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the flames, could only have one result. The police evidently came to realise that, too, for with the top floor well alight, they gave indications of surrendering by slackening their rate of fire, and finally by a complete cessation of fire and the display of a white flag through one of the windows.

The ground floor of the barrack was still intact as the Volunteers entered to take the surrender. The police, all unwounded, numbered five—a small garrison, but one which, instead of offering a defence of half-an-hour's duration, could have held out indefinitely behind their steel shutters were it not for the exploitation by the attackers of the single weak point in the defensive layout. In the circumstances, the Galtee Battalion had every reason to be satisfied with its first serious operation and its results—the complete destruction of the post, the capture of the rifles, grenades and miscellaneous equipment of the garrison, and all at the cost of a single casualty.

Happily, that casualty did not prove a fatal one. Having been medically attended, the wounded man's condition was such that it appeared the most humane decision to leave him undisturbed at the first-aid station, despite the inevitable capture this involved. However, a chance was taken to save him from the enemy, and in a motor car provided and driven by Jack Crowley, the wounded Volunteer was hurriedly moved by devious routes to the residence of Mrs. Burke, Laurencetown, Kilfinane, some five miles distant. There, under the care of Dr. Maurice Fitzgerald and two nurses, the Misses O'Sullivan, he remained a considerable time before being fit for removal to the County Hospital in Limerick City. Prolonged treatment followed there until the patient was sufficiently strong to complete his recovery at Mount Melleray Abbey, where he filled an appointment under an assumed name. A year later he was able to report for duty and assume office as Intelligence Officer of East Limerick Brigade, which by then had recorded a long list of engagements since that initial and successful effort at Ballylanders.

HISTORY REPEATED ITSELF IN THE ATTACK ON KILMALLOCK BARRACK in 1920.

East Limerick Brigade, May 28, 1920.

By *LIEUT.-COLONEL J. M. MacCARTHY*
(Formerly Adjutant East Limerick Brigade, I.R.A.)

LONG BEFORE the fashion of erecting memorials to the "Unknown Soldier" came into being in countries abroad after the first World War, Kilmallock boasted such a monument. It was the memorial to the "Unknown Fenian" who fell in the attack on Kilmallock police barrack in 1867. That event was to be re-enacted fifty-three years later—and history to repeat itself in more ways than one—when East Limerick Brigade I.R.A. decided to lay siege to the same barrack on the night of May 28th, 1920.

In that attack the Volunteers were attempting a task bristling with difficulties that seem insurmountable, but they had the satisfaction of successfully concluding an effort which had proved too much for their predecessors in 1867. As in the '67 Rising, the attackers on this occasion also suffered one fatal casualty. Curiously enough, the parallel was further continued in that the Volunteer killed, Liam Scully, like "The Unknown Fenian" of '67, was a stranger in the locality, being a native of County Kerry who, but a short time previously, had taken up a Gaelic League teachership in the neighbourhood.

Looking over old papers dealing with the Rising of '67, another notable circumstance comes to light. The roll of the participants in

the Kilmallock attack in '67, who were tried and sentenced to transportation or imprisoned for—as the charge had it—"most wickedly, maliciously and traitorously making open war against our said Lady the Queen," was repeated almost name for name, and, in many cases, in blood relationship, by the attackers of 1920.

New expedients were used by the Volunteers to overcome the difficult obstacles in the way of this attack. One was the improvisation of what would now be called "Molotoff Cocktails," and to these missiles the destruction of the barracks was largely due. Their use ensured that a fire, started by a bomb in a wing of the building, was steadily expanded to embrace the whole barrack, and defeat all efforts by the garrison to extinguish the blaze.

That outcome was brought about, however, only by much planning, good tactics and a prolonged fight. Fronted by a lawn, the barrack was set back from the street, its front face being in line with the rear of a business premises, Carroll's, a slight gap intervening between the two buildings at their nearest points, that is, between the left rear corner of Carroll's house and the right front corner of the barrack. As in the case of Ballylanders police barrack, attacked successfully just a month previously, this proximity of another building was seen to be capable of exploitation by an attacker. In this instance, the gap between the corners of the two buildings, though only a few yards in width, and the different alignment of the two premises, did not afford quite the same facilities as in the earlier operation where the buildings concerned were joined to one another, gable to gable. A counter-balancing feature in the Kilmallock lay-out was, however, the fact that the roof of Carroll's house rose much higher than the nearby roof of the barrack and, once securely attained by an attacker, would facilitate an assault on the barrack rooftop despite the intervening gap. In all other respects the barrack was defensively a very strong post, a solid masonry structure, steel-shuttered, loopholed and thickly surrounded by barbed wire entanglements.

With Carroll's premises fixed on as the pivotal attacking position, three other main combat posts were selected. These were the houses directly fronting the barrack on the opposite side of the street, Clery's Hotel, the Provincial Bank, and O'Herlihy's shop. The left-hand gable of the barrack offered no point of vantage to either defence or attack, while the rear, containing the usual outoffices, was covered by a party detailed for that purpose.

The scheme of attack was worked out at a series of conferences presided over by Brigadier Wall and held at the farmhouse of Thomas Sheedy of Ballingaddy, midway between Kilfinane and Kilmallock. Generally the tactics decided upon followed those adopted so successfully in the preceding attack at Ballylanders—the central feature being again an assault on the roof. In this instance, however, a stronger defence of a more elaborately fortified position was to be anticipated. Indeed, subsequent to the destruction of the Ballylanders post, questions asked in the British Parliament had indicated that an attempt to take Kilmallock barrack was expected and had been prepared for by a strengthening of the garrison and its fortifications. All this meant special care and meticulous planning by the Volunteers. Coming so soon after the assault on Ballylanders, the local store of munitions was low and had to be replenished from far afield, not only the neighbouring Brigades in Cork and Tipperary being called on for the purpose, but Dublin as well. The movement of these supplies, and their assembly at two special dumps near Kilmallock, in face of an alert enemy expecting such preparations, was successfully accomplished, though some of the carrying parties narrowly escaped disaster.

The material side of the project, including arrangements for providing extensive quantities of petrol and paraffin oil, having been completed, the concentration of the Volunteers required for the attack was planned. To avoid detection and to ensure exact timing of arrival of the various parties, this had to be worked out precisely, especially as representatives of Cork, Tipperary and even East Clare units were

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to participate. An assembly point in a field close to the town eventually saw the punctual arrival of the various contingents close on midnight. They totalled approximately sixty Volunteers, of which number some thirty were to take part in the actual attack and the remainder to man various close-in barricades and outposts. Simultaneously the creation of a circle of more distant barricades and demolitions was in progress at the hands of the local units on all routes leading to Kilmallock, especially on those from the hostile military centres at Buttevant, Tipperary and Limerick.

Approaching midnight, the assembled Volunteers were assigned to sections, tasks detailed and leaders designated for each section and its combat post. Carroll's house, the post giving access to the barrack roof, was allotted to Tomás Malone ("Sean Forde") with Edmond Tobin and P. Hannigan, both of Ballylanders, among others in his section. Facing the barrack, Clery's Hotel had Tim Crowley in control, the Provincial Bank being assigned to D. O'Hannigan and a garrison which included Tadhg Crowley, Ballylanders; D. P. MacCarthy of Kilfinane; J. Lynch and J. O'Brien, both of Tankardstown, and Michael O'Keeffe. Herlihy's premises fell to the lot of J. MacCarthy of Kilfinane, and its garrison included the East Clare leader, Michael Brennan.

These posts and that at the back of the barrack yard were occupied on time and without incident, each party being directed to its destination by guides from the local Volunteer company. In the case of the Provincial Bank and O'Herlihy's shop, entry was gained from the rear. In the other three posts there was more direct access by the normally used entrances, that at Clery's being opened to the attacking party by a Volunteer who had booked into the hotel earlier in the day in the guise of a commercial traveller. In all the occupied premises, the Volunteer parties took special pains to cause the minimum damage and disturbance, and appreciation of their care and courtesy in those respects was afterwards freely expressed, in particular by the Bank authorities. In some instances sandbags, already filled, were laboriously brought into the posts to avoid the necessity to make use of household effects as barricading material for the windows.

To the occupying parties in the three houses facing the barrack, as they hastily barricaded the lower portions of the large windows as firing points, the dark, rather squat enemy post looked grim, forbidding and seemingly impregnable. From this front face of the barrack—the "broadside" of the defence, as it were—would come the greatest volume of defensive fire. Thoughts, too, turned on the numerical strength of the police garrison. On this point there had been some conjecture, as the numbers of the R.I.C. in the post had varied almost daily over a long period. The final and probably accurate estimate for this particular date had put the strength at one sergeant and seventeen constables. But there was little time for these last-minute reflections. Shortly after midnight the previously agreed on light-flash signals winked out from the skylight on Carroll's roof where Malone and his aides perched precariously.

This flanking position, as is so often the case in combat, was the decisive one, so far, at least, as the chances of destroying the barrack were concerned. At the same time it was recognised that the brunt of the conflict, so far as concerned the return fire of the police, would be borne by the three attacking posts facing the barrack. While events followed expectations in these two respects, it turned out that the fate of the actual garrison of the barrack was decided not by any of these main positions, but by the seemingly minor post at the rear.

The thud of the first missile—a heavy iron weight, numbers of which had been brought to the scene—as it hit the slate roof of the barrack, partly thrown, partly dropped from Carroll's skylight, was lost in the opening crash of musketry. The crunch of similar missiles that followed could be heard more clearly as the initial wave of sound from the opening rifle volley gave way to a brief silence of the rifles, which was succeeded by separate groups of shots as each post fell into its own rate of fire. The working space at the skylight was cramped and

awkward, and for a time this gave rise to doubt as to whether the number and weight of the missiles it permitted the attackers to launch at any one time, would suffice to breach the barrack roof. But this doubt was short-lived; the slates began to give way under the repeated impact. Soon a gaping hole appeared, laying bare a small portion of a top-floor room at that side of the police building. Confidence restored by this success, the way was clear for the next stage in the attack plan—bombs, petrol and paraffin would be propelled through the breach until the final objective was secured.

Meanwhile, from the posts fronting the barrack poured a steady rain of rifle-fire and quite as heavy a volume of answering shots came from the police garrison. This return fire of the defenders had been slow in starting—thus denoting they had been taken by surprise—but gradually it built up to a regularity of stabbing flashes from the double row of steel-shuttered windows. It was finding its targets in the opposite windows across the roadway. Soon these were mere gaping apertures, the glass from which had been showered in fragments on the attacking riflemen firing over the window sills from kneeling or lying positions on the floors of the front rooms. In the Bank post a Volunteer was hit, apparently by a direct shot, but on examination the wound was found to be from flying glass. In the post at O'Herlihy's a police bullet dislodged a massive curtain pole, bringing it down heavily on the head of the post commander who, curiously enough, was the only Volunteer wearing a steel helmet on the occasion, and so escaped injury. In this duel the police had the advantage of position. From the security of their loop-holed steel shutters they could seek their targets with deliberate, aimed fire. The attackers on the other hand, had to fire over the top of low and improvised barricades. Even if a lucky shot of theirs found its way through one of the barely discernible loopholes of the barrack, it would be unlikely to strike a defender. But mere maintenance of a steady fusillade amply fulfilled the mission of these three posts. Irrespective of its finding a human target, it kept the police pinned down in their firing positions and prevented effective counter-action against the point of main threat—the attackers' flank position.

There, a road oil tank wagon had been moved to the front of Carroll's shop. It was just out of the line of fire, being covered, in relation to the barrack, by the gable of Carroll's premises. From this tank car a chain of buckets conveyed the oil to the roof-top post. Quantities of empty bottles had also been provided, and these—an early form of the missile later used in the World War under the name of "Molotoff Cocktail"—were filled with petrol, and some with paraffin, for use as fire-spreading missiles. Thrown from buckets or in the filled bottles, oil began to pour through the broken roof. A flaming torch followed, but failed to ignite the oil-soaked rafters until a grenade was thrown, the explosion from which spread the flame of the burning torch. Soon the fire took a strong grip. It seemed only a matter of time before the whole building would be ablaze, provided the police garrison was kept pinned down. But just then an unlooked-for development occurred—the attackers' flanking position, Carroll's house itself, took fire!

Quickly the fire-raisers had to reverse their role. For a while it looked like a losing fight to curb the unwanted fire, especially when a bucket of paraffin that had been mistaken for water, was thrown into the blaze and added fuel to the flames. In the confusion and heat of battle a parched Volunteer mistakenly drank paraffin instead of water! He became painfully sick and, while able to resume duty after a while, it was only with difficulty he later completed a long journey home at the conclusion of the engagement. In the end, the fire was got under control and the task of spreading the flames in the adjoining building resumed.

By 2 a.m. most of the upper part of the barrack was well alight, and part of it was beginning to collapse. It was, therefore, deemed opportune to give the police garrison a chance to surrender. Cessation

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of fire was ordered, and demands to surrender were shouted. Some muffled shouts in reply were heard, point being given to them by a volley of police fire from some part of the barrack. Accordingly, the attack was resumed. For the next few hours it followed the earlier pattern, except that rifle fire from the barrack dwindled to scattered shots. Some of the attackers were then operating from street level, alternately appearing around the corner of Carroll's house, throwing a filled bottle of oil against the front of the barrack, withdrawing and again reappearing to repeat the process.

With the dawn, the rifle fire from the police had died away entirely. The main barrack building was then all but completely in ruins, with the roof and most of the upper floor collapsed to ground level. It looked like the end. But it was at this stage that the attackers suffered their single casualty. Liam Scully was one of the attacking party, as also he had been in the assault at Ballylanders, the previous month. Taking his stand in the centre of the open street in front of the barrack, he opened fire, and was answered by a single shot from the ruins. He fell where he stood. Brought under cover by a few of his comrades who rushed to his aid, he was attended to by Nurse O'Sullivan and Miss Maura Sheehy, both of whom were available in readiness for such emergencies—one of many sterling services these ladies rendered to Volunteers. But the fallen Volunteer was beyond human aid; his death must have been almost instantaneous.

It was now discovered that the police garrison, or rather its survivors to a number then unknown, had succeeded in retiring from the barrack proper to one of the small outoffices in the rear. This retreat had been effected out of view of the attackers' post at the back of the barrack, and it was probably the rearguard of this withdrawal who had fired the final and fatal shot of the defence.

If the surviving police were to be captured, a new attack on an entirely separate building would have to be mounted. Time did not permit this, with the hour close on 7 a.m., and heavy military and police reinforcements momentarily expected to close in on the town. Leaving a barrack completely demolished with all its store of munitions, the Volunteers began their withdrawal which was effected without any sign of life from the remnants of the police garrison. It was never properly established what losses that garrison had suffered. Estimates ranged from very large figures to the more conservative—and probably accurate—figure of one constable killed and two wounded.

So ended the second occasion that Kilmallock barrack was the centre of military conflict. To the attackers of the Fenian Brotherhood and the Irish Republican Army the cost in blood had been similar; in '67, the "Unknown Fenian"; in 1920, the all-but unknown Volunteer from distant Glencar, County Kerry.

A CLEVER RUSE LEADS TO DISARMING OF HIGHLANDERS NEAR MIDLETON.

Cork No. 1. Brigade, June 5, 1920.

By PATRICK CASHMAN

(Formerly of Fianna Eireann; attached "B" Company, Fourth Battalion, Cork No. 1 Brigade I.R.A.)

MIDDLETON, approximately midway between Cork and Youghal, is the most centrally situated town in East Cork. In the early years of the present century it was reckoned as one of the leading provincial towns of Munster. Its long established industries, the Distillery and The Avoncore Flour Mills, provided a reasonable percentage of the

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**IN THE FIGHT
FOR FREEDOM
1919 TO THE TRUCE**

THE RED PATH OF GLORY

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