in Munster. When I spoke up on behalf of the men, the County Inspector cut me short by saying, "Do you refuse to obey an order of the Divisional Commissioner, an order that applies to all Munster, and bring discredit on the police force?". I replied that I refused. "Then", he said, "You had better resign". I then stepped forward and said, "Accept my resignation now". The County Inspector, after some hesitation, said, "Anybody else prepared to resign?". The fourteen Constables then stepped forward, each saying, "I resign", "I resign" - until the whole fourteen had tendered their resignations. The resignation of fourteen men was more than the County Inspector had expected, and it threw him somewhat off his balance. Here he began to reason with us by saying that he himself did not like the idea of working with the military and that if we gave our reasons in writing for refusing to co-operate with the military, he would submit those reasons to the proper quarter.

He left the dayroom and went into the District Inspector's office which was just across the hall from the dayroom where we were on parade. In due course we submitted our reasons to the County Inspector and sent them in to him. We gave the reasons under four headings:- (1) There was no crime in Listowel district and we felt that, as policemen, we were quite capable of doing any police work in the district without the co-operation of the military. (2) When we joined the police force, we joined with characters second to none, and we refused to co-operate or work in any capacity I with the British military, men of low moral character who frequented bad houses, kept the company of prostitutes and generally were unsuitable and undesirable characters. The other two reasons were of minor importance and I cannot now recall what they were. On receipt of the document conveying our reasons for non-co-operation,

the County Inspector rushed out of the room and, throwing the document down on the table; exclaimed, "Do you wish me to submit this filthy document to my authorities?". We told him that we did wish him to do so. "If you remove paragraph (2) dealing with the moral character of the military," he said, "I will submit your case but not otherwise". We informed the County Inspector that we would not remove paragraph (2), as our main reason for refusing to co-operate with the military was based on paragraph (2). He then left the barracks, taking the document with him, and he gave us no further information. Twelve noon had gone by and the military had not taken over as arranged, and we felt somehow that we had won the first round…The 18th June was a long day for us; we got no news whatever from the authorities who evidently decided to let us cool down, meanwhile the military made no move to take over the Barracks and so things drifted and we wondered what was going to happen next. At ten o'clock on the night of 18th June a phone message came from the County Inspector to the District Inspector instructing him to have the men ready for parade with side arms (belt and sword) to meet Colonel Smyth at ten o'clock next morning, 19th June. No details were given. Colonel [Gerald Bryce Ferguson] Smyth (inset) had been appointed Divisional Commissioner for Minister on 3rd June, just two weeks earlier. His appointment was direct from the British Cabinet and he was given complete charge of the military and police for the whole of Munster. Beyond the fact that he was appointed Commissioner, we knew nothing whatever about him, and neither did our District Inspector. The morning of the 19th June, as for us a time of tense anxiety and anticipation, we were lined up in the dayroom which looked on to a nice green lawn edged with flowers at the front of the Barracks. It was a beautiful day. Outside, people went about their business and knew as little as we did ourselves of impending events. From 10 to 10.30 a.m. the nervous tension and suppressed excitement was evident, especially so in the case of the District Inspector and acting County Inspector, Mr. Dobbyn. To say that I myself was anxious would be to put it very mildly. I was one of the junior members in the Barracks and one of the newest members to the county, having been but a few months in Kerry. I tried hard to memories the plans we had made the previous night, and the more I considered them, the more futile they appeared. I was half regretting having taken on such a heavy responsibility. I had no experience as an orator and none whatever of leadership.

Constable Lillis, who had been appointed to represent the four men who were to remain in Listowel, had very conveniently absented himself from parade and I took over responsibility for all including the men who were to remain in the barracks. About 10.30 a.m. General Tudor, Inspector General, RIC, arrived from Dublin in a Crossley tender and escorted by a large force of RIC men, including at least three officers. They were all in full dress, wearing helmets and were armed with rifles and swords. Next to arrive was the County Inspector Power O'Shea, also escorted by armed policemen and also in full war dress. Captain Chadwick was next to arrive in a Crossley tender and escorted by British military with rifles and swords. The last to arrive was Colonel Smyth who came from Cork in a Crossley tender. He too was in full dress uniform and wearing at least a dozen war medals across his breast…By this time, at least a dozen military and police officers, including Colonel Smyth and General Tudor, had assembled in the lawn in front of the window where we were on parade. The four Crossley tenders were lined up on the road in front of the barracks, and the military and police escorts (at least fifty in number) were grouped outside the front gate and in front of our window. The officers in the lawn were smoking and chatting, and seemed to be enjoying each-others' yarns. This display of force was no doubt intended to terrorise and overawe our little garrison within, and I will admit that I never felt less cheerful in my life. Nevertheless, our men stood the test splendidly and, though there may have been nervous tension, there was no evidence whatever of fear. After some time, the officers, both military and police, numbering ten or twelve, came into the dayroom where we were assembled. They lined up in front of us with their backs to the fireplace and facing us. Up! to this very moment, we had not the least idea as to what was going to happen. Colonel Smyth, who had only one arm, having lost the other arm in the 1914-1918 war, went straight to the point and proceeded to address us without making any reference whatever to our previous insubordination and refusal to co-operate with the military. Immediately be commenced to speak, I stepped out, saluted him, and told him that we understood that this conference was to be between the police and their authorities and that we objected to the presence of the military officers. Strange though it may seem, Colonel Smyth made no comment whatever on my action, while the military officers smiled at each other and quietly walked out of the room" – **Jeremiah Mee**, Listowel RIC, (BMH-WS 379).

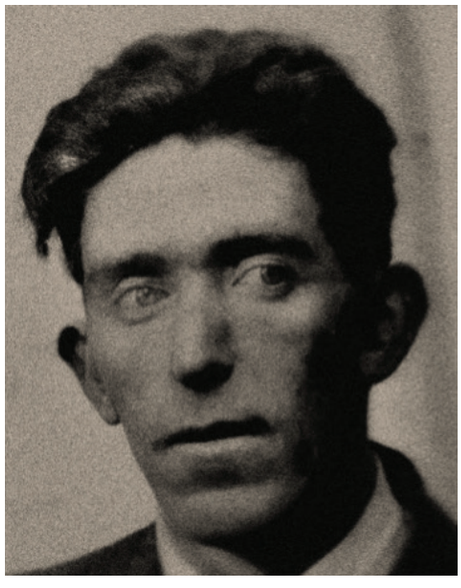
"Well, men, I have something of interest to tell you, something that I am sure you would not wish your wives to hear. I'm going to lay all my cards on the table, but I must reserve one card for myself. Now men, Sinn Féin has had all the sport up to this; we are going to have the sport now. The police have done splendid work, considering the odds against them. They are not sufficiently strong to do anything but hold their barracks. This is not enough, for as long as we remain on the defensive so long will Sinn Féin have the whip hand. We must take the offensive and beat Sinn Féin with their own tactics. Martial Law, applying to all Ireland, is coming into operation shortly, and our scheme of amalgamation must be complete by 21st June. I am promised as many troops as I require from England; thousands are coming daily. I'm getting 7,000 police from England. Now men, what I wish to explain to you is that you are to strengthen your comrades in the outstations. The military are to take possession of the large centres where they will have control of the railways and lines of communication, and be able to move rapidly from place to place. Unlike police who can act as individuals on their own initiative, military must act in large numbers under a good officer; he must be a good officer or I shall have him removed. If a police barracks is burned, or if the barracks already occupied is not suitable, then the best house in the locality is to be commandeered, the occupants thrown out in the gutter. Let him die there, the more the merrier. You must go out six nights a week at least and get out of the barracks by the back door or skylight so that you will not be seen. Police patrols in uniform will go out the front door as a decoy. Police and military will patrol the country roads at least five nights a week. They are not to confine themselves to the main roads but take across country, lie in ambush, take cover behind fences, near the roads, and, when civilians are seen approaching, shout "hands up". Should the order be not immediately obeyed, shoot, and shoot with effect. If the persons approaching carry their hands in their pockets or are in any way suspicious looking, shoot them down. You may make mistakes occasionally and innocent persons may be shot, but this cannot be helped and you are bound to get the right persons sometimes. The more you shoot, the better I will like you, and I assure you that no policeman will get into trouble for shooting any man. In the past, policemen have got into trouble for giving evidence at coroners' inquests. As a matter of fact, inquests are to be made illegal so that in future no policeman will be asked to give evidence at inquests. Hunger strikers will be allowed to die in jail, the more the merrier. Some of them have died already, and a damn bad job they were not all allowed to die. As a matter of fact, some of them have been dealt with in a manner that their friends will never hear about. A ship will be leaving an Irish port in the near future with lots of Sinn Féiners on board; I assure you men it will never land. That now is nearly all I have to say to you. We want your assistance in carrying out this scheme and wiping out Sinn Féin. Any man who is not prepared to do so is a hindrance rather than a help and he had better leave the job at once."

Colonel Gerald Bryce Ferguson Smyth
Speaking to the Listowel RIC Constables, 19 June 1920.

The Drumcollogher Three
21st June 1920

BRENNAN, David:

Rank: 2nd Lieutenant.
Unit: *B Coy (Broadford), 3rd Batt., West Limerick Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 26 June 1894. Born in Tullaha, Co. Limerick to Bartholomew Brennan and Johanna O'Shea.
Address: Broadford, Co. Limerick.
Occupation: Farm Labourer.
Death: Under orders from Brigadier Seán Finn, the Drumcollogher Courthouse was to be burned. The task fell to the Drumcollogher and neighbouring Broadford IRA units under the overall command of Captain Tim O'Shea. While dousing the interior of the building with petrol, a spontaneous ignition caused a large explosion, blowing Vol. Daniel O'Callaghan of Boola clear from the side door. Paddy Buckley, a tailor who resided in Drumcollogher and known for his perfected ability to sing '*Who Fears to Speak of '98*' was instantly burned to death and could not be rescued. His partially cremated remains were found within the debris afterwards. David Brennan, Jack O'Farrell and Liam Danaher were pulled from the flames by Mick Duane and Michael Pierce, each severely burned. Brennan was taken to Kenneally's house in Freemount, Co. Cork, but died within hours. He was given a midnight burial, albeit a temporary interment, at Knawhill Cemetery, near Freemount. Danaher died from his burns on the following day at a safehouse in Newmarket, Co. Cork and was temporarily interred in Rockchapel. The men were buried together at Killagholehane during the Truce. A memorial was unveiled at the Courthouse by Michael Colbert TD in 1956.
Buried: The Republican Plot, Killagholehane Graveyard, Broadford, Co. Limerick.
MSPC Ref: 1D296.



BUCKLEY, Patrick (Paddy):

Rank: Section-Commander.
Unit: *A Coy (Drumcollogher), 3rd Batt., West Limerick Bde, IRA.*
DOB: Born at Glin College, Glin, Co. Limerick. Buckley was an orphan.
Address: Drumcollogher, Co. Limerick.
Occupation: Tailor.
Death: See BRENNAN, David.
Buried: The Republican Plot, Killagholehane Graveyard, Broadford, Co. Limerick.

"In June, 1920, in a discussion with Seán Finn, Brigade O/C, he ordered me to have the courthouse in Drumcollogher burned down. I issued instructions to the Company to procure petrol and paraffin for the job. All of the men of the Company, assisted by members of Feohanagh, Broadford and other Companies took part. About eight men carried out the actual burning, while the others were on guard or outpost duty, armed with shotguns or revolvers. The eight men took a pump into the courthouse, after they had broken down the door. With this pump, they sprayed the body of the courthouse with petrol. In a second or two, there was a great explosion. All but one of the eight managed to get out. One was trapped inside. Two of those who got out died within a few hours. The names of the three men who lost their lives were Pat Buckley, William Danaher and David Brennan. A fourth man, though badly burned, survived. His name is Jack Farrell" – **Capt. Timothy O'Shea**, Drumcollogher Coy, West Limerick Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1213).

"Through some unexplained cause, a premature explosion took place while members of the burning party were inside the building. The roof was blown clean off and of the four inside only Seán O'Farrell escaped. Buckley was burnt to a cinder; Dave Brennan and Billy Danaher were taken away alive but both died later. One of the victims, Dave Brennan, was removed to Nicholas Kenneally's house in Kieltane, Freemount, where he died and was buried at midnight in Knawhill cemetery, near Freemount. The Volunteers turned out to guard the house and funeral, one of whom, Nick Madden brought the coffin from Newmarket under a load of straw" – **Capt. Denny Mullane**, Cork No.2 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 789).

"The RIC Barracks was only about 100 yards away and before preparations were made to destroy the Courthouse, Ben Sullivan, V/C, Drumcollogher Battalion, Mick Duane and myself covered the Barracks with two rifles and a shot-gun. The RIC, however, did not make a move then or even later. We were not followed up and no arrests were made" – **Capt. Daniel Doody**, 3rd Batt., West Limerick Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 796).

"It is now believed, says the Exchange, that three persons have perished in the burning of the courthouse at Drumcollogher. The charred trunk of one body was found, and at the inquest of identification it was forthcoming that one of the raiders, whilst in the building, lighted a cigarette, a spark of which caught the petrol with which the building was being steeped and a dreadful explosion followed" – **Irish Independent**, 23 June 1920, p.5.

The restored building that was the Drumcollogher Courthouse. This picture was taken during the Centennial commemorations to the event in 2020. Source: www.dromheritage.ie

22nd June 1920

DANAHER, Liam:

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *B Coy (Broadford), 3rd Batt., West Limerick Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 28 February 1897. Son of Michael Danaher and Mary Murphy.
Address: Bawnmore, Broadford, Co. Limerick.
Occupation: Farm Labourer
Death: See BRENNAN, David / 21 June 1920.
Buried: The Republican Plot, Killagholehane Graveyard, Broadford, Co. Limerick.
Image Source: Catherine Duggan
MSPC Ref: 1D284.

"*Our war policy was not popular. Our GHQ seemed to be lukewarm about it. The political wing certainly opposed it, and more than one TD privately denounced it. We succeeded in concealing our disagreements up to the time of the Truce. The press continued to manifest its disapproval of our campaign, but with a difference. The salutary lesson taught to the 'Independent' was having its effect. The words 'shootings' and 'tragedies' became very popular as substitutes for 'murder' and 'outrage'*" – **Dan Breen**, *My Fight for Irish Freedom*, p.102.

"To defend or recover freedom men must be always ready for the appeal to arms. Here is a principle that has been vindicated through all history and needs vindication now. But in our time the question of rightful war has been crossed by the evil of militarism, and in our assertion of the principle, that in the last resort free men must have recourse to the sword, we find ourselves crossed by the anti-militarist campaign. We must dispose of this confusing element before we can come to the ethics of war"
– Terence MacSwiney

The Drumcollogher Three were reinterred, with full military honours during the Truce period. Source: www.dromheritage.ie

MORE CATHOLICS IN DERRY KILLED.

SHOCKING ORANGE CRIME.

RELIGION ISSUE.

MANY FURTHER CASES OF WOUNDING.

shots pierced his lung. He was removed to the infirmary in the ambulance, and his condition is now described as critical.

EPIDEMIC OF STRIKES.

The firing ceased about 8 a.m., and from that on the city presented a holiday appearance. Groups of persons were to be seen discussing the terrible happenings. The more peaceful citizens consider that, if business were resumed under difficulties it would tend to allay popular excitement, but an outbreak of strikes is adding to

KENNY, Frederick (Fred):
Rank: 1st Lieutenant.
Unit: *B Coy, 1st Batt, Mid-Limerick Brigade, IRA.*
DOB: c.1882. Son of Michael Kenny and Mary Desmond.
Familial: Fred Kenny married Kate McSweeney on 7 February 1904 at the Cathedral in Limerick City. His brother-in-law, John McSweeney, would become V/C of the Limerick City Battalion during the Civil War. McSweeney would die on 10 April 1923 from ill-health caused by poor prison conditions whilst incarcerated. Fred and Kate's family included: Vincent (b.1904), Frederick (b.1905), Anthony (b.1908), Joseph (b.1910), Mary (b.1911), John (b.1914), Patrick (b.1916) and Robert Kenny (b.1919).
Address: 31 Mungret St, Limerick City.
Occupation: Tailor's Cutter.
Death: Kenny died from pneumonia at St. John's Hospital, Limerick City. His widow gave detail in her military pension application that Kenny had been suffering from ill-health after having been wounded in the groin during an attempt to free Vol. John Collopy from custody.
Buried: Mount St. Lawrence Cemetery, Limerick.
Image Source: Pat McSweeney, Co. Limerick.
MSPC Ref: 1D268.

About this time we received information from the Brigade I/O that a party of British troops were to travel by train from Cahir to Limerick. The O/C of our battalion, Richard O'Connell, decided to hold up the train at Boher, Co. Limerick. Stephen Lynch, 1st Lieutenant, Caherconlish Company, went to Dromkeen and immediately the train had passed, he phoned to me at Boher station, stating that there was only a small number of apparently unarmed troops on the train. The battalion O/C and myself decided to hold up the train and take the mails for censorship. We ordered the Stationmaster at Boher station, Mr. Meade, to get on the platform and stop the train. He very reluctantly obeyed us and we boarded the train. We first searched the soldiers on the train and found only a few souvenir revolvers which we handed back to the owners. We then took away the mail bags for censorship. I spent all next day going through the various letters addressed to the police and military and any other person whose loyalty was doubtful. I read a number of filthy letters from girls in England to Black and Tan members of the police force. These letters I burned, but all other letters were marked "censored by IRA" and returned to Ballysimon Post Office"- **Capt. Morgan Portley**, 5th Batt., Mid-Limerick Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1559).

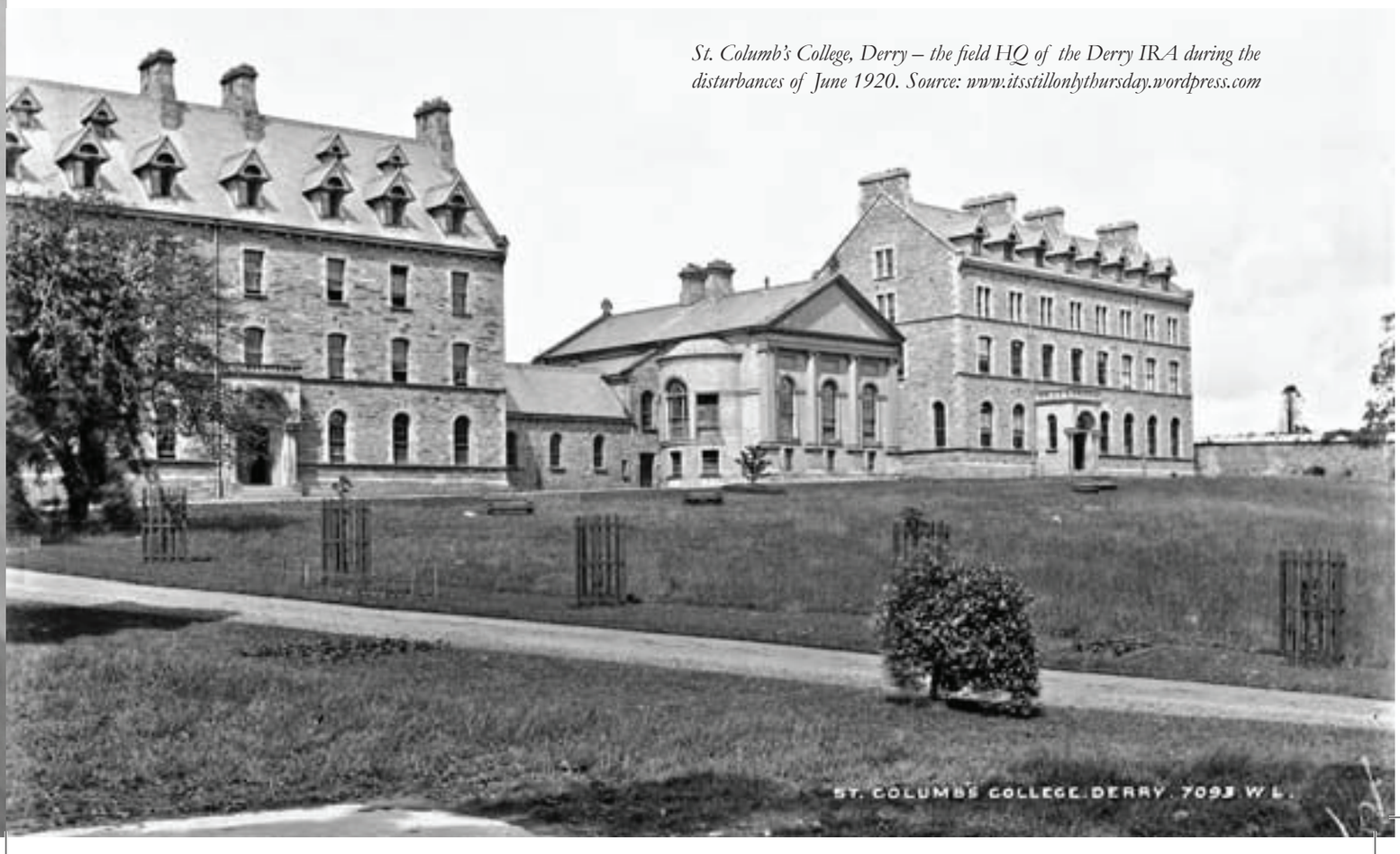
The remains of Joseph McGlinchey, Derry, June 1920

27th June 1920

McGLINCHEY, Joseph (Josey):

Rank: Volunteer / Fian.
Unit: *Derry Independent Batt., IRA / Na Fianna Éireann.*
DOB: 15 March 1903. Son of James McGlinchy and Sarah Jane Campbell.
Address: 1 Nelson Street, Derry City.
Occupation: Scholar.
Death: McGlinchey, the son of James McGlinchy, O/C of the Derry Brigade of the Irish Volunteers before the August 1914 split, was mortally wounded by a gunshot wound to the head on 21 June 1920, fired by a loyalist sniper, when he attempted to take down a Union flag that was flying from a lamp-post near Bishop's Gate, at the junction of Long Tower Street and Fountain Street. Two RIC constables carried McGlinchey to the house of William Ramsay, who recognised the boy and sent out word to the McGlinchey family. McGlinchey was taken to the City Infirmary, dying six days later.
Buried: Derry City Cemetery, Derry.
Ref: *Freeman's Journal*, 6 July 1920, p.3.

"In the case of the boy McGlinchey, the evidence of Sgt. Walker [RIC] was that at 5.30 on the same morning he heard shots from Fountain Street direction, and later was told that a man was lying dead at the head of Long Tower Street at the font of Fountain Street. He went there with four policemen and found young McGlinchey lying in a pool of blood. He had been shot through the head. In the blood, witness found a service rifle bullet. He sent for a priest who attended McGlinchey. Mr. Hugh C. O'Doherty, junior, for the next of kin, said there could be no doubt, shots were fired out of Fountain Street with murderous intent. The jury returned a verdict of murder against some person or persons unknown and added the following rider to the verdict: 'We are of opinion that had the Government sent additional troops when requested by the City Magistrates in the early stages of the riots, lives would have been saved and much bloodshed and destruction of property averted. We are further of opinion that the Attorney-General for Ireland misled the Government as to the true facts of the situation in Derry" – **Freeman's Journal**, 6 July 1920, p.3.



St. Columb's College, Derry – the field HQ of the Derry IRA during the disturbances of June 1920. Source: www.itsstillonlythursday.wordpress.com

Early Republican mural, Derry, 1920.

CIVILIANS CLAD IN KHAKI

Held-Up and Stripped by Soldiers

YOUNG MAN WOUNDED

Remarkable Incident Near Thurles

An extraordinary incident is reported to have occurred at Ballinahow, near Thurles, on Sunday evening, where two civilians were held up by soldiers, and compelled to ex-

SHOTS AFTER FOOTBALL MATCH

Motorists Shot by Police in Roscommon

ROSARY SAID IN STREET

Soldiers Disarmed and Motor Lorry Burned

One man was seriously wounded and another injured by revolver shots fired by a policeman at Elphin on Sunday.

It appears that a large crowd that had at-

THE POPE'S ANXIETY

Concerned by Situation in Ireland

HIS EARNEST WISH

That Irish Aspirations Shall be Satisfied

On Sunday night his Eminence Cardinal Logue imparted the Papal Benediction in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Armagh.

Prior to the Benediction, his Eminence, ad-

HAPPENINGS ACROSS IRELAND, JUNE-JULY 1920

"As a first step in the preparations for the attack we commandeered a supply of petrol at Nenagh Railway station and conveyed it to a dump at Moneygall where it was filled into quart bottles and, from where it was conveyed to Borrisokane on the night of the attack, i.e., on the night of June 26th 1920. I paid another visit to GHQ and secured a supply of hand grenades. On this trip to Dublin, I was accompanied there and back by Michael Brennan, then O/C of the East Clare Brigade. He was on a similar mission to mine, seeking grenades for use in his own area. I left the grenades with a Volunteer in Dublin who held them until I sent a Volunteer to collect them and to deliver them to our men in Roscrea. In the meantime, we made arrangements for the blocking on the night of 26th June of all roads leading to Borrisokane and collected wool waste which, when steeped in petrol, we proposed to use for setting fire to the barracks. I also arranged to have a feint attack made on the same night on Silvermines RIC barracks. This attack at Silvermines failed to come off, due to the fact that a detachment of British military encamped in that village that night. A dispatch to this effect reached me in Borrisokane before the attack on the barracks there commenced. Those entrusted with the work of blocking the roads did their job exceptionally well and enemy reinforcements did not reach Borrisokane until midday of the day following the attack. On the night of the attack, we mobilised at an assembly point at Ballynarow, about 1 ½ miles from Borrisokane. Due to the delay of the Roscrea contingent in arriving with the grenades, we were unable to advance into Borrisokane until two hours after the appointed time and this naturally shortened the period allowed by GHQ for the attack. I would say that it was sometime between 11.30 p.m. and midnight when we arrived at the house adjoining the barracks. I forced the back door open with an iron bar and induced the occupants, a Mrs. Brennan and her children, to remove to a friend's house.

When this was done, we went into occupation. At the same time a party of riflemen and shotgun-men, under the command of Liam Hoolan, the Brigade V/C, occupied a house opposite to the barracks, and two other parties went into positions at both ends of the village. We bored a hole through the roof of Mrs. Brennan's house and then broke a further one through the roof of the barracks. On a signal from me, the rifle and shotgun men in the house opposite opened fire on the barracks and we then proceeded to throw flaming wool waste through the opening of the barrack roof, followed at intervals by hand-grenades and quart bottles of petrol. During the work one of our men, James O'Meara, who was working on the barrack roof, received a bullet wound in the shoulder. We had him removed immediately to Dr. Quigley's house at the Nenagh end of the village for medical attention. His place was taken by Michael Kennedy. The RIC garrison were then sending up Verey lights at regular intervals and we could hear their rifles as they replied to the fire of our men. When relieved from his work on the roof, Michael Kennedy came and stood behind me in Brennan's house, near an upstairs window which overlooked the street. He was in the act of wiping the perspiration from his face with a towel, when a bullet entered the window, went through my coat and struck him in the groin. He was badly hit and we had to have him, too, sent to Dr. Quigley's house for attention. I then sent word to our men to cease-fire as I was convinced that it was their fire which had caused our casualties.

We continued to use the petrol and the grenades, but the barrack was very slow to catch fire. We afterwards discovered that the RIC garrison had covered the upper floor with sand in anticipation of such an emergency. Our hand grenades also were not, apparently, 100% effective as we should, in the 'ordinary course, have had quicker results. I had repeatedly called on the RIC to surrender but beyond increasing their rifle-fire, they made no reply. However, we maintained the attack until it was full daylight and then, in view of GHQ's instructions, I had no option but to call off the operation. A detailed report of the operation was sent to GHQ who considered the action to be a most successful one, as the RIC were evacuated from Borrisokane immediately after the attack" – **Brigadier Frank McGrath**, Tipperary No.1 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1558).

"During the month of June, the Bantry Volunteers carried out an ambush on a police patrol at Snave Bridge between Bantry and Glengarriff in which a constable was shot. And a week later, on 21 June, they ambushed another police patrol at Clonee on the Bantry-Durrus road, killing a constable and wounding a sergeant, and capturing three revolvers. The Volunteers suffered no casualties in either of these two ambushes, but three days after a second one the RIC took their revenge on Bantry town. The homes of suspected Volunteers were raided. However, information about the raids had been received by the Volunteer Intelligence Officer during the previous twenty-four hours, and the Volunteers had accordingly left their homes before the raids took place. Infuriated at their failure to capture the Volunteers they were seeking, the RIC had recourse to foul atrocities. Thus, when they failed to find Michael Crowley in his home, the police became so enraged that they shot his invalid brother, Con, in bed in the presence of his sister. They set fire to the house of David O'Mahony by throwing incendiary bombs through the windows and the roof" – **Brig-Adjt. Liam Deasy**, *Towards Ireland Free*, p.108-109.

"About July, 1920, the West Mayo Brigade was formed, the old unwieldy Mayo Brigade which was coterminous with the county of Mayo having been divided into North, South, West and East Brigades. The first to command the Brigade was Tomás Ó Deirg, who at the time was on the teaching staff of the Ballina Technical School, teaching, probably, commercial subjects, as he had taken his degree in Commerce at University College, Galway. Tom's parents resided in Westport, and there he arrived each Saturday evening to spend the week-end in various activities connected with the organisations of the Brigade. A cool, clear-headed, calm man was Ó Deirg. His emotions perfectly controlled, he could at the same time lash with a caustic bitter invective anyone unfortunate enough to offend or displease him…In the early days of the newly formed Brigade, Ned Moane was Adjutant, and Tom Ketterick, Quartermaster. Of the latter, Ernie O'Malley once said he could be trusted to borrow a sword from the Angel Gabriel or the Archangel Michael and question its return. Ketterick was 'Duine ann Féin' the Irish phrase has it – a personality all his own, not cut to any type or pattern, debonair, humorous, highly-strung and very brave. On one occasion when travelling from Dublin to the West with two suitcases of arms, the train arrived at Roundstone in Connemara - whence Tom intended to make his way to Westport via road - only to be met by a posse of RIC under a Head Constable for the purpose of searching the train and, of course, the passengers. Tom eyed the Head Constable, sprang to the platform, walked briskly up to that dignitary, told him some story about a dying relative and a long trip from some outpost of the Empire to endeavour to reach the bedside in time. The Head Constable kindly detailed two of his men to fetch the traveller's luggage and carry it to a garage a short way from the station where a Ford Sedan was available for hire, and which was promptly hired and in due course deposited Tom and his precious cargo near Westport. Such a man was Tom, and it was a pleasure to work with him, which I did for a while. Moane, the Adjutant, was serious-minded, much given to periods of reflective silence. A first-rate organiser, he tramped the Brigade area night after night, and later on, day after day, appointing officers, promoting, demoting, altering this, patching that, until he had established a complete unit with its communications and intelligence services in good order. Moane had an almost pathological horror of being captured. He had already spent two periods in British prisons and he was determined never to return" – **Brig-Adjt. Thomas Hevey**, West Mayo Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1668).

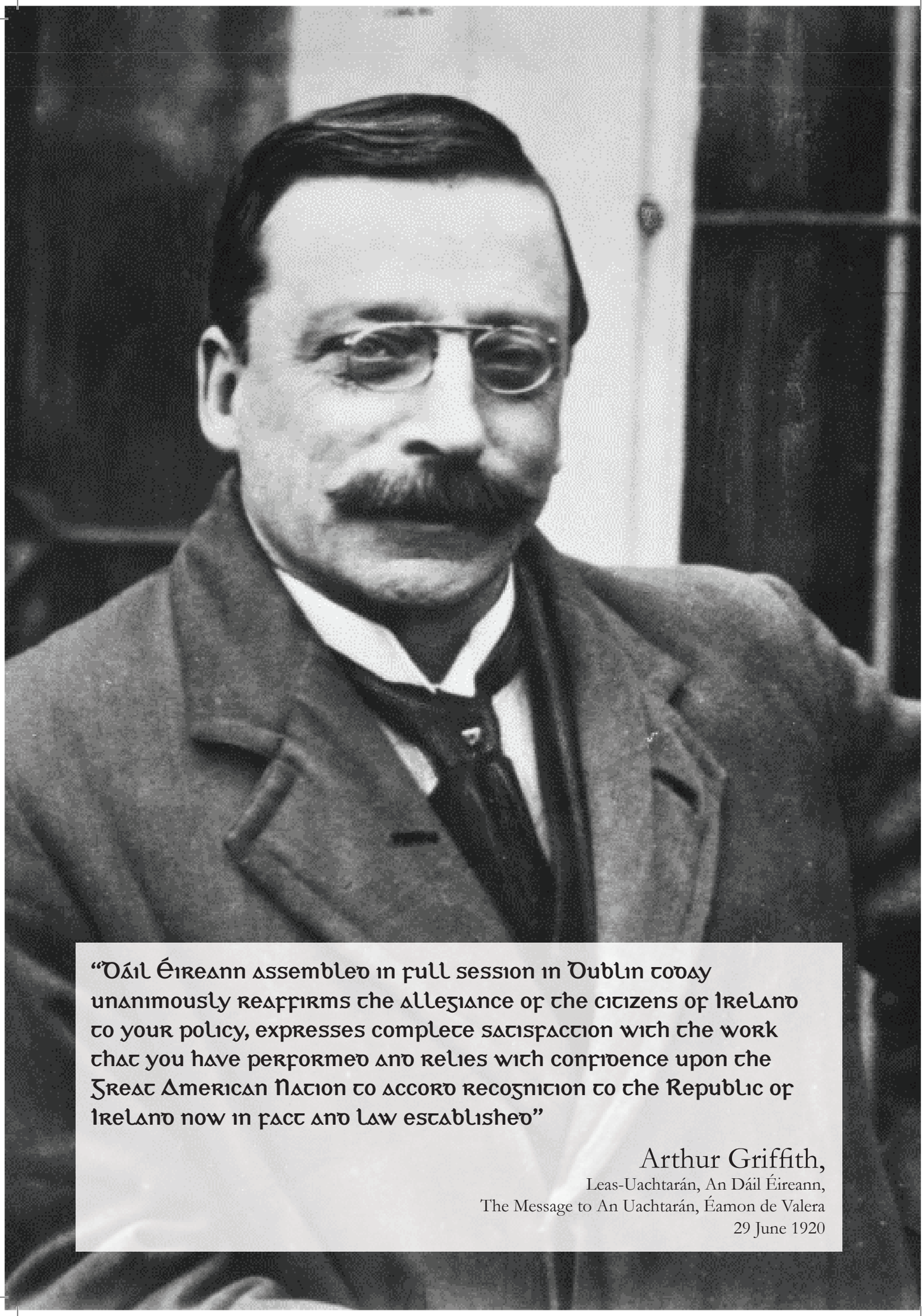
"In June or July, 1920, I took part in an attack on an RIC patrol at Blackwater on the main Gort to Ennis Road, three quarters of a mile from Gort. The RIC patrol usually left Gort and went to Loughcutra Castle by the main road. On the Sunday that we lay in ambush for this patrol at Blackwater, where the Beagh river goes underground, the RIC did not take the usual route. They left the town of Gort by Church Street and went by Cianahowen road and Punch Bowl. We were about to take up positions south of the Blackwater. The RIC patrol of five men saw us before we saw them and opened fire on us from revolvers. They then hurriedly proceeded towards Gort. None of our party was wounded. I cannot say whether any of the RIC was wounded" – **V/C Patrick Glynn**, South-West Galway Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1033).

"The garrison strength of Fenit barracks [Co. Kerry] was approximately eight men, made up of six RIC and two Tans who had arrived earlier in the month…The pier, which was a wooden structure, was situated partially in front of the barracks. At the end of the pier was a British sloop manned by Marines; the distance between the sloop and the barracks was approximately 400 yards. Situated on the same road as the barracks was the Fenit Custom House, eighty yards away, which was manned by an armed guard of ten Customs men. The attack took place on the night of 2nd June 1920. In all, sixty armed men took part in the attack, of which thirty-two were armed with rifles, the remainder being armed with shot-guns. Of the sixty men engaged, thirty were in the actual attack which the other thirty were on outpost duty. In addition, a further thirty or forty men were engaged in trenching and blocking roads in the neighbourhood, while the Fianna under their O/C, Mike O'Leary, assisted as scouts. Attached to the barracks was the private house of a man named Mahony and his family. I first ordered one section of ten men under Michael O'Connor to occupy a position behind a cement wall at the rear of the barracks. I placed another ten men under the battalion O/C of Ardfert, Paddy Sheehan, behind a low wall directly in front. In the meantime, I ordered three men named Patrick O'Connor, Tommy Sharkey and Eugene Hogan to go into Mahony's and remove the children, who numbered about four, to safety. When these three men had taken the children to a friend's house some distance away, they returned and occupied Mahony's house. I now placed

ten men under James King on a railway siding covering the pier, having previously covered the pier with straw and saturated both pier and straw with petrol and paraffin. Everything is ready for the attack. I send a man to Mahony's house to the three men there to proceed with their orders. Eugene Hogan, one of the men in Mahony's, was a builder, and it was he who had built the barracks some years previously. He and the other two men were to break through the roof of Mahony's and get on to the roof of the barracks which they proceeded to strip of slates. After a few minutes they succeeded in making an opening into which they poured petrol and paraffin followed by hand grenades which set fire to the building. The three men then returned to the safety of Mahony's and later rejoined their comrades. I now gave the order to open fire and, at the same time, call on the enemy to surrender to which they reply with rifle-fire. In the meantime, James King and his men at the railway siding had set fire to the straw and pier. The sloop, with powerful headlights directed on the scene of the attack, immediately opened fire, sending up shells which started bursting in the field opposite the barracks where I am located with Paddy Sheehan and his men. The Marines now approached the burning pier but were forced to retreat to their sloop under the fire of King and his men. Just then the guard on the Custom House also opened fire on our positions in the field opposite the barracks. Our men replied to this fire and manage to confine the guard to the building itself. Firing had been in progress for two hours when our scouts informed us that reinforcements were on their way from Tralee Military Barracks. I decided to call off the attack and ordered our men to disengage. As we left, the barracks and adjoining house, as well as the pier, were a mass of flames" – **Capt. Patrick Fitzgerald**, Fenit Coy, Kerry No.1 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1079).

"About June 1920, I was in Elphin one Sunday evening after a football match. A man named Hunt, who had resigned from the RIC and had started a taxi car service, was sitting in his car with two other men. The car was parked near the police barracks. I went over to talk to him as I had known him before he joined the RIC in 1914, and sat into the car in the front seat beside Hunt. An RIC man came out of the barracks. I think Tanner - one of the men in the back seat - shouted "Up the Republic" or something like that. The RIC man pulled his revolver from its holster and fired at us. The bullet passed through my coat sleeve and entered Tanner's chest, severely wounding him. Tanner was taken to a Dublin hospital and operated on and, after a protracted illness, he recovered. The RIC man was brought to the depot in Dublin the following day and that was all that happened in the matter. I believe it was Hunt he meant to shoot, as he knew Hunt and that he had resigned. I would say the RIC man had drink taken as he was acting like a madman. The North Roscommon Brigade had been organised for some time before this with James Ryan of Strokestown as Brigade O/C. The battalions comprising the brigade were - No. 1 Boyle, No. 2 Elphin, No. 3 Strokestown, No. 4 Arigna and No. 5 Aughrim. Brigade Council meetings were held usually in the Elphin and Ballinameen area and were attended by the Brigade staff and battalion commandants. Mostly routine business was enacted, such as training, organasation, recruiting and intelligence reports. When the RIC evacuated their barracks, the Volunteers took on the job of policing the country" – **Cmdt. James Feeley**, 1st Batt., North Roscommon Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 997).

Black & Tans on patrol. Source: National Library of Ireland



"Dáil Éireann assembled in full session in Dublin today unanimously reaffirms the allegiance of the citizens of Ireland to your policy, expresses complete satisfaction with the work that you have performed and relies with confidence upon the Great American Nation to accord recognition to the Republic of Ireland now in fact and law established"

Arthur Griffith,
Leas-Uachtarán, An Dáil Éireann,
The Message to An Uachtarán, Éamon de Valera
29 June 1920

EVENTS IN INDIA, THE CONNAUGHT RANGERS MUTINY 28 JUNE 1920

"Jullundur is about three days' rail journey from the nearest seaport, Bombay [Mumbai]. *All was quiet and peaceful there, without the slightest hint that trouble was brewing in the battalion. The Rangers, so for as could be seen, were settling down to it and looking forward to a well-earned rest after a hard campaign of four years and three months' active service. But fate took its innings and ordained that it be otherwise. On the 25th June 1920, about 2 p.m., Private Dawson, B/Coy. went to the battalion guardroom and asked to be placed under arrest, giving as his reason to the guard commander that he was in sympathy with his country in its fight for freedom, and that he was taking this step as a protest against the atrocious deeds committed on the people of Ireland by the Black and Tans. He concluded by stating that he was finished soldiering for England. The sergeant of the guard had no option but place the man under arrest. Having done so, he reported the incident to Sergeant-Major E. Tame, who was acting Regimental S.M. at the time. The latter gave an order that a sick report be made out in Dawson's name and that he be removed from the guardroom to the station hospital forthwith. When this order had been carried out the sergeant-major sent a covering note to the M/O of the station hospital. In that, he explained what Dawson had done, and put forward the excuse - in order to hush up the incident - that the man was suffering from the after-effects of a slight sunstroke, and was not responsible for his actions; he ended his note with a request to the medical officer to have him detained in hospital. The latter granted the sergeant-major's request and, to all appearances, the effort to hush up the matter had succeeded, for nothing more happened on the 25th, 26th or 27th, and we had come to the conclusion that the incident was merely a flash in the pan*." – **John Flannery**, Mutineer, (BMH-WS 287).

"Officially the Connaught Rangers Mutiny in India stated in Wellington Barracks, Jullunder, at 8 o'clock on Monday morning, the 28th June 1920. Actually, it all began the night previous. On the night of the 27th, privates C.P. Sweeney (Paddy), Patrick Gogarty, Stephen Lally, William Daly (brother of J.J.) and myself, Private Joseph Hawes, arranged to meet in the canteen. There we sat at a table and I was telling them of my experiences in Clare when I was home on holidays prior to going to India in 1919. I told them about a hurling match I had seen proclaimed by the British Forces at the point of the bayonet; all assemblies being Proclaimed in Clare at the time. Some of the others spoke about what they saw in Irish papers and letters from home. During the discussion I put up the point that we were doing in India what the British Forces were doing in Ireland and the next question was "What are we going to do about it? We agreed to proceed to the guard room in the morning and declare that we would no longer serve the King as a protest against the atrocities of the British Forces in Ireland. We left the canteen and proceeded to No.5 bungalow where B Company, to which Gogarty and I belonged, was stationed or quartered. The five of us occupied a small disused room, barricading ourselves in until morning" – **Joseph Hawes**, Mutineer, (BMH-WS 262).

"The morning of the 28th June brought a rude awakening, and it became manifest that the action of Dawson was far more than a mere flash in the pan. It was the indomitable spirit of patriotism that was in revolt; it was the calm before the storm. The following four men - Lally, Gogarty, Hawes and Sweeney - came to the Royal Army Temperance Association and asked the NCO in charge if he would do them a good turn by writing home to their relatives and letting them know if anything should happen as a result of the action they were about to take. On being asked what they really did intend to do, they stated that they were going to volunteer for the guardroom as a protest against the action of the Black and Tans in Ireland, and they made it very clear that they were finished soldiering for England having just had twelve years' service with the colours. The NCO pointed out the possible consequences of their action, and appealed to them, as they were only young soldiers, to reconsider the step they were about to take before it might be too late. They replied that they had already considered it and were going through with it no matter what the consequences might be. Seeing that he could not prevail on them to change their minds, the NCO promised that he would carry out their wishes. They then left the R.A.T.A. About 8 a.m. the NCO was told that four men had volunteered for the guardroom. He knew at once who they were, and learned shortly afterwards that they had given the same reason to the guard commander for their action Private Dawson had on 25th June. The guard commander had no option but to place the four men under arrest. Having done so, he reported the incident to Sergeant-Major E. Tame. Needless to say, news of the action of the four men went round the barracks like wildfire. Small groups of excited men could be seen standing in every direction, others were running here, there and everywhere, just like a swarm of bees that had boon disturbed. The NCO thought the matter over very carefully and a feeling impossible to describe seemed to surge through his whole being. The upshot was that he came to the conclusion he was no longer bound by his oath of allegiance to a king whose government was responsible for so many outrages on his fellow-countrymen and women for merely demanding the God-given right to take their appropriate place among the Free Nations of the earth. Having made up his mind, he went into the billiard rooms, where about fifty men were assembled. He informed them that four of their comrades had volunteered for the guardroom as a protest against the Black and Tan outrages on the people of Ireland, and pointed out that, if the action of their four comrades in the guardroom was to have any effect, it must be backed up by every Irishman in the battalion who loved his country" – **John Flannery**, Mutineer, (BMH-WS 287).

"Word must have spread about the barracks because when the C Company detachment came out for their usual nine o'clock parade, Tommy Moran of Athlone, who belonged to this company, addressed his sergeant publicly and said "I refuse to parade and I want to be put in the guard-room with the other four men, who are gone there for Ireland's cause" The sergeant ordered two men, Cpl. Cox and L/Cpl. Keenan, to put Moran in the guard room. Cox and Keenan refused saying "We are also in sympathy with the men in the guard room". The Sergeant then requested Moran to go before the company officer, Major Johnny Payne, a Corkman. Major Payne remonstrated with Moran, who still stuck to his guns, and finished up by abusing Moran in all moods and tenses, Payne ordered the sergeant to take Moran out the rear door of the company office and "Put him in the guard room with the other four." However, they were seen going out the back way and twenty-nine men of C Company followed them to the guard room and demanded to be locked up with Moran. This was done. The duty guard on at the guard room were C Company men and one of them, seeing Moran and his comrades being locked up threw down his rifle and equipment and marched in with them. In all there was now thirty-five man who refused to serve in the guard room together…We started to sing rebel songs and shout 'Up the Republic' and the singing and shouting could be heard all over the barracks. About 10 o'clock, B Company, coming back from the rifle range, heard us and halted about 80 yards away, instead of passing on as they would normally have done. Just as B Company halted the Commanding Officer, Colonel Deacon and some other officers and the acting-Regimental Sgt-Major, arrived on the scene. The C/O told B Company to sit on the steps of a bungalow nearly until he discussed the matter with the men in the guard room. The C/O and the other officers then came to the guard room and he ordered the duty sergeant to let us out so that he could speak to us outside. We came out and fell-in in single rank facing him. He then addressed us and referred to his service with the Connaught's, 33 years, and to the great history of the Connaughts as fighting soldiers and to their proud flag, naming all the different honours in the flag. He then went on to advise us he was actually crying, to return to our bungalows and the whole matter would be forgotten. He had made a very eloquent appeal and I was afraid he might convince the man so I stepped forward and said "All the honours in the Connaught flag are for England, there are none for Ireland but there is going to be one today and it will be the greatest honour of them all" I then stepped back to the rank and Pte. Coleman from Tipperary, who was farther down the line, overheard the adjutant say to Sgt.-Major Tame "When the men go to their bungalows put Hawes back under arrest." Coleman shouted "You won't get the chance of Hawes, we are all going back" and again he shouted "Left turn back to the guardroom lads" we all went back and were locked up again" – **Joseph Hawes** *(inset)*, Mutineer, (BMH-WS 262).

MUTINY
INDIA
1920
1ST CONNAUGHT RANGERS BTT
IN COMMEMORATION
OF THOSE MEMBERS
OF THE BATTALION
WHO GAVE THEIR LIVES
DURING THE MUTINY
AND SUBSEQUENTLY
FOR IRISH FREEDOM.
JAMES JOSEPH DALY EXECUTED
PETER SEARS SHOT DURING MUTINY
PATRICK SMYTHE SHOT DURING MUTINY
JOHN MIRANDA DIED IN PRISON
MICHAEL KEARNS DIED AFTER RELEASE
PATRICK J KELLY "
JAMES OLIVER "
JOHN LYNNOTT "
WILLIAM SHALLOW "
FRANCIS OWEN DAVIS "
JOSEPH WALSHE "
STEPHEN LALLY "
JOHN F. PRENDERGAST "
JAMES J. DEVERS "
JOSEPH HAWES "
Do cum gloire Dé agus onóra na hÉireann.
ERECTED BY THE COMMITTEE
FROM FUNDS SUBSCRIBED BY SYMPATHISERS.
RENOVATED AND NAMES INSCRIBED
BY NATIONAL GRAVES ASSOCIATION
1983

"The officers then returned to the B Company men who had been listening and looking on. They ordered B Company to their bungalow but the majority refused and about a hundred came over and started talking to us through the bars. The B Company men suggested that we leave the guard room and come out and organize outside. The sergeant of the guard was afraid to disobey the B Company men, who still had their arms, and opened the gate when asked me left the guard room and held a discussion outside with B Company. Up to this point D Company was not involved in the mutiny as the officers did not parade them over what happened at the C Company parade. At the discussion outside the guard-room, we decided to hold a meeting in the Regimental Theatre, the men to return to their respective bungalows and wait for the fall-in which they were told would be sounded by the bugler. The "Fall-in" was sounded about half an hour later and practically all the Connaught Rangers in barracks, including D Company, assembled in the theatre. When all had assembled in the Theatre a general discussion took place for about 10 or 15 minutes, every man chiming in to the discussion as he felt like. Then somebody proposed that we elect a committee of seven men who would act on behalf of the general body. The committee was elected in the following manner. Each member was proposed and seconded and a show of hands followed from the men to show their approval. Seven men were selected unanimously, Private C.P. Sweeney (Paddy), Cpl. James Davis, Private Patrick Gogarty, L/Cpl. J. Flannery, Private T. Moran, L.C. McGowan and myself (J. Hawes). We seven then left the general body of the men and proceeded on to the stage of the theatre, where we appointed l/Cpl. John Flannery as our spokesman. Flannery addressed the men and told them to return to their bungalows until such time as the committee, had decided on a plan of campaign. He also instructed them not to take orders from any officer in the meantime. The men then retired to their bungalows and we of the committee went into discussion. We decided at the committee meeting that our aim should be to make an open protest to the world against the tactics of the British forces in Ireland. We also decided that order must be kept in the barracks, with the same discipline as if the officers were in charge. To this effect we made the following orders: (1) That all men return their arms. (2) To change the guard and replace it with a double-guard of mutineers. (3) To put a sentry on guard at each of the two canteens wet and dry. (4) That the Union Jack on the flag-staff be replaced by the Tricolour. (5) To put on flying sentries (roving sentries) at night time, and special night patrols. (6) To separate the mutineers from the men who remained loyal to the King and give the loyal men protection.

It was also decided at this juncture to inform Colonel Deacon, the British C/O of our decisions, and any man who did not wish to take part in the mutiny was asked to leave the Theatre and quite a few left. It was also made plain to the men that orders were only to be taken from one of the Committee. Men were then detailed to put our orders into effect; guards were placed and material was procured from the Bazaar to make Triolours, and inside of an hour the Tricolour was flying from the flag-staff and several bungalows; and green, white and orange rosettes appeared as if by magic on the men's breasts. About 4 o'clock, Lt. Colonel Leeds, Officer Commandant of Jullunder Station arrived followed by several of our own officers who were still hanging around the barracks unmolested. He seemed to know all about our actions and decisions and asked for our spokesman Lance Cpl. Flannery went to him and I followed and stood by Flannery's side. The Lt. Colonel asked Flannery for an explanation of our actions. I remember him saying "Do you realize how serious this is?" Flannery gave a good explanation of our actions and grievances. This talk lasted about 10 minutes and the Lt. Colonel then withdrew from our portion of the barracks. Sometime after this talk the officers again tried to take control of the situation. Major Nolan Farrell of B Company and Acting-Sgt. Major Tame ordered B Company to parade with their rifles and bayonets, which most of them did. The adjutant, Leonard W. Leader was also present. They were telling the men that they must hand up their rifles and bayonets at the guard room. I was over in D Company lines at the time and on hearing what was doing, I came running over. I also was ordered to fall-in. I ran to my room in the bungalow and got my rifle and bayonet came out and as I could see no other committee man present, I shouted to the men that they were not to obey the Major. I also ordered them to return to their bungalow with their rifles, which the men promptly did…Nothing happened during the night except rumours of all kinds about forces coming to attack us, and all precautions were taken to meet any attack that might eventuate" – **Joseph Hawes**, Mutiny Committee, (BMH-WS 262).

"On the morning of the 29th June the men's leader had sent word round to each of the four companies that there would be a meeting in the Regimental Theatre at 9 o'clock and that every man of the battalion, who was in sympathy with the movement, was to attend. When the appointed hour came, there were close on 500 men present. Sentries were then placed on guard outside the theatre, so that the authorities would not be able to take them by surprise. Having made sure that everything was in order, the leader addressed the meeting as follows:- "Comrades, I have called you together this morning in order to place before you again the one and only policy which, to my mind, is a wise one, and that is the policy of passive resistance. Now, if there is any man at this meeting who does not wish to remain, he can leave before the meeting commences, as I do not want any man to attend against his own free will". One man, having left the theatre, the speaker continued: "Comrades, we have assembled here in order to pledge our moral support to our country in its fight for freedom. Our policy, as I have already announced, is one of passive resistance. While refusing to take any orders from our officers, we must not molest or insult them in any way, but we must prove by our behaviour that they are not dealing with a mob, but with well—disciplined men." The meeting had it in its power to expose England's vile propaganda against their own country; it lay in its power also to repudiate that lying propaganda. He appealed to them to do nothing that would cause their

country to be ashamed of the Rangers. They could strike a great blow for their country in its hour of need without spilling as much as one drop of their blood. "You can prove to the people of India" he continued "and to the world at large, by your good behaviour, that your fellow countrymen and women are not bands of hooligans out for murder, rape and loot — as the people of India were led to believe they were - but bands of heroes fighting for a noble and righteous cause - the freedom of their native land. If you carry out this policy, you will do more to focus the eyes of the world on your country's fight for freedom than if you were to use violence, because acts of violence would place a weapon in the hands of the authorities to crush our protest. If you carry on the fight along the lines that I have mapped out for you, your country will be very proud indeed to learn that it has the moral support of one Irish Regiment in the British army, who refuse to turn their backs on their Motherland in its hour of trial". While the meeting was in progress, one of the sentries announced that an officer of the Divisional Staff was waiting outside and wanted to speak to the men. The meeting was therefore brought to a close, and instructions were given to show the officer in. This done, he introduced himself to the meeting as Colonel Jackson, Garrison Staff Officer (1), 16th Indian Division, and stated that he had been appointed by the O/C. GHQ, to investigate the grievances of the Connaught Rangers, and to act as mediator between the men and the O/C of the Division to which we were attached… He proceeded to ask questions about the cause of the trouble. The same explanation was given him as had been given to the Colonel of the Rangers and the G.O.C. the Jullundur Brigade. This brought the interview to an end. The leader then asked Col. Jackson to accompany them back to the Regimental Theatre where the men were waiting, and find out for himself if the facts placed before him were correct or otherwise. He did so, and was assured by the meeting that the facts which had been placed before him by the deputation were correct, every word. There-upon, he took his departure, with the promise that he would place the whole case before the proper authority…On the morning of June 30th, the leader was informed that on the previous night two men had left Jullundur for the Simla hills in disregard of his warning not to do so. To get away from Jullundur each of these two men put on a belt and side-arms to make it appear that they were on duty, and proceeded to the railway station. On arrival there, they met Sgt. Edwards of the battalion and asked him where he was going. On being informed that he was going up to Solon to see his wife, who was ill, they said they had been sent down by the Sinn Féin leader to escort him up the hills, as his life was in danger. Now, this story of the sergeant's wife being in danger was merely an excuse to cover up their departure from Jullundur. Sergeant Edwards had no option but to accept them as a body-guard. Before their arrival at the hills, however, an order had been issued by the authorities up there that a sharp lookout was to be kept and if any men of the battalion, other than those belonging to the Solon detachment, should arrive from Jullundur, they were to be placed under immediate arrest. The two men reached Solon, an outpost in the Himalayas, on the morning of July 1st 1920, but did not attempt to enter any of the detachment's bungalows until dusk, as they had an idea that there would be a sharp lookout for men other than those belonging to the detachment. So, they lay low throughout the day and at dusk made their way to No. 27 bungalow. There they explained to the men that their comrades at Jullundur had grounded arms in sympathy with their country and its fight for freedom and as a protest against the Black and Tan outrages on the people of Ireland, and that they were fully determined to do no more soldiering for England. While the two men were speaking, a young Lance-Corporal came on the scene and ho reported the arrival of the two men to a full corporal, in the belief that he would have them placed under arrest. But this N.C.O. did nothing of the kind; on the contrary, he joined the movement himself. The young Lance-Corporal, seeing what had happened, reported the matter to the provost-sergeant, who lost no time in placing the two men under arrest, but not before they had accomplished the which they had set out from Jullundur to do" – **John Flannery**, Mutiny Committee, (BMH-WS 287).

Dagshai Prison, India – The Connaught Rangers mutineers were held here after their Courts-Martial in August 1920. Pte. John Miranda would die there in December 1920 from starvation only weeks after the execution of James Daly

"When the provost-sergeant there had secured them in the guardroom, C Coy organised about 70 men under the command of Private James J. Daly. They marched to the Officers' Mess and there informed Capt. Badham that they would not soldier further until the English dogs had been removed from Ireland. Private Daly also demanded the release of the emissaries from the guardroom. Captain Badham replied that the two men had been sent back to Jullundur and Daly retorted "that has been a very quick move". Capt. Badham then said there would be a musketry parade as usual on the morrow, and expressed the hope that he would see them all there. "You will not see us on parade" Daly replied. Capt. Badham, at that stage, gave an order to the party to number off, but they refused to do so. Daly next gave an order to the party to number and they complied immediately. He then marched the party from the of Officers' Mess through the native bazaar…The detachment at Solon was ordered by Major Alexander to appear on the company parade ground at 10 a.m. The Rangers refused to do so. Private Daly then said to Major Alexander: "If you want to see the men, you will have to come down to No. 27 bungalow". This the officer agreed to do and, when he arrived, he asked any amongst them who wished to carry on their duty to atop forward. Not a man of the party moved. Shortly afterwards the Brigadier-General of the Ambala Brigade came on the scene. He also spoke to the men and advised them to put their protest in writing and that he would forward it to the proper authority. Meanwhile, they were to carry on their duty until the reply reached them, but they refused point black to resume. The next step the men took was to try and get the keys of the rifle racks from the NCO in charge, but he refused to hand over the keys to those who had mutinied, so they decided there and then to smash every rifle rack in the company. Having completed their job, a rifle and several rounds of ammunition was issued to each man. The authorities, on learning of this, sought the aid of Father Baker, who went down to where the Rangers were and appealed to them to hand in their rifles and ammunition. The Rangers said they would do so on condition that the men of the Band, who were attached to C/Coy. and houses in another bungalow, would also hand in their rifles and ammunition. This request was agreed to by the officers. But, it is to be recorded that every man of the Band remained loyal to the Government. When all arms and ammunition had been collected from the men of C/Coy. and the Band, and placed safely under lock and key in the magazine, information was sent to the authorities that the mutineers were all disarmed. An order was issued immediately by the authorities to re-arm the men of the Band at once with one rifle and 50 rounds of ball ammunition per man. A guard of the latter was then placed on the magazine with instructions to shoot down any of the mutineers who attempted to regain control of the arms. mien the men of C/Coy realised how they had been tricked into handing in their arms and ammunition, they became furious and decided there and then to organise every man of the Coy. with the object of getting beck their rifles and ammunition. The mutineers then went into the company bungalows and, after a short absence, came out, each man armed with a bayonet, and the whole party, about 100 in all, advanced in mass on the magazines the bayonets were overlooked when the rifles were being collected Two officers who wore in charge of the magazine guard called on the mutineers to halt, but the latter refused to do so. Thereupon the officers called on the men of the Band to protect the magazine and shoot to kill, if necessary. Then the officers fired several shots into the sir and demanded that the mutineers go back, but the latter refused and continued to advance. This time the officers did not fire into the air, but into the Rangers at point blank range, with the result that two men - Privates Sears and Smith - were shot dead and a man by the name of Oliver wounded" – **John Flannery**, Mutineer, (BMH-WS 287).

1st July 1920

SMYTH, Patrick:

Rank: Lance-Corporal.
Unit: *C Coy, 1st Batt., Connaught Rangers, British Army (Possible Mutineer).*
DOB: 26 October 1891. Born to Peter and Bridget Smyth of George's Street, Drogheda, Co. Louth.
Occupation: Soldier. Served in the British Army during the Great War.
Death: Smyth was killed during the Connaught Rangers Mutiny at the outpost garrison of Solon, Punjab in India. Accounts indicate that Smyth was not directly involved in the mutiny but was accidentally shot during an attempt to calm the situation. He was later recognised by the British authorities as involved in the conspiracy and his family were not afforded any compensation.
Buried: Glasnevin Cemetery, Dublin (Reinterred in 1970).

"Back to Jullundur, at t 6.45 p.m. on 1st July, the Rangers' leader received information that a large body of troops were advancing in artillery formation on the barracks. He had all men there warned, and gave instructions that there was to be no excitement whatever. The men were to carry on as if nothing was wrong in barracks, pass no offensive remarks to the incoming troops, and so let them see they were not dealing with a rabble, but with a

highly disciplined body. This reinforcement of troops was made up of the South Wales Borderers and Suffolk Regiment already mentioned, Seaforth Highlanders, 11th and 12th Machine Gun Corps and some native regiments. The authorities were not quite sure that the Rangers would continue their policy of passive resistance, so they ordered the troops to advance into barracks as indicated. When the barracks had been completely taken over in this way, the officer commanding the reinforcements sent for the Rangers' leader and asked him to get all men in barracks to fall in on parade. The loader sent for the bugler on duty and gave him an order to sound the 'fall-in'. When all Rangers were on parade, it was given out that any of them who wished once more to become loyal to the King, the colonel and the officers of the Regiment could do so by giving in their names at the battalion orderly room. A large number availed themselves of the opportunity, but there were 420 men who refused to become loyal and, to all appearances, were fully determined to go through to the bitter end. The barracks and all it contained were then handed over as it would have been in the ordinary way. The keys of No. 5 bungalow, where the arms and ammunition were stored, were handed over to the officer in charge of reinforcements. When everything was ready, the 420 men who refused to become loyal were marched out of barracks to a camp, which had been got ready, about 3 miles from barracks...

"About 10 o'clock the following morning we saw as party of our own officers, the Colonel and company officers and NCOs approach No.5 Bungalow where the rest of the men were detained; We were only about 80 yards across from No.5 and could hear and see everything that went on. The men in No.5 Bungalow were out on the verandas, top and bottom it was a two storied building. The barbed wire fence was all round about 30 yards from the building and the colonel fell in the company officers as markers inside this fence. He addressed the men on the verandas and commanded them to fall in under their respective officers in the name of the King. We shouted from the cells not to obey him, but they fell in like a flock of sheep, all but one-man Lance-Corporal Willis. Major Payne left his position and approached Willis. "Willis" said he "you and I fought together in the trenches, why are you so foolish those men over in the cells are going to their deaths, I will gave you five minutes to consider and If you fall in with the loyal men I will do everything I can for you" There was a short interval before Willis replied, his reply was "I would rather die with the men over in the cells, no matter what kind of a death it is, than to fall in under you with this shower of bastards here." Willis was then marched over under short and put in one of the cells whilst the rest of us cheered our heads off for him and we "boohed" our disloyal comrades…That same evening an escort, Connaught Rangers by the way, took us in motor lorries to the railway station and we were on our way to Dagshai Jail," – **Joseph Hawes**, Mutineer, (BMH-WS 262).

SEARS, Peter:

Rank: Private.
Unit: *C Coy, 1st Batt., Connaught Rangers, British Army (Mutineer).*
DOB: 2 June 1896. Born in the Neale, Ballinrobe, Co. Mayo, to Peter Sayers and Bridget McGing.
Occupation: Soldier. Served in the British Army during WW1.
Death: During the Connaught Rangers Mutiny at the outpost garrison of Solon, Punjab, India, Sears refused to stop when ordered to by a superior officer. He was shot down and killed.
Buried: Glasnevin Cemetery, Dublin (Reinterred in 1970).

Derrymore, Connemara, Co. Galway.
Source: Robert Riddell

Officers of the Mid-Galway Brigade, IRA. Front (L-R) Thomas 'Baby' Duggan, ?, Brian Molloy ?; (Back L-R), Padraic Feeney, ?, Patrick Glynn, ?

NELIGAN, Maurice:

Unit: *Irish Republican Brotherhood.*
DOB: 6 March 1895. Son of David Neligan and Elizabeth Mullane. Brother of David Neligan, the double-agent who supplied GHQ Intelligence with vital information during the 1919-21 conflict.
Address: Templeglantine, Co. Limerick.
Occupation: ITGWU Organiser.
Death: Neligan died from compression of the brain following a motorcycle crash.
Buried: Templeglantine, Co. Limerick.

It was during my sojourn in Dublin in 1920 that I made the acquaintance of David Neligan and through his brother, Maurice Neligan, deceased, got him to join in with the Republican forces… His brother, Maurice Neligan, afterwards killed in a motor-cycle accident, was at that time organizer of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union and was then a member of the IRB" - **Tadhg Kennedy**, (BMH-WS 1413).

"Maurice left home one evening to go to a religious Mission in Abbeyfeale. He rode a motor-cycle, and my sister Eileen was on the pillion. Fifteen minutes after they left, I heard a motor-car and a neighbour beckoned to me. It was Ml O'Mahony, the manager of our creamery. He told me that there had been an accident and he was coming for the Priest. We went to the scene. The front wheel of the machine had hit a stone of the bridge over a river at a bend, and a sliver of stone had penetrated Maurice's skull. He was thrown on the road, breathing with a loud snoring sound. I knew enough of first-aid to tell he was mortally injured. Eileen had been flung over the balustrade of the bridge into the river far below. One of her shoes was caught between two stones on top of the bridge and helped break her fall, but she like Maurice in a deep coma. Two doctors attended but there was little they could do. He was brought into Colbert's house nearby and neighbours prayed all night. Just as dawn brightened the sky he breathed his last" - **Dave Neligan**, *The Spy In the Castle,* p.70.

4th July 1920

SMALL, Michael:
Rank: Captain.
Unit: *C Coy (Borrisoleigh), 3rd Batt., Tipperary No.2 Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 10 March 1895. Born to Michael Small and Mary-Anne Kennedy.
Occupation: Farmer.
Address: Gortnacran, Borrisoleigh, Thurles, Co. Tipperary.
Death: While returning home to attend First Mass after an aborted attack on Shevry RIC Barracks, Small encountered a lorry patrol of RIC officers at Upperchurch. Small concealed himself but the RIC were pursuing two other Volunteers and stumbled onto his position. He was shot in the chest where he lay.
Buried: Ileigh Graveyard, Thurles, Co. Tipperary.
Image Source: Niamh Hassett.
MSPC Ref: 3MSRB287.

"*Some time after the departure of Jimmy Kinnane and his section, we moved off from Upperchurch. It was a beautiful summer night and we had no annoyance from cold or rain and we arrived at our destination without incident. A certain amount of progress had been made towards opening the attack when a lorry of troops arrived at the barracks. We waited, expecting the lorry would move off again but it did not do so. It looked then as if the enemy had got word of our intention to attack the police station. We were still in our positions as dawn approached. One of the party, Michael Small, captain of the Borrisoleigh Company, came up to me to inquire what I thought of the situation and I told him that it looked now as if the operation would have to be abandoned… Small then said: 'In that case I'd like to go home as I have arranged to go to Communion this morning.' Small moved off after this conversation, but he had not gone very long when the lorry and its escort drove away from the barracks towards Thurles. Small was crossing a field when he was seen and fired at by these troops…The Brigade Staff decided that Small should be given a military funeral and hundreds of Volunteers fell in for the parade which had been arranged to take place from the military hospital in Templemore. I took charge of the parade and was giving orders within sight of a sentry. A young military officer and the military doctor, Dr. Mitchell, Templemore, were standing beside the sentry watching the Volunteers being drilled. The officer grabbed the rifle from the sentry and was aiming to fire at me when Dr. Mitchell struck down the rifle and made the officer hand back the gun to the sentry*" – **Brigadier James Leahy**, Tipperary No.2 Brigade, IRA (BMH-WS 1454).

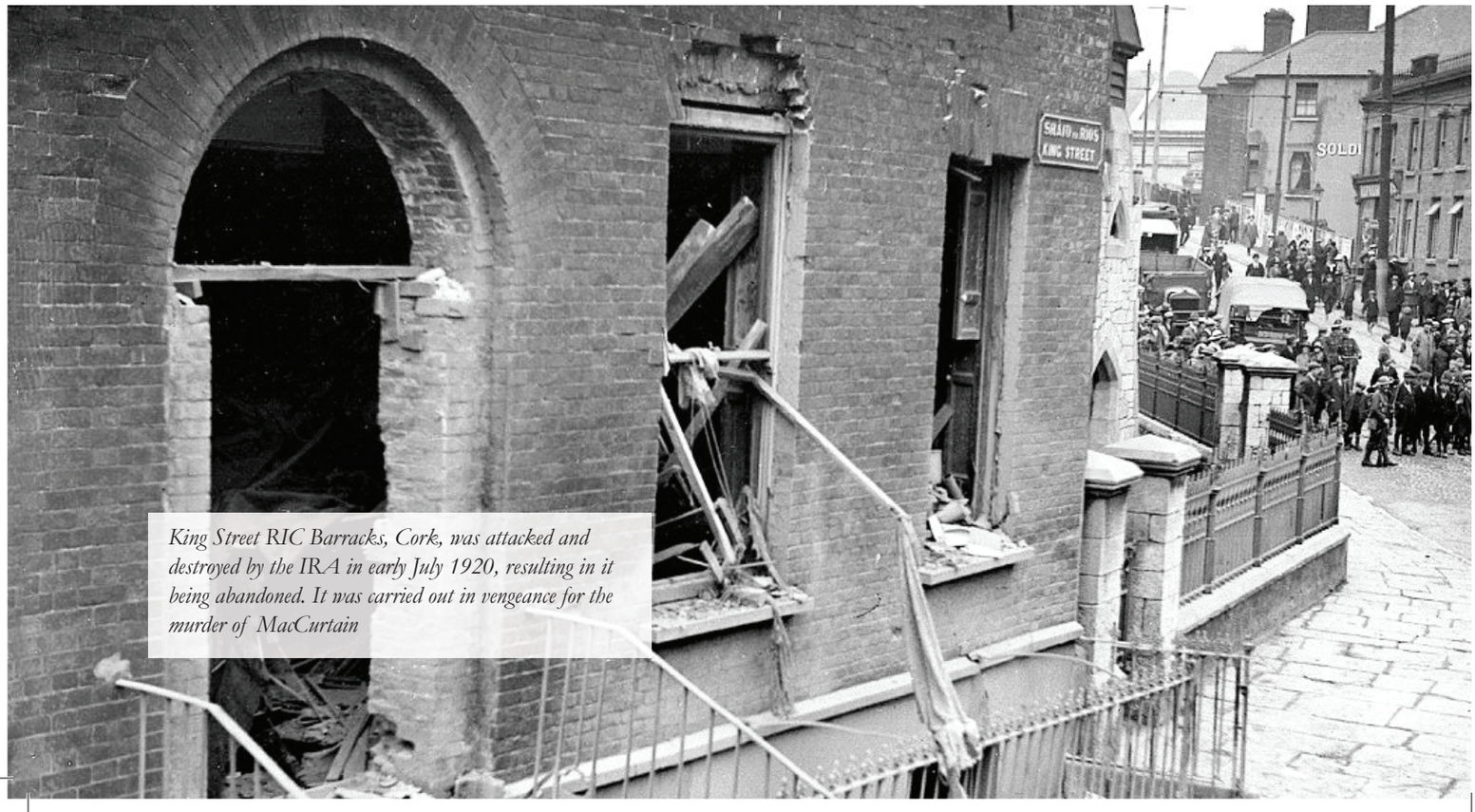
THE AMBUSH AT NEWTOWN CROSS, DUALLA, CO. TIPPERARY 2 JULY 1920

"On the morning of the 2nd July, 1920, Tommy Donovan, Commandant of the 7th (Drangan) Battalion, came to me in Dualla and told me that Sergeant Tobin of the RIC at Ballinure and six constables had gone on bicycles to Cashel, presumably to draw their pay. With Donovan were Seán Hayes, Seán Walsh, Joseph Ormond and Michael Burke. He asked me to go with them to Newtown Cross, where he proposed to ambush the police on their way back from Cashel. I agreed, and suggested getting four or five others to come, but Donovan considered that the six of us would be quite sufficient. Seán Hayes cycled into Cashel to scout the policemen's movements and Donovan, Hayes, Walsh, Ormond, Burke and I went to Newtown Cross, which is on the main Cashel to Ballinure road. About 3 p.m. Hayes returned with the news that the police party had left Cashel and were on their way back. He had handed over the scouting to two other Volunteers, Paddy Loughlin and Joe Nagle, and the police had made a detour to call at the residence of an ex-RIC man with his pension. Donovan was armed with a rifle and a Peter the Painter. Mick Burke had two revolvers, and the remainder of us were armed with shotguns. The police were armed with revolvers strapped in holsters to their belts. We occupied a position behind a wall at the cross, and it was our intention to call on the RIC men to "halt and put up your hands" and then to disarm them. We did not consider seriously the fact that they might offer resistance. It was about 4.30 p.m. when the RIC party arrived at the crossroads. We then saw that they were spread out over a distance of about ninety or one hundred yards. One, a ginger-haired Black and Tan, was cycling about 50 yards in front of Sergeant Tobin and Constable Brady, who were cycling together, and the other four were cycling in pairs at intervals of about twenty yards behind Tobin and Brady. This was a contingency

for which we were not prepared, nor had we sufficient men to extend out and cover all the RIC men at the same time. When the ginger-haired Black and Tan came opposite to my position, I called on him to halt. He jumped from his bicycle and, shouting "don't shoot", put up his hands. I kept him covered. Donovan and Burke immediately climbed out into the road and were fired at by Sergeant Tobin, who, with Constable Brady, had got off their bicycles and were seeking cover in the ditches. Donovan and Burke both fired and Sergeant Tobin was shot dead. Brady was then lying in the ditch beside the dead sergeant. Meanwhile, the other four RIC men had dismounted and got into cover along the sides of the road, but, as far as I can now recollect, they did not at that stage take any part in the action. Donovan disarmed my prisoner and ordered him to walk in front of him towards Constable Brady, who was firing from his position in the ditch. The Black and Tan, however, refused to go. Leaving Constable Brady where he was, Donovan and I moved around by the ditches in an effort to get into a position on the road at the rear of the four RIC men, and as we again approached the road, we saw Brady cycling furiously back in the direction of Cashel. We both fired at him and Donovan's second shot wounded him, but he continued to cycle on. Joe Nagle and Paddy Louglilin arrived on the scene, and giving the revolver he had taken from the Black and Tan to Nagle, Donovan told him to cycle after Brady and to shoot him when he overtook him. Brady fell from his bicycle at Dunphy's public-house in Dualla, and as a crowd of people had collected around him by the time Joe Nagle arrived there, Joe refrained from carrying out Donovan's order. Donovan and I came under fire from the four RIC men who had secured good cover at the roadside, and eventually we had to leave them there. We rejoined Walsh, Burke, Hayes and Ormond near the cross, where they still held the Black and Tan a prisoner. After some consultation it was agreed to free the Black and Tan, and leaving Sergeant Tobin's body on the roadside and the four RIC men still under cover, we moved off quickly through the fields. Donovan went back to his own 7th Battalion area and Paddy Loughlin and I went "on the run" – **Captain Paul Mulcahy**, Dualla Coy, 2nd Batt., Tipperary No.3 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1434).

THE BOMBING OF KING STREET RIC BARRACKS, CORK, JULY 1920

"The RIC barracks in King St., Cork, was occupied by a garrison of from 20 to 25 policemen and Black and Tans. I decided that an effort should be made to destroy the place and, on 1st July 1920, the attempt was made. To my mind, the best way to do the job was to explode a land mine from the adjoining house. I fixed the time for the explosion at about 5 p.m. when I knew that the garrison would be inside at tea. At about 4.30 p.m. a few of us entered the dwelling house adjoining and, having removed the occupants elsewhere, placed a large mine at the dividing wall between the house and the barracks dayroorm. The mine was exploded and blew a large breech in the dividing wall, hurling debris into the dayroom of the barracks. This being done, I signalled to the Volunteers to withdraw, as we could not possibly hope to engage the garrison with any chance of success. The operation was considered satisfactory by reason of the fact that the British garrison evacuated the barracks very shortly afterwards. I cannot say what casualties we inflicted on the police on this occasion. All our men got safely away from the scene of the explosion" – **Cmdt. Michael Murphy**, 2nd Batt., Cork No.1 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1547).



King Street RIC Barracks, Cork, was attacked and destroyed by the IRA in early July 1920, resulting in it being abandoned. It was carried out in vengeance for the murder of MacCurtain

Doora Company, 1st Battalion, Mid-Clare Brigade, IRA. (L-R), Paddy Hegarty, Jim Burke, Tom Hogan, Frank Linnane, Unknown, Tom Glynn, John Horan, Danny O'Halloran, Jimmy Culligan, Mick Mack, Mick Glynn, Unknown, Jack Delahunty. Source: www.midclarebrigade.ie.

5th July 1920

DUNNE, James:

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *Courtown Coy, Gorey Batt., Wexford Brigade, IRA.*
DOB: 28 March 1880. Son of George Dunne and Anne Kane of Ballinatray, Courtown, Gorey, Co. Wexford.
Address: Ferns, Co. Wexford.
Occupation: Miller / Blacksmith.
Death: Dunne was shot and killed by a drunken RIC constable, Henry Lenihan, on the Main Street of Ferns, Co. Wexford, after an altercation of words at Dunbar's public house. Dunne, having left the pub was followed by the two constables and shot multiple times. Dunne stumbled across the road towards Bolger's premises and collapsed, dying almost immediately.
Buried: St. Michael's Cemetery, Gorey.

"The funeral of Mr. James Dunne, shot in Ferns, took place from his late residence at Ballintroy, to St. Michael's Cemetery, Gorey, the cortege being 1 ½ miles long, and as the remains were being borne through the town all houses were closed and blinds drawn and everywhere there were indications of mourning. Gorey Brass Band and Piper's Band played the 'Dead March,' etc. A number of soldiers standing on the footpath stood to attention and saluted. The Commandant of the Volunteers acknowledging" – **Irish Independent**, 9 July 1920, p.7.

"At a Special Court in Wexford yesterday, before Major Herries Crosbie, R.M., Constable Henry Lenihan was charged with the murder of James Dunne at Ferns on Monday night. Formal evidence of arrest being given, accused was remanded for eight days" – **Freeman's Journal**, 8 July 1920, p.3.

"Outlining the case, the Judge-Advocate said accused, with another constable, went on leave at 11.30 a.m., on July 5th. Both were armed. At 5 p.m., they entered Dunbar's public-house, where, having drink taken, they were refused a supply, whereupon they helped themselves for four hours. At 9 p.m. they were well advanced in drink. Among a number of men drinking in the shop was Dunne between whom and the prisoner an argument arose. Lenihan staggered and trod on Dunne's heels. Dunne said: 'Don't walk on me.' Lenihan replied: 'I have trodden on better men.' Accused asked Dunne to have a drink, which he refused. Lenihan asked, 'Is it a fight you want,' and Dunne replied that if he had to fight, he would fight. A scuffle ensued but the men were separated. The other constable rushed up with a bottle, which was taken from him; he drew his revolver and fired two shots on the floor and one in

the air. Afterwards Dunne went out, and Lenihan followed. Dunne knocked down the prisoner, who on jumping up produced a revolver, and said, 'Down on your knees.' Dunne did not comply, and Lenihan pulled the trigger, but the revolver misfired. Lenihan adjusted the revolver, and rushed after Dunne, placing his hand around his neck and fired three shots into his body. At 9.30 Linehan returned to the police barracks without his revolver. He was found afterwards in a drunken sleep in the dayroom. Medical evidence was that the deceased's body bore four bullet wounds. The proprietor of the public-house stated, 'prisoner seemed flushed, as if he had drink taken', when he entered his premises. He asked the constable with the prisoner to leave, as he feared there was going to be a row. The other constable was behind the counter serving drink; he poured out half a glass of rum for the deceased…Dunne was a very decent man. He was given a Sinn Féin funeral, and there was a Republican flag on his coffin" – **Irish Independent**, 14 December 1920, p.6.

THE ATTACK ON RATHMORE RIC BARRACKS, CO. KERRY 11 July 1920

"It was the practice for members of the garrison to sit on the wall outside the barracks in the evening. We picked a time when there was a mission on in Rathmore and it was our intention to join the crowd caning from the mission pass the Barracks and rush the Barracks from the shelter of the crowd. On the evening selected the RIC remained inside and as we had only a couple of revolvers the job fell through. About this time Con O'Leary, Battalion Quartermaster, took some of our Company to Killarney with a horse and cart and removed an old cannon from Ross Castle. The cannon was brought to a smith named Din Murphy who had a forge at Newquarter between Gneevugullia and Ballydesmond. The smith made a platform for the cannon and it was then brought to the Paps Mountain where it was tested by Con O'Leary. The test was a success and the canon was brought back to Din Murphy. It was again tested against an old house but this second test was not so successful. Din Murphy repaired all the guns brought to bin and he became quite expert at the business. We then made plans to attack Rathmore RIC Barracks, using the old cannon. The attack was planned by Con O'Leary, Fred Hugh Crowley, Nick Dennehy, Dave Crowley and myself. The barracks was a two-storey, stone building built with the gable to the road and the front of the barracks facing the railway. Steel shutters had been fitted to the windows. The shutters were short, leaving a space at the top. We blocked all roads leading to Rathmore and placed a section of men armed with shotguns guarding each road block. We had only one rifle in the Rathmore Company but Con O'Leary got four or five riflemen from the Breahig and Scartaglen areas. The complete plan of attack was as follows:- A land mine was prepared with a piece of piping and this was to be dropped over the steel shutters on the second storey by using a hod (such as bricklayers use) with a very long handle. The old cannon had been loaded into a railway truck which was sandbagged for protection and the truck was to be manhandled into position on the railway line when the attack was commencing but before the RIC had time to open fire on the railway. There was a signal box on the railway to the right of the *barracks. There was an overhang on the gable of the barracks and in order to prevent the garrison rolling grenades on us over the overhang we prepared a piece of iron mounted on a long piece of timber to block the passage of grenades. The job commenced by Michael Dennehy, Jimmy Daly and John Moynihan, lighting the fuse and lifting the hod, dropping the land mine over the shutter. I blocked the overhang with the iron. Con O'Leary was in charge of the party with the cannon but here a mishap occurred. The whole job depended on timing and the land mine had been dropped aver the shutter before the gun was nearly in position so that although the mine exploded killing two and wounding two of the garrison, the garrison which remained was able to recover and bring fire to bear on the railway. The gun never got into position and although the attack held for about two hours, we had to retire without capturing the barracks. When the job was over, we had great difficulty in getting the cannon away. The Tans came out from Killarney the next morning and burned the creamery*" – **Capt. Manus Moynihan**, 5th Batt., Kerry No.2

The Paps of Anu, Rathmore, Co. Kerry.

Volunteers of Cork No.1 Brigade, IRA. On the left is Liam Deasy, one of the Ballycannon Martyrs, who was murdered by Crown forces in March 1921

STORIES OF THE REPUBLICAN FORCES ACROSS IRELAND

"After Ballinamuck Barracks being destroyed, our supply of explosives was almost exhausted and our supply of ammunition was practically nil. We had to set about securing more. A soldier was seen very often out the roads alone, and then going to a public house near the railway station in Longford, named Lee's. We decided to get in touch with him. Commandant Redington saw him in Lee's, Earl Street, Longford, and spoke to him, and told him that there was money to be had for the sale of arms and ammunition, that he, Redington, would put him in touch with the right people if he was prepared to sell. The soldier agreed to meet the man with the money, and gave his proper name. We called him "Jordy". This was not his proper name, but one which we gave him. Commandant Redington wrote to me to come into a shed near Longford, alongside the road, at a certain time on a June evening. Jordy informed me that he was prepared to push one or two rifles per evening out through a loop-hole in the barrack wall, and carry out two hundred rounds of ammunition twice a week, at the price of £4.10.0. per rifle and bayonet, and £1.0.0. per hundred rounds of ammunition. I agreed to these terms, and told him that, if he had two rifles out next night and two hundred rounds the following night, I would have a letter left for him in Lee's, containing the cash. Tom Bannon collected the rifles and ammunition. He picked up the rifles outside the barrack wall, and carried them under his coat up the street of Longford. He is a very tall man. The ammunition was collected by him also, next evening. Jordy got his money in Lee's, as arranged. He brought out one rifle more, or two separate single rifles, and a hundred rounds each alternative turn, but not daily, as Jordy stated that all rifles were locked up from the time the first two were taken, and that he had great difficulty in procuring the ammunition" – **Cmdt. Seán MacEoin**, Longford Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1716).

"I think that there is no doubt that they are plotting to murder us, and before doing so they are taking precautions to manufacture evidence to prove that we assassinated each other. No action is too mean and low for the present Government and its officials. Luckily, we are not nervous, and have the strength to go on just the same as before. One is a little more careful to try and be ready to die and that is all"
– Constance Markievicz

"My connection with the attack started with Tadhg Brosnan O/C, 4th Battalion, and Michael Duhig of Castlegregory, called for me and I went with them to select a position for the attack on the RIC party. We selected a position where the road from Brandon enters the Tralee-Dingle (via Connor's Pass) road forming a T-Junction. We picked a party for the attack, consisting of Tadhg Brosnan (in charge), myself, Jeremiah Dowd, Paddy Fitzgerald, Patrick Brick (O/C Ballyduff Company), Batt Hennessy, Michael O'Connor, Pat O'Donnell (Stradbally), Jeremiah Dowling, Pat O'Sullivan, John Twohey, Michael Duhig and Michael Flaherty (scout). The plan was to allow the RIC party, which consisted of one tender containing five men and the driver, to proceed down to Brandon and then barricade the road (Tralee-Dingle) on both sides of the junction because the tender could turn east or west when it entered the main road. We assembled our party at James Callaghan's house above Kilmore Cross and waited for three days for the RIC party to pass on to Brandon. On the third day (13th July 1920) the tender passed and we commandeered a mowing machine which a farmer was taking to Dingle for repairs, and a common cart on which the machine was being carried these we placed on the road to the west of the ambush position. We built a wall of stones across the road to the east of the position. We then took up position. Tadhg Brosnan, with a party, took up position opposite and covering the road entering the Tralee-Dingle Road, and parties were placed on both sides of the turn. I was armed with a revolver and was in position with Tadhg Brosnan who was also armed with a revolver. The remainder of the arms consisted of three rifles, some carbines and shotguns. Tadhg Brosnan gave orders that we were to hold our fire until he fired the first shot. When the tender drove into our position Tadhg fired and we all opened up. The RIC Inspector in charge of the party jumped out of the tender and ran back the Brandon Road. Fire was opened on him and he stopped and surrendered; the remainder of the party then gave in. Two RIC men had been killed by our first volley and one slightly wounded. We disarmed the RIC and two motor cyclists (civilians) who had been held up by our scout (Michael Flaherty) came forward. One of them, who appeared to have some medical knowledge, asked if he could do anything for the RIC men who had been hit. We took the two bodies out of the tender and laid them on the side of the road…On the job we captured some Mills bombs, four rifles, two shotguns, one revolver and a supply of ammunition for all the arms. The man we got to drive the tender was Patrick Sullivan (blacksmith) and it may be of interest to state that when the priest spoke of the attack after Mass on the following Sunday, he said that the men who attacked the RIC were strangers in the district" – **Capt. Patrick O'Neill**, 4th Batt., Kerry No.1 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1049).

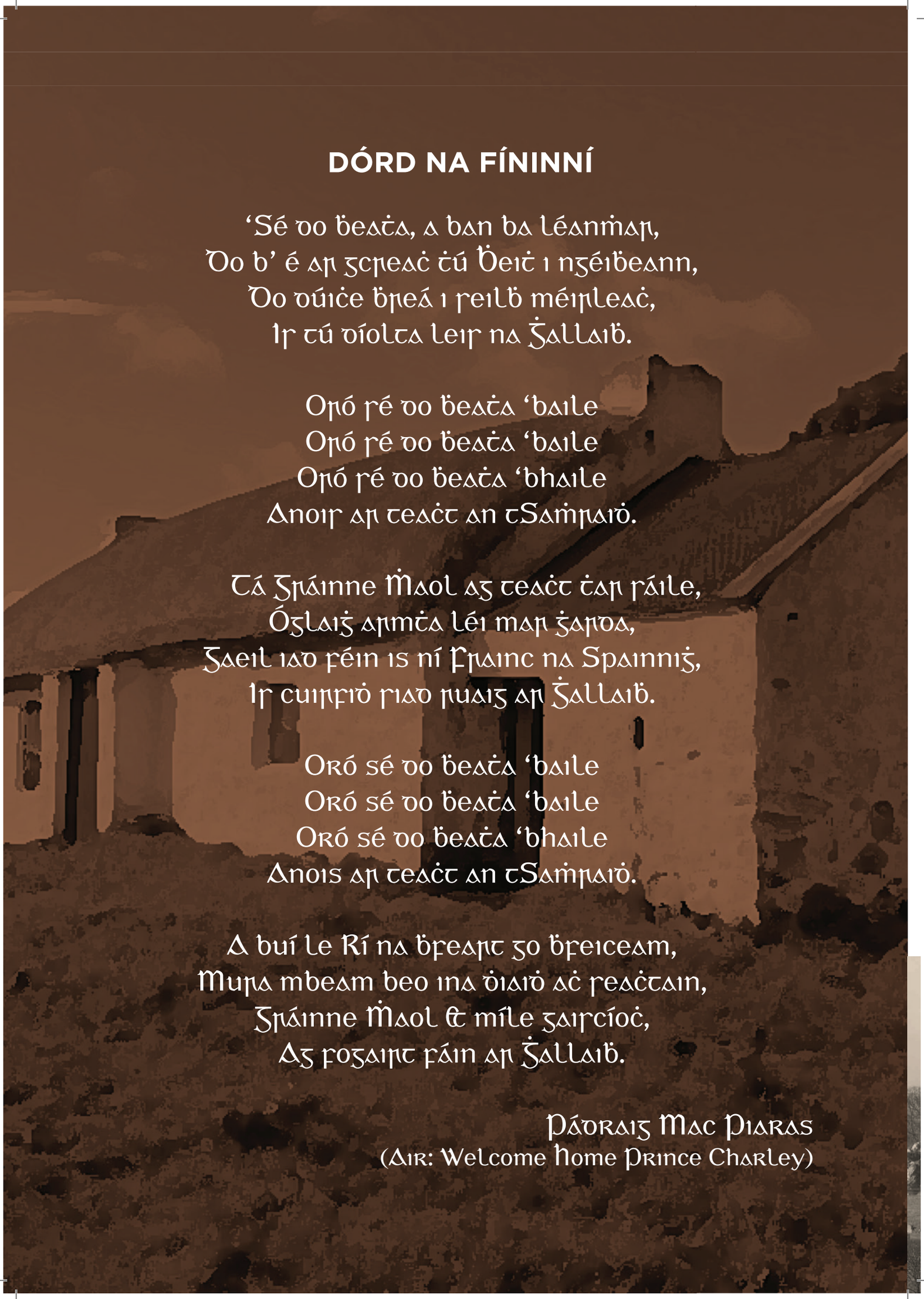
"Prior to August, 1920, the whole of County Offaly and that portion of north County Tipperary adjoining Birr were, for Volunteer purposes, organised into one Brigade area, known as the Offaly Brigade. As a result of an organisation which was then carried out, the area was divided into two brigades - Offaly No.1 and No.2…As I have mentioned, the 4th Battalion of Offaly No. 2 Brigade, comprising the areas of Clareen, Birr, Coolderry, and Rathcabbin, came into being with the reorganisation of the County Offaly area for Volunteer purposes in August, 1920. There was quite a lot of other organisation work done prior to that. Suitable young men were approached to become Volunteers; and in that way the strength of the companies had been increased. Weekly parades were held for drilling and training. Signalling and scouting sections were formed and trained. Dispatch centres and dispatch routes were arranged and Volunteers and members of Cumann na mBan were appointed to act as dispatch carriers" – **V/C Patrick Riordan**, 4th Batt., Offaly No.2 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1688).

"The next operation I remember was the attack on Bookeen RIC Barracks, situated between Kiltulla and Loughrea and one mile from Kiltulla. It was a two-storey building. The first I heard of the proposed attack was from Patrick Callanan (The Hare) a Brigade staff officer. He was then, I think, Brigade Vice-Commandant. He sent word to me to meet him near Craughwell on the Sunday before 1st July 1920. I met him as instructed. He told me that Bookeen Barracks was to be attacked the following Thursday night; that Comdt. Gilbert Morrissey was to deliver a quantity of gelignite and some detonators at my house on the Tuesday night together with the rifles to be used at the attack; that two engineers from University College Galway Company were to be brought to my house by Volunteer Michael Kelly of Clarenbridge Company on the Thursday, the night of the attack; that all roads in my company area leading to Bookeen were to be blocked by the men of my company except for five men who were to take part in the attack proper. These were the instructions I got from "The Hare". I was acting company captain at that time. On the following Tuesday night Commandant Morrissey and some Volunteers delivered the gelignite, detonators and rifles at my house. There were twelve to fourteen rifles which I cleaned next day. On the following night I got four tins of petrol from Athenry Company delivered by Volunteer Joseph Curran…On Thursday night "The Hare", Commandant Morrissey and Volunteers from Athenry and Craughwell Companies met in my house. The two engineers from U.C.G. Company had not turned up, neither had Volunteer Michael Kelly from Clarenbridge who was to meet them at Oranmore railway station and convey them to my house. The failure of the two engineers and Kelly to turn up was discussed and it was decided to carry on without them. The plan was to break through the roof and to burn the building. Edward Burke, Captain of Killimor Daly Company, volunteered to mount the roof of the barracks, break a hole in it and set it on fire with the petrol. We left my house when it was nearly dark. We met Volunteers from Closetoken, Kilnadeema, Bullaun and Killimor Daly Companies at Dunsandle, less than a quarter of a mile from the barracks. There were altogether about thirty-eight men in the attack, roughly fourteen riflemen at the front of the barracks and the remainder armed with shotguns nearer the building towards the gables. Two men were detailed to watch the back. Shotgun men controlled the

window at each gable. I myself was at the front of the building armed with a Lee-Enfield rifle. The range would be about 30 to 40 yards. When we all had our positions taken up, Captain Burke with four men put a ladder up to the gable at the Kiltulla side. Captain Burke mounted the ladder and broke slates on the roof at the back with a stone hammer. He then threw in a bucket of petrol through the hole he had made. The petrol had been poured out of the tins into the bucket to save time. There may have been two buckets. Captain Patrick Coy of Closetoken Company, afterwards a Brigade staff officer, [Galway South East Brigade], and Volunteers Stephen Lawless, Michael Hanlon and Hubert Dillon of Killimor Daly Company, helped Captain Burke. Someone handed up a torch with a long handle to Captain Burke so that he could descend a few steps of the ladder and have some protection when he ignited the petrol. It seemed to me to be about ten minutes before the flames sprang up after Captain Burke had applied the lighted torch. No firing took place in that time. Comdt. Morrissey said to me that they must have left the barracks. I said: "They were there yesterday anyhow". No sooner had I the word out of my mouth than we heard a loud explosion at the Kiltulla gable, through which the garrison had hurled a grenade. That was the first action by the garrison, but Capt. Burke and his assistants had completed their task and had taken cover by the time the grenade exploded. We opened fire immediately, concentrating on the windows and doors at the front of the building. All the five windows at the front (two on the ground floor and three on the first floor) had steel shutters. Fire from the garrison, who numbered twelve or thirteen (all RIC) was very heavy and very accurate. We had to keep well down for a while until we got some fairly big stones and with them formed some improvised loopholes. The fire from the garrison continued heavy and accurate for at least half an hour until they were forced down to the ground floor by the heat of the roof on fire over their heads. The attack went on for at least two hours until the roof caved in. Before it finally caved in, we could hear very explosions inside. Some of the explosions were light, others heavy. One particularly heavy explosion shook the ground where we were about 35 yards away. It could have been caused by a box of grenades. The garrison got two chances to surrender. About five minutes after firing was opened "The Hare" blew one blast on a whistle. This was a pre-arranged signal for cease fire. He called on the garrison to surrender. The only reply he got was a blast of rifle fire. Later on, in the course of attack, there was another cease-fire and the garrison were again asked to surrender but they did not do so. Some of our men were shouting threats at them which did not help as far as the surrender was concerned…There were no casualties on our side. I heard the next day that the garrison had escaped by crawling into a little wash-house in the back yard and that they walked into Loughrea without tunics or caps. Some were barefooted, but all brought their rifles with them" – **Lieut. Dan Kearns**, South-East Galway Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1124).

"The right to war is invariably allowed to independent states. The right to rebel, even with just cause, is not by any means invariably allowed to subject nations. It has been and is denied to us in Ireland" – Terence MacSwiney.

Sligo Brigade, IRA. Date Unknown. 'Hun' Doherty (back row - third from right); Joe Meehan and 'Shaw' Carty are also recognised. Source: Joe McGowan.



DÓRD NA FÍNINNÍ

‘Sé do bheatha, a ban ba léanmhar,
Do b’ é an sceach tú Beith i ngéibheann,
Do dúiche bhreá i reilib méinleach,
Ir tú díolta leis na Gallaib.

Ohó ré do bheatha ‘baile
Ohó ré do bheatha ‘baile
Ohó ré do bheatha ‘bhaile
Anois an teacht an tSamhraid.

Tá Sráinne Mhaol as teacht tar ráile,
Óglaigh armtha léi mar gharda,
Gaeil iad féin is ní Fhrainc na Spainnigh,
Ir cuimhrid riad ruais ar Gallaib.

Oró sé do bheatha ‘baile
Oró sé do bheatha ‘baile
Oró sé do bheatha ‘bhaile
Anois an teacht an tSamhraid.

A buí le Rí na bpeann go bfeiceam,
Muna mbeam beo ina diaid ac reachtain,
Sráinne Mhaol & míle saighdiúir,
As fogaint fáin ar Gallaib.

Pádraig Mac Piaras
(Air: Welcome home Prince Charley)

THE ATTACK AT REARCROSS RIC BARRACKS, CO. TIPPERARY 11 JULY 1920

"*Near Kilteely I heard that Rearcross or Rea in north Tipperary was to be attacked. It was late at night when I arrived, but arrangements were not complete and the attack had to be postponed. Trenches had been dug and roads barricaded; next day was Sunday. The people helped to remove the stone outworks; they filled in trenches so that the peelers would not suspect an attack. The North Tipp Brigadier had countermanded the attack for no reason that I could see. He had attacked Borrisokane the previous month but, fearful of being surrounded, had withdrawn his men at two in the morning when the barracks was on fire. Our tradition was to wait until dawn might show that the British were on the way. The RIC in the barracks had to leave it due to the blaze in less than an hour after the withdrawal of the North Tipp men. I undertook the responsibility for the action. Men had come from South Tipperary and few from mid-county. We had no explosives. The country near 'Rea' was without trees; it was a lichened skull that dogs had once picked clean. The mountains were clouded all day and rain poured down; it was a dreary country. In the dark we blundered down from our meeting-place, a grey stone dolmen on a hilltop; the night was stormy and dark. We held on to knotted ropes for guidance, but the noiseless advance became a series of rattles from buckets and sprawling stumbles from men weighted with ladders and petrol tins. A few of us went on ahead to get into the house next to the barracks. Out on the Newport Road Seán Treacy, Dan Breen and a few South Tipp men held a position, waiting for the soldiers from Newport. On the heights our scouts had sods of turf steeped in paraffin; the number and arrangement of flames would tell us of enemy strength, formation and direction. They had signalling flags to use when dawn came*" – **Ernie O'Malley**, GHQ Organiser, *On Another Man's Wound*, p.230-231.

"Séumas Robinson and Seán Hogan were in Dublin, but Seán Treacy and I, with Jack the Master [Ryan], Ned Reilly, Jim Gorman, the Dwyers of Hollyford and other South Tipperary men moved towards Rearcross. There we made contact with [Paddy] Ryan and his men, and we were joined soon afterwards by Ernie O'Malley who had learned about the proposed attack whilst in East Limerick, and by the Yank Carty, Commandant of the Doon Battalion, with about a dozen of his men from Doon and Cappawhite. Jim Stapleton and Paddy Kinnane from the Borrisoleigh Battalion of the Mid Tipperary Brigade turned up also. Given the necessary war materials, we had enough good men available to take any RIC barracks in the country, and most of them had experience in such operations. It must be remembered that the barracks still held by the RIC were, for practical purposes, strongly held block-houses" – **Brigade QM Dan Breen**, Tipperary No.3 Brigade, IRA, *My Fight for Irish Freedom*, p.116.

"We attacked from the roof. The pump gave up. Wind blew the flames onto those of us on top, but we stifled them with a supply of wet sacks. Lieutenant Jim Gorman was wounded by police rifle fire through the roof. A sortie of police was driven back, a cadet officer was killed. Seán Treacy and I flung bottles filled with petrol against the remains of the roof; the necks and bodies had been filed so as to break easily. I had placed some men behind a broken stone wall to cover the door and loopholes whilst we hurtled in the open; but, unknown to me, the men had gone away. I was lifted up and came down with a crash; I had been hit by grenade splinters. I was dazed and shaken; my shoulder was numb with pain. I lay down with Jim Gorman. Later, a scout rushed by: 'The soldiers… they're coming…they're coming.' 'He won't stop until he reaches Nenagh,' said Gorman. I waited for Seán Treacy's report. He was very angry when he came up. The soldiers were not coming and our men, without orders, had gone up the hill. The police, who had been driven to a bombproof shelter, could easily have surrounded what was left of us. A number of police had been killed; there had been thirty-five of them before the attack, a North Tipperary man told me; I had been told there were fifteen of them. 'We didn't want to give the men their number,' he said, 'for fear they wouldn't attack' – **Ernie O'Malley**, p.231.

The Rock of Cashel, Co. Tipperary

17th July 1920

HASSETT, Patrick:

Rank: Adjutant.
Unit: *E Coy (Killimer), 2nd Batt., West Clare Brigade, IRA.*
DOB: c.1885. Son of Michael Hassett and Bridget Hassett.
Address: Burrane, Kilrush, Co. Clare.
Occupation: Fisherman.
Death: Hassett's death is generally regarded as a result of friendly fire on 14 July 1920 during an IRA attempt to enforce a Dáil Court order against the Hickman family at Kilmore House, Knock, Co. Clare. Hassett and the steward of the house, Alexander Martin, were both seriously injured during the fracas. The civil death registration for Hassett claims he died on 17 July 1920 and that he succumbed to probable heart disease at St. John's Hospital, Limerick. His family's unsuccessful pension application claims he died on 20 July 1920. *DOTIR* places Hassett's death as 21 March 1921.
Buried: Killimer Graveyard, Co. Clare.
MSPC Ref: DP9914.

The Howes Strand Coastguard Station Haul
Courtmacsherry, Co. Cork

"Towards the end of June, the volunteers of Kilbrittain Company decided to attack the Howes Strand Coastguard Station, an isolated building on the coast of Courtmacsherry Bay, four miles south of Kilbrittain. Up to a short time previously it had been manned by six unarmed coastguards. Close observation by local scouts living in nearby houses revealed that the garrison had been augmented to ten and all were supplied with rifles. It was also observed that on a fixed day each week three or four members of the station would cross the three-mile stretch of bay by boat to visit Courtmacsherry station and collect supplies. This was the day chosen for the attack. At 3.00 p.m. a party of sixteen Volunteers led by Jack Fitzgerald, the Company Captain, and Charlie Hurley, Vice-Commandant of the Battalion, managed to crawl under cover of a low fence right up to the gate leading to the station. The sentry on duty observed nothing until Denis Manning jumped upon him and quickly overpowered him. The others rushed headlong into the building, held up and disarmed four coastguards whom they found on the ground floor. Two others on the first floor surrendered immediately on the advice of their disarmed comrades. Thereupon, ten rifles and almost five thousand rounds of .303 ammunition were collected and transferred to a prepared dump at Clonbouig, nearly three miles away. Within an hour the operation had been successfully completed and the Volunteer attacking party dismissed" – **Brigade Adjt. Liam Deasy**, Cork No.3 Brigade, IRA, *Towards Ireland Free*, p.114.

19th July 1920

O'BRIEN, John Patrick (Jackie):

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *E Coy, 1st Batt., Cork No.1 Bde, IRA.*
DOB: c.1902.
Address: 8 Green Lane, Blackpool, Co. Cork. Resided with his aunt and uncle, James and Frances Smith, who fostered O'Brien after the death of his parents.
Occupation: Messenger for GS&WR.
Death: Crown forces, angered by the loss of RIC D.I., Colonel Gerald Smyth to an IRA assassin squad, went on a gun-spree around Cork city-centre. Around 10pm, O'Brien, apparently on IRA patrol duty, having heard shots being fired near Patrick's Bridge, went to the vicinity to view what was happening. Having seen an elderly woman wounded at the junction of Harley Street and King Street, he went to her aid. O'Brien was shot twice in the hip by British soldiers and mortally wounded, dying the following morning in Cork's North Infirmary. Over forty people were treated for gunshot related injuries during this event.
Buried: Whitechurch Cemetery, Cork.
MSPC Ref: DP5731.

THE ASSASSINATION OF COLONEL GERALD SMYTH 'SHOOT ON SIGHT' 17 JULY 1920

"In June, 1920, Divisional Commissioner Smyth of the RIC, made his infamous speech to the members of the RIC garrison at Listowel in which he counselled them to murder and pillage, etc., and told them they would not be brought to account for any such misdeeds committed. His aim was to terrorise the people. To their credit the RIC strongly resented this harangue and a mutiny occurred in the force and a comparatively large number of Listowel RIC resigned forthwith. This speech of Smyth received a lot of publicity in the Press at that time and caused a furore throughout the country. We had discussed the matter at Brigade level on many occasions and had decided if ever the opportunity arose that we would effectively deal with Smyth. My main contact in the County Club, Cork City, at this time was a waiter named Ned Fitzgerald, a native of Ballyhooly, Co. Cork - his nickname was "Bally". It was "Bally's" practice to keep me informed of any visits of important personages to the Club from Major General Strickland down. Smyth visited the Club, but left again after a short interval. This information was conveyed to me but, owing to his short stay, nothing could be done on that day. He returned to the Club again the following evening and I received word of his visit very shortly after his arrival. I immediately contacted Seán Hegarty, who was then acting Brigade O/C…Mick Leahy was Vice O/C. Following my conversation with Seán, he got into immediate touch with the following: Sandow Donovan, Corney Sullivan, J.J. O'Connell, Danny Healy, Seán O'Donoghue and these, together with myself, proceeded immediately to the vicinity of the Club on the South Mall and all of us were fully armed. The five whom I have named above remained at the opposite side of the street and I went across to the entrance of the Club and met "Bally", who told me that Smyth was still inside. I took off my cap and ran my fingers twice through my hair, which was the signal arranged with my comrades. They immediately came to the Club entrance and with "Bally" in front of us, as if at the point of the gun, he moved to where Smyth was sitting in the room and faced him. This was arranged to ensure that we got the right man. We opened fire simultaneously, without any preliminaries, and most of our shots hit the target. Smyth made an effort with his one arm to make for his gun but collapsed in the attempt - he must have died at once. When I was firing at Smyth, I noticed sitting opposite him County Inspector Craig, RIC, to whom I had sold some socks in the Munster Arcade a week or so before. I opened fire then on Craig and although I aimed at his heart, I only succeeded in shooting him in the leg. My comrades did not know Craig, hence did not understand until later why I turned my gun on him. Had they known, Craig's fate would also have been sealed. During the shooting a number of comrades also had taken up positions at the various vantage points along the South Mall, ready for action should any eventuality arise or enemy reinforcements arrive before the completion of our mission. Following the shooting, Sando Donovan and I made for Peg Duggan's house in Blackpool and remained there till darkness set in and then went to our respective homes in the city" – **Brigade I/O Seán Culhane**, Cork No.1 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 746).

"On the following night, an armed guard was mounted in the house of Doctor John Fitzgerald in Blarney Road, Cork, where Terry MacSwiney was staying. It was feared that the British would attempt to shoot Terry as a reprisal for Smyth. The guard comprised sixteen men of "C" Company with "Pa" Murray in charge. Nothing, however, transpired" – **Vol. Dan Healy**, C Coy, 1st Batt., Cork No.1 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1656).

"Once Colonel Smyth's instruction to "shoot at sight" was published, it must have been clear even to Lloyd George that Smyth was a marked man. Yet when he was shot dead in the Cork County Club a few days later, he had no bodyguard and not even a private soldier or policeman in the vicinity of the Club. This was a sad end to a great soldier betrayed by the treachery of the politician, Lloyd George…When Colonel Smyth was dead, Lloyd George was then able to say, I can't now have an inquiry in the Listowel affair as our principal witness has been murdered". In this way he shuffled shamelessly out of the inquiry which he never had the least intention of holding. General Tudor, with other high-ranking officers, was present when Colonel Smyth delivered his infamous ultimatum to the RIC at Listowel. Why was General Tudor not summoned to London to give evidence of Smyth's speech? The reason is that the British Cabinet were already committed to a policy of outrage and murder in Ireland. Investigation or inquiry was the last thing that the British Cabinet then desired. Colonel Smyth had been indiscreet enough to put their secret policy for bloodshed to the RIC at Listowel and for this he had to pay the extreme penalty. His death gave Lloyd George the breathing time he so much needed while he was being forced for an explanation and inquiry by an outraged public opinion even in Britain. Towards the end of July, 1920, things began to reach a crisis in Ireland. On July 24th the daily papers carried big headlines announcing the shooting of Colonel Smyth in the County Club, Cork. On the same date it was announced by the British authorities in Ireland that, in future, hunger strikers would not be released until they had served their full term of imprisonment. A few days later it was announced that the holding of coroners' inquests on Sinn Féin victims would be made illegal. The raiding and looting of houses and the sacking of towns were becoming an everyday occurrence. Colonel Smyth was dead but the policy which he had outlined in Listowel was now in full swing. The Republican army was now up against a ruthless foe whose war cry was 'murder', with no regard for the rules of warfare" – **Jeremiah Mee**, Listowel RIC Mutineer, (BMH-WS 379).

THE BELFAST POGROM

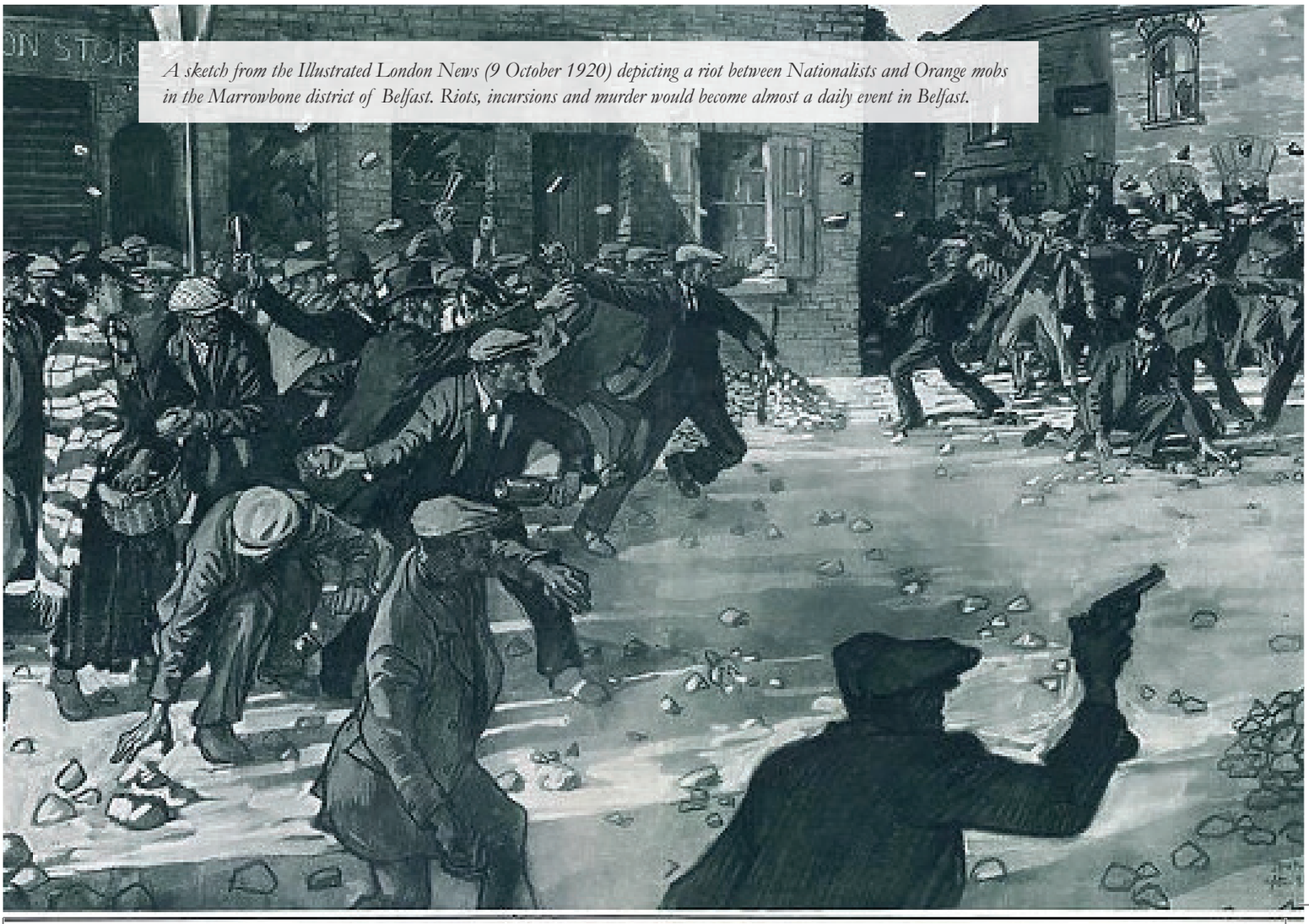
"The pogrom started in July 1920. At that time, we had a lot of trouble with the corner-boy crowd on both aides. There was a threat that St. Malachi's Church was going to be burned, end the Parish Priest got in touch with acme of the Volunteers arid, through them, he asked me to provide a guard for the church. We sent over about 12 or 14 armed men, and they maintained a guard on the church for a couple of nights and opened fire on the mob a couple of times during the few nights. St. Malachi's was beside the Orange quarter. One morning at about 2 a.m. the P.P. arrived at the hall where the armed guard were and told them to clear at once, as he had arranged with the British military to guard the church for him. I was in the hail at the time. We had to evacuate the position during curfew time. We had to keep patrols on the streets all the time during the pogrom, and during curfew time we kept men posted all over the area. The Orange mob used to come out regularly during curfew hours, but they were not interfered with by the authorities. After the start of the pogrom in Belfast, a Protestant organisation was got together under the care of a man named Callow. I do not remember the name of the organisation he controlled, but its principal purpose was to shoot Catholics in their homes and in workshops where they found a Catholic man working in a Protestant district" – **Capt. Thomas Fitzpatrick (Bob McDonnell)**, C Coy, 2nd Batt., Belfast Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 395).

"From this time onwards, it became necessary in our Company area to have a column of sixteen men under a Company Officer (I was in charge) to be on armed duty night and day. We found that this unit could afford fairly good protection to the Nationalist portions of our Company area. The type of attack made by Ulster Volunteers on Nationalist districts was to invade a neighbouring Nationalist area, burn houses and shoot up the inhabitants. Our job was to prevent all Orange penetrations, and to make it extremely costly to those who attempted such invasions. This type of activity, skirmishing for advantage, attack and counter attack, was a daily and nightly occurrence in some of the city areas. The ordinary Nationalist civilian did not take an active part in these attacks. These people, however, made their houses available to the IRA and helped us in every way possible. They fed us and made every possible provision for our comfort. The IRA did their own scouting in each Company area; about twenty IRA were daily detailed for unarmed scout work. These men used electric torches, which would show light in three different colours to enable them, whilst under cover and acting as civilians, to inform us of the approach of the enemy raiding parties. a code was arranged for use of the coloured lights to give us particular information as to the enemy personnel and their methods of approach. For instance, the lights could tell us if the enemy forces were military, RIC, or men recognised as the Murder Gang, how they were travelling, etc. When curfew was imposed in Belfast about the end of July, 1920, the Murder Gang started to operate. The men who formed this gang soon become known, and their usual system of working was as follows. When curfew was imposed, no Nationalists were allowed on the streets after curfew hour, and as the military and police had control, it was an easy matter for the Murder Gang, which in all

cases was composed of RIC or, later, Specials, in uniform, to move about and select their victims. The after-curfew activities by RIC and others, included raiding for and arresting active IRA men and known Republicans" – **Capt. Thomas Flynn**, D Coy, 1st Batt., Belfast Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 429).

"Prior to the Belfast pogrom, I was I/O for the Belfast Brigade. The Brigade Council was specially called about three months prior to the beginning of the pogrom to deal with information we had got of the coming of this pogrom. Through our espionage system we had learned that the Orange section were being prepared by the Masonic pro-British junta to attack the Catholic population in Belfast, but such an attack, while previously planned, was going to be made as a result of some action on our part either against them or against the British authorities. The impression to be given was that the Orange section were rising in just wrath against some action we had taken, as indicated above. We investigated thoroughly, over a period of a month or more, the genuineness of this report of the coming pogrom, and satisfied ourselves that it was genuine…The first real proof we got that we were to be led into committing some "outrage" was that on the evening of the 12th July following, a number of side-car loads of Orangemen and women, dressed in full regalia, came across Divis Street, an entirely Catholic quarter in which hundreds of people were gathered. These cart-loads drove through the crowd. Meanwhile we had noticed early in the evening that the Falls Road and the approaches to it were entirely without RIC patrols, and we had mobilised our own men in anticipation of trouble. We, the IRA, armed with hurling sticks, had to fight back our own people and escort the four car-loads right through to North Street" – **Brigade I/O Séamus Dobbyn**, Belfast Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 279).

"Belfast was the scene of desperate rioting yesterday, following the resumption of work in the shipyards following the July holidays. The Orange bloods held a meeting early in the day, and armed with sticks, stones and other weapons, they invaded the workshops in various yards 'looking for Sinn Féiners'. All Catholics in the eyes of the shipyard 'true blues,' came under this appellation and they were ordered to quit. Before they could do so, however, they were assaulted and beaten. Some are stated to have been thrown into the Lagan, where they were pelted by their persecutors. Others, badly injured, escaped in an exhausted condition. Rioting and looting of shops occurred in various parts of the city subsequently, and the police made repeated baton charges. Military had to be requistioned, and they fired on a crowd in the Falls Road, where one Nationalist was shot dead and others wounded. Subsequently two other persons were shot dead. Large numbers who were injured in the course of the disturbances were conveyed to hospital. The city remains in a disturbed condition" – **The Freeman's Journal**, 22 July 1920, p.4.



A sketch from the Illustrated London News (9 October 1920) depicting a riot between Nationalists and Orange mobs in the Marrowbone district of Belfast. Riots, incursions and murder would become almost a daily event in Belfast.

THE FREEMAN'S JOURNAL. MONDAY. JULY 26. 1920.

THE GOSPEL OF HATE

Hamar Wants a Dictator

ORANGE INTOLERANCE EXPOSED

"Are Government Encouraging Disorder?"

GENERAL HACKETT-PAIN AGAIN

The tragic happenings of the past few days in Belfast; the attacks on the lives and property of Catholics, the attempt to set fire to a church and a convent, the hunting of Catholic workers from their employment, and many other incidents, as brought before the House of Commons yesterday, constitute a terrible record of the limits to which Orange intolerance can be carried.

Mr. Devlin expressed the opinion that the attacks on Catholic workers were the result of Sir E. Carson's visit to preach the gospel of hatred and militarism... He also

Thomas, M.P., who said that if any reprisals were attempted on workers in Belfast and Ulster, or attempts made to drive them from their work, it would inevitably result in reprisals in Great Britain. Trade Unions could not have their members driven from work.

The Chief Secretary's reply was of the customary evasive character of Government Ministers. Referring to the situation in general, he said that all disturbances would be dealt with impartially by the Government and its forces in every part of Ireland.

IRISH WOMEN

Orange Mob Attack a Holiday Hostel

MILITARY WITHDRAW

Why was Adequate Protection Not Given?

One of the features of the past few days which must bring joy to the hearts of the Orange mob and sadness to the hearts of Irishmen of a self-respecting character was the wanton attack on the Holiday Home for working women at Bangor, Co. Down.

Mr. DEVLIN asked the Chief Secretary in the Commons yesterday whether an organised mob set fire to the Bangor Hostel, a holiday centre for working women and girls, and whether he was aware that the burning of these premises was the result of a deliberate conspiracy, whether warning had been given during the day that this place would be burned, and whether a motor-car carrying a patrol of 16 men arrived 15 minutes before the fire was discovered, and whether 100 women and girls escaped from the burning building owing to the action of the Fire Brigade and a small band of military, whether the crowd prevented some Volunteers from helping to suppress the fire, and whether, in spite of repeated warnings,

GOVERNMENT AND DR. MANNIX

"Will Not be Allowed to Land in England"

WHAT ABOUT IRELAND?

Archbishop says He is Coming Here

What are the Government's intentions with regard to the landing in Ireland of the Most Rev. Dr. Mannix, Archbishop of Melbourne?

Mr. Lloyd George says the Archbishop will not be allowed to land in England: Does his embargo stop at England? No light is thrown on the matter in a written answer to a question by a Unionist member of Parliament.

Mr. Inskip asked the Prime Minister whether any action had been taken in connection with the recent utterances of Dr. Mannix concerning Ireland, with a view to their withdrawal and to the representation at the Vatican of the opinions on the subject held by loyal British subjects belonging to the Catholic Church, and whether in the absence of any reprobation issuing from the Vatican of these and similar utterances by

PEACE IN BELFAST

Signs that Orgy of Rioting Has Spent Itself

NAILING A LIE

Anti-Catholic Boycott Still Active

(From Our Special Representative.)

Belfast, Monday.

A feeling prevails in Belfast that the orgy of rioting and looting has spent itself.

A section of the Orange workers are, however, as aggressive as ever towards their Catholic fellows, many of whom are ex-service men. When some of the men turned up at the docks and shipyards hostility was displayed by an Orange section, who declared they would down tools if the Catholics were reinstated.

Rather than submit to dictation of this kind, one firm on the Falls road, for the second time within a week, closed the gates and shut out all hands. Other employers may take similar action, so that unemployment on a large scale will result unless the Orange workers learn to practice toleration and accord to others the liberty about which their leaders prate so glibly.

CATHOLICS UNEMPLOYED.

DESTRUCTION GOES ON

Uniformed Men Fire Creameries, Shops and Dwellinghouses

INDUSTRIES WIPED-OUT

Evildoers Exult as they Watch the Progress of the Flames

The little Co. Limerick town of Ballylanders had an early morning visit on Sunday from lorry loads of men in uniform, who set about destroying valuable property and driving terror into the townspeople.

There was method in their destruction. Having destroyed the Garryspillane Creamery, 3 miles away, they entered the town and proceeded to reduce to ruins the extensive drapery house of Mr. Timothy Crowley.

Some entered and some remained outside. These latter sprayed the walls and those inside sprayed the stock and the rooms with petrol, and then set fire to the whole.

A bomb was also used in the foul work.

Even the dumb animal was not spared, a jennet being bayoneted to death in a field near by.

The creamery and cheese-house in Newport, Co. Tipperary, were also destroyed by bombs and fire during the week-end.

PEOPLE LEAVE THEIR HOUSES THROUGH FEAR

"In July 1920, the pogrom started in Belfast amongst shipyard workers on Queen's Island. The pogrom rapidly spread all over the city. Our Company was detailed for duty guarding Clonard Monastery. This Monastery is situated in a border district where the Shankill Road and the Falls Road are close to each other connected by Cupar Street, which was subject to intermittent gun firing and sniping. We had to be constantly on the alert to prevent raids into Catholic districts or attacks on the Monastery" – **Vol. Seán McConville**, A Coy, 1st Batt., Belfast Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 495).

"About this time the Belfast pogrom was in full swing. Catholics were hunted from their jobs by bowling mobs of dervishes armed with sticks, iron bare, stones, bolts, etc. I had the doubtful pleasure of being hunted (with two companions) from my work by one of these wild mobs. my brother on a similar occasion was badly mauled. I was lucky enough to escape by "running the gauntlet"- **QM Thomas McNally**, Belfast Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 410).

"Towards the end of July 1920 an event or happening of startling political importance occurred. That was the wild and outrageous excesses of the Orangement in the north of Ireland inflicted against Irish nationalists. The pogrom commenced, causing the deaths of nineteen and the wounding of fifty people. Dublin became the city of refuge for many of the northern residents who had to fly for their lives from the Orange hordes. So serious was the position that Dáil Éireann issued a decree against the imposition of a religious test and Sinn Féin organisation declared a boycott of Belfast, and so at a later date the IRA were called on to carry out the duties of enforcing the boycott of Belfast and northern goods. This gave rise to the terms "boycott patrol" and "boycott duties". In this particular sphere the Dublin Brigade IRA played a very big part. Every Company was entrusted. with the task of warning shopkeeprs not to stock or sell goods of Belfast or northern origin, not to display or advertise same etc. A preponderatingly large number of shopkeepers in Dublin willingly acquiesced to the demands made on them and fell in with the idea of the boycott" – **Capt. Seán Prendergast**, Dublin Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 755).

"The pogrom in Belfast had a considerable bearing on the Volunteer organisation and it is difficult for people outside Belfast to appreciate the position as it existed between 1920 and 1922. The pogrom against the Catholic population in Belfast broke out in July, 1920. At the beginning, as I think I have already said, the IRA were ordered to take no part in what was regarded as sectarian strife, but after a few weeks when Orange gangs and mobs, armed and partly armed were attacking isolated Catholic districts in the city and Orange gunmen were deliberately shooting down Catholics on the streets, in their homes, or at their places of employment, it became necessary for the IRA to participate in the struggle, to the extent of defending Catholic areas and institutions which were in danger. When it was realised that the IRA was the sole protection that the Catholic population could rely upon, a noticeable increase in recruiting began, and continued all during the pre-Truce and post-Truce periods" – **Cmdt. Séamus McKenna**, 1st Batt., Belfast Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1016).

"A tramcar in Cromac Street conveying shipyard workers was attacked and the passengers mauled. The police attempted to interfere with the looting of shops here but were chased. Trouble also arose in the Short Strand, where factory workers were attacked. After 6 o'clock, the shipyard workers assembled on the Newtownards Road where Catholic houses were wrecked and looted…Fierce rioting occurred in the Falls and Shankill districts about 7 o'clock, stone throwing and revolver firing taking place. Military were requisitioned and about 9 o'clock they fired on the Nationalist crowd; one man named Francis Flanagan being killed…Armoured cars were rushed to the scene as well as lorries of soldiers. At midnight the city was reported to be in a disturbed condition. Rioting was resumed at night in Ballymacarrett, Ormeau, and other districts, there being a good deal of stone throwing and much damage done to shop windows. At Ballymacarrett the rioters were dispersed by a baton charge and nine policemen were injured. In Newtownards Road shops were looted…further troops are expected from Dublin and the Curragh" – **Freeman's Journal**, 22 July 1920, p.4.

Belfast Expelled Workers.

From the *Irish News*, Belfast, 6th October, 1920—

HOW CARSONISM HAS DISGRACED BELFAST.

Help From All Quarters of the Globe for Victims of Shameful Pogrom.

DRAIN ON EXPELLED WORKERS' RELIEF FUND.

Total Number of Expelled Workers Registered	....	**8,140**
Applications for Registration yesterday	....	**500**
Average Number of Persons Receiving Relief Daily	....	**23,140**

These are the remarkable figures shown to our representative yesterday when he visited the headquarters of the Expelled Workers' Relief Fund Committee.

Grim as they are, they convey but a slight idea of the appalling conditions existing among Catholic workers in the city as the result of the Pogrom instituted in July last against the employment of all persons belonging to that Faith; equally futile are figures as an index of the heroic efforts that have been made to meet the distress consequent upon this hideous campaign.

It may be necessary to explain the figures.

There are on the Roll 8,140 wage-earners, men and women, who have been expelled from their work in the shipyards, foundries, mills, factories, and other centres of industry, and from warehouses, railways, hotels, restaurants, etc.

No less than 500 were added to the list in the course of yesterday.

The victims include at least **4,000 heads of families.** Many fathers of four, five, six, even eight, children are workless and wageless because they are Catholics. Exact details were not available in every case; but our representative learned that about **16,000** of those receiving relief are married [illegible] and their wives and children.

county in Ireland has fallen into line and responded to the National Call for assistance.

CORK AND WATERFORD WERE THE TWO FIRST COUNTIES

to give the lead with magnificent sums; Dublin has followed their example magnificently. In Great Britain, Irish and Labour organisations have vied with one another in raising money for the Fund. The U.I.L., the A.O.H., the I.S.D.L., and the British Labour Party have figured day by day in the lists with substantial sums to their credit,

WHILE SUBSCRIPTIONS HAVE BEEN RECEIVED FROM UNITED STATES, CANADA, AND AUSTRALIA.

The Executive Committee have now got into touch with leading personages and public bodies in France, Spain, and Belgium, and all the facts of the situation in Belfast and the other towns affected by the Pogrom have been placed before them. The story of the Scandal and Outrages is spreading from country to country, and from hemisphere to hemisphere: and all the nations are at one in their verdict.

Particularly distressing cases are being reported daily to the Executive Committee by victimised workers; but perhaps one of the most astounding instances of per-

21st July 1920

CONWAY, Michael:

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *A Coy (Ennistymon), 4th Batt., Mid-Clare Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 13 July 1898. Son of John Conway and Bridget Frawley.
Address: Knocknagrague, Ennistymon, Co. Clare.
Occupation: Baker.
Death: On the evening of 21 July, Conway and a party of unarmed Volunteers attempted to disarm two British officers of the Highland Light Infantry at Ennistymon Bridge. One of the officers fired, wounding IRA Captain Séamus McMahon. As the second officer started firing, the IRA quickly fled from the scene however their comrade, Michael Conway, lay dead, having suffered a gunshot wound to the back of the head. His brother, Fr. John Conway, who coincidentally was passing by, discovered his brother and administered the Last Rites.
Buried: Killilagh, Co. Clare.
MSPC Ref: 1D17.

"Ned Hynes and Jack Madigan who belonged to our company, met me and told me that a military lorry containing a sergeant and six men had gone up to Mrs. O'Connor's house in Deerpark on the outskirts of the town. Mrs. O'Connor, who had two daughters, then at the courting age, did the laundry for the soldiers…Anyway, she was a light-hearted woman and, as subsequent events, proved, her heart was, from the national point of view, in the right place. On hearing of the news about the military going up to O'Connor's I tried to contact the Company Captain but failed. I was satisfied that here was a fine chance of getting six or seven rifles which I was determined not to miss sent word to as many Volunteers as I could rely on to mobilise at McCarthy's corner on the top of Church Street, There I went to wait. As soon as nine men had gathered, I outlined my plan to them, which was that two men should go into O'Connor's and suggest to the daughters to start a dance; that if the suggestion were accepted, the rest of the party should slip into the house gradually and take part in the amusement, taking care to spread themselves through the kitchen… and that three or four should remain at the door watching into the kitchen, as it was also the general thing then to see the men who were either too shy or who couldn't dance to hang round the door. The two men who went in to propose that a dance should be started succeeded in their mission. Anyway, the dance began and the soldiers participated. By degrees all the Volunteers to whom I had been speaking came into the house and edged their way around the kitchen; everyone was enjoying themselves. I should have mentioned, too, that we had arranged at McCarthy's corner that one of us should ask for the "Long Caledonians," a popular dance in Clare then, and that at a particular point in a figure everyone should be so positioned that one man should grab a soldier while the remainder would grab the rifles. Before the proceedings had arrived at that point one of the soldiers who had kept his rifle strapped to his back while the others left them aside, appeared to "smell a rat". He had been standing at the fireplace and came to the door where he was instantly pounced upon by Michael Healy (Miko). This started a melee and in a matter of seconds all the soldiers were overpowered and the rifles in our possession. We got six rifles, all short Lee-Enfields…Only one of the men who were involved in this job was armed and he was Pake Lehane of Lahinch. The others who took part in it with me were: Michael Conway, Ennistymon (shot dead next day), Michael Healy (Miko) Ned Hynes, Cloncoul, Jack Madigan, Callura, Paddy Madigan, Peter Monaghan, Kilcorman, Ennistymon Thomas Gallagher, Cahersheskin, Ennistymon Séamus Murrihy, Cahersheskin. Despite widespread searches by the RIC and military, none of the rifles were recovered and not one of those who took part were arrested, although we were all well known to the O'Connor family.

On the following day, troops poured into Ennistymon from all parts of Clare and they went all through the countryside looking for the rifles. About 8 or 9 o'clock in the evening two young military officers and three soldiers, including one of the men who had been disarmed the night before, came into Ennistymon from the military barracks, and went up to O'Connor's. They were making enquiries about what had happened at the dance. The military officers returned by themselves. I was standing at Stack's corner talking to four other Volunteers, Michael Conway, Michael Morgan, Paddy Madigan and Austin Healy, when they passed. They had their hands in their trench-coat pockets; and it was obvious they were carrying revolvers. Instantly it was agreed that we should try to disarm them and we followed them up the street. None of us were armed. The officers continued their way towards the military barracks and crossed the bridge on the right-hand side, while we took the opposite side. This bridge is about 25 or 30 yards long and about 10 yards wide. As the officers were at the middle of the bridge a man came towards them leading a white horse. We decided to take advantage of the cover provided by the horse and to cross the bridge so that we would be at rushing distance of them before they

would realise it. We were at the horse's flanks just as the officers passed them and about four or five feet from the footpath. I headed the rush and grappled with the bigger man of the two. He still had his hand in his pocket and though I had him firmly gripped round the arms he managed to bring his right forearm to the front of my body and through of his trench-coat fired a number of shots from a revolver. One of the bullets passed between my second and third rib, pierced my stomach and emerged close to the spine. Other bullets went through my waistcoat and trousers. I felt the blood running down along my leg and decided to make one determined effort to overpower my opponent before loss of blood had weakened me. I flung him to the ground and made a desperate effort to pull the gun from him…As soon as he was knocked down, he began to shout to his comrade for help…Looking round I saw the other officer approaching with his revolver pointed at us. I called to my brother and John Curtin "Come on, we'll all be shot", and made for the railway station." – **Capt. Séamus McMahon**, A Coy, 4th Batt., Mid-Clare Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 984).

McDONNELL, Thomas:

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *H Coy (Glanworth), 2nd Batt., Cork No.2 Brigade, IRA.*
DOB: c.1893. Born at Killeagh, Glanworth, Co. Cork, to James McDonnell and Margaret Keeffe.
Address: Dunmahon, Glanworth, Co. Cork.
Occupation: Farm Labourer.
Death: On the evening of 21 July, McDonnell, McGrath and other locals were gathered at Corracunna Cross, near Mitchelstown, Co. Cork, and partaking in festive events such as dancing, card playing and pitch and toss. A patrol of Crown forces (The Buffs), stationed at Fermoy, came upon the gathering and opened fire, firing 119 rounds of ammunition towards the crowd with one British NCO, Joseph Morgan, later admitting to have fired 45 shots out of the total. McDonnell was shot through the neck, shattering his vertebrae. McGrath was mortally wounded by gunshot wounds to his side and to his head. At the coroner's inquest, the British authorities stated their patrol had been fired upon and retaliated however this was vehemently denied by those who had been at the crossroads. The *Cork Examiner* reported, '*the appalling murders have spread sorrow and mourning in a wide circle and created horror and indignation*'. The two victims had initially been reported as civilians, however, Capt. Patrick Luddy of the Mitchelstown IRA later admitted that they had been Volunteers.
Buried: Glanworth, Co. Cork.
MSPC Ref: DP8450.

"On July 21st, 1920, two Volunteers (Dan McGrath and Thomas McDonnell) were shot by a party of British Military at Corracunna Cross about 1 ½ miles from Mitchelstown on the road to Cahir. They were standing with a crowd of civilians at the crossroads. I arrived at the crossroads shortly after the shooting and had to send other Volunteers, who had been with me on parade, to search the fields to ascertain if any others had been shot. At the inquest held on these Volunteers the jury brought in a verdict of murder against the Crown Forces and I think that this was one of the last inquests held. The Crown Solicitor representing the British Forces involved asked the jury not to bring in a verdict of murder or they would all be shot" – **Capt. Patrick J. Luddy**, Mitchelstown IRA, 2nd Batt., Cork No.2 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1151).

McGRATH, Daniel:

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *Ballindangan Coy, 2nd Batt., Cork No.2 Brigade, IRA.*
DOB: c.1902. Son of Patrick McGrath.
Address: Flemingstown, Mitchelstown, Co. Cork.
Occupation: Farm Labourer.
Death: See McDONNELL, Thomas.
Buried: Kilbehenny, Co. Limerick.
MSPC Ref: DP3155.

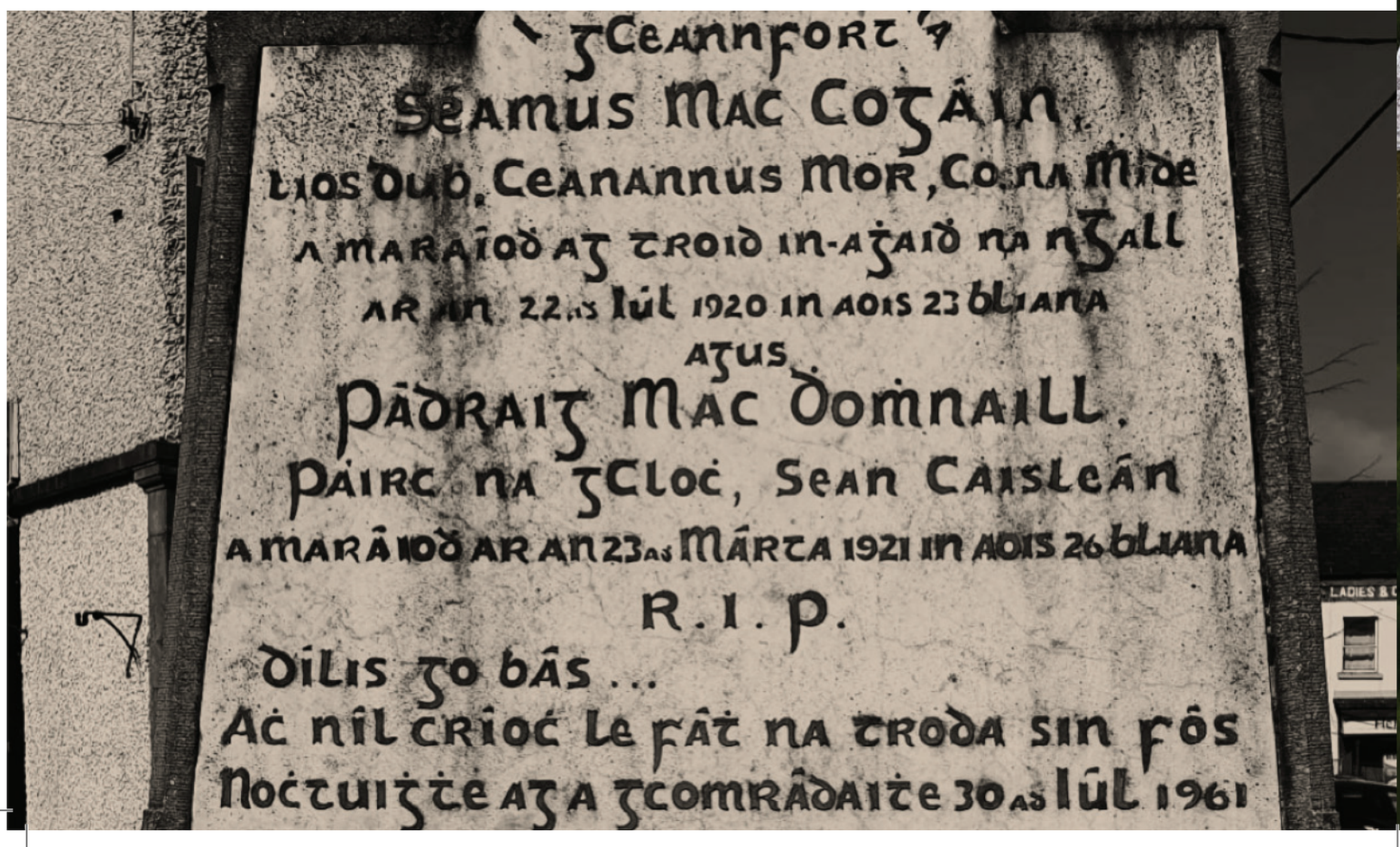
"There is no such ill-considered use of the word revolutionist, we should bear in mind it is a strictly relative term. If the freedom of a people is overthrown by treachery and violence, and oppression practiced on their once thriving land, that is a revolution, and a bad revolution. If, with tyranny enthroned and a land wasting under oppression, the people rise and by their native courage, resource and patience re-establish om their original independence a just government, that is a revolution, and a good revolution"
– Terence MacSwiney

22nd July 1920

COGAN, Séamus:

Rank: Commandant.
Unit: *5th Battalion, Meath Brigade, IRA.*
DOB: 6 November 1893. Son of Patrick Cogan and Mary Anne Reilly.
Address: Clonsillagh, Kells, Co. Meath.
Occupation: Farmer.
Death: Cogan was part of an IRA arresting party, who had arrested a cattle thief, John Farrelly, a member of the notorious Cormeen Gang, who had murdered Vol. Mark Clinton as he tended to the land. While driving back towards Oldcastle, Cogan's automobile came upon a military check-point. Attempting to turn the car, shots were fired towards the IRA occupants, with Cogan receiving a fatal gunshot wound to the head.
Buried: The Republican Plot, Ballinlough Graveyard, Co. Meath.
MSPC Ref: 1D187.

"He (Cogan), with other Volunteers, was conveying a prisoner in a motor car to an unoccupied house outside the town where the prisoner was to be held pending trial for robbery. Near the town, the driver was called on to halt by a party of military who had just dismounted from a lorry. Cogan ordered the driver to drive on. The military opened fire as he did so. Cogan drew a revolver and returned the fire. In the skirmish Cogan was shot dead, and a couple of his companions were wounded. The car then mounted the grass margin on the roadside, crossed a fence and landed in a field. The rest of the Volunteers made good their escape. Next day the military called, collected the body and took it to Kells, where an inquest was held. Following the inquest, Cogan's body was handed over to his relatives, who took it to St. Columbcille's Church, Kells. The funeral took place the following Sunday to the burial ground at Ballinlough where a new Republican plot was acquired. I had ordered every available Volunteer to be mobilised for the funeral. It was the biggest funeral cortege ever seen in Co. Meath and was over four miles long. In order to render military honours to Commandant Cogan, I had all the roads leading to the graveyard effectively blocked by cars, so that the military who were in the vicinity should not approach the lorry. When three volleys had been fired over his grave, we dispersed. The military did not interfere. Séamus Cogan was a great loss to the Brigade. He was one of our best officers and I felt his loss keenly" – **Brigadier Seán Boylan,** Meath Brigade, IRA (BMH-WS1715).



The Republican Plot, Glasnevin Cemetery, Dublin

Rioting in Belfast, 1920

GILES, Joseph:

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *1st (Belfast) Batt., Antrim & East Down Brigade, IRA.*
DOB: 9 October 1900. Born John Joseph Giles at 40 Cavendish St, to Samuel Giles and Catherine McConnell.
Address: 11 Kashmir Road, Clonard, Belfast.
Occupation: Fitter. Formerly a Flight Mechanic in the RAF.
Death: Giles was seriously wounded by machine-gunfire near Bombay St, in Clonard, Belfast, during extensive rioting and gunfire across the Falls and Shankill areas in West Belfast. Giles died shortly afterwards at the Royal Victoria Hospital. He is recorded as a civilian on *DOTIR.*
Buried: Milltown Cemetery, Belfast.

"Samuel Giles identified the body of his son, Joseph, who resided with him at 11 Kashmir Road. He was nineteen years of age and unmarried. On the evening of 22 July, at 6 p.m, he left the house. Ten minutes later he saw him standing at the junction of Kashmir Road and Clonard Gardens. The military were firing from Cupar Street up the Kashmir Road. Witness saw the deceased fall, also another man at the same place. His son was removed to the Royal Victoria Hospital and died there at 10 p.m." – **Belfast Newsletter**, 26 July 1920, p.6.

FURTHER NEWS FROM THE NORTH
Late July 1920

"*Rioting of the fiercest description occurred in Lisburn on Saturday night (24 July 1920) when within the space of a couple of hours damage was done to at least thirty-two business premises, which it is calculated will exceed £3000. The trouble arose soon after ten o'clock, and was initiated by a band of young men believed to be strangers, who attracted a huge crowd opposite the Northern Bank, Market Square, by their singing of party songs. In a moment, what appeared an orderly assembly, became an agitated mass of humanity bent on mischief. With a wild rush, which nothing could stay, the mob swept along Market Square*

into Market Street, coming to a halt in the vicinity of Hibernian Hall. Here a volley of stones riddled the windows, the licensed premises of Mr. Neeson and Mr. McLarnon close by receiving similar attention. A large part of the crowd returned to the Square and starting with the confectionary stop of Mr. Gilmore, wrecked several shops, and in a number of instances resorted to looting. Similar destruction was carried out in Bridge Street, Bow Street, Chapel Hill, Longstone Street, Largymore, Seymour Street and Castle Street" – **Belfast Newsletter**, 26 July 1920, p.6.

"Rev. John Francis Kelly identified the body of Brother Morgan, who, he said, was in the Redemptorist Order, and resided at the Monastery, Clonard Street, Belfast. On Thursday, 22nd July, the deceased was passing along the corridor inside the monastery, when he was shot by a bullet that came through the window which he was passing" – **Belfast Newsletter**, 26 July 1920, p.6.

"The uproar was particularly felt in the Ballymacarrett district, which contains a mixed population of Protestants and Catholics. Here, large bodies of military with Lewis machine-guns had been distributed, and the upheaval assumed such proportions that at 7 o'clock they had to open fire and disperse the crowd after inflicting some casualties" – **Evening Herald**, 23 July 1920, p.1.

"Yes! There they throng down Cupar St. and Conway St. – the men of the Shankill. And no Catholic house escapes the hail of 'pavers.' They are turned back by men who must defend their homes, even though they have no love for a sectarian war. But the military arrive, which is satisfactory for Orangeism for the Orangeman fights a deal better behind the military. There are angry words, hoarse challenges, flying stones, the spit of a revolver. And suddenly the rifles speak – towards the Falls direction; towards the homes of the hunted men. Across the tram-rails, dashes a soldier with bayonet and rifle at the ready; he searches the almost deserted road and fires twice. Round Conway St. comes a company of soldiers, and they maintain the firing. Their only opposition is a handful of defenceless boys, who recklessly, in their anger and defiance, expose themselves, 'Cowards!' And the rifles speak back in reply" – **Irish Independent**, 30 July 1920, p.4.

THE COLLEGE GREEN HOLD-UP
29 July 1920

"Three parties of Military Foot Police were disarmed in amazing fashion by a number of civilians at College Green, Dublin, last night. In all, the arms and ammunition of eleven soldiers were seized and carried off. It is stated that only eight civilians took part in the hold-up, which was carried out in a densely populated thoroughfare. One of the patrols appears to have offered resistance, and in the ensuing exchange of shots three of their number were wounded, a crippled civilian being injured in the ankle…The occurrence took place at the junction of College St. and Westmoreland St. about 11 p.m. No clear account of what occurred could be obtained, but it appears that almost simultaneously a number of civilians held up the military police at the corner of Westmoreland St. at the corner of Trinity College, or the opposite side of the street and at the Bank of Ireland, directly opposite. The military police, both at Trinity College and at the corner of Westmoreland St. are stated to have capitulated without resistance, but those at the Bank of Ireland opened fire" – **Irish Independent**, 30 July 1920, p.4.

"The task assigned to us by the men of the Rising, which those who accepted took up as their life's devotion, was no small one. We had to uphold the nation at the status then so beautifully redefined for us; we had to reverse the military and political conquest of many centuries, and to restore what the feudal system had overturned – the rights of the common people of Ireland. Massive physical strength was on one side, and only a small nation's will on the other" – **Máire Comerford**.

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EDITORIAL TELEPHONE 104 TELEGRAMS "HERALD, DUBLIN."

EVENING HERALD

VOL. 29. NO. 174. DUBLIN, FRIDAY, JULY 23, 1920. PRICE ONE PENNY.

£1 TO £1,000 ADVANCED ON DEMAND AT KELLY'S GREAT CENTRAL MONEY OFFICE, 48 FLEET STREET

Two Days' Casualties in Belfast Rioting :— KILLED: 14 WOUNDED: About 200

DE VALERA'S CALL

An Appeal to Belfast Workingmen

A CITY OF TERROR

Indescribable Horrors in the Streets

"THE DIE IS CAST"

Menace of Bolshevik Advance

HELP FOR POLAND URGED

Paris, Friday.

(Reuter's Telegram.)

The "Journal" states that the French Mission to Poland left Paris yesterday evening after being received by M. Millerand. The paper states that the Mission will arive very late, and asks whether the casus fonderis does not already exist. If the reported occupation of Dieteisol, by the Reds is confirmed, says the "Journal," the die is cast. Even at this moment it is more than doubtful whether the Bolshevik offensive can be stoped in time. It is no time for consultations and half measures.

HUNGARIAN OFFER.

A Budapest telegram states that M. Teleki, the new Hungarian Prime Minister, has offered military aid to the Entente.

The "Matin" states that Herr Mayer, the German Charge d'Affaires, yesterday

CORRACUNNA CROSS

Inquest on Bodies of Two Victims

MILITARY OFFICERS PRESENT

Abortive Inquiry into Death of Sergeant at Ballina

The inquest on the bodies of two men shot dead at Corunna Cross, near Mitchelstown, on Wednesday night, was re-

CORK INCIDENTS

Raid on Lightkeepers' Dwellings

PATROL FIRED ON

Our Berehaven correspondent wires— The lightkeepers' share dwellings of the lighthouse in Bantry Bay, situated near Castletownbere, were raided at 12.15 o'clock on Friday morning by about 20 disguised men armed with revolvers who demanded explosives and firearms, but none was at the station, and they took two telescopes and one Morse lantern.

Mr. Frank Hill, the keeper on shore, and Mrs. Hill were in one of the houses when the door was suddenly opened, and several disguised men rushed in with a demand of "Hands up, don't be alarmed," and covered Mr. Hill with revolvers.

Mr. Hill told them that there were no explosives or firearms in the station, but a thorough search was made of the two houses and the store.

A roll of money found by the raiders during the search was not touched.

Our Dublin correspondent wires—

BELFAST'S TOLL

An Appalling List of Casualties for Two Days

14 KILLED: HOSPITALS FILLED

Fourteen Houses Set Ablaze by Looting Mobs

We append to-day a list of names of the killed and injured

23rd July 1920

KENNEDY, Michael:

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *A Coy (Nenagh), 1st Batt., Tipperary No.1 Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 12 September 1892. Son of Patrick Kennedy & Julia Tuohy.
Occupation: Publican's Son. Former British Army (Discharged in Aug, 1919).
Address: Bank Place, Nenagh, Co. Tipperary.
Death: Kennedy died as a result of a gunshot wound to the thigh which was caused by accidental friendly fire during an attempt to destroy Borrisokane RIC Barracks on 26 June 1920. The barracks was evacuated the next day. Kennedy was initially brought to Ned Slattery's public-house in Ballycommon where he received standard medical assistance. With the wound being particularly dangerous, it was decided to bring Kennedy to hospital. He was admitted under an alias, Michael Gleeson of Ennis, Co. Clare, in Barrington's Hospital in Limerick. Kennedy's wound failed to heal and he eventually succumbed to septicemia. Kennedy's death was registered under his alias.
Buried: Kilbarron Old Cemetery, Nenagh, Co. Tipperary.
Image Source: John Flannery, Co. Tipperary.
MSPC Ref: 1D57.

Michael Kennedy's grave, Kilbarron Old Cemetery, Co. Tipperary. Source: Kilbarron Terryglass Historical Society (Facebook)

A TARGET IN BANDON
25 July 1920

"*In general, the members of the RIC force in Cork – as indeed elsewhere throughout the country – served their British masters well. They acted as the eyes and ears of the British Government in our area, reported all Volunteer activities that came to their notice, led frequent raids on private houses of real or suspected sympathisers with our cause, and did everything in their power to thwart our struggle for national independence. Yet, it must be mentioned that some members of the constabulary were exceptions in this regard and proved to be friendly towards us, and even went so far a to help us on many occasions. There were some RIC men in Bantry, Bandon, Kilbrittain, and Skibbereen who went beyond the requirements of strict duty in their efforts to destroy our movement, but none did more in this regard than the Chief Intelligence Officer for all West Riding and the districts of Macroom and Millstreet. He was stationed at Bandon, and was obnoxious to the Volunteers and the people generally in that he took pleasure in very rough tactics with prisoners…We determined to end the activities of this arch-enemy once and for all. Located as he was within the strongly-guarded enemy citadel of Bandon, this officer was not easily captured. To wait for him outside the barrack door until he appeared was a possibility but it would have meant certain death for the assailant. Indeed, he was so well protected that there was very little opportunity of dealing with him with any assurance of success. In the end, it was decided that the only way to end his activities was the invidious one of ambushing him on his way to Mass on a Sunday morning. Even this was risky because he could be accompanied by colleagues. However, on Sunday morning, 25 July, he was alone as he made his way to the eight o'clock Mass. Three Volunteers were waiting for him that morning as he entered the church grounds, mounted the steps and approached the porch. As he was about to put his hand on the handle of the door leading into the nave of the church the Volunteers stepped forward and shot him several times. The parish priest rushed to his side and anointed him. He was dead within ten minutes"* – **Brigade-Adjt. Liam Deasy**, Cork No.3 Brigade, IRA, *Towards Ireland Free*, p.125-126.

THE ARREST & TORTURE OF TOM HALES & PAT HARTE

"Charlie Hurley and I departed from Shanavagh en-route for Hurley's of Laragh. On our way lay by Desert Bridge that crossed the Bandon River east of Enniskean. Just as we were approaching this bridge from the south, we were warned by a local resident that it was being held by a party of Essex soldiers from Bandon. So, taking up a position behind Desert Railway Station, we waited for two hours until the enemy departed, and then we crossed the bridge in safety. At John Lordan's of Coolinagh we rested and there, to our dismay, we heard the news that Tom Hales and Pat Harte had been captured as they were about to enter Frank Hurley's house at Laragh by soldiers of the Essex Regiment, and that they had been taken to the military barracks in Bandon…We knew that Tom Hales and Pat Harte would be recognised by the enemy as Volunteer leaders, and that they would certainly receive brutal treatment and be cruelly tortured. We learned later that the two men were so barbarously treated that they were hospital cases by the time the enemy had finished torturing them" – **Brigade-Adjt. Liam Deasy**, p.129-130.

Brigadier Tom Hales (left) and Brigade QM Pat Harte (right) sadistically photographed while in British custody, July 1920. The pair would receive horrific torture, so much so that Pat Harte never mentally recovered, dying in 1924.

"In Bandon, the British repeatedly beat up their two prisoners, Hales and Harte, in an effort to obtain information from them. After failing in this effort, the Essex Regiment Torture Squad was called in. The two prisoners were stripped naked and the Torture Squad got to work with pincers and pliers, pulling out the hairs and crushing the nails of their helpless prisoners. When they were finished, Tom Hales was unconscious and Pat Harte completely insane, but the Torture Squad had failed to get any information. Pat Harte was transferred to a mental hospital and remained insane until he died a few years later. Tom Hales was sentenced to penal servitude and was held in Pentonville Jail until after the Treaty of 1921 was signed" – **Vol. Tom Barry**, 1st Batt., Cork No.3 Brigade, IRA, *Guerilla Days in Ireland*, p.15.

25th July 1920

McCARTNEY, John Joseph:

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *1st (Belfast) Batt., Antrim & East Down Brigade, IRA.*
DOB: 3 January 1884. Born at 4 Little Corporation St, Belfast, to Edmond McCartney and Catherine Thompson.
Familial: In 1906, McCartney married Rachel Lester. Their family were Edmund (1907-1908), Mary Catherine (b.1909), John (b.1912) and Rachel McCartney (b.1918).
Address: 41 Lucknow St, Belfast.
Occupation: House & Ship Painter.
Death: McCartney died at the Royal Victoria Hospital from wounds received on 22 July, during bitter rioting and gun-battles on Kashmir Road, when Orange mobs from the Shankill area intruded, with destructive motives, into the Clonard district in west Belfast. The pension file of Belfast IRA officer, David Matthews gives a brief recording of the IRA casualties from the riots in Belfast in late July 1920. It states: *"Pre-Truce. 6 were killed at street corner, including Giles and McCartney, vols. at time of Cashmere* [sic] *Road fighting."*
Buried: Milltown Cemetery, Belfast.
Ref: David Matthews Pension Application (MSP34REF60258).
Anglo-Celt, 31 July 1920, p.10.
Author's Note: Our gratitude to historian and author, Kieran Glennon, for this recent discovery.

28th July 1920

KELEGHAN, John Joseph (John-Joe):

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *Shrule Coy, 1st Batt., South Mayo Brigade, IRA.*
DOB: c.1894. Son of John Keleghan and Norah Reilly.
Occupation: Blacksmith.
Address: Shrule, Co. Mayo.
Death: Keleghan died at St. Bride's Hospital in Galway, from severe burn wounds to his throat, chest and limbs, which occurred during the IRA's destruction of the abandoned Shrule RIC barracks on 16 July 1920. There was evidence of a deep wound to his skull, which was possibly caused by a splinter or object during a suspected explosion while he was operating within the barracks.
Buried: Shrule Cemetery, Shrule, Co. Mayo.
MSPC Ref: 1D300.

"The convention was called in or about mid-July 1920 in the town of Castlebar. The attendance included all Brigade and Battalion officers and Company O/Cs as far as it was possible to get them to come. It may be considered that the calling of such a big crowd of men to a meeting at this particular time might be dangerous…After some discussion it was decided that the county should be divided into four Brigade areas named, roughly, North, South, East and West…I can, however, give the four Brigade O/Cs: South Mayo Brigade - Tom Maguire, Cross, Ballinrobe; East Brigade - Seán Corcoran, Kiltimagh; North Brigade - Tom Ruane, Ballina; West Brigade - Michael McHugh, Castlebar…Also present at the meeting in Castlebar was Éamon Price representing GHQ. He announced that I was being appointed as a sort of Inspecting Officer to each Brigade and that I had the right to go into any Brigade and at any time visit any of the Battalions constituting the Brigade, and cause staff meetings to be held, and get a statement on how each Brigade stood on all military matters, arms, etc." – **Brigade-Adjt. Richard Walsh**, Mayo Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 400).

The grave of Vol. J.J. Keleghan in Shrule Cemetery, Co. Mayo. Source: Colm Ó Cinnseala.

THE AMBUSH AT OOLA, CO. LIMERICK 30 July 1920

"On the morning of 30 July, Seán Treacy had planned an ambush on the road between Limerick and Tipperary. At that time our men were creating grave trouble by holding up trains and mail-cars for the censoring of letters which might prove valuable information. In this way, we often lighted on revelations concerning spies who operated in the locality…On each day a military escort set out from Limerick by hands. On each day a military escort set out from Limerick by road to collect the morning mail off the train at the Junction. It was decided to ambush this party at a spot which was half a mile on the Tipperary side of the village of Oola, about six miles from Tipperary town, fifteen from Limerick city and four from Soloheadbeg. Although we had taken up a position on the main road from Limerick to Waterford, we had a great stretch of country by which we could escape southwards and motor back towards East Limerick. The terrain was comparatively flat, with thick whitethorn hedges to provide good cover" – **Dan Breen**, Tipperary No.3 Brigade, IRA, *My Fight for Irish Freedom,* p.124-125.

"Our men, who were armed with assorted weapons, for which they had but a very limited supply of ammunition, were forced to retire on the arrival of enemy reinforcements, though not before they had inflicted some casualties. In this attack, in which Seán Treacy played a prominent part, the Martini rifles - those taken from Redmond's supporters - were used for the first time. They proved almost useless as, when fired from, it was found that the bullet cases could not easily be extracted from the magazines. In fact, they were more of a danger to our own men than the enemy" – **Seán Fitzpatrick**, Tipperary No.3 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1259).

"Jim Gorman and Michael Fitzgerald called to Quinn's for me after the ambush and told me what happened. The motor cyclist did not pass and the lorry, when it came, was fired on by the main party. This lorry was closely followed by a second lorry of military who dismounted and took part in the fight. After the first volley it was found that the ejectors of the Martini rifles which the main party were using failed to eject the empty cases from the breech, due perhaps to incorrect ammunition being used. There was then no option but to break off the engagement and Treacy, they said, saved the day, as he kept the soldiers pinned down on the road with rapid fire from his parabellum whilst the main party were withdrawn. Later, we learned that two British soldiers were killed and three wounded and that General Lucas, who had escaped from IRA custody on the previous night, was in the lorry, having been picked up by the military at Pallas. From Quinn's we went back to Rafferty's of Acroboy and later, to O'Dwyer's of Ballananstown. The owner of this house was a brother of Sir Michael O'Dwyer of India and Punjab fame but we were made welcome and given chicken for our supper" – **QM Tadhg Crowe**, 4th Batt., Tipperary No.3 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1658).

The damaged RIC barracks at Belgooly, Co. Cork, 1920. Source: IWM Q 71701

The burnt remains of a public-house that was burned by the Black & Tans in Templemore, Co. Tipperary, August 1920.

TACTICAL REAPPRAISAL – 1 August 1920

"Orders had been received from GHQ in the course of July summoning the Commanders of the Brigades of South Munster, ie. Cork, Kerry, West Waterford and West Limerick, to a meeting in Dublin. As Tom Hales, our Brigade Commander, had been captured, we hastily convened a meeting at O'Mahony's of Belrose. Those present at this meeting were Seán Hales, Dick Barrett, Flor Begley, and myself. To fill the vacancy caused by the arrest of Tom Hales, we automatically selected Charlie Hurley as his successor, and Dick Barrett was our choice to fill the post of Brigade Quartermaster made vacant by Pat Harte's arrest. At this meeting it was also decided that I should represent the Brigade at the meeting in Dublin and there submit our recommendations regarding Brigade Staff appointments for the approval of GHQ. Finally, since we were anxious to introduce Dick Barrett to GHQ, it was decided that he would travel to Dublin with me. We cycled to Cork on Saturday morning, 31 July, and at Glanmire Station met Terence MacSwiney who, as representative of the First Cork Brigade, was travelling to Dublin to our meeting at GHQ. The train journey was uneventful, but at Kingsbridge we took the precaution of leaving the station separately, and we met later at Vaughan's Hotel. Shortly after our arrival there we were visited by Gearóid O'Sullivan and Seán Ó Muirthuile, who gave us details about the meeting that was to be held on the following day, Sunday, at 35 Lower Gardiner Street. Later in the course of that same evening, Michael Collins, Peadar Clancy, and Dick McKee came along and, as could be expected, the subject of conversation was the progress of the war in Cork. Dick McKee made many inquiries about the officers he had met at the Training Camp at Glandore a year previously. Dick Mulcahy also called and took Terence MacSwiney away with him. The next day we spent a very pleasant afternoon at an Oireachtas in Jones's Road, now known as Croke Park, and when it was over, we made our way separately to the venue of the meeting in Gardiner Street. There we met the Minister of Defence, Cathal Brugha, who presided. Also present were, Dick Mulcahy, Chief of Staff; Michael Collins, Director of Intelligence; Gearóid O'Sullivan, Adjutant-General; Seán McMahon, Quartermaster General; Rory O'Connor, Director of Engineering and Diarmuid O'Hegarty, Director of Organisation. Cork No.1 Brigade was represented by Terence MacSwiney, Cork No.2 by Liam Lynch, Cork No.3 by myself. Kerry No.1 by Paddy Cahill, Kerry No.2 by Dan O'Mahony, and Kerry No.3 by Jeremiah O'Riordan; Waterford West by Pax Whelan, and the West Limerick Brigade was represented by Fr. Dick McCarthy, then curate at Ballyhahil, in the unavoidable absence of the Commander, Seán Finn. This was our first formal introduction as an organised body representing the Southern Army to GHQ. It was also the first formal occasion on which we were introduced to each other" – **Brigade-Adjt. Liam Deasy**, Cork No.3 Brigade, IRA, *Towards Ireland Free*, p.131-132.

The shell of Tuam Town Hall, Co. Galway. On 21 July 1920, over £100,000 worth of damage was carried out by the RIC in one of a growing number of reprisals that were occurring nationwide. The scenes from the Sack of Tuam were described by the media as comparatively similar to Belgian towns in 1914. Source: London Illustrated News, 31 July 1920.

"They had raided the town almost from end to end. They burned our beautiful town hall to the ground; they set fire to one large shop…they tried to set fire to at least four other shops, and they ruthlessly broke plate-glassed windows. Shots were fired into several houses, and a bomb was thrown into an upper room of at least one house. You might imagine the state of terror and indignation that exists today in what was yesterday a peaceful and prosperous town, where relations between police and people were as cordial as could be expected. I hope you will see that a sworn inquiry is opened immediately with a view of bringing all the culprits to justice and making reparation to the town as far as much is possible"

Dr. Thomas Kilmartin,
Archbishop of Tuam
Addressed to General Nevil Macready

"The Chief of Staff reviewed the general position throughout the country as a whole so far as our struggle was concerned. Then he concentrated on the south and described the situation as it appeared to GHQ. He was very generous in his praise of the Brigades, and was most complimentary in his references to the capture of arms and ammunition that had been affected. He encouraged those in charge of areas that had not been quiet so successful to become self-reliant by conducting operations that had been proved successful elsewhere. Following on this preamble, the Chief of Staff continued with an important directive dealing with the question of ambushing. It was to be the policy of GHQ, said Mulcahy, to authorise general ambushing as the principal form of attack against the enemy, but in all cases the enemy should be first of all called upon to surrender. Here Mulcahy was supported by Cathal Brugha, but the matter was not allowed to pass unchallenged. It was pointed out that up to this, ambushing attacks had been concentrated

mostly on cycling patrols; in such cases the policy of calling upon the enemy to surrender before shooting at him was indeed feasible, though it would necessarily increase the danger for the attackers. But it was pointed out that an entirely new development was now taking shape in enemy transport that would make the policy advocated by Mulcahy and Brugha suicidal. The enemy convoys that were now on the roads were most often protected by armoured cars, and the military lorries had mounted machine-guns. To call upon the enemy to surrender in such circumstances before attacking him would be disastrous" – **Brigade-Adjt. Liam Deasy,** Cork No.3 Brigade, IRA, *Towards Ireland Free*, p.133.

THE WAR IN THE NORTH-WEST
July – August 1920

"About 5th August 1920, I went to Dublin for the purpose of procuring rifles. While there I met Alec McCabe who interviewed Michael Collins about arms for our Battalion. Collins told McCabe that if we brought off an attack on Crown forces in our area with what weapons we had he would increase our supply. On 10th August 1920, I participated in the hold-up of a party of four RIC at Keevans - on the Bunniadder to Tubbercurry Road. A party of IRA, waiting in ambush, held up the RIC and relieved them of one rifle and fifty rounds of .303, one shotgun, one Webley revolver, one bomb, four bicycles and tunics. As a result of this holdup, Michael Collins informed us that we were entitled to rifles. Accordingly, I arranged for their collection. The Battalion O/C travelled to Dublin having £360 - all that was available - towards the purchase. The rifles were forwarded on rail to Tubbercurry where I received them, having at that time full charge of the goods depot at the railway station. I arranged for their removal and immediate distribution to the members of the IRA most capable to use them" – **Cmdt. Charles Gildea**, 6th Batt., Sligo Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1313).

"The Cliffoney Company, despite the how intensified vigilance of the British forces, participated in raids for arms at Maugherow, Tullyhan and Mullaghmore areas. Well do I remember a cold and dreary night when twenty members of the company and I cycled the long and tedious journey to Belleek [Co. Fermanagh] *on unaccustomed roads to participate in what was considered a big raid on an arms dump belonging to the Ulster Volunteer Force. Slowly and cautiously, we surrounded the building and called on the occupants to surrender, but their answer was a hail of bullets. After an exchange of shots which lasted for some time, the building was finally captured, but not with the booty we expected. Only a few guns were captured, a number of rifles stored there having been previously removed"* – **Lieut. Pat McCannon**, Cliffoney Coy, Bundoran Batt., South Donegal Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1383).

"In August, Seán O'Flaherty summoned a meeting of the Battalion Staff and Battalion Commanders. He informed us that he had information from a man named Tom Johnston who had recently resigned from the RIC, that the RIC Barracks in Drumquin, County Tyrone would be an easy target, as the RIC garrison there were a careless lot. After discussion it was decided that a daylit attack was more likely to be successful. August the 20th, which was called 'fair day' in Drumquin, was the date selected, as a party of strangers collecting in the town on fair day was unlikely to arouse suspicion. Men from Letterkenny, Castlefinn, Clady and Ballybofey Companies were instructed to travel by car to a point near Drumquin where final instructions would be issued Each man was to be armed with a revolver, carry a stick and dress in such a way as would make him resemble a cattle buyer. Each party arrived at the appointed place. Johnston, the ex-RIC man net Sam O'Flaherty there and gave him any information he could collect about the location of the RIC at that particular time. Unfortunately, O'Flaherty did not transmit this information in detail to each member of his party, which led to confusion later. The general outline of the plan of attack was the party to move into the town and, under the pretext of buying cattle, the main attacking force to get as near as possible to the RIC barracks. More men were detailed to move through the town and hold up and disarm any RIC who might be on patrol or, more likely, to be found in licenced premises. Another party was detailed to cut phone and telegraph wires. We were a bit early moving into the town; the fair was only beginning to gather. As a result, there was some delay before we could put our plan into effect. While waiting for the signal to move, I met an unarmed policeman who remarked "There is a lot of you buyers in town today". I replied "Cattle have got a big raise in price and we have a big order to supply." He seemed satisfied with my statement and moved off. When sufficient cattle had arrived in the fair we pretended to buy and moved with the cattle until we got into position outside the barrack. James Curran and myself were detailed to hold up an RIC Constable standing at the barrack door. Our intention was to quietly order him to put up his hands, disarm and take him away. Just then, James McMonagle, from Letterkenny, rushed over to him and shouted "Hands Up". The RIC man turned suddenly and made a move as if he was about to grapple with McMonagle who immediately shot him through the head, and he fell dead in the doorway. The sound of the shot had the effect of alerting the RIC inside. By the time we got into the day-room there were no RIC there. I dashed into the kitchen, which was empty. I then searched the cells thinking that I would find a quantity of grenades stored there, but found none. Coming back to the day-room I got three rifles and a large quantity of ammunition which I collected. On reaching the front hall I found that the RIC had taken up positions upstairs and were firing down into the hall. Next a grenade was tossed down, exploding in the hall and filling the place with fumes and dust. I got no instructions to rush the

stairs at any time, neither did I fire any shots as I saw no target to fire at. Sam O'Flaherty then ordered us to withdraw, return to the cars and get away" – **Capt. Henry McGowan,** East Donegal Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1596).

"I issued order for demolition of, and took charge of party who destroyed by fire, the unoccupied RIC barracks at Pettigo [1 July 1920]. *Pettigo was then a strong pro-British town, and it was intimated by the local loyalists that, if any attempt was made to interfere with the barracks there, armed resistance would be had from the loyalists. On this latter threat being made, it was considered advisable to call the loyalist bluff, and no trace of resistance was met. In the barracks at that time lived the family of the former sergeant in charge (Sergeant Andrews). We removed everything of value in the barracks to the street before destroying the building, but nevertheless the sergeant applied to the then county court at Ballyshannon for a claim under the Malicious Injuries Code, and was awarded compensation. In the course of his evidence, he alleged that his family had been ill-treated by the members of the raiding party. This evidence was perjury and, on my attention being drawn thereto, I at once wrote a letter to a local Ballyshannon newspaper, flatly contradicting this untrue statement. The statement was published, and the military authorities in the area seized the newspaper offices and took away the type. On 7 August, Donegal courthouse (immediately adjoining the, then RIC barracks) was completely destroyed by fire. I was in charge of the operation: the kerosene used for the destruction of the barracks was seized from the premises of Mr. John Gallen, Merchant, The Diamond, Donegal. The demolition party were all members of the Donegal company, Irish Volunteers"*- **Acting-Brigadier, Liam O'Duffy**, South Donegal Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1485).

"The attack Mountcharles RIC Barracks took place on the night of the 15th August, 1920. A Sergeant and five police garrisoned the. barracks. The Sergeant's name was Farrelly and the Constables' names were Murray, Scanlan, Bruen, Fleming and Satchwell. The barrack was part of a terrace of houses and the Volunteers occupied positions front and rear of the barrack. This attack upon Mountcharles barrack was in the nature of a supporting operation to a major effort being made on the RIC barracks in Donegal town when a large body of Volunteers had planned to attempt to capture the barracks. The men at Mountcharles had taken up their positions in the front and rear. They opened fire on the barrack. This fire was from one rifle and a number of shotguns. After the first volley was fired a demand was made on the garrison to surrender. The garrison refused to surrender and defended their post. After some time, this sniping operation on Mountcharles was called off" – **V/C Brian Monaghan**, South-West Donegal Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 879).

"In the first week in July 1920, a cycling patrol of four police (RIC) were ambushed at Ballyrush [Co. Sligo*]. I was in charge of this operation and I had under me about eight men. We had a few revolvers and the rest were armed with shotguns. We took up a position behind the fence on the side of the road and in an old house. When the police arrived on the scene, we opened fire on them. They immediately jumped from and abandoned their cycles. Two were wounded and the other two got away across the fields. We captured two revolvers and four cycles from this attack. The police did not carry rifles on this patrol. This was the first ambush in this county as far as I am aware. The captured police were not too badly wounded and having helped them all we could, we put them in a house nearby where they were looked after"* – **Cmdt. Thomas Duignan**, 5th Batt., Sligo Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 894).

The Tura – an ancient carved slab, Glencolmbcille, Co. Donegal. Author's Collection.

Officers of the Athlone IRA (L-R) George Adamson (left), Seán Rhatigan (seated) and his brother Patsy Rhatigan.

A group of Republicans who served in one of the several hunger strikes held at Mountjoy Gaol between 1917 and 1921. Back (L-R), T. Twomey, Tipperary, Christy Lucey (killed in November 1920) & J. Gannon, Dublin; (Front L-R), J.B. O'Driscoll, Skibbereen, Co. Cork, Alec McCabe TD, Sligo & M. Hegarty, Dublin.

14th August 1920

LYNCH, Patrick:

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *A Coy, 2nd Batt., East-Limerick Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 10 April 1870. Son of Patrick Lynch and Ellen Real.
Occupation: Harness Maker.
Address: Coolalough, Hospital, Co. Limerick.
Death: As he prepared for bed, Patrick Lynch answered a knock at the door and was ordered to leave his homestead and accompany a group of soldiers. Dr. Cleary, the local physician, heard several shots fired in the distance from his homestead. A Crown officer would call for Cleary and they attended the scene where Cleary noted Lynch, having a gunshot wound to the head with a considerable loss of blood. Lynch is recorded as a civilian on *DOTIR* and on local information boards in Hospital, Co. Limerick. His military pension file contains verification from Capt. Jeremiah O'Callaghan that Lynch was indeed a member of the Irish Republican Army, however, not militarily active.
Buried: Hospital, Co. Limerick.
MSPC Ref: DP23388.
Newsletter: *The Kilkenny People*, 4 September 1920, p.3.

"A murder verdict against the military was returned at the resumed inquest held by Dr. P.J. Cleary, Coroner, on Monday, concerning the death of Patrick Lynch who was shot at Hospital, Co. Limerick, on August 14. The evidence bore out the story already published that the deceased man was called from his house by the military as he was saying the Rosary with other members of the family, his dead body being subsequently carried back. Lizzie Lynch deposed that on the night of the 14th August, when they were preparing to go to bed, there was a knock at the back door, which was opened and some military in charge of an officer, entered. They read some correspondence belonging to her brother, and the officer asked the witness if she knew anything about Mr. Moloney. She replied that she knew nothing about the gentleman. After looking over the correspondence, the officer said there was nothing in it but 'receipts and things.' He added, 'We will go now, and are very sorry for troubling you.' Her brother asked if they could go to bed now. The officer said yes. The military then went away, and they shut and bolted the door on the inside. They then knelt down to say the Rosary, and when they had just finished, another knock came to the door. Her brother again answered the door. She heard a voice saying, 'Come out, the Sergeant wants you.' Her brother said, 'Wait until I get my cap.' The man outside said, 'You don't need a cap. Come on.' Her brother got his cap and went out. Her sister went to the door, and a voice said, 'Get in and shut the door.' Witness did not see her brother alive afterwards. About half an hour after her brother was taken away, another knock came to the door, and Dr. M.R. Cleary and an officer were outside. The doctor said, 'Is Pat in?' and witness said, 'No, he is gone to the barracks. He was sent for.' The officer said, 'Was he sent for?' and she said, 'Yes.' Doctor Cleary asked was he alive leaving the house, and she said, 'Yes.' The doctor said, 'I think we are in a little trouble.' Her sister said, 'Tell me Doctor, what is it? Is it anything serious?' The doctor said, 'He has been seriously injured.' Witness said to the doctor, 'Has he the priest?' and the doctor said, 'Father Kennedy was with him.' They then went away. Later on, Doctor Cleary and Father Kennedy came to the door, and the doctor then told her that her brother was dead and sometime afterwards her brother's body was brought into the house." – **Kilkenny People**, 4 September 1920, p.3.

"The scene of the tragedy, on the middle of the road, a stone's throw to the south of the village, is marked by a great pool of blood, around which the villagers have placed a ring of stones to prevent traffic passing over it. Beside the pool is a bullet mark in the road" – **Nenagh Guardian**, 21 August 1920, p.4.

"Hospital, the County Limerick village outside which Patrick Lynch, a harness maker, was shot dead by military in gruesome circumstances, was on Sunday night [15 August], *terrorised by machine-gun and rifle fire, the throwing of hand grenades, and the use of Verey lights from the military post in the village. No explanation is forthcoming of the extraordinary display, and on Sunday evening, almost all the frightened inhabitants left their homes and Hospital is now a deserted village"* – **Nenagh Guardian**, 21 August 1920, p.1.

15th August 1920

McNEICE, Francis Patrick:

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *G Coy (Clonmore & Annaghmore), Lurgan Independent Battalion, IRA.*
DOB: 17 July 1898. Born in Annaghmore, Loughgall, Co. Armagh to Francis McNeice and Mary Cotter.
Address: Ardress Lower, Loughgall, Co. Armagh.
Occupation: Farmer's Son.
Death: McNeice died from a gunshot wound to the neck. The wound was caused by a sniper's bullet whilst travelling from Lurgan in a motor car from a GAA match. The occupants, having crossed on the Bannfoot ferry, were pushing their motor up the bank, when they noticed shots being fired towards them by several men in the distance. An occupant of a second car, Frank Donaghy, was also wounded. They were immediately driven to the Maghery Hotel where McNiece was found to have succumbed to the wound. McNiece is recorded as a civilian in *DOTIR*. It was believed that the shooting was carried out by members of the UVF, due to the sound of the rifles being recognised as of German origin. Two years later, another IRA Volunteer, Séamus Robinson, was shot and killed whilst on his way to cross this same ferry. It was alleged that the ferryman had colluded with the attackers in both instances.
Buried: St. John's Chapel, Loughgall, Co. Armagh.
MSPC Ref: DP8345.

"Mr. J.A. Peel, coroner, held an inquest at Ardress Lower, about eight miles from Portadown, on Monday evening, on the body of Francis McNeice, aged 21, son of a farmer, who was shot at the Bann Ferry, in the townland of Derrylard, on Sunday night, when returning from a sports meeting in Lurgan…Francis McNeice said the deceased was his son, and was aged 21 years. He last saw him alive at half-past one o'clock on Sunday, when he left home to go to sports in Lurgan. He had arranged to go by motor with some friends. About eight o'clock in the evening he heard that he had been shot, and about two o'clock that morning he was brought home. Dr. George Dougan Jr. stated that about a quarter-past ten o'clock on Sunday night he received a message and went to Maghery Hotel, where he saw the dead body of the deceased lying on a table. He had a punctured wound on the left side of the neck. He probed the wound, and found that it extended downwards and inwards. He could not find any bullet. Judging from the nature of the wound and the information he received he believed the deceased died from shock, the result of a bullet wound in the neck. He was dead at that time three hours. There were no other marks on the body. The shot was fired from a distance. The one wound was sufficient to cause death. Answering questions by the jury, witness said he thought the bullet was fired out of a revolver. They could call any bullet that was not cased a soft-nosed bullet. The bullet could have been fired from an ordinary sporting gun. A good revolver would kill at 300 yards. Charles Harpur, Moy, deposed that he was the driver of the motor car in which deceased travelled. The other passengers were Felix Devlin, Gavan McNeice, James Valleley, Matthew McNally and James Tennyson, all of Annaghmore. They left Lurgan for home at half-past six o'clock, and he drove to the Ferry at Bannfoot. There were three motor cars behind him also coming from the sports. His car was the first taken across the ferry. When they got over to the Maghery side, they pushed the motor car up the bank. When they were taking the second car across, he heard two shots from the Lurgan side, the bullets passing over his head. He could see a couple of men passing to and fro, two or three hundred yards away. He did not see the shots fired nor did he see firearms in the possession of any person on the other side. More shots were fired and then the crowd ran to take cover except the deceased, who remained in the car. He saw a man named Francis Donaghy, of Moy, running towards the second car, shouting, 'I am hit.' He was taken into the second car and driven towards Moy. Immediately afterwards more shots were fired in the same direction. Witness went to start the car to get away and when he got her started more shots were fired and hit the car, and he took cover, leaving the engine running. In a few seconds he went back to the car, switched off the engine and returned to cover. All this time deceased was lying crouched in the car, where nobody could see him. When witness went back to restart the car, he was lying in the same position, and he heard him moan. He looked at him and saw a wound on the back of his neck which was bleeding. He appeared to be dead. At this time there were five passengers walking ahead. Witness's brother then came up with the third car and after he had passed witness started his car and drove after him to Maghery. He picked up his passengers on the way" – **Belfast Newsletter**, 18 August 1920, p.7.

NEWS FROM 'THE KERRYMAN' 21 August 1920

"A Sergeant and Constable returning from Dungloe to Burtonport [Co. Donegal] *were, according to the Castle report, held up and disarmed by masked and armed men at 6.30 p.m. on Wednesday [18 August 1920]. In addition to four rifles, four revolvers, four bicycles, and fifty rounds of ammunition taken by the raiders who surprised four policemen at Bunninadden, Co. Sligo, it is stated they got a batch of important despatches"* (p.3).

"A public funeral was given this afternoon to the remains of the late Mr. Thomas Farrell, Mary's Lane [Dublin] *who was shot dead on Tuesday morning* [17 August 1920] *by the military while attending a bonfire celebrating the arrival of Archbishop Mannix"* (p.3).

*"***KILLARNEY SINN FÉIN COURT** – *At the hour when a Sinn Féin Court was to be held at Killarney, the District-Inspector and police occupied 'An Dun', but the court was held elsewhere, and 55 cases disposed of. Small fines were imposed for breaches of the closing order regarding licensed premises"* (p.3).

*"***TERRIFYING SCENES IN TEMPLEMORE** – *Following the shooting of District-Inspector Wilson wild scenes were witnessed in Templemore on Monday night* [16 August 1920], *the outbreak, probably being a reprisal for the tragedy. Three hours after the shooting police broke into a garage owned by a Protestant, where they did damage to the extent of £5,000, and carried off several tins of petrol. The petrol was then used to burn the Town Hall or Market House to the ground. Soldiers, it is alleged, joined in the outbreak, which lasted about four hours. Volleys were fired along the streets, several houses were attacked, one shop being looted. During the burning of the Town Hall, it is rumoured a soldier fell from a ladder and was killed. Another report states that a motorcyclist, who arrived during the outbreak, was handcuffed to a statue and maltreated. The creameries at Loughmore, Castleiny and Killea – all near Templemore, were burned down. This makes about a dozen creameries destroyed in Tipperary, all, it is alleged, as reprisals"* (p.2).

*"***SHOTS FROM MOTOR LORRY** – *About 10.15 p.m. last night, a good deal of fright and excitement was created amongst the inhabitants of Blennerville* [Co. Kerry] *by the discharge from a motor lorry passing through a number of shots. When the lorry arrived in Tralee, near Mary Street, three further shots were fired, which terrorised some of the inhabitants of the district."* (p.3).

Blackrock RIC Barracks destroyed, July 1920. Note the slogan 'Remember 1916 – Irishmen Join The IRA.'

Two unidentified IRA Volunteers pose with their revolvers – Tipperary No.3 Brigade.

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NEW COERCION ACT.

TRYING TO SUBDUE IRELAND

DRASTIC BRITISH REGULATIONS.

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On 12 August 1920, knowing large swathes of Ireland was becoming ungovernable, the Restoration of Order in Ireland was given Royal Assent, thus giving Westminster the power to enforce military courts of inquiry instead of coroner inquests; Local Authorities, most of which held Nationalist / Republican majorities, would face fund suspension for their disloyalty to the British system and stiffer sentences would be imposed for rebellious activities by military courts-martial.

McMAHON, Joseph:

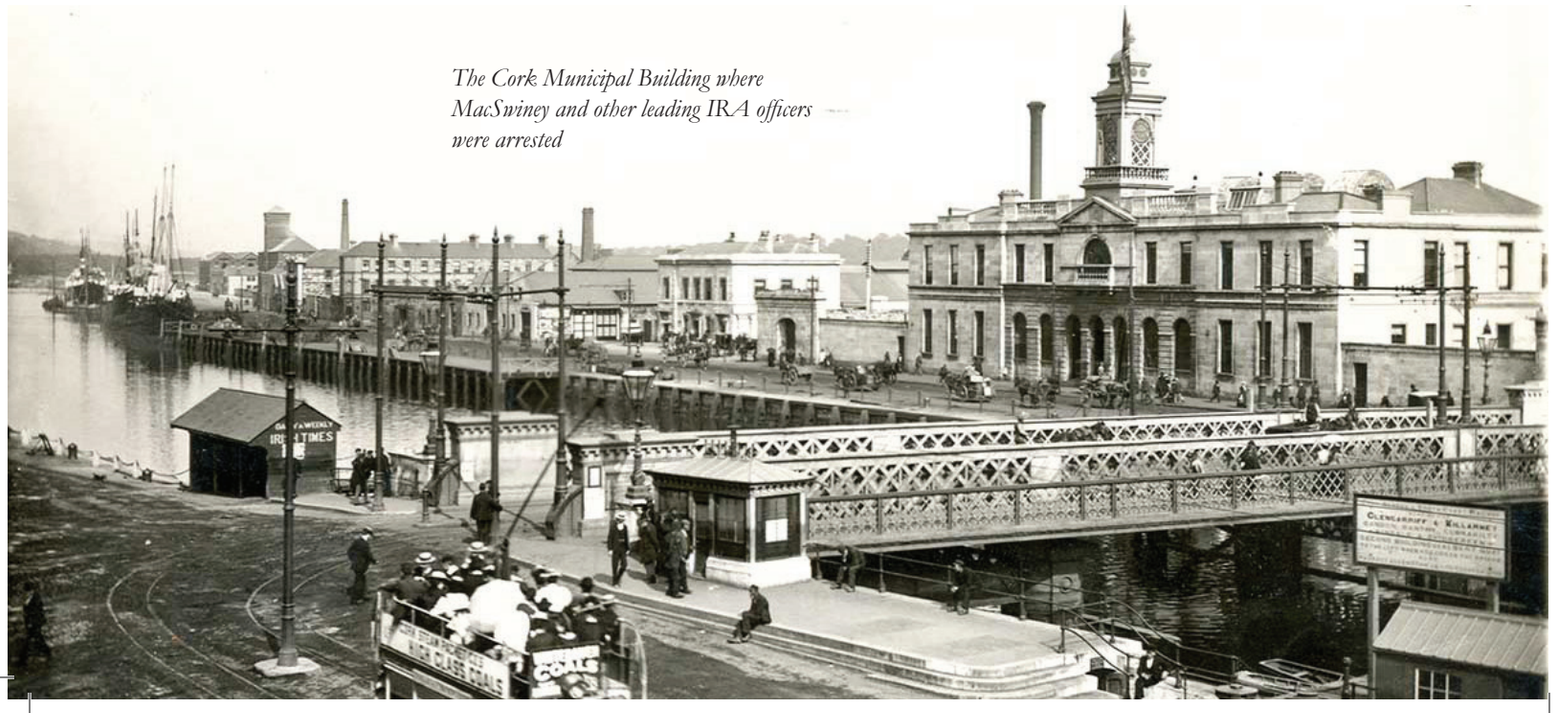
Rank: Captain / Signals & Explosives Instructor.
Unit: *GHQ (Training), IRA. McMahon had been attached to the New Ross Coy, Wexford Bde, I.V, while participating in training duties.*
DOB: 5 June 1893. Son of Martin McMahon and Honor Murphy.
Address: Laccarowmore, Kilmaley, Ennis, Co. Clare.
Occupation: Coachbuilder.
Death: Having invigorated IRA units in Kilkenny and Wexford, McMahon was sent to County Cavan to militarily prepare the Brigade as he had with others. On the run for the killing of DI Percival Lea-Wilson in Gorey, Co. Wexford, in June 1920, McMahon used the alias of Dennis McCarthy. On 15 August 1920, whilst demonstrating the use of grenades to volunteers in Oldtown, Co. Cavan, one prematurely exploded killing McMahon.
Buried: Kilmaley, Co. Clare.
Image Source: Claire Reilly.
MSPC Ref: 1D147.

"*Around the middle of August 1920, a very sad affair took place outside Cavan town. There was a man named Joseph McMahon, who came from Kilmealy (sic), Co. Clare, residing in Cavan town, where he worked as a coach-painter or coach-builder. I believe he had come to Cavan in connection with the Belfast Boycott which was in full swing at this time. He was an ardent Volunteer. This man, with Patrick Roche, who was Intelligence Officer for the Cavan Battalion, and some others were testing a home-made bomb outside Cavan town at a place called Oldtown. This was 15th August, which was a Catholic holiday. The bomb was thrown but failed to explode. McMahon and Roche, who was from Mayo, and the others went forward to examine the unexploded bomb. McMahon picked it up and was examining it when it exploded. McMahon was killed outright and Roche had his hand blown off*" – **Seán Sheridan**, Cavan Brigade, IRA (BMH-WS 1613).

THE ARREST OF TERENCE MacSWINEY TD & THE START OF THE HUNGER STRIKE

"After Tomás' murder, Terry thought he should take his place, it meant of course the end of his life. He was arrested in August 1920 at a session of the corporation in the Town Hall…I and my little daughter were at a tiny little place on the sea coast near Youghal when this happened. Terry had been going to come to stay with us on the day he was arrested, he said to me when we were leaving. "I dont see why, I should not have a holiday. Dick Mulcahy is having one, shall I come to you or not?" I said, "you may as well." Usually at this time we were not openly together because I was a mark by which the English Imperialists and their allies, Irish Imperialists and Redmondites, would find Terry and kill him but at this juncture they knew all the hiding places so that he was not much worse off with us" – **Mrs. Muriel MacSwiney**, Cork (BMH-WS 637).

"In the month of August 1920, I received a dispatch from Florrie O'Donoghue, Brigade Intelligence Officer, instructing me to shoot an RIC sergeant in Cobh, whose name I cannot now remember…I came to Cobh, made the necessary inquiries, but found there was no RIC sergeant of the name given me in the town. I, therefore, decided to go in to Cork, see Florrie and get a description of the wanted man who might be in Cobh but under another name. The following morning, I went by boat across the harbour to Passage West and thence by rail to Cork. I inquired the whereabouts of Florrie O'Donoghue and found he was in the City Hall, Cork, with Terry MacSwiney, then lord Mayor of Cork. I went to the City Hall, saw Florrie and got the description of the RIC man. It was then my intention to return to Cobh to carry out the shooting, when Terence MacSwiney told me that there was to be a meeting of the senior officers of the Cork Brigades that night in the City Hall, about 8 p.m. Although I only ranked as a Battalion Commandant at the time, Terry ordered me to stay and attend the meeting. I attended the meeting at the time appointed. In the main hall of the City Hall, a Republican Court was in progress while our meeting was on. We were not very long in session when word was brought that the military had surrounded the building and had begun searching it. We left the room and made for a concealed exit to a hiding place somewhere between the ceiling and the roof. I remember a key to this hideout being missing and Terry MacSwiney sending someone to another room to get it. The soldiers, meantime, were getting closer to where we were, so it was decided to get out into the backyard and the work-shops at the rear of the City Hall, in the hope of getting away in that direction. I went to climb a gate out of the yard when a bullet, fired by a soldier in the laneway outside, whizzed by my head. I jumped back into the yard. We now realised that escape was impossible, so we got into one of the carpenter's workshops where we were captured by the military. I cannot remember the names of all those taken prisoner that night, but I do remember the following: Terence MacSwiney, Lord Mayor and O/C, Cork No. I Brigade; Seán Hegarty, Vice O/C, Florrie O'Donoghue, Brigade I/O; Dom Sullivan, Brigade Adjutant; Liam Deasy, Adjutant, Cork No. 3; 'Sandow' Donovan, O/C, City Battalion, and Nick Murphy, O/C. 2nd Battalion, Cork City. There were about twelve of us in all. The military officer in charge posted sentries at either end of the workshop with orders to shoot if we attempted to escape. I was in a pretty awkward predicament, as I had in my pocket the dispatch from Florrie O'Donoghue, instructing me to shoot the RIC man in Cobh. Terry MacSwiney, too, had notes taken at our meeting. We collected in a group and Terry and I tore up our papers into small pieces and threw them into the wood shavings on the floor of the workshop. The "Tommy" spotted us and shouted not to destroy papers. I said 'Ok' and threw some pieces to him; they, too, dropped into the shavings. The boys then 'milled around' so that it would be impossible for anybody to put the pieces of notes together again" – **Cmdt. Mick Leahy**, 4th Batt., Cork No.1 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1421).



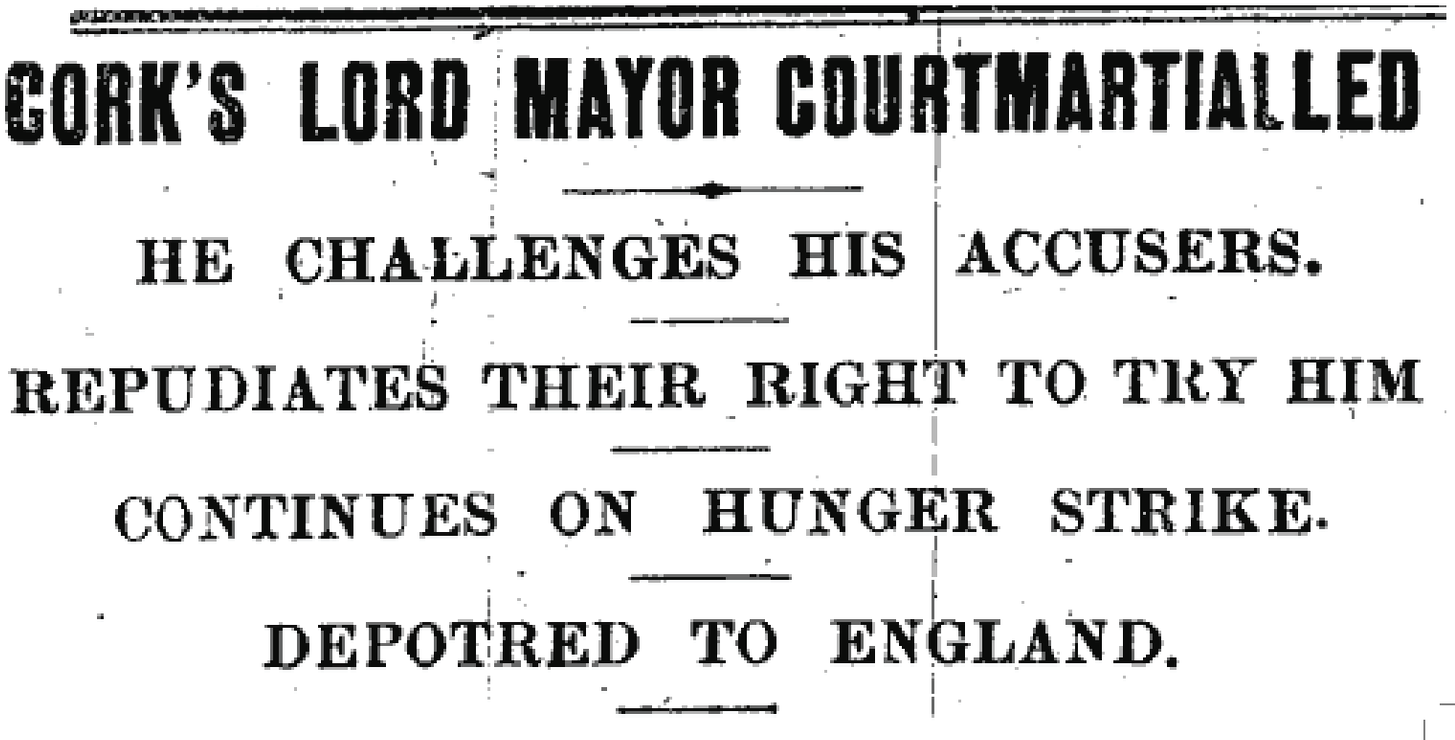
The Cork Municipal Building where MacSwiney and other leading IRA officers were arrested

"When the British officer arrived back to where we were the sentry reported about us destroying papers. Terry MacSwiney and I were questioned. I said I had torn up a letter from a girlfriend. Terry adopted a different attitude, saying that what had been destroyed were papers appertaining to his office as Lord Mayor. He also protested strongly of the insult to his office as chief citizen of the city. Terry was very dignified in his dealings then and subsequently with the British authorities…All of us gave false names when questioned, with the exception of Terry MacSwiney, who gave his correct name and title of "Lord Mayor of Cork". We were kept in Cork Detention Barracks for a day, when we went on hunger strike. We were then transferred to the Military Barracks, where we were again interrogated by military intelligence officers. Needless to say, we denied having any connection with the IRA or Sinn Féin. After five days in the barracks, we were astounded to learn that we were to be released; that is, all of us with the exception of Terry MacSwiney. We could scarcely credit our good fortune on being released and we lost no time in getting out of the city. It was lucky we did so, because, not two hours after we had left the barracks, a most intensive round-up took place in the city. Thousands of soldiers were engaged searching every conceivable building. It is my firm belief that the British military intelligence was so poor at the time that, with the exception of Terry MacSwiney, who was a well-known public man, they (the British) had no idea then they held us prisoners as to who we really were; but that, shortly after our being released, they realised, for what reason I cannot say, that they had, in fact, made a most important capture which they had let slip through their fingers" – **Mick Leahy**

"I was on this hunger strike for eleven days and, in between, we had some interesting happenings. There were between fifty and sixty on strike and after the seventh day some of the lads were removed to England. On the Sunday following my arrest, when attending Mass in the Prison Chapel, I was surprised to see Liam Lynch (Cork No.2 Brigade O/C) and three or four others whom I knew in the Chapel. Liam had been arrested in the City Hall with Terry MacSwiney, where the enemy, without knowing it, had made a big capture which included almost all the 1st Brigade Staff, and Liam Lynch and a few others from the 2nd Brigade. Practically all, except Terry MacSwiney, were released a short time later, as they had given false names on arrest and had convinced the authorities that they were in the City Ball for business or other legal reasons. While we were in the jail, Liam Lynch met me one morning outside the wings of the exercise compound and told me he had a map of the Brigade area, with all the Battalions and Company areas marked up on it. I got him to slip it to me practically under the nose of one of the warders and got rid of it in double quick time by tearing it in small pieces and dumping in a lavatory" – **Cmdt. Patrick O'Brien**, Cork Gaol /Cork No.2 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 764).

"I went to the court-martial in Cork Barracks. Mary MacSwiney came to the little place we were at and took charge of the baby during this time At this date, the Volunteers did not recognise the British alien courts whether military or lay, but Terry said he would defend himself because he was Mayor of Cork elected by the will of the people there were three indictments. Having police code was one, being able to use it was another I forget the third Terry said that of course he had the code and was able to use it, but that the he was the only person in Cork entitled to both these things, or somebody authorised by him which the British were not. He had already at this time been on hunger strike several days. He was taken to England in a submarine and arrived in London at two in the morning for fear of demonstrations" – **Muriel MacSwiney**.

"Should you sentence me to imprisonment, I have determined that I shall be free, alive or dead within the month. You know the course I have adopted since Thursday last"
– Terence MacSwiney



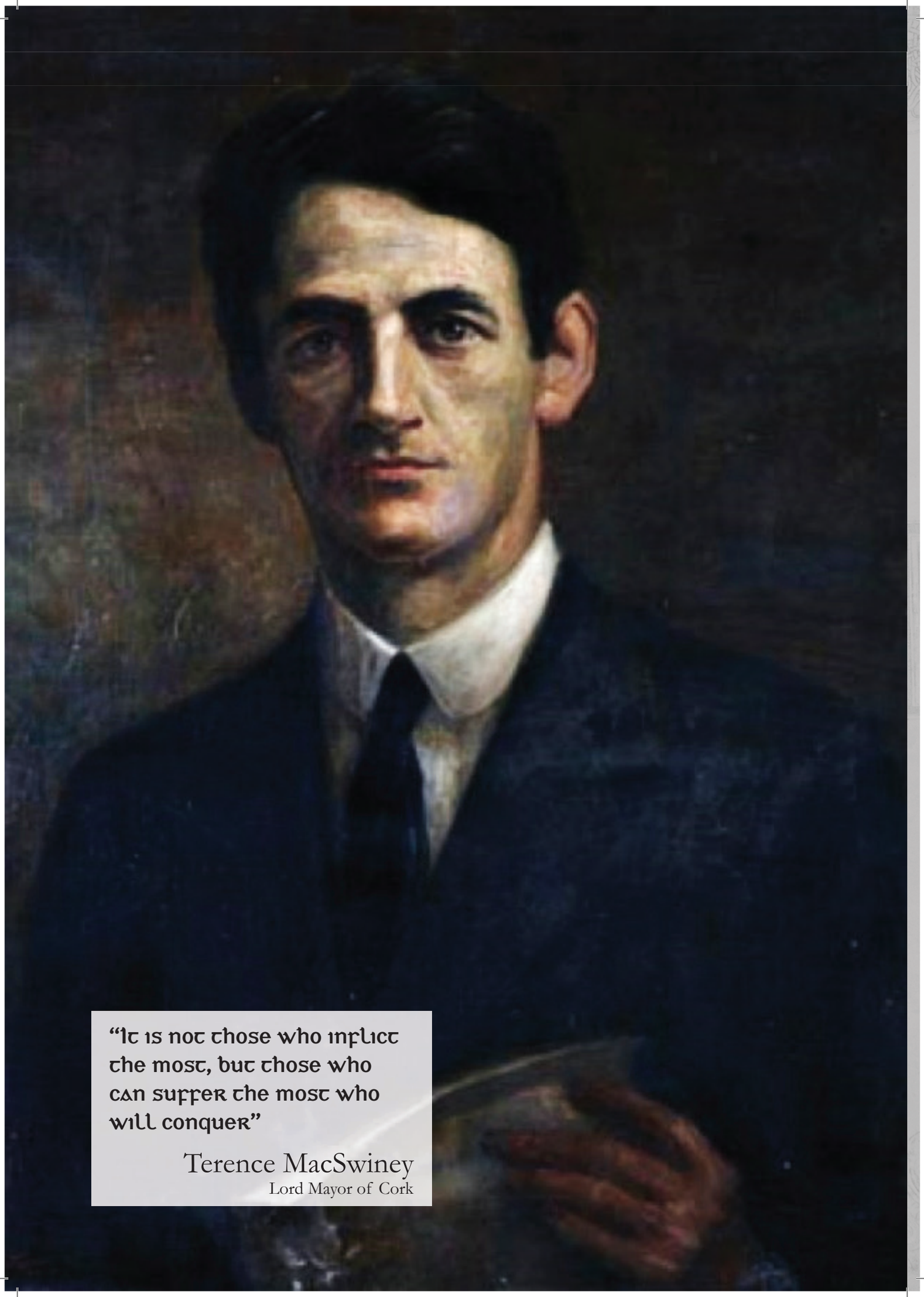
CORK'S LORD MAYOR COURTMARTIALLED

HE CHALLENGES HIS ACCUSERS.

REPUDIATES THEIR RIGHT TO TRY HIM

CONTINUES ON HUNGER STRIKE.

DEPOTRED TO ENGLAND.


"It is not those who inflict the most, but those who can suffer the most who will conquer"
Terence MacSwiney
Lord Mayor of Cork

16th August 1920

CLANCY, Patrick:

Rank: Vice-Brigadier.
Unit: *Cork No. 2 Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 20 December 1891. Son of Edmond Clancy and Margaret Collins, of Cush, Kilfinane, Co. Limerick.
Address: Cush, Kilfinane, Co. Limerick.
Occupation: Creamery Manager / County Councillor (Sinn Féin) & Vice-Chairman of Kanturk R.D.C.
Death: When units from the Kanturk Battalion, IRA, unsuccessfully fired upon a downed military airplane, the British military decided to lead a swoop on the district, targeting homesteads of known Republicans. When the military came close to O'Connell's homestead at Derrygallon, near Kanturk, Co. Cork, the pair decided to flee barefoot. They were both chased and killed. Clancy had a large slash wound on his back, indicating that he had received a bayonet wound. Their remains displayed sufficient evidence of a brutal death. Over 5,000 people attended the funeral services with the shops in Kanturk closing as a mark of respect.
Buried: Kilfinane, Co. Limerick.
MSPC Ref: 1D10.

O'CONNELL, Seán (Jack):

Rank: Commandant.
Unit: *5th Batt., Cork No.2 Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 2 June 1893. Son of Thomas Connell and Hannah Fitzgerald.
Address: Derrygallon, Kanturk, Co. Cork.
Occupation: Draper's Clerk.
Death: See CLANCY, Patrick.
Buried: Dromtariff, Co. Cork.
MSPC Ref: 1D91.

"With Jack O'Connell in charge, Mick Courtney, Jim Hayes, Jerry Murphy, Ned O'Donoghue, Seán Kennedy, Cornelius Foley, Denis Murphy, Thos. O'Riordan, Mick Crowley, Danny O'Neill, Con Cunningham, Jack McCarthy and about ten others from the Millstreet Battalion, moved to the vicinity of the place winch was located in the corner of a field. On our arrival it was noticed that the Guard, less a sentry on duty, had made a fire and were sitting around it with their rifles stacked near them. Our intention was to fire a volley into them and then rush the position and which ruse would in all probability have proved successful. Unfortunately, however, an incident occurred which upset all our plans, for before we were actually in position one of our men, Con Cunningham, who had a Mauser rifle with one round loaded, in the excitement of the moment fired at the sentry shooting him dead. This unexpected happening upset our proposed plan completely and when the shot was fired the other members of the guard hurriedly grasped their rifles and commenced a rapid volley of fire into the hedges where the majority of us were located only thirty to forty yards away. Those Volunteers in position returned the fire and an exchange of shots, continued for about fifteen minutes and eventually our party withdrew. None of the, Kanturk Volunteers was wounded but two of the Millstreet were wounded - not seriously. The result of this action was a big disappointment to us for not alone would we have struck a big blow at the enemy's morale, but, even more important, we would have augmented our limited supply of arms by about twenty rifles and ammunition, plus whatever weapons were carried on the plane" – **QM Jeremiah Murphy**, 4th Batt., Cork No.2 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 744).

"There was nothing beyond the usual training activities until 14th August 1920, when the company O/C (Dan T. O'Riordan) received word that a British military plane had made a forced landing at Drominagh. He immediately mobilised a party of about

five or six to go to the scene of the crash which was just across the border of our company area in Kanturk Battalion. When our party, which included Dan T. O'Riordan, Denis Galvin, Matt Murphy and Humphrey O'Donoghue (witness) reached the vicinity of Drominagh, we found that the guard on the plane had already been attacked and the IRA attacking party were withdrawing. This attack was a failure. The party from Cullen Company now returned home. It was about 3 a.m" – **Lieut. Humphrey O'Donoghue**, Cullen Coy, 7th Batt., Cork No.2 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1351).

"Following the shooting of the sentry mentioned above, the Kanturk Company remained on the alert on the nights of the 14th and 15th August as we anticipated reprisals. Nothing untoward happened, however, on these two nights. On the night of the 14th August, Paddy Clancy, who had been home on annual holidays in East Limerick, returned to Kanturk. He was employed as a Creamery Manager in Allen's Bridge, near' Newmarket. Paddy knew nothing, of course, of the proposed attack on the aeroplane party and it was later that night he returned. At this time, Paddy Clancy held the appointment of Vice Brigadier of the old Cork No. 2 Brigade. On the morning of August 16th Paddy Clancy and Jack O'Connell went back to O'Connell home in Derrygallon for a rest as both of them had been on vigil for the previous two nights. Jack O'Connell was a draper's assistant in town and on that day, he was commencing his annual holidays. The two of them moved across a high field overlooking the town on their way to O'Connell's home and must have been seen by some enemy agent, for the information was conveyed to the RIC and military. It was rumoured that a daughter of an ex-soldier and friendly with the troops saw them and gave the game away, but this rumour could not be definitely verified. However, late that morning a detachment of military with Sergeant Dennehy, RIC, as a guide, surrounded O'Connell's home. A sister of Jackie, who saw the military surrounding the house, immediately ran into the house and awakened the two lads who were asleep in bed. The two lads got up and only put on their trousers, decided to make a run for it and try and fight their way through. (The farmhouse had no back entrance). Immediately they were observed at the door, the military opened fire and Paddy Clancy, who was getting over a fairly high wire fence from farmyard into a copse, was fatally wounded. Jack O'Connell succeeded in getting about 50 yards away into a clump of trees before being killed. When the troops found his body some of them used their bayonets on it. Both the bodies were badly ripped up and from the proceedings of an enquiry held subsequently at the old Kanturk Workhouse, the details of which were published later in the "Cork Examiner", it was stated that dum-dum ammunition had been used by the enemy that morning. The two bodies were waked in O'Connell's house that night, which was only about three miles from Kanturk. The Kanturk and Darrygallon Companies supplied the guards. On that same night a detachment of the Lancers from Mallow visited the locality, but did not enter O'Connell's house. Jack O'Connell was buried at Dromtariffe and a huge concourse of people followed the remains. Our Company supplied the funeral party. Liam Lynch, George Power and many other officers and men from adjoining units attended. Similarly, all Brigade units were represented at Paddy Clancy's funeral. As the funeral cortege passed through the town preceded by the Derrygallon Company, the military were confined to barracks. The funeral party actually had to pass the barracks. Many members of the Kanturk Battalion and other units of the Brigade accompanied the remains to his native burial place at Kilfinane. When the funeral party was passing through Charleville it was held up by the military, who removed the tricolour from the coffin and mourning armlets from members of the funeral party. Their death cast a big gloom over the whole district, for, in addition to being extremely popular with all classes, they were also the makings of two great soldiers who would undoubtedly have made their mark when the fight became hotter in later months" – **QM Jeremiah Murphy**.

The funeral cortege of Clancy and O'Connell, August 1920, Co. Cork.

The memorial erected in 1970 to commemorate Paddy Clancy and Jack O'Connell, close to where they were killed on 16 August 1920, Derrygallon, Kanturk, Co. Cork.

"*The printed form, on which I had signed my name to the Republican oath, was on the table one day in Mrs.* [Alice Stopford Green] *Green's office when I answered the door. On this occasion the raiders were wearing sneakers, and so came noiselessly. They took the tablecloth by its four corners and went away with everything that had been lying there. A few days later Mrs. Green's papers were returned, but I never saw the oath form again. Shortly after this, there was another raid at No.90* [St. Stephen's Green, Dublin] *late at night; this time by uniformed Auxiliaries. Once again, I opened the door, this time in my nightgown. I was pushed backwards by the leader of the raiding party until my head hurt, pressed hard against the wall. He forced his revolver into my mouth…My mouth was full of steel. 'We know you. Your mother kept a school in Wexford. You are the bad one of the family,' he said…Another raid at No.90 took the form of a manhunt. The Auxiliaries rushed in, with drawn revolvers, shouting that they had been fired on. They were careful not to have any lights behind them when they went upstairs or to the garden door – but not beyond it. The Iveagh Gardens were out there, and 76 Harcourt Street backed onto the gardens, and some hundreds of private houses and hotels, any of which might have been sinister to them. There was a night too when the house was full of Crown forces and Mrs. Green stood disdainfully at the head of the stairs, outside her bedroom door. She was motionless, her proud face ringed with slightly dishevelled white hair, her brocade gown falling to her feet, with hands clasped low in front of her. The fullness of figure, from which I quickly turned my eyes, was not due to corpulence but to a whole file of 'The Irish Bulletin,' which she saved from capture that night. Not long after this raid we were at a meeting of the Dáil Éireann lecture committee in Erskine Childers' home in Bushy Park Road when the man whose revolver was thrust into my mouth previously walked into the room at the head of his squad. He told us half mockingly that he had not needed to knock at the door because when he was a boy his uncle, by the name of Taylor, had lived in the Childers's house. It was then we christened him 'Taylor's Nephew'. He asked for our names, which were not forthcoming, as his eyes travelled from one to the other around our group. 'I know you,' he said to Mrs. Green, whereupon, directing her remarks at me, she retorted – 'He knows us, even when we are dressed,' referring to the previous raid in No.90, when 'Taylor's Nephew' stuck his gun into my mouth, and we were both in our night attire"* – **Máire Comerford**, Cumann na mBan, *On Dangerous Ground*, p.166-167.

MILITARY AMOK IN DUBLIN

FIRING IN CROWDED STREETS.

SCENES OF TERROR

CASUALTIES AMONGST CIVILIANS.

SOLDIERS IN THE RIVER

rushed along the corridor to get out of the way of the firing. The other wounded man and myself were taken into a room and attended by some doctors who were amongst the people taking refuge in the theatre. In the rush along the corridor while the firing was going on five or six people fell, but I don't know if they were shot." Mr. O'Reilly was conveyed to the Meath Hospital at 9.30 and attended by the house surgeon, Dr. Shipsey, and Dr. Maguire.

WOUNDED AND RUN DOWN.

John Price, 4 St. Augustine St., aged 22, employed by Mr. M'Carthy, grocer,

ANOTHER DARING MAIL SEIZURE

THIRTY BAGS CAPTURED

REMARKABLE ALERTNESS OF THE RAIDERS

About 30 armed men seized all the cross-Channel mails addressed to Dublin Castle, the Viceregal Lodge, etc., near Westland Row railway station on Sat.

PART OF LIMERICK IN FLAMES

POLICE OUTBURST IN MIDDAY

HOSPITAL TRAGEDY

MAN TAKEN FROM HOUSE AND SHOT DEAD

came in he apologised for disturbing them, and told them they could go to bed.

When they had left the family finished the Rosary. "We had just risen from our knees," Miss Lynch went on, "about a quarter of an hour later, when a loud knock came to the front door. My brother opened the door when he was met by a soldier, who said "The sergeant wants you." My brother said "Wait till I get my cap." "Oh," said the soldier, "never mind about the cap." My brother then went away with him. My sister Annie went to close the door after him when a soldier standing outside said "Keep in!

TERROR IN LIMERICK, 15 AUGUST 1920

"Limerick, Hospital and Tralee have been the chief scenes of the latest episodes in Munster's reign of terror. In Limerick, a policeman named Nathan was shot coming from church, the police asserting that he was shot by a civilian, while others say the affair was accidentally caused by one of his comrades. Wild scenes followed the tragedy. Volley after volley was fired by the police over the heads of a crowd on the railway platform, windows were broken, and shops and houses were burned to the ground in the streets round the railway station…Portion of Limerick City was partly wrecked yesterday following the death of a policeman. Constable Nathan was shot while coming from Church, and died subsequently in the military hospital…At 1 p.m., a large crowd were waiting to travel by the train to Limerick Junction, when a body of armed police marched onto the platform. Some of the constables at once began to search some passengers and to indulge in some objectionable language. The train was held up, and exciting scenes followed, many houses being wrecked and burned…Some firing occurred in Carey's Road, as a result of which a son of Dr. Graham was wounded in the leg and an English constable was also injured. This occurrence on Carey's Road was not to the hundreds who were on the railway premises and who had suddenly to seek shelter from flying bullets. The people ran down the platform, taking cover wherever they could, while volley after volley was discharged. Some of the women fainted, others fled with their children, while many hissed, 'Cowards,' at the policemen who still continued to fire. Fortunately, no one was injured. With the departure of the policemen from the railway, a new chapter opened. Mr. Bermingham's public-house at Parnell Street corner, facing the railway station was set on fire…In Parnell St, High St and Cornmarket Row houses were burned. The burnings in High St include the grocery and spirit establishment of Mr. M. Griffin. In High St, several houses were blazing away at one time. All this, the citizens allege, was the work of the 'Black and Tans'" – **Irish Independent**, 16 August 1920, p.5.

THE WAR IN THE MIDLANDS

"After this, a general raid for arms was made in the area. This was also a country-wide operation. Every house, known to have arms of any sort, was visited. In most cases, it was only a matter of asking for the arms and they were handed up, as the people were sympathetic to us. We collected a large amount of material, mostly shot-guns. We did succeed in getting a few sporting rifles. These were got from Lord Granard's Place. We also collected a few good .22 rifles. We collected a fair amount of shot-gun ammunition and also some ammunition for the sporting rifles. We did not get any service rifles. Quite a lot of the people volunteered what arms they had to us. All these arms were placed in dumps which were made of large drain pipes dug into the ground" – **V/C. Michael Murphy**, 2nd Batt., Longford Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 479).

"On 5th August, 1920, a further general raid for arms was carried out by the various companies. This time the British authorities had issued an order that all owners of firearms, including shotguns, should hand them in at the nearest RIC barracks or military post by a certain date. It was to circumvent this order that the general raid was carried out. Again, in most cases, the owners co-operated with us and willingly handed over the guns when we called for them. In my own area, two or three Protestant farmers co-operated in a unique manner. They sent me word of the time and date on which they proposed to travel to Birr with the guns to hand them over, and I was thus able to intercept them and get the guns before they reached the military or police" – **V/C Patrick Riordan**, 4th Batt., Offaly No.2 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1688).

"The British Intelligence officer in Athlone was a Captain Tully. This man was believed to be a dangerous enemy and we were instructed by Michael Collins to have him shot. Tully had the reputation of wearing chain mail or some type of body armour. I pointed out to Collins what Sergeant Craddock had done to Joe Cunningham and what he would do to Athlone in the event of Captain Tully being shot. Collins then told me to shoot Craddock first and Tully afterwards. Craddock was a very nasty type and was continually looking for or trying to make trouble. At this interview with Collins, I was appointed Competent Military Authority for County Westmeath with power of life or death. This meant that I could have a person executed without, reference to GHQ. I would, of course, have to be sure of my ground and be responsible for my actions to GHQ…I now decided to have Sergeant Craddock eliminated and made plans accordingly. The following men volunteered to shoot Craddock: Jim Tormey, George

Manning, Brian Mulvihill, Con Costello and myself. I think Bill Murray was also a volunteer. The scouts who were to watch for Craddock and report his movements were George Cosgrave and Seán Rattigan. No one else knew anything about the affair. On six different occasions we thought we had Craddock but he seemed to be lucky and avoided us. These were at the Flat Bridge, outside the Post Office, and outside the RIC Barracks. He used to post the mail at the Post Office but, although we waited there for him on three nights, he never turned up. On a Friday night we arranged to meet the following Saturday night at a dance in the Foresters' Hall to make further arrangements. The men asked me if they got a chance to do the job on Saturday, should they do it, and I said that any time they got a chance they should take it. Craddock was on patrol on Saturday night, being in charge of about eight police on duty, so the boys gave up hope for that day. While some of them were on their way home on that Saturday night, they chanced to see Craddock going into the Soldier's Club, apparently having finished his patrol duty. This seemed to be a good chance and they contacted Con Costello and some of the other boys who waited outside the Club for Craddock to come out. About midnight, Sergeant Craddock, accompanied by Constable Mahon, came out of the Club. Fire was opened on him by our men with revolvers and he was instantly wounded, but continued to fight it out with his revolver until he was shot dead. Mahon got away. George Manning received a bullet through his trousers. Jim Tormey was first to hit Craddock and then followed Mahon who had bolted to his house. Tormey fired three shots at Mahon but each time his gun misfired. The men who took part in this incident were: Jim Tormey, Con Costello, George Manning and Brian Mulvihill" – **Brigadier Séumas O'Meara**, Westmeath Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1504).

"I ordered the men to fall in, and handed out the arms which had been in our possession prior to the previous night's capture… The officers then took over, and marched off their units to the road outside, one section taking the Longford Road, the party for the front of the barracks going with them, led by a guide. The attacking party under Seán Connolly and myself moved off towards Ballymahon, towards the rear of the barracks from Moy. We passed through Moy House grounds. Bernard Garrahan served as scout and guide. We reached the barracks at approximately twelve midnight. Connolly moved into Donohue's, the saddler's, which adjoined the barracks. Séamus Conway and others were with me at the rear. Conway fired one of his grenades, which was of the percussion type, but it failed to explode. At the same time, fire was opened on front and rear of the barracks, once Connolly had succeeded in getting into Donohue's. Here, an episode, which was fortunate for us in our campaign, took place. Notwithstanding our so-called good intelligence system, we were not aware that one sergeant and a body of men left the barracks every night at 11 o'clock, took up position in out-offices, some distance away from the rear of the barracks, and played a very hectic game of cards there until midnight. Sergeant Hamilton assured me, years afterwards, that, when the first shot was fired on the night of the attack, he had his finger on the latch of the back door, marching out with his men. They were thus kept in the barracks by the fact that we opened fire on arrival. It is difficult to visualise what would have happened had the RIC occupied the out-offices before our arrival. In the meantime, Seán Connolly had made the breach from Donoghue's into Lloyd's. He sent out word to join him. Leaving Conway in charge, I proceeded to Donoghue's, and from there to Lloyd's. The house was empty downstairs. We had flashlamps. We decided to rush the stairs, which we did, one or two men entering each room simultaneously. All the rooms were empty except one, which contained all the members of the Lloyd family and the wives of two RIC men. There was a young Lloyd lying seriously ill in a bed. They were all in various stages of dress and undress. We carried the young Lloyd boy who was ill out of the house, through the hole in Donoghue's wall, and put him, with his parents and the other members of the family, into a house some distance dawn from the barracks, in the laneway at the end of Donoghue's. Seán Connolly proceeded with the making of an opening through the roof of Lloyd's house. He ordered Leo Baxter, who was six foot, three inches, in height, to cut down the ceiling of the roof with an axe, but the roof was high, and, to enable him to use his full strength at it, a table had to be pulled over. Leo cut a hole through the roof very quickly. Then, as arranged, Connolly called on the garrison to surrender, but they refused to do so. Connolly then broke an opening in the roof over the barracks, and told the garrison he was inserting a bomb. He was told that they would still not surrender. He then lit the fuse, and threw a 7 lb. grenade, of the cartbox type, into the barracks between the roof and the ceiling. It exploded there, blowing a large hole in the roof, and practically tearing away the whole ceiling and floor of the room above and below. In the meantime, the garrison had moved to the other half of the house. The warning had given them an opportunity to save their lives. They were called on to surrender, and again they refused. They were told that "Black Bess" was going in, that is, the bomb made of sulphur, brimstone, red pepper, etc. It fell through the roof and ceiling, and down to the bottom floor before exploding. The explosion sent the fumes of gas all over the barracks. The garrison then surrendered and marched out, falling in on the footpath at the Protestant church…Brady's car and Maguire's van were brought along to the barracks, and the captured arms were put into them and taken away. These included, shotguns, revolvers, Verey pistols, boxes of egg-bombs, and the telephone, which we removed. It was a complete capture. No one was injured on either side." – **Cmdt. Seán MacEoin**, Longford Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1716 – Section 2).

"It shall be the first duty of the Republic to secure that no child shall suffer hunger or cold"
– Liam Mellows

BEFORE THE LAST BATTLE

God, we enter our last fight;
Thou dost see our cause is right;
Make us march now in Thy sight
On to victory.
Let us not Thy wrath deserve,
In the sacred cause we serve;
Let us not from danger swerve;
Teach us how to die;
Death for some is in reserve,
Before our flag can fly.

All the agony of years
All the honours, all the fears,
Martyr's blood, survivor's tears,
Now we offer Thee,
As an endless holocaust,
For the freedom we have lost;
God restore it, though the cost
Greater still must be;
Let Thy grace attend our host
On to victory.

See, we open our own hearts,
Every wrong that in them smarts,
Every secret pain that starts,
We, too, offer Thee.
Every dearest hope's decease,
Every fear that rocks our peace,
Every cross with pain's increase,
Burthened though we be;
Sacrifice that shall not cease,
Till our land be free.

Thou hold'st freedom in Thy Hand,
Thou can'st liberate our land,
Hear us: Grant our one demand:
Ireland's liberty.
We ask not her chains to rive,
And the sacred deed survive
That we may rejoice alive
In her victory.
We but ask that she shall thrive,
And rest our fate with Thee.

We know not what must befall,
Marching at our country's call;
Make us strong who must yield all,
That she may not die.
Those who will survive the fight,
Still attend them with Thy light;
Thou, our hope in darkest night,
Then their guardian be;
And hold our dear land in Thy sight,
Erect and firm and free.

Terence MacSwiney,

Brixton Prison, London
1920

20th August 1920

KENNEDY, Patrick (Paddy):

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *B Coy (Annascaul), 5th Batt, Kerry No.1 Brigade, IRA.*
DOB: 20 January 1891. Son of Patrick Kennedy and Julia Flaherty.
Address: Annascaul, Dingle, Co. Kerry.
Occupation: Farmer / Publican.
Death: Kennedy was shot and killed in an act of reprisal for the successful Ballinaclar ambush that he had partaken in only two days prior, which resulted in the captured soldiers of the East Lancashire Regiment being treated honourably following their surrender. Kennedy was shot in the head by a soldier of the East Lancashire Regiment while he and three other locals tried to hide from the random shooting that was happening in Gurteen, Co. Kerry. A local farmhand, John Mannix, was granted permission to fetch a priest but was fired on by an armoured car as he done so. He survived unscathed. This was denied by the British authorities in their press statement but was verified by the three surviving witnesses at the inquest.
Buried: Ballinacourty Graveyard, Co. Kerry.
Image Source: The Moore Collection.

"Mr. D.J. Browne, solicitor, appeared on behalf of the next-of-kin, and at the outset, in addressing the jury, said he wished to tell them that he would produce conclusive and unimpeachable evidence to show that Patrick Kennedy was deliberately, foully and cruelly shot without the slightest provocation or excuse, and that the inhuman and callous crime was committed by the army operating in the country with the pretended object of the welfare of the people. The high placed civil and military authorities who devised and organised the plans by reason of the instructions to the troops, were as much, if not more responsible, in the eyes of the world for the death of Patrick Kennedy as the man who pulled the trigger. Deceased was a farmer and publican residing in Aunascaul (sic), 28 years of age, and by his quiet and admirable manner he earned the esteem and respect of his fellow countrymen…Dr. Kane deposed he made a post-mortem examination on the body of Patrick P. Kennedy, whom he knew from childhood, at Aunascaul. He found a wound on the face over the malar bone on the left side. On probing the wound to a depth of about 12 inches along the course of the wound he found that the malar bone underneath the surface wound was shattered to pieces and the upper and low maxillary bones on the left side were broken and in pieces. The probe he used went along the course of the wound from the surface entrance into the neck. There was no exit wound. The course or direction of the bullet was almost directly downwards and death must have taken place almost immediately after the wound was inflicted, which would be caused by a rifle or revolver bullet…John Mannix, a schoolboy, aged 17 years, living at Gurteens, deposed on Friday, 20 August, he was saving hay with the deceased, Patrick Kennedy, on his farm. In the afternoon, after leaving the field, they heard a few shots.

Having heard two or three shots they took cover near the fence. On that day, and the previous day, he heard the military were making raids in houses. He knew they were in the district that day, and deceased and himself became alarmed when they heard the shots and decided the safest thing to do was to go the opposite direction from where the shots were fired. They walked about quarter of a mile and kept as far as possible in the cover of the hedges. After going a quarter of a mile, they met a man named John Hanafin, and the three of them went into Hanafin's house. From Hanafin's house they saw an armoured car on the road. The three of them left the house then. They continued on walking from the armoured car…Proceeding, they said they met a fourth man, John Kennedy, and the four of them went on and walked in single file in a bohereen. John Kennedy was first, Hanafin was second, deceased was third and witness last. After proceeding for a few minutes, without any warning, a shot rang out. After the shot he heard somebody call out hands up. Witness put up his hands as well as the others, and turned round to see who had issued the challenge. There was a soldier standing with a rifle in his hand about 10 yards away in the field. There was a fence only on one side of the bohereen, and between the soldier and them there was no obstruction. He did not hear or see anyone until the shot was fired…Resuming, witness said when he put up his hands who looked towards deceased, who was about two yards in front, and he saw blood on his wrists. He thought at the time he was only wounded. Witness said to deceased, 'Put them up,' but there was no response and he concluded that the man was dead…All the time the rifle was pointed towards them and they kept their hands up. He said, 'Come out of that.' He pulled out a whistle, blew it and the next person on the scene was a man in military uniform with a policeman's cap and carrying a rifle. He said to the soldier, 'Good man, Mick,' or something like that." – **The Kerryman**, 4 September 1920, p.5.

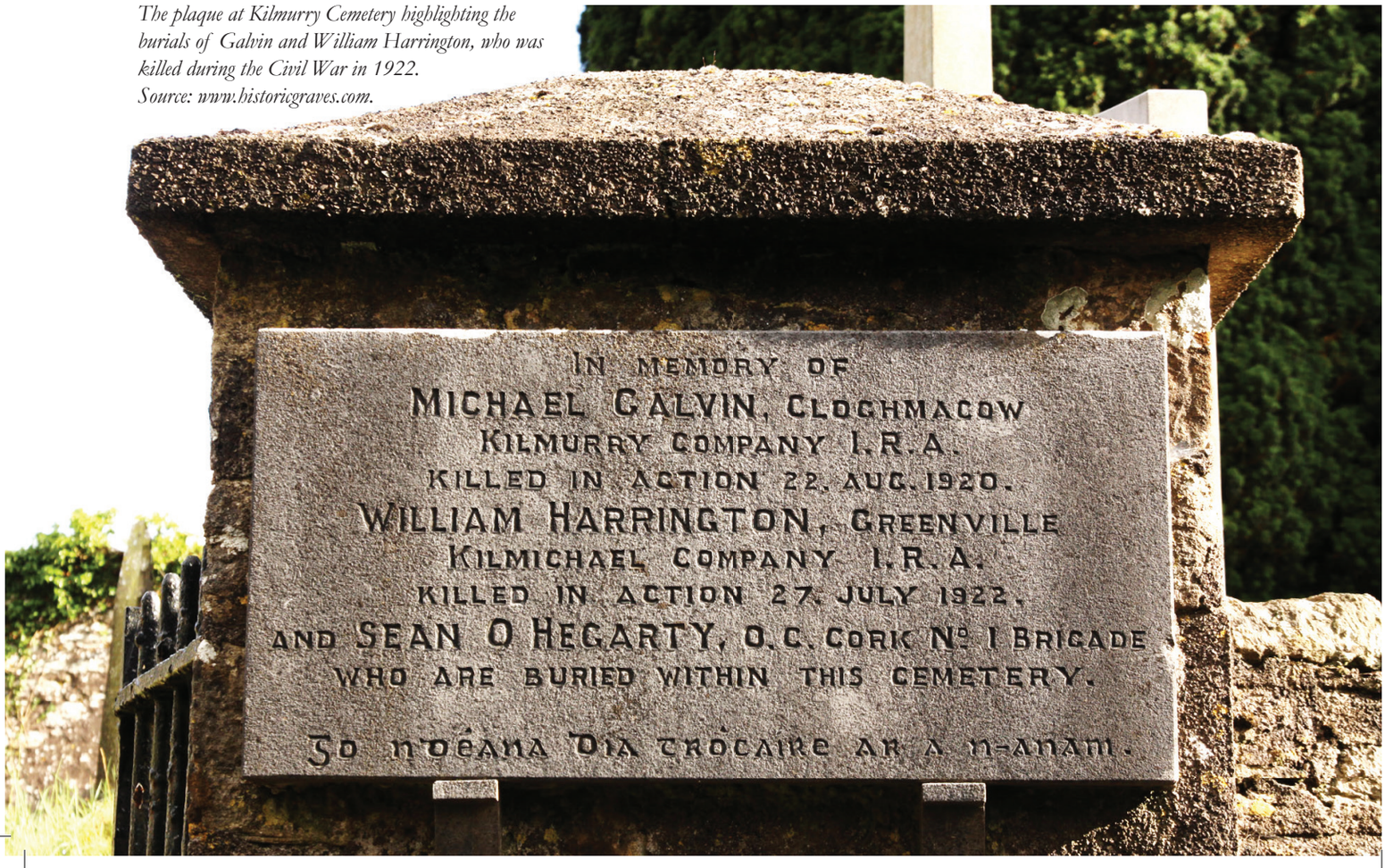
22nd August 1920

GALVIN, Michael (Mick):

Rank: Company QM.
Unit: *H Coy (Kilmurry), 7th Batt, Cork No.1 Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 13 March 1890. Son of John Galvin and Mary Jordan of Newcestown, Co.Cork.
Address: Clonmacow West, Kilmurry, Co. Cork.
Occupation: Farmer.
Familial: On 17 June 1915, Galvin married Annie Neville at Kilmurry Church. Their children were John (1916-1997) and Mary Galvin (b.1919).
Death: Galvin was killed by a gunshot wound to the heart during a set ambush on RIC constables at Lissarda, near Macroom. The IRA unit, heavily under-strength and under-resourced to fight for a prolonged time managed to hold out for an hour before falling back, bringing Galvin with them. At the start of the attack the ambush party had called on their foe to surrender before firing.
Buried: Kilmurry, Co. Cork.
Image Source: Independence Museum, Kilmurry.
MSPC Ref: 1D42.

"Sergeant Maunsell, who was in charge of Inchigeela Police Barracks, was shot and on the Sunday morning one lorry containing sixteen Black and Tans, with the County Inspector, left Bandon for Inchigeela, calling there and returning via Macroom, where they smashed up the Battalion Vice O/C's house. Their passing was noted and a hurried mobilisation of the ambush party was ordered to meet them on their return. Only some members from 'H' and 'B' Companies were able to get into position before the enemy arrived and the fight was commenced on our side with a depleted force. A number of our men arrived just after the fight had started but could not get into their positions. The Battalion Vice O/C was one of these. On the arrival of the lorry at the position a farm cart, on which was tied a long tree trunk, was pushed across the road by William Powell, later O/C, 'G' Company, and the order "Hands up" given".

The plaque at Kilmurry Cemetery highlighting the burials of Galvin and William Harrington, who was killed during the Civil War in 1922.
Source: www.historicgraves.com.



"The enemy, prevented from getting away by the road block, jumped from the lorry and sought the protection of a low piece of ground near Dr. Murphy's gate where he was protected by the surrounding higher ground. From this position, which he reached before fire had been opened on him, he fought back and though some of the attacking force was deployed in an endeavour to subdue him or drive him out from his position he maintained his fire, suffering a few casualties in wounded but killing one man of the attackers. This man - Michael Galvin, Quartermaster of 'H' Company - was one of the Battalion's finest soldiers. Another of the attackers, Daniel O'Leary of 'G' Company - was wounded in the hand by the premature explosion of a home-made grenade. It was now evident that the enemy could not, in the absence of proper hand grenades, be dislodged from his position, so the senior officer, P. O'Leary, O/C, 'H' Company, decided to withdraw his men and the fight terminated. The warning notice to the enemy had proved fatal to the attackers. It had given the enemy the chance he wanted and this chance he exploited to the full. It must, however, be also noted that the hurried nature of the mobilisation left only a skeleton attacking party poorly armed as regards rifles, two only being in use" – **Adjt. Charles Browne**, 7th Batt., Cork No.1 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 873).

"The body of our dead comrade (Mick Galvin) was anointed by Fr. Cotter, C.C., and was later buried secretly in Kilmurry Churchyard where it lay for about six weeks before being buried in the family burial ground at Kilmurry" – **Capt. William Powell**, Kilmurry Coy, 7th Batt., Cork No.1 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1699).

THE ASSASSINATION OF RIC DISTRICT-INSPECTOR OSWALD SWANZY

Lisburn, Co. Antrim - 22 August 1920

"At the beginning of August instructions were received for the execution of District Inspector Swanzy who had been indicted by a jury for the murder of Tom MacCurtain in Cork earlier in the year. Swanzy had been moved from Cork to Lisburn for his own security. Lisburn is a small market town with a predominantly Protestant population, and I think with but one Volunteer in the whole town. At this time a state of tension prevailed, Catholics had been beaten and others threatened, and information was therefore difficult to obtain about the police movements. It was decided to have a reconnaissance made so as to establish the regular habits of Swanzy, and the most suitable time to deal with him. A Volunteer was sent to Lisburn who knew the town well. He discovered that Swanzy visited a certain Church for service on Sundays" – **Thomas Fox**, Belfast Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 365).

"*I went to Dublin and after first calling to Brennan's and Walsh's - well known Republican drapers - one of the staff brought me along to Vaughan's Hotel where I met Mick Collins. I informed Mick of my mission and told him that I was en-route for Belfast. He told me to get in touch with Matt McCarthy, then a Constable in the RIC in Belfast. I met him in a pub in Belfast and, as far as I can recollect, it was in McKearney's of Rosemary Street. We compared notes and confirmed that our information was similar. I decided then to go to Lisburn and examine the lie of the land but McCarthy thought it was inadvisable and, after a full discussion of the proposal with Joe McKelvey, it was agreed that the latter would provide reliable scouts to obtain all the information required. When all the necessary information was gathered and we were satisfied that Swanzy was still there I reported back to Dublin and sought further help as it was General Headquarters which financed the job. I met Mick Collins and, after a frank discussion, he remarked that the job was much too big for me. I probably looked immature as at the time I was not yet twenty years of age. He said it was a job for experienced men and mentioned about picking selected men from Dublin. I made a strong protest to him and informed him that my orders were very emphatic and that it was solely a Cork Brigade job. After thinking it over he said he would leave the decision to the Minister for Defence. Later, I accompanied Dick Mulcahy to the Minister (Cathal Brugha), where Mick Collins had already arrived. The Minister questioned me very closely as to my proposed plan of action, which I fully detailed to him. Whether due to my youth or innocence I was not overawed by the presence of such important figures, so after a lot of questioning I apparently established my point for at the finish Cathal Brugha said "Go ahead and do the job"* – **I/O Seán Culhane**, Cork No.1 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 746).

The revolver, believed to have been Tomás MacCurtain's personal gun, which was used in the assassination of D.I. Swanzy in Lisburn in 1920. Source: Independence Museum, Kilmurry, Co. Cork.

"On the second occasion, I was sent to Lisburn to get completely informed of the movements of Swanzy. I went there on the 18th August and remained in Lisburn, following him round and getting to know his general line of movement. Also, what is more important, I got to know the man himself which obviated the possibility of someone else being shot by mistake. On Sunday, 22nd August, the party came up to carry out the execution. There were two men from Cork named Murphy and Culhane and Tom Fox from Belfast. The driver of the oar, Seán Leonard, who was serving in Belfast, was a native or Tubbercurry [Co. Sligo]. I was the fifth member. We placed ourselves in a position to intercept Swanzy on his way home from church. In my prior experience in the town, I had never seen very many people at one time in the streets but on this Sunday, after Church, there were large numbers around. When Swanzy approached our party, I pointed him out and as had been agreed the first shot was fired from the Lord Mayor's (MacCurtain's) own gun which had been brought up from Cork" – **Lieut. Roger McCorley**, C Coy, 1st Batt., Belfast Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 389).

"By arrangement we stopped the car about 150 yards from the place selected for the shooting in Lisburn and it was also fixed that Seán [Leonard] would turn the car about facing Belfast and keep the engine running. It was also arranged that Joe McKelvey would meet us about a mile outside Lisburn on completion of the job and that he would guide us across the hills to Belfast. On our arrival at Lisburn we met Tom Fox and Roger McCorley, who had been detailed as scouts. They informed us that Swanzy had gone to Church and gave the approximate time the Service would finish. We remained on the opposite side of the street near the Church and made ourselves look as inconspicuous as possible and took special care not to speak for fear our Southern accents would betray us to any passers-by. We were not too long waiting until the congregation started coming from the Church so when I observed Swanzy and saw the direction he was taking. I gave the tip to Dick Murphy and we moved towards the corner, about a block away from the Church, where we had provisionally selected for the job. When he was only a few yards away from us I said to Dick "That's him". I fired the first shot getting him in the head and Dick fired almost simultaneously into his body. It transpired at the inquest held later that either of the shots would have proved fatal. Immediately the shooting ceased the crowd of approximately one hundred persons coming from the Church were stunned at first and when they gathered their wits some of them ran away and a few threw sticks after us and generally they were hostile and threatening. We fired a few shots in the air and made a fast run for our car. We had almost reached the car when a shot struck the windscreen. We got into the car and Seán started off without a moment's delay. We met Joe MeKelvey, as arranged, about a mile outside Lisburn and dismounted, and accompanied by him we moved across the hills and reached Belfast after some hours" – **Seán Culhane**.

"Volunteer Leonard was arrested in Belfast later that evening, court-martialled and sentenced to death which was subsequently commuted to a life sentence. He had refused to go "on the run" after the shooting relying on the similarity of the events concerning the acquiring of taxis on Sunday 15th August and Sunday 22nd August to provide him with a defence in the event of his being arrested. I believe he would have been acquitted if a copy of "An t-Oglach" had not been found in his digs. (2) There was only one car readily available for the police in which to follow us. It stood near the place where the execution occurred. It was suggested that we should damage it before leaving, but in the excitement, it was forgotten. The police commandeered it and followed us. Our car could not exceed 30 mph, whilst the police car was much faster. We had a good start, but must have been overtaken before long, if, in going round a sharp corner too quickly, the pursuing car had not pulled off two tyres. (3) On coming down from the mountain we had to cross one of the roads leading towards Lisburn. This was held by a police patrol, who were stopping everybody and questioning them. Luckily for us, who were then unarmed - having been met earlier by Joe McKelvey and Charles McGill who took over our guns, we were approaching them from a direction other than from Lisburn and we were allowed to pass. As a result of the execution the pogrom was pursued with increased activity, practically every business house of a Catholic in Lisburn being burned to the ground and amongst them being that of W. Gilmore, the sole Volunteer in Lisburn" – **Thomas Fox**.

"We reached McKelvey's house and partook of food and change of socks, etc., kindly provided by Mrs. McKelvey, a splendid character and one of the finest types it had been my privilege to meet. In the meantime, we had made enquiries as to the time of the train service from Belfast to Dublin for that same evening, so we planned to arrive at the station a minute or so before the train was due to leave. At this time there was great military activity around the city, but, however, we reached the railway station without mishap and got first-class tickets at the booking office and boarded the train. On the train passing through Lisburn we noticed a number of houses on fire, which we heard later were houses of Catholic sympathisers…We arrived in Dublin without any hitch whatever and proceeded to Vaughan's Hotel where we met Mick Collins, Liam Tobin, Tom Cullen and Gearóid O'Sullivan. After reporting to Collins of the success of our mission he made a phone call to confirm whether Swanzy was actually dead, so when he ascertained this he and the others present were profuse in their congratulations. Collins sent us back to Cork the following day and he kept our revolvers stating he would send them along in due course. The journey was made by train and when it reached Blarney, about five miles from Cork City, we detrained and walked into Cork…Incidentally, we never got back the guns from Collins and one of the guns which I was especially keen on getting was one time the property of Tomás MacCurtain" – **Seán Culhane**.

THE AFTERMATH – HAVOC IN LISBURN

"The execution of D.I. Swanzy at Lisburn in August 1920, precipitated a series of attacks by the Orange mob upon the Catholics of Lisburn. The latter were beaten up unmercifully, driven from their homes and their homes set on fire. They were compelled to make their way in the small hours of the night across the hills to Belfast. Many of these unfortunate people found refuge in Dublin. Later, similar attacks were made at Banbridge and Dromore, County Down, and eventually what presumably began as a mob reprisal for the shooting of Swanzy took the form of a carefully prepared and devilishly executed campaign to drive out all 'Catholics', a word synonymous with 'Rebel', not alone from employment but from their homes and businesses. Some weeks later, meetings were held in Belfast shipyards addressed by speakers imported from Lisburn and Banbridge, who exhorted all loyalists to get rid of the "Shinners" and to have their jobs filled by loyalists" – **I/O David McGuinness**, Belfast Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 417).

"The tragedy caused a feeling of consternation amongst the inhabitants and it was promptly followed by reprisals. The indignation of the people could not be kept within bounds once news of the crime spread, and the ordinary Sunday calm gave place to tumultuous scenes without any parallel in the long history of the town. First, Mrs. Gilmore's confectionary shop in Cross Row was attacked. The doors were smashed in and the crowd rushed through the premises seeking a son of the proprietress, who is alleged to be a Sinn Féiner. No one being found, the entire contents of the shop were hurled into the street and burned to ashes. Then the licensed premises of Mr. McKeiver, in Bridge St, were visited. Barrels and bottles of liquor were broken open, and the furniture was thrown out of the windows, piled on the street and consumed by fire. During this operation two shots were heard fired from a bedroom in the third storey, the bullets striking the buildings on the opposite side of the street. The cry went up that McKeiver had shot himself…From Bridge Street the frenzied crowd went to Smithfield, where they burned the Hibernian Hall at the rear of First Lisburn Presbyterian Church, which was saved through the efforts of the fire brigade. The licensed premises of Mr. McLarnon and Mr. Neeson, after being cleared of their contents, were burned out, as was also the Vine Hotel in Market Square, a lot of valuable furniture being destroyed. The dwelling house and delph shop of Mr. O'Shea, Market Square, likewise fell a prey to fire. Mr. Jellie's premises and the 'Standard' office on either side, suffering damage in consequence…Another section of the crowd were busy at Haslem's Lane, where they cleared out and burned the contents of the house of Mr. William Shaw [Sinn Féin member of the Urban Council], who was himself so severely handled that he had to be conveyed to the County Antrim Infirmary…Despite a downpour of rain in the evening, the crowd continued on their course of destruction, the licensed premises of Messrs. McKinney, Bros., in Bow Street, being burned down and looted…As darkness fell upon the scene the flames of burning houses lit up the sky, and the efforts of the local fire brigade made but little effect on the conflagration" – **Belfast Newsletter**, 23 August 1920, p.5.

Catholic shops and houses across Lisburn, Co. Antrim, were targeted by Orange mobs in the fall-out of the assassination of D.I. Swanzy. This anger would soon reverberate across the North-East.

Children in Lisburn observe the destruction carried out on Catholic properties.

"The result of that [Swanzy] *operation was that the pogrom began in Lisburn instead of Belfast. Two days later the pogrom was in full swing in Belfast and continued intermittently from then until the middle of 1922. But for the fact that we were prepared for the first big onslaught many hundreds of the Catholic people would have been butchered by the Orange mob, who were patently acting under orders. The British authorities could at any time have stopped the pogrom, as was indicated by the fact that when an Italian Catholic on the Newtownards Road was attacked, the Italian Government was asked to intervene with the British Government, and did so overnight, under threat of sending Italian warships to Belfast Lough to protect their Nationals. The warships did not come, but definitely no Italian was attacked after that. It was Mr. Joseph Raffo, an Italian then living in Belfast, who, through the Italian Consul, sent the information to the Italian Government"* – **Brigade I/O Séamus Dobbyn**, Belfast Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 279).

THE "BELFAST BOYCOTT" BEGINS

"Deputations visited Dungannon merchants and directed them to order no goods from Belfast. In several instances the visitors were ordered to clear out. Belfast bread carts were ordered to leave Coalisland district. At Clones, delivery of bread from the Ulster capital was prevented, and a quantity of bread being taken home by a farmer was seized and thrown in the ditch. Commercial travellers from Belfast, who visited Strokestown [Co. Roscommon*] last week, left without booking orders, and some asked for and obtained copies of the Guardians' resolution requesting merchants to cease dealing with Belfast firms…At a public meeting in Clones on Sunday to consider the question of ceasing to deal with Belfast firms until the expelled Catholic workers were reinstated, Rev. J. O'Daly, C.C., condemned the destruction of any goods or vehicles, and said that anybody who insulted a Protestant on account of his religion or politics would be severely dealt with…At Cootehill* [Co. Cavan] *a Catholic publican who failed to observe the boycott was himself fined £5 and boycotted in his two shops for four days, and since then the Unionists in Cootehill who refused to sign the boycott notice have also been boycotted"* – **Donegal News**, 28 August 1920, p.6.

27th August 1920

BUCKLEY, Seán:

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *B Coy, 4th Batt., Cork No.1 Brigade, IRA.*
DOB: 18 June 1895. Born at Ballyedmond, Midleton, Co. Cork to Patrick Buckley and Mary O'Keeffe.
Address: Carrigogna, Midleton, Co. Cork.
Occupation: Accountant / Midleton Sinn Féin Secretary & East Cork Sinn Féin Executive Treasurer.
Death: As a result of the Cahermone Ambush, Crown forces raided several homes in the Midleton district. Buckley was arrested alongside his brother, Bartholomew (Batt), and were destined for Cork City aboard a military lorry. The police record states that the brothers attempted to escape and were shot, Seán mortally. The family relied on Batt's account that they were fired on without reason and that he feigned death until arrival at the barracks, his wound leaving him unable to walk for the rest of his life. Buckley is listed as a civilian in *DOTIR.*
Buried: Lisgoold Cemetery, Midleton, Co. Cork.
MSPC Ref: 3MSRB65.

"Two brothers, John Buckley (26) and Bartholomew Buckley (21), were arrested on Friday night week at their home near Midleton, and taken into that town. They were handcuffed back-to-back, and conveyed in a military lorry with a guard, to Cork. Definite facts are unknown, but it is believed that on the way a revolver was discharged, and the bullet passed through John Buckley's brain, killing him instantly. The same bullet entered his brother's shoulder, and wounded him seriously. Deceased was a local Sinn Féin official. The first intimation his parents had of the tragedy was a note scribbled in pencil on paper and left at the house by police, saying: 'Your son, John, in trying to escape from military custody today on the way to Cork was shot. He died from wounds. Bartholomew was also wounded in the shoulder'" – **Skibbereen Eagle**, 4 September 1920, p.7.

"That night, two brothers named Buckley were arrested in their home near Midleton by military, and accused of having taken part in the attack at Whiterock earlier that day. In fact, neither took part. One was a Volunteer attached to the Midleton company; the other was not. The two men were put into a military lorry and tied back-to-back. The British officer in charge then fired from close range with a revolver, killing one of the brothers, the bullet passing through the body and lodging in the spine of the other brother. The latter feigned death, but when the lorry reached the military barracks in Cork, he asked for a priest. His request was granted. This man subsequently recovered, but the bullet was in such a position, close to his spine, that it could not be removed, and he was a cripple for the rest of his life" – **Lieut. Michael Kearney**, 4th Batt., Cork No.1 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1418).

Macroom IRA, Co. Cork, c.1921

Dáil Éireann

6 Lúnasa, 1920
Fleming's Hotel, Dublin.

"Whereas in the City of Belfast an organised and long premeditated attack has been made upon loyal citizens of the Irish Republic, or those held to be such, wherein and whereby citizens of this Republic were murdered, many more greviously injured, and some 8,000 or 10,000 driven from employment and denied the means of livelihood; whereas this violence and disorder has been condoned, if not actively incited, by the civic authorities of the City of Belfast; and whereas it has been declared by the said civic authorities, those who planned and carried through the attack, and by the organs of the Press which profess to speak on their behalf, that these things have been done in support of and in alliance with the enemies of the Republic; it be and is hereby declared that an embargo be laid upon the manufactures of the aforesaid City of Belfast; that all trade and commerce with it by citizens of the Irish Republic be forbidden and that the Government of the Republic calls upon all its loyal citizens to rigorously enforce the provision of this decree until such time as the Government and Legislature of the Republic may otherwise decide."

Motion proposed by Seán Mac an tSaoí TD

"That the imposition of political or religious tests as a condition of Industrial Employment in Ireland is hereby declared illegal, and that action be taken by the Ministry to prevent such tests being imposed in Ireland."

Amendment proposed by Leas Uachtarán, Arthur Griffith TD

The motion & Amendment were passed.

Present: Arthur Griffith, Michael Collins, Cathal Brugha, Count Plunkett, Kevin O'Higgins, Constance Markievicz, Domhnall Ó Buachalla, J.J. Clancy, C. Collins, Dr. Crowley, Liam De Roiste, J.N. Dolan, Éamonn Duggan, Frank Fahy, Peter Galligan, Séamus Hayes, Dr. Richard Hayes, Tom Hunter, Frank Lawless, J. Lennon, Fionán Lynch, Alec McCabe, Seán Mac an tSaoí, Joseph MacDonagh, Joe McGuinness, Terence MacSwiney, Richard Mulcahy, J. McGrath, P.J. Moloney, Brian Ó hUigínn, Dr. James Ryan, P.J. Ward, J.J. Walsh, Joseph Sweeney, Michael Staines, Phil Shanahan, W. Sears, J. O'Mahony, P. Ó Maille,

29th August 1920

FITZGERALD, Timothy:

Rank: Lieutenant.
Unit: *K Coy (Farnivane), 1st Batt, Cork No.3 Bde, IRA.*
– Irish Republican Brotherhood (Farnivane Circle)
DOB: 19 November 1902. Son of Michael Fitzgerald and Mary Mahoney of Carhue, Bandon, Co.Cork.
Address: Mawmore East, Brinny, Bandon, Co. Cork.
Occupation: Creamery Employee.
Death: Fitzgerald was killed during the assembling of an IRA ambush unit at Brinny, Co. Cork. The unit were unaware of Crown forces, consisting of the notorious Essex Regiment, who, having received the word from an informer, were patrolling in the area to engage with the unsuspecting IRA. The group was instantly attacked by the military patrol, under Lieut. Hotblack, at Brinny, Co. Cork. Fitzgerald was shot and killed during the attack.
Buried: Kilbrogan Cemetery, Bandon, Co. Cork.
MSPC Ref: 1D387.

"In the summer of 1920 enemy pressure increased. Two thousand extra British troops were landed at Bantry and distributed throughout West Cork. IRA attacks had slowed down and nothing was hampering the British movements. One attempt was made on August 29th to stop the Essex Regiment, but it met with very bad luck. Seán Hales lay with a small party to ambush an enemy raiding patrol at Brinny. The Essex patrol, travelling across country, came in behind them and opened fire. The IRA withdrew only with great difficulty and were forced to retire. Lieutenant Tim Fitzgerald of Gaggin was killed. This fine promising young officer's death added to the darkness of the outlook and all the Brigade Staff keenly felt his loss. Tim Fitzgerald was the first IRA Volunteer killed in West Cork." – **Vol. Tom Barry**, *Guerilla Days in Ireland*, p.19.

"A party of Volunteers from 1st Battalion (Bandon) lay in ambush for a cycling patrol at Brinny Bridge on the last Sunday in August, 1920. The position was given away by a spy, and British troops came across country from Bandon and surprised Volunteers from the rear. Lieut. Tim Fitzgerald was killed. He was given a Volunteer funeral to Kilbrogan Cemetery, where Charlie Hurley, Brigade O/C, gave an oration. Tim Fitzgerald was a fine Volunteer officer, young (18 years), athletic, fearless. His death was all the more tragic as he was an only son" – **QM Charles O'Donoghue**, 1st Batt., Cork No.3 Brigade, IRA (BMH-WS 1607).

"The long summer day passed without incident until about 4.30 in the afternoon. Then a volley of rifle fire suddenly opened up on the rear of Section One on the north side of the road and west of the bridge. It came from the fields to the north-west where there was good cover, and clearly indicated that the ambush party was being attacked from the rear. The section under fire evacuated its position, and succeeded in getting across the road and over the fence on the south side. When the military advanced to follow up, they came under fire from Section Three of the attackers under the command of Frank Neville. In the exchange of fire at this point, Lieutenant Tim Fitzgerald of Mount Pleasant Company was killed. Frank Neville dashed across the road from his position to the south to aid his comrades there, but found that they had pulled out in time and were retreating with the main party across the river" – **Brigade-Adjt. Liam Deasy**, *Towards Ireland Free*, p.136.

"Another murdered, killed by the foul Saxon hand.
Sent to meet his God for loving his land;
They fought him, tore him, beat him, and sent him to his God,
To join his noble bodyguard – the heroes of our soil,
Unarmed and unprepared sent t' all High
Who, with outstretched arms received him with pride and with joy;
Like Him, he died his friends to save, that his hand might live"

'Vengeance'
By
Vol. Stephen O'Reilly

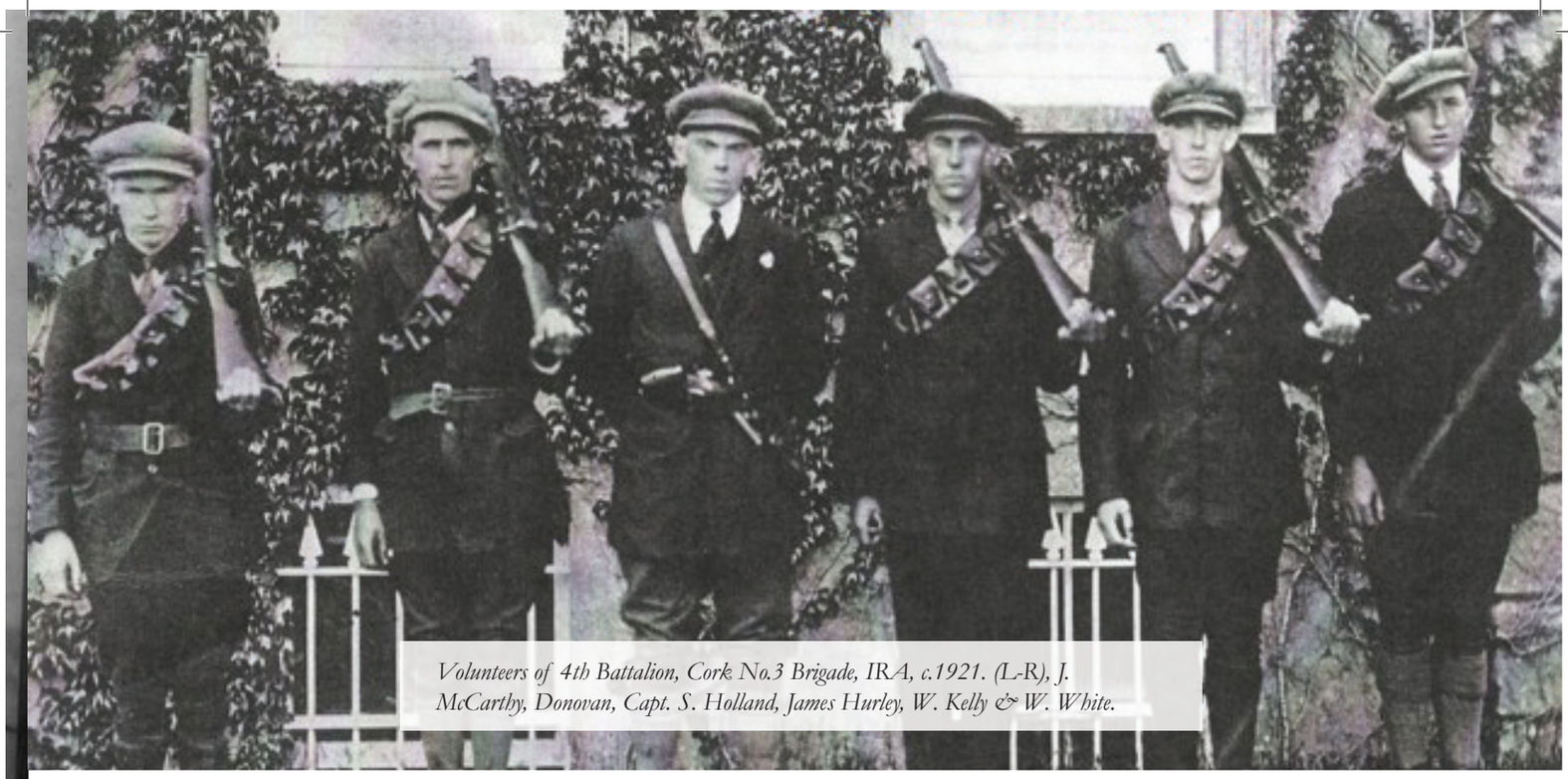
The ruins of Shercock RIC barracks, Co. Cavan, 1920

MURRAY, John Leo:

Rank: Section-Commander.
Unit: *A Coy (Ardoyne), William Orr Sluagh, Belfast Battalion, NFÉ.*
DOB: c.1900. Son of John Murray & Elizabeth McMullen.
Address: 11 Glenview St, Marrowbone, Belfast, Co. Antrim.
Occupation: Belfast Corporation Labourer. Former British Army.
Death: During heavy rioting between Protestants and Catholics in the Marrowbone district of Belfast, the military opened fire on the crowd with a Hotchkiss machine-gun, wounding several, including Murray, who was found by his brother William, unconscious and lying at the junction of Glenview Street, Gracehill Street and Lebanon Street. Murray succumbed to the abdomen wound later that evening in the Mater Hospital, Belfast. Several others also died from wounds received during the riot. The family's military pension application was later turned down on the grounds that Murray had not died on official active-service. He is recorded as a civilian in *DOTIR.*
Buried: Milltown Cemetery (Unmarked).
MSPC Ref: DP11172.

"Regarding the killing of young Murray, I was a witness for his mother at the claim against the Belfast Corporation and the Judge asked her what he was doing and she replied, 'Defending his home.' The Judge thereupon remissed [sic] the claim. I was an active participant in the riots and we had to defend our homes against (a) the so-called police, (b) the military and (c) the Orange mob. We had six killed on same night viz. Cassidy, Moan, Murray, Kennedy and Toner, and I was gashed with a bayonet across the eyelids" – **Thomas McCallon** (Extract from Murray's pension application file / DP11172).

"*On the night of the 28th or the early morning of 29th ult. that whole neighbourhood was quite peaceful. There was nothing to indicate that they were going to have something like a street battle within a few minutes. At one or two o'clock in the morning, a police patrol, consisting of a Head-Constable and eight men, patrolling that neighbourhood suddenly heard a terrific din burst out, coming from Glenpark Street, Glenview Street and Ewart's Row. Lights were put out and shouting and crashing of stones were heard. The police doubled onto the scene and found large crowds fighting desperately with stones, bottles, and every kind of implement they could get hold of…Elizabeth Murray, mother of deceased, stated that at 1.30 a.m. on the 29th, bugles sounded in their street, and the doors were rapped. The deceased left his house to defend his home."* – **Belfast Newsletter**, 9 September 1920, p.5.



Volunteers of 4th Battalion, Cork No.3 Brigade, IRA, c.1921. (L-R), J. McCarthy, Donovan, Capt. S. Holland, James Hurley, W. Kelly & W. White.

THE MONAGHAN ARMS RAIDS
31 August 1920

"The next important activity was the general raid for arms in August 1920. All the Unionist houses where arms were expected to be held were raided. Some Catholic houses were raided also when the owners refused to hand over their guns to us. One Volunteer, Owen Keenan, of Corcaghan Company area, was mortally wounded in a raid on a Unionist house [Keenan died on 20 September 1920 from wounds received]. *The general raid for arms taken as a whole proved successful and a number, of shotguns and a few revolvers were captured"* – **Batt-Adjt. Thomas Donnelly**, Monaghan Independent Battalion, IRA, (BMH-WS 519).

"On the general raid for arms the entire area was raided simultaneously I and a few Latton Volunteers travelled on the night of the general raid to Tullycorbett Company area and carried out the raids there. This exchange of raids was intended to prevent the easy identification of Volunteers taking part. Nothing except shotguns was obtained in the general raid for arms. we got very little arms in Unionist houses as the Unionists had handed in their firearms to the police before the raid took place…In the Ballybay area "A" Battalion we had two men shot dead in a raid on a Unionist house; one at Rockcorry and the other near Castleblayney. Those men were both buried secretly as it was not considered good policy to publish our casualties. A man named Kelly from Monaghan Town area was fired on by "B" men whilst driving a car, and wounded in the neck. This man also died of his wound about October 1920." – **Cmdt. James Sullivan**, Castleblayney Independent Batt., IRA, (BMH-WS 518).

"In the general raid for arms in September 1920, I concentrated on a district named Milltown and its' vicinity which is situated near Monaghan town. This area was Unionist and hostile to us. It was known to us that many of the inhabitants had possession of firearms including rifles. I had charge of a party of the Monaghan town Company in the raiding of houses in this district, which was carried out simultaneously with similar raids all over the country. I cannot now remember exactly how much arms we got in this raid. I think we got, between rifles and shotguns, seven weapons and about 2 revolvers. We met no active opposition in any of the ten houses we visited" – **Cmdt. Philip Marron**, Monaghan Independent Batt., IRA, (BMH-WS 657).

"In 1920 at the general raid for arms we made a canvass amongst all friendly houses within the Company area and we handed over a number of shotguns. In the houses where we were refused arms and in the unfriendly houses we raided for the arms on the night of the general raid for arms. In this raid we captured 20 to 30 shotguns, about three Ulster Volunteer rifles and a parabellum pistol. We also got a number of other revolvers, mostly .32 and .38 bore. This general raid for arms was the first military activity as far as I can remember that we carried out. During the general raid for arms, we were fired on at one house. We demanded admission when we found the door of the house closed firmly against us and when the inmates refused us admission we broke in the door. We then proceeded to a bedroom door and found it also firmly closed against us. We had also to force this door and on going into this bedroom a young son of the house opened fire and wounded me in the arm. The inmates of the house were Wm. J. Raddock, his wife and his son - Unionists. Young Raddock's determination in defence of his house forced us to retreat and we failed to disarm the young man as we did not relish the endangering of the lives of his father and mother" – **Capt. Eugene Sherry,** Clontibret Coy, Monaghan Independent Batt., IRA, (BMH-WS 576).

1st September 1920

MARRON, Bernard (Barney):

Rank: 1st Lieutenant.
Unit: *Corduff Coy, Carrickmacross Independent Batt., IRA.*
DOB: 10 April 1889. Born to Peter Marron and Brigid Keelan. His brother, Cpt. Patrick Marron, died from influenza in May 1922 whist holding a commission in the Irish National Army.
Occupation: Carpenter.
Address: Ardragh, Carrickmacross, Co. Monaghan.
Death: On 31 August 1920, Marron was a member of a raiding party on James McCaul's farmhouse in Raferagh Co. Monaghan, hoping to procure arms. Unable to gain access to the farmhouse, a gunbattle ensued and Marron received a mortal gunshot wound, dying the next morning at Corcreeghagh, near Shercock, Co. Cavan. In an act of reprisal, the IRA executed McCaul and exiled his son from Ireland.
Buried: Raferagh Cemetery, Co. Monaghan.
MSPC Ref: 1D81.

McKENNA, Patrick Joseph:

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *F Coy (Castleblayney), Castleblayney Independent Batt., IRA.*
DOB: 29 September 1896. Son of Patrick McKenna and Rose Lennon.
Occupation: Woodturner.
Address: Church St, Castleblayney, Co. Monaghan.
Death: McKenna was fatally wounded during an arms raid at the farmhouse of William Fleming, a unionist farmer, at Drumgarra, Co. Monaghan. McKenna was carried away by 2nd Lieut. James Christy, and was found to have expired during this retreat. Christy apparently brought McKenna's remains to the hayshed of the MacEneaney family and covered the body in straw while he and the remainder of the unit dumped their arms and sought help in safely retrieving McKenna's remains, which were conveyed to Castleblayney Workhouse Infirmary. Fleming and his son were later executed by the IRA in an act of reprisal.
Buried: St. Mary's, Castleblayney, Co. Monaghan.
MSPC Ref: 1D235.

O'REILLY, Peter:

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *E Coy (Rockcorry), Castleblayney Independent Batt., IRA.*
DOB: 30 July 1896. Born at Drumlona, Rockcorry, Co. Monaghan, to Henry Reilly and Catherine Rudden.
Occupation: Farm Labourer.
Address: Rockcorry, Co. Monaghan.
Death: O'Reilly was mortally wounded during an arms raid on the homestead of the Crawford Family, near Drum, Co. Monaghan. When Crawford refused to open his front door, O'Reilly and several Volunteers smashed in the door with an axe. Upon entering the house, O'Reilly was shot at close range with a shotgun by Crawford. He was immediately evacuated from the house upon a gate, which was used as a makeshift stretcher, and expired during the retreat.
Buried: Edergole Churchyard, Rockcorry, Co. Monaghan.

"*Crawford was firing, out at us through a window on the right-hand side of the hallway. When I pushed the door back O'Reilly pushed past me and turned to enter a room off the hallway. As he was stepping towards this room he received the discharge of a shotgun in the breast at a few feet range. He fell into my arms exclaiming "My God, I am shot". I carried O'Reilly out…*"

"This tragic affair which happened so quickly, cutting off a fine young life in prime of its manhood and snatching from us a dear comrade and friend, shocked us all that even at the present day the survivors of this shooting have not been able to forget." - **John McGahey** (BMH WS 740).

McDONAGH, Thomas John (Tommie):

Rank: Captain.
Unit: *C Coy (Kilarght), 4th Batt., Sligo Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 20 July 1900. Born in Manhattan, New York City, USA, to James McDonagh and Annie Gray. The family resided at 556 West 132 St, Manhattan, NYC. His mother died in May 1902 and young Tommie was sent to reside with his grandmother in Co. Sligo.
Address: Cashel, Cloonloo, Co. Sligo.
Occupation: Printworks Employee/ Farm Labourer.
Death: McDonagh had been tried in December 1919 and sentenced to three months imprisonment for unlawful assembly. In early August 1920, he had been slightly wounded by an accidental gunshot wound while guarding prisoners. In relation to his death, a section of south Sligo IRA, under Cmdt. Michael Marron, upon receiving intelligence on the movements of an RIC patrol, decided to strike in order to procure badly needed arms and ammunition. The sire chosen was at Teevnacreeva, near Ratra, Frenchpark, Co. Roscommon. McDonagh, charged with exposing himself to the RIC on a bicycle was to cycle towards Tibohine Church. When the ambush began and became intense, McDonagh cycled back towards the fracas and opened fire without getting into adequate cover. After killing Constable Murphy, McDonagh was shot in the heart and killed. He had managed to use every round in his revolver but faulty ammunition rendered all but one round useless. The IRA unit fled soon afterwards when a patrol of Black and Tans arrived at the ambush site. McDonagh's remains were cruelly treated by the Black and Tans and dragged along the streets of Ballaghaderreen as a warning to the populace. They then proceeded to loot and burn several premises in the town as a reprisal.
Buried: Templeronan Graveyard, Cuppanagh, Co. Sligo.
Image Source: "*A Fearless Sligo Fighter*," Irish Independent, 29 August 1920.
MSPC Ref: 1D68.

THE AMBUSH AT RATRA, CO. ROSCOMMON & THE DEATH OF CAPT. THOMAS McDONAGH

"That the Ratra Ambush ever occurred is, to some extent, due to accident. Commandant Michael J. Marron and myself found ourselves in Ballaghadereen [Co. Roscommon] about the last week in August, 1920, and we learned in the town that a number of Ballaghaderreen policemen would travel to Frenchpark on the day that Frenchpark Petty Sessions Court was held, to give evidence against some Ballaghaderreen publicans who, had committed breaches of the licensing laws. The Frenchpark Court was being held on the 1st September. This information gave us advanced warning of an opportunity to capture some much-needed arms. Both Marron and I collected all the information possible about the movements of the police in Ballaghaderreen and later, in Gurteen, selected the men who would take part in the operation. The plan of attack which was perfected and rehearsed was that an attacking party of about 25 to 27, armed with whatever arms was then available, would lie in wait for the police party whom, we estimated, would number 10 to l2 fully armed men and, on the blowing of a signal whistle, all our party would jump from the cover of our place of concealment along the road and, by taking advantage of the element of surprise, we hoped to disarm the police before they could make any effective resistance…On the night of August 31st 1920 the 25 men selected for the attack met in a sympathiser's house in the half-parish of Kilaraght. Those men were from Gurteen, Cloonloo, Monasteraden and Kilaraght. After partaking of some refreshment to while away the suspense the of waiting, all indulged in the singing of patriotic songs and the lilting of traditional airs. In the early hours of the morning of 1st September we moved from the house of our generous host and started to march on our journey of about eight miles to Ratra…By 6 a.m. we had taken up positions. The main body of the attackers were placed along the main Ballaghaderreen-Frenchpark Road behind the road fence, on the south side of the road and secure from view by a whitethorn hedge. This position was about 300 yards on the Frenchpark side of a bye-road leading to Tibohine Church. At this bye-road Captain Tom McDonagh and Joseph Finnigan were placed. Finnigan was equipped with powerful field glasses with

which he had a clear view of the road leading from Ballaghaderreen for about 500 yards. Finnigan's orders were to report as soon as possible to the main body the number of police approaching. Captain McDonagh's orders were to cycle, on sight of the police, in the direction of Tibohine Church on the bye-road and, after a few minutes, to return to the main road when the police patrol had passed, to prevent the escape of any police from the ambush position back to Ballaghaderreen. Jimmy Dwyer was placed about 50 yards on the Frenchpark side of the main body with strict orders not to allow any police to pass his position. I took up my position behind the fence on the North side of the road and opposite the position of the main body of attackers. As the officer in charge of operations, I considered this the best point to see what was happening and to control the operation. We took up positions about 6 a.m. and we waited patiently from up to about 10 a.m., at which time Joe Finnigan cycled in from his post of observation with the report that five armed police were approaching on cycles in single file-about 50 yards separating each of the first three and the last two cycling together about 100 yards to the rear. Finnigan then passes on to near Dwyer, hands him his bicycle and climbs on to the south side of the fence to reinforce Dwyer. This formation of approaching police was so unexpected and unprovided for that I was placed in a quandary. My main body of men occupied a position of only 50 yards along the road. The space covered by the police was over 200 yards. If I took my men into the open to cover the police flank, I would destroy the surprise element of our plans and endanger the men. I had to decide quickly what to do; various ideas and plans flashed through my mind. The one that seemed best was to allow the police to pass through and to attack them on their return journey from Frenchpark. There was the possibility that they might adopt a closer formation on their return journey and, anyhow, we would be better prepared for a repetition of their greatly extended formation. I decided to let them pass and await their return. The first policeman passed through the main position and approaches where Dwyer and Finnigan were posted. Dwyer, although he had heard no signal whistle, but mindful of his orders not to allow any police to pass him, called on the policeman to halt and fired at the back wheel of the bicycle. The policeman fell off and, feigning death, lay prone on the side of the road. By this time the second policeman was now directly opposite Dwyer's and Finnigan's position. Finnigan ordered this man "Hands Up". The policeman dismounted three yards from Finnigan and took his single-barrelled shotgun from his bicycle. Finnigan again shouted "Put up your hands", but the policeman would not surrender. He raised his shotgun and both Finnigan's shot and the policeman's rang out together. The policeman fell, seriously wounded. By now - a matter of seconds - the third policeman was opposite the position occupied by the main body He jumped from his bike and surrendered. The two policemen bringing up the rear had ample warning of the danger they were approaching and they took cover behind some bushes, on the side of the road at a slight bend about 200 yards from our main body. In this position they had cover from view and were out of range of our shotguns and revolvers. Both were armed with up-to-date service rifles and they opened a heavy fire on our positions. Our position at this point was one of extreme danger as, soon, the noise of gunshot fire would undoubtedly bring strong reinforcements from Ballaghaderreen. I was having a close view of the road to Ballaghaderreen from the cover of a hedge nearby when I saw Captain T. McDonagh on his way back from Tibohine Church and hearing the noise of the firing, he was going at top speed. A man in a neighbouring house shouted a warning. He saluted the man giving the warning with a wave of his hand and sped on. His one idea was to help in the relief of his comrades, now in grave danger. He was armed with a revolver. He jumped from his bike as he nears where the two policemen are firing. As he came near, he opened fire on them, killing one. He then attacked the other policeman. I clearly saw him manoeuvring for position and I saw both men firing at each other: McDonagh fell. The policeman then vacated his position and cleared off towards Ballaghaderreen. When we examined Captain McDonagh's body we found that he was dead and when we examined his revolver, we were amazed to find that there was only one exploded cartridge case in McDonagh's revolver. All the other cases were marked with the striker - some more than once - which proved that poor McDonagh's death was mainly due to faulty ammunition" – **Cmdt. Jim Hunt**, Sligo Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 905).

Main St, Ballaghadereen, Co. Roscommon – The town would suffer from a Black & Tan reprisal following the ambush at Ratra

Tipperary No.2 Brigade Officers, 1920 (Back L-R): Michael Dwan, Michael Cleary, Michael Kennedy, Vice-Brigadier 'Big Jim' Stapleton & Brigadier James Leahy; (Front L-R): Patrick Kinnane, Jerry Ryan, John McCormack & Unknown.

"Several Ballaghadereen traders have had notices pushed under their doors warning them to 'Remember Tuam if the boycott is not removed from the police.' The notices are signed 'Black Hand'." – Connaught Telegraph, 4 September 1920, p.3.

BITTER INTENSITY IN BELFAST

"The area bounded by the Old Lodge Road, the Crumlin Road and Clifton Street, down to Upper Library Street (Carrick Hill), was in a state of turmoil throughout the day. The snipers, who appear to have an abundant supply of ammunition, were a source of constant danger to the military and police, and caused great alarm in the locality. Exciting incidents took place in the network of streets between Clifton Street and the Old Lodge Road, and the tension was particularly acute in Wall Street (which connects Carrick Hill with Denmark Street) and various intersecting thoroughfares. All day long, families were engaged in removing their furniture from the danger zone, and there were many isolated cases of assault. An armoured car, and motor lorries containing soldiers and police, patrolled the district, but the sniping continued intermittently, and in the evening shots were heard frequently from the neighbourhood of Carlisle Circus. Small crowds of people congregated at the entrance to Denmark Street, Eglinton Street, and Lonsdale Street, while the less venturesome peeped round corners…Various encounters took place yesterday afternoon and evening between crowds from the Shankill Road and the Falls Road, and there was a good deal of stone throwing and revolver firing" – **Belfast Newsletter**, 2 September 1920, p.5.

O'BRIEN, John Joseph:

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *C Coy, 1st Battalion (Belfast), Antrim & East Down Brigade, IRA.*
– The Hibernian Rifles (1915-1917)
DOB: 13 December 1868. Born at 57 Hopeton Street, Belfast, Co. Antrim, to Martin O'Brien and Sarah Murphy.
Address: 9 Kildare St, Carrick Hill, Belfast, Co. Antrim.
Familial: On 16 November 1901, O'Brien married Sarah McGrann at St. Patrick's Church, Belfast. Their children were James (1902-1902), Sarah Jane (1903-1977), John Duffy O'Brien (1904-1966), Lizzie (1906-1906), Margaret (1907-1981), James (1908-1973), Mary (1910-1912), Martin (1912-1986), Maria Josephine (1913-1914), Mary (1915-1915), Elizabeth (1916-2002), Philip (1918-1918) and Patrick Pearse O'Brien (1920-1995), who was only eight weeks old at the time of his father's death.
Occupation: Slater.
Death: O'Brien was shot and killed by a gunshot wound to the head on Park Street, Carrick Hill, Belfast, during a period of intense rioting. His pension file states he was killed while on picket duty. The events of the night's riots indicate that an Orange mob were targeting St. Patrick's Catholic Church in Carrick Hill, thus sparking an intense riot, which saw three casualties. O'Brien's membership of the Belfast IRA was verified by both Seán Cunningham (later O/C 2nd Battalion, Belfast Brigade, IRA) and O/S Charles McWhinney, who along with Capt. Patrick Fleming, carried the deceased back to his house. O'Brien is listed as a civilian in *DOTIR*.
Buried: Milltown Cemetery, Belfast, Co. Antrim.
MSPC Ref: DP2204 / 2RB109.

"**THREE MORE VICTIMS – ORANGEMEN WARN THE GOVERNMENT THAT THEY WILL ENFORCE LAW AND ORDER** – *Three more men were shot dead in Belfast yesterday. The total deaths of this week's troubles are now twenty-six. The number of the seriously wounded is not easy to ascertain, but it is certain that many in the hospitals are hanging between life and death…A fierce attack was made yesterday by shipyard workers on Catholic dockers and at least one man was killed. He leaves a widow and five children. The County Grand Orange Lodge of Belfast has issued a warning to the Government that unless it enforces law and order the loyal people of the city will be compelled, in self-defence, to unite for the protection of their persons and properties, and the maintenance of the public peace. During the week ending yesterday morning 216 fires were dealt with and suppressed by the city Fire Brigade. The ambulance was requisitioned 245 times…During the Curfew Hours, rioting was abated, but the appearance of the workers on the streets was the signal for a renewal of hostilities. Before 8 o'clock, operations commenced, and up to noon several districts could be scheduled as dangerous owing to the intermittent play of snipers. Rifles and revolvers were used as the tramcars, laden with passengers, passed into the city from the Shankill Road. The occupants to a large extent vacated the cars. At Peter's Hill, soldiers who were protecting the thoroughfare replied to this fire, and an exchange of shots followed…At Spencer Basin, dockers, of whom large numbers are Catholics, were attacked by shipyard workers in large numbers who freely used revolvers. The dockers had no firearms and were taken by surprise…James Cromie (35) Trafalgar Street, was short dead. He served in the navy for over four years, and leaves a widow and five children*" – **Freeman's Journal**, 2 September 1920, p.5.

"The pogrom is being actively pursued, and day after day Catholic employees have been forced to leave their work through the tyranny of their Orange co-workers. Extensive precautions are being taken by the military to maintain order, and an additional regiment of the King's Own Royal Rifles arrived today…Many Belfast firms are feeling the pinch of the economic boycott instituted against them in the South and West. An establishment engaged in the manufacture of boy's suits, and employing nearly 300 girls has suspended 200 of these owing to the shortage of work. The management informed the employees that the reason of this was that many orders from the South and West of Ireland to the wholesalers had been cancelled, and as a consequence, the latter had to cancel their orders to the manufacturers." – **Freeman's Journal**, 4 September 1920, p.5.

URGENT.

CITY OF BELFAST

LORD MAYOR'S APPEAL

TO THE CITIZENS OF BELFAST

I earnestly desire to bring to your notice the destruction of Property which has been taking place in certain districts of the City, and the danger to life resulting therefrom.

The total claims for damage, for which the people of all classes will have to pay, already amount to almost half a million pounds.

The Authorities are determined that such lawlessness shall cease, and are about to take the most drastic steps for this purpose.

I confidently appeal to you to assist the Authorities in every way in your power, and to this end I urge on you to :—

1. Keep your children and young people off the streets.
2. Do not collect in groups, otherwise you are liable to arrest.
3. Remain quietly in your own districts, and avoid places where there is likely to be trouble which might cause loss of life.
4. At once bring under the notice of the Authorities any attempt to injure property.
5. Enrol as Special Constables.

Dated this 27th day of August, 1920.

ADAMS, PRINTER, BELFAST

W. F. COATES, Lord Mayor.

2nd September 1920

SEERY, Patrick:

Rank: Captain.
Unit: *Tyrrellspass Coy, 3rd Batt., Offaly No.1 Bde, IRA. Seery turned out in Easter 1916 with the Tyrrellspass Volunteers.*
DOB: 6 October 1887. Son of Thomas Seery and Mary Daly.
Address: Cloneyheigue, Ballinagore, Co. Westmeath.
Occupation: Farm Labourer.
Death: Seery died at Dublin's Mater Hospital from tetanus caused by gunshot wounds received to the chest during an attack on Clara RIC Barracks on 2 June 1920.
Buried: Meedin Graveyard, Tyrrellspass, Co. Westmeath.
MSPC Ref: 1D233.

"Amongst the activities of the Offaly Brigade was the attack on Clara RIC Barrack, with roads blocked over a radius of fifteen miles. Offaly was, at this time, organised as one brigade and men were drawn from many areas, many more than could be actually or effectively used, and a cordon was drawn on lines from Moate to Daingean and from Birr to Tyrrellspass. All military posts in the area were sniped simultaneous to the attack, thus confusing the British garrisons. The main object of the attack (the capture and destruction of the barrack) failed, owing to defective explosives, and the attack had to be called off. Two Volunteers were severely wounded, Martin Fleming and Pat Seery. Both have since died. God rest the brave" – **Patrick Boland**, Offaly No.2 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1600).

3rd September 1920

KERR, Neil:

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *No.2 Coy (Liverpool), Liverpool Batt., England Brigade, IRA. Kerr had previous attachment in some capacity to F Coy, 2nd Batt., Dublin Bde, I.V. and had been a member of the Kimmage Garrison during the 1916 Rising, serving at Jacob's Biscuit Factory.*
DOB: 6 February 1896. Born at Keenaghan, Co. Armagh to Neil Kerr and Sarah Ann Kerr.
Address: 6 Florida St, Bootle, Liverpool, England.
Occupation: Marine Fireman.
Death: While examining a consignment of weapons bound for Dublin at 93 Scotland Rd, Liverpool, Tom Kerr pulled the trigger of a .45 automatic pistol believing it to be unloaded. The gun discharged and struck Neil in the forehead, killing him instantly. When their father, Neil Kerr Sr, the chief IRB contact in Britain, arrived on the scene within moments, he made sure to place the gun which killed his son into the consignment of weapons being smuggled to Dublin before the police could take it.
Buried: The Republican Plot, Glasnevin Cemetery, Dublin.
MSPC Ref: DP7713.

"Neil Kerr got a military funeral both in Liverpool and Dublin. I took charge of the main body on parade in Liverpool and Frank Thornton, who arrived from Dublin, took charge of the bodyguard. When we arrived at the Dublin boat, Head-Constable McCoy was awaiting us. The parade lined up along the Basin. McCoy came over to me and asked me would everything be all right. I informed him that it would. He said, 'So long as you give your word, I am perfectly satisfied.' He then drove away. After the boat had sailed, the parade broke up and we went home. Another true son of Ireland laid to rest: He was one of the Liverpool Volunteers who, with his brothers, Jack and Tom, fought in the 1916 Rising. May he too rest in peace!" – **Captain Mícheál Ó Laoghaire**, Bootle Company, Liverpool Battalion, IRA (BMH-WS 797).

"If I die, I know the fruit will exceed the cost a thousand-fold; the thought of it makes me happy. I thank God for it. Ah, Cathal, the pain of Easter Week is properly dead at last"

Terence MacSwiney
Writing to Cathal Brugha, September 1920

Members of the Squad / Twelve Apostles with Adjutant-General Gearóid O'Sullivan, c.1921. (L-R) Joe Leonard, Jim Slattery, Joe Dolan, Gearoid O'Sullivan, Bill Stapleton & Charlie Dalton.

THE CORK GAOL HUNGER STRIKE
August – October 1920

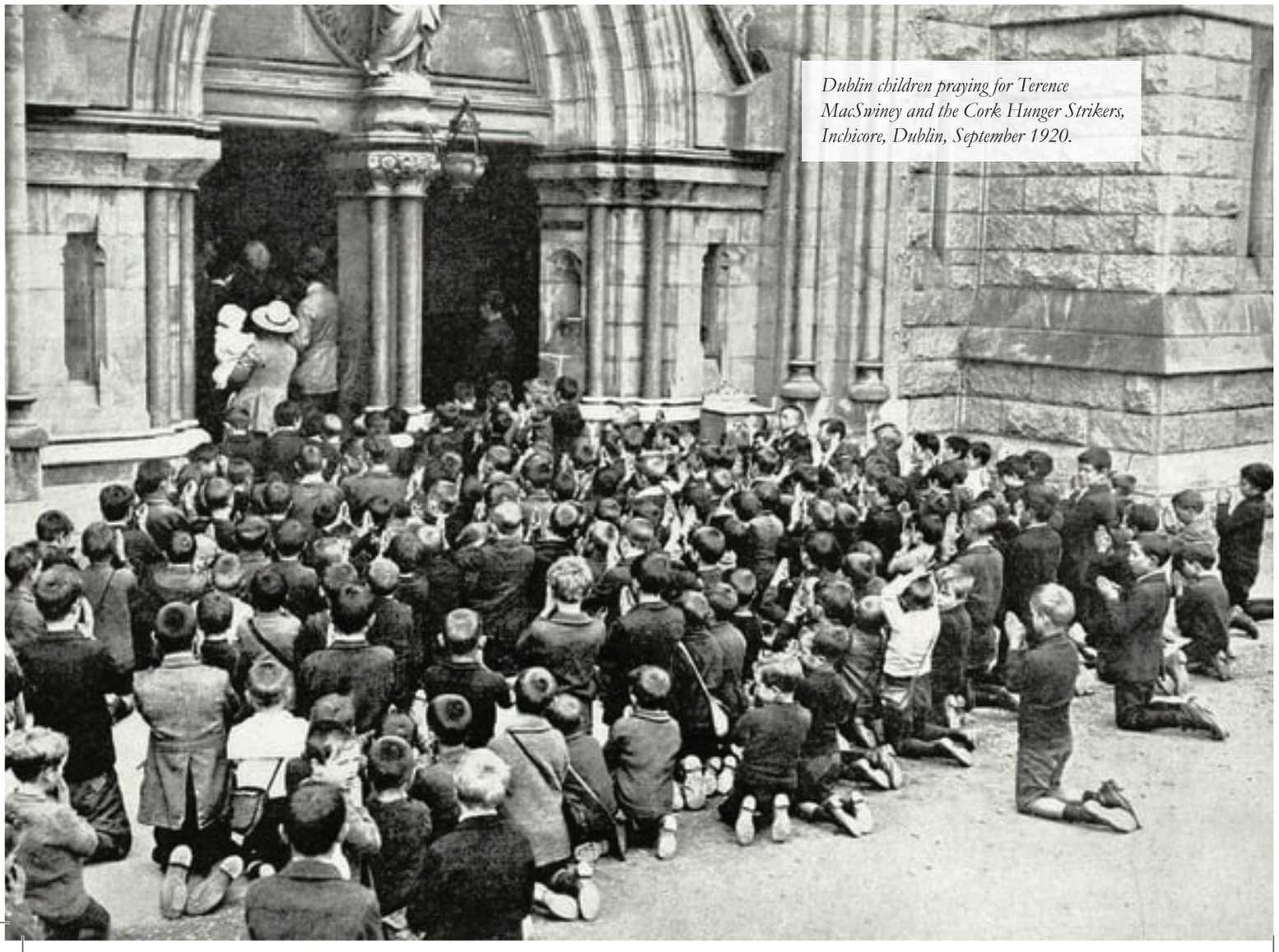
"I was once more arrested at Kilross [Co. Tipperary] *on June 11th, 1920, and taken to Tipperary Military Barracks, where I was identified by two soldiers as being one of the party in the Emly ambush, the day before. Transferred to Cork, I was once more appointed leader of the untried prisoners. I met an old friend there who had spent three months in the cell next to me during my previous term of imprisonment, namely, Mick Fitzgerald, who died later on hunger-strike…The strike had begun as a demand for unconditional release. One night, when it had been on for about fourteen days, Con Neenan of Cork, Tom Crawford of Ballylanders and I were transferred on stretchers to a hospital in the Victoria Barracks, Cork, where we were to be forcibly fed. However, as the press next day came out very strongly about this, the forcible feeding did not take place. Two nights later, during curfew, we were thrown into a military lorry. Orders were clearly given by the officer in charge to this effect: should the prisoners attempt to escape, or should there be any attempt at rescue, they would be shot. We were then taken to a boat, the "Heather". Other prisoners on hunger-strike arrived from Cork Prison about thirty in all. The prisoners were given mattresses but no covering, and were put into a corner of the boat. We were not given even a drink of water during the voyage to England. Arriving at Pembroke at 6 p.m. the following evening, eighteen hours after we had started there was a special train waiting for us. Some struggled onto the train from the ship, helping others, but some were too weak and were taken on stretchers to the train. We left Pembroke by train at about seven o'clock that evening, with a strong military escort. We arrived at Winchester about ten o'clock the next morning. After a week here, they made an attempt at forcible feeding. We were still on hunger-strike, and an order was received to go off hunger-strike. We were brought back to Cork a month later."* – **Maurice Crowe**, Tipperary No.3 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 517).

"The Lord Mayor [Terence MacSwiney] *immediately went on hunger strike vowing that he would take no food until he was released. He was first taken to Cork Prison where he was joined in the hunger strike by Mick Fitzgerald of Fermoy, Joe Murphy of Cork City, and about a dozen other IRA prisoners held there. The Lord Mayor's removal to Britain and his long agony and lonely death in Brixton Prison, London, are known throughout the world. It was the most heroic individual sacrifice for Ireland in all her glorious history and it had a profound effect on the course of the War of Independence. While the Brixton tragedy was being enacted, the IRA hunger-strikers in Cork Prison kept up the awful struggle and their fierce resolve. Nightly, thousands assembled after 6 p.m. at the Gaol Cross outside the prison and prayed and sang to strengthen the spirits of the men refusing food within.*

Remarkably enough, the most generally sung piece was a religious hymn: Father Faber's typically English composition, "Faith of our Fathers". I do not know how it began, but there every night outside Cork Gaol it was sung lustily though proudly and solemnly by the watching thousands. My own view is that it was chosen to banish any conscientious scruples or theological misgivings which the hunger strikers within may have had about the moral rectitude of their deliberate abstention from food even to the death. At all events, this popular preference for Faber's hymn as a kind of rallying song in this desperate phase of the patriotic struggle resulted in "Faith of our Fathers" coming to be accepted almost as a sort of National Anthem. Nowadays, on many big national occasions and GAA days, it is played and sung publicly before the National Anthem "Amhrán in bhFiann". It is given a status and a sactit3r to which it has no great title with the exception of its use as a patriotic turn religious hymn in the great Cork Prison hunger strike of 1920. For quite a while we were able to communicate directly with the hunger strikers each night. Among the crowds were quite a lot of IRA men including signallers. Messages were sent in semaphore from the windows of the prison hospital where the hunger strikers were and which faced Gaol Cross. Before dusk, white cloth handkerchiefs or pillow covers were used by the signalling prisoner at the window. After dusk, a light was employed to flash brief messages to the waiting, crowds below. IRA signalers received the messages and replied in Morse. In this way each night the progress of the struggle inside was relayed in an up-to-the-minute story to the anxious citizens of Cork. The invariable question from the men within was "How is Terry Mac?" Our lads always signalled back the latest news we had from Brixton. It was an extraordinary moving and pathetic scene before the grim gates of Cork Prison each night until curfew, usually at 8 p.m., earlier at weekends. Then a night came when there was no signal from the hospital window. We knew that, either the prisoners had been shifted, or were too weak to rise from their beds. As night followed night and no message came, we realised that their condition must be desperate" – **Engr. Michael V. O'Donoghue**, Cork No.1 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1741).

The Cork Gaol Hunger Strikers were: Michael Fitzgerald (died as a result), Joseph Murphy (died as a result), Christopher Upton, Peter Crowley, John Crowley, Thomas Donovan, John Power, Joseph Kenny, Michael O'Reilly, Seán Hennessy and Michael Burke.

"Is it in accord with the principles of justice that Irish youth and Irishmen can be arrested and detained in gaol, for an indefinite time, without being put on trial" – Cork Examiner, 7 September 1920.



Dublin children praying for Terence MacSwiney and the Cork Hunger Strikers, Inchicore, Dublin, September 1920.

5th September 1920

HEGARTY, Liam:

Rank: Section-Commander.
Unit: *B Coy (Ballyvourney), 8th Batt., Cork No.1 Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 10 May 1892. Son of John Hegarty and Johanna Dineen
Address: Ballymakeera, Macroom, Co. Cork.
Occupation: Shoemaker.
Death: Hegarty was killed when he and another Volunteer, Dan Healy, approached a military lorry, which appeared abandoned on the roadside, near Ballyvourney, Co. Cork. A curious crowd having gathered around the lorry, someone lifted the canvass sheet covering the vehicle, resulting in a sudden burst of machine gunfire which erupted from inside the lorry, hitting Hegarty. Wounded, he took cover behind a ditch but was shot at again, killing him.
Buried: Kilgarvan, Co. Kerry.
MSPC Ref: DP4327.

"Intense excitement prevailed in Ballyvourney village last evening consequent on the terrible tragedy enacted there in the afternoon, when two young men, William Hegarty, aged about 30, and Michael Lynch, aged about 22, were shot. Yesterday afternoon three motor lorries passed through Macroom, driving at top speed. The first and last had in each about eight or ten armed soldiers, and the middle lorry was completely covered in white canvas. They went on towards Ballyvourney, and near the cross, a quarter of a mile from the village, and probably not very far from the scene of the recent attack on the military cyclist patrol, the middle lorry pulled up on the side of the road, and the others passed on, taking with them the driver of the covered wagon. There it lay on the side of the road, apparently deserted, with no sign of life within. Little children from the village began to congregate about it, and there was the greatest curiosity to know what was inside. Soon the crowd became larger, and was composed largely of children, and young boys and girls. One little lad had the temerity to lift the canvas and gaze in. Immediately, a volley of rifle fire, was opened and the frightened crowd fled in all directions. William Hegarty, a native of Ballymakeera, who had come along on a bicycle, and dismounted, was wounded in the shoulder. He dropped his bicycle and ran along by the fence, but he received two more bullets that killed him. Close by was the house of Michael Lynch, two of whose sons are in the RIC force, and one of whom served in the late war. The only boy at home, also named Michael, was having some tea, when he heard the firing and rushed out to the gate leading to the road. Fire was opened on him also, but he died from the wounds inflicted in about three hours…Hegarty was a very popular young man, and was connected with the Republican Army. Lynch was not a follower of the Sinn Féin party" – **Skibbereen Eagle**, 11 September 1920, p.2.

"At early Mass in the Catholic Church, Daingean [Co. Offaly], last Sunday morning, prayers were offered for the eternal repose of the souls of the late Patrick Seery, Tyrrellspass and William Hegarty, Co. Cork, who were Volunteers who gave their lives for Ireland" – **Offaly Independent**, 18 September 1920, p.5.

THE FEARED HOUSE RAIDS BY THE TANS

"With the start of the Black and Tan war, things became very difficult. They were an undisciplined force, and were drunk more often than they were sober. They raided homes indiscriminately, and from the time they entered your home until they left, one could not be sure of what would happen – it depended entirely on their mood or whim. For instance, they entered a small cottage on the outskirts of Limerick and told the woman of the house they wanted her husband; she asked them to let him finish his tea, and they told her not to worry, that they would be finished with him in a few minutes. They took him outside the door, and the next thing she heard was shots. She rushed out the door to find her husband dead. Some of them were demobilised soldiers; others, it was believed, were recruited from the criminal classes in prison in England, and certainly their conduct seemed to bear that out…My home was continually raided, sometimes by military, sometimes by Black and Tans. The first one occurred one morning at about 2 a.m., there was a loud knocking at the hall door, and I opened my bedroom window and asked who was there. 'Military,' was the reply. 'Open your door in the name of His Majesty, the King. We want to search your house.' I asked 'Have you got a licence or search warrant?' and the soldier's answer was Yes. I said, 'Put it in the letterbox until I see it.' 'You had better be quick, or we will break down your door,' I was told. I dressed and came down the stairs, crawling by the wall, as the stairs faced the front door, and I feared they might shoot the lock. I got to the letterbox and took out the order. It was an official one all right, and I let them in. There were only myself

and the three children in the house, and they were fast asleep, but I had to wake them and get them up for the military to search their beds. That was the only time I looked for an official order to search the house; as time went on I learned that the only law was the law of force, and the sooner I opened the door when they knocked the better for all concerned. Another night, I knew real fear for the first and only time. It was a military raid, as usual after midnight, and we were all in bed. When they came onto my eldest son's room (he was sixteen years of age and in very bad health), they asked his age and examined his face to see if he was shaving, and they started debating whether they would take him. It was then I knew fear, a fear that congealed the blood in my veins. I made up my mind they would only get him over my dead body; however, they decided against taking him. It took me some time to get over the horror of it. I had reason for the fear, as several lads had been taken from their homes by the military at that time, and their corpses found by the roadside in the morning. In one case, two lads were put sitting up by a wall, dead, with biscuit tins on their heads" – **Kathleen Clarke**, *Revolutionary Woman: My Fight for Irish Freedom*, p.175-178.

MORIARTY, Thomas:

Rank: Fian.
Unit: *A Coy (Cloghane), 4th Batt., Kerry No.1 Bde, NFÉ.*
DOB: 14 February 1904. Son of Maurice Moriarty and Margaret Callaghan.
Address: Faha, Cloghane, Dingle, Co. Kerry.
Occupation: Farmer's Son.
Death: Moriarty, having been in the company of a local cattle healer, was in the process of running across the fields to a secret Volunteer gathering at Cloghane. In the meantime, the local IRA had a plan in place to ambush and assassinate two hostile RIC constables who had defied an IRA order not to enter the Parish so they could attend the funeral of a relative. As light dimmed in the evening, Moriarty was mistaken for one of the RIC officers and shot dead. His death was very much regretted by the local IRA.
Buried: Cloghane Graveyard, Co. Kerry.
MSPC Ref: DP3424.

TERENCE MacSWINEY

A Growing Worldwide Anger for Resolution
August 24 – September 8 1920

"To His Majesty, the King, Balmoral, Scotland. We…being members of the Standing Committee, appointed by the Irish Peace Conference, at session on Tuesday, August 24th, most respectfully implore your Majesty to exercise your Royal prerogative and order forthwith the release of the Lord Mayor of Cork, now lying at the point of death in Brixton Jail…" – **The telegram to King George V from the Standing Committee – Irish Peace Conference, 24 August 1920**.

"The King took immediate action in the case of the Lord Mayor of Cork, as promised by his Private Secretary. The action was to consult his responsible Ministers. His Majesty, true to his Constitutional position, would not exercise his prerogative of clemency in a case of this kind without consulting his Ministers, and the position tonight was that the policy of the Government remained unchanged" – **Response from King George V via the British Home Secretary, 26 August 1920.**

"We all sympathise with and pray for you in your suffering. It is by these heroic sufferings of the individual that alas! our country has to win her freedom. Your example and that of your husband will remain an inspiration for every generation. May Ireland always have such women and men" – **Éamon de Valera's telegram message to Mrs. Muriel MacSwiney, 26 August 1920.**

"I made no appeal to you for exceptional treatment for my brother. I warned you of your responsibility in the event of his death. He and his comrades demand their freedom as a right. If my brother or any of his comrades must die to win that freedom, they do so willingly, and we are proud of them, but their deaths lie on you and your Government. The self-determination for which you say England went to war is as much Ireland's right as Poland's. We claim it, and we will have it, even if you have decided that my brother is to die" – **Ms. Mary MacSwiney's open letter to the Prime Minister, David Lloyd George, 25 August 1920.**

"Outside the prison, numbers of people during the day, and at night, there was another demonstration of sympathy with the Lord Mayor. Within half a mile radius of the prison there was large numbers of police, many of whom came in motor-wagons. It is estimated that their strength was four times as great as last night. At 8 o'clock, several thousand people lined the pavements of Brixton Hill, and an hour later, the attendance was largely increased. There were large forces of foot and mounted police on duty… One man standing on a wall vehemently denounced the action of the Government; and stated that he was prepared to make any sacrifice to bring about the release of the Lord Mayor. Raising a Republican flag over his head, he shouted that he fought in the war under the Union Jack and he was glad now to stand under the Sinn Féin flag. He was pulled down by the police and arrested. A number of other persons were also taken into custody during the night" **– Freeman's Journal**, 27 August 1920, p.2.

"I am thus addressing you because it is the custom of members of the House of Commons to do so, but I have misgivings in so doing in these terms, owing to the fact, that one of my race, the Lord Mayor of Cork, is languishing at Brixton Prison and will die if you do not intervene and order his release. You claim to be a Celt. Whenever did a Celt resist an appeal for mercy? If ever he did, then he was a traitor to the race and psychology of the race. Lord Mayor MacSwiney is a brother of ours, sentenced to two years of imprisonment for a political offence…If the Lord Mayor dies as a result of your stupidity and mulish obstinacy, then the charge of deliberate murder can be justly levelled at you" **– James O'Grady, Labour MP (Leeds), 27 August 1920.**

'**NEW YORK DOCKERS TIE UP WORK ON BRITISH SHIPS** – *"American ships were not interfered with. The ships affected were the Baltic, Celtic, Olympic, and Canopie. The crew of the Baltic, which docked this morning, was greeted this morning by women pickets carrying banners denouncing England's attitude towards Ireland, and taunting the British sailors with cowardice for allowing passengers to be removed from their decks. In the course of the demonstration of the women at the piers, the following telegram, which was sent to David Lloyd George was read: "The sound of death in the throat of Alderman MacSwiney is the death knell of your adventure in Ireland. We hear the bell tolling." An Exchange telegram says the White Star Line shoremen's actions was a protest against the imprisonment of the Lord Mayor of Cork and the refusal of the British Government to permit Archbishop Mannix to land in Ireland. They were joined by about 800 Cunard longshoremen and 130 firemen from the liner, Baltic…The strike is expected to delay the sailing of the Olympic and the Aquitania, both of which vessels are scheduled to leave New York today"* **– Freeman's Journal**, 28 August 1920, p.5.

"Miss Annie MacSwiney said that when she saw him her brother was very much troubled at the condition of the hunger-strikers in Cork. She expressed the hope that even yet he could be released. He shook his head, and quietly replied: 'There is not the slight.' **– Freeman's Journal**, 31 August 1920, p.3.

"Your noble husband is the admiration of the world" – **Telegram to Mrs. Muriel MacSwiney from the Thomas Ashe Branch (Philadelphia) of The Friends of Irish Freedom, 2 September 1920**.

"Southern California admires your heroic stand. Husband's sacrifice is a triumph for freedom and justice the world over" – **Telegram to Mrs. Muriel MacSwiney from the California Branch of The Friends of Irish Freedom, 2 September 1920.**

"Manchester Labour demands the instant release of Lord Mayor at overflow mass meeting. Lord Mayor [of Manchester] with large proportion of Councillors, join in demand. Advocating General Strike. No other course left. Will London's Labour strike? May God sustain his brave spirit" – **(Manchester) Labour Party, 1 September 1920.**

"The Irish Women Worker's Union, on behalf of the working women of Ireland, send you a message of sympathy and of deep admiration for the prolonged and heroic fight made by your husband and his comrades in Cork Jail. A triumphant victory is already achieved by this act of courage and faith" – **Telegram to Mrs. Muriel MacSwiney from the Irish Women Worker's Union.**

"My death may be of greater service to the Irish Republic than the whole of my life's work. All the prayers and Masses that have been offered for me will undoubtedly be heard and answered by God in His own wise and just way"

– Terence MacSwiney

An American protestor is booked for her protesting against British oppression in Ireland. The intensity of the situation in Ireland was finally being recognised across the world through the harrowing headlines on national broadsheets detailing the woes of the Cork Gaol protestors and of Terence MacSwiney.

Members of Cork Corporation visit Lord Mayor MacSwiney in Brixton Prison, London

"We, the Labour Party and Trades Council of Gateshead-on-Tyne strongly condemn the Government for their callous and inhuman treatment of the Lord Mayor of Cork; that we demand his immediate release and that we tender to the Lady Mayoress and family, and to the people of Ireland our deepest sympathy in their great sufferings" – **Telegram from (Gateshead-upon-Tyne) Labour Party to Mrs. Muriel MacSwiney, 7 September 1920.**

"In Brixton prison, the Miss MacSwiney's and I took it in turns to be with him all the time during the day, his two brothers at night, and his great friend Fred Cronin, a married man with a big family who left everything to do this. One of the greatest workers in the cause of Irish Independence who never wanted any limelight, whilst Terry was there the assistant doctor in the prison asked me to ask my husband to take food. I did not resent this. I understood. He said "He might be released permanently injured, you might have more children and this might affect them." I said I had boon thinking this for the past two years but that I never interfered with my husband in a matter of conscience. "I wish my wife were like you" said the doctor, and never asked me again. I naturally tried to save Terry's life. On arrival in London, I asked Art O'Brien if the British Government intended to release him. We of course had our own secret service who told us these things. Art said "not at present of course they may change" I therefore sent a letter to the heads of the Volunteers, Dick Mulcahy and Cathal Brugha, and I forget the third, saying that Terry, in my opinion was more valuable to Ireland, alive than dead (naturally I could not give expression to any personal wishes) and would they think of giving him an order to give up the hunger strike…Daring the time in Brixton we also learned that the R.C. Church wanted 'to' excommunicate Terry on the grounds that he was committing suicide, they only desisted from doing this because Terry's hunger strike and Ireland's Cause was so well put before the whole world, and everybody knew that he only desire to be released from prison so that this would have made them look ridiculous" – **Mrs. Muriel MacSwiney**, (BMH-WS 637).

"As Mayor of the largest city in the United States, I respectfully urge you not to disgrace our war aims by the further imprisonment of Mr. MacSwiney, whose heroism has won the admiration of all people who believe in the rule of the people by the people" – **Telegram to David Lloyd George from Mayor John F. Hylan, 96th Mayor of New York City.**

"To President Wilson, Washington. You sir, enunciated the principle of self-determination for all nations. My husband, Terence MacSwiney, Lord Mayor of Cork, lies dying in an English prison, because he upholds the fight for, and is prepared to sacrifice his life for, that principle. Tried by a foreign court which he does not recognise in his native land and forcibly cast into jail; his only possible weapon of protest is his refusal to take food. I ask you to use your influence with the English Government to prevent the perpetration of an outrage on civilisation" – **Telegram from Mrs. Muriel MacSwiney to Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, 5 September 1920.**

A period of wholescale intensity: Auxiliaries searching Irish civilians

8th September 1920

MULVOY, Seán (Jack):
Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *B Coy (Galway City), 1st Batt., Mid-Galway Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 5 February 1903. Son of William Mulvoy and Sarah McHugh.
Address: College Road, Bohermore, Galway City.
Occupation: Hardware Shop Assistant.
Death: Seán Mulvoy, who was on duty with a small IRA unit to collect arms that had been sent by rail from the Longford Brigade, was shot and mortally wounded during an attempt to disarm Constable Edward Krumm, a notorious Black and Tan, who appeared at the terminal of Galway Railway Station and opened fire. Mulvoy, in an attempt to stop Krumm, failed to pull his revolver out before Krumm and subsequently was shot in the head, dying not long afterwards. Crown forces carried out gruesome reprisals across Galway City as a result.
Buried: Teampaill (St. James') Cemetery, Mervue, Co. Galway.

"A few days after D.I. Hildebrand left a Black and Tan lorry driver named Krumm, who had spent the evening drinking in the house of "one" friend after another, - (he was not in uniform and was accompanied by an unarmed man) came into a pub. He boasted about his am and insisted on setting up a row of bottles as targets to show his skill. Tom Hynes, the Intelligence officer, heard at this and sent his brother, Michael, to warn any Volunteers who went to the railway station that an armed man seemed to be preparing to create trouble. On this night the Volunteers were going to the station to collect arms which Volunteer Tom Redington was bringing from the Longford area, there was a story afterwards that they intended to disarm any troops, soldiers or police, who were at the station that night, but it was not true. They had been collecting arms in the town on that night from friends and foes alike. Friends could not afford to give them without some display of force, to protect them from the police, but there was nothing on that night in the Railway Station except the collecting of the Longford guns. They were in the habit of going to the station every night at 11.30 p.m. to meet the incoming train, to watch the movements of troops, to collect dispatches and to meet Volunteers from other districts. The Volunteers present were Seán Turke, Mulvoy, Johnny Broderick, Frank Dowd, Tommy Fahy and Michael Hynes. Some of them were not on duty. Krumm and his companion went on to the platform by the gate on the arrival side. Volunteers warned the men with the Longford guns and they went out by the signal-box with the guns. As the crowd started to go out the gate, Krumm drew his gun and made as if to shoot into the crowd. Turke jumped on his back and pulled him to the ground, trying to

get his gun from him. Mulvoy went to help him. Krumm managed to fire all the rounds in his gun in the struggle, killing Mulvoy and wounding another man. Frank Dowd then shot Krumm just as Fahy and Hynes came to help. They took the gun. Krumm's companion was still with him but seems to have taken no part in the business. Mulvoy was carried to his lodgings but was dead on arrival, The incident seemed to be closed except to those who knew that this was what the the police were waiting for. Half-an-hour afterwards the lorries full of armed men tore down the road from Renmore and the shooting began. Volunteer Quirke was taken from his bed in his lodgings at the New Docks and shot through the stomach eleven times. He crawled on his hands and knees from the lamp-post on the quay where he was shot to the door of the house. Father Griffin was sent for and stayed with him till he died. This was five hours later and be screamed continuously during that time. It was thought that the police thought that Quirke had shot Krumm and that this was a mistake for Turke. Troops then took Johnny Broderick from his home and Commins from his lodgings and put them up against the big door at the railway station and shot them. Commins was wounded in the leg and fell, Broderick's head was grazed by a bullet and he cleverly fell. also, pretending to be dead. Seeing him covered with blood, the police left him. His mother was locked in her house and it was set on fire. Her screams mixed with poor Quirke's. The neighbours rushed to put the fire out and were threatened with guns. When the police left, the fire was put out" – **Geraldine Plunkett**, (BMH-WS 424).

9th September 1920

QUIRKE, Séamus Augustine:

Rank: Adjutant.
Unit: *A Coy (Galway City), 1st Batt., Mid-Galway Bde, IRA.*
– Originally a member of H Coy (Ballyphehane), 2nd Batt., Cork No.1 Bde, IRA.
DOB: 28 August 1896. Son of Christopher Quirke and Catherine Buckley of Western Cottage, Western Rd, Cork, Co. Cork.
Address: New Dock, Galway City.
Occupation: Watchmaker.
Death: After the midnight incident at Galway Railway Terminal, involving the shootings of Constable Edward Krumm and Vol. Seán Mulvoy, Crown Forces retaliated by going to the New Dock, taking Séamus Quirke, barefoot from his lodgings while holding his rosary beads, and shot him eleven times. It was a case of mistaken identity, believing they had Seán Turke. The shooting occurred around 04.20 a.m. Quirke managed to survive for a short period after the shooting and was given the Last Rites by Fr. Michael Griffin, who, would also be murdered, in a horrific attack, by the Black & Tans, within weeks.
Buried: The Republican Plot, St. Finbarr's Cemetery, Cork.
Image Source: Tomás Mac Cormaic.
MSPC Ref: 1D393.

"Quirke's cap and uniform rested on the coffin and the breastplate bore the following: 'Séamus Quirke, Adjutant, A Company, 1st Galway Battalion, 1st Galway Brigade, IRA. Aged 23. Murdered by English police spies. September 8th 1920. RIP.' Most Rev. Dr. O'Dea, Bishop of Galway, presided at the High Mass, and over 40 priests attended. Before the Last Gospel, Rev. Fr. Burke, C.C. Shrule, the deacon, came forward and in a voice charged with emotion, asked for the prayers of the congregation for the deceased, adding: 'May their souls and the souls of all true men rest in peace.' Large numbers of the great congregation were visibly affected. A funeral procession of ten thousand people, headed by the bishop in purple robes, and the priest, passed through hushed streets" – **Freeman's Journal**, 11 September 1920, p.5.

"After the shooting of the Black and Tan at the station I saw a Scottish soldier going over to a horrible-looking Auxiliary who was outside a shop in Williamsgate Street. The Auxiliary had two revolvers in his crossed hands, after going through a corner house and shooting people in the shop. After firing the shots, he had walked 30 or 40 yards up the street and stood with his back to the wall with a revolver in each hand. The Scottish soldier went over to him, put his hand over the Auxiliary's two hands and hit him on the jaw. He hit him again and the Auxiliary crumpled down. The Scottish soldier then went down Francis St. to the police barracks, took off his tunic and asked any of the men there to come out and he would fight them. He said that his mother would be ashamed of him if she saw him in the company he was with in Galway" – **Patrick Moylett**, (BMH-WS 767).

The coffins of Mulvoy and Quirke being led through the streets of Galway, September 1920

"It was reported that RIC used to patrol Tullow in groups of four, armed with revolvers. It was decided to hold them up with the object of getting the arms from them, so on the night of September 8th 1920 four of us were told off to hold them up. The other Volunteers were Michael Quinn, Michael Walsh, Michael Neill and myself. We were supported by Battalion Commandant Michael Keating, Captain William O'Dea, Volunteer James Nolan, and some others whose names I now forget. The four of us walked up to the RIC men and challenged them to put up their hands, but they immediately attempted to draw their guns and they opened fire. We replied, and in the engagement that followed, two RIC men were killed and the other two succeeded in making their escape to the barrack, which was only 100 yards away. The usual police and military activity followed and there were numerous raids and searches. Two business premises in the town (Tullow) were burned down as a reprisal by Black and Tans. There were several arrests, including most of the men who took part in the action referred to. I was taken from a house one night by military and RIC, threatened and placed against a wall. Two RIC men shoved the muzzles of their revolvers into my mouth in an effort to extract information from me" – **Section-Cmdr. Daniel Byrne**, 3rd Batt., Carlow Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1440).

"It is a splendid illustration of the impudent audacity of British statesmen when lying will serve their purpose. Today, it is necessary to get an excuse to save England from the odium of being herself; a perfect type of that aggressive militarism which she professed to have been fighting against on the Continent. If there is no quarrel between Ireland and England today, what is the meaning of the British Army of occupation on Irish soil, with its daily arriving reinforcements, with its field artillery, its tanks, its bombing planes. It requires two to make a quarrel – how naïve of the British envoy to suggest that the robber who holds his victim's property at the pistol point is not a party to the quarrel"

Éamon de Valera's response to British Envoy in America, Sir Auckland Geddes, who claimed there was no quarrel between England and Ireland.

The burnt remains of Murphy's Hardware, Tullow, Co. Carlow: burnt in an act of reprisal by Black & Tans, September 1920

10th September 1920

GILL, Patrick:

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *Kilmore Coy, 5th Batt., North Roscommon Bde, IRA.*
DOB: c.1870.
Address: Corlara, Kilmore, Co. Roscommon.
Occupation: Farmer & Lime Burner.
Death: Around 10pm, while attending the wake of a relative, Vol. Bernard O'Beirne, Gill was, without any provocation, shot and bayoneted by a soldier of the East Yorkshire Regiment. Gill is recorded as a civilian in *DOTIR.*
Buried: Jamestown Cemetery, Co. Leitrim.
MSPC Ref: DP7035.

"In Drumsna Volunteer Patrick Gill was walking up the town with two girls. A party of British military were in the town. They fired on Gill without warning, shooting him dead. The two girls who accompanied him were not hit. Gill was shot through the stomach" – **2nd Lieut. Charles Pinkman**, Leitrim Brigade, (BMH-WS 1263).

"It appears that the military and police, under an officer, returned off patrol duty and began to clear all public-houses. The military then stood at their lorry and challenged all passers-by. Gill, accompanied by his sister and a Mrs. Nobley, were passing through the village to the wake of a relative, a prominent Volunteer, named Beirne, who died on Friday. It is alleged deceased failed to answer a challenge to halt, and immediately a shot rang out, the bullet entering the deceased's right side and passing through the left, at the heart. Deceased fell. It is alleged he then got a thrust in the right side of the abdomen. When police, military and civilians rushed to the scene, Gill was dead with his intestines protruding. The body was removed to the house of Mr. Cashin, publican…On the spot where Gill fell there is a large pool of blood, which has been encircled by stones by the local Volunteers, who also erected a crucifix. A belt worn by Gill, which bears a mark as of a bayonet thrust has been placed in the centre…The remains of the deceased were accorded a public funeral. Several hundred Volunteers marched behind the hearse. The coffin was draped in the Republican colours, and full military honours were paid at the grave…Carrick-on-Shannon Volunteers, when joining up for the funeral, were dispersed by military with the bayonet. They afterwards reformed and attended the funeral" -**Anglo-Celt**, 18 September 1920, p.3.

Sligo Brigade Volunteers, c. 1921 - Jim Mahon, Jack Monahan & Joe McLynn

TERENCE MacSWINEY
The World is Watching
September 9 – September 27, 1920

"I have watched this case with pain, but pain must not obscure duty. The picture of the British Government doing to death an ardent patriot in a British jail has no relation to the facts of the case. Everything that can be done has been done to induce Mr. MacSwiney to take food. He is deliberately committing suicide in a way we are powerless to prevent. To release him would be to aggravate a problem which is already far graver than the fate of any individual, for there is no doubt at all of the disastrous effect it would have upon all those in Ireland who are engaged in the effort to restore order. There is no doubt that the organisation in which Mr. MacSwiney held a very important position and took a leading part – that of Brigadier – was actively concerned in the work of murder, by which more than 80 devoted men of the Irish forces, many of them soldiers, have been slain, and twice as many have suffered serious injury. We have positive proof that the so-called Irish Republican Army and the particular brigade of it to which Mr. MacSwiney was attached, was concerned in these murders and attempts to murder…Either then we must hand the south of Ireland over to something calling itself a Republican Army and leave the north of Ireland to fight it out without intervention, or we must protect the men who are defending the flag. All I hear makes it clearer to me that this murder conspiracy is organised by a small body of men who are terrorising the large mass of Irishmen. Some intelligent Irish Nationalists go just as much in fear of their lives as the Unionists, and our information is that Mr. MacSwiney's predecessor was murdered by this very gang, because he would not fall in with their plans" – **Statement from British Prime Minister David Lloyd George, 8 September 1920.**

"I think decision to make the Lord Mayor of Cork to die in prison a political blunder of the first magnitude. I would gladly intervene if any appeal of mine could lead even now to wiser councils prevailing, but I fear that the latest declarations of Ministers preclude any such hope" – **Herbert H. Asquith, former British Prime Minister (1908-1916), 9 September 1920.**

"It was not in Germany but in His Majesty's prisons, that women fighting for Constitutional rights were forcibly fed to the point of death by orders of your Ministers. Will your Majesty allow these brutal Ministers to kill Irishmen fighting for Irish freedom in your Majesty's prisons? From one who was forcibly fed" – **Telegram to King George V from Miss Ethel Moorhead, Suffragette.**

"Convey to McSwiney [sic] sympathy of 400,000,000 Negroes" – **Telegram to the MacSwiney Family from Marcus Garvey, United Negro Improvement Association, NYC.**

"Uno stoicismso superbo" – **Benito Mussolini**

"A meeting of Protestants of all denominations in Ballina yesterday evening, Rev. J.F. Nash, rector, presiding, unanimously adopted a resolution appealing to the Government to release the Lord Mayor of Cork" – **Irish Independent**, 9 September 1920, p.5.

*'***WOE UNTO YOU, HYPOCRITES** – *The history of the British domination of Ireland is a record of incitement to political murder and violence. From the Sack of Drogheda to the Battle of Belfast, the story and the lesson are the same. Sir Horace Plunkett's descriptions in yesterday's 'Times,' of the deliberate destruction of Irish creameries by the 'servants of the Crown,' is but the latest exposure of an example of this policy. But Mr. Lloyd George obscures the story and ignores the lesson. By making this futile, insulting offer to MacSwiney, he poses as the compassionate, the merciful, whereas, in fact, he proclaims himself merely the High Priest of British hypocrisy"* – **The Daily Herald**, 8 September 1920.

"Today, the 31st day of the strike in Cork Jail, finds all the prisoners in a desperately low condition. Two, Seán Hennessy and Michael Burke, were dying last night. Mr. Lloyd George is reported as having made an extraordinary statement at Vevey, declaring that the men were 'convicted of crimes of violence,' the fact being that ten are not only not convicted but have had up to now no charge preferred against them" – **Irish Independent,** 9 September 1920, p.5.

"All I am suffering; all I am enduring, is but a small price to pay for Ireland's cause"
– Terence MacSwiney, 9 September 1920.

"The Lord Mayor is growing weaker but still retains consciousness. He is very restless and suffering badly from bed sores. His elbows and arms were so sore today that they had to be bandaged. There is a great numbness in his limbs, and his arms have to be frequently massaged. His back has also become very irritated. The doctor is doing his best to relieve him of any suffering in that way, and has got a pneumatic mattress on his bed. The Lord Mayor's vitality is marvellous. The dizziness, the fatigued feeling and the pain in his heart continue…He asked again today about the boys in Cork Jail. Speaking costs him a painful effort and his relatives content themselves with reading to him passages from 'The Imitations of Christ.'" – **Fr. Dominic, the chaplain of Terence MacSwiney, 9 September 1920.**

"Mr. David Murphy, 3 Shamrock Villas, Harold's Cross, [Dublin], who claims to be the last surviving Centre of the Fenian organisation in Limerick, has received a letter from the Home Office, acknowledging his appeal for the release of the Lord Mayor of Cork and stating that it has been laid before the King. Mr. Murphy, it is interesting to note, entered last month, upon his 90th year" – **Freeman's Journal**, 13 September 1920, p.6.

"It is felt that the 11 untried prisoners in Cork Jail are rapidly approaching the limit to all human endurance, and that two of them will succumb suddenly. The prisoners are now nearly six weeks on hunger-strike and are so completely helpless that they unscarcely move and many of them are unable to speak. A hospital nurse who saw them last night told our representative that Seán Hennessy, the Limerick youth, was living and no more. She found Christopher Upton and Joe Murphy, both suffering from cold due to weakened circulation. Joe Murphy has gloves on his hands to restore warmth. Michael Burke, who can only lie on his back, and who had little sleep for the past week, believes that the end is near. The boy, John Power, is suffering from pains and numbness in the legs and also from sleeplessness. The condition of the other prisoners, more especially Joseph Kenny and Thomas Donovan is grave" – **Freeman's Journal**, 20 September 1920, p.5.

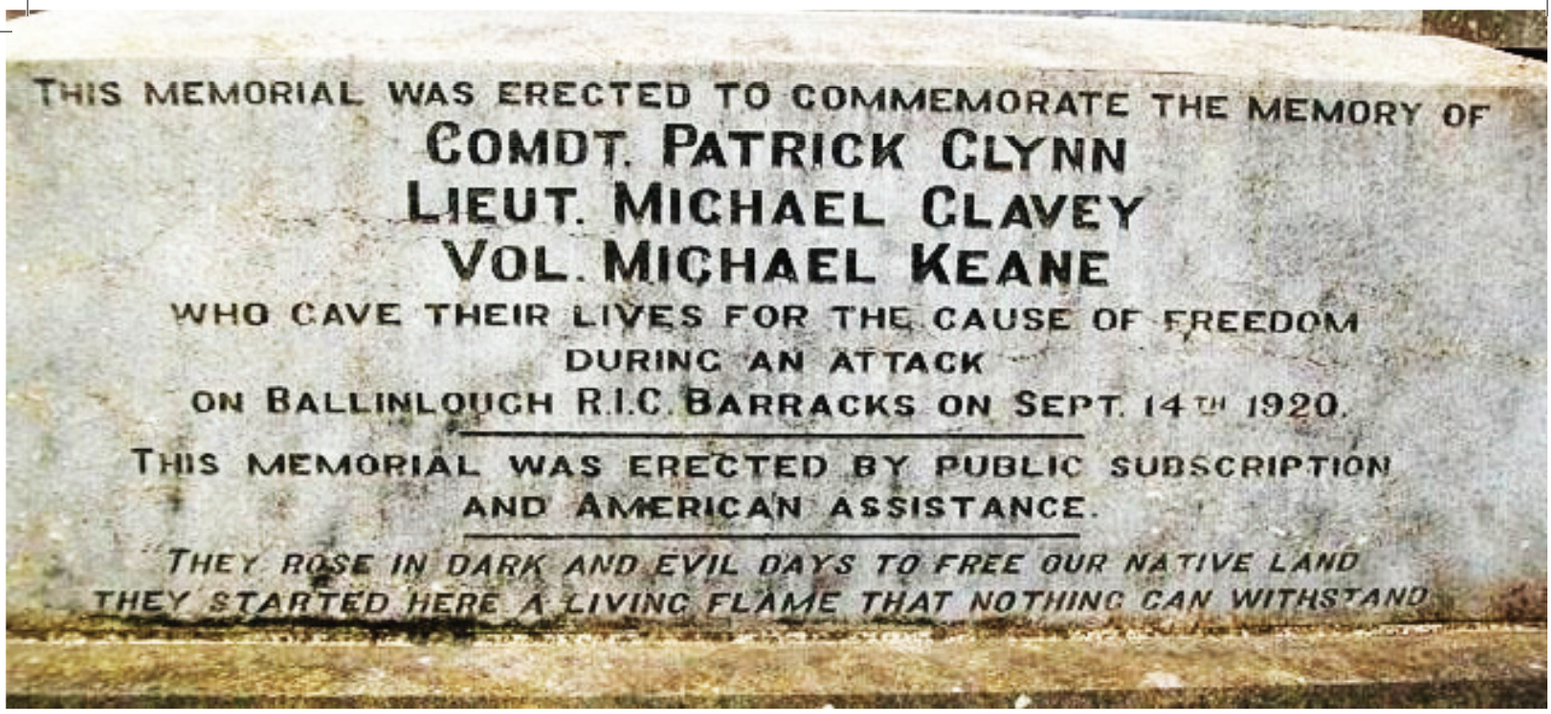
"The Lord Mayor of Cork, who has entered on his fortieth day of hunger-strike is, 'very, very weak indeed,' according to the prison physician, Dr. Griffiths. He is extremely prostrate and emaciated and suffering considerable pain in his head and limbs. He, however, still retains full possession of his mental faculties and there is no weakening in his determination to carry on his protest until released by death or the English cabinet…As usual, the Lady Mayoress and the Misses MacSwiney spent the day at the bedside of the patient. Miss Mary MacSwiney stated that her brother was looking worse than she had ever seen him" – **Freeman's Journal**, 21 September 1920, p.6.

The protests continue to build momentum in support of the hunger-strikers, 1920

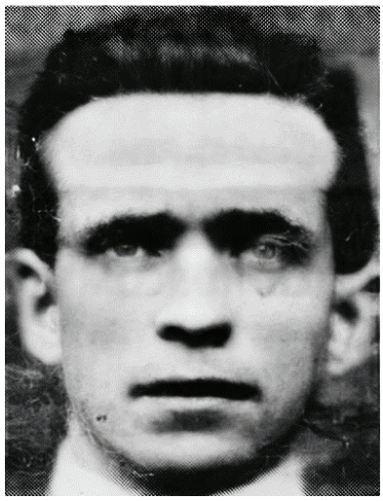
American children holding placards in support of the Irish hunger-strikers, 1920. Source: US Library of Congress

"About the end of August, 'Sandow' Donovan (newly promoted as O/C, 1st Battalion, Cork No.1 Brigade) sent for me, and asked me would I be prepared to go to London on special work which Michael Collins wished to have carried out. I was to be supplied with a driver (Jack Cody) and accompanied by Con O'Sullivan (Castletownbere). I agreed. That evening or the following evening, Frank Thornton came from Dublin, and myself and Cody set off for Dublin with him. I met Michael Collins in a house in Parnell Square, one or two houses below Vaughan's Hotel and on the same side. He explained that, if Terence MacSwiney died on hunger strike, it had been decided to shoot some members of the British Cabinet. He gave me a number of names, which I had to memorise at the time, and left full discretion to me as to what should be done. He told me to get in touch with Sam Maguire, who would have more detailed instructions, and said that the London Volunteers were to be placed at my disposal. If possible, I should inform him beforehand as to what plan of' action I intended to take up, but, under no circumstances, was anything to be attempted before Terence MacSwiney died. If I did succeed in doing anything, Collins could hold out no hope that myself or any man taking part in the action would be rescued. I went to London that night, accompanied by Jack Cody, Con Sullivan following later. The following day, I got in touch with Same Maguire, IRB representative in London. Sam arranged digs for us, and made arrangements with Art O'Brien to provide us with any money that would be required as expenses for ourselves, or for what we might use for intelligence purposes. He also introduced me to Reggie Dunne who was in charge of the London Volunteers. Dunne and myself discussed the position in some detail, and he later arranged that I should inspect the different companies of the London Volunteers, under the guise of' a GHQ officer. I did this, and selected from the companies, men whom I thought might be of use. I later met these men on different occasions, and outlined a number of observers for different districts where the Cabinet Ministers, mentioned by Michael Collins, were living, whether in houses or flats. I also contacted a number of Irish newspaper men and, through them, I judiciously got particulars of ministerial functions, etc. Every day, Reggie Dunne collected these reposts, and we carefully examined them, hoping that some measure of regularity might be discovered in the movements of the Ministers. Things proceeded slowly for about six weeks. Meanwhile, I acquainted myself with the streets where these Ministers were living, and the routes they might possibly take to and from the House of Commons. Cody, who was to drive a car, was also familiarising himself with London conditions. We discovered, after a time, that the movements of the Ministers were most irregular and uncertain and, for that reason, I was not able to devise any definite plan to carry out my objective, should the occasion arise" – **Capt. Patrick 'Pa' Murray**, C Coy, 1st Batt., Cork No.1 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1584).

"Lady Mayoress…we grieve with you in the tension of your long agony. The silent masses, now dumb at the outrage on humanity being committed by the British Government cannot storm your husband's prison. They will not, however, forget. They now see it in its nakedness, the hypocrisy of the plea with which that Government recently called on millions of the noble minded of the world to assist it, and they will yet rock that Bastille of the subject nations, the British Empire. Please tell your noble husband and have conveyed to his comrades suffering with him the heartfelt gratitude of the Irish nation, the Irish race, and say God give you all His consolation" – **Telegram to Mrs. Muriel MacSwiney from Éamon de Valera, 26 September 1920.**



14th September 1920



GLAVEY, Michael:

Rank: Captain.
Unit: *Ballinlough Coy, 1st Batt., South Roscommon Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 20 October 1883. Son of Michael Glavey and Mary McGuire.
Address: Clooncan, Castlerea, Co. Roscommon.
Occupation: Tailor.
Death: Glavey was shot and killed by Crown forces during an attempt to burn the abandoned Ballinlough RIC barracks. The building was being watched by an undercover patrol of 9th Lancers, who opened fire when the IRA unit prepared to set the building on fire. Commandant Pat Glynn was shot off the ladder as he attempted to bore a hole into the building to fire it from the upper floor. Glavey and Keane were mortally wounded, dying not long afterwards.
Buried: Ballyhaunis Cemetery, Co. Mayo.
MSPC Ref: DP1763.

"Three Volunteers lost their lives at Ballinlough, South Roscommon, on Tuesday night. They walked into a trap by the military. The Ballinlough Police Barracks had been vacated that evening, and the troops used this as the bait for their trap. A number of Lancers concealed themselves in the deep wood outside Ballinlough at Coshlieve, and when darkness came on, they stole across the fields until they were able to lie hidden behind the wall that fronts the police barrack. About 11 p.m., a number of Volunteers came along with hay and petrol to set fire to the barracks. Most of them were mere boys, and they were heedless of the danger they ran. They walked straight into the military trap. As soon as they had the old barracks alight; the military shouted, 'hands up,' and placing their rifles on the top of the opposite wall, blazed into the Volunteers. The surprise was complete and three fell mortally wounded. The others escaped, and it is said by the military that a number of them have been wounded…It is stated that the military had information that the barrack was to be burned on the night that it would be vacated…It was asserted on the raiders' side that they fired no shots but were instantly fired on by the military when the latter were calling, 'hands up.' No inquest was held" – **Roscommon Herald**, 18 September 1920, p.1.

"Some time after the Loughlynn evacuation took place the RIC evacuated the barracks in Ballinlough and it was decided to burn the place that night. Pat Glynn, the Battalion O/C, and a party of Volunteers proceeded there to do the job. When this party were preparing the premises for burning, they were fired on from across the street by a patrol of enemy who had come out from Castlereagh and gone into hiding covering off the barracks. Three Volunteers were killed including the Battalion Commandant Pat Glynn, also Michael Glavey and - Keane. The rest of the party got safely away. The Barracks was destroyed sometime later without any further incident. After the unfortunate affair of Ballinlough RIC barracks there was for a period nothing but delay

and indecision in the Battalion and our spirits and morale were at a low level. Some of the Battalion officers deserted; actually, they were chased out of the district by the RIC, who now were more or less complete masters and unopposed. Gerald O'Connor was appointed Battalion O/C and I was appointed Vice/C. Albert Darr was now appointed Adjutant in lieu of - Beatty who had cleared out of the area. John White was appointed Quartermaster" – **Vice-Cmdt. T. Crawley**, 1st Batt., South Roscommon Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 718).

GLYNN, Patrick:

Rank: Commandant.
Unit: *1st Batt., South Roscommon Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 1 February 1892. Son of Thomas Glynn and Nora Dwyer.
Address: Aghaderry, Loughglinn, Co. Roscommon.
Occupation: Carpenter.
Death: See GLAVEY, Michael.
Buried: Kilrudane Graveyard, Loughglinn, Co. Roscommon.
MSPC Ref: 1D45.

KEANE, Michael James:

Rank: 2nd Lieutenant.
Unit: *Ballinlough Coy, 1st Batt., South Roscommon Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 10 February 1897. Son of Michael Keane and Catherine Green.
Address: Ballinlough, Co. Roscommon.
Occupation: Farmer.
Death: See GLAVEY, Michael.
Buried: Granlahan Graveyard, Ballinlough, Co. Roscommon.
MSPC Ref: 1D54.

POLICE TERROR ACROSS ROSCOMMON & LEITRIM – September 1920

"On Thursday night or early on yesterday morning [Friday] *Ballinamore Courthouse was burned down, and all that is left of the substantial building is the four walls. The police barracks was not attacked and the houses adjoining the courthouse escaped all injury from the fire. About an hour before the building was set on fire, the caretaker was taken to the house of her brother, and all her furniture and effects were safely removed by the unknown men engaged in the burning of the building"* – **Leitrim Observer**, 4 September 1920, p.4.

"Some excitement was caused in Frenchpark [Co. Roscommon] on Monday evening, when a number of men visited several business premises, and ordered the assistants to leave the town. It was surmised that the occurrence was a sequel to the shooting of police near Ballaghadereen [Ambush at Ratra, 1 September]. All business houses in the town were quickly shuttered" – **Roscommon Herald**, 18 September 1920, p.1.

"About 3 a.m. on Tuesday morning [21 September], *there was a wild outburst of shooting and bomb throwing in the Main Street, Carrick-on-Shannon. A number of houses were entered by the raiders and young men taken out in the sleeping attire and marched some distance from their house, had shots fired around them, and were then forced to go down on their knees, under threats of being instantly shot, and forced to swear the police boycott in the town would be removed. The raiders had their faces blackened. They wore light overcoats and had soft hats pulled down low on their foreheads. Volleys of shots were fired on Carrick bridge, which is close to the police barrack. There the raids commenced. The raiders first went to Cox's licenced premises, which is situated at the Roscommon side of the Bridge. Here they knocked and gained admittance. They asked for Mr. Joseph McCormack, Chairman of the Carrick-on-Shannon No.2 District Council, and were told he was in bed. Two or three of them went to his room and ordered him to come out. They followed up this order by pulling him out of bed. They refused him permission to dress, and hustled him out, he wearing only his shirt. Outside on the street volleys of shots were fired around him and hand grenades burst on the road. He was*

then marched by his captors across the bridge, and finally placed with his back against the parapet. The blackened raiders gathered round him menacing him with revolvers. He was accused of being responsible for the police boycott in Carrick-on-Shannon, Boyle and Strokestown. He was then asked if he were a Sinn Féiner and replied that he was. He was asked why he was, and he replied that he was born one. One of his captors then inquired what did the Sinn Féin policy mean, and the prisoner proceeded to tell them. He was cut short by one of the number, who said, 'Finish him off, and have done with him.' This extreme course was not, however taken. He was forced to take what his captors called an oath to have the police boycott removed. He was then released. Mr. McCormack was formerly a clerk in the employment of the M.G.W.R. Company at Carrick, and resigned from the service some months ago. The raiders next attacked the house owned by Miss Barrett in Main Street, where nine members of the staff of the large business firm of Barrett's were sleeping. Rifle shots were fired through the windows and also a bomb. Mr. J.J. McQuillian, the popular manager of Barrett's had a providential escape. He had left his bed when he heard the rifle shots, and partly dressed, was standing on the landing. The bomb fell under the bed he had just left and exploded. It blew the wire out of the mattress and tore the bed clothes, as well as boring a large hole in the floor" – **Roscommon Herald**, 25 September 1920, p.5.

*"***DRUMSHANBO BESIEGED:** *- Armed and disguised uniformed men made an attack at Drumshanbo [Co. Leitrim] on Wednesday morning [22 September] at about 8 a.m., and with rifles and bomb demolished the house of Mr. Conifrey, who conducted a large wholesale grocery and provision business and tailoring. The house, which was built only a few years ago at a considerable sum was burned to the ground, and over £1,000 worth of tweeds and materials were destroyed in the fire, as also the stocks of provisions and groceries. Mr. Conifrey and his son, Matt had to make good their escape, partly attired – the latter under rifle and revolver shot to the residence of Rev. Fr. McCabe, P.P. Mrs. Conifrey safely got out…There was some £250 in cash on the premises and this was lost in the burned building. Bombs were also thrown into the house of Mr. John McPartlan D.C., the plate glass window of the shop being completely shattered and a bullet which passed through lodged in a dresser in the kitchen. Bombs were also thrown into the house of Mr. Skinnion, an American citizen, and the doors of his house and Mr. McPartlan's forced open"* – **Leitrim Observer**, 25 September 1920, p.3.

"James Connolly, aged 70, died from shock and hemorrhage, caused by a revolver bullet wound willfully inflicted by an officer and the military sergeant accompanying him. We find the officer and the military sergeant guilty of wilful murder accentuated by their not attending the inquiry. This was the jury's finding at the resumed inquest on the man who was shot dead at his home in Unshinagh, Kinlough, when the military went to arrest his son [James Connolly Jr – killed in action at Finner Camp, Co. Donegal, in July 1922, in the service of the Republic]…*Sergeant McClintock deposed that he knocked at the door at 4.30 a.m. Someone came to the door and asked who was there. The captain said, 'Military and police.' There was some hesitation about opening the door. The captain and military sergeant, who carried a motor lamp, were first in. The captain said, 'Where is young James Connolly? and at the same time said, 'Hands up!' The old man said his son was in Manorhamilton. Then there was a shuffle and witness saw the old man going into his room, the captain and sergeant following him. Witness walked towards the kitchen fire and just then he heard a shot. He went down into the room and the old man was lying on the floor. After the shot witness heard the old man say, 'I am shot. Go for the priest.' The captain ordered witness when he went to the room to go back and look after his work. Two soldiers lifted the old man into the bed, and the captain and witness and a number of soldiers came up into the other room and arrested young James Connolly"* – **Leitrim Observer**, 9 October 1920, p.4.

The Connolly memorial, Unshinagh, Co. Leitrim. Source: Leitrim's Republican History

17th September 1920

ATHY, Joseph:

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *Oranmore & Maree Coy, 3rd Batt., East Galway Brigade, IRA.*
DOB: 20 March 1898. Born at Aphouleen, Oranmore, Co. Galway, to Martin Athy and Celia Whelan.
Address: Maree, Oranmore, Co. Galway.
Occupation: Road Construction.
Death: Athy died at St. Bride's Hospital in Galway from gunshot wounds received the previous evening by persons unknown while returning on his cart with several labourers. He was given the Last Rites by Rev. Michael Griffin, who was murdered weeks later. Athy is recorded as a civilian in *DOTIR*. Athy's funeral was targeted by Crown forces. "*Motor lorries containing armed men preceded the men to Oranmore. The police dispersed the Volunteers and a cyclist corps at the cemetery. Twelve bicycles were seized by the police. The police fired volleys into the air as they dispersed the crowd.*"
Buried: Kilcaimin Cemetery, Oranmore, Co. Galway.
MSPC Ref: DP635.
Ref: *Evening Echo*, 21 September 1920, p.4.

19th September 1920

CULHANE, Patrick Joseph (Patsy}:

Rank: Captain.
Unit: *C Coy (Dundalk), North Louth Battalion, IRA.*
DOB: 26 November 1892. Born in Kells, Co. Meath, to RIC constable, John Culhane and Mary Teresa Garland.
Address: Castletown, Mount, Dundalk, Co. Louth
Occupation: Herd.
Death: Culhane, a noted Gaelic footballer who played on the Armagh team (1916-17), having connections to the Mullaghbawn O'Rahilly's, died from aortic regurgitation at the Mater Hospital in Dublin, having suffered from ill-health as a result of a severe beating he received from the RIC after the funeral of his close friend, QM Thomas Mulholland, in Dundalk, in April 1920. Culhane's funeral expenses were provided by Michael Collins, who took a considerable interest in the welfare of the ill Culhane. Culhane Street in Dundalk was named in his honour.
Buried: Umey Old Graveyard, Co. Louth.
MSPC Ref: 1D388.

"In south Tipperary men had been injured when using revolvers, some had lost fingers and portions of the hand. In other areas similar accidents had occurred. On investigation we found that the British had prepared revolver and rifle cartridges loaded with a powerful charge which blew the weapons to pieces when the cap was exploded. Hand grenades, picked up or bought from British soldiers, had been converted into instantaneous instead of time grenades; when the pin was withdrawn the grenade exploded in the hand. The markings on the special ammunition was noted. Our GHQ sent out warning to all brigades. We examined all ammunition carefully now. Some revolver ammunition we captured from police had the cup-shaped base reversed; the suction of the air in the hollow base would inflict a lacerating wound. The issue of this type of revolver ammunition was not general, but it had been specially manufactured" – **Ernie O'Malley**, GHQ Organiser, *On Another Man's Wound*, p.226-227.

"Desultory training of Companies proceeded irregularly. This was not satisfactory. A group of sixty or seventy men meeting for an hour once a week, with only a few rifles at most, could not be trained as efficient soldiers. One week's collective training is a minimum required to inculate military discipline and to teach men elementary tactics. Assuming that the Brigade Staff could arrange a Company camp for every week, it would take a year to train the whole Brigade, and by that time, of course, all the IRA, would have been wiped out. Accordingly, the idea of starting the training of each Company in turn was dropped and, instead, it was

planned to train all Battalion Staff and Company officers. These would then act as training officers to their own units. At the time this training policy was being discussed, GHQ in Dublin had sent a communication to all Brigades that a Flying Column should be started in West Cork, but it was thought wiser to develop it a bit further. The West Cork training plan envisaged the organisation of five training camps of separate groups of officers, at short intervals, as an initial step" – **T/O Tom Barry**, Cork No.3 Brigade, *Guerilla Days in Ireland*, p. 19.

Courtesy: The Dullaghan Collection

DOYLE, Seán:

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *No.4 Coy, 5th Batt., (Engineers), Dublin Brigade, IRA.*
– F Coy, 4th Batt., Dublin Brigade, IRA (1918-1920)
– Served in the South Dublin Union during the 1916 Rising while attached with the Inchicore Sluagh, NFÉ.
DOB: c.1901. Son of Cllr Peadar Doyle and Kathleen Hutton.
Address: 159 Emmet Rd, Inchicore, Dublin.
Occupation: Fitter.
Death: Doyle was killed during a munitions demonstration that was organised for GHQ at Kilmashogue Camp in the Dublin Mountains. A large group of Auxiliaries, who hid overnight on the grounds of St. Columba's College, ambushed the event resulting in a brief firefight and a retreat by the IRA. Doyle was shot and instantly killed in the opening salvos of the attack, which eventually resulted in the arrest of forty-three Volunteers by the Auxiliaries. If their plan had been executed with better precision, the Crown forces could have captured the Chief of Staff of the IRA, Richard Mulcahy and Director of Munitions, Rory O'Connor, however, they immediately escaped the encirclement.
Buried: Esker Cemetery, Lucan, Co. Dublin.
MSPC Ref: 1D28.

The Attack at Kilmashogue Training Camp, 19 September 1920.

"Our headquarters had made arrangements to have a small demonstration in the use of explosives on Kilmashogue Mountain one Sunday morning in September 1920. At least two Companies of the 5th Battalion, Dublin Brigade, that is: the Engineers, were to take part. The use of explosives applied more to the Engineers than to any other unit. The night before and again on Sunday morning somebody - I have forgotten who - brought me urgent warnings that the British were prepared to take action., against us. I passed on the warnings to Rory [O'Connor], *but the orders were left unchanged. On Sunday morning a number of us met at a place about one-third of the way up Kilmashogue behind St. Columba's College grounds. There was nothing unusual to be noticed except the quietness of a fine Sunday morning. The place where we met had often been used by the 5th Battalion for camping and training. The two Companies had not arrived punctually, so we went up to the top of the hill. We were Rory O'Connor, Dick Mulcahy, Liam Archer, myself and about four guards. These included Tommy Bryan and, as far as I remember, Georgie Hampton"* – **Jack Plunkett**, GHQ Organiser, IRA, (BMH-WS 865).

"On the mountains overlooking the city of Dublin and the coast there was a camp consisting of one tent known as the "Sinn Féiners" who were always present on the weekends, and, as nobody asked any questions, that was as far as we knew or wished to be concerned. This camp was in existence for nearly a year and as what might be termed an impregnable position, was raided one Sunday morning about 11 a.m. by 20 to 30 picked British armed forces, carrying service rifles, dressed in civilian clothes. The raid was sudden, quick and unexpected, and made from the rear of the camp, taking the "Shinners" by complete surprise, who scattered and ran in all directions down the hill, leaving behind them Alderman Doyle's son, who was shot dead. Most of the Irishmen who fled ran the gauntlet under British rifle-fire and finally ran in the lorries in the road where they were captured; a state of confusion existed and a deserted camp, leaving behind the raiders under the command of a British major who finally departed, reporting the death of one to me. This information was passed on to a lonely sentinel at the camp who apparently knew nothing of what had taken place and asked if I would wait until he returned with instructions upon the information, I had given him. He very soon came back with others and we searched for the men who was reported shot. We found him quite nearby, dead. Well, I remember, a young fellow dressed in a gaberdine light raincoat lying on his back as he fell, dead, shot in the breast. It would appear from the information received he attempted to offer resistance in place of running away by which he met his death" – **W. Kidd Davis**, Eyewitness, (BMH-WS 650).

"When we arrived at the top, we made preparations for the demonstration and a few more men, possibly about six, arrived. As no more came we started our demonstration and exploded several small charges. One of them was gelignite, two were tonite and at least one was ammonite. We knocked off about eight or nine charges. Between two of these explosives, we heard quite a fusillade of

shots and later on several more which we found difficult to account for. After some delay we knocked off at least one more charge. I think one of our men had gone down to investigate before this last explosion. When one of the charges which had a large stone on top of it, was fired, the stone went straight up in the air and came down almost on the spot where one man who had stood too close. had thrown himself down with the fright. So near to him was the stone when it fell that I was able to touch it and the man's leg with one hand. The stone which weighed about 30 lbs. was almost completely buried in the earth. Nobody was hurt. When the first man sent down did not come back, we sent a second who returned fairly soon with a fairly complete account of what had occurred at the lower level. The two Companies had drawn up and were preparing to march up to us when a considerable number of Auxiliaries appeared behind the wall of St. Columba's college. I should mention that this was the very first operation carried out in Ireland by the Auxiliaries. An order to put their hands up was given to our men and Seán Doyle, who had a grenade in his pocket, immediately proceeded to take it out and throw it. He was at once riddled with bullets and fell dead. The Auxiliaries came over the wall and took off as prisoners our two Companies leaving Seán Doyle where he lay. We came down from the top of the hill, Rory O'Connor and Dick Mulcahy taking a different course from us. Liam Archer and I came down to where the shooting had occurred. I first ascertained that the man on the ground was dead and then tried to recognise him, but I did not know him at all. I asked Liam Archer to have a look at him and was quite disgusted that he wouldn't. The man's shirt was completely soaked in blood. He was a son of Peadar Doyle, as I found out later. The first messenger we had sent down had followed the Auxies with their prisoners at a distance. He met a latecomer of our men, who had avoided capture and when the two of them went back separately into Dublin, they warned as many as possible of the prisoner's homes of what had occurred. It was feared that the names of the whole companies might have been captured. It seemed evident to our messenger that we were in no danger on the top of the hill, because the sound of the explosives was not inviting. I can't say how many prisoners were taken but it must have been, at least, forty. We heard the most extraordinary rumours for days after. It was a lucky 'bag' for the Auxies on their first operation" – **Jack Plunkett**, (BMH-WS 865).

The funeral procession of Seán Doyle along Emmet Road, Inchicore, Dublin, September 1920.

Another photograph of the procession, Inchicore, Dublin, September 1920.

"One Sunday morning we held a Company council meeting in St. Enda's. It was very early and with [Capt. F.X.] Coughlan I went to play handball in the wooden alley which Pearse had built. Coughlan was a very good handballer, having been junior champion of Ireland. I always had an ambition to beat him even if only once. I thought my chance had arrived as I was leading him by a few aces when we heard first one, then another and still another volley of rifle shots. They sounded quite near us. We ducked into the woods and waited for further developments, but since nothing happened, we decided it was safe to come out on to the road and walk home. Sauntering along, we heard the noise of lorries. Soon two lorries manned by the infamous Black and Tans were literally crammed with prisoners drove by. We had no difficulty in recognising the prisoners as members of the newly formed Fifth Engineering Battalion of the Dublin Brigade. We knew several of the prisoners personally; one of them, Danny Mulhall, was an intimate friend of mine since school days. It did not take us long to find out what had happened. The local people brought the news to Coughlan as soon as the Tans were out of sight. The Fifth Battalion had been on unarmed manoeuvres in the mountainy country around Ticknock when the Tans appeared and opened fire. One of the Battalion was killed in the first volley and about twenty were captured, the others escaping across the hill. We were told that a number of Fifth Battalion Volunteers had cycled out from the city and parked their bicycles near St. Columba's College. Coughlan collected all the 'E' Company men [4th Battalion] at hand to rescue the bikes before the Tans returned. Obviously, someone had given the IRA men away but we thought it curious that none of the local police had taken part in the raid. It was to be expected that they would act as guides to the Tans, who presumably were English and strangers to the locality. We suspected, almost certainly wrongly, that the Tans received their information from St. Columba's College – a bastion of the ascendency. This episode was the first blood the Tans drew in Dublin. Our manoeuvring on the mountains was effectively ended" – **Vol. Christopher 'Todd' Andrews**, E Coy, 4th Batt., Dublin Brigade, IRA, *Dublin Made Me*, p.157-158.

(Inset) – Another photograph of Vol. Seán Doyle, 5th Battalion, Dublin Brigade, IRA.

THE REIGN OF TERROR.

OUTRAGES ALL OVER IRELAND.

One Hundred Acts of "Reprisals.'

Connaught and Munster Towns Savagely Attacked.

The Week's Terrible Litany.

20th September 1920

KEENAN, Owen (Owenie):
Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *Corcaghan Company*, *Monaghan Independent Battalion, IRA.*
DOB: 23 July 1900. Born at Drumsheaver, Monaghan, Co. Monaghan to Owen Keenan and Susan Meehan.
Address: Corcaghan, Stranooden, Co. Monaghan.
Occupation: Farmer.
Death: After 31 August 1920, when the general county-wide arms raid was carried out on farmhouses across Monaghan, in addition to the three who died the next day, Keenan was shot and mortally wounded at Gortnanan, Co. Monaghan. Although hospitalised, Keenan died from exhaustion when gangrene set in on his lung.
Buried: Corcaghan Cemetery, Co. Monaghan.
Image Source: Christine Lynch.
MSPC Ref: 1D166.

"Ireland cannot will her own annihilation. It has cost us seven hundred and fifty years of blood and tears to hold onto our individual national existence and she will not relinquish it now. The Irish Republic exists! It is not destroyed but individual nations plunge their heads into the sand and say they cannot see it. It is there, recognised or not, and it can be destroyed only by the power that brought it into being; the will of the Irish people"
– Éamon de Valera

Cork Fianna Officers, c.1917-19. (L-R) Lieut. Séamus Quirke (Killed in Galway in September 1920); Eugene Vaughan and Seán Healy. Source: www.irishvolunteers.org.

THE SACK OF BALBRIGGAN, CO. DUBLIN 21 September 1920

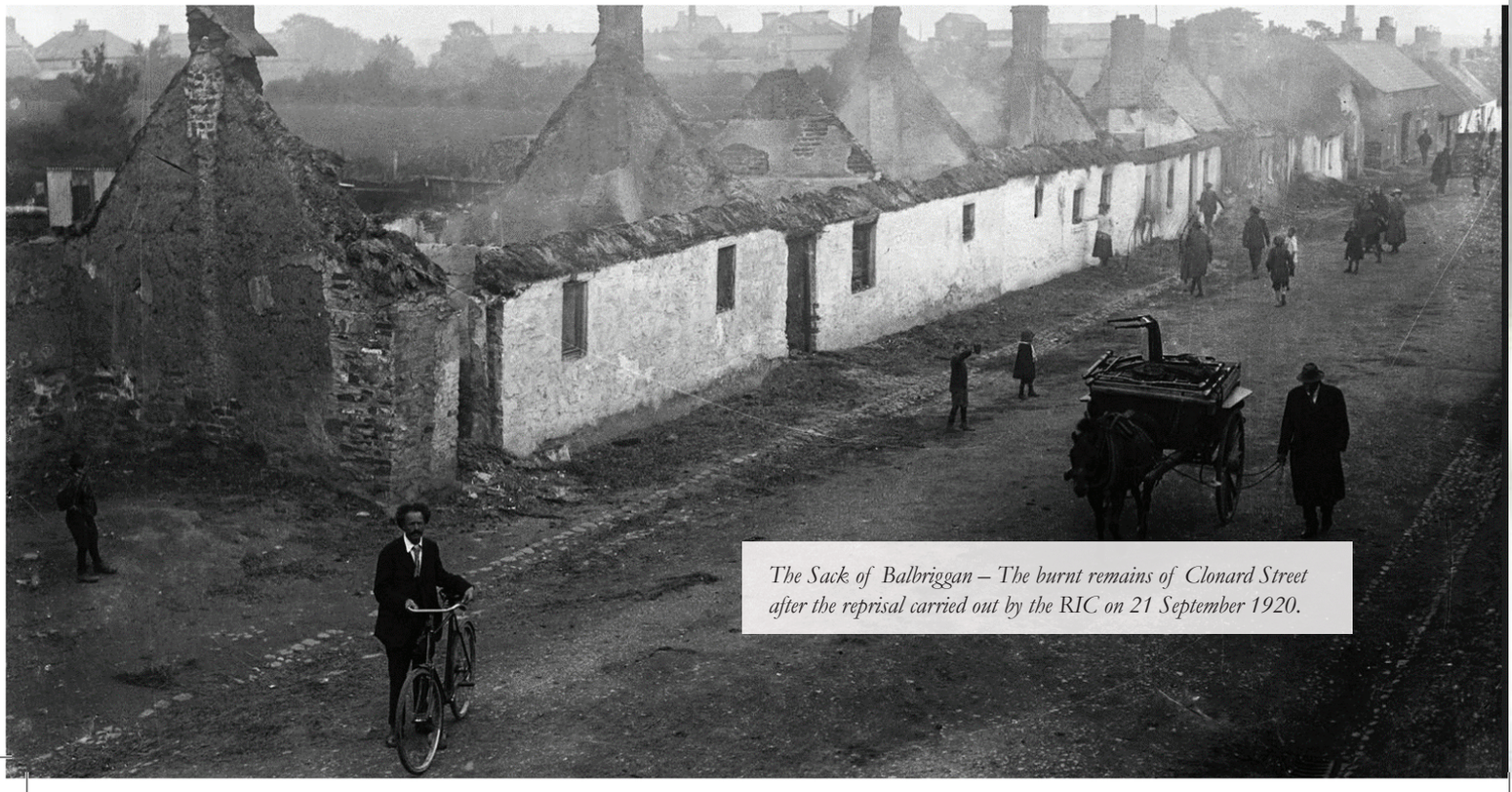
"The Black and Tans were now in force in the country. They had established a depot at the aerodrome in Gormanstown, which lies just north of Balbriggan. They were reputed to have about two thousand men in the camp, amongst whom were a good sprinkling of RIC who acted as instructors and administrators. Balbriggan now became a lively place as the Tans flocked into the town to drink in the public-houses there. They were a motley crowd, looking anything except what they were supposed to be policemen. They were dressed in all sorts of uniforms. Some had khaki tunics and police trousers, while others were dressed in reverse pattern. To add to the comic effect, the uniforms were badly fitting and their caps were worn at all angles. They were a boisterous, badly disciplined crowd, and while some of them were fine, decent-looking men, a big portion were plainly of a bad type. They had been recruited from the riff-raff of the English, Scottish and Welsh towns. Quite a lot of them were believed to have long term prison records, and some of them were actually released from English prisons, where they were doing life sentences on undertaking to join the force. On account of their comic uniforms, the people nicknamed them Black and Tans after the famous pack of fox hounds in the south of Ireland the Scarteen Black and Tans whose. markings were of the same colour as the uniforms of our new police force. Their official title was the Royal Irish Constabulary, as they were meant to reinforce that force, and it shows to what a low standard the once proud RIC had sunk to when they accepted such men as comrades. The morals and morale of the Tans were of a very low standard. In Gormanstown Camp there was an RIC man named McNamara, who, I think, came from Kerry. I think he was a Sergeant and seemed to be the Provost Sergeant. At any rate, it appeared that he was responsible for the behaviour of the Tans when they came into Balbriggan. Were it not for the activities of this man, no girl or man could appear on the streets when they arrived. In fact, it would have, been impossible to stay in the town. His methods of dealing with the Tans were not of the kid glove type. His boots and his fists were his weapons. It was quite a usual sight to see this man kick members of our new police force out of public-houses on to the street and then, with his fists and boots, put them out of town. The Tans, I think, were not used to consuming liquor as strong as Irish liquor was then and they soon got into a drunken state and, being the type they were, started looking for trouble. In addition, when they came into town, they often stole things from shops and houses, and McNamara was particularly keen on getting them for this behaviour. They did not carry arms when on local leave in the town, but when in camp they were well armed with rifles, bayonets, revolvers and Lewis guns. Such was life, in Balbriggan then, and such was the police force which England had sent over to protect us. They soon had a few bands organised in the camp. One was a pipe band, equipped with the drums and pipes of the Lusk Band, and the flag of that band, with the black raven depicted thereon, as the emblem of Fingal. The instruments were stolen by the Tans when they raided the Lusk area. They also had a couple of brass bands, the instruments of which were similarly, appropriated, in other areas visited by them. On a Sunday near the end of September, 1920, a. sports meeting was held

in Balbriggan to raise funds, supposedly for the Catholic Church but really for Volunteer funds. The Volunteers did duty at the sports in keeping the people off the roads and tracks and suchlike. The Tans from the camp unarmed were the biggest supporters of this event and turned up in their hundreds. They resented being pushed around by the Volunteers, who, of course, wore no distinctive markings and to the Tans were ordinary civilians, and several times during the afternoon clashes with the Tans were narrowly averted. Amongst the events at the sports was a trotting match on the road, and here the Volunteers had great trouble in keeping the road clear of Tans. A sum of ninety-eight pounds profit was made at the sports, a lot of which was Tans money. On the Monday following the sports, two RIC men, brothers, named Burke, serving in Gormanstown Camp with the Tans, reported to Dublin and one was promoted to the rank of District Inspector, and the brother to the rank of Sergeant. They took a taxi back to Balbriggan and pulled up at Smith's public-house, which was already full of Black and Tans. They started drinking with the Tans there. The taxi man was apparently anxious to get back to the city and he asked his passengers to pay him his fare. They refused to do so. The taxi driver left the public-house and complained to some civilians, who in turn told us about the affair. Mick Rock, who was our Battalion O/C, was at this time in another house in the town where he was dealing with the accounts after the sports. I reported the matter to Rock, and he asked if we could get him a gun. Corcoran, who was with me, went off and quickly returned with revolvers for us. Rock and Corcoran and I then proceeded. to the public-house where the Tans were, with our guns in our pockets. We entered the public-house and Rock spoke to the new District Inspector about not paying the taxi man his fare and then drew his gun and fired a few shots rapidly. The place was quickly in bedlam and, in the confusion, we three made our getaway safely. Rock had shot the District Inspector dead and wounded the Sergeant seriously. All the Volunteers were now given instructions that they were not to sleep in their homes that night. Some of them disregarded this instruction and paid the price dearly" – **Capt, John Gaynor**, E Coy, 1st Batt., Fingal Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1447).

21st September 1920

GIBBONS, Seán:

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *E Coy (Balbriggan), 1st Batt., Fingal Bde, IRA.*
DOB: c.1891
Address: Hampton St, Balbriggan, Co. Dublin.
Occupation: Dairyman.
Death: Gibbons was badly beaten, bayoneted and shot by RIC on Quay Street, Balbriggan, Co. Dublin, in the early hours of 21 September 1920. A substantial wound on his neck showed evidence of bayonet gouging.
Buried: Balscadden Old Graveyard, Co. Dublin.
MSPC Ref: DP24558.



The Sack of Balbriggan – The burnt remains of Clonard Street after the reprisal carried out by the RIC on 21 September 1920.

"Where reprisals have taken place, the whole atmosphere of the surrounding district has changed from one of hostility to one of cringing submission" – **General Sir Nevil Macready to Major-General Sir Henry Wilson.**

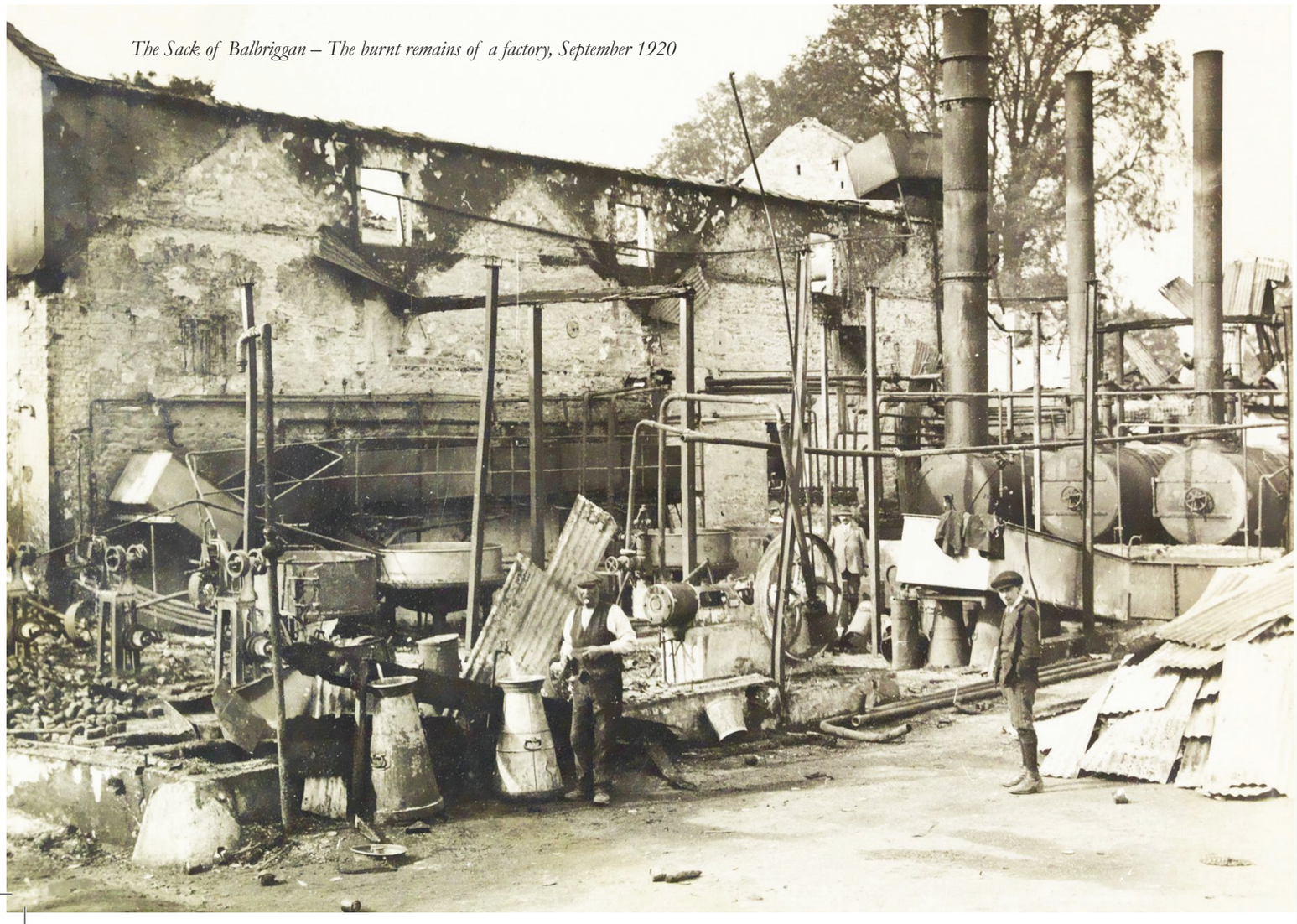
The Sack of Balbriggan – The burnt remains of several businesses in Balbriggan, September 1920

"The Tans from Gormanstown came back that night and burned a big portion of the town, including the local woollen mills. When they arrived in the town they were, I think, or seemed to be all drunk and were in a frenzy. They went around like savages, screaming and shouting and firing shots in the air. They looted the public-houses and shops, and Tans could be seen with bottle of whiskey in one hand and rifle in the other and letting off shots in the air. It was quite apparent they were out to institute a complete reign of terror, and this they did. Everywhere there were fires and shooting, and it was impossible to know what was happening. Now the Auxiliary police who were stationed in Collinstown Aerodrome arrived from there to assist the Tans in their devilish work. The Auxies caught Seán Gibbons and Jim Lawless, two of our Volunteers who, although warned, had stayed at their homes, and took them out of their houses and beat them unmercifully. Having ill-treated these two men to their satisfaction, they then took them to the local RIC barracks, where they got a doctor to attend to their wounds and a priest to attend to them also. They then took the two men across the Street into a lane almost opposite the barracks and shot both of them dead. I had a look at both their bodies the following morning and they were an awful sight to see" – **Capt. John Gaynor**, (BMH-WS 1447).

"During Monday night and Tuesday morning there was a violent outbreak in Balbriggan, following the shooting of Head-Constable Burke in that town. Head-Constable Burke, with other police in plain clothes, had motored from Dublin on their way to Gormanstown. At Balbriggan they stopped for refreshments, which were refused by the publican. In the disturbance which appears to have ensued, revolver shots were discharged, and the Head-Constable was shot dead, and his brother, Sergeant Burke, was wounded. Subsequently, it is stated, a number of auxiliary police stationed at Gormanstown came into Balbriggan. Many houses were burned and shots fired into the streets. Two civilians were killed during the night. In the morning large numbers of the panic-stricken population left the town by road and railway, and apparently only those who could not get away, remained" – **Leitrim Observer**, 25 September 1920, p.3.

"Both Gibbons and Lawless were killed at dawn, and the bodies, lying within a few yards of each other, were discovered at 6 a.m., and removed to an outhouse nearby, where they lay unguarded for the day. They presented a shocking appearance. Both lay side by side on the floor, with a cloth over them. They were covered with blood, and appeared to have been bayoneted in several places. Their heads were also severely cut. In Mr. Gibbons' neck there was a large hole, which may have been caused by a bayonet being twisted round in it. Lawless' head was bandaged. It is stated that when dragged from his house Lawless was badly beaten about the head and taken to the barracks, where he was attended by a doctor" – **Irish Independent**, 22 September 1920, p.5.

The Sack of Balbriggan – The burnt remains of a factory, September 1920

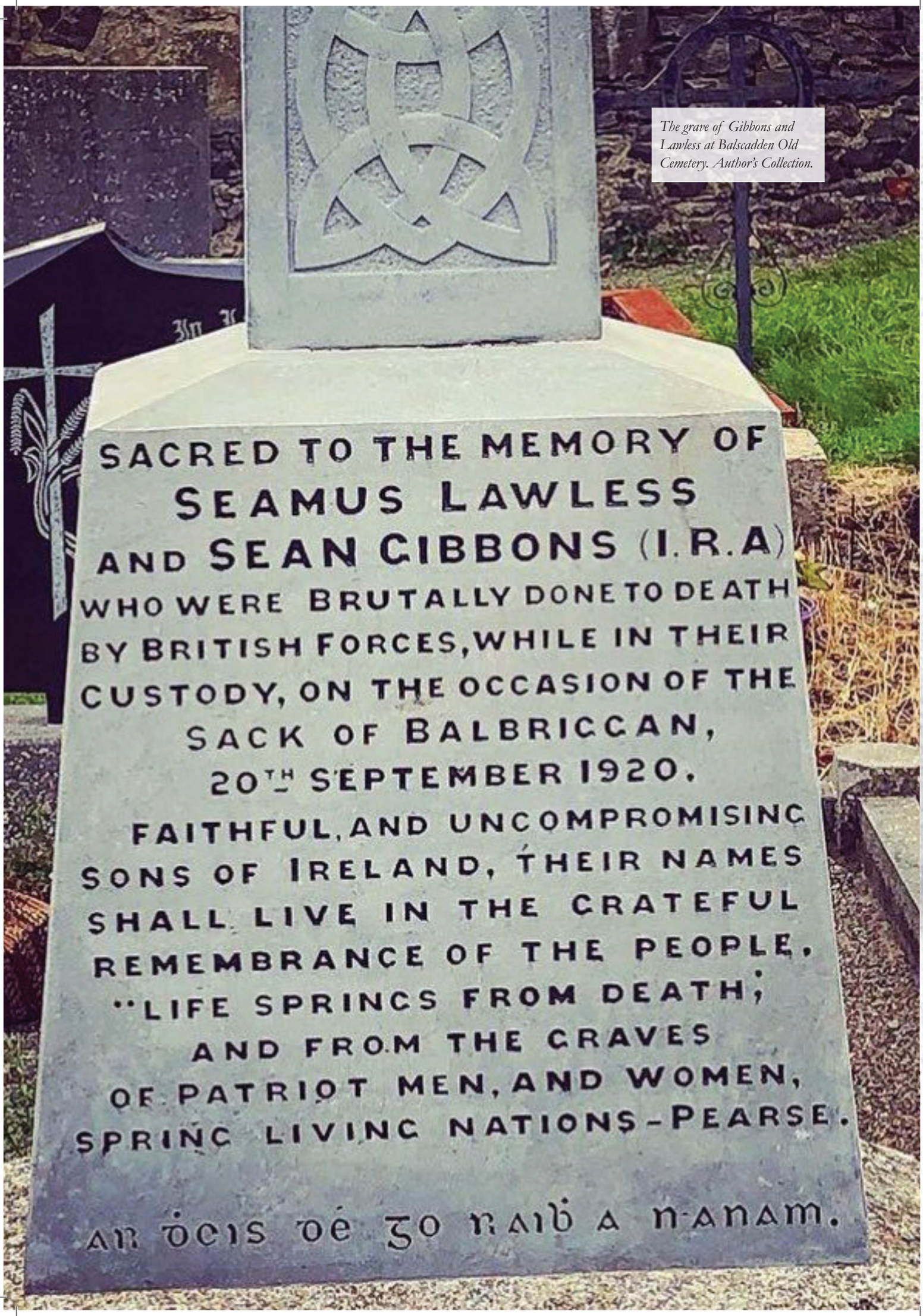


LAWLESS, Séamus:

Rank: 1st Lieutenant.
Unit: *E Coy (Balbriggan), 1st Batt., Fingal Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 14 March 1879. Born at John's Gate, Drogheda, Co. Louth, to Patrick Lawless and Mary Lowth.
Address: Bridge St, Balbriggan, Co. Dublin.
Occupation: Barber.
Familial: Lawless married Mary-Anne Woodhead on 25 November 1900 at Balbriggan, Co. Dublin. Their children were Patrick (1901-1976), Charles (1903-1978), James (b.1906), William (1908-2002), Hannah Mary (1912-1984), Anne Frances (1914-1982), Stephen (1916-2005) and Kevin Lawless (1919-1982).
Death: Lawless was arrested by the RIC during the Sack of Balbriggan, beaten, bayoneted and shot dead on Quay Street, Balbriggan.
Buried: Balscadden Old Graveyard, Co. Dublin.
Image Source: *Remembering a Grandfather Killed in the Sack of Balbriggan* by John Meagher, Irish Independent, 19 September 2020.
MSPC Ref: 1D486.

"The only house interfered with in Hampton St, was that occupied by the Gibbons family. Miss Gibbons, a sister of the deceased, told an 'Irish Independent' representative that her brother came in about 9.35 p.m., and was in bed at 10 o'clock. At 1 a.m., about fifty uniformed men, two of whom were in khaki and the rest apparently in darker dress, came to the house, in which were Mrs. Gibbons, her son and three daughters, a servant boy, and two ladies on a visit from Bray. The first thing they knew was that the windows were smashed in. She got up, went to her bedroom window and asked what was wrong, and those outside inquired if that was Gibbons'? She replied that it was, and they then told her to clear out, as the house was to be burnt. She called her brother, who went down and admitted them. They all had rifles and appeared to be very excited. When told that one of the girls was an invalid, a member of the party carried her out to the next house and ordered a bed for her. They were then again told to clear out…It is stated that when Gibbons was brought to the barracks some of the police there said he was innocent, and his captors questioned him as to what position he held in the Volunteers. He stated that he was the Secretary, but declined to give any further information. It is alleged that he was then beaten, put against a wall, and that shots were fired about him; and that, later, he and Lawless were taken to the corner of Quay St; bayoneted, and shot. Two large pools of blood were visible at the spot yesterday, and the wall adjoining was spattered with blood and grey matter, apparently portions of human brain" – **Irish Independent**, 22 September 1920, p.5.

The memorial close to the site of the murders of Lawless and Gibbons, Quay St, Balbriggan, Co. Dublin



The grave of Gibbons and Lawless at Balscadden Old Cemetery. Author's Collection.

"God, wouldn't this make you feel the country was worth living for – and dying for"

Vol. Kevin G. Barry,

C Company, 3rd Batt., Carlow Brigade, IRA (Attached)
Speaking to comrades while resting at Ballygobban, Co. Wicklow, July 1920

THE ARREST OF KEVIN BARRY
20 September 1920

"Sometime in the middle of September, 1920, Volunteer M. Douglas, a member of "G" Company, 1st Battalion, informed me that British troops called to Monks' Bakery, Church Street, Dublin, for bread rations every Monday and Thursday mornings between 11.00 and 11.15 hours. The party, he said, came in a lorry and usually comprised one officer and a driver in the cab, and one NCO and eight privates in rear. The lorry came from the Royal (now Collins) Barracks, then garrisoned by the 2nd Battalion, Duke of Wellington's Regiment. Generally, the officer and one soldier went into the bakery at once. Some of the other troops got off the lorry and went into a shop opposite for cigarettes or sweets. Four or five soldiers generally remained on or with the lorry. No particular security measures were taken. Within 10 to 15 minutes the lorry was loaded with bread hampers from the bakery, the troops: all got aboard and the lorry returned to barracks via North Brunswick Street. I decided to check up on this information for myself. On the following Monday morning (September 13th), I went down to Church Street at 10.50 hours and studied the area, its approaches and lines of retreat. The British lorry arrived at about 10.05 hours from the direction of North King Street. The subsequent movements of the British party coincided in every way with the information I had received. In fact, my informant's report was correct in every detail…My next move was to call all my officers and NCOs to a meeting of the Company Council on that Monday night. I discussed the proposed operation with them, went over the plans I had formulated and tentatively selected the men for the job. All the officers and NCOs were thrilled and enthusiastic. I next applied for permission for the operation as Monks' Bakery, Church Street, was just outside my (H) Company area, but inside another Company area in the 1st Battalion. All Companies and Battalions were of course confined at this time to operations in their own areas, unless special permission to the contrary was obtained. I interviewed my Commanding Officer, Commandant Tom Byrne, O/C. 1st Battalion, regarding this and outlined my plans. He seemed very pleased with the general scheme but he was doubtful about my Company going into another Company area, and said he would have to refer the matter to the O/C., Dublin Brigade, Brigadier Dick McKee. In the interval, fearing I might be turned down, I got in touch with the Vice-Brigadier, Peadar Clancy, an old 1st Battalion man, who always had a soft spot for "H" Company. We discussed my plan in detail. He made some very useful suggestions, and in his usual cautious way warned me against over confidence. However, he himself brought me to the Brigadier, who subjected me to a severe cross-examination regarding the entire scheme, including my information as to the British movements, my own plans and the men I proposed to detail for the operation. Most of these had been on jobs before, including the raid on the King's Inns the previous June. "H" Company men on this operation included Kevin Barry, Frank Flood and Tom Kissane." – **Capt. Séamus Kavanagh**, H Coy, 1st Batt., Dublin Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 493).

Crowds gather on Church St. to discuss the happenings only moments before which saw the death of a Crown soldier, the wounding of others and the arrest of Kevin Barry. Source: RTÉ Stills Library.

"The Company paraded as usual on Thursday night, September 16th, at 41 Parnell Square. At this time only the officers and NCOs were in the secret and the usual programme of training was carried out. The O/C, 1st Battalion, Commandant T. Byrne, arrived during the parade, called me aside and told me that the operation was approved for Monday, September 20th, but that I was not to tell the men until the following Sunday, September 19th. He asked me who I was putting on the job, and when I gave him the tentative list of names: he said, "A better bunch you couldn't get"…On Sunday night, September 19th, the selected men were mobilised to meet at 41 Parnell Square. Each man was told he was to report at The O'Flanagan Sinn Féin Club, Ryder's Row, at 09.00 hours on the following Monday morning. No man was to carry any paper or anything on his person that would identity him. No further information was given to any Volunteer except to Kevin Barry. I then called him aside and asked him if he had not to sit for an examination the following day. He said, "Oh, that will be all right". I told him I didn't want him to miss another examination, knowing as I did, that he had already missed one on the day of the King's Inn raid. He replied, "How do you think I could sit for an examination, knowing this job is on and me not on it?". Why, there might be another machine gun for "H" Company, and I'd hate to miss it". (The point of this remark lies in the fact that it was Kevin Barry who personally carried off the Lewis Gun captured in the King's Inn raid). I saw the look of bitter disappointment on his face when he thought he was not going on the raid, so I said, "All right, but when you go back to the College tell Dr. McKinney you have an important appointment to keep." On Monday, September 20th, 1920, all the men detailed reported sharp at 9 o'clock with one exception Squad Leader, Kevin Barry. He arrived ten minutes late and explained that he had been to the College and made everything right about his examination. Each man was issued with a revolver and six rounds, and four of the men got hand-grenades. Kevin Barry's own revolver, a short Webley had already been issued when he reported, and he was issued with a Parabellum instead. He was not pleased with this, and the other Volunteers chaffed him about it…I was to give the signal for attack by taking out handkerchief and pretending to wipe my mouth or blow my nose. On this signal being given the men detailed to do so were to close in on the lorry simultaneously, draw their guns and shout "Hands up".

If the surprise was successful and the British surrendered, the Volunteers covering the sides of the lorry were to keep the troops covered; the men at the rear of the lorry were to disarm the British and load the rifles and equipment into the waiting van, which was then to proceed to the arranged dump. The covering parties were to watch the approach from the North Dublin Union, Broadstone, King's Inn, Royal Barracks and Bridewell; all of which were occupied by the British. On the van getting clear with the captured rifles and ammunition the troops were to be herded into the bakery and locked in, the Volunteers were to disperse on my whistle signal and report individually at the Parnell Monument. If the surprise failed and the enemy showed fight, the advancing Volunteers were to open fire and evacuate the area as quickly as possible without any signal. The covering parties were to cover the retreat. The men in the bakery were to retreat through the shop in King Street and report as arranged with the others…The first thing that we noticed was that the lorry was very late. Every man was in position by 10.50 hours and the lorry did not arrive until half an hour later, at 11.20 hours. From my position I could see the looks of anxiety on many of the men's faces as they waited. When it did at last arrive, the rear was crammed full of troops. Instead of the nine or ten we expected I estimated there were about twenty. I wondered why there were so many on this occasion of all days, certainly at least twice as many as we had counted on. Frank Flood cheerfully commented that it was "going to take twice as long to collect all those rifles". Someone else wondered would they all fit in the van. There was no question of drawing back but I felt we were in for a fight. From where I was, I could see Kevin Barry calmly pretending to read a paper, but another man was popping his head round the corner and drawing back. Frank Flood commented that "if that fool doesn't stop popping his head around the corner, he will. have us an and we'll have to fight out way out". Tom Kissane and I went out to the door of the public-house and pretended to be talking to each other before parting while I tried to count the men in the lorry. Unlike previous occasions the officer remained in the front of the lorry with the driver; the troops also remained in the lorry and one NCO and one private only entered the bakery. As far as I could see fifteen troops remained on the lorry, making a total of nineteen, all ranks. I decided to wait for a little while to see if any of the troops would alight and go into the sweet shop as usual. Frank Flood and Mick Robinson had now joined me at the door. Frank again drew my attention to the Volunteer at the corner who was talking to Kevin Barry and turning his head anxiously in our direction. I was afraid if we waited any longer, he would draw the attention of the British to us, so I took out my handkerchief and gave the signal to advance, saying, "We'll move in the name of God". One of the others said, "Amen". Having given the signal, I looked to see if the men at 'D' [position] were moving. They were Kevin Barry still had his paper in front of him; Lieutenant O'Flanagan was moving along the wall, with S. O'Neill on the outside. As soon as they got in line with my party, we advanced with them towards the rear and side of the lorry. Section Commander T. Staunton's party 'I' were advancing on the left front of the lorry and H. Murphy's party 'G' on the right front. The tailboard of the lorry was down. One of the Volunteers (not Kevin Barry) as a result probably of over anxiety, ran out in front shouting "Hands up" and fired; it was now obvious: we were in for a fight, as most of the British troops were standing up grasping their rifles and watching us. I gave the order to fire, at the same time opening up myself. We drew our guns and charged, shooting as we ran forward. Some of the troops put their hands up, others returning the fire. I could see right into the rear of the lorry at this time and saw some of the British falling. I particularly noticed one soldier swinging his rifle to hit one of our men. I

do not think he succeeded because this soldier fell almost immediately as if hit by a bullet. Both sides were shouting and shooting at this time and we began to retreat as arranged firing as we went. I could see more British soldiers falling as if shot or trying to take cover behind their dead and wounded comrades. Their officer was certainly hit as I saw his head and arm slumped over the side of the cab. We could hear their bullets flying past and hitting off the walls and ground. The object of the attack failed, that of capturing the firearms, and it was realised by the Volunteers that to retire without losses was the only alternative and by keeping up steady firing succeeded in confining the troops to the lorry, thus helping in a successful retirement. As we fell back, I looked all round to see if there were any casualties among our men but I could not see anyone lying around, I had noticed Lieutenant Flanagan run by with his hands to his head just after we opened fire, and thought he might have been hit on the head by the soldier with the swinging rifles. I learned afterwards he had been wounded in the head by a ricochet. As we left Church Street, Mick Robinson almost fell over a bicycle left abandoned by someone in the centre of the road. I can still hear his swearing heartily and Tom Kissane laughing equally heartily. I saw Commander Section M. Higgins firing from his position at 'B' covering our retreat until we got round the corner. Maurice Higgins and I went into the Capuchin Church for a few moments and said a prayer of thankfulness for coming out of that hell alive. When we came out of the Church, we saw another party of British troops and some Auxiliaries arriving and cordoning off Monks' Bakery. We went into a provision shop owned by a sister of Senator Martin Conlon's, whom I knew. She sent us upstairs and looking through a window we saw a lot of commotion around the lorry we had attacked. I suggested to Maurice Higgins that we leave our revolvers with the lady of the shop and go out and mingle with the crowd to see what information we could collect. She tried to prevail on us not to go, and by the time the argument was over and we got out to the crowd the lorry had moved off. We heard in the crowd that a big number of the British had been killed and wounded, but a man had been caught under the lorry and taken into the bakery by the British. We left the scene and proceeded to Parnell Monument as arranged. All the party reported except Lieutenant Flanagan and Squad Leader Barry. One of the men reported that Lieutenant Flanagan had been wounded and we decided that Kevin Barry must have been captured. We did not know whether he had been wounded or not. The exact circumstances of his capture is veiled in uncertainty, but from data obtained shortly after the operation it was learned that during the engagement he took cover underneath the lorry, for the purpose of fixing a jamb in the Parabellum pistol which he carried, but before he had time to do so the British troops made him a prisoner" – **Capt. Séamus Kavanagh**.

"On Monday, 20th September, Kevin was to sit for an examination at 2 o'clock. He had come up from Tombeagh [Rathvilly, Co. Carlow] *some days before and, on instructions, had not stayed at home. He stayed with my uncle, Patrick Dowling, 58 South Circular Road. About 4 o'clock on that Monday afternoon I was in Mr. Aston's office in Abbey Street. I got a telephone call from my uncle's manager. Tom Cullen had been his manager but I think this time Tom had joined the Active Service Unit and it was probably his successor who rang. He told me that they had just had an intensive military raid, which every piece of Kevin's property had been taken away. It is interesting that this was a military raid - not auxiliaries - and among the things taken and never returned were a perfectly new suit of Donegal tweed, a spare wristlet watch, and a couple of good fountain pens. The manager had gathered that Kevin had been arrested. From that moment I knew by some obscure instinct that Kevin was finished. I had no knowledge of how or when he had been arrested. I had no knowledge of any soldier being killed and, up to then, no prisoner had been executed since 1916. But from that moment I knew there was no hope"* – **Katherine Barry Moloney**, Sister of Kevin Barry (BMH-WS 731). (*Inset:* Kathy Barry Moloney pictured alongside Constance Markievicz, c.1921-22).

"The loss of Kevin Barry was a great blow to his comrades, and the reports of the tortures he had to endure in the vain effort to make him give the names of his officers and comrades in the attack nearly broke our hearts. But knowing him as we did, we never doubted him for one moment"

– **Capt. Séamus Kavanagh,** H Coy, 1st Batt., Dublin Brigade, IRA.

22nd September 1920

LYNCH, John Aloysius:

Affiliation: Sinn Féin.
DOB: c.1880.
Address: Bulgaden, Kilmallock, Co. Limerick.
Occupation: Limerick Rural County Councillor (Sinn Féin), Dáil Courts Clerk / Solicitor's Clerk.
Death: Around 03.00, Lynch was shot and mortally wounded in his room at the Royal Exchange Hotel, Parliament Street, Dublin, by members of the Intelligence Squad from Dublin Castle, having received information from Captain Geoffrey Baggallay. Lynch had travelled to Dublin to personally hand over a substantial Dáil Loan fund to Michael Collins. Some sources indicate that Lynch was mistaken for Brigadier Liam Lynch of Cork No.2 Brigade. Captain Baggallay would be shot and killed by the IRA at 119 Lower Baggott Street on the morning of Bloody Sunday. Future Taoiseach of Ireland, Seán Lemass, was a reputed member of the assassination team. Although shot in the back, the whitewashed military inquest attempted to claim that Lynch had fired on the Crown forces, who responded with arms against Lynch. His funeral, closely monitored by the military did not display any Republican protocols apart from the tricolour placed on the coffin, which was subsequently ripped off by soldiers.
Buried: Kilmallock, Co. Limerick.
Image Source: The Dullaghan Collection.
Ref: *Irish Independent*, 27 September 1920, p.5.

"Those were certainly 'Troublesome Times' and one was always liable to encounter strife and slaughter. For example, on September 22nd, 1920, to be exact, Gearoid O'Sullivan, Adjutant-General, IRA, asked me to go to the Abbey Theatre with him. At the theatre he introduced me to a Mr. John Lynch of Kilmallock, who that day had brought up to Dublin a sum of £23,000, locally subscribed to the National Loan, which he had handed over to Michael Collins. After the theatre, he returned to the Exchange Hotel, Parliament St., where he was staying, and retired to bed. Next day, I was horrified to read in the press that Mr. Lynch had been murdered that night in his bed. It appears that about 2 a.m. a party of English officers and RIC men, some in uniform and some in mufti...demanded the number of Lynch's room, and having got it, went upstairs, refusing to let the porter go with them… They had shot Lynch as he lay in bed, wrapping the bed-clothes so tightly around the revolver that the sound of the shot was muffled"
– **Kevin O'Shiel**, (BMH-WS 1774 - Section VII).

THE TORTURE OF KEVIN BARRY
A statement in his own words

"I, Kevin Barry, of 58 South Circular Road in the County and City of Dublin, Medical Student, aged 18 years and upwards, solemnly and sincerely declare as follows:

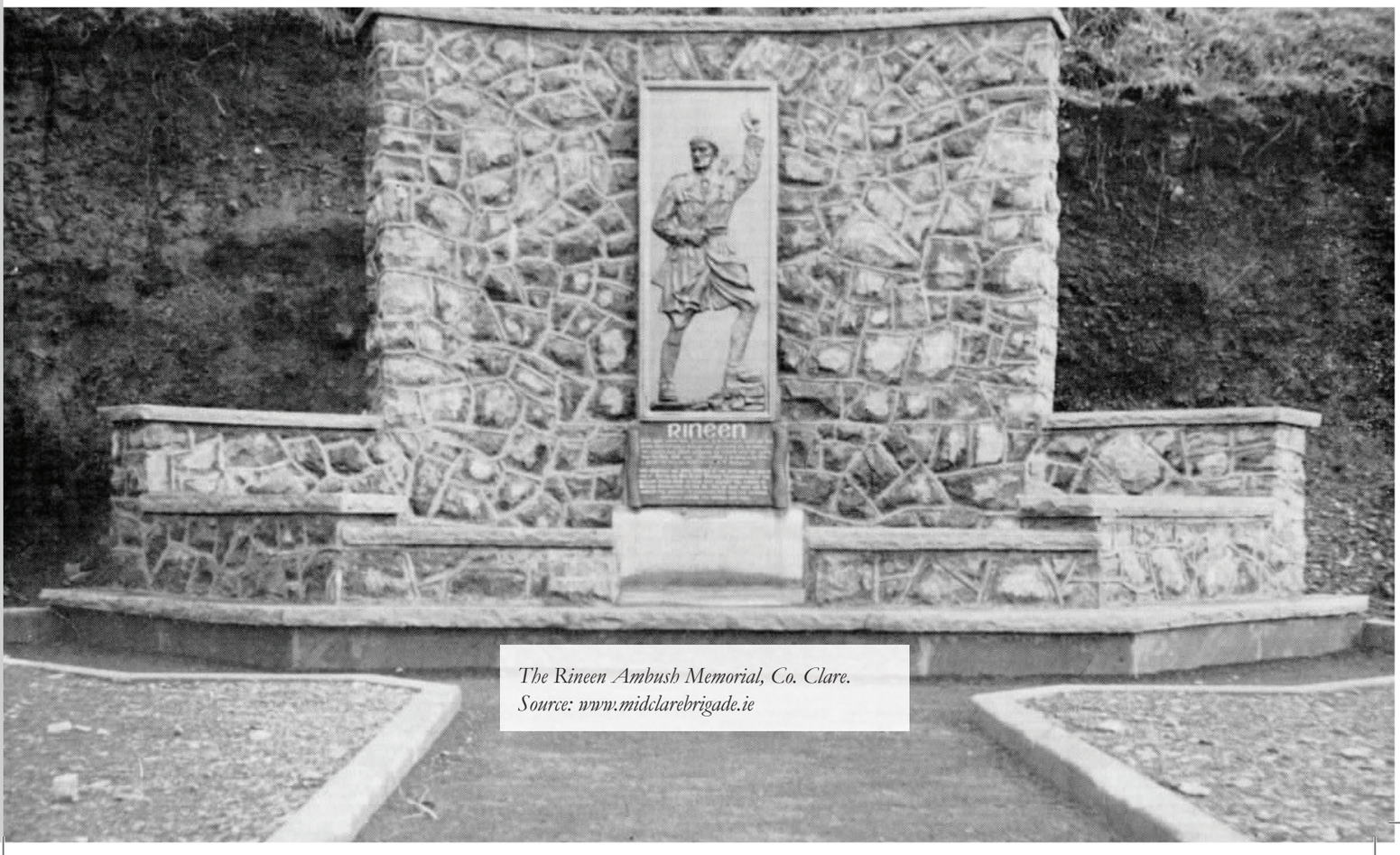
1. On the 20th day of September 1920, I was arrested in Upper Church Street in the City of Dublin by a sergeant of the 2nd Duke of Wellington's Regiment and was brought under escort to the North Dublin Union, now occupied by the military. I was brought into the guardroom and searched. I was then removed to the defaulters' room by an escort with a sergeant-major. The latter and the escort belong to the 1st Lancashire Fusiliers. I was then handcuffed.
2. About a quarter of an hour after I was placed in the defaulters' room, two commissioned officers came in. They both belonged to the 1st Lancashire Fusiliers. They were accompanied by three sergeants of the same unit. A military policeman, who had been in the room since I entered it, remained. One of the officers asked my name, which I gave. He then asked for the names of my companions in the raid or attack. I refused to give them. He tried to persuade me to give their names and I persisted in refusing. He then sent the sergeant out of the room for a bayonet. When it was brought in the sergeant was ordered by the same officer to point the bayonet at my stomach. The same questions as to the names and addresses of my companions were repeated with the same result. The sergeant was then asked to turn my face to the wall and point the bayonet at my back. I was so turned. The sergeant then said he would run the bayonet into me if I did not tell. The bayonet was then removed and I was turned round again.
3. The same officer then said to me that if I persisted in my attitude, he would turn me out to the men on the barracks square, and he supposed I knew what that meant with the men in their present temper. I said nothing. He ordered the sergeant to put me face down on the floor and twist my arm. I was pushed down on the floor after my handcuffs were removed by the sergeant who went for the bayonet. When I lay on the floor, one of the sergeants knelt on my back, the other two placed one foot each on my back and left shoulder and the man who knelt on me twisted my right arm, holding it by the wrist with one hand while he held my hair with the other to pull back my head. The arm was twisted from the elbow joint. This continued to the best of my judgement for five minutes. It was very painful. The first officer was standing near my feet and the officer who accompanied him was still present.
4. During the twisting of my arm the first officer continued to question me as to the names and addresses of my companions and also asked me the name of my Company commander and any of the officers I knew.
5. As I still persisted in refusing to answer these questions, I was allowed to get up and I was again handcuffed. A civilian came in and he repeated the questions with the same result. He informed me that if I gave all the information I knew, I could get off. I was then left in the company of the military policeman; the two officers, the three sergeants and the civilian leaving together.
6. I could certainly identify the officer who directed the proceedings and put the questions. I am not sure of the others, except the sergeant with the bayonet. My arm was medically treated by an officer of the Royal Army Medical Corps attached to the North Dublin Union the following morning and by the prison hospital orderly afterwards for four or five days.
7. I was visited by the court-martial officer last night and he read for me a confirmation of sentence of death by hanging to be executed on Monday next and I make this solemn declaration conscientiously believing same to be true and by virtue of the Statutory Declarations Act 1835.

(Signed) Kevin Gerard Barry

Declared and subscribed before me at Mountjoy Prison in the County of the City of Dublin this 28th day of October, 1920
(Signed) Myles Keogh
A Justice of the Peace in and for the said County.

THE RINEEN AMBUSH, CO. CLARE
22 September 1920

"About the beginning of September 1920, at one of these Battalion Council meetings, the officers representing the Lahinch and Milltown companies brought news of a police tender which travelled every Wednesday between Ennistymon and Miltown Malbay. It was stated on that occasion that the tender contained about 7 or 8 men and that it carried stores and, as well, brought the pay to the RIC and Black and Tans stationed in Miltown. The meeting was unanimous in deciding that the lorry should be attacked. This was agreed to as was also the site of the attack and also that each company should be asked to supply men who would form the attacking party and act as scouts. The site selected for the ambush, Rineen, was not the best attacking position along the road from Ennistymon to Miltown. There was a much more suitable position nearer to Lahinch, but it had been noticed by the Volunteers residing in the vicinity that enemy parties travelling on lorries usually alighted before they approached that position, leaving only the driver on the vehicle, while the remainder of the troops either marched to the other side in extended formation or actually left the road and flanked the position which they expected might be occupied by the IRA. It was also decided at the Battalion Council meeting that the attack should be confined entirely to men from our own battalion and that Ignatius O'Neill, who had not recovered from the wounds received earlier in the year when Martin Devitt was killed, should be told nothing about the intended ambush… On the night previous to the attack, I paraded the Ennistymon Company and called for Volunteers to take part in it without disclosing any details of what was about to come off. Nearly every man present - and there was a parade of about 70 strong the same night - volunteered. I had to select only seven and that was a difficult job indeed. When I had made my selection, I instructed these men to report at Lehane's of Lahinch that night and went off myself on a bike to see Ignatius O'Neill, with whom I had some other business to discuss. He was then lying low over in the Lisdoonvarna area. O'Neill met me with a violent reception. He was raging mad because he had heard from some source that we had decided to bring off the ambush without asking him to take part. He described the battalion officers as a "shower of b……s". and accused me of being a "double-crosser". In order to placate him, I said, "All right the ambush is coming off and you'll have to take charge". Although he did not want to be in charge, I insisted that he should and outlined to him what our plans were and told him of the arrangements which had been made. As far as I can remember, he made no change in them. We arrived at Lahinch about 3 or 4 o'clock in the morning and there found between 60 and 65 men assembled. All the companies - in number - had supplied the seven men as they were asked to do and, in addition, there were the officers of the battalion staff. We moved off the to Rineen and arrived there about 6 o'clock. Before posting the men to the different positions, O'Neill explained to them what each section had to do" – **Capt. John Joe Neylon**, Ennistymon Company, 4th Batt., Mid-Clare Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1042).



The Rineen Ambush Memorial, Co. Clare.
Source: www.midclarebrigade.ie

"The main party, which consisted mostly of shotgun men, took up a position along a "bohereen" leading over rising ground from the main road to the railway gates on the south side of the main road. This laneway or bohereen is about a hundred yards long and at the railway gates is roughly forty feet above the level of the main road the land on the north side of which at that point, is for a distance of forty or fifty yards from the road low lying and marshy. Stephen Gallagher, afterwards Battalion Quartermaster, Seán Burke of the Lahinch Company, Anthony Malone, then Battalion Adjutant, and myself volunteered and we took positions…On both sides of the position towards Miltown and Ennistymon scouts were placed at points of vantage. One of the nearest of these scouts on the Ennistymon side to the main party was Joe D'Arcy of Miltown Malbay. It was the intention to attack the tender on its way to Miltown Malbay. Due, however, to a wrong signal having been transmitted by D'Arcy who altered the message which he had received from "Ford lorry traveling" to "four lorries travelling", the O/C, Ignatius O'Neill, decided to allow the tender to proceed unmolested. From my own position I could distinctly hear what had been sent on by the next scout to D'Arcy and what the latter had sent on to the main party, but unfortunately, I was not able to let O'Neill know this as I was too far from him and I was expecting the tender at any moment. In the circumstances, I felt that O'Neill was right in his decision not to attack, as the positions in which he had placed. his men were not suitable for taking on more than one lorry. No sooner had the lorry passed than O'Neill realised that a mistake had occurred. It was then about twelve o'clock (noon). He at once sent a scout, Jack Clune of Inagh Company, to cycle in to Miltown to find out all he could about the tender. Clune returned after about two hours with the news that the tender would be soon coming, and suitable instructions were given to each man in the ambush to be ready for instant action. The sound of the tender's engine confirmed Clune's information and, in a matter of minutes, the vehicle was at the laneway leading to Gorman's house on the north side of the road. It had gone about ten yards beyond this point when a signal shot, fired by John Joe Neylon, opened the firing. I had time to fire only three shots when the attack was over. The entire enemy force was killed, six RIC men, including one man who escaped from the opening burst of fire and had got away unnoticed towards Miltown. However, he was pursued and shot in a field beside O'Connor's house a few hundred yards from the ambush position" – **Capt. Patrick Kerin**, Glendine Coy, 4th Batt., Mid-Clare Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 977).

"One of the police managed to get off the lorry and had gone about 300 yards towards Miltown when he was seen and shot by Donal Lehane of Lahinch in a field near O'Connor's house and at spot about 100 yards from the main road, All the guns and ammunition carried by the police were collected: 6 Lee Enfield service rifles, one .45 revolver and about 3,000 rounds of .303 ammunition. The lorry was also burned. Some of the party were still on the road around the lorry and others were making their way up the side of Rineen Hill when word was received that lorries of British troops were coming towards us from Ennistymon. Orders were given to all to disperse as quickly as possible, the big majority made off towards the top of the hill, while a few went in the opposite direction towards the sea…The reprisals which followed this attack were probably the most brutal of any that took place in any rural part of the country during this period" – **Capt. John Joe 'Tosser' Neylon**.

Fourth Battalion Volunteers, Mid-Clare IRA., c.1921. O/C Séamus Hennessy stands at the extreme right. Source: www.midclarebrigade.ie

23rd September 1920

LEHANE, Patrick (Pake):

Rank: Captain & Battalion V/C.
Unit: *D Coy (Lahinch), 4th Batt., Mid Clare Brigade, IRA.*
DOB: 20 February 1898. Son of Daniel Lehane and Margaret Fitzgerald. His brother, Donal Lehane, was killed fighting with the National Army in September 1922. His sister, May, was a leading member of Cumann na mBan in the Mid-Clare area. She would marry Ignatius O'Neill, IRA Commandant of 4th Battalion, Mid-Clare Brigade.
Address: Cregg, Lahinch, Co. Clare.
Occupation: Farmer.
Death: After the IRA's success at Rineen, Crown forces targeted the towns of Lahinch, Ennistymon and Milltown Malbay with a spate of deadly reprisals. Having visited the Lehane residence, they shot and killed Daniel Lehane in the presence of his wife. Their son, Patrick 'Pake' Lehane, who had fought at the ambush earlier that day, was also murdered. There are conflicting stories about his death, one of which states that he had been trapped having hid in a secret room in the attic of Flanagan's residence in Lahinch to rest. His sister's pension application records her belief that he had been shot and killed by Crown forces and his remains thrown into the burning building.
Buried: Lahinch Cemetery, Co. Clare.
MSPC Ref: 1D470A.

"The reprisals which followed the Rineen ambush were probably the most savage and extensive that took place in any part of rural Ireland during the Black and Tan War. In Ennistymon, seven houses were burned and two persons, Tom Connole and a boy named Patrick Linane were shot dead. Connole's body was thrown into his blazing home in the presence of his wife and children. In Lahinch, seven houses and the Town Hall were up in flames and Patrick Lehane was mortally wounded, and a holiday visitor named Sammon from East Clare was shot dead. In Miltown Malbay, seven houses were destroyed by fire, while in the vicinity of the ambush the homes of two farmers named Honan and O'Gorman met the same fate. An elderly man named Seán Keane, who was working at hay, was fired on and killed" – **Capt. Edward Lynch**, Miltown Malbay Coy, 4th Batt., Mid-Clare Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1333).

"Late that night, RIC and Black and Tans, maddened with drink, sacked and plundered the three villages of Lahinch, Miltown-Malbay and Ennistymon. In Lahinch they burned several houses. Pake Lahane's father was an old and crippled man. The police set fire to the house, took the old man out and shot him at the gates of the railway level crossing. They arrested Pake's young brother, Jimmy, aged 14, and two RIC men would have shot him but for the intervention of a British military officer. A man named Salmon, a visitor to the village, was shot dead by the police when he ran out of the house in which he was staying. My friend, Pake Lahane himself, had taken part in the ambush and was asleep in a secret room in the attic of Flanagan's house in Lahinch when the police let loose their drunken fury. RIC men burst open the door of the house, the family fled, the police set fine to the house and Pake died in the flames. I found his charred remains in the debris next day. I spent that night with a few country Volunteers who stood-to expecting to be called on. We had a few shotguns and a few cartridges, but beyond helping the terror-stricken people who were endeavouring to get out into the countryside there was little we could do" – **T.S. McDonagh**, 4th Batt., Mid-Clare Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1540).

"Miltown-Malbay, the nearest town, has been the heaviest sufferer, and now presents a spectacle akin to that of a town in Belgium after the Germans had visited it. No fewer than eight houses have been burned, and there are not ten houses in the little town that have not suffered in greater or lesser degree. It was about 11.30 when the residents were startled by the first sounds of gun and rifle fire. Many people fled into the suburban locality. Then a number of uniformed men were seen passing through the streets, shouting, cheering, striking doors, shutters and windows with the butt-end of rifles and other weapons…It is believed the raiders had a plentiful supply of petrol for none of the houses attacked lasted more than half an hour before collapsing…The garage of Dr. Hillery, who recently resigned the Commission of the Peace in the county, were forcibly entered, and a Ford car set on fire. Much damage was caused before the fire was extinguished. The uniformed men, who had carried out so relentlessly, the work of destruction, did not leave the town, until about 5 a.m., leaving the unfortunate inhabitants in a fear-stricken state and dreading the return of the party…While the orgy of destruction was in progress, similar scenes were being enacted at Lahinch…Here also a party of

uniformed men appeared in motor lorries and went up and down the town setting fire to a number of houses. Amongst these were the drapery establishment of Mrs. O'Dwyer, and the premises of Messrs. M. Howard, Flanagan, Vaughan, Walsh, Reynolds and the Town Hall. Several of the men had pronounced English accents, plainly audible in the shouting…The inhabitants were terror-stricken and fled in dozens to the Sandhills, north of the town…During the harrowing scenes here, a young man, Sammon, a visitor from East Clare, was shot dead in the street. Simultaneously, another party made a descent on the town of Ennistymon, two miles distant, where the houses of residents named Messrs. Whelan, Cleare, Callinan, Devitt and Connell were burned to the ground, and a second house of Mr. Devitt looted, as well as the house of Mr. Madigan, where, it is stated, a quantity of liquor was obtained. To add to the scenes of destruction in the town, two young men named [PJ] Linnane and Thomas Connole, were shot dead. The former was, it is stated, at the town aiding in the putting out of flames of a burning house…Almost all ricks of hay in the countryside from Miltown to Ennistymon have been set on fire and destroyed" – **Skibbereen Eagle**, 25 September 1920, p.5.

"The police had fired indiscriminately into the homes of the people; five or six shops and the Town Hall had been burned down. A young boy of 15 years named Linnane, who had been sent by his mother to bring an old lady, whose house was in danger, to their home was captured by the RIC. His dead body with three or four bullet wounds in it was found near the barracks. A man named Tom Connole, who was married and lived on the outskirts of the village had also been shot. The police had rushed into his house, took himself, his wife and his two small children out and, in the presence of the wife and children, shot Connole dead. They then set fire to the house and threw the body into the blazing building. Another friend of mine, an oldish man named Nicko Nestor, had a very narrow escape. Unobserved, he got out of his house just as the RIC arrived and set it on fire" – **T.S. McDonagh**, (BMH-WS 1540).

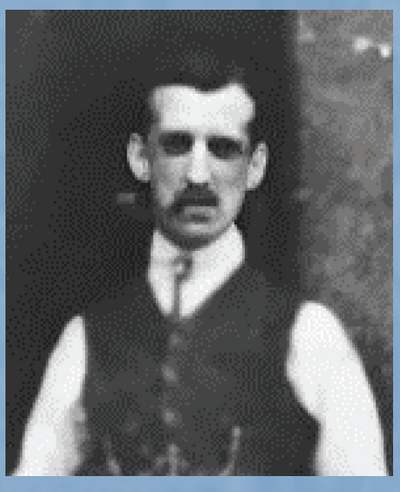
The remnants of fury at Ennistymon, Co. Clare. September 1920. Source: Clare County Library

26th September 1920
Callous Retribution in Belfast

GAYNOR, Seán:
Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *B Coy, 1st Batt., Antrim & East Down Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 19 January 1896. Born on James Street, Newtownards, Co. Down, to James Gaynor and Mary McCarthy. Brother of leading IRB figure, Liam Gaynor.
Address: 236 Springfield Road, Belfast.
Occupation: Plumber.
Death: At 05.30, Gaynor was shot in his hallway by disguised RIC, under the command of Head Constable Giff of Springfield Road Barracks, in retaliation for the shooting dead of Constable Thomas Leonard outside the Beehive Bar, several hours beforehand. After shooting Gaynor dead their attentions turned to his mother, demanding the whereabouts of her other son, Liam. At Gaynor's funeral, an armoured car pointed a machine gun at his family, an officer ordering the procession to remove the tricolor from his coffin. The order was carried out.
Buried: Milltown Cemetery, Belfast.

"On 25th September, 1920, I went to Dublin to undergo a week's intensive, engineering course on demolition for the Volunteers, but on the following day I returned to Belfast owing to the death of my brother, who was shot in his home at midnight by British forces. The latter, I was soon informed, thought that they had killed me, and I was forced to go on the run" – **Liam Gaynor**, IRB Supreme Council, (BMH-WS 183).

TRODDEN, Edward Joseph (Ned):
Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *C Coy, 1st Batt., Belfast Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 16 May 1877. Born at 59 Hartley St in Belfast to Edward Trodden and Euphemia McBride.
Address: 68 Falls Rd, Belfast.
Familial: Trodden had married Catherine Quinn on 7 August 1899 at St. Peter's, Belfast. They had three sons: Edward (1901-1945), Charles (1904-1947) and Michael Trodden (1910-1978). He was widowed in February 1915.
Occupation: Hairdresser.
Death: After the death of Constable Leonard in Belfast's Broadway a few hours prior, a group of policemen with blackened faces, under the assumed command of County Inspector Harrison, went to Trodden's home at 02.15 and demanded he come downstairs, even impatiently firing through the shop window. After fighting their way past Trodden's sons, the murder squad broke each of Ned's arms in two places and dragged him outside to his yard where they shot him dead.
Buried: Milltown Cemetery, Belfast.
Image Source: Daniel Jack.
MSPC Ref: 1D153.

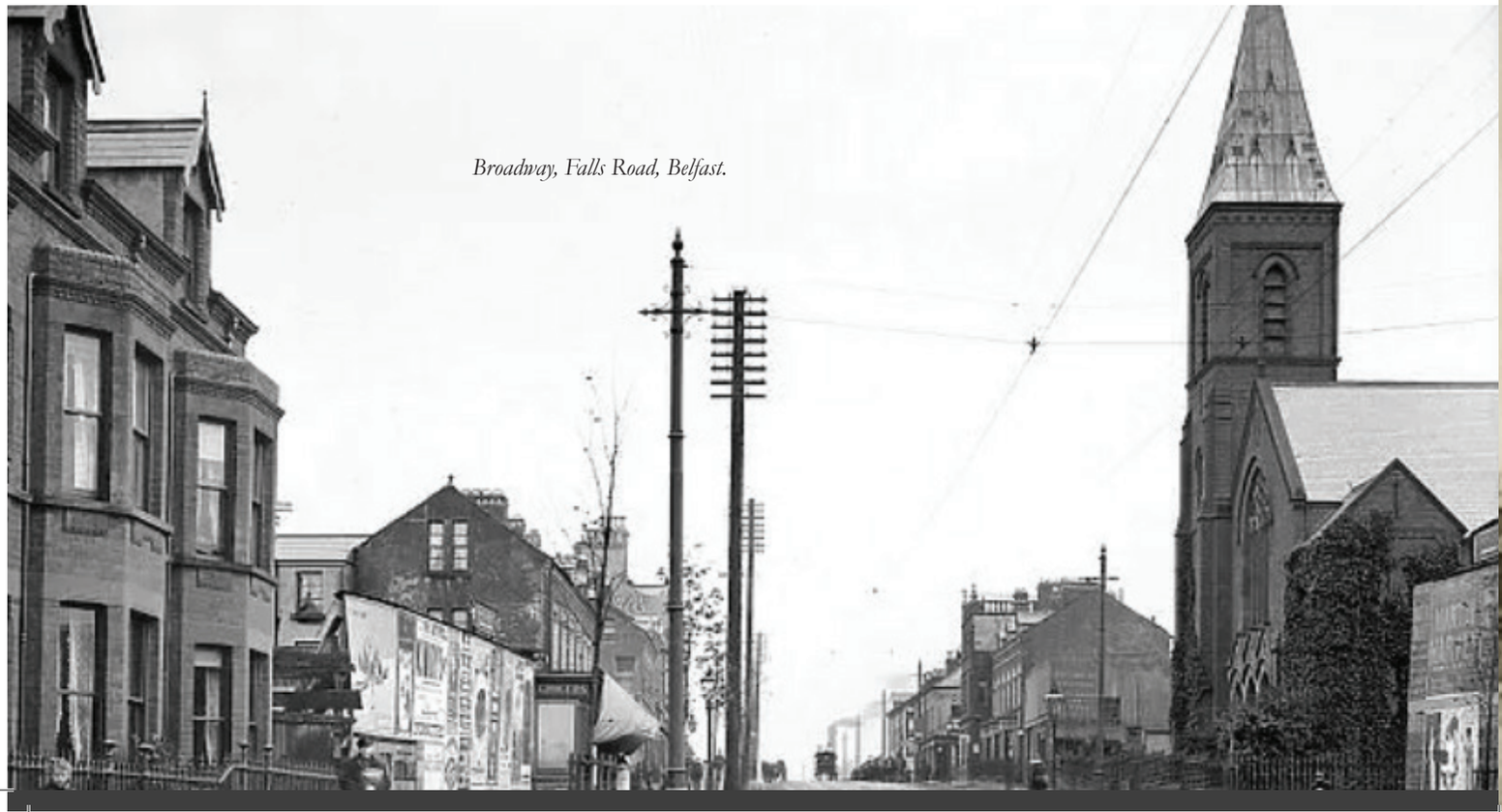


McFADDEN, Seán:
Rank: Volunteer & I/O.
Unit: *1st Battalion, Belfast Brigade, IRA.*
DOB: 12 July 1876. Born at Drummullen, Moneymore, Co. Derry, to Hugh McFadden and Sally Canavan.
Address: 54 Springfield Rd, Belfast

Familial: McFadden married Margaret Mallon at St. Paul's, Belfast, on 4 November 1916.
Occupation: Blacksmith.
Death: McFadden was shot and killed at his residence by disguised policemen, under the assumed command of County Inspector Harrison, in revenge for the IRA's shooting of Constable Leonard hours previously. McFadden's funeral was privately organised and did not contain any Republican displays at the request of the family, who feared antagonising from the military. McFadden's remains were accompanied by a large congregation from the Clonard Confraternity of the Holy Family.
Buried: Milltown Cemetery, Belfast.

"The tragedies caused consternation in the Falls Road district, which was seething with excitement when the circumstances under which the victims met their deaths became known. Everything points to carefully prepared plans, and different parties, two or three strong, visited each house around the same hour. Four men took part in the shooting of Edward Trodden, who carried on business as a barber in a shop opposite the Falls Baths. They arrived in a motor vehicle, and knocked at the door, to the side of the barber's shop. Apparently, there was some delay, and impatient at being kept waiting the men fired a shot through the plate glass window… Trodden's son answered the door, and the men, wearing masks, rushed upstairs, dragged his father from the house to the yard, where he was shot dead. Several bullets entered the body, and the unfortunate man's head was left in a ghastly condition. The men hurriedly left. Trodden was 45 years of age, and was one of the unsuccessful Sinn Féin candidates for the Falls Division at the Municipal elections last January…The second victim was John M'Fadden, a blacksmith, who was shot dead in his own house, which is situated about 100 yards above Springfield Road Barracks. Three men knocked at the door and the deceased went down to open it. When he appeared three shots were fired at him, and he fell dead on the doorstep. A bullet had penetrated his heart…Further up the Springfield Road, the young man Gaynor was shot at his home, the windows of which were smashed with stones. Two men knocked at the door, and Mrs. Gaynor, the mother of the deceased, went down to let them in. The men forced in the door, however pushed her into the parlour, and one man kept guard while his comrades pushed upstairs to a bedroom at the top of the house. In it was John Gaynor, who was partly dressed. The men made him walk downstairs in front of them, and in the corridor a shot was fired at him, the bullet entering the lung. Gaynor lurched forward and managed to get into a bedroom on the first landing, where he fell on the floor. The men followed him and a second shot was fired, killing him instantly, as the bullet passed through his brain. The two men then left, and going out the door, made some remark to the distracted mother, who can, it is stated, identify the men who took her son's life. Mrs. Gaynor, in an interview, alleges that 'uniformed men' shot her son" – **Anglo-Celt**, 2 October 1920, p.3.

"Rioting broke out afresh in Belfast on Saturday night, and one policeman and three civilians were shot dead. Other policemen and civilians were wounded. There was rioting, rifle and revolver firing, and stone throwing on Sunday. The Curfew Order was reimposed as from Monday…The house of Mr. Seán MacEntee TD, was also visited, and he was inquired for, but he was not on the premises. The police closely questioned the occupants as to his whereabouts the previous night" – **Donegal News**, 2 October 1920, p.3.



Broadway, Falls Road, Belfast.

With tensions running high in Trim, Co. Meath, the town was sacked by the newly constituted E Company [Auxiliary Division – RIC] on 28 September 1920. The town saw several businesses and the Town Hall burned (below). Source: www.meathhistoryhub.ie

Seán Gaynor's Grave, Milltown Cemetery, Belfast. Source: Dan Jack

THE BIRTH OF THE FLYING COLUMNS (ACTIVE SERVICE UNITS)

"At this time this training policy was being discussed, GHQ in Dublin had sent a communication to all Brigades that a Flying Column should be started in each Brigade. The idea was enthusiastically accepted in West Cork, but it was thought wiser to develop it a bit further. The West Cork training plan envisaged the organisation of five training camps of separate groups of officers, at short intervals, as an initial step. The first and second groups were to be composed of all Battalion and Company officers of the Bandon Battalion, which, on account of its size, had about twice as many officers as the next largest unit. These were to be trained at separate camps at Kilbrittain and Ballymurphy. Then a camp was to be held at Bantry, followed by Schull. The fifth and final camp was to be located in the Dunmanway area. After each of those camps, which on mobilisation, automatically became Flying Columns, engagements were to be sought with the British. Thus, whilst fulfilling the object of spreading military training throughout and giving all officers some experience of action, the West Cork Brigade would maintain a Flying Column for active operations, and would take a worthy part, without delay, in the defence of the people against the aggressor…The great advantage of this plan was that instead of having within the Brigade a small number of very highly trained and a large number of untrained officers and men, there would be a fairly large number of officers and men capable of bearing arms. This allowed for the expansion of the Flying Column to the size it eventually reached, that of about one hundred and ten men, about twice as large as the next biggest Flying Column in Ireland…The Flying Column would attack whenever there were good grounds for believing that it would inflict more casualties on an enemy force than those it would itself suffer. It would choose its own battleground, and when possible, would refuse battle if the circumstances were unfavourable. It would seek out the enemy and fight, but would not always accept an enemy challenge. It must avoid disaster at all costs, but a situation might arise, when in the interest of defence of the whole movement, it would be prepared to lose man for man, provided that a Column of limited size only was risked, and that sufficient armed and trained men remained to put a new Column on the march. Consistent with those two unchangeable objects, the mission of the Flying Column was continually to harass, kill, capture and destroy the enemy forces; to keep in check his attempts to rebuild his badly shaken civil administration; to guard and protect the building of our own State institutions and the people who were establishing and using them" – **Brigade O/T, Tom Barry**, Cork No.3 Brigade, IRA, *Guerilla Days in Ireland*, p.19-23).

"Anticipating reprisals, it had been arranged that an armed party of Volunteers would occupy positions in the town that night to deal with the burners and looters, but for some reason they did not come and the British came from the nearby posts of Buttevant, Fermoy and Ballyvonare and looted and burned several shops, the Town Hall and the creamery as a reprisal. I had met Jerry Kiely of Tipperary, who had come to Mallow with [Ernie] O'Malley and who was with us in the Town Hall that morning waiting to go into the barracks, and he told me the Tipperary Flying Column had just been formed and that he and myself had been nominated from "A" Company" – **QM. Michael Fitzgerald**, 4th Batt., Tipperary No.3 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1433).

"At the present time a large number both of our men and officers were on the run, in different parts of the Country. The most effective way of utilising these officers and men would seem to be by organising them as a Flying Column. In this way - instead, of being compelled to a haphazard and aimless course of action - they would become available as standing troops of a well-trained and thoroughly reliable stamp, and their action could be far more systematic and effective" – **Adjt. John MacCarthy,** East Limerick ASU, IRA, (BMH-WS 883).

Permanent troops of this kind would afford an exceedingly valuable auxiliary arm to the remainder of the Republican Army which is in great measure only a part-time-service militia. The Flying Columns having to serve actively all the time would have to be kept fully equipped and supplied with all necessaries. These Flying Columns would consist of only first-rate troops as the work required of them would be very exacting. In the matter of organisation, the cyclist ½ Company of one Lieutenant and two Sections, each of one Section Commander, two Squad Commanders and two Squads of four men together with an Adjutant and Quartermaster, both ranking as NCO., i.e. a total of twenty-six combatants could be taken as a basis. A larger number than this had better be formed into two flying Columns. The men should be thoroughly familiar with cyclist tactics, but inasmuch as the roads would frequently be denied to them by superior enemy forces they should also be minutely trained as infantry. It would often happen that a considerable proportion of the troops composing the Flying Columns were officers. Generally, while such officers are attached to the Flying Column, the next in command will command and control their units, except in the Case of Battalion Commandants, who shall be released periodically from the Flying Column for the purpose of attending Battalion Councils and carrying out inspections, the Vice-Commandant, otherwise taking charge. After some experience in Flying Column work a Battalion Commandant may be detached from the Column and returned permanently to his own area to work his Battalion. Each case, however, shall be dealt with as circumstances demand, except that when the general rule above indicated is departed from the matter shall be reported to the Director of Organisation and permission sought. Within the Flying Column the Brigade Commandant shall appoint the Lieutenant and Section-Commanders. The Lieutenant in charge shall appoint the Squad Commanders. Within the Flying Column, too, all men at whatever Commissioned or non-Commissioned rank, shall while retaining that rank for general organisation purposes, carry out the particular duties of whatever position is assigned to them as officers or men of the Column. The duties of Flying Columns would consist of two quite distinct type of action (a) Auxiliary Action and (b) independent Action. The second of these would supply a striking arm hitherto not in our possession at all." – **Adjt. John MacCarthy**.

"When they [The Black & Tans] threw petrol on a Sinn Féiner's house they were merely pouring paraffin on the flames of Irish Nationality"

Castlecomer IRA, c.1921 – (Back L-R): Dan Corcoran, Unknown, James Comerford, Patrick Dunphy, James Brennan, J. Byrne & J. Corcoran; (Front L-R): John Corcoran, Joe McCarthy, John Ferris, James Doyle & Francis Fogarty.

THE SUCCESS AT MALLOW, CO. CORK. 28 September 1920

"Liam Lynch and I went off on foot to inspect the road from Mallow to Cork. Convoys passed along there frequently through a pass in the hills; armoured cars escorted lorries and two or three lorries often went together. We found two good positions. We looked at them from either side and from either end, and decided where we would place scouts, signallers and men. Whilst I was giving a lecture in a barn to officers that night, Liam was called outside. After the lecture he said, 'The Mallow commandant brought out a young lad named [Jackie] Bolster but I'd thought I'd wait until you were finished. He's working in the Military Barracks, and says it can be taken.' The boy was seated in the kitchen of the house where we two slept. Liam brought him into another room and closed the door; we sat down at a table. The boy was tall, serious looking, a little nervous at first, but by degrees the nervousness wore off. He had a strong Cork accent and was eager to speak. He spoke evenly; we both eyed him closely as he talked. 'Are you a Volunteer?' Liam asked. 'Yes, sir, and I want to help in any way I can.' 'What do you know about the barracks?' 'I am a painter and I work there with another chap, Willis, who will do anything you want him to. The arms are nearly all in the guardroom at certain times.' 'How many men in the guardroom?' 'Four or five.' 'How many sentries are there?' 'One inside the main gate during the daytime.' 'How many officers?' 'One and a sergeant-major. The regiment is the Lancers, the 17th – they call themselves 'The Death or Glories' – and there are about forty or fifty men.' 'Can you draw a rough plan?' On a piece of paper, he outlined buildings, sheds, the guardroom and the sentry. 'In the morning the horses are taken out for exercise, and about eight or nine men and the officer go with them.' Liam asked him to come out next evening; in the meantime, he was to examine the guardroom without attracting attention. 'Well, what do you think of it?' said Liam. 'It looks simple enough,' I replied. 'We could take the barracks in the morning time.' 'Do you think Bolster can be trusted; perhaps it's a trap?' 'He gave his information steadily. Two machine-guns and thirty rifles are worth a risk. We often have men killed trying to capture a rifle. Next day we went into Mallow, walked around the military barracks and the side streets and had a look at the police barracks. The difficulty would be to bring in the column in the morning. They would be noticed, and the people of Mallow – long a garrison town – were not very friendly. The Town Hall stood high above the houses near it. 'We could bring the men in at night and stay in the Town Hall till morning,' I said. 'Yes, we could,' said Liam. We looked at the back walls leading up to the Town Hall, then we walked back to Burnfoot. We decided to act at once; the garrison might be strengthened at any moment or additional sentries might be posted. The plan was formed and reformed. Our quartermaster, [Paddy] McCarthy, would go next morning to the barracks as an overseer to superintend the work of the two painters. Each would carry a revolver. When the troopers left to exercise their horses, I would knock at the barrack gate and say I had a letter for the officer. When I had disarmed the sentry, the other three, who were to be working near the guardroom, would hold up the guard and wait for the rest of the column. Motor cars and drivers were to be ready outside the town, waiting to move in when signalled to by our scouts. In the evening Bolster came out. Liam asked, 'Can another man go in with you to the barracks?' 'Yes, he can come in with me in the morning; the Lancers won't notice anything.' 'Can you use a gun?' 'No, nor can my pal; we've never handled guns before.' He was shown how to load and unload, how to grip, then our plan was explained to him. We watched McCarthy and Bolster disappear into the darkness with three revolvers; we hoped they would not be held up before they reached the town. The Column was drawn up. They smiled joyfully when they were told that we were going to seize the barracks." – **Ernie O'Malley**, GHQ Organiser, *On Another Man's Wound*, p.239-242.

Crown reprisals in Mallow, Co. Cork.

"On the following morning, Dick [Willis] and Jackie [Bolster] went into barracks in the normal course as tradesmen. Both, however, were armed with revolvers. Dick left the Barracks shortly after, supposedly to go to the station to collect the supposed Clerk of Works (Paddy McCarthy) who returned and entered barracks with him. Some days beforehand the Garrison O/C. (Lieutenant McGrady) had mentioned about the poor water pressure and Dick Willis told him he would mention it to the local Town Clerk (Mr. Wrixon) and also to their Clerk of Works. In the meantime, they had in mind that Ernie O'Malley could be brought in as the Water Inspector. When Paddy and Dick entered the Barracks, Paddy took out his notebook and started looking at some apparent repairs near the barrack gate and from there they went into the Guardroom where there happened to be seven soldiers instead of the usual three. It was not known at the time whether all of them were armed. Naturally the Guardroom was full of arms. Paddy then commenced to take some measurements in the Guardroom as we were marking time until O'Malley's arrival at the barrack gate. Very shortly after O'Malley arrived and Dick noticed he was having a tussle with the sentry and had a grip of the latter's rifle. Dick and Paddy then made the remainder of the guard put up their hands, and in a room adjoining the Guardroom where there were about twelve soldiers. Jackie made them put up their hands. In the meantime, Lynch and other members of the Column came in through the main gate and about this time the senior NCO in the barracks (Sgt. Gibbs), noticing the commotion, ran towards the Guardroom. He was called on to halt but did not do so: then a shot was fired over his head and he still kept running - by this time he had arrived at the Guardroom door, and, as we feared a reaction of the members of the Guard, there was nothing for it but to shoot him and Dick Willis fired and fatally wounded him: he died some hours later" – **Vol. Richard Willis & Vol. John Bolster**, Cork No.2 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 808).

"Motor cars drove in. Rapidly, rifles, revolvers, lances, swords, ammunition and equipment were carried out to them. I heard a shot and saw a Lancer fall as I rushed with two men for the officer's quarters, but I had no time to investigate. Upstairs we went, to find the officer's room locked. With a smash three of us broke in the door. Inside was a soldier – the officer's orderly. We searched for papers but did not find many. Later we discovered a large tin box full, which was too heavy for us to carry. I sent down for two more men. On the officer's desk was an unfinished letter: 'Mallow is a very quiet town; nothing ever happens here…I saw motor cars move off, long lances stuck out and pennons waved. A wounded sergeant-major lay on the ground; some of his men were trying to stop the blood whilst I bandaged his stomach wound. I heard Liam order all men to leave the barracks. 'But it hasn't been properly searched yet,' I said, 'and it hasn't been burned.' 'We have no time,' he said, hurriedly. I tried to stop the flow of blood whilst the comrades of the dying man stood around. I heard a shout from the gate. Jerry Kieley, a rifle slung on his back, ran towards me. 'I came back,' he said, 'when I heard you were alone. Why didn't some of them stay?' 'Let's move those bales into the building,' I said. There were compressed hay bundles in the yard. We tugged them towards the main building, loosened them inside and set fire to the hay, then we dashed through the gate and down the town. We caught up with some of the rearguard, seated on an ass and cart; their rifles covered the road behind them. One was playing a melodeon. The thin swirl of smoke from the barracks did not increase. Above Burnfoot we halted. Thirty rifles, two Hotchkiss guns, small arms and over 4,000 rounds of ammunition had been captured and had been brought by the motor cars to a safe place in the opposite direction" – **Ernie O'Malley**, p. 243-245.

"While we worked our minds were occupied with speculation as to the activities in Mallow district. The attack was timed for Tuesday morning and the news did not come until the night had fallen. Then I got a brief note from the Brigade O/C. Amidst all his preoccupations he remembered that I'd be on tenterhooks and dispatched a Volunteer with a message. I didn't need to read the message when I saw the dispatch rider's face. Unlike Tony Weller he was "A Bear" of good news. He radiated importance and success. The note said briefly "Complete success, fifty rifles, two machine guns, ammunition to burn, no casualties". Our grievances were forgotten. My companions exploded into a roar of triumph. I returned to the Schoolmaster, not to sleep but to await wakefully the morning newspaper and its splash headline. The headlines certainly appeared and the news I had received was confirmed in detail. But there was additional grave and unexpected news. The town had been burned and sacked by the British" – **Seán Moylan**, 6th Battalion, Cork No.2 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 838).

The (Peter the Painter) Mauser which belonged to Vinnie Byrne (the Squad). Source: National Museum of Ireland.

1st October 1920

CONNOLLY, John:
Rank: Lieutenant.
Unit: *F Coy (Bandon), 1st Batt., Cork No.3 Brigade, IRA*
DOB: 28 November 1894. Born at Shannon St, Bandon, to Daniel Connolly and Julia Collins.
Occupation: Labourer.
Address: Boyle St, Bandon, Co. Cork.
Death: On 24 September 1920, Connolly was arrested in a relative's house at Kilbrittain and taken to Bandon Barracks, where he was horrifically beaten and tortured by members of the notorious Essex Regiment. His remains were found partly buried at Castle Bernard Park, near Bandon, three weeks later.
Buried: Kilbrogan Cemetery, Bandon, Co. Cork.
Ref: *The Liberator*, 19 October 1920, p.3.

"A military inquiry into the mysterious death of John Connolly, aged 25, of Bandon, whose decomposed body was found in Castle Bernard Park, partly covered in earth and leaves, on Saturday, expressed the opinion that he died of injuries inflicted by some person or persons unknown. Connolly was arrested by military at a farmer's house at Maulnaskimlishane, 3 miles from Bandon, on September 30, and was taken to the military barracks. His father called at the barrack next day and was told he had been released. Nothing more was heard of him until the terrible discovery was made on Saturday"

"There was a scene at the funeral of Mr. John Connolly…When the cortege left the workhouse mortuary for Kilbrogan Cemetery many young men were marching in military formation. When it arrived at the junction of North Main Street and the Bridge armed troops ordered the military formation to cease. This was done, and the people scattering to some extent, continued on their way. They had proceeded 70 yards when the soldier's turned towards them and started clicking the bolts of their rifles, which they pointed towards the crowd. The people immediately stampeded and in the scurry several fell, and some were injured. No shots were fired" – **Irish Independent**, 19 October 1920, p.7.

OTHER EVENTS ACROSS IRELAND

"Perhaps the most serious feature of the appalling destruction is the severe blow given the farming industry in South Sligo by the burning of the creameries at Ballyara and Achonry. Exactly 1,500 farmers are now deprived of the means of disposing of the milk of the cows" – **Irish Independent**, 4 October 1920, p.5.

"There was considerable excitement and great military activity in Dublin yesterday, and it is alleged soldiers engaged in examining motor permits at Binn's Bridge, Drumcondra, were fired on and one wounded…On some of the principal approaches barbed wire entanglements were erected. All vehicles and all pedestrians were searched. Hundreds of persons returning from Mass were thus held up. About 08.30 a.m., there was a fusillade of rifle-fire in the neighbourhood of Drumcondra, which caused considerable alarm. The military had been very active in this area and motors were constantly running through Whitworth Road from Binn's Bridge to Cross Guns Bridge. About ten minutes after the first fusillade, two further shots were fired, and an NCO of the military piquet at Portland Place, near Binn's Bridge, was seen to fall" – **Irish Independent**, 4 October 1920, p.5.

"Three business places in Tipperary, including the pharmacy of Mr. P.J. Moloney TD, were bombed after midnight on Sunday (17 October). Mr. Moloney's premises in Church St were first visited at 12.20. Mr. Moloney was awakened by loud explosions, but on looking out he saw nobody out. It was found that at least two Mills bombs had been thrown through the plate glass window, making a hole in the floor and shattering the fixtures. Extensive damage was done to the goods in the shop" – **Irish Independent**, 19 October 1920, p.6.

"The villagers of Corofin and Cummer, near Tuam [Co. Galway*] went through two nights of terrorism on Saturday and Sunday, as a result of one man's life is in danger. Uniformed men took a drink at the shop of Mr. J. Raftery, Corofin, early on Saturday evening, and that night Mr. Raftery, was taken out of bed, naked, taken a mile away, and flogged and taunted with jibes as 'You will be alright when you have Arthur Griffith as President.' After the first beating he was thrown over a wall, and dropped ten*

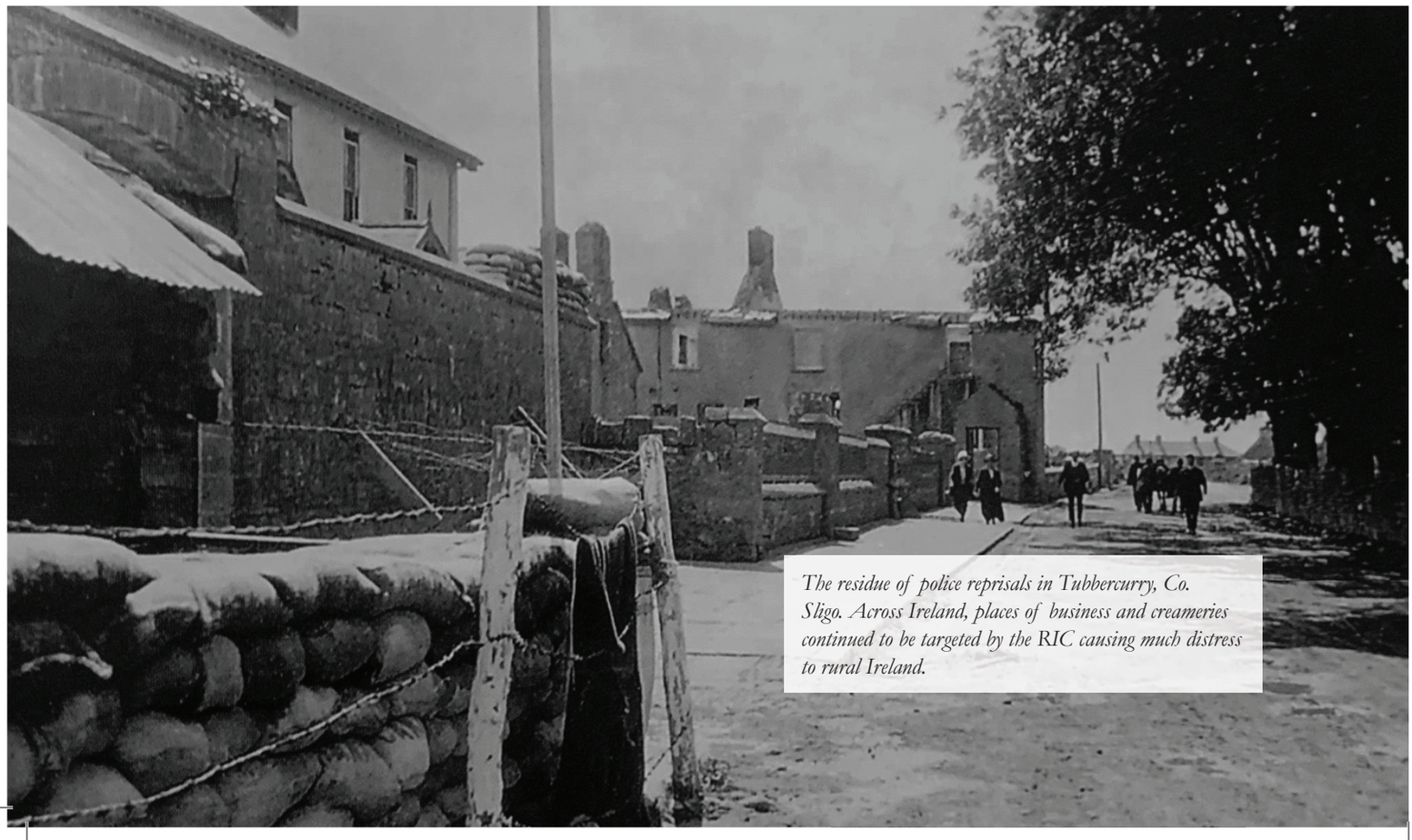
feet into a bed of thistles and nettles. He had to scramble out of this position, and was made crawl along the road for 30 yards, all the time, getting flogged…The same evening the house of Thomas, Martin, Willie and Paddy Feeney was visited, and the four men were taken out as they were saying the Rosary, before going to bed. They were then stripped and flogged. A rope was then put round Thomas Feeney's neck, and he was dragged back and over a wall. Another brother got a blow of a revolver in the head, which rendered him senseless" – **Irish Independent**, 19 October 1920, p.6.

"In all our annals there has been nothing to parallel this record of organised and senseless savagery. It is clear that terrorism is the settled policy of the Government and that it is Mr. Lloyd George's final word to Ireland" **– Daily News, 2 October 1920.**

2nd October 1920

O'HANLON, John:

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *Cregmore Coy, 1st Batt., Mid-Galway Bde, IRA.*
Secretary of the local Sinn Féin Cumann.
DOB: 10 April 1884. Son of William O'Hanlon and Mary Walsh.
Familial: On 30 November 1916, O'Hanlon married Mary Curley at Killererin Church, Co. Galway. Their children were Mary Teresa (b.1918) and Billy (1920-2016).
Address: Lackabeg, Turloughmore, Co. Galway.
Occupation: Farmer / Farrier.
Death: O'Hanlon was shot and killed by disguised RIC officers who entered his home. He attempted to escape but was apprehended and shot in the forehead. His remains were found outside in the early hours of the following morning by his wife and elderly parents. After O'Hanlon's funeral, the Black and Tans harassed his widow and family, often firing shots over their heads.
Buried: Turloughmore, Co. Galway.
MSPC Ref: DP6259.



The residue of police reprisals in Tubbercurry, Co. Sligo. Across Ireland, places of business and creameries continued to be targeted by the RIC causing much distress to rural Ireland.

"After the shooting of a few G-men, the remainder of the group, especially the political men, withdrew into the Castle and very seldom came out. Information was received, that they used to go to St. Michael's and John's Church, in a group, to eight or nine o'clock Mass - I am not sure which. The Squad, with the Tipperary men – [Dan] Breen, [Seán] Treacy, [Seán] Hogan and [Séumas] Robinson - some members of Intelligence and Jim Brennan and Hugo MacNeill, proceeded on a Sunday morning early in October 1920, and took up positions in Essex St. and outside the church at the back entrance. We saw the group approaching from the direction of the Castle and coming down Exchange St. I would say there were between ten and twelve men in the group as we were getting ready to open fire on them, someone - I can't remember his name - rushed over to Mick McDonnell, and the job was called off. The reason, I later learned, was that Terence MacSwiney was dying in Brixton Prison and that there was a hope that he would be released. Word was sent by the "Big Fella" [Michael Collins] *not to proceed with the operation"* – **Vincent Byrne**, The Squad, IRA, (BMH-WS 423).

"It became clear that after the breakdown of Peace negotiations that Lloyd George made an all-out effort to smash the IRA. Finding that his army, RIC and Black and Tans were unable to cope with the situation, he set up a new force called "Auxiliary Police". They were a fine smart body of men, of splendid physique and appearance. They wore army officers' khaki tunics with Glengarry bonnets worn at an angle. They were equipped with revolvers, strapped on the knee cowboy fashion. Each man also carried a rifle and they were the best paid men in the services. They were provided with Crossley tenders, one of the latest type machine guns being carried in each tender. These men were all ex-British army officers fresh from the battlefields of World War I, and specially picked to fight the IRA. They were most unscrupulous and had no regard for life or property. "K" Company of the Auxiliaries had been stationed in Cork Military Barracks since October 1920, and their foul deeds of murder, rapine and arson will never be forgotten by the citizens of Cork. These fiends violated all international laws of warfare. They had no respect for women or children, and not even the sanctity of the Red Cross was respected. They used their prisoners as hostages, some of whom they murdered and tortured. They set fire to two large warehouses in Cork about this time The Modern and the Blackthorn House. They burst down a wine and spirit store in Pine St. The only 'crime' committed by the owner was that his name was in Gaelic letters on the facia board. I happened to be staying at that historic house of Mr. D. Kelleher in Leitrim Street on the night that the Pine St. premises (Coghlan's) was burnt. Kelleher's was the house where Donnchadh MacNeilus made his epic fight. It is almost directly opposite Coghlan's. Jerry Twohig, section commander of No. 4 section, was also staying at Mr. Kelleher's house. We saw a Red Cross ambulance draw up in front of the shop door after curfew hour. Then a squad of about six Auxiliaries alighted from this Red Cross van and broke down the door by means of crowbars. They then entered the shop and brought out large quantities of foodstuffs tobacco and spirits and loaded same in the van. They broke open a paraffin oil container, sprinkled the oil around the shop and set fire to the place" – **Capt. Seán Healy**, A Coy, 1st Batt., Cork No.1 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1479).

CONWAY, Hugh:

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *D Coy (Cullen), 1st Batt., East Limerick Bde, IRA.*
DOB: c.1895.
Address: Cullen, Co. Tipperary.
Occupation: Labourer.
Death: Around 8pm, Conway had been drinking at Quinlan's public-house in Cullen when the building was raided by Crown forces. Having been ordered to leave, Cullen was shot and mortally wounded as he walked down the Oola road. Conway was taken to the home of Mr. Bradshaw where he expired moments later. It was claimed by eyewitnesses that the shots had been fired by soldiers in a military lorry. Conway is listed as a civilian in *DOTIR*.
Buried: Lattin, Co. Tipperary.
Ref: MA/MSPC/RO/124.
Tipperary Star, 9 October 1920, p.4.

A FAILED ATTACK AT FRENCHPARK, CO. ROSCOMMON, 2 October 1920

"About the 2nd October 1920 an attack was made on Frenchpark RIC barracks. This was a Brigade operation. All available men who had arms of any sort were ordered to turn out. Our only means of destroying the barracks was a load of hay on a cart which was soaked in paraffin or petrol. This load was to be backed up against the door of the barracks and sat on fire. At the same time the barracks was to be attacked in front and rear by rifle-fire. A party had been detailed to climb on to the roof of the barracks from an adjoining building and to break a hole in the roof through which petrol and oil was to be poured and set on fire. Some of the attacking parties were in position when the man detailed for the job pushed the cart load of hay towards the door. When he

got near the door hand grenades were thrown from the barracks window and intense rifle-fire opened up from that building. The man had to abandon his cart of hay which needless to say was not lighted. He, however, got safely away. Fire was returned on the barracks for some time but it was impossible to get near the hay to set it alight. Needless to say, the party detailed to make the hole in the roof did not get into action either. After about half an hour the attack was called off and we all withdrew and disbanded. We had no casualties. I don't know if the police had any either. It would appear as if the police had been warned about the impending attack. Personally, I believe otherwise. While we were assembling and moving to our attack positions, which took some considerable time, every dog in the area was barking and generally kicking up a row and there seemed to be a plentiful supply of dogs around there" – **V/C, T. Crawley**, 1st Batt., South Roscommon Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 718).

THE ATTACK ON SCHULL RIC BARRACKS, CO. CORK 4 October 1920

"The Schull Peninsula is one of the strips of land of West Cork stretching out deeply into the Atlantic and extending west of a line drawn from Bantry to Skibbereen. Volunteer units had existed in this area since 1918, and had been associated either with the Bantry Battalion on the one side or the Skibbereen Battalion on the other, but the peninsula was too far from either Skibbereen or Bantry, and as a result it tended to be overlooked and its possibilities ignored. From the point of view of the Brigade Staff, however, this situation was unsatisfactory, and it was felt that the peninsula called for some kind of reorganisation…Seán Lehane made contact with us at the July, August and September Brigade Council meetings and reported favourably on the progress being made in his work of organisation. In these few months he had, with the assistance of Seán O'Driscoll, Gibbs Ross, and other local men, established nine Companies i.e., at Lissagriffin, Goleen, Dunmanus, Gloun, Schull, Leamcon, Dunbeacon, Ballydehob and Skehanore. Granted that there were already units in most of these districts, they were now established as regular and independent Companies of the Seventh Battalion. As such they were responsible to their Battalion Commandant for all future operations. For his Battalion Staff, Lehane selected Denis Murphy as Vice-Commandant, Gibbs Ross as Adjutant, and James Hayes as Quartermaster…Schull RIC Barracks remained a thorn in our side. It was not only an enemy stronghold, but it was also a centre of enemy intelligence. As such it was an ever-present threat to our safety. When the garrison was reinforced, the RIC took over a large stone building situated on rising ground in complete isolation and strongly fortified with sandbags, barbed wire entanglements, and with steel shutters on the windows. About four hundred yards away was a coastguard station occupied by a detachment of the Royal Marines estimated by the local Battalion Staff at the time as forty to fifty strong. Although the marines were never active against us, they had to be considered in any plan of attack. At the Brigade meetings the question of the Schull RIC barracks was constantly being discussed, and Lehane was assured that, when the time was ripe, a column would be moved in there to attack the barracks in co-operation with his local forces…Convinced as he was of the importance of capturing Schull barracks, and realizing what a major military operation would be involved in an endeavour to take it by a frontal assault, Lehane concentrated on the intelligence reports that were made by the Schull Company. From these he learned that every night at 7.30 five of the garrison left the barracks and were absent for half an hour to collect mail and newspapers from the evening train that arrived at the local station from Skibbereen…The plan of attack was a simple one. The men moved across country to a laneway at Meenvane, which led to the rear of the barracks. On the way there, and by arrangement, they met the local curate, Father Denis Ahern, and when he was told what was afoot, he invited the men to kneel, and he gave them general absolution"– **Brigade-Adjt. Liam Deasy**, *Towards Ireland Free*, p.148-151.

"A storming party of twelve was selected to carry out the attack. The members of the storming party were: Seán Lehane (Battn. O/C), Gibbs Ross, Seán O'Driscoll (O/C Ballydehob) Jim Hayes (Batt QM), Jerh. McCarthy (O/C Schull), Tim Murphy, Paddy O'Neill, Denis Murphy, Charlie Cotter, Tom Hickey (O/C Skehanore), Jack McCarthy (Durrus) and Denis Whooley (Schull). with the exception of myself, all the others were armed with revolvers. I carried a 14lbs sledge with which it was proposed that I should break in the door should the officer on duty fail to open the door. Representatives from the other companies in the battalion were engaged on scouting and outpost duty. It was close on 8 p.m. when we moved slowly across the open space towards the barrack. We reached the passage through the barbed wire and moved carefully to the door. Seán Lehane knocked. A voice inside asked: "Who goes there?" "Kilmallock" (RIC day code) answered Seán. The door was immediately opened by Constable Gleeson, so there was no need for me to use my sledge. We all rushed the door and held up the Sergeant and the RIC men in the day-room who were playing cards. Sergeant Lorgan and his men were taken completely by surprise. The garrison were now searched. All arms and papers were taken from them and they were removed to an outhouse on Dan Hurley's farm nearby. Four or five members of the garrison were absent in the town at the time of the raid, these were held up by our party as they returned to the barracks and were placed under guard with their colleagues in Dan Hurley's outhouse. The barrack was now searched thirteen rifles, twenty-six revolvers of various types, a large supply of rifle and revolver ammunition, some Verey pistols, a number of Mills bombs were seized while the wireless transmitting apparatus was also smashed" – **Lieut. Charlie Cotter**, Schull Coy, 7th Batt., Cork No.3 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1519).

Brigade Officers (North Galway Brigade) L-R: Pat Dunleavy, Martin Walshe, Dr. Michael Mangan, Tom Kilgarriff & Tom Mannion (seated). Source: Killererin Heritage Group.

6th October 1920

THOMPSON, Patrick:
Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *Finea Outpost Unit, 1st Batt., Longford Brigade, IRA.*
DOB: 12 February 1888. Born in Finea, Co. Westmeath to Michael Thompson and Catherine Cruise.
Address: Lisnageeragh, Co. Longford.
Occupation: Cattle Dealer.
Death: Around 10pm, Thompson was shot and killed by RIC constable, Henry Corbett, outside Mrs. O'Connor's pub in Finea. Thompson and several comrades had been trailing the drunken Corbett home in an attempt to capture his weapon. Thompson is recorded as a civilian in *DOTIR.*
Buried: St. Mary's Churchyard, Carrick, Finea, Co. Westmeath.
Ref: *Cork Examiner*, 8 October 1920, p.5.

THE SALTMILLS DISASTER, CO. WEXFORD 12 October 1920

"It was October, 1920. Autumn had, in her gay colours of red and russet, tinted the old oaks and elms surrounding Tintern Abbey. The barley and wheat were stacked in the neighbouring haggards, leaving, naked and quiet, the close-cut stubble fields. A short distance from Tintern Abbey, in a lonely, sloping stretch of country reaching down to St. Kearns seashore, stood a small unoccupied house in the midst of fields, some gone wild, with furze bushes and whitethorn sceachs. A few were cultivated, and others, in a not well-cared for condition, were grazed by cattle and sheep. On a junction of the road from Ballycullane to Saltmills, close to Tintern churchyard, runs a road, along by St. Kearns shore, which is seldom used except by people who live along that stretch. A little distance along this road is the old quay of St. Kearns, where sailing schooners, belonging to Captain Roche, brought coal cargoes. Opposite the quay was a gateway that gave access to the fields that led to this old house. The local IRA had selected this old house, and had been using it for some time now, for making bombs, filling cartridge cases and storing all kinds of ammunition. Raids on the Hook Lighthouse and supplies from other places brought large quantities of explosives. They were kept in boxes, and brought each night from hidden dumps near the neighbouring farms. The manufactured bombs were buried in ground close to the unoccupied house, before despatch to their various destinations. There was never anyone outside the local company to assist them. They had no previous knowledge of such work, but adapted themselves and improvised in many ways with the material at their

disposal. Consignments of bombs were sent in butter boxes to Dublin and Cork, and, in addition to the urgent requests from those places for further supplies, they were preparing for an attack on Foulksmills RIC barracks which kept them busy every night. The same men were not present every night, and, on the night previous to the explosion, two or three men were there who were not present on the night of the disaster" – **Lieut. Joseph McCarthy,** 2nd Batt., South Wexford Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1507).

12th October 1920

ROCHE, Martin:

Rank: Section-Commander.
Unit: *G Coy (St. Leonards), 2nd Batt., South Wexford Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 21 October 1888. Born in Saltmills to James Roche and Eliza Maloney.
Address: Saltmills, Arthurstown, Co. Wexford.
Occupation: Farmer.
Death: Roche was killed in the tragic St. Kearns explosion in south Co. Wexford, alongside several comrades while carrying out manufacturing of explosives.
Buried: Old Tintern Church, Co. Wexford.
MSPC Ref: 1D266.

"On the night of the explosion 12th October, 1920, the following members of the company were busy at work: Martin Roche, Saltmills; James Gleeson, St. Kearns; Robert Walsh, St. Kearns; James Byrne, Bridgetown; Michael Fitzgerald, St. Leonards; Patrick Kelly, Ballycullane; Thomas Gleeson, St. Kearns; John Timmons, Tintern; Thomas Kinsella, Kinnagh; Michael Conway, Curraghmore; Stephen Barron, St. Kearns; Patrick Reville, St. Kearns; Patrick Grady, Tintern and Edward Kelly, Saltmills. Buckets of explosive material, emptied out of the sacks and boxes, were all over the room. Candles and cart-lamps gave them light, and sacking was placed against the windows, so as to have no light visible from outside" – **Lieut. Joseph McCarthy**.

FITZGERALD, Michael:

Rank: Section Commander.
Unit: *G Coy (St. Leonards), 2nd Batt., South Wexford Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 18 November 1898. Son of Peter Fitzgerald and Johanna Loughlin.
Address: St. Leonard's, Ballycullane, Co. Wexford.
Occupation: Farm Labourer
Death: Fitzgerald was killed in the St. Kearns explosion, near Saltmills, Co. Wexford during the production of armaments.
Buried: St. Michael's Church, Ballycullane Cemetery, Co. Wexford.
MSPC Ref: 1D264.

"Tom Gleeson and Michael Conway were cutting detonator wires. Michael Conway was using a pliers. Tom Gleeson struck the detonator with a penknife he was using, causing a spark. In a second or two, a blue flame filled the room. John Timmons and Edward Kelly shouted, "Run, run, lads! The Lord have mercy on us!", and, as they finished those words, a quick, short, loud explosion had blown the old house to pieces. The explosion was so powerful that it had blown the roof to the far end of a four-acre field. Three men Martin Roche, Robert Walsh and Michael Fitzgerald were killed instantly. James Gleeson lived about half an hour, and James Byrne died in Kelly's, Saltmills, the following morning. Of the remaining men, some were found shortly afterwards, greviously injured, naked and bleeding, trying to creep along the ground. The others were stunned, going aimlessly around and suffering from shock. Michael Conway recalls that, a moment after he saw the spark, a blue glow filled the house with a choking gas, and, in another moment, the explosion had left him bereft of any memory till he found himself outside, numbed from shock and bleeding. Michael Conway, John Timmons and Patrick Grady, holding each other, exhausted, quite naked and covered with blood, were found by Michael Gleeson a brother of Thomas and he guided them to Gleeson's of The Bridge (Saltmills Bridge). John Whelan of Kinnagh recalls that, at about ten o'clock that night, he was on his way to the house, to work at the bomb-making, when he heard the explosion. He was not unduly alarmed, as there had been some conversation the previous night that they were going to test one of the bombs on the sea-shore, but, at the same time, the noise of the unusual bang re-echoing over the bay and the wild calling of the sea-birds, crying out in wild clamour, gave him, as the moments passed, a chill of foreboding tragedy. As silence

again filled the countryside, he hastened in the direction of the old house. As he was about the leave the road, he met Edward Kelly, streaming with blood and almost naked, standing, dazed, by a fence. As he approached him, Kelly fell towards him, and shouted to him that he thought the others must be all killed and to go to them. After helping Kelly on his way to Gleeson's of the Bridge, Whelan found the rubble of the house scattered all over the field. He found Thomas Gleeson in a terrible condition his clothes in rags creeping, with the aid of a piece of stick in one hand and a stone in the other. Some short distance from him, he came to Jimmy Gleeson who was badly injured, in a dying condition. He was trying to creep, but he was not able to make any progress as the only way he could manage was with his shoulder. In the meantime, the neighbours around came on tile scene. Patrick Reville went with Stephen Moran who lived in a shop at St. Kearn's Quay. They made their way with a storm lamp to the ruined house" – **Lieut. Joseph McCarthy**.

"Almost immediately a terrific explosion occurred. I thought I was split from the top of my head down. The roof was blown up and landed some fields away. I was blown up too and I thought I was up to the stars and when I came down again, I fell on a tree which was growing at one end of the house. The bough broke with me and it broke my fall. into the house again, and stones from the wall fell on me. I was at this time almost unconscious. When I came to a little I heard great moaning. I was smothering from gas and was gasping for breath. I was naked as my clothes had been burned off me and I was red with blood. All that was left on me were my two boots and they were badly tattered. With the help of other men, I dragged myself out from under the stones and I was laid on the green sod. John Timmins, our Company Captain, spoke to me and asked what way I was" – **Vol. Michael Conway**, 2nd Batt., South Wexford Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1509).

WALSH, Robert Walter (Bob):

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *G Company, 2nd Batt., South Wexford Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 14 July 1884. Son of Robert Walsh and Mary Murphy.
Address: St. Kearns, Saltmills, Co. Wexford.
Occupation: Farmer.
Death: Walsh was killed in the St. Kearns explosion, near Saltmills, Co. Wexford during the production of armaments.
Buried: Ballycullane Graveyard, Co. Wexford.
MSPC Ref: 1D265.

"Mrs. Gleeson, with her daughter, ran up towards the house and, on. their way, found her son, Jimmy, on the ground. She was unable to recognise him at first, except by his shirt sleeves. They had a candle which they placed, lighting, in a cart track and, in some mysterious way, it kept alight while an Act of Contrition was breathed into his ear. He died in a few minutes. John Whelan whispered an Act of Contrition to Thomas Gleeson. His brother, James, came with other neighbours, and carried him home. Michael Fitzgerald was found, dead on the remains of a wall of the house, and Martin Roche, dead, beside him. Bob Walsh was still alive, and stones, blown from the house, were on top of him, but he died in a few minutes" – **Lieut. Joseph McCarthy**.

GLEESON, James Benedict:

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *G Coy, 2nd Batt., South Wexford Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 17 July 1891. Son of James Gleeson and Bridget Foley.
Address: St. Kearns, Saltmills, Co. Wexford.
Occupation: Farmer.
Death: Gleeson was killed in the St. Kearns explosion, near Saltmills, Co. Wexford during the production of armaments.
Buried: Poulfur Graveyard, Fethard, Co. Wexford.
Image Source: Billy Downes & Barry Lacey.
MSPC Ref: 1D263.

"Tom Kinsella, naked of clothes except for his boots, was found outside the ruins and brought home by Martin Walsh and Mick Kennedy. After Stephen Barren was brought home, though his clothes were in rags and he was suffering from burns and shock, he put on fresh clothes and went back to the scene of the explosion to help his comrades. Hearing moans some distance from the house, John Whelan found Paddy Kelly in a kneeling position and, close beside him, Jimmy Byrne, lying on the ground, both bleeding, badly burned and suffering great pain. Pat O'Grady, naked and dazed,

standing by a ditch, was found by John Whelan. Michael Conway and John Timmons, naked and covered with blood, holding on to each other, were met by Michael Gleeson at the Tintern churchyard gate, and guided, with Pat O'Grady, to the house by the Saltmills Bridge…By this time, neighbours had increased in numbers. They brought the dead and wounded away. Some went for the Rev. Fr. O'Rourke, C.C., Poulfur, and John Whelan went for Fr. Scallan, St. Leonard's. Others went for Dr. Walton, Fethard-on-Sea, and Dr. Anglin of Taghmon. The priests administered the last rites of the Church to the dead and wounded. Fr. Scallan then went to the ruins, fearing there might be other victims there, and gave general absolution. Jimmy Byrne died in Kelly's, Saltmills, early next morning. The bodies of Jimmy Gleeson, Bob Walsh and Martin Roche were brought to their own homes. At daybreak, John Whelan went to the ruins, to remove anything left there, and he found some detonators and piping which he took away. Information of the explosion reached the military at New Ross next morning. It is believed that messages were sent from the post offices at Saltmills and Arthurstown. The military arrived about 9 a.m. and, assisted by the RIC, raided the houses where the dead and wounded lay…All work in the countryside came to a standstill until the day after tile victims were buried. A guard of honour marched beside the hearses, the Last Post was sounded and farewell volleys were fired at the other end of the graveyard. Pat Reville, Pat Grady and Pat Kelly, all suffering from burns and shock, were able to be moved, and went on the run before the military came from Roes on the morning of the explosion. They were a long time recovering from their injuries, and the military were continually on the hunt for them. Having very often evaded the round-ups, they were on several occasions close to capture, but they were never arrested. There were fourteen men making bombs on the night of the explosion. Five men were killed, six men were imprisoned, and three went on the run. Dr. Jim Ryan and Tom O'Hanlon brought John Timmons and Michael Conway, who were not quite so badly injured as the others, to Dr. Furlong's nursing home in Wexford. During the week, the military came with ambulances, arrested the injured men in their homes, and removed them on stretchers, although they were not in a fit condition to be taken from their beds. The local doctors had been attending to them up to this time. In addition to other injuries, there were burns all over their bodies which were completely wrapped in cotton wool. Thomas Gleeson, up to this time, lay naked in bed, as he couldn't bear anything covering him, and he was unable to take any food. Thomas Kinsella, Thomas Gleeson, Stephen Barron and Edward Kelly were brought to the infirmary in New Ross. After about three weeks, all the injured were brought to the military hospital, Waterford, in an ambulance." – **Lieut. Joseph McCarthy**.

The Saltmills Survivors, photographed after their release from Dartmoor Prison, February 1922. (Back L-R) Thomas Gleeson, Capt. James Timmins, Michael Conway, Edward Kelly. (Front L-R) Patrick Kinsella & Stephen Barron. Source: www.wexfordwarofindependence.com.

13th October 1920

BYRNE, James:

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *G Coy, 2nd Batt., South Wexford Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 22 September 1888. Born in Duncormick, Co. Wexford, to James Byrne and Mary Roche.
Address: Baldwinstown, Bridgetown, Co. Wexford.
Familial: Byrne was recorded as married in *Here's Their Memory* (1966).
Occupation: Gardener.
Death: Byrne died from wounds received during the St. Kieran's explosion, near Saltmills, Co. Wexford when his unit were producing explosive armaments.
Buried: Old Rathangan Cemetery, Co. Wexford.
MSPC Ref: 1D483.

KELLY, Michael:

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *Monaghan Coy, 2nd Batt., Monaghan No.2 Bde, IRA.*
DOB: c.1883.
Address: Glaslough St, Monaghan Town, Co. Monaghan.
Occupation: Garage Owner.
Death: The previous night, Kelly and his brother, Joseph, were returning home from Tydavnet, Co. Monaghan after he had been caught up in a minor accident while conveying the local priest, Fr. Murray, from a funeral in Enniskillen back to Tydavnet. Around 11.30pm, they were fired upon by men using service-rifles from close range. Kelly was mortally wounded in his right side, rupturing his left lung. Kelly expired on the following evening having suffered an agonising death. It is believed that the shooting was carried out by the UVF, who had previously warned garage owners against driving at nighttime. Kelly's funeral saw a large congregation of Republicans turn out from across Monaghan and neighbouring counties.
Buried: Latlurcan Cemetery, Monaghan Town, Co. Monaghan.
Ref: *Fermanagh Herald*, 23 October 1920, p.7.

THE SHOOT-OUT AT FERNSIDE
37 Upper Drumcondra Road, Dublin
12 October 1920

"About this time, beginning of October, I had been meeting with Seán Treacy, Dan Breen, Dinny Lacey and other members of the South Tipperary Brigade frequently at the house of my friends, the Flemings of Drumcondra, where I was myself a nightly visitor, and listening to their joking stories of incidents, episodes and narrow escapes I admired and envied them their carefree attitude which could make a joke of the most-deadly situation. Treacy, in particular, had a rather impish sense of humour which showed sometimes in mock serious conversation or in relating a recent event in which he pretended to attribute a humorous intent to the enemy forces involved. But one recognised his intellectual superiority and his deadly seriousness of purpose behind the mask of ready laughter. Breen was his inseparable companion, so that it became so normal to hear that Seán and Dan had arrived that one could hardly visualise the one without the other. Dan obviously looked to Seán as the leader, one in whom he reposed absolute confidence, and he himself was prepared to go through 'hell and hot-water' at Seán's bidding in support of the ideals they had both espoused. Dinny Lacey was of a different type, without humour and rather narrow in his views, but withal very honest and sincere in his motives. He was very religious, yet quite ruthless in his dealings with the enemy, so that this paradoxical aspect of Dinny was often the butt of a joke by Seán Hogan or Treacy or Seán O'Meara. On the night of 12th October, a message reached Flemings from Mick Collins to warn Flemings that there might be a raid on the premises that night, and that Treacy and Breen who were in

town should not stay there. The Tipperary men had not yet arrived at Flemings when the message came, so the Flemings arranged alternative accommodation in case they should arrive late" – **Brigade Engineer, Joseph V. Lawless**, Fingal Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1043).

"We left Fleming's we discussed the incident over a cup of coffee. In case we had been seen when we entered the house and were still being shadowed, we left by the rear. It was a bright moonlit night. We went as far as Botanic Avenue. Seán and I debated for a few minutes whether we should go round to our friend, Mrs. Fitzgerald of Hollybank Road, or go on to Professor Carolan's. We turned to the right and walked to the bridge which spans the Tolka. The streets were already deserted. As we stood for a moment on the bridge to look round and listen, we heard the distant rumbling of military lorries moving out on curfew patrol. From the bridge to Carolan's is about a seven minutes' walk. It is on the main road to Belfast, in a middle-class residential quarter…We had a latchkey to Professor Carolan's house, Fernside. It was one of the many latchkeys in our possession, all of which had been given to us by friends to whose houses we were welcome at whatever hour we might wish to call. I had already stayed a few nights at Fernside, having been introduced to the family by Peter Fleming. I well remember how heartily I was received by the family on that first occasion, and how thoughtfully Mr. Carolan himself showed me over the whole house, calling my special attention to the back garden. He pointed out a low wall which offered the best means of escape in the event of a raid…He was a kindly, loveable man whose clear earnest eyes would inspire one with confidence. A native of Sligo town, he had been on the teaching staff of St. Patrick's Training College for some years past…On all previous occasions we had reached the house before 11 p.m., on this night we did not arrive until 11.30. As there was no light to be seen, we concluded that the family had already retired. We let ourselves in as noiselessly as possible and made our way to the room which was reserved for us on the first floor at the back. This room overlooked the conservatory, the end part of which adjoined the wall of the house directly under the window-sill of our bedroom. I am convinced that no member of the family was aware of our presence I the house. We undressed and shared the solitary bed, Seán occupying the inside position beside the wall. I placed a loaded revolver on a chair which I had set down close to the bed. Seán had a loaded Parabellum under his pillow. We did not feel sleepy. For a while we chatted about our future plans and the prospect of our return to Tipperary. Our conversation lagged. My mind became obsessed with a strange presentiment…Another brief silence, and we both dozed off. Suddenly we sat up in the bed. We could distinctly hear the heavy tramp of marching men. There was a low murmur of voices at the rear of the building. Through our window shone the beam of a dazzling searchlight. A single peal from a nearby church tower signalled one o'clock. There was a crash of glass at the front of the house, and the hall door was burst open.

From the stairs came the sound of rushing footsteps. We sprang out of bed. Simultaneously we gripped our revolvers. Fingers were groping on our door. I held my breath. Seán pressed my arm and whispered, 'Good-bye Dan, until we meet above.' Crack, Crack! Two bullets came whizzing through the door. Crack! Crack! My German Mauser pistol was replying. There was no light save the flash of the shots. Outside on the landing a heavily-accented 'English' voice was shouting, 'Where's Ryan? Where's Ryan?' Bullets were flying from every direction, and our door had been pushed partly open. I blazed away onto the landing. Blood was streaming from my right thumb but I felt no pain. I heard a thud on the landing as if somebody had fallen. Seán could not find his glasses. This was a severe handicap to him as he was vert short-sighted. Worse still, his gun had jammed. I shouted to him to get back to the window. He stepped back, just as another bullet buried itself in the wardrobe. I felt a sharp pain in the region of my spine. Feeling uncertain that my days were numbered, I told him to make his escape and that I would join him when I had fought my way through. I raked the landing with my Mauser and heard the sound of footsteps retreating down the stairs. Towards the back of the house, I could hear the sharp ping of rifle-shots. I dashed out of the room on to the landing, and saw a group of soldiers coming up the stairs, their electric torches pinpointing me as a target. One bullet grazed my forehead, another passed through the fleshy portion of my thigh; two hit me in the calves of my legs and one lodged in my right lung. But I still kept my stand and fired at the raiders until the gun was empty. As a matter of fact, when I pulled the trigger for one more shot, I thought that the mechanism had either jammed or had become over-heated from the constant firing. For a moment my case seemed hopeless; but I discovered that the last bullet had been fired. I reloaded. I knew by this time that the house was surrounded and that there was little hope of escape. But the rage of battle had taken possession of me. I was going to be killed; but I would sell my life dearly. As I blazed into the group of soldiers there was a hurried rush for safety. They were now in retreat and I was pursuing them down the stairs. When I got to the first floor, they were charging headlong into the street. I gave them a parting shot. There was no further target for my Mauser. Now and again, I heard the sharp report of rifles being fired at the rear of the house, mingled with occasional groans and cries. My heart was grieved to hear the wailing of Carolan's young son. I rushed back to my room. At the door I tripped over two dead bodies; a third was writhing on the floor, groaning in anguish. I had to pull them out of the way before I could close the door…I sprang to the window. A searchlight played for a moment on the back of the house and a fusillade shattered the panes of glass. The lower half of the window was open. Seán had made his escape by that exit. I stepped on the window-sill and dropped on to the roof of the conservatory. In the clear moonlight I could discern the glitter of several steel helmets. The soldiers were blazing at me. Before I could drop from the conservatory, I realised that I would have to fight my way through them" – **Dan Breen**, Tipperary No.3 Brigade, IRA, *My Fight for Irish Freedom*, p. 142.

"Dublin was startled this morning to learn that two military police officers had been killed in the performance of their duty in Drumcondra, on the north side of the city. The officers and a party of men had gone to a house to make an arrest and soon after they were admitted they were fired on. One of the officers, who was killed on the spot, was the brother of the Divisional Commissioner Smyth who was murdered in Cork last July" – **The Times**, 12 October 1920.

"I cleared the last fence and found myself on a thoroughfare and was almost instantly confronted by an armoured car…By this time I knew that I was on the main road, between Carolan's house and Drumcondra bridge. It would be madness to continue along the road; if the armoured car did not pursue me, I was almost certain to run into some of their outposts near the bridge…At last I reached the bank of a river. I knew that it must be the Tolka. There was no friend's house convenient in which I could seek shelter. My one aim was to put some distance between me and my pursuers. I dared not venture on to the road and look for a bridge. I had to cross the river, and there was only one way of doing it. Fortunately, it was not deep. Up to that moment I had been oblivious of my wounds but, when I saw the water turn crimson as I waded through, I began to fear that I would not have the strength to cross. I braced myself for a final effort and scrambled to the opposite bank. I saw that I was close to the rear of houses. I could struggle no further. I was bleeding freely. My only hope, if I were to die of exhaustion, was to seek the shelter of one of these roofs." – **Dan Breen**, p.143-144.

"Getting across another wall into the grounds of the nearby St. Patrick's Training College, he made his way across the intervening fields to the Tolka river, uncertain at this time of where he was. Seeing a light in one of the houses on Botanic Avenue across the river - the backs of these houses being towards the river - he waded across and reached the house where the light was shining, which turned out to be the house of a Mr. Holmes who was a retired member of the Dublin Metropolitan Police. One would not have expected a sympathetic reception in such a house, but, in fact, the Holmes were very good about it. Mrs. Holmes risked the curfew ban by crossing the road to enlist the services of the district nurse who lived a few yards higher up on the other side of the road. Nurse Long came with her at once, and between them they did what they could to tie up Breen's wounds and stop the bleeding. As soon as it seemed safe to travel after the lifting of curfew - sometime between 7.30 and 8 o'clock - Nurse Long made her way down to Flemings to convey the news of Breen's location and his condition, but on her arrival at Fleming's she found the place in occupation by a military search party and so passed on further up the road where she called to the house at the corner of Hollybank Road where the Dillons - cousins of the Flemings. - lived. I was then in lodgings with the Dillons and so I heard Nurse Long's story at first hand. I had been until then unaware of the night's happenings, but realising the urgency of the matter I left at once without waiting for breakfast to get one of my cars from the garage at St. Ignatius Road to investigate the prospect of moving Breen to a safer locality. I drove via Glasnevin to the end of Botanic Road, where I left the car and proceeded on foot to Holmes's house where I was admitted without delay, and I saw Breen lying upon a mattress on the floor in a back room. He was in terrible pain, unable to move, and his obsession was that Seán had been killed in the affray. He told me briefly and hurriedly what he thought had happened, and realising that I must get medical and other help I left in a minute or two and drove down town to the outfitter's shop in O'Connell St. known as Brennan and Walsh. Maurice Brennan and Tom Walsh were active Volunteers and their shop, with its central position, was a message centre and meeting place in connection with important Volunteer activities. I forget whether Dick McKee, the Dublin Brigade Commander, was on the spot when I arrived or whether a message was sent to him, but he arrived within a minute or so of my arrival, and having heard my story he arranged at once that Joe Vize, Maurice Brennan and Tom Kelly. who were on the spot would accompany me to assist in the removal of Breen from the house to the car, and that he would arrange in the meantime for his reception at the Mater Hospital. Of course, the affray at "Fernside" received large headlines, in the daily papers and there was intense military activity around Whitehall and Drumcondra Road, but, strangely enough, I had found everything very quiet at the Glasnevin end of Botanic Avenue which is scarcely half a mile from the Drumcondra end" – **Joseph V. Lawless**, (BMH-WS 1043).

"Our car crossed from Dorset Street into Mountjoy Square, and finally drove into an old stable in Great Charles Street. This was one of the favourite dumping grounds of the Dublin Brigade…It is easy to imagine how sick and tired of life I was as I was being driven into this old stable; picture my delight at seeing Seán Treacy waiting to welcome me! He had escaoed without as much as a scratch…In our joy at the reunion we almost forgot our peril; the streets of Dublin were being searched that day as never before by hundreds of troops. Our scouts finally reported that the way to the Mater was clear, for the police and military had left the hospital. The boys were anxious that I should be placed in skilled hands as soon as possible, so we moved om at once towards the Mater. They took me by stretcher into the hospital and, as I lay on that stretcher, I shook hands with Seán Treacy for the last time. Little did I think on that evening that never again on this earth would I set eyes on my faithful friend, one who was dearer to me than a brother. Had I known then that it was to be our last meeting in this world, I would have had little heart to bear with my plight. Poor Seán! The comrade of my adventures, the sharer of my hopes. His face is always before me, and until my last hour on this earth his memory will remain for ever green in my heart. I have often knelt at his grave in Kilfeacle to have a word with him, telling him, in the words of Charles Kickham, about, 'the fate of poor old Ireland and of sorrows of my own'" – **Dan Breen**, p.146-147.

14th October 1920

O'CONNELL, Liam (Bill):

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *D Coy, 1st Batt., Dublin Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 12 July 1900. Born in Lackendarra, Mallow, Co. Cork to Patrick O'Connell and Margaret O'Brien. The family home was used to hold General Lucas as prisoner by the IRA after his capture in June 1920.
Occupation: Apprentice Railway Engineer.
Address: 5 Tirconnell Rd, Inchicore, Dublin.
Death: Around 14.30, O'Connell was shot and killed by machine-gun fire during a sanctioned attack on a parked armoured car on Phibsborough Road, Dublin. While firing through the hatches at the crew inside, the machine-gun opened fire, mortally wounding O'Connell with a gunshot wound to the head. He was pronounced dead upon arrival at George V Hospital.
Buried: St. John the Baptist Cemetery, Glantane, Mallow, Co. Cork.
Image Source: Tomás Mac Cormaic
MSPC Ref: 1D90.

"An armoured car drew up outside the Phibsborough branch of the Munster and Leinster Bank about 2.30 yesterday and an officer alighted. Having entered the bank. Having entered the bank, the officer was engaged filling up a withdrawal form to get money for the weekly payment of the troops when suddenly four or five young men approached the armoured car and fired through the turrets at the crew. One soldier was wounded, but a companion at once trained one of the guns on the street and opened fire. A young man was immediately seen to fall to the ground, shot through the head. The Corporation ambulance was sent for, but upon its arrival the officer would not allow the men to give any assistance pending the arrival of a military ambulance. When the shooting was going on the officer rushed out of the bank, and it was stated that he was fired at by a young man at the door four or five times. The officer drew his revolver, but it is reported he did not fire. After the shooting there was an immediate stampede of all who were in the vicinity" – **Freeman's Journal**, 16 October 1920, p.6.

"On the day of the raid in Talbot Street October 14th, 1920, where Seán Treacy was shot, I got a call from the O/C of the Brigade to go to the Mater Hospital at once. Paddy O'Daly called at my place of business in Drury Street and said I was to go to the Mater Hospital at once and to take a gun with me. He had a gun with him and we went to the Mater Hospital. As we were passing the Pillar on our way up - we both had bicycles - we saw a crowd of people in Talbot Street. There was obviously some excitement, but at the time we did not know what it was about and our job was to get to the Mater Hospital. On our way to the hospital O'Daly told me that Dan Breen was in the Mater and that the Tans were raiding it. He told me that if there was any attempt made to take Dan Breen out the whole Dublin Brigade was up there and that we were to shoot the Tans down. All our men were there with guns; Dick McKee was there, hopping around in all directions telling everybody not to do anything until they got instructions. We got into Eccles Street and saw an armoured car and several lorries of soldiers in the street, right opposite the Mater Hospital main entrance. Our instructions were that if the soldiers took Breen out on a stretcher - he would have to be on stretcher because of the nature of his wounds - we were to shoot them for all we were worth, even if Breen had to be lost. Apparently, the fact that an attempt was to be made to take this badly wounded man away was very much resented. Nothing happened, however, and we were told - this is only hearsay - that Breen had been placed in a women's ward, that the British had raided all the men's wards, and having failed to find him had left. Immediately after the raiding party had gone, Breen was removed to a private nursing home of that hospital, which was situated further down Eccles Street" – **Oscar Traynor**, Dublin Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 340).

"He asked me to meet him at 4 o'clock at Republican Outfitters, Talbot Street, to go to the hospital to see Matt [Furlong]. I arrived at Talbot Street on time and in time for raid in which Seán Tracey was killed on the footpath outside the shop. On entering the shop, I noticed a few suspicious characters outside, one being actually at the window. I told those inside Dick McKee, Joe Vize, Seán Tracey, Cruise, etc. that I thought the shop was being watched. Mick Forde, Peadar's assistant, told me I was to wait for Peadar [Clancy]. *I conversed with those in the shop and repeated my suspicions that the premises were under observation. I offered to leave the shop, while those inside could see from behind curtain what action the fellow standing at the window would take as I passed him towards the Pillar, intending to return immediately to meet Peadar. I had just reached the Pork Butcher's shop next to Clancy's when a military lorry met me and halted outside the Republican Outfitters. Soldiers jumped out and almost immediately the firing started. I saw Seán fall. I proceeded towards the Pillar and stood at the corner of Earl Street watching all that was going on and*

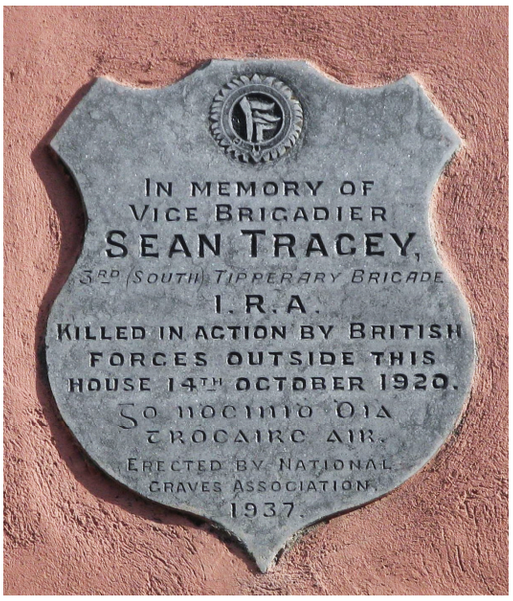
after a time to my amazement I was joined by Dick McKee who had escaped during the turmoil" – **Lieut. Patrick McHugh**, GHQ Munitions, IRA, (BMH-WS664).

TREACY, Seán Allis:

Rank: Vice-Brigadier.
Unit: *Tipperary No.3 Brigade, IRA & The Squad, IRA GHQ. Traditionally attached to E Coy (Solohead), 4th Batt., Tipperary No.3 Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 14 February 1895. Born at Soloheadbeg, Co. Tipperary to Denis Treacy and Bridget Allis.
Address: Soloheadbeg, Co. Tipperary.
Occupation: Farmer.
Familial: Treacy was engaged to married to May Quigley.
Death: At 4pm, Treacy, calmly walked out the front door of the Republican Outfitters shop at 94 Talbot Street, Dublin, hoping the Crown forces would consider him as a civilian. While attempting to mount a bicycle, awkwardly not suited to Treacy, he was spotted and recognised by Intelligence Officer Francis Christian and Lieutenant Price. Treacy opened fire on Price and Christian but was shot in the head, killing him instantly. The scene of the shooting and the taking away of the bodies was filmed only moments later
Buried: Kilfeakle Graveyard, Co. Tipperary.
MSPC Ref: 1D458.

"After breakfast I went down town in search of Dick McKee and found him at the 'Republican Outfitters' stores in Talbot Street. George Plunkett, Joe Vize and Paddy Daly were with him at the time and I have a vague remembrance that Seán Treacy may have been nearby, perhaps in the back of the shop with someone else. My recollection is that when I arrived, they had just finished a sort of impromptu conference on something of importance and were about to leave…I returned to my own place of business in Ignatius Road and later I called to Flemings to assure the girls that all was well and that I would let them know by tea time what they were to do. I took a tram down town to keep my appointment with McKee in Talbot Street and as I reached the corner of Dorset St. and Frederick St., I noticed a man sitting opposite me who seemed to be watching me, although he pretended to read a newspaper. I caught a glimpse of his face which seemed to tally with the description the Fleming girls had given of the man with the bow tie, and this man was wearing a bow tie. I moved my seat in order to get a better view of him but my intent scrutiny apparently embarrassed him for, as the tram stopped. Just then, he got off and, though I also got off quickly after him, I lost him in the crowd. I was rather uneasy then as I felt that if he followed me, I might lead him to McKee, Clancy, Treacy and the whole lot of them. Meeting Paddy McCrea who, I knew, belonged to the GHQ Squad, I told him my dilemma while we stood in O'Connell Street near the corner of Earl Street. Suddenly we heard a burst of fire from rifles and pistols in the direction of Talbot St. some two hundred yards from where we stood, and people began to rush to the doorways of shops for safety. A burst of machine gunfire was heard coming from the same direction, followed by another, and then a Rolls Royce armoured car came tearing into O'Connell St from Earl St. and, wheeling North on the East side of Nelson's Pillar, began to menace the crowd with its machine gun. - McCrea and I had backed into the doorway of a shop near the corner of Earl St. and tried to make ourselves as inconspicuous as possible, but suddenly I noticed a man on the outskirts of the crowd which filled the footpath, who seemed to be searching through the crowd with his eyes as he walked slowly along. He was the same man I had seen in the tram, the man with the bow tie, and now I felt sure that he was seeking to identify some of us to the crew of the armoured car. The car having moved slowly past us, now put on a burst of speed as far as the Gresham Hotel, then wheeled about and came back, again slowing down and mounting the broad footpath to push its way through the crowd, gun swinging from left to front and back again as the crowd fled in terror in all directions. McCrea and I began to walk as quickly as we dared, without seeming to run, towards the corner of Cathedral St. but as the armoured car seemed to pursue us along the path, having turned again at the Pillar, we turned about and walked past it close to the shop windows and when it again moved off towards the Gresham Hotel we turned again and ran for the corner. Having gained the shelter of Cathedral St. we put on a sprint up the lane behind the Gresham and were soon out of the danger zone. Someone in the crowd had told us during the excitement, in explanation of the shooting, that there was a raid on the "Republican Outfitters" in Talbot Street, and we deduced from this that as some of our people would have been there at the time, they had probably opened fire on the raiders in making, their escape from the place. We did not know then that in the course of that shooting one of Ireland's finest and bravest soldiers had died. Seán Treacy, who a couple of days before had fought his way through the cordon at Fernside, having covered the escape of his wounded comrade, had gone down fighting on the street outside the Republican Stores. From what I learned then and since of the occurrence, it seems that when the raiding party, consisting of a couple of lorry loads of soldiers accompanied by an

armoured car and carrying with them, certain intelligence agents to direct their activities, pulled up at the Republican Outfitters shop, there were a number of IRA officers in the shop, including Dick KcKee, Paddy Daly and Seán Treacy. The others hesitated a moment before deciding how to make their escape, but Treacy walked out of the shop at once and, disregarding the raiders who were then jumping from their lorries, jumped upon a bicycle that stood by the kerb. It was not his own bicycle - he had come there on foot - and as it was much too high for him, he had difficulty in getting a hurried start. A British intelligence agent with the raiders, named Christian, apparently knew Treacy by appearance and recognising him, ran towards him shouting to the others, "This is Treacy". Seán was hampered by the bicycle but managed to draw his pistol as Christian got close to him and, as he fired, Christian threw his arms about Seán, pinning down his pistol arm which Seán struggled violently to free. A few shots from the pistol held in his hand as they struggled kept the others at bay for the moment, while Seán made desperate efforts to turn the pistol inwards to his more powerful opponent. Christian had been hit by Seán's first shot and was beginning to weaken and when the others saw that Seán was about to get free of his opponent, they opened fire on him, taking the chance of hitting the other man. Some indiscriminate firing then took place and the accompanying armoured car joined in with a burst or two from its machine gun. In the meantime, while the attention of the raiders was concentated upon the tussle on the roadway between Treacy and Christian, the other IRA officers in the shop slipped out one by one and walked quickly away from the scene. Treacy died where he fell, as I am sure he would have wished it, fighting bravely against overwhelming odds, and his opponent, Christian, also lay dead. Some other members of the raiding party were wounded, including a member of the Dublin Metropolitan Police who accompanied the party, and two civilians were killed by the indiscriminate fire of the British. The death of Treacy was a serious loss to the Irish cause; he had been the mainspring and inspiration of the fighting in his native Tipperary and in Dublin we recognised that we could ill afford to lose such a man, who united in his strong personality, brains and ability, with a courage and daring far above the ordinary" – **Joseph V. Lawless**, Fingal Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1043).



"Following on an attempt to capture an armoured car at Phibsborough in which one man was killed and another wounded, I saw the Tans raiding the [Mater] *hospital and went to Comdt.* [Peadar] *Clancy"s shop and reported it to him. He instructed me to keep in touch with him in his shop and the hospital every 15 minutes. I placed the late Bernard Ryan (who was later executed in 1921) at the hospital to report to me how things were going on. At about 3.30, Comdt. Dick McKee told me if I met any Volunteers, men whom I could trust, I was to tell them to get their guns and report to me at the Mater Hospital, which, they did. About this time. I noticed an individual hanging around outside the Republican Outfitters and reported him to Commandants McKee and Clancy who asked me to describe him which I did. At this time, I was told not to stay any longer than 10 minutes away. When I turned into North Earl St. I saw a lorry of soldiers and an armoured car in front of me and tried to get to the shop in front of them but failed. Just as the soldiers were getting out of the lorry Dick McKee walked out of the shop, while Seán Treacy ran from it and was pounced on by the individual whom I had reported to Comdts. McKee and Clancy, and whom I later heard was named Christian, and another man named Price or White. Seán Treacy pulled his gun and shot Christian in the stomach. Just then the armoured car opened fire and the soldiers in the lorry. I was in the line of fire unarmed and took cover. When the firing had ceased, I came out and saw three men lying on the footpath – Christian, Price, and huddled up in the corner was Seán Treacy. I went over to him and blood was trickling down his face. I searched his pockets. His gun was gone but anything I found in his pockets I transferred to my own, ammunition, pens, dispatches and a field message book, for which I was thanked by Comdts. McKee and Clancy. I then went to the Mater Hospital and after stopping there for some time I was told to send the men away. Later that night they smashed up the Republican Outfitters"* – **2nd Lieut. Seán Brunswick**, G Coy, 1st Batt., Dublin Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 898).

"About this time, one of the greatest blows struck the 3rd Tipperary Brigade, the death of our beloved Vice Brigade O/C, Seán Treacy, in Talbot Street, Dublin, after a glorious fight. Hero of a hundred battles. A man whom every Volunteer in the Brigade adored. The man who inspired us, gave us courage and to whom we looked for a lead. But, look at how ended his great life! He had spent the previous night in company with his old soldier friend, Dan Breen, on the roofs of houses in Dublin, defending their lives and firing pot-shots down at the enemy, one after another, as they appeared. The odds against the two men were a hundred to one, yet both escaped. Wasn't it a dreadful tragedy that this Irish de Wet exposed himself in one of Dublin's central streets and that it was possible that he was shadowed by an Irish spy!" – **Brigade Engr. Séamus Babington**, Tipperary No.3 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1595).

TIPPERARY, SO FAR AWAY
(THE BALLAD OF SEÁN TREACY)

The moon it shone down on old Dublin Town,
When the deadly fight was o'er,
Thousands lay on the cold, cold ground
Their lives to claim no more.
The moon shone on O'Connell Street,
Where a dying young rebel lay.
With his body gashed and his arms outstretched,
And his life's blood flowing away.

A passing comrade heard the moans,
The sufferer soon was found.
Softly, gently, he raised his head,
Up from the cold, cold ground.
"Softly, Gently, Comrade," he cried,
"No longer on Earth can I stay,
I will never more roam through my own native home,
Tipperary, so far away."

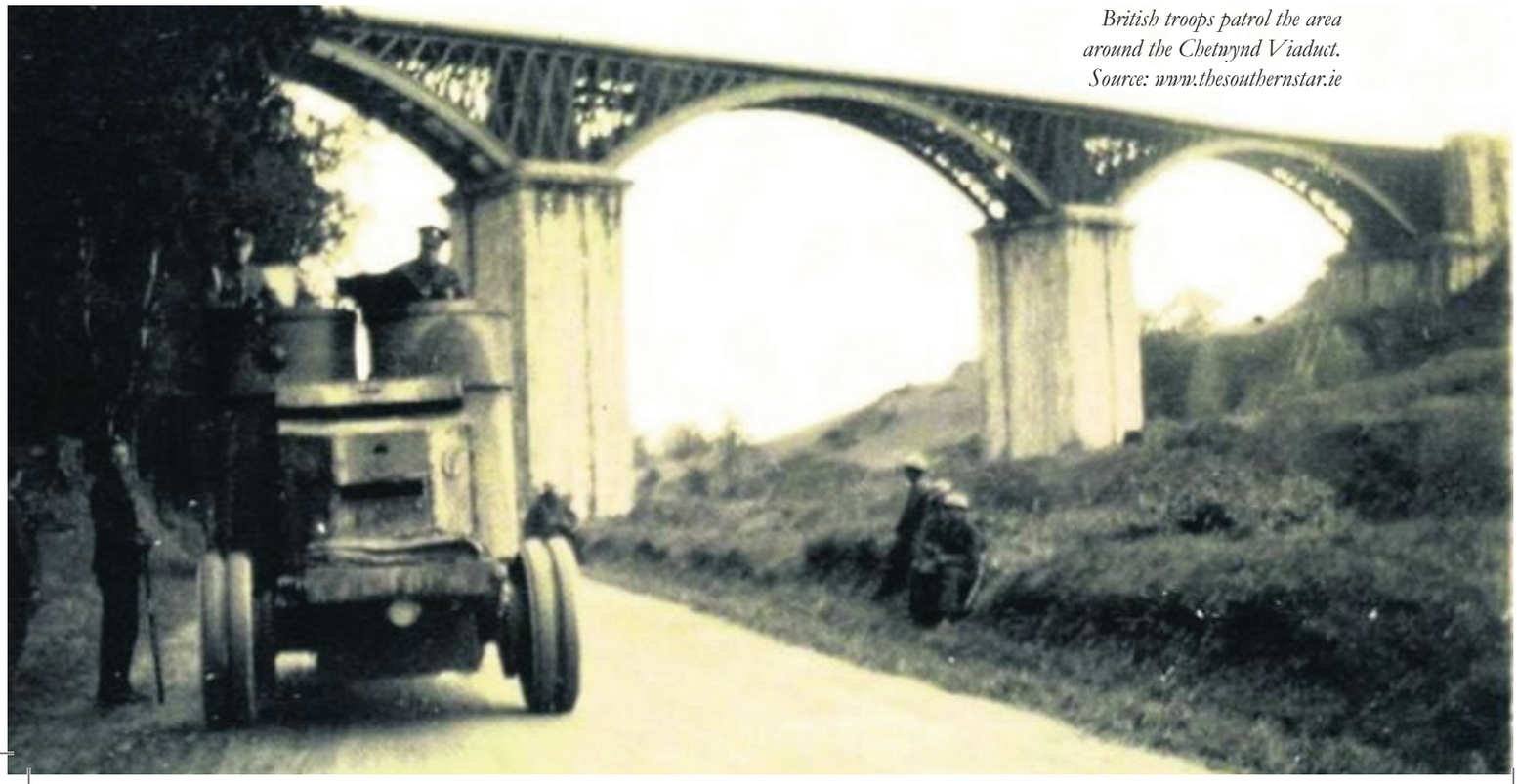
His comrades gathered around him
To bid him a last farewell.
He was as true and as brave a lad
That ever in battle fell.
They dug a grave and in it they laid
The bones of Seán Treacy so brave,
He will never more roam to his native home
Tipperary, so far away"

Anonymous

O'HERLIHY, Jeremiah (Big Jer):

Rank: Lieutenant / Battalion Officer of Signals.
Unit: *3rd (Ovens) Batt., Cork No.1 Bde, IRA.*
DOB: c.1888. Son of John and Johanna Herlihy.
Occupation: Agricultural Labourer.
Address: Castleinch, Ovens, Co. Cork.
Death: O'Herlihy died from wounds which he received on 4 October when his unit's ambush position was attacked by the 2nd Hampshire Regiment at Chetwynd Railway Viaduct between Cork City and Bandon. It is believed that their position had been surrendered by an informer. When the fighting ceased, O'Herlihy had been momentarily captured claiming that he was out herding cattle and was allowed to go free. As he proceeded to leave, he was shot in the neck and left for dead, rolling down a steep incline. He died at Mosaplier Private Hospital in Cork City. In 1934, the monument erected to his memory was smashed by members of the Blueshirt movement who wrongly believed that the memorial was an Anti-Treaty memorial.
Buried: Old Carrigadrohid Cemetery, Co. Cork.
MSPC Ref: 1D344.

"On 4th October, 1920, the Battalion endeavoured to carry out an ambush of British military travelling by lorry along the Bandon Road just south of the Chetwynd Viaduct on the Cork, Bandon and South Coast Railway. The Volunteers were in position but were surrounded by military from Cork, it was assumed from information given, and with difficulty got away with all their arms and ammunition, all but one man, Jeremiah O'Herlihy, who was wounded after being taken prisoner and died later in hospital in Cork. Over six feet, with a magnificent physique, a sincere Volunteer, Jeremiah O'Herlihy, O/C. Signals, 3rd Battalion, died for Ireland October 14th, 1920. Jeremiah O'Herlihy held a position commanding a clear two-mile view of the road each way from our ambush position. His duty was to signal the enemy approach. We believe his sense of duty made him hold his position too long. Captured by the enemy, they pretended to release him, then, when he had walked off some distance, they fired on him. Shot in the throat, he rolled down about 50 yards of the steep field to the fence. There they left him for dead. A brave local woman found him late that evening, contacting Cork Fire Station Ambulance which conveyed him to the Union Hospital, Douglas Road. We had him removed to the Mosphere Private Hospital, Dyke Parade, owned by two very gallant lady nurses, Mrs. Blonden and Miss MacGee. He died nine days afterwards. The Battalion gave him a military funeral to his native Carrigadrohid. Among the British forces who attempted to surround the 3rd Battalion at the Viaduct, October 5th, 1920, was a squad of Auxiliaries. Capturing a number of civilians on the Cork-Bandon Road they carried them to Lynch's outhouse, situated half a mile from Waterfall, 2 ½ miles from the Viaduct. This outhouse was divided into two compartments, one for cattle, the other containing old damp hay. The "Auxies" thrust their prisoners into the cattle compartment, padlocking the door. They then set fire to the old hay and stood some distance away to enjoy the sport. The hay was slow to fire but dense smoke rose up in the sky. Apparently seeing the smoke, a military officer rushed his men for the house and, after a bitter show-down with the "Auxies", the Officer, to his credit, released the smothering prisoners" – **Cmdt. Tim Herlihy**, 3rd Batt., Cork No.1 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 810).



British troops patrol the area around the Chetwynd Viaduct. Source: www.thesouthernstar.ie

15th October 1920

FURLONG, Matthew:

Rank: Staff-Captain.
Unit: *Munitions Dept, GHQ, IRA.*
Served with G Coy, 2nd Batt, Dublin Bde, I.V., at Jacob's Factory during the 1916 Rising and was attached to D Coy, 2nd Batt., Dublin Bde, after the Rising. Also briefly connected with the London Battalion, IRA.
DOB: 9 July 1890. Born in King St, Wexford Town, Co. Wexford, to Walter Furlong and Alice O'Rourke.
Occupation: Mechanic.
Death: On 14 October, whilst testing live mortar rounds near Dunboyne, Co. Meath, a shell exploded within a modified trench mortar, badly wounding Furlong. Having lost a leg to amputation, a fragile Furlong died in Dublin's Mater Hospital.
Burial: Crosstown Cemetery, Co. Wexford.
MSPC Ref: 1D39.

"It seems that, the need of a portable heavy gun or mortar being increasingly called for in Barrack attacks, the GHQ munitions branch began to explore the possibilities of manufacture and decided upon an attempt to copy the British Stokes mortar. This mortar and its shells were crude equipment judged by modern standards but nothing better was available at the time and the British military text books which could be got hold of with some difficulty gave something of the detail of their construction, as well as handling and use. Joe Furlong, Matt's brother, was also a member of the munitions staff, and was a toolmaker employed at the Midland Great Western Railway Workshops at Broadstone, and with Joe's assistance and utilising the facilities available at the Railway Workshops, Matt Furlong undertook the task of producing a workable mortar. Actually, I think Joe had the job of producing the mortar itself as suitable heavy lathes were not available elsewhere, and Matt made the experimental shells which could be produced by the available plant at Parnell St. When all was ready, experimental shots with dummy shell proved the effectiveness of the mortar, but difficulty was experienced with the fuses of the live shells. The type of fuse was an instantaneous contact affair, safety during firing being ensured by a copper shear wire, which, however, was round to prevent the firing altogether because it was not possible to ensure that the shell would strike the target exactly head on. Some more work was put in on this problem and having decided to try the shell out with a much lighter shear wire, Mick Lynch arranged a suitable venue for the test, near Ashbourne, Co. Meath, and himself, Matt Furlong, Paddy McHugh and Seán Sullivan took the gear out there in the small hours of the morning of 12th October - the same night the raid on Fernside had taken place - and as soon as daylight permitted the firing experiments began. It was found that the lighter wire made little difference to the certainty of the shell exploding on the target and a still lighter one was tried. As this also proved unsuccessful, Matt Furlong who was carrying out the firing with the assistance of Paddy McHugh, proposed that they should try firing the shell without any safety shear wire, as it then seemed to him that the light spring which held the striker pin of the fuse off its cap was capable of holding it during the shock of discharge unaided by any shear wire. Paddy McHugh says that he protested to Matt against this but Matt was determined to try it and told McHugh to stand clear and allow him to take the risk himself. McHugh went back a few yards to the ditch and when he saw Matt drop the shell into the muzzle of the mortar, he ducked for cover just as a crashing explosion close by told him that the shell had burst in the mortar. Poor Matt was very badly injured and the mortar barrel was shattered. They did what they could to stop bleeding and took him as fast as they could travel to the Mater Hospital where he died soon after arrival"
– **Joseph V. Lawless**, Fingal Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1043).

"Matt and I discussed failure. Matt insisted that shearing wire was the cause but I argued that the shape of shell was the cause and that the shell would need to be weighted at firing end to cause it to make a vertical descent. However, Matt, who was a very strong-willed man, said he would remove shearing wire and fire again. I begged of him not to do so or if he did to do it by means of string or in some way drop shell into gun from cover. Matt would not give in and our first words of disagreement were spoken. He accused me of being windy and ordered me away from himself and gun. There was nothing left for me to do but obey and I was only a few paces from gun when he dropped shell into barrel with shearing wire withdrawn. There was a muffled explosion and a rush of air around me with the swish of passing shrapnel in the air. I turned around. The gun had disappeared and Matt was lying on the ground. I ran to him, poor fellow, and although not killed the whole left side of his body was a frightful sight. His left foot was practically severed from his leg and was lying at right angles to it when I reached him. He was fully conscious and his first question to me was, "Is the gun alright"? I assured him it was. Moving him caused him intense agony so we procured a door and laid him on it." – **Patrick McHugh**, GHQ Munitions, IRA, (BMH-WS 664).

16th October 1920

McNESTRY, Patrick Ignatius:

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *C Coy, 1st Batt., Cork No.1 Bde, IRA. Served with F Company, 1st Batt., Dublin Bde, I.V., at the Four Courts Garrison during the 1916 Rising.*
DOB: 30 March 1888. Born at 19 Munster Street, Cork, to James McNestry and Mary Anne Gargan.
Address: 54 Grand Parade, Cork City.
Occupation: Silversmith.
Death: McNestry died at Cork Fever Hospital from typhoid fever, having suffered with the illness for three weeks. His family were unsuccessful in their military pension application, which stated that his ill-health had been caused by ill-treatment after the 1916 Rising.
Buried: The Republican Plot, St. Finbarr's Cemetery, Cork.
MSPC Ref: 1D400.

THE FUNERAL OF SEÁN TREACY

"Following Seán Treacy's death in Dublin, his body was brought down to Tipperary by rail. Five of us including Frank Drohan, I think Seán Morrissey and Billy Myles, with a Franciscan priest, Rev. Fr. O'Leary, went across to meet the remains at the railway station and to act as pall-bearers at the funeral to Kilfeakle. About midway between Tipperary and Limerick Junction we noticed a Battalion of British troops hidden inside the ditch. who just made their appearance as the funeral arrived. The Commanding Officer named Wilson was well known to us. We had armlets on us which they pulled off, and I think they collared a lot of our bikes that day and threatened all sorts of consequences if we tried to carry out any kind of display. Afterwards they followed up to the graveyard and surrounded the graveyard, training machine-guns on the funeral cortege while the burial was in progress. I was talking to Phil Shanahan there that day. I forget now who it was delivered the oration at the graveside" – **Lieut. Thomas Halpin**, 5th Batt., Tipperary No.3 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 742).

"I remember Dinny Lacey and I were in Lattin when Seán Hogan came and told us the sad news. That was probably on October 15th, for Seán was killed on 14th October 1920. On the day of his funeral, Lacey and I watched the funeral cortege from a field at Barronstown Cross, near Limerick Junction. We knew that military had interfered with the funeral arrangements at Solohead Church and we saw another party of military seize the bicycles of some of the mourners. In view of all the enemy activity that was going on, we reluctantly decided that it would be unwise and foolhardy for us to follow the remains to Kilfeacle Cemetery" – **QM. Tadhg Crowe**, 4th Batt., Tipperary No.3 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1658).

"During the days that followed, no one breathed a word to me about the fight that had taken place in Talbot Street. I am not given to superstition or to flights of imagination, and yet I knew beyond any shadow of doubt that Seán Treacy was dead. I saw him standing at the foot of my bed with a radiant smile on his countenance. Towards nightfall Mick Collins came to see me. 'Where is Seán?' I asked. Mick averted his eyes and replied, 'He's out in the country.' Ten days passed before I learned the full story" – **Dan Breen**, *My Fight for Irish Freedom*, p.154.

O'CARROLL, Peter:

Organisation: *Irish Republican Brotherhood*
DOB: 16 April 1858. Born at 33 William's Place, Dublin, to Peter O'Carroll and Martha Hanbidge.
Address: 92 Manor Street, Dublin.
Occupation: Shopkeeper & Chandler.
Familial: O'Carroll married Annie Scully on 16 April 1893 at Dublin's Pro-Cathedral. Their children included, William, Peter, James, Michael (b.1901), George (b.1902), Mary, Annie (b.1906), Emily (b.1907), and Gerard O'Carroll (b.1909). The actor and comedian, Brendan O'Carroll is a grandson of Peter O'Carroll.
Death: In the early hours, O'Carroll and his wife were awakened to a knock at the shop door. Upon answering the door, O'Carroll was shot in the head by a disguised British officer, believed to have been Jocelyn Lee Hardy. A sign was placed on his remains blaming his death on the IRA however his family knew that was not the case.
Buried: MH 193.5 St. Bridget's Section, Glasnevin Cemetery, Dublin.

"Dublin became about this time the home and the refuge for a large force of British intelligence officers then living under assumed names in various hotels, guest-houses and apartments. These fulfilled the duties of spies and were considered to be members of the British 'Murder Gang'. The full significance of the presence and activity of that 'Murder Gang" was illustrated by the perpetration of the slaying of Mr. O'Carroll. of Manor St. One of his sons, Liam, was Adjutant of our (1st) Battalion; another, Peter, was a member of "A" Coy of the same Battalion. Not finding the boys at home, the. "Murder Gang" struck at the father, and in doing so brought sorrow and desolation to a good and patriotic Irish family. This was but one of the many terrorist operations indulged in by the hidden forces of the Grown, many of whom wore civilian clothes and carried out the fell deeds under the cloak of complete secrecy. Here was a menacing, a disturbing situation, which was aggravated by the information that people going home late at night were held up and searched by men considered to be members of the British armed forces who wore no uniform or insignia suggesting their membership of such forces" – **Capt. Seán Prendergast**, 1st Batt., Dublin Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 755).

"My father and his father were members of the Irish Republican Brotherhood. Through my father, I became associated with the Nationalist Movement…As regards arms, we had a number of Howth guns. It would be impossible to remember how many. We had a fair number of Lee Enfields. We were buying them at that time from British Army men. As a matter of fact, my father bought quite a quantity. He had a shop in Manor Street. These fellows, when they wanted a few drinks, would take anything out of the Barracks. The usual thing was that they would bring a parcel around; and he would give them five shillings in any case; it might be a pair of old boots; it might be two .45's. On one occasion, there was delivered to him a lorry load of petrol in two-gallon tins. We had a number of shotguns too. We had some Martini Henry's and Martini Enfield's. We had a very nondescript collection of small arms" – **Lieut. Peter O'Carroll**, A Coy, 1st Batt., Dublin Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 314).

"I was not at home that night and had not been at home for some time. I was staying in a house in Mary Street, No. 1, and I was awakened that night by the shooting of a man in the street. Some hours afterwards, a message came to me telling me of what had happened at home, and I went there. When I got home, I found that the body of my father had been removed to the Richmond Hospital. A notice appeared in the papers that day to the effect that the holding of inquests was prohibited by military order and that, in future, instead of an inquest in such circumstances, a military court of inquiry should be held. There was a meeting of the Dublin Corporation on 17th October, and I attended it at the invitation of Michael Staines, who was an Alderman of the Corporation at the time. I am not clear about what happened exactly but Michael Staines made the demand at the meeting that the City Coroner be instructed to hold the inquest. This he refused to do, in view of the military order, and Micheál Staines then proposed that, since there was no work for a coroner, no salary should be paid for the post, and I think this resolution was adopted. I think it was on the same day, the 17th, that the Military Court was held. Naturally no member of the family attended. A policeman was sent to the house stating that the court required a member of the family to attend to identify the remains. He was informed that we had no intention of going, that we did not recognise the court. At the same time, all the neighbours were warned to the same effect, as the police appeared to be making an effort to obtain somebody who would identify the remains. Eventually, a young brother of mine, Gerard, who at that time would have been about twelve or fourteen years of age, was seized by the police and brought in the direction of the Richmond Hospital, apparently for identification of the remains. My mother heard about this, went after them and overtook them at the door of the Richmond Hospital. There was a scuffle and she succeeded in taking the boy from them. The three

members of the court came out to talk to her on the footpath. There was a senior officer and two junior officers. They told my mother that, unless some member of the family would identify the remains, they would not allow them to be removed for burial. They told her that they were there only in the cause of justice and to find out who was responsible for the murder. My mother's answer was that there was no need to hold an inquiry into the matter, that they themselves were personally aware of the identity of the murderers, the S army having held both ends of Manor Street while the Tans carried out the murder. The three officers did their best to get my mother to come into the hospital with them but she refused and left. Sometime afterwards a po1iceman called and informed my mother that the court had adjourned until such times as a member of the family would come and identify the remains, and that, in the meantime, they would be left in the mortuary unburied. We made the usual arrangements for the removal of the remains for burial and attended at the hospital at seven o'clock with a number of members of "A" Company. We entered the hospital, held up the hall porter and demanded the keys. He gave us the keys, at the same time informing us that there was no need for a hold-up, that he had just received instructions that, if anybody called for the remains, they could be handed over. It may be of interest to mention here that, when the authorities were trying to obtain a member of the family to identify the remains, an undertaking was received from the court that, for seven days alter the court, there would be no interference in any way with the family, nor would any member of the family be arrested, if any member attended for identification purposes." – **Lieut. Peter O'Carroll**, A Coy, 1st Batt, Dublin Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 594).

"The same British officer figured in another murder, a fact I knew from a description of him given to Volunteers by the Carroll family, and from other clues at the time. An old man named, Carroll kept a locksmith's shop in Stoneybatter, a working-class quarter of the city. He had two sons, active Volunteers. Carroll had a visit from a British Army officer who warned him that if his sons did not surrender at the Castle before a given date he would be shot. Carroll was found shot dead in his shop later. On his body was pinned a card: "Spies beware, IRA.". [Liam] Tobin brought me a slip of paper and on it was written in Collins' writing: "Concentrate on Hardy". That was the name of the killer. MacNamara and myself knew this man well. He was an Orangeman, with an artificial leg, on the Castle garrison and was an Intelligence Officer in the Auxiliaries and a very hostile killer. I told Tobin to send two men to the Castle next day and I would point out this man whom we knew lived in a city flat to which he cycled every morning. Joe Guilfoyle was at the gate next morning with a bicycle. Our man did not appear. After hours waiting, I signalled Guilfoyle to go away. He cycled to the flat in Harcourt Street where he found Caldwell, another member of the Squad, standing on the Street. Guilfoyle told him to clear off as Hardy was not coming out. As they moved off a lorry dashed up the street. Several auxiliaries dismounted and placed the boys under arrest. They were brought to the Castle and put in a cell while their captors went for a drink. Hardy's wife had seen Caldwell hanging about and, fearing for her husband's safety, had 'phoned to the Castle in some pre-arranged phrase. Caldwell had in his pocket a note-book containing such entries as the index numbers of military and auxiliary motor cars and addresses of Auxiliaries and military officers. Guilfoyle took it from him and swallowed it. They were interrogated, knocked about and taken for a midnight ride. They were released next day. They believed whatever ridiculous yarn the prisoners put out. Several, other attempts to get Hardy likewise failed." – **Dave Neligan**, GHQ Intelligence, (BMH-WS 380).

A British military raid at No.148 Capel St., Dublin, with the assistance of a Mark V tank, 1921.

THE FINAL DAYS OF THE HUNGER STRIKE
Early October 1920

"In a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Miss MacSwiney says 'I have read your Grace's letter calling for special prayers for guidance for your country and its values in these troubled times…I ask your Grace, in the interests of humanity, to call together the Bishops of your Church and in the name of Christianity and civilisation demand from your Government the instant release of my brother – the Lord Mayor of Cork – and his comrades. 'By this act of justice – while there is yet time – you will draw down the blessing of God on your country in her need and make possible the friendship between the two independent countries, which their natural position would suggest, but which is out of the question while England holds Ireland in subjection" – **Letter from Ms. Máire MacSwiney to the Archbishop of Canterbury, 30 September 1920**.

"The Lord Mayor of Cork had a fairly restful day yesterday, and last night his condition was reported unchanged. He desires it to be known that in sending his message to his comrades in Cork he had no doubt as to their constancy. It was not so much to encourage them as to ask them to join with him in encouraging the people under the terrorism to which they are subjected that the message was sent. He knows, he says, that many people are possibly being frightened and horrified at the burnings and the shootings, and he feels it would be a heartening and a strengthening thought for them to know that his comrades and himself were offering the sufferings and the Masses and prayers that were being said for them and their lives, if necessary, to save the people and preserve the Republic" – **Freeman's Journal**, 7 October 1920, p.4.

Le Petit Journal

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Les manuscrits ne sont pas rendus 31me Année Numéro 1.552

DIMANCHE 19 SEPTEMBRE 1920

LE MARTYR IRLANDAIS

M. Térence Mac-Swiney, lord-maire de Cork, accusé d'intelligences avec les Sinn-Feiners, refuse, dans sa prison, toute nourriture, et se laisse mourir de faim pour servir la cause de l'indépendance de l'Irlande

"The Mother and Sisters of the late Seán Gibbons, of Balbriggan, forwarded a box of flowers, with the following note: 'Please give these flowers to Lord Mayor MacSwiney. They were sown by the late murdered, Seán Gibbons, RIP, and were plucked from his garden today. As one of Ireland's martyrs he is praying in Heaven today for the Mayor and the boys and for the success of Ireland's freedom"– **Freeman's Journal**, 8 October 1920, p.5.

"Michael Fitzgerald, whose sight is failing, was unable to recognise his brother who visited him yesterday. His general condition is weak in the extreme, but his mental faculties remain clear and active. The other prisoners are described as being very low, and sleep only at short intervals during the night" - **Freeman's Journal**, 13 October 1920, p.5.

Blessed are the just who suffer for justice sake.

Sacred Heart of Jesus,

Have mercy on him.

In Affectionate Remembrance of

Michael Fitzgerald

Commandant 1st Batt.
Cork No. 2 Brigade, I.R.A.

Who gave his life for Ireland at the hands of the British Government in CORK JAIL on OCT. 17th, 1920.

AGED 38 YEARS.

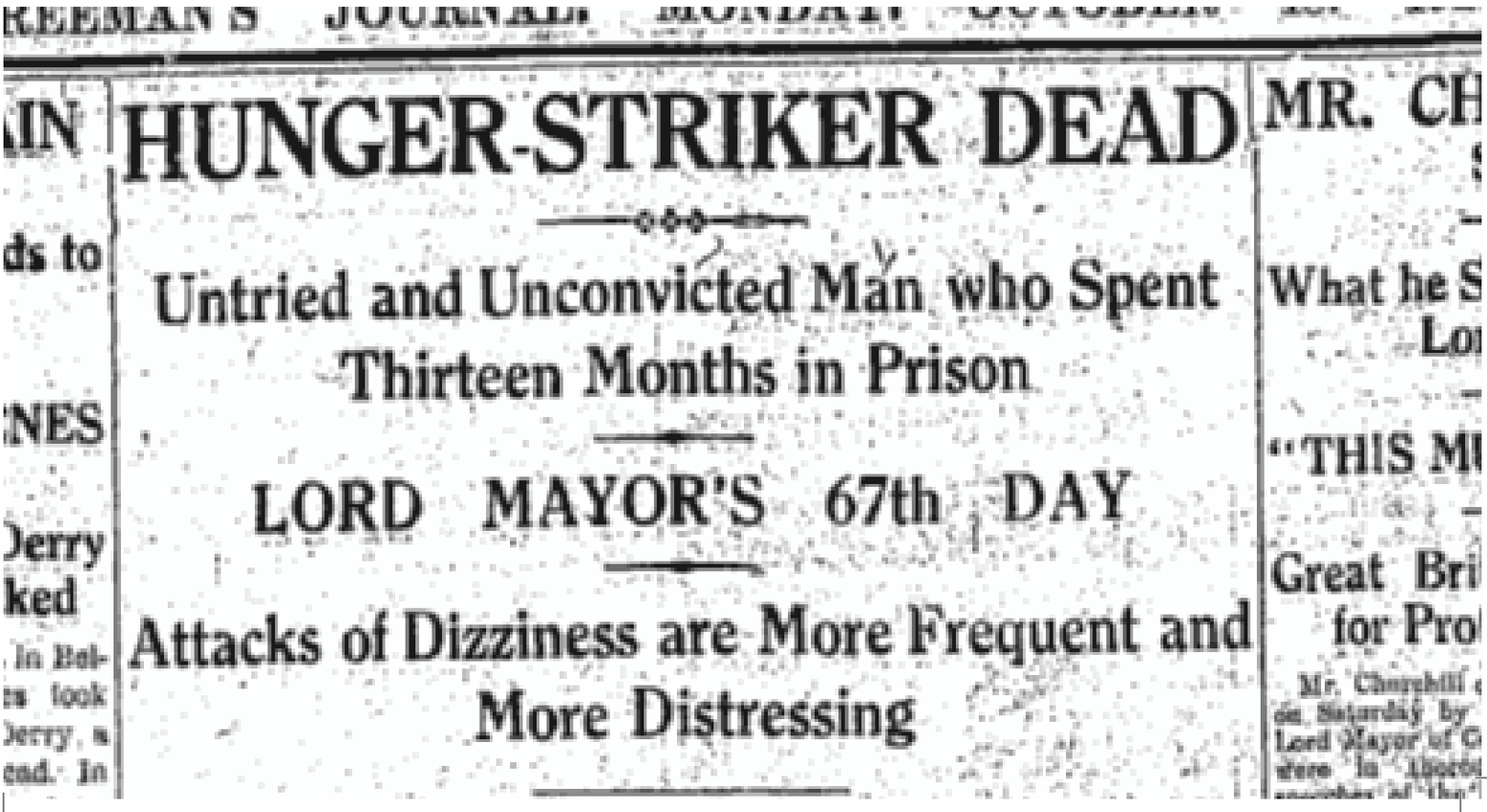
As a true Soldier of Irish Liberty his love for Erin was the passion of his life; his brightest day-dream was to fight for her.

THE DEATH OF THE FIRST HUNGER STRIKER
17th October 1920

FITZGERALD, Michael (Mick):
Rank: Commandant.
Unit: *1st Batt. (Fermoy), Cork No.2 Bde, IRA.*
DOB: December 1881. Born at Ballyoran, Castlelyons, Fermoy, Co. Cork, to Edmond Fitzgerald and Margaret O'Brien.
Occupation: Mill Worker.
Address: Clondulane, Fermoy, Co. Cork.
Familial: Fitzgerald was engaged to Miss Ciss Condon. The prison authorities refused to grant Fitzgerald the right to marry in the days before his death and threatened that if a marriage occurred, they would ban visitors to every other prisoner.
Death: Fitzgerald, who had been imprisoned in Cork Gaol without trial since 1919, joined Terence MacSwiney and the other Cork prisoners on hunger strike. This protest gained worldwide attention. Fitzgerald's health began to decline rapidly by early October and he died on 17 October 1920, after 67 days fasting. Fitzgerald was the first Irish hunger-striker to die as a result of fasting.
Buried: The Republican Plot, Kilcrumper Cemetery, Fermoy, Co. Cork. In April 1923, Liam Lynch, the Chief-of-Staff of the IRA (1922-23) expressed his wishes to be buried beside Fitzgerald before passing away.

"Fr. Fitzgerald [The Prison Chaplain] led the recitation of the fifteen decades of the Rosary. Relatives of the other prisoners knelt outside joined in the responses. At the same time voices of the huge crowd outside the gates could be heard as they also recited the Rosary. As Fr. Fitzgerald recited the second decade of the third Rosary, one of the Nuns turned around and said, 'He's gone.'

"No tears, but joy, for our comrade, who was ready to meet his God and die for this country. He has joined the immortals and will be remembered forever"
– Terence MacSwiney.



KEEMAN'S JOURNAL MONDAY

HUNGER-STRIKER DEAD

Untried and Unconvicted Man who Spent Thirteen Months in Prison

LORD MAYOR'S 67th DAY

Attacks of Dizziness are More Frequent and More Distressing

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"I have no complaint to make. They have offered me medical assistance which I refused. I am sorry to be such a cause of pain and anxiety to my relatives and friends. I am looking forward to death as a release from this suffering. I beg God for mercy and for strength to sustain me in this struggle" – Michael Fitzgerald.

"While I was in Araglin, the Battalion O/C (Mick Fitzgerald) died on hunger-strike in Cork Gaol. With all Volunteers in the Battalion area, I took part in the funeral procession and, with Paddy Ahearne and Dáithí Barry, proceeded to Kilcrumper to fire three volleys over the grave when the military guard, which had surrounded the graveyard during the interval, had withdrawn" – **Capt. John Fanning**, 1st Batt., Cork No.2 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 990).

"It was during the silly season that the Lord Mayor announced his determination to starve himself to death. If the Government had given way the whole administration of criminal justice would be broken down. The Lord Mayor did not want to die, and the Government did not want him to die, but Alderman MacSwiney had many friends in Ireland who wished he would die. After six weeks fasting, the Lord Mayor was still alive (laughter). Personally, I hope he will survive to see the dawn of a brighter day in Ireland…We are going to break up this Murder Gang (referring to the IRA) and it will be broken up absolutely and utterly as sure as the sun will rise tomorrow morning…If in a moment of weakness or of exhaustion on the part of those to whom they should look for guidance, a British Parliament was found to agree to the setting up of an independent republic in Ireland, I am certain that after a few years that independent Republic would be flattened out by open war and that the British people would never rest till they had rid themselves of so fearful a danger" – **Winston S. Churchill, British Secretary of State for War, 16 October 1920.**

"There were remarkable scenes in Cork about noon yesterday in connection with the funeral of Michael Fitzgerald, who died in the Cork Male Prison, on Monday night, after 68 days' abstinence of food. The remains lay overnight in SS Peter and Paul's Church. Republicans in full uniform being on guard right up to the time for the departure of the funeral by road for the family burial ground of Kilcrumper, near Fermoy. An enormous crowd collected in the vicinity of the church, from which it was kept some distance away by a body of military, which arrived in five motor lorries, attended by an armoured car. Fearing that the people might get into conflict with the military, Mr. Liam de Roiste, MP, announced to all present that they had done their part in praying for the repose of the soul of the deceased man, and requested them to disperse. Volunteers then formed a cordon, and by that means kept the crowd at a safe distance. Towards the close of the ceremonies in the church a stir was noticed at the end of the crowded church and women hastened towards the altar rails. Their action was due to the entry of a military officer, carrying a revolver in his left hand, and four soldiers carrying rifles. The officer handed to the Very Rev. Canon O'Leary, P.P., the following letter, which was marked, 'Urgent,' – "In accordance with the instructions issued by the Irish Government concerning restrictions on the number of persons allowed to attend funerals, the Competent Military Authority has decided that not more than 100 persons will be permitted to take part in the funeral procession of Michael Fitzgerald and that these persons will not be allowed to march in military formation. It is requested that you will do all in your power to see that these orders are carried out – F.R. Eastwood, Major, Brigade-Major, 17th Infantry Brigade." The officer, still carrying the revolver in his hand, then left the church. On the entry of the military the Volunteers in uniform forming the guard of honour withdrew, and their places were taken by six civilians in ordinary attire." – **Kilkenny People**, 23 October 1920, p.2.

KELLY, Henry Augustine (Harry):

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *D Coy, 2nd Batt., Dublin Bde, IRA. Served in the Jacobs Factory Garrison during the 1916 Rising.*
DOB: March 1894. Born in Ballygawley, Collooney, Co. Sligo, to John P. Kelly and Kate Flanagan.
Address: 2 North Wall, Dublin.
Occupation: Grocer's Assistant.
Death: When Auxiliaries raided an IRA mobilisation at Banba Hall in Parnell Square, Dublin, Kelly attempted to flee through the rear door into Frederick Lane, only to face another unit of Auxiliaries and an armoured car. He was savagely beaten with the butt of a rifle and shot in the forehead.
Buried: Kilross Graveyard, Ballygawley, Co. Sligo.
Image Source: Cian Harte.
MSPC Ref: 1D353.

"The raid on Banba Hall on Sunday night, which resulted in the death of two civilians was carried out by cadets of the RIC according to a statement issued by the Castle. When the forces arrived in Frederick Lane accompanied by an armoured car, the tenants were ordered to remain indoors. Troops paced up and down in front of the dwellings, menacing those who came to their doors or windows, so that when the man was shot in the lane there were no civilian eye-witnesses on the scene. A woman stated she heard somebody calling out two or three times: 'Stand up there you.' Three shots were fired in rapid succession. On the wall, about the height of a man's head, and on the door, there are bullet marks. The victim, whose name is given as Henry Kelly in the Castle report, was not dead, when civilian assistance came, and he is reported to have asked for a drink of water, which was brought to him by a little girl" – **Freeman's Journal,** 19 October 1920, p.4.

"Late in 1920, I was a member of a squad of nine or ten men, carrying out armed patrol duty in O'Connell Street. We were ordered to assemble in Collins' Billiard Room in Parnell Street. Later, as the place was suspected to be under enemy observation we were ordered to dismiss and re-assemble in the Banba Hall, Parnell Square. About half an hour later Mick Kilkelly and I who were at the main entrance, Banba Hall, when we saw a lorry of Auxiliaries swing into the Square from the east side. Mick remained in the hallway, with the object of securing the door, whilst I rushed up the stairs to warn the remainder of the party. In the excitement which ensued a member of the party left his revolver on the floor. I delayed a moment to pick up the revolver with the result that I was the last man coming down the stairs. On reaching the hallway I found that the party had gone towards the rear of the premises. Kilkelly had failed in finding any way to secure the door, and as was typical of the man, remained to cover the withdrawal of the other men. The Auxiliaries., unaware that the door was unlocked and unbolted, were endeavouring to smash it in with their rifles" – **Vol. James Cahill**, Dublin Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 503).

"As Kilkelly and I withdrew a rifle-barrel was pushed through the glass panel at the side of the door. When we entered the dance hall, which is at the rear of the Banba, all was in confusion. A concert had been in progress and our party, rushing through the hall, caused the audience to become excited. Seats were upset all over the place and it was with difficulty that Kilkelly and I forced our way through the crowd. On reaching the back door we found one of our men, Loughney, frantically trying to force back the bolts which had become stuck through disuse, paint and rust. Mick Fitzpatrick, an official employed in the Banba, arrived on the scene, forced Loughney away and suggested that we should return to the hall and mix among the audience. This line of action would certainly result in a number of arrests and the loss of practically all the Company's revolvers. I in turn forced Fitzpatrick away from the door and with bleeding hands ultimately opened the door. By that time, three of our men, Mick Kilkelly, Nick Leonard and Harry Kelly, despairing of getting out by the back door, had gone back into the hall hoping to find another exit. The first two passed their guns over to two girls, who succeeded in getting out without being searched. They were fortunate as women searchers arrived after they had left. I was the last of our group getting around the bend in the lane at the back of the Banba, and glancing back I saw a lorry of soldiers entering the lane from Frederick Street. They were about seventy-five yards distant from us but did not observe us. Before we left the Banba an order had been given for us to re-assemble at Ballybough. The last arrivals at the rendezvous brought the information that Harry Kelly had been killed immediately outside the back door of the Banba. From statements made by residents in the lane and persons who were in the hall, it would seem that Harry, failing to make an exit by any other route, with his gun in his hand, attempted to get out by the back door. As he emerged, he was confronted by a soldier whom he shot. Another soldier who was on the lorry which was drawn up close to the door, brought his riffle with terrific force down on Harry's head. Death must have been instantaneous as his skull was crushed and the brain was protruding. Nevertheless, two soldiers lifted him up and held him against the wall whilst another soldier fired several shots into his body." – **Vol. James Cahill**, (BMH-WS 503).

18th October 1920

O'ROURKE, Thomas:

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *A Coy, 3rd Battalion, Dublin Bde, IRA. Served at Boland's Mills during the 1916 Rising.*
DOB: c.1896.
Address: 5 Peter Street, Dublin.
Occupation: Jacob's Biscuit Employee.
Death: On the morning of 18 October 1920, O'Rourke died at the Mater Hospital from a fatal gunshot wound to the chest which he received when Auxiliaries raided Banba Hall in Parnell Square, Dublin, on the previous night. The newspaper accounts claim that O'Rourke, named as Michael, was making his way to Dorset Street when he went to observe the raid on Banda Hall and was subsequently shot. O'Rourke is recorded as a civilian in *DOTIR*.
Buried: Garden Section, Glasnevin Cemetery, Dublin.
MSPC Ref: DP6240.
Ref: *Irish Independent*, 19 October 1920, p.7.

DOYLE, Patrick John:

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *Ballinagare Coy, 1st Batt., South Roscommon Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 27 December 1888. Son of Michael Doyle and Mary Kelly.
Address: Drummin, Ballinagare, Castlerea, Co. Roscommon.
Occupation: Farmer.
Death: Late in the evening of 18 October, Doyle was pulled from his house by Crown forces who arrived at Doyle's family homestead in a lorry convoy. He was shot at the back of the house, dying moments later. Contemporary newspapers claimed that Doyle was political unattached however the local tradition claims Doyle as a Volunteer, having participated in the attack on Frenchpark RIC Barracks and is still commemorated as an IRA Volunteer.
Buried: Kilcorkey Graveyard, Castlerea, Co. Roscommon.

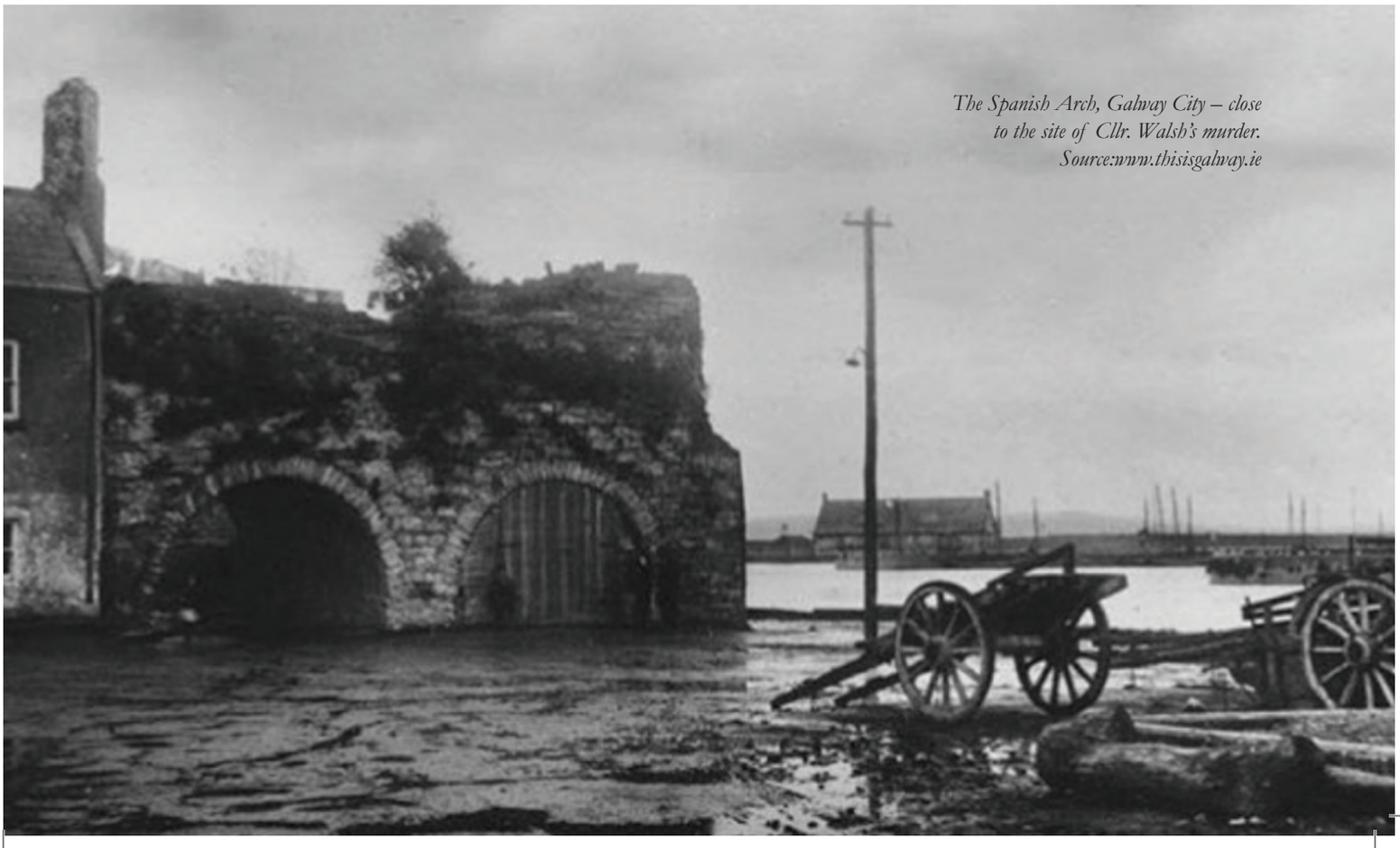
"*Patrick Doyle, Ballinagare, Castlerea, was shot dead at 11.30 p.m., on Monday night by uniformed men. It is stated that two lorry loads of armed men entered the village and took Doyle out and shot him dead outside his own door. Another account states Doyle's captors allowed him off after threatening him, but they returned later, and putting him up against a wall, shot him dead.*"
– **Offaly Independent**, 23 October 1920, p.3.

19th October 1920

WALSH, Michael:

Affiliation: Sinn Féin.
DOB: 20 September 1881. Born in Headford, Co. Galway, to Michael Walsh and Bridget Creaven.
Address: Old Malt House, High Street, Galway City.
Occupation: Galway (East Ward) Urban Councillor (Sinn Féin) / Publican & General Merchant.
Familial: On 24 November 1907, Walsh married Agnes Cotter at Knock Church, Spiddal, Co. Galway. Their family were Michael Joe (b.1908), Edward (1910-1981), Patrick (1911-1977), William (1912-1979), John (b.1914), James (1915-2000), Mary Rose (1917-1967) and Francis Walsh (b.1919).
Death: When Black and Tans entered The Old Malt House, they threatened that Walsh would be dead within the hour. Upon requesting a priest, the Tans refused, claiming that the priests were just as bad as Walsh with their politics. Walsh was abducted by Black & Tans from his public house and brought to the Long Walk near the Spanish Arch and shot in the head. His remains were dumped into the river Corrib and were later found slightly submerged beneath a low tide when his bloodstained hat was found close to two pools of blood, beside the river's bank. Walsh's killing was a reprisal for the IRA's abduction and sanctioned killing of the informer, Patrick Joyce.
Buried: Bohermore New Cemetery, Co. Galway.
MSPC Ref: DP24977.

"On the first night of my return to the office there was a cross on my door, a similar cross had been put on the doors of the late Michael Walsh, who was killed by the Black and Tans at the Spanish Arch and another on the doors of Fr. Griffin and Fr. Meehan. Shots were fired into the office and into my bedroom but there was no damage done. I knew the late Michael Walsh very well. He was a member of the Galway Urban Council and was the most useful man. He was taken from his house by Auxiliary [sic] *and Black and Tans, brought, down to the Spanish Arch where he was shot through the head and then thrown into the sea. He left a widow and large family"* – **Louis O'Dea**, Galway Solicitor, (BMH-WS 1107).



The Spanish Arch, Galway City – close to the site of Cllr. Walsh's murder. Source:www.thisisgalway.ie

"I have no information, and I do not accept as true the allegation that the murder of this man was committed by uniformed men. There is no such force as the auxiliary police in Galway or elsewhere in Ireland. There are members of the auxiliary division of the Royal Irish Constabulary. These men are all ex-officers, and I will not accept, except on the clearest and most conclusive proof, the allegation that any of these ex-officers now serving in the auxiliary division are guilty of murder" – **Hamar Greenwood, Chief-Secretary of Ireland, House of Commons, 21 October 1920**.

"The first reprisal for Joyce [a loyalist informer] *was the shooting of Michael Walsh, of the Old Malt House, High St. on 19th October 1920. The motives for this were; his assistance to the Volunteers, the use of his farm in the country as a prison for prisoners of the Republican courts, of which two former prisoners had told the police; and Joyce's letter, of which a copy in full must have got to the police in the end. The most shocking thing about his death was the way his murderers made him walk to the quay to be shot. The masked men had entered his shop and told him that they would kill him in half-an-hour. This was heard by the people who were cleared out of the shop, but no-one went to get help. Maybe they did not know where to go. The men got nervous and did not wait the full time. After about twenty minutes, they took him away through a crowd of people who could do nothing to stop it, to the fish-market. They shot him there and threw his body in the tide. The military authorities said that only immediate relatives would be allowed to follow the hearse, thus taking responsibility for the killing. A great many people of the town, who were sincerely affected, attempted to follow also. When the hearse reached the Square, it was stopped by Capt. Harrison, liaison officer between Auxies and police, who was threatening the people with a revolver, dancing about and making himself ridiculous. He had some 17th Lancers on horseback with him. They were riding beside the hearse with him and he ordered them to charge the crowd with the result that the crowd had to give up the attempt to follow the funeral. The scene went on for what seemed a long time. From this time, loyalists drew a sharp line between military and police"* – **Geraldine Plunkett**, (BMH-WS 424).

THE BANSHA MURDERS
Co. Tipperary

O'DWYER, Edmond (Ned):

Rank: Company QM.
Unit: *H Company (Bansha), 4th Batt., Tipperary No.3 Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 19 October 1896. Son of William Dwyer and Anne Dwyer.
Address: Ballydavid, Bansha, Tipperary Town.
Occupation: Farmer's Son.
Death: O'Dwyer was shot and killed alongside his brother Edmond at their farmstead by a party of military lead by a policeman, on what was Ned's 24th birthday. These killings were most probably a reprisal for their IRA unit enforcing the closure of the local school during Seán Treacy's funeral. The two were dragged outside and shot dead, and the house itself raked with gunfire. A third brother, Jerry, the company Captain, survived by hiding under his parent's bed. An unexploded grenade was also found, suggesting a plan to blow up the home. The RIC denied any involvement in the murders. Later, two RIC men were killed when a connection was found with the murders.
Buried: Bansha Graveyard, Co. Tipperary.

O'DWYER, Francis (Frank):

Rank: Lieutenant.
Unit: *H Company (Bansha), 4th Batt., Tipperary No.3 Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 3 June 1887. Son of William Dwyer and Anne Dwyer.
Address: Ballydavid, Bansha, Tipperary Town.
Occupation: Farmer's Son.
Death: See O'DWYER, Edmond.

"My two boys who worked our farm are gone without reason or cause. They were shot down practically before my eyes. But let it be so. We will bear it all for Ireland." - **Mrs. Anne O'Dwyer**.

"Some days after Seán Treacy's funeral, the Dwyer's homestead at Ballydavid was raided about midnight by a party of armed and masked men, and two brothers, Frank and Ned, were taken outside the door and shot dead, bayoneted and beaten to a pulp with rifle butts in the presence of their sister, Kate, who tried to save them. She was the local Captain of Cumann na mBan. The eldest brother, who was the local Company Captain, escaped, as his parents prevailed on him to hide beneath their bed. It was certain that he was the wanted person when the Dwyer's heard the summons - "Open in the name of the law". He, therefore, took refuge under his parents' bed, both being old and the father's sight bad. The bedrooms were searched and the sister said her parents were ill and not to frighten them, so the police, the murder gang as they were known, were satisfied with the two brothers, whom they took out and shot. The Company Captain had forbidden the principal of the local school to open on the day of Seán Treacy's funeral - all schools were to be closed as a mark of respect and mourning. All schools, except Ballydrehid, obeyed the order, so the captain had the children turned back in the morning and no school was held. It was clear that this shooting of the Dwyer brothers was a reprisal, as the principal of the school was a policeman's wife. Only someone who knew the place well would get into Dwyer's at night, as it nestles high up on the mountain slope" – **Batt. Adjt. Maurice McGrath**, 4th Batt., Tipperary No.3 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1701).

INTO THE LION'S DEN
Pat Moylett's Mission in London
Part One

"Immediately I arrived in Dublin I sent a note to Arthur Griffith telling him that I was in town. He sent a messenger to me with a note requesting me to call on him. I did not know whether to call at his office or not, as I was afraid, I would be arrested, but when I called on him, he said he was in the same position himself, but that he did not leave his office. During our conversation he asked me would I go to America to see the people who were running a paper called "The Nation" in New York. This paper had instituted an inquiry into the British atrocities in Ireland. Griffith said to me: "You should go to London, and it will be easy for you to get a passport by staying in one of the principal hotels". This I intended to do. Griffith told me he wanted me specially to see a man named John Steele, representative of the "Chicago Tribune" in London. He told me that he would arrange for me to have lunch with himself and Steele the following day. We had lunch in the Shelbourne Hotel. Arthur Griffith wanted me to give Steele an account of my experiences and, in fact, a general account of activities in Galway since the arrival of the Auxiliaries about a fortnight earlier. Having arrived in London, I stayed in the Carlton Hotel. While waiting to get a passport I did not intend to remain idle, and I called on John Steele at his office, 125 Pall Mall. We discussed the situation in Ireland, and the aspects of the situation in London as affecting Ireland. During the course of conversation Steele asked me would I like to see Philip Kerr, afterwards Lord Lothian. By a strange coincidence I knew Philip Kerr slightly; I had met him ten years earlier. He was a son of either Lord Ralph Kerr or Lord Walter Kerr, both admirals, and had a brother or a cousin a priest in Brompton Oratory. I asked Steele was that the Philip Kerr he wanted me to meet. I knew something of his history in between, and this made the position rather awkward for me. I told Steele I did not want to meet Kerr or anyone from Downing St. I said I did not want to go to Downing St. because I considered it a den of thieves. Steele remonstrated with me and said it would do no harm. Eventually I agreed to go, but did not meet Philip Kerr, who happened to be away at the time, but I saw C.J. Phillips, who was then Secretary to H.A.L. Fisher, Minister for Education, who was chairman of the Cabinet Committee dealing with Ireland and Irish affairs. The thought passed through my mind that I might get some information by going to Downing St. when I had the opportunity. I knew I was taking a great risk in going there, as quite a number of people in London knew me, and if any of them saw me going there it would look bad. If the position were reversed and I saw any man connected with the National Movement going into Downing St. at that time, I could only come to one conclusion, and that conclusion would be that he was a spy; but I decided to take the risk.

My first interview took place at the Foreign Office, where I met Phillips, and then Fisher, who was chairman of the Cabinet Committee of Ireland and Minister for Education in England at the time. Phillips had been secretary to Asquith when he was Prime Minister, and afterwards secretary to Lloyd George. He was also the Liaison Officer for India House, which was the headquarters of D.O.R.A. during the war, of which General Sir George Cockrell was the head. Fisher, who was a tall, thin man, wearing a monocle, looked a typical Oxford Don. The first question he put to me was: "Do you still retain the full republican attitude?" To this question I replied: "As metaphors are in fashion" - Lloyd George having used many metaphors in a speech at Caernarvon a day or two previously in reference to Ireland - "I will answer you this way. I am a fisherman, and when I fish for salmon that is trolling, I may hook a perch, a pike, a trout, or a salmon. If I hook a perch, he is a nuisance, so I kill him and throw him away. If I hook a pike, I kill him and I give him away. If I hook a trout, I keep him if he is a big one. But if an angling friend met me in the evening after the day's fishing and asked me if I got anything, even though I had got fifteen trout, and

no matter how big they were, I would say No, as nothing counted to him o1 to me but salmon". Fisher immediately answered me' "What about a salmon trout?" I cursed him in my mind and said: "It is better than a trout, but the fisherman has patience, and we will fish until we get the salmon". That story was quoted in newspapers in many countries. Lloyd George said that it was the answer of a Roman senator and the best reply he had ever heard. My interview with Fisher lasted for three hours and a quarter and took place on 9th or 10th October 1920. That day, I think, there was a letter from General Sir George Cockrell in the "London Times". I cannot remember the exact wording of the letter. This letter proposed calling a truce, an amnesty and a conference without preliminary conditions. On my own initiative I went to see General Sir George Cockrell, the writer of the letter, in the British House of Commons. He was a Member of Parliament…A few minutes later General Cockrell called to me and got me a seat in a lobby, where we sat discussing his letter and Irish affairs in general. After some minutes the late Jerry McVeigh came along and, as Jerry McVeigh and myself had been bosom pals for many years, I had to bend my head so that he would not recognise me. General Cockrell mentioned that there was a small garden at the back of the House of Commons which we could go to and talk undisturbed. We repaired to this garden and talked there until a police constable came and told us that it was time for him to lock up…That night I decided I would go back to Dublin the following day, tell my experiences to Arthur Griffith and discuss the matter with him. During the long conversation which I had with Fisher he had talked of the murder gang in Ireland, and I talked of his murder gang. During that conversation I explained that I was there on my own account, without anybody's knowledge, and that I represented nobody but myself. I knew Arthur Griffith well enough to know that he would realise I was doing the correct thing. On 15th October 1920, I saw Griffith and discussed the matter with him; I gave him an account of my conversation with Fisher, and added that if the British were not as hard up as we were, they would not have given me three hours of their time. Griffith was very pleased with what I had done. There was a meeting of the Dáil on October 16th, and on October 18th. Arthur Griffith asked me to give up the idea of going to New York and asked me would I go to London, again using the phrase that I was well known there. He asked me to go and do my best to get the British Government to recognise Dáil Éireann. I answered: "That is a small job". I told him that if that was his wish, I would do what I could to accomplish it, but that I could only work on my own plans. At a later hour on the same day, I mentioned to Griffith what my plans would be. I said: "I shall go with the intention of getting on intimate terms with five or six of Lloyd George's immediate political friends, and with five or six of his enemies, and after a time I shall know what they are thinking about". That agreed on, I went to London on October 20th. The first man I saw was Mr. H.H. Massingham, who was editor of the "Nation and Atheneum" which was published in London. His office was in Bernard Shaw's house in Adelphi, The Strand. I called on him owing to the fact that I had had a discussion with Oliver St. John Gogarty relative to what happened in Galway during the previous few weeks. I had with me the notice that was given to me by the Auxiliaries while I was staying in the Railway Hotel, Galway, the night after they had destroyed my premises. I showed this note to Massingham, and in his paper he wrote a leading article on the note. When giving him the note I told him that he was not to publish it unless he published it over my name, but when I subsequently got his paper, I found that my name was not mentioned. I went to see him and asked him why he did not carry out my instructions regarding my name, because I did not think that such letters carried much weight when they were not signed. Massingham informed me that he was afraid for my life, and that he could not take the risk of publishing my name. The "London Times" published my name afterwards in a longer and different class of article. The next man I called on was General Sir George Cockrell. He represented the Weybridge district of Surrey, and Lloyd George was one of his constituents. His nomination papers had been signed by Lloyd George and he was one of his immediate friends. The next man I decided to visit was Lord Northcliffe, an opponent of Lloyd George. In order to meet Lord Northcliffe, I called at the "London Times" office in Printing House Square. There I met Captain Shaw, the Irish editor of the 'London Times"…I discussed the position with Shaw and found that he was sympathetic"– **Patrick Moylett,** (BMH-WS 767).

10 Downing Street, London

21st October 1920

CAVANAGH, Joseph P. (Joe):

Rank: Detective-Sergeant.
Unit: *G Division, Dublin Metropolitan Police – Department of Intelligence, GHQ, IRA.*
DOB: c.1884. Son of Michael Cavanagh.
Address: 64 Rueben Ave, South Circular Road, Dublin
Occupation: DMP Detective.
Familial: On 22 January 1916, Cavanagh married Annie Foley at the Church of Our Lady of Dolours in Dolphins Barn, Dublin. They had two children, Joseph Jr (b.1916) and Mary (b.1920).
Death: Cavanagh, a principal character in the IRA's intelligence structure had supplied IRA GHQ with substantial information and support in 1918-20 while employed as a G-Division detective. He died at Jervis Street Hospital from a gastric ulcer and thrombosis. His death was attributed to the stressful service rendered while supporting the IRA.
Buried: Glasnevin Cemetery, Dublin.
MSPC Ref: DP1632.

"It was with feelings of deep and genuine regret that we heard of the death of Detective Officer Cavanagh. The sad event took place after an operation at Jervis Street Hospital on October 21st, 1920. Some of us attended at the funeral, but we walked on the footpath as a precautionary measure, when the remains were being removed to Mount Argus. Sometime after his death, a representative body of Republicans met and considered what could be done for his wife. A subscription list was opened and some men such as T.M. Healy, Kevin O'Higgins and others subscribed. The work of Detective Officer Cavanagh was only known to a comparatively few people. In sending my subscription to Éamonn Duggan, Secretary, I remarked that "if there was a monument erected in every town in Ireland, it would not be too good for Joe Cavanagh" - **Lieut. Seán O'Duffy**, GHQ Intelligence, IRA, (BMH-WS 618).

THE INTENSIFYING OF ATROCITIES ACROSS IRELAND

"Reports that have reached Mitchelstown state that people living in Knocklong district [Co. Limerick] *are terror-stricken by the conduct of armed and uniformed men. Many persons in the locality, as well as in Ballylanders, are leaving. The house of Mr. John Walsh, merchant, was searched by uniformed men, and stockings burned, apparently because they were of an objectionable colour"* – **Freeman's Journal**, 8 October 1920, p.5.

"Before Curfew, and following that hour, (10.30), on Saturday night there was a renewed outbreak of rioting of a serious character in Belfast. There was firing by both military and police, and one man was admitted to hospital. The police describe a riot which broke out in North Queen Street district about 10 o'clock, as the fiercest they experienced during the present troubles. An old battleground, Vero Street, was the centre of an hour's fierce fighting between the rival mobs, in which revolvers were primarily used. A pitched battle raged in the darkness the lamps having been extinguished during the melee. Police arrived on the scene, but were unable to cope with the outbreak until the Curfew military patrols appeared. The military fired one volley later in the direction of the Old Lodge Road. The police state that several casualties occurred as they saw wounded men being carried away. Military were also called out to an outbreak in Marrowbone, where a volley from an armoured car, fired over the heads of the crowd, proved sufficient to disperse them. Pools of blood were observed yesterday at the junction of Mill Street and King Street, the sequel to batoning by the police, following a hold-up…Tensions prevails in the Falls Road district as a result of searches, which have been a feature of the week" – **Freeman's Journal**, 11 October 1920, p.5.

"ALARM IN ROSCOMMON – *Police passing through Roscommon on Tuesday night [12 October], after investigating the ambushing of a lorry at Four-Mile-House, earlier in the day, fired shots in the main street. The shots, coupled with the report that Black and Tans were on the way from Athlone, resulted in an exodus of many residents from the town. Those who remained were alarmed by rifle-fire at 1 a.m., but this was subsequently explained to be a warning to a person who had failed to obey a military challenge. Windows in a public-house, opposite the courthouse, were pierced with bullets and the walls of other houses were also bullet-marked."* – **Freeman's Journal**, 14 October 1920, p.4.

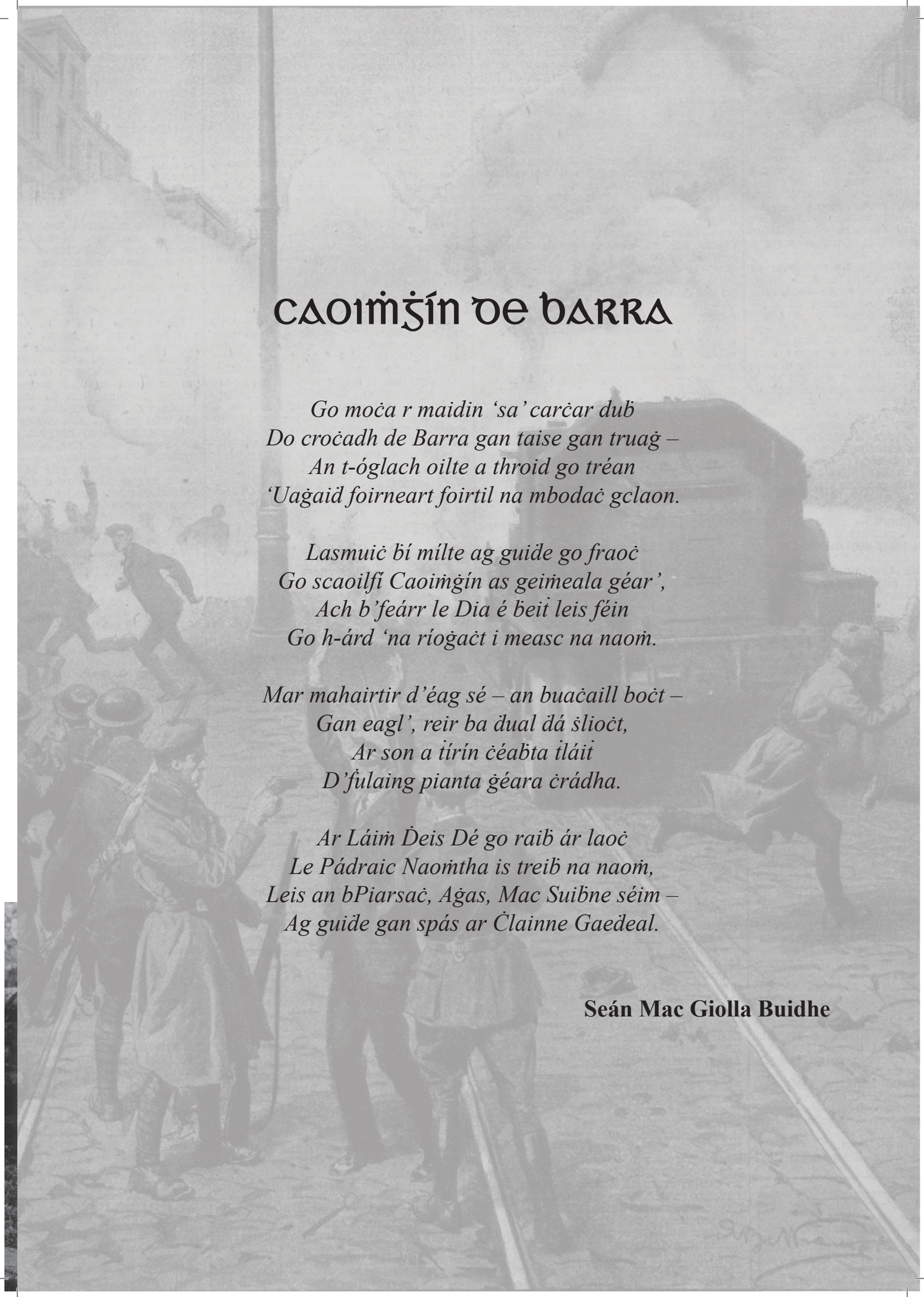
"Following the death in action of Seán Treacy, we received information through our contacts in the Special Branch in the Castle that Sergeant Roche and Constable Fitzgerald were in Dublin. They had come to Dublin from Tipperary to identify the remains

of Treacy, and, evidently, to be available, if required, in the search, for Dan Breen who had escaped, wounded. On 17th October 1920, I was in touch with Dave Neligan, who told me that the wanted men would probably be dining in the Ormond Hotel that day, having left the Castle to do so. Neligan first arranged that he would take them to lunch and would indicate to me that they were the wanted men. Something went wrong with this arrangement, but nevertheless, the squad took up positions around Grattan Bridge. Neligan came along on his own and bumped into the two RIC men who, had left the Ormond and were on their way back. He conversed with them, and after parting from them, he gave the pre-arranged signal by waving his handkerchief. Those of the Squad nearest to the RIC men opened fire on them, fatally wounding Roche, but Fitzgerald escaped by running up Capel Street. Both men were wearing civilian clothing. We understood that Sergeant Roche was a particularly active Crimes Special man, and his gloating over the corpse of Treacy had irritated even some of his own associates." – **Charlie Dalton**, The Squad, IRA, (BMH-WS 434).

"Bandon and Athlone are the latest Irish towns to suffer from outbreaks on the part of the armed forces of the Crown during the past few days. The trouble is attributed to reprisals for the ambushing of military and police. Some soldiers broke barracks in Bandon and proceeded to bomb and burn a cycle shop, the property of a magistrate. They also smashed windows in business premises. Other fires were extinguished owing to the exertions of the ordinary police" – **Freeman's Journal**, 25 October 1920, p.5.

"Thousands of Dublin citizens were flung into a state of excitement and exposed to serious personal danger by the action of certain Crown forces on Saturday night [23 October 1920]. *Armoured cars suddenly appeared in the great thoroughfare of O'Connell Street, and dashed up and down, terrorising the people…About nine o'clock, a number of armoured cars dashed up to the Pillar, stopped to alight a party of 'auxiliaries' to block that end of the thoroughfare, and then, sweeping the people out of their path, arrived at the Rotunda side, where the blockade was completed. The method of clearing the street was sufficiently alarming. A line of men advanced along the street, 'at a run,' with levelled bayonets, firing either blank or in the air, driving women and children wildly before them"* – **Freeman's Journal**, 25 October 1920, p.5.

"About the first or second week in October 1920, all hope for Terence MacSwiney was given up, and it was expected that he would die at any time. The strain of the last six or eight weeks was very severe upon the three of us, and we were coming to the stage where anything might happen to ourselves or in the work we had undertaken. Michael Collins sent word, through Joe Dolan, I think, that we should endeavour to do something at any rate if MacSwiney died. I was informed that Balfour would be going to Oxford on a Tuesday, about mid-October, and I immediately sent word to Collins that, whether Terence MacSwiney was dead or alive then, we would attempt to shoot Balfour. I sent word on a Sunday night, and the courier returned on Monday recalling myself and the other as, for some reason or other, Collins did not wish this operation to be carried out. I went to Oxford on the appointed day, and met and spoke to Mr. Balfour on the street. I simply walked up to him and asked him the way to some of the Oxford colleges. He directed me and said, "You are an Irishman?" I said, "Yes", and he walked a bit of the way with me. He did not appear to have an armed guard with him. I returned to Dublin on the following Thursday. Michael Collins told me he was sorry, but that he could not risk anything happening until Terence died. He also felt that the strain on us would be too much, if MacSwiney were to die while we were in England. Cathal Brugha sent for me, and discussed the whole position in London with me. He, personally, was of the opinion that the operation should never have been even thought of, but he agreed that the only way in which anything could be done would be by accident more than by design, as might have happened in Oxford" – **Capt. Patrick 'Pa' Murray**, C Coy, 1st Batt., Cork No.1 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1584).



Caoimḣín de Barra

Go moċa r maidin ‘sa’ carċar dub
Do croċadh de Barra gan taise gan truaġ –
An t-óglach oilte a throid go tréan
‘Uaġaid foirneart foirtil na mbodaċ gclaon.

Lasmuiċ bí mílte ag guide go fraoċ
Go scaoilfí Caoimḣín as geimeala géar’,
Ach b’feárr le Dia é beit leis féin
Go h-árd ‘na ríoġaċt i measc na naoṁ.

Mar mahairtir d’éag sé – an buaċaill boċt –
Gan eagl’, reir ba dual dá ṡlioċt,
Ar son a tírín ċéabta tláit
D’fulaing pianta ġéara ċrádha.

Ar Láiṁ Ḋeis Dé go raib ár laoċ
Le Pádraic Naoṁtha is treib na naoṁ,
Leis an bPiarsaċ, Aġas, Mac Suibne séim –
Ag guide gan spás ar Ċlainne Gaedeal.

Seán Mac Giolla Buidhe

'The funeral of Terence MacSwiney, Lord Mayor of Cork' - St. George's Cathedral, London, by Sir John Lavery.

25th October 1920

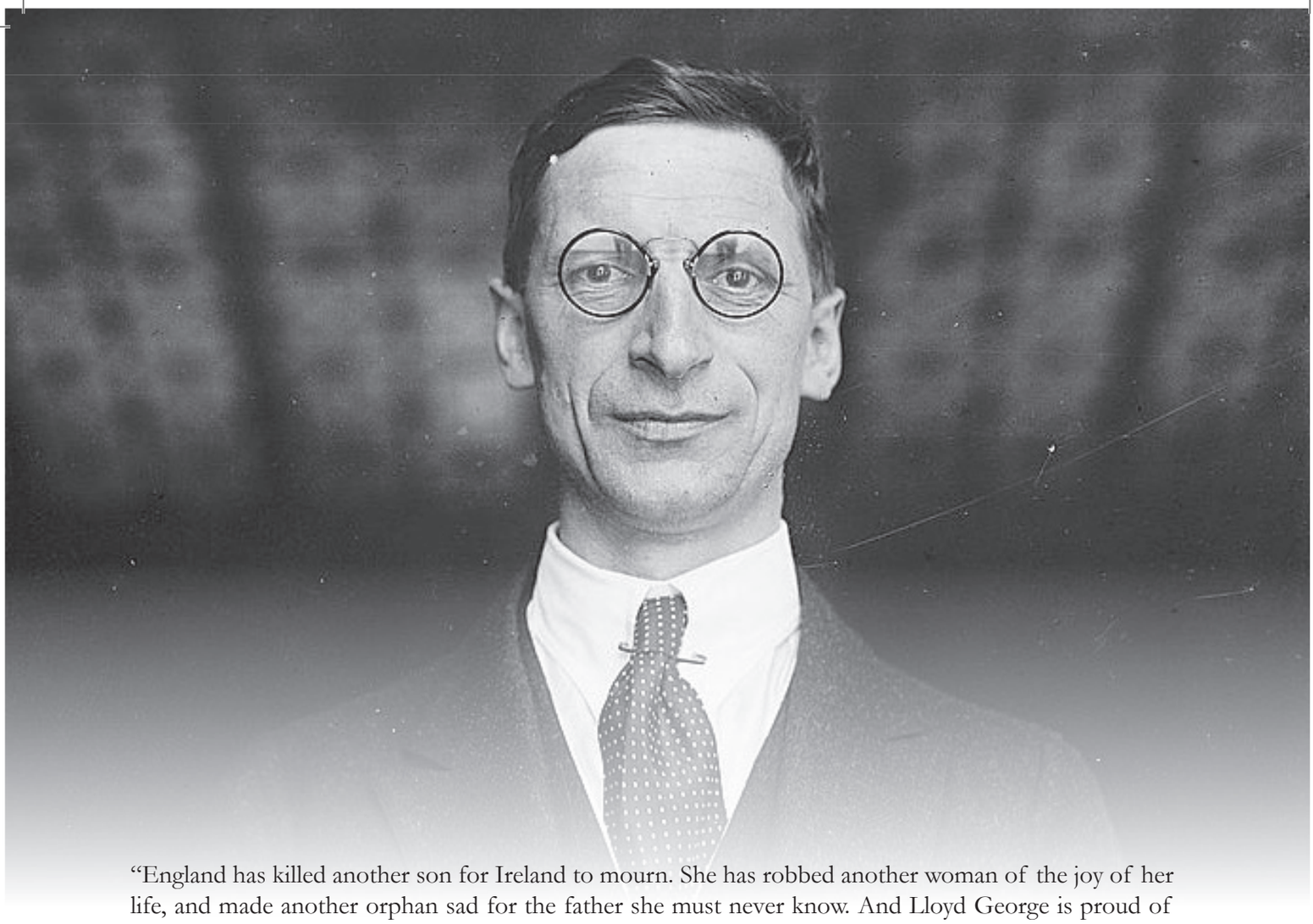
MURPHY, Joseph Patrick (Joe):

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *H Coy, 2nd Batt., Cork No.1 Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 10 May 1895. Born in Lynn, Massachusetts, USA, to Timothy Murphy and Nora O'Brien, who returned to Ireland when Joe was a young child.
Address: Pouladuff, Co. Cork.
Death: Alongside the Cork Gaol hunger-strikers, Murphy followed Michael Fitzgerald and other internees in supporting Terence MacSwiney on hunger strike. This protest gained worldwide attention. Murphy died after 76 days fasting however his death has been overshadowed by that of MacSwiney's passing. In 2019, his family were awarded a posthumous Service Medal (1917-21) by Cork Lord Mayor, Mick Finn.
Buried: The Republican Plot in St. Finbarr's Cemetery, Cork.
MSPC Ref: 1D86.

"I was in three wars in my day, Red Cross in two, and combatant (more or less) against the Black and Tans. I met brave men in my time but the bravest man I ever met was Joe Murphy. In 1918 and 1919 Joe was commandant of one of the City Battalions. Joe was wild and had to be demoted. Somewhere around the early spring of 1921 there was an ambush in Barrack Street off Catford. It was Mick Murphy who was officer-in-command Enterprise. In some public house Joe was accused of it and, needless to say, he did not deny it. Some rumour of this reached the purblind substitute for Intelligence that the British authorities had. They arrested Joe and I found Joe in the condemned cell of the jail. He was condemned to death but the execution was held up by High Court proceedings. Joe said to me, "You know, Father, I was not in it. I am sorry but I wasn't." As a condemned man, part of Joe's menu was a glass of whiskey a day. As a free man outside, Joe would not have refused whiskey and that is putting it mildly. "If they think that I want Dutch courage they are bloody well mistaken." And, to my certain knowledge, for a whole fortnight, while his life was hanging on a Court decision, Joe steadfastly refused the whiskey. The sentence was changed to penal servitude for life. The night of the reprieve Joe was remorseful, "Heavens, Father, look at all the whiskey I refused" – **Fr. Thomas Canon Duggan**, Cork Gaol Chaplain, (BMH-WS 551).

"Then Mick Fitzgerald died, followed shortly by poor Joe Murphy. The latter, although a battalion commandant in 1919, had been expelled from the IRA in early 1920, for conduct bringing disrepute on the Republican Army. Arrested then by the British he was falsely convicted of taking part in a bomb attack of which he knew nothing. When the hunger-strike started he was not even a Volunteer, but he insisted on joining in to show his Republican loyalties and to purge his past misdemeanors. He died the happiest of deaths, as a few days before the end, official notice was brought to him (smuggled in to the Prison Hospital) that he was restored to membership of the IRA" – **Brigade Engineer, Michael V. O'Donoghue**, Cork No.1 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1741).

"The removal of the remains of Joseph Murphy from Cork Jail to St. Finbarr's West, took place at 7 last night. The Western Road and approaches to the jail were densely lined with spectators, while the procession was of large dimensions. Many priests, members of the general public, Irish Volunteers and Cumann na mBan took part…The funeral will take place today at 3 today in the New Cemetery. Joseph Murphy will be interred in the Republican Circle, where Thomas MacCurtain was buried. A Requiem Mass took place at St. Finbarr's Church at 10…There was no perceptible change in the condition of the remaining hunger-strikers in Cork jail yesterday. All the men are in an extremely critical state, and the end is expected within the present week. Michael Burke, Joseph Kenny, and Seán Hennessy were generally regarded as the worst cases. John Power suffered severely from swelling in both legs and intense headaches, while O'Reilly again suffered from pains in the heart. Peter and John Crowley and Christopher Upton were all extremely weak and low but conscious. Murphy's father was the subject of many condolences outside the jail gate. He declared he was proud that his son Joseph had died for Ireland. 'If he had been a criminal, I would,' he said, 'hang my head, but now I can walk with my head erect through Cork.' Mr. Murphy added that when he himself was only six months old his own father had taken part in the Fenian Rising" – **Freeman's Journal**, 27 October 1920, p.3.



"England has killed another son for Ireland to mourn. She has robbed another woman of the joy of her life, and made another orphan sad for the father she must never know. And Lloyd George is proud of his work. Proud that he has given proof that the British Empire is not done for yet - a proof that we do not gainsay, for it is truly a proof that convinces. In every generation for seven centuries Ireland's cry has necessarily been: "It is a hard service they take that help me … Many a child will be born and there will be no father at the christening to give it a name. Many that have red cheeks now will have pale cheeks for my sake." And our children have never once failed to respond. They offer themselves gladly for the sacrifice. MacSwiney and his comrades gave up their lives for their country. The English have killed them. Tomorrow a boy, Kevin Barry, they will hang, and, Hale-like, he will only regret that he has but one life to give. Oh God. For they shall be alive forever, they shall be speaking forever, they shall be remembered forever, the people will hear them forever. Ye mothers that are here, think that each one of these too had a mother who loved him as you love your sons. Ye wives that are here, think that MacSwiney too had a wife, and her love was no less than yours. Ye children that are here, think that he too had a child, and his love was as kind as your father's. And they are dead that men should be at peace, and war should be no more, and that a small nation that covets nothing from its neighbour should enjoy the right of its own freedom. But Ireland dries her tears over the graves of her martyred ones. They have fought their fight and they shall reap the victory. Lloyd George has killed them, but their bodies only has he reached; their spirits he could not. He has tried them by the test; they have not been found wanting. Fitzgerald's and MacSwiney's and Murphy's bodies are indeed in the clay, but it is the sacred bosom of the motherland they loved so well and served so nobly, and their god-like spirits are with us now to inspire, and to be at our side always with a legioned strength to help us. If God wills that the freedom of our country should thus come in our own rather than in the blood of our enemies, we too shall not hesitate at the price, or shrink at the sacrifice. Nor will those who come after us value less the heritage we shall thus have purchased for them. The glorious standards our comrades have set must be ours and in this last phase of Ireland's struggle, to which it has been their privilege to lead the van, our motto must be theirs - the motto of victory, liberty or death."

Éamon de Valera
31 October 1920,
USA

MacSWINEY, Terence James (Terry):

Rank: Brigadier.
Unit: *Cork No.1 Brigade, IRA.*
DOB: 28 March 1879. Born at 23 North Main St in Cork, to John MacSwiney and Mary Wilkinson.
Occupation: Teachta Dála (Mid-Cork) and Lord Mayor of Cork
Familial: On 9 June 1917, MacSwiney married Muriel Murphy at Bromyard, Hertfordshire, England. They had one child, Máire MacSwiney (1918-2012) who later became involved in Irish Republican politics and married Ruairi MacDiarmada Brugha TD, MEP, the son of Cathal Brugha TD.
Death: MacSwiney began his hunger-strike when he was arrested on 12 August 1920 and tried on petty charges. Disregarding his public position, the tribunal sentenced MacSwiney to two years imprisonment. MacSwiney was sent to Brixton Prison in London, believing that his protest and imprisonment would not gain much recognition outside of Ireland. The protest soon gained worldwide attention, placing pressure on Lloyd George's Government, who remained steadfastly adamant in their decision not to release MacSwiney and the Cork Gaol hunger-strikers. MacSwiney succumbed after 74 days fasting. His sacrifice was a fundamental turning point in the relations between Britain and Ireland and influenced other revolutionary leaders, Ho Chi Minh, Mahatma Gandhi and Nelson Mandela.
Buried: The Republican Plot St. Finbarr's Cemetery, Cork.
MSPC Ref: DP19903.

"I want you to bear witness to the fact that I die a soldier of the Irish Republic. God Save Ireland" **– The reputed last words of Terence MacSwiney**

"Fortunately, there are others like Terry in different parts of the world. If it were not so our life would be unbearably abominable. Nevertheless, it is hard to do him justice. He was of middle height, strong, neither very thin or the opposite. He had raven black hair and an olive complexion. I think his eyes were his most remarkable feature, rather light blue, they had an expression of idealism I could never describe. None of his photos are like him. I think what resembles him most is the portrait of John Mitchell, young (whom Terry had a very great admiration for). That is almost exactly like Terry except that the lower part of the face is a bit thicker or larger in Mitchell's portrait. There is a description by Chief Justice Russell of his seeing Mitchell on the coach going from Newry to Drogheda. Russell was, of course, a little boy. His description of Mitchell's appearance is exactly like Terry. But apart from appearance he was of course for absolute separation from England everyone knows, this. But with him it did not end there. Nor was an Irish speaking Ireland enough. He wanted justice. I am certain that if he were alive today, he would not turn his back on the first Irish Constitution to which he had sworn allegiance. He would "cherish equally all the children of the nation". He would have been horrified at the rich people, lay and clerical, in a country governed by an Irish Dáil, and equally horrified at the lack of education and welfare. He was absolutely straight and self-sacrificing, and I remember how terribly the state of corruption in the Workhouse and the Asylum in Cork worried him when he was Mayor. He said to me once that if only that was clean it would be a greater load off his mind that anything else. But at that time, it was the Redmondites who were corrupt, not us, Terry was not always serious. He liked a good joke and fun. I remember him dressing up to play charades at Mrs. O'Riordan's in Cork at Christmas. Terry was eminently reasonable. Also, he could speak quietly to his greatest opponents. He had been years working in the wholesale department office of Dwyer 's where by the way they had to stand. He had had a man at each side of him abusing all his ideals the whole day. He said this taught patience. I believe I only saw him lose his temper once. This was when the police asked me to sign a form in Bromyard. Part of this was the law as the war was on, but they asked me to continue to fill out the part that only concerned aliens, Terry flew at them." **– Mrs. Muriel MacSwiney**, (BMH-WS 637).

"A Nation that has such citizens will never surrender" – **Hô Chí Minh – The future President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.**

Ní'l a ṡáṁú ro de ġṡáṫ ag ouine air biṫ,
a beaṫa a tabairṫ ruar air ron a ċairiḋ

I nDíl-Ċuimne air

Toirdealbac Mac Suibne,

Taoiseaċ air ċéad tṙoṁ Ċorcaiġe
in Arm na Saor-ṙtáiṫe,
Árd-Maor Caṫṙaċ Ċorcaiġe
a d'ṙulaṁ bár air ron a ṫí e dúṫċair
i gCarcar Bṁicṙton. 1 Saranaiḃ
an 25aḋ lá de ṁí Deire Foġmair, 1920.
.i. 4aḋ bliaḋain na Saor-ṙtáiṫe.

Tṙócaire Dé air a anam-ran agur air
anmannaiḃ na bṙiṙéan a ṙuair bár
air ron na h-Eireann.

"The morning we got the news that Terence MacSwiney had died in Brixton Jail after his seventy-four days fast, we were all relieved that his long agony was over. One of the Cork prisoners, Michael Fitzgerald, had already died after a seventy-two days hunger strike and while A.G. [Arthur Griffith] *and I were still talking of MacSwiney, word arrived that another Cork prisoner, Patrick Murphy, had died. There were several other prisoners in Cork Jail on the point of death and A.G. found ready approval for his proposal that the strike should now be called off."* – **Robert Brennan**, Sinn Féin Press Bureau, (BMH-WS 779 – Section III).

"Up to the 25th October 1920, I could not say that I had made much headway. On that date Terence MacSwiney died. I was at that time staying in the Jermyn Court Hotel, Jermyn Street, London. Mary MacSwiney, Mrs. MacSwiney and Peter MacSwiney stayed in the same hotel and the hotel was owned by a man named Griffin from Limerick. I took four men in a taxi from the Jermyn Court Hotel to Southwark Cathedral on the day of MacSwiney's funeral. These were the IRA men who formed a guard of honour at Terence MacSwiney's funeral. I walked in the funeral procession from Southwark to Euston. The procession was roughly miles long. On arriving at Euston, the late Larry O'Neill and the late Count Plunkett, who were also then staying at the Jermyn Court Hotel, asked me to take them back to the hotel as we had an hour's delay at Euston and they were anxious to get their belongings, which were at the hotel, and return to Euston within the hour. On arrival at the hotel, I found a telephone message there from Downing St. asking me not to go to Dublin for the funeral and stating that they wanted to see me, if possible, that evening. I cancelled my arrangements to attend the funeral and went to Downing St. I there met C.J. Phillips whom I have already described. He stated that the House of Commons was very impressed by the funeral and asked me if I thought it were possible to arrange a conference between the leaders of the republican forces in Ireland and the British authorities, asking me did I think that if that were done the first thing the republicans would do would be to call off activities. I replied that I did not know; that I thought, before the republican authorities would take any action, there would have to be formal recognition of Dáil Éireann by the British. At that interview, which took place in the afternoon Phillips asked me would I think over the matter and call on him again the following day. I still considered that he was only looking for information, but at any rate it was a step towards peace" – **Patrick Moylett**, (BMH-WS 767).

"On the day that his remains were taken to Euston Station from Southwark Cathedral, I made my way into the station and by discreet enquiries I learned that the body would be taken by train to Holyhead and from there by boat to Cork and that the relatives and friends of the late Terence MacSwiney would have to travel via Dublin. I should mention that all were under the impression that the body was being taken to Dublin instead of to Cork. However, I passed on the information to Seán McGrath. who was then in the Self-Determination League with Art O'Brien" – **George Fitzgerald**, Cork No.1 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 684).

"During the conveyance of the Lord Mayor's remains from Euston to Holyhead quite a sensation was created when the decision of the Government to forbid the landing at Dún Laoghaire became known. The relatives and friends travelling on the train were surprised at Euston Station when upwards of 300 London policemen entered the corridor carriage specially reserved for them at the rear of the train. At Crewe Station, which was reached at 9.15, a police inspector inquired for the Lady Mayoress, and on being informed that she was not on the train, he handed a document from Hamar Greenwood, Chief-Secretary, to Mr. Peter MacSwiney. The document went as follows: 'Irish Office, 28th October 1920. Madam – I am advised that the landing and funeral of the late Lord Mayor in Dublin may lead to demonstration of a political nature. I regret, therefore, that the Irish Government [British Authorities over Ireland] *cannot allow the disembarkation of the remains of the late Lord Mayor in any other part of Ireland except his native city of Cork. In order to save you further inconvenience the Government have directed the London and North-Western Railway Company to provide a suitable steamer to carry the remains direct to Cork from Holyhead.'… Dressed in his Volunteer uniform as the Commandant of the Irish Republican Army, the Lord Mayor, is returning to his native land, where he will be laid to rest on Sunday in the Republican Plot in St. Finbarr's Cemetery, Cork, beside his murdered predecessor in the Mayoral chair."* – **Freeman's Journal**, 29 October 1920, p.5.

"The French Press believe that the death of the Lord Mayor will hasten the liberation of Ireland. Mr. Hylan, Mayor of New York ordered the American flag over the City Hall to be flown at half-mast. Mr. De Valera says that the principles for which the Lord Mayor died were the principles of the American Declaration of Independence. Ireland, he adds, is the one last white nation that is deprived of its independence…At Lixnaw [Co. Kerry] uniformed men beat some civilians, cut a girl's hair and set fire to the local creamery. Considerable damage was done…Mr. Churchill says that the strength of the military forces in Ireland was about 49,000, and the cost about £1,150,000 a month." – **Freeman's Journal**, 27 October 1920, p.5.

Terence MacSwiney lying in state in St. George's Cathedral, Southwark, London, October 1920. Source: National Library of Ireland.

(Above): The remains of Terence MacSwiney arrive back to Cork aboard a boat carrying fresh recruits of Auxiliaries. The quays and streets of Cork were lined with thousands of spectators who turned out to pay their respects to their Lord Mayor; (Below): IRA Volunteers form a guard of honour during the cortege procession, October 1920. Source: National Library of Ireland.

(Above): The funeral cortege of Terence MacSwiney in Cork City with Leas-Uachtarán Arthur Griffith walking behind the coffin alongside the MacSwiney brothers (Below): A crowd of mourners gather at MacSwiney's graveside in St. Finbarr's Cemetery, Cork. Source: National Library of Ireland.

FLYNN, Michael:

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *D Coy (Glenidon), 4th Batt., Mullingar Brigade, IRA.*
DOB: 26 January 1884. Son of James Flynn and Elizabeth L'Estrange.
Address: Glenidan, Collinstown, Co. Westmeath.
Occupation: Farmer.
Death: Flynn died from ill-health whilst briefly imprisoned in Mountjoy Gaol. His inquest concluded that he had died as a result of exposure and a want for food.
Buried: St. Feichin's Cemetery, Fore, Co. Westmeath.
Ref: *Cork Examiner,* 27 October 1920, p.5.

"Deceased, a young, unmarried man, aged about 32, was arrested on Tuesday last in connection, it is stated, with the kidnapping of Mr. Scott, R.M., and Mr. Hyde, J.P. He was for some days kept in a military camp, and was only three days in Mountjoy. He was suffering from stomach trouble, and vomited a good deal"

26th October 1920

GLEESON, William (Willie):

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *B Coy (Upperchurch), 3rd Batt., Tipperary No.2 Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 5 October 1895. Son of William 'Black Willie' Gleeson and Mary Ryan. His brothers, Con and Michael, would die in 1921 and 1923 respectively, as a result of conflict.
Address: Moher, Upperchurch, Thurles, Co. Tipperary.
Occupation: Farmer's Son.
Death: When disguised Crown forces entered the Gleeson homestead in the early hours of 26 October, they set about accosting William Gleeson Sr. Young Willie Gleeson, suffering with tuberculosis, volunteered himself over to the Black and Tans on condition they preserve his father's life. He was brought two hundred yards away from the house and shot dead.
Buried: Upperchurch Graveyard, Co. Tipperary.
MSPC Ref: DP8755.

"When I left the train, I was bursting with news. I reported to Cumann na mBan in McCarthy's in Thurles. On this return trip to Tipperary, I was to find out all I could about the Crown forces murder gang operating from Thurles. I pushed my bicycle into the highlands towards Upperchurch and came to Gleeson's of Moher - a small house, looking down from a height on the byroad. It was one of the five homes raided by the same party of British forces on the night of 25 October 1920. The character I remember best from my investigations was Willie Gleeson, known locally as 'Black Willie'. He was the father in a family of Volunteers, with one daughter at home. Willie was a flaming, hot-spirited man – dark, thin, and straight as a ramrod but, to my eyes then, very old; Willie's wife, Mary, and their daughter, Mary Agnes, were staunch women, while the surviving boys of the house, John and Tom, were away with the IRA. When Black Willie opened his door to the Black and Tans on the night of 25 October, the leader of the squad explained that they had come to shoot somebody, and if there was no young man at home, Black Willie would do. The soldiers laid hands on the old man to bring him out. But the two women, Mary and Mary Agnes, fought with them, trying to hold Black Willie within the house. All this was going on when young Willie, the third son of the house, who was a consumptive and very ill, came in from the back. 'If you must shoot somebody, take me and leave my father,' he told them. The Black and Tans readily agreed to that. But now the two women and the father put up a fight to hold young Willie. The pale and wasted youth put their hands away from his body and told his family to stand back. Young Willie left the house with the Tans, where they immediately shot him dead and left his body on the doorstep. In this house, the death of a son was in the inevitable setting of the long fight for freedom for the nation. The wrongs against Ireland burned in these people, unquenchably. And, there was never a week but the fire was re-fuelled in those days" – **Máire Comerford**, Cumann na mBan, *On Dangerous Ground*, p. 154.

SHALL MY SOUL PASS THROUGH OLD IRELAND

In a dreary Brixton prison where an Irish rebel lay
By his side a priest was standing ere his soul should pass away
And he faintly murmured father as he clasped him by the hand
Tell me this before I die shall my soul pass through Ireland
Shall my soul pass through old Ireland pass through Cork city grand
Shall I see that old cathedral where Saint Patrick took his stand
Shall I see that little chapel where I placed my heart in hand
Father tell me ere I die shall my soul pass through Ireland

'Twas for loving dear old Ireland in this prison cell I lie
'Twas for loving dear old Ireland in this foreign land I die
Will you meet my little daughter will you make her understand
But Father tell me ere I die shall my soul pass through Ireland

With his heart pure as a lily and his body sanctified
In that dreary British prison our brave Irish rebel died
Prayed the priest that wish be granted as in blessing raised his hand
Father grant this brave man's prayer may his soul pass through
Ireland, Oh! may his soul pass through Ireland

Anonymous

RYAN, Michael:

Rank: Lieutenant.
Unit: *B Coy (Upperchurch), 3rd Batt., Tipperary No.2 Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 13 November 1892. Son of Michael Ryan and Johanna Dwyer. Ryan was a cousin of Thomas Dwyer of the Ragg, who was killed earlier in 1920.
Address: Curraghduff House, Upperchurch, Thurles, Co. Tipperary.
Occupation: Farmer / Dáil Court Registrar
Death: Ryan, suffering from pneumonia, was shot dead on his death bed by a disguised murder gang who entered his home in the early hours and shot him dead.
Buried: Drom Graveyard, Templemore, Co. Tipperary.
MSPC Ref: DP24465.

"Ryan as a 1st Lieutenant in the Upperchurch Company and Registrar of the Arbitration Court. He was very ill at the time and the police found him in bed at his home in Curraduff where they shot him. Gleeson was also found at home in Moher. He was brought outside and shot on the road convenient to his own house. He, too, was a Volunteer" – **Brig. James Leahy**, Tipperary No.1 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1454).

THE SENTENCING TO DEATH OF KEVIN BARRY
The Boy of Eighteen Summers

"We were told by the IRA not to visit Kevin but my mother was naturally most anxious to see him. We got permission for her to go in disguise and under an assumed name. She went as Miss McArdle - her mother's maiden name - and dressed up in borrowed clothes in the house of a friend of ours who accompanied her to Mount joy. This was Kathleen Carney, now Mrs. Vincent Gogarty of Drogheda, who was a close personal friend of James McMahon's family. I should have said that Dr. Hackett, the prison doctor, attended to Kevin's arm immediately after his arrival in Mount joy and for a couple of weeks his arm was in a sling when the visitors saw him. Immediately after his arrival in Mountjoy he established himself with the warders by giving one of them a tip - Busy Bee- for the race that was to be run on the Wednesday. An amusing story reached us too of a remark made by a prisoner who had been taken on a big raid up the mountains on the Sunday. This boy said to a visitor, "They are arresting all sorts of people now. They brought in one of their own last night by mistake, a fellow with a wristlet watch and his hair sleeked back"…At some stage during these weeks I was told to go and see Éamonn Duggan who would be in charge of the defence. Kevin had sent out messages by everybody that he was not to be defended. I put this as strongly as possible to Mr. Duggan, but he told me that he was acting under GHQ orders and that we and Kevin would have to do the same. At that time nobody recognised the Court and for us this was the most nightmarish period of the whole business. On Saturday, 16th October, Mr. Duggan told me that the court-martial. had been fixed for Wednesday, 20th. He was making frantic efforts to have the date changed, because he had to appear in another IRA case before the House of Lords (I think it was the Silvermines case) *on that day or the following day. If they refused to change the date of Kevin's court-martial, he would have to hand the case over to another solicitor. Actually, I was told later that on that Wednesday. He combined his wedding trip and the House of Lords business. On Monday morning, the 18th, Mr. Duggan told me that he had get the date altered and that Seán Ó hUadhaigh would take charge of Kevin's case. He had only that morning received the summary of evidence which he gave me to take to Seán Ó hUadhaigh. I went to Eustace Street to Seán's office and no words could ever describe the comfort and strength that Seán Ó hUadhaigh exuded as compared with Mr. Duggan's legal personality. From that day to this, Seán O hUadhaigh has been the friend and adviser of all the Barry's Seán told me that GHQ had decided that Tim Healy was to defend Kevin. He asked me to go out to Healy's, taking the summary of evidence, to tell Tim about my brother's fierce resentment at having to recognise the court and to get his views on the whole thing. I went and Tim read the 'summary of evidence. He said that, on the face of it, they were determined to find Kevin guilty and that the only plea he could make successfully was one of insanity. I refused this out of hand, without consulting anybody. He then said that there was a possible chance of saving his life in a refusal to recognise the Court, that it would throw on the English conscience the responsibility of hanging an eighteen-year-old boy who refused to defend himself. On the morning of Wednesday, 20th October, it was pouring rain. Mother and I went with Seán Ó hUadhaigh and Uncle Pat to Marlboro' Barracks. The court-martial was fixed for 10 o'clock. The other friends who attended were Fr. Augustine of Church Street, Joe O'Farrell, a family friend and a member of the 5th Battalion, Eileen O'Neill, also a family friend, and Kevin's closest friend, Jerry McAleer"* – **Kathy Barry Moloney**, (BMH-WS 731).

"An intense national and international campaign to save Kevin Barry's life helped more than any single incident since 1916 to stoke the fires of hatred of the British. Not since they hanged Casement in August of 1916 had anyone been executed. I doubt whether even Terence MacSwiney's death, which occurred a few weeks before, aroused such bitter Anti-British feelings…As rank and file IRA men we could not visualise ourselves cast in the same heroic mould as the Lord Mayor of Cork. But it was easy to imagine ourselves sharing the plight of Kevin Barry" – **Vol. Christopher 'Todd' Andrews**, E Coy, 4th Batt., Dublin Brigade, IRA, *Dublin Made Me*, p. 158.

"At 10 o'clock the Court filed into the room but the prisoner had not arrived. It was amusing to see the amount of brass that was gathered together to try one's young brother. The Presiding Officer was and there were, I think, ten other officers descending from him, on either side, through various, ranks. I have since heard this General's name but remember it now. He was a very tall man with a dark melancholy face and a lot of dark hair. The minutes passed and gradually an uneasiness appeared at the long table. Still no prisoner. At 10.20 there was a kind of subdued hysteria at the table. We all felt puzzled but beautifully detached. Then at 10.25 Kevin was brought into the room by a military escort. This was the first time that I had seen him since his arrest. He looked well and very cheerful and desperately amused when he saw the table full of British officers. Seán Ó hUadhaigh immediately asked for a short adjournment to give him time to consult with his client. He explained the circumstances of the case being handed over to him at the last minute and said he had had no opportunity to arrange a defence. Kevin scowled but came back beaming after the adjournment. After the opening formalities, he said, "As a soldier of the Irish Republic, I refuse to recognise the Court". There was consternation at the long table. The General very kindly tried to explain to him the gravity of the situation. He did not answer but took out of his pocket a copy of the previous day's 'Evening Telegraph' which he proceeded to read. Seán Ó hUadhaigh briefly explained that the prisoner refused to recognise the Court, that he would take no further part in the proceedings but remain as a friend of the family. The trial then proceeded. After each military witness had made his statement, the President of the court-martial asked Kevin had he any questions. Kevin said "no" several times; Then he got impatient. He put down his paper and he said, "Look! I have told you I don't recognise the Court: I have no interest in what anybody says here. You are only wasting your time asking me". The President flushed very dark red but said mildly, "It is my duty to ask you. I think as a soldier you can appreciate that". "Righto", said Kevin, "If it facilitates you, I have no questions". And from then on, he answered "no" politely every time he was asked…The next morning Kate Kinsella [the family's nanny] *came back from Mountjoy with his breakfast. All his meals had been sent in from a restaurant from the beginning, but he had asked one of his visitors to tell us that the breakfast was not as good as Kate's and, after that, she had taken his breakfast up every morning. She was back before 8.30 and her own early association with the Invincibles gave her the clue - which we lacked - to this refusal of the prison authorities to accept his breakfast. She tried to get an explanation from the warders who were very friendly and decent, but they said they knew nothing about it - they were merely acting on orders. I shall never forget the sound of her loud crying once she got inside the hall door. I went to Mountjoy that day, since I had been told that no good purpose could any longer be served by keeping aloof. I should have said that we had obtained permission from the IRA to attend the court-martial. Kevin told me quite calmly and rather proudly that about 8 o'clock the previous evening the District Courts-martial officer, Captain Wilson (or Captain Barrett - I cannot now remember which is the name, but I am sure it could be verified.) - this British officer with whom he was on the best of terms and who had visited him frequently in connection with the summary of evidence - had entered his cell, handed him his sentence, burst into tears and left the cell. He was to be hanged on the 1st November. "Mind!", he said, "There is to be no appeal". I said, "No, we would not do that". He said, "I know you wouldn't, but I depend on you to see, that nobody in the family lets me down". This had reference not to my mother or brother or sisters, but to our uncles who were kind and good and well-intentioned and, sympathetic but were not convinced Republicans. I should say here that they followed meticulously and cheerfully the line he laid down. On that morning he said to me, "The sentence has to be confirmed and they tell me here that there is a hope it may be changed to shooting. I must say I'd rather be shot". He said he was living in luxury on the fat of the land, that he had been told he had only to ask for any kind of food and drink and it would he supplied"* – **Kathy Barry Moloney**, (BMH-WS 731).

"Give my love to the Boys in the Company" – **Kevin Barry to his sister, Kathy**.

"Hold on! Stick to the Republic" – **Kevin Barry to Fr. Albert Bibby**

"This lad, Barry, was doing precisely what an Englishman would be doing in the same circumstances and with the same bitter and intolerable provocation – the suppression by military force of their country's liberty. To hang him for murder is an insulting outrage, and it is more; it is an abuse of power; an unworthy act of vengeance, contrasting with the forbearance and humanity invariably shown by the Irish Volunteers towards the prisoners captured by them when they have been successful in encounters similar to this one. To hang Barry is to push to its logical extreme the hypocritical pretence that the national movement in Ireland, unflinchingly supported by the great mass of the Irish people, it is squalid conspiracy of a 'murder gang'. That is false; it is a natural uprising; a collision between two Governments, one resting on consent, the other on force. The Irish are struggling against overwhelming odds to defend their own elected institutions against extinction"

– Erskine Childers.

BREEN, Philip:

Rank: Commandant.
Unit: *4th (Tempo) Batt., Fermanagh Bde, IRA. Originally attached to D Coy.*
DOB: 18 July 1891. Born in Tonyglaskin, Tempo, Co. Fermanagh, to Bernard Breen and Bridget Maguire.
Address: Main St, Tempo, Co. Fermanagh.
Occupation: Publican's Son.
Death: Breen was shot dead outside his father's public house by persons unknown. It was generally believed the perpetrators had been members of the local UVF who were carrying out a retaliatory attack against the IRA for their raid on Tempo's RIC barracks which Breen had helped plan. The barracks door had been left open by sympathetic RIC men but the IRA unit came under sporadic fire from local UVF squads before falling back with their cache of captured arms. His headstone was often vandalised by local loyalists throughout the years.
Buried: Pubble, Tempo, Co. Fermanagh.
MSPC Ref: ID6.

"On 23rd October 1920, Mr. S. Sheehan took charge of a very risky operation in Enniskillen that of stopping a Whist Drive. This was done on account of the Hunger Strike of the late Terence MacSwiney and the death of one his fellow strikers. This turned out to be dangerous as several of the Military were present and it transpired later that these were armed. The raiding party had only two revolvers. Two Volunteers with these took charge of the Military present and the remainder brought the Whist Drive to a close. A round-up followed but no detentions were made. On 25th October 1920 Tempo Barracks was captured. The Sergeant in charge was mortally wounded. The late Comdt. Philip Breen was virtually in charge, but Comdt. James Reilly, Lisnaskea and James Smyth, Lisnaskea, were in charge of the major operation. It was a fight from the outset; a fight to get in and a fight to get out. When the Volunteers got possession the UVF opened fire from outside. The car appointed to take away the arms could not pull up at the Barracks door, so the Volunteers had to fight their way out carrying the captured arms, etc. The police on patrol were held up and disarmed and the whole village was isolated by the surrounding Companies. Comdt. Phil Breen was shot dead that night as a reprisal" – **Batt-Adj. James Smyth**, Leitrim Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 559).

"At the inquest of Philip Breen, Tempo, who was shot dead after the raid on the RIC Barracks, the verdict was death from a bullet wound inflicted by some persons unknown. Bernard Breen identified the body, as that of his son, aged 24, who was at home on Monday, at 7 p.m. He then left the house, and witness did not again see him alive. A number of men who were in the house said deceased left the house about 7.40 p.m…Edward Maguire said he was standing with deceased and six others chatting when deceased was shot and fell. There was no provocation or warning, and there was no one to be seen…Deceased's father said he did not blame either the military or police. It was civilians who killed him. He would not mention names, and did not want revenge or reprisals" – **Irish Independent**, 29 October 1920, p.7.

POWER, James:

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *E Coy (Kill), 2nd Batt., East Waterford Bde, IRA.*
DOB: c.1881.
Address: Carrigeen, Kill, Co. Waterford.
Occupation: Labourer.
Death: On 22 October 1920, during an attempt to raid the homestead of an off-duty RIC constable, Power was badly wounded when a grenade was thrown at the raiders from the upstairs of the house. His death was registered by his family as pneumonia to prevent any retaliations from the authorities.
Buried: Kill, Co. Waterford.

"It was in the month of October 1920 when we learned that an RIC constable named Cullen, whose home was in Kill, but who had been transferred to Portlaw, had returned home by bicycle. We decided to raid his house and take his bicycle, revolver and uniform from him. It was about 7 o'clock in the evening when eight of us, under Capt. Andrew Kirwan, came together in Kill village where the RIC man lived. A few, including myself, were armed with revolvers. The majority were unarmed. One of the men engaged was a newly enrolled IRA man named James Power of Carrigeen, Kill. We approached Cullen's house and knocked at the door. He asked who was there and we said: "Open up in the name of the IRA". Cullen refused to open the door. Andrew Kirwan then fired a revolver shot up towards the roof of the house and Walter Walsh and I began to break in the door with a hatchet we had with us. When Cullen heard us smashing the door he went upstairs: and threw a grenade out through the window. It landed about three-quarter ways across the street before it exploded. Walsh and I fell down with the blast and then got up and ran around a corner out of range. James Power, who was some way out on the road, went across the street and into the chapel yard after the explosion. We then lost him in the darkness. I set out for Commandant Jimmy Power's place at Ballycraddock, about four miles distant, with a view to getting hold of a few rifles. When I returned again to Kill later that night, I found that our men had dispersed to their homes. The: following day I heard that James Power had been badly wounded the previous night by the grenade thrown by the RIC man, Cullen. He (Power) had apparently gone home a distance of over a quarter of a mile the previous night in spite of his bad wound. We brought Dr. Walsh of Bonmahon to attend him but it was no use, as the poor fellow died three days afterwards and was buried in Kill graveyard. At the time of James Power's death it was said by his relatives that he died of pneumonia, and everybody, except those of us who really knew, believed this. The idea was, of course, to keep the British ignorant of the truth and so save his people from raids, or, maybe, arrest. I am particularly anxious to put on record the fact that this IRA man died in the service of his country, as it is not known even yet by many in Co. Waterford (not even by old I.R.A.) that James Power met his death at the hands of the enemy." **– Adjt. Michael Power**, E Coy, 2nd Batt., East Waterford Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1180).

An RIC unit (Black & Tans) on patrol in an Irish village, c.1920-21.

27th October 1920

SHERLOCK, John Terence (Terry):
Rank: Captain.
Unit: *C Coy (Skerries), 1st Batt., Fingal Bde, IRA. Sherlock fought at the Battle of Ashbourne in 1916.*
DOB: 9 November 1897 Born at New St, Skerries, Co. Dublin, to Michael Sherlock and Jane Alicia Duff.
Address: 7 Cabra Tce, Skerries, Dublin.
Occupation: Farm Labourer.
Death: In the early hours, armed men entered the Sherlock homestead and brought Sherlock to a local field and shot him five times and bayonetted him. His remains were found by his sister having been dumped in a ditch.
Buried: Holmpatrick Cemetery, Skerries, Co. Dublin.

"There was at this time living in Balbriggan, a man named Hemstraw, commonly known as Jack Straw. This man had been born in Glasgow and had served in the British Navy. He lived with an aunt of his in Balbriggan. Local gossip had it that he had led the Tans and Auxies around the town and pointed out to them the houses to be burned and the homes of Volunteers on that fateful night. [Sack of Balbriggan] *I don't know if this is correct or not, but I do know that on the morning following the burning I saw him standing looking at one of the houses which were still smouldering, and laughing as if he was obtaining great satisfaction from the fact. A broken gas main was alight in the ruins of this house and sending up a long flame still. I went over to him and asked him what he was laughing at, and he replied "at the fire". At this time he certainly looked like a man who had been up all night and was covered with grime from the fires and a bit of burned material was attached to his clothes. He disappeared after this and was not seen in Balbriggan again. He next turned up one night in Skerries and was promptly put out of town by the Volunteers. That night the Tans took Volunteers John (Terry) Sherlock and Tom Hand from their homes and shot them dead. Sherlock had been instrumental in putting Hemstraw out of the town."* – **Capt. John Gaynor**, Balbriggan Coy, Fingal Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1447).

"They're not going to shoot me like a soldier but they're going to hang me like a gentleman" – **Kevin Barry**

"It is nothing to give one's life for Ireland. I'm not the first and maybe I won't be the last. What's my life compared with the Cause?"

Vol. Kevin G. Barry,
H Company, 1st Batt., Dublin Brigade, IRA

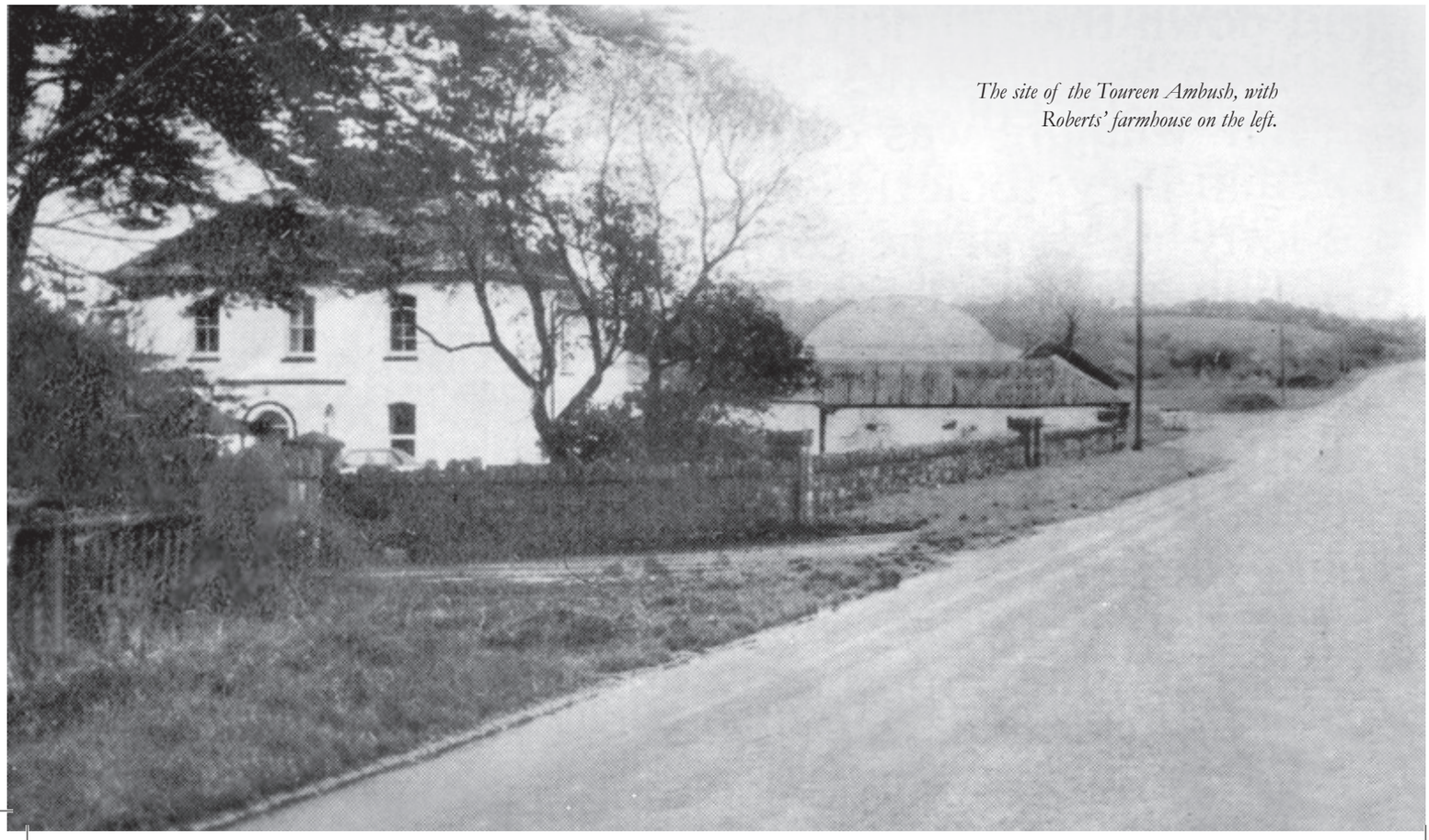
THE TOUREEN AMBUSH
26 October 1920

"Monday, 20 October, brought discouraging news. That day we learned to our dismay that we had lost the services of two of our bravest and most experienced officers, Jack Fitzgerald and Mick O'Neill of Kilbrittain: they had been captured during the weekend. These two men had led the Kilbrittain Company in the dramatic ambush at Rathclarin in June 1919; in the two successful attacks on Howes Strand Coastguard Station which had provided a considerable proportion of the rifles and ammunition with which the Brigade was now armed; and also in other fights, including the recent one at Newcestown. Both men were endowed with natural qualities of leadership so that the loss of either of them would have been a severe blow, but the capture of both at the same time constituted a grave military setback…During the weekend we had decided to ambush a military convoy at Tureen, three miles east of Innishannon, and we were due to occupy the selected position on Tuesday morning, 21 October. Intelligence reports now brought the news that the two captured men were in custody in Bandon military barracks where there was that prisoners were not detained for long in Bandon before being removed by road to Cork. If we proceeded with our planned ambush on Tuesday, there was a serious possibility that we would find ourselves attacking the convoy that was conveying Fitzgerald and O'Neill to Cork. In such a case, we would very probably be responsible for the deaths of our two comrades either as a result of our fire or that of the enemy. We could not take the risk, and decided to postpone the ambush, and instead continue work at the training camp until we had more news from Bandon" – **Brigade-Adjutant Liam Deasy**, Cork No.3 Brigade, IRA, *Towards Ireland Free*, p.154.

"Eventually, word came that Jack Fitzgerald and Michael O'Neill had been transferred and on the night of October 21st, the Column of thirty-two riflemen mobilised at Dan Delaney's, Ballinphellic. One memory of that night remains very vivid. About eight o'clock a group of the Column was chatting in a large kitchen. Leaving them, I walked towards a small room and, leaning against the frame, looked in. Sitting on the floor, his black head bent, intently putting the finishing touches to his beloved mine, was the Brigade O/C [Charlie Hurley]. *Helping him was Paddy Crowley, Kilbrittain. Over against the wall stood Seán Hales talking to his friend, Dick Barrett. Since, I have often blessed a merciful Providence for refusing man the power to foresee the future, for all four of these were to die by the bullet, Paddy Crowley and Charlie by British, Seán Hales by IRA, and Dick Barrett by Free State bullets. At four in the morning of October 22nd the Flying Column fell in and moved off to occupy positions at Toureen, on the main road seven and a half miles from Bandon and twelve from Cork. It arrived at about 7 a.m. at a large house, owned by a Mr. Roberts, which stood about twenty yards back from the road. An advance party had already made all the occupants of the house prisoners, and as the farm workers arrived, they too, were held. Mr. Roberts got permission later to remove his wife to a neighbouring house, a few hundred yards back, as she was not well, and the shock of a fight might worsen her condition. Two armed men accompanied them and had the dual responsibility of ensuring that no person left the neighbour's house, and that the Column would not be surprised from the rear. The plan of attack was outlined and the signals explained to all. Unarmed men were to signal the approach of the lorries. Two riflemen were to cover the western flank of the Column and a similar number to cover the eastern. These were placed several hundred yards from the main attacking party and were two hundred yards back from the road. Thus, six riflemen were used to protect the rear and the flanks. On occasion there had been three lorries in the convoy, and while personally hoping for two, provision had to be made to attack a third. Five men were sent to occupy positions about sixty yards west of a point, where the attack on the second lorry was to occur, to meet this conjectured eventuality. At worst these would hold off the soldiers of a third lorry while the first two were being dealt with. Afterwards they could be reinforced to complete their task. These necessary arrangements disposed of eleven riflemen, leaving only twenty-one to attack the first two lorries which usually carried about thirty soldiers. Nine of these twenty-one, with Liam Deasy in charge, were placed eighty yards east of Roberts' house, inside the southern ditch of the road. Halfway between these and the house, and hidden behind a laurel hedge, were Charlie Hurley and two riflemen. He was to explode the mine under the first lorry, and then his small party and the eastern section were to open a combined attack on the occupants…Shortly after 9 a.m. the scouts signalled the enemy approach from Bandon. Soon the noise of the lorries was heard and in a few-minutes the first lorry passed the gate. The gates were pulled open and the IRA were waiting with levelled rifles. Almost*

immediately the second lorry appeared, and as her bonnet showed, the order to fire was given, and a three pound bomb, made by the IRA GHQ, was thrown. The bomb, which landed right in the body of the lorry, did not explode, but the volley sounded as one long loud shot. The lorry skidded to a halt on the side of the road twenty yards from the gate, and the soldiers leaped out, led by their officer, Captain Dickson, and the fight was on. The enemy opened fire as they sprawled on the road facing back to the gate section. Obviously, none had been killed by the first volley, though several must have been wounded. From the gateway itself, they could not be fired at, so out on to the road some of the IRA had to go. Now a few IRA men were lying facing the Essex, whose shooting was certainly not good. Volley after volley was fired by the IRA party on the road, and Charlie Hurley and a few others got some shots in from the rear of the British. Captain Dickson was shot through the head as he was firing his revolver and soon some more of the Essex were killed and wounded. Then a shout arose as the British survivors chanted, 'We surrender, we surrender,' and raised their hands over their heads. Immediately the whistle to cease-fire was blown. An order was given to the eastern and western sections to remain at their positions to prevent any further forces from coming in, and all others were instructed to get out and strip the enemy of their armament and equipment. The Brigade Commander came on to the road. He was disgusted at the failure of the mine and the escape of the first lorry. He had pressed the exploder handle as the front of the lorry passed over the charge, but there was no explosion…Five of the enemy were dead, including Captain Dickson, four were wounded and six unhurt except for shock. Fourteen rifles, bayonets, equipment, some Mills bombs, fourteen-hundred rounds, as well as the officers' revolvers and equipment were secured from them. Not one of the IRA was hit. The members of the Column helped to make the wounded Essex comfortable and supplied bandages to the unwounded for their comrades. The dead were pulled away from the vicinity of the lorry and it was sprinkled with petrol. The unwounded Essex were then lined up and told that their ruffianism during raids, their beatings of helpless prisoners and their terrorism of the civilian population were well noted; that their torturings of prisoners, as in the case of Hales and Harte, were not forgotten. They were also reminded that, in September, they had arrested Lieutenant John Connolly, Bandon, an unarmed man, and after holding him for a week in barracks had taken him out to Bandon Park and had foully murdered him there…An Essex sergeant, who was now in charge, then thanked the IRA for their fair treatment and protested his innocence of murder and torture, stating he would carry the message to his officers and comrades" – **ASU-O/C Tom Barry**, Cork No.3 Brigade, IRA, *Guerilla Days in Ireland*, p.28-31.

"The discipline of the men had been excellent, and this was an index both of the spirit which brought them to the camp in the first place, and the efficiency and tireless example of the training officer, Tom Barry. We were constantly gaining experience both from our successes and our failures. For example, after the unfortunate episode at Brinny, in which we lost that excellent officer, Tim Fitzgerald, we learned a very valuable lesson regarding guerilla warfare, namely that a fighting unit which cannot occupy and maintain a position against an enemy vastly superior in men and equipment must not merely depend on the element of surprise for its success, but must never remain long enough in any given ambush position to allow the enemy gain knowledge of its whereabouts and thus snatch the element of surprise from its would-be attackers" – **Brigade-Adjt. Liam Deasy**, *Towards Ireland Free*, p.158.



The site of the Toureen Ambush, with Roberts' farmhouse on the left.

28th October 1920

SCANLAN, Michael:

Rank: Commandant.
Unit: *4th Batt., East Limerick Brigade, IRA.*
– Formerly attached to E Coy (Kilmallock), 4th Batt., East Limerick Bde, IRA
DOB: 30 December 1892. Born to John Scanlan and Ellen Tobin of Galbally, Co. Limerick.
Occupation: Schoolmaster.
Address: Galbally, Co. Limerick.
Death: Scanlan died at Limerick's Military Hospital from wounds received during the afternoon of the previous day. Having jumped from a lorry outside William Street Barracks, he was pursued by Crown forces towards a house in Thomas Street, Limerick. He was cornered and shot dead.
Buried: Castle Jane Graveyard, Co. Limerick.
MSPC Ref: 1D421.

"That night, Crowley and Scanlon were brought to Kilfinane barrack and on the following say they were removed by a lorry of Black and Tans to Limerick. When they reached William St. barrack, Mick Scanlon made a run for it across the street into a shop where he was shot dead" – **Vol. Daniel O'Shaughnessy**, East Limerick Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1435).

"Mr. Michael Scanlon, Kilmallock, and Mr. Timothy Crowley, Ballylanders, who have been 'on the run,' were conveyed to Limerick Central Police Barrack in military motor lorries on Wednesday. After Crowley was brought into William Street station, Scanlon, who was handcuffed, jumped from the lorry and made an unsuccessful attempt to escape. Military and police opened fire and gave pursuit. Scanlon got to Thomas Street, where he took refuge in a house. He was eventually recaptured in the basement. The police state that when he again attempted to escape through a window Scanlon was wounded in the neck and stomach. As his condition was serious the wounded man was anointed by Rev. Father Albert, O.F.M., and removed to the military hospital. Being fair day in the city, the streets were crowded at the time of the shooting. Many people had narrow escapes. Mr. Scanlon has succumbed to his wounds" – **Nenagh News**, 30 October 1920, p.3.

31st October 1920

O'DONOVAN, Thomas Joseph (Tommy):

Rank: Commandant.
Unit: *7th Battalion, Tipperary No.3 Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 13 September 1896. Born at Glengoole, Co. Tipperary, to James O'Donovan and Ellen Kennedy.
Occupation: Apprentice Mechanic.
Address: Drangan, Co. Tipperary.
Death: While in the process of carrying out a planned assassination of Lieutenant Litchfield, a notorious military commander based out of Killenaule, Co. Tipperary, their target failed to materialise. Seeing two drunken soldiers, O'Donovan ordered his unit to hold them up but failed to recognise that the soldier's drunkenness was in fact a *ruse-de-guerre*, carried out by his intended target, which resulted in O'Donovan being shot in the head, killing him instantly and several men from of his unit badly wounded.
Buried: Glengoole, Co. Tipperary.
MSPC Ref: DP23473.

"On the day on which Tommy Donovan was killed. i.e. on 31st October, 1920, I attended a battalion council meeting which was held at Mrs. Kennedy's house at Mogordun near Moyglass There was at the time a notorious British Army officer named Lieutenant

Litchfield stationed in Killenaule, and it was decided at the meeting that Tommy Donovan (the Battalion Commandant) with a party of 5 or 6 men would go to Killenaule that night to attack Litchfield if, as was his custom, he left the barracks and went to his favourite public-house for a few drinks. Donovan selected Denis Sadlier, Paddy Ryan, Paddy Clancy, two or three others and myself to accompany him to Killenaule, but as I had no bicycle, he told me to go instead to Hayden's of Parson's Hill where some Volunteers were mobilised and to take them to Drangan where he and his party would rejoin me on their return from Killenaule. Donovan was of the impression that if Lieutenant Litchfield was shot in Killenaule the British military would carry out reprisals in his (Donovan's) native place of Drangan. I was only a very short time at Hayden's when two Killenaule Volunteers arrived, bringing with them Paddy Ryan and Paddy Clancy, both of whom were wounded, and also the news that Tommy Donovan was dead in the barracks in Killenaule, having been shot in the attack on Lieutenant Litchfield which had miscarried. For the moment Drangan was forgotten and I had to concentrate on getting a doctor for the two wounded men and to get them to a place of safety. The British military did not, however, make any attempt to carry out reprisals in Drangan that night." – **V/C Seán Walshe**, 7th Battalion, Tipperary No.3 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1365).

"I was present at a meeting which was held at Kennedy's of Silverfort, about six miles from Killenaule, at which Donovan decided to take a party of us into Killenaule that night. His plan was to fire a few shots at the sentry who patrolled outside the barracks and in this way to lure Lieutenant Litchfield out of the barracks. Amongst those who cycled from Silverfort to Killenaule that night were: Tommy Donovan (then, as I have said, Commandant of the 7th Battalion), Seán Hayes, Nicholas Moroney, the late Denis Sadlier, Harry Bushe, Patrick Clancy, Tommy Lee and myself. There were some others whose names I cannot now recall. We were all armed with revolvers. We halted at the creamery just outside Killenaule. Here some Killenaule Volunteers met us and reported that the sentry was on duty outside the barracks. Donovan then sent Patrick Clancy and I into the town to scout around and see if everything was quiet. While we were on this duty, we saw two RIC men leave the barracks and go down the street and into O'Connell's public-house. The sentry was at that time still on duty outside the barracks. Donovan, who had followed us into the town, also saw the two RIC men enter O'Connell's and he remarked to Clancy and I, "This makes it easier, we will capture the two policemen and hold them as hostages". He then sent Tommy Lee and another Volunteer to the rear of the premises with orders not to permit anyone to leave by the back door. Donovan, Clancy and I then went to the front door and knocked. There was some delay about opening the door. In fact, we had to knock long and persistently before it was opened to us. There was no sign of the two policemen in the shop and a lady who was there said that they had left. We searched the office and tap-room but no sign of them. The lady in charge of the shop shouted and screamed that they had left, that they were not there. Donovan opened the back door and Tommy Lee, who was outside, assured him that no one had left by the back. We tried to calm the lady by telling her that we did not intend to shoot or harm the RIC men, but to no avail. She became so violently hysterical that we abandoned our idea of searching the upstairs portion of the house for them. Returning to the street Donovan said, "We will carry out our original plan and fire at the sentry", but when we went towards the barracks, we saw that the sentry had been withdrawn and the barrack door was then closed. We moved down the street and when about 100 yards from the barracks stood for a few minutes while Donovan considered what our next move should be. What looked to us to be two very drunken British soldiers. then came around a corner about 50 yards away from us. They had their arms around each other's shoulders and were singing "For He's a jolly good fellow'. They staggered about the street and as they approached us Donovan remarked to me, "Will we hold them up", and I replied, "What's the use? They are only two poor drunken soldiers". Donovan's remark were the last words he ever spoke, for when the two soldiers were about two yards from us they shed all signs of intoxication and fired point blank at us with revolvers which they had in their hands. They were, in fact, Lieutenant Litchfield himself and a sergeant of his unit. Donovan was hit in the head by a shot, and as he fell he, too, fired and I saw the bullet from his gun break the surface of the road. I was hit by a bullet which entered my right leg just over the knee and emerged near the groin. Clancy was wounded in the arm and back. Both Clancy and I crawled to the opposite side of the street, where we were again fired at, but this time without effect. I next saw Litchfield and his companion catch Donovan by the legs and drag him to the barracks" – **Capt. Patrick Ryan**, 1st Batt., Tipperary No.3 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1380).

"They passed; years passed, then I saw
A lovely sight, a sight of joy;
Erin awoke, united as one,
At last resolved to do or die;
And peace, prosperity, happiness won
To enjoy forever Faith and Freedom"

Vol. Stephen O'Reilly
(Killed in May 1921).

Destruction caused by Crown forces at Tubbercurry, Co. Sligo, 1920.

THE CUMANN NA MBAN CONVENTION, 1920

"Arrangements were made to hold this Convention in the Mansion House, but the existing circumstances did not permit this. Raids and arrests were numerous and a close watch kept by the enemy on the Mansion House, so permission was obtained from the Carmelite Fathers to hold it in a large room attached to the Church in Whitefriar Street. Here we assembled as a ladies' sodality and got through the two days' work without a hitch. At this convention Madame Markievicz, still a prisoner in Mountjoy, was elected President and the following were elected on the Executive:

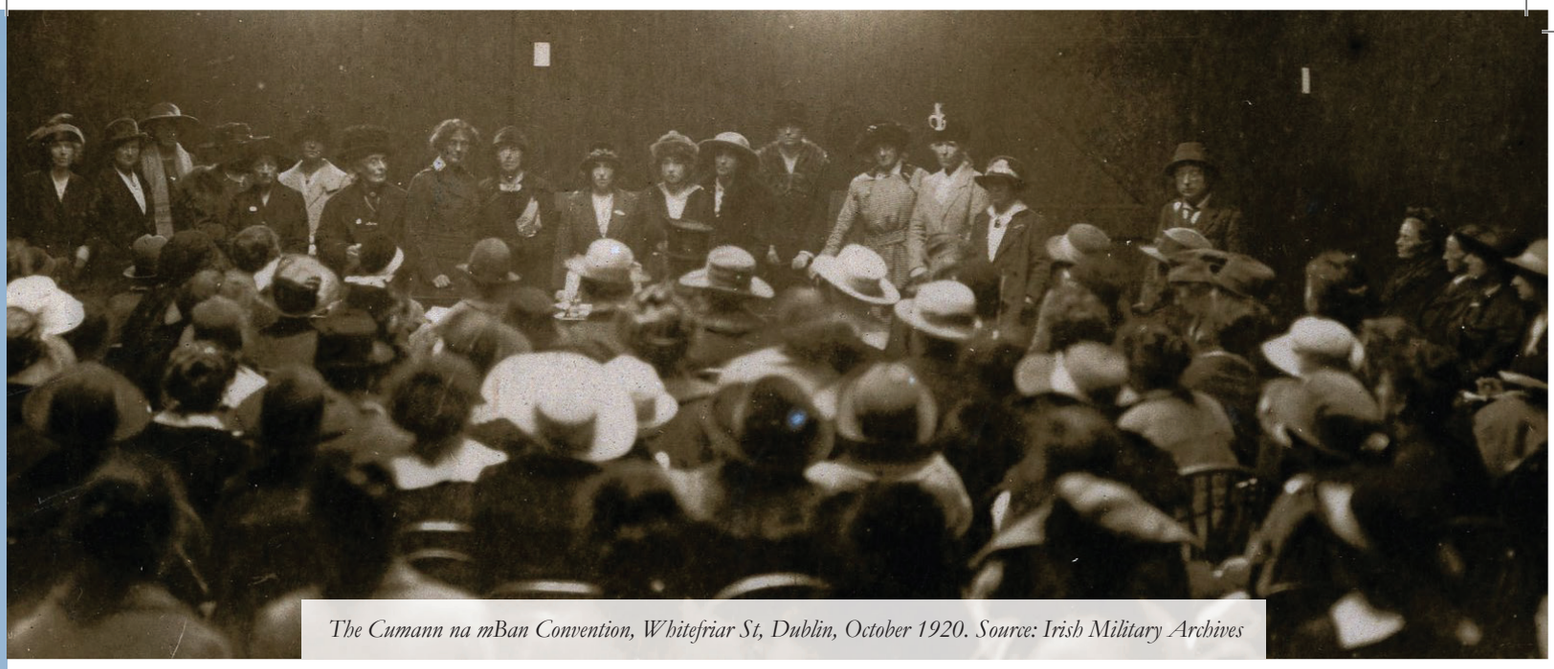
Vice Presidents: Madame O'Rahilly, Mrs. Kathleen Clarke, Mrs. Pearse and Mrs. Ceannt.
Other members for Dublin: Mrs. Wyse-Power, Mrs. Desmond Fitzgerald, Mrs. Mulcahy (Min Ryan), Leslie Price, Miss Eileen MoGrane, Miss Eilis Ryan (myself), Miss Lily O'Brennan, Miss Phyllis Ryan, Miss Máire O'Reilly, Miss Nancy Wyse-Power, Miss Lou Kennedy. Later in the year six others, Mrs. Gordon (Mrs. Stack), Miss O'Sullivan, Miss MoGavock, Miss M. Deegan, Miss B. Aughney, Miss S. Humpbreys, were co-opted; three of these to replace members who resigned for various reasons. (Miss McGrane was arrested on 1st January, 1920, Miss Power had to go to Germany and Miss O'Brennan and myself were obliged to devote ourselves entirely to the work of our office).
Munster Members: Miss Kate Breen, Miss Madge Daly and Miss Mary MacSwiney.
Connacht Members: Miss Una Sharkey, Dr. Ada English, Miss Brighid O'Mullane.
Leinster Members: Miss Considine, Miss Mathews, Miss McKeon.
Ulster Members: Miss Mary O'Doherty, Miss Róisín O'Beirne, Miss Ward.
The Executive met one afternoon each week and switched round to various addresses, sometimes at the home of Mrs. Seán T. Q'Kelly in 19 Ranelagh Road, Madame O'Rahilly's house at 40 Herbert Park and perhaps at the office of the Prisoners' Dependents in Westmoreland Street" – **Eilis Ryan**, Cumann na mBan Executive, (BMH-WS 568).

"The 1920 Cumann na mBan Convention was held in October in a hall lent to us in the Whitefriar Street of Dublin area, in utmost secrecy. Before we slipped away, in ones and twos at the end, an enquiry from the IRA was read out. They wanted to know the standing in our organisation of a young woman wearing our uniform and circulating in the North Dublin-Meath area, who had turned up at some private IRA meetings. We were ordered to look out for this woman; our HQ wanted to know more about her. I had the answer they were looking for because I had met the lady in question, shortly after the sacking of Balbriggan on 20 September. Commandant Louie Kennedy decided to investigate in person. She travelled in the sidecar of Doreen Synge's motorbike, armed with a revolver. I was sent to scout separately, to locate the accused. Our mission failed that day, but I came on our suspect very soon afterwards. I invited her to meet me in Dublin – 'to discuss the distribution of relief after the Balbriggan disaster.' I guessed that would bring her in, and it did. On the evening of 30 October – when everyone in Ireland was following the tragic and eventful story of Terence MacSwiney's funeral – we pounced on our spy at Mrs. Green's doorstep, and pushed her into a cab, provided for the purpose. I remember the long drive, and then being in the basement of Cullenswood House, Ranelagh, where St. Enda's, Padraig Pearse's school, was originally located, before the move to Rathfarnham. The blindfolded prisoner was sitting on a bench. The person I remember best, as being present at the trial, was Paddy Sheehan, of Austin Stack's office. He ordered that the prisoner be out on the mailboat the next morning. Somebody produced 'civvies' in exchange for the uniform the spy was wearing. IRA Headquarters did not sanction the execution of female spies, as it did when male spies were uncovered." – **Máire Comerford**, Cumann na mBan, *On Dangerous Ground*, p.158-159.

BARBARITY PREVAILS

"On the 31st October of this year, the Ballyduff Company carried out an attack on Ballyduff RIC Barracks. On the night of this attack, I was in charge of an armed party near the crossroads at Scotlee on the principal road leading to Ballyduff. It is about one and a half miles from Listowel. I was armed with a rifle. In all, I had twelve men that night armed with shotguns or revolvers. Another man, apart from myself, had a rifle. Our, job was to prevent reinforcements reaching Ballyduff RIC Barracks. Other men of the Listowel Company were engaged this night trenching roads and felling trees to prevent the passage of enemy forces. We took up positions on either side of the road and waited no reinforcements arrived. After about an hour and a half we received word that the attack which had lasted about an hour was over, so we disbanded and went home. In the attack on Ballyduff RIC Barracks, one RIC was killed and four wounded. The IRA did not succeed in capturing the barracks" – **1st Lieutenant Patrick J. McElligott**, Kerry No.1 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1013).

"After meeting at Listry, we moved towards Killorglin and when about half a mile outside the town we were stopped and told that the job was off. The other companies of the battalion had some of their men assembled near Killorglin. After getting word that the job was off, Daniel Allman was told that two Tans had gone from Killorglin towards Miltown along the main road. Dan Allman decided to have a try for the two Tans and he led the members of the Listry Company who were with him to a spot about half a mile on the Miltown side of Killorglin. The position he selected was on rising ground. On one side of the road there was a high bank and on the other side a hedge. Dan Allman and our group took up position behind the bank on the side of the road. The two Tans came along on cycles and, acting on orders, one of our party called upon them to halt. They ignored the call and attempted to cycle through. Our party had orders to fire on the Tans if they failed to halt. We opened fire. One Tan went down. He was killed outright. The second Tan was wounded but he tried to go on. After travelling about 10 yards the wounded Tan fell against the ditch. Daniel Allman went out on the road and took some of the party with him. He approached the wounded Tan and brought him to the spot where the dead Tan lay. Dan Allman questioned the wounded Tan, who pleaded for a chance. He said he would resign next morning. Dan Allman reminded him that he was a Tan. The Tan again pleaded that he was the only son of a widow. Near the side of the road where this was taking place some members of the Killorglin Company had been 'standing to' in a hayshed and one of them came out to see what was happening on the road. The man who came out was the man who had told us that the job was off and he also told us about the two Tans being out the road. Daniel Allman invited this man to finish off the wounded Tan, but he declined the invitation. Dan Allman then called on us to finish off the Tan. We captured one revolver, as one of the Tans was unarmed. Our party was armed with three rifles, one revolver and the remainder had shotguns. All the members of the Listry Company who paraded that night were on the job at Hillville. It was a purely company job. After we had left the Killorglin-Miltown road one Tan came out about 2 a.m. the next day and found the bodies. He reported to the Tans in Killorglin, who removed the bodies and started to shoot up the town. The Tans shot a civilian named Denis O'Sullivan. He was a publican whose pub was being looted. The Tans burned the Sinn Féin Hall, Foley's garage, Steeven's timber mill and the creamery which was next door. The night following, our company, under Daniel Allman, lay in ambush at Ballymalis Cross to get any party of Tans coming out for reprisals. They did not come as far as our position but they came as far as Listry and burned the creamery. Before they got to Listry they had been fired on by the Miltown Company on the main Killorglin-Miltown road at Kilderry wood" – **Lieut. Daniel Healy**, Listry Coy, Kerry No.2 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1067).



The Cumann na mBan Convention, Whitefriar St, Dublin, October 1920. Source: Irish Military Archives

"Kevin Barry, a young medical student, was court-martialled in Dublin. He had taken part in an attack on a military lorry. A young English soldier was killed. After dawn on the morning of the hanging, crowds walked along the streets to Mountjoy under a cold November sky. Outside the gaol gate armoured cars moved through the kneeling people who said the Rosary aloud. Tin-hatted Tommies with fixed bayonets stood in rows on the sides of armoured lorries. A quiet crowd, tense with emotion, hardly speaking to each other. 'The poor boy, the poor boy,' a woman cried. 'God help us all.' Tears came as she swayed on her knees, both hands held up; those near her began to cry, some could not stop, gulping noises continued for a long time. A girl kept saying aloud, 'Mother of Perpetual Succour, help us; Mother of Perpetual Succour, help us.' Aeroplanes circled; with a metallic beat the noise crashed above the rise and fall of Hail Marys…Kevin Barry was a symbol of the enthusiasm of youth; resolute in giving, he, for the people, was the nation, which, however warped, futile and misdirected, had youth, life and a spirit of sacrifice" – **Ernie O'Malley**, GHQ Organiser, *On Another Man's Wound*, p.264.

"We went inside and the military precautions were even more elaborate than on the Saturday - military and Black and Tans drawn up on either side of the pathway, and Auxiliaries swarming in the hall. In addition to the two Auxiliaries normally with Kevin and the chief warder who sat at a table in the board-room, there were five or six other warders, at least three of them armed with revolvers swung on a lanyard above the right elbow. Kevin was cheerful and gay. We sat down and I proceeded to talk. It was difficult a the first, because several of the warders were crying. My mother was composed but quiet, and my brother, Mick, was at no time a great chatterer. I mentioned about Father Albert and the students, and Kevin rubbed his said, "Oh gosh, if I could only catch one more sight of them" We talked about various things. He mentioned the "two J's" and made various remarks about the visits of our sisters. I gave him a message which somebody had given me outside the gaol, to tell him that the University would be outside in the morning praying. He became serious at once arid he said, "Tell them that is foolish. They'll be all shot". For a few moments I couldn't speak because I suddenly thought: "When they come up in the morning, he'll be alive as he is now. When they go away, he'll be dead forever". He was sitting with one leg over the other and he suddenly began to swing his foot and whistle, "Steady Boys And Step Together", and he gave me' a 'sideways smile, so I started again and gradually we were all talking quite naturally. Then Mr. Meehan, the Deputy Governor, came into the room and said, "I am sorry, Mrs. Barry. I'm afraid you'll have to go". So, we said goodbye and the last thing he said to me as he kissed me was, "Give my love to the boys in the Company". We turned at the door for a last look and he was standing at the salute. When the door closed, my mother was battling with her tears. The hall was clear of Auxies except for a group at the end. But she was heroically determined to show no weakness in face of the enemy. Before we reached the hall door, we met Canon Waters whom we had not met before. He spoke kindly to my mother but expressed great worry about Kevin. He said, "This boy does not seem to realise he is going to die in the morning". My mother said, "What do you mean?" He said, "He is so gay and lighthearted all the time. If he fully realised it, he would be overwhelmed". My mother drew herself up and she said, "Canon Waters, I know you are not a Republican. But is it impossible for you to understand that my son is actually proud to die for the Republic?" He became more flustered and we parted. We were upset by this encounter because he was the chief chaplain and the nearest thing to a friend that Kevin would see before his death, and he seemed so alien" - **Katherine Barry**, (BMH-WS 731).

1st November 1920
THE FIRST EXECUTION

BARRY, Kevin Gerard:

Rank: Section-Commander.
Unit: *No.2 Section, H Coy, 1st Batt., Dublin Bde, IRA. Originally attached to C Coy.*
– Briefly attached to C Coy (Hacketstown), 3rd Battalion, Carlow Brigade.
– Honorary member of the Dublin Brigade ASU.
DOB: 20 January 1902. Born at 8 Fleet St, Dublin, to Thomas Barry and Mary Dowling. Barry spent much of his childhood residing at his father's homeplace in Tombeagh, Rathvilly, Co. Carlow.
Occupation: Medical Student (UCD).
Death: Having been captured after a street battle in North King Street in September 1920, Barry was tried by military tribunal on charges of killing a British soldier and sentenced to death. A mass appeal for clemency for Westminster to overrule the death sentence failed. Barry was executed by hanging at Mountjoy Gaol; the first Irish Republican to die by execution since Roger Casement in 1916.
Buried: The Forgotten Ten Plot, South Section, Glasnevin Cemetery (Reinterred from Mountjoy Gaol in October 2001).
MSPC Ref: DP11069.

"Dear Kathleen,

I have just received your letter and thank you for it from my heart. I've had all sorts of letters during the last few days and I know the ones to be thankful for. I had quite a busy day today. I had a visit from a most effusive young lady whom I didn't know from Adam. She knew all about me however. She wept but she meant well…I want you to keep up the acquaintance with Jerry and the boys. I believe the usual thing done in my case is to make a speech from the dock or something but I couldn't be serious long enough to do it. Besides, anyone who ever knew me would never believe that I wrote it. Now, I'll shut up. I wish you every success in love and business. Give my adieux to Des and your mother and say a little prayer when I cash in.

Your pal,
Kevin.

Thousands prayed for the soul of Kevin Barry outside the gates of Mountjoy Gaol on the days leading to his execution

The Kevin Barry Memorial,
Rathvilly, Co. Carlow.
Unveiled by Kathleen Clarke.

KEVIN BARRY

"In Mountjoy Gaol, one Monday morning
High upon the gallows tree,
Kevin Barry gave his young life
For the cause of liberty.

But a lad of eighteen summers,
Still there's no one can deny,
As he walked to death that morning,
He proudly held his head on high.

Just before he faced the hangman,
In his dreary prison cell,
The Black and Tans tortured Barry,
Just because he wouldn't tell.

The names of his brave comrades,
And other things they wished to know.
"Turn informer and we'll free you"
Kevin Barry answered, "no".

"Shoot me like a soldier.
Do not hang me like a dog,
For I fought to free old Ireland
On that still September morn.

"All around the little bakery
Where we fought them hand to hand,
Shoot me like a brave soldier,
For I fought for Ireland."

"Kevin Barry, do not leave us,
On the scaffold you must die!"
Cried his broken-hearted mother
As she bade her son good-bye.

Kevin turned to her in silence
Saying, "Mother, do not weep,
For it's all for dear old Ireland
And it's all for freedom's sake."

Calmly standing to attention
While he bade his last farewell
To his broken-hearted mother
Whose grief no one can tell.

For the cause he proudly cherished
This sad parting had to be
Then to death walked softly smiling
That old Ireland might be free.

Another martyr for old Ireland;
Another murder for the crown,
Whose brutal laws to crush the Irish,
Could not keep their spirit down.

Lads like Barry are no cowards.
From the foe they will not fly.
Lads like Barry will free Ireland,
For her sake they'll live and die."

Anonymous

"Is beannuighte na daoine atá glan 'na gcroidhe, óir cifidh siad Dia."

✠

I n-ainm naomhta Iosa,

Guidh ar anam

Caoimhin Gearóid de Barra,

Saighdiúir i n-Arm Saoirtáit na hÉireann,

Do fuair bás ar son a thíre dúthcair

Lá Samhna, 1920

I n-aois a ocht mbliadhna déag.

R. I. P.

HOULIHAN, Seán:

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *F Coy (Ballyduff), 3rd Batt., Kerry No.1 Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 9 January 1887. Son of James Houlihan and Catherine Harrington.
Address: Ballyduff, Lixnaw, Co. Kerry.
Occupation: Farmer's Son.
Death: Houlihan was taken from his homestead in the early hours of the morning by Black & Tans in reprisal for an ambush carried out by the IRA on the day before. He was bayonetted, shot and clubbed to death in the ditch opposite his house in the presence of his parents. The Tans proceeded to burn the family hayshed before leaving.
Buried: The Republican Plot, Rathela Graveyard, Ballyduff, Co. Kerry.
MSPC Ref: 1D138.

"On November 1st 1920, my brother John and my uncle Garrett Harrington were taken from the same bed and placed against the ditch opposite the house. Luckily one of the RIC knew my uncle Garrett did not take part in the organisation so he interceded for him and he was left go. As a result of the fright, he became invalided and he died some time ago. My brother John was bayonetted and shot and my father was an eyewitness to all this. He took to the bed then as he got a tremor with what he experienced and he scarcely left the bed and was buried a few years later. While my brother John was suffering this persecution the hayshed and outhouses were on fire" – **James Houlihan**, brother, (MSPC-1D138).

"On the night of the 31st October, Steve Grady, with members of Ballyduff Company, assisted by some members of this Company, carried out an attack on a Tan patrol in the village of Ballyduff. In the attack, one Tan was shot dead and two more wounded. Previous to the attack, all roads in our Company area were effectively blocked by members of this Company. Following the attack, several lorry loads of Tans arrived in Ballyduff and shot dead a member of the IRA there, named John Houlihan. They burned down several houses in the area, after which they arrived in Lixnaw and fired shots into houses in the village and terrorised the people for a couple of hours" – **Capt. Patrick Lyons**, Lixnaw Coy, Kerry No.1 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1166).

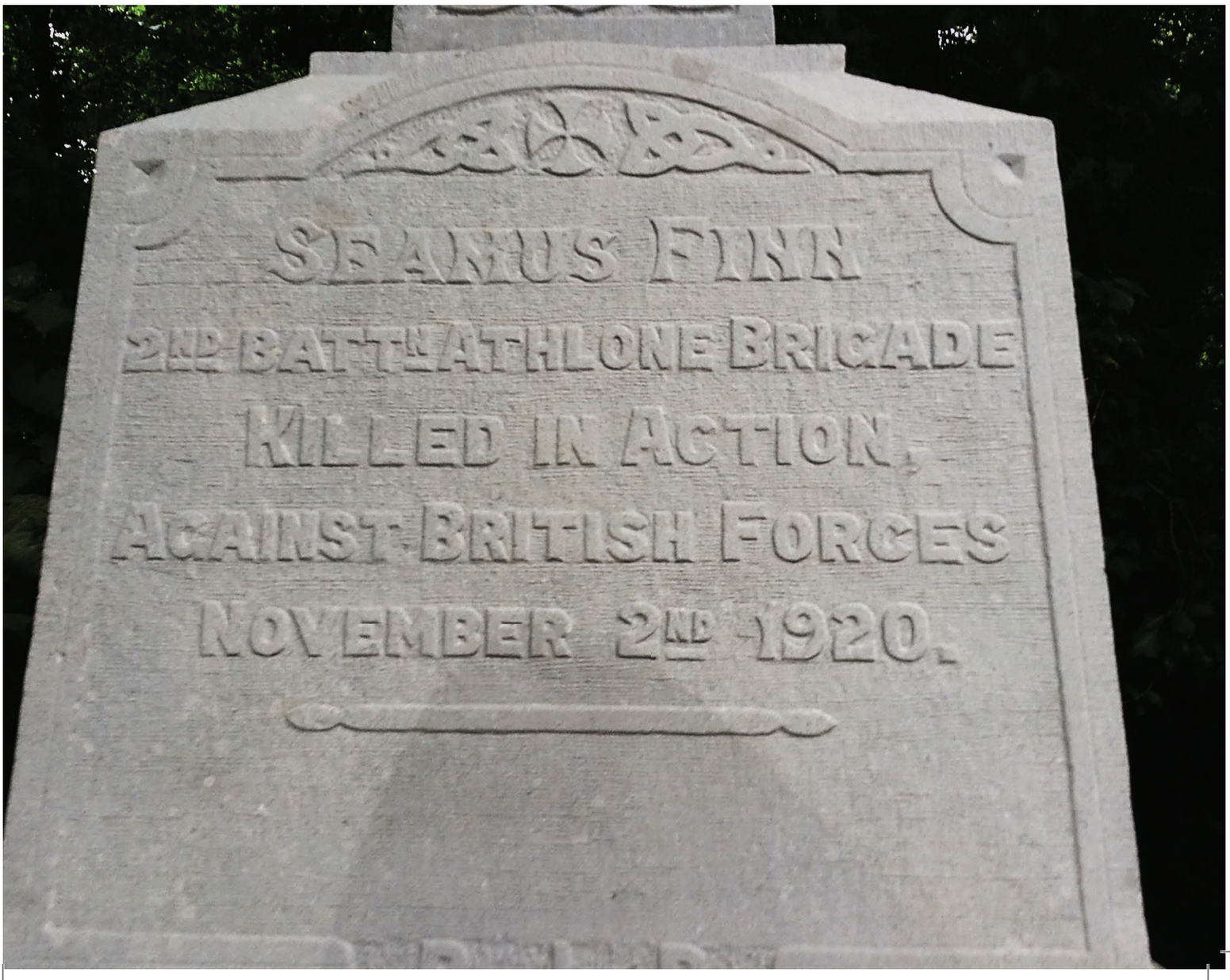
2nd November 1920

FINN, Séamus:

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *E Coy, 2nd Batt., Athlone Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 23 April 1898. Son of Michael Finn and Kate Fay.
Address: Killeenbrack, Streamstown, Co. Westmeath.
Occupation: Farmer's Son.
Death: As an act of reprisal for the death of Terence MacSwiney, the Athlone Brigade launched an ambush against a small convoy of RIC who were travelling from Carrick-on-Shannon to Athlone at Auburn, near the destination. After a failed ambush, the IRA retired from battle, with Finn suffering a mortal gunshot wound.
Image Source: The McCormack, Finn, Parker Family.
Buried: Boher Cemetery, Co. Westmeath.
MSPC Ref: DP1807.

"We decided to start our activities on the 2nd November, as a reprisal for the death of Terence McSwiney, Mayor of Cork. We decided to stage an ambush at Auburn on the main Athlone/ Ballymahon road. A watch had been kept on this road and it was ascertained that a couple of lorries or tenders, as they called their small lorries, of Tans travelled this road nearly every day in the forenoon. The position selected was not an ideal one but it was the best available. We mobilised about twenty-five men and moved into the ambush position before daylight in the morning. We had four rifles and the remainder were armed with shotguns. There were also a few Mills type bombs and a few revolvers. We expected an enemy force to come from the Athlone direction but prepared to meet one from either side. The road here runs through a cutting and we took up position on one side only. The other side was,

because of its conformation, of no use to us. We did not block the road as, being a main road, a block could be sighted by the enemy and any hold-up of normal traffic would put them on their guard. Instead, we sited two of our riflemen near each flank of the position, whose specific instructions were to shoot the driver of the leading lorry and thus, by jamming the road, bring the other or others to a halt inside our position. We were in position some hours when two tender-loads of enemy came from the Longford side. Fire was opened on the driver of the leading tender by the riflemen on that flank. The driver was killed by the first shot but another man who was sitting beside the driver, showed great presence of mind and immediately took over the driver's position and drove the lorry, with all speed, through our position followed by the second lorry. As they passed through the position our men raked them with fire from the shotguns and, as they passed through, at the other flank our men in position reported that there were only a very few of the occupants of either cars to be seen, in a firing position. It was, therefore, presumed that a large number of them were knocked out being either killed or wounded. Our men also threw three hand-grenades into the lorries but, for some unknown reason, none of them exploded. Had any of the grenades exploded it would probably have brought them to a halt and we would have a capture. The delay in changing drivers in the first lorry gave an opportunity to our shotgun men to get in two volleys of shots. Our riflemen tried to shoot the driver of the second lorry but missed him. The lorries were travelling about two hundred yards apart. Some of the shotguns failed to eject the cartridges when fired. This was a regular occurrence and was caused by the cartridge casing which was made of compressed paper becoming damp and swollen, but a good many of our men were able to get in a second shot. Our grenade-thrower was an ex-British Army man and was experienced in such weapons. The enemy fought hard from their lorries, firing through the embankment, and several of our men had narrow escapes, just not being in the right position to collect one. One of our men, Volunteer Finn, unfortunately was caught in this fire and was killed outright. Finn's body was taken by a party of our men to a house near the ambush position where a nurse was in attendance and a priest was got to attend to him, but it was too late as he was already dead. The enemy had three killed and wounded. I think all the occupants of the first lorry were knocked out as they received the first and complete volley from our shotgun men. The rest of us were now ordered to disperse and report back to our different Company areas" – **Batt-Adjt. Michael McCormack**, Athlone Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1503).



DALY, James Joseph:

Rank: Private.

Unit: *C Coy, 1st Batt., Connaught Rangers, British Army (Mutineer).*

DOB: 24 December 1899. Daly was born in Ballymoe, Co. Galway, to James Daly and Kate Creane. The family eventually relocated to Tyrrellspass, Co. Westmeath.

Occupation: Soldier. Served with the Royal Irish Rifles in France during the Great War.

Death: Daly was executed by firing squad at Dagshai Barracks in Punjab, India, on orders of a Military court-martial for having participated in the disturbances at Solon Hill on 29-30 June 1920, known today as the '*Connaught Rangers Mutiny*.' The Irish Tricolour was raised at the barracks and an attempt to raid the munitions store failed.

Buried: Geoghegan Graveyard, Co. Westmeath (Reinterred from Dagshai Prison, Punjab, India, in 1970).

"Jim we were informed, slept soundly during the night and had to be called on the morning. He washed shaved and cleaned up generally to the surprise of the guards and ate a hearty breakfast. Finished, he lit a cigarette out of a packet, supplied the night before by one of the guard and handed the cigarettes around saying, with a smile, "I won't need the rest of these". Unlike Jim Daly, the majority of the prisoners in Dagshai scarcely slept at all that night. In the early hours of the morning, whilst it was still dark, I heard a certain amount of activity in the prison yard facing my cell window. This window overlooked the rear of the prison yard, the exercise yard, and even though I did not realize what the noise was about at the time I was listening to the preparations for Jim's execution. When light came I saw two long tables, with sandbags on them, facing the rear compound wall and a chair placed facing the tables, about 5 or 6 feet from the wall. About ten minutes to eight o'clock I saw a party of men taking up positions behind the tables, 12 men and a Sergeant. These men laid their rifles down on the sandbags. At this stage the prisoners, a share of whose cells overlooked the yard, started reciting the Rosary out loud. An officer and another sergeant arrived and took up positions to the left of the tables as they faced the chair. Almost on the stroke of eight a procession filed into sight, led by Lt. Smyth and Fr. Baker. Father Baker had come down from Solon to be with Jim at the last. Jim Daly marched between the two first armed soldiers.

About eight more followed, as far as I can remember, two abreast. Jim Daly was dressed in his Connaught's uniform, tunic and shorts, puttees etc. He wore a green handkerchief tied loosely round his neck and was blindfolded. To this latter, we heard afterwards, he strongly objected before he left the guard room, but at the request of Fr Baker he agreed. When Daly's file came abreast of the chair Lt Smyth gave the order "Halt, right turn". This left Jim Daly with his back to the chair and facing the firing party, he was also facing us and I noticed a round disc on his left breast. Jim Daly then put up his hard, removed the bandage over his eyes and placed it on the ground under his foot, and saluted the firing party, saying "Good Morning men, is it here it's going to be done?" The sergeant who was assisting the execution officer ordered Daly to sit on the chair. Daly refused "When I'm shot, I want to be shot like an Irishman and fall to the ground". The execution officer intervened and ordered Daly to obey, but Jim still refused to sit. Father Baker then spoke to Daly "Jim will you make another sacrifice?" and Daly answered "What greater sacrifice can I make than what I'm doing?" Fr Baker placed his arm around Jim's shoulders saying "Jim, you do this for me". Daly answered "Father I will for you but don't let them tie me". There were ropes beside the chair. Jim turned to the firing party, "Ye men don't know my mind, ye might think I'm afraid to die, I'm not and some day the men in the cells over there may be free, and ye might meet them somewhere and say I died a coward, but there is one thing ye will never be able to say, unless ye tell lies, that ye ever put a bullet through Daly's shirt." He then took off his tunic and singlet, leaving himself in shorts loots, and puttees, and the handkerchief round his neck. He sat down on the chair, folded his arms and said "Now, I'm ready" and looked up. The firing party took aim almost as he sat down. The execution officer dropped his hand which held a white handkerchief, and the volley rang out. Jim Daly fell over sideways but remained on the chair which was weighted down by two half cots roped to the front of the chair. Father Baker rushed in and anointed him, having got special leave to do so. It was all over for Jim Daly. A coffin striped black and white, a traitors coffin according to British army law, was brought on the scene almost immediately and the mortal remains of Jim Daly was carried from our sight forever" – **Joseph Hawes**, Connaught Rangers Mutineer, (BMH-WS 262).

A Black and Tan hold-up: A common-place act across Ireland. This photograph was staged.

THE SIEGE OF TRALEE
Early November 1920

"That night at about 10.30 p.m. we all met at a place called the Brickfields which was just inside the town. Here the Brigade O/C., after a few minutes discussion on the night's operations, dismissed us for the night. Before being dismissed, one of the Fianna, who had been acting as scout, reported to Cahill that he had overheard a Tan say to one of his comrades that Abbeydorney R.I.C. barracks was being attacked by the IRA. This attack was actually taking place at Abbeydorney, which is about 10 miles from Tralee, while we were engaged in the attack on the Tralee patrol. Sometime later that night the two captured Tans were executed by order of the Brigade O/C. by men of 'B' or Strand St. Company. The streets as I have said were clear of Tans after the attack. We later discovered the reason for this. It appears a call had come through from Abbeydorney RIC barracks to the Tralee Tans for help, for, a short time after we had attacked the patrol, three lorry loads of Tans left Tralee for Abbeydorney and left the streets of Tralee deserted. The town was not long kept waiting for an explanation of this uneasy quiet. After about two hours the Tans returned from Abbeydorney, after which followed a week of terror which will live in the memory of those who went through it until the day they die. Immediately on their return the Tans appeared to have gone mad; they burned, shot and plundered all around them. They burned down the Town Hall, the old Town Hall which at the time had been leased to Paddy Cahill as a cinema; the public-house of Torn Slattery in Rock St, the public-house of Talbot's in Nelson St. - now called Ashe Street - and the 1916 shop of Thomas Clifford in Castle St. The following day, Monday 1st November 1920, they went through the streets shooting all around them. Among those killed were two men named John Conway and Thomas Wall, while several civilians were wounded. That night they went to Kilfenora, which is about five miles from Tralee, and burned down the Volunteer Hall there. During the terror that Monday night Paddy Cahill mobilised B/Company (Strand St.) again at a place known as the 'grove'. His intention in calling the company together was to attack the Tans if they continued the burning of the town. After 'standing to' for several hours he dismissed the company as, by this time the military had taken over the town from the Tans. The military were under the control of a Captain O'Malley and it appears he had let it be known that he would not have any more burnings. I was with my old company 'B' that night all of which still retained the arms handed to them for the engagement on November night, 31 October 1920. On Tuesday night, 2nd November, 'E' Company 'was mobilised again, our arms were collected and taken to a dump in Clahane district. On Wednesday, 3rd November, I mobilised Fenit Company and took them to Spa, three miles from Tralee. In all, I had about 30 men armed with rifles and shotguns. I had been informed that the Tans would be coming to Spa district on patrol on this particular day. We occupied positions in extended formation on high ground on one side of the road between Tralee and Spa. We were in positions for four hours after which I called off the preparations as the Tans never showed up. On this particular day the Tans went to Ardfert

instead, where they shot at civilians wounding a number of them. During this week all prominent IRA in Tralee had to leave and go on the run. Cahill, the O/C., kept them fully armed and, at the same time, formed an active service unit which later became the flying column." – **Capt. Patrick Fitzgerald**, Fenit Coy, Kerry No.1 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1079).

"Tralee and district continued in a disturbed condition yesterday, one man being killed and several wounded. Shots were fired from lorries by uniformed men. John Conway (57), printer, father of six children, was shot through the brain at Upper Rock Street when returning from Devotions. He was found dead 200 yards from his own door. An old woman named O'Leary was shot through the ankle and an ex-soldier, Simon O'Connor, was shot in the groin. The shop windows of Mr. Murtagh, tobacconist, and Mr. Dennehy, publican, were smashed by uniformed men. Military on arrival prevented further smashing of windows. Two of the Auxiliary police stationed in Tralee are missing since Sunday night last. The following notice was posted in prominent places throughout the town:- 'Take Notice. Warning. Unless the two Tralee policemen in Sinn Féin custody are returned before 10 a.m., on the 2nd inst., reprisals of a nature not yet heard of in Ireland will take place in Tralee and surroundings.' Tommy Wall, Tralee, was shot through the stomach at Blackpool corner, The Mall, and is reported dead. He was standing at the corner when he got the order, 'Hands Up.' He got a blow of a rifle-butt, and while running was fired at and shot. All business places are closed down, the streets deserted and the people flying to the country" – **Freeman's Journal**, 3 November 1920, p.3 & p.6.

THE BATTLE OF BALLINALEE

"District-Inspector Kelleher of the RIC was shot in Granard [Co. Longford] *on the last day of October, 1920, and Constable Cooney was shot the following day in the Clonbroney area. Cooney's wife was living in Ballinalee and he used to visit her there. It was well known that he was spying and doing Intelligence work for the police. I don't know the reason for the D.I. being shot. It was feared that the Tans would burn Granard and Ballinalee as a reprisal for these shootings. McKeon* [Seán MacEoin] *went to Granard on the night of the 2nd November. The local Tans came out to start operations, and McKeon and his party fired on them and they withdrew. He now had information that they would burn Ballinalee, so he gave sufficient arms to the Granard Battalion and instructed them as to how they were to behave to meet any further attempt. He himself returned to Ballinalee. He called out all the men of the local Companies that he could muster, and put them in picked positions around Ballinalee. He ordered me to arm all the men I could, to take up positions at Doherty's Cross-roads, to hold ourselves in readiness there, and to secure Baker Hall, which I did. I had about forty men, all armed. Four had service rifles, and the remainder had shot guns and some grenades. At about I a.m., I received a dispatch from McKeon that he did not think anything would happen that night, and that we were to dismiss and return home, and await further instructions. I dismissed my party accordingly. Some of my men lived near Ballinalee and, before they reached their homes, the fight was on in the town, but we took no part in it. The next day, my whole Company was mobilised and helped in the occupation of Ballinalee. Ballinalee was occupied for a long period. My job was to man the Longford Road in the area, Doherty's Cross and the Bridge of Ballinalee. We had a telephone rigged up at Doherty's Cross and tapped into the local circuit, and were in communication with McKeon at Ballinalee. Our instructions were to let any enemy into Ballinalee, and then to keep them in by holding the road. I also had a further mission, to prevent reinforcements reaching such a party. One day a lorry load of soldiers came along, went on into Ballinalee, where they collected, the wives of Constables Cooney and Josephs and their belongings, and returned again. They did not interfere with anyone in the town, and we did not interfere with them. At this time, we had instructions not to fire on the military unless they started the action, as they were looked upon as friendly, more or less"* – **Capt. Michael Francis Reynolds**, 1st Batt., Longford Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 438).

"The first report of action by the British in Longford town was received on November 3rd. I learned that they were about the town in substantial numbers, drinking heavily, but apart from having arrested a prominent citizen named Francis McGuinness, and having paraded him through the streets with the Union Jack, no other incident occurred until the evening. Then a large convoy of eleven lorries pulled into the town from the Mullingar direction. They searched and damaged St. Joseph's Temperance Hall, and were loud in their boasting that Ballinalee was about to suffer. Ballinalee is built on crossroads and extends from north to south, with the main Granard-Longford Road forming an intersection in the centre of the village. At its southern end stands the Protestant Church, and the Catholic Church is at the northern end, near a bridge which spans the River Camlin. To the east lies Granard, nine statute miles away, with Longford a similar distance to the west. Outside the village, on the Granard road, stands the national school and the curate's house…As we could not find out what movement of my Ballinalee forces were divided into five parts. One was stationed to the west of Doherty's crossroads, one to the east at the school and overlooking the Granard road, one at the Protestant Church, one on the east side of the village, covering the church and the bridge, and my own headquarters at Rose Cottage on the crossroads. The object was to let the enemy come into the village. Should he divide himself north and south, our forces were to open fire from each end, at the signal of a whistle blast and the explosion of two grenades, and those from the east and west were to close in, so that we would hold all exits from the village. About five o'clock in the evening, information was received that the enemy was very

turbulent in Longford, and about an hour later news came in that eleven lorries of RIC and Black and Tans had left Longford in the direction of Dublin. A Novena was being made in the Catholic Church at the time, conducted by the local curate, Father Montford, and he had received information that Ballinalee stood in grave danger. He was highly-strung, though possessed of great courage, and he advised the people who had assembled in the church to disperse and to clear away from their homes as quickly as possible. I had to countermand his instruction and direct that the people would return to their homes. The Novena was completed, but it was impossible to persuade the people to remain in the village of Ballinalee, with the exception of three families…All the others evacuated the town, notwithstanding my efforts to prevent them. The curate even decided he would go with them. I insisted that he should remain, for we were likely to go into action at any time, and, as we were by no means saints, his services would be needed in the event of any of us being seriously wounded. He thereupon ordered me to mobilise my total force, which I did, falling the men into two lines, with each man carrying his arms and equipment. Addressing them, Father Montford told them that he wished to prepare them spiritually in anticipation of their going into action, but that, as the time as short, he would ask them if they all had the intention of going to Confession. Having replied in the affirmative, they were told to say a confiteor and then make an Act of Contrition aloud. When the prayers had been said, Father Montford gave the men general absolution, and then asked me if he could leave. In reply, I told him that he must either join the parish priest at Hargadon's, or remain in his own house. He refused to do either. I then ordered him to go to the house of James Hosey, about a statute mile from the village, and to remain there until I would relieve him. This he agreed to do. My officers were then instructed to take up their posts, and the time was about 9 p.m. Food had been distributed and the defence of Ballinalee was ready. I made contact with Longford and found that everything was quiet. Vice Commandant Murphy was holding Granard, in accordance with the defence plans decided upon on the night of November 2nd. No report had come in from him and there was no indication on that anything was wrong in Granard…Just as we had settled down at our positions, a report was received from Hart's, that there was a red glow visible in the sky over Granard. A dispatch rider was about to be sent to Granard to ascertain the reason for it when information came in that a large number of lorries was approaching Ballinalee from the Granard side of the village, their heavy headlamps lighting up a long stretch of the road. Within a few minutes, we learned further that my home and forge, about six hundred yards from Hart's, had been surrounded. The forge is in a diamond on the right-hand side of the main Granard-Longford road through Ballinalee, and three good roads were available to the British for the purpose of surrounding it. Needless to relate, they found no one at home, and, for some strange reason, they did no damage beyond forcing the door of the house. Almost immediately afterwards, they restarted their lorries and drove straight to the village of Ballinalee. All of our posts were alerted and told to prepare for action. Ten lorries swing to the right, down the main street towards the Catholic Church, and the leading lorry drew up near the bridge. Another lorry had stopped on the crossroads at the end of the Courthouse. The British were given an order to dismount approximately midway down the street.

We waited patiently, for I had ordered that action was not to begin until the signal was given. The enemy Commander blew a single blast of a whistle, and the eleventh lorry turned and fell into line with the other ten. That was grand, as the entire enemy force was then in one compact body in front of my post. I ordered my section on to the road and to lie over on the roadway at the rear of the lorries. At the same time, Séamus Conway, Father Clancy's nephew, moved rapidly down to about centreways in the line of lorries, and from his haversack he extracted two Mills No. 4 grenades. Whilst he was doing so, the enemy Commander ordered some of his force to move to the crossroads where we were in position. When they were within fifty yards of us, I called on them to halt and to surrender, and at the same time I gave three blasts on the whistle. Conway promptly delivered his grenades one after the other into the centre of the halted lorries, and we opened fire on the advancing party. Hell then broke loose. The enemy cut out his lights and opened up with a Maxim machine-gun. A Lewis gun joined in, firing wildly and even causing casualties amongst enemy troops. When this had gone on for five minutes, I again blew whistle, this time for a cease fire, and I called upon the enemy to surrender. There was also a cease-fire by the British and they asked for our terms. I demanded an unconditional surrender, which they refused to give. "What then", they asked, and I replied, "A fight to the finish". By that time, Conway had rejoined us following his bomb throwing. As we had but sixty rounds of ammunition per man, it was essential that the other units of the column should join us, and, as they had not appeared. I sent Thomas Early to the church to bring down Captain Hugh Hourican's party. We had to conserve our fire, while the enemy fired in all directions and continued to do so for at least two hours; people who were listening to the sound of the firing thought that it went on for about four hours. No reinforcements reached me. A cease-fire was ordered, for we had noted that there was a great deal of activity by the enemy under cover of darkness. We were unable to determine what he was up to, until, about five a.m., a lorry engine was started down near the bridge. It was immediately followed by another, and one by one the enemy lorries moved off in the darkness. Over the bridge they went and up the Soran road, a very bad by-road Which eventually reaches Longford following various turns and twists. They did not arrive back in Longford until 2.30 p.m. on the following day. Meanwhile, we were in the awful position of having been reduced to five rounds per man, and we could neither waste those precious rounds nor withdraw. So we held our positions and the coming of daylight revealed a remarkable scene. About the area in which the lorries had been drawn up were pools of blood, and strewn all over it were items of military equipment, revolvers and thousands of rounds of .303 ammunition" – **Cmdt. Seán MacEoin**, 1st Batt., Longford Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1716 – Section II).

OLD CASTLE, LONGFORD.

3rd November 1920

CONRY, John (Jack):

Rank: Captain.
Unit: *F Coy, 2nd Batt., South Roscommon Bde, IRA & ASU.*
DOB: 18 June 1888. Born at Tonlegee, Kilbride, Co. Roscommon, to Denis Conry and Eliza Hannon.
Address: Rathconnor, Four Mile House, Co. Roscommon.
Occupation: Stonemason.
Familial: On 27 April 1919, Conroy married Lizzie Fahy at St. Peter's Church, Athlone, Co. Westmeath. Their daughter Joan Conry (1921-2019) was born in June 1921.
Death: Conry was shot dead in his home by police most probably as a reprisal for the Four Mile House Ambush which resulted in four police casualties. Conry had not been attached to the ambush party.
Buried: Ballinderry Old Cemetery, Four Mile House, Co. Roscommon.
Ref: *Irish Independent*, 20 November 1920, p.5.

"The story of another tragedy, which occurred near the scene of the Four Mile House ambush…The victim was John Conry who lived in a labourer's cottage at Rathconnor, 3 miles from Roscommon. 'On the night of November 3rd there was a knock at the door of the cottage a few minutes before 10. Conry, with his wife and 2 nephews, was in the house. He went to the door and saw a number of armed men outside. One of them said, 'Are you Conry?' He replied he was and one of the men said, 'You are the man we want.' Then 6 men came into the kitchen; they were slightly disguised with their faces apparently blackened. Four of them brought Conry into the room, and one of them stood in the kitchen with a revolver to keep Conry's wife and the other two there from giving trouble. The sixth man went and searched a room. Mrs. Conry begged one of the men not to shoot Jack and he said, 'We won't.' She made the same appeal to the man in the room, and he said, 'We shan't.' He laughed and went up to the room. Mrs. Conry heard them asking her husband if he had any papers, and he said he had not. Then a voice said, 'We'll soon see.' Her husband's coat, waistcoat and hat were removed, and they brought him outside the house. A few minutes afterwards Mrs. Conry and the other two heard 4 shots outside. They were threatened not to leave the house or they would be shot dead. After a while they ventured out, and one of them found Conry dead on the side of the road" – **Irish Independent**, 20 November 1920, p.5.

OTHER EVENTS ACROSS IRELAND

"Two lorry loads of men who arrived in Cloone, South Leitrim, after midnight, are alleged to have seriously ill-treated many young men. They visited many houses, and from most of these, it is alleged, many articles were missing after the raids. At the house of Mrs. Reynolds, Annaghbrennan, it is alleged, her sons were beaten with rifle-butts and the furniture was damaged. Mr. J. Harte, Co. Council, was taken in his night attire from his home at Esker, and shots were fired over his head. He swam the river to escape from his captors, while bullets whizzed around him…Francis Rorke was arrested at his father's home in Annaghmacoolen, tied with ropes and struck with rifle butts. At the house of Mrs. Ryan, it is alleged that a scaffold was improvised in the kitchen, and the nooses were actually placed around her sons' necks. After their release they were forced to stand in water while they were beaten with whips…At Aughavas, the dwellinghouse of Mr. J. Owens has been burned to the ground. Mr. Michael Kiernan's house was also set on fire, but was saved" – **Irish Independent**, 20 November 1920, p.6.

"Eileen Quinn, a young married woman, was shot by uniformed men, passing in a lorry at her house at Kiltartin, Gort, Co. Galway. Mrs. Quinn was sitting on a wall outside her door, holding her youngest child in her arms, when she was shot through the hips. A servant girl assisted her to the porch. She bled profusely, was very weak, and suffered great pain. A priest and medical aid was quickly summoned from Gort, two miles distant. Her condition is serious" – **Cork Examiner**, 3 November 1920, p.4.

"It is alleged that Councillor John Brennan, of Milltown, Co. Galway, was taken from his house at the dead of night by armed men, led through a bog, charged with the shooting of a local man in June last, and stripped and flogged with a stick. He was then told to run home without his clothes, and as he ran shots were fired at him. In still another case, it is said, Father Fallon, who resides near Ballinasloe, was taken from bed, questioned, struck on the hands with revolver butts, and threatened that he would be shot" – **Roscommon Herald**, 13 November 1920, p.4.

"I made this same remark to a very distinguished member of the Upper House quite recently, and his reply was: "My dear fellow, I know that as well as you do, but who will dare to say so in public?" Well, sir, I dare to write it, and do so because, from what I have been told, I believe that your paper is fearless and will dare to publish it.

"A more monstrous blunder or a more foolish action than that of Sir Robert Peel and the Government of the day when they decided to endow the College of Maynooth has perhaps never been committed in English political history."

ROSCOMMON TOWN UNDER TERROR.

Young Men Flogged, and Badly Wounded.

Father O'Flanagan and the Armed Forces.

Our special representative, who was in Roscommon town during the week, writes:—There has been no lack of excitement in Roscommon town and the

and examining the drivers' permits. A number of motor-cars were commandeered as well as one motor lorry from Tulsk and also a motor cycle. The windows of three shops in the town are boarded up. It is stated the glass was broken at night.

Shuttered Windows in Carrick-on-Shannon.

When the news of the ambush at Auburn, near Athlone, was received in Carrick-on-Shannon the police asked the local shopkeepers to draw blinds and put up shutters on their windows as a mark of respect to the policeman who was shot dead. The order was obeyed in every case. On Friday of last week the police requested the people in the town to open their houses which were closed as a mark of respect to the memory of the late Lord Mayor of Cork. The people had no option but to obey.

Strange Affair in Athlone.

Military Lorry and Patrol Exchange Shots.

Thursday's "Irish Times" says:—According to our Athlone correspondent a most unfortunate incident occurred shortly before midnight on Tuesday in Castlemain street, Athlone. Entering the town a military lorry, containing a party of the Leicestershires, and burning bright head lights, was challenged as it approached from the Moate road. The party failed to answer the challenge of the Curfew milit-

awarded £650 with £32 10s. interest, costs and expenses. All to be levied off Co. Roscommon.

Mr. P. C. P. MacDermot applied to have the claim by the father of the late Constable MacCarthy, who was mortally wounded in the Ratra ambush, and who subsequently died, adjourned. Mr. MacDermot said the applicant had to come from Clare and that he had wired to him that he could not get a motor-car. The hearing of the claim was adjourned to next Sessions.

GRANARD REPRISALS

The Town a Smoking Ruin.

On last Wednesday night a reign of terror was instituted in Granard, and the town today presents the appearance of a war-stricken hamlet in France or Belgium.

The tension has been broken in Granard. Suspence has given place to horror and destruction. Following the visit of the uniformed men in 11 lorries last night the town to-day is more like a war stricken village in France or Belgium than an Irish hamlet. A terrible toll has been taken of property for the killing of D. I. Kelleher on Sunday night.

The town remained in suspense from Monday morning. The inhabitants anticipating the dreadful reprisals had

departed.

REPRISALS IN SOUTH SLIGO.

Ballymote Creamery Destroyed.

Town and Country Houses Burned.

Revenge for the Tragic Fate of Sergeant Fallon.

Our special correspondent writes:—From my knowledge of the circumstances which I must not mention, I know that it is a matter of extreme difficulty for a Pressman to discharge his duties fully in these exciting times. I was in Ballymote on Thursday, and I give you the narrative of the events including and following the shooting of Sergeant Patrick Fallon in Ballymote on Wednesday as fairly as it

covered that Mr. bakery was on fire, their helpers got to the roof so as to pre house of the premise ing fire. The bake burned to the ground went to Mr. Tim. which were on fire a sacks of corn in a hot burning building. served was that on th Michael Doohil at Keenaghan on the town. Here turf an ing, and the police t the flames, but were

The Ballymot which was one of th in Ireland, and whi expensive machinery flames, and when th helpers arrived there that it was impossib fine building and all completely destroyed roughly estimated at During the excitem burnings in the lowe two other events occ end. The upper pa premises of Mr. W. house of the dist Bohan, were attacke wrecked. I visited Thursday and the e presented were see The wooden shutters shop had the panel the glass in the win to fragments. Upsta glass in the window work in the windo

"The enemy authorities were in a bad way for information. In the country the RIC were an inactive body now except in the larger towns and garrisoned quarters of the Black and Tans and dared not expose themselves. The DMP as a body did not co-operate with the Black and Tans or the military except some members of the G Division who were being gradually wiped out by the IRA in Dublin. Michael Collins who was being sought for like the "Elusive Pimpernel" and his co-operators often cycled in broad daylight in the streets and although known by many was never betrayed. A number of spies who had dared to intervene were traced and executed by the IRA. There were no traitors in the Republican Army. The British authorities were getting desperate. They were not making headway in their efforts to destroy the Republican leaders, military and political, who were all functioning. Collins and his lieutenants were in close touch with trusted men in the Castle who supplied valuable information of enemy movements and individuals at home and across channel who were endevouring to locate the IRA leaders, especially. The mails were raided frequently. Important despatches for the castle were opened and examined either by special men in the Post Office employment or transferred where they could be conveniently seized, examined, noted and replaced. The names of some spies, active or potential, were obtained in this way both in city and country and these people invariably paid the penalty with their lives" – **Capt. Jack Shouldice**, 1st Batt., Dublin Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 679).

THE AMBUSH AT PILTOWN CROSS
Co. Waterford

"The first what might be caned 'major engagement' undertaken by the column was that at Piltown Cross, Kinsalebeg, Co. Waterford, a district about 10 miles west of Dungarvan, on the road to Youghal, Co. Cork…The date was November 1st, 1920. In this ambush we were helped by men from the Ardmore and Piltown companies and by selected men from our 3rd Battalion. I would estimate the number of IRA who actually were in action at Piltown Cross as about thirty. These men were armed with rifles and mostly with shotguns. In addition, large numbers of our lads were engaged scouting, blocking roads in the district that night, and the Ardmore company of over 20 men kept the local RIC barrack and Marine Station under fire for a period preceding the actual ambush. At about 8 p.m. we took up positions at Piltown Cross with George Lennon in charge and myself second-in-command. I remember placing the shotgun men in position behind the hedge at the Cross and on high ground overlooking the Cross. I handed two cartridges to each shotgun man to supplement whatever small supply he already had. I was armed with a Lee Enfield rifle and a revolver. A trench was dug across the road at a point near Piltown Cross and a tree felled to make the road block a really effective one. Shortly after taking up position, three of our lads went in to Ardmore on bikes, four miles distant., and threw a few bombs at the RIC barracks there. Having done this, they returned to Piltown while the Ardmore Coy continued sniping at the barracks and the Marine Station there as usual. The garrison in Ardmore barrack sent up Verey lights to summon assistance. These lights were seen by us and also by the British military in Youghal. It was hoped to draw the latter out into the ambush position. It would be about 9 p.m. or thereabouts when our scouts reported considerable military activity in Youghal and it was, possibly, about an hour later when it was reported that the lights of a military lorry were seen approaching our position at Piltown. When the car reached the road-block it stopped and we immediately called on the soldiers to surrender. They replied to our demand by opening fire in all directions, some of them made to get out of the lorry. At once our shotgun men let them have it and the lorry driver was the first to fall. Those of us who had rifles then let them have a blast. In a few minutes there came a lull in the British fire. I had been behind the hedge just at the Cross with Pat Keating of Comeragh and when I noticed this lull I remember saying to Pat that "these fellows" had "stopped firing" and that we had better get out on the road. Pat, myself and a few others of our lads then climbed out on to

the road and ran towards the British, shouting at them "stick them up". They tumbled out of the lorry in confusion and we lined them up and had a look at things. We discovered that there were two soldiers killed and six (I think) wounded. We disarmed the military, of whom there 18 or 20, so far as I can remember, but we failed to locate their officer. To our surprise, the officer appeared as a prisoner taken by some of our shotgun men who lined one side of the hedge near the road barricade. It appeared that, on the first burst of fire by our men, the British officer jumped out of their lorry and in through the hedge where our shotgun men were. He lay there during the firing until his men surrendered. It was only when our lads rose up to leave their positions and came out on to the road that they discovered that one of the men lying with them was the British officer in charge of the party under attack. When we ascertained the extent of the British casualties, we rendered whatever first aid service we could th their wounded and then got a horse and dray from a nearby farm to enable the wounded men to be taken to Youghal for treatment. We took no prisoners that night. What we needed most were guns, not prisoners. None of our lads suffered any casualties. The ambush, from our point of view, was a great success, because from now onwards, the column would be equipped with Lee Enfield rifles and a reasonably good supply of ammunition and equipment. So far as my memory serves me, we captured at least 20 rifles and many hundreds of rounds of ammunition. After the ambush, we headed towards the Comeragh Mountains in small groups. I remember carrying two rifles and military equipment across country towards Comeragh, ten miles to the north. All members of the column got to Comeragh safely, notwithstanding intense activity by British search parties in the area. We dumped the captured stuff and rested up for a day or so at Comeragh"- **Brig-QM. Mick Mansfield**, West Waterford Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1188).

"At the cross of old Piltown at midnight,
We met them rifle and steel,
The hirelings of Britain who boasted,
They'd trample our flag 'neath their heel,
We fought as our fathers before us,
We rose at the word of command,
To fight for the freedom of Ireland,
In a cause that is holy and grand

I give you the brave IRA boys,
The cream of our race and our God
Whose lives they are willing to give, boys,
For the sake of their land and their God

The roar of the guns, it was glorious,
The bullets flew 'round us like hail
From the rifles of cowards and of traitors,
'Mid the ranks of the sons of the Gael,
And every rebel a hero,
From Piltown, Old Parish, Ardmore
And down the slopes of the Comeraghs
With Dungarvan's true sons to the fore"

By Pat Keating
(Killed in March 1921)

Vol. Michael Morrissey & Vol. Fraher, at an IRA camp in the Comeragh Mountains, Co. Waterford, c.1920. Source: Waterford County Museum Collection.

Volunteers from Ballybay, Monaghan Brigade, IRA.

5th November 1920

O'BRIEN, John Joseph:

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *A Coy (Nenagh), 1st Batt., Tipperary No.1 Bde, IRA.*
DOB: c.1899. Born in the USA. Son of John O'Brien and Annie Maloney.
Address: 33 Castle St, Nenagh, Co. Tipperary.
Occupation: Cattle Dealer / Assistant Publican.
Death: O'Brien was killed whilst in the custody of Crown forces, who sought vengeance after the assassination of Intelligence Officer, Lieut. Henry Hambleton of the Northamptonshire Regiment. The O'Brien's, who were not related, were found hiding at Rody Cleary's residence at Knigh and taken away. They were brutally bayonetted and shot to death whilst being transported to the local barracks.
Buried: Lisbunny Cemetery, Nenagh, Co. Tipperary.
MSPC Ref: DP2140.

O'BRIEN, Thomas:

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *A Coy (Nenagh), 1st Batt., Tipperary No.1 Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 8 June 1889. Born in Solsboro, Nenagh, Co. Tipperary, to Denis O'Brien and Ellen Strafford.
Address: Convent Lodge, Nenagh, Co. Tipperary.
Occupation: Carpenter.
Death: See O'BRIEN, John Joseph.
Buried: Monsea Cemetery, Nenagh, Co. Tipperary (Unmarked).

"On 4th November, 1920, the officer in charge of the military in Nenagh, Captain Hambleton, was shot dead at Knockalton, four miles outside Nenagh, as he was coming back from his headquarters in Templemore. This job was carried out by members of the ASU under Ned O'Leary. Nenagh Creamery was burned that night by the Crown forces as a reprisal for the shooting of Captain Hambleton. After these events many of the members of the IRA in the town of Nenagh went "on the run" or went out at night to sleep in houses in the country. On the night of 14th November, 1920, police raided the house of Rody Cleary in Knigh. They arrested two Nenagh men, John and Thomas O'Brien, whom they found in bed there, and also a workman of Cleary's named

Phil Cruise. The O'Briens were put into one lorry and Cruise put into another lorry. On the way into Nenagh the O'Briens were bayoneted to death by their captors. Cruise was released after a fortnight" – **V/C Con Spain**, 1st Batt., Tipperary No.1 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1464).

"As briefly recorded in our last issue the deaths took place on the 5th inst. of two well known and highly respected Nenagh men, namely John O'Brien, aged 21, son of John O'Brien, 33 Castle Street, and Mr. Thomas O'Brien, son of Denis O'Brien, Convent Lodge, Nenagh. The sad occurrences took place on the night following the shooting of Lieut. Hambleton, Northamptonshire Regiment, stationed at Nenagh. It would appear that both young men, like the majority of the townspeople, fearing reprisals, fled from their homes at Nenagh, and took refuge at the house of Mr. Rody Cleary, County Councillor, Knigh. On that night military searched the house and took the two young men into custody, their deaths taking place some short time afterwards. When the sad news of their untimely end reached Nenagh a gloom was cast over the town and country districts. The remains were detained in the military barracks until Saturday evening when they were handed over to the relatives. The coffins were conveyed in hearses from the military barracks to the public thoroughfare in Summerhill, where they were removed and carried on the shoulders of local Volunteers to the Church of St. Mary of the Rosary, where Solemn Requiem High Mass was celebrated on Sunday morning for the eternal repose of their souls…The funeral of Thomas O'Brien took place to Monsea Cemetery at one o'clock, and before the start notice was given to the relatives by the local authorities that not more than 30 persons would be allowed to participate in the cortege consequently the huge crowd of people who had assembled were deprived of paying their last respects to their beloved young townsman. The coffin was borne the last stages of the journey on the shoulders of local Volunteers, and was covered with the tricolour…Later in the evening a volley was fired and the Last Post sounded…The funeral of John O'Brien took place to Lisboney Cemetery at 3 o'clock. Deceased being an American citizen the coffin was draped with the Stars and Stripes and tricolour. The same action as to the limiting of the at the cortege was taken by the military, who on several occasions while the funeral was proceeding down Summerhill turned back the huge crowd. Nevertheless, the cortege attained large dimensions as it left the urban area…After the interment the same military honours were accorded to the deceased" – **Nenagh News**, 13 November 1920, p.3.

Destruction caused by Crown Forces in Granard, Co. Longford

MAGUIRE, Michael:

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *A Coy (Ardfert), 2nd Batt., Kerry No.1 Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 2 November 1876. Son of William Maguire and Nora Hannafin.
Address: Ardfert, Co. Kerry.
Occupation: Shopkeeper / Former Rural District Councillor.
Familial: On 23 November 1905, Maguire married Julia Dillane at St. Brendan's Church, Ardfert, Co. Kerry. Their children were Hanoria (1906-1946), William (1907-1986), Mary Bridget (1910-1948), Genevieve Maguire (1912), James (b.1912) and John Maguire (b.1916).
Death: When Black & Tans arrived in Ardfert village, they began opening fire on the local population, killing several people. Maguire attempted to find safety in the local COI church but was captured and conveyed to Causeway RIC barracks. He was accused of supplying the local IRA with paraffin in their attempts to burn local barracks. He was shot dead and mutilated by bayonet stabs. His remains were found the next day in a field close to the barracks. Recorded as civilian in *DOTIR.*
Buried: St. Brendan's Churchyard, Ardfert, Co. Kerry.

"On the 5th November, 1920, I was ordered by Clifford to mobilise a number of men of the Ardfert Company for the purpose of an attack on a Tan patrol between the villages of Spa and Fenit. I selected about 40 men which was about half the strength of the Company at the time and took them to Ardfert village to await final instructions as directed by Clifford. All of the men were armed, about three or four had rifles, the remainder had shotguns or revolvers. We were some time in the village awaiting final instructions when a convoy of 14 lorry loads of Tans arrived. I, with the Battalion O/C. Clifford and Jim Carmody, while armed with revolvers, happened to be on the footpath in the centre of the village at the time. As soon as the Tans arrived, they opened fire all-round the village. They had seen Clifford, Carmody and myself, but I don't think they observed our arms. Clifford and Carmody dashed into a field and escaped. I went into a forge and took cover in a dark corner which was hidden by the smoke of the forge. Firing continued outside. After a while a Tan appeared in the forge and spoke to the blacksmith. The Tan could not see although I had him covered all the time with my revolver. After a while he left. Four military then arrived and sat in the forge for some time. That day the enemy captured two of our men; the remainder escaped. One of our men named Tom Healey was wounded but he escaped with the others. A girl named O'Connell was shot dead. The two IRA men and a shopkeeper named Michael McGuire and other civilians were taken to Causeway where that night McGuire was shot dead by the Tans outside the barracks. It was McGuire who had supplied the paraffin for the burning of the barracks in Ardfert some time earlier. Our proposed attack was in the circumstances called off"- **Capt. Patrick Sheehan**, Ardfert Coy, Kerry No.1 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1088).

6th November 1920

ARCHER, Thomas:

Rank: Volunteer / Scout.
Unit: *G Coy (Kilflynn), 2nd Batt., Kerry No.1 Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 8 May 1904. Son of Timothy Archer and Margaret Mahony.
Address: Cloonafinneela, Kilflynn, Co. Kerry.
Occupation: Farm Labourer.
Death: During a failed attempt to assassinate members of the Causeway RIC, the local Battalion ASU, which Archer had supported, had to break out of the vicinity when an informer highlighted their presence. When a large force of police reinforcements arrived from Tralee, a shoot-out ensued and Archer was shot and killed when attempting to flee across a field belonging to Neilus Flynn.
Buried: Kilflynn Graveyard, Co. Kerry.
MSPC Ref: 3MSRB295.

"A short time later I received information from the local scouts that lorry loads of military, Black and Tans and RIC were on their way from Tralee, Listowel and Abbeydorney. I decided to get out and managed to get the men as far as an old fort a quarter of a mile to the back of the barracks on very high ground. We took cover in the fort and surrounding ditches. The first thing the

enemy did when they got to the village was to surround and enter the house where I had been located. The only living thing in the house (Driscoll's) was a dog, which they shot dead. The enemy, who numbered three hundred, divided their forces into two groups. One party followed behind, while the other party attempted to surround us from the flank. This party had a machine-gun which they mounted on a rick of corn. The machine-gun cut up the ground around us with bullets. We could not leave our cover. Our escape had been cut off. Just then an ex-navy man named John Joe Sullivan, a member of the IRA who had a double-barrel rifle used at one time for shooting game in Africa, asked for a Lee Enfield rifle. One of our men handed him a rifle. He took aim and shot the machine gunner, who fell off the rick of corn. This gave us a chance to retreat. We scattered out. The military continued to fire. Nine riflemen fought a rearguard action which enabled all of us, except one man who was captured, to get away. In the first volley by the enemy one of our scouts named Archer was shot dead. The man they had captured, whose name was Michael McGuire, they shot dead that night in a ball alley. The usual raids and searches by the enemy followed for days. afterwards. Several civilians and IRA were arrested" – **Capt. Michael Pierce**, Ballyheigue Coy, Kerry No.1 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1190).

A news report on events across north Kerry

"Two young men have met their deaths in Co. Kerry under tragic circumstances, but owing to conditions in that county details are lacking. A man named Maguire, the father of a large family, was, it is alleged, taken from Ardfert in a lorry by uniformed men. Later his dead body was found at Causeway. A labourer named Archer, who fled when he saw lorries approaching, was shot dead. The blockade in Tralee still continues, and many people are on the verge of starvation. The farmers are now prevented from sending their milk to the creamery. A Pressman alleges that uniformed men have threatened to shoot him if he does not submit his messages to them before sending any communications…On Sunday morning the grocery and spirit shop of a young man named Talbot, in Ashe St, was partly wrecked by a bomb. Mr. Talbot recently purchased the premises for nearly £1,000. He had been directed earlier in the day to remove his name, which was in Irish, from the signboard…At noon yesterday, 10 or 12 uniformed men proceeded to clear the almost deserted streets, shouting at the top of their voices, and occasionally discharging shots. They fired point-blank up McCowen's Lane, a narrow, congested outlet, and it is surprising that lives were not lost" – **Irish Independent**, 9 November 1920, p.5.

"Terrorism reigns in different parts of Ireland. In many places houses are being burned, property destroyed and civilians killed or wounded, and all with the object of killing the spirit of the people" – **Donegal News, 13 November 1920, p.6.**

Disturbances in Derry City

"Const. H. Kearns, wounded in Foyle St., Derry, on Saturday night, apparently during an exchange of shots between a military escort accompanying the Fire Brigade and armed men in Foyle St., died yesterday…There are varying accounts of the events on the streets during Curfew hours. When the Brigade turned out to the fires on William St., they were, according to one report, refused admission to the street by uniformed men. The local police were anxious to have everything done towards extinguishing the flames, and a long altercation ensued. Mr. M. O'Doherty, father of Mr. Joseph O'Doherty, TD., and his daughters, who occupy a house in Creggan St., had a narrow escape. The parlour window was smashed, shots were fired into the house, and an attempt was made to force the door, which was split by a blow. The burning of Messrs. E. Crockett & Co.'s grocery, William St. on Sunday night is described as a counter-reprisal for the destruction of Sinn Féiners' property, but Sinn Féin repudiates the action, of those responsible for the burning, and it is well known that responsible people did everything possible to restrain the parties involved" – **Irish Independent**, 9 November 1920, p.5.

"Arm yourselves with weapons to fight your nation's cause. Arm your souls with noble and free ideas. Arm your minds with the histories and memories of your country and her martyrs, her language and a knowledge of her arts, and her industries" – **Madame Constance Markievicz**

The Successful Ambush at Grange, Co. Limerick
8 November 1920

"In October 1920, we received a communication from the O/C. East Limerick Brigade to the effect that it was intended to carry out an ambush of enemy forces on the main Kilmallock-Limerick Road at Grange. A meeting of officers was held at the house of Robert Ryan, O/C. Lough Gur Company, East Limerick Brigade, to arrange details of the proposed ambush. I was asked to submit a sketch of the site of ambush at Grange, which I did. On a cold bleak morning, about the first week in November 1920, the members of East and Mid Limerick flying columns took up positions at Grange. Donnchadh O'Hannagan, O/C. East Limerick Flying Column took charge of operations. Sentries and outposts were placed at Bruff and Limerick sides of the main body of Volunteers. I was placed in John O'Neill's yard inside the wall, standing on a table so that I could look out over the high wall. I had eight bombs and had instructions from the O/C to open the ambush by bombing the first lorry. The approach of the enemy was signalled by the sentry on Grange Hill (about 1 mile south of the ambush position). When the lorries approached within half a mile of our position, it was discovered that there were from 8 to 10 lorries of British troops. Commandant O'Hannigan approached my position and said: "We will let them pass". A few minutes later, when the first lorry was within 200 yards of my position, Commandant O'Hannigan again approached me and said: "Fire into them; we will make it an unsafe road for them". I waited until the first lorry, which appeared to be a four-ton Leyland with high sides, was right opposite me. After releasing the spring, I dropped the bomb in the middle of the lorry. There were between 30 and 35 men in the lorry and they were all standing up. Immediately the soldiers saw the bomb they started throwing themselves out at both sides. The bomb exploded with terrific force. When I looked over the wall again the officer in the second lorry was standing in the middle of the road, about 30 yards away, shouting orders to his men. The men in the second lorry, who were lucky enough to get clear, were taking up positions at both sides of the road. I pulled the pin out of a second bomb and threw it as far back towards the officer's position as I could. There was another explosion and, almost immediately, the enemy started firing from their positions at the side of the road. Splinters of stones from the top of the wall were now hitting me in the face and, as I was out of range with bombs, I did not throw any more. I peeped over thew all again and the British officer was moving across the road shouting orders to his men. He certainly gave great encouragement to his men and showed complete disregard for his own safety. The East Limerick Flying Column on the west side of the road opened rifle-fire after the explosion of the first bomb. This rifle-fire had little effect on the enemy owing to the promptness with which the British officer got his men down to the prone position at both sides of the road and the fact that only one lorry of troops came right into the ambuscade. Another factor which made the rifle and shotgun fire of our men ineffective was that our men were behind stone walls and they could not, without unduly exposing themselves, direct their fire low enough to hit a man. in the prone position, while the enemy kept up a continuous fire, raking the tops of the walls at both sides of the road. After the first burst of fire all the Volunteers on the north side of O'Neill's house (Limerick side), including East and Mid Limerick Flying Columns, found themselves in useless positions.

Those of us who occupied O'Neill's yard and a few men in nearby houses were the only ones in contact with the enemy. After about ten minutes, the enemy brought an armoured car on to the bridge over the Comogue River and from there poured heavy machine-gunfire into our positions. The bullets were ricocheting off the walls of O'Neill's house and, before I stepped down off the table, I saw that our men were retreating across the fields on the eastern side of the road. Evidently Commandant O'Hannigan, realising that he could not inflict any further damage on the enemy, had given the signal for retreat. I heard a blast of a whistle previously, but did not know that it was the signal for retreat. There was a high wooden gate leading from O'Neill's yard to the road and I saw one Volunteer officer open this and fire out into the road with a shotgun. I thought it a brave act to stand in the open gateway to fire out at the enemy, but at the same time, very foolish, and I shouted at him to close the gate. I had hardly the words out of my mouth when a British officer fired point blank at me through the open gateway but, fortunately, missed me. I had six bombs left in my haversack and if he chanced to hit one of them I and everybody near me would be blown to pieces. However, as he turned round, he was apparently wounded by a shot from one of our riflemen and fell to the ground. All were now retreating. I went to the rear of the yard where I stayed for a few minutes watching the open gate. No further attempt was made to follow us up, so I retreated across the fields to find my companions lined up about 800 yards away. On my way back I found a bag containing 160 rounds of .303 ammunition belonging to the East Limerick Flying Column which I brought back with me. I saw the lorry I had bombed before I retreated and could see that large pieces of wood were blown out of the side next me. I am sure there must have been a number of casualties as the soldiers appeared to be packed tightly in a standing position in the first lorry. Two Volunteers who occupied Bulfin's house received slight wounds and were conveyed to safety by members of the local Grange Company. Before the ambush commenced, I secured a table which I placed against the high wall to enable me to see over the wall. I was, therefore, the only member of our party in O'Neill's yard who could actually see the target before throwing the bombs. The other men near me stood on the ground and had to throw their bombs over the high wall without seeing the target or the result. The ambush was planned for lorries coming from the

Limerick side and, when outposts reported lorries coming from the opposite direction, Commandant O'Hannigan decided to attack them only at the last moment. As they approached our position, he at first decided to let them pass, but subsequently changed his mind when he considered that it was after midday and that it would be unsafe to remain in the position any longer waiting for lorries from the Limerick side. He decided to make a sharp quick attack in order to make the Kilmallock-Limerick Road unsafe for enemy movements. The East and Mid Limerick flying columns retreated until they reached Coole Cross about one mile east of the ambush position. There we all sat on the fence and talked about our experiences. It was generally agreed that our positions were not good enough to meet the large enemy forces encountered particularly when we were prepared to meet them coming from the opposite direction. We undoubtedly had inflicted a number of casualties and there was general satisfaction in our organised retreat. The East Limerick flying column retreated to Lough Gur, and the Mid-Limerick Flying Column retreated to Ballybricken" – **Batt-Adj. Morgan Portley**, Ballybricken Coy, 5th Batt., Mid-Limerick Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1559).

"Murder by the Throat" – Tensions Deepen

"Mr. Lloyd George, speaking at a banquet in the London Guildhall last night, declared that the terrorists in Ireland were being dispersed, and that if it was necessary for the Government to have further powers they would seek them. Those who said it was war, he said, could not complain 'if they applied some of the rules of war,' and he expressed the view that 'they had murder by the throat.' Mr. Churchill joined with the British Premier in eulogising the RIC and their Auxiliary Division…Mr. Lloyd George, after indulging in many of his favourite platitudes concerning the war, remarked that in Ireland they had witnessed a spectacle of organised assassination of the most cowardly character. Unless he was mistaken, they had taken steps by which they had murder by the throat. He asked the British public not to credit slanders on the brave men, who, at the peril of their lives, were tracking murder in the dark hour, and not to pay too much heed to the distorted accounts by partisans who dealt out detailed descriptions of horror of what they called reprisals and slurred over the horrors of murder. There could be no real peace in Ireland until this murder conspiracy was scattered. He was told that the result of the steps that were being taken was that they had had more murders than ever in the last few weeks. Why, before this action was taken in vast tracts in Ireland, the police were practically interned in their barracks. Terror was triumphant. They had to reorganise the police. When the Government were ready they struck the terror, and the terrorists were now complaining. The cry was coming from those who had been indulging in terror for years, from those who sympathised with them, and they were aided by those who were always very anxious for embarrasing the Government in the very difficult tasks which it had in hand…Mr. W. Churchill, in responding to the toast to the Imperial Forces, referred to the RIC, whom, he said, stood side by side with their soldiers in the face of dastardly and cowardly attacks" – **Irish Independent**, 10 November 1920, p.5.

Mid-Clare Brigade IRA Leadership – (Back L-R) A. O'Donoghue, S. McNamara, J.J. Cloghessy & Séamus Hennessy. (Front L-R) Frank Barrett, Peadar O'Loughlen & Lexi O'Neill

Séamus Quirke who was killed in Galway in September 1920

8th November 1920

BROSNAN, Michael:

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *B Coy (Castleisland), 1st Batt., Kerry No.2 Bde, IRA. The Pension File (DP835) states that Brosnan was attached to A Coy (Ardfert), 2nd Batt., Kerry No.1 Bde, IRA at the time of his death.*
DOB: 24 November 1900. Born in Caheragh, Castleisland, Co. Kerry to Michael Brosnan and Kate Shanahan.
Address: Rahooneen, Ardfert, Co. Kerry.
Occupation: Farm Labourer.
Death: Brosnan was arrested by a unit of Black and Tans in Ardfert alongside John Cantillon and Mossy McElligott around 4.30pm. They were brought to a field, known locally as Hazel Grove Estate, and told to run. The exercise was target practice for the Tans and Brosnan and Cantillon were gunned down as they ran. McElligott survived by refusing to run and received a brutal beating instead.
Buried: Kilbannivane Cemetery, Castleisland, Co. Kerry.
MSPC Ref: DP835.

CANTILLON, John:

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *A Coy (Ardfert), 2nd Batt., Kerry No.1 Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 2 August 1896. Son of Patrick Cantillon and Nora Ryan.
Address: West Commons, Ardfert, Co. Kerry.
Occupation: Farm Labourer.
Death: See BROSNAN, Michael.
Buried: Ardfert Cemetery, Co. Kerry.
MSPC Ref: 1D209.

"On the 8th November, 1920, the Tans swept into Ardfert from two different points and arrested three men of the Ardfert Company, John Cantillion, Michael Brosnan and Maurice McElligott, took them into a field and told them to run. As Cantillion and Brosnan ran they were shot dead. McElligott refused to run and had his head battered by the butt of a revolver. In his case an RIC man told him not to run. He succeeded in escaping." – **Capt. Patrick Sheehan**, Ardfert Coy, Kerry No.1 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1088).

The Recollections of Tom Barry

"Of all the ruthless forces that occupied Ireland through the centuries, those Auxiliaries were surely the worst. They were recruited from ex-British officers who had held commissioned rank and had had active service on one or more fronts during the 1914-18 war. They were openly established as a terrorist body, with the avowed object of breaking by armed force, Ireland's continued resistance to British rule…Highly paid with no bothersome discipline, they were habitual looters…They had a special technique. Fast lorries of them would come roaring into a village, the occupants would jump out, firing shots and ordering all the inhabitants out of doors. No exceptions were allowed. Men and women, old and young, the sick and decrepit were lined up against the walls with their hands up, questioned and searched. No raid was ever carried out by these ex-officers without their beating up with the butt ends of their revolvers, at least a half-dozen people. They were no respecters of persons and seemed to particularly dislike the Catholic priests. Actually, in cold blood they murdered the aged Very Rev. Canon Magnier, P.P., Dunmanway, on one of their expeditions. For hours they would hold the little community prisoners, and on more than one occasion, in different villages, they stripped all the men naked in the presence of the assembled people of both sexes, and beat them mercilessly with belts and rifles. They commandeered without payment food and drink and they seldom returned sober to their barracks. Observing some man working in his bog or small field a few hundred yards from the road, they would stop their lorries and start their pleasant game. Laughing and shouting four or five would take aim, not to hit him, but to spatter the earth or bog round him. The man would run wildly with the Auxies' bullets clipping the sods all about him. He would stumble and fall, rise again and continue to run to safety. But sometimes he would not rise as an Auxiliary bullet was sent through him to stop forever all movements. Still laughing and joking, these gentlemen and officers would ride away. Why not? The corpse was only an Irish peasant, and probably a sympathiser with these rebels, and anyway what

did it matter? One more or less made no difference and it was part of their duty to strike terror into the hearts of all the Irish" – **Tom Barry**, Cork No.3 Brigade, IRA, *Guerilla Days in Ireland*, p.36-37.

"*We weren't fighting for a certain socialist system in the main, we had a socialist outlook…when some of these loyalist informers and spies were shot, we divided their land up without interference from the Dáil or anybody else. We put the workers working on it. At the time, of course, these men (the labouring class) were out of work. We burned these fellas out (loyalists) and we drove them out and the land was there and these men had to leave and were put on the land until settled times came. Now, we had no authority to do that but we did it. And another to thing to show that we had a social outlook that may not be recognised is that their lands were confiscated and given to the workers; their cattle were sold for the arms fund; their sheep and their pigs and their potatoes were often brought up to the poor part of the country to the people that only saw, as they say in West Cork, butcher's meat, once a month. We did that! We have no apologies for doing that. We had no right to do it of course as we were only an army but Dáil Éireann was up in Dublin and they were sitting around passing resolutions and all that but the men in the field were faced with all these problems. We were faced with many other problems that we got very little help from. I am not attacking our Headquarters at all now and I am not attacking Dáil Éireann but the circumstances of guerrilla warfare and people struggling for freedom; all red tape is gone. Your first duty is to keep alive and keep your men alive. Your second duty is to look after the people who are supporting you, who you are trying to raise from the status of serfdom and from second class citizenship. We were a subject race"* – **Tom Barry, November 1969**.

9th November 1920

RING, Denis John:

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *B Coy (Midleton), 4th Batt., Cork No.1 Bde, IRA & ASU.*
DOB: 22 June 1897. Son of Maurice Ring and Margaret Moore.
Address: Killeendooling, Midleton, Co. Cork.
Occupation: Farmer's Son.
Death: Ring died at home from a wound received when the revolver that he was cleaning discharged a shot into his abdomen. His death was initially concealed as a farming accident to prevent reprisals, citing that he had fallen off a hayrick in his father's haggard.
Image Source: Tomás Mac Cormaic.
Buried: Church of the Most Holy Rosary, Midleton, Co. Cork.
MSPC Ref: 1D104.

"On Sunday, 31 October, a Brigade Council meeting was held at Coppeen. When routine matters had been disposed of there followed a general review of Brigade activities. Reference was made to the Battalion columns that had been operating for some weeks previously in connection with the training camps. There was complete unanimity about the need for maintaining these columns, but it was felt that the time had come for an independent Brigade Column comprised of men who would volunteer from the ranks for such a special service. It was not envisaged that officers would normally enrol – except, perhaps, when they happened to be 'on the run' for the reason that the existing Company and Battalion structure would have to be maintained and would require the constant presence of the officers. It was stressed, of course, that Brigade, Battalion, and Company officers would at all times co-operate fully with the Column Commandant, even to the extent of taking a fully-active part in any engagement organised by the Column in their areas. Tom Barry was appointed Commander of the Brigade Flying Column, and on the occasion of the appointment, the Brigade Commander, Charlie Hurley, paid a tribute to the outstanding service which Barry had already rendered…Once the suggestion to form the Brigade Flying Column was accepted – and it was accepted enthusiastically – the question of the base to be selected for the Column and its field of operation called for some discussion. Tom Barry favoured the Bandon area, and this was understandable considering how intimately he was associated with it and how well he knew its military potential. Ted O'Sullivan, on the other hand, was convinced that the mountainy terrain in a district such as Dunmanway lent itself better to guerilla warfare than did the pastoral land of the Bandon district…The Brigade Commander and several other officers agreed with the views of Ted O'Sullivan, and there and then the Togher Company area, seven miles north-west of Dunmanway, was chosen as the base of the Column" – **Brig-Adjt. Liam Deasy**, *Towards Ireland Free*, p.158-159.

"Two other Tans, named Turner and Cook, travelling by train back from Killarney to Farranfore had been spotted on their journey in and were attacked at Ballybrack Station and both shot dead, their revolvers and ammunition being taken. This was on the 9th

of November. As a reprisal for the two shootings, the houses of the two O'Meara's and that of Dan Donovan were burnt in the Ballybrack area. The Listry and some members of the Ballybrack Companies went into position in the vicinity of Ballybrack in case the reprisal party (Tans and Auxiliaries) should return to the locality, but they didn't. The following Sunday John Keogh of the International Hotel and Mick Spillane were going up towards the Park and a lorry full of Tans passed and then stopped, one of the occupants opening fire on the two Volunteers. They continued to walk on, the lorry started with a jerk and the Tan who had been firing lost his balance and fell back. Later, this lorry and two others returned from Tralee and carried out indiscriminate firing through Killarney. This prevented Spillane and Keogh going to their usual nightly hide-out. They got beds in the Fever Hospital instead. This was lucky for them as the house they normally slept in was raided that night. Five Volunteers were taken that night also in their own houses in a series of raids carried out in the town" – **Cmdt, Michael Spillane**, 4th Batt., Kerry No.2 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 862).

10th November 1920

LUCEY, Christopher Patrick (Christy):

Rank: Section-Commander.
Unit: *B Coy, 1st Batt., No.1 Cork Bde, IRA.*
Also attached to D Coy (Ballingeary), 8th Batt., Cork No.1 Bde, IRA.
DOB: 21 December 1897. Son of John Lucey and Nora Lucey of 8 Grenville Place, Cork City.
Address: 3 Pembroke Street, Cork City.
Occupation: Medical Student (UCC).
Death: Following his release from prison in April 1920 having taking part in the Mountjoy hunger strike, Lucey went to stay with his cousins, the Twomey family of Toreenduff, near Ballingeary, Co. Cork and was involved in local IRA activities. He was shot dead by a member of RIC-AD (Auxiliary) C Company while travelling from his hiding place to their home while unarmed. His killer was later captured and executed by the IRA in Cork City.
Buried: The Republican Plot, St. Finbarr's Cemetery, Cork.

"A military patrol of three lorries arrived in the area where the fourteen soldiers had been disarmed, and shot dead Christy Lucey, an IRA man from Cork City, who was staying with friends in the neighbourhood. It appears that when he was warned of the approach of the military, he ran out through the back door of his friend's house and had almost escaped when he us picked off at a distance of nearly a mile" – **Batt-QM. Daniel Harrington**, Cork No.1 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1532).

"IMPRESSIVE FUNERAL – Amidst impressive scenes that reflected, deep, poignant and widespread grief at his tragic and untimely death, the remains of the late Mr. Christopher Lucey were interred this evening in the Republican Plot in St. Finbarr's Cemetery. Deceased was a young student at the Ballingeary Irish College, and the appalling circumstances surrounding his death served not alone to intensify the grief that the tragedy evoked, but also to illustrate very touchingly the general sympathy with the relatives of the deceased. Young Christy Lucey, as he was locally known, was one of the most popular Volunteers and his funeral this evening afforded many and very effective and touching evidences of the void his death has made in the ranks. Military attention was not amiss in even the sanctity and solemnity of his funeral. Shortly before the hour announced for the cortege to start from St. Finbarr's South, an armoured car, accompanied by two lorries, full of armed soldiers, arrived in the precincts of the Church from which the funeral was to be borne." – **Evening Echo**, 12 November 1920, p.1.

"BELFAST, Sunday – Rioting broke out afresh in the city this afternoon in the district between Clifton Street and Old Lodge Road, where rival mobs came into collision. At the outset a stone throwing battle raged for a time, but an erroneous report that a Catholic clergyman had been attacked brought along reinforcements, many of whom were armed with revolvers. The police later arrested a member of this crowd, and an automatic pistol was found in his possession" – **Cork Examiner**, 8 November 1920, p.6.

HOFFMAN, Frank:

Rank: Lieutenant.
Unit: *F Coy (Farmer's Bridge), 1st Batt., Kerry No. 1 Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 25 December 1899. Son of John Hoffman and Mary-Anne Miller. Hoffman was descended from German Protestant Palatines who came to Ireland in the 1700s.
Address: Lisardboola, Farmer's Bridge, Tralee, Co. Kerry.
Occupation: Farmer.
Death: Hoffman was captured and searched along with another Volunteer by a convoy of Crown forces at Farmer's Bridge at 15:30. He was travelling towards an ambush position at Ballyseedy. Having given his name, Hoffman was placed against a wall and shot. He was brought to his home and died moments later. The killing was a reprisal for the IRA's shooting dead of two Black and Tans at Ballybrack Railway Station.
Buried: Ballyseedy COI Graveyard, Co. Kerry.
MSPC Ref: DP4457.

"Frank Hoffman, 21, Farmer's Bridge, three miles from Tralee, was held up by uniformed men last evening near his residence, asked his name, and on giving it, was told, 'You are the man we want.' He was placed against a fence, bayoneted and shot dead. He was a Protestant young farmer, and was reputed to be a Sinn Féin Commandant in the district" – **Evening Herald**, 11 November 1920, p.1.

Other: *"Frank Hoffman who was killed in the troubles in Tralee was a great concertina-player. After his death his comrades were planning an ambush in a barn and they heard his tone played outside on a concertina. They put off the ambush and 'twas well they did as a trap was laid for them and they'd all be wiped out"* – **Listowel (B) Schools' Folklore, Dúchas, UCD Folklore Collection.**

TERROR AT BALLYDWYER CREAMERY
Ballymacelligott, Co. Kerry
12 November 1920

"The whole month of November 1920 was a heavy one by the British in Kerry. Raids, rounds-up and shootings, hardly a day passed that some incident didn't occur. A reign of terror was being carried out with a vengeance. Ballymacelligott Company bore the brunt of the attack. They had been in position for days near Ballydwyer Creamery with land mines hoping to get a party of military lorries, when one morning, before they were in position, a party of Tans dashed up to the creamery and opened fire on a number of people who were supplying milk. They killed two and wounded several. Those Volunteers who were coming to their positions on hearing the shooting, dashed to the creamery and emptied their rifles and revolvers at the Tans as they scurried for the safety of their lorries. The "Daily Mail" afterwards published pictures regarding the "Ballydwyer Ambush". They showed photos of a town and what was supposed to have been the location of the ambush. Nearly every company got a visit from the enemy this month" – **Capt. Peter Browne**, Scartaglin Coy, 1st Batt., Kerry No.2 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1110).

"On the 12th November, 1920, ten lorries of Tans and RIC travelled from Tralee on the main road to Castleisland. When they reached Ballydwyer Creamery they stopped their lorries at both sides of the Creamery. Some members of the Ballymacelligott ASU happened to be near the creamery at the time and made a dash for escape. Fire was opened on them immediately by Tans and RIC. Two men were shot dead and two wounded, while others escaped. The two men shot were John McMahon and Paddy Herlihy; the wounded were Jack McEllistrim and Tim Walsh. At the time of the shooting, I was about one mile from the Creamery with an ASU of twelve men, fully armed. We heard the shooting and saw the lorries depart. We immediately got to the creamery to assist the wounded, placing a guard at the Tralee side of the creamery. After being a short time in the creamery yard we were surprised by three lorries of Auxiliaries which sailed in on us from Castleisland direction. This section was not a raiding party but was, I believe, making a tour of the country when they saw our men take cover the lorries stopped immediately and shooting started. We had only six rifles in action but two of our party, armed with rifles, who had left the creamery yard five minutes earlier, came to our aid and opened fire from a little hill on the Auxiliaries at 300 yards range. At the same time a lorry coming from the Tralee

direction, seeing the ambush, pulled up immediately about 300 yards from the lorries which had been occupied by the Auxiliaries. The officer in charge of the British forces, believing that they had been surrounded, rushed to his car, ordered his men to turn the lorries and they drove back into Castleisland. Our riflemen kept on firing at them as they retreated. The above engagement was described by the British later as the Battle of Ballymacelligott and showed some films of it. The fact is that one of their group did actually attempt to take a film of the ambush while it was in progress" – **Cmdt. Thomas McEllistrim**, Kerry No.2 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 882).

12th November 1920

McMAHON, John:

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *B Coy (Ballymacelligott), 2nd Batt., Kerry No.2 Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 4 June 1888. Son of Michael McMahon and Ellen Graney.
Familial: On 7 February 1918, McMahon married Mary McElligott at Clogher Church, Tralee, Co. Kerry.
Address: Droum, Ballymacelligott, Co. Kerry.
Occupation: Farmer.
Death: McMahon was shot and killed by Auxiliaries when they gave chase to several Volunteers who were based at Ballydwyer Creamery. McMahon happened to be travelling along the road to deliver milk to the creamery when they took aim and shot him, thus a case of being in the wrong place at the wrong time. McMahon is recorded as a civilian in *DOTIR.*
Buried: Nohoval Cemetery, Ballymacelligott, Co. Kerry.

HERLIHY, Patrick (Paddy):

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *B Coy (Ballymacelligott), 2nd Batt., Kerry No.2 Bde, IRA.*
DOB: c.1901. Son of Richard and Nora Herlihy.
Occupation: Creamery Assistant.
Address: Ballymacpierce, Gortatlea, Co. Kerry.
Death: Herlihy was shot and wounded when a patrol of approaching Auxiliaries opened fire on Herlihy and several others as they attempted to flee from Ballydwyer Creamery. Wounded, Herlihy lay against a fence until the Auxiliaries arrived. He was shot twice more and died at the scene. Herlihy is recorded as a civilian in *DOTIR.*
Buried: The Republican Plot, O'Brennan Cemetery, Co. Kerry.
MSPC Ref: DP4374.

A film still highlighting Auxiliaries holding up locals close to Ballydwyer Creamery after the engagement with the IRA, November 1920. Source: Pathé.

"When the remains of one of the men shot by uniformed men at Ballydwyer Farmers Creamery, Co. Kerry, were being removed on Saturday evening, shots, it is alleged, were fired over the heads of the mourners and the fire was returned. Uniformed men in lorries left for the scene, and it was reported later in Tralee that this creamery and three farmers' hay-sheds were on fire.

"Uniformed men brutally beat men and women at Ballyfinane Creamery with the butt end of rifles. Other armed forces of the Crown accompanying them did not interfere. Several farmhouses and hay and corn have been set on fire in a wide area as reprisals for the shooting of two police in a train at Ballybrack. A shop assistant returning to business to Tralee from Killarney was brutally beaten at Ballybrack station last evening and pulled out of the train. Constable Griffin was shot at and dangerously wounded in the streets of Castleisland last evening. During the night the licensed premises of Cornelius Brown were set on fire, but the flames were extinguished. Tralee was calm last night and today business is going on normally." – **Evening Herald**, 11 November 1920, p.1.

TERROR ACROSS IRELAND
The World Watches
Early November 1920

"Reports have reached Armagh of Nationalists being peremptorily held up and some of them actually searched on the public road by bands of Unionists and Orangemen armed in some instances with rifles and in others with revolvers. The people subjected to this terrorism and these indignities have been either pedestrians or motorists attending legitimately and peacefully to their business. On Saturday night, in the city of Armagh, three Nationalists on their way home through Dawson Street were held up and searched by two Unionist civilians armed with revolvers" – **Freeman's Journal**, 9 November 1920, p.5.

'**STORMY SCENES IN NEW YORK THEATRE LAND:** *In the heart of the theatre district last night 600 Irishmen and women and their sympathisers fought fiercely with the police for the possession of a British flag. Enormous crowds, attracted by the fighting, surged up and down Broadway, hemming in the combatants, shouting, 'Down with England' and 'To hell with the Black and Tans.' They attacked again and again the Capitol Theatre in attempts to capture the Union Jack, which, with other Allied flags, adorned the portico. For four nights this flag had been the cause of trouble…Meanwhile the great crowd which grew with every second had attracted other bluecoats, and police headquarters had been informed by telephone. Reserves were rushed up in motor patrol wagons and turned the tide of battle. Two prisoners, bleeding and senseless, remained in the hands of the police, and the Union Jack still fluttered in the breeze, but it was finally taken in with the other emblems for safe keeping. When the police had departed the crowd reassembled in a side street, produced another British flag, and burned it as they chanted Sinn Féin songs"* – **Evening Herald**, 12 November 1920, p.1.

'**SCENES IN CLARE:** *Scenes of alarm and terror were witnessed in the Connolly district of Kilmaley, wires our Ennis representative, when a number of military lorries appeared about midday yesterday and made extensive searches. Shots were fired and the house of a farmer named Eustace was visited. After an inquiry as to the whereabouts of Mr. Eustace's sons, the house was set on fire and destroyed. A quantity of hay was also set alight and destroyed, and it is stated, pigs and fowl were killed. Mr. Eustace was arrested"* **– Freeman's Journal**, 13 November 1920, p.5.

'**MORE BURNINGS IN SLIGO:** *Further burnings are reported in Cliffoney, Co. Sligo. It was stated that a house, the property of a man named Gilmartin, was set on fire. Crops are also said to have been destroyed"* – **Freeman's Journal**, 15 November 1920, p.6.

"Uniformed men raided the Sinn Féin Hall, Drogheda, on Sat. night, while an armed guard stood outside with rifles at the ready pointed at the door. Those on the premises were searched and turned out, the furniture and pictures smashed and the billiard tablecloth reefed with a bayonet. The members were warned that the place would be levelled if occupy it again." – **Evening Herald**, 15 November 1920, p.1.

'**MARRIED MAN DANGEROUSLY WOUNDED:** *In the village of Golden, 3 miles from Cashel and 7 or 8 from the scene of the Aherlow ambush, it is reported that much firing took place on Sunday night. At 9 p.m., Patrick Lynch, who has been 3 weeks married, left home with his wife when the firing had subsided to see how his sister, who lives in another house, had fared. On his way firing again started, and he fell dangerously wounded in the left side below the region of the heart. He was conveyed to the County Infirmary, Cashel, where he lies in critical condition"* – **Evening Herald**, 16 November 1920, p.1.

The burned remains of Ballymacelligott Creamery which was torched by the RIC in an act of reprisal, November 1920.

14th November 1920

GRIFFIN, Michael Joseph, Rev. Fr.:

Affiliation: Sinn Féin Member / Irish Separatist.
DOB: 18 September 1892. Born in Gurteen, Ballinasloe, Co. Galway to Thomas Griffin and Mary Coyne.
Occupation: Curate Priest, Rahoon Parish.
Address: 2 Montpelier Tce, Galway.
Death: Around 10.30pm, Griffin was duped by three men in trench coats into believing he was required urgently for clerical duties. This civilian is believed to have been William Joyce, a young local loyalist who attached his support to the Black & Tans. Joyce would later become known as Lord Haw Haw, a Nazi propagandist during the Second World War. Griffin was taken to Lenaboy Castle and interrogated. His remains were found buried in a shallow grave in a bog at several days later at Cloich Scealta, near Barna, Co. Galway. He had been killed by a gunshot to the head. Fr. Griffin had been targeted by the Crown authorities after he was mentioned in various reports as a Sinn Féin and IRA sympathiser by informer, Patrick Joyce, who was subsequently discovered and executed by the IRA.
Buried: St. Brendan's Cathedral Grounds, Loughrea, Co. Galway.

"He [her brother, Fr. O'Meehan] *also told me that some of his parishioners came to him shortly after Father Griffin's disappearance. They said to him that they thought they knew where his body was hidden. Their cattle had behaved in a strange way at a spot close to a bye-road near the village of Barna. The cattle became nervous near this spot. They shied and shunned the place. My brother went with the parishioners and found Father Griffin's body buried in the bog at the place so clearly indicated by the action of the cattle."* – **Mary O'Meehan**, (BMH-WS 1034).

Fr. Michael Griffin, masquerading as an IRA Chaplain, most probably as a joke. Source: www.galwaycitymuseum.ie / Pamela Lyng.

"Three men in civilian clothes knocked on Fr. Griffin's door and told him he was wanted. He went with them, walking up to Lenaboy Castle, and was shot on the tennis-court, through the head. He must have died at once. The shot went through the Dominican Convent window. The nuns complained and Auxiliaries searched and found the bullet the next day. The housekeeper and a teacher named Naughton who lived next door, heard him - (Fr. Griffin) say; "I would do more than that for you" proving that he thought he was going as a priest" If he had known he would be shot, he would have gone all the same, on the chance that he was required by someone in need of a priest. He had told me that he would do so in such circumstances. He must have had an idea of it, as he took the wrong hat and a coat he never wore on night-calls. Twenty minutes after he had gone, a side-car driven by a man named Quirke drove past the house and went towards Lenaboy. It must have picked up the three men as they drove on it to the "Retreat" house in Salthill, commandeered by Black and Tans shortly afterwards. A lorry took his body from Lenaboy. It came out the main gate on Taylor's Hill, down the hill to Nile Lodge corner, out to the Retreat by Sea Road and Salthill, up Threadneedle Road and across down to the road which goes to Rahoon cemetery, up past the cemetery and then turned to the left towards the bog. They buried him there in a shallow grave, where his monument now stands. This information was obtained by Tom Hynes who questioned the people living in houses along the route, finishing with the Barna men who found the body. The military and police suggested that Fr. Griffin had threatened to go to them with information if Joyce was not brought back at once and had therefore been executed by IRA. He was, of course, aware of the execution of Joyce and had no qualms of conscience about it to my knowledge. Silly stories like this went about for a time, but the ordinary man had no doubts. Another story was that he had threatened the congregation in a sermon in Barna. This was a lie. A girl swore an affidavit that she heard a Black and Tan say, in a bar, that "the parson was in the bog". After the Barna men found his body, they washed it and wrapped it in a sheet and brought it on an ass-cart into the town. They brought his clothes in separately. The little ass and cart was left forgotten till evening, in the street" – **Geraldine Plunkett**, (BMH-WS 424).

"On the following Sunday, Fr. Connolly told me that he had just heard that Fr. Griffin's body was found. Downhearted and sad, I moved off on Monday to my own area (Furbough), but I decided it would be very unsafe to appear at the funeral. So, I went back to Roscahill. I picked up all the information I could about the discovery of Fr. Griffin's body, on Saturday - six days after he had been taken away. William Duffy was searching around the spot when, in the boggy field inside the wall, he noticed a little piece of a black coat above ground. He notified the others of the party, who came there, but did not do any digging until they notified Fr. Davis and the other Galway priests. They, the priests, came out to the lonely spot at night, and, with the aid of lanterns, the clay was removed with spades and shovels, and the body taken up. Later on that night, the body was placed on a donkey cart, and brought in via. Cloch Scoilte, Buaile Beag and Leitreach to St. Joseph's Church, where it was received by Fr. Davis, arriving about five o'clock on Sunday morning. Later in the morning, when the sad news spread, the Commanding Officer of the Military at Renmore visited Fr. Davis, and demanded that the body be handed over to him. Fr. Davis vehemently refused, and the demand was not insisted on. The boys who brought the body in to St. Joseph's were: Patrick Lydon, Martin Griffin, William Conneely and one other. While the body was being brought to Galway, a row of thatched houses on the Quay at Barna were set alight and completely burned out" – **Brigadier Mícheál Ó Droighnáin**, East Connemara Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1718).

Lenaboy Castle, Co. Galway.

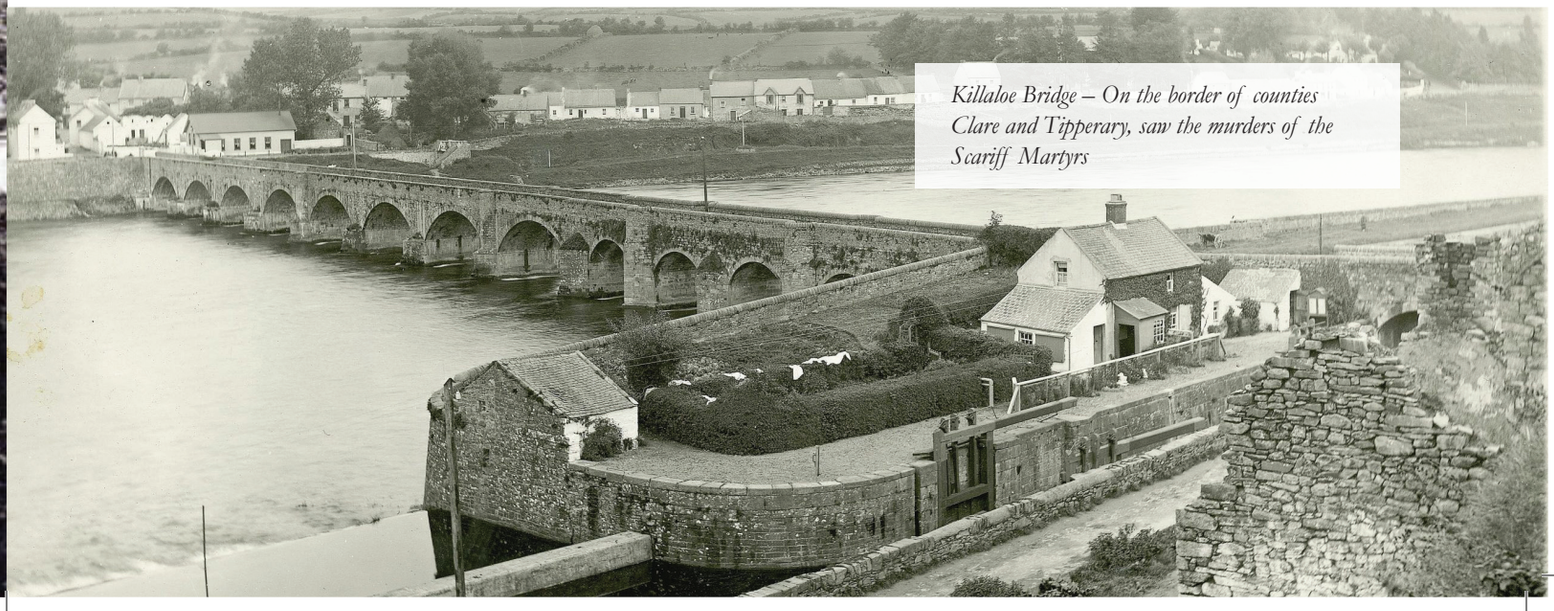
16th November 1920
The Scariff Martyrs

RODGERS, Alphonsus Edward (Alphie):

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *C Coy* (*Scariff*), *4th Batt., East Clare Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 11 February 1897. Son of Edmond Rodgers and Norah Scanlan.
Address: Scariff, Co. Clare.
Occupation: Shop Assistant.
Death: Having been found sleeping in a hide-out at Williamstown House, Rodgers, alongside IRA Volunteers, Michael 'Brud' McMahon and Martin Kildea, was arrested, interrogated and conveyed in the early hours to Killaloe Bridge, with civilian, Michael Egan. Their hands bound, they were shot and killed upon the bridge by Crown forces. The authorities attempted to claim that all four men had been shot while trying to escape.
Buried: The Scariff Martyrs Plot, Sacred Heart Church, Scariff, Co. Clare.
Ref: *The Scariff Martyrs* by Dr. Tomás Mac Conmara (2021).

"On November 16th, three of the men who were with me when I was wounded were murdered by Auxiliaries on the bridge at Killaloe. This Auxiliary Company had recently occupied the Lakeside Hotel on the Tipperary side of Lough Derg, just across from Killaloe. They had gone up the lake in a boat and surprised Alphie Rogers, Brud McMahon, Martin Kildea and another Volunteer [Martin Egan was not a Volunteer] in a house near Mountshannon on the edge of the lake. They took the prisoners to the Lakeside Hotel and next night took them out on Killaloe Bridge with their hands tied behind their backs and riddled them with bullets. The British issued a statement that the four men were "shot trying to escape", though their hands were still tied behind their backs when the bodies were found" – **Brigadier Michael Brennan**, East Clare Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1068).

"A Mr. Le Roy owned Williamstown House, close to Whitegate, on the shores of Dough Derg. In front of his house was a pier which he used for his yacht and other boats. He had made application to the Shannon Navigation Authorities to have the little harbour dredged, and had been notified that their boat, The Shannon, would go there as soon as possible. Michael Egan, a young man of 27 years, was Mr. Le Roy's caretaker, and lived alone in his quarters in the yard. Brud McMahon, Alfie Rodgers and Martin Gildea, anxious to avoid causing any trouble to the family households of their friends, frequently slept there, mostly in the daytime. On the 16th November, 1920, they were sleeping well into the day, when The Shannon put into the pier to carry out, from all appearances, some routine work concealed in the cabins, below deck, was a party of auxiliaries who, without danger of being observed (approach from the land side only was guarded against), came ashore, surrounded Williamstown House, surprised young Egan, as he was cutting a hedge, and captured, in bed, the three wanted men. It is doubtful if they were taken under arms as, for good reasons, they had been in the habit of putting their revolvers away when retiring to rest. Michael Egan was taken prisoner with them, and later two brothers, John and Michael Conway, local small farmers" – **Cmdt. Henry O'Mara**, 6th Batt., East Clare Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1653).



Killaloe Bridge – On the border of counties Clare and Tipperary, saw the murders of the Scariff Martyrs

GILDEA, Martin:

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *C Coy (Scariff), 4th Batt., East Clare Bde, IRA*
DOB: 16 May 1890. Born at Whitegate, near Ballinasloe, Co. Galway, to Michael Gildea and Honoria Kelly. The family moved to Scariff, Co. Clare, when Martin was a small child.
Address: Scariff, Co. Clare.
Occupation: Hardware Assistant.
Death: See RODGERS, Alphonsus.
Buried: The Scariff Martyrs Plot, Sacred Heart Church, Scariff, Co. Clare.

"Joe Hogan [crewman aboard the ferry] *says: I was employed by the Board of Works for 45 years as deck-hand on the S.S. Shannon. The crew consisted of Joe McEvoy, the skipper; George Shouldice, the fireman (God be good to them both), and myself. We were all aboard early on the morning of the 16th November, 1920. About nine o'clock, skipper McEvoy was directed by Mr. Dudley Fletcher, the District Engineer, to get the boat ready and bring her straight up to the jetty near the Lake Side Hotel there was to be no delay. We pulled in there between half-nine and ten in the morning. Very shortly afterwards a party of about 30 Auxies with four officers came from the Hotel and boarded the boat. All the Auxies went down below to the cabins, except three, who kept guard over the skipper and myself in the wheel-house. None of us the crew knew where we were going. Nobody on the boat could be seen. We were ordered to pull out up the lake and go ahead. I was at the wheel all the time being assisted by the skipper. When the boat came opposite Williamstown House I was ordered to pull into the pier. The whole Auxie party, except our guard, got off quickly and, crouching, stole towards the Great House. After about an hour they came back with four prisoners. They went off again and in about another hour came back with two more prisoners. I was then ordered to pull out and downstream. We arrived back at the lakeside jetty just before dark. On the way, I could not see from the wheel-house what was happening on deck. When I was tying up the boat, I said to one of the boys on the deck: "What in the hell happened ye to be caught?" He said nothing but shook his head. The Auxies wanted to keep me on board that night but my wife was sick and I asked Col. Andrews to let me home. He did, but I had to promise to come back next morning. I returned in the morning and they offered me £1 a day if I'd stay with them. I refused. None of the crew had anything to do with the boat afterward…I heard the shots on the bridge that night, and when I went back to the Lakeside next morning, I knew there was dirty work the night before"* – The story of **Joe Hogan**, contained within the Witness Statement of **Cmdt. Henry O'Mara**, 6th Batt., East Clare Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1653).

McMAHON, Michael (Brud):

Rank: Lieutenant.
Unit: *C Coy, (Scariff), 4th Batt., East Clare Bde, IRA*
DOB: 12 April 1893. Son of Thomas McMahon and Bridget Twomey.
Address: Scariff, Co. Clare.
Occupation: Grocer's Assistant.
Death: See RODGERS, Alphonsus.
Buried: The Scariff Martyrs Plot, Sacred Heart Church, Scariff, Co. Clare.

'John Conway says: "On Tuesday, November 16th 1920 (I'll never forget it)' my brother, Michael, my mother and myself had our dinner about twelve o'clock. Mick left to get Mike Egan to put a handle in the hatchet and I went out to cut scallops. I went along the road towards Williamstown House and walked right into the arms of the Auxies. They were dressed in plain clothes and spoke with English accents. I never expected them for I heard no lorries. They questioned me about the IRA and the strangers who had been staying around the place. They searched me and found a bottle of milk in my pocket and tried to make me say that I was bringing it to the strangers. I had it for myself but when I wouldn't say I had it for "the boys," they marched me away down to the pier where I saw the Commissioners boat. On the deck I saw Mike Egan tied up in his own ass reins. Young Rodgers, McMahon and Gildea were tied up in the same way with the thick boat ropes. My brother Mick was also there but wasn't tied. There was about 25 Auxies and Joe McEvoy, Frank Shouldice, the engineer, and Joe Hogan, the deckhand, on board as well. A bitter northerly breeze was blowing when the boat started off from the pier. We were all on deck. The Auxies were questioning us the whole way down and Alfie Rogers, Brud McMahon and Martin Gildea kept saying to them that Mike Egan was not to blame. It was duskish when we arrived at the jetty at the Lakeside Hotel, Killaloe. My brother, Mick, and I were put down the hatch, and the other four were taken off and into a big room in the hotel. They called it the dayroom. The other four were there before us and they were handcuffed. From the time they left the boat until we saw them again, Egan and Gildea looked like dead men they were that shook and pale. As we came in, Auxies in uniform took them out of the dayroom one by one. They kept them out a good long time.

Alfie Rogers was the last to be brought back and he was pumping blood from the nose and face. I'd say he had lost all his blood before he was shot at all. McMahon was very, very quiet. They had more in for Rodgers and McMahon than the others. Mick and myself were taken out then into a small room where the Colonel Andrews, was his name, I think cross-questioned us and threatened us. He showed us revolvers and ammunition and said they were found with the lads. He tried to get us to say that we had seen the revolvers before and that we saw them with the boys. He wanted us to say that we were friends of Mike Egan, and that we knew the boys had been staying in Williamstown House for the last three weeks. We had nothing to tell him unless we started telling him lies. I had bad old shoes on me and one of the Auxies said that anyone would know from our dress that we weren't Sinn Féiners, The Colonel asked us then if we had cigarettes and he gave us up to 50 between us. He promised to leave us home in the morning. I asked him to let us out and we'd make our way home ourselves. He sent us out to our supper and we never saw him again. We were brought back to the dayroom and they gave us a good meal. As we were brought in the four boys were taken out. After about a half-hour Mick and I were given a blanket each. We were taken out along a long passage and into a small room where there wasn't a bed or a chair. We sat on the blankets.

There was an awful hullabulloo away at the other end of the passage shouting and roaring, and dancing and drunken men singing, 'When Irish Eyes are Smiling,' but I heard no shots. Suddenly the door was burst in on us and Auxies shouted at us to get up quickly. Each of us was marched out between two Auxies I was first up to the bridge. These two Auxies weren't bad. The bridge was packed with Auxies, Tans and peelers. We were marched across it. We hadn't gone very far when the Auxie flashed a light and told me to walk (step) over the body, stiff, he called it. I knew it was the body of one of the four boys. About twenty yards further on there was another, and then another. The last body was right over the canal arch. There was a Crossley tender at Shannon View Hotel with its lights on, facing us, and I saw by its light that that was Martin Gildea. He was dead. He was handcuffed and his face was bloody. We were halted near the tender. The tans used to come over to us, look into our faces and threaten us. While there we saw them throw the body of Martin Gildea into the back of the tender just like you'd throw in a dead pig. After that we were marched up the hill by the same Auxies to the RIC barracks, and taken into the dayroom. As we got to the barracks the tender passed us and went in the archway with the bodies. There was a Black arid Tan officer Gwynne was his name, I heard in the dayroom. The Auxies handed us over to him and told him he would be responsible for us the dayroom was full of Tans. They jostled and pushed against us, but did no more." - The story of **John Conway**, contained within the Witness Statement of **Cmdt. Henry O'Mara**, 6th Batt., East Clare Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1653).

THE WORLD'S NEWS.

FOUR MEN KILLED IN COUNTY CLARE.

ALLEGED ATTEMPT TO ESCAPE.

CORK TRAGEDIES

POLICE SERGEANT SHOT DEAD IN STREET.

CIVILIANS SHOT LATER

A terrible tragedy involving the deaths of 4 young men occurred

were brought to the same institution. It was found that one was dead, having been shot through the heart, while the other was in a serious condition, suffering from bullet wounds.

It is alleged that armed men entered the houses of these men and shot them. Both resided in Broad Lane. Their names were not obtainable up to the time of going to Press.

DRAMATIC CAPTURE OF STAFF OFFICERS.

VAIN SEARCH BY MILITARY

"Dublin Castle admits the kidnapping of 4 Staff officers in Co. Cork," says the "Evening News" special cor-

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"The next activity was the Glen of Aherlow ambush at Ballydavid. This involved a small black covered van which we called the Black Maria. On this occasion it contained four or five policemen. In this case, after being fired on for some time, the police force was captured. Four of them were shot; another one escaped and the van itself was burned. I forget whether it was five or six policemen were there altogether but I know only one escaped. This man ran for his life and got into some cottage. The people in the cottage did not want him there, it seems, and gave him a bad reception. I presume it was on this account that the cottage was burned sometime later by Crown forces when there were some other reprisals also carried out. It was at the same time - a day or so after the Aherlow ambush - that the British forces wrecked and burned a number of houses in Tipperary town, as well as houses in Aherlow. The ambush in Aherlow took place on November 13th and I notice that the newspaper reports have the burning of Tipperary town for November 15th, but my recollection is that the burning took place on the same night. It may be, however, that these burnings were going on for a couple of days following the Aherlow ambush" – **Lieut. James Kilmartin**, Tipperary No.3 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 881).

LYNCH, Patrick:
Rank: I/O.
Unit: *C Coy, 2nd Battalion, Tipperary No.3 Bde, IRA.*
DOB: Son of Michael Lynch.
Occupation: Labourer.
Familial: On 23 October 1920, Lynch married Margaret Currivane at Kilfeacle Church, Co. Tipperary.
Address: The Green, Golden, Cashel, Co. Tipperary
Death: Upon hearing gunshots close to their homestead, Patrick Lynch went out into the night to examine the occurrences after the gunshots eased and also to check on the safety of his sister, Alice, who resided close-by. They were confronted by Crown forces at gunpoint. Upon trying to run back towards the house, Lynch was struck with a gunshot, slicing his spinal cord. The RIC also violently beat another IRA volunteer, Patrick O'Keeffe, who sustained life threatening injuries, but survived. Lynch was conveyed to Cashel Infirmary, where his health issue was recorded as bronchitis, to deter RIC investigations. Lynch died several hours later. He is recorded as a civilian in *DOTIR*. His headstone records him as a member of the IRA.
Buried: Golden Graveyard, Golden, Cashel, Co. Tipperary.
MSPC Ref: DP8646.

"Never in Russia under the worst rule of the Tsars had there been such an infamous murder as that of the late Alderman MacSwiney. They were told in the papers that Alderman MacSwiney's poor widow sobbed over his coffin. If there was a just God in heaven, that sob would reach round the world and one day would shake the foundations of this bloody and accursed Empire" – Hugh Mahon, MP (Australian Labor Party), November 1920, Melbourne, Australia.

17th November 1920

HANLEY, Patrick:

Rank: Squad Leader.
Unit: *Central Company, Cork No.1 Brigade, NFÉ*
DOB: 12 March 1904. Born in Cork's Lying-In Hospital, to John Hanley and Sarah Doyle.
Address: 2 Broad Lane, Cork City.
Occupation: Labourer.
Death: Hanley was shot in the heart and killed by a uniformed intruder in his house, who entered his homestead in the early hours. Having first shot and wounded Hanley's housemate, Stephen Coleman, the assassin disregarded young Hanley's pleas before shooting him in the heart. Hanley's murder was an act of reprisal, carried out by the RIC, for the IRA's shooting of Sergeant James O'Donoghue earlier that evening.
Buried: The Republican Plot, St. Finbarr's Cemetery, Cork
MSPC Ref: DP4150.

Irish-American protestors destroy the Union Jack in protest of the brutal British policy in Ireland

"Here I would like to place on record details of a brutal murder committed by the British on one of our members in Cork city. The unfortunate victim was a 17-year old lad by the name of Paddy Hanley, who lived with his widowed mother at No. 2 Broad St., Cork. He was the sole support of her and his sister. At about 11.45 p.m. on the night of 17th November 1920, the residents of No. 2 Broad St. were awakened by the noise of the front door being broken open; a man rushed up the stairs and entered the bedroom of Mr. and Mrs. Coleman who also resided in the house. The man was wearing a policeman's uniform, cap and goggles. He came to the bedside with a revolver in one hand and a flashlamp in the other. When asked by Mrs. Coleman what in God's name brought him there, he merely exclaimed "Hello", flashed his lamp on the bed, raised his revolver and fired point-blank into the bed. The bullet wounded Mr. Coleman in the arm. The assailant then turned and walked out of the room leaving Mrs. Coleman screaming. Paddy Hanley opened the door of his room when he heard the man rushing up the stairs. The man in police uniform had just come from Mrs. Coleman's room. Hanley, standing at his bedroom door, said: "Don't shoot, I am an orphan and my mother's only support". "Very well", replied the man, and, raising his revolver, fired at Hanley. The bullet missed him, but the man fired the second time, the bullet striking Hanley above the heart, killing him instantly. Hanley was in his night attire at the time. This murder was by way of a reprisal by the British for the shooting of an RIC sergeant named O'Donoghue by the IRA earlier on the same night in the course of an IRA raid on Lunham's bacon factory. In a reprisal raid the same night by RIC in the Grattan St. area of Cork, another Fianna boy O'Brien was shot in the mouth. He subsequently recovered from the wound. An IRA man suspected of giving information as to who shot Sergeant O'Donoghue was later apprehended and executed by the IRA." – **Fian George Hurley**, Cork Fianna Éireann, (BMH-WS 1630).

"Late in 1920, it was decided that some big show should be carried out in Dublin, and the following operation was agreed upon; on a particular evening, all likely places frequented by Auxiliaries, Tans or British military officers, were to be raided; these included each places as Kidd's Buffet in Grafton St., Fuller's, the Moira Hotel, Jury's, &c. also, any such individuals in Grafton St. I was detailed, to take charge of a group of men for the operation at the Moira Hotel. It was well known that, between 5.30 and 6 p.m. nearly every evening, these places were full of these gentlemen. As far as I can recall, the operation was to be carried out at specified minute; however, the operation was called off at the very last minute by, I believe, de Valera, who had just returned from America. For what reason, I do not know, but your guess is as good as mine. The lateness of the calling off of the operation can be gauged from the fact that each group was waiting outside its allotted post, ready for the zero hour. In fact, one operation was put into practice in Grafton St. by the ASU under Paddy Rigney. One Auxiliary was shot dead and another wounded. So, what would have been a great clearance of Auxiliaries and other members of the Crown Forces did not materialise." – **Vincent Byrne**, The Squad, IRA, (BMH-WS 423).

Wrap the Green Flag 'round me boys

Oh! Wrap the Green Flag round me boys,
To die were far more sweet
With Erin's noble emblem, boys,
To be my winding sheet.
In life I longed to see it wave,
And follow where it led,
But now my eyes grow dim – my hand
Would grasp its last bright shred.

Chorus
Oh! Wrap the Green Flag round me, boys
To die were far more sweet
With Erin's noble emblem, boys,
To be my winding sheet.

And I hoped to meet you, boys,
On many a well-fought field,
When to our sacred banner, boys,
The traitorous foe would yield,
But now, alas! I am denied
My dearest earthly prayer,
You'll follow and you'll meet the foe,
But I shall not be there.

Chorus

And through my body moulders, boys
My spirit will be free,
And every comrade's honour, boys,
Will still be dear to me.
And in the thick and bloody fight,
Nor let your courage lag,
For I'll be there and hovering near
Around the dear Old Flag.

William Rooney

19th November 1920

CLANCY, Patrick:

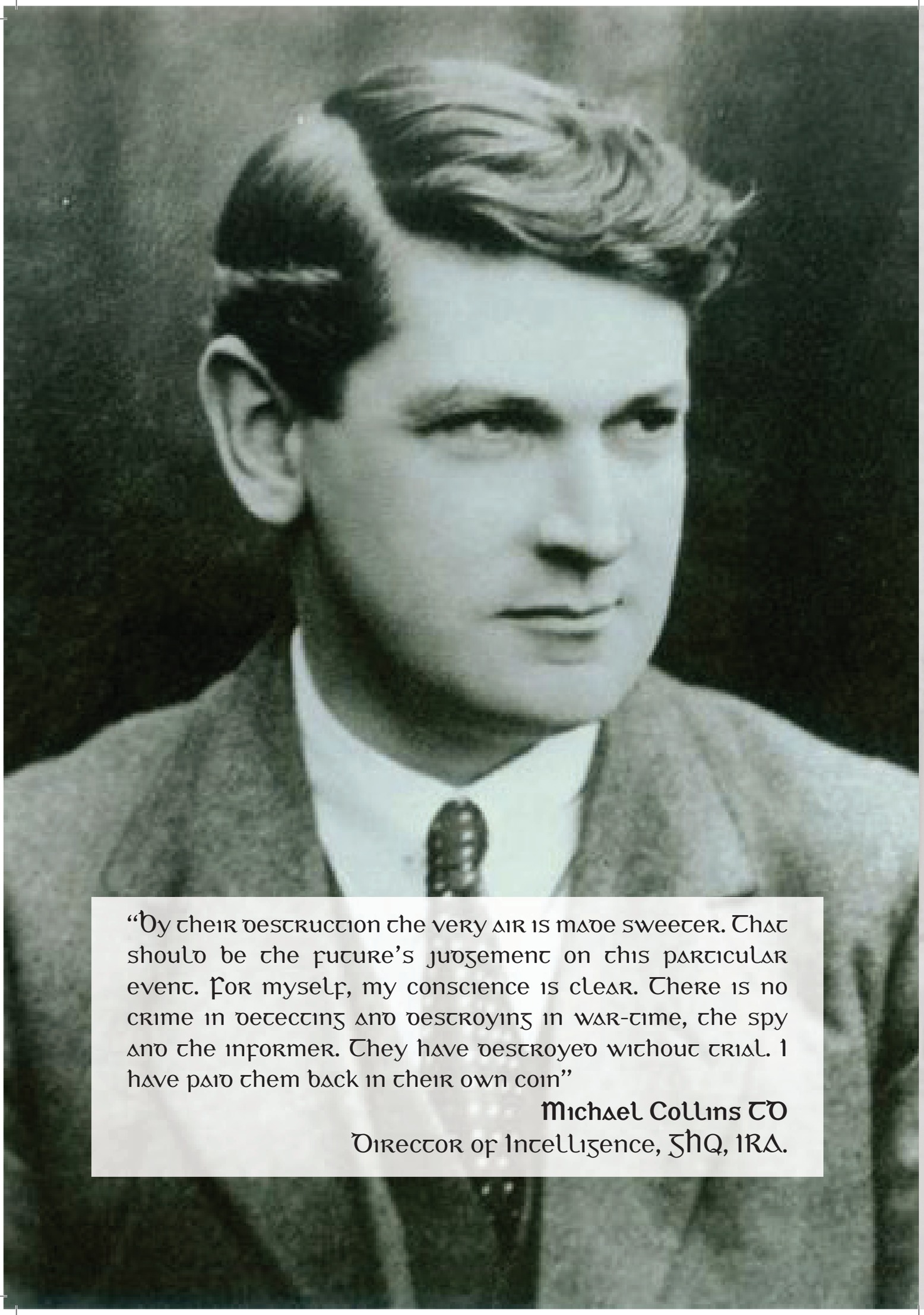
Rank: 2nd Lieutenant.
Unit: *A Coy (Drangan), 7th Batt., Tipperary No.3 Bde, IRA.*
DOB: c.1901. Son of Martin Clancy and Margaret Denny. His brother, Martin Clancy, was killed in action on 6 March 1921. In April 1923, another brother, Laurence, led the INA patrol which attacked Liam Lynch's position on the Knockmealdowns, in south Co.Tipperary, resulting in the death of Lynch.
Occupation: Storeman.
Address: Ballylusky, Drangan, Co. Tipperary.
Death: A British military convoy, under the command of Lieut. E. Litchford, noticed a flashing light from Clancy's home and went to investigate. They met Clancy and two others acting suspiciously on the road. Clancy, who was armed, was shot in the head by Litchford and killed outright after stating his name. The official statement from Dublin Castle, claimed that upon being questioned, Clancy drew a loaded automatic pistol from his pocket, but was shot and killed before he could use it.
Image Source: Caomhín Ó Cadhla / Niamh Hassett.
Buried: Magoury Graveyard, Drangan, Co. Tipperary.
MSPC Ref: 1D215A.

*"***AN AFFRAY IN TIPPERARY** – *Patrick Clancy was shot dead at Newtowndrangan, Co. Tipperary, on Wednesday night. "Dublin Castle announced," says the Press Association, "that at Newtowndrangan a patrol observed flashlamp signals, and going to the house of a local resident they found a party of men with a lamp. When Patrick Clancy, captain in the IRA, was being questioned, he drew a loaded automatic pistol from his pocket, but was himself shot before he could use it. Four men were arrested." The 'Belfast Telegraph' states that "the officer commanding the party entered the house of James Hickey and found the flashlight, while some of the party outside the house, seized an RIC loaded carbine from Patrick Clancy. Clancy was in company with other men. "While being questioned by the officer commanding, Clancy drew a fully loaded automatic pistol from his pocket, but before he could use it, he was shot dead. James Hickey, James Molony, Joseph Byrne and Laurence Clancy were arrested"* – **Irish Independent**, 3 December 1920, p.5.

"Patrick Clancy, one of the two men who accompanied [Cmdt. Tommy] *Donovan to Connell's public-house in Killenaule was wounded on that occasion. He was sent to friends of his at Garryricken, near Callan, to recuperate. He was a Lieutenant in 'A' (Drangan) Company. When he was alright, I sent him a dispatch to report to a company parade. I attended the parade after which Clancy mentioned that he was anxious to visit his people at Ballyuskey. He was armed with a police carbine which, against my advice, he insisted on bringing with him. He was accompanied on his way home to Ballyuskey by two unarmed members of the company, Joseph Byrne and James Maloney. It so happened that on this particular night, 18th Nov. 1920, a patrol of military left Killenaule to meet a patrol from Mullinahone at Drangan. The patrol from Killenaule was attracted by a youngster who was flashing a flash lamp in the yard of Hickey's house at New Line, Newtown, Drangan. Some of the patrol surrounded the house, while the remainder took up a position on the road. It was dark at the time and Clancy and his two pals walked straight into the party on the road. Clancy had the carbine slung over his shoulder and when he received the order to put his hands up, he had no chance either to use it or dispose of it. An officer named Lieutenant Lichfield, who was in Mickey's Yard investigating the flashing of the lights, was brought on the scene by one of the NCOs. Lichfield walked straight up to Clancy and shot him dead on the road. Byrne and Maloney were taken prisoner and they were detained in custody until the general release after the signing of the Treaty in December 1921"* – **Batt-Adj. Thomas O'Carroll**, 7th Batt., Tipperary No.3 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1243).

"I believed it was justifiable to kill informers, spies, touts, traitors and active collaborators with the occupational forces…Further strength was added to the Movement by the penetration of the British administration in Dublin Castle by agents of the IRA. For the first time in the history of separatism we Irish had a better intelligence service than the British. In my opinion this was Michael Collins' greatest achievement and it is one for which every Irishman should honour his memory"

– Christopher 'Todd' Andrews



"By their destruction the very air is made sweeter. That should be the future's judgement on this particular event. For myself, my conscience is clear. There is no crime in detecting and destroying in war-time, the spy and the informer. They have destroyed without trial. I have paid them back in their own coin"

Michael Collins TD
Director of Intelligence, GHQ, IRA.

Sunday, 21 November 1920

Bloody Sunday

"One Saturday [Michael] Collins said, 'Mind yourself tomorrow Earnán.' No other explanation. Probably there was to be some kind of general round-up. The last time he had told me to watch out had been on Armistice Day, 1919, when men from the Dublin Brigade had been mobilised to wipe out Lord French and his staff as they took the salute during the march past. Volunteers, who had lined the streets, and their concentration at the saluting base outside the Bank of Ireland, had been demobilised as they were ready to hit-up the well-drilled lines of chest medals. That night I went to a céilidhe run by a literary society, actually by a company of the Fourth Battalion. An excited captain from the university whispered to me in the dressing room: 'My God, it's awful, a GHQ job, damned awful.' He cracked the joints of his fingers with loud snaps. He laughed with a nervous whinny and he pressed back his hair, then his hand pressed tightly and grasped the other till the tendons were white. At the college I had heard him talk of footling military details amongst girls and non-Volunteers with pauses and chuckles as he covered his mouth with his hand. Once he had been a legend, now I thought him windy. He had been out in 1916. I did not know what all this talk of his meant. Later I gathered tags from two others who talked as I knew what was to happen. Next day, British secret-service officers, who had steadily improved their system until it now overshadowed ours, were to be shot in Dublin. 'The other battalions are on the job,' said a law student. 'All attacks are to be timed, but I have my doubts. Won't you come with my bunch? It will be tough. Maybe it's a no-come-back job.'" – **Ernie O'Malley**, GHQ Organiser, *On Another Man's Wound*, p. 269.

"For the first time I heard of the network of British agents which had been established under various guises throughout the city. [Francis] Coughlan went on to talk of Leonard McNally and Thomas Reynolds, of Pierce Nagle and Lecaron, the informers on the United Irishmen and the Fenians and, of course, Carey who informed on the Invincibles. I was beginning to wonder what all the circumlocution was about when at last he came to the point and it became clear that he was screwing my courage to the sticking place in advance. Headquarters, with the approval of the Minister for Defence, Cathal Brugha, had decided to kill all the known British agents at 9 a.m. on Sunday 21 November. The Companies of the Dublin Brigade had been selected to deal with a man who was regarded as a key man in the British network…We were very excited by the assignment but the prospect of killing a man in cold blood was alien to our ideas of how war should be conducted. We neither of us relished the idea. We were apprehensive, too, because it could be a very dangerous operation. We were already being affected psychologically by the terror of the Tans. On the other hand, it was an article of my national faith that separatism had always been wrecked on a reef erected by informers and spies" – **Christopher 'Todd' Andrews**, E Coy, 4th Batt., Dublin Brigade, IRA, *Dublin Made Me*, p.160-161.

"GHQ Intelligence got down to the Job of tracking down and checking up on the activities of this new Secret Service Organisation almost at once and it was not long until we knew their Headquarters and their two Sub-Headquarters, and in actual fact we discovered that the caretaker of one of the houses from which they operated in Lower Pembroke Street was the sister of an old IRA man. You can imagine the rest, contact was made. It was soon managed to get an IRA man appointed as hall porter and, gradually others were placed on the various staffs in the houses, resulting in very valuable information being collected from British Secret Service…The British Secret service was wiped out on the 21st November 1920. That morning was one of the most critical ones in the history of our Movement. Men were asked to do something on that day which was outside the ordinary scope of the soldier, but realising their duty to their country and always being ready to obey orders, all jobs were executed. In some instances the IRA parties were actually surprised and running fights took place with superior forces of Auxiliaries along the streets, but in the words of the enemy press and of the enemy officers who witnessed it, "no greater deeds of heroism were ever seen than those which took place on the streets around Mount Street and Pembroke Street, in these open running fights" where our men in actual fact defeated an overwhelming and superior force and then safely got away with their wounded. What happened that day (recorded In history as Bloody Sunday) is well known to everybody. Revenging themselves on the ordinary citizens, the enemy let armoured cars loose in O'Connell Street and in other streets in Dublin. Armoured cars flew up and down O'Connell Street on the footpaths shooting left, right and centre, and then the climax, Croke Park." – **Frank Thornton**, GHQ Intelligence, IRA, (BMH-WS 615).

"The attack was so well organised, so unexpected, so ruthlessly executed that the effect was paralysing. It can be said that the enemy never recovered from that blow" – Dave Neligan, Intelligence, IRA.

"On the evening of 20th November, 1920, the Squad, the Active Service Unit, and a lot of other Volunteers from individual units were ordered to parade at a house in Gardiner Street, I believe. We were addressed there by Dick McKee, who told us that an operation had been planned for the following morning, Sunday, at nine a.m., to eliminate a number of British intelligence agents and spies who were residing in houses throughout the city. He had the names and addresses of the men who were to be executed. There were members of the Intelligence Section present. I was assigned to 22 Lower Mount Street, where two enemy agents were located. One was Lieutenant McMahon, but I cannot remember the other man's name. Tom Kehoe and myself from the Squad, with six others from "E" Company of the 2nd Battalion, proceeded to Lower Mount Street, at the appointed hour on the following morning, 21st November. We knocked at the door and a maid admitted us. We left two men inside the door to see that nobody would enter or leave the house, and, the remainder of us proceeded upstairs to two rooms, the numbers of which we had already ascertained. We had only just gone upstairs when we heard shooting downstairs. The housekeeper or some other lady in the house had seen a patrol of Tans passing by outside, and had started to scream. The Tans immediately surrounded the house and tried to gain admission. One of our young men, Billy McLean, fired at them through the door and eased the situation for us for a little while, although he got wounded in the hand himself. I think the Tans fired first. We succeeded in shooting Lieutenant McMahon, but could not gain admission into the room where the other agent was sleeping. There was a second man in McMahon's bed, but we did not shoot him as we had no instructions to do so. We discovered afterwards that he was an undesirable character as far as we were concerned, and that we should have shot him. We went downstairs and tried to get out but found the British forces at the front of the house. We went to the back of the house, and a member of "E" Company, Jim Dempsey, and myself got through by getting over a wall. We understood that the rest of our party were following us, but after going a little distance we found we were alone. What actually happened was that Teeling was the third man to scale the wall, and as he, got up he was fired on from the house. We were all fired on, but Teeling was the only man who was hit. Teeling took cover in the garden. The other members of our party retired and got safely through the front door in the confusion. It was only hours afterwards that we discovered Teeling was wounded. Dempsey and myself went round by the South Circular Road, and got a wash-up in Golden's house, Victoria Street. We got home safely" – **Jim Slattery**, The Squad, IRA, (BMH-WS 445).

"The British agent in Baggot St., listed for elimination was, as far as I know, Captain Baggaly, who was believed to have been one of Kevin Barry's torturers. On that Sunday morning I left home about 7.30 o'clock and made my way to the dump in North Great Charles St. I met the remainder of the men there — at least some of them. We collected our guns and got out the car. We timed ourselves to be in Baggot Street about five minutes to 9 o'clock. We arrived there up to time — I think it was two or three minutes to 9 — and within three minutes another man, who was on the job, turned up. We parked the car a little to the rear of the house on the opposite side of the street. When our men arrived there was no delay, as arranged. Three or four men entered the house, leaving one man on each side of the building outside as a guard for the men who had actually gone into the house. They had particulars of the agent's bedroom. When the room was entered, he tried to escape through the window, but before he reached the window he was put out of action. The job was completed in the space of a few minutes. We got away without incident. We left Baggot Street and we came down Merrion Square and Westland Row. When we came into Merrion Square we picked up a few men coming off the Mount Street job — one was Herbert Conroy. We arrived back at the dump without any interference from anybody. We replaced the car and dumped our gun" – **Patrick McCrea**, The Squad, IRA, (BMH-WS 413).

Mount Street Upper, Dublin.

Gresham Hotel, Upper O'Connell Street, Dublin.

"The Intelligence Department had been collecting the addresses of British Intelligence officers living in private houses. When they believed that they had completed the list it was decided to take action. This operation, which took place at 9 a.m. on the 21st November 1920, was a Brigade one, members of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th Battalions, the ASU, Intelligence staff, and Squad taking part…Our place of mobilisation for Sunday morning was outside St. Andrew's Church, Westland Row, at 8 a.m. Herbie Conroy was detailed to bring an axe along with him, in case we might have to break into the rooms where the enemy were. Every man paraded at the appointed hour. We were early on our appointment, and had to take our time in going to Mount St. All operations were to be put into action at 9 a.m…We proceeded into Holles St., into Merrion Square, and turned into Upper Mount St. When we came to No. 28, I detailed four or five men to keep guard outside. I then went to the hall door, along with Tom Ennis, and rang the bell. A servant girl opened the door. I asked her could I see Lieutenant Bennett or Lieutenant Aimes, at the same time jamming the door with my foot. As I entered the hall, I beckoned to the remainder of my men to follow. When inside, I asked the girl where did the two officers sleep. She replied: "Lieutenant so-and-so sleeps in there", pointing to the front parlour, the other officer sleeps in the back room down there". I detailed Tom Ennis to take the back room and said I would look after the other one. I gently tried, the handle to open the door, and found that it was locked. The servant then said to me: "You can get in by the back parlour. The folding doors are open". I said: "Thank you". I went into the back parlour, with Seán Doyle and Herbie Conroy each side of me. As I opened the folding-doors, the officer, who was in bed, was in the act of going for his gun under his pillow. Doyle and myself dashed into the room, at the same time ordering him to put up his hands, which he did. Doyle dashed around by the side of the bed, and pulled a Colt .45 from beneath the pillow. Right behind us came Frank Saurin and he started collecting from papers, etc. which was his job. I remember looking into a drawer and seeing a Sinn Féin tie there and, if I am not mistaken, photographs of the 1916 leaders. I ordered the British officer to get out of the bed. He asked me what was going to happen and I replied: "Ah, nothing". I then ordered him to march in front of me. As we were entering the back of the hall, I heard the hell of a row going on somewhere outside - very heavy revolver fire. My next surprise was hearing a ring on the door. The man covering the door looked at me, but did not speak a word I said to him: "Open the door", and in walked a British Tommy, a dispatch rider. Ordering him to put up his hands, which he did, I left him under guard in the hall. I marched my officer down to the back room where the other officer was. He was standing up in the bed, facing the wall. I ordered mine to do likewise. When the two of them were together, I said to myself "The Lord have mercy on your souls!". I then opened fire with my Peter. They both fell dead" – **Vincent Byrne**, The Squad, IRA, (BMH-WS 423).

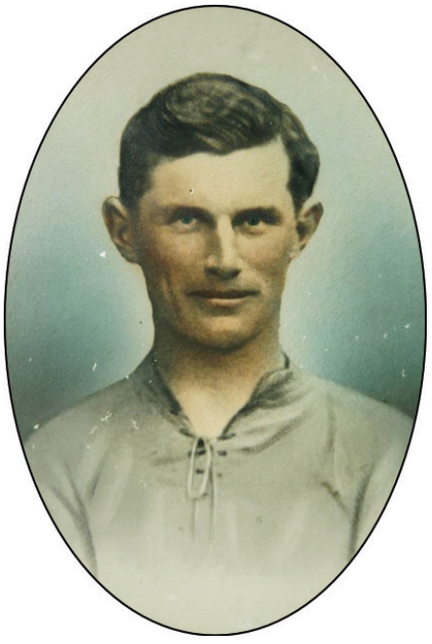
'The Special Gang' – this photo, often mislabelled as 'The Cairo Gang,' a title used incorrectly in the late 20th Century to describe the British Secret Service unit in Ireland, that was rocked by the IRA's intelligence Department. This photograph contains none of the spies killed on Bloody Sunday and may have been those active in late 1920 and 1921. Source: Seán Sexton Collection / Getty Images.

"At about 9 o'clock in the morning of "Bloody Sunday" I was in bed in my room and was awakened by noise. It was a muffled sort of thing like the beating of a carpet. The porter called up to my room afterwards and I asked him what was the noise I had heard. He said that Captain McCormack, who was occupying a room quite close to me, had been shot dead. I got out of bed and entered Captain McCormack's room and I saw that he was then dead. The porter also told me that another man had been shot dead in a room on the next floor over Captain McCormack's. I went to this room also and saw the dead man. His surname was Wilde. I was totally ignorant of what took place or why these men were shot at the time. I questioned the porter and he told me that a number of armed men had entered the hotel and asked to be shown to the rooms occupied by these two men" – **James Doyle**, Gresham Hotel Manager, (BMH-WS 771).

"My brother was thinking of going to Croke Park to see the big match between Tipperary and Dublin but I frightened him off by telling him that I had heard that a couple of Tans had been killed in town. If this had occurred there were bound to be raids on Croke Park, but I did not, of course, anticipate the mini-massacre which took place there that afternoon…My father returned with a garbled and exaggerated account of the events of the day. Rumour had it that hundreds of people had been killed in Croke Park; the Black and Tans were rampaging through the city shooting indiscriminately and martial law had been declared. His information was not quite accurate, but accurate enough to persuade myself and [Andy] Cooney to get to our lodgings without cutting curfew too close…Our Company had been instructed to keep away from Croke Park that afternoon and I assumed that all the units who were involved in the morning's operation were similarly warned. Cooney, who was a Tipperary man and a GAA enthusiast, would certainly have been at the match in the ordinary way. It is most unlikely that many of the IRA men who were 'out' that morning were in Croke Park in the afternoon. Nevertheless, because of the indiscriminate killing of twelve people in the crowd who were watching the match, it was the GAA that appropriated 'Bloody Sunday', which the day has ever since been called, as part of their contribution to the Movement. The men who carried out the IRA operation got no credit for what in fact entailed considerable physical and – even harder to endure – great psychological and moral strain" – **Christopher 'Todd' Andrews** (*inset*), *Dublin Made Me*, p.164-165.

The Massacre at Croke Park

HOGAN, Michael (Mick):



Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *C Coy (Thomastown), 8th Batt., Tipperary No.3 Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 27 October 1896. Born at Currasilla, Grangemockler, Co. Tipperary, to Patrick Hogan and Margaret Tobin. His brother, Daniel Hogan, was Vice-Brigadier of the Monaghan Brigade, IRA.
Address: Aughavaneen, Grangemockler, Co. Tipperary.
Occupation: Farmer.
Death: Hogan was killed while captaining Tipperary against Dublin in the All-Ireland Football Championship match at Croke Park, Dublin. He was shot dead by Crown forces who surrounded the complex and opened fire into the grounds in retaliation for the killings of Crown agents and officers across Dublin City that morning. The original Hogan Stand in Croke Park, which was built in 1924, was named in his honour.
Buried: St. Mary's Cemetery, Grangemockler, Co. Tipperary.

"*On Bloody Sunday, November 21st 1920, Michael Hogan, a member of our Grangemockler Company, was shot dead while playing football with the Tipperary team in Croke Park, Dublin, by British forces. His remains were brought home to Grangemockler for burial where they arrived on or about November the 23rd. It was decided by his comrades of the Company to accord him military honours at the graveside and a firing party of six, of which I was one, was appointed to fire three volleys over his grave. The other five members of the firing party were Patrick Butler, James Butler, Pierce Tobin, Thomas Lawrence and Maurice Donovan*" – **Batt-Adjt. Edward J. Glendon**, 8th Batt., Tipperary No.3 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1127).

"On Bloody Sunday, November 21st, 1920, a member of the company, Michael Hogan of Grangemockler, was shot dead by British Forces in Croke Park where he was playing a game of football with the Tipperary football team. His remains were brought home for burial and were waked overnight in Grangemockler Church. With another member of the company named Patrick Davern, I acted as bodyguard on the remains in the church that night. I was armed with a revolver and I cannot now say if Davern was similarly armed or not. Next day I was present in the graveyard at his (Michael Hogan's) burial when three volleys were fired over his grave by a party of Volunteers. The British forces did not make any attempt to interfere with the funeral arrangements" – **Cmdt. Peter Tobin**, 8th Batt., Tipperary No.3 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1223).

(Above) Hogan's teammates on the Tipperary County Football team pay their respects at the site of Hogan's death during the replay of the All-Ireland Final when hostilities ceased. Source: www.friendsoftipperaryfootball.com.
(Below) The admission ticket into Croke Park for the All-Ireland Final

CUMANN NA SCLEAS LUIT NGAEDEALAC
(GAELIC ATHLETIC ASSOCIATION)

GREAT CHALLENGE MATCH
(FOOTBALL)

Tipperary v. Dublin

AT CROKE PARK
ON SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 21, 1920
MATCH AT 2.45 P.M.

ADMISSION ∴ ∴ ∴ ∴ 1/-

"Fourteen of these agents were killed on that day and three others escaped with wounds, but owing to certain misunderstanding of orders, a number of others were not attacked and so escaped the same fate. The survivors either fled the country or sought the shelter of Dublin Castle, and in either case their mission had been defeated before it had well begun. An All-Ireland football final was being played that day at Croke Park in Dublin, and as a reprisal for the shooting of their agents, lorry loads of military and auxiliaries surrounded Croke Park while the game was in progress and, without warning, opened' fire with rifles and machine guns on the crowd and the players on the field. One of the Tipperary players was shot dead on the field and thirteen other civilians were also killed. Eleven were seriously wounded and fifty-four others received wounds and injuries of one kind or another" – **Joseph V. Lawless**, Fingal Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1043).

"Later Tom Kehoe asked Joe Dolan and myself to go to the Football and Hurling Matches in Croke Park. We went there. His theory was that if there was any sudden raid, we would be much safer there. We parked ourselves on the famous Hill '16, and the match had just started when, as far as we could see, there was a rumble and bustle going on around the entrance gate at the Hogan Stand side. (I personally had no interest in the match). We suddenly realised that the whole ground was under rifle and machine-gun fire. We scattered and separated from, one another on the Hill. My hat fell off and while I was picking it up the man in front of was shot. I was very fit in those days and I ran across the slob-lands at the back of Hill '16 over to the Ballybough gate. I ran so fast that I was nearly the first to reach it. The gates were not open. I jumped for the top of the gate, caught it and went over the far side. I pulled myself together. Although the British Forces had a local man guiding them, they still made a bad job of it. This entrance was not covered by any British Forces. I then went to where I lived in Infirmary Road. We had safely dumped our guns before going to Croke Park" – **Dan McDonnell**, GHQ Intelligence, IRA, (BMH-WS 486).

"The match was in progress for about ten minutes when an aeroplane flew overhead and fired a Verey light signal. Tipperary was playing Dublin on this occasion and the play was concentrating about the Dublin goal. A penalty had been awarded against the Dublin team and I was about to take the free kick when a burst of machine-gun and rifle fire occurred. The crowd of spectators immediately stampeded. The players also fled from the field in among the sideline spectators, except six of us who threw ourselves down on the ground where we were. The six of us who remained - Hogan and I and four of the Dublin team - were I think all Volunteers. I suppose it was our Volunteer training that prompted us to protect ourselves by lying down rather than by rushing around. From where we lay, we could see sparks flying off the railway embankment wall where the bullets struck the wall, and we saw people rolling down the embankment who presumably were hit. There was general pandemonium at this stage between the firing, people rushing and a general panic amongst the crowd. Two of the players who were lying on the field at this stage got up and made a rush for the paling surrounding the pitch on the Hill Sixty [Hill '16] *side, which was nearest to them. One by one we followed their example, and it was while Hogan was running from the field to the paling that he got hit by a bullet. I think Josie Sinnott and myself were the last to leave, the field. Going across to Hogan, I tried to lift him but the blood was spurting from a wound in his back and I knew he was very badly injured. He made the exclamation when I lifted him, "Jesus, Mary and Joseph! I am done!", and died on the spot. My hands and my jersey were covered with his blood"* – **V/C Thomas Ryan**, 6th Batt., Tipperary No.3 Brigade, IRA & Tipperary County Player, (BMH-WS 783).

"From the tram we saw ample evidence of the military activities. Armoured cars and soldiers in lorries were patrolling the streets, holding up and searching pedestrians and cyclists. When we got to Nelson Pillar however, we saw that there were huge crowds going to the football match and we decided that the crowds might be too much for the children, so we went out to Dollymount instead. There was a cold wind blowing on the Bull wall and we set out to return rather earlier than usual. We were on top of an open tram running in from Fairview when we saw vast numbers of people running from the direction of Croke Park, some of them bleeding from head and face. They were crowding the trams. An old friend, Paddy Devlin, a Gaelic sports-writer whose pen-name was Celt, came up on top of the tram. I asked him what had happened and he said that the Tans had driven into the Park and opened fire on the football crowd. Some of the players were killed, he said, and a lot of the spectators. At the Pillar, Una left to take the children home and I went to the Freeman's Journal office to find out what had happened. The reports that were coming in were dire indeed. The firing in the Park had been kept up for ten minutes. More than a dozen people had been killed and hundreds were wounded. Many more had been trampled in the stampede" – **Robert Brennan**, Sinn Féin Publicity Bureau, (BMH-WS 779 – Section III).

"Making a quick survey of the situation, I ran for a spot in the paling. The Auxiliaries had not come in on the playing-pitch but were all around the grounds marshalling the people into groups, making them keep their hands up and searching them, while here and there some of them kept firing off shots in all directions. As I reached the paling, I saw one Auxie loading a round into the breech of his rifle and who appeared to be looking in my direction. I dropped to the ground, and a youngster near me fell, which I took to be from the shot that was intended for me. So jumping over the paling, I got into the crowd. At this stage, the firing began to die down and I began to think. Realising that I was a wanted man - the police had been looking for me at my home a few days before I left - and that, therefore, I would probably be arrested at least, I cast about for some means of escape. I was the only member

of the Tipperary team who wore the national tricolour in my stockings and knickers and I realised that this fact alone made me conspicuous. I made a dash across Hill Sixty and got out of Croke Park over the wall." - **V/C Thomas Ryan,** Tipperary Footballer, (BMH W/S 783).

RYAN, Thomas (More Rope):

Rank: Section-Commander.
Unit: *A Coy, 1st Batt., Dublin Brigade, IRA.*
DOB: 24 October 1893. Born in Glenbrien, Enniscorthy, Co. Wexford, to Matthew Ryan and Bridget Doyle.
Address: 56 Viking Road, Arbour Hill, Dublin
Occupation: Dublin Gas Company Employee.
Familial: Ryan married Mary Boland on 28 February 1916 at Aughrim Street Church, Dublin. Their children were Monica Bridget (1917-1994) and Catherine Frances Ryan (1919-2003).
Death: Known affectionally by his comrades as 'More Rope,' a name that stuck after demanding more rope to tie up sentries during a raid at Collinstown Aerodrome, Ryan had been involved in the planned executions of British agents and informers that morning, however, his target had not been in residence at the time. Having family visiting from County Wexford to see the All-Ireland Football Final, Ryan agreed to accompany them. He was reputedly shot and mortally wounded while giving the Act of Contrition to Michael Hogan on the football field. Ryan died of his wounds later that day at Jervis Street Hospital.
Buried: DC 86, St. Paul's Section, Glasnevin Cemetery, Dublin.
Image Source: Terry Dignan, Co. Wicklow.
MSPC Ref: DP7168.

"I made my way into a house in Clonliffe Road, where I thought I was safe. I was only a short time in the house, however, when it was surrounded by the Black and Tans or Auxiliaries. They forced in the door of the house. An old man who made some remark to them in the hall was knocked down with a blow from the butt of a revolver. One of them, seeing me, said, "There is one of the Tipperary assassins! Take him out and shoot him!" Two of them had bayonets drawn and I was knocked down and the stockings and knickers ripped off me with the bayonets, leaving me naked. Just then an officer came on the scene and instructed the Auxiliaries to bring me back into Croke Park where I would be shot with the rest of the team. I believe they would have shot me there and then, were it not for the intervention of the officer who, I think, acted not from motives of mercy but just that he wanted to be tidy and, instead of having odd shootings here and there, to have them all done together in Croke Park. I was marched along the road, quite naked, and in the course of my move back to Croke Park, I could see people still rushing about. They were jumping from the wall out of Croke Park and one man had become impaled on the spikes of an iron railing. A spike of the railing had penetrated his thigh and, while he was in this predicament, others were using his body to step over the railing on him. A man who was standing with his girlfriend, with his hands up, taking pity of my nakedness, threw me a coat, but his thanks for this was a blow from the butt-end of a rifle from one of the Auxiliaries. As I entered the grounds, I saw a priest ministering to the wounded and dying, and a drunken Tan coming up behind him and knocking him flat with the butt of a revolver.

The priest was holding aloft the Blessed Sacrament at the time. The people in the grounds had been holding their hands up for about twenty minutes at this time and numbers were collapsing from the strain. I found myself eventually back at the railway wall inside Croke Park where I was placed in company with the remainder of the team. I was still in my nakedness as the Auxiliaries had refused to allow me to take the coat I was offered. The newspapers the following day made reference to a naked player. I was the one they referred to. I and the remainder of the team were lined up against the railway embankment wall and a firing party stood in front of us. There we remained until all the people in the grounds had been searched. We fully expected to be shot, as the Auxiliaries had promised us, but later a military officer informed us that, if any shooting or resistance took place during the searching of the crowd, he had orders to shoot two of us for every such incident. Our clothes, which had been left in the dressing-room, were searched for documents or arms. Not finding anything like that, they relieved us of every penny they found in our pockets. That night, as we were penniless, an ex-British army officer, who was in sympathy with us and Ireland's Cause, divided £50 amongst the team to enable us to subsist and get home to Tipperary. His name was Jack Kavanagh of Seville Place" – **V/C Thomas Ryan**, 6th Batt., Tipperary No.3 Brigade, IRA & Tipperary County Player, (BMH-WS 783).

The Tipperary All-Ireland Football Team photograph taken before the events. Michael Hogan stands in the second row, eleventh from the right; Jackie Brett, an IRA officer who died from accidental gunshot wounds in April 1921, sits in the front row, second on the right and Jim Egan, who stands second on the right in the second row was killed in the later stages of the Civil War while fighting for the IRA.

TRAYNOR, Joseph Patrick (Joe):

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *F Coy, 4th Batt., Dublin Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 17 March 1900. Traynor was born in Bluebell, Dublin, to Michael Traynor and Kate Langrell.
Address: 484 Ballymount, Clondalkin, Dublin.
Occupation: Kiln Worker.
Death: Whilst at Croke Park, Traynor received multiple gunshot wounds to his back as he tried to escape over the wall at the Canal End from the hail of gunfire. Having sustained two wounds to his back, he was helped to the Ring homestead, where, Joseph Ring, the grandfather of Lord Mayor of Dublin Nial Ring (IND, 2018-19), tried to ease his wounds before seeking medical assistance. Joseph Ring and his brother, Christopher, carried the dying Traynor to Love Lane where an ambulance conveyed him to Jervis Street Hospital, where he died later that day. Traynor is recorded as a civilian in *DOTIR.*
Buried: Bluebell Cemetery, Naas Rd, Dublin.
Image Source: Maura Murphy Gibson.
MSPC Ref: DP5696.

"Next day a stop press; thirteen British officers scattered through the city and suburbs had been shot dead, three had been wounded, others had escaped. Some had been killed in their beds beside their wives. Dublin was jumpy, passers-by were nervous; they spoke less as they walked, and groups at street corners took on a new significance. Something would happen, but what? The British would not take that lying down. The city had been safe enough so far. Its people had not experienced the desolate remoteness of the country during the raids of threatening soldiers, drunken Tans and fiercely arrogant Auxies. Dublin had not felt the loneliness and awed night of a country town or small city controlled by its garrison. Soldiers held up men walking in threes and fours. Crossley Tenders nosed up and down as if the Auxiliaries did not know what to do next. Heavy lorries stopped outside flats and private houses; soldiers hurriedly helped to move the belongings of other intelligence officers, and those who might be open to attack, to the Castle or

to a hotel which was heavily guarded. In the afternoon the crowd at a Gaelic football match in Croke Park had been surrounded by soldiers, police and Auxiliaries: twelve killed, eleven seriously wounded, fifty slightly wounded by machine-guns and rifles. I heard the distant rattling. Steel-plated Lancias and armoured cars with swinging turrets dashed through the streets; they curved in towards the footpaths, people scurried. The troops had blood in their eyes. Streets were suddenly held up by soldiers and men in plain clothes; at the top of Dawson Street I saw two lorries spill out Auxies who snapped on bayonets as they ran to cut off a part of the street. They hit men with the butts of their rifles. I was told at McGilligans' in Leeson Street where I often slept that it would not be safe for me to stay the night. Kathleen McGilligan was worried: 'Seán MacBride will find you a place and – get there as soon as you can…what's that? A sound of shooting. Seán MacBride was the son of Major John MacBride, who had been executed after Easter Week. We voiced our fears as we walked" - **Ernie O'Malley**, GHQ Organiser, *On Another Man's Wound*, p. 270-271.

While in a safehouse in Mountjoy Square: *"What does Cathal* [Brugha] *do but went* [sic] *up to his room, pulled up the window, pulled over a chair alongside it, pulled out two revolvers and put them on the bed beside him, and took off his boots!...Now my tactics would have been entirely different. I would have* [had] *my bicycle out and been out of the gate at the back, and I would have been off up Drumcondra; but, noblesse oblige, I had to sit alongside my minister on the side of the bed there, praying whatever was going to pass"* – **C/S Richard Mulcahy**, GHQ, IRA,

The Arrest of Brigadier Dick McKee & Peadar Clancy

As told by Vice-Brigadier Oscar Traynor

"Early in the morning of the 21st November, I was informed of the arrest of the Brigadier together with Peadar Clancy, Director of Munitions, in a house in Lower Gloucester Street. I had been with the Brigadier on the Saturday evening up to 9.55 p.m. Curfew, which was in operation at that time, was fixed at ten o'clock. On several occasions during that evening, I had urged the Brigadier to leave in order to give himself a chance to get home before curfew, but he had so much work to complete that he did not get an opportunity of leaving up to the time mentioned. We had been interviewing people up to about half past nine. I wanted Dick to hurry and finish up, and he would say, "I'll get out in a second", and then he would discover something else that had to be done. I had a bicycle and I think Dick had a bicycle. I left him at five minutes to ten, when he was rolling up his papers preparatory to going home. I presumed he was going to go home too. I got my bicycle out of the hall and set off. I made a detour. I always made a detour. I generally went through some short narrow streets, where I could always look round to make sure that I was not being shadowed. I satisfied myself that I was not being followed. I do not know whether Dick McKee took precautions like that or not. Because of the curfew the streets were deserted, and there can be little doubt that he was followed and information given in regard to the house in which he was residing. The house was raided at about midnight and himself, Peadar Clancy and the landlord of the house, Mr. Fitzpatrick, were arrested and taken to the Castle. At twenty minutes past ten on that night there was a knock at the door of the house where I was staying. The people of the house were too terrified to open the door, so I went and opened it. I was astonished to see a Volunteer orderly outside. He said he had a note for me from the Brigadier, and gave it to me. I said to the orderly, "When did you get this?". He answered, "I only got it about ten minutes ago". I said, "You had better get off home as soon as you can". Dick McKee must have left Brigade Headquarters after curfew and then, I suppose, he had to rush and take the shortest route home, which would be about four minutes journey on a bicycle. Brigade Headquarters was in the Typographica1 Institute, 35 Lower Gardiner Street, and the house in which he was living was around the corner in Gloucester Street.

The note which Dick McKee sent to me that night was of very little importance, but it shows how meticulous he was in regard to his job. It probably had something to do with intelligence. There was a crest on a little bit of paper pinned on to the note which he had written. The note asked me if I would pass it on to my brother and ask him what the crest signified and what the inscription on the crest. I presume the crest was cut off a piece of notepaper and he wanted to find out what it meant. Even at the last moment he found a little job that he should have done and finished it off. That was the last note from Dick McKee. Sometime round about 4.30 p.m. on Sunday, I was called upon by Michael Collins at my home, when he informed me that Dick McKee and Peadar Clancy were in the Bridewell, and that we had a great chance of getting them out. He asked me to get a half dozen of the best men in the 2nd Battalion and to meet him as soon as I had these men together, at 46 Parnell Square. I immediately contacted Seán Russell, and together we got the required number of outstanding men. We all carried arms and we made our way to Parnell Square, walking on opposite sides of the road as protection for each other. The streets were deserted, very few people were to be seen, but a we were crossing at the Parnell Monument we saw the Black and Tans unmercifully beating a few unfortunate people who had the temerity to be out. I have a vivid recollection of seeing, where the Hospitals Trust is now, one poor fellow down on one knee and a Black and Tan beating him with the butt of a revolver. We, however, continued on our way for we had a more important task to carry out than rescuing these poor follows from the blows of the Black and Tan and the police. On our arrival at the bottom of Parnell Square we were astonished to see a military lorry pulled up outside No. 46 Parnell Square. This, naturally, caused considerable excitement amongst our small group, which I dispersed for the moment while keeping a watch on the lorry. After about

twenty minutes the lorry drove away and Russell and myself made our way to No. 46. On entering the premises, we found a small boy crying bitterly. We asked this boy if the military had taken any men away, and he informed us that they had taken his father away, but that the other men had gone out the back. The other men, I presumed, were Michael Collins and whoever he may have had with him. Unfortunately, we were unable to make contact afterwards, although we waited for about an hour and a half. We eventually decided to abandon the project, more especially because of the activity which appeared to be taking place in the vicinity of O'Connell Street. The following day I was informed that Dick McKee and his comrade had been killed, and that they never, in fact had been near the Bridewell. The information in this respect was later discovered to be completely wrong" – **Vice-Brigadier Oscar Traynor**, Dublin Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 340).

22nd November 1920

CLANCY, Peadar:

Rank: Director of Munitions (GHQ).
Unit: *General Headquarters, IRA.*
– *Formerly Vice-Brigadier of the Dublin Brigade, IRA (-May 1920).*
– *Formerly attached to 1st Batt., Dublin Bde, I.V.*
– *Served in the Four Courts Garrison during the 1916 Rising.*
DOB: 9 November 1888. Born at Carrowreagh East, Cranny, Co. Clare, to James Clancy and Mary Keane.
Occupation: Draper.
Address: Republican Outfitters, 94 Talbot St, Dublin.
Death: Clancy was arrested alongside Brigadier Dick McKee of the Dublin Brigade and Seán Fitzpatrick at a safehouse in Gloucester St, Dublin, on the word of an informer, in the early hours of Sunday, 21 November. They were taken to Dublin Castle and individually questioned, however, when word filtered into Dublin Castle about the shootings of British intelligence officers across Dublin, the mood changed from moderate to intense. The Black and Tans who guarded the prisoners became increasingly drunk and irate, according to other Republican prisoners. One other prisoner, Conor Clune, a member of Conradh na Gaeilge, had been arrested in Vaughan's Hotel in Parnell Square, without any identification, luggage or reservation in the hotel. Deemed suspicious, he would become a target for the Tans in Dublin Castle. Clancy and McKee would suffer multiple wounds with McKee's remains showing bayonet slices along his arms and hand and a fatal gunshot wound. Clancy was shot point blank in the head, causing extensive fatal wounds to his brain and the back of his head. While Clancy and McKee's remains showed signs of beatings and torture, Clune's remains did not. Conflicting medical reports claim that Clune received between one and thirteen bullet wounds to his chest. Their murders were masqueraded, with much effort by the authorities, that they were shot and killed while trying to escape.
Buried: The Republican Plot, Glasnevin Cemetery, Dublin.
MSPC Ref: 1D412.

"Now the curse of poor old Ireland are informers and shoneens,
Those who crawl and sell their country to the British kings and Queens,
They sell their souls for sport and pleasure a rotten cowardly act to do,
Sure tis only slaves and traitors who will split their land in two"

"Diabolical reprisals were taken later on that day for the execution of the British spies. Large detachments of Auxiliaries and Black and Tans drove to Croke Park where ten thousand people, many of whom had not even heard of the early morning shooting, were spectators at the football match between Tipperary and Dublin. The British surrounded the grounds and instantly discharged volley after volley into the crowd, killing fourteen people and wounding fifty-seven. The second reprisal touched me closely. It was the murder of Peadar Clancy and Dick McKee, Commandant and Vice-Commandant respectively of the Dublin Brigade. Both had been observed by a military police-sergeant named James Ryan as they entered Fitzpatrick's house off Gloucester Street in the early hours of Bloody Sunday. Ryan, who lodged off Gloucester Street and who had been in intelligence work for some time, telephoned the information to Dublin Castle and McKee and Clancy were captured in the raid which followed about 2 am. Earlier in the night,

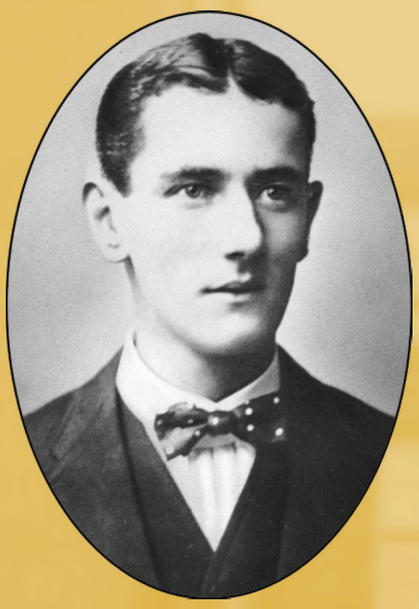
Conor Clune, a young Irish language student from Clare, was arrested at Vaughan's Hotel, Parnell Square. He had no connection whatsoever with the IRA and had merely availed himself of a lift in a car to come from Clare for the weekend. He was a football enthusiast and, as he had to attend to some business in the city, he timed his arrival for the challenge match at Croke Park. He went to Vaughan's to discuss Gaelic League business with Piaras Béaslaí. All three prisoners were taken to the Castle and foully murdered. An independent medical examination showed that Peadar, Dick and Clune had been subjected to the most incredible tortures before they were done to death. They were tortured, battered, bayoneted and then shot through the head. The murderers were led by Captain Hardy, an Orangeman, and Captain King, an Englishman, both notorious members of the Castle Murder Gang. 'Poor Dick was beyond recognition,' James MacNamara, one of Collins' agents in the Castle, told Charlie Dalton of the Dublin Brigade. 'I saw the battered corpses being taken away to King George V Hospital. They flung them into the van. I was nearly mad, but I had to act my part. I had to look on while Captain X (the notorious Captain Hardy) pulled back a canvas screen to satisfy his hate with a last look. He flashed his torch on poor Dick's ghastly face, screaming at him as if the dead ears could still catch an echo of his words, and at the same time hitting the body with his revolver.' Sir Hamar Greenwood, instructed by his agents of Dublin Castle, invented the usual villainous lying explanation. It was stated that Clancy and McKee had attacked the guard and attempted to escape. Imagine two highly intelligent officers attacking an armed guard in the heart of a fortress from which escape was high well-nigh impossible. Mick Collins and Tom Cullen made the arrangements for the obsequies at the Pro-Cathedral. I mention this to their everlasting credit. Dick and Peadar! Two of our bravest officers. Two of the staunchest supporters of our war policy. They met their death only five weeks after Seán Treacy and did not even get the chance of putting up some show of resistance. The informer, James Ryan, did not long survive them. Known as 'Shankers' Ryan, he was a brother of Becky Cooper, a brothel keeper. His brother-in-law was with him in Hynes' pub in old Gloucester Place, about 10 am on Saturday, 5 February 1921, where he was executed for his treachery" – **Dan Breen**, *My Fight for Irish Freedom*, p.157-158.

McKEE, Richard (Dick):

Rank: Director of Training (GHQ).
– Brigadier (Dublin Brigade).
Unit: *General Headquarters, IRA.*
– *Dublin Brigade, IRA.*
– *Formerly attached to G Company, 2nd Batt., Dublin Brigade, I.V.*
– *Served at Jacob's Biscuit Factory Garrison during the 1916 Rising.*
DOB: 4 April 1893. Son of Patrick McKee and Bridget O'Leary.
Occupation: Printer.
Address: Various Safe Houses, Dublin. Originally connected to Finglas, Co. Dublin.
Death: See CLANCY, Peadar.
Buried: The Republican Plot, Glasnevin Cemetery, Dublin.
MSPC Ref: DP23324.

"I saw Dick McKee's body afterwards, and it was almost unrecognisable. He had evidently been tortured before being shot. Peadar had a clean bullet wound in the temple and apparently was put out of pain at once. News leaked out that, after the shooting in Mount Street, the auxiliaries, infuriated at the loss of so many of their special agents, endeavoured to force information out of Dick and Peadar. They must have beaten Dick almost to pulp. When they threatened him with death, according to reports, Dick's last words were, "Go on, and do your worst!". This was a shocking blow to the Dublin Brigade. Never was an officer so popular and so thorough as Dick McKee. Every man in the Brigade loved him. Pèadar, a slight, boyish-looking lad from Glare, was very little behind Dick in general ability, and second to none in courage and intelligence. Dick McKee was tall, slight, very wide between the shoulders, but stooped, and seldom stood up to his full height of over six feet. He had jet black hair, a slightly hooked nose, a small black moustache and a magnificent set of small white teeth, which he showed when he laughed. He was possessed of tireless energy. His very, appearance gave the impression that he was always in a hurry and that he always had so much to do before he died. He had a premonition that he would not live through the fight." – **Brigadier Michael Lynch**, Fingal Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 511).

"The effect of the operation on Bloody Sunday was to completely paralyse the British military intelligence system in Dublin. The police investigations had already been smashed by the attitude of the Volunteers in respect to that force. The police themselves were the first to fail, and "G" Division, after the execution of Hoey and Smith, were driven into the Castle and their operations then were mainly carried out from military lorries and consisted almost entirely of identification of individuals" – **Vice-Brigadier Oscar Traynor**, Dublin Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 340).



MacGLÚIN, Conchobhar (CLUNE, Conor):
Affiliation: Irish Separatist.
– *Sinn Féin.*
DOB: 26 July 1893. Son of John Clune and Bridget Walsh.
Address: Quin, Co. Clare
Occupation: Clerk.
Death: See CLANCY, Peadar.
Buried: Quin Abbey, Quin, Co. Clare.
MSPC Ref: DP24871.

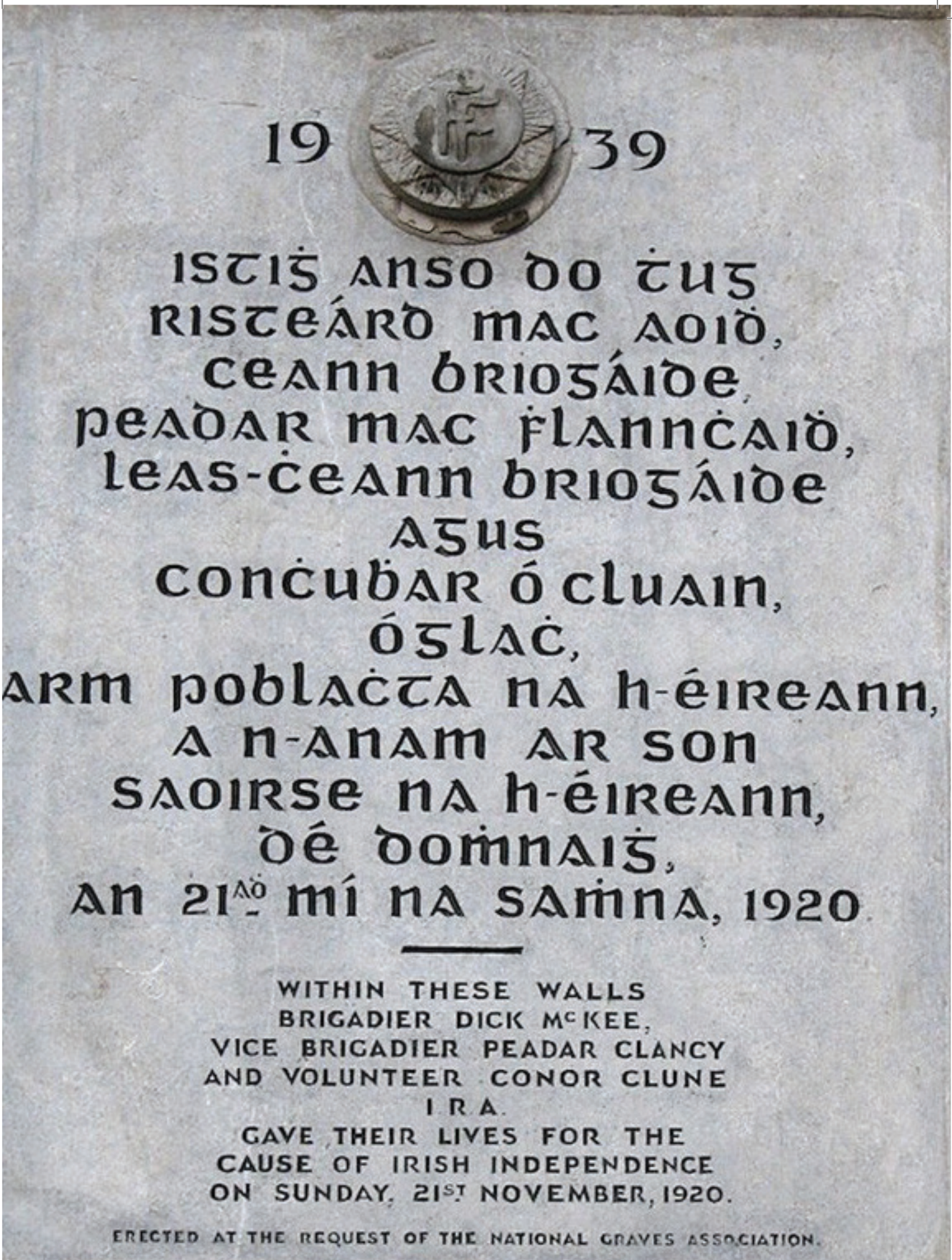
Conor Clune – Óglach?
by Éireann Nic Uaitéir

Many of those featured in the Sliocht Róisín project as members of Republican organisations were for many years not referenced as such. Some were simply forgotten; some had their status reduced to prevent reprisals against their families. The reasons vary and-in-some cases, even very recent publications refer to them as civilians. One case that has led to much controversy over the years has been that of Conor Clune of Quin, Co. Clare, murdered in the Guardroom of Dublin Castle on Bloody Sunday. As an aside, four of the fourteen shot dead at Croke Park that day were IRA members – including both the famous Michael Hogan and Thomas Ryan, who was killed whispering the Act of Contrition into his ear. We have examined the evidence that Clune was most likely a member of the IRA, and not as of often argued, simply an Irish Nationalist caught in the wrong place at the wrong time. Clune went to Dublin on 20 November 1920 with his manager, Dr. Edward MacLysaght, who later became Free State senator. MacLysaght was an Intelligence Officer with the East Clare Brigade and his statement at the time was crucial for the development of the narrative that Clune was not involved. Clune had told MacLysaght that he was going to meet Seán O'Connell, a fellow Gaelic language enthusiast. The pair ended up at Vaughan's Hotel with Piaras Béaslaí TD, an influential Gaelgeóir and IRA GHQ officer. Béaslaí went back downstairs and resumed his conversation with the pair – not noticing that Michael Collins, Peadar Clancy and others had slipped away, having been warned of the incoming raid. When it arrived, Béaslaí and O'Connell ran out the back door, Clune remaining with Seán Cavanagh, believing he would not be incriminated. Cavanagh later recalled in the Capuchin Annual 1969 that Clune remarked 'We can die for Ireland as well as anyone else.' In the end, Clune was arrested as he was not accounted for as a guest. Béaslaí's recollection of Clune's presence changed over the years. In '*Michael Collins and the Making of a New Ireland* (1926) Béaslaí claims he was not a Volunteer, however, on 11 November 1923, in a letter to Bridget, Clune's mother, he states: *'As to the question of Conor meeting his death while on duty, General Hegarty, then Director of Organisation, tells me Conor came to the hotel to see him so that point can be easily proved.'* In his article in the *Irish Independent* (24 January 1943), he states that Clune was a young Clare man who had just arrived in Dublin on IRA business, who had an express wish to meet him specifically, and was brought to do so by O'Connell. Whatever the case, Clune ended up in the hub of the Irish Revolutionary movement on the eve of it striking a deadly blow against the Empire, and in the presence of Michael Collins and Peadar Clancy. He clearly had particular credentials to be allowed such close interaction. GHQ Intelligence officer, Liam Tobin, who had no connection with the Clune family, claimed that Conor was there to meet Collins himself – testimony that must be tempered by his claim that he was arrested at Peadar Clancy's Republican Outfitters shop on Talbot Street. The details of the murder of Clune, Clancy and McKee in the aftermath of the Bloody Sunday events, have been relayed many times – suffice to say they were brutal. MacLysaght identified his employee, who had been severely beaten and had no less than thirteen bullet wounds. Conor's nephew, Conor F. Clune, son of Stephen Clune, who was sent to Dublin to collect the remains, reaching only as far as Limerick Junction, wrote in 1995, that Bridget refused to allow his burial in the Republican Plot in Dublin, wanting him returned home. McKee and Clancy were given Republican honours at the Pro-Cathedral whilst Clune lay in state at St. Andrew's Church. During his funeral to Quin Abbey in Clare, Clune's coffin was covered in the Irish Tricolour, but was eventually removed by a British officer. This project has not yet encountered a case where a mere civilian was afforded such honours during this era – we have found multiple cases where people mistakenly claimed as civilians did however. When his headstone was finally erected in 1970, locals clearly referred to him as a Volunteer, and the plaque above his grave states that he died for

Ireland – an epitaph not generally afforded to civilians. The memorial plaque at Dublin Castle, commissioned by the National Graves Association in 1939; an organisation then in its infancy and administered by former IRA volunteers and devout Republicans of that era, claims Clune as an IRA volunteer. Memorials indeed can be wrong but can often be indicative of broader currents. An extensive false account by Dublin Castle of the deaths, claiming they had been a result of an escape attempt, made reference to Clune as a Lieutenant in the 1st Battalion, Clare Brigade, IRA. The Clare Brigade, in its original form had ceased in 1919 and had been reformed into three fully functioning brigades. MacLysaght gave an equally lengthy rebuttal of this shortly after Bloody Sunday, stating that neither he or Clune had belonged to any political organisations and that Clune was opposed to physical force. This was an obvious lie in his case, as well as Clune's. It is claimed that as MacLysaght was his manager and had no knowledge of Clune being in the IRA, he was not. This does not account for the circumstances of the time. MacLysaght was a key part of the ceremonies in 1970, when Clune was firmly marked as a Volunteer by the locality.

Conor F. Clune explains the situation in the publication on his family history. Bridget Clune did not want, for particular reasons, her son to be recognised as an IRA Volunteer in the turbulent climate of the time and did not allow his burial in Dublin, partly for that reason. Part of this was the efforts of Archbishop Clune of Perth, a native of Ruan, Co. Clare, to establish peace in Ireland with Prime Minister Lloyd George. Being perceived to have familial links to IRA Volunteers would have deeply undermined these efforts. The Military Archives also show multiple strands of evidence of Clune's membership. An extensive list of Clare IRA leaders put in supporting statements for the application by his sister, Margaret, for a pension, which ultimately proved successful. Lieutenant Patrick McDonald of the Tuamgraney Company, 4th Battalion, East Clare Brigade, signed off on Clune being a temporary member of the 4th Battalion in the Clune MSPC file. Brigadier Michael Brennan, who then commanded the East Clare Brigade and who was quiet intimate with the Dublin leadership, corroborated Margaret's claim for service. It must also be noted that Margaret was a local leader of the Cumann na mBan and was involved with anti-Treaty activity during the Civil War, including up to the 1923 election. This reach across the Treaty divide was not uncommon but is further evidence of the validity of the claim – leading pro-Treaty figures such as Brennan and Liam Tobin would not be prepared to tell lies to provide for an anti-Treatyite who had secured her own pension. Captain Joseph Clancy of the Killaloe IRA stated that Clancy had been under his command. Tom Hogan, Quartermaster of the 5th Battalion, also supported the claim, stating personal knowledge that Clune was involved in 4th Battalion intelligence work. Commandant Henry O'Hara of the 6th Battalion was another referee, saying that he believed Clune had been engaged in intelligence work in the Raheen-Scariff area – where he worked. Martin Hannon claimed he had met Clune as a steward at the 1918 Sinn Féin Ard Fheis in Dublin. Of more interest is his description of Clune being somewhat a freelance liaison officer. Had he disconnected from the military structure, however, with his movements to and from Clare to Dublin, on behalf of MacLysaght's business, did he continue to serve the cause with trusted information to GHQ? One dissenting voice emerges - Commandant Seán O'Halloran of the 4th Battalion, who stated that he knew Clune well, but that he was not a member of his battalion. He concedes he may have been involved in his native Quin, in what was 1st Battalion territory. Indeed, those who claimed that Clune was an IRA Volunteer may have done so to give favour to Margaret Clune's application; a posthumous promotion into the IRA. What had Liam Tobin to gain from this? Tobin, one of GHQ Intelligence's leading officers, also supported the application, stating Clune was with Collins by appointment that night – although if true, this then contradicts with other sources, such as those which claim that Clune was to meet Béaslaí.

Overall, the supporting claims far outweigh the lone voice of opposition. It can be argued that the East Clare veterans wished to help provide the Clune's with a pension – but this would be a fairly unique case among the MSPC, with multiple key leadership figures concocting such a tale. In addition to the pension, the Clune family applied for and received a 1917-21 service medal. In conclusion, it is very likely that Conor Clune was a member of the IRA when he died in the fallout of Bloody Sunday and that he has been done a disservice by the confused remembrance he receives. The family, the Military Archives, the funeral, his community and his memorial often use or bear the word Volunteer before his name. Having examined this information, Sliocht Róisín felt it wise to include Conor Clune on this database.



The memorial at Dublin Castle dedicated by the National Graves Association to McKee, Clancy and Clune. Note Clune is recorded as an IRA volunteer.

CARMODY, Edmond (Eddie):

Rank: 2nd Lieutenant.
Unit: *Ballylongford Coy, 6th Batt., Kerry No.1 Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 25 January 1892. Born at Coolaclarig, Listowel, Co. Kerry, to Michael Carmody and Ellen McGrath.
Occupation: Farmer.
Address: Ahalshanna, Cuss, Newtownsandes, Co. Kerry.
Death: On the evening of 21 November 1920, Crown forces raided Ballylongford and fired indiscriminately throughout the town. Carmody, who was visiting the residence of Brian O'Grady attempted to liaise with other volunteers but mistook policemen for comrades in the dark. Carmody was shot in the back and summarily executed on the roadside after an attempt to hide. He was beaten with rifle-butts, bayoneted and subsequently shot in the face. His remains were dragged by a cart towards the local barracks, where they were left until collected the following day by his elderly father. His killer, Sgt. John Maher was shot and killed in an act of reprisal.
Buried: Murhur Cemetery, Moyvane, Co. Kerry.
MSPC Ref: 2RBSD120.

"In November of this year a man named Eddie Carmody who used to live here in Newtownsandes and was originally a member of this Company, was shot dead by Tans in Ballylongford. He was living in Ballylongford for some time before he was shot. The shooting of Carmody put new life into the Company here and the men of the Company were very anxious to avenge his death" – **Lieut. Jack Ahern**, Newtownsandes Coy, Kerry No.1 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 970).

"I would like to say that during the Truce, I, with Patrick Cox, Michael McNamara and John Creadon went to Ballybunion one day for the purpose of shooting the Tan, named Sergeant Maher, who had shot Eddie Carmody in November of 1920. We all knew the Tan and that he had been transferred to Ballybunion after the death of Carmody. We located him as soon as we arrived in Ballybunion and shot him dead in the Castle Green" – **Lieut. Thomas Carmody**, Ballylongford Coy, Kerry No.1 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 996).

"Today, the funeral of the young man, Edmond Carmody, farmer's son, Cush, Listowel, the victim of the Ballylongford encounter with a uniformed armed force, took place to the family burial ground Murhur, after Requiem High Mass in Newtownsandes Parish Church. The cortege was of immense proportions, no less than 300 Irish Volunteers attending in a body. The clergy of the parish officiated, and a volley from the Volunteers over the grave of the deceased concluded the solemn function" – **Kerry News**, 4 December 1920, p.4.

"In two recent raids the British had found papers of [Richard] *Mulcahy, Chief of Staff, whom they had nearly captured. That captured information seemed to be the most reliable insight their secret service could get of the movement. Amongst the papers were plans for a systematic destruction of docks, warehouses and technical plant in England. Touts, spies and secret-service men were thick in Dublin, but they worked too much in the dark of faulty psychology. I was given a message by word. The Chief of Staff wished to see me urgently that night in Ranelagh on the south side. I met him with Ginger O'Connell and Emmet Dalton. Ginger was now Director of Training…Mulcahy had a thick fair moustache, although his hair was dark. It looked out of place in relation to the moustache, but I suppressed my smile. He was more than usually serious. On the table was a large-scale map of the south of Ireland. 'We intend to give you command of the martial-law area,' he said. 'You can move around and selecting your staff as you go through the brigades.' The martial-law area comprised five counties. 'I would suggest Liam Lynch,' I said. 'He is a good officer; he has his command well organised; he could use that as a basis from which to work outwards.' 'You know Limerick, Tipperary and part of Cork,' Mulcahy said. 'You will soon become familiar with the remainder of Cork and with County Kerry.' We discussed likely staff officers for the new command. Organising and training an area was one thing, I thought; taking command of a province with twelve brigades was a responsibility. Would I meet with hostility? How would the other brigades take the appointment? Cork County had no great love for GHQ officers. Its brigades had developed of themselves; within the past three months the concentration of British had intensified. In their new development they might not be willing to be dictated to. I was younger than any of the officers. They would probably like someone with the weight of years and gravity…Aloud I said, 'All right, sir. I will do my best."* – **Ernie O'Malley**, GHQ Organiser, *On Another Man's Wound*, p.273-275.

McCANN, Jack (Rover):

Rank: Lieutenant.
Unit: *A Coy (Rush), 2nd Batt., Fingal Bde, IRA.*
– Previously B Coy (Lusk), 5th (Fingal) Batt., Dublin Brigade, I.V. Fought at the Battle of Ashbourne during the 1916 Rising.
DOB: 26 July 1886. Born in Ballykea, Co. Dublin to Daniel McCann and Sarah Murray.
Address: Quay Lane, Rush, Co. Dublin.
Familial: On 23 May 1917, McCann married Annie Cosgrove at the Church in Rush, Co. Dublin. Their two children were Daniel (1918-1990) and Thomas (1919-1979). A third son, John McCann (1920-1992) was born two weeks after his father's murder.
Occupation: Council Road Worker.
Death: McCann was taken away from his mother-in-law's residence in Rush, Co. Dublin by the Black and Tans and murdered. His remains were found in a field close to the house.
Buried: Rush Graveyard, Dublin.
Image Source: *Skerries History in Photos Group (Facebook).*

"At this time there was a considerable increase in IRA activity all over the country and the Dublin Brigade units were in action almost daily in attacks on patrols and posts. The apparent quiescent attitude of our own Brigade area was therefore becoming unbearable, particularly as, in the week following 'Bloody Sunday' the Black and Tans from Gormanstown had burned Taylor's licensed premises, the house of Tommy and Mary Duff in Swords - illtreating these old people in the process - and John McCann was shot dead in his home in Rush and Patrick Matthews wounded in Skerries by the same crowd of Black and Tans" – **Joseph V. Lawless**, Fingal Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1043).

"At Rush, a Co. Council Road labourer, Jack McCann, popularly known as 'The Rover,' was taken from his house at 02.30 a.m., in the presence of his wife, mother-in-law, and father-in-law, and four hours later, his lifeless body was found by his friends 70 yards from the house riddled with bullets. He was 33 years old, leaves two children. He is described as: 'One of the quietest and most respectable young men in the Parish.' Arrested after the Rebellion (he took part in the encounter at Ashbourne, under the command of the late Thos. Ashe), he was deported, and released at the general amnesty…When an 'Irish Independent' representative visited the house yesterday, the scene presented was most distressing. Mrs. McCann, who sat by the fire with her helpless children relating the incident of the previous night, could only say that her husband left their room upstairs in response to a call from the door, saying to her as he left, 'They can do nothing to me; there is nobody who could have anything against me.' That was the last she saw of him alive. His mother-in-law, Mrs. Mary Cosgrave, who is over 60, said she was in the house with her husband, when a violent knocking came to the door. Her husband admitted men, who were all in black uniform. 'In a voice which I at once recognised,' she went on, 'one of them asked, 'Where is Jack?' She said he was upstairs, and another of the party, with a strange accent said, 'Get him down at once.' The poor fellow answered from upstairs, 'It is alright, I am coming. I will be down in a minute.' Giving no resistance, he walked out to his doom" – **Irish Independent**, 23 November 1920, p.6.

Behind the Scenes in London

"The week following the 21st November, I had conferences every day with Phillips. That week, after the 21st November, I spent every day in Downing St. and we discussed the question of a settlement in detail from every angle. Phillips informed me that we would have a settlement by the end of the week, that everything would be ready. I put forward a proposal that the conference would not be held in London; that it would be better to hold it in the old halfway House "Chester", which was the usual thing in the pre-Tudor days, or in the Isle of Man; that I had already warned Griffith not to go to London to a conference, that the atmosphere would have an effect on his delegates. After a few days I got a reply from Lloyd George, through Phillips, saying I was right, that he would prefer the conference to be held mid-way, that he was afraid of the London Political Clubs. If the conference was held in London, they would get secret information of each day's discussions and would have criticized the doings of the conference in the Press, and most probably wreck the conference. He also stated that if the conference was hot held while the Coalition Government existed a settlement would never be affected, as one of the English parties would not allow the other party to make a settlement. The question arose as to what was to be done over machinery that was to be set in motion to effect the Truce. I stated that we in Ireland would be responsible for the IRA, but that it was natural to expect that men who had been flogged by the British forces would not be covered by a truce, as, if I myself had been flogged, no truce would cover me, and I, therefore, suggested that the Auxiliaries would

be confined to barracks somewhere and that the Black and Tans would be put under canvas in Phoenix Park. They recognised that it was humanly impossible to get men who had been flogged to recognise a truce if they saw the men who flogged them. The question of confining the Auxiliaries and the Tans to barracks was not agreed to, but I was able to give guarantees that the truce would be met by the IRA. I was anxious only for a three weeks truce and I did not at any time agree to an indefinite truce. After the arrest of Arthur Griffith and [Eoin] MacNeill I was told by Phillips that a public statement would be made in the House of Commons, that, although Griffith had been arrested, on inquiries being made, the authorities found there was nothing against him and not a stain on his character…The conference still went on every day until Thursday, between Phillips and myself. During one of these conferences a telephone rang in Mr. Phillips's office, and, picking up the receiver, Mr. Phillips spoke to the Prime Minister, who wanted to know from Phillips who was responsible for ordering Griffith's arrest. Phillips replied that the Irish Office in London knew nothing of it and gave no authority; consequently, he took it to be that the arrest was ordered by the authorities in Dublin, but added that he would communicate with the Prime Minister later. The question of exemptions in relation to articles in the Truce then arose at our conference. This arose on the Thursday of that week. They wished to exempt Mick Collins, Dan Breen and one or two others. The Truce would not cover these men, meaning that they were reserved for subsequent prosecution. He had a document in his hand winch he was prepared to give me covering all the articles we had discussed in reference to the Truce, but this was a clause that was new to me. I stood up immediately he mentioned this to me and I said to him: "To hell with you. Do you think that I would touch a document with blood hanging to it. "This", I continued "finishes the thing so far as I am concerned. If you want blood, this vendetta will go on from one generation to another and you may tell Lloyd George that if we don't get him or his Ministers now, we will get his sons or his grandsons, and, personally, I would be responsible for the death of men..." - mentioning Cruise, Commissioner of Police in Galway. I also told Mr. Phillips that he would have to send for me again and that when he did so he would have to have the clause eliminated in reference to Collins, Breen and one or two others. I walked out then" – **Patrick Moylett**, Sinn Féin diplomat, (BMH-WS 767).

McCARTHY, Patrick (Paddy):

Rank: Captain & Battalion QM.
Unit: *B Coy (Freemount), 2nd Batt, Cork No.2 Bde, IRA & Brigade ASU.*
DOB: 7 February 1896. Born in Rowels, Meelin, Co. Cork to William McCarthy and Maura Bennett.
Address: Rowls, Meelin, Kanturk, Co. Cork.
Occupation: Cow Testing Supervisor.
Death: McCarthy was a notable, active Volunteer, who had escaped from Strangeways Prison in 1919. He and several ASU volunteers entered Millstreet with the intent of attacking patrols from the local RIC Barracks around 9pm. McCarthy was killed by a single shot while under fire from two Black and Tans on Mill Lane in Millstreet, Co, Cork.
Buried: Clonfert, Newmarket, Co. Cork. Reinterred in late 1922 from Kilcorcoran Graveyard, Kanturk, Co. Cork.
Image Source: www.millstreet.ie
MSPC Ref: 1D170.

"The Column then moved off to Millstreet area, where a few days later three members of the Column, Paddy McCarthy, Denis Murphy and Tom Coughlan went into Millstreet to shoot up a Black and Tan patrol. In the exchange of shots, Paddy McCarthy was killed. It was tins Paddy McCarthy who had entered Mallow barracks immediately prior to the attack, with Dick Willis and Jack Bolster. Paddy got in as a supposed apprentice to Dick Willis. Paddy was a fine Volunteer and a daring soldier" – **Capt. Denis Mulchinock, et.al.**, Cork No.2 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 744).

"Shortly after the party at Mill Lane (Seán Kennedy, Tom Coughlan, Patrick McCarthy, Leo O'Callaghan, Jimmy Hickey, William O'Riordan, Cornelius Healy and Jerome O'Connor) had taken up their position, two Black and Tans passed along Main Street, by the end of Mill Lane, on their way to their barracks. One rushed past the end of the laneway. The other stood in the centre of the opening, and fired one shot, then dashing away. Fire was returned by the IRA party, but it was noticed that Paddy McCarthy had been struck by a bullet over the eye. He was dead when picked up. Tom Coughlan then took Paddy McCarthy's body, on his back, to the column headquarters behind the Market yard. The whole party withdrew from Mill Lane at the same time. Paddy McCarthy's body was then removed by motor car to Gortnavehy, and the column withdrew in the same direction… Paddy McCarthy was waked at Owen Sullivan's, Gortnavehy, and was buried two nights later at Lismire" – **Batt. Officer of Signals, Cornelius Healy**, Cork No.2 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1416).

"Paddy McCarthy arrived from the Millstreet district. The ASU intended to go into Milistreet town that evening to shoot it out with the Tans. He wanted any revolver ammunition I could spare. I gave him some and then he asked for permission to carry the youngster with him. I knew that the time had arrived for decision. I had either to release him or retain on my hands a disgruntled and therefore useless helpmate. The pair went off in high delight. On the night of this attack, I was engaged in another venture elsewhere and during the night I had misgivings about the wisdom of sending the boy into a fight which was bound to be fierce and perhaps bloody. Maybe it was a premonition of evil. When I arrived back to my headquarters in the early dawn he was already there. Paddy McCarthy, into whose charge I had given mm, was killed beside him by a revolver bullet in the close fighting entailed in a street attack. It was plain that he had got a shock. Until then war, to his youthful seeming, was a game. Now he realised its grim reality. Though my heart was sore for the gay, gallant man that was gone I treated the matter casually and I think he was disturbed at the apparently callous manner in which I received the news. Therefore, I wanted him to realise that my refusal to attach him to a combat unit was not merely my concern for his personal safety but fundamentally my desire to utilise only trained effectives in the fighting ranks for their own and their comrades safety and so to ensure that all precautions had been taken to secure success. I wanted to impress on him then that the loss of men was inevitable and no matter how close our comradeship the grim shadow of death was in these circumstances closer to us all. That the occurrence which to the civilian mind meant tragedy must be accepted by soldiers as the routine of their trade. His generous boyish mind was revolted at my attitude but he was too intelligent to misunderstand me for long and his reaction from his first nervous shock was swift. He had been under fire in fierce hand to hand fighting, had been bespattered by his comrade's blood. No longer would his mind be troubled by the heroics of the uninitiate. He was now a soldier. I had a coffin made in Kiskeam and proceeded to Millstreet to bring home the body of my comrade for burial. I found the ASU in the hills west of Millstreet. The Brigade O/C [Liam Lynch] *had arrived to ensure that they entered the town again on that and following nights. This was wise policy as otherwise their comrade's death would have had a bad effect on their morale. He had so much of dare-deviltry, was so infectiously gay and good humoured that he was an all-round favourite and his death was the sorest blow that could be given to them. It was an eerie experience, following a coffin at midnight along lonely bye-roads from Millstreet to Kilcorcoran. And in spite of the secrecy with which the proceedings had to be veiled, the funeral cortege at Kilcorcoran had reached immense proportions. Men seemed to come from everywhere to pay their last tribute of respect to the dead soldier, and our loyal friend, Father Leonard from Freemount, came to say the last prayers at the graveside. Paddy McCarthy had been arrested after a Battalion parade in March or April, 1918. He was sentenced to eighteen months in Belfast prison. He participated in the strike there under Austin Stack. Afterwards he was transferred to Strangeways prison, Manchester, from which he escaped about September, 1919. From the date of his arrival home in Ireland until August, 1920, when he was selected as a member of the newly organised ASU, he had been associated with me in all activities. Now I was no more to see his friendly face, to hear his merry laughter, to have my spirits renewed by the impact of his unbreakable courage. At Kilcorcoran I met Charlie O'Reilly who had been acting as Battalion Commandant during my illness. In the destruction of a police barrack in the early part of the year he had, with others, been injured and badly burned when a petrol tin exploded. He now claimed to be completely recovered and asked to be permitted to take Paddy McCarthy's place in the ASU. I acceded to his demand and another fine young fellow marched away to keep an early appointment with death"* – **O/C Seán Moylan**, Cork No.2 Brigade ASU, IRA, (BMH-WS 838).

23rd November 1920

MEHIGAN, Edward:

Rank: Section-Commander.
Unit: *E Coy, 2nd Batt., Cork No.1 Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 28 November 1891. Son of Michael and Mary O'Regan.
Address: 35 Friar's Walk, Cork City.
Occupation: Mill Worker.
Death: Volunteers James Mehigan, Patrick O'Donoghue and Patrick Trahey were all mortally wounded in an explosion on the corner of St. Patrick and Prince's St, Cork around 9pm. It is believed that a grenade had been thrown towards them by a Black and Tan, after they had just left a Battalion meeting in Thomas Ashe Hall. A conflicting account claims it was an accidental explosion. O'Donoghue and Mehigan died of their wounds in the Mercy Hospital just before midnight whilst Trahey died the following day.
Buried: The Republican Plot, St. Finbarr's Cemetery, Cork.
MSPC Ref: DP1506.

"On 25th November 1920, following a Volunteer meeting in the Thomas Ashe Hall, Cork, five men of the 2nd Battalion were standing at the corner of Princes St. and Patrick St. having a chat, when a Black and Tan in civilian dress came along and threw a grenade into the group. As a result, three of our lads were killed outright, viz: Paddy Trahey, Vice-Commandant of the 2nd Battalion; M. Donohue, 2nd Battalion QM, and Volunteer Mehigan. Of the two others, Volunteer Seán Bawn Murphy had his arm shattered and Volunteer Reynolds had his thigh fracture" – **Cmdt. Michael Murphy**, 2nd Batt., Cork No.1 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1547).

O'DONOGHUE, Patrick:

Rank: Battalion QM.
Unit: *C Coy, 2nd Batt., Cork No.1 Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 26 February 1888. Born at Douglas Road, Cork City, to Daniel O'Donoghue and Anne Madden.
Address: 2 St. Bridget St, Cork City.
Familial: O'Donoghue married Mary Condon at St. Finbarr's Church, Cork, on 6 September 1919. Their daughter was Áine O'Donoghue (1920-2012).
Occupation: French Polisher.
Death: See MEHIGAN, Edward
Buried: The Republican Plot, St. Finbarr's Cemetery, Cork.
MSPC Ref: 1D93.

*"***BOMBS FALL IN CROWD:** *Cork was again the scene of tragedy last night. A bomb flung in Patrick Street, when crowds were coming out from places of amusement, mortally wounded two men, who died later in hospital, and two others are not expected to recover. There was a stampede in the crowded street when the explosion took place, but a group standing at a street corner received the full force of it…A reverberating crash rang through the thoroughfare, causing the crowds, then emerging from the theatres and cinemas to stampede. The blinding flash showed that a bomb had been dropped on the corner where Prince's Street opens into the main thoroughfare. It fell within a few feet of Messrs. Cahill & Goggin's shop, blasting away a portion of the kerbstone and pavement. A group of people who were standing chatting at the corner were struck and they were scattered about the street by the explosion. After the crash the frightened crowds returned to the spot, where a number of persons were lying about the pavement in pools of blood. One man had his leg shattered from the knee*

(Note: The author entirely discounts claims it was self-inflicted as Michael Murphy (WS1547) claimed the Tan was in civilian clothes and the evidence appears to state that Michael O'Donoghue saw no uniformed Tans. O'Donoghue also incorrectly stated they were from Blackrock).

down, and his forearm badly broken. First aid was promptly rendered, and soon afterwards the ambulance was on the scene. An onlooker informed a representative of the Freeman's Journal that he was knocked against a wall in Prince's Street by the force of the explosion. He was on the opposite side of the street from that on which the bomb fell. Almost at the moment of the crash he heard a private motor car turn from Patrick Street into Prince's Street at a high speed. The car had no sooner passed when the explosion occurred. In all fourteen people were injured and were taken to city infirmaries and hospitals. No military, police or other uniformed men were observed in the vicinity at the time"- **Freeman's Journal**, 24 November 1920, p.3.

24th November 1920

TRAHEY, Patrick:

Rank: Battalion V/C.
Unit: *2nd Batt., Cork No.1 Brigade, IRA. Attached to E Coy, 2nd Batt., Cork No.1 Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 4 March 1890. Born at 18 Evergreen Buildings, Cork City, to Eugene Trahey and Maria Mannix.
Occupation: Clerk.
Familial: Trahey married Kitty Joyce on 16 September 1919 at St. Finbarr's Church, Cork City. They had one daughter, Mary Trahey (b.1920).
Address: 6 Friar's Walk, Cork City.
Death: See MEHIGAN, Edward.
Buried: St. Finbarr's Cemetery, Cork.
MSPC Ref: 1D120.

"This officer was killed at a later date (23rd November, 1920) at the corner of Princes Street, Cork, as the result of a premature explosion of a hand grenade" – **P.J. Murphy**, Cork No.1 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 869).

FLYNN, Patrick (Paddy):

Rank: Battalion-Adjutant.
Unit: *2nd Batt., South Roscommon Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 28 January 1896. Son of Francis Flynn and Mary Kenny.
Address: Tarmon, Castlerea, Co. Roscommon.
Occupation: Farmer's Son.
Death: Flynn, on the run since his home had been attacked by the RIC and burned in early October 1920, was murdered in his bed by an RIC murder squad comprised of Castlerea stationed Black and Tans, at a safehouse in Tarmon, Co. Roscommon. The safehouse, owned by John Monaghan was then burned by the Tans.
Buried: Castlerea, Co. Roscommon.
MSPC Ref: DP3568.

"During the latter months of 1920 the Benburb Company [Tyrone Brigade] carried out various raids for arms on Unionists' houses. We raided 7 or 8 unionists' houses in Brantry area. These houses were the property of unionists. One of the houses raided was occupied by the gamekeeper on the Caledon estate. Attached to the gamekeeper's house was the local Orange Lodge. When we arrived on the scene to raid the gamekeeper's house, we found that a number of young men, 7 or 8 in all, were in the Orange Hall engaged at what we subsequently found to be a band practice. We entered the Orange Hall first with revolvers in our hands and held up the young men. We searched them and got two revolvers on them. On the raid on the gamekeeper's house which we next carried out we got a few shotguns and ammunition. On another raid for arms at a place called Drummond, which occurred in the winter of 1920, we came under a rather heavy fire from the inmates of the house we were attempting to raid. In preparing for this raid, which was on a house situated in a unionist and hostile area, we applied for and got some extra men from Charlemont area to reinforce the Benburb Company" – **Capt. John Shields**, Benburb Coy, 2nd Batt., Tyrone No.1 Bde, IRA, (BMH-WS 928).

MORAN, Michael:

Rank: Commandant.
Unit: *1st Battalion, North Galway Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 4 December 1890. Son of Patrick Moran and Margaret Heaney.
Address: Carrowmoneen, Tuam, Co. Galway
Occupation: Farmer.
Death: Moran was shot in custody by members of D Coy/ Auxiliary Division and the 17th Lancers on the grounds of NUI Galway, Galway City. It was claimed he had attempted to escape.
Buried: New Cemetery, Tuam, Co. Galway.

"Michael Moran, a prominent officer from Tuam, was shot dead near Galway City on Wednesday night. Deceased, who had been in custody for several days was being escorted by 3 policemen to the military barracks at Earl's Island, when, it is alleged, he attempted to escape. The number of men shot dead while, as alleged, attempting to escape from custody is now fifteen." – **The Liberator**, 27 November 1920, p.2.

"Michael Moran, the Tuam Battalion O/C up to the time of his death at the hands of the enemy in Galway City, was a fine cool determined leader and was a great loss to the Volunteers in this area" – **Vol. Michael Higgins**, 1st Batt., North Galway Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1247).

"While I was a prisoner at Renmore Military Barracks, I saw two young girls from Tuam. They came to the barracks to enquire about their brothers who had been arrested the same night as us. I got permission from the sentry to speak to them, and I told them to warn Michael Moran to stay away from his own home. Although I did not know it at the time, Michael Moran was then a prisoner, having been arrested shortly after our arrest. He was murdered in Earls Island RIC barrack, which was occupied by the Auxiliaries, a short while after our release. His remains were brought to Tuam where he had a very big public funeral. I was then on the run as I had been arrested twice and was a marked man by the RIC" – **Capt. Thomas Nohilly**, 1st Batt., North Galway Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1437).

"It was rumoured after the Gallagh ambush that the home of Michael Moran, Commandant of the Battalion - Tuam - was to be burned by the RIC. The house, situated about two miles south-east of Tuam, was guarded for a week by relays of Volunteers. I remember that I was on this guard one night. About a dozen others were with me and Captain Thomas Dunleavy of Barnaderg Company in charge. Michael Moran was arrested a couple of months after this. He was released and rearrested. Shortly after his re-arrest he was murdered in Galway City by British Crown forces. His remains were brought home to Tuam and he got a very big public funeral, in which the Volunteers marched unarmed. The British military did their best to break the Volunteer ranks but, after each attempt, we re-formed and continued the funeral march. I remember distinctly that the Archbishop of Tuam and Father Hannon, P.P., Tuam, were at the funeral and made vigorous protests to the British military about their interference. All the Volunteers of the Tuam Battalion mourned the loss of Michael Moran the Battalion Commandant. We had great confidence in his leadership and we felt that we had lost a very brave and capable leader" – **Lieut. Michael Cleary**, 1st Batt., North Galway Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1246).

"The Brigade O/C Tom Derrig and the Brigade Quartermaster were arrested by the British towards the end of the year 1920 and Michael Kilroy, who was O/C of the Newport Battalion, now became O/C and Tom Ketterick replaced McHugh as Quartermaster. GHQ had issued orders sometime previously that all officers should have deputies to replace them in case of arrest, and Derrig had nominated Kilroy which was, I think, a very wise choice. I now became Vice-O/C of the Brigade; Seán Gibbons was Adjutant and Ketterick Quartermaster. Bruddy Malone now became Vice-Commandant of the Westport Battalion. The Battalions had tried to operate the Battalion columns on their own up to now, but without much success. The Brigade O/C now decided to amalgamate all the units into one Brigade Active Service Unit, of which he himself took, charge personally. All of the Brigade staff were on the Active Service Unit and we carried the Brigade Headquarters office around on our back" – **Vice-Brigadier Ned Moane**, West Mayo Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 896).

25th November 1920

DOYLE, Thomas:

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *C Coy, 4th Batt., Dublin Bde, IRA. Served in the Jameson Distillery outpost during the 1916 Rising.*
DOB: 6 December 1897. Son of Thomas Doyle and Margaret Dixon. The family then resided at 6 Emerald Square, Dolphin's Barn, Dublin.
Occupation: Mill Engineer.
Address: 3 Dolphin's Barn Street, Dublin
Death: The family story claimed that Doyle had been washing himself in the backyard when he returned home from work, when suddenly the house was raided by Crown forces. Doyle was shot in the lung and heart. Other accounts state that he was shot when he refused to halt to a military command. Doyle is recorded as a civilian in *DOTIR*.
Buried: Nc87, St. Paul's Section, Glasnevin Cemetery, Dublin.
MSPC Ref: DP1364.

"Thomas Doyle, a young man who was shot dead at his residence, 3 Dolphin's Barn Street, on Thursday evening, as reported in our issue of yesterday, was employed in the City Woollen Mills, Cork St, and had just arrived home when the military made a descent on his home. He was unaware of the fact that military were in the house, being engaged in washing himself at the tap in the yard when the raiders gained admittance. When a Freeman's Journal representative called to Dolphin's Barn Street yesterday, he found the neighbourhood in a state of gloom. Blinds were drawn in nearly every house and the sole topic of conversation was the sad and untimely end of poor Thomas Doyle" – **Freeman's Journal**, 27 November 1920, p.5.

"During the later months of 1920, it became a practice of the Black and Tans to set fire to Sinn Féin Clubs in the city during curfew hours…The two principal Sinn Féin Clubs in Cork were the Tomás MacCurtain Club in Shandon St., situated in the first battalion area, and the Thomas Ashe Club at Father Mathew Quay in my (2nd) Battalion area. In anticipation of an attempt being made by the enemy to burn the Thomas Ashe Hall, I decided to prepare a surprise for the Tans in the shape of a 'trap' mine inside the door of the Hall. I obtained about three cwt. of gelignite and placed it immediately inside the Hall and against the outer wall. The gelignite was then well tamped with clay. Six electric detonators were fixed to the charge of gelignite and connected with electric wires attached to a switch at the inside of the front door; the switch was so arranged that it came into operation and fired the charge of gelignite when the front door was opened. We also loosened the 'keeper' of the lock on the front door, so as to make it easy to be broken, which, we anticipated, the Tans would do. Shortly after midnight, on 30th November 1920, about 20 Black and Tans came to the Thomas Ashe Hall. Two of them hammered on the front door with the butts of their rifles while the remainder lined the wall just outside where the trap mine was laid. Eventually, the Tans burst in the door and a terrific explosion took place. I noted the time 12.40 a.m. as I was in a house fairly close to the scene. For the rest of that night, military and police were dragging the River Lee for bodies of the Black and Tans killed an the explosion. The River Lee at this point is only about ten yards from the Thomas Ashe Hall and many of the Tans were hurled into the river by the force of the explosion. I cannot say with any accuracy how many of the enemy were killed that night, but it is safe to assume that practically all the force was wiped out and either killed or wounded" – **Cmdt. Michael Murphy**, 2nd Batt., Cork No.1 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1547).

'**INTERNMENT CAMPS** – *'We are going over Ireland with a fine comb,' a high authority told the London's Evening News yesterday. Hundreds of Sinn Féiners have already been arrested, and others will be taken in due course. As there is no room for them in the crowded prisons, they are to be confined in strongly guarded internment camps until such time as they can safely be tried. The first of these camps will be established close to Dublin, and other arrests will follow as the camps are ready for them"* – **Freeman's Journal**, 27 November 1920, p.5.

"I believe that every man and woman in Ireland who retains a spark of Christian feeling, or even the instincts of humanity, deplores, detests and condemns, the deliberate cold murders of Sunday morning. No object could excuse them; no motive could justify them; no heart, unless hardened and steeled against pity, could tolerate their cruelty. I believe that every right-thinking Christian deplores and condemns the general indiscriminate massacre of innocent and inoffensive victims which was perpetrated by the forces of

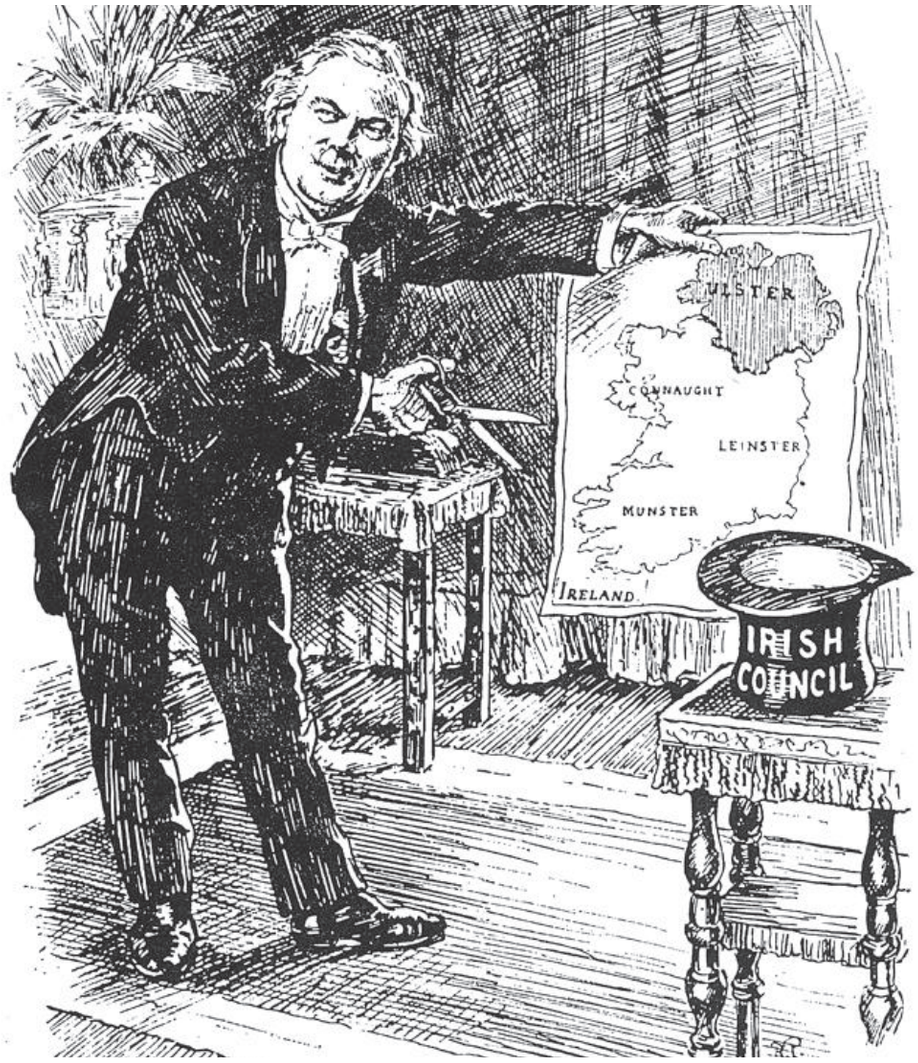
the Crown in Croke Park on Sunday evening. If a balance was struck between the deeds of the morning and those of the evening, I believe it should be given against the forces of the Crown" – **Cardinal Michael Logue**, Primate of Ireland.

A British Border in Ireland? The Partitionings of Ireland by Westminster

"The Government of Ireland Act stipulated a Parliament for Southern Ireland, twenty-six Counties, and a Parliament for Northern Ireland, six Counties, with the Council of Ireland to act as a link between both. Dáil Éireann having been established in January, 1919, we did not recognise the Parliament of Southern Ireland. It must be remembered that some of our representatives were elected for constituencies in the Six Counties, and they attended the Dáil. We, therefore, regarded Dáil Éireann as Parliament of All-Ireland, although the Unionist members never recognised us" – **Áine Ceannt**, (BMH-WS 264).

"**THE PARTITION EVIL:** *The Partition Scheme is being hammered out in the British Parliament for separating six Ulster counties from the rest of Ireland, and such separation could have only one result – financial ruin and religious persecution in perpetuity. Financial ruin, because Nationalist Ireland, which, in natural resources, in possibilities and in brains, is the richest and most promising part of the nation; religious persecution, because Carsonism is steeped to the lips in bigotry and it is England's intention in the attempt to create Carsonia to make religion the distinguishing feature between Ireland which repudiates her authority and Carsonia, which plays the part of her slave. A Conference representative of the Nationalists and Catholics of Ulster have declared its intention of offering the strongest opposition to the measure should an effort be made to enforce it…If Carsonia were established we know what Catholics might expect from Carsonites. In Belfast, Derry, Banbridge, Dromore and Lisburn, Catholics have been attacked indiscriminately. Hostility to Sinn Féin was only a catch-cry for the outbreak towards Catholics of that savagery which was intended and planned before the beginning of the late war"* – **Fermanagh Herald**, 4 December 1920, p.5.

"What will we get when they are armed with British rifles, when they are clothed with the authority of government, when they have cast around them the Imperial garb, what mercy, what pity, much less justice or liberty, will be accorded to us then"
– Joe Devlin MP, leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party



26th November 1920

CAREY, Denis:

Rank: Lieutenant.
Unit: *C Coy, 1st Batt., Tipperary No.1 Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 1 August 1887. Born at Killaville, Nenagh, Co. Tipperary, to Denis Carey and Norah Ryan.
Address: Castle St, Nenagh, Co. Tipperary.
Occupation: Hardware Shop Manager.
Death: On the night of 25 November, Carey was taken from his lodgings above McCurtain's hardware store by disguised RIC constables. He was shot three times and left for dead, however, he managed to crawl his way to a friendly house on Wolfe Tone Terrace. This was an act of retribution for the IRA's shooting of an RIC constable several weeks beforehand. Before Carey succumbed to the wounds at Nenagh Infirmary, he refused to name his attacker, saying one death was enough.
Buried: Kilnaneave Cemetery, Co. Tipperary.
MSPC Ref: DP1506.

"A further murder of an IRA man by Crown forces took place three weeks later in Nenagh. He was Denis Carey, a native of Killaneave outside the town, then managing McCurtain's bakery and hardware stores in Castle St. The place was raided by the RIC on the night of 25th November, 1920, who took Carey into custody. He was brought to Wolfe Tone Terrace and there riddled with bullets. It subsequently leaked out from among the police themselves that Carey's. murder was committed by two constables named Keane and Moore" – **Cmdt. Con Spain**, 1st Batt., Tipperary No.1 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1464).

"The story of the tragedy which resulted in the death of Mr. Denis Carey, was told at a military inquiry at Nenagh, Co. Tipperary. The medical evidence was that deceased received three wounds, one in the head, one in the fingers and one in the abdomen. A second witness stated four men came to the house, and Denis Carey was then taken out. Carey told witness that he had nothing to do with the wounding of Constable McCarthy. The witness stated that three men in uniform were looking for deceased in the shop on November 2. On the night of the shooting two men came into the room and asked their names. They then told Carey to dress, that he was wanted outside. They asked deceased was he for the Government, and he replied it would be hard to expect him to be for the Government. Another witness said that after hearing five or six shots he heard moaning outside, and somebody shouted, 'Let me in.' Witness opened the door and helped Carey in and went for a priest and a doctor. A military officer, who met the previous witness on the street, said he went to the house and asked deceased could he give any information as to who had shot him. He replied, 'Three or four men shot me.' The priest asked, 'Were they police?' and deceased replied, 'Yes.' Witness asked, 'How do you know?' and deceased said, 'I am not sure.' Witness asked how were they dressed and deceased said in coats and caps. On the night of the occurrence all troops were reported in the barracks with ammunition correct" – **Evening Echo**, 6 December 1920, p.4.

Nenagh, Co. Tipperary

British armoured vehicles rush the crowds on Dublin's Sackville Street (O'Connell St)

HOGAN, Thomas:

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *G Coy (Bruree), 4th Batt., East Limerick Bde, IRA & K Coy. 1st Batt., Dublin Brigade, IRA.*
DOB: 29 July 1901. Born at Tankardstown, Kilmallock, Co. Limerick, to Patrick Hogan and Eliza Collins, who both died when Hogan was only a child.
Address: 24 James' Avenue, Dolphin's Barn, Dublin.
Occupation: Mechanic.
Death: Hogan died at the Mater Hospital in Dublin from wounds received to his left shoulder at Croke Park during Bloody Sunday. Gangrene had set into the wound resulting in amputation.
Buried: Dromin Cemetery, Kilmallock, Co. Limerick.
MSPC Ref: DP25659.

Mass Arrests Across Ireland

"Several batches of prisoners have been conveyed to Carrick-on-Shannon by the military and police and lodged in the old jail, among them being Messrs. M. Collins and J. Lyons, members of the staff of Kiltoghert Creamery. A young man named William McCann, arrested earlier, has been removed to hospital suffering from serious illness. A schoolmaster was arrested in the Dromod district and conveyed to Carrick-on-Shannon, where he was discharged. Mr. John O'Kelly, a bookkeeper at Carrick-on-Shannon, has been arrested, and also Mr. P. Pinkman, D.C., B.A., Keshcarrigan and Mr. A. Mooney, Co. Councillor, Drumshambo. In the Castleblayney district the following have been arrested: James Geoghegan, Chairman of Castleblayney Board of Guardians, Patrick Daly, Bernard McBride, Owen Murray, Francis Boyle, Thomas McConnell and Francis Meegan. Several raids were made at Trim, Co. Meath, during the week, resulting in the arrest of M. Jiles, a shop assistant. Messrs. Thomas Nolan, Co. Councillor, Michael Loughnan, and James Lalor, of Kilkenny, have been arrested by military and police. Amongst the large number of prisoners at the Curragh Camp at present are: Messrs. J.J. Fitzgerald, Co. Councillor, Newbridge; Thomas Harris, Chairman, Naas District Council; Thomas Patterson, Chairman, Naas Board of Guardians; Éamon Moran, Ballysax; Thomas Domican, Kill and Thomas Dunne, District-Council. Up to 15 arrests have been made in Dungarvan and the vicinity. Among those detained is Mr. Michael Hassett, Assistant-Co. Surveyor" – **Freeman's Journal**, 27 November 1920, p.6.

MORRISSEY, Denis Christopher (Christy):

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *E Coy, 1st Batt., Cork No.1 Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 7 January 1903. Born in Blarney, Co. Cork to John Morrissey and Ellen O'Leary.
Address: 3 Bride Tce, Commons Rd, Cork City.
Occupation: Apprentice Coffin Builder.
Death: Morrissey was killed by an accidental explosion at 21.30 alongside William Mulcahy at O'Leary's Undertakers, 1 Watercourse Rd, Blackpool, outside Cork City whilst producing homemade explosives.
Buried: The Republican Plot, St. Finbarr's Cemetery, Cork.

"Christy Morrissey and Liam Mulcahy were killed outright when in their inexperience they tampered with a bomb in an upper room of O'Leary's Undertaking Establishment at Blackpool. They had belonged to 'E' Company and so did Donal Kelleher who, coming up the stairs at the time, stopped outside the room to light a cigarette just as the bomb exploded. He escaped with injuries" – **Vol. Maurice Forde** et.al, E Coy, 1st Batt., Cork No.1 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 719).

MULCAHY, William (Liam):

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *E Coy, 1st Batt., Cork No.1 Bde, IRA.*
DOB: c.1893. Born in Toureen, Co. Cork, to William Mulcahy and Bridget Healy.
Address: 22 Watercourse Rd, Blackpool, Co. Cork.
Occupation: Coffin Builder.
Death: See MORRISSEY, Denis Christopher.
Buried: The Republican Plot, St. Finbarr's Cemetery, Cork.
MSPC Ref: DP6210.

"Another sensational explosion occurred in Cork yesterday morning, resulting in two men being killed, and one seriously wounded. The dead are: William Mulcahy (27), Watercourse Rd., and Christopher Morrissey (20), Commons Rd., and the injured man is Daniel Kelleher, Killeens. The occurrence took place about 09.30 a.m., at the carriage building and undertakers' works of Mr. Dl. O'Leary, Watercourse Rd., where the two victims were employed as workmen and Kelleher as an apprentice. The latter left to purchase cigarettes, and was ascending a ladder to the works when there was a loud explosion. He was seriously wounded, but got to the joinery shop, to find his comrades lying on the floor almost torn to pieces. Morrissey was killed instantly, having been wounded in the head and body, but Mulcahy, who also sustained horrible injuries, lived for half-an-hour. His left hand was blown off and his intestines were protruding, but he was conscious until death, and was attended by a priest" – **Irish Independent**, 27 November 1920, p.5.

"The days that followed Bloody Sunday were hectic days. In the cities the great raids began by which whole areas, embracing many streets, were cordoned off and sealed by barbed wire. Inside the cordons, groups of Auxiliaries and military intelligence officers visited every room and shop, every office and house, examining every cupboard and scrap of paper. The cordon was sometimes not lifted for three days, and the search went on inside it through day and night. Many were taken in these huge raids. So many, that the jails and prisons could no longer hold them, and there were established those great prison camps, in which neglect and ill-usage and sometimes death was the fate of many. Two of the most notorious were Ballykinlar in Co. Down and the Curragh. Untried and uncharged men lived hard and bitter lives in these camps for more than a year" – **Frank Gallagher**, H Coy, 3rd Batt., Dublin Brigade, IRA, *The Four Glorious Years*, p.247.

"If those people come in, you will find my dead body...and don't be surprised to find six or seven of the bodies of our visitors"
– Cathal Brugha

DUGGAN, Mortimer (Murty):

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *B Coy (Broadford), 3rd Batt., West Limerick Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 28 August 1892. Son of Patrick Duggan and Julia Ambrose.
Address: Broadford, Co. Limerick.
Occupation: National School Teacher.
Death: Around 22.30, two lorries containing Crown forces, halted at Timothy Riordan's pub in Broadford, Co. Limerick. Duggan, who was inside playing cards attempted to rush out the back entrance with several others. Several shots were fired at the fleeing group and Duggan was shot and killed. Recorded as civilian in *DOTIR.*
Buried: The Republican Plot, Killougholelane Graveyard, Broadford, Co. Limerick.
Image Source: Catherine Duggan, Co. Limerick.
Ref: *Freeman's Journal*, 29 November 1920, p.5.

"Lorries of uniformed men are alleged to have visited a wide area of Co. Roscommon, on the borders of Carrick-on-Shannon. Carnadoe Creamery was destroyed. The damage is estimated at £10,000. The well-known Temperance Hall at Kilmore was demolished, and also Kilglass Sinn Féin Hall, and a farmer's residence close by. The burnings are alleged to be the outcome of the kidnapping of a police constable at Rooskey. The loss to the farmers in Kilmore district of a creamery which served a very large area is serious. The machinery was first broken up by means of sledges" – **Freeman's Journal**, 29 November 1920, p.7.

"Lloyd George yet had faith in unofficial reprisals: burning of creameries, factories, shops, town halls, private houses went on. Towns showed jagged stumps of broken teeth where fire had spread; raiding parties smashed property and looted. Perhaps the premier thought the destruction of the economic life would cow the people and turn them against the Dáil and the IRA; but it irritated neutrals and made our friends more bitterly staunch…Rory O'Connor, Director of Engineering, went to England on a tour of inspection. He was responsible for operations there. Irishmen and men of Irish descent in the cities had been organised in units on the lines of the Irish Volunteers. They could destroy power plants, warehouses and supplies, and burn the houses of Tans, Auxiliaries and officers. The counter-demonstration would throw light on the destruction in Ireland and possibly slow it down. At the end of November fires burst out in English warehouses and docks. The plans for a thorough destruction of the Liverpool docks had been captured by the British when they raided a house in which Dick Mulcahy, Chief of Staff, had been. He escaped but he left his attaché case behind containing other important papers." – **Ernie O'Malley**, *On Another Man's Wound*, p.276-277.

Irish Independent, 29 November 1920, p.5.

TRAGEDIES RESULT IN FIVE DEATHS.

FATAL AMBUSHES.

CREAMERY AND A MILL BURNED DOWN.

A TEACHER SHOT DEAD

are shielding his assailants must take the consequences. We will avenge him." Many of the inhabitants fled to other districts.

On Fri. night, it is stated, lorry loads of armed forces entered Carnadoe creamery, where they broke the machinery with sledges. The place was then burned to the ground, the total damage being £10,000.

Kilmore Temperance Hall, Kilglass S.F. Hall and a farmer's residence close by were also destroyed.

CORK TAILOR'S DEATH

KILDORRERY TRAGEDY.

An "Irish Independent" representative who visited the scene of the

The Kinvara Tragedy

"On the 20th November, a large force of RIC and Tans swept through the area in lorries, visiting all the homes of wanted men. They proceeded to Shanaglish to the home of the Loughnane brothers, Pat and Harry, and found them threshing corn. They took both men and a cousin of theirs, also a chap named Carroll from Tubber, and brought them to Gort barracks. On the way to Gort, they flung Carroll off the lorry. He got caught in a hook as he fell and was dragged along the road. They pulled him up again and brought him to Gort. It is not certain if the Loughnane brothers were ill-treated in Gort barracks but they must have been identified by some of the RIC and handed over to the Auxies, to be taken to Drumharsna, and what they suffered there, no man can tell. Only a look at their corpses could reveal what devils those Tans and Auxies were. Pat's arms were broken across, and his breast was carved, as sheep is dressed by the butcher. His skull was blown away, as if an egg-bomb had been forced into his mouth and exploded. Harry was also battered beyond recognition. And, not content with that, they thought to burn the bodies in a wood but failed. It is believed that the Loughnane's were still alive at this time. During the night, they came again to look at the bodies and put them on a lorry, or dragged them by it, to a small lough beside the road, a couple of miles from Drumharsna. There they threw them into the water. All attempts to trace their whereabouts, or where they were brought to, failed. On enquiry at Gort barracks, the friends were told they were not there, or that they had been brought to Galway, but there was no account of them there. This went on for three days, with a party of Kinvara IRA searching the country around Drumharsna for them until they found them in the lough beside the road and brought them to Kinvara, placing them in Hynes' barn, as the dwellinghouse had been previously burned. Hundreds of people came there to pay respect to the martyrs, including many of their comrades who were on the run" – **Capt. Joseph Stanford**, Gort Batt., South Galway Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1334).

LOUGHNANE, Patrick:

Rank: 2nd Lieutenant.
Unit: *Beagh Coy, Gort Independent Battalion, IRA*
DOB: 24 January 1891. Born at Ashfield, near Kinvara, Co. Galway, to Michael Loughnane and Catherine Grealish.
Address: Shanaglish, Kinvara, Co. Galway.
Occupation: Farmer / Local Sinn Féin Branch Chairman.
Death: The Loughnane Brothers, Pat and Harry, were arrested by RIC while working at their family farm. They were severely tortured, beaten and sadistically murdered. Their limbs were broken and twisted, their flesh sliced and violated and a grenade detonated in Patrick's mouth, blasting away much of his skull. Their remains were then crudely burned by the Crown forces before dumped in a turlough pond near Ardrahan, Co. Galway, on 5 December 1920. Their deaths and the anguish they suffered is one of the most notable examples of British terrorism during the Anglo-Irish conflict.
Buried: Shanaglish Graveyard, Gort, Co. Galway.

The pond in which the remains of the Loughnane brothers were dumped by Crown forces.

LOUGHNANE, Harry:

Rank: Signaller
Unit: *Beagh Coy, Gort Independent Battalion, IRA*
DOB: 1 January 1898. Born at Ashfield, near Kinvara, Co. Galway, to Michael Loughnane and Catherine Grealish.
Address: Shanaglish, Kinvara, Co. Galway.
Occupation: Farmer / Local Sinn Féin branch Secretary.
Death: See LOUGHNANE, Patrick.
Buried: Shanaglish Graveyard, Gort, Co. Galway.

"When word was brought to Gort that the bodies had been found, Dan Ryan, Pat Glynn, John Coen, Jack Flaherty and myself went to the parish priest of Shanaglish and asked him for leave to mark out a Republican plot in the new cemetery there. This request was readily granted. So, we prepared and made their grave, waiting in a nearby wood to receive their remains. In spite of the reign of terror at the time, the funeral was one of the largest possible and showed that their deaths had only stiffened the people into greater resistance. The following morning after Mass, a lorry of Tans arrived at the church and they mounted a machine-gun on the wall of the church grounds, while a mock inquest was held inside. Then they left, and the funeral took place immediately to the plot, the bodies being carried by their comrades and their grave being closed by those mentioned above. We had placed arms in a wood close by, and fired the three volleys as a final token of respect to two brave soldiers" – **Capt. Joseph Stanford**.

"In the meantime, disquieting rumours were circulated to the effect that the Auxiliaries returned to Mr. Coen's with the rope, that a girl overheard the Auxiliaries conversing with an RIC man, and that the latter asked what they did with the two prisoners, and the reply was, "Oh! we have killed them", that the brothers were made carry large stones and run before the lorries, the Crown forces prodding them with bayonets until they fell exhausted, that they were then tied to the lorries and dragged along the road, that four shots were fired in Moy O'Hynes' wood near Kinvara on Friday night, that men answering their description were seen in O'Hynes' wood dead or in a dying state on Saturday, that several saw Crown forces in the wood on Sunday night, that shots were fired, and that the two men were taken away in a lorry, and that a fire was seen near Drimbarsna and that the Loughnanes were burned to cinders. Then contradictory rumours were widely and persistently circulated to the effect that the brothers were safe and well, and were actually seen chipping wood in Earl's Camp, Galway. These rumours disconcerted the search parties and, although one man found brain matter in Moy O'Hynes' wood when the men who were supposed to know all about the torture and murder of the Loughnanes were interviewed, they denied that they ever knew, heard, or told anybody anything about them. Further search seemed useless…

(Inset) The remains of Pat Loughnane

"The discovery of their bodies came about in a remarkable manner. A comrade of the Loughnane's named Mickey Loughnane, who was aged about 18, often saw Pat in vision after his arrest by the Black and Tans. One night as he sat inside a stone-crusher van with his employer Mick Shaughnessy (Leahy) of Blackwater, Gort, the boy asked, "Why didn't you stay longer with Pat Loughnane?" And when his employer asked him if he was dreaming, the boy replied, "No, I surely saw Pat Loughnane with you, and he was leaning over his bicycle". The boy could bear the suspense no longer. He returned to his home near Shanaglish Church on Saturday evening, the ninth day after the disappearance of his friends. He visited Shanaglish Church and prayed to the Sacred Heart to show him where the Loughnanes were and that night he dreamt he saw his beloved comrades in a pond at Dombriste, near Drimharsna. After hearing Mass at Gort on Sunday, the boy took a comrade with him, cycled to Dombriste, crossed a field to the pond, and there lay the brothers exactly as he saw them in the dream. The boys told nobody of their discovery until they reached Kinvara. Over twenty men of the Kinvara Company of the IRA immediately procured a horse and van and went with all haste to Dombriste. They were men 'on the run' and, on reaching the pond, they rushed into the water and taking the charred remains laid them side by side on the grass. The bodies were hideously mutilated. They were naked, not a particle of clothing remained, save one of Harry's boots. His once graceful figure was a mass of unsightly scars and gashes; two of his fingers were lopped off; his right arm was broken at the shoulder, being almost completely severed from the body; whilst of the face nothing remained save the chin and lips, and the skull was entirely blown away. The remains were badly charred. Patrick's body was not charred to the same extent as his brother's. His back and shoulders remained intact. The limbs of both were charred to such an extent that the bones were exposed, the flesh and sinews being completely burned away. Mock decorations in form of diamonds were cut along Pat's ribs and chest. Both his wrists were broken and also his right arm above the elbow. Patrick's face was completely lashed away, so as to be unrecognisable, and his skull was very much fractured. Notwithstanding that they had been ten days dead, the bodies were in a wonderful state of preservation, without a sign of decomposition. After being taken out of the water, blood began to flow copiously from a wound in Harry's side. This bleeding was again renewed when the bodies were laid in Hynes' barn, leaving a brilliant red stain on the linens. Hundreds dipped their handkerchiefs in the martyrs' blood, which they treasured highly. Having recovered the bodies, the next problem was to get them away. The Auxiliary stronghold at Drimharsna was only a mile distant overlooking the pond and the Volunteers were 'wanted men'. Already a stranger cycled up and inquired casually where the bodies were being brought to "To Ballinderreen Chapel" was the reply…The brothers, wrapped in linen cloths, were laid side by side on the floor. The Rosary was recited in Irish. The blood began to trickle from Harry's wounds, and the responses were interspersed with the sobs and wails of a grief-stricken people, whose handkerchiefs were dipped in the martyrs' blood. Soon after Miss Nora Loughnane arrived. She bore the trying ordeal with spartan heroism She insisted on seeing the corpses, and when several tried, to dissuade her, she replied, "Their souls are in heaven, of that I am confident; and they died for Ireland, so it really doesn't matter how their bodies look. They were ready to make this sacrifice for their country's sake and, because I have the, same idea of nationality that they had, I, too, can bear, this ordeal". For a moment the fearful sight almost unnerved her, and she trembled from hand to foot, but by a superhuman effort she braced herself together, and again she was calm and resigned. "Oh! poor Harry", she exclaimed as she beheld the mutilated features of her younger brother. She could not identify the elder brother except by his broad shoulders and his stature. A medical officer was also in attendance, and a number of IRA officers held an investigation and ordered the verdict to be written on the breast-plates of the coffins. When a clergyman arrived, the Rosary was again recited, and the bodies were placed in coffins and taken to Kinvara Church. The coffins were draped in Sinn Féin flags with the letters "IRA" – **Pádraig Ó Fathaigh**, Republican District Justice, (BMH-WS 1517).

(Above) The remains of Harry Loughnane being highlighted to show the horrific injuries of his torture to the world.

As the winter's wind blew wild on a cold
November's night,
The sad news reached Kinvara of a mournful
tragic sight,
It was the finding of two brothers pale corpses
lay side by side,
Far from their loving mother these true hearted
brothers died,
They were taken by our enemies while
threshing their mother's corn,
And came back cold corpses to the place where
they were born,
They were taken in a lorry by a military escort,
From their native home Shanaglish
three miles south-west of Gort.

They were dragged behind two lorries for three
miles and more,
Till the blood gushed from their faces and their
bodies cursed and sore,
They were taken to Drimharsin on a clear
November's day,
While the blood gushed from their faces
and their roars were head for miles away.
"what they suffered God only knows."

Their bodies were brutally burned as they lay
upon the ground,
Then left into a bog to prevent them from being
found,
For ten long days in this desolate grave
unblessed by any priest
Those martyred brothers Loughnane by God's
aid was released,
To an old house near Kinvara the funeral
marched next day,
Under a body guard of IRA who took the
remains away.

That day was a sorrowful day for their mother,
To see the fresh blood oozing from a wound in
Harry's side,
Poor Pádraig's flesh was torn, over his eyes
were boiled within,
There was nothing left to recognize but a nose
and half a chin,
His brothers bones lay visible as cold
corpses they did lie,
Their bodies they were coffined and wrapped in
brown and white,
And left into the Church of God where they
rested that night.

The following day was a mournful sight for the
mother of the brave,
To see her darling boys going to the bosom of t
he clay,
Those brother nursed with tender care are now
beneath the sod,
Their spirits are despite their foes today before
their God,
In the church yard of Shanaglish those two
young heroes lie,
They gave their blood for Ireland and died for
you and I,
And gave up all they had on earth and
suffered all these pains,
To strike for you another blow and smash the
Saxon chains.

Is there any rebel here amongst you still to
repeat those words again,
To thread the path of dauntless men who
have suffered without hear or disdain,
But if you be true to England by obeying her
Saxon laws,
Then you'll soon forget our men shot down by
the cold-blooded murderers, the servants of the
Crown,
Let this ring throughout land and echo over the
main,
That our gallant Loughnane brothers were not
sacrificed in vain.

Anonymous

27th November 1920

HEFFERNAN, Liam (Willie):

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *B Coy (Midleton), 4th Batt., Cork No.1 Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 20 July 1898. Born at Curraglass, Conna, Co. Cork, to Michael Heffernan and Margaret Walsh.
Address: Knockmourne, Conna, Co. Cork.
Occupation: Chaffeur in the Commercial Hotel, Midleton.
Death: Heffernan was fired at by RIC officers in Castlemartyr, Co. Cork, while sitting in a motor car awaiting several IRA officers who were engaged in fruitless negotiations to be allowed into Midleton RIC Barracks by two other RIC men. Heffernan, whilst mortally wounded, managed to drive the car away from the scene. Constable Quinn was also mortally wounded in the exchange of gunfire. With his condition dramatically deteriorating, one of the IRA officers took over the driving and sped to Conna, near Castlemartyr, where Heffernan was pronounced dead.
Buried: Knockmourne Cemetery, Conna, Co. Cork.

"I gave a warning shout to the driver, who had the engine running, but it was too late. As I threw myself back in the seat the sergeant fired, mortally wounding the driver. [Diarmuid] *Hurley now realised what was happening and, drawing his gun, opened fire. His first shot broke the sergeant's arm, who promptly departed. A patrol was now emerging from the barracks a little further up the street, and it was a bit of a race to get the dying Volunteer from behind the wheel and get him away. I lifted him as gently as I could and placed him in the back seat, being aided by Volunteer Murnane, a member of the Midleton Company, who, by the way, was unarmed and therefore had to sit tight while the incident lasted. Driving through the night, we reached dispensary doctor's house at Curra, who examined Volunteer Heffernan and pronounced life extinct. He offered to keep the body, notwithstanding the fact that his wife was seriously ill in the house. Hurley thanked him and declined the offer. We now contacted some of the local Volunteers, who directed us to Heffernan's house. He was an only son and his father, who was almost a cripple with rheumatism, lived alone. I will never forget the anguish of the old man when we informed him of his son's death, but I could also see that he was proud of the fact that his son had given his life for the cause. We buried him the following night with full military honours. Hurley, before departing, gave the old man twenty pounds, which was all he had in the world"* – **Capt. Joseph Aherne**, Midleton IRA, Cork No.1 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1367).

"They said I was ruthless, daring, savage, blood-thirsty, even heartless. The clergy called me and my comrades murderers; but the British were met with their own weapons. They had gone in the mire to destroy us and our nation and down after them we had to go"

– Tom Barry, O/C – ASU, Cork No.3 Brigade, IRA

The Road to Kilmichael

Sunday, 28th November 1920

"Macroom was outside the West Cork IRA Brigade area, but the Company of Auxiliaries stationed there seemed to concentrate, from the time of their arrival, on raiding south in our Brigade area. Day after day they travelled in to Coppeen, Castletownkenneigh, Dunmanway and even south of the Bandon River. By November 1st, it seemed to me they were working on a plan to eliminate IRA resistance by terrorism, in one district at a time and then move on to repeat their activities in some other area…The Auxiliary force had been allowed to bluster through the country for four or five months killing, beating, terrorising, and burning factories and homes. Strange as it may appear, not a single shot had been fired at them up to this by the IRA in any part of Ireland to halt their terror campaign. This fact had a very serious effect on the morale of the whole people as well as on the IRA. Stories were current that the 'Auxies' were super-fighters and all but invincible. There could be no further delay in challenging them. On November 21st, a Column of thirty-six riflemen were mobilised at Farrell's of Clogher, north-west of Dunmanway, for a week's training preparatory to opening the attack on this super-force. On that Sunday, a Brigade meeting was held at Curraghdrinagh, and although many Battalion O/C's reported the assaults of Auxiliaries in their districts, no mention was made that it was proposed to attack them on the following Sunday. After the meeting I turned north to meet the new Flying Column. This unit was composed of new men, only one of whom had fought previously at Toureen, and only three had been through camp training. They were mostly quiet untrained but many appeared to be splendid natural fighters" – **Tom Barry**, O/C Cork No.3 Brigade ASU, IRA, *Guerilla Days in Ireland*, p.37-38.

"On Wednesday, 24 November, Tom Barry decided to move the Brigade Column from Clogher to a point closer to Ballineen, and this for security reasons: he did not wish to risk an unexpected encounter with the enemy before his scheme to ambush the Auxiliaries from Macroom had materialised. So on the evening of that Wednesday the men collected their blankets and sheets, and marched eastwards to Ahilnane, and there they were billeted in a large disused farmhouse on the property of Jack O'Sullivan. Shortly after their arrival news reached them that the Commandant of the Schull Battalion, Seán Lehane, was sending seven rifles from his Battalion in charge of Paddy McCarthy. The weapons were to be conveyed in the West Cork Bottling Company's lorry driven by a man named Stephen Griffin. On Friday, Tom Barry with Michael McCarthy, Vice-Commandant of the Dunmanway Battalion, and Sonny Dave Crowley set off to find a suitable ambush position on the Macroom-Dunmanway road. When the trio returned, a council of war was held, and during this Barry intimated that he was not satisfied with the position they had surveyed, and that they would return next day to seek a better position" – **Brigade-Adjt. Liam Deasy**, *Towards Ireland Free*, p.169.

"On the Friday, accompanied by Michael McCarthy, Vice-Commandant of the Dunmanway Battalion, I rode on horseback to select the ambush position. We returned to the Flying Column. That night Paddy O'Brien [Battalion Adjutant / Dunmanway Battalion] *came to speak to me as I was pondering on the problem as to how best to ensure that the Auxiliaries would slow down before the attack opened. Paddy was wearing a fine IRA officer's tunic. Suddenly the thought came, that the Auxiliaries could never have seen a man wearing one of these. If on coming into the ambush position, they were to see a man wearing such a uniform with an officer's field equipment such as I wore, they would be certain to slow down to investigate. Paddy O'Brien was told to change his tunic for my civilian coat for a couple of days. At 2 a.m. on Sunday, the Flying Column of thirty-six riflemen fell in*

at O'Sullivan's, Ahilina. Each man was armed with a rifle and thirty-five rounds. A few had revolvers, and the Commander had also two Mills bombs, which had been captured at Toureen. At 3 a.m. the men were told for the first time they were moving in to attack the Auxiliaries between Macroom and Dunmanway. Father O'Connell, P.P., Ballineen, had ridden out to hear the men's Confessions, and was waiting by the side of a ditch, some distance from the road. Silently, one by one, their rifles slung, the IRA went to him, and then returned to the ranks. Soon the priest came on the road. In a low voice, he spoke, 'Are the boys going to attack the Sassanach, Tom?' 'Yes Father, we hope so.' He asked no further question, but said in a loud voice, 'Good luck, boys, I know you will win. God keep ye all. Now I will give you my Blessing.' He rode away into the darkness of the night. The Column started its march against lashing rain. Everyone was drenched, but the march continued by road, by-roads and cross-country. Noiseless, silent, and only smoking in the cover of a ditch during the short rest halts, no one knew of its passing as it went towards Kilmichael." – **Tom Barry**, p.38-39.

"During a halt when the column was about three miles from its destination, it was learned that Pat Deasy - a young brother of Liam Deasy (Brigade Adjutant) - had followed us. Tom Barry, Column O/C, ordered him to return home, but on appeal he was allowed to remain with the column. When we reached Kilmichael, the column was divided into a number of sections as follows:- No. 1 Section was in the extreme eastern end of the position. This was in a laneway at the northern side of the road. There was a narrow wall of stones loosely built which jutted out to the road. From this position, the on-coming lorries could be enfiladed. This position was occupied by John "Flyer" Nyhan, Mick O'Herlihy and myself with the column O/C. and Denis O'Brien, Newcestown, and one other. Section 2 of about ten riflemen was placed on the slope of a large rock about 10 feet high and about ten yards from the No. 1 post, and north of the road. No. 3 Section, of similar strength, occupied high ground on the north side of the road at the western entrance to the ambush position. This was about 150 yards from No. 1 Section. This section was in charge of Michael McCarthy, Vice O/C., Dunmanway Battalion. Section 4 under Stephen O'Neill and consisting of six riflemen under cover of rocks about 40 yards south of the road. No. 5 section, which consisted of six riflemen, was north of the road and to the rear of the men in the main position. From their position they could cover the approach to the western end for a distance of about 200 yards. Scouts were posted to the north of No. 3 Section and also about 200 yards south of No. 1 post to advise approach of the enemy from Macroom and to prevent surprise from the Dunmanway area respectively. All men were in position about 9 a.m. and we remained there without any evidence of enemy activity until approaching 4 pm" – **Section-Leader Jim 'Spud' Murphy**, Cork No.3 Brigade ASU, IRA, (BMH-WS 1684).

"The Column reached the ambush position at 8.15 as the late winter dawn crossed the sky. The ambush area was in the centre of a bleak and barren countryside, a bogland interspersed with heather and rocks. It was bad terrain for an ambushing unit because of the lack of roadside ditches and cover, but the Column had to attack in some part of this road between Kilmichael Cross and Gleann Cross of three roads, a few miles to the south. The Column could not engage the Auxiliaries on the Macroom side of Kilmichael, as enemy reinforcements could quickly arrive from their base. It could not select a position south of Gleann, because on the previous four Sundays, the terrorists had diverged from Gleann Cross to four different districts. There was no certainty of meeting them, except on the road between Kilmichael and Gleann which they never once failed to travel…All the positions were occupied by 9 a.m. when up the road came John Lordan with his rifle at the trail. He had heard that the Column was looking for action and had followed it. Now he asked if he could take part, and was posted to No.2 Section. John was Vice-O/C of the Bandon Battalion, a fine type of Volunteer and a splendid fighter" – **Tom Barry**, p.40-42.

"All sections were in position about 9 a.m. I had been detailed by Michael McCarthy (O/C. No. 2 Section) to take up a position behind some rocks on the opposite (southern) side of the road to the main position at Macroom (western end) and within about 50 yards of the road. There were also some men from No. 1 Section similarly placed at the eastern end. There was no activity until about 4 p.m. when the Column O/C. (Tom Barry) left his position to visit No.2 Section at the Macroom end. While he was there, scouts signalled the approach of the enemy convoy from the Macroom direction. Tom Barry dashed back towards his own position at Dunmanway end and, on the way, he met a horse and trap with four men who had come to join the Column. As it was now too late to allocate them to any position, he ordered them to drive off as fast as they could to a by-road leading south-west at the Macroom end of the position. This party had only driven into the by-road when the leading lorry in the enemy convoy drove into the position" – **Vol. Ned Young** *(inset)*, Cork No.3 Brigade ASU, IRA, (BMH-WS 1402).

The Kilmichael Ambush Memorial Stone, Kilmichael, Co. Cork. Unveiled in July 1966.

"As soon as the signal was received the order – 'Lie flat and keep your heads down until firing commences' – was given twice. Then around the entrance bend, unconscious of the enemy behind them, riding on a sidecar pulled by a grey horse, came five fully armed IRA. These men should have reached the Flying Column on the previous Sunday, but failed to receive the mobilisation order in time. Now, as well as endangering their own lives, they very nearly upset the operation and endangered the whole Column, for nobody could foresee the consequences if the Auxiliaries had come on them at the entrance to the ambushcade. Luckily, there was a ditchless lane leading to the house and immediately the order was given, 'Gallop up the lane, the Auxies are here. Gallop, Gallop.' The grey horse galloped, and in thirty seconds the small party disappeared from sight and were not to reappear until the fight was over. Fifteen seconds later, the first lorry came around the bend into the ambush position at a fairly fast speed. For fifty yards it maintained its speed and then the driver, apparently observing the uniformed figure, gradually slowed it down until at fifty yards from the Command Post, it looked as if it were about to stop. But it still came on slowly and, as it reached thirty-five yards from the small stone wall, the Mills bomb was thrown, an automatic barked and the whistle blew. The bomb sailed through the air to land in the driver's seat of the uncovered lorry. As it exploded the rifle shots rang out. The lorry lurched drunkenly, but still came on impelled by its own weight, the foot brake no longer pressed as the driver was dead. On it came, the Auxiliaries firing their revolvers at the IRA who were pouring lead into them, and then the lorry stopped a few yards from the small stone wall. Some of the Auxiliaries were now fighting from the road and the fight became a hand-to-hand one. Revolvers were used at point blank range, and at times, rifle butts replaced rifle shots." – **Tom Barry**, p.43-44.

"This lorry was allowed to proceed to the eastern (Dunmanway) end before fire was opened on it by the men of No. 1 Section north of the road. This lorry veered off the road towards the northern side. Some of the occupants. jumped from it and dashed for cover to the south of the road. These were taken care of by Paddy O'Brien and the party from No.1 section who had been placed in position south of the road. In the meantime, the second lorry had d riven into the position at the Macroom (western) end and halted opposite the rock where the men of No. 2 section were in position. Fire was immediately opened on them. The occupants jumped from the lorry and lay on the road fighting all the time. The driver of this lorry reversed about 20 yards out of the position. Two members of the enemy party then jumped from the lorry and made a dash up the road towards Macroom. I then left my position south of the road and followed his party. One of them went across the bog at Kelly's house. I followed and fired at him until I saw him fall into a boghole. As I thought that this 'Auxie' was 'finished', I set about looking for the second one. I found him underneath the lorry on the road where he was shooting at my comrades who were in position on the rock north of the road. I immediately opened fire on this man and firing ceased from his position" – **Vol. Ned Young**, (BMH-WS 1402).

"The first lorry passed our position. I heard a shot, followed by a bomb explosion from the Column O/C's position. At this time the second lorry was just opposite our position. The Auxies jumped out and tried to find cover. The lorry driver held his seat and attempted to back the lorry out of the position. I was engaging the Auxies on the road. I was wearing a tin hat. I had fired about ten rounds and had got five bullets through the hat when the sixth bullet wounded me in the scalp. Vice Comdt. McCarthy had got

a bullet through the head and lay dead. I continued to load and fire but the blood dripping from my forehead fouled the breech of my rifle. I dropped my rifle and took Ml. McCarthy's. Many of the Auxies lay on the road dead or dying. Our orders were to fix bayonets and charge on to the road when we heard three blasts of the O/C's whistle. I heard the three blasts and got up from my position, shouting "hands up". At the same time one of the Auxies about five yards from me drew his revolver. He had thrown down his rifle. I pulled on him and shot him dead. I got back to cover, where I remained for a few minutes firing at living and dead Auxies on the road. The Column O/C sounded his whistle again. Nearly all the Auxies had been wiped out. When I reached the road a wounded Auxie moved his hand towards his revolver. I put my bayonet through him under the ribs. Another Auxie tried to pull on John Lordan, who was too near to use his bayonet and he struck the Auxie with the butt of his rifle. The butt broke on the Auxie's skull" – **Vol. Jack Hennessy**, Cork No.3 Brigade ASU, IRA, (BMH-WS 1234).

The remains of a wheel from one of the Crossley Tenders at Kilmichael. Source: Independence Museum Kilmurry

"The enemy party in the leading lorry was disposed of in about five or six minutes, but the survivors from the second lorry continued to fight for about 20/30 minutes. At this stage Tom Barry blew a blast on his whistle as a signal that all men should get on to the road. At the same time, he moved with his section along the road from the east to take the survivors in the rear. Tom Barry then called on the enemy to surrender and some of them put up their hands, but when our party were moving on to the road the Auxiliaries again opened fire. Two of our men (John Lordan and Jack Hennessy, I think) were wounded by his fire. Pat Deasy had been wounded, while Tim Sullivan and Mick McCarthy (V/C Dunmanway Battn.) had been killed prior to this happening. The O/C (Tom Barry) immediately ordered an all-out attack, and after a few sharp bursts the enemy forces were silenced. We then found that everybody on the road had been killed. The surviving members of the Column then collected all enemy arms and ammunition. The enemy lorries were set on fire. I cannot recollect how many rifles we captured but all members of the enemy party had revolvers (Wébley). I should have mentioned that Mick McCarthy (V/C Dunmanway Battn.) was in charge of the Section with which I operated in this action. I was armed with a shotgun, as were about five or six other members of the column. This was due to the fact that a number of rifles which were being sent from the western end of the brigade did not reach the column before the operation" – **Lieut. Timothy Keohane**, Cork No.3 Brigade ASU, IRA, (BMH-WS 1295).

McCARTHY, Michael (Mick):

Rank: Vice-Commandant.
Unit: *3rd Batt., Cork No.3 Bde, IRA & Brigade ASU.*
DOB: 19th August 1896. Born at Knocklane, Dunmanway, Co. Cork, to Daniel McCarthy and Ellen Sullivan.
Occupation: Cooper.
Address: East Green, Dunmanway, Co. Cork
Death: McCarthy, commander of the ASU's Section 2 during the ambush at Kilmichael, a unit which received much of the responding fire from the Crown troops, was shot and killed outright in the closing stages of the ambush.
Buried: The Republican Plot, St. Joseph's Churchyard, Castletownkenneigh, Co. Cork.
MSPC Ref: 1D295.

"I ran the short distance to where I had seen our men fall and scrambled up the rocky height. Michael McCarthy, Dunmanway, and Jim Sullivan, Knockawaddra, Rossmore, lay dead, and, a few yards away, Pat Deasy was dying. As we bandaged him, his face grew pale, but he was quite conscious as I spoke. 'They are all dead, Pat. We will move you safely to a house in a few minutes and will get a doctor. Are you in pain?' He

smiled as he replied, 'No, Commandant, but give me water.' I knew enough first-aid to understand that any liquid might quickly kill him, so he was told he would get a cup of tea when he reached the house. I turned away and ordered all the survivors, except the two who were to remain with Pat, to get down to the road. The whistle blew, and the order, 'Fall in at the double' was given. Down the road with rifles at the trail came the insurance party of six riflemen; out from behind their rocks doubled Stephen O'Neill and his men; and from behind their high positions slithered No.1 Section hastening to join the others. After numbering off they reloaded. Four men were sent hurrying for a door to bear Pat Deasy away; six were ordered to protection positions; eighteen detailed to remove the armament and papers from the dead Auxiliaries; and the remainder to make the lorries ready for burning" – **Tom Barry**, p.45.

O'SULLIVAN, James (Jim):

Rank: 2nd Lieutenant.
Unit: *E Coy (Kilmeen) 2nd Batt., Cork No.3 Bde, IRA & Brigade ASU.*
DOB: 10 September 1894. Son of Jeremiah O'Sullivan and Mary Cronin.
Address: Knockanaddra, Ballineen, Co. Cork
Occupation: Farmer.
Death: O'Sullivan was killed during the Ambush at Kilmichael, during the false surrender of Auxiliaries.
Buried: The Republican Plot, St. Joseph's Churchyard, Castletownkenneigh, Co. Cork.
MSPC Ref: 1D117.

"While I sat on the roadside a party of our men was ordered to collect the arms, ammunition and papers of the Auxies and pull the bodies clear of the lorries. While this was being done one of our men, Sonny Dave Crowley, shouted to the Column O/C that an Auxie was running away across country. He was the driver who had been hiding under the lorry and who had slipped out from cover while our men were engaged taking the stuff of the other Auxies. Some shots were fired at the fleeing Auxie, but he got away to the Dunmanway-Macroom road and was next sighted at a place called Droumcarra, where he arrived at nightfall. He was seen by a group of men who were unarmed, one of whom attacked the Auxie with a stick and took an empty revolver from him. He was held and handed over to Neilus Kelliher, O/C Tarelton Company, 1st Cork Brigade. The Auxie was executed by the 1st Cork Brigade and his body buried in Andhala bog. The Auxie's name was Gutteridge. The body lay in the bog until after the Civil War, when enquiries were started by the Auxie's relatives. It would appear that the British Government would not pay compensation until the body was found and identified. One of the men who knew the location of the body was given permission by the IRA to disclose its whereabouts, and the body was exhumed and handed over to the relatives for burial" – **Vol. Jack Hennessy**, (BMH-WS 1234).

"Within seven-or-eight minutes Pat Deasy was borne away, and the Flying Column 'fell in' with its task completed. Eighteen men carried the captured equipment over their own, the enemy rifles slung across their backs. One man had a sandbag full of the Auxiliaries' papers and notebooks…The Flying Column came to attention, sloped arms and was inspected. Some showed the strain of the ordeal through which they had passed, and a few appeared on the point of collapse because of shock. It was of supreme importance that those men should be jerked back to their former efficiency" – **Tom Barry**, p.46.

DEASY, Pat:

Rank: Battalion O/C Signals.
Unit: *A Coy (Ballinadee), 1st Batt., Cork No.3 Bde, IRA & Brigade ASU.*
DOB: 25 February 1904. Born at Kilmacsimon Quay, Co. Cork, to William Deasy and Minnie Murray. Pat was the youngest brother of Liam Deasy, Brigade-Adjutant of Cork No.3 Brigade, IRA.
Address: Kilmacsimon, Co. Cork.
Occupation: Draper's Apprentice.
Death: Deasy, while suffering with an illness, had been ordered to stand down to recover but followed the column to Kilmichael, unbeknownst to the leadership. He pleaded with Tom Barry to allow him to stay, in which Barry relented. Deasy was mortally wounded during the engagement at Kilmichael and died from his wounds that evening. At only 16 years of age, Deasy was one of the youngest IRA Volunteers to be killed in action during the 1919-21 conflict.
Buried: The Republican Plot, St. Joseph's Churchyard, Castletownkenneigh, Co. Cork.
MSPC Ref: DP87.

"My brother, Pat, was clearly dying. To remove him, a door was requisitioned from a nearby house. He was carried on it to Buttimer's of Gortroe about half a mile away, and he died there at 10.00 p.m. It was only some time later that I heard this sad news…It was a sad duty that was mine to break the news to my parents that their youngest son had been killed on the previous Sunday. My father broke down completely, for Pat was his favourite boy, but my mother's reaction was a great help. She shed no tears, though her heart must have been well-nigh breaking. She accepted the cross as the Mothers of Ireland have traditionally accepted it when they lost sons and husbands in the cause of Irish freedom" – **Brigade-Adjutant Liam Deasy**, Cork No.3 Brigade, IRA, *Towards Ireland Free*, p.172-173.

"The lorries were now ablaze. Like two huge torches, they lit up the countryside and the corpse-strewn, blood-lined road, as the Flying Column marched up and down, halted, drilled and marched again between them. For five minutes the eerie drill continued until the Column halted in front of the rock where Michael McCarthy and Jim O'Sullivan lay. There it executed the 'Present Arms' as its farewell tribute to those fine Irish soldiers. The Column formed sections, and the order of march was given. A half-an-hour after the opening of the fight, it moved away to the south, aiming to cross the Bandon River before the British held Manch Bridge. Soon it commenced to rain again and the men were drenched. The rain continued as the IRA marched through Shancashel, Coolnagow, Balteenbrack, and arrived in the vicinity of dangerous Manch Bridge…The Column would have to remain together in a single house, ready for instant action. Paddy O'Brien and Dan Hourihan had reported an empty labourer's cottage at Granure, and it was in front of this the Column halted. The local Ballinacarriga Company had been mobilised before our arrival and the members were eagerly waiting to help. They posted an outer ring of scouts, provided candles, bread, butter, buckets of tea, and placed bundles of straw on the floor. They dumped the surplus rifles and equipment. All ammunition, bombs and revolvers were distributed to the Flying Column. It was now 1 a.m. and the scouts and sentries were inspected. When I returned half an hour later the men were all sleeping in their wet clothes on the straw covered floors. I looked at them and a thrill of pride ran through me as I thought that no army in the world could ever have more uncomplaining men. They had been practically thirty hours without food, marched twenty-six miles, were soaked through, nearly frozen on exposed rocks and had undergone a terrifying baptism of fire. Their discipline was of the finest." – **Tom Barry**, p.46-47.

"This ditch of the road fighting was the only fighting that suited a weak people fighting one of the greatest Empires in the world with all their resources"
– Tom Barry, Speaking to RTÉ in 1966.

The Boys of Kilmichael

Oh forget not the boys of Kilmichael,
Those brave boys both gallant and true.
They fought with Tom Barry's bold column,
And conquered the red, white and blue.

Whilst we honour in song and in story,
The memory of Pearse and MacBride.
Whose names are illumined in glory,
With martyrs that long since have died.
Oh forget not the boys of Kilmichael,
Who feared not the ice and the foe.
Oh the day that they marched into battle,
They laid all the Black and Tans low.

On the twenty-eighth day of November,
The Tans left the town of Macroom.
They were seated in Crossley tenders,
Which brought them right into their doom.
They were on the high road to Kilmichael,
And never expecting to stall.
'Twas there that the boys of the column,
They made a clear sweep of them all.

The sun in the west it was sinking,
'Twas the eve of a cold winter's day.
When the Tans we were eagerly waiting,
Sailed into the spot where we lay.

And over the hill went the echo,
The peal of the rifles and guns.
And the smoke from their lorries bore tidings,
That the boys of Kilmichael had won.

The battle being over at twilight,
And there in that glen so obscure.
We threw down our rifles and bayonets,
And made our way back to Granure.
And high over Dunmanway town, my boys,
They sang of the brave and the true.
Of the men from Tom Barry's bold column,
Who conquered the red, white and blue.

There are some who will blush at the mention,
Of Connolly, Pearse and MacBride.
And history's new scribes in derision,
The pages of valour deny.
But sure here's to the boys who cried,
Freedom!
When Ireland was nailed to the mast.
And they fought with Tom Barry's bold column,
To give us our freedom at last.

A British round-up, Co.Cork, 1921

"Headquarters and cabinet alike had refused to listen to Brugha's plea for bloody reprisals in England, but were forced to agree to some sort of campaign; country officers had been demanding it as the only measure which would halt the destruction being wrought at home. Rory O'Connor was sent across to organise it. The result was to create chaos in Collins' English organisation. Up to this, things had been run, and very efficiently run, by a small group of IRB men under his immediate control. Now, for mass operations, companies of Volunteers were necessary. O'Connor addressed assembled recruits in a smoky cellar under Scotland Road and warned them that they must consider themselves in the front line henceforth. To make matters worse [Neil] *Kerr and* [Steve] *Lanigan of Liverpool were arrested. At the same time as the Kilmichael ambush the Volunteers demobilised rows of warehouses in Liverpool, the value of which ran into fabulous sums. Collins, however, succeeded in restoring communications, and, desperately hampered as it was, the work of arms purchases and communications went on. At the end of November 1920* [Arthur] *Griffith was arrested, and for some weeks Collins was in fact, Acting-President of Dáil Éireann. It was at this time that Lloyd George showed the first signs of caving in. He began to send out feelers for negotiations. He did so in a fashion calculated to produce the maximum of distrust and obstinacy. He would negotiate, he wouldn't negotiate; he would insist on surrender, he would parley with the Republicans as equals; he would deal with Collins, Collins must be handed over. One day he was all conciliation; next, stung by some trifling remark or petty engagement, he was all fire and fury again. Then once more he sent for some prominent Irishmen like AE [George W. Russell]. From the beginning Collins did not trust him. He had the Conservative Irishman's dislike of all Liberal and Labour politicians. Nor did he allow the statement that his personal position was holding up negotiations to go unchallenged. He issued a fiery reply. 'No person in Ireland or anywhere else had authority to use my name. My personal safety does not count as a factor in the question of Ireland's right. I thank no one for refraining from murdering me.' Lloyd George's intermediary, the Archbishop of Perth, found some suspicious-looking characters about his house, waiting for the expected visit from Collins. At last the two men were allowed to meet in peace, but having been put off once or twice, Collins decided that Lloyd George was only temporizing"* – **Frank O'Connor**, *The Big Fellow*, p.128-129.

"Lloyd George was being secretly beseeched by British representatives in America to end the oppression. The joint effect of Black and Tan outrages in Ireland and the President's mission were, the Premier was told, proving disastrous for Britain's prestige. He asked the Archbishop of Perth (Australia), Dr. Clune, who was in London, to be his emissary for peace, telling His Grace to seek out the leaders and arrange a truce, as a preliminary to discussion. Dr. Clune saw Griffith and MacNeill in Mountjoy Jail, and Collins at a secret rendezvous, and eventually a truce was arranged. But at that moment a foolish resolution, seeking peace, was reported – wrongly, some say – as having been passed by six members of the Galway County Council (the other 25 were on the run), and a telegram from Father [Michael] O'Flanagan, in the same sense, were thought by the British premier to show a break in the morale of the Republicans…Lloyd George, on the very day the Celtic drew out from New York (carrying Éamon de Valera), announced in the Commons that the Irish were breaking, and that the troops and soldiers had been instructed to finish the job. He would now accept no truce unless the Irish first surrendered their arms" – **Frank Gallagher**, *The Four Glorious Years*, p.262.

"That week after Bloody Sunday was so terrible that people did not dare to venture out. [Michael] Collins cycled round as coolly as ever. When no one could be found to receive messages from the detectives, he went himself. A week after Bloody Sunday he was thrilled by the ambush at Kilmichael in which a small column which included his brother Seán, had wiped up a party of Auxiliaries.

He burst in once more like a whirlwind, sweeping hats, caps and coats off hallstands in his glee and proclaiming in triumphant tones that Cork could show them how to fight" – **Frank O'Connor**, *The Big Fellow*, p.147.

30th November 1920

O'CARROLL, Seán:

Rank: Captain.
Unit: *A Coy (Ardee), 3rd Batt., South Louth Brigade, IRA (1920). Formerly attached to D Company, 1st Batt., Antrim & East Down Brigade, IRA.*
DOB: 23 October 1895. Born in Maynooth, Co. Kildare, to Christopher Carroll and Ellen Connor.
Occupation: Irish Teacher.
Address: Castle St, Ardee, Co. Louth.
Death: O'Carroll was taken by disguised policemen from his lodgings around 2am and shot three times on Railway Walk, eventually succumbing to his wounds around 4:30am. He was one of six people targeted by an RIC murder gang in the area that night but only he and Patrick Tierney were found.
Buried: Milltown Cemetery, Belfast.
MSPC Ref: 1D348.

"Sooner or later, everyone will join, and the sooner the better. This time there will be no surrender. It may be 50 or even 100 years before we win, but one thing is certain, there will be no surrender ever again." – Seán O'Carroll

"A Volunteer named Seán O'Carroll, who then lived in Ardee, was in touch with a friendly RIC man stationed in the barracks named Grant, who expressed his willingness to assist the Volunteers in the attempt to raid the barracks. On the day fixed for the attempt on the barracks the operation was called off by the Battalion O/C. This fiasco had a demoralising effect on the Volunteers in both Ardee and Drogheda. I was later informed that a leakage of information about the proposed attack on Ardee barracks took place which connected Seán O'Carroll with the affair. Seán O'Carroll and a Michael Tierney were taken from their lodgings in October 1920 and murdered by Crown Forces" – **Batt-Adjt. Joseph O'Higgins**, 3rd Batt, South Louth Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 507).

TIERNEY, Patrick (Patsy):

Rank: Company QM.
Unit: *A Coy (Ardee), 3rd Batt., South Louth Brigade, IRA.*
DOB: 6 January 1892. Son of John Tierney and Bridget Nevin.
Occupation: Butcher.
Address: Tisdale St (now Tierney St), Ardee, Co. Louth.
Death: Around the same time as O'Carroll's abduction, Tierney was taken from his home by men in police and khaki clothing and shot dead fifty yards from his home. It was described that "*practically the whole of the left half of his cranium blown away, and the brain removed and numerous fractures in the remainder of his skull. His lower jaw was fractured on both sides and he had an entrance and exit wounds on the back of the left forearm and the radius was broken. He had an entrance wound at one inch to the left of his spinal column between the 10th and 11th ribs. This wound must have been caused by a bullet which came out producing a hole about the size of a crown piece just below the tip of his breast bone in the abdomen. He had another wound in the left hiltrck an inch from the middle line".* – Dr Steen (Coroner). His sister, Delia Tierney, stated: "*He had been shot through the head. His arms and legs were broken and his stomach had been ripped open with a bayonet. His brains were scattered on the grass margin and my father had to use a large spoon to put them in a biscuit tin so that they could be put into the coffin to be buried with him.*"
Buried: Ballypousta Cemetery, Co. Louth.
MSPC Ref: DP3993.

"The late Seán [O']*Carroll of Ardee wrote to me that he had got reliable information that three County Louth men were to be shot by crown Forces and that I was one of those men. Poor Seán and another man named Tierney were taken from-their beds that night and shot dead by Crown Forces. About the same time two men in Drogheda were also taken out and shot in a similar manner. When I got Carroll's letter I immediately left home and went into hiding. The following night my house was raided and got such a thorough search by brutal RIC that my wife who was expecting the birth of our first baby had the next day to go into hospital from the effects of her experiences during the raid"* – **James McGuill**, South Louth Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 353).

Tierney's bandolier. Source: County Museum, Dundalk, Co. Louth. www.icomireland.com

"Large bodies of the British were gathering in Dunmanway, Ballineen, Bandon, Crookstown and Macroom before converging on Kilmichael. One unit of two hundred and fifty steel helmeted soldiers moving on to Dunmanway about noon, passed two hundred yards from the cottage, while the Column stood at the alert. Other enemy units were moving at the same time a few miles away on to Manch Bridge. No risks were taken by them as it was nearly 4 p.m. when all their forces reached Kilmichael. The British were aware at 6 p.m. Sunday evening that the Auxiliaries had been ambushed, yet it was late evening on the following day, before they ventured to the scene of the fight. It was clear enough to me that they thought a large IRA force was engaged and waiting for a stand-up fight with the British reinforcements." – **Tom Barry**, *Guerilla Days in Ireland*, p.48-49.

The remains of Begley, O'Donoghue and Capt. John Galvin lie dumped in Bandon. Source: Mercier Archive.

A FATAL RUSE IN BANDON
2 December 1920

"During the four days after Kilmichael , while the Column zig-zagged, one appointment was uppermost in my mind. It was of such importance that it was the deciding factor in not attacking one of the enemy marching units. This appointment could, in my opinion, initiate an operation which would have far-reaching consequences, namely, the capture of the military barracks and the destruction of the two large Black and Tan posts in Bandon. The appointment was for the night of December 3rd. One of the oldest ruses in war is to send spies, posing as deserters, into enemy lines. The classic example is, I think, the American Civil War, when hundreds of these pseudo-deserters were discovered as spies by both armies and dealt with as such. The knowledge was uppermost in my mind, when a local Company officer reported to me that he had arrested two men of the Essex Regiment wandering about in civilian clothes stating they were deserters from the Bandon garrison, and that they wanted help to get back to Britain. Knowing full well the risks, I instructed the Company Commander to bring them to me for interview on the Thursday night before the Kilmichael fight. Bandon military barracks could be taken on any night that sixty picked IRA fighters were able to approach the guardroom at the main gate entrance without the alarm being raised. One sentry outside the unlocked wicket of this main gate was the only obstacle in the way. Could one soldier on this sentry duty be relied on, through bribery, or for any other reason, to allow an IRA storming party approach the wicket, without raising the alarm, the job could be done. Fifteen of the attackers could deal with the guard of eighteen, fifteen others race to the officers' quarters, and the other three sections of ten rush the armoured car park, the NCO quarters and to the top storey of the building, directly across the square from the main entrance. This storming unit would use revolvers and bombs. On its heels would follow other picked men from every rifle in the Brigade. Outside the town would wait a thousand unarmed IRA in ten units, who on a signal would hurry into strip the barracks…With all this as a distinct possibility, it is little wonder that for many months we were seeking a contact with some soldier of the Essex Regiment. Now here were two, probably spies, but one might be bribed and tested. I interviewed them separately. The second man appeared to be the more likely of the two for our requirements. After nearly half an hour of questioning, I told him I knew he was a spy, but if he were interested in a proposition which would gain him three thousand pounds and a safe passage to any other country, we could strike a bargain. He asked what I wanted, but was told that the details would not be divulged for the present. I was about to suggest that he should go back to his unit, take a small punishment which would be the result of his absence without leave, and as a test, act as an IRA spy at a salary of twenty pounds weekly, when he said: 'I have a brother, a Sergeant in the Essex in Bandon and he is anxious to get out, but he is afraid of not being able to get a job back home. Could I talk to him as he would do anything for that amount of money?' Eventually it was agreed that he and I should meet his brother at 8.30 p.m. on December 3rd, one and a half miles from Bandon. He wrote a letter dictated by me making the appointment. He was closely watched as he wrote on paper supplied by us and

that letter could not have conveyed any hidden message. It was posted by our messenger in Bandon. Before he was taken away, he was warned of the consequences of treachery and he undertook to keep this arrangement secret from the other deserter. Both were taken away by an escort who were instructed to continue to look on the prisoners as spies, and to keep them closely guarded" – **Tom Barry**, O/C, Cork No.3 ASU, *Guerilla Days in Ireland*, p.52-54.

BEGLEY, Joseph Patrick (Joe):

Rank: Section-Commander.
Unit: *F Coy (Bandon), 1st Batt., Cork No.3 Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 25 March 1896. Born in Chapel St, Bandon, Co. Cork, to James Begley and Mary Driscoll.
Address: Castle St, Bandon, Co. Cork.
Occupation: Clerk.
Death: Begley, Galvin and O'Donoghue were victims of a spy plot organised by the Essex Regiment in which two privates, Watling and Taylor, claimed to be deserters willing to help the IRA capture Bandon Military barracks. Begley, Captain John Galvin and James O'Donoghue were ambushed by a patrol of Essex soldiers and gunned down near Laurel Walk, Bandon. It is possible that a letter intended for Taylor was given to another soldier of the same name, who informed his superiors, precipitating the ambush. Watling and Taylor were both executed by the IRA at the end of the month.
Buried: The Republican Plot, St. Patrick's Cemetery, Bandon, Co. Cork.
MSPC Ref: 1D281.

"On our side it was arranged that the Brigade Column Commander Tom Barry, and three officers of the Bandon Company, Captain John Galvin, Lieutenant Jim O'Donoghue, and Section-Commander Joe Begley, should be present at this meeting. On the actual evening of the meeting as he was about to set out for the rendezvous at the top of the Laurel Walk, Tom Barry had a serious heart attack and collapsed unconscious as he was actually stepping into the car that was to take him close to the meeting point. This upset the whole plan. Charlie Hurley (Brigadier of Cork No.3 Brigade, IRA), had to have the sick man conveyed immediately from Ahiohill, where he was, to McCarthy's pf Kilmoylerane where Dr. Eugene Fehily and Nurse O'Neill of Shanavagh treated him and fought for his life for some days" – **Brigade-Adjt. Liam Deasy**, *Towards Ireland Free*, p.178.

GALVIN, John:

Rank: Captain.
Unit: *F Coy (Bandon), 1st Batt., Cork No.3 Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 9 May 1902. Born in Old Court, Ballinaspittle, Kinsale, Co. Cork to Michael Galvin and Norah McCarthy.
Address: South Main St, Bandon, Co. Cork.
Occupation: Carpenter.
Death: See BEGLEY, Joseph Patrick.
Buried: The Republican Plot, St. Patrick's Cemetery, Bandon, Co. Cork.
MSPC Ref: DP354.

O'DONOGHUE, James Joseph (Jimmy):

Rank: 1st Lieutenant.
Unit: *F Coy (Bandon), 1st Batt., Cork No.3 Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 4 April 1902. Born in Castle Road, Bandon, Co. Cork to Cornelius Donoghue and Ellen O'Brien.
Address: 31 Shannon St, Bandon, Co. Cork.
Occupation: Clerk.
Death: See BEGLEY, Joseph Patrick.
Buried: The Republican Plot, St. Patrick's Cemetery, Bandon, Co. Cork.
MSPC Ref: DP3614.

"During the action on the previous Sunday at Kilmichael, so sharp was the sudden spasm of pain that struck me, I thought I had been wounded in the chest. Several similar, but lesser, pains had occurred afterwards, but did not appear serious. Now, with my foot actually on the running board of the Ford car, something seemed to hit me violently in the chest again and I knew no more. Two hours later a tragedy was being enacted near Bandon while I lay unconscious of my surroundings. Captain John Galvin, accompanied by Lieutenant Jim O'Donoghue and Section-Commander Joe Begley, were walking towards the place where John Galvin was to report. When these three reached the actual spot where the Essex Sergeant was to meet his brother, in all probability Jim O'Donoghue and Joe Begley were about to turn back since John Galvin had specific instructions to come alone. However, at the point a large force of Essex in ambush position surrounded the young Volunteers and shot them dead. Finding my short note signed as Brigade Column Commander, the Essex Commander immediately sent troops to the meeting place mentioned in the note and these remained in ambush around there throughout the night. It is perhaps just as well that there are no details of treatment meted out to Galvin, Begley and O'Donoghue. The only certainty is that the three corpses were found the following morning lying on the road near where they had been intercepted. The bodies showed marks of ill-treatment. In the centre of each of their foreheads was a hole made by a revolver bullet. There were no other bullet holes, but their bodies showed the marks of ill-treatment before they were killed off by the savages who called themselves soldiers of the British King. Bandon mourned for those three fine young men who died for Ireland, while the Essex and the Black and Tans caroused to celebrate another famous British victory." – **Tom Barry**, p.54-55.

4th December 1920

HOWLEY, Michael Joseph (Joe):

Rank: Brigadier.

Unit: *Mid-Galway Brigade, IRA. Howley was Captain of the Oranmore Coy, Galway Bde, I.V., during the 1916 Rising.*

DOB: 20 November 1895. Son of Michael Howley and Mary Rabbitt.

Occupation: Farmer.

Address: Oranmore, Co. Galway.

Death: Having made his way by rail from Galway to Dublin for a meeting with GHQ, Howley was ambushed and shot and mortally wounded outside Broadstone station at 6:25pm by suspected members of the Igoe Gang outside Broadstone Railway Station in Dublin. He expired that night after being operated on at Dublin's King George V Military Hospital. It was believed that RIC Sgt. Healy who was stationed at Oranmore and who had fought off Howley's attack there during Easter Week, 1916, had travelled to Dublin to identify Howley. Healy was promoted to District Inspector shortly afterwards.

Buried: Old Oranmore Cemetery, Oranmore, Co. Galway.

MSPC Ref: 1D402.

"The first phase of the Broadstone tragedy took place at about 6.20 p.m., Mr. Howley having arrived by the mail train from Galway. He had walked about 100 yards from the station, and was crossing the bridge when the fatal shots rang out. An eye-witness told our representative that he heard four shots and saw a tall man in civilian dress fall about six yards from the lamp on the right-hand side of the canal bridge. Immediately afterwards he heard a whistle. He saw a motor approach at a fast pace, and a number of men whom he could not distinguish as being in uniform or civilian dress jump into it and drive off towards the city" – **Irish Independent**, 6 December 1920, p.5.

"I remember the shooting of a man named Howley, a native of Galway, at Broadstone Railway Station. This murder was believed to be the work of a man named Igoe. Igoe, as far as I can recollect, was an ex-sergeant of the RIC who had been dismissed, but, I believe, on writing to General Tudor offering his services to do any 'dirty work' that might be required of him, he was reinstated. I believe the letter so offering his services was captured in the mail by our Intelligence agents. Charlie Dalton, [Edward] *Kelleher and myself were sent to the Broadstone on a subsequent date to the murder of Howley to try, if possible, to get Igoe. We went there about 5 p.m. when the Galway train was due to arrive. We took up a position in a public-house opposite the station and, to our surprise, we saw that Igoe was accompanied by about twelve other accomplices in plain clothes who were closely scrutinising each*

passenger leaving the train. Being so small in number, we thought it more prudent to do nothing. From then on, Igoe and his gang, as they were called, were subjected to constant attention by the Intelligence Department and every effort was made to suitably ambush them" – **James Hughes**, GHQ Intelligence, IRA, (BMH-WS 535).

5th December 1920

HAND, Thomas:

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *C Coy (Skerries), 1st Batt., Fingal Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 16 February 1872. Born in Lusk, Co. Dublin, to Patrick Hand and Mary Farrell.
Address: Ballytrasna, Balbriggan, Co. Dublin.
Occupation: Quarry Labourer / Sinn Féin Republican Courts Judge.
Familial: On 5 October 1910, Hand married Rose Coleman at St. Patrick's Church in Skerries, Co. Dublin. Their children included: Patrick (1911-1998), Elizabeth (b.1912), Thomas (1914-2003), Maura (1915-1987) and Anne (1916-1920).
Death: In the early hours of 5 December 1920, disguised policemen entered the Hand homestead and forced Thomas Hand outside where he was shot in the head and neck in front of his family, killing him instantly.
Buried: Baldungan Graveyard, Skerries, Co. Dublin.

MSPC Ref: DP23925.

"Thomas Hand, a quarry labourer, was shot dead in his mother's house at Ballytrasna, near Skerries, about 2 a.m., on Sunday, by a party of armed men. He was a married man and until a few weeks ago lived with his wife and family in a cottage in the town, but, as frequent inquiries had been made about him by parties who searched his home, he did not stay there constantly. On Saturday night, having been to confession in the local church, he went to his mother's place – the first time for a fortnight – where he decided to stay for the night. The family was disturbed by the entrance of armed men, who shouted for Hand, and in the confusion, they dragged out his brother, a cripple, and were about to shoot him when they realised their mistake. Meantime, Thomas endeavoured to escape through a back window, but he was shot dead in the attempt in the presence of his terror-stricken mother, brother and sisters. He was secretary of the local branch of the Transport Union, and frequently figured as arbitrator in Republican Courts, while he was an ardent student of Irish. The scene of the murder is about midway between Skerries and Balbriggan, on a headland, known as 'The Hills,' overlooking the sea" – **Skibbereen Eagle**, 11 December 1920, p.7.

6th December 1920

McLEAN, Michael John:

Rank: Lieutenant.
Unit: *E Coy (Leamcon), 7th Batt., Cork No.3 Bde, IRA & Brigade ASU.*
DOB: 5 March 1902. Son of John McClean and Kate Sexton.
Occupation: Postman.
Address: Lowertown, Schull, Co. Cork.
Death: McLean had been involved in a failed ambush at Gaggin, near Bandon, Co. Cork. Having been injured in the arm after falling into a drain, McLean remained in a house nearby keeping civilians under guard with a Webley revolver given to him by Brigadier Charlie Hurley. When the military consolidated and searched the area, McLean was taken from the house, brought five hundred yards away and bayoneted and shot dead despite the pleas of his former prisoners to leave him unharmed. ASU Commandant, Tom Barry, having second hand information whilst recuperating from a heart condition, stated in his memoirs that McLean was shot and killed by the Tans as the ASU were vacating their positions at Gaggin.
Buried: The Republican Plot, St. Patrick's Cemetery, Bandon, Co. Cork.
MSPC Ref: 1D329.

"The Brigade Column, which had taken part in the engagement with the enemy auxiliary force at Kilmichael on 28th November 1920, were billeted in Knockea, about 6th December 1920. The Lyre Company was responsible for the provision of guards, scouts, supplies and dispatch riders, while the column was in the area. When the column moved to take up positions at Gaggin on the Bandon-Clonakilty road on 8th December 1920, I accompanied them. I was armed with a rifle and travelled in the leading horse and trap with Jim Hurley, Stephen O'Neill and Tim O'Donoghue" – **M/O Michael Dineen**, 2nd Batt., Cork No.3 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1563).

"Charlie (Hurley) wisely retired the Column. The lorry rushed on for about half-a-mile, and then the Black and Tans, evidently believing because of the few shots fired at them, that they were sniped at by only one or two men, stopped the lorry. They got into the fields and came on the unsuspecting Column's flank as it retired. The Black and Tans, surprised at the strength of the IRA force, fired a few volleys, ran back to the lorry and drove rapidly on to Bandon. The few volleys killed Lieutenant Michael McLean of Schull and cause some confusion in the ranks of the Column. A few of the IRA behaved very badly and one nearly caused a panic before the Brigade O.C. regained control" – **Tom Barry**, *Guerilla Days in Ireland*, p.58.

"The Column next moved to Ahiohill, where we were in billets when Charlie Hurley (now Brigade O/C, having replaced Tom Hales, who was arrested in July, 1920) took us into positions at Gaggin on December 8th 1920. A number of men from the Bantry area, who had been late for Kilmichael, had now joined the Column. They were armed with some of the rifles captured at Kilmichael. All members of the Column were now armed with rifles. At Gaggin, the Column was divided into two sections and took up position on high ground about 20 yards south of the Bandon-Clonakilty road. An enemy convoy of one lorry was expected, but just as the lorry entered the position a rifle shot was accidentally discharged by one of our men and the enemy dashed through before effective fire could be brought to bear on it. Several shots were fired at the lorry as it dashed away. The lorry, however, stopped some distance from where we had been in position and the occupants took to the fields. The lorry went on to Bandon, which was about 3 miles away. When the Column was withdrawing from the ambush position it was attacked by the party (enemy) who had entered the fields, but our return fire forced them to withdraw. During the attack a member of the column (Michael McLean, Schull Coy.) was killed. He had been guarding the members of a household on the opposite side of the road and when the column was withdrawing, he was shot while crossing the road to join the main body" – **2nd Lieut. Timothy Keohane**, 2nd Batt., Cork No.3 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1295).

Martial Law is Declared Across Cork, Kerry, Limerick & Tipperary

Proclaimed 12 December 1920

"THE IRISH OFFICE HAS ISSUED THE FOLLOWING PROCLAMATION, WHICH IS BEING POSTED IN THE AREAS OF IRELAND UNDER MARTIAL-LAW: -

PROCLAMATION NO.1 BY G.O.C. in C. THE FORCES IN IRELAND.

MARTIAL LAW HAS BEEN DECLARED IN THE COUNTIES OF CORK, TIPPERARY, KERRY AND LIMERICK.

IRISHMEN:
UNDERSTAND THIS:
Great Britain has no quarrel with Irishmen; her sole quarrel is with crime, outrage, and disorder; her sole object in declaring MARTIAL LAW is to restore peace to a distracted and unhappy country; her sole enemies are those who have countenanced, inspired and participated in rebellion, murder and outrage. It is to put an end, once and for all, to this campaign of outrage that MARTIAL LAW has been declared. The authorities named in the schedule. The authorities named in the schedule here to annexed are hereby appointed MILITARY GOVERNORS for the administration of MARTIAL LAW in the above Counties, and all persons will render obedience to their orders in all matters whatsoever.

NOTE THIS:

(A) All arms, ammunition and explosives in possession of any person not a member of His Majesty's Naval, Military, Air, or Police Forces, or who is not in possession of a permit, will be surrendered by the 27th December, 1920, to such persons and at such places as are named in the 2nd Schedule hereto annexed.

(B) After the 27th December, 1920, any unauthorised person found in possession of arms, ammunition or explosives will be liable, on conviction by a Military Court, to suffer DEATH.

(C) Any unauthorised person wearing the uniform or equipment of His Majesty's Naval, Military, Air or Police Forces, or similar clothing likely to deceive, will be liable, on conviction, to suffer DEATH, and any person in unauthorised possession of such uniform, clothing or equipment, will be liable on conviction by a Military Court to suffer penal servitude.

(D) NOTE WELL: That a state of armed insurrection exists therein or harbouring any person who has taken part therein, or procuring, inviting, aiding or abetting any person to take part therein, is guilty of levying war against His Majesty the King and is liable on conviction by a Military Court to suffer DEATH.

(E) All law courts, corporations, councils and boards are hereby directed to continue to carry out their functions until otherwise ordered.

(F) The forces of the Crown in Ireland are hereby declared to be on active service.

Signed this 12th day of December, 1920.

(Signed) C.F.N. MACREADY
General Commander-in-Chief the [British] Forces in Ireland

8th December 1920

REILLY, Bernard William:

Rank: Lieutenant & Battalion I/O.
Unit: *1st Batt., Meath No.1 Bde, IRA. Attached to A Coy (Dunboyne) in the same Battalion.*
DOB: 17 August 1902. Son of Bryan Reilly and Elizabeth Lucy Goodspeed.
Occupation: General Labourer.
Address: Dunboyne, Co. Meath.
Death: While an IRA unit prepared themselves for a nocturnal raid, Reilly was shot and killed by friendly sentry-fire when his Liverpudlian accent was not recognised by an IRA sentry from another section.
Buried: Dunboyne COI Graveyard, Dunboyne, Co. Meath.
MSPC Ref: 1D302.

Ref: *Irish Independent*, 17 December 1921, p. 5.
"As soon as the information was conveyed to me that McCarthy's was to be raided, I placed an ambush party in the old cemetery nearby to await the raiding party. During an inspection by an IRA officer of an outpost occupied by a section of the IRA, a young Volunteer named Bernard Reilly was called on to halt. It appears that he (the Volunteer) replied in an English accent (his mother was English). He was shot dead in error. It was on the night of 9th December 1920. When I heard he had been shot, I sent Volunteer Joseph Lawlor of Trim, who happened to be in the area at the time, to Fr. Kelly, C.C., to tell him what had happened and to ask him to render spiritual aid to Bernard Reilly. I had realised at once that an inquest would be held and that Fr. Kelly, who did not know Volunteer Joseph Lawlor, could truthfully say he had never met the man before. At the inquiry in Dublin Castle, Father Kelly was threatened with detention if he did not disclose the name of the man who called on him, but he was able to convince them, however, that he did not know the man" – **Brigadier Seán Boylan**, Meath No.1 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1715).

10th December 1920

OWENS, Willie:

Rank: Section-Commander.
Unit: *C Coy (Bray & Enniskerry), 6th Batt., Dublin Bde, IRA. Formerly attached to A Coy (New Ross), 1st Batt., South Wexford Bde, IRA, while on the run.*
DOB: 21 November 1896. Son of Thomas Owens and Kate Finn.
Address: Loughlinstown, Co. Dublin.
Occupation: Hardware Assistant.
Death: Owens had returned home from working in Co. Wexford in the aftermath of the explosion at Saltmills. He received a fatal gunshot wound to the head during a raid by Cheshire Regiment soldiers on the Shankill Sinn Féin Club in south County Dublin. The shot was fired from outside while he and others IRA members were being searched and it is unclear if it was fired intentionally.
Buried: St. Peter's Cemetery, Little Bray, Co. Wicklow.
MSPC Ref: DP6049.

"During a raid on the Hall, at Shankill by military from Powerscourt, Willie Owens was shot dead. He was on the run from New Boss, where he worked, and had come home to Shankill and joined the Bray Company" - **Cmdt. Andrew McDonnell**, 6th Batt., Dublin Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1768).

"During a raid on a card party at Shankill, near Bray, on Friday night, a shot was fired which inflicted a fatal wound on William Owens, aged 24, a hardware assistant. George Owens, who was with his brother and about 8 other young men playing cards, states that about 9.40 p.m., armed soldiers entered and ordered the young men to put their hands above their heads. They obeyed the order and were then ranged along the walls and searched…George Owens was next to his brother, Willie, in front of whom was a younger officer. Suddenly a shot rang out from some distance, whizzed by the officer, and struck Willie on the head. 'He sank to the floor,' deceased's brother continues, 'and the officer dropped on his knees beside him, and I heard him uttering some prayer. Then the officer asked, 'Who fired the shot?' but no answer was given.' The officer then said he would take George in the motor lorry for the priest

and doctor. George and the officer then walked to Crinken, where the lorry was, and then drove to Bray. On the way the officer said that if he knew who fired the shot he would make him account for it. Rev. J.C. Healy, C.C., and Dr. Raverty, returned with them to Shankill and ministered to the boy, who, however, died" – **Irish Independent**, 13 December 1920, p.6.

The Dillon's Cross Ambush
Cork City
11 December 1920

"Cork was in the throes of the Anglo-Irish war in December 1920. Victoria Barracks was the Headquarters of the Auxiliary Police Force whose barbarous atrocities will never be forgotten by the Irish people. The movements of this force were being carefully watched by the ever-vigilant Intelligence Department of the Irish Republican Army. It was deserved that two lorries of these marauders usually left the Victoria Barracks about 8.00 p.m. nightly, on raiding expeditions. Information was received by that several prominent IRA officers were to be shot at eight and that some of the principal business houses were to be burned down, hence it was decided to take quick and determined action against the Auxiliaries. A position was selected inside the boundary wall at Dillon's Cross. situated about 500 yards from the Victoria Barracks and fifteen picked men were detailed, to take part in the engagement. At 7.30.p.m. on Friday night. December 10th 1920, the ambushing party took up their positions. A scout was placed on the roadway to signal the approach of the enemy, with instructions to give one blast of a whistle for each lorry of Auxiliaries which passed. After an apparently interminable hour of waiting and listening to the innumerable lorries of British soldiers which passed by, no scout whistle was heard. The expectant enemy did not approach. The fates had favoured the Auxiliaries on that night. A council of the officers present was held when it was decided to defer action until the following night. Owing to the close proximity of the position to the British Military Headquarters, and the ever-watchful eyes of the British Intelligence Department, it was subsequently arranged to reduce the strength of the Column to six men. On the following night. Saturday, December 11th 1920, positions were occupied by the attacking party, who were armed with revolvers and Mills bombs. One man wan detailed to act as Road scout, two to attack the rear lorry, and three to attack the leading lorry. As on the previous night several lorries of soldiers, passed to and fro, then suddenly a short shrill whistle sounded in the night air, quickly followed by a second blast, to the accompaniment of the drones of Crossley motor engines, and the boisterous voices of the Auxiliaries. These were the signals for action. Two words of command were spoken by the Commanding Officers- 'Ready fire!'. Immediately bombs were hurled at the lorries followed by revolver shots. When the smoke had cleared away wrecked lorries and wounded Auxiliaries could be seen on the roadway. Fifteen of the enemy were put out of action which left an equal number to carry on the fight. Revolver shots from the IRA was replied to the Auxiliaries rifle-fire. The din of the battle quickly reached the ears of the Garrison close by, who rushed to the rescue of their comrades. The small IRA column realised that they could not hold out very long against hundreds of British troops fully armed. Under a regular fusillade of bullets from different points, a successful retreat was made by the attacking party. The staccato rattle of machine-gun firing, the flares of the search lights, and the bays at blood bounds, told of' the extensive search that was being carried out to try and capture the IRA Column which had disappeared without leaving any trace behind" – **Lieut. Seán Healy**, A Coy, 1st Batt., Cork No.1 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 689).

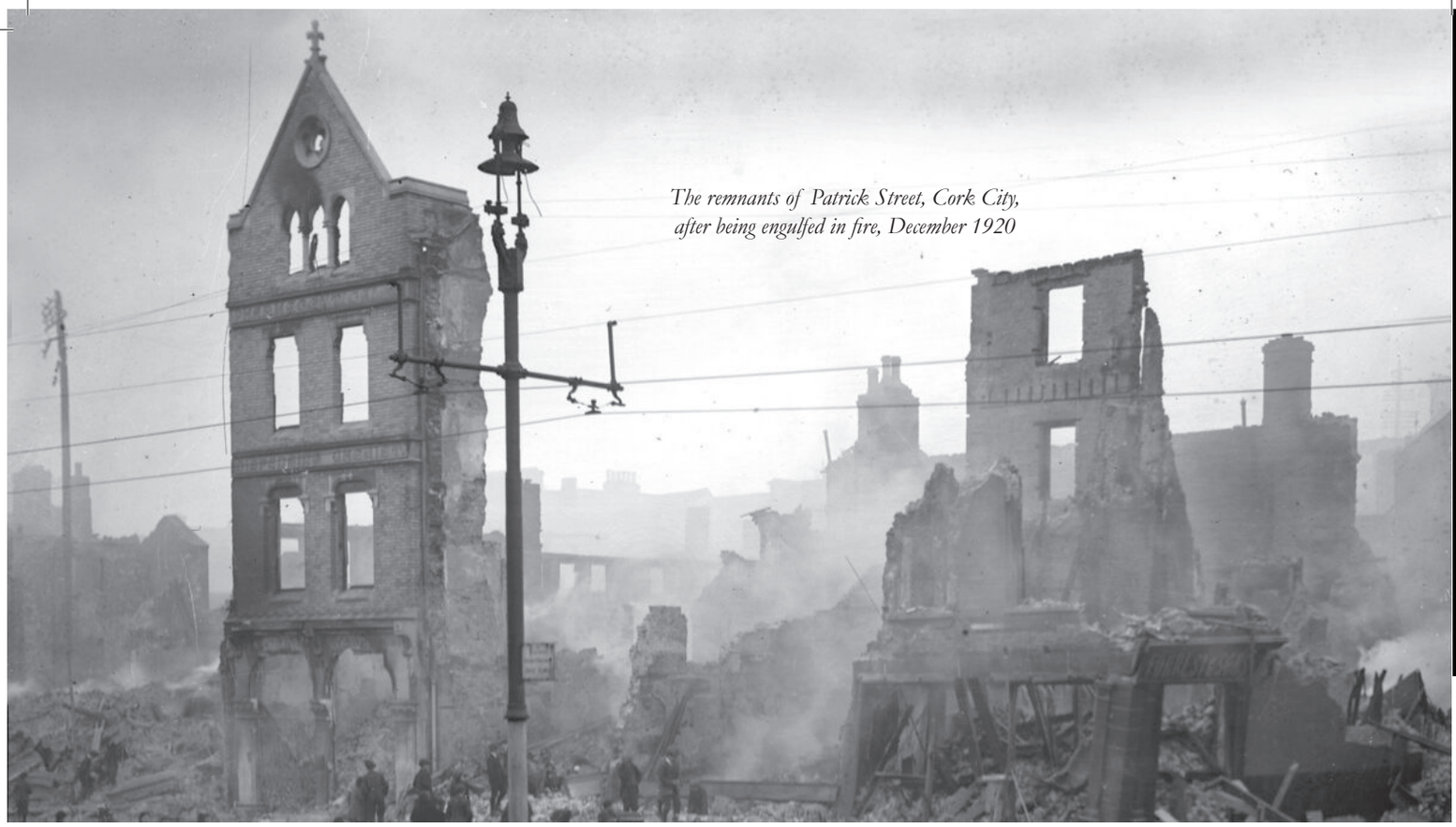
The Burning of Cork City Centre
11-12 December 1920

"The whole force of Auxiliaries accompanied by "Black and Tans" and soldiers were let loose in the city. Utterly out of control the military and so-called police, sacked plundered and burned the principal shops; the City Hall and several public buildings; The doors of numerous private dwellings were smashed in, their occupants dragged forth and beaten. Neither old or young were spared. Children were squealing in terror while their parents were being brutally beaten and their homes given over to the flames. Drink was looted from licensed premises, before setting fire to them. While these orgies were still in progress the Black and Tans broke into a dwelling house in Dublin Hill, and two brothers named Delaney in their beds, at the same time wounding their father" – **Lieut. Seán Healy**, A Coy, 1st Batt., Cork No.1 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 686).

"They saw the fire and told us about it. We thought it was Peg Duggan's that was burning. She was a Cumann na mBan girl and had a shop near Parliament Bridge. It was Cork that was burning. At about 5 or 6 o'clock in the morning, Jack Maher, one of the Mahers of the Ragg, who was working at Ford's, came in covered with grime and sweat after - as he said himself - pulling people out of beds in the burning houses. Brian Martin's brother's (Frank) wife and her two children were dragged out like that. Jack said looting was going on at a great rate and that the soldiers' wives were going around in fur coats. Only one side of the street (Patrick Street) was burnt. The English-owned firms escaped on the whole" – **Brighid Malone**, Cumann na mBan, (BMH-WS 617).

"After the Dillon's Cross ambush two members of 'E' Company met and accompanied Jeremiah Delaney as far as his door at Dublin Hill out beyond Blackpool and stood discussing events and listening to the shooting and uproar city-wards. Delaney said he had never felt happier in his life for he had that evening been to old Canon Tierney and made a general Confession, a thing he had never done before. Then he urged them to leave him and go home, "for", said he, "there is no use in all of us being shot". Strangely prophetic words, for towards the next morning Jerh. Delaney was murdered in his bed. He was killed outright by a party of masked men who burst into the house. They also shot his brother, who lingered for a fortnight before he died. His aged uncle was also shot and wounded at the same time" – **Vol. Maurice Forde et.al**, E Coy, 1st Batt., Cork No.1 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 719).

The remnants of Patrick Street, Cork City, after being engulfed in fire, December 1920

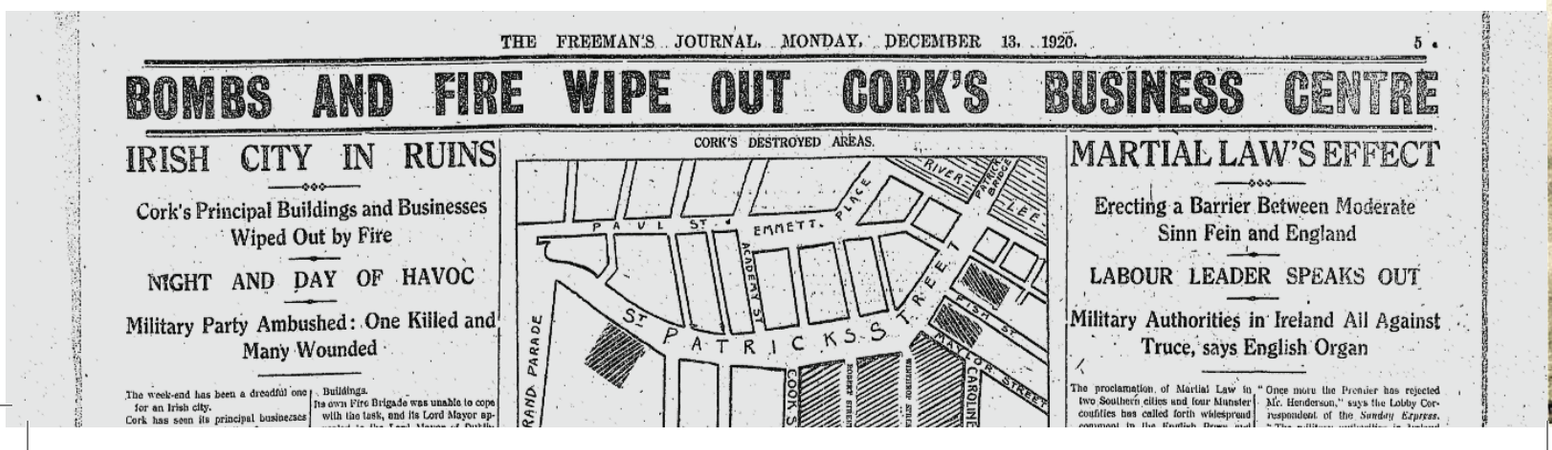


The remnants of Patrick Street, Cork City, after being engulfed in fire, December 1920

12th December 1920

DELANY, Jeremiah Dominick:
Rank: 2nd Lieutenant.
Unit: *F Coy, 1st Batt., Cork No.1 Bde, IRA.*
DOB: c.1890. Son of Daniel Delany and Julia Dunlea.
Address: Dublin Hill, Kilbarry, Co. Cork.
Occupation: Farmer.
Death: As Cork City was set alight by Crown Forces in reprisal for the Dillon's Cross Ambush, the Delany brothers, Jeremiah and Cornelius (Con), were shot in their beds by disguised attackers around 2:30am. Con was to die a few days later. Their father stated that the attackers wore military coats and spoke with English accents. Their uncle, William Dunlea was slightly wounded. It is locally claimed that an informer had reported to the authorities that the IRA unit, under Seán O'Donoghue, had hidden their arms on the Delany family's land, immediately after the Dillon's Cross ambush, thus resulting in the house being targeted.
Buried: The Republican Plot, Saint Finbarr's Cemetery, Cork.
MSPC Ref: 3MSRB16.

"The burning of Cork City on the night of December 11th 1920 was the most extensive, single act of vandalism committed in the whole period of the National Struggle, but it would be a mistake to regard it as an isolated incident. In one month, the forces of law and order had burned and partially destroyed twenty-four towns. In one week, they had shot up and sacked Balbriggan, Ennistymon, Mallow, Miltown Malbay, Lahinch and Trim" – **Brigade-Adjt. Florrie O'Donoghue**, Cork No.1 Brigade, IRA.



THE FREEMAN'S JOURNAL, MONDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1920. 5

BOMBS AND FIRE WIPE OUT CORK'S BUSINESS CENTRE

IRISH CITY IN RUINS

Cork's Principal Buildings and Businesses Wiped Out by Fire

NIGHT AND DAY OF HAVOC

Military Party Ambushed: One Killed and Many Wounded

The week-end has been a dreadful one for an Irish city. Cork has seen its principal businesses Buildings. Its own Fire Brigade was unable to cope with the task, and its Lord Mayor ap-

CORK'S DESTROYED AREAS.

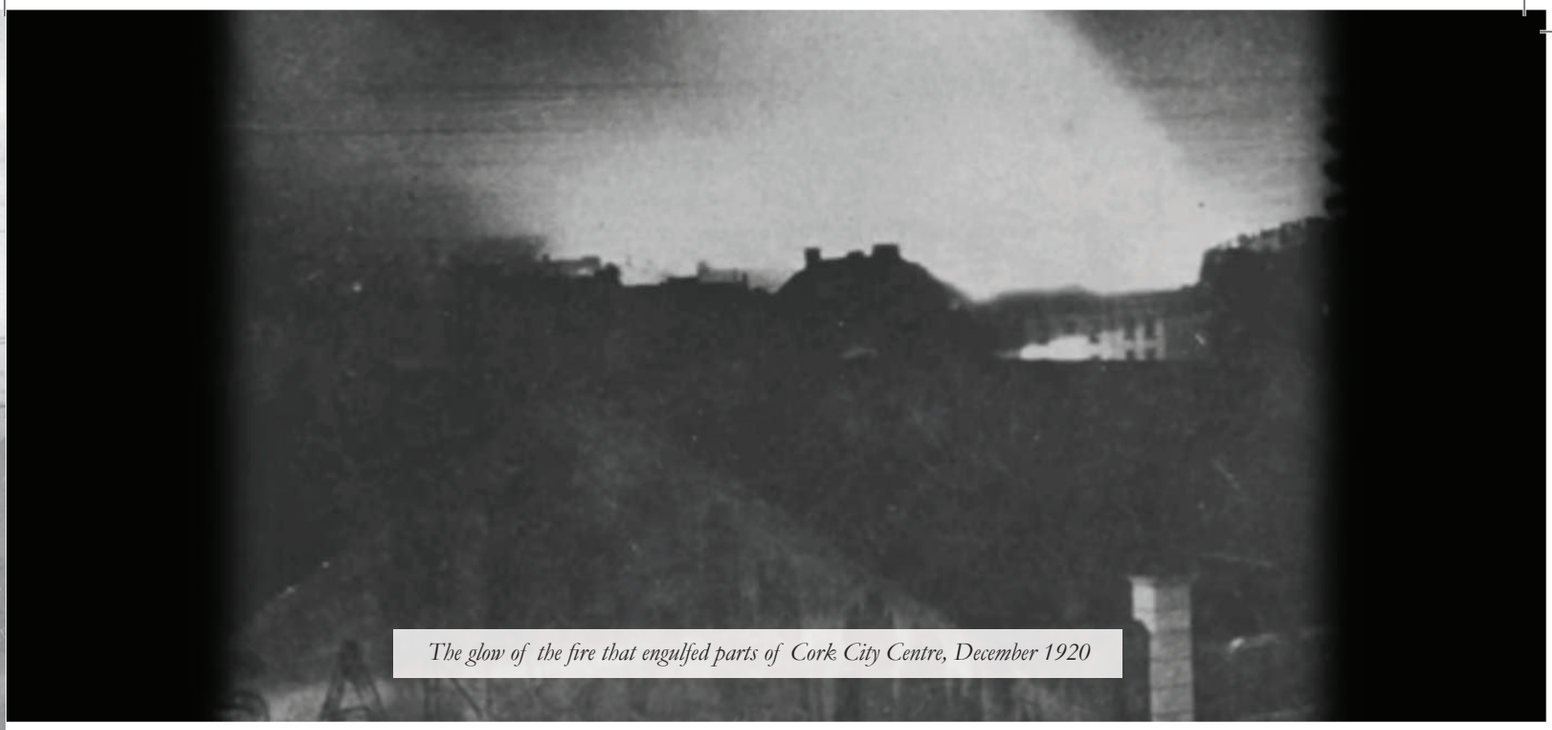
MARTIAL LAW'S EFFECT

Erecting a Barrier Between Moderate Sinn Fein and England

LABOUR LEADER SPEAKS OUT

Military Authorities in Ireland All Against Truce, says English Organ

The proclamation of Martial Law in two Southern cities and four Munster counties has called forth widespread comment in the English Press and "Once more the Premier has rejected Mr. Henderson," says the Lobby Correspondent of the *Sunday Express*.



The glow of the fire that engulfed parts of Cork City Centre, December 1920

"The destruction wrought by fire incendiaries who are responsible for the fires that consumed some of the fine buildings in Cork's principal thoroughfares has appalled even those who had an opportunity of visiting wrecked French and Belgian towns during the progress of the Great War. Some 300 establishments were wiped out or damaged, and thousands of people have been deprived of employment. There were sporadic outbreaks, where buildings collapsed yesterday, but the combined Fire Brigades of Dublin, Cork and Limerick had the situation in hand, and a feeling prevailed in the city that the worst was over. During the day crowds picked their way through the debris-strewn streets to view the ruins. The damage is established at two and a half millions" – **Freeman's Journal**, 14 December 1920, p.3.

"*About 7.30 p.m., on Saturday night Auxiliary police were ambushed near Dillon's Cross on the way to Cork Barracks. The official report says that bombs were thrown at the lorry and several of the occupants injured, some badly. Last night it was announced that one death had taken place. Reprisals began in the locality of the ambush and during the night several private houses in the district were burned. About ten o'clock, following explosions, Messrs Grant's, in Patrick Street, was found to be ablaze. The Cork Brigade was at work, when at 12.30, it was discovered that new outbreaks had taken place at the Munster Arcade, Cash's, and Roche's Stores. The conflagration spread from these points until yesterday, a large part of that side of Patrick Street was in ruin. Last night, in places, the flames still blazed so fiercely…The Cork City Hall and Carnegie Library were also fired during Saturday night and totally destroyed"* – **Cork Examiner**, 13 December 1920, p.3.

The trail of destruction, Cork City. December 1920

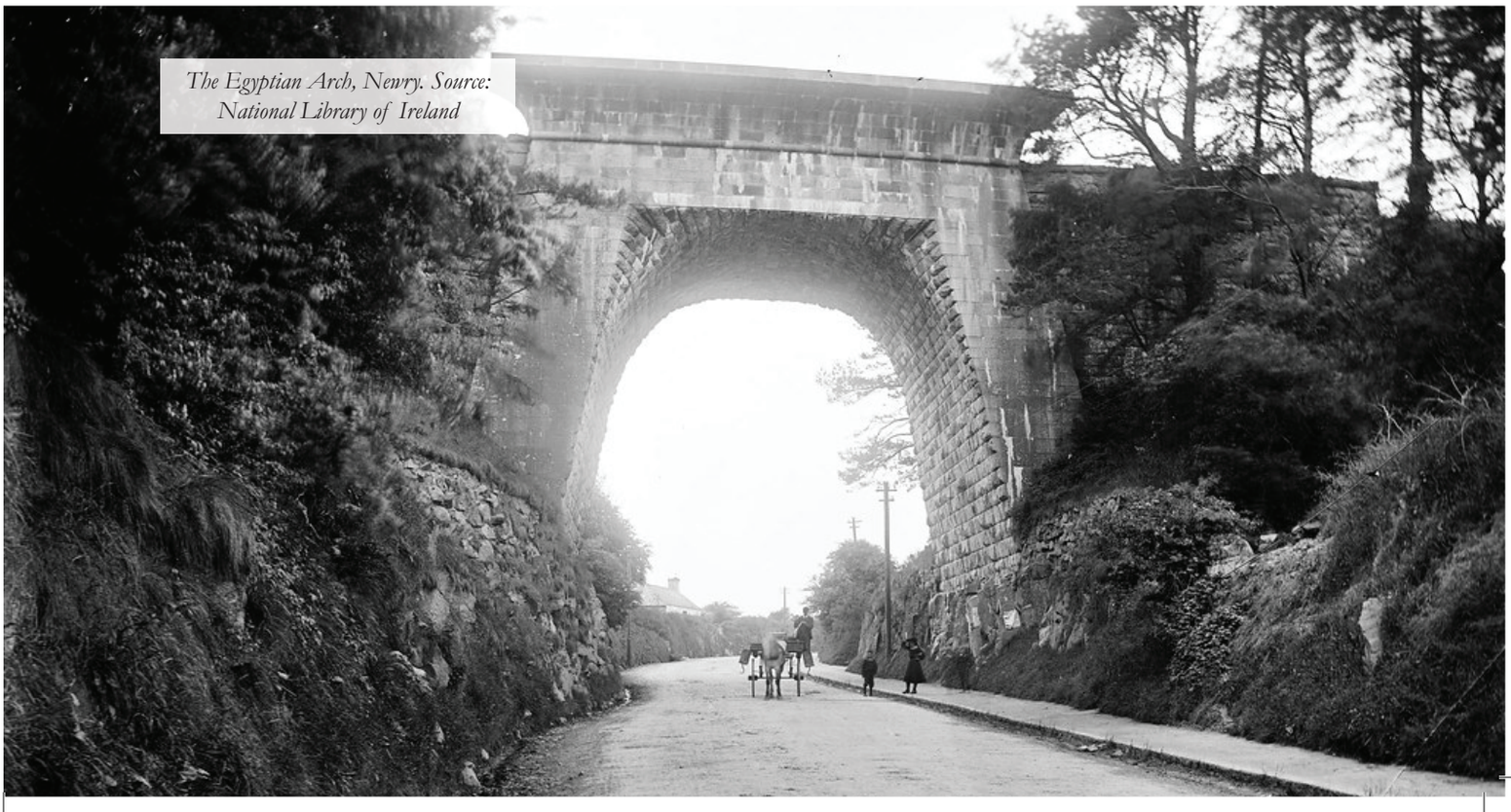
The Egyptian Arch Ambush
Newry, Co. Down
12 December 1920

"At the Egyptian Arch the road was not blockaded. The arms had not been removed from South Down dug the week previous to the attack and when an attempt was made to shift the ammunition out to the Egyptian Arch on Sunday evening the Volunteers attempted to commandeer a car on the street. The driver resisted the effort to commandeer his car and got away with it. He gave the alarm and the military and police got out on the streets. They started to hold up and search all suspected persons in the street and on Sunday night they burned the Sinn Féin Hall. All this excitement and the failure to have the arms and equipment on the Co. Armagh side of the town, produced such a critical situation that it is surprising that the Newry Volunteers were able to muster any forces to attempt an ambush. The Volunteers were able to steal out of the town in ones, and twos, and mobilize at the Egyptian Arch. They were not out there in time or in sufficient numbers to blockade the road. The military came along and fire was opened on them from the parapet of the arch. This fire was returned and the arch was raked by machine gun and rifle fire. A number of our men were wounded and a bomb exploded amongst them on the bridge. The casualties on this point were, one killed, two mortally wounded, two others badly wounded, both, however, eventually recovered. The Volunteers had to hastily evacuate the position under heavy fire. The military had by now got into the fields on each side of the ambush position and our men had a hazardous time in getting clear of the immediate surroundings. That they were able to do so and remove all their seriously wounded comrades was an achievement. Some of those wounded had to be carried at least eight to ten miles before a safe retreat was found for them at the Priory of the Charity Fathers, Omeath, Co. Louth. When the military got out to Camlough we had evacuated the village. The first thing the military did was to burn the three houses opposite the barracks which our men had taken over for the attack. They then went to Frank Aiken's residence about ½ mile from the Barrack and set it on fire. Our men, who were holding the northern approaches to the village and who were on the attack on the northern and western side of the barrack retreated towards Killeavey in an eastern direction. All the roads leading into Camlough, except the Newry Road, which was left open as far as the Egyptian Arch, were so securely blockaded that it was found most difficult to get the Camlough Battn. O/C, who was severely wounded in the leg, away. He was a young man of about fourteen stone in weight, and to get him transported across country it was necessary to commander a donkey to carry him. When a road barricade was encountered the donkey had to be lifted across it and then the wounded man. This man was transported safely to Omeath, Co. Louth. He was eventually got across to England and received hospital treatment there. The attack on Camlough Barracks and the ambush at the Egyptian Arch caused intense British activities in the Louth, Armagh and South Down areas. Military and police activities were initiated; raids, round-ups and heavy military patrols in lorries and armoured cars were daily carried out." – **Brigade-Adjt. John McCoy**, Newry Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 492).

CANNING, William:

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *A Coy (Newry), 1st Batt., Newry Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 7 April 1902. Born at Ballymaclare, Magilligan Point, Co. Derry to James Canning and Margaret McDevitt.
Address: 64 Hill St, Newry, Co. Down.
Occupation: Draper's Assistant.
Death: Canning was killed by gunfire during the failed Egyptian Arch ambush, which occurred in the early hours on a freezing morning outside Newry. He received fatal wounds to the head and neck. His body was alleged to have been thrown from the bridge onto the road below afterwards. Two other Volunteers, Shields and O'Hare died as a result of the ambush.
Buried: St. Aidan's Cemetery, Magilligan Point, Co. Derry.
MSPC Ref: 1D7.

"When I called at Baileys, a niece of Mrs. Baileys, Bridget McVerry, was alone in the house. She told me all the boys had left for the Arch. She also stated that a parcel of gelignite was left in the house. I took up the parcel and examined it and found about ninety sticks of gelignite in it. Miss McVerry asked me to help her to take the stuff to a place of safety as she expected the place would be raided after that night's operations at the Egyptian Arch. I helped her to remove the explosives to a place of safety. I then proceeded up the Camlough Road to the Egyptian Arch and contacted the others who were there. I was put with a band of men of whom Pat Larey was in charge. It was the original intention as already stated that Pat Larey and all his crowd would line the road side near the Arch and bomb lorries approaching the Arch when passing our position. This plan was cancelled before I arrived there and all the attackers were ordered to man the parapet on top of the bridge. The road on the Newry side of the Arch was blocked with fallen trees. When the Crown Forces (all military) came up to the barricade on the road we opened fire on them from the parapet of the bridge and in return we were subjected to a terrible fusilade of rifle and machine-gunfire from the soldiers. All our men armed with rifles continued firing on the soldiers and any of us carrying hand-grenades fired them. We were told that when we had got rid of our hand-grenades we were to retreat from the Arch in parties of three. On account of the intense fire directed on our position and also the fact that a hand-grenade exploded amongst a party of our men on one part of the parapet of the bridge killing one of our men and seriously wounding several others. We all retreated along the railway line in the direction of the bridge over the main Dublin-Belfast Road about two miles distant from the Egyptian Arch. Myself and two others got into fields near this bridge and made our way towards Cloghue chapel grounds. We saw two men approaching the bridge from Newry. We carefully watched them approach the bridge in order to find out if a military guard had been placed on the bridge. We heard the men being held up. We then knew that any approach in that direction was dangerous as military were occupying positions near the bridge. We then went past the side of the chapel and into a field at the rear. We selected a suitable place near a fence and laid down to rest. We soon fell asleep. Bob Savage was one of the men with me and another was a lad from Williams Street, Newry. We slept to daylight on Monday morning. When we woke, we were covered with snow" – **Cmdt. Seán O'Rourke**, 3rd Batt., Newry Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 791).



The Egyptian Arch, Newry. Source: National Library of Ireland

"There will be no surrender, no matter what frightfulness was used" – Arthur Griffith TD, responding to Archbishop Clune, peace-envoy, acting on behalf of D. Lloyd George, 13 December 1920.

14th December 1920

O'LOUGHLIN, Thomas Joseph:

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *G Coy (Gortnahoe), 1st Batt., Tipperary No.2 (Mid) Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 16 December 1895. Son of Michael Loughlin and Maria Russell.
Address: Killinane, Thurles, Co. Tipperary.
Occupation: Farmer.
Death: O'Loughlin was mortally wounded at 8:30pm, 26 November 1920, by a disguised member of the RIC, who entered the homestead of Michael Leahy of Mullaunbrack during a card game and tried to drag him outside. He broke free but was shot twice in the lungs outside by other assailants. O'Loughlin died in the Union Infirmary, Thurles of inflammation of the lungs caused by his wounds.
Buried: Killinane, Co. Tipperary.

RIORDAN, Seán (Jack):

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *Kilfinane Coy, 5th Batt., East Limerick Bde, IRA & Brigade ASU.*
DOB: c.1895. Son of Matthew and Johanna Riordan.
Address: Thomastown, Kilfinane, Co. Limerick.
Occupation: Commercial Traveler /Former British Army Sergeant-Major and Great War veteran.
Death: Riordan died at the Union Infirmary in Kilmallock, Co. Limerick from a serious gunshot wound to his abdomen, received during the unsuccessful ambush at Cross of the Tree on the Garryspillane to Knocklong road on 10 December 1920. Having only joined the IRA in June 1920, Riordan had only joined the column days previously but was credited with saving the unit with his military experience. He had been nursed by Cumann na mBan volunteer, Mary Bridget O'Sullivan, before being conveyed to Kilmallock Union Infirmary.
Buried: Darragh Graveyard, Glenroe, Co. Limerick.
MSPC Ref: DP6341.

"The evening before the ambush, seventeen members of the column were waiting at Kearney's, Tiermoor, in charge of Willie Walsh, Kilclooney. Every now and then he would look at his watch and say to Justin McCarthy: "The Kilfinane men haven't come yet". In the meantime, he was putting Tom Brazzill, Jer Boland, Bosnetstown; and Tom Regan, Martinstown, through rifle practice in Kearney's yard. He looked at his watch again and said: "Time is up, 5 p.m., we must go". Justin said: "Wait a few minutes", but Walsh replied: "No, no time is time". The three men they were waiting for were Peter Steep, Denny Noonan and Jack Riordan, a trained British ex-soldier who had served all through the Great War. It was his first day joining the column. Walsh turned to John Kearney and said: "When the Kilfinane men come, tell them to go home again". He then sent out scouts on the line of march via Molua and Ballinahinch. At Ballinahinch they heard a car coming and took up positions although it was quite dark. He switched on a powerful flash-light but the occupants of the car, who were IRA men, shouted the password "Macroom". They then marched on to Lackelly, which they reached late, where Hannigan told Brazzill and Boland they could go home. In the small hours of the morning, they reached home drenched to the skin. An hour after the column left Tiermoor the three members of the Kilfinane company arrived at Kearney's where they were told what Willie Walsh said. They cursed and swore and said did he expect them to walk from the 'Dump' in Thomastown in broad daylight with rifles. They left immediately and went after the column and were joined by Joe O'Brien, Thomastown. On the following morning, the permanent section of the column went on to Glenbrohane and the reserves assembled at Maurice Raleigh's, Mitchelstowndown, with a few oldtimers. In the meantime, word came through that a pay lorry with six or eight troops had gone to Galbally and would return that afternoon. Hasty preparations were made to intercept

this lorry at the green gate, 300 yards on the Pinkers Cross side of the Cross of the Tree. The positions elected couldn't be worse as, in the event of a surprise, there was no cover for retreat only over large extensive fields. They took up their positions by a long screen of gross timber which extended along the roadside for a mile, using the trees as cover. The lorry duly arrived and they opened fire. But, in the meantime, a second lorry came the same way from Galbally and was a half mile further back. Its occupants dismounted when they heard the firing. The first lorry was held up by two carts placed across the road, but they put up a stiff defence. The shooting went on for some time until bullets started whizzing past the ears of the Volunteers from the south. It was only then they realised that they were being attacked by another force. The whistle was sounded for retreat but Jack (Seán) Riordan held his ground and covered the retreat. His training as a soldier was to be his end. When he made his getaway, he received a fatal wound in the abdomen. There was no one to cover his retreat. His position was at the green gate. Discarding everything as trained soldiers do when wounded, he reached Mulvihill's public-house where he drank a glass of brandy. There he was given a lift by a local who, when driving him towards the Pinkers Cross in a trap car, heard a motor coming, jumped out and ran away. The motor was driven by an IRA leader who pulled up and asked did he know where the wounded IRA man was Jack replied, "I am the wounded man". He took him in his car to Glenbrohane and the whole column moved on to Kilclooney. Davy Clancy was slightly wounded in this attack. When they reached Kilcloney, Jack Riordan was put into bed at Hennessy's, where his condition rapidly became worse. He was a powerfully built young man. On the following evening he was removed in the hospital van to Kilmallock Union where Dr MacNamara performed an operation and on 14th December he died. Those who took part in the Cross of Tree ambush were: Denny Hannigan in charge, Davy Clancy, Danny Maloney, Denny Noonan, Peter Steep, Jack Riordan, Maurice Costello, Mick Shanahan, Tom Howard, Con Harty, Paddy Ryan, Ballinanima; John Reilly, Bog; Tom Regan, Bog; Paddy Hayes, Ballinlyna; Seán Neilan, Bruff; Justin McCarthy and Willie Walsh. At the time of the death of Jack Riordan at Kilmallock Workhouse it was occupied by a large force of Tans. Extreme caution had to be exercised to prevent his death from being known to the Crown. They removed his body that night out the side door of the workhouse and placed it in the ambulance driven by Willie Houghton. He took the corpse by a circuitous route by Ardpatrick to the Cross of Redchair. He arrived at James Lee's, Darragh House, at 8 p.m. In the meantime, Dave Hennessy took out the coffin from Mrs. T.P. McCarthy's up the old road by Thomastown to Lyons', Tully. The coffin was covered, but a neighbour of Seán Riordan's at Thomastown said to Dave: "Who is dead?" Dave replied: "Will you mind your own bloody business, if you don't keep your mouth shut, you'll know, soon enough." The coffin was then taken over to Darragh House. The corpse was waked until midnight and then coffined. Then in the darkness of a bleak wintry night his comrades shouldered the coffin silently to his last resting place in Darragh graveyard. The Glenree priest recited the last prayers and then six comrades of the flying column stepped forward and tired three volleys over the grave. It was their last tribute to a brave soldier. The crowd of Volunteers who had gathered for the occasion left quietly for their homes" – **Vol. Daniel F. O'Shaughnessy**, Kilfinane Company, East Limerick Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1435).

An American sympathiser protests against British policy in Ireland

HICKEY, John Joseph (Jack):
Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *D Coy (Dún Laoghaire), 6th Batt., Dublin Brigade, IRA.*
DOB: 2 January 1895. Born in Stromeferry, Scotland, to Michael Hickey and Elizabeth McGrath. Hickey was brought up in Carrigaline, Co. Cork.
Address: 118 Cross Avenue, Dún Laoghaire, Co. Dublin.
Occupation: Draper's Assistant.
Death: On Sunday evening, 12 December 1920, Hickey was shot and mortally wounded by two persons unknown, believed to be Crown forces at Elm Park, Merrion Road, while walking home with a friend around 19.30. Hickey expired from the severe wound to the abdomen at Baggot Street Hospital two days later. His funeral cortege states that his coffin was draped in the Irish tricolour. Hickey is recorded on the Deans Grange Cemetery Republican Memorial.
Buried: Deans Grange Cemetery, Co. Dublin. His grave was marked until 2016 with a simple wooden cross with Easter Lilies until a headstone was erected.
Ref: *Cork Examiner,* 23 December 1920, p.3.
Cork Examiner, 15 December 1920, p.3.

The Plans of Arms Smuggling

"As far as I can recall, the order to go to Italy came from Cathal Brugha who asked Micheál Ó Coileán to go down and see me at 17 Merchants Quay. Sometime during the day before Micheál called, I noticed considerable activity on the part of the DMP and the CID around my place, and I recall distinctly a big "bleachtaire" outside near the forge as Micheál Ó Coileán came up the gateway and both made the same signal simultaneously, that is, they put their thumbs into their eyes. Micheál came in and gave me instructions to see Cathal Brugha, which I did subsequently. As Micheál went out, I accompanied him down to the gate, to find leaning up against the Liffey wall another big "bleachtaire" and, to my surprise but to my great pleasure, the same signals were exchanged, that is, the thumbs to the eyes, which to me indicated that Micheál had got his friends inside the Castle working for him. The day after Micheál's visit, Risteard Mulcahy came to me confirming the arrangements Micheál had made with me regarding the visit to Cathal Brugha and to Italy. I saw Cathal Brugha and he up in the attic of Lalor's Candle Manufacturers, Ormond Quay. Cathal was very precise, and I think within a quarter of an hour or less I got my instructions and, as far as I recall, I got a sum of money for my expenses. In addition to the instructions, Cathal also gave me a letter of introduction to Donal Hales of Genoa (Agente Consolare Generale, Irlandese per L'Italia, Piazza S. Bernardo 26, Genoa, or Via Montesuello 3-10)…I also had a message for Seán T. O'Kelly in Paris. He was our Ambassador in Paris at the time. I recall how eager Donal Hales [brother of West Cork IRA leaders, Tom & Seán Hales] *was to give me all the information as to how I could get in touch with the War Office official in Rome to discuss the purchase, delivery and packing of the military equipment. I recall distinctly Donal Hales accompanying me to Rome because of incidents such as the following. The journey from Genoa to Rome is very long and, after the war, rolling stock, both passenger and freight, in Italy was poorly conditioned. We were held up at some railway station en-route to Rome when I heard "God Save The King" being played by a band. The train stopped and all passengers went to the corridors. Also, it was on this occasion that Donal introduced me to Monsignor Ratti, who afterwards became Pope Pius XI, and he challenged Monsignor Ratti, saying that though he, Monsignor Ratti, had seventeen or eighteen languages, he could not talk Gaelic. I spoke Gaelic to him and kissed his ring, and he tried to repeat after me a few phrases in Irish. We were travelling from about four o'clock one afternoon to eight o'clock the next morning before we reached Rome. Donal wasted no time in taking me to the War Office official's place of reception. My memory is not at all clear on what took place at this interview but, as far as my memory goes, an order for the military equipment was given and instructions as to its packing, such as, a false bottomed ship which was to transport the equipment. Having made arrangements for the purchase of the arms, the quantity of which I cannot now remember, we probably interviewed shipping firms and purchased quantities of marble and architectural work in Genoa which was to act as a camouflage for the arms"* – **Seán Ó Seaghdha**, (BMH-WS 760).

"On the day after the Bandon tragedy which deprived us of three invaluable officers, we received a verbal message from GHQ in Dublin that a shipload of arms was being purchased on the Continent, and that it had been decided to land it on the West Cork coast at the point that was considered most suitable by us. This welcome news precipitated a meeting of the Brigade Staff at which it was decided that the coastline in the Skibbereen area would offer most advantages for the project in view. Two reasons in particular led us to this conclusion, the first being the distance that separated this region from the heavy concentration at Cork, Kinsale and Bandon and the second being the presence along the coast of sandy shores on which the ship conveying the arms could be beached, and so quickly and safely unloaded. There was no satisfactory ports in the area at which a ship could be berthed without attracting public attention before it could be unloaded, and it was for this reason that we considered a sandy shore the best alternative. Accordingly,

I was sent to the Skibbereen area to consult the Battalion Commandant, Sam Kingston. When the project was explained to him, Sam maintained that Squince Strand inside Rabbit Island in the Myross Company area would be the most suitable spot for the operation…That evening, I returned to Brigade Headquarters, and the next morning, Saturday, 18 December, I left for Dublin to submit our recommendations to GHQ…By previous arrangement, I met Florrie O'Donoghue [Brigade-Adjutant, Cork No.1 Brigade] *at Glanmire Station, and we both travelled together to Dublin in an empty carriage. The company was indeed very welcome, and we both availed ourselves of the opportunity to discuss in minute detail the progress of the war in our respective areas. In regard to the business that was taking us to Dublin, Florrie informed me that the Commander of Cork Number One Brigade had been consulted about the projected landing of arms in West Cork, and that he had agreed to release the Commandant of the Fourth Battalion, Mick Leahy, to pilot the ship because of his expert knowledge of the coastline. The journey passed without incident, though military and police were on duty at most of the station we passed. We were unarmed, and the names and alibis if we were questioned. We were ably well-dressed, and felt confident that we could meet any emergency…Having reported our arrival at GHQ we were called to a special meeting at Barry's Hotel that evening at 5.00 p.m. Those present were: Cathal Brugha, Michael Collins, Seán McMahon, Liam Mellows, and Joe Vize. There our suggestion for the landing of the arms at Squince Strand was discussed and accepted. We were then informed that the consignment of arms and ammunition had been purchased in Genoa and that a ship had been chartered to bring it to Ireland…Before the meeting ended, it was decided that the staffs of the three Cork Brigades should arrange to meet three weeks later to co-ordinate plans for the distribution of the arms. I remember that when the meeting closed Collins informed us that the Archbishop of Perth, Australia, had intervened to bring about an end to the fighting in Ireland, and that a truce had almost been agreed to when Sir Neville Macready, G.O.C. of British Forces in Ireland, on being approached by Lloyd George, the British Premier, denounced the idea and asked for three months more; that was all he would require 'to clear up the mess.'"* – **Brigade-Adjt. Liam Deasy**, Cork No.3 Brigade, IRA, *Towards Ireland Free*, p.179-180.

"These rifles were not removed. However, the British Consul-General must have been told by someone that I had hidden these arms in Genoa. He was informed probably by his Intelligence officer that the guns were in Genoa awaiting shipment. That was not true because they were in Rome: they were not paid for and were never called for. My sister spoke to Collins then who said the money would present no difficulty at all. He mentioned the sum of 10,000 which she thought would be sent immediately. No money was sent and they were never removed. my opinion is that the arrangements to procure the arms may have been to bluff England. If the Irish were fully armed, they could hold out longer and kill most of the British soldiers here. The idea of getting the arms, I believe, would be to influence England to come to terms with Ireland. Collins may also have had theidea of trying to get in Ulster. Ulster would come in if there was a final settlement. There would have been some difficulty in shipping these arms to Ireland. How the British got the knowledge of them was extraordinary. The wife of this British Consul was Irish end she reported it to the Irish clerical students in Via Fassola, Genoa, who, in turn, reported to me. It was incredible how they got this knowledge. A bargain was practically made with the Italian officials. These arms were the property of the Government but naturally the Government did not want to appear at all in the matter for reasons easily to be understood. Still the Italian Government was quite willing to give the arms. Mussolini also certainly was willing to help Ireland in every way. He always gave hospitality to my articles in his paper, "Il Popolo d' Italia" before becoming heed of the Government" – **Donal Hales**, Irish Republican Consular to Italy, (BMH-WS 292).

15th December 1920

McGOWAN, John:

Rank: Captain.
Unit: *I Coy (Tibohine), 2nd Batt., East Mayo Bde, IRA.*
DOB: c.1895. Son of Thomas McGowan and Kate Fox.
Address: Portaghard, Frenchpark, Co. Roscommon.
Occupation: Labourer.
Death: McGowan was shot and mortally wounded by disguised assailants at Patrick Dwyer's residence in Rathkeery, Frenchpark, Co. Roscommon. He died soon afterwards. It was believed the assassins were Auxiliaries stationed in Boyle.
Buried: Tibohine Old Cemetery, Co. Roscommon.

"A report from Tulsk states that a young man named McGowan, who had been 'on the run,' was shot by armed and disguised men at the residence of Mr. Dwyer, Tibohine, near Frenchpark. McGowan was accused of organising the Ratra Ambush, in which two police lost their lives. Two shots were fired at him. He struggled to his feet, called for a priest, at the same time scrambling to a room where he was followed and another shot fired at him which finished the unfortunate lad." – **Freeman's Journal**, 23 December 1920, p.2.

COLLOPY, John Joseph:

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *B Coy, 1st Batt, Mid-Limerick Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 9 June 1887. Born in Singland, Limerick, Co. Limerick, to William Collopy and Margaret Cross.
Address: Pennywell, Limerick City.
Occupation: Labourer.
Death: Collopy died in St. John's Hospital, Limerick, from burn wounds he received during the IRA's burning of Kilmurry RIC station in April 1920.
Buried: St. Patrick's Cemetery, Singland, Co. Limerick (Unmarked).

The Dunmanway Murders

"An official report issued from Dublin Castle states that Very Rev. Canon T.J. Magner, P.P. Dunmanway, and Timothy Crowley were shot dead by a Cadet. The report states that the cadet first asked Crowley for a permit and shot him dead, and then turned and shot the clergyman. The cadet, who is under arrest, it adds, is reported insane. An 'Irish Independent' special representative, who visited the spot yesterday, learned that before the Auxiliaries came along Canon Magner had requested young Crowley to assist Mr. Brady, R.M., in starting his motor car. The cadet, who was in charge of the Auxiliaries, first, it is alleged, threatened to shoot Mr. Brady, and then turned and shot Crowley. He then put Canon Magner on his knees for a quarter of an hour, it is alleged, and finally shot him. Mr. Brady, who had meanwhile escaped, gave the alarm. The bodies, which were thrown over the ditch, were afterwards taken to the town. In reply to a message of sympathy received from the Inspector-General, RIC, Most Rev. Dr. Cohalan [Bishop of Cork] *telegraphed that he would accept the sympathy of the Inspector-General of the old RIC, but he cannot accept the "verbal sympathy of the I.G. whose men are murdering my people and have burned by city."* – **Irish Independent**, 17 December 1920, p.5.

CROWLEY, Timothy (Tadhg):

Rank: 1st Lieutenant.
Unit: *E Coy (Behagullane), 3rd Batt., Cork No.3 Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 11 May 1898. Son of Florence Crowley and Catherine Coakley.
Address: Behagullane, Dunmanway, Co. Cork.
Occupation: Farmer's Son.
Death: Crowley was shot alongside Canon Thomas Magner at Ballyhalwick, a mile east of Dunmanway. In the early afternoon, a drunken Auxiliary cadet named Hart disembarked from a lorry and shot Crowley dead, before also shooting the aged Canon Magner, without cause. Their remains were then tossed over the ditch. The Auxiliaries were on their way to the funeral of another Auxiliary named Chapman, killed at Dillon's Cross. Hart was arrested and later tried. He was found insane but acquitted of all charges. Crowley is recorded as a civilian in *DOTIR.*
Buried: St. Patrick's Graveyard, Dunmanway, Co. Cork.

"The following is the official account of the tragedy issued from Dublin Castle: - "At 1 p.m., about 30 Auxiliary police left Dunmanway in 2 motor lorries, with a cadet in charge, to go to Cork to attend a funeral of one of their Force, who was recently shot dead in Cork. About a mile from Dunmanway, on the road to Ballineen, they met the Rev. Canon Magner, the 73-year-old Parish Priest of Dunmanway, and Timothy Crowley, aged 24, a farmer's son." Thadg Crowley was a son of Mr. Florence Crowley, ex-J.P., and former member of Cork County Council, aged about 21. He was a youth of fine physique, being over 6 feet tall. He belonged to the Volunteers. He assisted his father in the working of the farm at Behagullane, 4 miles from Dunmanway. He had come into the town to get a horse shod, and had left the animal in the forge to go out into the country to transact some business. He was shot through the nose, the bullet apparently passing out through the back of his head. There were some marks on his face, which would seem to indicate that he was assaulted before being shot. Rev. M. Carmody, C.C., in an interview, stated that about 2 o'clock, he was informed that two men had been shot, and he immediately cycled to the place. He went where directed, but saw no bodies there, and then visited the farmhouse of Mr. D. Crowley, where he was informed that the Canon had been shot. Proceeding to the place, he said he found the bodies inside the ditch, within 3 or 4 yards of each other" – **Irish Independent**, 17 December 1920, p.5.

16th December 1920

EDMONDS, Michael (Mick):

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *B Coy (Mount Bruis), 4th Batt., Tipperary No.3 Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 1 November 1886. Born at Goat Lane, Tipperary Town, to Charles Edmonds and Ellen Flaherty.
Address: 30 O'Connell Rd, Tipperary Town, Co. Tipperary.
Familial: On 16 November 1915, Edmonds married Margaret Bailey at St. Michael's Church, Tipperary Town. Their children were Mary (b.1917) and Charles Edmonds (b.1919)
Occupation: Fitter.
Death: Edmonds, who was on the run, visited his wife and small children at their homestead. That evening, RIC and Auxiliaries entered the house and arrested Edmonds. His bloodied remains were found the next day at a place known as Cup and Saucer Hill. He had been badly beaten, bayoneted and shot. He is recorded as a civilian in *DOTIR.*
Buried: St. Michael's Cemetery, Tipperary Town.
MSPC Ref: DP7088.

"A sensational discovery was made near Tipperary yesterday morning when the dead body of a man who was subsequently identified as Michael Edmonds (30) was found in a ditch on hills overlooking the town. There were bullet wounds on the hand and face. It is stated that six or eight armed men, who wore soft hats, forced an entrance to the house on O'Connell Road, where deceased resided, at an early hour, yesterday morning, took him away to the hills, and that two shots were heard later. The body was discovered about 10.45 a.m., by Mr. Frank Dixon…It was lying downwards. Mr. Dixon thought the man was asleep and called Mr. James W. Kissane, who has a farm in the vicinity. Examination showed that life was extinct. The matter was reported at the barracks and police went to the scene. Rev. Joseph McCarthy and Rev. William Condon were also summoned, and on the body being turned over a sergeant identified it as Michael Edmonds. Deceased was wearing an overcoat and working clothes, but had no cap. His boots were unlaced. Both hands were tied together. The face bore blood marks…Edmonds was identified with the Sinn Féin movement and had not, it is said, slept at home for some time." – **Freeman's Journal**, 18 December 1920, p.5.

Intensity
Mid-December 1920

"While sending through me a message of peace and goodwill to the people of Ireland, your Government have intensified their fiendish attacks on our lives, our liberties and our property. How hollow your fair words read in the newspapers sandwiched in between the stories of the burning of Cork and of the murder of Canon Magner and Timothy Crowley. If you really wish for peace, allow the Constitution adopted by the Irish people at the last General Election to perform its legitimate functions and acts of violence will soon become as rare in Ireland as they are in any of the peaceful nations in the world. Then arrange the terms of a Treaty by direct negotiations, with the official head of the Irish Nation, President de Valera. This is the only possible road to that reconciliation which is vital to the interests of both nations"

Rev. Michael O'Flanagan,
Acting-President of Sinn Féin.

A Statement to Prime Minister D. Lloyd George.

"I reported my arrival to Michael Collins. By arrangement, I met Dermot O'Hegarty at Alderman Cole's House, 3 Mountjoy Square, at 8 o'clock, and we walked to Phil Shanahan's public-house in Corporation St. Outside that public-house there were six or eight men acting as Mick's bodyguard. They looked the ordinary type of men one would expect to see around a public-house at the docks. The inside of that public-house was the filthiest I had every stood in. It had a clay floor with holes in it nine to ten inches deep and some places from two to three feet wide. Eventually Mick appeared out of a panel in the wall. He told me it was one of his hide-out places as it gave access to the majority of the houses in Corporation Buildings. I explained the situation to him as I had left it in London. I told him of Archbishop Clune's visit, all about the truce and conference. Unfortunately, by a peculiar, malign destiny of fate, the very day that Dublin Castle was acquainted with the arrangements which had been made in London in reference to a truce was the day on which the Galway Co. Council passed their famous resolution. Immediately that resolution was reported to the officials in Dublin Castle, the Chief Secretary came to London. They said they had been in touch with Eóin MacNeill and that the latter was ready to accept a proposal which they submitted to him, with the result that I decided to discontinue any further talks or communications or peace talks with Fisher. Greenwood crossed to London and asked the Earl of Denbigh to give a dinner party which was to include Archbishop Clune of Australia. The Earl of Denbigh was a Catholic. This dinner was given and the Archbishop attended and there met Greenwood, with the result that the Archbishop was sent as an emissary by Greenwood to see Griffith in prison. This will explain why I was so anxious to get a message to Griffith telling him of the mission on which Archbishop Clune was engaged and the purport of that mission. This was the state of affairs when I met Collins at Phil Shanahan's public-house. I gave him a full explanation of what I had done in reference to the truce and how near it was for the truce to have been called that week. After over an hour's discussion of the situation, Mick Collins said to me: "To hell with it, let's get on with the work". He also said, as far as Dr. Walsh of Galway was concerned - who was chairman of the Galway Co. Council at the time - he thought it was an error of judgment, but he said: "For God's sake stop Father Mick". [Father Michael O'Flanagan]. *(Father O'Flanagan had sent some wires to Lloyd George). "When you leave here", he said, "tell all the men of our crowd that you meet that you met a man who met Lloyd George and tell the whole story as you have told it to me, but do not say that you met Lloyd George yourself." He also asked me to see Fr. O'Flanagan, that he would refuse to see him, and to explain to him what damage he had done…About the middle of that week I met Father O'Flanagan at Upper Mount St. in [Laurence] Nugent's house. I explained to him what had been done, and I gave him Mick Collins's message. I begged of him, as an old friend, to desist from further action in pursuance of the object he had in writing to Lloyd George. I also explained to him that it had a very serious effect on the national fight, and all I can say is that I found Father O'Flanagan in a very depressed condition. He gave me his word that he had finished with the matter. A few days later I was again with Mick Collins. I told him what I had done in reference to Father O'Flanagan and he was very pleased. He was still very angry and he felt the action of Fr. O'Flanagan very deeply and he regarded it as treason to the country"* – **Patrick Moylett**, Peace Negotiator, (BMH-WS 767).

"On Sunday, 12th December 1920, a meeting of the Battalion Commandants of Co. Cavan was held at the residence of Mr. John Lee, Upper Lavey. At this time, the IRA of Co. Cavan were directly under the control of GHQ which was represented at the meeting by Lieutenant-General Peadar McMahon, Organiser. The purpose of this meeting was to discuss and make arrangements for attacking Cootehill, Virginia and Ballyjamesduff Barracks on the same night and before Christmas. The Commandant of Cootehill Battalion asked to have the attack on Cootehill Barracks deferred for local reasons. A similar request by the Commandant of Virginia Battalion was granted. Crosserlough Battalion undertook the task of capturing Ballyjamesduff Barracks on the following Friday night, 17th December. The effort was to be made at 10 p.m. Previous to this, while Quartermaster of Cavan Brigade, I had taken eight rifles, twelve grenades and fifteen revolvers from Dublin by rail via Mullingar to Drumhownagh railway station. The rifles were distributed later as follows:- Bellananagh Battalion, six rifles; Corlough Battalion (Pat Woods), one rifle; Castlelara Company (Phil McCaffrey) (J. Tully), one rifle. An application at the meeting to have the six rifles transferred from Bellananagh to Crosserlough Battalion for the attack was refused. Instead, the O/C Bellananagh Battalion was instructed to have six men armed with the rifles referred to report to the McDonagh Memorial Hall, Crosserlough, at 9 p.m. on the night of the attack, where they would be met by a guide, John J. Coyle, who would conduct them to a position on the bog road at Derrylurgan just outside Ballyjamesduff. Here they would join the main attacking force. The attacking party was made up as follows:- Upper Lavey Company, 40 men in two sections, with Bernard Monaghan and Dan McDonald in charge; Crosskeys Company, six men; Crosserlough Company, two men. Captain Peter Moynagh, who was on the run and in the area at the time, was in charge of mines and explosives, having completed a course in engineering. Motor drivers were not as numerous then as now, and Mr. Patrick McMahon, Virginia, reported as such to convey wounded, if any, to a prearranged place of safety. The remainder of Crosskeys and Crosserlough companies together with Mountnugent, Kilnaleck and Drumkilly were engaged in blocking roads and maintaining communications. The six riflemen were to occupy houses opposite the front of the barracks. Ladders, pickaxes and sledges were placed in position at McDonald's Garage by the late Sergeant James West. Petrol and paraffin supplies were distributed. At 10 p.m. communication wires were cut by two men of Crosskeys Section (J. Gaffney & P. Dowd). At this time, the guide (J.J. Coyle) reported that he had waited until 9.30 p.m. at Crosserlough and had not contacted the rifle party. He was sent back immediately

with instructions to wait until midnight. He arrived back at 1 a.m. alone. After consultation, it was decided to withdraw. Shortly afterwards, I met Peadar McMahon while in Dublin in an effort to get rifles. While we were purchasing footwear at Winstanley's Shoe Store, South Great Georges Street, the area was surrounded by military and auxiliary police. We separated. McMahon was arrested and interned at the Curragh until the Truce, with the result that no inquiry was held into the affair" – **Cmdt. Hugh Maguire**, Crosserlough Batt., Cavan Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1386).

"Dublin was startled last evening by another tragic shooting affair in a city street. As District-Inspector O'Sullivan, RIC, who was employed in the Assistant Inspector-General's office in Dublin Castle, was walking in Henry Street with his fiancée, he was shot and fatally wounded by unknown men" – **Irish Independent**, 18 December 1920, p.5.

18th December 1920

DELANY, Cornelius (Con):

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *F Coy, 1st Batt., Cork No.1 Bde, IRA.*
DOB: November 1885. Son of Daniel Delany & Julia Dunlea.
Address: Dublin Hill, Kilbarry, Co. Cork.
Occupation: Farmer.
Death: Cornelius Delany died from gunshot wounds received on 11 December 1920. His brother was killed instantly during the same attack (See DELANEY, Jeremiah / 12 December 1920).
Buried: The Republican Plot, St. Finbarr's Cemetery, Cork.
MSPC Ref: 3MSRB16A.

DELANEY, William (Bill):

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *D Coy (Dualla), 2nd Batt., Tipperary No.3 Bde, IRA.*
DOB: c.1891. Son of William Delaney.
Occupation: Blacksmith.
Address: Railstown, Fethard, Co. Tipperary.
Death: Having both been taken prisoner by the Black and Tans and Crown soldiers the day prior, Delaney and James Looby were brought to Cashel RIC Barracks. While escorting the prisoners to Tipperary Town, the Tans pulled over at Kilfeacle Graveyard and shot them, later claiming that they had attempted to escape. Their remains were left aboard the Crossley Tender on the street of Cashel. No one was allowed to tend to the victims under strict warnings from the police even when moans could be heard for hours afterwards. The local priest had to give absolution from a safe distance.
Buried: Railstown Old Cemetery, Co. Tipperary.

LOOBY, James Joseph Alphonsus (Jim):

Rank: Captain / Lieutenant (*Disputed in BMH/WS-1434*). Recorded as Adjutant on the nominal roll.
Unit: *D Coy (Dualla), 2nd Batt., Tipperary No.3 Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 3 May 1897. Son of Laurence Looby and Mary Colville.
Address: Ballyowen, Dualla, Cashel, Co. Tipperary
Occupation: Agricultural Labourer.
Familial: Married and father of two children.
Death: See DELANEY, William (Bill).
Buried: The Republican Plot, Dualla Graveyard, Co. Tipperary.
MSPC Ref: 1D314.

"On or about the 18th December, 1920, James Looby, a member of the Dualla Company, and a man named William Delaney were arrested by British forces and were taken to the barracks in Cashel. That night. they were taken in a lorry under escort from the barracks in Cashel with, I understand, the intention of bringing them to the barracks in Tipperary town where prisoners were usually

detained for a few days before being sent to Limerick Prison. When the lorry reached Kilfeacle, the escort shot both prisoners dead and then returned to Cashel, bringing the bodies with them. That same night a party of British forces raided. Flanagan's house at Ballysheehan. Laurence Looby, a brother of James, and a man named Patrick Nolan chanced to be in Flanagan's at the time of the raid. Patrick Nolan as a man whom they (the British) were particularly seeking. When asked his name, he replied, "Patrick Nolan", giving it the usual local pronunciation of Nowlan. This must have deceived them for they took no further notice of him, although the name, Patrick Nolan, was on a list which they had with them. When they heard that the second man's name was Looby, the raiders took Laurence Looby with them from the house and shot him on the road nearby, leaving his body on the roadside. Next morning rumours circulated in Cashel that the two prisoners, James Looby and William Delaney, had been shot the night before. I don't know how it came to light, but relatives of both men called to the barracks and asked to be permitted to see the prisoners, and it was then they were told that the. men were dead, and the bodies were handed over to the relative for burial. The two Looby's were buried together in the Republican Plot in Dualla cemetery where Pierce McCann, who had died in Gloucester prison almost two years previously, is also buried" – **Capt. Timothy Tierney**, F Coy, 2nd Batt., Tipperary No.3 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1227).

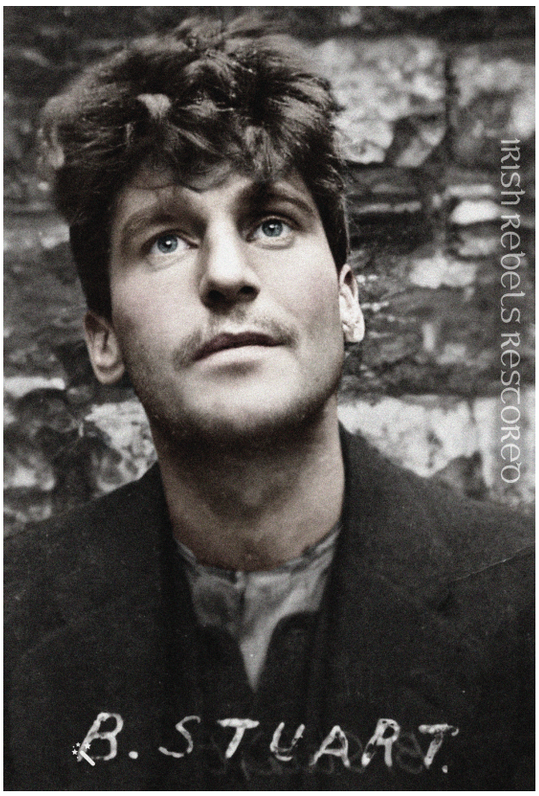
19th December 1920

LOOBY, Laurence Francis Charles (Larry):

Rank: Company Adjutant.
Unit: *D Coy (Dualla), 2nd Batt., Tipperary No.3 Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 28 August 1900. Son of Laurence Looby and Mary Colville. Brother of Vol. Jim Looby, who was mortally wounded alongside Vol. William Delaney on 18 December 1920.
Address: Ballyowen, Dualla, Cashel, Co. Tipperary.
Occupation: Agricultural Labourer.
Death: After the killing of Jim Looby and Bill Delaney, the Dualla Company were ordered to leave the area in case of other reprisals. Larry Looby was ordered to billet at John Ryan's of Thurlesbeg. While travelling there, Looby and Paddy Nolan stopped at Flanagan's in Ballysheehan for a brief visit. The house was raided by the RIC and those present questioned. Looby gave his correct name and was brought outside and assassinated on the roadside, hours only after learning of the death of his brother.
Buried: The Republican Plot, Dualla Graveyard, Co. Tipperary.
MSPC Ref: 1D314A.

The Arrest of Ernie O'Malley
Cappagh, Inistioge, Co. Kilkenny
9 December 1920

"County Kilkenny was slack. It was difficult to meet officers, dispatches took a long time to travel. A Brigade Council met in the city to elect a Brigade Staff. Poor material, I thought, no direction from above and no drive. Answers to questions showed that none of them had tried to solve the problem of their commands; very different from meetings in Cork where men spoke their minds somewhat and intelligence flared up. Quietly, somewhat dully, they sat around the table in awe. They would talk when the meeting was over, now whilst they voted a staff there was mute acceptance. The new Brigadier did not impress me by any show of energy or resolution. He was more of a steady businessman, stout, easy spoken, the mayor of the city; he did not refuse to accept responsibility. The attempted capture of the Auxiliary headquarters [Woodstock House, Inistioge, Co. Kilkenny] *would be outside his life. In an area that had not seen fighting the elective system was not satisfactory; men would sit and vote for a man whom they knew was not fitted for a position; who lacked alertness and was not young enough in mind. There had been no staff work. None of them were used to questions. Michael O'Hanrahan, the Inistioge Commandant, had little information to give about the Auxiliaries though they were based only two miles from his house. Through questioning, I found out a little about their discipline, drinking habits, relationship with the people, movements of patrols, but he knew nothing about the defence of the building, sentries and outlying defences. At the end of my probing, I learned that Woodstock, their headquarters, was a large, old, well-built house on rising ground, surrounded by a wooded demesne and enclosed by a high stone wall. The grounds were well patrolled. On one side was the deep, swift-running*



Nore; there were no fords, but it could be crossed by a weir. Men were to be sent from each battalion to form a flying column; each area was to plan simple operations at once…Auxiliaries had raided and evidently terrorised the county. One day searching for 'rebels' they had stopped to question an old lady of eighty. 'Seen any rebels around here, mother?' one of them queried. 'Yes,' said she, reminiscently and wearily, 'there was Stephens and Smith O'Brien, and John O'Leary and…,' 'Where are they?' shouted one of the Auxiliaries excitedly. 'Where are they?' 'Oh,' said she, 'that was over fifty years ago.' And they disappeared in dust, swearing. In the darkness we reached O'Hanrahan's house on a by-road. I studied a bundle of half-inch maps of the country, then sat over the Inistioge district until I had a good idea of the lay of the land…

Next morning, I worked over the maps, then left the down and took up 'Mr. Britling Sees It Through.' I had read two chapters by half-past ten when I heard the distant blurring of words; people were talking to the woman of the house. A few moments afterwards, the door was opened and an Auxiliary with a bonnet perched on his head came into the room. There was a rifle slung on his shoulder, the black butt of a Webley stuck out of his holster. I felt myself rising; but I sat down hard on my chair. I gripped the table with my hands. His movements were too casual for one on a special raid. I wondered if my eyes looked startled or frightened. He was as unexpected as death. 'What's your name?' he asked. 'Stewart.' He was a small man, he spoke with a Cockney accent. 'And you,' turning to my companion. 'Holland.' 'What are you doing here?' 'Visiting my aunt,' I said. I looked at Mr. Britling, trying to think; there was no one outside the window, but my table was in the centre of the room. My maps were on the window, my notebook was open on the table. I closed and pushed it to one side. The window could not be opened. I would have to smash it. He walked about opening drawers, peering into a cupboard. Stick him up, I thought, gag him if he does not shout, and get through the window; if he does not put up his hands, shoot – take his rifle and gun and rush through for the outside door. I must take my notebook. I had my hand on it when he said, turning towards me, 'This is a rotten job, I'm sick of it; wish it was over.' I nodded. 'You must have a hard life of it.' Just then the door was pushed open and an officer, followed by a number of men, burst into the room. 'What is your name?' he barked. 'Stewart.' 'Your Christian name?' 'Bernard.' 'What are you doing here?' 'Visiting my aunt.' 'Did you search him?' he said, turning to the first intruder. 'No, sir.' I sprang from the chair, made a bound towards the door, pulling out my automatic, but it caught in the lining of my inside pocket. He sprang at me, revolver in hand, and clasped his arm around me whilst the other searched my pockets and found my gun. 'I'm sorry I didn't shoot you, you dirty swine,' remarked the officer. 'Take him out, blindfold him, and stick him up against the wall.' The others began to search Holland. They brought me outside the house, bandaged my eyes and put me up against the wall, whilst a group stood around calling me foul names. I was in for it now, I thought. At last, I had been trapped. That damn little automatic. If I had had my own guns, they would have been on the outside of my coat attached to my Sam Browne, and it would have meant a quick draw when the door was opened. If I could only see maybe I could make a dash for it, or look at what they were going to do to me. The woman of the house came out. 'For God's sake don't shoot him, he's young. God help him. Do what you like to the place, but don't shoot the lad.' 'Get in, you old bitch, quick,' roared a voice, 'you'll get what's coming to you, too.' The bandage was taken off my eyes as an officer approached. He was dressed in naval uniform and spoke with authority. He snapped, 'Who are you?' 'I am a member of the Irish Republican Army.' 'What rank?' 'Volunteer.' 'What is your company? No reply. 'Who is your captain?' No reply. 'So, you're not going to talk, you bastard,' he said, 'Well, we'll make you.' Then he went away.

One of my guards cocked the hammer of his Webley and told me to put up my hands. He kept the revolver pointed at my heart. 'I know something better than that,' he said suddenly, as he wiped off his bayonet and placed it on his rifle, and got into the 'ready' position a few feet from me. I knew from his face that he would like to twist it in my guts. At the end of about ten minutes I was blindfolded, handcuffed, kicked down the lane and into a motor car and driven away. When they took off my bandage I was in the hall of a large building. Inistioge, evidently. So, I had arrived at last, but not as I had expected. 'Take off his boots,' said the naval officer, 'and bring him below stairs.' Whilst they were taking off my boots Holland was brought in, similarly bandaged and handcuffed. They took off his boots and walked us downstairs to the vaults. They shoved us into a darkened room and searched us. They took my watch, fountain-pen, my pocket book containing £18 in notes. 'Ha!' said one, 'he was well paid for his murders.' Said another, 'This is as good as pay-day.' – **Ernie O'Malley**, GHQ Organiser, *On Another Man's Wound*, p.279-284.

WALTON, Michael:

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *6th Batt., Tipperary No.1 Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 1 June 1902. Son of Edward Walton and Nora Ryan.
Address: Rossaguile, Newport, Co. Tipperary.
Occupation: Farmer's Son.
Death: Walton, a member of the IRA, was shot dead alongside Patrick Connors, a native of Fiddane, Newport, Co. Tipperary, by Auxiliaries on patrol, at Clonbealy, as they travelled home on a horse and cart from Mass in Newport, Co. Tipperary. The newspapers only briefly reported their deaths, citing that they had refused to obey an order to halt. There is often confusion relating to these two casualties. Conflicting sources state both men were IRA Volunteers and some claim they were not. North Tipperary historian, John Flannery, kindly indicated to the author that Walton was in fact an IRA Volunteer however Connors was not.
Buried: Killoscully Graveyard, Co. Tipperary.

"Patrick Connors and Ml. Walton, who were shot dead at Clonbealy, near Newport yesterday week, were born on the same day, killed by the same bullet, and buried the same day. One account of the tragedy states that shooting took place near Dr. Coffey's gate on the road between Newport and the Burnt Mills. It is said that the two young men were returning from last Mass at Newport on a car, one sitting on each side. Armed forces were at the time in the fields around Dr. Coffey's house, and it is said, that they watching some boys who were catching birds, thinking that they were acting as scouts for an ambushing party. While the two men were passing, followed by a man named Lynch, and his wife, who were also coming from Mass on a car, shots rang out, and the two young men fell, shot dead by the same bullet. A second shot narrowly missed Mr. and Mrs. Lynch" – **Evening Herald**, 27 December 1920, p.1.

20th December 1920

WHELAN, James:

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *A Company (Ballyroan), 1st Batt., Laois Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 4 August 1893. Born at Colt, Abbeyleix, Co. Laois, to Thomas Whelan and Bridget Whelan.
Address: Ballyroan, Abbeyleix, Co. Laois.
Familial: Whelan married Julia McDonald at Ballyroan Church on 14 April 1920. They had one child, James Whelan, who was born in January 1921, several weeks after the death of his father.
Occupation: Publican & Farmer.
Death: Whelan was shot and fatally wounded by disguised Black and Tans, Coburn and Reeves during a robbery on his premises. Whelan is recorded as a civilian in *DOTIR*. His brother, John Whelan, was captain of the Ballyroan IRA
Buried: Ballyouskill Graveyard, Ballyragget, Co. Kilkenny.
MSPC Ref: DP3145.

"QUEEN'S COUNTY TRAGEDY: Mr. Patrick McDonnell, who was wounded at Ballyroan last week, when his son-in-law, Mr. James Phelan was killed, is not expected to recover. Another account of the tragedy states that Mr. Phelan's licensed premises were raided by uniformed men on Sunday evening at 9 o'clock, and pedestrians were held up. Some shots, it was alleged, were also fired. At 5 a.m., next morning, Mr. Phelan was aroused by a loud knocking, and when he asked permission to dress, the reply was, 'Yea will do as you are.' On opening the door, he was confronted by two masked and armed men, wearing long, dark overcoats and tweed caps. One of the intruders opened fire on Phelan, who immediately grappled with his assailant and captured his revolver. Mr. McDonnell who appeared on the scene and intervened on behalf of his son-in-law, was shot through the chest by one of the assailants, who remarked, 'You are the bloke we want.' Phelan had his assailant on the ground, and though mortally wounded, held the revolver. The other man turned his revolver on Phelan and fired four shots, after which the two men rushed away. During the struggle, Miss. Rita McDonnell and Mrs. Phelan cried out for help, but the neighbours were afraid to venture out until the armed men had disappeared. When they left the house the man who had retained his revolver reloaded and fired a few shots in the street, some of the bullets passing over Miss McDonnell's head as she was going for assistance. Mr. Phelan, who was attended by priest and doctor lived only seven hours. The captured revolver was found to be marked and numbered" – **Cork Examiner**, 30 December 1920, p.5.

The Return of 'The Chief'

De Valera returns to an Ireland at War

Christmas Week, 1920.

"De Valera and [Michael] Collins were devoted to each other. Collins worshipped the ground that de Valera trod on and, while de Valera was in America, Collins went down to Greystones (Co. Wicklow) to Mrs. de Valera every week to see that all was well there and to bring her husband's salary. De Valera was equally fond of Collins" – **Maeve McGarry**, Cumann na mBan, (BMH-WS 826).

"Before I went to Chicago, Harry Boland mentioned to me very privately that arrangements were being made to get de Valera home and that he was going home on a ship called the "Celtic" as a stowaway, through the connivance of some of the crew. I was told to provide him with the necessary supplies of foodstuffs and such like to take with him on the voyage, as he would be unable to get fed in the ordinary way. Having done all that, I got a wire from my wife, who was due to arrive in the United States at the time, and I went off to meet her at eight o'clock the following morning at Pennsylvania Station, New York. The first thing my wife told me when she landed was that she had a verbal message from Steve Lanigan in Liverpool to say that there was a very close watch being kept on all ships and that all ships were being searched. She did not know that de Valera would be travelling nor, I suppose, did Steve Lanigan know when he gave her the message. He just wanted to ensure that the utmost care would be taken in sending anybody or anything across. Realising through this information that de Valera's safe passage would be affected, I went straight back to make contact with Seán Nunan and, having informed him of the message I had got, we both got into a taxi and drove to the docks. Nunan did not know that I was aware of de Valera's journey, and neither he nor I said anything to each other about what the hurry to the docks was about. However, when we arrived at the docks, we found the "Celtic" already pulling away in charge of a tug, and we stood looking after the ship. Presumably, Nunan's intention had been to intercept de Valera and stop him from travelling rather than merely to warn him. Realising that nothing could be done about it at that stage, I remarked, "There is nothing we can do now. He is in God's hands". It was then for the first time that Nunan realised that I was aware that de Valera was travelling on the ship. He asked me how I knew about it, and I told him that Harry Boland had informed me" – **Edmond O'Brien**, GHQ Armaments, IRA, (BMH-WS 597).

"Meanwhile de Valera, who had been almost cut off from knowledge of events at home and probably feared a total collapse of the revolutionary movement, hastened back to Ireland. Collins was delighted at the prospect of his return. He had foreseen the necessity and made the arrangements…It was Christmas Eve morning when de Valera reached Dublin. Collins was up at five to welcome him. He had hopes that de Valera's intervention would put an end to the row between himself and the Stack-Brugha group. They met at a house in Merrion Square. It was eighteen months since they had parted, the Long Fellow and the Big Fellow. For each of them those eighteen months had been packed with incident. De Valera had been treated like a king; Collins like an escaped convict. One by one members of the cabinet saw him" – **Frank O'Connor**, H/III Coy, 3rd Batt., Dublin Brigade, IRA, *The Big Fellow*, p.140.

"I came to you on a holy mission, a mission of freedom. I return to my people who sent me, not indeed, as I had dreamed, with mission accomplished, but, withal, with a message that will cheer in the dark days that have come upon them, and that will inspire the acceptance of such sacrifices as must yet be made. So, farewell – young, mighty, fortunate land. No wish that I can express can measure the depth of my esteem for you, or my desire for your welfare and your glory. And, farewell the many dear friends I have made and the tens of thousands who for the reason that I was the representative of a noble nation and a storied, appealing cause, gave me honours they denied to princes – you will not need the assurance that Ireland will not forget and that Ireland will not be ungrateful" – **Éamon de Valera**, Farewell Statement to the United States, December 1920.

22nd December 1920

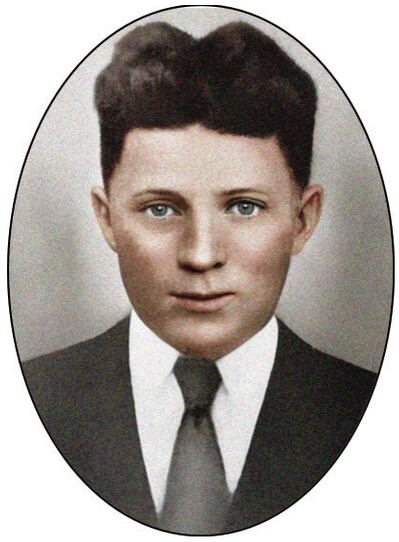
McNAMARA, Michael:

Rank: Captain.
Unit: *D Coy (Doonbeg), 3rd Batt., West Clare Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 12 August 1891. Son of Patrick McNamara and Margaret O'Keeffe.
Address: Mount Rivers, Doonbeg, Co. Clare
Occupation: Farmer.
Death: McNamara was violently beaten and arrested alongside Willie Shanahan in Doonbeg, Co. Clare on 17 December 1920. On the 22 December 1920, whilst being transported in a lorry, McNamara was murdered. The official statement claimed that whilst being transported to Kilrush Barracks, a guard's rifle discharged when the lorry hit a bump, killing McNamara instantly. His remains carried marks of extensive abuse.
Buried: The Republican Plot, Doonbeg Graveyard, Co. Clare.
MSPC Ref: 1D78.

"On 17th December 1920, two of the most sincere and energetic officers attached to the West Clare Brigade, William Shanahan, Brigade Police Officer, and Michael McNamara, Captain of the Doonbeg Company, were arrested by Black and Tans between 1 and 2 a.m. in the house of Denis Reidy, Newtown, Doonbeg. They were taken prisoner to Kilrush RIC Barracks and held there until 22nd December 1920. On that date they were removed to Ennis under a heavy escort of Black and Tans and military. On the way between Killydysart and Ennis, McNamara was bayoneted through the heart by one of his escort, and was then left lying in Shanahan's lap until the convoy arrived in Ennis Jail. Around midnight Shanahan was shot dead in his cell. The bodies of these two IRA officers were handed over to Frank Power, Vice O/C, 1st Battalion, East Clare Brigade. Shanahan's body bore marks which, according. to medical evidence that almost every bone had been broken prior to his shooting. Subsequently a man named Patrick D'Arcy, National Teacher in Doonbeg, and a native of Cooraclare, was executed as a spy by the IRA. Though I have heard talk which connected him with the arrest of Shanahan and McNamara, I have no information to give concerning the guilt or innocence of D'Arcy, nor was I concerned in any way with his execution, which took place in June 1921" – **Capt. Martin Chambers**, B Coy, 3rd Batt., West Clare Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1251).

"The prisoners were taken first to Kilrush RIC barracks and a day or so later were removed to Ennis. One of them, Michael McNamara, was brutally murdered on the road to Ennis, having been bound and chained to the back of one of the lorries and dragged after it along the road. Shanahan also received most inhuman treatment. The unfortunate man, bereft of several of his finger and toe nails and with nearly every bone in his body broken, was left lying in a prison cell in Ennis jail for the most part. of a week before death came to his relief. As the year 1921 were on, D'Arcy's name was a byword amongst all the IRA in West Clare as a British spy. He continued to frequent Sheehan's public-house and to mix in the company of the enemy forces. Every decent person in West Clare strongly condemned the Shanahan and McNamara murders, and even people who were not in sympathy with the Sinn Féin movement shunned the company of the British garrison in Kilrush after these happenings" – **Capt. Michael Russell**, 3rd Batt., West Clare Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1226).

SHANAHAN, William (Willie):



Rank: Brigade (Irish Republican) Police Officer.
Unit: *3rd Batt., West Clare Brigade, IRA. Attached to F Coy (Clohanemore).*
DOB: 17 June 1895. Son of Patrick Shanahan and Honora McCarthy.
Address: Doughmore, Doonbeg, Co. Clare.
Occupation: Farmer's Son.
Death: Shanahan was arrested by Crown forces at Denis Reidy's homestead in Doonbeg and taken to the RIC barracks in Kilrush where he was held for several days before being escorted to Ennis Gaol. It is reputed that Shanahan suffered tremendous torture in custody including having his digit bones broken and his toenails extracted. He subsequently died in custody.
Buried: The Republican Plot, Doonbeg Cemetery, Co. Clare.
Image Courtesy: Sharon Hynds / *Irish Rebels Restored.*
MSPC Ref: 1D109.

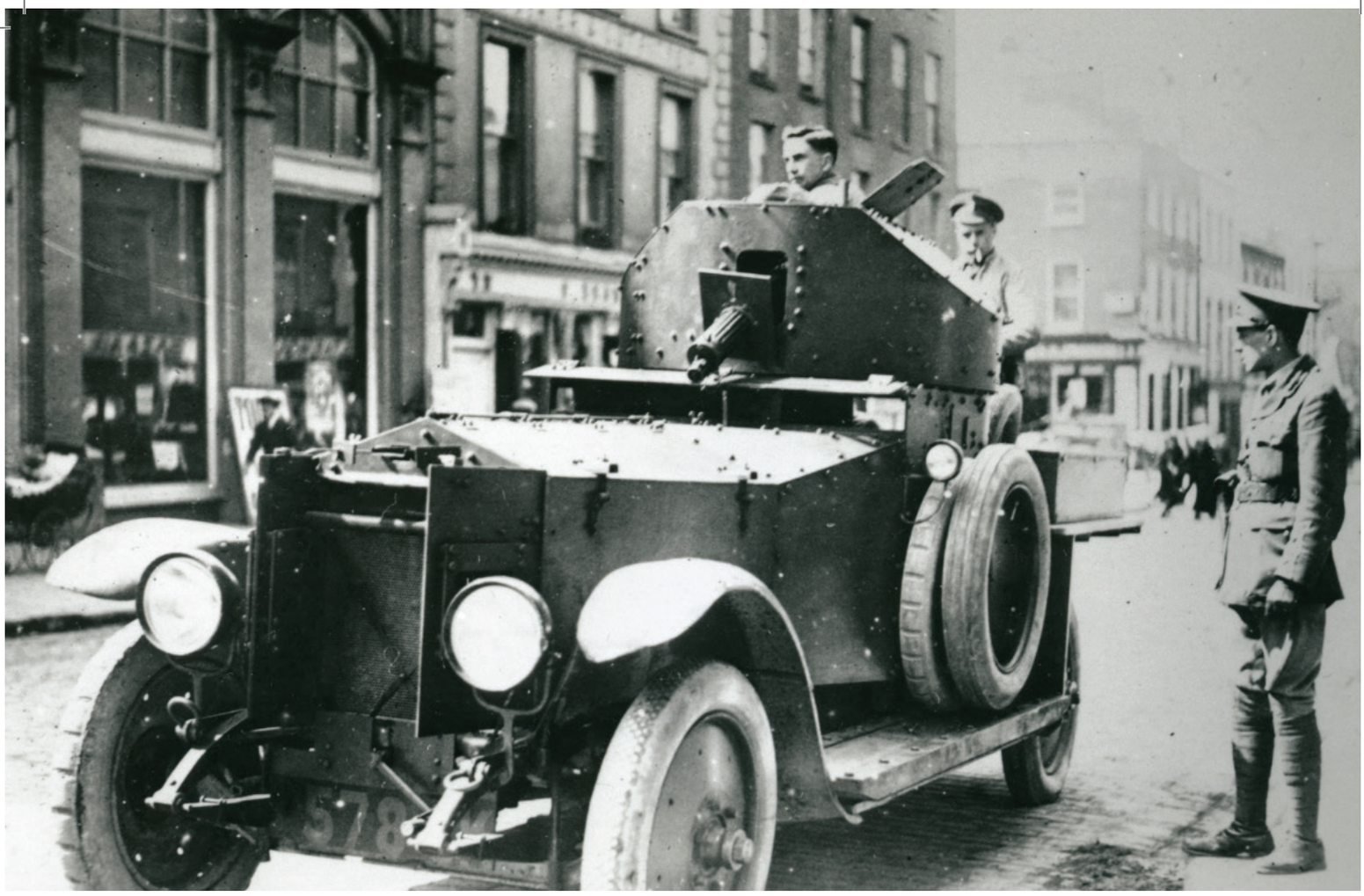
MIRANDA, John:

Rank: Private.
Unit: *1st Battalion, Connaught Rangers, British Army (Mutineer).*
DOB: c.1899. Born in Bootle, Liverpool, Lancashire, England, to José Miranda and Elizabeth Higgins. After the death of Elizabeth Miranda, José married Elizabeth Sheelan McArdle, a native of Co. Louth.
Address: 11 Shelley Street, Bootle, Liverpool, Lancashire, England.
Occupation: Soldier.
Death: Miranda died from enteric fever, having suffered from poor health whilst incarcerated in Dagshai Prison since the failed Connaught Rangers mutiny in the July 1920. When the remains of the mutineers who died in India were successfully repatriated to Ireland in 1970, there was no known relatives surviving in Liverpool for Miranda, hence why his unclaimed remains still lie in Dagshai.
Buried: Dagshai Prison Cemetery, Punjab, India.
Ref: McMahon, Bryan; **History Ireland,** *Connaught Rangers Mutineer, John Miranda*, Issue 4, Vol. 28.

"Sometime after Jim's death [James J. Daly] *Private Miranda was taken ill, shifted to the camp hospital but died in a few days and was buried in the same cemetery as Jim. Miranda's death was due solely to the bad conditions prevailing in Dagshai Jail"* – **Joseph Hawes**, Connaught Rangers Mutineer, (BMH-WS 262).

Home Rule becomes a Divided Reality
The British Partition of Ireland - The Government of Ireland Act, 1920

"When the Fourth Home Rule Bill becomes law, its effect will be, it is sad to think, that this ill-starred year of 1920, now nearing its chequered close, a year which more than any other in living memory has brought wretchedness, misery and death to many sorrowing families in the country, should have associated with it the sad severance of this country and its constitutional partition into the Northern and Southern district. Each is to have its provincial parliament and separate judiciary. It is a melancholy reflection on all our constitutional efforts, aims and aspirations to find things come to this pass. Forty years of strenuous constitutional effort on the part of three great leaders of public opinion in Ireland, Butt, Parnell and Redmond, combined with the cooperative efforts of the great Liberal party and its greatest leaders, Gladstone and Asquith, for nearly thirty years of that eventful period in our country's life, have brought us to this unwelcome ending. All these wasted efforts have been in vain and instead of having a united Ireland under one Parliament we shall have a disunited Ireland under two Parliament's each, if the Southern ever comes into existence, wanting the essential powers, rights and status of a national legislative body" – **Tuam Herald**, 25 December 1920, p.2.



"The Partition Act is on the Statute Book. It received the Royal Assent last night, and the King's Speech which was read at the prorogation of Parliament, contained a brief reference to Ireland. King George hopes for a return to constitutional methods in this country as the only way to reconciliation and a lasting peace." – **Freeman's Journal**, 24 December 1920, p.5.

(Left) – The Partitioning of Ireland as delivered by the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, saw six of Ulster's nine counties used to form a new provincial state within the United Kingdom, known as Northern Ireland. This state was designed to secure the Protestant/British majority, ostracizing many Irish loyalists who resided outside of the new statelet and allowing its dominance over the Roman Catholic/Nationalist minority who resided within.

"Fifty-four trials of civilians by Court-Martial took place during the week. Thirty-nine convictions were obtained, but in four cases the sentence was remitted by the confirming officer. Imprisonment with hard labour was imposed in 17 cases and without hard labour in 9 cases…Order of internment have been made in 995 cases, and over 800 persons have been admitted into Ballykinlar Internment Camp [Co. Down]" – **Irish Independent**, 24 December 1920, p.5.

"With appropriate irony the Partition and Plunder Bill has been put on the Statute Book for Christmas Eve. It repeals the Home Rule Act of 1914. It partitions Ireland and places three Nationalist constituencies under a Parliament to be organised by Carson's rebel Provisional Government. It denies Ireland control of her own finances and taxation; and reduces to insignificance such self-protecting influence as the country possessed even under the Act of Union. With a hundred and three members to protect her, Ireland has been plundered of £350,000,000 in a hundred and twenty years. The hundred and three are now reduced to forty-six at a moment when the Imperial

tribute has been inflated to the crushing figure of over Thirty Millions. Yet the Act is made as a peace offering. That it will not bring peace, but obstruct the way to peace, is the conviction of every man of moderate opinion in Ireland" – **Freeman's Journal**, 24 December 1920, p.4.

23rd December 1920

MOYNIHAN, Andrew:

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *F Coy (Gneeveguilla), 5th Batt., Kerry No.2 Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 13 November 1878. Son of Humphrey Moynihan and Johanna Cronin.
Address: Gneeveguilla, Tralee, Co. Kerry.
Occupation: Farmer & Republican Courts Judge.
Familial: Moynihan married Mary Kelly in March 1914. Their children were Hannah Mary (1906-1909), Humphrey Moynihan (1916-1983), Patrick, John Christopher Moynihan (b.1919). Their daughter Maura (1921-2015) was born eight months after the death of her father.
Death: During a raid on his homestead, Auxiliaries discovered a receipt of £1 paid to the IRA. He was arrested and his hayshed burned. While being escorted to Tralee on the Castlemaine to Tralee highway, Moynihan was killed. The police statements stated he was shot in the head while trying to escape over a wall however this was not accepted by his family. Moynihan was recorded as civilian on *DOTIR*. John Scannell, O/C of A Company (Anablaha), 5th Battalion, claimed in his witness statement that Moynihan had been in the IRA.
Buried: Rathmore Cemetery, Co. Kerry.
Image Source: Con Moynihan / Dr. Tim Horgan, *Dying for the Cause*.

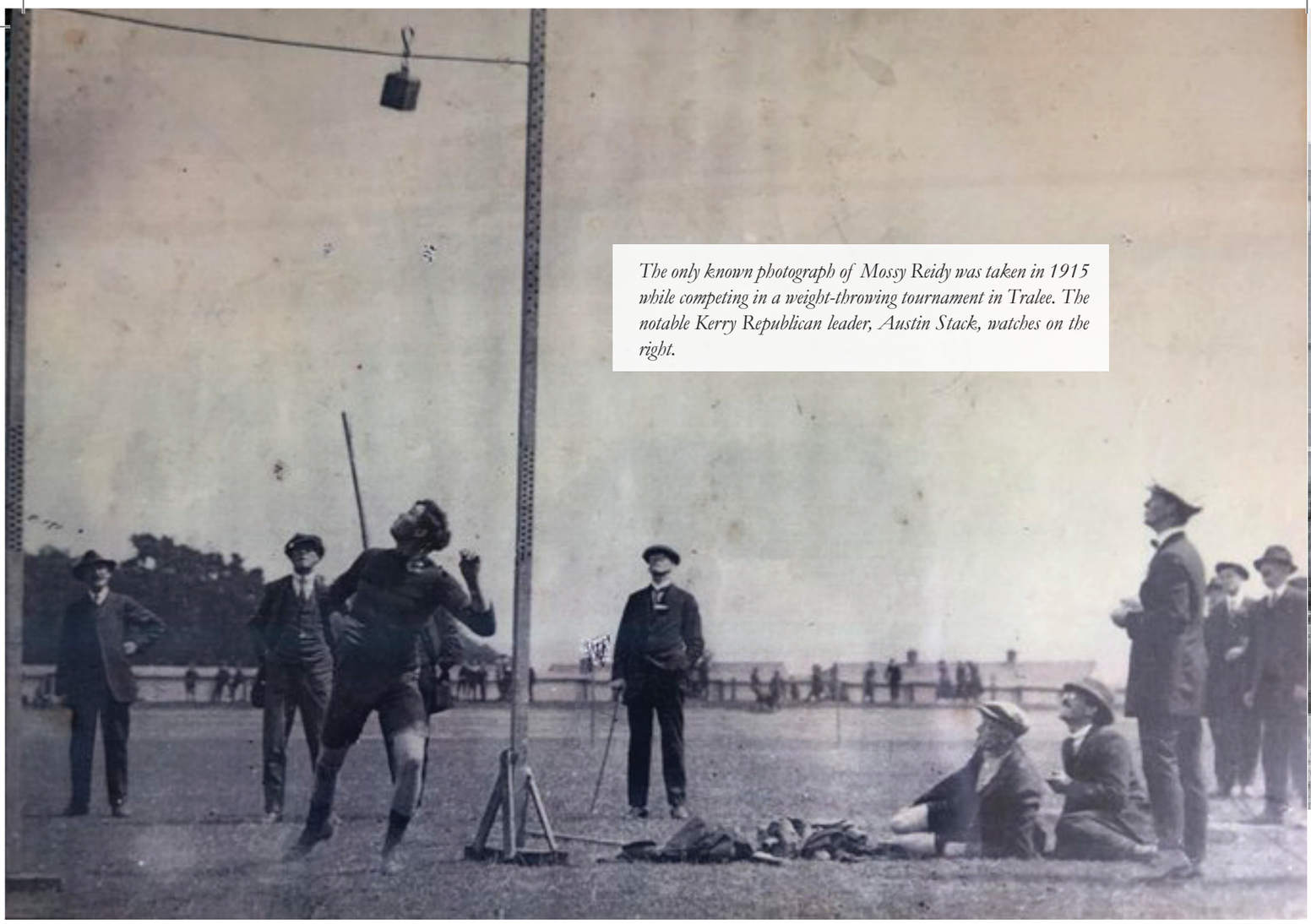
"During the period November/December 1920 we were engaged raiding the mails. We held up a train near Rathmore and took the mails. After this raid a man named Andrew Moynihan, a Volunteer, was shot by the Tans as a reprisal" – **Capt. John Scannell**, A Coy 5th Batt., Kerry No.2 Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1114).

24th December 1920

LEEN, John:

Rank: Captain.
Unit: *B Coy (Ballymacelligott), 2nd Batt., Kerry No.2 Bde & Battalion ASU, IRA.*
DOB: 27 January 1894. Son of John Leen and Bridget Twomey.
Address: Tonereigh, Rathanny, Tralee, Co. Kerry.
Occupation: Farmer.
Death: Leen and comrade, Maurice (Mossy) Reidy, were having a Christmas drink at John Byrne's homestead in Ballydwyer, near Ballymacelligott, Co. Kerry, when Auxiliaries under Major MacKinnon swooped on their position. Leen was instantly shot in the head as he tried to fire his revolver and Reidy set about saying his prayers. When an Auxie refused to shoot Reidy, MacKinnon stepped forward and fired a shot into Reidy's skull, killing him instantly. Their remains were dragged outside and the house was set alight.
Buried: O'Brennan Cemetery, Co. Kerry.
MSPC Ref: 1D371.

"On the night of 24th December 1920, a party of Auxiliaries visited the house of John Byrne at Ballydwyer Creamery expecting to find him at home. He was a wanted man. John Byrne was not there, but two Volunteers, John Leen and Maurice Reidy, had arrived at Byrne's house a short time before. John Leen was shot instantly. Reidy asked for time to pray. Mrs. Byrne (nee McEllistrim) and her sister Hanna pleaded for Reidy's life, but in vain. Reidy was shot and the two women were locked into a room until the aiding party had removed the bodies from the house to the yard outside" – **Capt. Bessie Harrington**.



The only known photograph of Mossy Reidy was taken in 1915 while competing in a weight-throwing tournament in Tralee. The notable Kerry Republican leader, Austin Stack, watches on the right.

REIDY, Maurice (Mossy):

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *B Coy (Ballymacelligott), 2nd Batt., Kerry No.2 Bde & Battalion ASU, IRA.*
DOB: 13 June 1893. Son of James Reidy and Honora Ahern.
Address: Knockavinane, Ballymacelligott, Co. Kerry.
Occupation: Farmer.
Death: Reidy, the 1915 All-Ireland 56lb weight throwing champion was killed alongside John Leen. See LEEN, John.
Buried: Arabella Cemetery, Ballmacelligott, Co. Kerry.
MSPC Ref: DP24328.

"The women were then ordered to get their outdoor clothes and the raiders took them out to a car and told them that they were getting a home for them for the night. By this time the raiders had set fire to the house. Mrs. Byrne did not want to go in the direction they were taking her as she dreaded that they meant to do something to the priest's as it was to that house she was taken. In the meantime, I was at McEllistrim's house and one of the girls saw the flames of Byrne's house burning from the yard. She called me and asked me to go and investigate. I took my bicycle and went to the Creamery at Ballydwyer. As I approached, a neighbour told me what had happened. I went into the yard and found the bodies in an outhouse. I proceeded to the priest's house and, when nearing it, Fr. McDonald, C.C., came on to meet me. Mrs. Byrne, Hanna McEllistrim, Bridie Carmody and I returned to the Creamery where we were joined by John Leen's uncle and aunt and a few others. We got a Christmas candle at the next house and lighted it. I gave out the Rosary. We remained with the dead the greater part of the night. We attended first Mass and after Mass Nurse Hayes joined us and we returned to the scene of the tragedy where Nurse Hayes and I washed the bodies and laid them out on tables which we had procured the previous night. We had just finished when the Auxiliaries arrived, they looked about, but they did not take the bodies as they were not coffined. That night the Auxiliaries removed the bodies from Clogher Church and only returned them the following day in time for the funeral. After the shooting of Leen and Reidy the Auxiliaries continued their raids on the Ballymacelligott area and by night and day they drove around shooting. The Auxiliaries were led by Major McKinnon who was continuously" leading them to Ballymacelligott, as he appeared to consider it the hub of republican resistance" – **Capt. Bessie Harrington**, Ballymacelligott Branch, Kerry IINo.2 Brigade, Cumann na mBan, (BMH-WS 1143).

The Incarceration of Ernie O'Malley in Dublin Castle

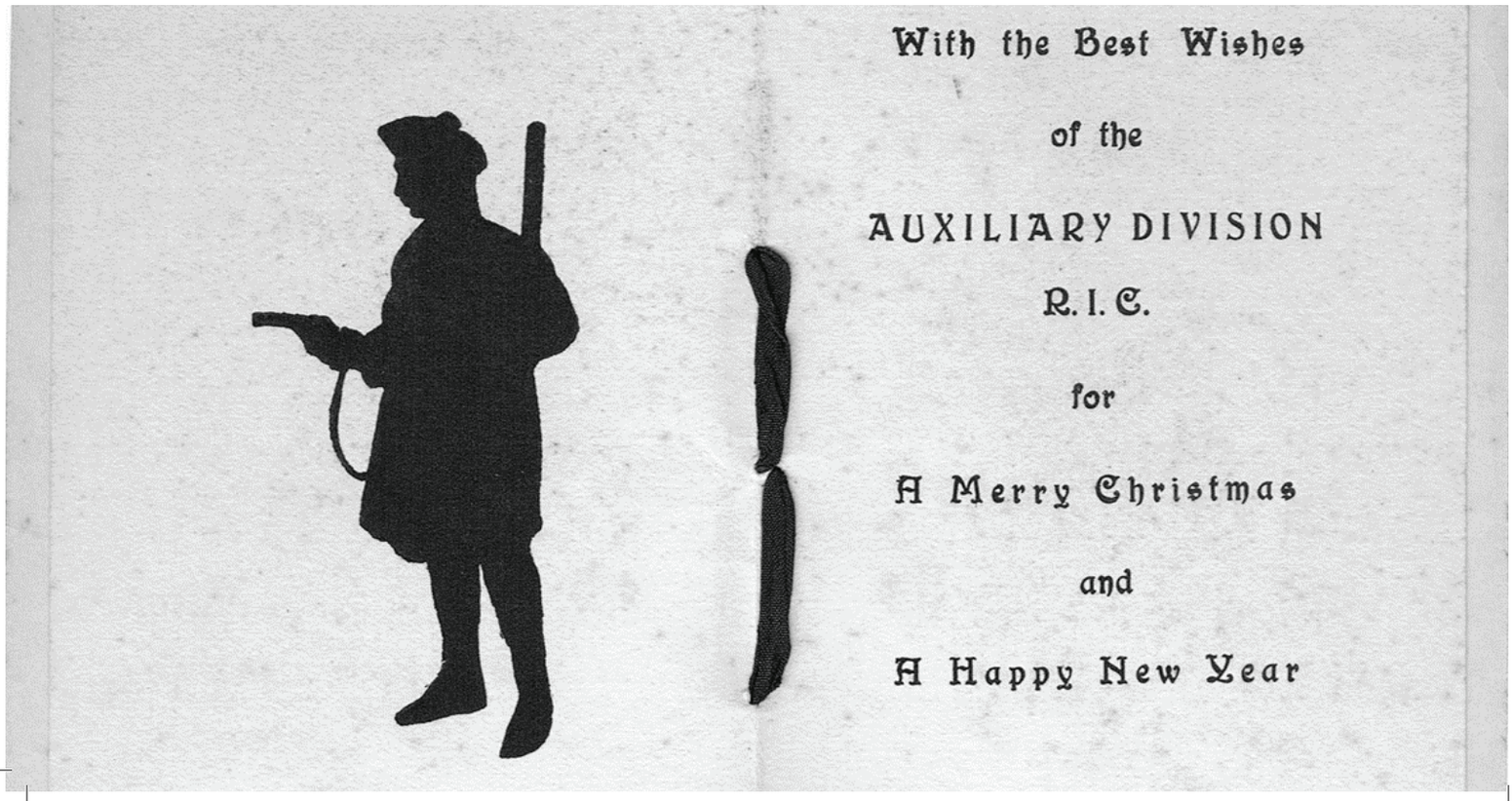
Late December 1920

'Pack up, Holland and Stewart, pack up,' was shouted in the early morning. We rolled out of our blankets as the cell door slammed back with a crash. Six Auxiliaries walked with us to the large square of the barracks. Others with rifle butts on their shoulders or with rifles swung from straps ran up and down, stamping feet, blowing on their hands. 'Get up,' said one. We swung ourselves into an open Crossley tender. 'Sit down.' It was cold, there was wet straw on the boards. We both shivered. An Auxie hung around the lorry jeering; his companion ground his teeth, but did not say anything. A sergeant-major, very neat and trim, stood in deferential closeness, a black cane tight under his arm. 'We'll take you to see some gentlemen who'll know how to make you talk,' said the first, who had a small moustache, 'and then you'll hang, you bastard.' 'We can die only once,' I said, and we laughed at him. The eyes of the sergeant-major twinkled. The escort lined up; there were more than thirteen tenders. We were handcuffed wrist to wrist. In front, near the driver, was a guard of two Auxiliaries in plain clothes; they had given evidence at my trial in Woodstock House. A tall officer halted our tender: 'If there's any shooting on the road, you're the first for it,' turning to me. 'Do you understand?' I did not speak. 'You're the first – do you hear?' I looked at him but I did not answer. The convoy moved slowly. It was very cold…

We drove through the lighted streets of Dublin. I thought of all those people walking about as if nothing had happened whilst for me, who looked out at them, the whole current of life had changed utterly. I could not realise that I had been in those streets only two weeks ago. We passed the Castle and Trinity College and went to Beggars Bush barracks. Inside, Auxiliary officers and men crowded about our tender. I was told to get down; all suddenly stood to attention. The headlights of a car were turned on me. 'This is Stewart, sir.' A figure looked at me from beyond the light, evidently someone of importance. We drove back to the Castle…In the guardroom I signed my name: Bernard Stewart; occupation: farmer, Inistioge, County Kilkenny. I used a backhand scrawl which I had practiced in the detention barracks. There were eight or ten prisoners seated on wooden boards or blankets along one wall, talking quietly. The room was large. In front were two windows; one of them looked on to a narrow passage that led to the side of the City Hall towards Dame Street. Around a warm fire opposite the windows a guard of four Auxiliaries in police uniform sat. One of them, a section-commander, stood up and stretched his legs apart in front of the hearth. 'Don't let any of you people try to escape. See that,' pointing to white splotches on the light green wall, 'that's what happened to two birds not so long ago.' Impressive: only dead men can escape from F Company [Auxiliary Division]. Was it in this room that Peadar Clancy and Dick McKee had been murdered? Men clattered through the door carrying rifles, ammunition slings and holsters strapped low on their knees. Some stopped to chat with the guard… An Auxiliary walked into the guardroom. 'Stewart, Bernard Stewart. Major King wants to see

him at once in the intelligence room.' There were two men in the room; one was in civilians, the other in khaki. The man in the uniform of the Connaught Rangers was medium-sized and slight in build. He walked with a limp. His face was pale, the pupils of his eyes were large and black, around them was a thin rim of blue. He worked his lower lip. The other man was over six feet; well built, with an air of command, the lines of his forehead were drawn together when he spoke. He was Major King; the other Captain Hardy. They had both been concerned in the murder of prisoners. Hardy was strongly suspected of having killed Tomás MacCurtain, Lord Mayor of Cork, and of having organised an RIC murder gang in Thurles which shot men in their homes at night. 'What's your name?' asked Major King. 'Stewart.' 'Your Christian name?' 'Bernard.' 'What are you?' 'A farmer.' 'Where do you live?' 'Inistioge, County Kilkenny.' 'But you don't live there.' 'No.' 'Where do you live?' No reply. 'Take off your coat,' he ordered. I took off my coat. He saw the cardigan jacket. 'Where did you steal that military cardigan?' 'I bought it.' He came over, clenched his fist and struck me over the heart. 'Where did you steal the cardigan?' 'I bought it.' He struck me in the face with the full weight of his body. I fell to my knees. 'Get up. Who gave you the gun?' No reply. 'Are you going to answer?' 'No.' He struck me again in the face and blood began to flow into my mouth and to drop onto the floor. Captain Hardy said, 'Where do you live?' 'I will not answer.' 'Why?' 'Because if I did, you would burn my mother's home. I am her only son.' 'But we would not burn it.' 'Well, houses have been burned, and I am ready to suffer rather than have her suffer.' 'So you are ready to suffer,' said King. He struck rights and lefts to my face and body. I wiped the blood from my face with the back of my hand. 'Place your coat in front of you,' he said. 'We don't want the floor all blood.' I did so. 'Turn round,' said Hardy. I turned round…'I have a little plan,' Hardy said. He walked in front of me to a stove and picked up a poker from the floor. He dug the poker between the bars. He pulled it out, the point was a soft crimson; he shoved it back. King looked at me, then turned to the stove. I felt a hollow in my stomach. Hardy looked at the poker; it was bent, the crimson glow ran up close to the handle. 'Now you'll talk.' He held the poker in front of my face. I moved back from the heat. 'By God, you'll talk.' He held one of my arms tight, then angled the point forward as if to dig it into my eyes. He swung it horizontally until it was on a level with my eyes. My eyebrows were singed; the heat made my eyes burn. He brought the poker nearer. I tried to move back; the smell made me cough dryly. My eyelashes curled up; the lids smarted. I tried to keep my eyes open. They were hurting me. My God, I thought, my eyes, if he touches them, I'll jump for his throat and tear it. 'Will you answer?' I shook my head. He raised the poker as he was going to hit me. He put it back between the bars of the stove.

'Do you think you are going to beat us?' said King. 'You're going to answer questions, do you hear?' he shouted. 'Where do you live?' He hit me hard in a passion, smash after smash. I got up from the floor. My cheeks were cut, blood ran from my forehead into my eyes. My eyes were swollen, it was hard to keep up the lids. As I swayed on my feet, I could see their faces jump forward and back, like land seen under hot sun or through thin smoke. The blood in my eyes made the room a distorted jumble of reds and blues. A hot, salty taste of warm blood flowed down my throat, and through my lips when I took breath. My tongue seemed to loosen my teeth, which were now as big as fingers when it pressed on them. My nose was pushed aslant; I snorted when I exhaled….'Damn you, you swine,' Hardy shouted, his voice skidding to a shrill note. He gripped my throat with one hand, he pressed hard over my heart with the flat of the other. He squeezed my neck with both hands, shoving his thumbs well in. He turned to King, eagerly. 'Will we do him in?' 'No, not yet.' I dropped to the ground when he took his hands away. I gulped for breath. 'Get up,' King ordered." – **Ernie O'Malley**, Prisoner, Dublin Castle, On Another Man's Wound, p. 298-318.



The Near Capture of Michael Collins
Christmas Eve, 1920,
The Gresham Hotel, Dublin

'It was Christmas, which to a man of Collins' temperament was sacred to festivity. His Christmases were always Dickensian, with plenty of drink, good food, relaxed discipline and wholesome good humour. It was a busy time for [Joe] O'Reilly. There were the seamen [armaments smugglers], each of whom got a five-pound note and, if they were free, an invitation to meet him in a pub. There were presents to be purchased for the scores of people who had helped him during the year: the women who had sheltered him, the detectives who had given him information – all those not actually part of the movement whose sympathy made so much difference. Each of the presents went out with a little note which the recipient would not dare to treasure. Then, so far as possible, he paid each of his friends a short visit, as though to show what he was like after the job. After lunch O'Reilly went off on his round of present bearing. Collins had had an early start and a busy day, and was hungry. Rather than give Mrs. Devlin the trouble of preparing food, he, [Rory] *O'Connor*, [Gearóid] *O'Sullivan,* [Liam] *Tobin and* [Tom] *Cullen decided to dine in town. It was four o'clock and only a hundred yards to the Gresham Hotel. The Gresham's private rooms were booked, so they sat in the big dining room and ordered a meal with wine. They were only halfway through it when a waiter appeared at Collins' elbow. 'You might like to know, sir,' he said in a discreet whisper, 'the Auxiliaries are in the hall.' They had two minutes in which to prepare before the Auxiliaries burst in upon them, brandishing revolvers and rifles. They rose with their hands in the air. As a preliminary the Auxiliaries searched them. 'Eh, what's this?' asked the man who was searching Collins, and from his hip-pocket produced a bottle of whiskey. 'Stop!' said Collins good-humouredly, 'That's a present for the landlady.' He gave his name as John Grace. He must be the only revolutionary on record who did not say his name was Smith. The famous notebook was examined but the only word the Auxiliary officer could identify was one which he declared was 'rifles,' and which Collins indignantly declared was 'refills'. When this hitch was got over, he made an excuse and withdrew to the lavatory under escort. O'Connor took up the whiskey he had left behind and invited the Auxiliaries to share it. A corkscrew was produced and another of the guests ordered a second bottle. Noticing his chief so long away, and filled, as they were all filled, with alarm only for his safety, Tobin made a similar excuse. To his consternation he found the officer holding Collins back over a wash basin where the light was most brilliant; teasing his hair about with one hand while in the other he held a photograph of the very man he was examining. The photograph was a bad one, but not so bad that recognition was impossible. To his immense relief the officer released Collins, and the two of them returning to the dining room. 'Be ready to make a rush for it,' Collins whispered. But it was unnecessary. The atmosphere in the dining room had changed from distrust to maudlin pleasantry. The Auxiliaries departed, leaving five men almost crazy with relief. They drank whiskey in neat tumblersful, but it seemed as if nothing could quiet their nerves. They continued to celebrate in Vaughan's Hotel. In a comparatively brief space of time, they were drunk and indulging in horseplay, oblivious of their danger. It was the only occasion on which most of those present saw Collins drunk."* – **Frank O'Connor**, 3rd Batt., Dublin Brigade, IRA, *The Big Fellow*, p. 130-132.

25th December 1920

SHIELDS, Peter:

Rank: 2nd Lieutenant.
Unit: *A Coy (Newry), 2nd Batt., Newry Bde, IRA.*
DOB: c.1898. Son of John Shields.
Address: 16 John Martin St, Newry, Co. Down.
Occupation: Motor Engineer.
Familial: On 13 September 1917, Shields married Mary Ellen (Nellie) McParland at the Church of S.S. Peter and Paul, Newry. Their children were Jack (b.1918) and Lucy Shields (b.1920).
Death: Shields succumbed to wounds received from a grenade blast at the Egyptian Arch ambush, a couple of weeks previously, while treated in a safe location in Omeath, Co. Louth. He was buried in a secret location near Omeath, until August 1921, when during the Truce period, he and O'Hare, another casualty of the Egyptian Arch ambush, were given a formal funeral and dignified burial.
Buried: The Republican Plot, St. Mary's Old Chapel Cemetery, Newry, Co. Down
MSPC Ref: 1D311.

"Peter Shields, who was killed at the same ambush and whose body was buried secretly in a field near Omeath, Co. Louth, had been buried in a hastily made box in swampy ground. It was decided to give both O'Hare and Shields a public funeral. We disinterred the body of Peter Shields. We unearthed the coffin at about 11 p.m. by torchlight and I shall never forget the scene. A lead-lined coffin was provided and all we could do was to empty one casket into the other. A local plumber sealed up the, lead container and it was brought to the Cathedral at Newry. Next day was Sunday and a public funeral of vast dimensions took place to these two heroes who had made the supreme sacrifice for Ireland. I was in charge of the armed escort and firing party. The whole town turned out and the cortege was certainly of impressive dimension" – **V/C Patrick Casey**, Newry Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1148).

"Some days after the Brigade meeting at which this decision was taken1 the Brigade Adjutant, James Roche, while on his way to the Drumcollogher area from the meeting, was arrested. Seán Finn appointed me Acting-Brigade Adjutant in his place. The section under Garrett McAuliffe was not very long in their area. When Con Foley, Battalion O/C, reported to Seán Finn some indiscipline among the members of the section in his area. I understand that the trouble arose from the fact that some local IRA men, who had been transferred to police duties following the setting up of Sinn Féin courts in the area, had some difficulty with the IRA in enforcing the licensing regulations. Finn called another Brigade meeting to which the offenders were summoned. They were severely reprimanded and cautioned as to their future behaviour. Just before Christmas of 1920, we were billeted at Knocknasna, about two miles from Abbeyfeale. A few days before Christmas Day, Fr. David Fitzgerald of Abbeyfeale sent word to us that he would say Mass for us on Christmas morning if we could find a suitable house. We found the house. Fr. Fitzgerald arrived and said Mass at 4.30 a.m. There were eight of us present - Murphy, Guiney, Mahoney, John and Laurence Hartnett, O'Neill, myself and my brother. After Mass, he saw each man individually and gave each his blessing with the sign of the Cross on the forehead. As he made the sign of the Cross on my forehead, he said to me, "No bullet will ever shoot you". There must have been something in what he said, for I was in a few very tight corners subsequently but never got a bullet wound" – **Acting Brigade-Adjutant, James Collins**, West Limerick Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1272).

26th December 1920

HICKEY, James (Jim):

Rank: Captain.
Unit: *B Coy (Tipperary Town), 4th Batt., Tipperary No.3 Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 4 December 1891. Born in Ballinattin, Knocknagoshel, Co. Kerry, to James Hickey and Catherine Daly.
Address: 31 Main St, Tipperary Town, Co. Tipperary.
Occupation: Draper's Assistant.
Death: Having been arrested and incarcerated in Tipperary Barracks, it was reported in an official statement from the authorities that Hickey had lunged at Sgt Frederick Woods of the Lincolnshire Regiment, in order to grab his weapon, however the soldier supposedly responded quickly by stabbing Hickey with his bayonet. Hickey eventually died of his wounds. The family claimed that Hickey was brutally tortured and murdered whilst in custody. His aged father drove his horse and cart from Co. Kerry to collect the remains of his son to inter him in his native county, receiving them wrapped in a bloody sheet instead of a coffin.
Buried: Dysert Cemetery, Castleisland, Co. Kerry.

MSPC Ref: 1D359.

"We sat at a table beside the guard on Christmas Day: four Auxiliaries and three prisoners. It was a good dinner; we did not talk much. I was thinking of other Christmas dinners. Last year with Countess Plunkett; we had a good time at table. And the year before with Miss Ward at Killybegs, after a long ride through Donegal mud. When we had eaten the Christmas pudding the section-commander turned to the Kilkenny man: 'Do you drink?' He filled his glass and that of the Dublin boy with port. 'And you?' 'I don't drink,' I said. 'Fill your glass with water.' The guard stood up. 'Stand up,' said one. We stood up. 'Gentlemen, The King!' said the section-commander. He shouted the old toast as if his loyalty had been questioned. It rang tensely like a confession of faith. The prisoners drank with the guard. I sat down. The four kicked aside their chairs and came over to me. One of them swung me round by the shoulder as he drew his gun, the others had guns in their hands. They were cursing. 'Why didn't you drink the King's health, you bastard?' shouted the section-commander. 'Why?' 'He's not my King.' 'That doesn't matter, these two drank it and, by

God, you're going to. Here, take it.' He shoved the glass of water into my hand; the water splashed on the floor. He stuck his gun high up on my back. 'That's the stuff,' said the swarthy Auxie who had previously pointed me out as a bad egg, 'Put the swine through it.' A tall officer with a Sam Browne strap slanted across his greenish-black uniform strode in. 'What's the row? I heard you shouting outside.' 'That swine won't drink the King's health, sir,' said one. He turned to me, 'Is that true?' 'It is.' 'Why did you refuse?' 'I am a soldier of the Irish Republican Army, and I owe no allegiance to your king.' He looked at me. He held out his hand. 'Shake hands,' he said. We gripped each other's hands firmly. He turned to the guard; the anger was going out of their faces. 'You heard your orders, didn't you, that prisoners were to be treated well on Christmas Day? My name is Major – (I forget the name now). He said to me, 'If there's any more trouble send for me. Now remember.' He turned to the guard. The four came over to me, we shook hands, one after the other. 'I'm sorry,' said the section-commander; he put his hand on my shoulder. 'That's all right,' I said. 'I'll drink your health.' We raised glasses and drank together." – **Ernie O'Malley**, Prisoner, Dublin Castle, *On Another Man's Wound*, p.323-325.

'Peter Monaghan' (The Unknown Soldier) joins the West Cork Flying Column Christmas Week, 1920

"On Christmas Eve the Brigade Staff dispersed, and I set off for home with Charlie Hurley. We had a pony and trap to take us as far as Colliers Quay, and from there we were ferried across the Bandon River by Dan O'Riordan and Bill Hogan. We covered the remaining part of the journey on foot, and reached my home at Kilmacsimon Quay about 5.00 p.m. that Christmas Eve. The joy caused by our visit at such a time and on such a day can easily be imagined. It brought consolation to my father and mother in their sorrow after my brother Pat's death at Kilmichael. That very morning my brother Jack also arrived home, and with other local Volunteers acted as scouts while we were in the house. While we were enjoying a meal in the warmth of our kitchen, Miah, another brother, told us an interesting tale. On the same morning, at about eleven o'clock, two British soldiers were noticed in the locality, and had called to our house for food and cigarettes. My good mother supplied them with both, but as soon as they left the house they were arrested by local Volunteers and questioned. They said they were deserters from their regiment, the Cameron Highlanders, in Cobh – then known as Queenstown – and because they were cold and hungry, they had asked for help. Miah, Bill Hales, and Con Flynn, who had arrested them, took them to a safe place of captivity at Knockpogue in the Kilbrittain area where they were being detained…We left at a very early hour and proceeded to Kilbrittain and then to Knockpogue where the two deserters were being held under guard. They were brought before us for questioning, and they repeated in substance the story that we had heard from my brother Miah on the previous day. What struck us from the outset as being most extraordinary about the two men was the fact that they seemed to have so little in common. The spokesman, who gave his name as Peter Monahan, was quite evidently a well-educated man, and far above the standard of the ordinary British Tommy. His companion, on the other hand, was a nondescript type.

He gave his name as Tommy Clarke, and seemed to have had no higher ambition than to get away from a life that was entirely distasteful to him. There was something so implausible about the association of these two men that we were highly suspicious, and subjected the pair to a long and severe examination. Monahan was a man of medium size, and presented a good appearance even in the rough uniform of a British Army private which he wore. His complexion was sallow, his fair hair, his eyes bright, penetrating, and intelligent. Speaking in the cultured accent of a well-educated Scotsman, he explained that he and his companion were members of the Cameron Regiment then stationed at Queenstown (Cobh), and that they were both disgusted with the trend of events in Ireland. In consequence they had decided to desert, and to offer their services to the Volunteer movement in West Cork. Three days previously they had left Ringaskiddy and had travelled across country in an effort to locate our forces. Asked about his previous history, Monahan said that he had been a mining engineer in Scotland; had joined the Royal Engineers at the outbreak of the World War and had attained the rank of Captain. When he was demobilised, he returned to Scotland, but on finding his home life wrecked joined the Camerons as a private under the assumed name of Peter Monahan. Normally, I suppose, a story of this kind would, in the circumstances, be scarcely credited, and the two men would have been courtmartialled as spies, but we were intrigued by Monahan's claim to have been a mining engineer. The man's evident sincerity also impressed us; so, we adjourned to discuss the case. After talking it over with us, Charlie made a typical decision. Hitherto our effort to manufacture mines had met with little success for want of knowledge and experience. Here was a man who could possibly have something to offer us in this respect, and we could avail ourselves of his services to have a mine manufactured from gun-cotton or tonite for a contemplated attack on Kilbrittain RIC barracks. Monahan had a job." – **Brigade-Adjt. Liam Deasy**, Cork No.3 Brigade, IRA, *Towards Ireland Free*, p.184-186.

26th - 27th December 1920

The Caherguillamore House Tragedy
Bruff, Co. Limerick

"During the late fall of 1920 Captain Ernie O'Malley from General Headquarters paid a visit to the 3rd Battalion, East Limerick Brigade IRA. Despite the fact that the presence of Earnan invariable spelt hard work, he had many friends in the area and his advice was eagerly sought. Captain O'Malley, who then possessed a report on the Grange ambush, which had taken place on 8 November, suggested to the Battalion Staff other points of vantage in the locality from which the British could be successfully ambushed. Following Captain O'Malley's departure, a Battalion Council meeting was held, and amongst those present were Martin Conway, William Leo, and T. Aherne, of Holycross; James (Benny) Moloney, Robert Ryan, John Quinlan, Seán Maloney, Thomas O'Brien, Éamon Maloney and Patrick O'Donoghue. Discussion centred largely on the ways and means of procuring arms and ammunition. Although a good supply of ammunition together with small arms and sporting guns had already been secured in a raid on nearby Rockbarton mansion, service rifles were very badly needed. The Battalion vice O/C had been advised by Captain O'Malley as to where rifles could be purchased, though in small quantities. The council accordingly decided to avail of this source of supply in order to equip a Battalion column and make life too hot for the British forces in the area. The main problem was to find money to buy rifles. Somebody jokingly suggested a dance, and other means of securing finances having been found impracticable what was originally a joke was taken seriously, and it was eventually decided to hold a dance. Although the wisdom of this decision was subsequently criticised severely there was not a great deal of opposition to it beforehand." – **Capt. James Maloney**, 3rd Batt., East Limerick Brigade, IRA, *Limerick's Fighting Story*, 1916-21, p. 196-197.

WADE, Henry (Harry):

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *D Coy (Ballyneety), 4th Batt., Mid-Limerick Bde, IRA.*
DOB: c.1898. Son of Joseph Wade and Margaret McMahon.
Address: Drombanna, Ballyneety, Co. Limerick
Occupation: Farm Labourer.
Death: Having just replaced Vol. Batt O'Brien on sentry-duty, Wade was shot and mortally wounded in the neck when Crown forces quickly surrounded Caherguillamore House. Wade died from wounds received at Limerick Military Hospital after the largescale raid. It is hard to fully ascertain the exact date of Wade's death as various parts of his father's pension application claims that he succumbed to the wound on 27 December and 28 December.
Buried: The Republican Plot, The Church of S.S. Peter and Paul, Bruff, Co. Limerick.
MSPC Ref: 1D122.

"Ostensibly the place fixed for the dance was Herbertstown Hall; actually, it was decided to hold it in Caherguillamore House, the unoccupied house of Lord Guillamore, situated three miles west of Herbertstown. Preparations were immediately launched, and the house was inspected by a sub-committee under Paddy O'Donoghue whose father was the caretaker. Every precaution was taken to maintain the secret of the real venue for the dance, and only selected men had the right to issue invitations. Nevertheless, undue activity must have been observed in the vicinity of the deserted Caherguillamore. On Saint Stephen's night some hundred ladies and one hundred and forty men arrived at the crossroads at Caherguillamore, where they were met by Volunteers and directed to a point where other Volunteers gave further directions. Eventually having passed through a number of such Volunteer points the party ultimately arrived at Caherguillamore House, outside which picked men from the Grange company mounted sentry. Inside the hall the atmosphere was festive despite the dangerous times, and as friend met friend after a lapse of months in many instances greetings were warm and hand clasps strong. Perhaps for the first time the corridors of Caherguillamore House re-echoed to the strains of traditional Irish dance music played by the brothers Martin of Bruff." – **Capt. James Maloney**, 3rd Batt., East Limerick Brigade, IRA, *Limerick's Fighting Story, 1916-21, p. 197.*

"At the end of a difficult year for the Volunteers, someone had the idea of holding a dance in the mansion of the absentee Caherguillamore landlord. I remember going over in a horse and trap. It was a beautiful night, almost as bright as day. There were several hundred there, and the dance was going on fine, but after a while there was some whisper going through that the Black and Tans were coming, but I couldn't see any foundation for it. Bob Ryan, who was to become a TD after – came to me and said: 'You're on the run. Better escape while there is time'. We were just outside the back door when up went the Verey lights. The house was surrounded. It was all confusion; shots rang out, and we heard the glass breaking. Bob Ryan was outside, and the military put him up against a wall and fired point-blank at him, breaking his shoulder" – **Vol. Martin O'Dwyer**, East Limerick Brigade, IRA. **Limerick Leader**, 30 December 1995 (Interviewed in December 1972).

SHEEHAN, Daniel:

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *E Coy (Grange), 3rd Batt., East Limerick Bde, IRA.*
DOB: c.1895.
Address: Grange, Kilmallock, Co. Limerick.
Occupation: Labourer.
Death: Sheehan, a scout on patrol on the grounds of the Cahirguillamore mansion, having spotted enemy soldiers, fired a warning shot however he was immediately gunned-down and badly wounded by the encircling Crown forces in their swooping attack on the mansion to surprise the large congregation of Volunteers and Cumann na mBan, who were celebrating inside. Sheehan died at Limerick Military Hospital from the wounds received hours after the raid.
Buried: The Republican Plot, The Church of S.S. Peter and Paul, Bruff, Co. Limerick.

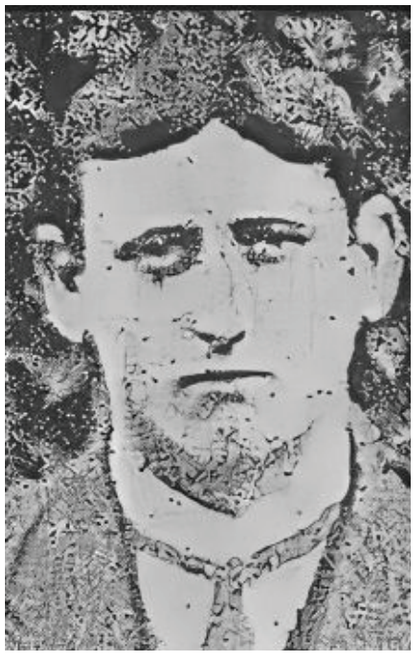
"When the fun was at its height, about 1 a.m., scouts glided silently into the house and mingling with the dancers warned those 'on the run' and prominent men, that danger was at hand. A warning shot had been heard; Daniel Sheehan, sentry, true to his trust had challenged and fired, his bullet-ridden body being found later. The house was by the time practically surrounded by a force of seven hundred enemy troops, comprising regular military, Royal Irish Constabulary and Black and Tans, from Limerick, Bruff, Fedamore, Croom and Hospital. Ascending Verey lights clearly showed Caherguillamore House and lit up the darkened woods and courtyards round about it. Intensive fire was immediately opened by the British who, maddened with blood lust, bombed the buildings and raked them with rifle and machine-gun fire" – **Capt. James Maloney**, 3rd Batt., East Limerick Brigade, IRA, *Limerick's Fighting Story*, 1916-21, p.198.

QUINLAN, John Joseph:

Rank: 1st Lieutenant & I/O.
Unit: E *Coy (Grange), 3rd Batt., East Limerick Bde, IRA.*
DOB: c.1887. Born in the United States to Michael Quinlan.
Address: Grange, Kilmallock, Co. Limerick.
Occupation: Motor Driver.
Familial: Quinlan married Teresa Keane at Ballyhea Church, Kilmallock, Co. Limerick, on 21 July 1914. Their children were Timothy (b.1915) and Ursula Quinlan (b.1919).
Death: Quinlan was one of five Volunteers killed at a dance held at Cahirguillamore House to raise money for arms for the Bruff Battalion. A raid beginning shortly after midnight lead to 138 men being arrested. Quinlan failed to heed a challenge and was shot dead shortly after the raid began.
Buried: The Republican Plot, The Church of S.S. Peter and Paul, Bruff, Co. Limerick.

"We were all crowded into a reception room. The next thing the hall door was smashed in and military came in yelling, 'Hands up!" They were raging because one of their men was killed by our sentries. I thought they'd shoot because of their reputation, and I told the lads to say an Act of Contrition – no good shouting for mercy" - **Vol. Martin O'Dwyer**, East Limerick Brigade, IRA. **Limerick Leader**, 30 December 1995 (Interviewed in December 1972).

"The trapped IRA men immediately attempted to fight their way through the British lines, and Martin Conway, battalion vice-commandant, who had almost passed the enemy cordon when the headlights of a lorry picked him out as he crossed the open road, fell mortally wounded. His revolver was snatched by Éamon Moloney who brought down a Black and Tan named Hogsden before being killed himself. John Quinlan was found outside a wicket gate, rifle clutched tightly in his hands, having died in the cause for which he came from the USA to fight. Henry Wade fell mortally wounded at his post, and Bob Ryan received a rifle bullet through the shoulder from which he subsequently recovered" – **Capt. James Maloney**, 3rd Batt., East Limerick Brigade, IRA, *Limerick's Fighting Story, 1916-21,* p.198.



MALONEY, Éamon (Ned):

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *E Coy (Grange), 3rd Batt., East Limerick Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 12 August 1898. Born at Grange, Co. Limerick to John Maloney and Mary Carroll.
Address: Grange, Kilmallock, Co. Limerick.
Occupation: Labourer.
Death: Having got clear of Caherguillamore House, Maloney became engaged with several Crown forces in a shoot-out, as he approached their positions. Having shot and killed an RIC constable, Maloney was shot down and killed.
Buried: The Republican Plot, The Church of S.S. Peter and Paul, Bruff, Co. Limerick.
MSPC Ref: DP23923.
"The next thing we heard was an order to have the girls removed. That didn't look good. Two of our young lads got coats from the women and put them on and went up with the women. Later the forces brought two ladies to check the women prisoners. They went up and after a while they shouted down: 'two feckers here!' and down came the two lads, badly beaten, back into our crowd." – **Vol. Martin O'Dwyer.**

CONWAY, Martin John:

Rank: Captain & Battalion V/C.
Unit: *E Coy (Grange), 3rd Batt., East Limerick Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 22 February 1887. Born at Rockbarton, Co. Limerick to John Conway and Bridget Parnell.
Address: Holycross, Bruff, Co. Limerick.
Occupation: Farmer.
Death: Having been shot and wounded in the process of escaping from Caherguillamore House, Conway crawled for a significant distance. When Crown Forces approached him, having tracked him with bloodhounds, Conway shot the bloodhound, before he was killed.
Buried: The Republican Plot, The Church of S.S. Peter and Paul, Bruff, Co. Limerick.
MSPC Ref: DP24323.
"Some time after his [Vol. Patrick J. Dinan] *arrest at Cahirguillamore all the hair fell off his head and which, in my belief was the result of a beating he got on that occasion from the 'Tans.' I saw him myself quiet bald, but now it has grown again"* – **Capt. G. O'Dwyer**, A/4th Batt., East Limerick Brigade, IRA, (MA/24SP176).

"We were ordered out of the reception room, and I happened to be first. The moment I was outside in the hall I got a crack on the back of the head from a rifle…I hurried on as quick as I could up the hallway, and as I burst into the other room, I got another crack that knocked me down. The rest came after me and they all getting hit as they were coming in. I was landed before a fellow at a table. He asked me my name, and as I was on the run, I said it was Pat Welsh. Finally, they ordered us to go across the passageway, and just as I was going into the dance room, a fellow came and struck me with a rifle…the bayonet knob went right into my head… they told me after I had one of the worst wounds there. A doctor [Dr. Michael O'Brien] *was on the run too, and they gave him a terrible beating, but after they sent him around to tie up bandages. We were thrown in there on top of one another, and I dozed with two or three lying on my legs. At dawn, they called us out in batches of ten to the lorries and with armoured cars in front and behind, we were driven to the Military Barracks just outside Limerick"* – **Vol. Martin O'Dwyer**.

"Meanwhile, hell broke loose inside Caherguillamore House, and male guest had to run a gauntlet of Black and Tans and Royal Irish Constabulary who used clubbed rifles, table legs and portions of stair banisters to lay upon skulls, smash in teeth and deal savage punishment to all. Men subsequently found by the enemy to be without wounds were quickly put on par with the others. An inquisition took place, too, but despite the beatings no information was given to the British. The terrified girl were held until 8 a.m., when they were released, and at 11 a.m., the men, all of whom were then in a sorry plight indeed, were taken to Limerick together with their dead" – **Capt. James Maloney**, 3rd Batt., East Limerick Brigade, IRA, *Limerick's Fighting Story*, *1916-21*, p.198.

"O' Róisín Dubh, your sorrows grew,
On a cold and stormy night,
When Caher's woods and glens so bold
Shone in the pale moonlight,
Within your walls where alien balls
Were held in days of yore,
Stood many an Irish lad and lass
At Cahirguillamore

I need not tell what there befell,
All in that crowded hall.
The Black and Tans worked quite well
With rifle-butt and ball,
Unarmed men lay dying and dead,
Their life's blood did our pour –
They sleep now in their hollow graves,
Near Cahirguillamore.

The commander of those legions,
Would more suit a foreign field,
Where he would meet some savage foes,
His methods they would greet;
And not those laughing youths
Who were taught to love and pray
And who received the Blood of Christ
On that same Christmas Day"

The Donegal Brigade ASU, IRA

28th December 1920

MADIGAN, Timothy Brian:

Rank: Captain.
Unit: *E Coy (Shanagolden), 5th Batt., West Limerick Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 11 January 1897. Son of Thomas J. Madigan and Margaret Nolan.
Occupation: Farmer & Sinn Féin Councillor (Rathkeale R.D.C).
Address: Clashganniff House, Shanagolden, Co. Limerick.
Death: At 15.30, an RIC patrol swooped upon Madigan's farm surprising Madigan, who, being on-the-run and only having visited the family farmstead, attempted to escape through a field. Madigan was was shot through the lungs, dying shortly after. In August 1920, he had held-up and stole the uniforms from two unarmed RIC men, one of whom was in the raiding party that shot him.
Buried: Kilbradran, Co. Limerick.
MSPC Ref: 2RB619.

"On the 28th December a patrol of RIC and Tans arrived in the village from Foynes. They surrounded the home of the Company Captain - Tim Madigan. He and his brother Willie were taken by surprise. Tim dashed for liberty and was shot dead 100 yards from his own door. They left the body where it lay. Willie was arrested. By order of the authorities the funeral was confined to not more than 100 people. Most of the local company, however, attended. That night we assembled at the graveside and fired a volley over the grave" – **Lieut. Denis McDonnell**, E Coy, 5th Batt., West Limerick Brigade, IRA, (BMH-WS 1273).

"When de Valera returned from America, I used every endeavour to see him but could not do so unless I gave particulars of the reason for my visit to Erskine Childers. I resented this very much as a natural-born Irishman faithful to the republican movement from its inception. I considered, therefore, that I should not have to tell an ex-British officer the nature of the business I had to communicate to Mr. de Valera. Furthermore, as I was bound to secrecy by A. Griffith in consequence of his arrest and detention,

I felt that it was my duty to see Mr. de Valera and explain to him what I had done. I tried to see Mr. de Valera through various channels, but on each occasion, I was sent back to Erskine Childers as I was informed he was the only man that could make an appointment for me with de Valera. A peculiar position arose in the national movement on the arrival back from America of Mr. de Valera. This position may have passed unnoticed by the general public, but it did not pass unnoticed by the people who, up to the moment, carried on the main work of the republican organisation. On Mr. de Valera's arrival we find Erskine Childers being appointed to the office of Director of Publicity. We had his cousin, Major Robinson - just retired from the British army - made secretary of the White Cross. We had a new star arise over the republican horizon in the shape of John Charters, a man who had been sent to Ireland by Lloyd George on a secret service mission in reference to munitions. We also had Mr. Smith-Gordon, an Englishman, who was appointed managing director of the National Land Bank, and one or two other visitors of the same ilk. These were put up as an inner cabinet or advisory board by Mr. de Valera. Mick Collins was somewhat demoted from the position which he held in the Cabinet, but not from the position he held in the country, and so was Cathal Brugha. They were relegated to their own departments by the President. Up to this time Collins was the highlight in the country, but, on the arrival of de Valera, the President, Collins's light was officially dimmed." – **Patrick Moylett**, Dáil Éireann negotiator, (BMH-WS 767).

"A few days before December 28th, I had been allowed out of bed to walk gently around the room at short spells. On that morning both my doctors assured me that my heart was back in position, but that any exertion for about six months might have serious consequences. They advised a long sea trip to Australia. I told them I would let them know my plans on the following day. They refused any payment for their services and Sister Mary Mercy was indignant when asked for my account. That night at nine o'clock. I slipped out of the Home and set off alone to Brigade Headquarters, twelve miles away. Once clear of the city I breathed more easily. Underneath the Viaduct, through Waterfall I plodded on to the Mountain. There I took to the fields as a short cut, but got jittery. The lands here are wild and sparsely populated. The thought came to me that after all the doctors might be right, and if I dropped dead, it might be weeks before my body would be found and by then the rats, which I knew to be numerous, would have eaten me. Illogically this possibility horrified me so I turned back to the road and reached Headquarters, O'Mahony's of Belrose, at 2 a.m. on December 29th, three weeks after I had left West Cork. The O'Mahony's always left one window in the sitting-room unclasped so that we could come and go without disturbing the household. After getting into the sitting-room, I removed my boots and tiptoed upstairs to the large bedroom reserved for us. When I lit the match, Charlie [Hurley] jumped up. 'Mother of God, how did you get here?' 'I walked the whole twelve miles so I must be cured. Shove over there and give me the warm place." – **Tom Barry**, O/C Cork No.3 ASU, IRA, *Guerilla Days in Ireland*, p.59.

Cork No.2 – ASU, IRA. Most commonly remembered as 'Seán Moylan's Flying Column.'

Volunteers Thomas Crowley (centre) & Tom 'Brody' Lillis (right) of the Kilkee Battalion, West Clare Brigade, IRA. Source: Tom Byrne

30th December 1920

SLATTERY, William (Willie):
Rank: 2nd Lieutenant.
Unit: *D Coy (Emly), 2nd Batt., East Limerick Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 6 December 1894. Born at Ballinvreena, Garryspillane, Co. Limerick to William Slattery and Mary Crowley.
Address: Lisobyhane, Emly, Co. Tipperary.
Occupation: Farmer.
Death: According to the Dublin Castle statement, Slattery had been arrested by a unit of RIC, but was shot and killed when he apparently attempted to escape at Roseboro, Co. Tipperary. Slattery died from his wounds later that day at Tipperary Military Hospital. Family folklore and local history remain determined that Slattery had been intentionally targeted. Their narrative of the killing claims that Slattery, having been arrested, was viciously beaten and subsequently shot.
Buried: St. Ailbhe's Church Cemetery, Emly, Co. Tipperary.
MSPC Ref: DP5710.

"The year 1920 closed with the struggle well defined between Ireland and her ancient enemy. Now there could be no turning back. All Ireland had accepted to some degree the challenge of the growing British Terror, although some areas were wholly lacking in the offensive spirit. Bad leadership was responsible in non-fighting districts for lack of reply to British aggression since there was some fine material in every Brigade. Some of the early Commanders of the Volunteers never visualised that an armed fight would develop. They anticipated the continuation of the IRA as a flag wagging, speech-making and parading organisation, confining its activities to those harmless pursuits and its sacrifices to short terms in jail. The year 1920 was a grim reminder to those men that a new phase had commenced, and that nothing really mattered then, but to fight back against the armed terrorism of the occupying force…By the end of the year 1920 the Nation was deeply stirred and angry. The British murder campaign had grown steadily and scores of unarmed members of the IRA and their supporters had been 'unofficially' killed by Crown Forces. Official hangings had commenced and Kevin Barry had died at Mountjoy Jail, dangling in the noose of a British rope. The torturing and beating of members of the IRA and civilians had roused a bitter hatred. Irish towns, villages, factories, creameries and homes had been burned out or blown up by high explosives. National institutions and organisations were banned and declared illegal." – **Tom Barry**, O/C ASU, Cork No.3 Brigade, IRA, *Guerilla Days in Ireland*, p.60-61.

Peadar O'Donnell's Column on the March
Derry to West Donegal
29 December 1920

"On December 29th, 1920, I was asked by the O.C. for the city to bring twenty Fianna Boys to Blees Lane and to arrange them by extended order that they would reach almost to Holywell Hill. Each boy seeing the other from a distance, they were to keep watch and on the approach of enemy forces, they were to make a sign or whistle. In this way the full length of the road was carefully watched. While the first column, known as Peadar O'Donnell's Column was making their way out of Derry up the Old Brick field and through fields until they reached the Letterkenny Road which they crossed in the direction of Newtowncunningham and on to Manorcunningham where they were met by the local scouts who had refreshments ready for them. The column consisted of fourteen men who had volunteered for active service as a full-time job. Each man was fitted out with a service rifle, one hundred rounds of ammunition and there were twelve hand-grenades. After a short rest they proceeded in the direction of Letterkenny where the local guards escorted them. They by-passed the town and landed at the Oldtown, where they received refreshments and a rest at Duddy's and McGrath's after walking a distance of almost thirty miles. Doctor McGinley and William McKay came with cars to take the columns in small groups to Glendowan. The cars could only proceed as far as Churchill signpost as trenches had been dug and bridges blown up by the local IRA. The first groups to land waited on the rest of the boys. Then they all set out on foot for Glendowan, a distance of five miles. After a short rest they proceeded over the Glendowan Hill one of the most picturesque and renowned beauty spots in all Donegal and landed at Doochary after walking a further ten miles. Most of the men were wet to

the skin as it rained very heavy during this journey. At P.H. O'Donnell's, food and clothes were provided and the boys stayed the night at Derryhanny. Cars arrived the next day which took them to Dungloe and they landed at Peadar O'Donnell's house where his mother greeted them in the real old Irish style. A meal was soon prepared which everyone thoroughly enjoyed billets were arranged and the Céad Míle Failte which the boys received everywhere showed the warm hearts of the kindly people of Donegal. The next few days were days of rest and reconnaisance. They made the White House their headquarters and from there they set out to investigate the state of the surrounding districts. Doran's, Croveigh, Annagry, was one of their district billets where they were always received with open arms. McGill's and McKelvey's of Brockagh were other houses used by the Column. The local people of Cummeen Glen spared no pains to make the members of the Column comfortable. The Columns activities in West Donegal were so numerous that to give the details here would require some extra volumes and would take away from my book the purpose I had in mind, mainly to give the activities of the Derry City Battalion within the Battalion Area. I will leave the activities of Peadar's Column to someone more fitted than I" – **O/C Liam Brady**, Derry Sluagh, Na Fianna Éireann, (BMH-WS 676).

Author's Note: The Derry Independent Battalion ASU, commandeered by O/C Peadar O'Donnell (*inset*) comprised the following Volunteers: Alfie McCallion, Séamus McCann, Jim Welsh (Cork), Tim O'Sullivan (Kerry), Frank O'Donnell, Con Connelly (Monaghan), James Taylor, James 'Ginger' McKee (Armagh), William Doheney (Tipperary), Con Boyle, William Cullen, Frank Shiels, Pat McCallion and Frank Martin.

31st December 1920

LEONARD, Richard:

Rank: Volunteer.
Unit: *A Coy (Caherconlish), 4th Batt., Mid-Limerick Bde, IRA.*
DOB: 8 May 1891. Born at Shrahane, Caherconlish, Co. Limerick to Denis Leonard and Johanna Power.
Address: Greenane, Ballybrood, Co. Limerick.
Occupation: Insurance Agent & Schools Attendance Officer.
Death: After an inquiry into the accidental death of an RIC constable, a drunken entourage of Crown officers, who happened to be stopping at public-houses while on the route back to their barracks at Ballyvonaire, Co. Limerick, entered Hannon's public-house at Ballybrood near Caherconlish, Co. Limerick. Captain William Davis, an intelligence officer attached to the Machine-Gun Corps, ordered entry into the public-house after midnight, with him threatening the owners at gunpoint. During a search of the premises, Leonard, who had been sleeping upstairs, was apprehended and a copy of *An-t-Oglach* was discovered. While being escorted to the car, Leonard attempted to flee and gained considerable distance with the darkness to his advantage. Davis gave chase, firing wildly, however two bullets struck Leonard, with one penetrating his lung. He died almost immediately. Davis was acquitted of any wrongful misdoings during a military inquiry.
Buried: Hospital, Co. Limerick.
MSPC Ref: DP23314.

"The enemy, hopelessly beaten in guerilla warfare and unable to strike effective blows against the armed soldiers of the Irish Republic has fallen back on a campaign of murder and arson against women, children and unarmed non-combatants of the Irish Republic. Unable to baffle and intimidate us by his armed might he is trying to vent his brutal spite by striking at what is most precious to us and turning the country into a desert and a shambles. All pretence of civilised warfare has been abandoned by him and the excesses of the most brutalised savages are being practiced by his hirelings with a zest and energy very different from that with which they face Volunteers with weapons in their hands." – **An t-Oglach**, 1 October 1920, p.1

An officer of Kerry No.3 Brigade, IRA.

Aguisíní

Republicans who are deemed to have died from non-conflict related deaths in 1920

George Stapleton: Volunteer / *B Company (Kilkee), 5th Battalion, West Clare Brigade, IRA.* Labourer. Resident of Kilkee, Co. Clare. Stapleton was born on 20 December 1920 to Stephen Stapleton and Mary Finnegan. He died in Kilrush Workhouse Infirmary from phthisis on 31 January 1920. His burial place is unknown. (MA/MSPC/RO/226).

Anthony Joseph O'Grady: Volunteer / *B Company, 3rd Battalion, Dublin Brigade, IRA.* Packer. Resident of 23B Nicholas St., Dublin. O'Grady was born on 3 January 1894 at Auburn Villa, Clontarf, Dublin, to Patrick O'Grady and Catherine Murtagh. He died at his residence on 10 March 1920 from lobar pneumonia. Burial place is unknown. (MA/MSPC/RO/04).

John Nee: Volunteer / *Kilkieran Company, 2nd Battalion, West Connemara Brigade, IRA.* Farmer's Son. Resident of Kilkieran, Carna, Co. Galway. Born c.1898. Nee died on 18 March 1920 from suspected influenza. Burial place is unknown. (MA/MSPC/RO/344).

Jeremiah (Jerome) Footman: Volunteer / *A Company (Clonakilty), 2nd Battalion, Cork No.3 Brigade, IRA.*

Shop Assistant. 24 Barrack Street, Clonakilty, Co. Cork. Footman was born on 17 April 1897 in Shannonvale, Clonakilty, Co. Cork, to James Footman and Catherine Driscoll. On 26 March 1920, Footman died from phthisis, having suffered with ill-health for two months. Buried in Ardfield Graveyard, Clonakilty, Co. Cork. "*The republican flag was laid on the coffin, and relays of volunteers shouldered the remains. The deceased was an unoffensive young man, and a great favourite with his comrades."*

James Waters: Volunteer /*3rd Battalion, Dublin Brigade, IRA.* Labourer. 12 East James' St. Dublin. Born c.1890. Waters died on 27 March 1920 at Harold's Cross hospice from phthisis. His brother, Leo Waters, a British Army veteran, served in the IRA during the Civil War in I Coy, 3rd Batt., Dublin No.1 Brigade, and died on 25 July 1925. Waters was buried in Glasnevin Cemetery, Dublin. (*Freeman's Journal*, 31 March 1920). "*The funeral of the late Mr. James Waters, East James' Street, took place from St. Andrew's, Westland Row, to Glasnevin yesterday. The coffin was covered with the Republican Flag, and a large body of Volunteers marched behind the hearse.*"

Timothy Ryan: Volunteer / *D Company, (Dualla), 2nd Battalion, Tipperary No.3 Brigade, IRA.* Labourer. Ballysheehan, Cashel, Co. Tipperary. Born 7 September 1896 to Martin Ryan and Mary Connors. On 30 March 1920, Ryan died from cadiac failure as a result of a serious bout of acute rheumatism. Buried in Cashel Cemetery, Cashel, Co. Tipperary. (*Cork Examiner,* 7 April 1920).

Patrick McElroy: Volunteer / *A Company (Dundalk), North Louth Battalion, IRA.* Railway Labourer. 12 Williamson's Place, Dundalk, Co. Louth. Born on 3 June 1889 at Hill Street, Dundalk to James McElroy and Mary McDonnell. McElroy died from pulmonary tuberculosis on 4 April 1920. Burial place is unknown. (MSPC /DP5900).

Michael Prendergast (Mick Pendy): Volunteer / *1st Battalion, Kerry No.1 Brigade, IRA.* Chutehall, Tralee, Co. Kerry. *The Kerry Weekly Reporter* (24 April 1920) records that Prendergast, a former member of Tralee's John Mitchel GFC and a county player, died while employed in a quarry. A large section of the rock face collapsed upon him, killing him instantly. Place of burial is unknown.

Michael Ryan: *East Limerick Brigade, IRA.* Ballingranagh, Co. Limerick. Farmer's Son. Born 6 July 1899 to Martin Ryan and Lizzie Hickey. Ryan died on 11 April 1920 from pulmonary tuberculosis. The Nationalist (Tipperary), 1 May 1920, states, "*Internment took place in the cemetery adjoining the church, the coffin being draped in the tricolour until it was lowered into the grave*."

Paddy Cunniffe: Volunteer / *Loughrea Company, 1st Battalion, East Galway Brigade, IRA. Cunniffe had been interned after the 1916 Rising.* Publican. Bride St. Loughrea, Co. Galway. Born c.1882. On 15 April 1920, Cunniffe died from tuberculosis. His obituary states that "*as a member of the Loughrea dramatic club for many years; deceased gave his service ungrudgingly when the assistance of the club was sought to raise funds in aid of the Temperance Society and the poor of Loughrea. His internment following the 1916 Rebellion had a dire effect upon his constitution, and though hopes of his recovery*

were entertained for some time, he failed, however, to regain that state of health which he enjoyed previous to his incarceration… Outside the Cathedral a number of Volunteers formed a bodyguard, and as the coffin, which was draped in the tricolour passed through a long line of Volunteers, the military salute was given. A volley was then fired over the graveside" (*Connacht Tribune*, 24 April 1920, p.8). Buried in Carmelite Abbey Cemetery, Loughrea, Co. Galway. (MA/MSPC/RO/228).

John Flanagan: Volunteer / *Oranmore Company, Athenry Independent Batt., IRA.* Farmer's Son. Frenchfort, Oranmore, Co. Galway. Born 30 May 1900 at Cave, Oranmore, Co. Galway, to Martin Flanagan and Mary Murphy. Flanagan died on 19 April 1920 at Galway Workhouse Hospital from phthisis and exhaustion. His family claimed it was due to active service however the pension board deemed their application as unsuccessful. Burial place is unknown. (MSPC - 2RBSD151).

Shaun O'Naughton: *Mid-Limerick Brigade, IRA.* 55 Parnell St, Limerick. Born c.1894. Died on 20 April 1920. Buried in Mount St. Lawrence Cemetery, Limerick. (*The Munster News and Limerick and Clare Advocate,* 28 April 1920). *"His knowledge of his native language was very expansive, and he was a sincere Gael. He was President of the Fianna League, and held a commission in the Limerick City Regiment, Irish Volunteers. His house was one of those raided by police and military during the recent round up in the city. The deceased was only 25 years of age…Behind the remains marched the Volunteers, who paid their last respects to their dead comrade by firing three volleys over the grave."*

Richard Croke: Captain / *7th Battalion, Tipperary No.3 Brigade, IRA.* Farmer. Graystown, Killenaule, Co. Tipperary. Born on 17 February 1894 to Thomas Croke and Maria Cunningham. Croke died from pulmonary tuberculosis on 23 April 1920. His burial place is unknown. (*The Nationalist (Tipperary),*1 May 1920). *"Many stories can be told of his qualities of heart and manly disposition. In the midst of his activities, and while his services were still much needed, he was stricken with a serious illness. When he heard of the late Pierce McCan's death he was laid up, but he got up and went to Thurles and joined his comrades in the funeral march to Dualla Churchyard, a distance of ten Irish miles, and then marched home again… He suffered a relapse, and the end came on Friday, 23rd ult., to the grief of his comrades and all who knew him and esteemed him for his personal worth."*

John Kennedy: Volunteer / *H Company (Templeboy), 2nd Battalion, Sligo Brigade, IRA.* Farmer. Rathglass, Templeboy, Co. Sligo. Born on 20 June 1904 to Michael Kennedy and Kate Moy. Kennedy died on 1 May 1920. His death registration entry states that he died from probable measles while the newspaper stated it was pneumonia. Interred in Grangemore Graveyard, Co. Sligo. (*Sligo Champion,* 15 May 1920).

John Lewis Mary Joyce: Captain / 1st Battalion, Longford Brigade, IRA. Grocer's Son. Main St. Edgeworthstown, Co. Longford. Born on 29 August 1896 to Peadar Joyce and Rose Skelly. Joyce, a veteran of the 1916 Rising, died on 28 May 1920 from tuberculosis. Buried in Aghafin Cemetery, Edgeworthstown, Co. Longford. (*Longford's Republican Story*, Seán O'Sullivan, 2021).

Patrick Joseph Doughall: *(inset)* Volunteer / *Clonloo Company, 4th Battalion, Sligo Brigade, IRA.* Farmer. Born c.1894. Doughall died at Boyle Workhouse Infirmary, from pulmonary tuberculosis on 28 May 1920. "*Over 500 Volunteers marched in processional order. There were over 2000 people in the cortege. Three volleys were fired at the graveside.*" Buried at Templeronan Cemetery, Co. Sligo. (*Roscommon Herald*, 4 September 1920, p.1).

Martin Qualter: Volunteer / *Cregmore Company, 1st Battalion, Mid-Galway Brigade, IRA.* Farmer's Son. Liscananaun, Claregalway, Co. Galway. Born on 22 March 1896 to James Qualter and Honor Dillon. On 30 May 1920, Qualter died from injuries received from a kick of a horse. Buried at Old Cregg Cemetery, Corandulla, Co. Galway. (MA/MSPC/RO/247).

Alexander (Sandy) Carmichael: Captain / *A Coy, 1st Batt., Scottish Brigade, IRA. Previously attached with Glasgow Company, Kimmage Garrison, I.V. Served in the GPO Garrison throughout the 1916 Rising. Carmichael was also heavily involved in the smuggling of explosives from Scotland to Ireland before his death.* Ship's Carpenter. Born c.1897 in Glasgow, Scotland. On June 1920, Carmichael died in the Western Infirmary, Glasgow, from Addison's disease. Buried in Glasnevin Cemetery, Dublin. (*Old Ireland*, 10 July 1920, p.4).

William (Bill) Hodgins: (*inset*) Captain / *Askamore Company, Wexford Brigade, IRA.* Farmer. Brideswell, Askamore, Co. Wexford. Born on 29 December 1894 at 44 Clarence St, Dublin, to Joseph Hodgins and Mary Scully. The 1911 census highlights that Hodgins was being cared for by his elderly aunt in Brideswell, Co. Wexford. On 25 June 1920, Hodgins, a noted star player for Wexford GAA, died in Jervis Street Hospital from malignant scarlatina. The family history, kindly given by his grand-niece, Marcella Byrne, claims that Hodgins received an injury during a championship match against Kildare and was visited by many Wexford Republicans while recuperating in Jervis Street Hospital, however, to his family, his death was sudden and mysterious. Buried in Deans Grange Cemetery, Dublin. (MA/MSPC/RO/553A).

William Michael Troy: Volunteer / *A Company (Tullamore), 1st Battalion, Offaly No.1 Brigade, IRA.* Civil Engineer. Kilcormac, Co. Offaly. Born c.1898. On 4 July 1920, Troy died at King's County Infirmary from pulmonary tuberculosis, having suffered with the disease for two years. Troy was buried in Kilcormac New Cemetery, Kilcormac, Co. Offaly. (*Offaly Independent*, 24 July 1920).

Aidan Pender: Volunteer / *Ferns Company, Wexford Brigade, IRA. Pender was part of the Ferns mobilisation during the 1916 Rising.* Mechanic. Milltown, Ferns, Co. Wexford. Born 1 May 1897 to John Pender and Anne Carroll. On 23 July 1920, Pender died from pulmonary tuberculosis having suffered with the disease for several years. Burial place is unknown. (MA/MSPC/RO/553).

Thomas Arthur O'Carroll: Volunteer / *Meath Brigade, IRA.* Farmer. Edenburt House, Virginia, Co. Cavan. Born on 17 October 1897 to Joseph Carroll and Mary Ellen Mulraney. On 27 July 1920, O'Carroll died from heart failure as a result of convulsions. O'Carroll's health began to deteriorate after he attended Séamus Cogan's funeral. O'Carroll was afforded military honours at his funeral in Maghera Graveyard, Virginia, Co. Cavan. (*Drogheda Independent,* 7 August 1920) & (*Anglo-Celt,* 14 August 1920, p.5).

Matthew Lynch: Captain / Mullagh No.2 Company, *4th Battalion, West-Clare Brigade, IRA. Also briefly attached to the Dublin Brigade (1919-20).* Grocer's Assistant. Mount Scott, Mullagh, Co. Clare. Born on 22 August 1897 to Matthew Lynch and Honor Cleary. Lynch contracted tuberculosis whilst residing in Dublin. He returned home to Mullagh, Co. Clare to recuperate but his health declined resulting in his death on 18 August 1920. Buried in Kilbridget Graveyard, Mullagh, Co. Clare. (MSPC/DP5485).

Séamus Galligan: Volunteer / *A Company (Ballinagh), 2nd Battalion, West Cavan Brigade, IRA.* Labourer. Ardlougher, Ballinagh, Co. Cavan. Born on 30 July 1902 to John Galligan and Bridget McCabe. Galligan died on 25 August 1920 in the Mater Hospital in Dublin from an infected abscess in his thigh. Buried in Denn Graveyard, Co. Cavan. (*Anglo-Celt,* 4 September 1920).

Michael Parker: Unknown Rank / *2nd Battalion, Kerry No.1 Brigade, IRA.* Listrim, Tralee, Co. Kerry. Farmer's Son. Born 20 May 1896 to Eugene Parker and Bridget Dooling. President of the William Pearse Sinn Féin Cumann, Churchill, Co. Kerry. According to *The Kerryman* (11 September 1920, p.3) Parker died on 29 August 1920 from meningitis. Buried with full military honours in Ardfert Abbey, Co. Kerry.

Stephen Roughan: Volunteer / *Kilferagh Company, 5th Battalion, West Clare Brigade, IRA.* Farmer. Roughan was born on 15 April 1890 in Donaghbeg, Kilkee, Co. Clare, to John Roughan and Hannah Corry. Roughan died on 30 August 1920 from tuberculosis of the lungs. His burial place is unknown. (MA/MSPC/RO/226).

Bernard (Bernie) O'Beirne: Volunteer / *D Company (Drumsna), 3rd Battalion, South Leitrim Brigade, IRA.* Farmer. Foxborough, Drumsna, Co. Leitrim. Born on 1 January 1894 to Michael Beirne and Anne Doyle. O'Beirne died on 10 September 1920 from pneumonia. As his funeral attracted large numbers to Drumsna, a military presence arrived, forcing people from the public houses. Vol. James Gill, an aged Republican and relative of O'Beirne, was shot and bayonetted to death on the street of Drumsna. Buried in St. Anne's Annaduff Old Cemetery, Drumsna, Co. Leitrim. (MA/MSPC/RO/584) / *Leitrim Observer*, 18 September 1920, p.3.

Michael Devitt: Volunteer / *4th Battalion, Mid-Clare Brigade, IRA*. Draper's Assistant. Kilconnell, Lisconnor, Co. Clare. Born 18 December 1893 to John Devitt and Mary Devitt. A cousin of Commandant Martin Devitt who was killed in action in February 1920. On 13 September 1920, Devitt died from influenza. His family's unsuccessful military pension application claimed that this originated from active service. Place of burial is unknown. (MSPC/DP2057).

Thomas Martin: Volunteer / *Monasterevin Company, 6th Battalion, Carlow Brigade, IRA*. Labourer. Martin was born on 11 May 1889 at Old Grange near Monasterevin, Co. Kildare, to Michael Martin and Jane Coughlan. Martin died from pulmonary tuberculosis. Interred in Lackagh Cemetery, Monasterevin, Co. Kildare. *The Nationalist & Leinster Times* (2 October 1920, p.3) states: *"Six Volunteers acted as pall bearers, and the tricolour flag was wrapped round the coffin. A cycling corps of Volunteers followed the remains."* Many thanks to historian, James Durney, for bringing Vol. Thomas Martin to our attention.

Joseph Fitzpatrick: Volunteer / *Kilgefin Company, 3rd Battalion, South Roscommon Brigade, IRA*. Farmer. Clonshee, Kilroosky, Co. Roscommon. Fitzpatrick succumbed to tuberculosis on 11 October 1920. His sister later claimed on the military pension application that his death was due to continuous wettings while on active service however this was deemed unsuccessful. Burial place is unknown. (MSPC/DP23638).

Patrick Bolger: Volunteer / *C Company (Hacketstown), 2nd Battalion, Carlow Brigade, IRA*. Farmer. Ticknock, Kiltegan, Co. Wicklow. Born on 22 July 1900 to James Bolger and Julia Murray. Bolger died from pneumonia on 14 October 1920. His family claimed in their unsuccessful military pension application that his death was caused by active service in damp weather. Buried in Tinnaclash Graveyard, Co. Wicklow. (MSPC/1D429).

Michael Smyth: Volunteer / *Roslea Company, 'B' Battalion, Monaghan No.1 Brigade, IRA*. Sawyer. Roslea, Co. Fermanagh. Born c.1900. Smyth died on 29 October 1920 at Clones Fever Hospital from diphtheria. Burial place is unknown. (*Anglo-Celt*, 13 November 1920).

Michael O'Brien: (*inset*) Captain / *B1 Company (Kilbrittain), 1st Battalion, Cork No.3 Brigade, IRA*. Farmer. Clonbogue, Kilbrittain, Co. Cork. Born on 28 February 1896 to John O'Brien and Johanna Coughlan. O'Brien succumbed to septic tonsilitis on 29 October 1920. His burial place is unknown. O'Brien was brought to the author's knowledge by Cork Republican historian, Tomás Mac Cormaic.

Daniel Kilcullen: Sinn Féin Councillor, Sligo County Council. President of Skreen and Dromard Sinn Féin Cumainn and Chairman of the Dail Court at Skreen. Died on 30 October 1920. His cause of death is uncertain. Buried in Tireragh, Co. Sligo.

Frank O'Dowd: Lieutenant / *B Company (Galway City), 1st Battalion, Mid-Galway Brigade, IRA*. Clerk. Wood Quay, Galway. Born c.1896 to Patrick O'Dowd and Annie Finneran. O'Dowd's death on 12 November 1920 is recorded in the civil death record as caused by malignant liver disease, exhaustion and cardiac failure. His headstone in Forthill Cemetery, Galway wrongly claims that he died in action.

David Greaney: Volunteer / *F Company (Adare), 5th Battalion, Mid-Limerick Brigade, IRA*. Labourer. Drehidtarsna, Rathkeale, Co. Limerick. Born c.1892, to John Greaney and Catherine Hartnett. On 1 December 1917, Greaney married Margaret Conway at Adare Church. Their son, James, died in July 1918, aged five weeks. On 7 December 1920, Greaney died at Rathkeale Workhouse Infirmary from tuberculosis. His burial place is St. Mary's Cemetery, Rathkeale, Co. Limerick.

Johnny Callaghan: Volunteer / *B Company (Lahardane), 4th Battalion, North Mayo Brigade, IRA*. Farmer. Ballymacredmond, Castlebar, Co. Mayo. Born c.1899. Callaghan died on 29 December 1920 from pneumonic phthisis. His place of burial is unknown. (MSPC/DP540).

John Francis Hurton: Volunteer / *C Company, 1st Battalion, Cork No.1 Brigade, IRA.* Clerk. Corsican House, Strawberry Hill, Cork. Born c.1898. Hurton died on 30 December 1920 in Cork District Hospital from typhoid fever. His mother unsuccessfully petitioned in her military pension application by claiming that the illness was brought about by serial wettings during active service. His place of burial is unknown. (MSPC/1D137).

EAST WATERFORD BRIGADE, IRA (May 1920 -June 1921)

Brigadier: Liam Walsh (May 1920 - Nov. 1920)/ Patrick Paul (Nov. 1920 – June 1921).
Vice Brigadier: Billy Keane (May 1920)/ Michael J. Bishop
Brig. Adjutant: Michael O'Neill (1919 – Nov. 1920)/ Patrick Brazil/ P. O'Donnell/ Thomas Rafter/ Thomas Wyley.
Brig. Quartermaster: Seán Lane (1919 – Jan. 1921)/ Matt Knox.
Brig. Intel. Officer: Denis Madden (Nov. 1920 – June 1921).
Brig. Engineer: Michael Ryan.
Brig. IRP Officer: William O'Donoghue.

WEST WATERFORD BRIGADE, IRA (May 1920-June 1921)

Brigadier: Patrick 'Pax' Whelan
Vice Brigadier: George Lennon
Brig. Adjutant: Daniel 'Benny' McCarthy
Brig. Quartermaster: Joe Wyse
Brig. Intel. Officer: John Phelan or Denis Madden
Brig. Engineer: Mick Mansfield (1919-21).
Brig. IRP Officer: Patrick Ormonde/ Michael Butler.
Transport Officer: Ned Spratt.
Brig. Medical Officer: Dr. Walshe.
Brigade Scouting & Dispatch: Michael Morrissey.
Brig. Training Officer: John Riordan (Aug. 1919 – Jan. 1921).

WATERFORD BRIGADE, IRA (July 1921-24)

Brigadier: Patrick 'Pax' Whelan (July 1921 – Nov. 1922)/ Mick Mansfield (Nov. 1922 – 1924).
Vice Brigadier: George Lennon (July 1921 – July 1922)/ P.J. Power / J. O'Meara
Brig. Adjutant: James Fraher / Michael Morrissey (June 1922)
Brig. Quartermaster: Matt Knox (June 1921 – Mar. 1922)/ Michael Sullivan.
Brig. Assistant Quartermaster: Joe Wyse.
Brig. Intel. Officer: Thomas Wyley.
Assistant Brig. Intel. Officer: John Phelan.
Brig. Medical Officer: Dr. Casey.
Brig. IRP Officer: P. Croke or William O'Donoghue
Brigade Engineer: James Howlett.
Assistant Brigade Engineer: Paddy Cuddihy.
Transport Officer: Ned Spratt.
Officer of Signals: Michael Cahill.
Brigade Scouting & Dispatch: Michael Morrissey.

THE BELFAST BRIGADE, IRA,

Derived from the Antrim & East Down Brigade (1917-21)

Brigadier: Peter Burns (1916-1917)/ Seán Cusack (Apr. 1917 – Mar. 1919)/ Seán O'Neill (Mar. 1919 – June 1921)/ Roger McCorley (June 1921 – Jan. 1922)/ Seán O'Neill (Jan. 1922 – Mar. 1922)/ Willie Ward (June 1922 – Sept. 1922)/ Pat Thornbury (Sept. 1922 – Oct. 1922)/ Hugh Corvin (Oct. 1922 – Apr. 1923)/ Jim O'Donnell (Apr. 1923 – Sept. 1923)/ Hugh Corvin (1924 – 1926)/ Dan Turley (1926-1927).

Vice-Brigadier: Seán MacEntee (1917 – Mar. 1919)/ Roger McCorley (Mar. 1919 - June 1921)/ Seán Keenan (June 1921 – July 1922)/ Patrick Nash (July 1922 - 1923).

Brigade Adjutant: Leo Murphy / Jim O'Donnell

Brigade Quartermaster: Thomas McNally (Sept. 1920 – Mar. 1921)/ Joe Savage Jr (Mar. 1921 – Mar. 1922)/ Michael O'Donnell.

Brigade Intel. Officer: Séamus Dobbyn (1920)/ David McGuinness (June 1921 – Mar. 1922)/ Edward Murphy

Brigade Engineer: Joseph Cullen (Apr. 1920 – Apr. 1922).
Brigade Organiser: Francis Crummey
Brigade M.O: Dr. Michael Mac Conaill (1920 – Mar. 1922)/ Dr. E. MacEntee
Officer of Communications: Liam Gaynor (Oct. 1918 – Sept. 1920).
Officer of Signals: Charles McWhinney (July 1921 – Mar. 1922).

Author's Note: The Belfast Brigade (1st Brigade/3rd Northern Division) was overwhelmingly pro-Treaty in 1922. Those given specific ranks during the Civil War period on this list were Republicans who held those ranks on the side of the 'Executive' anti-Treaty IRA. The Republican elements suffered from arrests by order of the Northern authorities of which many were not released until late 1924.

Source:

MA/MSPC/RO/402.
David McGuiness, (BMH-WS 417).
Roger McCorley, (BMH-WS 389).
Séamus McKenna, (BMH-WS 1016).

TIPPERARY NO. I (NORTH) BRIGADE STAFF, IRA

Brigadier: Frank McGrath (Oct. 1918 – Sept. 1920) / Seán Gaynor (Sept. 1920 – May 1921) / Liam Hoolan (May 1921 – Mar. 1922) / Patrick McDonnell (Mar. 1922 – Sept. 1922).

Vice Brigadier: Liam Hoolan (Oct. 1918 – May 1921) / Felix Cronin (May 1921 – Mar. 1922) / Patrick Ryan (Mar. 1922 – 1923).

Brigade Adjutant: Seán Gaynor (Oct. 1918 – Sept. 1920) / Edward O'Leary (Sept. 1920-1922) / Patrick O'Brien (Mar. 1922 -1923).

Brigade Quartermaster: Frank Flannery (Oct. 1918 – Mar. 1922) / James Sullivan (Mar. 1922 -1923).

Assistant Brigade QM: Frank McGrath (Sept. 1920 – Mar. 1922).
Brigade Intel. Officer: Edward O'Leary / Austin McCurtin (1920 – May 1921) / William O'Brien (May 1921 – Mar. 1922) / Pat Doorly (Mar. 1922 – 1923).
Brigade Engineer: James Gilgunn (1922-23).
Officer of Training: Seán Glennon (1920 – Mar. 1922) / John Sheehy (Mar. 1922 – 1923).
Officer of the IRP: Frank McGrath (1920 – 1922) / John Sheehy (1922-23).

Officer of Munitions: D. O'Leary (1920-22).
Officer of Transport: Patrick Whelehan (1922-23).
Officer of Signals: Jeremiah Larkin (1920-22).
Flying Column ASU O/C: Jack Collison (1920 – Mar. 1922).

TIPPERARY NO. 2 (MID) BRIGADE STAFF, IRA.

Brigadier: James Leahy (Oct. 1918 – 1924).

Vice Brigadier: Éamon McGrath (Oct. 1918 – 1920), William Shortt (1920 – Apr. 1921) / Jim Stapleton (1920-1922) / Patrick Kinnane (1922-23).

Brigade Adjutant: Michael Kennedy (Oct. 1918 – Apr. 1921) / Michael Hynes (Apr. 1921 – Aug. 1923).

Brigade Quartermaster: John McCormack (Oct. 1918 – Jan. 1921) / Michael Dwan (Jan. 1921) / Thomas Meagher (Jan. 1921 – 1924).

Brigade Intel. Officer – Denis J. Heaney (Oct. 1918 – Apr. 1921).

Brigade Engineer: Denis J. Heaney (Oct. 1918 – Apr. 1921) / Andy Donnelly.
Officer of the IRP: William Shortt (Apr. 1921 -1922).
Flying Column ASU O/C: Jerry Ryan (Jan. 1921) / Michael Small (Jan. -Mar. 1921).

Source:

James Leahy, (BMH-WS 1454); **Patrick Kinnane**, (BMH-WS 1475); **Michael Hynes** (BMH-WS 1671); **Thomas F. Meagher** (BMH-WS 1541).

Brigade Nominal Roll: Military Archives of Ireland; MSPC/RO/140.

CARLOW BRIGADE STAFF, IRA

Brigadier: Seán O'Farrell (1917 – Sept. 1920)/ Éamonn Malone (Sept. 1920 – Sept. 1921) / Liam Stack / Séamus Lillis / Tomás Ó Conaill (June 1922 – died Aug. 1924).

Vice Brigadier: Tomás Ó Conaill (1917-1922)/ Michael Keating (June 1922 – Oct. 1922).

Brigade Adjutant: Michael Lennon (1920)/ Seán Hayden (1920-1921)/ Pádraig Kane / (1920 – Oct. 1921)/ Séamus Lillis (Oct. 1921- Feb. 1922)/ Michael Ryan (June 1922 – July 1922 / Oct. 1922 – May 1923).

Brigade Quartermaster: Pádraig 'Nipper' O'Toole (1920)/ Liam Brennan (1921 – died Mar. 1922) / John Byrne / Liam Gaffney (1922).

Brigade Intel. Officer: Pádraig Conkling (1920 – Dec. 1920), Liam Stack (Dec. 1920 – Jan. 1922)/ Laurence O'Neill

Officer of Communications: Michael Ryan
Officer of the IRP: Liam Duffy (1922)
Officer of Transport: Michael Woods (1922)
Boycott Officer: James Behan (1922).
Officer of Organisation: Pádraig Kane / Michael Ryan
Flying Column ASU O/C: Thomas Behan / Laurence O'Neill
Flying Column ASU Q.M: Michael Ryan (Mar. 1921 – Apr. 1921).

LONDON BATTALION STAFF, IRA

Commandant: Reginald Dunne (Apr. 1919 – June 1922 – Executed Aug. 1922) / Denis Kelleher (June 1922 – 1923).
V/C: Patrick O'Sullivan (Apr. 1919 – 1921) / J. Carroll (1921-1922)/ Denis Kelleher (1922).
Battalion Adjutant: Denis Kelleher (Apr. 1919 – 1922).
Battalion Quartermaster: Seán Golden
Battalion Intel. Officer: Joseph O'Sullivan (Executed Aug. 1922).
Battalion Company Captains (1919-22): Paddy Maher, Edward Fennessy, Thomas Monaghan, Brian O'Gorman & Séamus Moran.
Staff / Special Assigned Officers: Sam Maguire, Joe Carr & Seán Dillon.

Source: Joseph Dolan (BMH-WS 900)
Nominal Rolls: MA/MSPC/RO/605.

The Boys of Kilmichael
West Cork Flying Column – November 1920

Participants: O/C: Tom Barry; **V/C:** Stephen O'Neill; Jack Aherne, Sonny Carey, Jeremiah Cotter, Batty Coughlan, Denis Cronin, 'Sonny Dave' Crowley; Tim Crowley, John Healy; Johnny Hegarty, Jack Hennessy, Michael Herlihy, Dan Hourihan; Jack Hourihan, John Kelleher; Cornelius Kelleher, Tim Keohane; Timothy Leary (Kilbarry); Timothy Leary (Macroom); Daniel Lehane; John Lordan; Pat Lucey; Jack McCarthy, Paddy 'Kilmallock' McCarthy (Killed 3 July 1922); Timothy 'Casey' McCarthy, James 'Spud' Murphy; John J. Murphy; Patrick Murphy; John 'Flyer' Nyhan; Denis O'Brien, Paddy O'Brien; Tim O'Connell, Michael 'Ross' O'Donovan; Michael 'Leap' O'Donovan; Pat O'Donovan (Drimoleague), Patrick O'Donovan (Dunmanway), Dan O'Driscoll, Michael 'Con' O'Driscoll (Ballineen); Michael O'Driscoll (Bantry); Jerome O'Hea; James O'Mahony; Jeremiah O'Mahony (Killed in 1921); James O'Mahony; Dan O'Shea; Jack O'Sullivan (Kealkin), John D. O'Sullivan (Bantry), Tim O'Sullivan, Jack Roche & Ned Young,

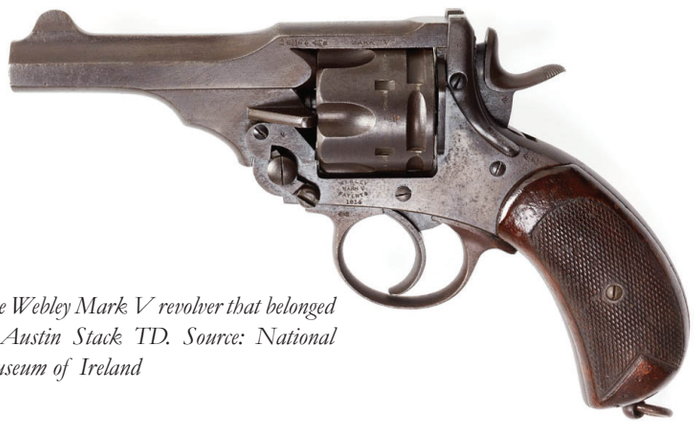
Scouts & Outlying Support: Andrew Crowley; Neilus Cotter, James McCarthy; Dan O'Driscoll, Jim Hurley, Neilus Mahony, Jim Burke, Denis Burke; Dan Sullivan, Dan Hurley, Seán Falvey, Pat Sullivan, John Kelly, Denis Riordan & John Deasy.

Killed in Action: Michael McCarthy, Pat Deasy & Jim O'Sullivan.

Sources:

- Whyte, Louis (1995), *The Wild Heather Glen* Kilmichael/Crossbarry Commemoration Committee, County Cork.
- Military Archives, Dublin (Various Witness Statements)

Author's Note: The numbers listed above contradict the numbers given by Tom Barry in his various accounts of the ambush. No definitive list of participants was ever constructed by the survivors.



The Webley Mark V revolver that belonged to Austin Stack TD. Source: National Museum of Ireland

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