

COUNTY TIPPERARY

1917-1921

– a history in 80 documents

Denis G. Marnane & Mary Guinan Darmody



Part of the 'Finding Tipperary' series of publications – Tipperary Studies,
Tipperary County Council Library Service

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A history in 80 documents

As part of the centenary commemorations for the 1916 Easter Rising, Tipperary County Council Library Service published *County Tipperary in 1916 – a history in 40 documents*. Edited by Denis G. Marnane and Mary Guinan Darmody, this booklet was welcomed and made available free of charge across the county. This present publication continues the story of how the following four and a half years impacted on Tipperary. This is not a history of these years, rather a series of glimpses of people and events – a sequence of slides rather than a movie. More detailed information can be had in Seán Hogan's, *The Black and Tans in North Tipperary* (2013) and D.G. Marnane's, *The Third Brigade* (2018).

The events of this four and a half year period fall into two sections. Firstly the time of re-organisation after the release of prisoners at the end of 1916. This period 1917-1918 was the phoenix time, when out of the ashes of defeat new structures and new leaders emerged. In Tipperary three brigades were created and leaders like Jim Leahy and Seán Treacy emerged to put the county at the centre of the war when it came.

Famously the second section, the War of Independence 1919-21 was ushered in by the opening of the First Dáil in Dublin and the Soloheadbeg Ambush in Tipperary. Much of the activity of this period is summed up in such trigger words and phrases as 'ambush', 'reprisal', 'spy', 'Black & Tan', 'flying column' and 'on the run'. Tipperary along with a handful of other counties, such as Cork and Limerick, was very much at the heart of the struggle during these two and half years to the Truce in July 1921. The story of the Truce and the tragic Civil War as experienced in Tipperary will be covered in a final booklet to be published in 2020.

Our thanks to Noel Ahern, Dimphne Brennan, Adrian Corcoran, Dan Finnan, Eamonn Gaynor, Breda Hanly, Seán Hogan, Joe Kenny, Seamus Leahy, Noel McInerney, Michael O'Connor, Mick O'Dea, Jerry Ring, Neil Sharkey, Brendan Treacy and Róisín O'Grady; also Dublin City Library & Archive, Kilmainham Jail, Military Archives, National Library of Ireland, Tipperary County Museum, and Tipperary County Archives.

Front Cover image:

***Wedding of Dan Breen and Brighid Malone
by Mick O'Dea***

The painting is based on a photograph taken by Seán Sharkey in June 1921 at the wedding of Dan Breen to Brighid Malone and includes Seán Hogan as best man and Áine Malone, bridesmaid.



County Tipperary in 1917

1. Released from prison in England at the end of 1916, Éamon Ó Duibhir, a key personality in the Tipperary republican movement, got things moving again. He was responsible for bringing Ulster's Seamus Robinson, a 1916 Rising veteran, to Tipperary. The Irish teacher mentioned below took part in the Soloheadbeg Ambush.



Éamon Ó Duibhir

Robinson arrived some day in January 1917, in the midst of a snow storm, and he had with him a small black travelling bag that we got to know very well and to associate with him. As a farm worker, he made up for his lack of knowledge by his honesty, hustle and zeal.....

In Kilshenane the local meetings of the organisations and meetings of a wider circle were held, and later the Brigade Council meetings were held there for a considerable time. I had become a parishioner of Fr Matt Ryan in Knockavilla and he was a frequent visitor to the place, and of course, as president of the local branch of Sinn Féin he was interested in the work of that organisation, plus the work of the Gaelic League which was his greatest love, and it was probably the greatest love of most of us. We had a hall in Ballagh and at this time Padraig McCormaic was teaching Irish in it, and to this hall, on the class nights, we used to travel from Kilshenane, gathering like a moving snowball a crowd as we went, and we often arrived in Ballagh thirty or forty strong. The Volunteers met in this hall also.

(Bureau of Military History, Éamon Ó Duibhir, WS 1474, pp. 2-4)

2. On 10 May 1917, the victory of Joe McGuinness, the SF candidate in the South Longford by-election was announced. Fr Michael Maher, the Archbishop's secretary, described the reaction in Thurles as hundreds marched through the town.

I was watching the whole proceedings from a front window in the Presbytery and was very keen on observing how the crowd would behave passing the Palace, because the Archbishop had refused to allow an anniversary Mass to be celebrated in the Cathedral for the victims of the rising and that refusal had been given only a few days before. Although I was watching closely through the open window I did not observe anything in the attitude of the crowd different from what it had been at the other points of the route, where I was able to observe them.

That outburst in Thurles and similar ones on all sides was the first indication of the rapid strides Sinn Féin had made within the past twelve months. I may add that the Archbishop allowed the Mass on second application only under condition that there was to be no public procession to or from the church nor any demonstration in the neighbourhood of the Cathedral on the occasion. The Mass was celebrated, I being the celebrant,



Seamus Leahy, Clonmel

Banner of Boberlaban Sinn Féin Cumann 1917

and the Archbishop's instructions were observed to the letter. There was a large congregation present indicating the rising popularity of the Sinn Féin movement. When anything drew the people of the town together at night such as a circus or a play, they went home at the finish singing Sinn Féin songs and shouting for the rebels.....Green, white and yellow are the Sinn Féin colours and they have flags everywhere. The police at first removed the flags. Recently they have taken no notice of them.
(Journal of Fr Michael Maher, Thurles vol vi, p. 92, Tipperary Studies, The Source, Thurles)



Fr Michael Maher (1872-1937); native of Boherlahan; PP Killenaule 1930-37

3. On 11 June 1917 Fr Michael Maher went to Dun Laoghaire for a holiday. Staying at the Royal Marine Hotel he encountered both resentment and elation. Allerton was well connected; his father was briefly Chief Secretary.
There was an Englishman staying at the hotel with whom I had some discussions. His name was Lord Allerton and he was a Captain in the Army. He was quite angry to see that in Ireland we had

plenty to eat and that we were escaping conscription while they were hungry in England and had conscription. One morning the mail boat came in late, but when it arrived, it was found to have Irish prisoners on board who had been released from Frongoch and Lewis gaols, where they had been imprisoned since the Dublin Rebellion.

*I was just getting up when I noticed the boat coming in and then heard the cheering. De Valera and McGuinness and many others were among them, but the Countess Markievicz did not arrive by that boat, she came afterwards. They proceeded to Dublin by train and they were not seen in Kingstown at all.
(Journal of Fr Michael Maher, Thurles vol vi, p. 90, Tipperary Studies, The Source, Thurles)*

4. Bishop Michael Fogarty of Killaloe was one of the rare episcopal supporters of Sinn Féin. During a visit to Thurles for a meeting of bishops, he had a chat with the archbishop's secretary, Fr Michael Maher.

Fri 10 August 1917

I had a long talk and a walk through the College grounds with Dr Fogarty. He took a great interest in the sheep and cattle belonging to the College. We touched on the political situation and I could learn that he has a great admiration



St. Patrick's College, Thurles

Lawn

for the vigour of the new movement. He considered that the Irish Party were too weak and vacillating and too subservient to the English politicians; that, he thought, is what drove the young men to adopt a more manly attitude and maintain a more stubborn opposition. (Journal of Fr Michael Maher, Thurles vol vi, p. 96, Tipperary Studies, The Source, Thurles)



Bishop Michael
Fogarty of Killaloe

5. William Hanly from Reiska, Kilcommon became an officer in the 5th Battalion of the 1st (North) Tipperary Brigade. Here he charts the increased militancy of some young men in the aftermath of the Easter Rising.

My connection with the Irish Volunteer movement commenced about August 1917 when Joseph MacDonagh, whose brother, Thomas, was executed as one of the leaders of the Rising in 1916, addressed a Sinn Féin meeting on a Sunday evening at Reiska creamery and after this meeting started the Kilcommon Sinn Féin Club. About twenty men joined the club that evening.....Because of the seditious nature of the speech delivered by Mr MacDonagh at that meeting, he was later arrested and sentenced to a term of three months imprisonment...

A fortnight after the formation of the Sinn Féin Club, Jim Ryan, Nenagh, enrolled myself and about twenty others in the Irish Volunteers and then conducted an election of officers. The captain selected was Pat Doherty (also secretary of the SF club), 1st Lt, myself, and 2nd Lt, James Caples. The unit became known as the



Hanly family
William Hanly



Hanly family

Reiska creamery

Kilcommon Company. At the beginning we were drilled by Paddy Walsh, an Irish teacher who had been in the Volunteers in Dublin. Though in other parts of the country men were being arrested for such drilling, which took place publicly, none of the Kilcommon Company was arrested for these activities. For a number of months after the start of the company we met for drill each Sunday evening at two o'clock at different places.... When the country was threatened with conscription in the winter of 1917 and the spring of 1918 the membership of the Reiska Company increased to about 200. (Bureau of Military History, William Hanly, WS 1368, pp. 1-2)

6. On Monday 10 December 1917, Constable P.J. Murtagh carefully wrote a report for his superiors about what he had witnessed the previous day at Solohead. The purpose was to gather evidence about illegal drilling. With him taking evidence was his colleague Constable Canty.

Writer and Constable Michael Canty while on patrol today saw at about 12 noon John Treacy, released prisoner, Soloheadbeg, this sub-district, who wore the following articles of military equipment: haversack, belt, putties and cap; blow a whistle and immediately 70 men and boys fell in in two ranks. Treacy then used the following words of command:

'Number' 'Form Fours' 'Right' 'By the left quick march'. After marching the



History Ireland

Illegal Drilling

party a short distance, said 'Hold left turn' and then told off two batches of sixteen, giving Michael Looby Jr aged 23, Newtown, this sub-district, charge of one batch and Daniel Breen, Milesman, Grange, Tipperary sub-district, charge of the other batch.

Treacy took charge of 23 men himself and Timothy Crowe, farmer's son, Ardroman, this sub-district, took charge of 22 boys ranging in age from eight years to fifteen years, a few of the latter having joined the ranks after Treacy giving 'Halt'.....

Words of command were used by different men: Daniel Breen, Michael Looby Jr, Maurice Crowe, John Treacy, and Timothy Crowe. The drilling was principally marching in fours and Treacy was not drilling all the time owing to looking after the voting (for officers). (Constable P.J. Murtagh's report, 10 Dec 1917. (CO 904/122, NLI)

7. At the close of 1917 Fr Michael Maher in Thurles reflected on the cost of living.

We had the usual Christmas festivities at the Palace in spite of the shortage of food and drink. Everything is very dear; meat is 1/6 a pound, butter 2/6, eggs from 2/6 to 3/- per doz. Potatoes 9d. a stone. Tea is plentiful, sugar scarce; whiskey 1/- per glass etc. Cattle are twice the pre war prices, and boots and clothes are similarly expensive; coal about £2-10-0 per ton, and working horses fetch up to £60. We have experienced no shortage of food here up to the present, but the operations of the U boats are threatening us with that spectre every day. The bread is getting very black owing to foreign mixtures being put in the flour, there is no such thing as white flour now or white bread. Bacon is at a prohibitive price and it is no wonder when pigs cost 105 shillings per cwt. live weight. Motor cars are nearly as rarely seen as they were a dozen years ago owing to the shortage of petrol.

(Journal of Fr Michael Maher, Thurles vol vi, pp. 102-3, Tipperary Studies, Thurles)

Prices for Oats of 1917 Crop.

MAXIMUM AND MINIMUM PRICES HAVE BEEN FIXED FOR DEALERS IN OATS GROWN IN 1917

These have been fixed by the Food Controller and the buying or selling of oats of better grade is illegal. The maximum price is fixed for sound properly cleaned oats compared with the following Irish equivalents:

For Delivery	Per Barrel of 14 Stones
Before 1st December, 1917	25/6
1st December, 1917, to 31st January 1918	25/4
1st February, 1918, to 31st March 1918	25/1 1/2
1st April, 1918, to 31st May, 1918	25/0
After 1st May, 1918	25/0

REMEMBER! These are the prices above which oats need not be sold by the farmer.

This has been fixed by the Cereals Production Act, which guarantees that if the average market price is published in the Gazette for Oats of the 1917 year it shall be:

24s 2d per barrel of 14 stone

The Scale will make good the difference to the farmer as provided in the Act.

The War Office will buy clean, sound Oats on and after the 15th November at 25s per Barrel. Stack and thrash the oats, therefore, and keep it in the stack at least until 15th November, thrashing out as little as possible in the meantime. This will improve the keeping quality of the grain and make it fit for Army purposes.

Every farmer should obtain copies of Memorandum on the Disposal of Grain Crops, 1917-18, just issued by the Department. It gives in handy form details of the guarantee as regards grain of the Cereals Production Act and of the Food Controller's Order.

N.B.—Furnished the Memorandum Free and enclosed, however we give to all Oats of any grade they may think fit.

Department of Agriculture, and Technical Instruction, Dublin. K.L.L.

Tipperary Star, 6 October 1917

IN ROYAL GASHEL

CASHEL CORN MARKET.

At the weekly corn market on Wednesday, the following were the quotations—Barley, 31s. per barrel; oats, 23s. per barrel.

CASHEL PIG MARKET.

Yet another record was established in Cashel weekly pig market on Wednesday, when 106s. per cwt. was paid at the three live weight scales. This was an advance of 4s. per cwt. since last Wednesday.

Tipperary Star, 10 November 1917

County Tipperary in 1918

8. In the few years after the Easter Rising, Volunteers in Tipperary devoted a great deal of time and energy to getting weapons. Until the practice was changed, a source of rifles was soldiers home on leave during the Great War as they were allowed bring their weapons with them. One such was Henry Sheahan from Silvermines.

*On Wednesday 2 January (1918) at 8.30 p.m., three men entered the house, thoroughly disguised. George Sheahan an old soldier whose son was home on furlough – he had returned the previous evening only. The raiders put out the lights - only Sheahan and his wife were in the house. He refused to give up the rifle. He received three revolver shots from one of the raiders and died two days afterwards. We have offered £100 reward and distributed posters but there is no information for the police because a reign of terror exists in the locality. (County Inspector's report quoted in S. Hogan, *The Black & Tans in North Tipperary* (2013), pp. 87-92)*

Three O'Brien brothers, pillars of the local nationalist establishment, were arrested. Two were national school principals, the third worked in Silvermines post-office where their mother was post-mistress. After several trials, the crown failed to secure convictions, though as subsequently admitted the brothers were culpable.

9. With the death of Bishop O'Dwyer of Limerick in 1917, Bishop Fogarty was the most outspoken supporter of Sinn Féin, unlike for example Archbishop Harty of Cashel who kept his council while becoming disillusioned with the Home Rule party. However, it is likely that Harty voted Sinn Féin. A few months later Fogarty reiterated his support for Sinn Féin, writing on 28 November 1918 to James O'Mara, Sinn Féin Director of Elections:

'Dear Mr O'Mara, enclosed subscription carries with it my best wishes for the

The Silvermines Shooting. THREE BROTHERS' ARRESTED.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 5, 1918

Tragic Occurrence.
Old Man Shot Near Nenagh.
Fired for Arms.
A raid for a soldier's rifle at Boherbee, adjoining the Silvermines, Nenagh, on Wednesday night had its tragic sequel yesterday morning, when an ex-army man named George Sheahan succumbed to the bullet wounds received by him from a revolver carried by one of the raiders. The affair has cast a gloom over the town and country, and is condemned by all classes irrespective of creed and politics. Speaking at Mass at the Silvermines Church yesterday morning the Rev. Father Hogan, P.P., referred to it in strong language, and denounced the affair as unchristian. The deceased was aged, it is stated, 77 years, and was an ex-army pensioner. Despite his age he was a strong, hardy and determined man, as he grappled with one of the raiders and held on to him until two bullets had entered his body.

with, but witness that it was a revolver that he was holding in his hand. He was shot in the throat. He did not knock his wrist made it. To the coroner man that gave under him (deceased). Coroner: Did anything while it was in his hand? He said the rifle was in his hand when he was shot. Coroner: Did anything while it was in his hand? He said the rifle was in his hand when he was shot.

Nenagh Guardian, 5 January 1918

Bishop of Killaloe and Conscrition

"England has no Moral Right to Enforce Conscrition."

His lordship Most Rev. Dr. Fogarty, Lord Bishop of Killaloe, has addressed the following letter to the Rev. Canon James O'Mara, Director of Elections for the Sinn Féin Party.

ENNIS, 28th April, 1918.

Dear Mr. O'Mara,

I must thank you and the Sinn Féin Executive for the resolution you have sent me, and which I reply to now.

I am sure that no conscientious man can do as you say. We had almost ceased to be Irish until Sinn Féin arose and shook the English out from the seat of Ireland. Unfortunately, that seat had never empty, and spoiled many a good Irish boy.

For one thing, I hope we are done for ever with that mockery of a constitution - the English House of Commons.

The self-called parliament of the young people of Ireland, and especially of Clare, in spite of the calumnious pretensions to which they are being subjected, is beyond all praise. Every young man is being equipped with a strong brain and backbone. Young men, the flower of the country, are being educated, educated, educated, and are being equipped with the best of the best. The killing of whom is, in all its circumstances, one of the most heinous and atrocious things I ever heard of. When these things done in Belgium have the world would be made to ring with the cry of German atrocities.

But this policy of repression and oppression will not succeed in its purpose, which is, to drive us out, so that the ground by the possession of which we are the "English Nation" of the "United Kingdom" may, if possible, prevent the way for conscientious - which, by the way, we Government, in my opinion, has the moral right to insist on any nation without that nation's clearly expressed consent.

Moral Law has not shaken the bond of Clare, which will hold in firm grip the Sinn Féin because of Irish independence, and will continue to hold it until that independence is fully realized. No scheme of independence which leaves Ireland as a moral weakness in the British dominion will be accepted here.

I enclose, with my good wishes, a cheque for the support of the Clare project.

I am, yours sincerely,
M. FOGARTY.

success of the Sinn Féin cause in the coming elections, handicapped though that cause is by the unjust imprisonment of its leaders.....

(Bureau of Military History, Mon M. Curran, secretary to Archbishop Walsh of Dublin, WS 687 (i), p. 322)

10. One of the most important events of 1918 was the establishment of the 3rd Tipperary Brigade in October. There appears to be no record of the exact date. The house in Tipperary Town where the meeting took place was later burned down by the Black & Tans and is at the corner of Main and Church Streets. Fittingly, the site now has a number of memorials.

In October 1918, Michael Ladrigan, the (6th) battalion vice commandant and myself represented the battalion at a meeting of battalion officers which was held on a weekday in a room over P. J. Moloney's chemist shop in Tipperary town. This was the meeting at which the 3rd Tipperary brigade was founded and it was presided over by Dick Mulcahy, then chief-of-staff of the Volunteers. It was my first time to meet him. Before the meeting Seán Treacy had a chat with us and he said that we should elect Seamus

Robinson as the brigade commandant. I did not know Robinson personally at the time - he was then serving a term of imprisonment in Belfast prison, but I was aware that, prior to his arrest he had spent a lot of time organising the Volunteers in south County Tipperary. Personally, I was of the opinion that Seán Treacy himself was the best man for the post but when I expressed this view to him, he went all out in his praise of Seamus, and was very definite in recommending him as our brigade OIC. At that time, we all looked up to Treacy for guidance in such matters and as none of us would like to oppose his wishes, it followed that Seamus Robinson was unanimously elected as brigade commandant. The other brigade officers elected before the meeting adjourned were: - Brigade Vice Commandant - Seán Treacy. Brigade Adjutant - Maurice Crowe. Brigade Quartermaster - Dan Breen. There was no other business transacted at this meeting.

(Bureau of Military History, Ned McGrath, WS 1393, p. 5)

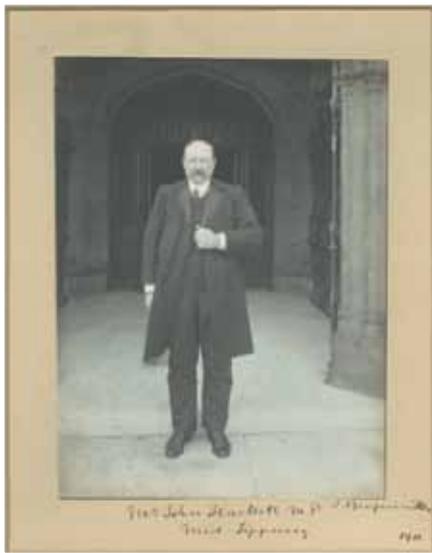


Site of Moloney's House in Tipperary town

11. The end of 1918 was dominated by the general election. In Thurles the Archbishop, whose support was sought by both sides, tried to stay above the fray. This is how his secretary Fr Michael Maher saw things:

The leaders of Sinn Féin are still in gaol but they have a powerful organisation all over the land and young and energetic workers everywhere. Rival candidates were named for each constituency and as the days progressed it was more apparent that the Irish Party has lost extensive ground for the past three years. The party candidate for Mid-Tipperary called on the Archbishop to ask for his support, a request which the Archbishop refused. He informed him that he would take no part in the election except to give his vote and that he would leave the priests free to do as they like. Mr Hackett was evidently disappointed and conveyed to the Archbishop that the lack of his support would mean the loss of the constituency to the Irish Party. The Archbishop remained inflexible.

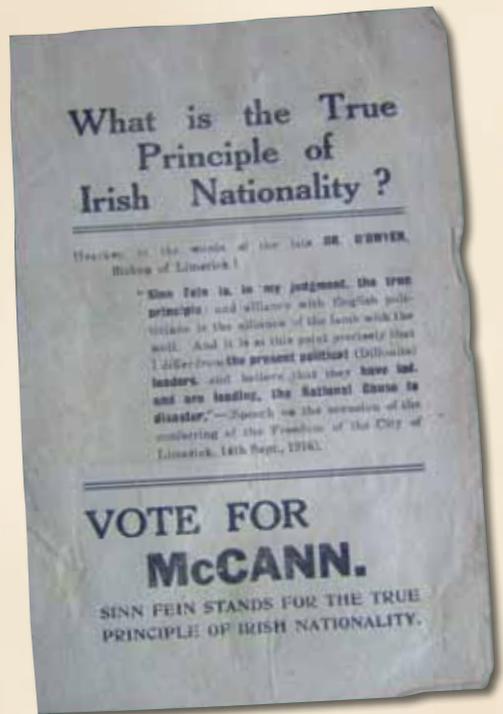
(Journal of Fr Michael Maher, Thurles vol viii, p. 130, Tipperary Studies, The Source, Thurles)



John Hackett (MP 1910-1918) did not defend his seat.

12. Pieter McCann, a gentleman farmer from Ballyowen near Cashel, was selected to contest the 1918 general election as SF candidate for the East Tipperary constituency which took in the south-east of the county and included Cashel. Of the four County Tipperary constituencies only the two in the south were contested: McCann against Clonmel's Tom Condon, MP since 1885 and P.J. Moloney against Bansa's John Cullinan, MP for Tipperary South since 1900.

In Clonmel, eighteen year old John Sharkey, an enthusiastic supporter of SF, collected and kept McCann's election handbills, the kind of ephemera that usually does not survive. Sinn Féin made much of the support of Bishop Thomas O'Dwyer of Limerick, who died the previous year, and McCann was pleased to use a quotation from the bishop on his handbill.



Sharkey Collection, Tipperary Studies, The Source, Thurles
McCann's election handbill

13. During the General Election 1918, pressure was put on the archbishop by key Sinn Féin personalities, including the most prominent cleric associated with that party Fr Michael O'Flanagan from the West of Ireland, a trial to his colleagues and superiors who were somewhat less radical.



Fr Matt Ryan (1844-1937); born Pallasgreen; PP Knockavilla 1897-1937

Fr Matt Ryan PP. Knockavilla called at the Palace with Father O'Flanagan, the acting President of the Sinn Féin organisation, to see the Archbishop, but he did not succeed as the Archbishop was in bed with the influenza that day..... Father O'Flanagan stayed a few days in Thurles with a Mr C. Culhane, who is one of the

local leaders of Sinn Féin, but none of the Presbytery priests saw him nor did he call at the Presbytery, though he paid a visit to the Ursuline Nuns.....

Some young men went from Thurles to give assistance in canvassing on the Sinn Féin side in East and South Tipperary. We were certainly very fortunate to have escaped a contest here. The same is true of North Tipperary, where the Sinn Féin candidate, Joseph MacDonagh, was returned unopposed.

Like many older voters, Fr Maher was uncertain about Sinn Féin:

I have looked in vain for any policy from the Sinn Féin Party. They have not said what they are going to do after their return for the constituency except to appeal to the Peace Conference and to abstain from Parliament, apart from these two intentions they have sketched no modus operandi.

(Journal of Fr Michael Maher, Thurles vol viii, pp. 129-35, Tipperary Studies, The Source, Thurles)



Fr Michael O'Flanagan

14. The grave of John Cullinan MP, St Michael's Cemetery Tipperary. Bansha native and part of the early history of the GAA, John Cullinan was MP for Tipperary South 1900-1918 and witnessed the euphoria when in 1912, Home Rule appeared to be on the horizon. Initially suspicious of the Volunteers, he supported that movement when the Home Rule party under John Redmond got control of it. He encouraged recruitment to the British army during the Great War and unlike many of his colleagues he decided to fight the election in 1918. At sixty years of age he found himself campaigning for his seat for the first time. Standing on his record and supported by most of the senior clergy, he did not actually ask people to vote for him, thinking that his record would be enough. It wasn't and he lost by some 6,000 votes to P.J. Moloney. (In Tipperary in the two constituencies in the north of the county, Joseph MacDonagh and Seamus Burke were returned unopposed.)



DGM

*Grave of John Cullinan MP,
St Michael's Cemetery Tipperary*

In the south, Piersie McCan (then in an English Jail) defeated Thomas Condon, 7,487 votes to 4,794.

During the following months, in increasing bad health, John Cullinan served on local boards dealing with army pensions. He died in Dublin on 17 December 1920 and was buried in St Michael's Cemetery, Tipperary, a very short distance from the Republican Plot.

15. The great flu epidemic of 1918-1919 demanded more than was available in terms of response and facilities. The medical officer of Tipperary PLU tried to explain this to the board of guardians. He explained that he had fifty patients and just four vacant beds. The best known Tipperary casualty of the epidemic was Piersie McCan who died at Gloucester Jail on 6 March 1919.



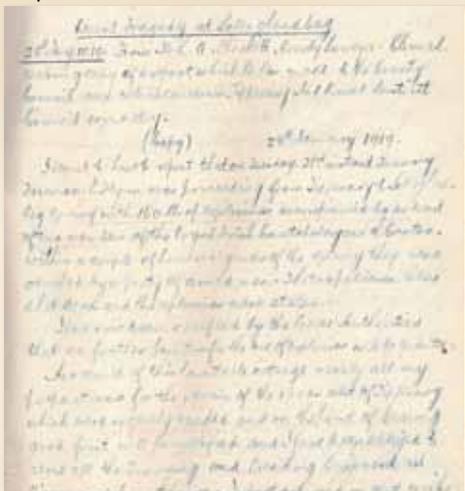
Murphy Photos

Piersie McCan

There are 50 patients at present in Hospital suffering from influenza and I have only at present 4 vacant beds. I wired to Bloghreen, Bechtel and Kilmallock to see if they could accommodate any. I wired also to the Medical Officer, who has and I hope to improve the necessary accommodation for patients.

County Tipperary in 1919

16. Edward A. Hackett from Laois was the Tipperary SR County Engineer from 1889 to his resignation in May 1920. His report to his employers on the episode at Soloheadbeg was dated 28 January 1919. With his responsibility for roads, the theft of explosives for quarrying stones impacted road maintenance.



I regret to have to report that on Tuesday 21 January, quarry foreman P Flynn was proceeding from Tipperary to Soloheadbeg quarry with 160 lbs of explosives, accompanied by an escort of two members of the Royal Irish Constabulary and a carter.

Within a couple of hundred yards of the quarry, they were attacked by a party of armed men. The two policemen were shot dead and the explosives were stolen.

I have been informed by the police authorities that no further permits for the use of explosives will be granted.

As a result of this lamentable outrage nearly all my preparations for the repair of the roads west of Tipperary which were urgently needed and on the point of bearing good fruit will be nullified. (Hackett report to Tipperary RDC, 28 Jan 1919, Tipperary Studies, The Source Thurles)

17. The Soloheadbeg Ambush.

Tadhg Crowe, a farmer's son from Solohead, was born in 1898 and in 1917 was brought into the Volunteers by Seán Treacy. In June 1918 he was arrested and given three months in Belfast Jail for illegal drilling. He was not released until early October, after which he remained in the area but not sleeping at home. Around the second week of January 1919 he was told by Treacy about the plan 'to seize' the explosives brought to Soloheadbeg Quarry at a date then unknown. Over the next days he and others waited for news of the consignment. Then...

About midday on Tuesday 21st January 1919, Paddy O'Dwyer cycled back along the Donohill road from Tipperary where he had been scouting, with the news that a horse and cart, with the gelignite, had left Tipperary military barracks and that it was coming by the Bohertrime Road.....



Breen, *My Fight*, 1924 ed.

There were eight in our party that day, viz; Seán Treacy, Seamus Robinson, Dan Breen, Paddy O'Dwyer, Michael Ryan, Seán Hogan, Patrick McCormack and myself. Some of us were armed with revolvers, and Seán Treacy had a small automatic rifle. I had my .45 revolver and my position was about 12 or 15 yards on the right of the main party. My instructions were to prevent the escort and the Co. Council men from running back along the road when the order to halt was given.



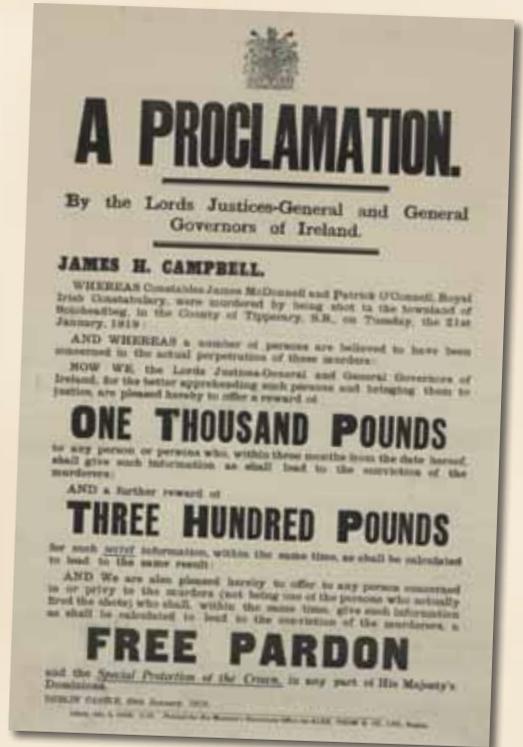
DGM

.... My recollection is that the two RIC men armed with carbines were walking behind the horse and cart when it came into the ambush position. There were several shouts of "Hands up!" I myself shouted that command at least two or three times. I saw one of the policemen (O'Connell) move up to the cart and crouch down beside it. From the position he took up and the manner in which he was handling his carbine, I was satisfied that he was going to offer resistance. We had instructions not to fire without orders from Seán Treacy or Seamus Robinson, but as far as I could judge, the cart and the boxes of gelignite on it were shielding this policeman from their view.

I fired three shots at him; one was ineffective, and the other two hit him in the arm and back. About the same time, either one or two shots were fired from the gate where Seán Treacy was positioned, and the other constable fell, shot through the temple. We got out on to the road. The two constables were dead and Flynn and Godfrey were unscathed, but badly frightened. (Bureau of Military History, Tadhg Crowe, WS 1658, pp. 8-9)

18. The traditional way used by the authorities to solve serious crime and obtain convictions was not forensic police work but by tempting one or other of those involved to inform and claim both the reward and as promised in this poster, the protection of removal to some other part of the empire. Following the Phoenix Park murders by the Invincibles in 1882, one of their numbers, who betrayed his

colleagues, while on his way to South Africa, was identified and killed. The odium attached to 'informing' was very much part of Irish popular culture.



That £1000 offer for information on Soloheadbeg is worth at least €80,000 today.

19. What happened the day after the Ambush was perhaps more consequential. By taking advantage of the wartime provisions of the Defence of the Realm Act (DORA), introduced at the start of the Great War, the government made South Tipperary a 'Special Military Area'. Special powers allowed when the threat from Germany was very real was sledgehammer and peanut stuff in the context of what happened at Soloheadbeg. The resulting disruption to life and business did nothing to help the government in the battle for hearts and minds. The social and economic dislocation in Mid-West Tipperary was severe.

Defence of the Realm County Tipperary (South Riding) Special Military Area

Notice is hereby given that, in exercise of the powers conferred on them by the Defence of the Realm Regulations, Regulation 29B, the Army Council, with the concurrence of the Chief Secretary, have by order dated the 22nd day of January 1919, declared that on and after 22nd Jan 1919, the area specified below shall be a Special Military Area for the purpose of the said regulations – that is to say, the County Tipperary (South Riding).

Given under my hand, this 22nd day of January 1919.

(signed) F. Shaw, Lieutenant-Gen.,
General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Ireland

Nationalist, 25 January 1919

20. Over the next months, Treacy, Breen and Hogan, later joined by Robinson, kept on the move across counties Tipperary, Limerick and Cork, during which period, Robinson and Treacy went to Dublin to meet Volunteer leaders. Dan Breen remembered that period with some bitterness:

We had to tramp from parish to parish without a penny in our pockets. Our clothes and boots were almost worn out and we had no replacements. Many in whom we thought that we could trust would not let us sleep even in their cattle-byres. (D. Breen, *My Fight for Irish Freedom* (1964 ed), p. 48)



Sharkey Photos
Dan Breen



Tipperary People Publications
Seán Treacy

After weeks on the run after the Soloheadbeg Ambush, the fugitives found themselves in the Dundrum-Clonoulty area and on the evening of 10 May 1919, they went to a dance at Ballagh organised by Mick Davern to raise some money to pay for a revolver. After the dance, Seán Hogan spent the night at Meaghers of Annfield. Tom Meagher takes up the story:

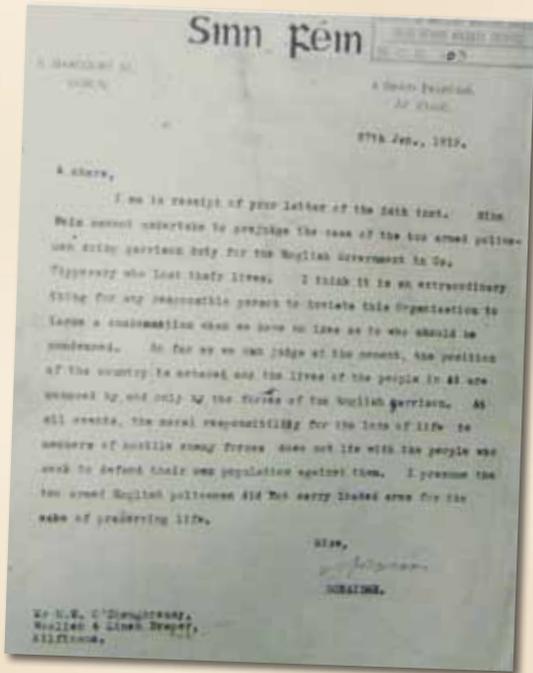
A few hours later and while Hogan was resting on a sofa, my sister noticed a

party of RIC men approaching the house. She roused Hogan and told him. He left the house and ran in a southerly direction through a field. Unfortunately for him, the police were approaching the house from the south side and as he cleared the fence at the end of the field he jumped straight into the arms of six RIC men who were extending out to surround the house. Had he taken any other direction he was safe.

(Bureau of Military History, Thomas F. Meagher, WS 1541, pp. 4-5)

21. Like many supporters of Sinn Féin, Michael C. O'Shaughnessy, a Kilfinane shopkeeper and father of Daniel, was shocked by Soloheadbeg and wrote to Sinn Féin headquarters to express this feeling. The reply, given here, understandably did not address any specific issues about the ambush but went on the attack referring to 'two armed English policemen' and implied that they were fair game.





Bureau of Military History, Daniel F. O'Shaughnessy, Kiffinane, WS 1435, p.18

22. Shortly after the incident at Soloheadbeg, Robinson and Treacy as the brigade numbers one and two were called to Dublin to answer to Volunteer HQ. (That the encounter reads like a screenplay and that Treacy has no speaking role may be noted.)

Seán and I set off on bicycles for the city, leaving Dan Breen and Seán Hogan behind. On arrival in Dublin word was sent to GHQ and almost immediately we had a despatch telling us where we were to meet Michael Collins. But Michael was waiting for us on the street with his notebook out. This meeting which was in the street instead of in an office Mick seemed to be keeping his eyes peeled watching everyone in the street without moving his head. His glance would come back to us. He greeted us with: "Well, everything is fixed-up; be ready to go in a day or two". "To go where?" I asked'. "To the States" he said. "Why?"

"Well, isn't it the usual thing to do after?" "We don't want to go to the States or anywhere else". "Well", said Mick "a great many people seem to think it is the only thing to do". I began to be afraid that GHQ had begun to give way to Sinn Féin pacifism and with a little acerbity I said: "Look here, to kill a couple of policemen for the country's sake and leave it at that by running away would be so wanton as to approximate too closely to murder." "Then what do you propose to do?" "Fight it out of course".

Mick Collins, without having shown the slightest emotion during this short interview, now suddenly closed his notebook with a snap saying as he strode off with the faintest of faint smiles on his lips but with a big laugh in his eyes: "That's all right with me". ... (Bureau of Military History, Seamus Robinson, WS 1721, pp. 29-30)



Robinson family

Seamus Robinson wedding photograph

23. Getting Arms... One side Getting arms was a constant pre-occupation of Volunteers. Bill O'Donnell a company o/c in the 2nd (Cashel) Battalion of the 3rd Brigade explained:

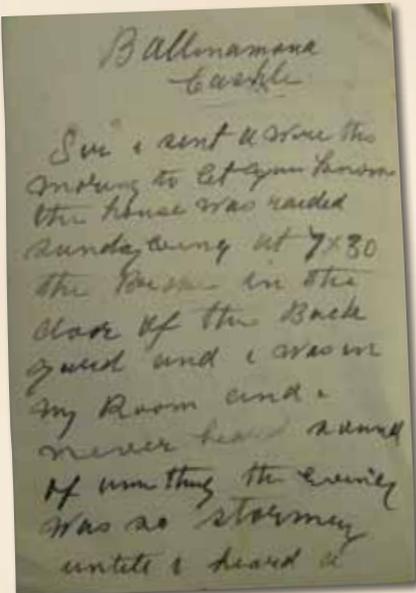
It was during this year of 1919 that we commenced to raid private houses for arms. With four or five others, I remember raiding four houses, those of Colonel Murphy (an ex British Army officer) at Ballinamona, Jerry Murphy, Hill House, Cashel, Dr Cusack's, Cashel, and Paul Cusack's of Mount Judkin, Cashel. At Colonel Murphy's we got two shotguns, a blunderbuss and two swords, and we got a shotgun at each of the other three houses.

(Bureau of Military History, William O'Donnell, WS 1304, p. 3)

... And the other With reference to the raid on Murphys of Ballinamona, the illustration is from the first page of a note from (John) Carty the butler to the family who were away.

Ballinamona, Cashel.

Sir, I sent a wire this morning to let you know the house was raided Sunday



*Ballinamona
Cashel*

Sir I sent a wire this morning to let you know the house was raided Sunday being at 7.30 the house in the back of the back yard and I was in my room and I never heard a sound of anything the evening was so stormy until I went to see what was it and when I opened my door I was covered with about 10 revolvers.....)

TL/F/88/16/28 Murphy Papers, Tipperary Studies, The Source, Thurles

evening at 7.30. They broke in the door of the back yard and I was in my room and I never heard a sound of anything the evening was so stormy until I heard a (noise at the kitchen door and I went to see what was it and when I opened my door I was covered with about 10 revolvers.....)



Edmund Murphy

(TL/F/88/16/28, Murphy Papers, Tipperary Studies, The Source, Thurles)

24. Following the death of Robert Byrnes in early April 1919 during an effort to rescue him from Limerick Union Workhouse hospital, where he had been removed from prison because he was on hunger strike, the authorities proclaimed Limerick as a 'special military area'. This as the illustration shows restricted free movement but also in this instance severely damaged labour relations.



TL/F/88/16/24 Murphy Papers, Tipperary Studies, The Source, Thurles
Special Military Area Limerick Pass from British military, to E.W. Murphy, 8 May 1919

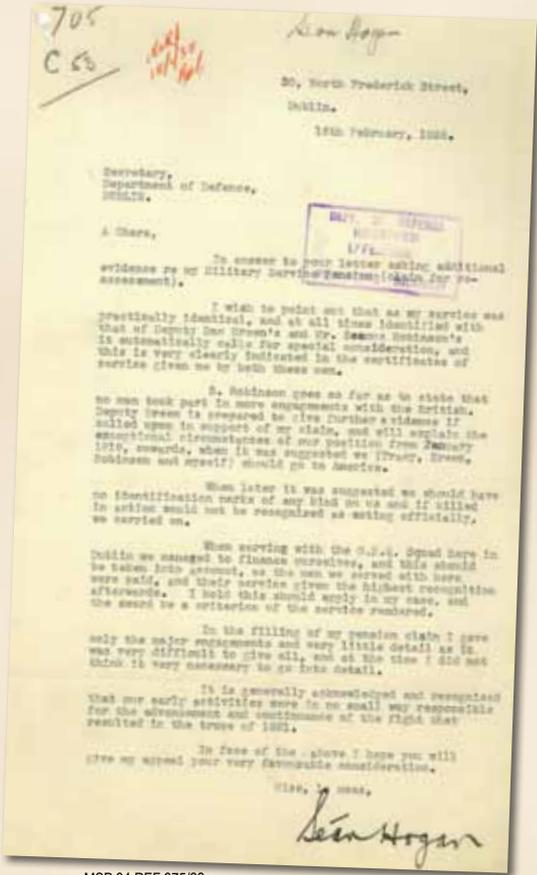


Murphy Photos

Ballinamona House, Cashel

The pass was issued to Edmund Murphy of Ballinamona, Cashel; Roman Catholic but loyal. His brother Alfred, a Lt-Col. in the Leinster Regiment was killed in Flanders in November 1917.

25. In this letter of 1938 Seán Hogan touches on his status and that of his colleagues after Soloheadbeg and, quite naturally, makes as much as he can about their time in Dublin.



MSP 34 REF 375/22

26. With Hogan in custody and about to be moved by train to Cork, his colleagues decided to attempt a rescue. With the help of the O'Brien brothers from Galbally and others from the Galtee Battalion, on 13 May some of the men joined the train at Emly while the others

boarded the train when it stopped at Knocklong in County Limerick. Hogan was guarded by Sergeant Wallace and three constables, Ring, O'Reilly and Enright. The first and last of these four were killed. John Joe O'Brien describes what happened:



John Joe O'Brien

One of the RIC escort, Sergeant Wallace, was a huge man, about 18-stone weight and I remember he had Ned O'Brien on the carriage seat with his fingers on Ned's throat. I jammed my little automatic against Wallace's throat and pulled the trigger. There was no report and I concluded that it was jammed. I ran my finger through the trigger guard and making a kind of club of the gun, I broke it on Wallace's forehead. I think it was Lynch who hit him also in the same spot, for Lynch was spattered with blood. Sergeant Wallace also received gunshot wounds from which he died, but I am not certain at what stage of the fight he received those wounds.

Apparently, Hogan got out through the window or the door. He was, as I have said, handcuffed, somebody shouted to him to get out and he did so. One of the policemen, Constable Ring, jumped through a window. Scanlon and Lynch, who were unarmed, were engaged with the fourth policeman,

Constable O'Reilly. He had a carbine between his legs and they said to him: "Give us the rifle and you will be all right". They seized the rifle and clubbed him four or five times with it. He slumped down in the corner of the carriage, to all intents and purposes, out for the count.



Jeremiah Ring

Treacy and my brother Ned had by that time been wounded, both, I believe, by this Constable O'Reilly. What we did not notice was another carbine under the

carriage seat. Leaving O'Reilly slumped in the carriage; we got out on to the platform. Sean Lynch, Ned Foley, who had by the way not been in the carriage, Jimmy Scanlon and myself moved along the platform and had probably got to a point about five yards from the exit when Constable O'Reilly, who had got possession of carbine which was under the seat, started firing again. The only weapon we had was my broken revolver, so we had to run. In this shooting, Jimmy Scanlon was wounded in the shoulder. (John Joe O'Brien, Bureau of Military History, WS 1647, pp. 10-11)

27. In the aftermath of the Soloheadbeg killings, the police knew who their prime suspects were and took into custody related children, hoping they might know something. The writer of this letter was Dan Breen's sister.

To the editor of the Freeman's Journal

Dear Sir – Will you kindly publish the following statement of the awful treatment of my little boy by the police in Tipperary. It will be an answer to the denial of Mr Macpherson. (Irish Chief Secretary)

On the 5 March last, I and my two little boys, aged 8 and 4 years, were in my own house, when about 11 o'clock a.m. a body of armed police came in. Some searched my house and made me remain where I was while the detective inspector and a sergeant took my child, 8 years old, to an

outhouse and kept him there the whole long day till 5 o'clock in the evening.

They questioned him and coaxed him at first and then threatened to drive a pencil down his throat if he did not tell them who shot the police and where arms etc. were hidden and also threatened to shoot him.

I heard the little boy crying and asked to be let out but was not allowed. After a long time I asked to be allowed bring him tea and something to eat but was again refused. Now, the fire was dying out and I would not be allowed to get coal from the outhouse for it and it went out.

Meantime, my husband came home for his dinner and was held up outside and searched and questioned and kept for hours. We had no dinner, so were without food or fire till the police eventually left, taking with them some clothes belonging to my husband.

My little boy had only just recovered after being three weeks in bed with influenza and this treatment brought on a nervous shock. I had to send for the doctor next day who promised to write and complain of the cruel conduct. Both my boys are terrified of police since.

*Mrs McGrath, Grantstown, Tipperary
June 23, '19.
(Freeman's Journal, 25 June 1919)*

28. The equivalent today of that £23,522 claimed (below) is £1.19M. For the government the long established principle was that the region where crime

A Crushing Burden Enormous Police Claims Lodged in Tipperary

At Tipperary No. 1 Rural District Council notice was received of criminal injury claims amounting to £23,522. These included claims for compensation for the shooting of police – District Inspector Hunt, at Thurles, £12,000; Constables McDonnell and O'Connell, shot at Soloheadbeg, £5,000 and £2,500 respectively; Sergeant Wallace, shot at Knocklong, £3,000; Constables O'Brien and Reynolds, injured at Galbally, £200 and £100 respectively.

Several members said that if these claims were granted, it would mean a crushing burden.

The Council gave directions to oppose all the claims.

was located should pay for it. An argument was that the people who perpetrated these attacks were not necessarily from the administrative areas where the attacks took place; Knocklong being an obvious case in point, the attack taking place where the train happened to make a stop.

29. As with many events in Thurles during this period, our guide is Fr Michael Maher who was on hand during the killing of District Inspector Michael Hunt on Monday 23 June 1919. During the actual shooting, Maher was at the railway station.

I went to the races and during the course of the day saw Mr Hunt several times. He was dressed in uniform and had a platoon of soldiers as well as several police under his command on the course. He was in the company of Captain Smith who happened to be in charge of the soldiers in Thurles at the time. He came to the grand stand for each race. Captain Smith preceded him. He was lithe and active and seemed delighted with everything.....

It seems Mr Hunt left the course accompanied by the military and police after the race goes had dispersed. When he came to the Fever Hospital, Captain Smith and the soldiers turned into their quarters, the police continued their march followed at some distance by Mr Hunt, alone in the crowd, making their way to the town. When he got into the Square just at Dr Barry's corner, some crackers were exploded and then shots were fired and Mr Hunt fell.

"A baton charge" was cried out and the crowd ran in all directions. It would appear that his assailants followed him at close quarters and fired at him with a revolver from a few feet behind. It is thought the shot was fired from the pocket of a coat or in some way manipulated through the pocket. The work was done so well that the perpetrators escaped in the general confusion without being detected. I came into the town about an hour later and the place was almost empty. Everybody

had hurried home. The police went around that evening and caused the public houses to be closed. A young priest happened to be in the Square and somebody ran and brought him to the dying man. It was said that the people jeered when they knew what happened, but Dr Barry rushed out of his house which is only a few yards away in order to give assistance and another man ran for the priest, who was near hand.

Mr Hunt was a native of the West of Ireland, a Catholic, who had risen from the ranks and was about 46 years of age. He was a thin, tall man, with white hair and very pale face. He leaves two sons and two daughters as well as a widow after him. He had been in Thurles about four years. A daughter of his died here about two years ago and was buried in St Mary's cemetery. Another daughter has a tubercular foot and is unable to walk.

The crime was looked on as political. He had made himself very active against Sinn Féin ever since the escape of Leahy and did not allow a week to pass without sending soldiers to stop meetings and search houses. In that way he became very unpopular and the majority of the people had turned against him. I had to go to him often in connection with the Archbishop's motor car and I found him very courteous and agreeable. All the clergy had to say the same about him. He did not seem to mind the danger he was in, although it is said that he was warned beforehand.

(Journal of Fr Michael Maher, Thurles vol x, pp. 160-61, Tipperary Studies, The Source, Thurles)



RIC barracks wall plaque

The Government and Tipperary.

ORGANISATIONS SUPPRESSED.

A Dublin correspondent, wiring on Monday night, said:—The *Dublin Gazette* to night contains the following—

“By Lord Lieutenant and Privy Council in Ireland.—French

“Whereas, by our special proclamation, dated the 3rd day of July, 1918, in pursuance and by virtue of the ‘Criminal Law and Procedure (Ireland) Act, 1887,’ we declare from the date thereof certain associations in Ireland known by the names of the Sinn Fein Organisation, Sinn Fein Clubs, the Irish Volunteers, the Cumann na mBan, and the Gaelic League to be dangerous; and, whereas, said associations now exist in the county of Tipperary, North Riding, now we, the Lord Lieutenant-General and General Governor of Ireland, by and with the advice of the Privy Council in Ireland, and by virtue of the ‘Criminal Law and Procedure (Ireland) Act, 1887,’ and of every power and authority in this behalf, do hereby by this our order prohibit and suppress within the said county of Tipperary, North Riding, the associations named and described in the said special proclamation as the Sinn Fein Organisation, Sinn Fein Clubs, the Irish Volunteers, the Cumann na mBan, and the Gaelic League. This order shall be promulgated by the same being published in the *Dublin Gazette*.

“Given at the Council Chamber, Dublin Castle, the 4th day of July, 1919

“JOHN ROSS.

“F. SHAW.”

Similar proclamations are issued in reference to Tipperary South Riding.

Chief Secretary's Memorandum.

Nenagh News, 12 July 1919

31. The RIC functioned as an information network which the IRA degraded. It was however still functioning in 1919. Reporting on North Tipperary to Dublin Castle for August 1919, county inspector Ernest Mulliner noted that:

15 Aug A threatening notice - Fourteen copies of a leaflet were found posted by police in Thurles. (It is believed it was intended to excite disaffection against the police.)



Derry Castle

Country Houses of Ireland, M. Bence - Jones

17 Aug A threatening notice – the police found a notice posted in front of Derrycastle threatening any person who works or assists Mr Hodgins. (Local farmers are trying to get Mr Hodgins to surrender the property.)

18 Aug A threatening letter – John McGrath publican, Thurles, received a letter threatening him that he could not carry or use a gun. That if he did not give it up on demand he would risk his life. (McGrath was friendly with the police.)

26 Aug Twenty masked men raided the house of John Hogan, Clash, Toomevara and took away a double-barrel shotgun.

(From monthly crime report Tipperary NR August 1919 and cited in Hogan, *Black & Tans*, p. 135)

ARMED MEN AT DERRYCASTLE.

On Wednesday a number of armed men attacked Michael McGrath, caretaker of Derrycastle estate, Nenagh, and beat him. He was told to leave the place in a week or he would be shot. There is some agrarian dispute on the estate, and the mansion was recently burned and £3,000 compensation awarded. A force of military and police on Thursday morning visited Derrycastle district and arrested four young men named Clarey, Lenord, Quigley and Dwyer in connection with the assault.

Tipperary Star, 13 September 1919

32. On 2 September an RIC patrol was ambushed near Lorrha in North Tipperary and a policeman was killed. Five days later a soldier was killed in Fermoy and the town badly damaged. On 12 September the Dáil was declared illegal. As ever, Fr Michael Maher was observing matters from Thurles.

Martial law came into force in Tipperary from Saturday the 20th Sept. There were no other instructions except the stopping of fairs and markets and public assemblies of all kinds. People were allowed to sell pigs and cattle at their homes and to deliver them to the buyer. They were also allowed to deliver farm produce in the town provided it was sold beforehand. The prevention of the fairs and markets was a big blow to Thurles, but people are making such profit in shops that it does not seem to press heavily on them. The police carry carbines when patrolling the streets and country roads and soldiers go out to the approaches of the town every market day to prevent persons from coming into the streets with anything for the market. Other than these restrictions, everything goes on normally.

The country is in a very disturbed state at present. Masked men have been raiding houses in every province for arms during the last two years.....The success of the masked men raiding for arms gave a headline to the criminal. If masked men

could raid houses for arms why could not he raid it for money! So during the last six months the brigand has been abroad plundering peoples' homes and holding them up on the roadside and robbing them at the point of the revolver. The police are useless, they cannot go out at night lest they may be shot, the soldiers spend their nights in the barracks, and so the people are left quite unprotected. The government of the country never cost so much and yet there is no safety for the individual. Bank managers are robbed on their way to outlying offices. Farmsteads are burned, police are shot, and nobody is brought to justice. Everybody is exasperated because many men are outlawed, others are taken away and kept in gaol without trial, political prisoners are treated as criminals and law abiding citizens have to pay for all the damage done.

(Journal of Fr Michael Maher, Thurles vol xi, p. 174, Tipperary Studies, Thurles)

33. The Tipperary fugitives from the Soloheadbeg Ambush occasionally made themselves useful during their time in Dublin 1919-21. On 19 December 1919 yet another attempt was made to assassinate the Viceroy, Lord French (unusually in that top position, an Irishman). The unit comprised men from Collins' hit squad, the four Tipperary men and thanks to accidentally meeting Seán Hogan, a Dublin Volunteer named Martin Savage who was killed. This is Dubliner Michael McDonnell's version of events.

I hurriedly organised the squad and got to Kelly's public house at Ashtown Cross shortly before 1 p.m. I was in charge of that ambush. As everyone was working I found it very hard to make up a sufficient number. Seán Treacy, Dan Breen, Seamus Robinson and J.J. Hogan were up here from County Tipperary "on the run" and Treacy had informed me before this that if they could be of any help to me at any time to call on them. This I did at this time with these four, Paddy Daly, Martin Savage, my half-brother Tom Keogh, Jim Slattery, Vincent Byrne, Joe Leonard, Ben Barrett and myself.....

LARCENIES.
Many residents in the district around Nenagh are complaining bitterly of the larcenies at night of turf, hay, fowl, etc. Yet the town is alive with police.

**MARTIAL LAW AT WORK.
THE BAN ON TIPPERARY.
TURNING TURF CARTS BACK.**
The regime of repression continues apace: Another proclamation has been issued in regard to Tipperary and the result is that all fairs, markets, meetings, assemblies, etc., cannot be held in the county without permission from the Co. Inspectors of the R.I.C.

Tipperary Star, 13 September 1919



Hogan-Wilson Collection, NLI

Pointing to where a bullet struck one of the cars in the Viceroy's convoy.

We got into Kelly's public house and some of the boys ordered minerals. I went out the back to look at Ashtown Station to see what I could see. While out in the yard I saw a large farm-cart standing on its heels. I told Breen to get it in readiness to push it through the gate, body first, on to the road with the object of running round the corner to block French's convoy of four cars which at this time had gone down to the station.....

French's party took less time than we had expected to get into the cars and came from the station. I gave the signal for the cart to be brought out and I put Paddy Daly and four others inside the hedge with hand-grenades. After telling them to concentrate on the second car and some other details, I turned to the cart again and found they were bringing it through the gate with the shafts first instead of the way I had told them.....

The result was the first car of French's party which was preceded by a detective on a motor-bicycle, flew by before we got the cart to the corner. Grenades were thrown from our party inside the hedge which stopped the second car as we had told them to do, but unfortunately French had already passed in the first car. A sniper opened fire from French's car on those of us who were on the road, killing Martin Savage instantly. The other two cars came from behind the second one and also escaped, but we captured the driver of the second one, and to our amazement discovered there was nothing in it but luggage. Dan Breen was also wounded on the road but his own men succeeded in getting him back to Dublin. (Bureau of Military History, Michael McDonnell, WS 225, pp. 3-5)

County Tipperary in 1920

34. Life in Dublin for the fugitives was difficult. Annie Farrington was manageress of an hotel in Dublin city centre and was helpful to the 'boys'.

Dan Breen stayed in the Crown several times. He had various people with him from time to time, Seán Treacy, Seán Hogan and others whose names I did not know. On one occasion about 6 or 7 of them came and they were in a dreadful condition. They had been sleeping inside the walls surrounding some church for several nights and had a few days growth of beard. Dan begged me to give them some sort of a shakedown. The hotel was full of guests and I went and took some of the mattresses from the beds and placed them on the drawing-room floor, leaving the guests with only the box springs. They only stayed one night. I fed everyone that came in like that.

(Bureau of Military History, Miss A. Farrington, WS 749, p. 2)

35. The first police fatality of 1920 was Luke Finnegan, an RIC constable in Thurles. He was a twenty-nine year old native of Tuam in Galway and was married with two children. Making himself busy investigating IRA activity, including aspects of the Knocklong Rescue, as Jim Leahy, c/o of the 2nd (Mid Tipperary) Brigade explained, they determined to be rid of him. With a large dash of hyperbole, the consequent unofficial reaction of Finnegan's colleagues is known as the 'sack of Thurles'.

Constable Finnegan, called on me at O'Connell's (the pub where Leahy worked) 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



Dublin City Library and Archive

Crown Hotel, 18a Sackville Street Upper, one house away from Gresham Hotel



rations cards during the 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 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 he 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 20 January 1920, Jerry Ryan, Mick Small and John McCarthy (Coorty) 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 ten 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.

(Bureau of Military History, James Leahy, WS 1454, pp. 26 -7)

36. Jim Leahy's account of the killing of Constable Luke Finnegan was written in 1956. Fr Michael Maher had a more immediate reaction.

Jan 20th 1920. Tonight at about 10.20 Constable Finnegan was fired at and wounded on the Mall between the



crossing of the Turtulla Road and the houses at the south side of the street in the end one of which at the west he lives with his wife and two children. Wm Delahunty who lives nearby ran for the priest; Father Ryan Adm who was on duty went. He found poor Finnegan in great pain wounded in the abdomen and arm. He was able to make his confession and to receive Holy Communion as well as Extreme Unction. Then the police officials told Father Ryan that he would be taken to Dublin by the night mail for treatment. Soon after the shooting of the constable, there were explosions as if shots were discharged from fowling pieces at intervals of a few seconds, and then a pause of ten minutes or thereabouts until midnight. I looked out soon after the explosions began and saw flashes in the Square, where all the noise seemed to come from. At 11.30 about a dozen shots were discharged much nearer to me (at the Presbytery). It must have been near the river. The night is quite dark and the town lights extinguished.

Written, Jan 20th 1920, 12.10, after midnight.

Jan 22nd 1920. The shooting was done by the police who broke loose after the attack on their comrade and smashed the windows of many leading Sinn Féiners in the town. They fired into several houses and invaded a few but there was nobody injured. The explosions I heard near the Presbytery were at the time when they were firing into Mr Morgan's house, which is the last house in Cathedral St next the river and opposite the Ursuline Convent. This seems to be the first time the police have retaliated for an attack on one of the force. The soldiers did it last year in Fermoy. Evidently their intention was to punish the leaders of Sinn Féin but they acted in a most senseless manner, for they exposed the lives of innocent people to danger and destroyed the property of law abiding citizens. Whether these acts of retaliation will increase remains to be seen.

(Journal of Fr Michael Maher, Thurles vol xi, pp. 180-81, Tipperary Studies, Thurles)

37. Local Election January 1920 and the novelty of PR

On the Thursday previous to that viz. 15 Jan we had the first election in the urban areas in Ireland under the Proportional Representation System. It was a novel system, but the work of the voter was easy although the counting is difficult, yet those responsible had made themselves up in the matter and it passed off successfully everywhere. The suffrage was extended last year and now almost every adult man has a vote and every wife and woman householder. Formerly we marked x before each name, now we have to put numbers 1, 2, 3 etc. according to our choice. In Thurles there were 12 vacancies of which Labour got 5, Sinn Féin 4 and Independents 3. At the first meeting, the Labourers elected the chairman Mr Morgan, a teacher at the Christian Brothers School. (Denis Morgan, a Dubliner and grandfather of the late comedian Dermot.)

(Journal of Fr Michael Maher, Thurles vol xi, p. 183, Tipperary Studies, Thurles)

THURLES.

NORTH WARD—(Elected)—Thomas P Stapleton, corn exporter and general merchant (Independent ticket), topped the list of primary votes obtaining more than the necessary quota, 1; Jemis Morgan, secondary teacher (Labour), 2; Jeremiah Dwyer, publican and Income Tax Recovery agent (Independent), 3; James Leahy, grocer's manager (S.F.), 4; James Ryan, van-driver (Labour), 5; John Houlihan, victualler (S.F.), 6.

Knocked out —McCarthy (Labour), Bolton (Independent), Johnston (Independent), Byron (Labour), Eastace (S.F.).

SOUTH WARD: — Elected—William Butler, provision and general merchant, (Independent), topped list of primary votes, obtaining more than the necessary quota, 1; Charles Cullane, hide exporter (S.F.), also obtained more than the necessary quota of primary votes, 2; Wm. Ryan, carpenter (Labour), also won on the primary votes alone, 3; M. McCarthy, baker (Labour), 4; J. McLoughney, draper (S.F.), 5; M. Mulcaire, tailor (Labour), 6.

Knocked out—Bolton (I.), Collins (S.F.), Lambe (I.); Quinn (S.F.), Johnston (I.).

Tipperary Star, 17 January 1920

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 payable in certain cases—1/- and 2/- a day.

UNIFORM - - - Free to all recruits; Best Allowances of 1/6 per week extra.

QUARTERS - - - Free Substantive 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 Gratuity Compensation is paid.

If you have the Physical—If you have a Good Character
 And especially—If you are an Ex-Serviceman
You can join the R.I.C. to-day.

Apply to the nearest Recruiting Officer or Director at the following addresses:

LONDON The Recruiting R.I.C. Great Portland Street, W.1.	LIVERPOOL The Recruiting Office, R.I.C. Regent Street.	GLASGOW The Recruiting Office, 10, Bath Street.	DUBLIN The Recruiting Office, 41, Fleet Street, Dublin, E.C.2.
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REMEMBER IF YOU DON'T LIKE THE JOB—YOU CAN GIVE A MONTH'S NOTICE—AND LEAVE.

<http://i.imgur.com/JV4AzKR.png>

38. Black & Tans

With experienced men leaving the RIC and recruits in short supply, the government advertised 'outside the box'. The emphasis was on ex-servicemen and the pay at ten shillings a week was excellent.

Last night and this morning (Tues 30 March 1920), around thirty Englishmen in khaki uniforms and armed with revolvers, caps and belts, arrived in Tipperary (town) to strengthen the local constabulary force. (Nationalist, 31 March 1920)

39. Martin Begley, RIC sergeant in Toomevara took his work seriously and was good at it. One solution from an IRA perspective was to be rid of him, without being caught up in the administrative snares between brigade and GHQ. Two of Begley's colleagues were killed coming from evening devotions on 16 March 1920. This episode was not the end of efforts to kill Begley.

In the parish of Toomevara, the RIC station in the village was the only enemy outpost. Up till the spring of 1920 when the garrison was trebled, it was occupied by a sergeant and five constables. Most of those policemen, especially the sergeant, a Kerryman, named Begley, and two constables, Scanlon and Healy, natives of Kern and Glare, respectively, were viciously antagonistic towards the Irish Volunteers and for that matter, towards every other national movement. The trio were all bullies by nature, and frequently overstepped their official duties, by beating up Volunteers or sympathisers and firing shots over men who were in no way interfering with them.

In the month of September 1919, the 1st lieutenant of the Toomevara company, Jack Harty, was attacked by these three RIC men on the main road, about a hundred yards outside the village. Harty received severe injuries from blows of batons and kicks all over the body. This treatment of Harty roused much resentment not alone among the Volunteers but among most of the civilian population in Toomevara. The matter was discussed by the quartermaster of the 2nd battalion, Paddy Whelehan,



Seán Hogan

and about half a dozen members of the Toomevara company, including myself. It was decided between us that sanction to shoot the policemen involved in Harty's assault should be sought from brigade headquarters.

Whelehan went in person to a meeting of the brigade council but sanction was refused. This happened in October, 1919.(Whelehan was advised to ignore this)

.....For months afterwards, Whelehan, myself and a couple of other men lay in wait on different roads around the village on an average of two nights per week, thinking we might get a chance to attack the police, but eventually gave up trying when we noticed that they had ceased to leave the barracks at night. However, we had by no means abandoned our project, and our chance came when it was observed that policemen were attending the evening devotions during Lent in the following spring.

On the evening of 16 March 1920, Whelehan and myself, armed with two .45 revolvers and in disguised attire, waited outside the church gates in Toomevara until devotions were over. It was about half past seven when the congregation came out, two RIC men among them. As the police passed the church gates, Whelehan and myself got in behind them. We had followed them for about forty yards, and then each of us taking a man, opened fire and shot them dead.

The crowd coming from the church gathered round and in order to scatter them to prevent ourselves from being recognised, we fired a few shots in the air. After that, we made our way through Looby's gateway into the fields and to our own homes, hiding our revolvers on the way.

(Bureau of Military History, John Hackett, WS 1388, pp. 6-9)

40. This cartoon is from a pro-British source and showed the IRA as unmanly lurkers, unwilling to 'play the game' and

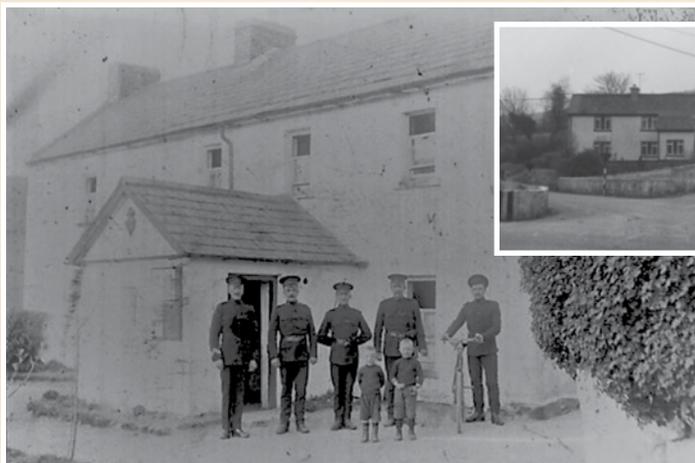
fight by recognised rules. By 1920 the police unofficially adopted similar tactics.



This is Fr Michael Maher's account of the police murder of James McCarthy, member of a very activist Republican family.

Everything was going on normally in Thurles and the people were pursuing their avocations in peace until the early morning on Sat 27 March, when a young man named James McCarthy who lived with his mother, brothers and sisters in a cottage on the Mall was shot dead at his own door by disguised men. It seems the family was in bed, when a loud knocking was heard about 1.30 a.m. The young man came down to open the door. He was asked his name, gave it and fell pierced with bullets. The assassins then departed. A brother of his who is a member of the Urban Council, elected lately on the Labour ticket, got some threatening letters previously, which he attributed to the police. This urban councillor is an active young fellow and has been asking for an investigation into the damage that was done to the town on the night of the 20th Jan. The people believe that the deed was done by police and that it was the councillor they wanted.

(Journal of Fr Michael Maher, Thurles vol xi, p. 187, Tipperary Studies, The Source, Thurles)



Hollyford RIC Barracks



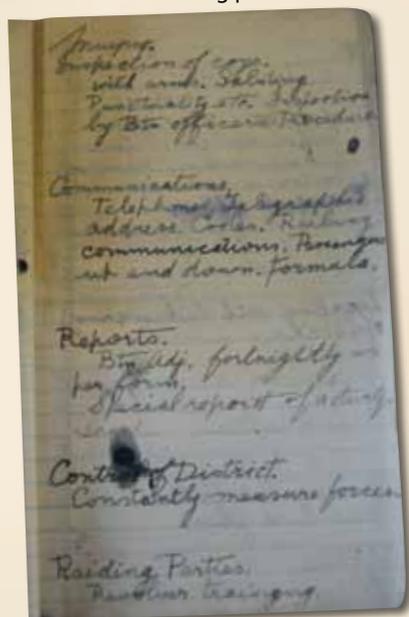
Barracks in 1982

41. A feature of the early months of 1920 was attacks on RIC barracks, a large number of which, in light of the government's policy of saturation policing, were spread across the country.

Ernie O'Malley from Volunteer GHQ was on hand for some of these attacks, such as that at Hollyford on 12 May. In this account he and Seamus Robinson are on the roof of the barracks.

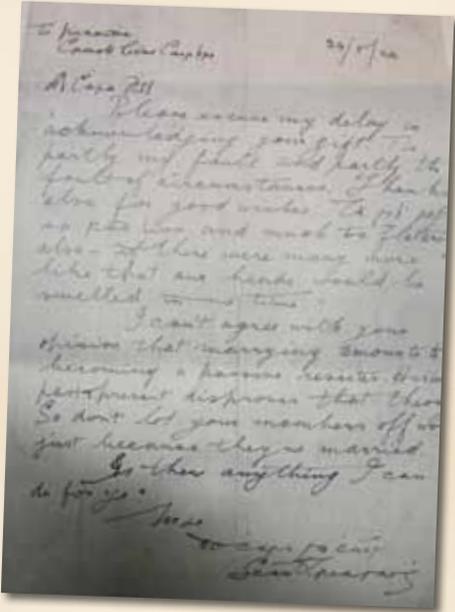
*We each had a two-gallon petrol tin tied on our backs, and five or six sods of turf which had been well soaked in paraffin... We carried two revolvers each, a pouch of ammunition and a strong hammer tied to our left wrists. We crawled across the roof; then as we smashed hard with our hammers on the slates, we heard the riflemen open up below. I threw a hand grenade through a gap and I heard the crash of Seamus's missile almost at the same time. Petrol was poured in through the rough-edged holes. Lighted matches were held against our sods of turf which flamed up noisily and quickly caught the dripping petrol in a roar of leaping light. With a sudden blast, fire thrust back and forward on the roof in a growing wind. (E. O'Malley, *Raids and Rallies* (Anvil, 1982), p. 19)*

42. This page from a notebook kept by Seán Treacy probably relates to 1920 and is by way of an aide-memoir and is a reminder of his schedule; for example the note that constant attention had to be centred on the movement and number of enemy forces within a given district and the obvious need of weapons training for what he called 'raiding parties'.



Tipperary Studies, The Source, Thurles

43. With the spotlight on the political and public aspects of individual lives during a period of momentous change, it is very easy to forget that between the shouts and the shots, there were private and personal moments. A few months before he was killed, on 24 May 1920 Seán Treacy acknowledged a wedding gift from a Gaelic League branch.



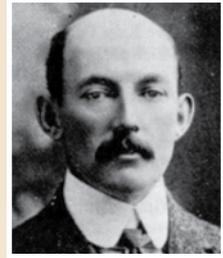
Private Collection

*A Cara Díl
Please excuse my delay in acknowledging your gift. Tis partly my fault and partly the fault of circumstances. Thanks also for good wishes. Tá sibh ró {fhlaithiúil?} (much too kind) ar fad linn and much too flattering also – if there were many more like that our heads would be swelled in no time.*

*I can't agree with your opinion that marrying amounts to becoming a passive resister. History past & present disproves that theory. So don't let your members off work just because they're married. Is there anything I can do for 'ye'.
Mise*

*Do chara sa chúis (your friend in the cause)
Seán Ó Treasaigh*

44. On Thursday 3 June 1920 county council elections were held. Unlike the earlier local elections (for urban authorities) the previous December, this time Sinn Féin was more prepared and one way of ensuring victory was to discourage alternative candidates. In the five electoral areas of South Tipperary, SF now controlled all twenty-three seats. The new council met for the first time on Monday 21 June, in Clonmel. Louis Dalton from Tipperary town was elected chairman.



*Louis J. D'Alton,
Elected Chairman
1920 to 1924*

The chairman in proposing the now familiar resolution adopted at all local boards, pledging allegiance to Dáil Éireann as the authorised government of the country, said it was the most important resolution to come before the council. Ireland merely demanded the self-determination that had been granted to other countries.....It was unanimously decided to send all minutes of the Council to Dáil Éireann.....

The chairman said the resolution meant that the rates which were going to be levied on the people would be for the good of the people.... If England wished to keep a military garrison of any sort in this country, she would have to pay for it herself....

(Minutes Tipperary SR County Council, 3 June 1920, Tipperary County Archives, Carrigeen, Clonmel)

45. In order to cope with IRA attacks on barracks, a special position was created, that of Defence of Barracks Sergeant, responsible for improving and maintaining defence. On 12 July 1920, men from Tipperary and Limerick brigades launched an attack on Rearcross RIC Barracks. The man responsible for that barrack's defence was Sergeant John Stokes, just twenty-one and from

County Down. His defensive features included the back wall being modified and netting wire across the back yard as well as steel plates to protect windows. Previously in the army, Stokes had only recently joined the RIC as Defence of Barracks Sergeant and was the first such killed by the IRA. This is Ernie O'Malley's account of his death.



Special defensive measures in RIC barracks

Sometime just about dawn a sergeant wearing a soft hat came out the front door of the barracks with a rifle and looking up at the roof, evidently trying to find the riflemen whose bullets, when they penetrated through the slates and the top floor, had been a source of danger.... Rifles cracked by the haggard and (the sergeant) stumbled back against the door. It was a brave and hopeless gesture.... he bore no bad name among the local people.
(E. O'Malley, *Raids and Rallies* (Anvil, 1982), p. 61)

46. The hospital in Tipperary town attached to the military barracks serviced the injured and dying for a wide region. Victims of IRA ambushes were brought there. On 30 July 1920, two soldiers of the Ox and Bucks regiment were killed during an ambush at Oola. The hospital matron had a deal of practice writing such letters.



Lance Corporal Parker

*Military Hospital
Tipperary
July 31st 1920*

*Dear Mrs Parker,
Your son Lance Corporal Parker met his end like a brave gallant British Soldier, you will be very proud of him. For him now all is happiness – care and sorrows are no more – All is well – Our hearts grieve for you in your sad loss – our deep sympathy is yours. Your boy was brought in here yesterday with another of his comrades, who met his fate at the same time and it has cast a deep gloom on all around.
May God comfort you in your grief.*

*Yours Truly
DMC Michele (Matron)*

(<https://www.cairogang.com/soldiers-killed/Lucas-ambush/parker/parker.html>)

In Oct, Parker's mother was awarded £240 compensation for her son's death.

47. Unlike the other two IRA brigades in Tipperary, the 1st or North Tipperary unit had leadership issues.

The Brigade OIC, Frank McGrath, owing to certain newly formed partnerships in business with a bitter enemy of Sinn Féin and the I.R.A. - a man called Frank R. Moloney Nenagh - had incurred a good deal of unpopularity among his own men and Sinn Féin supporters generally. The manner in which he handled the Borrisokane barrack attack brought matters to a crisis. His decision to retreat prematurely and his desertion of the wounded men were regarded as inexcusable. Besides, it was the general opinion that his association in prison with men who did not approve of physical force caused him to become so moderate in his view as to be unfit to lead the brigade at this critical juncture.

I sent my resignation as Brigade Adjutant to GHQ explaining that I could not see my way to hold the post any longer while Frank McGrath remained as Brigade Commandant. In this action I was supported by practically all the younger officers in the brigade. Instead of accepting my resignation, GHQ sent down a representative, Peadar Bracken, with instructions to remove Frank McGrath and to appoint myself in his place.

(Bureau of Military History, Seán Gaynor, WS 1389, pp 23-24)

Reminding us of the partiality of the evidence, Frank McGrath recalled the matter differently.

Due to my prolonged periods of imprisonment and to the after effects of the hunger strike, my health deteriorated



Brendan Treacy

Frank McGrath

during the summer months of 1920, and I found myself reluctantly compelled to resign from the post of Brigade OIC. GHQ then appointed Seán Gaynor to take my place. From September 1920 until the Truce in July 1921, I was on the run to avoid being again arrested. During that time my work with the brigade consisted of activities such as organising the brigade flying column, organising the brigade IRA police force and the establishing of Sinn Féin courts in the area of North Co. Tipperary. I generally travelled on a bicycle and I took advantage of my visits to the battalion areas to inspect arms dumps and to instruct the quartermasters in the care of arms and in the preparation of returns. Another item which required my attention was the distribution on a more equal basis of the available arms and ammunition amongst the battalions. Checks revealed that some quartermasters were holding ammunition for which their units had no suitable guns whilst other battalions might have the guns but lacked the ammunition. (Bureau of Military History, Frank McGrath, WS 1558, p. 13)



Gaynor family

Seán Gaynor

48.

Templemore Tragedy D. I. Wilson Shot Dead

District Inspector William H. Wilson was shot dead in the Main St, Templemore, on Monday at 3 p.m.

The tragedy occurred within a few yards of the police barracks. Three bullets struck deceased and death was almost instantaneous.

Mr Wilson had been doing office work in the police barracks during the morning and was on his way home to dinner when assailed.

Although police rushed out of the barracks on hearing the shots, his assailants had disappeared as mysteriously as they came. Military also appeared on the scene and much excitement prevailed as the victim was a well-known local figure, having been stationed at Templemore for 8 or 9 years.

Deceased's Career

The late Mr Wilson joined the police force about 25 years ago as a constable and served in Galway, Longford and the Midland counties. For many years he had acted as official shorthand notetaker in Dublin Castle. About 2 months ago he had a remarkable escape in Templemore, a bullet grazed his head.

He was aged about 50 years and was appointed District-Inspector in 1910 and promoted to the rank of 2nd class Inspector 2 years later. He took charge of the Thurles police for some time after the shooting of Mr M. Hunt D. I. in June 1919 and he represented the police at the inquest on that officer.



<https://www.ancestry.com/boards/topics.crime.royalirishconstabulary/35.4/mb.ashx>

William Harding Wilson

49. Below is the account by the O/C 2nd /Mid Tipperary Brigade, of the killing of D.I. Wilson.



Jim Stapleton

We (Leahy, John Fahy, Upperchurch, Jim Stapleton and Paddy Kinane) were in (Templemore) at 11.30 a.m. and after waiting for three or four hours around Kelly's in the Crescent, Stapleton left us to go across the street to Fogarty's pub with a friend he had met. There were a couple of local Volunteers moving about the town watching for Wilson, One of these Volunteers came to me with the news that Wilson was coming down the street from his own home and that he was unaccompanied. On hearing this I sent word to Stapleton over in Fogarty's that the D. I. was walking along that side of the street. As Wilson passed the door of Fogarty's, Stapleton stepped into the street behind him and shot him through the nape of the neck. That was the only shot fired and it was plain to me that Wilson was dead before he hit the ground. I ordered the attacking party to leave the town at once. We got out through an exit at the side of Fogarty's, on through the Carden Estate and along the Dunkerrin road for about 300 yards. We then turned into a byroad leading to Killea. At this stage Stapleton collapsed and we had to carry him a couple of miles until we reached his cousin's place, Tracey's in Killea. This was a fatiguing job as he was a big man, over 15 stone weight.

(Bureau of Military History, James Leahy, WS 1454, p. 37)

Jim Stapleton was also responsible for shooting D.I. Hunt the previous year in Thurles. He died in 1940.

Nenagh News, 20 August 1920



50. *A young man named Jimmy Walsh startled the town with a story that an apparition of Our Blessed Lady appeared to him at a place called Curraheen, two miles outside (Templemore) where a well was said to have suddenly sprung up on the spot on which the vision had manifested itself. Simultaneously statues of the Sacred Heart in the house of a family called Dwan in the Main St, which Walsh had kissed, started to 'bleed'. The people in the locality at once began to flock in hundreds to the scenes of these unusual happenings which in a matter of day or two became headlines in the daily newspapers, not alone of this country, but throughout the whole world. "Miracles" of all kinds were reported and pilgrims started to pour into Templemore from all over Ireland and ultimately from across the water and even America.* (Bureau of Military History, James Leahy, WS 1454, pp. 41-2)

51. The first test of Lacy's Flying Column was an ambush on 28 October 1920 of a convoy of Black and Tans based at Golden who travelled the road routinely. However instead of the expected Crossley tender, a caged lorry arrived on the scene bringing soldiers of the Northamptonshire Regiment from Templemore to the rifle range in

Tipperary. The IRA unit was not quite ready and one of the British officers rallied his men, forcing the IRA to withdraw before reinforcements arrived from Tipperary. Michael Fitzpatrick was wounded and survived. Three British soldiers were killed, one of whom, 17 year old Thomas Crumme was from Nenagh. Brought up in Nenagh Workhouse, he moved from one institution to another and was in the wrong place at the wrong time on 28 October. With no interest apparent in claiming his body, he was buried in St Michael's Cemetery in Tipperary town.



DGM

Private T. Crumme

52. Part of the narrative about the IRA in the War of Independence relates to their methods of communication such as the transmission of dispatches. By both circumstance and design, a great deal of this material did not survive. In this example the sender is Éamon Ó Duibhir.



Sharkey Papers, 'red photo album' Tipperary Studies, The Source, Thurles

53. Éamon Ó Duibhir from Ballagh between Dundrum and Clonoulty was one of the seminal figures in the opposition to Home Rule in Tipperary. He was interned in 1916. By 1920 he had distanced himself from the IRA campaign. Nevertheless when reprisals were planned he was deemed a suitable target.

54. Late on Monday 11 October 1920, Seán Treacy and Dan Breen arrived at Fernside, a house in Drumcondra, to stay the night. A few hours later the house was raided by a party of nine led by



Major G.O. Smyth

Major George Smyth, who was killed. Both Tipperary men escaped separately, though Breen was wounded. Later that day, they came together for a last time in a shed near Mountjoy Square. Joe Lawless, a Dublin Volunteer was there.

Our feelings while we waited in that dark shed can more easily be imagined than described. We knew very little of what had really happened during the night and morning, but felt sure that an organised search for Breen must be in progress. Dan in his delirium was all the time grieving over the loss of his best friend and gallant comrade Seán Treacy and by this time further administrations of brandy were having little or no effect in keeping him quiet. We had been there for perhaps half an hour or more when sounds outside the door brought us to the alertand, wonder of wonders, his companion was the very man whose

To the editor of the Tipperary People

Sir – About 1 a.m. on Sept. 30, a detachment of British forces, presumably from Cashel, called to my house. In response to a knock, my sister inquired who was there and the reply was ‘The military’. She immediately opened the door and an officer entered with a revolver in each hand. About a dozen soldiers, accompanied by two or three men in civilian dress, followed. The officer inquired if I was at home and on being told that I was not, he secured a lamp and rushed upstairs. At the same time some of the men began firing, though there was no enemy inside and one of them was wounded in the foot by the fire from his own comrades.

The womenfolk in the house (*Ó Duibhir’s mother, sister and her two children and a friend*) were ordered out. The house was immediately set on fire at various points and also two large stacks of corn with carts and (*farm*) implements, the total loss amounting to nearly £4000.

I may point out that so far as I can learn neither RIC nor “Black and Tans” were concerned in that outrage – unless the men in civilian dress were Black and Tans....

Éamon Ó Duibhir,
Kilshenane, Cashel

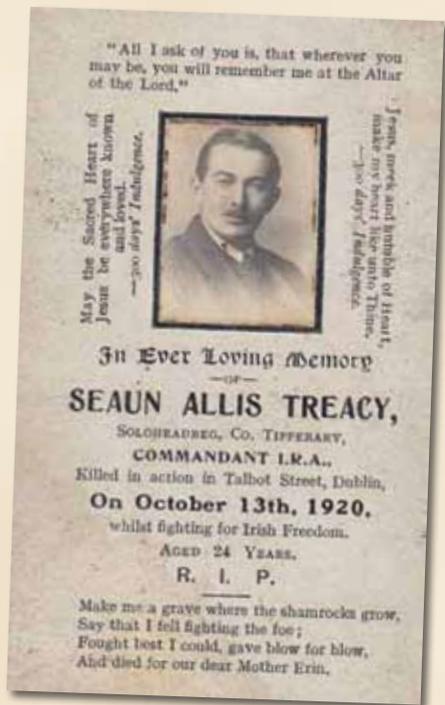
death Breen was lamenting. Seán Treacy indeed, as full of life and mocking humour as ever, though garbed in somewhat burlesque fashion with a coat several sizes too large for him, the sleeves of which were rolled up at the cuffs. The reunion between himself and Breen was an emotional climax, in which Breen was shocked back from his nightmare world of delirium to pleasant reality and Seán allowed his deep inner feelings to show for a moment. Treacy gave us a brief sketch of the happenings at Fernside, and said that when at his (Treacy's) urging Breen had left by the window, he himself kept up a covering fire for a few minutes to enable Breen to get clear and then left by the same window. He dropped unhurt through the hole Breen had made in the roof of the greenhouse and also made his way across the laneway into the grounds of St Patrick's College. Seán, however, had kept his sense of direction, and remembering where he was likely to find shelter he cut across country towards Finglas, where he got food, clothing and shelter at the house of Phil Ryan where Seán had often stayed before.

(Bureau of Military History, Joseph V Lawless, WS 1043, pp. 329-30)



Fernside house, Drumcondra

55. The Death of Seán Treacy, Talbot Street, Dublin, 14 Oct 1920.



Seán Treacy's Memoriam Card (incorrect date)

Between the Soloheadbeg Ambush and his death, about twenty months, Treacy was mainly in Dublin not in Tipperary. Seán Brunswick was a member of 'G' company, the 1st Battalion, Dublin Brigade and was in the vicinity.

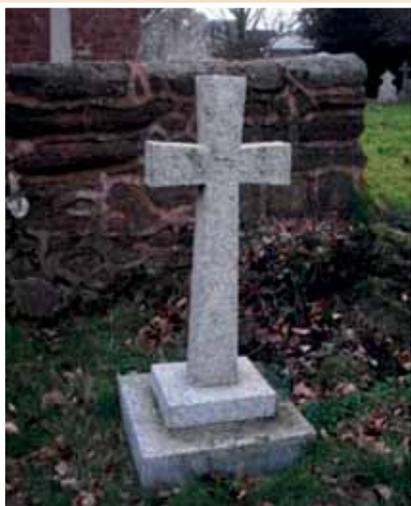
When I turned into North Earl St I saw a lorry of soldiers and an armoured car in front of me and tried to get to the shop in front of them but failed. Just as the soldiers were getting out of the lorry Dick McKee walked out of the shop, while Seán Treacy ran from it and was pounced on by the individual 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 (as did) 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 (crown forces) smashed up the Republican Outfitters. (Bureau of Military History, Sean Brunswick, WS 898, p. 6)



19EF -3011-02 Seán Treacy's shoe
Kilmainham

56. Killing of Lt H.J. Hambleton 4 Nov 1920



<https://www.cairogang.com/soldiers-killed/hambleton/hambleton.html>

*Hambleton's grave at Exminster churchyard
near Exeter.*

A son of the empire: born in India in 1893 to a father in the British army, served in the army in the Great War and in India and was involved in intelligence work in North Tipperary. Described by Seán Hogan as 'the first and only fatal military casualty inflicted on the Crown forces' by the 1st Tipperary Brigade.

The men were all short of cigarettes and I sent Paddy Starr with a bike into Nenagh to get a supply and also gave him instructions to make enquiries about the movements of enemy troops in and around that town. While on his way, Starr met Captain Hambleton, OIC of the Nenagh military post, going on a motor-bike to Templemore, then battalion headquarters for the British troops in North Tipperary. Hambleton had been stationed in Nenagh for some time and bore the reputation of being an extremely bad pill. Starr, once the officer had gone out of sight, came back and reported to me what he had observed.

I selected Jeremiah Larkin, Hugh Kelly, Mick Gaynor and Starr to come with me to a position one hundred yards on the Nenagh side of Casey's Cross and got behind a wall at about 2 p.m. to await the return of Captain Hambleton. Larkin, Kelly and myself had rifles, Gaynor had a shotgun and Starr, who was required for recognition purposes only, had no gun. At about 4 p.m. Hambleton approached, travelling at a fairly fast pace. When he was fifty yards or so from our position I gave the order to fire. Only Larkin and myself did so. At fifteen yards distance (in) front (of) us he fell off the motor-bike and made for the fence on the far side of the road. He was then almost opposite me and I fired again, hitting him through the left shoulder. He fell forward across the fence into the field on the other side, shouting as he did so, "You.... You've got me". In all, three shots were fired, each of which hit him. The accidental discharge of a shot by Mick Gaynor coinciding with the noise of an oncoming motor vehicle which, I thought, might contain enemy troops, caused me to order the withdrawal of the party sooner than I normally would have done. Hambleton's

body was left in the field into which it had fallen, while we rejoined the remainder of the Flying Column and spent the night in the vicinity.
 (Bureau of Military History, Edward O'Leary, WS 1459, pp. 12-13)

57. Lisnagaul Ambush, Glen of Aherlow, 13 November 1920

Constable Charles Buntrock, a Black & Tan, was one of four police fatalities when Lacy's Flying Column ambushed a supply convoy at Inch's Cross.



<https://irishconstabulary.com/charles-buntrock-constable-74436-11551.html>

58. Bloody Sunday

Individuals made choices determined by fate, family and circumstances. Michael Hogan (24) was captain of the Tipperary Gaelic Football team, playing against a Dublin team on 21 November 1920. He was also active in the Volunteers in his parish of Grangemockler. He was killed during the British attack on Croke Park that afternoon in retaliation for the IRA attack against selected targets that morning.

Michael Hogan's Jersey
 TSCM 1983.339, County Museum, Clonmel



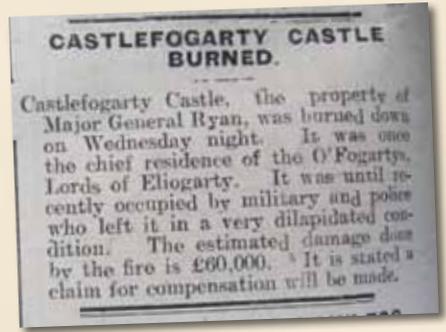
www.bloodySunday.co.uk/murdered-men/fitzgerald.html

Funeral of John Fitzgerald, accompanied by Auxiliaries

One of the men killed that morning by the hit squad dispatched by Michael Collins was John Fitzgerald (22) from Cappawhite, where his father was dispensary doctor. Having served with the Royal Irish Regiment in the Great War, he became a Defence of Barracks officer in mid-1920 and lodging at Earlsfort Terrace, he may have been a victim of mistaken identity.

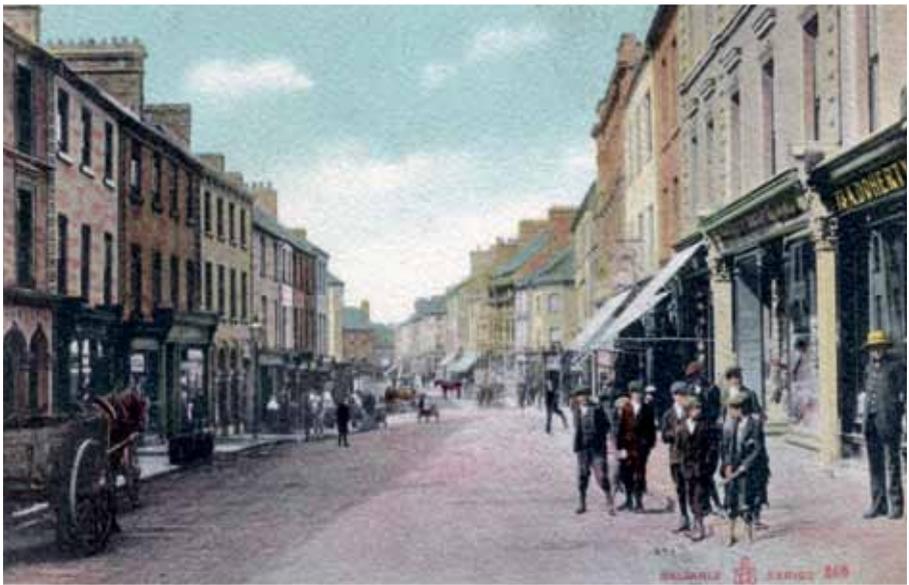
59. In time of war strange things happen. Robin Hood in Tipperary.

In the hottest part of the pre-Truce fighting, a number of English soldiers occupied Castle Fogarty near Thurles. (Northamptonshire Regiment) Four of them deserted at different times. They held up men on the road and compelled them to exchange clothes.These four English soldiers lived in the woods. They came out a little before dinner time and revolver(s) in hand, compelled the farmers' wives to give them a dinner. The English army scoured the country for them but failed to get them. The Thurles IRA then took the matter in hands. They



Tipperary Star, 22 April 1922

soon rounded up the four of them (and passed them on to the Dualla Company. One afternoon about three o'clock (a message was delivered that the four men) would be delivered to me that night at Silverfort Cross at about ten o'clock.... We were to keep them one night at Moyglass and feed them well. The following night we were to pass them on to the Fethard Company...then to the Carrick-on-Suir men and so on to Waterford where they were deported to England.



*Main St., Tipperary Town
As you look at the photograph, the Irish House is the tallest building on the right hand side.*

(James McCaffrey, I. O. 7th Battalion, 3rd Tipperary Brigade, O'Mahony/Fitzpatrick Papers, TL/A/48B/51, Tipperary Studies, The Source, Thurles)

A court martial was not held, it being thought that the prisoners being foreigners, they should get an opportunity to return to their homes. (Freeman's Journal, 17 July 1920)

60. Burning of the Irish House in Tipperary town, 2 December 1920

The Irish House, the largest business of its kind in the district, employed up to fifty people, several of whom were active Volunteers.

About 2.30 on Thursday morning flames were seen issuing from the Irish House, the well known drapery establishment in the centre of the Main Street, Tipperary.....The ground floor and first floor were a mass of flames and though the upper floor was intact, it was seen that nothing could be done to save the buildingThe heat from the burning building was intense, causing the paint on houses on the opposite side of the street to peel off. The glare of the flames was seen in the sky for miles around.... The Irish House was an imposing structure...the proprietors Messrs Newell Bros the well known drapers of Dublin and Belfast, who purchased the place 12 months ago from the former proprietor Mr James O'Neill, spared no expense in bringing the establishment up-to-date in every respect.....It is stated that the damage caused by the destruction of the stock and building is about £50,000 (about two million euro).

On several occasions within the past months, the Irish House was the subject of nocturnal attacks... For some time past the staff, who had formerly lived in, had ceased to sleep on the premises and on the night of the burning the building was unoccupied.

It is thought that entrance was effected by the rear and that petrol was plentifully

sprinkled on the goods and through all the rooms.

(Tipperary People, 3 December 1920)

61. When the people of Tipperary town woke up on Thursday morning 9 December 1920, threatening notices, of which this is one, were plastered around the town. Not even printed but exercises with ink and paper, they were opportunities for frantic Black & Tans to vent their anger when attacks on them were increasing. The killing of Michael Edmonds a few days later showed that these notices were not idle threats.

It occurred some time ago that some of our gallant RIC officers of Tipperary were cowardly murdered behind the hedges not far from Tipperary by Tipperary murderers. If the ambushes do not cease forthwith, Tipperary and district will be an ocean of blood and you may take this as final warning.

If these cowardly murderers want a good fight they can come out from behind those hedges where they wait day and night to shoot down those innocent men.

It was in Tipperary town that the murder started in 1919 when two innocent men were shot dead like dogs and they did not even give them time to say a prayer or prepare to meet their God above. But remember that is not forgotten.

Any person pulling this notice down, does so under a penalty of death and destruction and fire will follow.

Any person with his hands in his pockets will be shot at first sight.



Anti-Sinn Féin League

Tipperary People, 10 December 1920

62. Nenagh native, Edward (Eddie) John Ryan was a member of the Active Service Unit of the 1st Brigade and in mid-December 1920 was in action against police who had reinforced their position at Kilcommon. Hearing that a police patrol regularly collected their post in the village, it was decided to strike. Four policemen were killed.

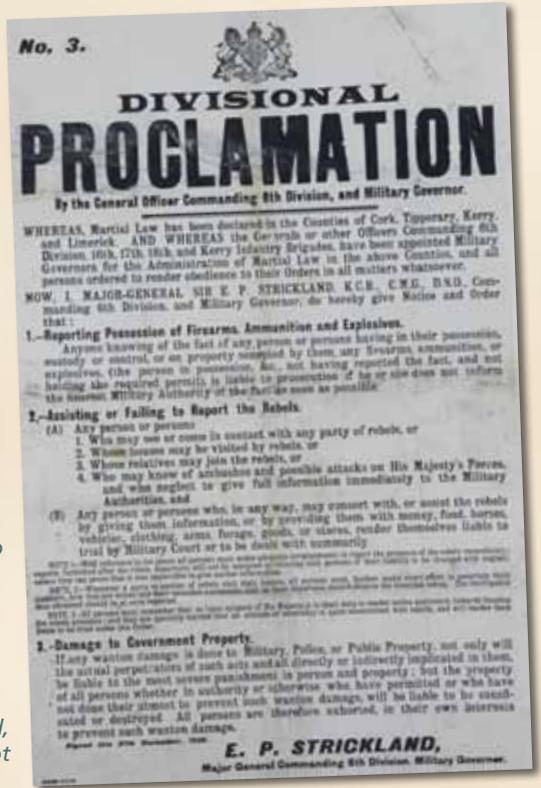
At about ten o'clock in the morning the scouts came towards us to report that the police patrol was travelling along the direct road. The patrol consisted of eight RIC men on foot and in extended formation, two abreast and about ten paces between each pair. All of them carried rifles. After a couple of minutes firing broke out, and unfortunately this occurred prematurely.....Some of the police were killed or wounded in the first exchange of shots. The others had scattered or taken shelter before the column commander and his section had reached the road. One of the police who had jumped on the lower side of the fence made his way unseen by us into Nevin's cottage and hid himself there until we had left the locality.

The sergeant in charge of the patrol, Bray, whom we were most anxious to shoot, got into Pat Ryan's house and also concealed himself until we withdrew. The two last men of the patrol ran as hard as they could back to the barracks but they were observed and pursued by Paddy Ryan (Lacken).... These two policemen had almost reached the barracks when they were both shot dead, but at a point where their rifles could not be procured as they were within point blank range of the other policemen in the barracks.

(Bureau of Military History, Edward John Ryan, WS 1392, pp. 13-14)

63. Proclamation of Martial Law

Frequently argued about in official circles, martial law was finally imposed on Tipperary, Limerick, Cork and Kerry from 10 December 1920. This all but gave control of law and order to the military and provided legal cover for executions of IRA suspects such as Seán Allen from Tipperary town, executed in Cork 28 February 1921.



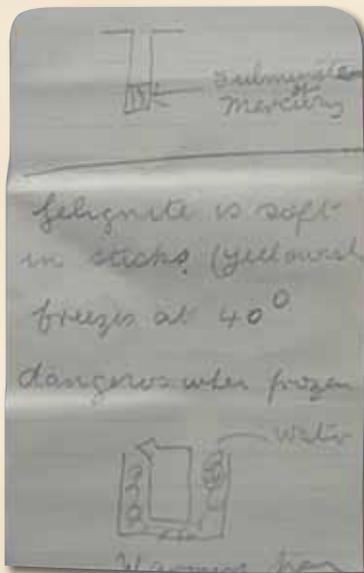
County Tipperary in 1921

64. A page from a notebook kept by Denis Lacy with information about gelignite. This was found under floor boards when renovations were being done to his place of work in Tipperary town, the business premises of Louis Dalton. (Now O'Connor Brothers)



Denis Lacy

'Gelignite is soft in sticks (yellowish) freezes at 40 (degrees) dangerous when frozen'.



Michael O'Connor

Denis Lacy note

65. Drumbane - Then and Now
B Company of the Auxiliaries (ADRIC) was based at Templemore Abbey January-May 1921.



Seán Hogan

Drumbane Now and Then - A visit from ADRIC



Reddington/McInerney

On Patrol

66. This photograph is undated but possibly 1921 and shows a patrol by soldiers of the Lincolnshire regiment. The houses in the background are Murgasty Cottages, Tipperary Town in one of which Constable McDonnell, killed at Soloheadbeg, lived. The wall to the left of the patrolling soldiers is still in place. The children to the left of the viewer are a reminder that while the soldiers were clearly conscious of a risk of being attacked, what passed for normal life went on.

67. Death and Reprisal

On 14 February 1921, Constable John Carroll (34) stationed in County Cork, was taken by the IRA while he was on a visit to his home at Ballywilliam near Nenagh and killed. The local RIC district inspector reported that the body was found at Ballyartella about five miles north of his father's house. Notices were fixed locally warning people not to attend his funeral and threatening his father and brothers if there were police reprisals. Carroll may have been involved in intelligence work in Cork. His death illustrates that a century on, the motivation for some deaths remain unclear.

Police Constable Shot Dead near Nenagh,
 After visiting relatives near Nenagh, Constable John Carroll, Empress Police Barracks Cork, was found shot dead in a field at Ballycommon.

DEATH OF CONSTABLE JOHN CARROLL.
 Carrigatoher, Nenagh, 18/2/21.
 To the Editor of the "Nenagh Guardian."
 Sir,—As the father of the late Constable John Carroll, who was shot dead after spending a night with me in the home of his childhood, will you allow me to publicly state that I and his bereaved brothers earnestly hope and ardently desire that no innocent person in our native parish or in any other district should suffer either in person and property a reprisal for his cruel death.

Nenagh Guardian, 19 February 1921

Constable Carroll had figured in the aftermath to the rescue of Seán Hogan at Knocklong station in May 1919. He had found some incriminating evidence during the search of the train from which Hogan had been taken by his rescuers. Three or four IRA men were in custody awaiting trial on charges of murdering some of the police who had been escorting Hogan. It was known to us at the time that Carroll would be giving evidence at this trial and this I believe, was the reason why he was executed. (Bureau of Military History, Martin Grace WS, 1463, p. 8)



Adrian Corcoran

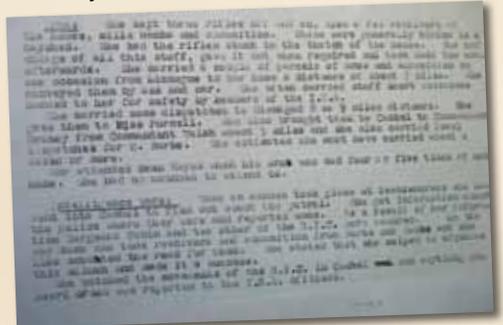
Mary O'Dwyer, c. 1920

69. Cumann na mBan

Mary (Breen) O'Dwyer was born near Dualla in 1902, daughter of an agricultural labourer. Fourteen at the time of the Easter Rising, she lived close enough to Piersce McCann to admire him and be moved by his fate. In 1920 she joined Cumann na mBan in Moyglass and became a company captain attached to the 7th (Drangan) Battalion of the 3rd

Brigade. She survived to her 101st year and died in Cashel in 2003.

In the process of applying for a military service pension, various Volunteer officers wrote letters of support, indicating her services to the cause. Below is part of the summary evidence given by her on 16 January 1942.



MSP34REF55887/49

70. Black & Tans at play

A.G. Hewson from a County Limerick family was a professional soldier, who in 1920 found himself assigned to Fethard barracks. Dealing with the IRA was one challenge, dealing with the Black & Tans quite another. In this extract from his autobiography, he described being on night patrol and coming across two lorry-loads of Tans from Clonmel who on



Mullinahone RIC Barracks

arriving at Mullinahone stocked up from the pubs. Close to that village, Hewson's lorry was disabled because of a crash, forcing him to return to Mullinahone and phone Fethard. There was no question of abandoning his vehicle.

As we walked back we heard a battle going on in front of us and thought our men were being attacked but soon realised that all the firing was coming from the lorry. We advanced with extreme caution, blowing our whistles and shouting "Cease Fire" and managed to stop the one-sided battle. We found all the men were drunk, or nearly so. It turned out that as the Crossley tenders (from Clonmel) passed the lorry, the Black & Tans threw in bottles of whiskey which they had stolen from the pubs. We had a horrible night, the sergeant and I keeping guard in turn.

(Brigadier A. G. Hewson MC, *Memoirs of a Regimental Officer* (London, 1970), p. 101)

71. A photograph, perhaps 1921 and perhaps c. Thurles. Showing concerted action by regular RIC, Black & Tans and Auxiliaries. Of particular interest is the make-shift wire canopy providing some defence against a bomb being lobbed into the vehicle.



AE Bell Collection

Raid c. Thurles RIC

72. Seán Duffy from Monaghan was an example of shop-assistant mobility. Moving to Tipperary town from Clonmel, he was employed as a draper's assistant at the Irish House. He became o/c of the 4th battalion (and chair of Tipperary Board of Guardians). By 1921 he was on the



Seán Duffy, Memoriam Card



Body of an 'Informer' dumped and found

some information for the enemy. I cannot now recall what particular incident it was which led to the decision to shoot him, although I heard it discussed at a battalion council meeting at the time. (Bureau of Military History, Timothy Tierney, WS 1227, pp. 11-12)

75. A Long Way from Soloheadbeg.

The ambush that began the war in Tipperary in January 1919, essentially involved a handful of men jumping out from behind a hedge. This ambush as the war drew to a close was a great deal more sophisticated. Four RIC were killed.

The Modreeny engagement took place on 3 June 1921. It was the biggest ambush which took place in North Tipperary during the Black and Tan struggle.....

The position selected for the attack was around where the road from Borrisokane takes a fairly sharp turn to the left and a laneway branches off from the right-hand side of the bend. Just at the junction of the laneway and the main

road a group under Seán Gaynor held a position behind the road fence. He had seven or eight men with him here and on his right flank were the six men from Cloughjordan who carried shotguns. Another group of five or six men under Seán Glennon were in position on the opposite side of the road and about two hundred yards nearer to Borrisokane. Two men armed with rifles were put in between Gaynor's and Glennon's section about one hundred yards from the road and almost directly opposite them on the other side of the road and roughly the same distance from it were two more riflemen. Bill Dwyer and another signaller were posted on a height, from which they had a clear view of traffic coming from Borrisokane for a distance of a mile and from which they could send hand signals by semaphore to the officer in charge, Seán Gaynor.

I was in a small section of three men the other two being Joe Mangan and Joe Liffey, four hundred yards on the Cloughjordan side of the main party on

the same side of the road and about twenty yards from it. Seán Gaynor, brigade commandant, was in charge of the whole operation, probably because he was senior in rank to the column commander.

(Bureau of Military History, William Meagher, WS 1391, pp. 8-9)

Robert Crossett, a Black & Tan from Derry, stationed at Borrisokane, one of the RIC caught up in this ambush did not think much of the accuracy of IRA shooting but remembered community relations being calm enough for him to meet a girl

'who used to teach in the Convent' and 'come out and see me quite normal... We used to go and dance in Catholic houses'

(J.D. Brewer, *The RIC an oral history* (Belfast, 1990), p. 76)

76. The destruction of 'Big Houses' Templemore Abbey 19 June 1921

On a Thursday in May 1921, I received a dispatch from Michael Collins saying that the Auxiliaries would evacuate The Abbey, Templemore, on the following Saturday afternoon and that immediately it was evacuated it should be destroyed at all costs, even at the loss of men. The Abbey was a large residential building

standing aloof in its own grounds. It was the former residence of Sir John Carden ...For the prior nine or ten months it had been occupied by a force of 150 Auxiliaries who equipped with Crossley tenders, armoured cars and machine guns, had converted it into a formidable bastion.

The information that it was to be evacuated came as a big surprise to me....

Then, at 3 p.m. on that Saturday afternoon, with bag and baggage piled high on lorries and accompanied by their armoured cars, the Auxiliaries left The Abbey. Meanwhile I had selected fifteen men to do the job and had collected about thirty gallons of petrol, all we could lay hands on at the time.We fed the fire with bottles of petrol which we flung in through windows but for some reason or other the fire burned itself out without doing any real damage.

Daybreak was then fast approaching and ... we were within 400 yards of the military barracks. Some of the men had gone away when the fire started ...when fortunately four members of the Clonmore Company arrived bringing with them a further ten gallons of petrol..... The place then reeked with petrol fumes, and we dare not use a naked light. I poured the ten gallons of petrol down



Templemore Abbey

the stairs and directed a small stream of it to the door of a room off the hall. I then set fire to the stream of petrol and raced through the room door which Purcell closed after me and we both got back out into the grounds through a window the place burned to a cinder, for a scout reported to me at 7a.m. that he had seen the roof cave in. The military had then thrown a cordon around it and were preventing sightseers from approaching the ruins.

(Bureau of Military History, Sean Scott, WS 1486, pp. 10-12)

77. On Sunday evening 19 June 1921, three junior officers stationed at Fethard went out for a walk and were captured by the IRA. The army claimed they were on their way to stables. The IRA said they were spying. Ernie O'Malley gave an account of the episode in his *On Another Man's Wound*. Leaving the politics aside, this was a human tragedy, for the men and their families. 2nd Lieutenant Alexander Toogood of the Lincolnshire Regiment (illustrated) was one of the

men killed. His father was a senior officer in the same regiment, stationed in India at the time of his son's death. He returned to England and demanded answers about what happened. The senior officer for the region, General Strickland, in his report, refused to assign blame, declaring:

The only point open to dispute is the visit to the Stables. If the dealer had known of the proposed visit, then it was not safe- in any case it was indiscreet but subsequent visits prove that this was not the scene of the murder.....I fear that no number of troops could have saved them when once captured, as the facilities for concealment are so great.

(<https://www.cairogang.com/soldiers-killed/fethard/fethard.html>)



<http://www.ww1photos.org/photo/15898/>

Alexander Toogood



Fethard Barracks

Below is the report filed by the 3rd Brigade adjutant, dated 22 June 1921

At about 4 p.m. on Sunday 19/6/21, a party of four of our men were on their way to reconnoitre an ambush position on theroad. Going through the fields they observed three young men in civilian attire standing at a gap in the fence, viewing the country around. They appeared to be strangers. Approaching closer, under cover, our men called on them to halt and put up their hands. (Only one of our men was armed with a rifle and bandolier.) On hearing the command "Halt" the strangers seemed surprised and endeavoured to take cover. Our party then separated to encircle them. Seeing two unarmed men as they thought, closing in on them, the strangers picked up some stones and advanced to meet us. A rifle at the ready was the last thing they expected to see, on sight of which, they turned tail and fled. An exciting (chase) ensued lasting half an hour, a few warning shots accelerated the speed of the pursued. Taking steady aim, Volunteer H.... brought one of them to earth with a bullet in the thigh. The others then put up their hands. First aid was rendered.

(Sighle Humphreys Papers, P 106 IEUCD A, cited in B. Hanly, *The IRA a documentary history 1916-2005* (Dublin, 2015) p. 24)

78. Just before the Truce, the Dillon family in Kilcash, associated with the police and members of the family were suspected of giving information. In an attack on the family home, fifteen year old Bridget Dillon was killed by the IRA. Her brother was later killed. The family fled to England and in this document their father applied for financial help from the Irish Grants Committee, a charity set up for that purpose. He was awarded £290.

Application is made in respect of my son William Dillon aged 19 (1/2) who was murdered by rebels at Tullamain Fethard Co Tipperary on the 9th July 1921. Also in respect to the loss of my position and house at Kilcash Co Tipperary which I was obliged to abandon in July 1921

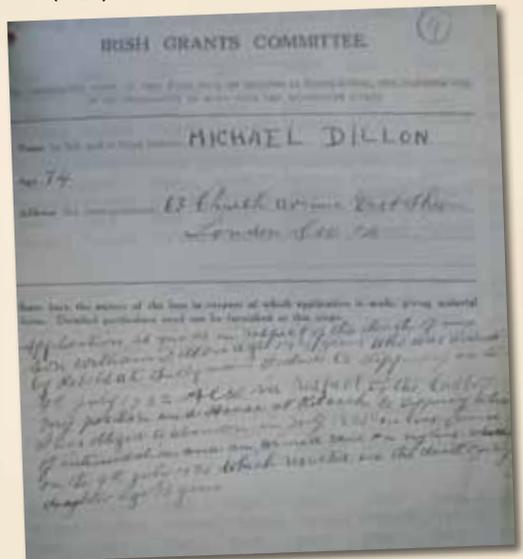


NLI, Poole WP 2817

Bridget Dillon

in consequence of intimidation and an armed raid on my house on the 9th July 1921 which resulted in the death of my daughter aged 16 years.

(Irish Grants Committee, Michael Dillon, 3/9 (1926)



Irish Grants Committee, Michael Dillon, 3/9 (1926)

A Crux in Tipperary Traders in Dilemma

Shopkeepers in Tipperary were on the horns of a dilemma on Tuesday.

The following typewritten notice bearing what purported to be the signature of Mr Jeremiah O'Callaghan, vice-chairman UDC, issued it was understood with official sanction, was displayed at the post office and windows of some shops.

Special Notice - All business premises will be closed today, July 12, between the hours of 2 p.m. and 8.30 p.m. on account of the funeral of D Cummins, an ex-soldier who was brutally done to death at Dualla on the 8th July.

Another notice declared that today (Tuesday) between 9 a.m. and 1 p.m. all business premises would be closed on account of the funeral Sergt. J.W. Reynolds 1st Lincolns, fatally wounded at Mullinahone on the 10th inst.

Doors were shut and shutters put up throughout the town at 2 p.m. Young men, however, notified the shopkeepers that their premises were to be kept open by order of the IRA. Some houses were reopened at once and some traders, after a period of hesitation, as to which injunction they should obey, followed suit. With few exceptions the shops were reopened before 2.15 p.m. and remained so throughout the evening. In the few cases where establishments were not reopened, the owners and staffs had left when the IRA messengers came.

Dualla where Cummins was killed is 8 or 10 miles from Tipperary and Mullinahone where Sergt. Reynolds received his fatal wounds, at least 20 miles. Cummins's body had been brought to Tipperary military hospital and there Sergt. Reynolds died.

(*Brother of Michael who killed two policemen in 1916)

Nenagh Guardian, 16 July 1921

79. The military hospital in Tipperary meant that the town had a role to play in the aftermath of the deaths of crown forces throughout the region. Note the word 'purporting' with reference to the message from the UDC. Cummins was a spy and of course the UDC would not be urging the closure of shops.



Mark Sturgis seated far right

80. From mid-1920 to January 1922, Mark Sturgis, an English government official was a key-player in Dublin Castle. The fact that a policeman friend of his, District Inspector Horgan, told him about an encounter with Seán Hogan, was taken to indicate that the just-minted Truce might hold for a while.

Tues 11 July 1921

Horgan D(istrict) (I)nspector, promoted RIC constable and a great character told me just now that he was greeted in the street this afternoon by his old friend 'John Hogan the murderer who we've been after this two years and he'd not have shown himself to me if they meant to go back to the gun work'!

(The Last Days of Dublin Castle: the Mark Sturgis Diaries. M. Hopkinson (ed.), Dublin 1999)

34 SP 1206

17th October 1935.

LITDAL.
GOINS AIRGID.

MILITARY SERVICE PENSIONS ACT, 1934.

I am directed by the Minister for Defence to state that a service certificate under Section 10 (2) of the Act has been granted to—

Seán Fitzpatrick, 121, Sveragh Rd., Gaeltacht Park
Whitehall, Dublin.
based on the findings of the Referee, as contained in his report which is attached.

The Minister now proposes, with the sanction of the Minister for Finance, and in accordance with the terms of Section 11 of the Act, to grant

Seán Fitzpatrick
a pension, the details of which are as follows:—

Total service for pension purposes as defined by the Second Schedule of the Act, and certified by the Referee	84 years.
Grade of rank for pension purposes as defined by Section 4 (1) and the First Schedule of the Act, and certified by the Referee	Grade A
Rate of pension per year of service as defined by Section 11 (4) and the Second Schedule of the Act	£25 : = : =
Total pension payable per annum as from the 1st October, 1934	£206 : 5 : =

Courtesy of Military Archives IE/MA/MSPC/MSP34REF1015

Sean Fitzpatrick's Service Certificate.

Under the Military Service Pensions Act, 1934, an individual in a designated organisation, most obviously the Irish Volunteers, could be awarded a pension for service during Easter Week 1916 and/or the War of Independence and the Civil War. Applications were examined by a Referee and an Advisory Committee who decided on the length of service for which a pension was awarded. Depending on the military rank of the applicant and the number of men commanded, a grade from 'A' to 'E' was awarded, to which was attached a sum of money for each year or portion of a year, of service. Under the 1934 Act, Sean Fitzpatrick, in company with thirty-eight others including Dan Breen, Ernie O'Malley, Seamus Robinson, Tom Barry, Frank Aiken was awarded the highest 'A' grade.