

ORIGINAL

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY 1913-21
BURO STAIRÉ MILEATA 1913 21
NO. W.S. 1,763

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BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY, 1913-21

STATEMENT BY WITNESS.

DOCUMENT NO. W.S. 1,763.

Witness

Daniel Breen, T.D.,
2, St. Kevin's Park,
Dartry,
Dublin.

Identity.

Quartermaster, 3rd Tipperary Bde.,
I. R. A.

Subject.

I. R. A. activities, July, 1921 - May, 1924.

Conditions, if any, Stipulated by Witness

Nil.

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SECOND STATEMENT BY MR. DAN BREEN, T.D.

9, St. Kevin's Park, Dartry, Dublin.

"SWORN TO BE FREE".

Chapter 1.

From the Truce to the Civil War:

The Truce was regarded by the Volunteers as a triumph, as, indeed, it was. The Irish Republican Army had, by its guerilla tactics, achieved what a regular army could never have achieved against the military might of Great Britain. It had forced the enemy to make a Truce and to waive the preliminary condition - until then insisted upon - that the Volunteers should surrender their arms before there could be any question of negotiations. The most significant feature of the terms of the Truce was that the "rebel" forces were now being treated not as a "murder gang" or a small "band of assassins" as Lloyd George had so often described them heretofore, but as soldiers of an opposing army.

The declaration of the Truce was welcomed by the people at large. By many it was thought that the recognition of the Republic was but a matter of time. The long nightmare period of terror was over, and in their reaction people were inclined to think that victory had already been won. In many places bonfires were lit, but these were promptly extinguished by the Volunteers who saw the necessity of restraining such premature manifestations of exultation. The fight was not yet over; the truce might prove to be just a breathing space before a new and more terrible era of

hostilities opened. In the meantime, the morale of the army and of the people must be preserved and discipline maintained in the ranks of the Volunteers.

The President issued a Proclamation in which he reminded the people that they must be ready to resist should force be once more used:

"Fellow Citizens,

During the period of the truce each individual soldier and citizen must regard himself as the custodian of the nation's honour. Your discipline must prove in the most convincing manner that this is the struggle of an organised nation. In the negotiations now initiated, your representatives will do their utmost to secure a just and peaceful termination of this struggle, but history, particularly our own history, and the character of the issue to be decided are a warning against undue confidence. An unbending determination to endure all that may still be necessary, and fortitude such as you have shown in all your recent sufferings - these alone will lead you to the peace you desire. Should force be resumed against our nation, you must be ready on your part once more to resist. Thus alone will you secure the final abandonment of force, and the acceptance of justice and reason as the arbiter".

The truce was well observed by both sides in the beginning, but as time went on the Black and Tans were guilty of many breaches of the terms which had been agreed upon between the two armies. Liaison officers had been appointed by both sides to assist in maintaining the proper

observance of the truce and to fix the responsibility for any breaches that might occur. The Chief Liaison Officer for the I.R.A. was Commandant Eamon Duggan, but owing to the special conditions prevailing in the martial law area, Commandant-General Tom Barry was later appointed Chief Liaison Officer I.R.A. for that area. Seán Fitzpatrick, Brigade Adjutant, 3rd Tipperary Brigade, became Liaison Officer for South Tipperary.

At first the British Army authorities observed all the proprieties and took great care to give the Republican officers their proper military titles. But a change soon made itself evident. When Commandant-General Barry called on Brigadier-General Higginson on official business wearing the uniform of an officer of the Irish Republican Army, the British General refused to see him unless he appeared in civilian dress.

A similar state of affairs manifested itself in Limerick. There the liaison officer was Commandant P. Barry, and he was thus addressed by Colonel-Commandant Cameron in his official correspondence, and was received by him at his headquarters in the New Barracks, Limerick, in his official capacity as Commandant Barry. A few days later, however, all this was changed. Letters addressed to him now bore the inscription Mr. P. Barry instead of Commandant P. Barry, and it became evident that whatever recognition had been given the Irish Army in the terms of agreement for a truce was now being, in fact, withdrawn. The Irish officers were informed that instructions had been issued by the British Headquarters that the British liaison officers were to deal with their Irish counterparts only as civilians and representatives of Mr. de Valera. The Irish Republican Army officers very properly refused to deal with the British

except in their military capacity as representatives of the Irish Army, and in view of the British attitude Commandant-General Barry instructed all southern liaison officers in the martial law area to cease co-operating with the British forces until the latter should recognise their proper status and treat them as officers of the Irish Republican Army.

As the British refused to alter their attitude and the I.R.A. officers in the martial law area were adamant in regard to the stand they had taken in this matter, the difficulty was tided over by an arrangement made by the Irish G.H.Q. According to this arrangement, breaches, or reported breaches, of the truce were to be investigated by the I.R.A. liaison officer and a report sent to the Chief Liaison Officer in Dublin who would deal directly with the British Government in the matter.

On the coming into operation of the truce, training camps for officers and Volunteers were set up throughout Ireland with a view to perfecting the discipline and military efficiency of the army in the event of a renewal of the war. It was quite within the bounds of probability that the war might be renewed at any time, as all depended on whether the negotiations with the British would be brought to a successful conclusion or not. In Tipperary, as in other parts of Ireland, every care was taken to see that the Volunteers were brought to the highest pitch of efficiency, and the better to achieve this purpose an officers' training camp was organised in Ballinard Castle near Drangan. Commandant Prout, later to be Commandant Lacy's opponent in the Civil War as O/C Free State forces in South Tipperary, was appointed Training O/C at Ballinard, and officers from every battalion in the 3rd Tipperary Brigade attended the courses of instruction given there.

Amongst the other training camps set up at this period was that at Glenpatrick in Co. Waterford which was a Battalion 5 training camp under the command of Commandant Paddy Dalton ("Big Paddy"), Officer Commanding the 5th Battalion. This camp was attended by the 5th Battalion members of No. 2 Flying Column and several others. A camp at Grantstown catered for members of the 4th Battalion, while that at Galtee Castle was in the 6th Battalion area. This latter camp was commanded by Commandant Prout after he had ceased to command the officers' training camp in Ballinard. Besides the above-mentioned camps there was a camp for engineers at Rochestown which was commanded by Seán Cooney, O/C Engineers, 5th Battalion.

The interval of the truce was availed of in many parts of Ireland to disinter the remains of Volunteers who, having been killed in action or otherwise, had to be given a hurried burial in secret places. They were now re-interred with all the solemnity and ceremony due to those who had given their lives for Irish freedom. One such ceremony was that of the re-interment of the former O/C of the 5th Battalion, Commandant Denis Sadleir who had been accidentally killed by the discharge of a comrade's rifle shortly before the truce. Owing to the circumstances in which he met his death and the conditions then prevailing, he was buried secretly in Grangemockler. The remains were removed from their temporary resting place and re-interred in the family burial ground in Drangan on August 11th. The day was kept as a general holiday and a day of public mourning in the towns of Clonmel, Carrick, Cahir and Fethard. All business houses were closed and even the cinemas did not open.

The funeral took place after High Mass in Grangemoekler Church which was attended by members of the Clonmel Corporation in state, headed by the Mayor, Alderman Frank Drohan, T.D. The coffin was draped in the Republican colours and the Kilkenny War Pipers' Band, the members of which were in uniform, headed the funeral procession. Thousands marched in the procession. Large contingents of Cumann na mBan and Fianna Éireann from all over South Tipperary attended and marched immediately after the band. Following these came a lorry piled high with wreaths. A body-guard of Commandant Sadlier's fellow officers of the 3rd Tipperary Brigade marched on either side of the bier which was followed immediately by the parents, brothers, sisters and relatives of the dead officer. Then came the Clonmel Corporation, followed by three battalions of Irish Volunteers marching in military formation. A long line of horse drawn vehicles and motor cars completed the procession. The procession of cars alone (including motor cars) was over two miles long. The funeral was one of the largest ever seen in Tipperary and took an hour to pass a given point. When the final prayers had been said and the Last Post sounded, three volleys were fired over the grave. Thus did the Volunteers and the people of South Tipperary combine to honour the memory of a brave young Tipperaryman who had given his life for Ireland.

As the months went on breaches of the truce which had at first been rare became more and more frequent and were by no means confined to the Black and Tans. A sensational shooting affray took place in Tipperary town on the 28th September, when a civilian named Patrick Corbett was shot dead and a Miss Tierney, Volunteer Joseph Cahill of the Irish Republican Army and Private Cooper of the

Lincolnshire Regiment in the British Army of Occupation were wounded by shots alleged to have been fired without provocation by two Black and Tans.

A statement issued by the Chief Liaison Officer for the Martial Law area said that Commandant George Power of Cork No. 2 Brigade, who was liaison officer for the district concerned, visited Tipperary for the purpose of holding an inquiry into the circumstances under which the shooting occurred. The result of this inquiry was to fix the blame for the shooting on two Black and Tans in uniform who had wantonly and without any provocation opened fire. The British authorities, on the other hand, came to the conclusion that the firing was due to a deliberate attempt on the part of certain members of the Irish Republican Army, of whom Volunteer Cahill was one, to murder two members of the Royal Irish Constabulary. The event resulted in the arrest of Volunteer Cahill by the British and his courtmartial in Waterford on a charge of attempted murder. He was found guilty by the British courtmartial and sentenced to penal servitude for life but, since the Treaty had been signed in the meantime, the sentence was immediately remitted and he was released.

X The first anniversary of the burial of Vice-Brigadier Seán Treacy was observed all over South Tipperary as a general holiday. All business was suspended in Clonmel, Tipperary, Carrick-on-Suir, Cahir and Fethard for the entire day. Mass was offered in all the churches of the area for the repose of the dead leader's soul, and army units attended the Mass in each locality. In Tipperary town and in Kilfeacle High Mass was sung. Impressive ceremonies were witnessed in Kilfeacle where the eight battalions of the 3rd Tipperary Brigade were represented at

the Mass and the commemoration which followed, Vice Brigadier Lacy being in charge of the arrangements. He and the Battalion Commandants were in uniform. The units present from the various battalions were under the command of their own officers as follows:

1st Battalion	-	Commandant	Jerome Davin;	
2nd	"	-	"	Seán Downey;
3rd	"	-	"	Tadhg Dwyer;
4th	"	-	"	Brian Shanahan;
5th	"	-	"	Patrick Dalton;
6th	"	-	"	Seán Prendergast;
7th	"	-	"	Seán Walsh;
8th	"	-	"	Seán Kilmartin.

After the High Mass the Rosary was recited in Irish at the graveside.

As the negotiations dragged on between Ireland and England, breaches of the truce became more frequent and more serious and a growing spirit of unrest and indiscipline made itself apparent in the Army of the Republic. Some observers appeared to detect a growing militaristic spirit in the ranks of the Volunteers, and certain Volunteer officers undoubtedly provoked such criticism by their aggressive attitude towards civilians. An arrogant and domineering attitude, coupled with an ill-concealed sense of superiority over the civilian population, was not calculated to strengthen the bonds which had hitherto existed between the Volunteer and the man in the street. On the contrary, this attitude was bound to alienate popular sympathy from the army which, after all, was the army of the people.

In October, 1921, the army authorities found it necessary to warn Volunteers against adopting a superior or aggressive attitude towards the non-combatant elements of the nation. This warning was contained in An tÓglach, the official organ of the Irish Army. That the warning

was necessary is clear from what has been already related and will be still more clear from certain occurrences soon to be recorded.

"Volunteers", said the article referred to, "should never assume an aggressive or intolerant attitude towards civilians and the non-combatant elements of the nation. They must never forget that they are only a part of the machinery of the Republic. The people of Ireland love and trust the soldiers of the Irish Republican Army who have fought and bled for them. It is the duty of every soldier of Ireland not to alienate that sympathy by adopting an aggressive or superior attitude towards civilians. Furthermore, the forceful methods necessitated by war conditions should, as far as possible, be laid aside during the truce".

A very glaring breach of the truce was perpetrated in Tipperary town on the night of Monday, October 19th, when a policeman was fired at and wounded in the head and arm while drinking in a publichouse. There could be no excuse for such acts which were grave violations of the truce and, as such, redounded to the discredit of the men who were responsible for them and to the dishonour not only of the brigade but of the nation as a whole. Ireland's honour was pledged to observe the terms of the truce, and every such act was a violation of the nation's pledged word and a stain upon its honour.

That there was a growing laxity in the 3rd Tipperary Brigade as regards the observance of the truce is clear from the foregoing examples. Another incident which took place early in November makes this still more evident. The incident referred to is the seizure of seventy rifles from the military hutments at Tipperary.

There were, indeed, two attitudes with regard to the importation or the acquisition of arms and ammunition by the Republican forces. The British held that the acquisition of arms and ammunition to add to the armament of the Volunteers was in itself a breach of the truce. The Volunteers held very strongly that this was not the case; that they were fully entitled to add to their armament. In this the Volunteers were quite correct. It was quite another matter, however, to add to their armament by attacks on British forces or by raids on British supplies, for such activities were undoubtedly breaches of the truce and could not be condoned.

The rifles which were seized were in the East Camp, about twenty yards from the road, and the entrance was effected by cutting through barbed wire entanglements in front of the hutments. Besides the seventy rifles, a box of bombs and a quantity of ammunition, it was ascertained later that two Lewis guns had also been seized. Indignant at this grave breach of the truce, the British demanded the return of the missing articles from the Irish G.H.Q. At that very time negotiations for a Treaty were proceeding in London between representatives of the British and Irish Governments and had then reached a critical stage. It certainly did not make for the success of the negotiations to have such things happening in Ireland, and moreover, it placed the Irish delegates in a very awkward position when charges of this kind were levelled at them by the British delegates. G.H.Q. were forced to take action and did so without delay.

The Limerick Liaison Officer, Commandant Barry, was summoned to Dublin, as were also the Commandants of the East Limerick and South Tipperary Brigades. It is said that

Frank Thornton was sent down from G.H.Q. to investigate the affair personally. At any rate, the upshot of the whole affair was that the guilt was fixed on the 3rd Tipperary Brigade. When ordered by G.H.Q. to return the rifles which had been seized, the O/C 3rd Tipperary Brigade refused on the grounds that the seizure was a perfectly legitimate act, not being an act of war. Of course, whether it was an act of war or not was really beside the point. What did matter was that amongst the terms of the Truce was one article agreed to on behalf of the Irish Army, namely, paragraph (c) which ran: "No interference with Government or private property".

Following the Tipperary raid, the Chief Liaison Officer for Ireland issued a statement in which he said that "Enquiries are being pursued by liaison authorities with a view to tracing the perpetrators. Should it be found that these acts were committed by members of our forces, distinct breaches of the truce were committed, and when found, the parties concerned will be drastically punished. Acts such as these have no authority from G.H.Q., neither are they countenanced by us".

The next serious breach of the truce in the South Tipperary area occurred in Cashel three days after the signing of the Treaty. When walking on the streets at night, two policemen were fired at, one of them being seriously wounded. A civilian standing nearby was also wounded. This shooting was the act of two men in civilian dress who were seen by the Rev. Fr. Duggan, C.C., running up a side street after they had attacked the policemen. Captain Seán Fitzpatrick, Liaison Officer, 3rd Tipperary Brigade, and the British liaison authorities visited Cashel afterwards to make inquiries into the matter.

Following on these occurrences, the Cabinet of Dáil Éireann met to consider the situation which was daily becoming more serious. As a result of their deliberations the following statement was issued: -

"The Cabinet of Dáil Éireann has had before it reports of four attacks on the British forces in Ireland, two members of which have been killed.

The Cabinet is of opinion that these acts were not committed by members of the Republican forces, and it condemns them in the strongest manner.

The Minister for Defence and the Minister for Home Affairs have been directed to investigate the occurrences, and to use every effort to bring the perpetrators to justice".

A statement was also issued by the Chief Liaison Officer which we reproduce here: -

"It is with the greatest dismay and regret that I read the accounts of the shootings of members of the R.I.C. and British forces.

I have confidence that such deeds are not the acts of members of the I.R.A. but are the acts of cowardly individuals who endeavour to cloak their misdeeds in such a manner that they may be interpreted as actions of soldiers of the Republican Army.

Should it, however, be proved to be the work of members of the I.R.A., the General Staff have decided to take most drastic action against the perpetrators".

As we are concerned in this statement with the history of the 3rd Tipperary Brigade only, and do not wish to touch on the political situation as such, except in so far as it becomes necessary in order to explain the military situation, it will suffice here to mention the following facts.

A treaty was signed on December 6th, 1921 between representatives of the Government of the Republic of Ireland and representatives of the British Government. This Treaty, which recognised Ireland's position as a Dominion of the British Empire, and likewise accepted the fact of Partition, received the approval of Dáil Éireann on January 7th, 1922, by the small majority of seven votes. With the vote on the Treaty the period of national unity came to an end and the whole Republican movement was split from top to bottom.

Following the approval of the Treaty, President de Valera and his Cabinet resigned from office and Mr. Griffith was elected President of the Republic in succession to Mr. de Valera. A new Cabinet was formed in which all the members were men who had voted for the Treaty and were, consequently, pledged to work in the Dáil for the disestablishment of the Irish Republic and the substitution in its stead of the Irish Free State, a British Dominion, owing allegiance to the British Crown.

This state of affairs had a disastrous effect on the Army, the morale of which had already been much lowered during the long period of the truce, and the discipline of which had been not a little impaired. To the split in the nation was now added a split in the Army, with this difference; that whereas the majority of the people seemed prepared to accept the Free State, at least as the most which could be hoped for at the time, the majority of the Army was violently

opposed to it, and the Army leaders, particularly in the South and West, made it quite clear that they were prepared to resist its imposition on the people by force of arms if necessary.

The question of the Oath to the Republic now agitated men's minds to a considerable extent and inevitably the Army was drawn into the political controversy. It soon became apparent that a section of the Army, at least, was prepared to repudiate the authority of Dáil Éireann. This section held that Dáil Éireann by approving the Treaty had acted in a manner ultra vires and had violated its obligations to the Republic and so forfeited the right to the obedience of the Army. It was also pointed out that, constitutionally, the Army was independent of the Dáil, being under its own Executive, though it had admittedly agreed to come under the authority of Dáil Éireann once that body had been constituted as the de jure Government of the Irish Republic, elected by the free votes of the Irish people. On the other hand, it was argued that the Army had now been for two years subject to the Dáil and working under the Ministry for Defence, and that all the Volunteers had taken an oath of allegiance to Dáil Éireann as well as to the Republic.

To the Army officers who opposed the Treaty the all-important issue was the issue of Republic versus Free State or, to put it in another way, of Dominion status versus Sovereign Independence. To accept the Free State envisaged by the Treaty was, to their mind, to violate their oath of allegiance to the Republic, surrender the proclaimed independence and sovereignty of the nation and accept the status of British subjects - the very thing against which

they had been fighting for the past three years. Worse still, it meant in their eyes the acceptance of Partition.

Though the rank and file of the Irish Republican Army were undoubtedly Republican in sentiment and prepared for the most part to resist any attempt to subvert the Republic, there was a large section, including a majority of the G.H.Q. staff, who wished to accept the Treaty as "a stepping stone to the Republic". The attitude of this important and influential section was made manifest in an article which appeared in An tÓglach in January, 1922, shortly after the election of Arthur Griffith to the Presidency of the Republic. This article is of such importance, and throws such a light on the attitude of the pro-Treaty section of G.H.Q. and, indeed, of all members of the Army who were prepared to accept the Free State that, in justice to that point of view, it deserves reproduction here: -

"Dáil Éireann, the sovereign representative body to whom the people of Ireland owe allegiance, has by a majority, taken a definite decision in a matter around which political controversy has raged, and the result has been the election of a new President and Cabinet. The situation as far as the army is concerned remains unchanged.

"Our army remains the army of the Irish Republic, which Republic will continue until such time, if ever, as the Irish people at a General Election shall decide on some other form of Government. The army will remain in command of the same officers as heretofore, and any attempt to impair its discipline and solidarity by introducing political controversies into its work will be sternly resisted. All who have the interests of the country and the honour and strength of the army at heart will co-operate in ensuring this.

The country is at the present time, as a result of the recent war, the later political divisions, and the proposed British evacuation in a chaotic state exposed to danger from foreign and domestic enemies of peace, and the great hope in this moment of need is the splendid discipline and ordered organisation which has characterised the Irish Volunteers.

The British forces are preparing to evacuate Ireland, the duty of securing public order and public safety will rest on the Irish army, and all its units must co-operate loyally in this work. Words are not strong enough to express the reprobation due to any officers or men of the army who in this critical juncture fail in their duty in this respect.

The Irish Volunteers were established to safeguard the common rights and liberties of all the people of Ireland. They are the servants and defenders of the nation, and can never be made the organ of a party or faction. No units of the army can ever be allowed to use force or intimidation in furtherance of their political views.

It must be clearly understood that those in control of the army will tolerate no indiscipline, no insubordination or mutinous conduct, no intimidation of civilians at the present time, and that they are prepared to take strong steps should the necessity arise. We do not believe that the necessity will ever arise".

In the foregoing article stress is laid on the fact that the people of Ireland owe allegiance to Dáil Éireann, the sovereign representative body. The force of this statement is, however, very much blunted when we consider that the majority of the members of the G.H.Q. staff at the time this

article was written were themselves members of a secret organisation which did not recognise Dáil Éireann as the de jure Government of the Irish Republic. The Irish Republican Brotherhood, to which they belonged, and to which they continued to belong even after the Irish Free State had been set up, recognised only one legitimate authority in Ireland until such time as the Irish Republic should have been not only established but internationally recognised. The one legitimate authority which this secret society recognised was its own Supreme Council whose decrees overrode even those of Dáil Éireann. The army itself had been brought under the control of this secret society, and every effort had been and was still being made to see that the effective control of the army would remain in the hands, not of the Dáil Ministry of Defence, but of the I.R.B. When reading and judging the foregoing article, we must always keep these facts in mind.

Reading between the lines we can see G.H.Q. already preparing the rank and file for the substitution of the Irish Free State in place of the Irish Republic, and the merging of the I.R.A. in the new Free State Army soon to be set up. Many things in the article are admirable in theory as, for example, the warning that any attempt to introduce political controversies into the work of the army would be sternly resisted. But the author of the article had apparently overlooked the fact that the circumstances in which the Irish Republican Army came into existence and continued to exist were not the circumstances found in the case of an ordinary military force.

The Irish Republican Army Volunteer could not be expected to view the political situation as if he were gazing upon it from some remote planet. Nor was it reasonable to expect the Volunteer to look upon the political situation as

something completely divorced from the military situation. It was all very well to warn Volunteers against mingling politics with the work of the army, but a heated political debate had just concluded in Dáil Éireann on the issue of the Treaty, in which two members of G.H.Q., one of them being the Chief of Staff, had taken up a very decided attitude in favour of the Treaty, while another member of G.H.Q. had taken a most uncompromising attitude in defence of the Republic and in opposition to the Treaty. In the Dáil at the time were many soldier deputies some of whom favoured acceptance and others rejection of the Treaty; and during the Civil War which followed, deputies fought on both sides. Under those circumstances it seems futile to speak of "no politics" in the army.

Commandant Seumas Robinson, the deputy for Waterford and East Tipperary, who was at that time Officer Commanding the 3rd Tipperary Brigade, very properly reminded the Dáil that the Volunteers had always held political views and that if they had no political outlook they would not have been soldiers at all. They were not a national army in the ordinary sense of the word; they were a citizen army and had political views as soldiers. In judging, therefore, the situation which arose in the army as a result of the signing of the Treaty, we must not lose sight of this fact.

The last paragraph in the article quoted from An tÓglach was clearly a threat directed against those in the army who refused to acquiesce in the abandonment of the Republic. These included the overwhelming majority of both officers and men in the martial law area. These, and they included the men of the 3rd Tipperary Brigade, looked upon language of the kind

we have quoted as a threat, and decided to direct all efforts to safeguard the existence of the Republic and prevent its disestablishment. That they acted rashly in the means they adopted for the purpose of carrying out that policy cannot be denied. That they acted precipitately, involving themselves and others in unforeseen difficulties as a result may, perhaps, be admitted; but of the fact that they acted in good faith and in the sincere desire to preserve the independence of the Irish nation which they felt to be threatened by the proposed Treaty, there can be no doubt. Their methods may have been, and in some instances were, deplorable; but their motives can be questioned by none. That they were later prepared to lay down their lives in vindication of the principles for which they battled is, in itself, sufficient proof of this. For ourselves, we leave it to history to vindicate or to condemn their attitude and its results. We content ourselves here and in the chapters which follow with giving the facts.

There can be no doubt that by the summer of 1922 militarism had become rampant in Ireland, and that statement applies equally to both sections of the army; to those who favoured the Treaty as well as to those who opposed it. For proof of this one has only to read the incidents reported from day to day in the press of the period. The country was, indeed, falling into a state of chaos, and while the two parties wrangled and disputed in Dáil Éireann, the military situation got altogether beyond the control of the Dáil, and the warring sections of the army found it more convenient to use military than civil means to settle their differences. This was really the beginning of a slow drift towards civil war which, in spite of all the efforts made to avert such a calamity finally, and, perhaps inevitably, resulted.

The temper of the vast majority of both officers and men of the 3rd Tipperary Brigade was, as has already been remarked, strongly opposed to the acceptance of the Treaty and in favour of a renewal of the war, if necessary, rather than that the Republic should be abandoned. A proclamation was drawn up against the Treaty and sent to the Clonmel 'Nationalist' for publication. The editor refused to publish it and was thereupon warned by the brigade authorities that if it were not published the paper would be suppressed. The editor promptly laid the facts before the new Minister for Defence and received the assurance that steps would be taken to prevent interference with the paper. In spite of this assurance the 'Nationalist' was suppressed by the I.R.A. the machinery being dismantled. This interference with the freedom of the press called forth much criticism and helped to harden public opinion against the army.

Meanwhile the state of the country went from bad to worse. Bands of armed robbers, taking advantage of the political unrest and the unsettled state of the country, roved through the land and in many cases represented themselves as members of the I.R.A. Murders were committed in the belief that the crimes would be attributed to the I.R.A. and that the murderers would thus succeed in evading the toils of the law. The Republican Police were active in combatting these criminal activities, but in many areas it was found necessary to take more extreme measures and in some parts of the country it was even found necessary to proclaim martial law.

Thus it happened that, following the murder near Dundrum of John Barrer, a Protestant farmer, the Officer Commanding the 3rd Battalion, 3rd Tipperary Brigade, found it necessary to declare martial law in his area from Monday, January 30th,

1922. The area thus declared under martial law comprised the parishes of Knockavilla, Annacarty, Hollyford, Rossmore, Clonoulty and parts of Boherlahan.

The proclamation stated that: -

- (1) Any person or persons found in the possession of arms without a permit from the O/C of the said area will be liable to suffer the extreme penalty;
- (2) All publichouses to be closed between the hours of 9 p.m. and 7 a.m. until further notice;
- (3) All persons to be indoors between 10 p.m. and 7 a.m.;
- (4) All persons when called upon to halt by patrols shall immediately do so;
- (5) Any person who, owing to urgent business, must pass through said area within the above mentioned hours, can do so by having a permit from the O/C;
- (6) All citizens are asked to co-operate with the authorities in tracking down murders and robberies.

(Signed) TADHG Ó DUIBHIR,

O/C Battn. 3, I.R.A.

The evacuation of the military and police barracks in South Tipperary commenced in late January. The smaller country police barracks were the first to be abandoned and in most cases the I.R.A. took over when the police had departed. In late January and early February, the police barracks at Bansha, Dundrum, Annacarty, Limerick Junction, Cahir and Carrick were evacuated and the police who remained were concentrated in Clonmel and Tipperary while awaiting demobilisation.

The smaller military posts were also evacuated and the garrisons transferred to the larger barracks. Clogheen was evacuated on January 25th, and on the 29th the 42nd Brigade, R.F.A., of which the Clogheen garrison had been a unit, evacuated Cahir military barracks. This was the first major military post to be evacuated in Tipperary. Immediately after the evacuation of Clogheen and Cahir by the British

the local units of the I.R.A., attached to the 6th Battalion, marched in, and the tricolour of the Irish Republic floated where formerly the Union Jack was seen.

Events moved quickly from now on. One unit of the R.F.A. still remained in Fethard. On the night following the evacuation of Cahir military barracks, the magazine in Fethard barracks was raided and a large quantity of ammunition and two Lewis guns removed almost under the nose of the sentry. The material captured on the occasion was removed to Burgessland near Newcastle, where it was dumped. This raid was, of course, a flagrant violation of the Truce.

Soon after the raid just mentioned, Fethard military barracks was evacuated by the British and the 1st Battalion, 3rd Tipperary Brigade, entered into occupation of the building. The evacuation of this barracks was quickly followed by the handing over of Clonmel infantry and artillery barracks, on which occasion some difficulty arose between the representative of the Provisional Government and the representative of the army of the Republic, involving correspondence in the press.

It had been announced in the Clonmel 'Nationalist' that the barracks in Clonmel had been taken over by the I.R.A. in accordance with an arrangement entered into with the Irish Provisional Government. This statement led to a repudiation of any such agreement by Commandant Patrick Dalton, Officer Commanding the 5th Battalion, in a letter addressed by him to the editor of the 'Nationalist' and published in that paper on February 13th, 1922. The publication of Commandant Dalton's letter produced a reply from Staff-Captain McKenna, the representative of the Provisional Government, asserting that the actual taking over of the barracks was done by him

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on the authority of the Provisional Government. We reproduce the correspondence here: -

"Headquarters, 5th Battalion,
3rd Tipperary Brigade.

13th February, 1922.

"To the Editor of the 'Nationalist'.

You will kindly publish the following in the next edition of your paper.

In your issue of last Saturday, February 11th, 1922, the following passage occurs in the article headed 'Passing of the English Occupation' - 'The actual taking over of the barracks was done by arrangement with the Irish Government by Commandant Dalton and Vice-Commandant Morrissey.'

I take this opportunity of contradicting such a statement. No arrangement of any kind has been entered into with the Irish (Provisional) Government by me for the taking over of the vacated barracks. In taking over the barracks I, as Officer Commanding the 5th Battalion, acted solely on instructions received from my officers.

(Signed) P. DALTON,

O/C, Batt. 5, Clonmel.

In the same issue of the 'Nationalist' in which the above appeared there is to be found a reply from Captain McKenna. The item is as follows: -

"After receipt of the above letter from Commandant Dalton, our representative interviewed Staff-Captain McKenna on the matter. He stated: 'The actual taking over of the barracks was done by me on the authority of the Provisional Government. I then handed it over to Commandant Dalton'.

Captain McKenna added that he gave his signature to the British O/C of the barracks and also took an inventory of the stock".

These two contradictory statements may, indeed, be reconciled. It is certain that Commandant Dalton, in taking over the barracks at Clonmel, acted solely on the instructions of his superior officers in the 3rd Tipperary Brigade. But it is no less certain that every barracks in Ireland handed over to the I.R.A. at that time was handed over by arrangement with the Provisional Government. This arrangement was made not by the local unit or units engaged in taking over the barracks but by G.H.Q. in Dublin who were working in co-operation with the Provisional Government and whose policy it then was to hand the barracks over to the local Volunteers even where it was known that the local O/C did not see eye to eye with G.H.Q. regarding the attitude to be adopted on the Treaty question.

What the state of the country was at this time may be judged from the fact that the Commandant of Tipperary No. 2 Brigade found it necessary on February 7th, to issue a proclamation declaring the parishes of Drombane, Upperchurch, Inch, Ballycahill, Castleiney, Moyne, Templetuohy, Loughmore, Clonmore, Drom, Templemore and Killea to be under martial law on and from the 9th February, because of recent outrages in the brigade area. The proclamation declared that anyone found in possession of arms without proper authority would be liable to suffer the extreme penalty. It also introduced curfew and prohibited the use of motor cars within the hours of curfew except by permit.

Within a few days of this proclamation, the Officer Commanding the 2nd Battalion, 3rd Tipperary Brigade, felt obliged to make a similar proclamation for his area as from

February 13th, "owing to the numerous acts of lawlessness, destruction and commandeering of property" which were taking place. The area affected by this proclamation included the parishes of Kilfeacle, Golden, New Inn, Cashel, Dualla and Ballyfowloo, and the terms of the proclamation were much the same as those we have already quoted.

On the 16th and 17th of February the last detachments of British troops left South Tipperary when the military hutments and military barracks in Tipperary town were evacuated. After the departure of the British Army the barracks and hutments were occupied by the Irish Republican forces and the Irish tricolour hoisted. Three years had barely elapsed since, in February, 1919, the leaders of the 3rd Tipperary Brigade had ordered the British forces, under pain of death, to leave South Tipperary. That proclamation was derided by all the pro-British elements in the country and denounced by the "moderate" nationalists as a piece of folly. It was regarded with exasperation by the "sensible" element of the population which simply could not contemplate the possibility of a few ill-armed men challenging successfully the military might of England, backed as it then was by all the resources of the world-wide British Empire. But the prophets of disaster lived to see themselves confounded and the "impossible" achieved. The events of February, 1922, proved that the "sensible" people were wrong and the "foolish" right. The British army was gone and the barracks once held by the English troops were now in the hands of Irish soldiers.

In order to meet the requirements of the Republican troops and to finance the army which was still an unpaid volunteer army, levies were being exacted in the name of the Republic, while seizures of goods in lieu of levy were

authorised in certain cases as, for example, in the case of people who did not contribute to the upkeep of the army. This custom had grown up during the previous year when the war against the British was at its height and had never been discontinued. It now became irksome to the people at large and led to a good deal of resentment. The official Army journal, "An tÓglach", stated (in February): -

"Reports have reached G.H.Q. to the effect that levies are being exacted in the name of the Irish Republican Army in the Clonmel and Carrick-on-Suir areas. It is necessary to make it clear that no such levies have been sanctioned by G.H.Q. and that the exacting of levies in any form from the civilian population is entirely unauthorised.

Following this reminder, a proclamation was issued by the Officer Commanding the 3rd Tipperary Brigade to the effect that on and after February 19th all seizures or commandeering of motors or goods in lieu of levy in the name of the I.R.A. from people resident in the brigade area were illegal, and that the people should resist all such alleged seizures and report them to the O/C of the area.

One of the reasons for the exaction of the levy referred to was that the 3rd Tipperary Brigade, in common with all the other brigades of the 2nd Southern Division (except East Limerick), had refused to accept maintenance from the Provisional Government, since they would not recognise the authority of that body. Indeed they went further than that; they actually repudiated the authority of Dáil Éireann and of G.H.Q. They issued a proclamation in which they stated that the army established to maintain the Republic was determined to resist every power inimical thereto:

"The setting up of the Free State Government is inimical to the Republic. A majority of the Dáil and the G.H.Q. staff of the Army conniving at the creation of the Free State, the Government forfeited the allegiance of all citizens and soldiers. The Republican Army is determined to rouse the nation from its lethargy to resist the treacherous inclusion of Ireland in the British possessions. The orders and decrees of the Free State Government and Headquarters staff have no binding force on the people".

Such was the state of affairs when, on February 26th, a coup was brought off which startled the country and dismayed the Provisional Government. This was the raid on the R.I.C. barracks in Clonmel which resulted in the capture of a huge quantity of arms and ammunition by the Republican troops. The operation was carried out by picked men drawn from each of the eight battalions of the brigade. Four men with their O/C were ordered to come to Clonmel from each battalion to take part in the raid. In addition to these, members of the garrison in Clonmel military barracks were engaged in the operation.

The police garrison at the time of the raid consisted of about seventy men who were awaiting demobilisation. The raid took place near midnight on Sunday and was carried out with the connivance of some of the police. The general body of police in the barracks knew nothing of the intended raid and were, not unnaturally, very indignant at this flagrant breach of the Truce, they themselves having faithfully abided by the terms of the Truce since it came into operation the previous July. The police were lined up in the day room awaiting the roll call when the raiders entered.

Most of the arms had been bundled up already in readiness for transference to Dublin, so that the raiders had little difficulty in gathering the spoils.

According to a statement made by Mr. Churchill in the House of Commons following this raid, the captured material consisted of 11 motor cars, 293 rifles and guns, 237 revolvers, 45 shotguns, 324,000 rounds of ammunition, 4,247 cartridges, and sundry small stores. According to an estimate made by Lieutenant Seán Cooney, Engineering Corps, 5th Battalion, the quantity of material taken was as follows: - 273 revolvers and pistols (including Webley, Colt-Automatic, Smith and Wesson, Parballum and Peter the Painter types), 300 rifles, 3 Lewis guns, 200,000 rounds of rifle ammunition (.303), 300,000 rounds of revolver (.45) ammunition, a large quantity of bombs, grenades, bayonets and equipment, 3 armoured Lancia cars, 12 Crossley tenders and one armoured car. Even accepting the most conservative estimate the haul was a big one.

Events in Tipperary at this time gave great cause for anxiety to the British Government and numerous questions were asked in the British House of Commons. Mr. Churchill declared that the condition of affairs in various parts of County Tipperary had been a source of anxiety to the Government and that representations had been made on the subject to the Provisional Government. On being pressed to take some action himself in the matter, Churchill said that he might easily take action which would be unwise and do more harm than good. He added, however, that he was supplying the Provisional Government with the means to assert their authority.

A still greater source of anxiety both to the British and to the Provisional Government was the ambush of R.I.C. men in the Main Street of Tipperary town as they were leaving the town in four cars for Dublin where they were to be demobilised. As soon as they were attacked the police returned fire. The Head Constable was shot dead and four other constables were wounded, one of whom had to have his leg amputated and died subsequently. The police were relieved of their arms and ammunition. The officer in charge of the attackers had the wounded men conveyed to Limerick Junction and saw them off to Dublin. Three policemen were afterwards arrested in Dublin for complicity in this affair. That such an attack could have occurred at a time when the police forces were being demobilised and during what was supposed to be a truce is sufficient indication of the chaotic state into which the country had drifted.

As the split in the army developed, the Provisional Government began to organise a "regular" force in contradistinction to the Volunteer force which now began to be dubbed, at least in a tentative way, "irregular". This regular force was still the Irish Republican Army legally and constitutionally, functioning under the authority of the Dáil, for the Provisional Government had no authority under the law of the Irish Republic, or, for that matter, under the British law, to raise an army. Nevertheless, this new force, though nominally under the control of Dáil Éireann and still called the Irish Republican Army (every recruit signed an attestation form which declared him to be a soldier of the Irish Republic), was in fact under the control of the Provisional Government to which the new Dáil Cabinet seemed to be handing over all its powers so that the Provisional Government was becoming in fact the Government of the country and Dáil Éireann but a debating society.

Attempts were made to organise the new force - as we may truly call it - in Tipperary, but, at least in South Tipperary, these attempts met with little success as far as the Volunteers were concerned. Some of the Volunteers did, indeed, join the "regular" forces but these were a small minority. The pro-Treaty forces, seeing how the situation was developing in the south, determined to bring the recalcitrant divisions around with strong pro-Treaty garrisons and, for this purpose, strove to get pro-Treaty units into key points such as Kilkenny, Templemore and Limerick. Soon a major crisis developed in the last named city.

It had been arranged that the British troops would evacuate the various Limerick city barracks on February 23rd. Up to this it had been usual for barracks to be taken over by the local units who might be pro-Treaty or anti-Treaty. As the whole of the 1st and 2nd Southern Divisions (with the exception of East Limerick) had definitely ranged themselves against the Treaty, it now became the objective of G.H.Q. to see that in those areas no more barracks should be handed over to local units, but that men from pro-Treaty areas should be drafted in so that there would be no danger of any more barracks falling into the wrong hands.

This new policy was explained in the Dáil by the Minister for Defence as follows:

"In the matter of handing over barracks for occupation by local Volunteers, the fact that the local O/C might not agree with our policy had not been allowed to make any difference; even to the extent that where in the Tipperary No. 3 Brigade there was very definite indiscipline on the part of the Brigade Staff and serious interference with local persons and

property, barracks were handed over to the local troops in the hope that with responsibility placed upon them the rank and file of the army in that area could be relied upon to exert an influence sufficiently strong to reduce that indiscipline. When the barracks in Limerick came to be occupied on the 23rd February the position was such that this policy had to be departed from".

The reason for the change of policy was this. On February 18th, five days before the barracks were to be handed over, the O/C Mid-Limerick Brigade issued a proclamation in which he declared that his brigade no longer recognised the authority of the then head of the army (Eoin O'Duffy) because "the aims of the head of the army and the majority of its G.H.Q. Staff are now unquestionably to subvert the Republic, support the Provisional Government and make possible the establishment of the Irish Free State".

Following this declaration, the nearest O/C of the "Dáil" forces was instructed to occupy the barracks in Limerick city. Meantime, Captain Hurley, the Brigade Q/M, who was in favour of the Treaty, was ordered to organise a local pro-Treaty force in Limerick. Before he could do so he was placed under arrest by the anti-Treaty forces and held for four days. Pro-Treaty troops entered the city and took over all the barracks but one which still remained in British hands. Finally a situation was reached in which a jail and a hospital as well as seven barracks were held by pro-Treaty troops from outside areas, while reinforcements from the South and West poured into the city in hundreds to strengthen the Republican troops. The leading hotels were occupied by Republican troops, among whom were units of the 3rd Tipperary

Brigade, one section of which, from Clonmel, was billeted in a Mental Home.

The situation on both sides was so acute that the leaders in Dublin took alarm and a conference was held with a view to seeking an agreement. Liam Lynch and Oscar Traynor travelled post haste to Limerick to try and avert what promised to be a major calamity - the beginning of civil war. After prolonged and difficult negotiations an agreement was reached. All troops which had been brought in from without were withdrawn while the barracks which had been evacuated were to be occupied by maintenance parties drawn from the Mid-Limerick Brigade.

The General Convention of the I.R.A. was to have been held on March 26th and had already been summoned by Commandant-General Eoin O'Duffy, Chief of Staff, when suddenly, contrary to all expectations, it was prohibited by President Griffith. It was feared by Griffith that the Convention would repudiate the Treaty. The preliminary Brigade Convention which had been held for the purpose of electing delegates to the General Convention showed that from seventy to eighty per cent of the army opposed the Treaty. This foreshadowed a decisive anti-Treaty vote at the General Convention and for this reason, probably, it was decided to prohibit the holding of the Convention altogether.

The Republican section of the army now decided to go ahead and call the Convention on their own account in defiance of both the Government and G.H.Q. This step was taken when it was evident that the pro-Treaty section was determined that the Army Convention would not be allowed to convene. Following this announcement by the anti-Treaty section, the Minister for Defence ordered that any officer attending the Convention would ipso facto cease to be a member of the army.

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On March 23rd a manifesto was issued summoning a General Convention for March 26th. The manifesto was signed by fifty senior army officers. Two hundred and twenty delegates attended, representing forty-nine brigades. The Convention re-affirmed allegiance to the Irish Republic and set up an Executive in which they vested the supreme control of the army.

The new Executive appointed an Army Council which was headed by Liam Lynch as Chief of Staff. The officers and men of the 3rd Tipperary Brigade gave their allegiance henceforth to the army Executive. Ernie O'Malley, the Officer Commanding the 2nd Southern Division having been appointed Director of Organisation on the Army Council, his place as O/C 2nd Southern Division was taken by Brigadier Seumas Robinson who was succeeded as O/C of the 3rd Tipperary Brigade by Commandant Dinny Lacey, Commandant Paddy Dalton, O/C 5th Battalion, becoming Vice-Brigadier, while Commandant Jack Lonergan became O/C 5th Battalion in place of Commandant Dalton.

Divisional as well as Brigade and Battalion Headquarters were now located in Clonmel military barracks which became a hive of activity. A brigade proclamation issued on April 3rd stated that any persons found in possession of arms or ammunition after the 5th of April without a permit from the Commandant of the Battalion area in which the said person resided would be liable to a heavy fine and to have the arms confiscated.

The new Executive had ordered that all matters relating to the army should in future be subject to military censorship before appearing in the daily press. An intimation to this effect was served on all editors in the brigade area immediately this order was made. On and after the 11th April, therefore, all the newspapers in the brigade

area were, to that extent, censored by the I.R.A. and the editors generally saw to it that the public were informed of that fact by a notice in the papers.

At this period there was an orgy of murders in Belfast and other parts of the north-east corner of Ireland. Catholics, men and women, and even little children were being done to death in circumstances of almost unbelievable barbarity, and this in spite of the pact entered into between Sir James Craig and Michael Collins. The Dáil Cabinet had removed the Belfast Boycott but the Army Executive now decided to enforce it in a drastic manner, and orders were given to the effect that all troops under the command of the Executive were to enforce the boycott in their respective areas. All traders were ordered to observe this prohibition. The boycott was very strictly enforced in South Tipperary. Traders were informed that permits could be had to dispose of goods purchased before April 2nd, 1922, but that no permits would be issued to sell boycotted goods paid for on or after the 10th day of April, 1922, a notice to that effect appearing in all the local papers, signed by the Brigade Director of Boycott, Tom Smyth.

On April 13th the Republican Army Council set up a military G.H.Q. in Dublin and for this purpose occupied the Four Courts. Everything now pointed to a rapid deterioration of the military situation and it was felt by responsible men that unless a supreme effort were made to save the situation nothing could avert civil war. Official negotiations between the two sections of the army had failed to secure agreement; so had the efforts of Dáil Éireann. Some private conversations now took place between army officers on both sides. A basis of agreement was found which, in the end, satisfied neither party and was repudiated by the Republican

G.H.Q. in the Four Courts. The agreement had no official sanction from either side but represented an attempt made by individual officers to avert a civil war which, they believed, would be fatal to all Ireland's hopes. The agreement ran as follows: -

"We, the undersigned officers of the I.R.A., realising the gravity of the position in Ireland, and appreciating the fact that if the present drift is maintained a conflict of comrades is inevitable, declare that this would be the greatest calamity in Irish history and would leave Ireland broken for generations.

To avert this catastrophe, we believe that a closing of the ranks all round is necessary. We suggest to all leaders, army and political, and all citizens and soldiers of Ireland, the advisability of a union of forces on the basis of the acceptance and utilisation of our present national position in the best interests of Ireland, and we require that nothing should be done that would prejudice our position or dissipate our strength.

We feel that on this basis alone can the situation be faced, viz.: -

- (1) The acceptance of the fact, admitted by all sides, that the majority of the people of Ireland are willing to accept the Treaty;
- (2) An agreed election with a view to
- (3) Forming a Government which will have the confidence of the whole country;
- (4) Army unification on above basis.

(Signed)

Dan Breen, Tom Hales, H. Murphy, S. O'Hegarty,
F. O'Donoghue, Seán Boylan, R.J. Mulcahy,
Owen O'Duffy, Gearóid O'Sullivan, Micheal Ó Coileáin'

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On May 3rd the officers who had signed this agreement were received by the Dáil and Seán O'Hegarty addressed the House in moving terms. A Committee of Dáil Éireann was appointed to consider and discuss the proposals submitted by the officers and the result of all the efforts was the Collins-de Valera Pact which for the moment held out the hope that Republican Ireland might be re-united on the basis of the agreement then signed. And so it might, perhaps, had not the British Government intervened and made it clear that they would never tolerate a united Coalition Cabinet in which the Republicans would have representation. The rest of the story is well known. The Pact was broken by the pro-Treaty party and the country rushed headlong into civil war.

While the events we have been narrating were taking place in Dublin the situation in the South was unchanged. Recruiting for the "Regular" forces of the I.R.A. - under which name the nucleus of the Free State Army was being formed - was prohibited in the 3rd Tipperary Brigade area, and a number of Volunteers who were alleged to be about to proceed to Kilkenny to join those forces were placed under arrest in Carrick and Clonmel and lodged in Clonmel barracks.

The G.H.Q. of the "Dáil forces" had appointed Tom Carew, former Brigade I/O, to the position of Brigadier in place of Commandant Dinny Lacy who, they held, had forfeited his position as one who had rejected the authority of G.H.Q. and Dáil Éireann. Carew was instructed to organise a pro-Treaty force in the brigade area but was unable to do so, so that any of the South Tipperary Volunteers - and they were few - who joined the new force did so in Kilkenny where they remained until the advance of the Free State army on South Tipperary in the following August, when they were organised as the

3rd Tipperary Brigade in the Free State army with Headquarters at Clonmel.

During the negotiations in Dublin a conflict had occurred in Kilkenny between the Free State troops stationed there and the local I.R.A., and for a few days things looked critical. When news reached Tipperary of the Kilkenny fighting great excitement prevailed, and soon great military activity was apparent in Brigade Headquarters in Clonmel. Shortly after 9 p.m. on May 2nd, several lorries filled with armed troops entered the military barracks and later went off in the direction of Kilkenny. During the night and up to the early hours of the morning, lorries continued to pass through the town in the same direction, each lorry carrying its quota of armed men. There had been trouble in Annacarty just before this, and the men returning from Annacarty found themselves hurried off pell-mell to Kilkenny.

The trouble in Annacarty had originated in an attempt to occupy the police barracks there on the part of the pro-Treaty troops under the command of Commandant Tom Carew. The barracks was occupied without any trouble, the men there being favourable to the Treaty. Carew placed a garrison of about twenty men in the barracks, but they were scarcely settled down when the place was invested by Republican troops drawn from all over the brigade area.

On the night of Saturday-Sunday, April 29/30, fire was opened on the barracks by the Republicans. During the attack Commandant Tom Carew was wounded, as were also three of the garrison. There were no Republican casualties. The garrison surrendered on Tuesday, May 2nd, the prisoners being removed to Clonmel barracks where they were detained for a few days and then released. Commandant Carew himself was taken to a Tipperary hospital. All the arms, ammunition

and equipment in the barracks fell into the hands of the I.R.A. The attacking party was commanded by Tom Lynch, Brigade Adjutant, and the surrender was taken by Commandant Michael Sheehan. Lieutenant Seán Cooney was in command of the Clonmel contingent.

On returning to Clonmel the troops were ordered to Kilkenny where, as has been said, fighting had broken out. Dinny Lacy took command of the motorized column of about two hundred men. The first encounter with the enemy took place at Cuffe's Grange where a Republican machine-gunner had the Lewis gun shot out of his hand when he came under the fire of a Free State armoured car manned by Joe Leonard of the Dublin Guards. The cessation of hostilities was now announced as a result of an agreement reached in Dublin first between officers representing both sides. These officers, including Dan Breen, Seán Moylan and Gearóid O'Sullivan, came to Kilkenny and then proceeded to Callan, where the terms were put before the men in Hayden's Hotel. These terms allowed the I.R.A. to retain certain posts in Kilkenny and were accepted by them as satisfactory.

The Kilkenny affair being settled, the prisoners taken on both sides were released. Meanwhile labour troubles had broken out in Tipperary in common with other parts of Ireland, and the workers who had been denouncing impartially the militarism of both Free Staters and Republicans now decided to set up little soviets of their own all over the South of Ireland. Amongst other undertakings, Cleeves Creameries and Condensed Milk Factories were taken over and the Red Flag hoisted. When the farmers refused to deliver the usual supplies of milk to the creameries after the new regime had been set up, the workers in Carrick, Clonmel and Tipperary

attempted by intimidation to compel them to do so and also tried to prevent them selling their butter to the shopkeepers in those towns. Not content with that, they even tried to prevent the country people holding their usual weekly butter market in towns like Clonmel. As a result of this, disorderly scenes were often witnessed in the towns of Tipperary during this period. On one occasion, indeed, conditions became so bad in Clonmel that a detachment of the I.R.A. from the military barracks had to fire several volleys over the heads of the raging mob before order could be restored.

Commandant Dan Breen eventually intervened in the Clonmel dispute and invited both parties to attend a conference under his chairmanship. The conference having assembled, Commandant Breen made certain suggestions which, if agreed to by Dáil Éireann, would form the nucleus of a temporary arrangement. This suggestion was adopted by both parties. In other areas, however, especially in Tipperary town, the Red Flag regime refused to come to any terms with the proprietors of the creameries and the dispute dragged on until the evacuation of the town by the I.R.A. when the fine creamery was reduced to ashes by incendiaries. As the I.R.A. were mentioned in some of the newspapers of the time as being the people responsible for the destruction of the creamery in Tipperary, it may be well here to deny categorically that the I.R.A. had anything to do with its destruction which was solely the work of the supporters of the Red Flag regime.