ORIGINAL

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY 1913-21
BUREAU STAIRE MILEATA 1913-21
No. W.S. 1737

ROINN COSANTA.

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY, 1913–21.

STATEMENT BY WITNESS.

DOCUMENT NO. W.S. 1,737.

Witness

Seamus Fitzgerald,
"Carrigbeg",
Summerhill,
CORK.

Identity.

T.D. in 1st Dáil Éireann;
Chairman of Parish Court, Cobh;
President of East Cork District Court.

Subject.

'A' Company (Cobh), 4th Battn., Cork No. 1 Bgde.,
I.R.A., 1913 - 1921.

Conditions, if any, Stipulated by Witness.

Nil.

File No. S.3,039.

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Bureau of Military History, 1913-1921.

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY 1913-21
BURO STAIRE MILEATA 1913-21
No. W.S. 1737

STATEMENT BY

Seamus Fitzgerald,

Address "Carrigbeg",
Summerhill, Cork.

Date 24th June 1958.

ORGANISATIONS WITH WHICH ASSOCIATED.

Gaelic League
Irish Volunteers.

POSTS OR RANKS HELD.

Captain, 'A' Company (Cobh), 4th Battn., Cork No. 1 Brigade;
Officer in charge of Dáil Éireann publicity in Cork City & County;
T.D. in the 1st Dáil Éireann;
Chairman of Parish Court, Cobh;
President of East Cork District Court.

PERIOD COVERED BY STATEMENT.

1913 - 1921.

COMMENTS OF INVESTIGATING OFFICER.

Witness is a prominent business man in Cork City. He is, presently, the President of the Cork Chamber of Commerce.

On the occasion of my many visits to him, he promised to furnish a statement to the Bureau.

The witness appeared to have an excellent memory, from conversations I had with him.

The draft statement was prepared by himself.

T. O'Gorman
Secretary, Bureau of Military History
Signature of Investigating Officer.
for (T. O'Gorman).

Date 3rd July 1958.

SP10,032 5000 7-50 3/4626

ORIGINAL

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY 1913-21
BURO STAIRE MILEATA 1913-21
No. W.S. 1737

STATEMENT BY SEAMUS FITZGERALD,

"Carrigbeg", Summerhill, Cork.

On the inauguration of the Irish Volunteer movement in Dublin on November 25th 1913, I was one of a small group of Cobh Gaelic Leaguers who decided to form a unit. This was done early in 1914, and at the outbreak of the 1914 War Cobh had over 500 Volunteers organised into six companies, and I became Assistant Secretary to the Cobh Volunteer Executive at the age of 17 years.

When the split occurred in the Irish Volunteer movement after John Redmond's Woodenbridge recruiting speech for the British Army - on September 20th 1914 - I took my stand with Eoin MacNeill's Irish Volunteers and, with about twenty others, continued as a member of the Cobh unit. The great majority of the six companies elected, at a mass meeting in the Baths Hall, Cobh, to support John Redmond's Irish National Volunteers and give support to Britain's war effort.

The political feelings of the people and their leaders at this time, and the events which led to this position in Cobh, so simply expressed in the foregoing paragraphs, and which position was of a like pattern throughout the country, have been given in the writings of Stephen Gwynn, Colonel Maurice Moore, Bulmer Hobson, P.S. O'Hegarty and others on broad historical lines. I believe it is important, for a closer understanding of these events by new generations of our youth, to collect records in as many localities as

possible of how our national affairs and aspirations appeared to young men of my own generation during this period, as well as the important events which followed with such great rapidity and significance for our country.

Each locality will have its own particular story to record, coloured by its own participation in one way or another with the Fenian movement, the Land War, the Home Rule movement, the use of the Irish Ireland movement and the Gaelic League, etc. Cobh in 1913/14 was a Garrison Town of some 7,000 people, with a Resident British Admiral in control of a locally based British naval fleet, a naval dockyard employing 1,500, with military garrisons in Spike, Haulbowline, and the headland Forts, a port for British transatlantic liners, inhabited by a large number of British born executives and Irish born naval and military pensioners, and completely dependent for its economy on the British Raj. Notwithstanding this, the large majority of the people were supporters of Home Rule, much more favouring John Redmond's particular policy than that of William O'Brien. This was particularly the position in East Cork as a whole, compared with the more favoured O'Brien policy in the remainder of Cork County. Capt. Donelan, the Redmondite Member of Parliament for East Cork, was a charming, well intentioned man, with few enemies.

In their adolescent years, Cobh youth saw little or no desire on the part of their elders for complete independence and separation from Britain. About 1906, my ten year old classmates and myself were astonished when we were told by our national school teacher that we were to learn to speak and read Irish for half an hour each day. From that on, Father O'Growney's Irish Primers, and Alice Stopford-Green's Little Irish History Book assumed greater interest for us, and it

will remain to be seen how the knowledge of this, our very own language, affected the minds of the ten years old of 1906. Our class was the first and, I believe, the only class to participate in the feiseanna in Midleton and Youghal, where we won First Prizes for choral rendering of 'An Cuilfionn','Sin é an t-am na hÉireann' and 'Tá baile beag ró dheas i m'eolas';—God Bless Presentation Brother Luke.

The Gaelic League had extended its activities to Cobh about the turn of the century. The Cobh branch had a small membership of adult language devotees up to 1912. A sudden accession of membership occurred then, when sixteen and seventeen year olds joined in appreciable numbers. Suffice it to say now that these constituted the group which formed the Cobh unit of the Irish Volunteers early in 1914.
We learned Irish and had a small céilí on two week-nights, and a rousing céilí of dancing, singing, music and recitation every Sunday night after Church Devotions. There was no branch of Sinn Féin in the town. The only I.R.B men, as I later ascertained, were P.S. O'Hegarty and Patrick Curran (of Armagh). Some of my Gaelic League and Irish Volunteer colleagues were members of the A.O.H., but Home Rule politics appeared a waning subject for discussion, if at all.
'Ceól ár Sínsear' was our sing bible; 'An Lóchrann', 'An Claidheamh Soluis', 'The Irish Volunteer', and 'The Leader' were increasingly read, and later Seán MacDermott's 'Irish Freedom', Terry MacSwiney's 'Fianna Fáil', 'Honesty', 'The Spark', were to be our source of inspired readings, coupled with 'The Voice of Freedom' and other revolutionary readings.

This was a strange development for young men surrounded on all sides by British and Anglo Irish interests, soccer matches between English army and naval teams with local clubs, army and naval band recitals each week during the summer,

and the town alive at most times with merrymaking soldiers and sailors who were generally on good terms with all the people. We, the young men of my generation, were employed in the naval dockyard at Haulbowline, as indentured apprentices, or clerical workers. Many of us had fathers, uncles, or some near relatives in the British navy, although none, that I knew of, in the British army. My father, whose brother and father before him were in the British navy, often told me that young men in their days in Cobh had no ready alternative to such a career.

With the split in the Volunteer movement, decisive alignments developed for or against Irish neutrality in the Great War of Europe. Our fathers, uncles and other near relatives were, as reservists, called to the British colours to fight. Many of those who supported John Redmond's National Volunteers joined the British Forces to conscientiously fight against the Hun invaders of Belgium and France. A larger number of young men with no alternative careers of note, also joined, and the town - Haulbowline - and district boomed with increased employment in the British war effort of servicing and repairing their naval fleets, munitions making, and the port and town became a highly important centre of British war control and activity.

I must now proceed more rapidly, and with less detail, to recount events, and where I refer to significant happenings, I can only hope that reference will be had to fuller descriptions of them in other records.

Michael Leahy was appointed Leader of our Cobh unit of the Irish Volunteers, and I was appointed Assistant Leader. No military titles were assumed, and, indeed, the control

of our activities was in the hands of a committee of five or six, as was the general pattern throughout the country in these days, and for some considerable time after 1916. Our unit varied in numbers up to twenty, and we engaged continuously in weekly drill parades, target practice shooting, and extended order drill at Lindsey's quarry after Sunday Mass.

We kept in touch with Tomás MacCurtain, Cork City Leader, but beyond a few letters from him of support, no organising work was done in Cobh by the Cork City Leaders. In 1915, I remember attending a meeting in some top room in Marlborough St., Cork, at which Tomás MacCurtain, Terry MacSwiney, Seán Jennings, Michael Leahy and others were present. I was impressed with my first meeting with MacSwiney, and he presented us with a .22 Remington Repeater rifle which we used constantly at our target practices. About this time he had founded his montly journal,'Fianna Fáil', which inspired us greatly.

Arms were, in very limited numbers of course, more readily obtainable in Cobh than in the majority of other areas. We had received none of the small compliment of rifles which John Redmond's executive had issued, but we secured some of these covertly. Here and there we picked up some Martini rifles, and I possessed a Lee Enfield which had been given to us by Frank Healy, B.L. We also possessed a number of .32 and .45 automatics and Webleys.

We paraded as an armed unit at the public parades in Cork City on 17th March, 1915, Manchester Martyrs, 1915, and 17th March, 1916. Our townspeople at the time looked on us in an amused, if not cynical, way. We were pro-Germans or play-boys by their standards. Michael Leahy took part

in Col. J.J. O'Connell's summer training camp for two complete weeks in 1915, and he and I were constant callers on occasional Saturdays to Irish Volunteers'. Headquarters, Sheares St., Cork, where we met men from other areas, such as Tom Hales of Ballinadee. Both of us attended a conference on St. Patrick's Day, 1916, at Sheare's St., after a big parade in the City. Eoin MacNeill presided, and his bearded face, coupled with a noticeable head cold, did not impress me. A discussion took place on the difficulty of obtaining rifles, and Thomas Kent of Fermoy advocated the making of pikes. This sturdy man impressed me then with the sincerity he afterwards proved.

On Whit Sunday, 23rd May, 1915, I was, unattached, with the Cork Volunteers at the great Limerick City parade which was reviewed by Pearse and Captain Monteith. My younger brother, Thomas, was with the Fianna in this parade, and we ran the gauntlet of the attack by the pro-British section which almost culminated in serious conflict were it not for the disciplined control of Volunteers, who numbered over 1,000 men. Pádraig and Willie Pearse, de Valera, Clarke, Mellows, Ned Daly, MacCurtain, and MacSwiney were present that day.

Just prior to Easter, 1916, I was sent to Dublin with £11 to purchase arms which our journal, "The Irish Volunteer", had said were available. I called to headquarters, Dawson St., and Michael Ó Hanrahan, soon afterwards to be executed, sent me upstairs to Bulmer Hobson. From intermittent puffs at his pipe, Hobson questioned me briefly, and told me that the journal was not correct in suggesting that rifles could be provided. Tomás MacCurtain came in just then, and Hobson handed him the note of introduction which I had brought, signed by Paddy Curran,

I.R.B. MacCurtain at once vouched for Curran and myself, and laughingly said that he would do his best later on return to Cork.

On Holy Thursday, 1916, Leahy and myself reported, as instructed, to MacCurtain at his house in Blackpool in the afternoon. We received orders to parade at Cork Headquarters on Easter Sunday morning, fully armed and equipped with ground sheets, and having received Easter Communion.

Our unit, approximately twelve in number, left Cobh at noon on Easter Saturday, well armed and equipped, and marched to Cork. I had a cycle to which was attached my Lee Enfield rifle. Just prior to our departure, one of the Cobh pilots told us that a ship with Germans on board and a large cargo of arms had been sunk at the mouth of the harbour. That morning's Cork Examiner had already reported the discovery of a collapsible board, pistols, etc., at Banna Strand, Kerry. Our march to Cork took about five hours, and near Little Island two mounted R.I.C. accompanied us for some miles.

On arrival at Sheares' St. Headquarters, our unit was given a room on the second floor in which to rest for the night, and Leahy reported the incident of the ship. Men were told off for guard duty inside and outside, and the night was spent in chatting, going over our equipment and ammunition, etc., some of which was supplemented by a Volunteer officer of one of the Cork Companies - Riobard Lankford.

At 2 a.m. on Easter Sunday, Jack Stack and myself were called on to take over guard duty outside. We

reported to MacCurtain, who told us to leave our rifles in our room, and gave us loaded shotguns. He informed us that R.I.C. men were around the place, that essential supplies were being brought into Sheares' St., and that if any force was to be used against us, we were to shoot. We duly kept outside guard, without incident, until 4 a.m. We attended early Mass and Holy Communion at St. Francis Church, accompanied by many of the Cork and Dungourney men, including Terry MacSwiney.

The buzz of conversation at breakfast was on what form our Easter manoeuvres would take. None of us had any knowledge that an insurrection had been planned. We were, however, soldiers, and would obey our superior officers. The "Irish Volunteer" of April 22nd, 1916, carried a series of "Notes from Headquarters" dealing with the projected Easter manoeuvres, in which it was stressed that all units, even the smallest, should engage. It was specially emphasised that all Volunteers should parade with "full equipment", which meant full arms, ammunition, and marching kit. However, the "notes" were so couched that no one could deduce from them that anything serious was afoot; but the secret "orders" sent to the different Commands were that at 7 p.m. on Easter Sunday they were to proclaim the Irish Republic and to go into action against the British forces. It is not very clear now, but I seem to remember that we were to move westward to collect and distribute arms which were being brought from Germany. Before our departure from Sheares' St., Jack O'Connell and Willie Ahern arrived by bicycle from Cobh to join us. They were allotted to the four Cork Company units and other County units which paraded and marched off to the Macroom Station.

I joined the armed cycle unit, about twenty strong, led by Freddie Murray and McNeilus; Michael Lynch (step-brother of Diarmuid Lynch) looked a striking figure in full uniform, with a fine motor cycle combination which he was using apparently for special despatch work. We cycled off at 12 noon, stopping for a few minutes at the end of the Western Road to talk to MacSwiney who was in an open touring motor car with others. He told me we would not have to cycle far. We cycled at a fast rate, on the then poor roads, through Crookstown, on to Kilmurry, where another cyclist and myself chased after an R.I.C. cyclist for some distance, wondering if we would have to engage him in fight. Some miles from Macroom we joined a large number of Volunteers assembled for a slow approach to the town, which we reached as the weather worsened. With some others I had tea in O'Keeffe's first floor room, sticking very carefully to my precious Lee Enfield and equipment. Afterwards the large gathering of Volunteers were marshalled on parade in the Square in heavy rain, where Comdt. Seán O'Sullivan addressed us, complimented us on our display and announced that we would all return by train to Cork. Our arrival and parade to Sheares' St. and dismissal appeared to end our Easter manoeuvre, and we slept that night at Sheares' St.

At noon on Easter Monday, some of us decided to book seats for a show at Cork Opera House. We had almost purchased our tickets when a Volunteer arrived with an order to return to Headquarters. There we were ordered to take up action stations in the building, prepare sandbag defences at all windows and loopholes and on the roof, and prepare for defensive action against attack which was threatened from British forces in the City. We occupied these positions up to 8 p.m., and I remember Ernie Fowler was in similar action on the roof despite a bad attack of neuralgia.

During this time, talk flowed in about fighting in Dublin. Cork City Volunteers drifted in and out at all hours, but it appeared as if the Cobh Volunteers alone were under their arms and on active duty. Suspense reigned. I remember at one time Con Murphy speaking to me on the stairs outside the front first floor room which we had put into a state of sandbagged defence at all windows. He was one of four brothers in the Cork Volunteers, one of whom was a superior officer. The time was about 7 p.m. "It is said that those Citizen Army fellows under Connolly have provoked (or started) a Rising" he said. We were now informed that field guns were positioned against us by the British at Blair's Hill.

At 8 p.m., Leahy was called into talks with MacCurtain in another room in the building. He returned and ordered us to deposit our rifles and ammunition in safe custody with the Cork City Volunteers at Sheares' St., and to depart for our homes. We walked to Glanmire Terminus, carrying our small arms, and entrained for Cobh. No one accosted us. Glanmire Terminus was agog with excitement and talk. The Dublin insurgents were roundly condemned and cursed. We got off the train one mile from Cobh and walked home by the back route, and reported for work as usual at 7 a.m. at Haulbowline the following morning.

For the next number of days, Liam O'Brien (of Galbally) went to Cork as our emissary each night for instructions from Headquarters, but none was forthcoming. Working at Haulbowline each day, we kept our counsel as best we could. In the boiler shop, an armoured railcar was being made to send to Dublin for use against the rebels, but, as far as I can remember, it was not completed in time.

Now we knew that Capt. Spindler and his crew of the Aud were held prisoners in the harbour, and some of the Galway rebels had been brought around by one of the British sloops.

On Tuesday, May 3rd, at 11 a.m., I was instructed to cease working at my lathe and report at the Chief Engineer's office. He presented me to the local District Inspector of the R.I.C. He asked if I were Secretary of the Sinn Féin Volunteers in Queenstown. I said that we called our movement The Irish Volunteers, and that I was Secretary of the Cobh unit. He asked where my rifle was, and I told him that I had not a rifle. After further stating that I had no arms or ammunition at my house, he said that he would have to detain me under Martial Law, and his accompanying Sergeant handcuffed me on his instructions. After further indentification by R.I.C. Detective Kavanagh, I was conveyed under arrest, but now accompanied by Michael Leahy, under similar arrest, in a launch to Cobh and on to Cork by train.

At Cork Station we were placed between two files of ten soldiers each of the Leinster Regiment, with bayonets fixed on their rifles, and, preceded by our police escort and the military Officer in Command, we were marched up St. Luke's and Dillon's Cross to Victoria Military Barracks. Nearing the barracks, women and girls of the not too lower class were shouting: "Bayonet the bl.... b.....".

We were handed over, body and belongings, to the officer in charge of the detention wing, and deposited any articles of value at the Sergeant's desk, viz. a penknife and steel rule and 2/8½d. We were stripped of our clothes, boots and stockings, and thoroughly searched. Redressed, we then gave our names and addresses and put our signatures

in a special record book. Brave Tom Kent must have been the prisoner previously brought in, as it was under his signature that I appended mine. Leahy was put into Cell No. 16. A doorway separated this from No. 17, in which Tom Kent was. I was put in his adjoining cell, No. 18, but apparently he was to have no immediate adjoining companion, for I was removed after a few minutes to Cell No. 27 on the opposite side.

We were kept in solitary confinement here until the following Tuesday, with a short exercise parade in single file each day in the detention yard, all talk being forbidden. We never saw Tom Kent, as he was apparently kept under the closest supervision, and after we were removed from the Military Detention Barracks early on Tuesday, 9th May, he was executed and buried there that morning.

All prisoners in Cork Military Detention Barracks were transferred on 9th May by train to Dublin under military escort by an Irish (sic) Regiment. Up to then, it was noticed by us that only a few of our fellow prisoners were from Cork City - apparently the negotiations which had taken place (and which have been published) between the Cork City Volunteers and the British resulted in only a few Volunteers being arrested. Marching in to Richmond Military Barracks that evening under escort, I saw Terry MacSwiney a prisoner with us for the first time. It is worth repeating here what he said to me then: - "Understand, Seamus, that we must be beaten three times before we are successful". This man, therefore, was quite prepared to engage in three defeats!

Twenty-five prisoners to each bare barrack room, with one blanket each, huddled together each night for warmth in sleep in a cold May month, one basin between each three for tea, morning and evening, with bully beef and more tea for lunch. Here we saw some of the Dublin insurgents for the first time. Gearóid O'Sullivan, active and youthful in his full uniform, who unfurled the Tricolour on the G.P.O., and others. We saw Capt. Colthurst, who was responsible for the murders of Sheehy-Skeffington and others, making Frank Healy, B.L., and Herbert Moore Pim, two corpulent elderly men, do something like the goose-step on prisoners' parades. Terry MacSwiney was our Room Leader, but we never discussed what had happened in Cork from Easter Sunday onwards. The main topic was the executions, thirteen of which, including that of Tom Kent, had taken place before our arrival. Two days later, Connolly and MacDermott were executed and de Valera's execution sentence commuted to twenty years penal servitude. Dozens of prisoners had been sentenced to other long terms, and hundreds had been deported to English jails.

On the same day, Thursday, 12th May, that Connolly and MacDermott were executed, 385 prisoners were taken in lorries from Richmond Barracks in the evening to North Wall, and confined in the holds of one of the Dublin/Holyhead passenger/cargo boats and deported; 273 of whom, including myself, were lodged in Wakefield Prison on the 13th May. The prison experiences of this time have been told many times, so sufficient for me to say that here were weeded out a number of prisoners for release who, apparently, had no connection with the Irish Volunteers. All remaining were then sentenced, as stated in an official document served on each of us, to internment in Frongoch Camp, North Wales.

The prisoners' experiences in the Upper and Lower Camp at Frongoch have been published many times, and need no recounting by me. Here was reborn the revolutionary movement that was to win Irish independence; here was laid the organisation for future success, and comradeship closely knit between men from almost every county in Ireland. Here I met Seán T. O'Kelly, a future President of Ireland, and a host of others subsequently prominent in the nation's lifework. Tom MacInerney, the driver of the motor car which drove Con Keating and his companion to their death over the pier at Ballykissane, Kerry, a few days before the Rising and which event led to considerable disorganisation of the plans for the arms landing, was in Frongoch. Asked by me to comment on the tragic error, he said: "If they told me they didn't know the road, everything would have been alright, but they told me they did know the road, and what happened proved that they didn't."

Many prisoners in Frongoch and elsewhere cherish mementoes of these places, such as little handicraft models, hand-made brooches, rings, etc., and autographs. I will only give one which I feel is worth remembering as symbolic of his later greater sacrifice. In my autograph book, Terence MacSwiney wrote the following excerpt from Thomas a Kempis: -

> "Cease to complain, considering My Passion and the sufferings of my saints; thou has not yet resisted unto blood".

From Frongoch the prisoners were brought in batches to London for trial. Gordon Highlanders escorted my group to Wandsworth Jail, where I spent about one week amongst hardened criminals in adjoining wings. Trials were brief, as, apparently, the British Government felt it had Irish

affairs well under control. I simply told the five high ranking British judges who questioned me that I had no fore knowledge that I was going out in rebellion or insurrection but simply obeyed orders, and was not further questioned. Shortly after our return to Frongoch, as was now happening with regularity, a large number of prisoners, including myself, were released, and I landed in Dublin a free man, accompanied by Michael Leahy, and we received a tremendous welcome and a shouldered high march through Cobh to our homes three months after our arrest at Easter.

Leahy and myself were instructed by the British Admiral to return to work to complete our apprenticeship, and this we did. Both of us were, however, confined to work in the machine shops and were not allowed to work on any of the warships undergoing repair.

We immediately started reorganising the Cobh Irish Volunteer unit, assuming military titles on parade - with Leahy as Captain and myself as 1st Lieutenant. Otherwise the control remained in a committee as before, and we opened permanent premises under the guise of "The McDonough Football Club" and actually played in the G.A.A. football championships. Under this guise and the guise of a literary club, our Volunteer membership increased to great numbers, and this pattern was similar in all centres throughout the country.

The release of MacCurtain and MacSwiney at Christmas, 1916, was followed by a great spate of reorganisation and activity. Soon the committee form of control gave way to precise control in the form of company and battalion units, with accompaning military titles for the commissioned and non-commissioned officers,

and all the accompanying adjutant, quartermaster, intelligence, etc. staffs. Cobh increased its strength to two companies of the 4th Battalion, which stretched from Dunkettle Bridge to Ardmore in Co. Waterford, surely the largest battalion in Ireland. Cork City and County Brigade by January, 1918, had become so unwieldy that it was subdivided into three brigades, and we were in Cork No. 1 Brigade, stretching from Ballingeary to Youghal and including Cork City.

The Cobh Companies intensified training, collected arms, started making explosives, detonators, bombs, and mines. Early in 1917, a raid on O'Keeffe's shop in Cobh resulted in the capture of 9 rifles, some of which were Sneider large bore, with ammunition to suit. The same year, I, almost openly, brought 1,000 rounds of small arm bullets and shotgun cartridges from Dublin, which I secured from Michael Staines.

Volunteers were engaged, not alone militarily, most of their active time, but also politically, being members of Sinn Féin clubs at the same time. I went to Kilkenny in August, 1917, and worked under Dan MacCarthy in the Parliamentary Election, which was won by William T. Cosgrave one month after de Valera was elected for Clare. In the general election of 1918, I was sent by James O'Mara, Sinn Féin Director of Elections, to Antrim and Down to work for our candidates there. This I did for a whole week, on pretended sick leave from my employers, the British Admiralty, and was successful in keeping them completely ignorant of the real purpose of my absence. I addressed a mixed indoor gathering in Ballycastle, had to get out of Ballymoney as fast as I could on orders from Eamon Donnelly, and finished my election work in Hollywood, Co. Down, as

agent for Joe Robinson - then in a Scottish jail - the opposing candidate being Craigavon. This General Election of December, 1918, had, of course, been preceded by a year of much political activity and increase in the Volunteer strength. Lloyd George's "Irish Convention" had failed. In May, a large number of the Irish leaders were arrested on a charge which became known as the "German Plot", and included de Valera, Griffith, Cosgrave, and Plunkett. Prior to this, the British had succeeded in arresting also a large number of Volunteer officers. Michael Leahy, who had been made O/C of the 4th Battalion in January, was arrested, and David O'Brien became Battalion O/C until Leahy was released in October. The fight against Conscription had now assumed United National proportions, and it was at this time that Cobh had to form the second company unit. Officers were strictly warned to avoid arrest, whilst preparing for all emergencies.

I was O/C, 'A' Company, for portion of 1918 and for 1919. David O'Brien had a great deal of responsibility with his large 4th Battalion, and some good officers had been arrested. Outside Cobh, the company units had few arms and lacked trained officers. For example, in the event of open British hostilities I was, under his orders, to assume command of 'E' Company, 12 miles away, and Jim Ahern (killed at Clonmult) was to assume command of a company unit at Shangarry, 20 miles away. We intensified training, bought arms surreptiously, made amateur bombs, sent an 'A' Company raiding party to Restellan for arms. I went to Dublin and secured a good deal of rifle and automatic ammunition from Tom Cullen and Frank Harding, which I safely brought by train to Cobh. David O'Brien and I planned a surprise attack on a Cameron Highlander patrol in October, 1918, and he and four others carried it out successfully, capturing 4 rifles

and only wounding one soldier - this within 400 yards of the soldiers' own camp of hundreds of men. A Cameron soldier promised to arrange that we would quickly raid their camp and secure 20 rifles. At the risk that this might prove a plot to capture us, twenty of us manned the eastern approaches to the camp almost all night, fully armed, with small weapons, awaiting the promised opportunity, but the plan did not succeed. In other 4th Battalion Company areas, successful raids for arms were carried out on private houses occupied by British supporters, but these were all of the fowling type, though extremely useful at short range.

Twenty-first January, 1919, saw the First Dáil Éireann meet, de Valera being then in Lincoln Jail. I was present at this historic meeting, which has been so well described in contemporary histories. Later in the year, the Irish Volunteers were taken over as the official army of the Republic, and throughout the country all officers were busy for some time swearing in all Volunteers as Soldiers of the Irish Republican Army. Now all of us had to assume various other tasks. The Republican Bond issue was announced by Michael Collins, the Minister for Defence, to the value of £250,000, and we had to help in its success by collecting subscriptions for it. Plans were being laid for a National Land Bank by Robert Barton, Minister for Agriculture; local Arbitration Courts for the settling of legal differences and, particularly, for the settling of disputes over land and keeping undue land agitation from spreading through the efforts of selfish groups. Plans were being made for taking over control by Sinn Féin of Local Government Bodies, such as County and Urban District Councils, at the forthcoming Local Governmental Elections.

On July 4th 1919, (or November 11th, Armistice night) I participated in a major operation by large forces to seize Ballyquirke Military Aerodrome, Killeagh, and capture all its weapons and ammunition. The plan was conceived by Cork No. 1 Brigade Staff, and it was later said that it was to test the military capacity of MacSwiney. I was in charge of about 20 cyclists, armed with small arms, who cycled 24 miles from Cobh that evening after work. We disposed ourselves in smaller groups surrounding Ballyquirke. Jim Aherne was in charge at Mogeely. I was in charge at Killeagh Bridge. (Included in my group that night were: Diarmuid Hurley, subsequently shot dead when O/C 4th Battalion after Clonmult, and Paddy O'Sullivan and Maurice Moore, who were both executed after Clonmult.)

We cut the telephone wires passing over Killeagh Bridge, thus isolating Killeagh and Youghal from all telephone contact with Cork City and towns to the west, and we mounted armed guards against possible relief action by the R.I.C. from their barracks 100 yards away or by Crown Forces from Youghal. David O'Brien was with a small party near the Aerodrome awaiting contact with the special parties who were to arrive from Cork in motor cars. I understood that he was to be responsible for effecting some entrance and surprising the guard on duty. Some military cars passed to and from Ballyquirke through our guards at the bridge several times that night, but we were under orders not to attack them, fearing it would upset the plans of the major attacking force. David O'Brien called on us twice and reported that there was no contact with the Cork forces and he feared that they had gone astray. This was actually the case, as the cars had lost their way in approaching Ballyquirke from the north western side.

About 3 or 4 a.m., it was obvious that the attack would have to be called off, and our forces made for home as fast as they could, greatly disappointed that nothing had been done.

In September, 1919, while working at Haulbowline I received word that the R.I.C. had found some ammunition in a raid on my house. Fearing immediate arrest, I got on the train to Dublin at a convenient station, and stayed there for about two months with Liam Cullen, a prominent 1916 Volunteer, and reported myself to Dick Mulcahy for instructions.

I had now finished my connection with work at Haulbowline Dockyard, as had Michael Leahy earlier in the year, so that we were much freer to engage in our activities. The two of us carried out organisation work and administered the oath to Volunteers in outlying districts early in 1920.

In January, 1920, the Municipal and Urban Elections, which were held every three years, were held throughout Ireland. On brigade instructions, Volunteers in all areas became candidates for election to these councils, and the elections were held, for the first time, under Proportional Representation. Of the two Wards in Cobh, comprising 15 seats, 5 Sinn Féin candidates and 2 Labour Republicans were elected, viz. Jim Aherne, Michael Hennessy, A. Telfer, C. Bailey, Maurice Downey, myself and Dan Ronayne. This gave us a majority representation, as only 13 were declared elected, and I was elected Chairman, which position also gave me membership of the Cork Harbour Board. I was also elected to the Cork Rural District Council, and the Chairman of this Council, who, ipso facto, had a seat on the County Council, transferred this latter representation to me on that body, as he was

unable to act on same. Thus the control of all these municipal bodies in Cork City and County passed into Republican control and functioned through all the 'Troubled Times' under Dáil Éireann. This involved a tremendous effort on the part of all Council Members and Council Staffs, and should really command a separate story to have their tremendous work fully appreciated. On the 9th April, 1920, at a specially convened meeting, Cobh Urban Council pledged their allegiance, with only one dissentient vote, to Dáil Éireann, in accordance with a specially drafted resolution - this in a town completely occupied by almost 600 Crown Forces. I reported this to the Dáil Minister for Local Government on the 20th April, advising that Council Minutes would be transmitted through me to him. Later, at a specially convened meeting, the Council passed a resolution changing the name from Queenstown to Cobh. This resolution was sent to the Cork County Council for their ratification, and then to the Republican Minister for Local Government, who gave sanction to same. It is worth while mentioning why the Council decided on the rather undignified name of "Cobh". Before Queen Victoria had changed the name to Queenstown in 1847, the town had been simply known as "The Cove of Cork". It could not be given this name now and "Cobh" really had no meaning. Many other names had been put forward and, in particular, Port St. Colman, and Port Mannix. This latter name was suggested as a tribute to the great Archbishop of Melbourne. I felt, however, that it would be most unwise to name our town after some living person, and indeed I did not think the time suitable for making any particular decision, believing that in more settled times the citizens could decide on the best name for the future. As things happened, no change had ever been made and Cobh is now generally recognised throughout the world. In fact, de Valera

himself several times told me that he looked upon the name as a very good one, and I do not think it will ever be changed.

On the 15th March, I received a message from Intelligence that a general arrest of Cobh officers would be made on the following day. As in other areas, such as Cork City, where our Intelligence worked well into the offices of the British General Officer Commanding, in Cobh we were well served by a Republican Intelligence. Sergeant John Maher, a clerk in the R.I.C. District Inspector's Cobh Office, advised us constantly about contemplated raids. Jack Kilty, who was a clerk in the offices of the British Admiralty in Cobh, kept us informed of all matters coming under his notice. All our officers were warned, but they, unfortunately, ignored the warning on this occasion and all but one officer and myself were arrested and deported to Wormwood Scrubbs.

In the early morning of March 20th, the Lord Mayor of Cork, Tomás MacCurtain, Commandant of the Cork Brigade, was assassinated at his home by Crown Forces. The morning after, that is on March 21st, I received a "Death Notice" through the post, threatening me with immediate assassination if any R.I.C. man was shot as a reprisal for MacCurtain. I sent it to the brigade and received the order, through the Battalion O/C, that I was to appear openly; that the brigade intended to shoot a policeman and would offer me suitable protection. This order I obeyed, while taking steps for my own individual protection, but no policeman was then shot as a reprisal. I, however, took particular personal precautions to carry small arms continuously and to sleep out. A few days later, a noonday attempt by armed Crown Forces to arrest me at 19, East Beach

failed by seconds, though I nearly killed myself dropping 16 feet to the Quay underneath. From that on I was more or less on my safe keeping and seldom slept at home.

Towards the end of June or early July, 1920, I received intelligence from my local contacts that Sir Hamar Greenwood, the British Secretary for Ireland, and Sir John French, Commander in Chief, were to land in Cobh from a destroyer on the following day. I reported at once to Brigade H.Q. and received instructions that French only was to be shot. The entire Cobh units were then alerted and took up continuous ambush positions on the Bishop's Road and at Sandymount, which positions covered the expected route which they would take to Admiralty House, Cobh. Sections of armed men occupied these ambush positions for nearly two days, while Jim Aherne and myself made ourselves noticeable around the town for the purpose of distracting the attention of the Crown Forces that we had any prior information about the visit. Greenwood and French landed at the Naval Pier and were taken by car so quickly to Admiralty House that no chance was given to open fire on them. Watch was kept to ensure a possible successful attack on their return to the destroyer, but they departed by another route and joined their destroyer successfully. On August 21st or 22nd I was in Dublin on some mission and noticed considerable military activity in the afternoon which apparently had followed some Republican attack on Crown Forces in the neighbourhood of the Castle. I had stayed the previous night at the Clarence Hotel. Having some anticipation of trouble that night, I left at once by train for Cork, warning Liam Monahan of Limerick, who was staying there, to leave as well. That night the

Clarence was raided by Crown Forces, who burst into my vacated bedroom. That night they shot John Lynch at the Royal Exchange Hotel near by. (A short description of the Clarence raid appeared about 12 years ago in the "Evening Herald", written by someone who was in the bedroom in the Clarence next to my vacated one. The writer, I believe, was William Cronin, Woollen Manufacturer, who relates in the little article that he thought I was about to be shot, not knowing I had left). Terry MacSwiney became Brigade Commandant after the assassination of MacCurtain, and S.f. Sean Hegarty ~~Michael Leahy~~ was made Vice O/C of the brigade. In July, the Wormwood Scrubbs prisoners were released from England, and David O'Brien and others returned home. I met him a day or two later outside the Cobh General Post Office. He was accompanied by young Glavin (who was later shot at Clonmult). He asked me to loan him my small automatic, which I did. An hour or two later, I heard that the local R.I.C. District Inspector had been shot and wounded, obviously by David O'Brien, who must have been oblivious of the order that unorganised attacks were forbidden. This shooting almost caused the arrest of myself and Michael Leahy, who just happened to arrive in town at the moment, and his arrest would have been a very serious matter. O'Brien was, accordingly, informed that officers must organise actions in a disciplined manner and keep themselves free from arrest by easy identification with such actions. Officers at this time were instructed to <u>direct</u> rather than exclusively <u>operate</u>.

On August 8th, 1920, the Cameron Highlander Battalion took complete charge of the streets of Cobh, which were packed with people awaiting the disembarkation of Archbishop Mannix from the liner 'Baltic'. They placed

machine-gun posts at both ends of the town, and armed patrols kept moving constantly along the principal streets.
The projected visit of Archbishop Mannix had received tremendous publicity, and bonfires had been arranged on the headlands and a great welcome had been assured him.
I was ready, as the Chairman of the Local Council, to present him with an address of welcome, and special Dáil Éireann representatives had been delegated to welcome him.
When the ship was five miles outside the port, British agents went on board, placed the archbishop under arrest, transferred him to a destroyer which carried him to England, while the British Government forbade him to visit Ireland, Manchester or Liverpool. That night in Cobh, I organised a large number of our men, ostensibly as civilian stewards, to maintain order and prevent incidents. The situation was so tense, wanted men walking side by side with Crown Forces, and everyone felt that any untoward incident might lead to considerable trouble and disturbance.
Our men, however, and the people co-operated successfully, and everything passed off without incident. Later, when Archbishop Mannix was able to come to Ireland, I had the honour of presenting him with the original address of welcome at Cork station.

On 25th August, 1920, M. Burke, in charge of Cobh Section, wounded 2 soldiers and captured 12 rifles in the middle of Cobh. That night, the Cameron Highlanders broke loose and raged through the town. They gave my father a bad beating, and in Midleton, two nights after, pulled the two Buckley brothers out of their homes and shot them. The Cobh Black and Tans were guilty of drunken, blackguardly conduct that night, and surrounded my premises - 19, East Beach - desisting from burning it owing to

distracted cries from frightened women all round. They shouted for me to come out to be shot, and fired volley after volley in through the windows, but I was about fifty yards away in a different house. They then entered, smashing the windows and causing general destruction.

I then felt it absolutely necessary to leave Cobh for Cork City, which I did in a small boat, passing in broad daylight between British destroyers.

Before going on to other matters, I wish to say something here about the Bishop of Cloyne, Robert Browne. A staunch supporter of the Constitutional Nationalist's position, it had been held widely that he was very pro-British in his views. He ruled his diocese from Cathedral House, Cobh, and had a very difficult part to play, particularly during the European War period, and during the war he had to keep on the best possible terms with the British and American Admirals who were based at Cobh. The American sailors at that time were guilty of very bad conduct and had been barred going to Cork. Bishop Browne made strong protests about their conduct, with the general approval of the townspeople. About this time he asked me to call on him, and he assured me in no uncertain terms that his sympathies were with the people in the defence of their liberties against the aggressive conduct of the Crown Forces, and he spoke feelingly of his hopes that our efforts for a solution of our aspirations would be successful.

I took up domicile at No. 1, Motor Villas, Pope's Road, Cork, under the assumed name of Seán McGrath. Terence MacSwiney had been arrested on August 12th and Donal O'Callaghan was acting Lord Mayor of Cork. He sent for me and requested me to take over Dáil Éireann publicity for

Cork City and County and to act in conjunction with the Cork Brigade Intelligence on a full-time basis on this work. I immediately took up duties in a room on the other side of the corridor to the Lord Mayor's room. A staff was already in being; Frank Buckley worked there as full-time Secretary of the Cork Sinn Féin Executive, with close touch with Brigade Intelligence; Seán Moore acted full-time as Registrar of Cork District Court; later Paud O'Donoghue was to act in charge of the Belfast boycott campaign.

I now had charge of Dáil Éireann publicity, and we were all assisted by Miss Nancy Lehane, who was an excellent shorthand-typist with a fine knowledge of Irish. My work required the preparation of statistics dealing with raids, imprisonments, atrocities, etc., by Crown Forces which would be published in the famous "Irish Bulletin" controlled by Desmond Fitzgerald. My duties would mean that I would have to go around collecting sworn depositions covering every important phase of enemy activity and prepare them for publication. To plan my work on a proper basis, I studied very carefully the Blue Books and other books of Britain and the other war countries covering the late World War period. From them I gleaned how carefully I would have to work if my published statements were to be looked upon as authentic. From these publications I gleaned how false was much of the propaganda of the World War belligerents and that there was no truth in such claims that the German Uhlans tossed young babies on their lances and cut off people's wrists, and so on. The work was dangerous, as it involved travelling to obtain immediate evidence of every shooting and outrage in Cork City and County. Much of my work was taken by Donal O'Callaghan to America, where he placed it before the American Commission of Enquiry and where it was subsequently published in the Interim Report of that body.

The great majority of the depositions contained in the pamphlet "Who Burned Cork City" were obtained by me while Cork was still burning, and I conferred at length each night in the preparation of the pamphlet with its editor, Professor Alfred O'Rahilly, who wrote the foreword to same. Every witness's statement had to be sworn, and in no case did any witness refuse, despite the danger attached to same. The pamphlet had to be prepared quickly and published before Hamar Greenwood would make his promised speech in the British House of Commons absolving the British Forces. The pamphlet would obviously suffer if published under the aegis of Dáil Éireann or Sinn Féin. It was arranged, therefore, to publish it under the name of the Irish Labour Party, and distribution was made a couple of days before Hamar Greenwood's proposed statement and had a stupifying effect on the British Government and people of the day.

I conducted post-mortem examinations with the late Denis Barry, O/C Cork Republican Police, into the murder of Thomas Coleman a few doors from North Abbey Barracks, and into the shootings of the 6 young I.R.A. men murdered at Ballycannon, Clogheen, Cork. In the latter case, the bodies of these 6 young men were greatly mutilated, and as they lay naked in the mortuary of the North Cathedral, the story was broadcast that they had been brutally mutilated by bayonets. In order to obtain the most positive evidence, I engaged the services of Professor Moore, a Protestant and Professor of Pathology at University College, Cork, and Dr. George Hegarty, who had served in the British army in the World War, to assist me in arriving at a true verdict. I append copies of the sworn affidavits of the witnesses to the murders of these 6 young men on the 23rd March, 1921, and

also copy of the sworn affidavit by Dr. George F. Hegarty with respect to the post mortem examination carried out by Dr. A.E. Moore and himself on the bodies of Daniel Murphy, Daniel Crowley, Michael O'Sullivan, Thomas Dennehy, William Deasy, and Jeremiah Mullane.

As may be seen from Dr. Hegarty's affidavit, all the horrible wounds were caused by revolver bullets or sharp pointed nickel-coated rifle bullets, some of both of which had been found in the bodies. It was obvious that the young men had been told to run, when revolver and rifle or machine-gun bullets were fired point blank at them. The great majority of the entrance wounds were at the back, but some of the bullets caught the men as they were falling, causing terrible wounds in various parts of their bodies.

In the case of Thomas Dennehy, bullet wounds were all over his back, chest and legs. In the case of William Deasy, there were entrance wounds in the back of his head and these wounds practically blew away the whole front of his face, while there was a gaping wound in his leg and five entrance with exit wounds in his back. The body of Jeremiah Mullane was riddled more than any of the others with 12 or 13 separate entrance wounds and 11 exit wounds. The exit wounds were horrible to look at; his left arm was smashed, he had a large wound in his thigh, and part of his left foot had been blown away. Some of these wounds were of such a nature as to give rise to the rumour that they had been mutilated after death, and I had to correct such an insinuation which Piaras Beaslai made in his "Life of Michael Collins", which he did in his second edition.

In the case of the Buckley brothers, who were shot by Crown Forces when bringing them in a lorry to Cork from Midleton on the 25th August, the Crown Forces felt that Seán Buckley and Batt Buckley were both dead. Batt Buckley, however, lived to tell his story, despite his bullet-riddled body. Similar instances could be given which would unduly lengthen this record, but the principal incidents as documented under oath by me were subsequently published in the report of the English Labour Commission which visited Cork in December, 1920. On December 6th, I arranged the attendance of approximately 80 witnesses of murders, shootings and outrages, including half-murdered witnesses themselves, in the Council Chamber of the City Hall, where I submitted evidence to the Labour M.P.s, whose close examination was in the form of regular court proceedings. I received the Commission's public commendation for the manner in which I submitted all this evidence and the vital witnesses connected with same.

In all cases, my reports were submitted to the brigade and transmitted to the Dáil Éireann Director of Publicity. I have been asked if I had collected any evidence of rape by Crown Forces. I regret to say that I had two such cases. One, an already middle-aged pregnant woman was raped in Blackpool by Black and Tans, and in the same locality another middle-aged woman successfully resisted a similar attempt.

On Wednesday morning, December 8th, while chatting with Brigadier General Thomson (late Lord Thomson) of the Labour Commission, in the Imperial Hotel, preparatory to their departure for Killarney, he showed me a secret lengthy document showing the disposition of all the I.R.A. brigades in Ireland, issued by the British Government. I reported

to Brigade H/Q and was instructed to get it for at least three hours. I succeeded. The hotel was subsequently surrounded by military and searched, without avail, for me.

After the burning of Cork on Saturday, 11th December, I attended on the two members of the Commission who returned to investigate it.

By Christmas, 1920, I was feeling the effects of my work and felt that I could not continue in Cork City very much longer without being arrested. I had been stopped and searched several times, including once by the famous Sergeant Chance, and had only escaped with tremendous luck. I was finding it increasingly difficult to escape being caught after curfew with important documents in my possession. When Cork City Hall was burned, our staff located themselves in the judge's room of the Courthouse, but we had to vacate this after a few weeks to the Steward's House, Fitzgerald's Park, and from there to the top back room in the Museum in Fitzgerald's Park. Shooting in this vicinity had compelled us to make a sudden departure, and we located our staff in the R.M.S.'s room in the Cork Mental Hospital, where I slept on occasions in one of the Head Attendant's rooms. The Mental Hospital was raided and ~~Frank Buckley~~ Sean Hayes T.D. and others were arrested, but none of our records was taken as they were well concealed under flooring boards. We, however, then decided to locate our staff in the School of Art, where one day Crown Forces completely surrounded the building and captured all our records and equipment, but we ourselves escaped through a back way into the Opera House. The loss of our records was a tremendous blow to us and I was considerably worried as the original signed depositions were included amongst them.

In January I decided to go back to my 4th Battalion area and contacted David O'Brien who was on his safe keeping in 'E Company area at Knockraha, where we arranged, under instructions from the brigade, to set up and operate a brigade foundry unit for the manufacture of bomb cases. All this work took up full time duties to the end of March and the unit comprised David O'Brien, Charlie Reid (moulder) and myself. We were looked upon by the brigade as a special unit, engaged on full time work, and were paid 30/- a week for maintenance. The foundry building was built in a steep ravine to the west of Knockrahy, with a small stream running under the floor, which latter had to be substantially made. The roof was camouflaged, as the area around was hunted at times by the Foxhounds of the United Hunt. The furnace was built with plates specially made for us at Rushbrooke Dockyard, and, after many failures, we eventually succeeded in making a large number of finished bomb cases in sand moulds and special chill moulds, delivered the bomb cases in sacks to special brigade couriers. We worked by day and night, and slept in neighbouring barns and sometimes in dug-outs or in the open.

We were helped in this work by men from 'E' Company, including Martin Corry, who was under strict orders to keep his company unit free from other active service and so avoid Crown Force activity in the area. Despite this, it was apparent that Capt. Geary, a British Intelligence Officer at Collins Barracks, had some knowledge of activity in the area, as we were raided by Crown Forces on many occasions and surrounded by lorries and armoured cars - 5 times during the fortnight preceding the Truce, when we were under fire on one occasion. Although we continued to carry rifles for protection all the time, we did not return fire, so that the foundry unit and ourselves successfully

avoided capture up to the Truce.

Early in May, or late in April, 1921, an East Cork Sinn Féin Commission was held to select a third Dáil candidate to contest the forthcoming General Election with the two existing members, Tom Hunter and David Kent. Liam Lynch was selected, provided his consent could be got, and David Kent then proposed that I would be chosen if Liam Lynch was unwilling, and the Commission, by a large majority of other names put forward, selected me. David Kent agreed to approach Liam Lynch, but no word of his acceptance was received and I was duly nominated and elected as T.D. In subsequent conversations during the Treaty Debates, Liam Lynch told me that he never received the message from David Kent, but was quite satisfied that I had been elected.

During all this time, I carefully visited Cork to report to the brigade, and I had several narrow escapes from arrest. About a fortnight before the Battle of Clonmult, I met Jim Aherne and Jack O'Connell on the Lower Road, Cork. They expressed the wish to me to join the 4th Battalion Active Service Unit, which was operating somewhere in the Midleton area under Commandant Diarmuid Hurley. Both men were somewhat marked down for easy arrest as they had been most prominent in all activities. Martial law came into force in Cork, Kerry, Limerick and Tipperary on January 4th, 1921. Both men had been pre-1916 Volunteers, and had been O/C in turn of 'A' Company, Cobh I.R.A. O'Connell had disarmed a patrol of soldiers at Rushbrooke and captured 5 rifles, one soldier being killed. Both had been in the Carrigtwohill Barracks attack. Aherne was a Sinn Féin member of Cobh Urban Council. The capture, after a long fight, of Carrigtwohill R.I.C.

Barracks on January 10th 1920, with the surrender of all rifles and ammunition, was a tremendous achievement. It was the only barracks - and the first in Ireland - captured that night of a number attacked throughout Cork No. 1 Brigade area on special brigade orders. Great credit was due to Cobh Company who, with M. Leahy, David O'Brien, Mick ~~Bowlie~~ Burke and others, successfully planned and carried it out. Cloyne Barracks was similarly attacked, and all arms captured, shortly afterwards under the leadership of Diarmuid Hurley, who now gathered men from various 4th Battalion areas to make up his Flying Column, which became a very effective fighting unit. The full story of the foregoing is on record, but it can be seen how proud Aherne and O'Connell would feel to be allowed to join the Flying Column. Jim Aherne said to me, "It would certainly not be as dangerous as carrying around your damn documents, as I did a few nights ago for you".

I proceeded to Clonmult at once, and advanced towards the farmhouse in which the column was staying. I was, of course, guided safely after making the necessary contacts en route. I had expected to be challenged by their sentries, but I was in the farmyard before I was recognised and brought inside to meet Paddy Whelan, Paddy O'Sullivan, Maurice Moore and young Glavin, all from Cobh, together with the other column men from Midleton and other units. Hurley was expected shortly, and when he arrived he challenged me crossly for having come. He must have been displeased with the easy manner in which I had approached without being properly challenged. He was interested when I told him of the wishes of Aherne and O'Connell to join the column, and it was agreed that they would join the unit on the Sunday, which they did.

Thus Aherne was only one week with the column when he met his death, O'Connell being the only one that fatal day who successfully burst his way through to safety. I was at Cobh Junction that day en route to Leamlara, where I called with David O'Brien to David Cotter's house. We had passed Diarmuid Hurley and Paddy Whelan who were planning at Cobh Junction an attack on an early date on Camerons travelling from Cobh to Cork. Leamlara is only a few miles from Clonmult, and we learned about seven o'clock of the prolonged shooting around Clonmult. We drove in a trap to our base at Knockraha, and were passed by a motor car in which were Diarmuid Hurley and Paddy Whelan journeying to contact us to ascertain if any counter attack could be made on the British that night, but it was, of course, too late to do anything.

The loss of Diarmuid Hurley's fine column - on the eve of their departure from their base - was a heavy blow to the Republican cause in East Cork. Diarmuid Hurley was shocked into deep introspection and conjecture as to what he should do. He split his remaining column men and others into small dispersed groups, and travelled alone, visiting each company area and establishing a system of communications and watchfulness until Crown Forces shot him down some months later - a lone figure against them - and before he had time to implement whatever new plans were maturing in his brain.

The Flying Column was not reformed, but in almost every company unit of the 4th Battalion were well seasoned, determined groups of men, well armed now, who could be brought together quickly for minor engagements with Crown Forces and, if decided on, grouped into a new column. East Cork was, however, a difficult country for manoeuvring

a large column without danger of ready discernment by the large number of Crown Forces in occupation. Michael Leahy, the Brigade Vice O/C, was now back from Italy, where he had been some time working with Hales to secure a large quantity of arms, a mission which, unfortunately, proved unsuccessful. Leahy visited us at 'E' Company and discussed with me who the best successor as Commandant for the battalion would be. The remanants of the column consisted only of Joe Aherne, Vice O/C, Paddy Whelan, and Jack O'Connell. Joe Aherne was quietly assuming authority, but Leahy was adamant that he was unsuitable for command, and I agreed. The only choice was to restore David O'Brien to his old command, and this was done later in a rather nebulous way. Leahy had had occasion to demote O'Brien for hasty action in the past, and he also did not wish to have any difficulties with Aherne, who had also lost a brother at Clonmult and was bursting for command.

The Truce was not now far off, and rumour was rife that there were movements towards same. Despite the intensification of British Forces in the area in every way, with Drumhead Courtmartial hanging over the head of every man bearing arms since the introduction of martial law on January 4th, the Republican Courts continued to operate, the people were stronger than ever in support of the fight, and no thought of defeat existed. If East Cork had experienced a temporary military set back, the achievements of our soldiers in other Cork Brigade areas were a source of considerable inspiration. Other areas in the country were also becoming more active and better armed, and the tremendous interest of America and other countries in our struggle was having a tonic effect after a hard winter.

Some weeks before the Truce, Seán Hegarty, Brigadier, visited us at 'E' Company, and we passed him safely through to the 9th Battalion. Tom Barry passed through from a staff meeting of the newly formed 1st Southern Division, and we had to.give armed protection to both of these important officers while they rested with us for the night.

The Truce, therefore, did not come to us as a tremendous surprise, although a most welcome event. We knew of certain discussions taking place ever since Father O'Flanagan had sent his telegram to Lloyd George the previous Christmas - which action Jack Plunkett told me afterwards Father O'Flanagan had taken completely independent of the Dáil Cabinet, which repudiated it, as he feared that the British were treating with Griffith, who was then in jail. A short time before the Truce, David Kent asked me to call on him. He told me that he had been released from Spike Island and brought by special launch to Cork, where he was interviewed at Cork Military Barracks by General Strickland and Intelligence Officer Kelly. They told him that he was released because they believed that he was the strongest minded Republican in the South, and they wished him to establish contact for them with de Valera. They asked him would he agree to bring a message to de Valera. They certainly did not underestimate Kent's strength of mind and character. He firmly refused to establish contact for them - he actually feared it was a trick to capture de Valera. He also firmly refused to be the bearer of any message to de Valera, and advised that the correct and only way would be for their leaders to get in touch with de Valera by direct means. He refused to discuss any questions as to what settlement would be agreed to, and when he was departing he demanded a guarantee that he was under no obligation to them, and would go and do as it pleased him.

Kent asked me to arrange a meeting with the Cork 1 Brigade to report his interview, and shortly afterwards I introduced him to Joe O'Connor, F. O'Donoghue and Dan Donovan in Cork, where he gave them a full account.

Following the Truce, after one week's respite at home by all of us from active service, we continued the manufacture of bomb cases at Knockraha, and I also had to give attention in between to District Court work and my work now as a Dáil Deputy. I found the morale of the people and of our soldiers excellent. In Cobh there was much recounting of the many episodes in which the company had been engaged and which had received little publicity, and seizing of individual arms from Crown Forces, the exploding of bombs and small mines on British war vessels, the sensational rescue by Michael Burke, George O'Reilly, Andy Butterly and Frank Barry of Seán MacSwiney, Liam Forde, and Seán Twomey from Spike Island in broad daylight, etc. All commands impressed on their units that there was no guarantee that the Truce would not end suddenly with a return to hostilities, and training was maintained at high pressure, with special full time training camps set up by the brigade for officers.

Early in the Truce, I was ordered by the brigade to leave Knockraha Bomb Foundry and set up similar units in Youghal (10th Battalion area) and Gurteenfluck, Ballingeary (8th Battalion area), and this occupied me most of the time up to December. In this work I was assisted by Tommy Power of Youghal (killed in Civil War at Kilmallock), Jim O'Connell of Cobh, and Frank O'Donoghue of Cork, with Nick Kelly as pattern-maker. Henry O'Brien of Cobh was put in charge of a new factory in the 7th Battalion area, so the Cork 1 Brigade had then four factories, exclusive of

an independent Knockraha one well operated by Ned Fitzgerald. There was also a great increase in the manufacture of mines in other centres.

There were times when the Truce was threatened, and Dáil Éireann alerted. I had in mind also what Harry Boland had said to me when I saw him off to the Liner on his departure to America to 'keep that country in contact with Dáil Éireann'. "The vital test will be if Britain demands allegiance to the Crown".

I do not wish that this particular record to contain any references to any events after the so-called Treaty of December 6th, 1921. On the date of its publication I wrote in my diary: -

"God be thanked
If peace be here
And the men of Erin
And the women too;
But may God grant
Our Peace is so
That in future days
Placemen ne'er will shout
No cynics sneer
No cowards mock
What now we think
Our Victory.
It must rest with Honour".

I spoke in the Dáil against the Treaty, on the 4th January, 1922, and the following comment was made in "The Irish Independent" the following day: -

> "A young Deputy, James Fitzgerald of Cork, in opposing the Treaty, declared that those who bore the brunt of the fighting were almost unanimous against the Treaty - war or no war. The people longed for peace, rather than for the Treaty. He spoke slowly, and rather hesitatingly, but somehow he made one listen to him with more attention than other orators whose opposition was couched in passionate vein. It was the first speech on the opposition side that sought clearly to answer the arguments of the Treaty on a practical, as apart from an emotional, basis".

I voted against the Treaty, with my two colleagues from East Cork - David Kent and Tom Hunter - giving East Cork the signal distinction of being the only constituency in Ireland to so vote unanimously against the Treaty.

The work of Dáil Éireann Courts deserve special mention, although such will have been more fully recorded by more competent persons. In each parish, a court functioned with certain jurisdiction, with Parish Justices and Republican police. In Cobh, where I functioned on occasions as Chairman of the Parish Court, Paddy O'Sullivan (executed later) was Parish Court Clerk for some time, and later on Maurice Downey. These courts were held openly, very often in the Town Hall. Crown Forces made surprise calls on occasions, but were shown the signed forms which the litigants had signed agreeing to have their differences arbitrated upon. As such was legal under British law, the Crown Forces were unable to do anything.

I was also President of the East Cork District Court, to which appeals from the Parish Courts would go for hearing and which had higher jurisdiction. Jerry Murphy, a solicitor's clerk in Midleton, was the District Court Clerk and was a most efficient and practical man for the work. Most of the District Courts were held secretly, though in broad daylight, in some farmer's house some distance from any town. Often fifty or sixty persons attended such courts, with their accompanying array of legal men, solicitors and barristers, and the proceedings lasted for hours. Decisions were well received, and the legal men were loud in their praises of the work of the courts.

Land cases were difficult ones for District Courts, as some persons felt that they could push forward land claims which would be hard to justify under more normal circumstances.

There was a notable case in Ballymacoda where a man named O'Neill who had returned from Australia had claimed a farm occupied by a Barry family on the grounds that they were "grabbers" on his evicted family's farm, and O'Neill was threatening the Barrys that he would use force against them. There was considerable tension in the area on this account, and O'Neill obviously had rallied a large amount of vigorous support for his claim. The local Parish Priest, Fr. Casey, was very concerned over the whole position. As far as I can remember, my decision as President of the District Court proceedings was that the Barrys must be left in safe possession of the land until O'Neill's title could be thoroughly investigated, or, alternatively, the whole matter should be arbitrated on by a Land Arbitrator from the Dáil Ministry of Agriculture. O'Neill was furious, but I stressed that full Republican protection would be given to the Barrys until an equitable solution would be found. O'Neill's appeal came before the East Cork District Court on Circuit during the Truce, with Cahir Davitt, son of Michael Davitt, as Presiding Circuit Judge, with myself in attendance on him. Davitt has, I understand, referred to this case in his own private memoirs, but I feel I am correct in saying that the decision he gave corroborated my previous one completely. The large crowd in the Courtroom were electrified when O'Neill jumped up and said he would defy the court and take his rights by force. Above shouts from his supporters, Davitt, who had paled under this shock, quickly conferred with me and then firmly announced that he would call on the Republican police present to take O'Neill into custody unless he recanted his threat and promised obedience to the court's decision. This he had, of course, to do, and the court was closed, with excitement continuing on long after its departure.

I do not know how this land question was eventually settled. Under the Dáil Proclamation of 29th June, 1920, settlement of the case by law was precluded, as O'Neill had been evicted over 20 years, and the issue could only be settled by Arbitration. In March, 1922, I so informed Father Casey, and offered to secure the services of a Dáil Land Arbitrator if both sides agreed.

The constitution, jurisdiction, etc. of the Republican Courts are on record, and the whole system operated smoothly. The judgments were always well received and easily enforcible. The fees of the courts were moderate, as the great majority of the work was done by voluntary effort, small honorariums being paid to Parish Court Clerks and somewhat larger honorariums were paid to District Court Clerks, as these men were in other full-time employment. All Parish and District Court Judges were unpaid.

It can be seen, therefore, that Republican civil duties demanded the services of very good men. Sometimes these men endangered their safety as much as men on active service, but without the glory attached to the latter. Austin Stack, who was Minister for Home Affairs, with full responsibility for the Dáil Courts and for the maintenance of civil order, told me that he found tremendous difficulty in getting suitable men to carry out these important civic duties throughout the country, as men protested greatly at being taken away too much from military duties. However, a large number of men acted in the dual capacity, as soldiers and civic administrators.

On October 31st 1920, Terence MacSwiney was buried in Cork after 74 days of hunger-strike. It was a day of public mourning throughout Ireland, by order of the Dáil.

His remains were received at the Deepwater Quay, Cobh, in the presence of a large concourse of people, amongst whom was Dr. Browne, Bishop of Cloyne, and his funeral was attended by a large number of Church and State dignitaries. Walking in the funeral procession with Austin Stack, Minister for Home Affairs, he referred me to the proposals which he later sent out on the 7th October, 1921 (see full copy of this letter attached). He pointed out that these were proposals for the setting up of Administrative Councils as set forth by Minister for Home Affairs, Austin Stack, dated October, 1921, indicating the preparations under consideration, in the event of a breakdown in the Anglo-Irish Peace Negotiations, by Dáil Éireann for decentralising its power to a number of miniature Cabinets throughout the country. These Cabinets would have had complete Governmental powers if Britain resumed armed attack, with powers over life and death.

He said that the names suggested for the Cork County Administrative Committee were the resident members of Dáil Éireann. He asked me to agree to become the Cork County representative to his Department of Home Affairs. He said he would be very pleased if I would accept this appointment, which would mean that I would have to act as Chairman of the Administrative Committee. I told him I would give the matter every consideration and would write him, but I had thought of returning to active service in East Cork. He pointed out that the proposals were of the most vital importance and that it should be obvious to anyone that its work would be more important even than military work, on account of the very serious position the proposals were planned to combat. I wrote him on the

27th November, agreeing to offer my services, providing he had not secured some other person in the meantime. He wrote me on the 29th November, 1921, informing me that he had recommended me for Representative of Home Affairs on the proposed Committee, and that he had also recommended Seán Nolan, T.D., for Secretaryship.

These Administrative Committees never came into being, but during the private session of Dáil Éireann, which was held just after the opening of the Treaty Debates, Seán Moylan, T.D., stressed that if hostilities were to be resumed, we should be ready, with full powers in every area, to fight back and, if necessary, eliminate every source of British influence in our area.

Signed: Seamus Fitzgerald

Date: 24th June 1958

Witness: P.A. FitzGerald.

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY 1913-21
BURO STAIRE MILEATA 1913-21
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APPENDIX A.

DÁIL ÉIREANN.

AIREACT UM GNOTAI DUITCE — DEPARTMENT OF HOME AFFAIRS.

7th October, 1921.

A Chara,

As you know it is our intention to set up in each County and County Borough a local "Administrative Committee" as a local Cabinet to represent the National Cabinet.

It is intended that the Committee should be commissioned by the National Cabinet and composed, to start with, of : -

(1) Representative of the Minister for Home Affairs who shall be Chairman, with a whole-time officer as paid Secretary to the Committee.

(2) Representative of the Minister for Local Government.

And, if possible,

(3) Representative of the Minister for Economics.

(4) Representative of the Minister for Education.

The members of the Dáil for each Administrative area are eligible for selection in above and will, in any case, be entitled ex-officio to be present and to vote on the Committee. The first appointments will be for a probationary period of six months. The names on list attached are being considered by the Cabinet.

We are desirous of securing opinions as to the general suitability of the persons named for the respective posts from: -

(a) The local panel of T.D.s

(b) Divisional and Brigade Commandants.

(c) The Local County Council.

I am accordingly submitting them to you for your criticism and suggestions.

The matter is urgent and we cannot await a reply longer than October 17th.

Mise,

A. de Staic.

To Seamus Fitzgerald, T.D.

NAMES SUGGESTED FOR ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEES.

Province	County or County Borough	Resident Members of Dáil Éireann.	Members of County & Borough Councils & Others.
Munster.	Cork Co.	Seán Hayes	
		Seán McSweeney	
		S. Hales	
		Seán Moylan	
		D. Corkery	
		Seán Nolan	
		T. Hunter	
		J. Fitzgerald	
		D. Kent.	

APPENDIX B.

I, Jeremiah O'Flaherty of Kerry Pike, Carrigrohane, in the County of Cork, National School Teacher, aged twenty-one years and upwards, make oath and say as follows: -

1. I live in the School Teacher's house at Kerry Pike at the eastern side of the school, and the windows of my house overlook the farm of Cornelius O'Keeffe which is situate on the north east side thereof.

2. I remember the morning of Wednesday, the 23rd March, 1921. About 4.30 a.m. on that morning, I was awakened by a volley of shots. I jumped out of bed and went over to the windows. It was then quite dark. I looked out and then called to my brother, Morgan O'Flaherty, who was sleeping in another bed next to mine. I said "There's shots somewhere", and he replied, "You're dreaming about it", and I said I did not think so. My reason for saying that was because I saw lights in Cornelius O'Keeffe's house and around his yard. I asked my brother what time it was and he looked at his watch and said, "It is 4.30 a.m.". I then said "What the Hell is up"? He said, "They are probably Volunteers and may be preparing for an ambush". He got out of bed and looked out for a moment, but I continued at the window. I could hear a lot of talk over in the field and men moving about with lights. I heard a man screaming, and then I heard another voice saying, "Run for it".
It was then somewhat lighter and I could see a man run away from the crowd at the corner of the shed outside Cornelius O'Keeffe's house. He ran for about 20 yards and then a volley of shots were fired. I then saw men moving from the

crowd, carrying lights, and observed them looking at a man's body in the field. I said to my brother, "Come out of bed quick, because if they are Volunteers they must be shooting spies, they have just shot a man now". My brother then came to the window and looked out for 5 or 6 minutes with me. Ten minutes after the first shot, another volley was fired, but I did not see anybody running away. My brother went back to bed again and told me I had better get away from the window, as I might get one of the bullets passing. I remained at the window, however. Another volley rangout after about ten minutes, and I saw another man shot by portion of the same body of men that I saw originally. I then left the window as I was getting nervous. A few minutes afterwards, another volley went off. It was then nearly light, and I could see they were policemen by their uniforms and caps. I called my sisters and told them if the police came to open the door quickly and let them search the place. By that time I had gone back to the window and saw the police bring bodies down in blankets up the lane and left them outside our door in the lane which leads up to Cornelius O'Keeffe's place and within about 40 feet of the public road. It was then 5.30 a.m. Motor lorries came about 6.30 a.m., and the bodies were removed in them.

The foregoing statement and facts are of my own knowledge.

Jeremiah O'Flaherty.

Sworn before me this fourteenth day of April, 1921, at Lacaduv, Cork, in the County of Cork, A Commissioner of the Supreme Court of Judicature in Ireland, and I know the Deponent.
John J. Horgan,
Solr. Comm.

APPENDIX C.

I, Jeremiah Deasy of Clogheen, Blarney Road, Cork, aged 18 years and upwards, make oath and say as follows: -

1. I reside at Clogheen, Blarney Road, Cork, and am a Clerk by occupation.

2. I am a brother of the late William Deasy, Junior, and knew and was well acquinted with Jerome Mullane, of Blarney Street, Cork, Thomas Dennehy, Blarney Street, Cork, Daniel Murphy, Orrery Hill, Cork, Michael O'Sullivan, of Blarney Street, Cork, and Daniel Crowley, Blarney Street, Cork.

3. I attended at the Victoria Barracks, Cork, on the evening of Thursday, 24th March, 1921, and was taken down to the mortuary shed in the said barracks, where I identified the bodies of the said William Deasy, Junior, (my brother), Jerome Mullane, Thomas Dennehy, Daniel Murphy, Michael O'Sullivan, and Daniel Crowley.

4. From the appearance of the bodies I could see that all the deceased, viz. William Deasy, Junior, (my brother), Jerome Mullane, Thomas Dennehy, Daniel Murphy, Michael O'Sullivan, and Daniel Crowley, had died from bullet wounds inflicted by shooting.

5. I was present when the bodies of the deceased were conveyed and removed from the said barracks, and I accompanied them to the Cathedral, Cork, where they were examined by the doctors.

6. The foregoing Affidavit is made from facts of my own knowledge.

Jeremiah Deasy

SWORN before me this twenty-seventh day of April, 1921, at South Mall in the City of Cork.
A Commissioner for Affidavits for the Supreme Court of Judicature in Ireland, and I know the Deponent.

John J. Horgan
Solr. Comm.

APPENDIX D.

I, Morgan O'Flaherty, residing at Kerry Pike, Carrigrohane, in the County of Cork, Fitter, aged 21 years and upwards, make oath and say as follows: -

1. I reside with my brother, Jeremiah O'Flaherty, who is a School Teacher, at Kerry Pike, Carrigrohane.

2. I remember the morning of the 23rd March, 1921. About 4.30 a.m. of that morning I was awakened by my brother, who told me that somebody was firing over in O'Keeffe's farm. I said he was dreaming about it. He replied that he was not; that he had heard shots. I then got up and came to the window with him. We were standing at the window about 10 minutes or a quarter of an hour, and I was just going to go to bed again when a volley of shots rang out in the field near O'Keeffe's farm. I thought it was some of the Volunteers practising. It was a fairly bright night and I could see about 30 or 40 men in O'Keeffe's field. After another quarter of an hour I heard a voice saying "Run for it" or words to that effect, and someone screamed. I then heard another volley fired in the same place. I went back to bed for safety, and 2 or 3 volleys were fired between that time and 5.30 a.m., when my brother called me again and told me to come out of bed and have a look at the people coming down the field, as they looked very much like police. I then saw 3 policemen coming down the field, and afterwards saw 4 more policemen carrying something in a white blanket. Another lot of policemen then came along with something wrapped in a blanket, which I saw, when they were putting them into motor

lorries, were dead bodies. They went back again and brought down more bodies. About six motor lorries came at 6.30 a.m., and the bodies were put into one of these. As the lorries were coming, the police on the road who had been at O'Keeffe's farm, started cheering.

The foregoing statement and facts are of my own knowledge.

Morgan O'Haherty.

Sworn before me this fourteenth day of April, 1921, at South Mall _____ in the City of Cork, a Commissioner of the Supreme Court of Judicature in Ireland, and I know the Deponent.

John J. Horgan,
Solr. Comm.

APPENDIX E.

I, GEORGE FRANCIS HEGARTY of 9A Morrisons Island in the City of Cork, Medical Doctor, aged 21 years and upwards, make oath and say as follows: -

1. In conjunction with Doctor A.E. Moore I attended at the North Cathedral Mortuary Chapel, Cork, on the 26th March, 1921, for the purpose of making a post mortem examination on the bodies of Daniel Murphy, Daniel Crowley, Michael O'Sullivan, Thomas Dennehy, William Deasy, and Jeremiah Mullane.

2. On examination of the body of a young man, which, I was informed, was that of Daniel Murphy, I found wounds in the back and chest. These wounds were bullet wounds, and were the cause of death. A bullet was extracted from one of the wounds.

3. On examination of the body of a young man, which, I was informed, was that of Daniel Crowley, I found four entrance wounds, and four exit wounds in the trunk of the body, one of them being in the neck. These wounds were also caused by bullets, and were the cause of death.

4. On examination of the body of a young man, which, I was informed, was that of Michael O'Sullivan, I found a wound on his left thigh which was an exit wound, another in the back, and another wound in the front of his abdomen where I found a bullet, which, I think, came from the lower portion of his back. There were three entrance wounds on the back and some exit wounds on the front. He had an entrance wound in the centre of his forehead, and the skin around it was black as if the shot were fired at close range. At the back of his head I removed a bullet. All these wounds were bullet wounds, and were the cause of death.

5. On examination of the body of a young man, which, I was informed, was that of Thomas Dennehy, I found bullet wounds all over his back, chest and legs.

6. On examination of the body of a young man, which, I was informed, was that of William Deasy, I found entrance wounds in the back of his head, and these wounds practically blew away the whole front of his face, a gaping wound in his leg, and five entrance with exit wounds in his back.

7. On examination of the body of a young man, which, I was informed, was that of Jeremiah Mullane, I found this body was riddled with bullets - more so than any of the others. There were twelve or thirteen separate entrance wounds, and eleven exit wounds. I found two bullets on the body. There were two gaping wounds in his chest, and gaping wounds in front of his abdomen, with intestines protruding. A large wound on his thigh, and another wound on his left leg which blew away part of his foot. His left arm was also smashed. All these wounds were due to bullets, and were the cause of death.

8. The bullets found by us in the course of the post mortem examination were either revolver bullets, or sharp-pointed nickle-coated rifle bullets.

I make the foregoing affidavit from facts within my own knowledge.

George F. Hegarty.

SWORN this eighteenth day of May, 1921, at South Mall in the City of Cork, before me a Commissioner for Oaths for the Supreme Court of Judicature in Ireland, and I know the Deponent.

John J. [redacted]organ,
Solr. Comm.

APPENDIX F.

I, Nellie Mulcahy of Ballycannon, Kerry Pike, in the County of Cork, Domestic Servant, aged 21 years and upwards, make oath and say as follows: -

1. I am employed as domestic servant at the house of Mr. Cornelius O'Keeffe of Ballycannon, Kerry Pike, in the County of Cork.

2. I remember the morning of the 23rd March, 1921. About 4 a.m. on that morning, I heard knocking at the farmhouse door which woke me up. I heard police shouting and breaking in the door. They came into my bedroom and asked me if I had any men in the room. They then looked under the bed and searched the room. They went out then and I heard them outside the bedroom door searching the remainder of the house. After about a quarter of an hour, I heard men running in the yard. I looked out and saw one of the boys standing below the stable yard gate. His back was turned towards me. He had no coat or waistcoat on. The police were standing near him and had a flash lamp at his face. A few minutes later, a man roared, and after a little time I heard someone call out "O Sacred Heart". I then heard two shots fired. After another few minutes I heard 3 or 4 shots fired, and then I heard a terrible report as of a loud volley being fired. Afterwards the police passed backwards and forwards, shouting and singing. I also saw something white like a blanket brought out on the field, and I saw something black near it. I then saw Mr. O'Keeffe being taken down the road by some police. I saw the police bringing up some sheets and throwing them over the wall. Afterwards I saw them throwing some bundles over the wall and dragging them down the field. I then dressed and came downstairs. The police

called me a terrible name. They also said they would burn us out of our beds. We came downstairs afterwards and heard noise in the parlour. We missed 8 silver articles, teapots, silver jugs and cup, and a £1 note. I heard an officer come in whilst the police were downstairs and asked them did they want to get a bad name to the R.I.C. They said they just got a bomb there. He said he searched the house himself and found nothing.

2. I made the foregoing affidavit from facts within my own knowledge.

Nellie Mulcahy.

Sworn before me this 26 day of April, 1921, at South Mall in the City of Cork, a Commissioner for Affidavits for the High Court of Justice in Ireland, and I know the Deponent.

John J. [redacted]organ.

APPENDIX G.

I, Dennis Sullivan of Kerry Pike, Carrigrohane, in the County of Cork, Asylum Attendant, aged 21 years and upwards, make oath and say as follows: -

1. I reside at Kerry Pike aforesaid in the County of Cork, and am an Attendant at the Cork District Lunatic Asylum.

2. I remember the morning of the 23rd March, 1921. About 4.30 a.m. on that morning, I heard a volley of shots fired in the direction of Cornelius O'Keeffe's farm which is at the back of my house. I did not get out of bed. I then heard two more volleys, at intervals of about 10 minutes, fired in the same direction.

3. As I was going to my work, about 6.30 a.m., I saw about 8 police motor lorries on the road. They passed me and were going in the direction of Kerry Pike.

4. The foregoing statement and facts are of my own knowledge.

Denis Sullivan.

Sworn before me this fourteenth day of April, 1921, at Lacaduv, Cork, in the County of Cork, a Commissioner of the Supreme Court of Judicature in Ireland, and I know the Deponent.

John J. Horgan.

Solr. Comm.

APPENDIX H.

I, Cornelius O'Keeffe of Ballycannon, Kerry Pike, in the County of Cork, Farmer, aged 21 years and upwards, make oath and say as follows: -

1. I reside at Ballycannon, Kerry Pike, in the County of Cork, where I have a farm of 105 acres. This farm is situated on the northern side of the high road leading from Cork to Blarney, and is approached by a laneway leading from said road. The farmhouse consists of a kitchen, parlour and four bedrooms. There are also extensive out-offices, barns, and sheds for cattle, also stables.

2. I remember the night of Tuesday, the 22nd March, 1921. About 11. 30 p.m. on that night, there was a knock at my door after we had all gone to bed. I asked "Who is there?" and a voice replied, "There are a couple of us going to sleep down in the stables; give us a call at 7 in the morning". I said "alright" and went to sleep. About 4 a.m. next morning (Wednesday, the 23rd March, 1921) there was a terrible thundering knock at my door. I leaped out of bed and looked out through the window. I saw the police outside. Before I could say anything, they roared at me to open the door. I tried to light a lamp on the table but failed to do so. One of the police then roared up at me to open the door if I didn't want to get a bullet. Just as I rushed downstairs to open the door, it was burst open by the police and they said to me: "Why the bloody Hell didn't you open the door?" I explained that the delay was due to the lamp not lighting. They then asked me if I had any man in the house. I said there was no man there only myself. They asked me if there were any men outside in the out-house. I said "I can't tell, but the doors are unlocked". They ordered me back to bed

and searched the beds and the other rooms in the house. They then went outside and I heard them search the out-houses. I was looking out the window and suddenly saw all the police rush up to where the lads were sleeping. I went into bed then, and in about 10 minutes time the police came in and took me out into the yard. They then charged me with harbouring rebels, which I denied. They then took me about 100 yards away from the out-house and gave me in charge to a Sergeant and Constable of the Royal Irish Constabulary. One of the Black and Tans came up to where I was standing with the other policemen and told them that they could find no arms in the house. The police then asked me to tell them where the arms were, and I said I did not know. As they were speaking to me, I heard one of the boys roaring as if he was being tortured. I then saw one of the boys being pushed across the field. It was still somewhat dark and he was too far away to distinguish who it was. The Black and Tan then returned and said "he is showing where the arms are". They then carried the same boy over to the ditch and brought him back to the stables again. A few minutes after, I heard a shot. Then at intervals there were 2 or 3 shots, and then a volley of shots. I asked the policeman what the shooting was about, and he replied that they were only blank cartridges. I said, "My God, the people in the house will go mad", and he said, "What did the people do the other day when they fired into the train at Headford Junction?". A report then came up from the other body of police that some of the lads had escaped and to watch out for them. The police with me then prepared to shoot in case anyone would attempt to escape. There were then some terrible volleys fired where the boys were. I then knelt down and said my prayers, as I thought my turn would be next. The police near me were shouting to the others not to shoot in our direction for fear they would be shot

themselves. I was sent up for then and taken down to where the boys were. There were two lines of Black and Tans in front of the stables so that I could not see who was there. As I was being taken down the field where the shooting was, I saw two of the boys stretched out on the grass. I was then taken over the road and taken down to Kennedy's publichouse at the Cross. There were five police with me - three old R.I.C. and two Black and Tans. After some conversation, in which they accused me of keeping arms on my premises, which I denied, I was brought back to Flaherty's gate and I then saw five bodies being removed from my farm. They were all covered up in blankets. These bodies were placed in a lorry. They then brought out the sixth of the boys, who was then alive, and as they were throwing him into the lorry he said "Oh, my leg". There was a bandage around his forehead. They put me into the third lorry. They drove in by Healy's Bridge and the Lee Road as far as Gale's quarry. When they got there, the first lorry in which the bodies were went on and I did not see it again. I was taken up to the Military Barracks, where I was kept in the Detention Barracks until the 17th April, 1921, and then released without any charge being brought against me.

2. I make the foregoing statement from facts within my own knowledge.

Cornelius O'Keeffe.

Sworn before me this 25 day of April, 1921, at South Mall in the City of Cork, a Commissioner for Affidavits for the Supreme Court of Judicature in Ireland, and I know the Deponent.

John J. Horgan,

Solr. Comm.

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