

After the War of Independence

Some further questions about West Cork, April 27-29 1922

By Niall Meehan

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In *The Irish Political Review* (February 2008), Jack Lane commented on a recent RTE *Hidden History* documentary on the July 1921 IRA execution of the Pearson Brothers at Coolacree, Co Offaly. Jack observed, 'The devil is in the detail' provided by researchers Pat Muldowney and Philip McConway, but largely ignored by the *Hidden History* programme makers.

Jack goes on to comment on later killings of loyalists in Dunmanway between April 27-29 1922, while the Truce between Irish and British forces was in force. The killings took place four months after the republican split over the terms of the Anglo Irish Treaty, two months prior to the outbreak of the Irish Civil War. The killings are important to those who suggest that the Irish War of Independence was a largely sectarian or 'ethnic' conflict. Jack correctly points to the pivotal role of Peter Hart's *The IRA and its Enemies* (1998) in promoting this view, one shared by the historian Roy Foster and a couple of journalists who assiduously promote it. The April 1922 killings in Cork are used to give the impression that the same thing happened elsewhere, for instance the Coolacree killings in Offaly in July 1921. However, while correctly pinpointing the April 1922 events as 'the elephant in the parlour', Jack engages in speculation in which the 'detail' is left behind.

Jack raises the possibility of agent provocateurs being responsible for the April killings and speculates on a role for the fanatical unionist MP Field Marshal Sir Henry Wilson. Wilson led opposition to the British withdrawal from the 26 Counties, encouraged sectarian pogroms against defenceless Catholics in Northern Ireland, and called for the re-occupation of the 26 Counties.

In raising the possibility of British agent provocateurs, speculation is mounted on speculation in suggesting that Wilson might have been responsible. It is also suggested that Wilson's assassination on June 22 1922 by IRA volunteers, Reginald Dunne and Joseph O'Sullivan, might have been prompted by suspicion about Wilson's role in the April killings. It can reasonably be surmised that Sam Maguire, a Dunmanway Protestant and member of the IRA in England, 'knew the [Dunmanway] victims personally'. But Jack continued, 'He [Maguire] suspected the rea-

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sons they were killed was a provocation orchestrated by Wilson'. Jack also suggested that IRA leaders, 'Tom Barry, Sean O'Hegarty, Tom Hales, could not figure out who did it and were always convinced that it was a provocation'. Where is the evidence for these thoughts? Where is the 'detail'?

I am currently looking at the emergence of revisionist historiography in the 1970s, and its use to reframe the conflict between 1919-21 in ethnic or purely sectarian terms. Some of the research may be relevant in response to some of the points raised by Jack Lane. An enquiry into Peter Hart's revisions of his own account may also be instructive. In 1992 Hart completed a PhD thesis in TCD. It was also named *The IRA and its Enemies*.

Northern sectarianism

Catholics suffered sectarian oppression in the North. In July 1920, 8-10,000 Catholics and socialists were expelled from the Harland and Wolff shipyards and from other workplaces by unionist mobs. Unionist leadership was directly implicated, while the leaders of Protestant churches in the North acted as apologists.

Sectarian attacks intensified after the Northern Ireland State was set up in June 1922. They were even more one sided than what went before. Nationalists had begun to offer some resistance. Lloyd George wrote to Churchill:

'It is true that several protestants have been murdered, but the murders of Catholics went on at a rate of three or four to one for some time before Catholic reprisals attained their present dimensions and even now the proportions are two Catholics murdered to one protestant although the population is two Protestants to one Catholic' (in Jim McDermott, *Northern Divisions, the old IRA and the Belfast pogroms 1920-22* 2001:191).

Brewer and Higgin's observed:

'the orgy of violence in 1922 once Protestants controlled the state saw Catholics alone as victims... [I]t was illegal for Catholics to possess weapons,

while Protestant mobs engaged in massacre. The paradox was not lost on the English press. The Manchester Guardian commented in March 1922: "*whilst envenomed politicians in the Ulster parliament are voting themselves powers to use torture and capital punishment against citizens whom they forbid to defend themselves, whilst they scarcely attempt to protect them from massacre, some of their own partisans in Belfast carry wholesale murder to refinements of barbarity*".

After partition came into effect in June 1922, 'Virtually all the 232 victims were Catholic, and 11,000 were made jobless and 23,000 homeless as Protestants protected their access to socio-economic resources. Over 4,500 Catholic-owned shops and businesses were burned, looted or wrecked. Property worth £3 million was destroyed.

'Anti-Catholicism in the new state of Northern Ireland existed in its pure form, operating at the levels of ideas, behaviour and social structure as it came to shape the society whose state Protestants now controlled... The ascendancy in the North was effected immediately by means of the Protestantisation of the administration and personnel of the state.' (*Anti-Catholicism in Northern Ireland, 1600-1998: The Mote and the Beam*, 1998: 92-93)

Wilson was killed at the height of anti-Catholic violence. Immediate threats of British re-invasion prompted Michael Collins' June 28 1922 Free State attack on the Republican Four Courts garrison, the start of the Irish Civil War and subsequent victory of conservative forces in Irish society. Ironically, the pretext for the attack, the killing of Wilson, was more likely linked to Collins than to Anti-Treaty forces. Collins had been exercised about the daily attacks on Catholics in Northern Ireland. Dunne and Sullivan were under the com-

mand of Sam Maguire, who was in turn Michael Collins' man in England. The Civil War disrupted a combined pro and anti Treaty IRA attack on the state of Northern Ireland, whose consolidation contributed to the long-term isolation of northern nationalists from political forces in the South.

Southern sectarianism

The 26 County state did develop sectarian traits, but there is no legitimate comparison with the North. In the South no organised, systematic attacks on Protestants took place. In fact the physical coercion of nationalists in the North, on the basis that they were Catholics, was mirrored by ideological control, based on Catholic social teaching, of nationalists in the South. Protestants were not persecuted because, aside from other considerations, it made no political sense. The Catholic Church's cruel *Ne Temere* decree, issued in Rome, did deplete Protestant numbers in mixed marriages in the South. However, relative Protestant social and economic privilege was maintained.

The South developed a functioning civil society that generated internal secular reform. The state was forced to abandon its use of the Church to run education, health and social services. In the sectarian state of Northern Ireland reform was not possible. Nationalists were the victims of coercion and of unrelenting economic and political discrimination for over 50 years.

However, in *The IRA and its Enemies* (1998) Peter Hart attempted to suggest a degree of republican sectarian reciprocity in Cork for events in Belfast between 1920-22.

In the interregnum after the Treaty split, in the first six months of 1922 up to the onset of civil war, there was a breakdown of civil control. Kee's *The Green Flag*, Volume III, (1972: 163), reports, 'In the three weeks from 29 March to 19 April, 323 post offices were robbed in the South of Ireland; and forty consignments of goods were seized from the Dublin and South-Eastern Railway between 23 March and 22 April, though in only

Ned Young—last of the 'Boys of Kilmichael'

THE last of the "Boys of Kilmichael," Captain Ned Young, formerly of Kilbarry Road, Dunmanway, but in latter years resident at Wilton Road in Cork, passed away at his home on Monday. The anniversary of the famous ambush led by Tom Barry will be celebrated on Sunday week, two days before the actual date of the fight, "The twenty-eighth day of November."



The late Ned Young, Dunmanway.

Born into a great Dohenys G.A.A. family in 1892, it was inevitable, as it was for many G.A.A. followers, to become involved in the fight for independence, as a member of the Third West Cork Brigade, Old I.R.A., and as a member of the Flying Column in 1920. For many years, he was a familiar figure at the Kilmichael commemoration. Now with but some days to go to the event, he will be remembered with the other republican dead who have gone before him on Slighe na Firinne.

WAS GREAT

His brother, Jack Young, was a great G.A.A. player in his time, and won a football All-Ireland for Cork against Antrim, and Jack's sons were later to win All-Irelands in hurling and football, but Ned and his family contributed much to Dohenys in football and Glen Rovers in hurling. Many is the time we remember Ned the fiery enthusiast urging on his team, knowing only

that the Dohenys were best, but withal, it was great to chat and reminisce with him after a game.

FOR YEARS

Ned Young played hurling and football with the Dohenys for almost thirty years and was president of the Dohenys Hurling and Football Clubs for many years. His sons, Leo, Edda and John, also played a lot of hurling and football with the Dohenys and Glen Rovers.

His daughter, Finola, played camogie and badminton.

The late Captain Young is also survived by his wife, Catherine (nee O'Hea) of Kilbrittain, grandchildren, son-in-law, daughters-in-law, nephews and nieces.

Deceased was Life President of the Ballabuidhe Doheny Home Week Association.

Newspaper report of death of Ned Young, last surviving veteran of the Kilmichael Ambush that took place on 28 November 1920 (*The Southern Star*, 18 November 1989). In *The IRA and its Enemies* (1992, 1998), Peter Hart reported interviewing a Kilmichael ambush veteran one day after publication, November 19 1989

thirty of the cases was the seizure even stated to be 'by order IRA'.

In rural areas some who had not yet received land seized it. They also drove or stole livestock. There were also cases of farm occupations by those claiming to have been previously evicted. This activity tended to affect Protestants disproportionately, because Protestants were disproportionately large landowners. Some of this activity appears to have been for personal gain. It was sometimes accompanied by the sending of threats to protestants, claiming to be in response to the pogroms in the North. Both sides of the IRA, which was in favour of regulated land reform,

actively opposed this sectarian opportunism

Peter Hart asked the following question in an effort to explain a 'polarisation of perceptions' on revolutionary violence: 'If a Protestant farmer was attacked, was it because of religion or politics or his land or all three'. One contemporary observer felt competent to state in 1921: 'If Protestant farmers are murdered, it is not by reason of their religion, but rather because they are under suspicion as Loyalist. The distinction is fine, but a real one'. He asserted, correctly, 'Protestants in the South do not complain of persecution on sectarian grounds'. This account also noted, 'when a brave prelate', Cork's Bishop Colohan, spoke out, 'his flock have turned their back on him' with the rejoinder, 'we take our religion, but not our politics, from Rome'. He wrote, 'to conceive the struggle as religious in character is... misleading'. The observer was Lionel Curtis, Lloyd George's imperial advisor, writing in 1921 after a tour of Ireland on behalf of the British cabinet.¹

This competent witness directly contradicted his own government's propaganda on this point. We should take Curtis's opinion seriously. Not only was he there at the time, the evidence supports the conclusion, and the conclusion is inimical to the case Curtis would otherwise have wished to put on behalf of his government.²

The killings in late April 1922 in West Cork were not motivated by either land agitation or by sectarian considerations. Evidence from Brian Murphy (1998, 2006) and Meda Ryan (2003) suggests that the victims were shot because of their previous intelligence role on behalf of Crown forces.³ The main problem with Peter Hart's analysis is that it uses mixed up and misquoted evidence, leading to unjustified conclusions. Meda Ryan pointed out in *History* (April 2007) that Hart misrepresented her account of the Kilmichael Ambush in *The Tom Barry Story* (1982). I have come across other examples in Hart's account of the April Killings. For example, Hart stated that Clarina Buttimer, wife of James, one of the first victims, 'seems to have recognised at least one of her husband's attackers'. No source was given for the claim. *The Southern Star* (April 29 1922) and *The Irish Independent*, (May 1 1922) report Clarina Buttimer as stating, 'Though there were a number of men there, she only saw one, whom she did not recognise'. This is one of a number of areas where the published record contradicts Hart's claims.

Ethnic cleansing

In 2006, in response to my commenting in *The Irish Times* that the Orange Order cited Hart as an authority on 'murders' of Protestants, Hart surprisingly, somewhat irrelevantly and also mistakenly, responded, 'Niall Meehan, as usual, misrepresents my work. I have never argued that 'ethnic cleansing' took place in Cork or elsewhere in the 1920s - in fact, quite the opposite'.

I had not accused Hart of using the term, 'eth-

nic cleansing'. However, I replied that it would not have been misrepresentation had I stated what Peter Hart denied. After all, in 1996 Hart wrote:

'Similar campaigns of what might be termed 'ethnic cleansing' were waged in parts of Kings and Queens Counties, South Tipperary, Leitrim, Mayo, Limerick, Westmeath, Louth and Cork. Worst of all was the massacre of 14 men in West Cork in April [1922], after an IRA officer had been killed breaking into a house.'...

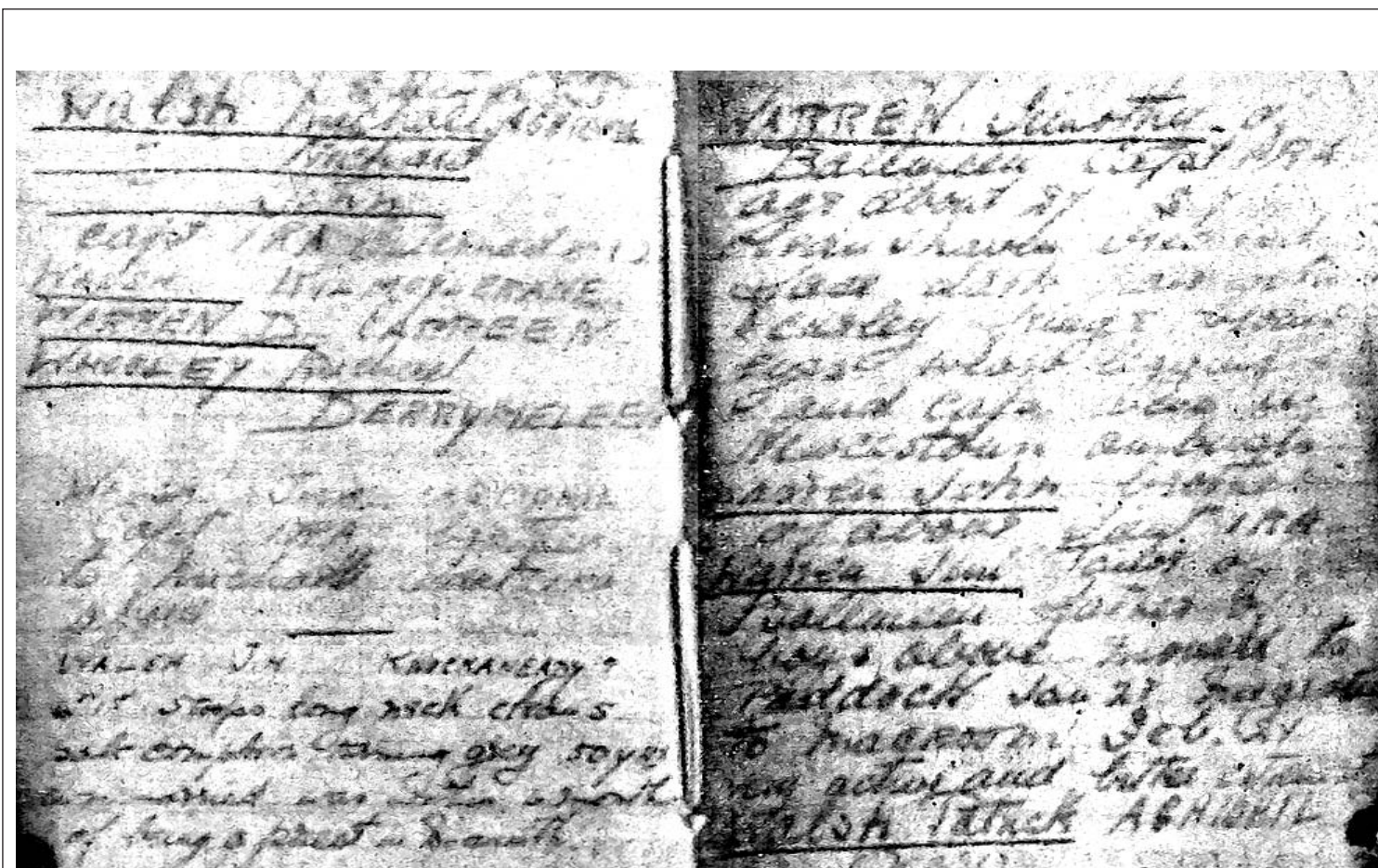
Hart republished this view in 2003. In addition, Hart's Memorial University History Department's web page states, under 'Research', that Hart researches 'ethnic conflict and cleansing in Ireland'. I continued,

'The evidence in fact suggests that these maverick, post-Treaty, pre-Civil War killings targeted loyalist British agents, in which close relatives were shot dead in two cases. They were stamped out locally by the IRA, but were "motivated by political and not sectarian considerations", to quote historian Brian Murphy's disagreement with Hart on this point.'⁴

An historian who cannot remember his own conclusions is perhaps not the most reliable guide to the past.⁵

In 2006, I also responded to Hart's assertion that: 'there is no publicly available evidence' that those shot were loyalists or informers'. I referred Hart to an intelligence diary left behind by Auxiliaries as they evacuated Dunmanway Workhouse'. I pointed out that it was Hart himself who noted (1998: 129) that it was published in *The Southern Star* in 1971, with informers' names removed out of deference to local families. A similar consideration informed Tom Barry in his *Guerrilla Days in Ireland*. I went on

'Hart claimed that, apart from the name excisions, this "invaluable series of articles reproduces the complete text". However, despite not possessing a key piece of the jigsaw, Hart made speculative assumptions about the victims of the April killings. The



A page from the 'Black and Tan diary' left behind by departing Auxiliaries in 1922. Picture published in *The Southern Star* on 20 November 1971. The *Southern Star* published the entire contents, apart from the names of informers. Other intelligence material left by Auxiliaries was referred to on page 47 of *The Southern Star Centenary Supplement*, December 1989 - see discussion below.

assumptions turn out to have been wrong. The publicity Peter Hart gained for his sensational findings caused a response in which the linked names from the Auxiliary diary were published in 2003.⁶

Hart had only partial knowledge of the Auxiliary intelligence material, information he gleaned from publication in *The Southern Star* in 1971. In fact there was more material relating to loyalist intelligence agents or assets he did not encounter, though he did read of its existence. This was clear from a prominent article by Peadar O'Donovan on page 47 of the 1989 *Southern Star Centenary Supplement*. It referred to 'documents, including a small pocket sized diary'. Hart cites the article and page number in *The IRA and its Enemies*, but unfortunately missed this important information.⁷

The April killings were exceptional. This was recognised by those assumed at the time to be the intended targets, Irish Protestants. A highly significant Irish Protestant Convention was held on May 11 1922 in Dublin's Mansion House. It resolved, 'apart from this incident, hostility to Protestants by reason of their religion, has been almost, if not wholly unknown, in the 26 counties in which they are a minority' (*The Irish Independent*, *The Irish Times*, May 12 1922; also, see *The Irish Independent* May 3 1922). Hart failed to mention the event that occupied copious

amounts of newsprint.

On an almost daily basis in *The Irish Times* and *Irish Independent* Protestants denied that they had ever suffered systematic sectarian discrimination in the South.⁸ Supporting the resolution at the Protestant Convention, Archdeacon Daly of Clonfert, 'bore testimony to the unflinching kindness always experienced at the hands of his fellow Catholic fellow countrymen, who had elected him to many public bodies in Co Galway. He asked if any instances of a parish priest in any of the Six Counties being similarly treated by his Protestant fellow countrymen' could be produced - clearly confident that they could not (*The Irish Independent*, May 12 1922). These and many similar utterances cannot be squared with Hart's assertion that 'Southern Protestants... were targeted with rising vigour by the IRA from the summer of 1920 onwards'. If that was the case, Southern Protestants would have said so. In fact they stated the opposite while condemning unionists in Northern Ireland.

Who did it?: theory Busted

While Hart's 1998 account was celebrated as a forensic expose of the April 1922 killings and of the killers it contains remarkably little hard evidence. The addition by Hart of anonymous Protestant informants to the 1998 book adds very little to the original narrative in Hart's 1992 thesis.

Surprisingly, there is commentary in the 1992 thesis not carried over into the 1998 book.

Hart identified an individual as possibly being involved in the April killings in his 1992 thesis, on page 377 fn 47:

'Frank Busted, the Blarney IRA leader who killed Din Din O'Riordan (see Chapter 1) and, notoriously, Mrs Lindsey, was quoted by Ernie O'Malley as saying 'We shot four or five locals, then we could move anywhere' in the Civil War. He also said that 'we shot five to six loyalists, Protestant farmers, as reprisals' in the same period (O'Malley Papers, P17b/112). As these killings certainly did not take place after July 1922, the only events which fit this description are those of April (his memory has already been shown to be fallible in Chapter 1).

'Nevertheless, these remain cryptic remarks. Does the 'we' in the second statement refer to his unit, which was part of the 1st Cork Brigade, or to the IRA in general? Does the 'locals' in the first statement mean the Hornibrooks or other of the April victims? Ballygroman lay very close to Busted's usual territory.'

The above 1992 thesis footnote is not in the 1998 book. Neither is the following, 'Frank Busted of Blarney, the hardest of die-hards, also seems to have claimed a share of responsibility'. This is significant, as is, in the context of Hart's overall argument, an observation that is in the 1998 book and 1992 thesis. Hart stated: 'Busted's deceased father had been Protestant, although Busted himself was raised a Catholic and later become an outspoken atheist'.⁹

The 1992 thesis (only) repeats this information, again on page 379, and then adds 'Two of the [IRA] veterans I interviewed thought that the killers were very likely Volunteers acting on their own.' Hart interviewed these veterans anonymously. However, between the 1998 book and 1992 thesis, Hart also identified them differently. An interviewee who was EY in 1992 became AA in 1998; whereas one who was CD in 1992 became AE in 1998.

Initial problems

As the 1992 initials were the real initials (sometimes reversed) of the veterans concerned, I have deduced that AA/EY was Ned (Edward) Young, a veteran of the Kilmichael ambush, while AE/CD appears to be Dan Cahalane, a member of Tom Barry's Flying column. AA/EY is Ned Young because he was the only ambush veteran alive at a time when Hart reported interviewing two Kilmichael veterans.

A problem with Hart's use of Young is that Young's health was severely impaired some time before Hart reported interviewing him, as Meda

Ryan reported. Meda Ryan (2003) also pointed out, Hart reported interviewing one of his two veterans on November 19 1989, six days after the last Kilmichael veteran, Young, died. In 1998 Hart reported that one of these veterans gave him a tour of the Kilmichael ambush site, without saying which one. In the 1992 thesis this Kilmichael veteran was identified as HJ (AF in the 1998 book). It is difficult to put a name on this AF/HJ because he is the mysterious Kilmichael veteran Hart reported interviewing six days after the death of the last Kilmichael veteran, Ned Young. In addition, whereas this AF/HJ was identified simply as an ambush veteran in the 1992 thesis, he became, mysteriously, an unarmed scout in Hart's 1998 book. *The Southern Star*, a newspaper Hart researched, carried a prominent article headlined, *Ned Young - last of the 'Boys of Kilmichael'* on November 18, 1989. It would have been hard for an inquisitive historian researching the subject to miss (I reproduce it with this article).

These findings give rise to other difficulties in Hart's narrative, that space considerations preclude going into here.

Back to Busted

Let us for the moment leave these particular difficulties aside, and continue the Busted discussion.

AA/EY and AE/CD are withdrawn as source supports in the 1998 book on republican responsibility for the April killings and in relation to Busted's alleged responsibility.

Hart omitted the Busted information on the April killings in 1998, instead of explaining how or if this evidence was no longer valid or germane. It appears unlikely that Frank Busted, with a Protestant father, who was later to proclaim himself an atheist, was particularly antagonistic toward Protestants.¹⁰ This datum, if included, might have undermined the sectarianism explanation of the April killings.

Exclusion of the Busted speculation implies that Hart knew less in 1998 than he claimed in 1992, however tentatively, about who committed the April killings, but more about who did not (in that the Busted speculation was excluded in the 1998 book). This should have resulted in more circumspect conclusions on Hart's part about responsibility for the killings. Unfortunately, it did not.

However, whatever about the April killings speculation, Busted's admitted activities are directly relevant to Hart's investigation of sectarianism in the War of Independence. Frank Busted admitted involvement in revenge killings after the July 1921 Truce. The significant evidence is in *Execution* (1974), a book Hart said was 'substantially accurate'. The author, the late Sean O'Callaghan, reported that Busted's help was 'invaluable' and that he 'corrected my manuscript'.¹¹

On March 12 1921 British intelligence officers

Archdeacon Daly, Clonfert, proposed—
 "That we place on record that until the recent tragedies in the Co. Cork hostility to Protestants by reason of their religion has been almost, if not wholly, unknown in the 26 counties in which Protestants are in a minority. Supporting the resolution he said he was born 84 years ago in Co. Cork, and in his young days knew O'Donovan Rossa. He went to a diocesan college close to where Michael Collins was born. He was never enamoured of the invaders, and now when they had got a new Government according to the laws of God and man obedience was due to them. He bore testimony to the untailing kindness always experienced at the hands of his Catholic fellow-countrymen, who had elected him to many public bodies in Co. Galway. He asked if any instances could be cited of a parish priest in any of the six counties being similarly treated by his Protestant fellow-countrymen.

'Southern Protestants speak', *The Irish Independent*, May 12 1922, two weeks after April Killings. Southern Irish Protestants reject the views and actions of Northern unionists.

reportedly threw the elderly mother of Frank Busted down the stairs of her home and broke her back. She died one day later. Hart stated, 'his mother's death after a British raid only increased [Busted's] passion for revenge, which he took out on a considerable number of suspected 'spies' and 'informers', both before and after the Truce'. Hart then referred to Busted killing two actual informers, Mrs Lindsay and her chauffeur. They had informed British forces of an IRA ambush in Dripsey in January 1921, that led to the capture, court martial and then execution of five IRA volunteers. The IRA had forewarned that Mrs Lindsey and her chauffeur would be killed if the British executions were carried out.

The chauffeur and Mrs Lindsey were executed on March 11, prior to Busted's mother's injury on March 12 and death on March 13 1921, and so were hardly in response to it. More likely the British attack on Busted's mother was a British response to suspicion that Busted was responsible for the original abduction of Mrs Lindsey (if not her unpublicised execution on March 11) and possibly to Frank Busted burning Mrs Lindsey's house in the early hours of March 12 1921.¹²

The elderly Mrs Busted reportedly spoke her dying words to her other son, Bill, a Protestant recently de-mobbed from the British Army. She said, 'Tell Frank one of them was a man with one arm'. The one armed British officer became an unwitting fugitive from Busted family justice. Bill Busted reportedly rejoined the British Army, was

posted locally, and set about discovering the killers, three of whom he identified in April 1922 as going on a drinking spree in Macroom. Bill passed the information to Frank Busted, who acted on it. As O'Callaghan put it 'Frank Busted broke the Truce to kill the three men'.¹³

Subsequently, therefore, Busted appears to have taken out his 'revenge' on British officers he believed responsible for killing his mother, not on unspecified victims, as Hart implies, carelessly.

This intimate tale of 'tit for tat' killers and killing did not appear in *The IRA and its Enemies*. Despite Hart's acceptance that Busted was involved in anti-British violence after the Truce, his escapades, as reported, do not fit a stereotype of Catholic-Protestant antagonism. Perhaps that is why they did not appear in Hart's narrative.

Interestingly, Busted captured the British officers on April 26 1922, the same day as a Captain Woods and Samuel and Thomas Hornibrook disappeared. They were taken at 8am that morning, in an area in close proximity to where the British troops were taken later that day. The Hornibrook and Woods disappearance, after they had shoot dead IRA officer Michael O'Neill in the very early hours of April 26, set off the April killings from April 27-29, in which 11 more were shot dead.

Loyalist and British terror

In refusing to admit evidence that pointed to the April victims being loyalists, Hart was in a position to deny that there was an organised group of loyalists, an *Anti-Sinn Fein Society* (or equivalent), working in tandem with British forces. He insisted that its use was only as a cover name for British forces' activity.¹⁴

Curiously, Hart referred to Tom Barry in 1919 being 'in touch with the *Anti-Sinn Fein Society* in Bandon... The society in Bandon consisted of the loyalists and the Essex Regiment'. This 1992 thesis information is not included at the same point in the 1998 book. In other words, in 1992 Hart had evidence that the loyalists were involved with the British military, but the evidence expired in the interim between publication of thesis (1992) and book (1998). In his IRA pension statement in the 1930s Barry stated that he was engaged in intelligence work prior to full immersion in the IRA Hart suggested (in 1992 and 1998), implausibly but typically, that this activity indicated that Barry could have gone 'either way'.¹⁵

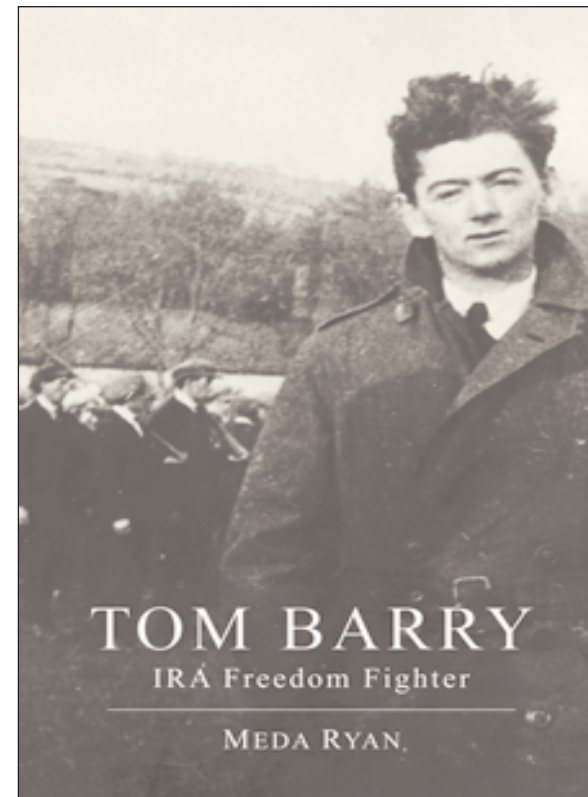
Not sectarian

Hart's revised view of Irish history has been accepted unthinkingly by sections of the media. For the latter history is a 'man bites dog' scenario as applied to the past, an account of the unusual and the exceptional. For some it is a way of pursuing their current political agenda.

Hart's *Taking it out on the Protestants* chapter in his *The IRA and its Enemies* is flawed at many levels. It is unreliable as history and should not be used to back up other assertions that the War of Independence was a sectarian event.

Notes

- Hart, *Thesis* 1992: 61, 62; *Enemies* 1998: 320. Curtis, *Ireland*, first publ. June 1921 in *The Round Table*, partially reprinted in Walsh, ed, 2002. See also Ryan Tom Barry: *IRA Freedom Fighter* 2003: 170
- Curtis, a 'modernising' imperialist, attempted to discover a pathway between Irish separatism and British interests. He described the Irish using stereotypical superlatives. The Irish are 'a highly intelligent and emotional people' given to 'exaggeration'. However, 'the defects of the Irish mind are blindness to realities, aversion to compromise, a morbid concentration on itself, a disregard for all interests but its own, an ingrained belief in the virtues of violence. The only cure for these faults is a double dose of responsibility, for they spring from its absence. The Irish have never been disciplined by the sense of controlling their own affairs'. Self-government as a cure for defect of national character, was Curtis's argument for justifying a British retreat from ruling Ireland. (Curtis, *Ireland*, 1921, also in Walsh, ed, 2002: 61, 65).
- Brian Murphy, review of *The IRA and its Enemies in The Month*, November 1998, *The Origins and Organisation of British Propaganda in Ireland in 1920*, (2006); Meda Ryan, *Barry* (2003).
- The Irish Times*, June 23, 28, July 3 2006. Peter Hart, *The Protestant Experience of Revolution in Southern Ireland*, in Richard English and Graham Walker (eds), *Unionism and Modern Ireland*, Gill & Macmillan 1996: 94 (reprinted in Peter Hart's *The IRA at War*, 2003: 237). Hart, also observed that the 'gunmen' of the 'Unionist counter revolution' were 'ethnic cleansers' (Definition, *Defining the Irish Revolution* in Joost Augusteijn (ed.), *The Irish Revolution, 1913-1923*, 2002: 25).
- John Borgonovo also responded to Hart, *The Irish Times*, July 14, 2006. Hart did not reply subsequently, in contrast to numerous responses in 1998 to those who questioned his calling Tom Barry a liar (see Jack Lane and Brendan Clifford (ed.), *Kilmichael: The False Surrender*, 1999).
- Irish Times*, June 23, 28, July 3, 2006. See also Barry



Tom Barry IRA Freedom Fighter by Meda Ryan (2003). Ryan first queried Hart's interview dates and introduced the Auxiliary intelligence material



The Origin and Organisation of British Propaganda in Ireland in 1920 by Brian Murphy (2006). Murphy shows how propaganda then affects history now

- on this point, 1981: 105.
- Hart, *Enemies* 1998: 307; also, see Hart, *Enemies* 1998: 129.
- Membership of the Preliminary Committee of the Protestant Convention is listed in *The Cork Examiner*, May 5 1922. At a meeting of the *Protestant Orphan Society* Mr Sergeant Hanna said, in the presence of Church of Ireland Dublin Archbishop Gregg, 'every section of Protestantism had declared that they had at all times lived in peace and amity with their Catholic neighbours'. Ulster unionists had taken to asserting otherwise in relation to Protestants in the South. (*Irish Independent*, April 29, 1922).
- Hart, *Thesis* 1992: 330, 379; Hart, *Enemies* 1998: 248.
- Hart, *Enemies* 1998: 248. Unless Hart wishes to bring Sigmund Freud into his argument. He did suggest that IRA members were motivated by a collective revolt against their fathers. See Hart's Chapter 8, *Youth and Rebellion* (1998: 165).
- Hart, *Enemies* 1998: 15; O'Callaghan, *Execution* 1974: *Acknowledgments*, 182, 189-192.
- See also *Cork lady's disappearance, residence destroyed by fire*, *The Irish Times*, March 15 1921, *British officers missing from Cork*, and *Missing officers, whereabouts still a mystery*, *The Cork Examiner*, May 1, 17, 1922.
- O'Callaghan reports the British officers as Captains Viney, Dove and Macallister. On May 24 1922, *The Irish Times*, reported them as Lieutenants Hardy, Dove and Henderson, together with Private J Brooks. These names are reported from the British House of Commons on May 23. See also reports in *The Irish Times*, May 1, 11 1922. O'Callaghan, *Execution* 1974: 182, 190.
- See Borgonovo, *Spies Informers and the 'Anti Sinn Fein Society'* (2007), chapters three and four, esp. pp 46-49 for the deliberate and devastating IRA response in February 1921 to the activation of the loyalist 'Anti Sinn Fein' group.
- Hart, *Thesis* 1992: 43, *Enemies* 1998: 31. Ryan Barry 2003: 26.