



# Labour, Civil War and Executions in Kerry

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This essay<sup>1</sup> examines the period of the Civil War in Kerry, seeking to move beyond the traditional narrow focus on the military conflict between the IRA and Free State. Specifically it aims to analyse the response of the labour movement to the National Army's summary or extra-judicial executions of Republican prisoners. This is an aspect of the Civil War that has received little attention from academic historians. This article will pose the question, by accepting the Treaty and remaining in Dáil Éireann were the Labour TD's complicit in the actions of the Free State regime regarding the execution of prisoners? It will argue that the many speeches and protests in the Dáil by the Labour Party leader, Thomas Johnson, had absolutely no effect in ending the Free State's policy of executions. These Labour leaders were not socialists in the mould of Connolly or Larkin, and seemed more concerned with limiting the actions of militant workers - the National Union of Railwaymen, the postal workers, the dockers, the soviets etc rather than supporting a movement of mass class struggle. Only a radical form of protest, withdrawal of Labour TD's from the Dáil and a general strike could have had any hope of challenging the counter-revolution. These were actions the conservative leadership of the labour movement had absolutely no intention of pursuing and unfortunately for the Irish working-class no alternative revolutionary socialist party existed to challenge the Labour Party.

The historian, Gavin Foster has noted the recurring argument as to whether the Free State 'constituted a bourgeois counter-revolution' against republican goals which naturally aligned with the interests of the working-class?

Subsequent scholarship has found little evidence to support such a black-and-white-picture of the conflict's

messy class dynamics, though many historians generally concur that ... the Free State Government drew its staunchest support from the middle class, large farmers ... and other pillars of the Irish establishment.<sup>2</sup>

Kieran Allen has argued however, that behind the 'symbols' and 'mythology' of their 'abstract republic', 'there was an important point at issue' for the anti-Treatyites who 'sensed their former comrades were accepting a dependency relationship with their imperial foe'. This became abundantly clear when Collins ordered the shelling of the Four Courts on 28 June 1922, and in contrast to Foster's thesis, Allen suggests that the Free State Government

... claimed that they were merely restoring law and order, but it was an order where the poor knew their place and where there would be no more talk of land redistribution or better conditions for workers. With the first shot of the Civil War, the Irish counter-revolution had begun.<sup>3</sup>

After the truce was agreed, negotiations were initiated between Sinn Féin and the British government. The terms of the Treaty signed on 6 December 1921 meant that the new regime would not be a republic but a free state with dominion status within the British Empire and would demand that Dáil members swear an oath of fidelity to the King of England. Furthermore, it would consist of twenty-six counties, with the six north eastern counties being granted their own government. All this meant that London still had ultimate control over Irish affairs. On 7 January 1922, the Dáil voted to endorse the Treaty by 64 votes to 57. The anti-Treaty TD's, including Austin Stack from Tralee, had the support of the majority of the IRA. To counter this threat Richard Mulcahy, head of the pro-Treaty forces and Minister of Defence, began recruiting unemployed young men into the National Army, with the British supplying this new force with arms and ammunition.

## Civil War in Kerry and Labour

At a special conference of the Irish Labour Party & Trade Union Congress (ILPTUC) in February 1922, the leadership moved decisively towards a pro-Treaty position. One labour historian has noted of Johnson, whose influence as leader of the Labour Party was to prove decisive, that

“[F]or all his English nonconformist conscience, he had a duplicitous streak which infuriated his critics. A rhetorical revolutionary when called upon, he now believed the revolution was over. In his British labour party mind set, a constitutional settlement promised the end of the national question and an open road to “normal” class politics.”

However, I would contend that it seems increasingly likely that the labour leadership came to the conclusion that ‘the revolution was over’ a full year before the Treaty was signed, essentially when martial law was declared on 10 December 1920 and the ILPTUC called an end to the railway boycott and strike action of any kind. Thus it was not a surprise that the Labour Party accepted the Treaty and its TDs took the decision to take their seats in the Dáil. The left opposition led by the Larkinites and the communists argued that ‘entering Dáil Éireann and taking the controversial oath of allegiance would legitimise the regime’. Their ‘abstentionist resolution’ was defeated by 115-82.<sup>4</sup> After the republicans occupied the Four Courts, the ILPTUC called a one day general strike against the ‘militarism’ of both sides. The strike was essentially anti-Republican and was widely seen as such.<sup>5</sup> In the General Election of 16 June 1922, Sinn Féin’s pro and anti-Treaty factions concluded a pact, which was largely honoured in Kerry, with the unopposed election of eight ‘Sinn Féin’ TDs, including Austin Stack amongst the five anti-Treaty members returned.<sup>6</sup> The Labour Party won an impressive seventeen out of eighteen contested seats, receiving 21.3 per cent of the vote, nearly matching the total vote for Anti-Treaty Sinn Féin. ‘Clearly the Labour vote had a class aspect and suggested working-class interests in social and economic issues even in the midst of the great national debate’.<sup>7</sup> Labour could have won more seats if they had stood more candidates but, ‘[U]sed to an electoral monopoly neither Sinn Féin faction relished the prospect of competition’, attempting to persuade or ‘intimidate’ Labour candidates from standing. Indeed hard line Republicans in Tralee including Sinn Féin TD, Austin Stack and IRA man John Joe Sheehy supported the farmers, the land owning class against the farm labourers. Also Niamh Purcell claims ‘four Labour candidates were intimidated into dropping out’ of the election.<sup>8</sup> Labour ran no candidates in Kerry, the reasons behind this decision still remain unclear. In May, the *Kerry People* reported a letter from the Secretary of the

ITGWU Tralee Branch, Jeremiah Murphy, to Tralee Trades Council ‘stating that the members of the branch were of opinion that it would not be advisable to put forward a labour candidate at the coming election’. It was noted that ‘the majority of affiliated societies and also those of Newcastle West and Killarney being (sic) against’ standing candidates. The Council therefore duly accepted this position even though the ILPTUC stated that ‘finances would be forthcoming in the event of a candidate being put forward’ and the Irish National Teachers’ Organisation had ‘granted £500 for the purpose of the election’.<sup>9</sup>

In an attempt to ‘promote peace’, on 24 July 1922 Kerry Farmer’ Union called a ‘peace meeting’ which was held in the Courthouse in Tralee. Amongst those in attendance were members of Tralee Harbour Board and two representatives of the Labour Party, Mr Fleming a school teacher from Kilcummin and Mr Breen from Killtallagh. Also invited to the meeting was Commandant H. Murphy of the Kerry command of the National Army whom they hoped to impress upon their desire to avoid conflict and restore peace to the county. Though the meeting passed a resolution to this effect and wired it to the Government in Dublin, the war was to soon intensify even further in Kerry.<sup>10</sup> Observing this gathering one is tempted to ask how the local Labour Party saw such a “coalition for peace” advancing the cause of labour and Connolly and Larkin’s goal of a workers’ republic?

## Executions

At 10.30 on the morning of 2 August, 450 members of the Dublin Guards disembarked at the port of Fenit on the north-west coast of Kerry. By that evening they had control of Tralee, just nine miles to the east of the port for the loss of eight soldiers. The following day another 240 members of the Guards sailed across the River Shannon to Tarbert further strengthening the National Army’s offensive.<sup>11</sup> The *Kerry People* reported that ‘at midnight 13 August ... Killarney, the last irregular stronghold in Kerry fell ...’ to the National Army.<sup>12</sup> On 28 September the Dáil passed the Army (Special Powers) Resolution which according to Gerard Shannon, ‘allowed for the introduction of military courts of tribunal and introduced the brutal, draconian executions policy against anti-Treaty republicans’,<sup>13</sup> therefore ‘any semblance of due process

was quickly abandoned'.<sup>14</sup> Life soon changed dramatically for the worse for many of the citizenry of the Kerry with the Free State forces within weeks of arriving in the county launching a campaign of systematic execution of Republican prisoners, including seventeen-year-old Bertie Murphy from Castleisland by David Neligan, brother of the late Kerry Irish Transport & General Workers' Union (ITGWU) official, Maurice Neligan.<sup>15</sup> The Squad stayed loyal to Collins after the Treaty and formed a key component of the officer corps of the Dublin Guards.<sup>16</sup> By November 1922 seventeen Cumman na mBan members had been arrested in Tralee alone,<sup>17</sup> and by 2 January 1923, seventy-nine Republicans and fifty-two Free State soldiers had been killed in Kerry.<sup>18</sup> By the end of the Civil War in May 1923, the conflict would claim the lives of approximately 170 people in the county making 'the conflict a deadlier one for the county than the entire two-and-a-half campaign against the crown forces'.<sup>19</sup> At the beginning of 1923, Brigadier General Paddy Daly, also of the Dublin Guards, assumed responsibility for Kerry Command, subsequently characterising his conduct in suitably brutal terms: '[N]obody asked me to take kid gloves so I didn't'.<sup>20</sup> From the onset of the Civil War the Labour Party came under increasing pressure to take a stand in defence of republican prisoners. Indeed, the party leadership suffered considerable international criticism. For instance, the Chicago Federation of Labour messaged the leading ILPTUC figure and TD for Louth Cathal O'Shannon, in late 1922, stating '[B]arbarous killing of prisoners of war has stunned the civilised world. Urge you to resign from parliament as a protest'.<sup>21</sup> S. Duggan sent a telegram to O'Shannon on behalf of Cumann Poblacht Na H-Eireann N-Albain in late November 1922 stating that at a 'mass meeting held in Glasgow' a resolution was passed 'condemning execution of prisoners of war' and urged 'withdrawal of Labour Party from Provisional Parliament established by England. Must share responsibility for executions if its participation continues'.<sup>22</sup>

On 6 March the IRA placed a trigger mine in road barricade near Castleisland, which resulted in the deaths of five soldiers.<sup>23</sup> As a result of this incident a wave of reprisals was unleashed across Kerry by the National Army. On the morning of 7 March, at Ballyseedy, near Tralee, nine Republican prisoners were tied together

around a mine and it was then detonated.<sup>24</sup> One prisoner escaped, Stephen Fuller, and recalled how, '... a Capt. Breslin from Donegal handed round cigarettes and told us that they would be the last cigarettes we would smoke. He said that they were going to blow us up with a mine, the same as Knocknagoshel'.<sup>25</sup> To add to the tragedy, because the military believed Fuller had been killed, nine coffins were prepared including one for Fuller. In Tralee none of the prisoner's relations were able to identify the bodies blown up, so bad were the injuries. Macardle describes how the 'frenzy' that gripped Tralee and Kerry at the time 'was terrible': the women seemed demented as a kind of 'madness' and horror spread amongst the people of the county.<sup>26</sup> The republican news sheet *Eire the Irish Nation* reported that 'the funerals were the largest and most impressive seen in the county for years'. As a consequence of this militant action by republican women a new edict was issued by the Government to Kerry Command, 'Prisoners who die while in military custody ... shall be interred by the troops in the area in which the death has taken place'.<sup>27</sup>

Fuller's evidence the army tried to discredit by claiming 'he has become insane'.<sup>28</sup> On the same day at Countess Bridge, Killarney four prisoners were killed by a mine and on 12 March five more prisoners were killed at Caherciveen. Ultimately, the official army inquiry presided over by O'Daly, cleared Kerry Command, claiming that the Ballyseedy prisoners died removing a barricade that the IRA had previously mined and concluding that the allegations of murder were 'untrue and without foundation'. Indeed the inquiry concluded that,

... the allegations contained in the irregular propaganda submitted to the court particularly with reference to the maltreatment of prisoners are untrue and without foundation ... in view of the abnormal conditions which prevailed in this area ..., the discipline maintained by the troops is worthy of the highest consideration.<sup>29</sup>

According to Ernie O'Malley's account in *The Singing Flame*, by 'February 1923, ten Kerry men had been murdered while in custody, but during the month of

March twenty five prisoners were murdered ...' in the county.<sup>30</sup>

In Kerry, an increasingly hostile popular attitude developed towards the new régime over the issue. Several members of the Dublin Guards then broke ranks and forwarded statements to the Labour Leader, Thomas Johnson, who had previously raised the prisoner's issue.<sup>31</sup> Lieutenant McCarthy, for instance, claimed to have witnessed 'murder', resigning from the Guards in protest. Similarly, a publican in Caherciveen overheard a National Army soldier named Griffin, 'boasting publicly he shot prisoners ... on their knees'.<sup>32</sup> On 17 April Johnson raised the Kerry killings in the Dáil:

'I want to urge that this inquiry that has been made by a court consisting of three military officers should not be accepted as finally closing these incidents ... the Dáil have no right to assume, and the military have no right to assume that every prisoner who has been arrested is guilty of an offence'.

In reply, Minister of Defence, General Richard Mulcahy was 'quite satisfied that the occurrences were thoroughly investigated and that the findings were correct' and expressed his 'fullest confidence' in the inquiry's findings. He also refused Johnson's request 'to bring forward the evidence that was produced at those inquiries'.<sup>33</sup> When, in the same debate, Johnson asked Minister for Home Affairs, Kevin O'Higgins '[I]s it still possible to hold an inquest?' O'Higgins replied, 'I see no factor that would make it impossible. Whether there were factors that would make it desirable would be a matter for consideration'. Johnson also raised questions about the role of the Criminal Investigations Department, like the Dublin Guards made up of men who previously worked under Collins during the War of Independence, an organisation separate from the newly established Garda *Síochána* and now directed by O'Higgins.<sup>34</sup> However, Johnson's request for information and action on the mass murder of prisoners got no further than the Dáil chamber.<sup>35</sup> *Eire the Irish Nation* was not in the least convinced by Mulcahy's claims, arguing that '... murderers who try themselves cannot be expected to find otherwise than this court',<sup>36</sup> and referred to General Daly as having '... established for himself a reputation equal to that of Cromwell in Wexford ...'<sup>37</sup> In response to Johnson's

efforts to uncover the truth, republicans asked: 'If Mr Johnson be honest in his desire to investigate the Ballyseedy crime, he will make a journey to Tralee, where he will be able to satisfy himself whether the tragedy was murder or accident'.<sup>38</sup> Johnson never took them up on the offer.

### The Catholic Church

Militant trade union activists and female Republicans not only faced the ire of Free State soldiers in Kerry. Throughout the Civil War, the Catholic hierarchy lent its full moral force behind the Treaty. On New Year's Day 1922, a Sunday, just days before the start of the Treaty debate in Dáil Éireann at 'all Masses' in parishes throughout Kerry 'the prayers of the congregation were asked for the ratification of the Treaty'.<sup>39</sup> The Republican press fought hard to undermine the influence of 'the pro-English clergy', whose hierarchy Peadar O'Donnell dismissed as a 'feudal remnant' that Republicans 'lumped ... in with the reactionary middle class and their allies'.<sup>40</sup> In Kerry, IRA member and school teacher, Séamus O'Connor recalled becoming so infuriated with his parish priest in Knocknagoshel, that he told 'him what would happen if he would ever so preach about us [sic] again'.<sup>41</sup> Yet once again women were in the forefront of Republican attempts to challenge the official discourse, fracturing traditional modes of deference in the process. On 27 August 1922, the congregation at Sunday mass in Killarney Cathedral heard a letter from the Bishop of Kerry, Charles O'Sullivan, which accused the IRA of being in 'utter conflict with the moral law' and of 'military despotism ... an immoral usurpation and confiscation of the peoples' rights', prompting one Cumman na mBan (CnB) member from Kenmare to remonstrate with the bishop, promising no longer to hear mass 'and listen to insulting remarks'.<sup>42</sup> In March 1923, Free State military intelligence reported that in Saint John's Church, Tralee, '... in defiance of the bishop's ban, when the priest had left the altar at the conclusion of the night's service, members of CnB proceeded to offer up prayers for dead Irregulars'.<sup>43</sup> Due to the militant activities and outright acts of defiance of CnB the Church viewed republican women as a threat to its moral authority. Cardinal Lodge described them as being 'involved in this wild orgy of violence and destruction' while the Most Reverend Dr. Coyne referred to 'half-

crazed, hysterical women' who were undermining the clergy and assisting 'in the slaughter of some of the best and bravest of Irish sons'.<sup>44</sup>

### **The Defeat of the Workers' Movement**

A general election was called for 27 August 1923. This was only months after the Civil War ended on 24 May with the 'dump arms' order issued by the Republican leadership. A total of 172 combatants and civilians had their lives in Kerry as a result of the conflict, the third highest loss of life and the highest per capita figure for any county during the war.<sup>45</sup> The Labour Party, for the first time decided to participate in a general election in Kerry standing two candidates, Cormac Breathnach, former president of the INTO from Caherciveen and Patrick Casey, of the Bakers' Union and President of TWC.<sup>46</sup> Kerry's economy was severely depressed and as recently as March, a National Army report stated that 'unemployment is rife' in the county.<sup>47</sup> Labour organised an energetic campaign with its candidates addressing public meetings throughout Kerry and which were reported in full due to the lifting of the Government ban on the publication of the county's newspapers. At a meeting in Killarney on 16 August, *The Liberator* reported Breathnach declaring that the 'ideal' of the Labour Party 'was a workers' republic and they would use any means at their command, except the gun, to obtain their goal'.<sup>48</sup> In reality this was more a case of rhetoric than substance. Nationally the results represented a significant reversal in electoral fortunes for Labour. While the number of seats in the Dáil increased from 128 to 153, Labour's representation in the chamber fell from 18 seats to 14. The Party's share of the national vote now stood at 10.6 per cent, half the corresponding figure for the 1922 General Election. In Kerry the Party's fortunes were equally unimpressive with Breathnach receiving 1,974 first preference votes and Casey receiving 2,829 in a constituency in which seven candidates were to be elected and the quota was 6,856.<sup>49</sup> The combined Labour vote in the county came to 10.01 per cent of the total ballot with 'roughly 40 per cent of the Kerry's registered voters [sitting] out the election'<sup>50</sup> suggesting widespread

apathy. However, 'the most important factor in the "green election" of 1923 was the Civil War and Labour's failure to adequately address the issues which led to the conflict – was one of the primary reasons for party's result in that election.<sup>51</sup> Labour's disastrous showing at the polls was as a consequence of 'Larkinate attacks on it in Dublin' and to the party's 'position during the Civil War [which] won it no plaudits and left the party in the unhappy position of being held in contempt by both sides'.<sup>52</sup>

By taking seats in the Dáil, the Labour Party legitimised the Free State and by extension its institutions including the National Army. The marked moderation of the Labour Party's leaders appeared matched only by republican myopia concerning the working-class struggle. The 'unwillingness of republicans to develop joint positions with the labour movement ... was a perennial weakness in republican strategy'.<sup>53</sup> For left-leaning republicans such as Liam Mellows, 'the blame lay firmly with Labour, rather than republicans' who argued that by their 'acceptance of the Treaty', the Labour leaders '... have betrayed not alone the Irish Republic but the labour movement in Ireland and the cause of the worker and peasants throughout the world'.<sup>54</sup> However, Peadar O'Donnell, member of the IRA Executive, suggested that 'we were a very pathetic executive, an absolutely bankrupt executive. It had no policy of its own'. In an interview late in his life he commented in greater detail:

'The economic framework and social relationships... were declared outside the scope of the Republican struggle; even the explosive landlord-tenant relationship, the rancher-small farmer tension. The Republican movement was inspired by 'pure ideals'. In the grip of this philosophy the Republican struggle could present itself as a democratic movement of mass revolt without any danger to the social pattern; without any danger to the haves from the have-nots... under the shelter of pure ideals the Irish middle-class held its place within a movement it feared.'<sup>55</sup>

It has been argued that the 'depth of the 1921-23 catastrophe was unique in the way it turned Labour against itself, and obliterated the memory of the glory

years of 1917-21: the general strikes and the soviets, of the ambition to make One Big Union and a Workers' Republic'.<sup>56</sup> In Kerry, only seven ITGWU branches survived by 1923, down from fourteen in 1919, with a loss of over a third of their members.<sup>57</sup> An alternative socialist leadership did not exist to the likes Johnson and O'Brien due at least in part to Connolly and Larkin's adoption of the syndicalist theory of workers' organisation. This led the union bureaucracy to focus on the idea of an all-powerful 'one big union' but fail to establish a party based on 'Connolly's Marxism'<sup>58</sup>

committed to fighting for a workers' republic as an actual reality, not merely as rhetorical utterances whose sole intention was to seek an accommodation with imperialism and capitalism. This leadership finally achieved their goal with their support for the Treaty which unleashed the counter-revolution establishing a Catholic theocracy and one of most conservative and reactionary states in Europe.

<sup>1</sup>For a more detailed account of the period, 1921-23 see Kieran McNulty, 'Class, Gender and Civil War in Kerry, 1921-1923' in Francis Devine and Fearghal Mac Bhloscaidh, (ed), *Bread not Profits: provincial working-class politics during the Irish Revolution*, (Dublin, 2022), Umiskin Press.

<sup>2</sup> Gavin Foster, 'The social basis of the Civil-War divide' in Crowley et. al. (ed.), *Atlas of the Irish Revolution*, pp. 665.

<sup>3</sup> Kieran Allen, *1916: Ireland's Revolutionary Tradition*, (London, 2016), Pluto Press, pp. 100-1.

<sup>4</sup> Emmet O'Conner, *A Labour History of Ireland, 1824-2000* (Dublin, 2011), UCD Press, p. 124; see also Kieran McNulty, 'War and the working-class in Kerry 1919-1921' in *Saothar*, (Vol. 45, 2020), ILHS, pp. 87-98.

<sup>5</sup> Mike Milotte, *Communism in Ireland: the pursuit of the workers' republic since 1916*, (Dublin, 1984), Gill and MacMillan, p. 56.

<sup>6</sup> *Kerry People*, 27 May 1922.

<sup>7</sup> Brian Hanley, "Merely tuppence half-penny looking down in tuppence"? Class, the Second Dáil and Irish Republicanism', in Liam Weeks and Micheál O Fathartaigh, (ed), *The Treaty: Debating and Establishing the Irish State*, (Newbridge, 2018), pp. 103-4.

<sup>8</sup> Puirseil, 'Held in contempt by both sides'?

<sup>9</sup> *Kerry People*, 27 May 1922.

<sup>10</sup> *Kerry People*, 29 July 1922.

<sup>11</sup> *Kerry People*, 5 August 1922; Calton Younger, *Ireland's Civil War*, (Glasgow, 1982), Fontana Paperbacks, p. 407.

<sup>12</sup> *Kerry People*, 26 August 1922.

<sup>13</sup> Gerard Shannon, "'You will be executed. ... as a solemn warning". Government opted for official reprisals for the murder the previous day of Sean Hales TD in *The Civil War, Ireland in 1922*, *Irish Times*, 10 May 2022.

<sup>14</sup> Darragh Gannon and Fearghal McGarry, (ed), *Ireland 1922, Independence, Partition, Civil War*, (Dublin, 2022), Royal Irish Academy, p. 314.

<sup>15</sup> Dorothy Macardle, *Tragedies of Kerry*, (Dublin, 1924), Irish Freedom Press, p. 9; see also Paul Dillon, 'Maurice Neligan: A Labour organiser in Kerry, 1918-20' in *The Kerry Magazine*, 2, 30, (2020)

<sup>16</sup> Dillon, 'Maurice Neligan'; Tim Pat Coogan, *Michael Collins: a biography*, (London, 1990), Arroe Books, p. 209; the Dublin Guards were originally an elite section of the IRA's Dublin Brigade and came into existence after the Custom House debacle shortly before the end of the War of Independence. It was the only unit of the IRA to transfer intact to the National Army due

mainly to their loyalty to Michael Collins. All the remaining IRA units took the anti-Treaty side. see Pdraig Yeats, Dublin in Crowley et. al. (ed.), *Atlas of the Irish Revolution*, pp. 589-91.

<sup>17</sup> Cal McCarthy, *Cumman na mBan* (Cork, 2007), p. 204.

<sup>18</sup> Karl Murphy, General 'W.R.E. Murphy and the Irish Civil War' [Unpublished M.A. Thesis, N.U.I. (Maynooth) 1995], p.46; see also Macardle, *Tragedies of Kerry*, who claims that almost one hundred republicans were killed in Kerry between January and May 1923.

<sup>19</sup> Gavin Foster, 'The Civil War in Kerry in history and memory, in Maurice J. Bric (ed.), *The Kerry History and Society: Interdisciplinary Essays on the History of an Irish County*, (Dublin, 2020), Geography Publications, p. 478.

<sup>20</sup> Karl Murphy, 'W.R.E. Murphy', p. 48; Karl Murphy, *History Ireland*, vol. 13, no. 6, (Nov. - Dec. 2005), pp. 10-11

<sup>21</sup> Cathal O'Shannon papers, (ILHS), COS 93/12/85(IV).

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> Luke Keane, *Knocknagoshel Star - Then and Now*, (Tralee, 1994); National Army, Kerry Command, CW/OPS/12C, IMA, 6 March 1923.

<sup>24</sup> *Eire the Irish Nation*, 7 April 1923; *Kerryman*, 30 January 1981, 'Interview with Stephen Fuller'.

<sup>25</sup> *Eire the Irish Nation*, 7 April 1923; *Kerryman*, 30 January 1981, 'Interview with Stephen Fuller'.

<sup>26</sup> *Kerryman*, 9 January 1981; Macardle, p.19.

<sup>27</sup> Macardle, p.19.

<sup>28</sup> Kerry Command, CW/OPS/12C, 7 March 1923.

<sup>29</sup> 'Memoranda concerning alleged atrocities in Kerry' in Thomas Johnson's papers, National Library of Ireland [NLI], MS 17,140; Kerry Command, CW/OPS/12JK, 1 May 1923 Army intelligence also however, referred to 'the plan of having planted Irregular mines removed by Irregular prisoners'.

<sup>30</sup> Ernie O'Malley, *The singing flame*, Anvil Books Ltd., (Dublin, 1978), p.239; see also Michael Hopkinson, 'The Guerrilla phase and the end of the Civil War' in John Crowley et. al. (ed.), *Atlas of the Irish revolution*, (Cork, 2017), Cork University Press, p. 716.

<sup>31</sup> *Dáil Éireann Debates*, 8 December 1922.

<sup>32</sup> Thomas Johnson papers, Memoranda concerning alleged atrocities in Kerry during the Civil War, 1923, NLI, MS 17, 140.

<sup>33</sup> *Dáil Éireann Debates*, 17 April 1923, 185-88

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<sup>34</sup> *Irish Examiner*, 26 April 1923.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 17 April 1923, 188-90

<sup>36</sup> *Eire the Irish Nation*, 9 May 1923.

<sup>37</sup> *Eire The Irish Nation*, 5 May 1923.

<sup>38</sup> Thomas Johnson papers, NLI, MS 17, 140.

<sup>39</sup> *Kerry People*, 7 Jan 1922.

<sup>40</sup> *Eire the Irish Nation*, 19 May 1923; Peadar O'Donnell, *The gates flew open; An Irish Civil War Prison Dairy*, (Cork, 2013), p. 4.

<sup>41</sup> Seamus O'Connor, *Tomorrow was another day*, (Dublin, 1987), ROC Publications, pp. 101-13.

<sup>42</sup> For pastoral letter, see *Irish Times*, 30 Aug 1922; for female republican reaction, Diarmaid Ferriter, *A nation and not a rabble: The Irish Revolution 1913-1923* (Dublin, 2015), p. 285.

<sup>43</sup> Kerry Command, CW/OPS/12K, 12 March 1923.

<sup>44</sup> Lindsey Earner-Byrne, 'The Control of Women: while men of violence were denounced, church and State deplored the emancipation of women' in *The Civil War, Ireland in 1922*, *Irish Times*, 10 May 2022.

<sup>45</sup> John Dorney, 'The dead of the Irish Civil War', in 1921-1923, *The Split: From Treaty to Civil War*, *History Ireland*, 2021, according to Dorney, including the deaths resulting from the conflict in the Six Counties, approximately 2,000 people lost their lives due to political violence in Ireland in the years 1922-24.

<sup>46</sup> *The Liberator*, 21 August 1923; *The Liberator*, 23 August 1923; *Kerry People*, 26 August 1922.

<sup>47</sup> Kerry Command, CW/OPS/12K, 14 March 1923.

<sup>48</sup> *The Liberator*, 21 August 1923.

<sup>49</sup> *The Liberator*, 4 September 1923.

<sup>50</sup> Foster, 'The Civil War in Kerry', p. 478.

<sup>51</sup> Arthur Mitchell, *Labour in Irish politics 1890-1930: The Irish Labour movement in an Age of Revolution*, (Dublin, 1974), Irish University Press, pp. 190-1.

<sup>52</sup> Puirseil, 'Held in contempt by both sides'?

<sup>53</sup> Connor McNamara, *Liam Mellows: soldier of the Irish Republic, selected writings, 1914-1922*, (Newbridge, 2019), p. 134.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 134-5.

<sup>55</sup> James Plunkett, *The Gems She Wore* (Arrow Books, 1978), p. 161, as cited by Willy Cumming, review of Diarmaid Ferriter, 'Between two Hells, the Irish Civil War', (London, 2021), Profile Books, 2021 in *Irish Marxist Review*, Vol. 11, No. 32, file:///C:/Users/Owner/Downloads/456-1794-1-PB.pdf

<sup>56</sup> Emmet O'Connor, 'War and syndicalism 1914-1923' in Donal Nevin, (ed.), *Trade Union Century*, p. 64.

<sup>57</sup> Francis Devine, 'The Irish Transport & General Workers' Union in Kerry, 1909-1930', *Journal of the Kerry Archaeological and Historical Society, Series 2, Vol. 20 (2020)*, p. 107-8.

<sup>58</sup> Mary Smith, 'Women in the Irish revolution, in *Irish Marxist Review*', 2015, Vol. 4, No 14, p. 42,