

night drilling and to co-operate closely with the troops; to procure advance information whenever possible from persons who would be rewarded out of secret service funds; to close halls used for drilling or for cinema performances likely to cause disaffection; to search for seditious literature and where it was found seize the printing machines.

Shortly afterwards a reward of £500 was offered to any person giving information as to the landing of arms.

On June 15th the cities of Cork and Limerick and the counties of Cork, Limerick, Clare, Galway, Kerry, King's County, Longford, Mayo, Queen's County, Sligo, Tyrone, Tipperary and Westmeath were made "proclaimed districts" under the Criminal Law and Procedure Act of 1887; persons charged in these districts could be removed for trial to a venue more convenient for the purposes of the Government and tried by special jury.

On June 18th certain districts were proclaimed as "Special Military Areas" under the Defence of the Realm Act and orders were issued prohibiting the holding of meetings, including fairs.

On July 4th Sinn Féin, the Volunteers, Cumann na mBan, and the Gaelic League were all proclaimed to be dangerous associations; their meetings were declared illegal; persons attending or calling a meeting of any of these organisations were liable to prosecution by a court of summary jurisdiction.

On the same day—Independence Day in the United States—President Wilson, speaking at Washington's tomb, reiterated his doctrine of justice and liberty, based on:

"... The settlement of every question, whether of territory of sovereignty, of economic arrangement, or of political relationship, upon the basis of the free acceptance of that settlement by the people immediately concerned, and not upon the basis of the material interest or advantage of any other nation or people which may desire a different settlement for the sake of its own exterior influence or mastery. . . .

"... These great objects can be put into a single sentence. What we seek is the reign of law, based upon the consent of the governed and sustained by the organised opinion of mankind. . . ."

Lloyd George addressed American troops on the following day

"President Wilson yesterday made it clear what we are fighting for," he said.

On July 5th also, Sir F. Shaw, acting as competent military authority in Ireland, issued an order prohibiting "the holding of or taking part in any meetings, assemblies, or processions in public places within the whole of Ireland." Secret instructions were at the same time issued to the police explaining that the order, of course, applied to sports, athletic meetings, *aeridheachta*, *feiscanna*, etc.⁷

The police in the following months were extremely active in endeavouring to prevent and break up meetings; football and hurling matches, boating re-unions, as well as fêtes and concerts—meetings of all kinds, except those for which a military permit had been granted—were liable to attack. The Press reported eleven baton or bayonet charges by the police and military during the month of July.

Ireland was "lying under the unfettered tyranny of a military government," as Dillon declared, while Bonar Law continued to affirm that it was impossible to put any form of Home Rule into operation.

No more had been heard of Lloyd George's promise. The fact was that no form of Home Rule which the Government would think of offering would have been given one moment's consideration by the people of Ireland at this time.

The Irish people were quietly, as far as possible, going their own way in disregard of prohibitions and decrees, and Sinn Féin on occasions organised deliberate defiance of the military régime. On August 4th fifteen hundred hurling matches were played in Ireland. On August 15th, hundreds of public meetings were held and numbers of the speakers who addressed them went to jail.⁸

⁷ An *aeridheacht* is an open-air entertainment or performance. A *feis* is a musical contest.

⁸ *Béasláí*, I., p. 225. See Ernie O'Malley, *On Another Man's Wound*, for an intimate personal narrative of a Volunteer's experiences during these years.

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Ireland were concentrated on attempting to secure arms and explosives, with which the growing force was most inadequately supplied. There were never nearly as many weapons as men eager to use them. A secret munitions factory was set up in Dublin under the control of the Volunteers' G.H.Q. Some attacks on British patrols and barracks were carried out with the object of capturing arms. On March 20th, Volunteers of the Dublin Brigade seized arms and ammunition from the Collinstown Aerodrome; a month later Volunteers raided the Constabulary Barracks at Araglen in County Cork and cleared it of arms and ammunition, having overpowered the guard.

The Volunteers had general orders to avoid taking life when possible and there were no casualties on either of these occasions, but elsewhere men were killed on both sides. Patrick Gavan was shot dead at the British military camp in the Curragh on February 12th. On March 29th J. C. Milling, Resident Magistrate under the British Government, was shot at Westport and afterwards died. On April 6th, in Limerick workhouse infirmary, armed police were on guard over a Republican prisoner, Robert Byrne, who had been removed from jail to the hospital on hunger-strike. A party of Volunteers rushed in and attempted to rescue Byrne. A policeman shot the prisoner and was himself shot dead; two other members of the guard were wounded and one of them afterwards died. Byrne was removed by his rescuers, but died of his wound.

The British authorities proclaimed Limerick a military area; tanks and armoured cars paraded the streets; no person was admitted to the city without a permit; workmen refused to observe the permit conditions, and a labour strike ensued which was supported by the National Executive of the Irish Labour Party and Trades Union Congress at a special meeting held in Dublin on April 18th.

On May 13th Seán Hogan, who had been arrested and charged in connection with the ambush at Soloheadbeg, was rescued from the guard of Constabulary at Knocklong Station in County Limerick. A small party of Volunteers led by Seán Treacy effected the rescue. Two of the constables were fatally shot.¹⁰

In the last week of April, at Longford, Michael Walsh and two other men were shot dead by police.

¹⁰ Seumas Robinson was in command. See article in the *Irish Press* (Dublin) of May 13th, 1933, and Desmond Ryan, *Seán Treacy*, chapter vii.

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The counties of Cork, Limerick, Roscommon and Tipperary had by this time been added to those under direct military control. Throughout the country the British military and constabulary were intensifying their campaign of raids, suppressions and arrests.

The situation in Ireland was rapidly approaching a state of war; it seemed that no hope of peaceful settlement remained, unless the Peace Conference responded to the Irish appeal; but the representatives of the great powers in Paris had so far given no heed to Ireland's claim.

International Labour demanded the hearing at Paris of Ireland's case. In the last week of April the Second International, meeting at Amsterdam, demanded unanimously that

"the principle of free and absolute self-determination shall be applied immediately in the case of Ireland."

The meeting further declared that it

"affirms the right of the Irish people to political independence; requires that this self-determination shall rest upon a democratic decision, expressed by the free, equal, adult and secret vote of the people without any military, political or economic pressure from outside or any reservation or restriction imposed by any government.

"The Conference calls upon the Powers and the Peace Conference to make good this rightful claim of the Irish people."¹¹

It was still to America that Ireland looked, however, for the support and influence that would secure the hearing at Paris of her case.

¹¹ Report of the 25th Annual Meeting of the Irish Labour Party and Trades Union Congress, August, 1919, p. 37.

"It was refreshing to find parties which had supported Proportional Representation when in a minority continuing that support when they became majorities, as instanced in the Local Government elections, when the Sinn Féin party was under sore temptation to repudiate that system; being sure of a majority they could have wiped out all other parties under the old system."

The final results were published on June 12th.

There were thirty-three County Councils in Ireland (County Tipperary having two councils). Of these, Unionists secured a majority in four: Antrim, Derry, Armagh and Down. Out of 206 Rural District Councils Republicans had a majority in 172 and the opposition predominated in only 34. In the nine counties of Ulster there were 55 Rural District Councils; of these only 19 returned a majority of Unionists.

As a result of these elections every County Council, every Rural District Council and every Board of Guardians in Leinster, Munster and Connacht gave allegiance to the Government of the Republic, while thirty-one Councils in Ulster did the same. The response of the British Government was to stop the grants (paid out of Irish taxes and administered by the local Councils) to institutions for the sick, the destitute and the insane. The people, however, paid their rates fully and regularly to the Republican Councils and these, with half their members in prison or "on the run," their chairmen in nightly danger of Lord Mayor Mac Curtáin's fate, their meetings prohibited and their proper funds withheld, struggled to save Ireland from devastation and to carry out the constructive programme of the Dáil.

The general elections proved that the Irish people had not yet been reduced to submission; the psychological moment for Lloyd George's offer of Partition had not yet arrived. On June 28th the House of Commons Lloyd George said that the Irish were impossible in their present mood, but he did not despair of their accepting in the end the only measure of self-government which the people of Great Britain could concede.

In Ireland the campaign of re-conquest went on.

Already, between January and June, besides the armed Volunteers who had fallen in combat thirteen unarmed people had been killed by indiscriminate firing by the Crown forces, five had been deliberately killed by them, and one hundred and seventy-two

persons wounded. Fifteen reprisals on towns and villages had been carried out in these six months.⁵

The number of casualties could never be exactly determined; the difficulty was particularly great on the Republican side. The number of members of the Crown forces killed in Ireland between May, 1916 (after the end of the Rising) and July 10th, 1920, according to Lloyd George was sixty: four soldiers and fifty-six members of the police force.⁶ The ordinary Dublin Metropolitan Police had been disarmed by the British authorities at their own request in May, 1920, and since then remained immune from attack. Most of the policemen attacked by the Republican Volunteers were members of the special G Division—political detectives.

The summer months were still those most favourable to the Volunteers for the form of guerilla warfare which obliged most of them to live in the hills, since their opponents had not yet begun to pursue them into those fastnesses to any great extent. The number of attacks made by the I.R.A. in June was twenty-four; in July thirty. Very daring raids on government buildings took place in broad daylight in Dublin, when documents and arms were seized with complete success and without any shooting. On July 15th, Volunteers entered the sorting-room of the General Post Office, held up the staff, and, quietly, acting on a perfectly concerted plan, seized the mails belonging to Dublin Castle. In consequence of this capture, the Republican Intelligence Department secured valuable information and Lord French had the interesting experience of receiving his correspondence marked on the envelope, "Passed by Censor, I.R.A."

Between May 8th and July 22nd the Volunteers took one hundred and forty prisoners whom they disarmed. Every one of these prisoners was released with the exception of General Lucas, whom

⁵ January 22nd: Thurles, County Tipperary, sacked by troops. February 27th: three houses in Dublin wrecked by troops. March 1st: Thurles, County Tipperary, partially wrecked by troops. March 7th: several houses in Thurles, County Tipperary, wrecked by troops. March 12th: many houses in Cork City wrecked by police. March 22nd: many shop windows in Dublin wrecked by troops. April 17th: Bouladuff, County Tipperary, shot up by police. April 26th: Killecommon, County Tipperary, partially wrecked by police. April 27th: many houses in Limerick City shot up by police. May 1st: Limerick City shot up by police. May 13th: houses at Thurles, County Tipperary, fired and bombed by police. May 15th: houses at Bantry, County Cork, wrecked by police. May 18th: Limerick City shot up by police. May 19th: Killecommon, County Tipperary, shot up by police. May 28th: Kilmallock, County Limerick, sacked by police.

⁶ See Lloyd George's letter, published on April 20th, 1921.

they detained as a hostage for a time. He was camped on the Blackwater for fishing with two British Colonels when a band of I.R.A. men appeared, led by the daring young Commandant, Liam Lynch. They seized the three officers and drove off with them in motor-cars towards Cork. Colonel Danford tried to escape and was wounded and the Volunteers released Colonel Tyrrell to attend him. They detained General Lucas in conditions of ease and comfort, providing him him amusements such as tennis and salmon fishing.⁷ After about a month's captivity he escaped.

As a reprisal for his capture the troops made a ferocious attack on the town of Fermoy. Limerick city, Kilcommon, Lismore and four villages also were shot up. "An over-zealous display of loyalty," was General Lucas's own phrase in referring to the incident afterwards in an address to the men.

The action taken by the British authorities was to reprimand the officers concerned and cancel the leave of the men—measures inadequate to act as a deterrent.

In the House of Commons on June 22nd, Denis Henry, the British Attorney-General for Ireland, had said that the British troops in Ireland had been instructed to behave as if on a battlefield. But their battle-grounds were the homes of the Irish people and their behaviour was not that of disciplined soldiers waging war.

⁷ See *Daily Mail*, August 9th, 1920.

CHAPTER 36

June and July, 1920

SACKING AND LOOTING — ATTACKS ON CATHOLICS IN ULSTER
— EFFORTS IN ENGLAND — LLOYD GEORGE'S POLICY — POLICE
MUTINIES — RESIGNATION OF MAGISTRATES — CONNAUGHT
RANGERS MUTINY — BRITISH ADMINISTRATION IMPOTENT
DAIL EIREANN AND THE U.S.A.

DUBLIN during the summer was a scene of intense military activity. The streets were full of British Regulars in khaki and steel helmets who carried rifles with bayonets fixed, of Auxiliary Cadets in black and the oddly attired Black and Tans, as well as the Dublin Metropolitan Police, while at every point of vantage lingered men in plain clothes, more or less recognisable as detectives of the G. Division employed in political espionage. Military cordons drawn around sections of the city with barbed wire, military lorries and tanks in attendance were a familiar sight. At night searchlights played on the house fronts, while the rumble of lorries shook the streets. The stopping of a lorry outside a house was the signal for the occupants hastily to throw on garments and rush to open the door, in the hope of being in time to prevent its being broken in. Then followed the rush of armed men upstairs and into every room, attic and cellar, swinging revolvers and shouting threats, the bursting open of cupboards, tearing up of floor boards and ripping of mattresses. If, as frequently happened, the raiders were drunk, or in a savage temper as the result of a recent ambush, shots would be fired through the walls and ceilings and breakables smashed. Any man found on the premises was in danger of being shot out of hand. Those taken away in lorries were sometimes shot dead and reported as "shot while attempting to escape." Articles looted from the raided houses were carried openly through the streets.

Cork was almost as heavily garrisoned as Dublin; there was no town in Ireland where people did not live under the domination of the forces of the Crown, save in those parts of the south and

ignorance forget that you are addressing Irishmen." The constable then took off his cap, belt and sword (bayonet) and laid them on the table saying:

"These, too, are English. Take them as a present from me and to hell with you—you are a murderer."

Colonel Smyth immediately ordered the arrest of the spokesman; the other constables swore that if a hand was laid on him the room would "run red with blood." Colonel Smyth and his companions then retired.

A month later this Colonel Smyth was shot dead in the Cork County Club by men of the I.R.A.

During July, in Killarney, a similar speech was made to men of the R.I.C. They were addressed by the Divisional Officer for Cork. According to a statement supplied to the *Irish Bulletin* of July 13th, the officer told the men that in future no policeman would be subjected to inquiry before a jury in case of having "shot with effect." Five of the men had refused to carry out instructions, and the remainder cheered them.

Legislation was introduced within a few weeks after these speeches which embodied the suggestions made to the R.I.C.

Police elsewhere were amenable to their instructions. Between June 23rd and 28th acts of destruction by police occurred in Bantry, Limerick, Newcastlewest and Kilcommon. On July 1st, in Limerick city, newspaper offices were wrecked and fired by police. On July 3rd police shot up Union Hall, County Cork. Between July 6th and 22nd they bombed and wrecked houses in County Limerick and Arklow, shops and houses in Tralee, County Kerry, Ballagh, County Roscommon and Leap, County Cork. They fired into houses in Ballina, Galbally and Cork city, wrecked a creamery at Emly and a National Foresters' Hall at Enniscorthy. On July 20th the town of Tuam in County Galway was savagely sacked by drunken constables.

At this time recruiting in Ireland for the police force had entirely ceased. No increase of pay sufficed to induce Irishmen to join. In August, in the House of Commons, Hamar Greenwood stated that 556 constables and 313 magistrates had resigned in two months.

Irish Bulletin, July 9th, 1920.

The men of the R.I.C. in many districts were demanding to be disarmed, pointing out that since the Dublin Metropolitan Police had ceased to carry firearms they had been immune from attack.

Sinn Féin did what was possible to safeguard men who resigned from patriotic reasons from the police. The Minister for Labour, Constance Markievicz, on July 29th, issued an order to all Sinn Féin clubs to the effect that these men should be given every opportunity to live as good Irish citizens in their native districts; that in cases of special hardship they should be offered employment or assisted from a special fund: also that members of the police forces should be approached through their relatives and urged to resign.

Resignations were coming also from a more unexpected quarter. Among the staunchest supporters of British law in Ireland had been the local magistrates, justices of the peace.

On July 22nd the magistrates of Cork city and county met and unanimously passed the following resolution:

"That, having regard to the unalterable opinion of the vast majority of our fellow-countrymen, and with whom we cordially agree, that Ireland is entitled, like other oppressed nationalities, to that form of government chosen by the people, and that, as this was the basic principle underlying the great European War to crush militarism, we consider it our duty to surrender our commissions sanctioned by British law."

During the month of August, one hundred and forty-eight Irish magistrates resigned. The feelings which actuated them were expressed in the letter which one of them, Sir Henry Grattan Bellew, wrote to the Lord Chancellor on August 11th:

"His Majesty's Government has determined on the substitution of military for civil law in Ireland. I can act so far in harmony with the new policy that I beg herewith to resign the offices I hold as Magistrate and Deputy Lieutenant for His Majesty in the county of Galway. I hope my colleagues will follow my example so that the wrecking of Irish towns and the ruin of Irish industry may be proceeded with, without any camouflage or appearance of approval by Irishmen of the sabotage of their country."

On June 28th a remote corner of the Empire was startled by a

arrested while in Ballina as a Circuit judge, was sentenced in February to one year and nine months' imprisonment; the other judges, however, were carrying on their work. Witnesses still refused to attend the British, and attended the Republican Courts; the decisions of the Courts were still, despite increasing danger, enforced by the Republican Police.

On the same day, Lloyd George, speaking to a meeting of Welsh National Liberals at the Central Hall, Westminster, explained what self-determination in Ireland would mean and his attitude to that demand. "They must have an Irish Republic, an Irish army, an Irish navy. They won't get it," he said.

When Captain Redmond, in the House of Commons, on February 21st, demanded an inquiry into the situation in Ireland it was refused.

Joseph Devlin, fearing that non-combatants were being executed, asked that civil tribunals should be set up in Ireland. He was told by Lloyd George that to do so would interfere with the course of justice. On the following day, in the House of Lords, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Most Reverend Dr. Randall T. Davidson, made a memorable speech, in which the Government's Irish policy was denounced.

Lloyd George's optimism was not warranted by the state of feeling in Ireland.

Shooting at hazard and the killing of captured Republicans, while it shocked the Irish people and increased anxiety to anguish, did not make them more ready to resign themselves to British rule. It would be better, they were declaring, to let Ireland be reduced to "a blackened rock in the ocean" than to put the nation again under the control of a country which let loose such agents of government as these. Yet more drastic methods were necessary if surrender was to be induced. The killing of selected Republicans was preferred by some of the authorities. It was practised in the city of Limerick in March. In Limerick, in one night during Curfew hours, three of the leading citizens were killed—George Clancy, the Mayor; the former Mayor, Michael O'Callaghan, and Joseph O'Donoghue.

The murders were not unexpected. Every Republican who accepted public office knew that he did so at the risk of his life. Michael O'Callaghan, during his year of Mayoralty, 1920, had been

a devoted and vehement champion of the rights of the citizens against aggression which never ceased. He had received threatening letters—the first on his return from the funeral of Lord Mayor Mac Curtáin in Cork. In February his house was subjected to a raid of a violent and brutal description by drunken police who told his wife she would soon "know more about murder." This was one of the many raids. On March 6th, late at night, men knocked at his house demanding admission. Mrs. O'Callaghan opened the door and two men, wearing goggles, with their coat collars turned up and hats pulled over their eyes, forced their way past her into the house. They had revolvers. They shot Michael O'Callaghan dead at the foot of the stairs where he stood. On the following morning it was discovered that Lord Mayor Clancy had been shot dead in his house about 1.30 a.m. Mrs. Clancy, in struggling with the murderers, was shot through the arm.

A quantity of evidence pointed to the murders having been carried out by the police with the connivance of the troops whose usual Curfew patrol was suspended on that night. Mrs. O'Callaghan published the evidence and demanded an inquest.

No inquiry other than the military inquiry was held. Asquith and Sir John Simon were among those who stated that there was every reason to believe that the police were the murderers. Vehement protests appeared in sections of the English Press.

"When is this going to end?" the *Nation and Athenæum* said.

"The Government still cling to the belief that they can crush the Irish spirit, destroy some of the bravest and most promising of Ireland's young men, and win by these means an outward victory. They are wrong. . . . Men of noble spirit and unfaltering courage are dying, but their race does not perish. . . . We can spread ruin; that we are doing. A week ago a deputation from the American Relief Committee waited upon General Macready and Sir John Anderson to explain that America proposed to raise thirty million dollars for repairing the havoc caused by the armed forces of the British Empire in Ireland: there have been prouder moments in our history. We can spread death; that we are doing. We can do to Ireland just as much as Austria did to Italy or Germany to Belgium. But the end is as certain in this case as in those, for the Irish people, supported as they are by their own spiritual vitality, and by the sympathy

in action before the Truce. Their bands played the *Soldier's Song*.

The British Government did not object. When, on March 21st, in the House of Commons, Churchill was asked by Sir J. Butcher whether he did not think it "extremely undesirable that a Government that is not a Republican Government should utilise forces which describe themselves as Republican," Churchill replied: "I think in all the difficult circumstances prevailing in Ireland the Provisional Government are doing their best."

The British statesman assumed that Collins was deliberately deceiving his countrymen, and this was the view of many of Collins's opponents at home. But others believed that he was, rather, inviting his countrymen to co-operate with him in deceiving the British and would presently declare the Republic again. Had he received such co-operation on a large scale, there is little doubt that he would have thrown all his great energies into achieving progress on those lines. But Sinn Féin had taught open and frank defiance, and the rank and file of the Republican Army contained men to whom secret courses made little appeal. The Volunteers were thus sharply divided: with Collins were those who were ready to accept the Treaty either on its merits or with the intention of secretly preparing its overthrow; against him, those who wanted either honourable peace with England or a continuance of the struggle. The anti-Treaty Volunteers saw the situation in simple terms of black and white and they were made bitterly angry by the process of deception which they saw at work. Their fidelity to the Republic was open and absolute; now they saw it betrayed and surrendered; saw Ireland's enemies consulted and placated and themselves ignored. And they saw a mesh of deception, a subtle process which they had no power to fight against, being woven by their opponents.

These Volunteers had no faith in politics or propaganda as a means of saving the Republic; they had faith in very little except the gun; to them there was one thought more repugnant than the thought of civil war.

Between men who had been comrades through years of danger, bitter intolerance grew up. It was the inevitable consequence of the English offer which left Ireland neither bound nor free. How could a loyal Republican forgive those who were destroying the

Republic? Or how could a man who believed that a victorious peace had been won as the reward of great sacrifice forgive men who were ready to wreck that peace?

The harsh aftermath of all revolution lay for Ireland to harvest still.

The I.R.A. was becoming two armies. As a Division or Brigade took its character from the majority of the men in it, the members opposed to them would leave and join a unit where their own views prevailed. Soon whole Brigades and Divisions were definitely pro-Treaty or anti-Treaty.² While still, nominally, nearly all obeyed the Dáil and the Minister for Defence, Mulcahy, the Republicans were restive and felt that they must prepare for the possible necessity of resistance to the Treaty in arms.

Barracks were being taken over from the British, in every case by the local unit of the Irish Army. In some parts, therefore, there was a pro-Treaty garrison, in others were anti-Treaty men.

During February and March, in one district after another, minor clashes occurred between pro-Treaty and Republican units; arms, munitions and lorries were taken from one side by the other; arrests and counter-arrests were made.

On March 2nd a large cargo of arms purchased for the I.R.A. in Germany was landed at Helvic Head in County Waterford, and with these the Republicans of Dublin were armed.

Earnán O'Malley and all his Division, who, with the exception of the East Limerick Brigade, had removed themselves from the control of Dáil Éireann soon after the Dáil vote on the Treaty, refused to take orders from Mulcahy or the Provisional Government's Headquarters Staff and acted as an independent Division. They accepted neither arms nor maintenance from the Government but seized about three hundred rifles from the barracks at Clonmel.

The area covered by the Mid-Limerick Brigade of this Division included Limerick City which was garrisoned by British troops. Here the clash between the two sections of the Irish Army assumed a threatening aspect in February and March. The barracks and posts occupied by the British were to be transferred to the Irish Army on February 23rd. On the 18th the Commandant of the Mid-Limerick Brigade posted up the following proclamation:

"The aims of the head of the army and the majority of it

² Appendix 23, p. 964.

G.H.Q. Staffs are now unquestionably to subvert the Republic to avoid conflict which might easily precipitate civil war. De Valera sent an urgent message to General Mulcahy asking him to support the Provisional Government and make possible the establishment of the Irish Free State. We declare that we do his utmost to find a solution which would avert violence. longer recognise the authority of the present head of the army, Mulcahy was starting for Limerick when the message was delivered. and renew our allegiance to the existing Irish Republic, confident He sent no direct reply. we will have the support of all units of the I.R.A. and of the loyal The Mayor of Limerick, Alderman Stephen O'Mara, succeeded in arranging a conference of officers of both sides, and then went to Dublin to consult De Valera and other leaders. The resolution which he proposed was indignantly condemned by Griffith as a statement published on the 10th as a negation of the national authority which could under no circumstances be acquiesced in. and as emanating from a supporter of De Valera.

Limerick, like Kilkenny, was a key position. Eoin O'Duffy was arranging to occupy such positions with pro-Treaty troops and Mulcahy was co-operating with him in this. On the 23rd troops from outside entered the city under Commandant Hurley and proceeded, without consulting the local Commandant, to take over the various barracks from the British. The local Brigade put Hurley under arrest and held him for four days, during which he was on hunger-strike. O'Malley then entered Limerick with six men of his Division, intending to rush the barracks. He hoped that desertions from the pro-Treaty units would enable him to do this without bloodshed. The plan miscarried; he occupied other buildings in the city and, with Tom Barry, called on Commandant Slattery, who had taken the Castle Barracks, and told him that his troops would have to evacuate Limerick or fight. Slattery refused to evacuate and O'Malley went to Dublin and applied to the Director of Engineering, Rory O'Connor, for engineers to breach the Castle walls. Rory O'Connor, disapproving, as did Liam Lynch, of action that might start serious fighting, refused.

Meanwhile, pro-Treaty troops from surrounding districts and from Dublin were poured into Limerick. On March 3rd, the military occupation began and soon hotels, schools, a jail and a hospital as well as seven barracks were manned by the pro-Treaty forces. Two battalions of British troops were still in occupation a part of the city and drove about the streets in armoured lorries uniformed and carrying rifles.

Republican Volunteers were thronging into the city, armed, from the South and West.

There was consternation among the pro-Treaty leaders. Arm clashes would undoubtedly send a great number of the Volunteers who supported the Government out of the new army to rejoin their old comrades. The Republican leaders were no less anxious

³ See Appendix C of Mulcahy's Report of April 26th, 1922.

ased.

For Collins and Griffith, there must have been bitter irony in this praise from Englishmen, while, in Ireland, they heard themselves called traitors and renegades.

They had not intended to precipitate Civil War. There can be little doubt that, when they took the decision to attack the Four Courts, they thought the conflict would begin and end there, and quiet be restored in a very short time. They had under-estimated the sincerity of the opposition to the Treaty and the deep loyalty that underlay all differences among those who resisted it. They failed to foresee that the first shell fired at the Four Courts would be, for Republicans, a national Call to Arms.

In County Cork, within a few hours of the opening of the attack in Dublin, war had begun.

Officers of the First Southern Division met at their headquarters at Mallow and arranged attacks on the barracks held by pro-Treaty troops in Listowel and Skibbereen. Liam Lynch and Liam Deasy, when they arrived the following morning, endorsed what had been done.

Lynch and Deasy had been delayed on their journey South by damage to the railway line at Newbridge. Lynch now issued a statement to the effect that he hoped to establish communication with Republican Army units in all parts and to secure complete control of the South and West.

The general plan was that each section of the I.R.A. should operate in its own locality; the units were not to pass from one Divisional Area to another; thus there was no concentration in Dublin and most of the fighting took place in Munster and Connacht, where the I.R.A. was strongest in numbers and in arms.

During the first week of July sporadic fighting broke out in many parts of the country, attacks being made on occupied posts. Republicans were taking up positions and commandeering supplies.

The South Dublin Brigade, under Commandant Andrew McDennell, had not nominally broken with the Dáil and occupied barracks in the counties of Dublin and Wicklow until the fighting in Dublin began. On the day of the fall of the Four Courts they received Traynor's request to move to Blessington to meet men coming to the city from Tipperary and enter Dublin with them. They burned their barracks, passed over the Sally

Gap to Blessington and there met the contingent from Tipperary, about seventy in number under Michael Sheehan. Eanáir O'Malley was there trying to collect a sufficient force for an attack on the Provisional Government's Headquarters. They advanced together towards the city as far as Crookslong; there, however, they received a despatch from Traynor telling them that the fight was over in Dublin.

O'Malley went South, formed the South Eastern Command of the Republican Army, took Enniscorthy and put small garrisons in barracks in neighbouring towns. Presently he was appointed Assistant Chief of Staff.

Meanwhile, some of the men who had been turned back at Crookslong occupied barracks in the surrounding district. At Baltinglass a fight took place and many Republicans were captured. Those in Ballymore-Eustace were completely surrounded by Government troops, but some Volunteers broke through the circle from outside and all made their way into the hills. After that fight a Volunteer on the Republican side discovered that one of those killed on the pro-Treaty side was his brother. Their father had fought in Mount Street in 1916.

Liam Lynch, on July 1st, went to Limerick with a contingent from County Cork. They took Adare Barracks, occupied a portion of Limerick City and then invited the local Government Commandant, Michael Brennan, to make a truce. Frank Aiken, whose Division was still neutral, came from Dundalk to try to help to make peace. Brennan agreed to a truce. This, however, was not permitted by the Government; they drafted fresh troops into Limerick and fighting continued there for about a week, until the Republicans withdrew. ^{AND LOOTING} There was sharp fighting still in the county; the I.R.A. took a great number of prisoners whom they released when they had secured their arms.

Before the middle of July all hope of a truce in Munster was at an end and the two Irish armies were committed to war.

Liam Lynch moved with some of his General Headquarters Staff to Clonmel. There, in the second week of July, De Valéra joined him and was attached as Adjutant to the Director of Operations. Seán Moylan. Columns from this centre had attempted to occupy Thurles but failed, owing largely to the confusion which made it difficult as yet to know friends from enemies, since men on both

held on August 7th in Dublin, the chairman, Cathal O'Shannon, said that, while they must not be understood as supporting the Republican Party's policy, they condemned the Provisional Government for this:

"That they, having allowed certain acts, e.g., seizures, arrests, etc., by the Army Executive to go on for several months, and after negotiations on the instructions of the Dáil, with the Army Executive to bring about unity, suddenly reversed engines. Without warning the public, without the sanction of the Dáil, and without giving any satisfactory explanation of their change of policy, they precipitated an attack upon the headquarters of the forces with whose leaders they had been in negotiation, and practically drove the whole political Republican Party into giving active support to the Army Executive's policy."²

Protests against the proroguing of Parliament were without effect, however, as were the protests which Labour Representatives made against the Government's system of arrests.

Arrests were made on suspicion by police and military prisoners not known to be active against the Government were asked, as a condition of their release, to sign a form which implied a promise not to support the I.R.A. and attempted to arrogate to the Provisional Parliament the mandate given to the Dáil.

The form of declaration ran:

"I promise that I will not use arms against the Parliament elected by the Irish people, or the Government for the time being responsible to that Parliament, and that I will not support in any way any such action. Nor will I interfere with the property of persons of others."

This form was signed by very few. No member of the Republican Army or adherent of it was willing to sign a repudiation on his own side; even Republican prisoners who deplored the armed resistance of the I.R.A. and whose efforts had been for peace objected to giving to the group which was acting as a *de facto* government the recognition due to a legitimate government. The result was that the prisons were soon filled with Republicans, not

² See Report of the Twenty-eighth Annual Meeting of the Irish Labour Party and Trades Union Congress, 1921-2.

combatant as well as combatant. The organisation of the prisons was inadequate to receive such large numbers, and remained inadequate to provide proper accommodation. Deplorable conditions developed. In many jails an attempt to treat these uncharged prisoners as criminals produced the old unhappy cycle of ever more strenuous resistance by the prisoners and increasing callousness on the part of the military guards.

During August hundreds of arrests of civilian "suspects" were made. Protests were ignored; all efforts to secure a meeting of the Dáil or to effect a truce proved unavailing, and the Civil War went relentlessly on.

The Provisional Government had recruited a large paid army from all available sources; they had no lack of arms or ammunition and no need, as Churchill had suggested repeatedly, to economise supplies. This army was concentrating on an effort to dislodge the I.R.A. from Munster.

At the beginning of August the Republicans, although they had evacuated the cities of Wexford and Limerick, still controlled large parts of the counties of Limerick, Waterford, Kerry and Tipperary and controlled the whole of County Cork.

Notable leaders of the army which had fought the British operated along the Republican line; the old tactics were employed. By breaking bridges, trenching roads and setting ambushes in the mountain passes the Volunteers guarded the ways of approach.

They found themselves opposed, in August, by Forces which enormously outnumbered them and were incomparably better armed. The I.R.A. flanks were turned at Waterford and in County Limerick. At Newcastle West they resisted for twelve hours but were forced back. One by one, the towns which they held along the approaches to Munster were taken: Waterford, Carrick-on-Suir, Tipperary and Cahir. Still, along a front including Clonmel and Fermoy, their Headquarters, the I.R.A. held their own; but troops were occupying the country south of them now, arriving by sea. Some landed at Fenit, in Kerry, and, after meeting with sharp resistance, took Trillick. Others landed on Passage East and entered Cork city on August 10th.

Always, before evacuating a town which they could hold no longer, the I.R.A. burned the barracks which they had occupied.

It was on August 11th that the last town held by the Republicans fell.