



**NUI MAYNOOTH**

Ollscoil na hÉireann Má Nuad

**CATHOLIC PRIESTS AND POLITICAL VIOLENCE IN IRELAND,  
1919-21**

**by**

**BRIAN JAMES HEFFERNAN, M.A., B.A.**

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DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY  
NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND  
MAYNOOTH**

**Supervisor of Research:  
Professor R. V. Comerford**

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## ABBREVIATIONS

<b>Abp.</b>	Archbishop
<b>A.D.A.</b>	Armagh Diocesan Archives
<b>Adm.</b>	Administrator
<b>A.I.C.P.</b>	Archives of the Irish College, Paris
<b>A.I.C.R.</b>	Archives of the Pontifical Irish College, Rome
<b>A.O.H.</b>	Ancient Order of Hibernians
<b>Aux. Bp.</b>	Auxiliary bishop
<b>B.C.A.</b>	Belvedere College Archives
<b>Bp.</b>	Bishop
<b>C.C.</b>	Catholic curate
<b>C.D.A.</b>	Cork and Ross Diocesan Archives
<b>C.F.C.</b>	Congregation of Christian Brothers
<b>C.I.C.</b>	<i>Codex iuris canonici (Code of canon law)</i>
<b>C.M.</b>	Congregation of the Mission (Vincentians)
<b>C.M.A.</b>	Clonard Monastery Domestic Archive (Redemptorists, Belfast)
<b>C.P.A.</b>	Carmelite (Calced) Provincial Archives
<b>C.Ss.R.</b>	Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer (Redemptorists)
<b>Ct.D.A.</b>	Clonfert Diocesan Archives
<b>C.W.C.A.</b>	Clongowes Wood College Archives
<b>C.Y.M.S.</b>	Catholic Young Men's Society
<b>D.D.A.</b>	Dublin Diocesan Archives
<b>D.I.</b>	District inspector
<b>D.I.B.</b>	<i>Dictionary of Irish biography</i>
<b>D.M.P.</b>	Dublin Metropolitan Police
<b>D.P.A.</b>	Dominican Provincial Archives
<b>E.D.A.</b>	Elphin Diocesan Archives
<b>F.L.K.</b>	Franciscan Library Killiney (Franciscan Provincial Archives)
<b>F.S.C.</b>	Brothers of the Christian Schools (De la Salle Brothers)
<b>G.A.A.</b>	Gaelic Athletics Association
<b>G.D.A.</b>	Galway Diocesan Archives
<b>G.H.Q.</b>	General Headquarters
<b>I.C.D.</b>	<i>Irish Catholic directory</i>

<b>I.G.M.R.</b>	R.I.C. inspector general's monthly confidential report
<b>I.R.A.</b>	Irish Republican Army
<b>Ill.</b>	Illegible
<b>J.P.A.</b>	Jesuit Provincial Archives
<b>K.D.A.</b>	Killaloe Diocesan Archives
<b>K.L.D.A.</b>	Kildare and Leighlin Diocesan Archives
<b>Ky.D.A.</b>	Kerry Diocesan Archives
<b>M.A.</b>	Military Archives
<b>M.D.A.</b>	Mount St. Alphonsus Monastery Domestic Archive (Redemptorists, Limerick)
<b>M.S.S.</b>	Missionaries of the Blessed Sacrament
<b>N.A.I.</b>	National Archives of Ireland
<b>N.L.I.</b>	National Library of Ireland
<b>O.Carm.</b>	Order of Carmelites (Calced)
<b>O.C.D.</b>	Order of Carmelites (Discalced)
<b>O.C.S.O.</b>	Order of Cistercians of the Strict Observance (Trappists)
<b>O.E.S.A.</b>	Order of Hermits of Saint Augustine (Augustinians)
<b>O.F.M.</b>	Order of Friars Minor (Franciscans)
<b>O.F.M.Cap.</b>	Order of Friars Minor Capuchins (Capuchins)
<b>O.M.I.</b>	Oblates of Mary Immaculate
<b>O.P.</b>	Order of Friars Preachers (Dominicans)
<b>O.S.A.</b>	Order of Saint Augustine (Augustinians)
<b>O.S.B.</b>	Order of Saint Benedict (Benedictines)
<b>O.S.F.C.</b>	Order of Friars Minor Capuchins (Capuchins)
<b>P.P.</b>	Parish priest
<b>R.I.C.</b>	Royal Irish Constabulary
<b>R.M.</b>	Resident magistrate
<b>S.J.</b>	Society of Jesus (Jesuits)
<b>S.S.S.</b>	Congregation of the Blessed Sacrament
<b>T.D.A.</b>	Tuam Diocesan Archives
<b>T.N.A.</b>	The National Archives, Kew
<b>U.C.D.A.</b>	University College Dublin Archives
<b>U.I.L.</b>	United Irish League
<b>W.D.A.</b>	Waterford and Lismore Diocesan Archives



## 1. INTRODUCTION

Ever since the Pharisees asked Jesus whether it was permissible for Jews to pay taxes to the emperor, the question of how the Christian church must relate to the politics of the world has exercised the minds of churchmen and statesmen alike.<sup>1</sup> In modern times, after the crisis of the French revolution, European Catholicism became increasingly characterised by the rise and dominance of ultramontanism. This modern conception of the church propelled papal primacy to new and untold heights and was remarkably successful in standardising most aspects of church life, not merely in Europe but throughout the world.<sup>2</sup> The popes of the nineteenth century looked back nostalgically to the constitutional arrangements of the Catholic *anciens régimes*, which had made generous if meddlesome provision for the church's legal and pecuniary status in society. The old order of things having disappeared, however, they set their minds against those things that had caused its downfall: the Enlightenment, revolution and liberalism. The ultramontane mentality was famously epitomised by Pope Pius IX's declaration in 1864 that it was an error to think that 'the Roman pontiff can, and ought to, reconcile himself, and come to terms with progress, liberalism and modern civilization'.<sup>3</sup> Instead, it conceived of the church as a perfect society, unified under the leadership of the pope, free from intervention by the state and laying claim to its members' first allegiance. The nineteenth-century church succeeded in mobilising large numbers of Catholics and boasted high mass attendance rates and uniform devotional practices, bringing many aspects of life into its orbit and under the supervision of the clergy.

In Ireland the ultramontane project was closely associated with the work of Paul Cardinal Cullen, archbishop of Armagh from 1850 to 1852 and of Dublin from 1852 until his death in 1878.<sup>4</sup> Church-state relations in Ireland differed from those in the Catholic kingdoms of Europe, because not the Catholic church, but the Anglican Church of Ireland enjoyed the privileged position in that country. From the late seventeenth century onwards the

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<sup>1</sup> See Matthew 22: 15-22, Mark 12: 13-17 and Luke 20: 20-26.

<sup>2</sup> For a discussion of the recent historiography of ultramontanism see Gisela Fleckenstein and Joachim Schmiedl (eds), *Ultramontanismus. Tendenzen der Forschung* (Paderborn, 2005).

<sup>3</sup> Pius PP. IX, 'Syllabus complectens praecipuos nostrae aetatis errores qui notantur in allocutionibus consistorialibus, in encyclicis, aliisque apostolicis litteris sanctissimi domini nostri Pii Papae IX', 8 Dec. 1863, *Pii IX pontificis maximi acta* (9 vols., Rome, 1854-78), iii, pp 701-17, at p. 717: 'Romanus Pontifex potest ac debet cum progressu, cum liberalismo et cum recenti civilitate sese reconciliari et componere'. Pius had originally made this statement in an allocution entitled *Iamdudum cernimus* on 18 Mar. 1861.

<sup>4</sup> Although Emmet Larkin's thesis about a 'devotional revolution' has been challenged. See Emmet Larkin, 'The devotional revolution in Ireland, 1850-1875', *American Historical Review*, lxxxvi, no. 3 (1972), pp 625-52 and Thomas G. McGrath, 'The Tridentine evolution of modern Irish Catholicism: A re-examination of the "devotional revolution" thesis', in Réamonn Ó Muirí (ed.), *Irish church history today. Cumann Seanchais Ard Mhacha seminar 10 March 1990* (Armagh, s.a.), pp 84-99.

ascendancy elite which ruled the government had implemented 'penal laws' intended to curb the practice and spread of Catholicism. These legal impediments began to be removed in the 1770s. This process of relief culminated with 'Catholic emancipation' in 1829, when the most important penal statutes were abrogated following an unprecedented popular agitation. Daniel O'Connell's Catholic Association, which led the campaign for emancipation, owed much of its success to the involvement of local parish clergy, who spoke in favour of the movement and collected subscriptions. The nineteenth century also saw the implementation in the church of many ultramontane desiderata. In fact, a 'major reshaping of popular religious practice' took place, as traditional popular customs were suppressed and replaced by devotional practices more in accordance with the teachings of the church.<sup>5</sup> As clerical discipline was strengthened and a uniform clerical identity was imposed, priests themselves became both subjects and instruments of reform. They remained important figures in local political life throughout the nineteenth century and took a leading part in successive nationalist movements, becoming a powerful elite in the nation that was being constructed. The distinction between constitutional politics and the rhetoric and practice of violence had long been a tenuous one, and bishops and priests were frequently confronted with the fact that part of their community advocated the use of political violence to obtain the separation of Ireland from Great Britain. The question of violence came to the fore again strongly in 1916 with the Easter rising. As republicanism gained in strength in subsequent years, home rule politics lost much of its relevance and was by and large replaced by Sinn Féin as the main vehicle of popular political aspirations. For the first time a 'wide cross-section of the Catholic population' was inclined to support the use of violence.<sup>6</sup>

The relation between religion and violence in history has received a great deal of scholarly attention in recent years. It has led to a renewed interest in the role of religion in history, and particularly in the shaping of political and social behaviour. This phenomenon has not been confined to the academic world. The intense popular interest engendered in August 2010 by a report concerning the involvement of Father James Chesney in the 1972 I.R.A. bombings in Claudy, County Derry, is but one example taken from the Irish context.<sup>7</sup> The present thesis aims to contribute to this debate by using the response of Catholic clergy to political violence during the Irish War of Independence as a case study. It places priests'

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<sup>5</sup> Sean Connolly, *Religion and society in nineteenth-century Ireland* (Dundalk, 1985), pp 54-5.

<sup>6</sup> Connolly, *Religion*, p. 40.

<sup>7</sup> Police ombudsman for Northern Ireland, 'Public statement by the police ombudsman under section 62 of the Police (Northern Ireland) Act 1998 relating to the investigation of the alleged involvement of the late Father James Chesney in the bombing of Claudy on 31 July 1972', <http://www.policeombudsman.org/Publicationsuploads/Claudy.pdf> [retrieved on 1 Sept. 2010].

political behaviour in Ireland during this period within the context of the ultramontane religious identity offered by the supranational Catholic church and analyses the interaction between Catholicism and republicanism. The outcome of this research is relevant to the study of the role of religious leaders in the shaping of politics in other European countries in the years after the First World War.

The War of Independence provides fertile ground for research into the relation between religion and violence. Many studies have appeared in the recent historiography of what is called the Irish revolution that have uncovered the importance of local factors – some of them religious – in determining the course of events. Nonetheless the clergy has received but scant attention. This is remarkable, not least because the nationwide network of Catholic parishes was the most important non-governmental administrative organisation, as well as the dominant social and religious structure in the country at the time. It is not necessary to subscribe to the view that ‘the church was able to command an obedience and loyalty that made the Irish faithful willingly accept [its] directives’ to acknowledge that the clergy’s influence on the political behaviour of Irish Catholics was potentially very important.<sup>8</sup> Much that has been written about the Catholic church during the period has remained, in Charles Townshend’s words, ‘tightly focused on the managerial plane’.<sup>9</sup> Larkin’s statement that his series of books on the history of the nineteenth-century church concerned only ‘the high politics of the church in Ireland’ seems to have been true for most studies of the subject.<sup>10</sup> Tom Inglis has argued that it is more important to ask how relations were between local politicians and prominent people on the one hand and priests on the other than how they were between political and ecclesiastical elites on a national level.<sup>11</sup> This research question is by no means an Irish peculiarity. On the contrary, as the next chapter will show, it is firmly rooted in developments in international historiography. In remedying this lack of parish level studies of the clergy, this thesis will present conclusions that contribute to understanding the role of religious leaders in a European society at the beginning of the twentieth century.

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<sup>8</sup> Timothy J. White, ‘Decoupling Catholic and national identity: secularisation theories in the Irish context’, in Louise Fuller, John Littleton and Eamon Maher (eds), *Irish and Catholic? Towards an understanding of identity* (Blackrock, 2006), pp 238-56, at p. 242.

<sup>9</sup> Charles Townshend, ‘Religion, war, and identity in Ireland’, *The Journal of Modern History*, lxxvi (2004), pp 882-902, at p. 886.

<sup>10</sup> Emmet Larkin, *The Roman Catholic church and the emergence of the modern Irish political system, 1874-1878* (Dublin and Washington, DC, 1996), p. viii. See also Dermot Keogh, *The Vatican, the bishops and Irish politics 1919-39* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 3.

<sup>11</sup> Tom Inglis, *Moral monopoly. The rise and fall of the Catholic church in modern Ireland* (2nd ed., Dublin, 1998), p. 177.

The main objective of the thesis is to establish what attitudes were adopted by Catholic priests at a local level towards the use of political violence during the War of Independence. For the purposes of periodisation – and in line with most accounts of the conflict – this war will be dated as having started on 21 January 1919 with the Soloheadbeg ambush and having ended with the Anglo-Irish truce on 11 July 1921. The War of Independence was part of a longer series of revolutionary events which ended with the Civil War of 1922 to 1923. Its starting point has been a matter of debate, with some historians favouring 1913, when the Ulster Volunteers were established, and others preferring 1916, when the Easter rising took place.<sup>12</sup> This thesis focuses exclusively on the 1919 to 1921 period for a number of reasons. The year 1919 is significant, because it marked the emergence of guerrilla warfare, as opposed to the open rebellion of the Easter rising. Guerrilla warfare presupposes a measure of support from the wider population, because guerrilla fighters rely on secrecy for the successful prosecution of their campaign. The fact that priests exercised influence over the population means that questions about the clergy's role during the 1919 to 1921 guerrilla war will be different from those regarding its role during the previous years.

1921 has been chosen as the final year mainly for historiographical reasons, because Patrick Murray has written a study of the clergy's role during the Civil War which leaves little to be desired.<sup>13</sup> But there is also a historical reason for taking the truce as the time limit for this study. The issues that priests and republicans faced during the Civil War were different from those which they encountered during the War of Independence. Murray has observed that the bishops found the moral dilemmas during the second conflict 'much clearer and less ambiguous' than those that existed during the first.<sup>14</sup> It is remarkable to say the least that the bishops should have considered the issues surrounding a war of national liberation more ambiguous than those surrounding a civil war between two warring factions both consisting mainly of Catholics. But it is true that the hierarchy assumed a much more definite position during the Civil War than it did during the War of Independence. For priests at parish level this meant that there was an entirely different ecclesiastical context. It is this consideration which has motivated the decision to choose July 1921 as the end point of this study.

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<sup>12</sup> For a discussion of periodisation, see Peter Hart, 'Definition. Defining the Irish revolution', in: Joost Augusteijn (ed.), *The Irish revolution, 1913-1923* (Basingstoke, 2002), pp 17-33. Hart favoured 1916 in a book which in its title dated the conflict from 1913. See *ibid.*, p. 19.

<sup>13</sup> Patrick Murray, *Oracles of God. The Roman Catholic church and Irish politics, 1922-37* (Dublin, 2000).

<sup>14</sup> Murray, *Oracles*, p. 409.

The period between 1919 and 1921 has been described in this thesis as the ‘War of Independence’. This name is somewhat unfortunate, as the term ‘war’ conjures up images of a coordinated campaign of one army against another, which is hardly an adequate description of the conflict in Ireland between 1919 and 1921. But to the extent that any guerrilla struggle can be called a war, the Irish War of Independence was one too. This name has been used here not out of any strong conviction that it suits the case perfectly, but because it is at least better than other names that have been used. ‘Anglo-Irish War’ does not address the issue at stake – Ireland’s independence – and even more strongly than ‘War of Independence’ suggests the existence of two warring sovereign states. ‘Tan War’ is too much associated with Civil War rhetoric to be useful in a work of historical scholarship. The two belligerents – the Irish Republican Army (I.R.A.) and the Crown forces – regarded the conflict in different terms. For the I.R.A., it was a war to remove a foreign occupying force from Irish soil and to extend the jurisdiction of the Irish republic over all parts of the country. For the Crown forces, it was a campaign to suppress rebellion by armed civilians against the legitimate authority of the Crown. Not all members of the Irish population took the I.R.A.’s point of view, nor did all those who reject it adopt the Crown forces’ perspective. As will be seen in the following, representatives of the clergy were to be found in all camps. But clerical opinion regarding republican violence was much more divided than that regarding violence committed by the Crown forces. This is reflected in the thesis, which has two chapters – 3 and 4 – on attitudes towards republican violence, but just one – 5 – that deals with acts of violence carried out by the Crown forces.

The term ‘clerical attitudes’ is intended to include the views expressed by priests both publicly and privately, the advice or guidance which they gave, and the actions, both symbolic and substantial, which they undertook. Although it will often be necessary to look at priests’ political views, the thesis will concentrate not on politics but on the clerical response to the specific issue of violence. It must also be emphasised that the thesis is a study of the clergy, and not of the religious views of the revolutionaries, or the way in which these influenced them. It nevertheless examines clerical attitudes on the hypothesis that these had some bearing on the views and actions of the lay population. The ‘clergy’ is defined here as the priesthood, both secular and religious, although lay religious and seminarians also make an occasional appearance. The utterances and activities of the pope, the bishops and religious superiors will be discussed quite frequently, but only where they impacted in some way on the local level of the parish and the religious community. This is a study of men rather than women. A number of women do feature, but they are much in the minority. The simple

reason and the only justification for this regrettable imbalance is, of course, the Catholic church's custom of ordaining only men to the priesthood. The thesis also deals exclusively with the Roman Catholic priesthood. This choice must not be taken as evidence of some deplorable lack of ecumenical spirit. It is motivated firstly by the simple hypothesis that most of the civilians engaged in political violence between 1919 and 1921 were Catholics. This gave the matter of violence a specific significance for the Catholic clergy which it did not have for the clergy of other denominations. Moreover, the thesis attempts to contribute to the debate on the specific nature of the Catholic clergy during the heyday of ultramontanism in Europe. The term 'Catholic' has been used throughout to mean 'Roman Catholic', not just for reasons of brevity, but also because it was the most common self-descriptor used by Roman Catholics themselves.

The question addressed here – what was the attitude of Catholic priests towards the use of political violence during the War of Independence – is important for two reasons. As has been argued above, the clergy was an important section of the social elite in Irish society at the beginning of the twentieth century. The presumption is warranted that priests influenced the shaping of political behaviour by members of their community to some extent. The attitude of Catholic priests is therefore significant in order to achieve a greater understanding of the process of radicalisation which took place in Ireland during the War of Independence. Secondly, knowing the attitudes which priests adopted towards the use of political violence helps to obtain a clearer picture of the actual experience of being a Catholic priest at the time. Since the nineteenth century, the church's official prescription of clerical identity had been most vigorously impressed upon the clergy, both through seminary formation and through a tight exercise of clerical discipline. To be a Catholic priest in early twentieth-century Europe was to assume a very distinct set of prescribed roles, behaviours and images of the self. Examining an important aspect of priests' lived experience – their response to Catholics waging guerrilla warfare – is to put these ideological constructions to an empirical test.

In order to answer the question posed above, it is necessary first to look at the achievement of historiography. Research both of religious history and of the War of Independence has made significant advances in recent decades and no argument about the clergy's response to violence during this period can afford to ignore them. Chapter 2 will survey developments in these two fields with a view to identifying further questions which must be answered in the subsequent chapters. Chapters 3 and 4 together form a survey of clerical attitudes towards republican violence, with the former examining condemnation and

the latter support. Condemnation of republican violence mostly took the form of public comments about ambushes that had taken place in the parish. Chapter 3 will look at these comments and analyse the tropes used in them. It will also consider clerical attitudes towards Protestants and home rule politics.

The supposition underlying this chapter is that religious language used to convey moral judgments is not a rhetorical ornament intended to conceal unspoken and more real motives, but that it has a force and an agency of its own. This does not mean that theological principles used to justify a particular standpoint must be taken at face value. Instead, it is important to realise that priests chose to stress particular religious themes rather than other ones because they hoped that these would be more suited to achieve a specific desired effect. As a consequence, it is necessary to be alert to emphases in clerical discourse – and especially to those cases where this discourse deviated from official theology – because they show how priests applied the deposit of religious images which they had at their disposal to the case at hand. Chapter 4 will pay similar attention to the language used by priests who endorsed republican violence. The main focus of this chapter, however, will be on the ways in which priests gave active support. Chapter 5 will look at the clergy's attitudes towards violence carried out by the Crown forces. It will examine the victimisation of priests by Crown forces, comments made by bishops and priests on British violence and the support of some priests for the British campaign. Finally, chapter 6 will address the context of the clergy's response to political violence. It will look at relations between priests, and relations between them and their bishops or superiors. It will also examine the forum and format which priests chose to make their interventions, the other activities which they undertook during the War of Independence and the impression which clerical attitudes made on contemporaries and subsequent commentators.

The possibility of interviewing veterans of the War of Independence came to an end in October 2007 when Dan Keating, the last surviving 'old I.R.A.' man, died three weeks after research for this thesis commenced.<sup>15</sup> Instead, the material used for this thesis has been derived from five categories of sources. The first of these consists of religious archives, including eleven diocesan archives from dioceses from all four provinces of Ireland, four college archives, including the Irish colleges in Paris and Rome, four provincial archives of religious orders and the domestic archives of two monasteries. These archives vary a lot in size and organisation. Some, like the Dublin diocesan archives and the Jesuit provincial

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<sup>15</sup> *Irish Times*, 4 Oct. 2007.

archives, are large, and yielded a substantial amount of relevant material. Others, like the Clonfert diocesan archives and Clongowes Wood College archives, were smaller and provided fewer, though often new, items of interest. Useful material in the diocesan archives consisted mainly of correspondence. Although drafts of replies were sometimes preserved, the archives naturally contain mainly incoming correspondence, placing priests and laypeople rather than bishops in the spotlight. The archives of the Irish colleges in Paris and Rome similarly hold much correspondence between their respective rectors and priests and bishops of strong political views back in Ireland. The chronicles and journals kept in the archives of religious houses contain many useful entries. Despite frequent assurances by modest archivists that their repositories contained little of relevance, almost all of the archives consulted provided excellent material, much of which has never been used before.

The second category consists of British archives, mainly the War Office's Army of Ireland records and the Colonial Office's Dublin Castle records in The National Archives in Kew. These yielded a considerable amount of material about raids, prosecutions and evidence of seditious activities gathered against priests. The R.I.C. inspector general's monthly reports in the Dublin Castle records also contain some references to priests who condemned the I.R.A. and maintained friendly relations with the constabulary. The third category was made up of archives containing papers of republicans. The main collection in this category consisted of the Bureau of Military History's witness statements in the Military Archives and the National Archives of Ireland, but they also included papers held in the National Library of Ireland and in University College Dublin Archives. The witness statements provided a veritable mine of new material. Thirty-one of them were made by priests or religious, and although many of these dealt only with the Easter rising, there were thirteen that contained useful information about the War of Independence. A further three made by lay people also contained valuable relevant material, as did a number of contemporary documents which accompanied the statements of four witnesses. Since most of the witness statements were written some two decades after the events of which they treat, it is necessary to approach them with caution. As will be seen in the following chapters, the statements used in this thesis also contained inaccuracies and inconsistencies, and the credibility of each one of them has had to be assessed on an individual basis. However, although Diarmaid Ferriter has warned that some statements contained 'implausibly detailed recollections of incidents and conversations', he also acknowledged that most of the witnesses were 'highly scrupulous in



their testimony'.<sup>16</sup> He has argued, moreover, that 'the attitude of the Catholic church to the crisis ... deserves reassessment on the basis of these statements'.<sup>17</sup> It is hoped that this thesis will achieve precisely that.

The fourth category consists of newspapers and periodicals. Special attention was given to the two main Catholic publications of the day, the *Irish Catholic* and the *Catholic Bulletin and Book Review*, and every issue of these two publications for the duration of the conflict was consulted. The weekly *Irish Catholic* described itself in 1920 as 'broadly national in tone', but upholding 'in political as in all other matters the principles of the Catholic faith' and claimed to treat all such matters 'from that standpoint alone'.<sup>18</sup> Judging by its political commentary, it catered to a rather conservative readership. The strongly republican monthly *Catholic Bulletin* has provided insight into the other side of the political spectrum of early twentieth-century Catholic Ireland.<sup>19</sup> In addition to these specifically Catholic journals, a national daily newspaper was also consulted: the *Irish Independent*. Politically, this newspaper stood more or less half way between the conservatism of the *Irish Catholic* and the republicanism of the *Catholic Bulletin*.<sup>20</sup> The *Irish Independent* was not the only national daily at the time, the *Irish Times* and the *Freeman's Journal* being two important competitors. Although these two newspapers were also frequently consulted, the *Independent* was nonetheless selected for particular scrutiny. The *Irish Times* was then still a Protestant newspaper. This quality makes its perspective on the Catholic clergy's attitude towards republican violence an interesting subject in its own right, but the *Independent's* unofficial alignment with Catholicism made it better suited as a source for the purposes of this thesis. And the *Freeman's Journal's* espousal of home rule had by 1919 caused it to lose touch somewhat with the pulse of Irish political opinion, which by then had come to prefer republicanism. The *Independent* was, in short, more Catholic than the *Irish Times* and more radical than the *Freeman's Journal*, making it the most suitable national newspaper for present purposes. Every issue of the *Independent* during the period was consulted through the medium of the online search facility provided by the Irish Newspaper Archives.<sup>21</sup> The fifth

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<sup>16</sup> Diarmaid Ferriter, "'In such deadly earnest'", *The Dublin Review*, no. 12 (2003), pp 36-64, at p. 47.

<sup>17</sup> Ferriter, 'Earnest', p. 48.

<sup>18</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 2 Oct. 1920.

<sup>19</sup> For an – apologetic – characterisation of the *Catholic Bulletin*, see: Brian P. Murphy, 'J.J. O'Kelly, the Catholic Bulletin and contemporary Irish cultural historians', *Archivium Hibernicum*, xlv (1989), pp 71-88 and Brian P. Murphy, *The Catholic Bulletin and republican Ireland with special reference to J.J. O'Kelly ('Sceilg')* (Belfast and London, 2005).

<sup>20</sup> See for a characterisation of the *Irish Independent*: Patrick Maume, *The long gestation. Irish nationalist life 1891-1918* (Dublin, 1999), p. 183.

<sup>21</sup> Irish Newspaper Archives, <http://www.irishnewsarchive.com/> [retrieved 29 July 2010].

category of sources, finally, consisted of published material, such as the memoirs of veterans, fictional representations of the clerical response to the guerrilla war and other published sources. Some official publications were also used – mainly those emanating from ecclesiastical authorities – as well as articles published in theological journals.

## 2. THE ACHIEVEMENT OF HISTORIOGRAPHY

### 2.1 Religious history: priest and community

#### 2.1.1 Religious history

*The Catholic encyclopedia*, published in New York between 1907 and 1914, defined the discipline of church history as follows:

Ecclesiastical history is the scientific investigation and the methodical description of the temporal development of the church considered as an institution founded by Jesus Christ and guided by the holy Ghost for the salvation of mankind.<sup>1</sup>

A number of aspects of this definition are revealing of the changes that have taken place in the discipline since it was written, but for our purposes it is sufficient to note its exclusive interest in the church as an institution. Dutch historian Willem Frijhoff has characterised traditional church history as being concerned with the upper levels of the church's hierarchical structure.<sup>2</sup> The institutional church served as a synecdoche for the masses of the faithful, which were frequently the subject of assumptions, but rarely of research. Church historians often tacitly presumed that the promulgation by ecclesiastical authorities of dogmatic, moral or canonical precepts was automatically followed by their reception and application by the faithful. Frijhoff has illustrated this mentality with the *non sequitur* that 'France had been completely evangelised in the early middle ages, *therefore* the entire population had lived as good Catholics ever since'.<sup>3</sup> He has also observed that French church history was predominantly written by people with a personal or professional commitment to the institutional church, mainly clergy within the context of either seminaries or scholarly societies or academies, and that it often bore an apologetic character.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Johann Peter Kirsch, 'Ecclesiastical history', in Charles George Herbermann et al. (eds), *The Catholic encyclopedia. An international work on the constitution, doctrine, discipline, and history of the Catholic church* (15 vols., New York, 1913), viii, p. 364.

<sup>2</sup> Willem Frijhoff, 'Van "histoire de l'église" naar "histoire religieuse"'. De invloed van de "Annales"-groep op de ontwikkelingen van de kerkgeschiedenis in Frankrijk en de perspectieven daarvan voor Nederland', *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, lxi, no. 2 (1981), pp 113-53, at p. 125.

<sup>3</sup> Frijhoff, 'Histoire religieuse', p. 125: 'al vroeg in de middeleeuwen was Frankrijk geheel geëvangeliiseerd, *du* leefde heel het volk toen als goede katholieken'. Emphasis Frijhoff's.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 126. For the 'deconfessionalisation' of religious research, see also Jacques Gellard, 'Major trends in recent French religious research', *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, xvii, no. 4 (1978), pp 449-55, at p. 450.

Church history has undergone a major transformation since the 1960s. The main concern of researchers is no longer the functioning of the institutional church and the official formulation of its theology, but rather the religious experience and behaviour of ordinary people, whether within or outside of ecclesiastical institutions. Instead of assuming that institutional and theological developments moulded devotional life, modern researchers now attempt to analyse the lived religious experience of people. In fact, they have observed the opposite phenomenon, that is the impact of this experience on the shaping of ecclesiastical institutions and the development of theology.<sup>5</sup> Thus Donald Akenson has argued that religious institutions, despite making pronouncements ‘with a force and certitude that made [them] seem to be independent lawmakers’, were in fact not ‘agents that somehow forced the ... people to act in ways in which they otherwise were not inclined’.<sup>6</sup> On the contrary, religious institutions articulated the pre-existing beliefs of the people. Frijhoff has defined the scope of the discipline of religious history as the study of a connected whole of ritual and ethical behaviours, which is interwoven both with the structure of society and with a sense of belonging to the church – in a sociological rather than a dogmatic way – and is based on religious convictions.<sup>7</sup> This shift is also reflected in the nomenclature: the new approach is no longer called ‘church history’ but ‘religious history’, because it studies religious life whether or not this conforms to the ideals prescribed by the different churches.

This new approach has also been applied to the study of Irish history. The editors of a *Festschrift* presented to Patrick Corish in 1990 acknowledged his contribution to the evolution of ecclesiastical history in the country. They pointed out that Corish had introduced ‘models drawn from European religious studies’ and had been one of the first to investigate such topics as the ‘place of religion within the community..., facets of daily Christian life and the impact of social and cultural factors upon pious practice’.<sup>8</sup> Corish’s own 1985 survey of the history of Irish Catholicism, *The Irish Catholic experience*, is an admirable example of the fruitfulness of this perspective. In the introduction, the author mentioned the English historian John Bossy as an important influence on his own work, among which the 1981 study *The Catholic community in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries* holds pride of

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<sup>5</sup> Frijhoff, ‘Histoire religieuse’, p. 127.

<sup>6</sup> Donald Harman Akenson, *Small differences. Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants 1815-1922* (Montreal, Kingston and Dublin, 1991), p. 109.

<sup>7</sup> Frijhoff, ‘Histoire religieuse’, p. 128.

<sup>8</sup> R. V. Comerford et al., ‘Preface’, in idem et al. (eds), *Religion, conflict and coexistence in Ireland. Essays presented to Monsignor Patrick J. Corish* (Dublin, 1990), pp 1-5, at p. 3.

place.<sup>9</sup> Others, such as Emmet Larkin, Sean Connolly and David Miller, have focused on the nineteenth century, with Larkin publishing his seminal article on the ‘devotional revolution’ in 1972.<sup>10</sup> More recently, a perusal of the table of contents of Brendan Bradshaw and Dáire Keogh’s 2002 handbook *Christianity in Ireland* not only demonstrates the disappearance of denominationally segregated historiography, but also shows that new topics have become the subject of research alongside traditional ones. Thus it includes chapters on ‘Lay female piety and church patronage in late medieval Ireland’ and ‘The parish mission movement, 1850-1880’ as well as on more conventional topics.<sup>11</sup>

The origins of this turn towards religious history lie in France. Fernand Braudel’s second ‘Annales’ school with its emphasis on problem-based historical research and its interdisciplinary focus was an important influence. Such things as the nature and intensity of devotional life became subjects for research, as did pilgrimages, the associational culture of fraternities and sodalities, the material culture of church buildings, funerary culture, spirituality and religious literature, prayer books and iconography, the practice of pastoral care, and the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of ecclesiastical moral teaching.<sup>12</sup> The object of religious history has been defined as ‘le vécu religieux’.<sup>13</sup> Apart from this, religious history has also concerned itself with the impact of social and economic conditions on religious life. Researchers were very much aware of the essentially socialised nature of religion, especially during the 1960s, when neo-Marxist historiography brought its influence to bear.<sup>14</sup> Thomas Kselman has observed that religious history during that decade was much concerned with topics such as the social stratification of religious congregations, power structures within churches and the ways in which elites legitimised their power, the religiosity of marginalised groups and the empowering or disempowering potential of religious texts and structures.<sup>15</sup>

During the 1970s another shift occurred that may be characterised as a ‘cultural anthropological turn’. This took place not only among historians of religion, but also in the

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<sup>9</sup> Patrick J. Corish, *The Irish Catholic experience. A historical survey* (Dublin, 1985), p. viii. See also Patrick J. Corish, *The Catholic community in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries* (Dublin, 1981).

<sup>10</sup> Larkin, ‘Devotional revolution’; Sean Connolly, *Priests and people in pre-famine Ireland, 1780-1845* (Dublin, 1982) and David Miller, ‘Irish Catholicism and the great famine’, *Journal of Social History*, ix, no. 1 (1975), pp 81-98.

<sup>11</sup> Brendan Bradshaw and Dáire Keogh (eds), *Christianity in Ireland. Revisiting the story* (Dublin, 2002). The chapters in question are Mary Ann Lyons, ‘Lay female piety and church patronage in late medieval Ireland’, pp 57-75, Emmet Larkin, ‘The parish mission movement, 1850-1880’, pp 195-204.

<sup>12</sup> Frijhoff, ‘Histoire religieuse’, pp 130-1.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 146. See also James F. McMillan, ‘Writing the spiritual history of the First World War’, in Madelon de Keizer et al. (eds), *Religie. Godsdienst en geweld in de twintigste eeuw. Zeventiende jaarboek van het Nederlands Instituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie* (Zutphen, 2006), pp 47-71, at p. 49.

<sup>14</sup> See Paul Luykx, ‘Wetenschap en “religie en geweld”. Ter inleiding’, in De Keizer, *Religie*, pp 11-31, at p. 17.

<sup>15</sup> Thomas Kselman, ‘Introduction’, in Thomas Kselman (ed.), *Belief in history. Innovative approaches to European and American religion* (Notre Dame and London, 1991), pp 1-15, at pp 4-5.

Annales school, where a third generation took over from Braudel's second and started researching the history of mentalities. The influence of cultural anthropology was noticeable in the choice of research subjects, as the function and meaning of religious symbols, beliefs and discourses came to the fore in an attempt to reconstruct the 'outillage mental' of a certain age. The official meanings of religious symbols and beliefs as they were determined by the ecclesiastical elite were set aside in an attempt to discover the way in which they functioned for the ordinary faithful, whether these accepted the official interpretations or not. Religious history was thus concerned with 'popular religion' and not with the deceptive theoretical systems devised by the elite. The most impressive fruit of this approach was undoubtedly Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie's 1975 study *Montaillou*, which ably painted a picture of the religious, cultural, economic, social and sexual life of a French village at the turn of the fourteenth century on the basis of reports from an investigation by the inquisition.<sup>16</sup> However, Kselman has observed that the term 'popular religion' became controversial during the 1980s, because of its patronising connotation and implications of a radical disjunction between the religion of the laity and that of the clergy. This disjunction has been challenged by historians who have pointed to the fact that 'both groups have participated in many of the same rituals and said some of the same prayers, acts that suggest a shared system of beliefs'.<sup>17</sup> He has argued for the term 'belief' as a fitting alternative.

Kselman has also pointed out that many historians of religion have come to regard belief as possessing its own 'autonomous force' in history, indeed as 'an irreducible given' that is 'self-referential'.<sup>18</sup> This is in marked contrast to earlier approaches, which were inclined to view religious belief as an epiphenomenon of other, 'real', motivating factors, such as economic interest or social pressure. Historians began to view religious beliefs as serious motives in their own right for social, political and violent action by large numbers of people. The tendency of academics and intellectuals to disregard strong religious beliefs as possible causes for political behaviour has also been observed in the case of Irish history. Thus Mary Harris has defended the importance of religion as an explanatory factor and Charles Townshend has pointed out that in the conflict in Northern Ireland, 'sectarianism was de-emphasized' by '*bien pensant* historians' incredulous that such irrational things as

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<sup>16</sup> Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou. Village occitan de 1294 à 1324* (Paris, 1975).

<sup>17</sup> Kselman, 'Introduction', p. 7.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8. See also for a classic statement of the case Natalie Zemon Davis, 'The rites of violence. Religious riot in sixteenth-century France', *Past and Present*, lix (1973), pp 51-91.

religious beliefs could truly motivate people to use violence.<sup>19</sup> Moreover, this reluctance provided sophisticated adherents of religion with the expedient of sidestepping responsibility for unwelcome acts engaged in by more pugnacious coreligionists.

The new approach to religion described here represents a turn away from the sociological slant of earlier forms of religious history. Although it has been implemented very fruitfully in Irish history, it has as yet not led to much research of the religious history of the revolutionary period of the late 1910s and early 1920s. There are three notable exceptions: Tomás Ó Fiaich published a well-documented, if apologetic first article on the subject in 1970, entitled 'The Catholic clergy and the independence movement'; John Newsinger explored the religiosity of the Volunteers in his 1978 article "'I bring not peace but a sword'" and Patrick Murray dealt with the first years of the Irish Free State in his outstanding 2000 book *Oracles of God*.<sup>20</sup> But such other publications as do exist have tended to focus on the traditional 'church and state' theme and have rarely descended from the national plane of bishops and politicians to the level of the local parish.<sup>21</sup> This is not only remarkable given the bewildering array of recent publications that analyse the revolutionary experience of 'ordinary' people, but also in view of the power over the Irish population supposedly exercised by the Catholic clergy.

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<sup>19</sup> Mary Harris, *The Catholic church and the foundation of the Northern Irish state* (Cork, 1993), pp 1-2 and Townshend, 'Religion', pp 882-3.

<sup>20</sup> Tomás Ó Fiaich, 'The Catholic clergy and the independence movement', *The Capuchin Annual* (1970), pp 480-502; John Newsinger, "'I bring not peace but a sword". The religious motif in the Irish War of Independence', *Journal of Contemporary History*, xiii (1978), pp 609-28; Murray, *Oracles*.

<sup>21</sup> J. H. Whyte, *Church and state in modern Ireland 1923-1979* (2nd ed., Dublin, 1980); David W. Miller, *Church, state, and nation in Ireland 1898-1921* (Dublin and Pittsburgh, PA, 1973); Emmet Larkin, 'Church, state, and nation in modern Ireland', *The American Historical Review*, lxxx, no. 5 (1975), pp 1244-76; Keogh, *Vatican*; Dermot Keogh, 'Church and state in modern Ireland', in Ó Muirí, *Church*, pp 100-11; Harris, *Foundation*; Jérôme aan de Wiel, *The Catholic church in Ireland 1914-1918. War and politics* (Dublin and Portland, OR, 2003); Thomas Bartlett, 'Church and state in modern Ireland, 1923-1970: An appraisal reappraised', in Bradshaw and Keogh, *Christianity*, pp 249-58. Biographies of two prominent bishops of the time have also appeared: Thomas J. Morrissey, *William J. Walsh. Archbishop of Dublin 1841-1921. No uncertain voice* (Dublin and Portland, OR, 2000) and John Privilege, *Michael Logue and the Catholic church in Ireland, 1879-1925* (Manchester and New York, 2009).

### 2.1.2 Priestly identity

Jacques Gellard has made the point that this shift from church history to religious history does not necessarily mean that the clergy are no longer suitable subjects for historical research.<sup>22</sup> On the contrary, not only have bodies such as religious orders been examined anew for what he calls their ‘“protest within” dimension’, but other traditional aspects of church life continue to be investigated, though from a different perspective. In fact, traditional church history often concentrated not on the clerical population as a whole, but on popes and bishops and on individual priests who either left some special mark on the church or on politics or were celebrated for their saintly life. Even if ordinary priests were discussed, such discussion was not often informed by empirical research. Marit Monteiro has observed that traditional studies of Dutch priests frequently simply presented a stereotyped image. They assumed that priests formed a coherent group and that their uniform training guaranteed the existence of a strong *esprit de corps* which ensured that they would remain willing and obedient instruments of the institutional church.<sup>23</sup> By contrast, new religious history has brought a whole new range of questions to the subject. Thus, changing programmes of priestly formation have become subjects of research, as have the construction of clerical identity, the nature of pastoral practice and clerical and lay perceptions of masculinity of celibate priests. Similarly, Frijhoff has contended that the ‘old topics’ of church history – the institutional church and the history of doctrine – must be newly examined from a ‘social historical’ perspective, which attempts to understand the tacit organisational model that underlies ecclesiastical institutions. It must explain how a model that remained theoretically unchanged nevertheless functioned differently within different historical contexts. Not only has this perspective shed new light on the history of the clergy, it has also allowed for comparative research of different countries.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Gellard, ‘Trends’, pp 452-3.

<sup>23</sup> Marit Monteiro, ‘Mannen Gods. Historische perspectieven op clerical identiteit en clericale cultuur’, in Gian Ackermans and Marit Monteiro (eds), *Mannen Gods. Clericale identiteit in verandering* (Hilversum, 2007), pp 9-32, at p. 10.

<sup>24</sup> See Monteiro, ‘Mannen’, pp 11-12, and Frijhoff, ‘Histoire religieuse’, pp 131-2. For international examples of studies of Catholic clergy, see W. J. Sheils and Diana Wood (eds), *The ministry: clerical and lay. Papers read at the 1988 summer meeting and the 1989 winter meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* (Oxford and Cambridge, MA, 1989); Irmtraud Götz von Olenhusen, *Klerus und abweichendes Verhalten. Zur Sozialgeschichte katholischer Priester im 19. Jahrhundert: Die Erzdiözese Freiburg* (Göttingen, 1994); John McManners, *Church and society in eighteenth century France, 1: The clerical establishment and its social ramifications* (Oxford, 1998); Gian Ackermans, *Herders en huurlingen. Bisschoppen en priesters in de Republiek (1663-1705)* (Amsterdam, 2003); Marit Monteiro, *Gods predikers. Dominicanen in Nederland (1795-2000)* (Hilversum, 2008) and Jos Leenders, ‘Zijn dit nu de handelwijzen van een herder...!’ *Hollands katholicisme 1840-1920* (Nijmegen, 2008).



Many studies of Irish clergy – both Catholic and Protestant – and lay religious have in fact appeared in recent years.<sup>25</sup> One of the most impressive analyses of the nineteenth-century Irish Catholic priesthood is James O’Shea’s 1983 *Priest, politics and society in post-famine Ireland*. In this book, O’Shea examined the interaction between priests and society in County Tipperary between 1850 and 1891. One of his conclusions was that the political outlook of the clergy was determined as much by their socio-economic background – usually large tenant farmers – as by episcopal direction or theological training. Priests’ sense of theological or pastoral necessity only rarely overcame their ‘reluctance to clash with the self-interest of the farmers’.<sup>26</sup> This conclusion is significant, because its insistence that clerical behaviour was determined by social, cultural and economic realities undermines the assumption that priests no longer shared in the interests that motivated the community from which they came. Although modern historiography has regained a sense of the motivating force of religious belief in the lives of ‘ordinary’ lay people, it has also uncovered the extent to which not-so-religious factors influenced the behaviour of religious ‘specialists’. In the absence of any attempts at clerical prosopography, it is not necessary to blame bias on the part of previous church historians for their failure to notice these factors.

O’Shea’s examination of the socio-economic background of priests is indicative of a new interest in patterns of differentiation among priests. The stratification of the clergy has become an important subject for research: the fact that priests were not all of equal standing. There were many aspects which caused differentiation of power among them, even though these differences may not have featured in the official theological discourse about the sacrament of orders and the place and role of priests in the church. They included differences arising from canon law, such as those between diocesan and regular clergy, between parish priests and parochial vicars or curates, and also between those senior priests who participated in the government of the diocese – such as canons of the cathedral chapter, vicars general and vicars forane – and those who did not. They also included unofficial distinctions based on the

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<sup>25</sup> See for instance Caitriona Clear, *Nuns in nineteenth-century Ireland* (Dublin and Washington, DC, 1987); Alfred P. Smyth, *Faith, famine and fatherland in the Irish midlands. Perceptions of a priest and historian: Anthony Cogan, 1826-1872* (Dublin, 1992); Catharine Candy, *Priestly fictions. Popular Irish novelists of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century* (Dublin, 1995); Henry A. Jefferies, *Priests and prelates of Armagh in the age of reformations, 1518-1558* (Dublin, 1997); Gerard Moran (ed.), *Radical Irish priests 1660-1970* (Dublin, 1998); Mary C. Sullivan, *Catherine McAuley and the tradition of mercy* (Dublin, 2000); Alan J. Fletcher and Raymond Gillespie (eds), *Irish preaching, 700-1700* (Dublin, 2001); Kevin Collins, *Catholic churchmen and the Celtic revival, 1848-1916* (Dublin, 2003); Toby Bernard and W. G. Neely (eds), *The clergy of the Church of Ireland, 1000-2000. Messengers, watchmen and stewards* (Dublin, 2006); Dáire Keogh, *Edmund Rice and the first Christian Brothers, 1762-1844* (Dublin, 2008) and Neil Collins, *The splendid cause. The missionary society of St. Columban 1916-1954* (Blackrock, 2009).

<sup>26</sup> James O’Shea, *Priest, politics and society in post-famine Ireland. A study of County Tipperary 1850-1891* (Dublin and New Jersey, 1983), p. 234.

wealth or poverty of the parish to which they were appointed, age, intellectual ability and educational achievements, willingness to tow the political or theological line favoured by the bishop, and, as has been seen, socio-economic background.<sup>27</sup> One of these differentiating factors – age, and the concomitant distinction between parish priests and curates – has proven to be relevant in the context of the role of Irish priests in politics. In 1921, 77 of the total number of 305 secular priests in the diocese of Dublin were parish priests, and they had typically served as curates themselves first before being appointed.<sup>28</sup> However, judging by the relatively large number of secular clergy in the diocese compared to the number of parishes, clearly only a minority of curates could hope to be appointed parish priest at some stage.<sup>29</sup> The distinction was a substantial one and not just a matter of honour. The 1917 *Code of canon law* stipulated that ‘the parish priest is a priest ... to whom a parish has been entrusted in his own name, with the cure of souls, which is to be exercised under the authority of the local ordinary’.<sup>30</sup> The curate, on the contrary, was ‘subordinate to the parish priest, who must instruct him in a fatherly manner, direct him in the cure of souls, keep watch over him and report to the ordinary about him at least once a year’.<sup>31</sup> Thus full responsibility for pastoral care in a parish lay with the parish priest, who entrusted certain aspects of it to his curates at his leisure. The difference in power between the two categories also emerged in the area of finances, since the parish priest received all of the revenue from his parish and the curates depended on him to pay them an income.

A clear hypothesis emerges from the historiography that the generation gap between older and younger priests – between parish priests and curates – explains the diversity of political opinion which is evident among the clergy. Thus Tomás Ó Fiaich has argued that of the Maynooth-educated clergy, younger priests were much less averse to ‘physical force’ republicanism during the War of Independence than the older generation had been during the time of Fenianism.<sup>32</sup> The oath of allegiance to the Crown traditionally demanded of Maynooth students had disappeared by 1867 and the presence of professors such as Eoghan O’Growney and Michael O’Hickey had made nationalism – albeit mostly in a cultural form –

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<sup>27</sup> Monteiro, ‘Mannen’, p. 17.

<sup>28</sup> *The Irish Catholic directory and almanac for 1921 with complete directory in English* (Dublin, 1921), p. 208.

<sup>29</sup> In smaller dioceses the ratio of priests to parishes was lower and the chances for curates of becoming a parish priest were therefore better.

<sup>30</sup> *Codex iuris canonici Pii X Pontificis Maximi iussu digestus, Benedicti Papae XV auctoritate promulgatus* (Rome, 1917), canon 451, par. 1: ‘Parochus est sacerdos ... cui paroecia collata est in titulum cum cura animarum sub Ordinarii loci auctoritate exercenda’.

<sup>31</sup> *C.I.C.*, canon 476, par. 7: ‘Subest parochus, qui eum paterne instruat ac dirigat in cura animarum, ei invigilet et saltem quotannis ad Ordinarium de eodem referat’.

<sup>32</sup> Ó Fiaich, ‘Clergy’, p. 480. For clerical attitudes towards Fenianism, see O’Shea, *Priest*, pp 136-77 and Oliver P. Rafferty, *The church, the state, and the Fenian threat, 1861-75* (New York, 1999), *passim*.

popular in the national seminary.<sup>33</sup> Ó Fiaich has also quoted a list in the *Roscommon Herald* from 1917 which mentions the support of thirteen younger priests for the Sinn Féin candidate in the North Roscommon by-election of that year, although the archdeacon of Elphin and a parish priest were also among them.<sup>34</sup> He has contended that this difference in political outlook among the clergy on the whole reflected divisions among the population in general. He has also made the interesting suggestion that another division between Irish priests existed: it is likely that a higher proportion of Irish clergy abroad were ‘convinced believers in the republic’ during the War of Independence than of those in Ireland itself.<sup>35</sup>

John A. Murphy has also argued for the hypothesis that while younger priests might have supported Sinn Féin during the Irish revolution, older priests continued to support the Parliamentary Party. He has emphasised, however, that whatever about political preferences, ‘the great majority of the clergy were ... opposed to revolutionary methods’.<sup>36</sup> David Miller has contended that links between a younger generation of nationalist leaders, such as Patrick Pearse and Terence MacSwiney, and a younger generation of priests were forged during the years leading up to the downfall of the Parliamentary Party.<sup>37</sup> He has moreover argued that younger priests were generally supportive of Sinn Féin during the years following the Easter rising, although there is evidence that some bishops and senior clergy also preferred the new party to the old. Ann Power has observed that the refusal of young curates of Sinn Féin views in the diocese of Kildare and Leighlin to heed Bishop Patrick Foley’s call to enlist as chaplains during the First World War ‘created a distance and a tension’ between them and Foley.<sup>38</sup> But Bishop Michael Fogarty of Killaloe stated in retrospect that a generation gap also existed within the hierarchy itself and that younger bishops viewed the Easter rising and the subsequent guerrilla war more favourably than their older counterparts.<sup>39</sup>

Several other historians have agreed that a division existed between older and younger clergy.<sup>40</sup> Thus, like Power, George Boyce has pointed to clerical refusal to support

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<sup>33</sup> For the oath: Patrick J. Corish, *Maynooth college 1795-1995* (Dublin, 1995), p. 170. For O’Growney and O’Hickey: Corish, *Maynooth*, pp 287-96.

<sup>34</sup> Ó Fiaich, ‘Clergy’, p. 481.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 500.

<sup>36</sup> John A. Murphy, ‘Priests and people in modern history’, *Christus Rex. Journal of Sociology*, xxiii, no. 4 (1969), pp 235-59, at p. 257.

<sup>37</sup> Miller, *Church*, pp 221-2.

<sup>38</sup> Ann Power, ‘Bishop Foley and two crises – home rule and conscription’, *Carloviana*, x (2006), pp 59-69, at p. 68.

<sup>39</sup> For links between the younger generations in the nation and the church, see Miller, *Church*, pp 221-2. For clerical support for Sinn Féin, see *ibid.*, pp 354-5. For Fogarty’s statement in 1949, see Fogarty witness statement (National Archives of Ireland [N.A.I.], BMH/WS271, p. 1).

<sup>40</sup> Sheridan Gilley, ‘The Catholic church and revolution’, in D. G. Boyce (ed.), *The revolution in Ireland, 1879-1923* (Dublin, 1988), pp 157-172, at p.170; Arthur Mitchell, *Revolutionary government in Ireland. Dáil Éireann*

recruitment to the British army during the last three years of the First World War.<sup>41</sup> Marie Coleman has provided evidence that the ‘clichéd distinction between conservative parish priests and rebellious-minded young curates’ in fact holds true for the 1917 South Longford by-election, evidence also cited by Miller.<sup>42</sup> Moreover, John Newsinger has maintained that ‘many younger priests were actively involved in the struggle’ during the War of Independence.<sup>43</sup> And Murray has presented evidence that what one priest called a ‘catina vicariorum’ – a ‘chain of curates’ – existed in the diocese of Kildare and Leighlin, whose members engaged in anti-Free State republican activities during the Civil War.<sup>44</sup> Jérôme aan de Wiel has observed that the hypothesis about conservative parish priests and revolutionary curates was already held at the time. The Hardinge commission, established in 1916 by the British government to inquire into the causes of the Easter rising, found in its report that many young priests supported Sinn Féin and had engaged in ‘subversive activities’, which probably meant that they had attempted to frustrate recruitment campaigns.<sup>45</sup> Aan de Wiel has also pointed to a number of Royal Irish Constabulary (R.I.C.) reports with observations to the same effect and has quoted an admission in 1916 by Monsignor John Hogan, president of Maynooth college, that there were many Sinn Féin supporters among his seminarians. Moreover, he has shown that some bishops attempted to further restrict the political activities of priests in 1917 because they had become concerned at the level of support for Sinn Féin among their curates. Similarly, Michael Laffan has shown that twenty-four Sinn Féin *comhairle ceanntair* or constituency executives out of a total of eighty-seven were presided over by a priest.<sup>46</sup> Of these twenty-four priests, twenty were curates.<sup>47</sup> There is thus general agreement among historians that the attitude of the clergy toward republicanism during the revolutionary period was characterised by conservative opposition on the part of parish priests and support on the part of curates. This hypothesis is clearly in need of empirical verification. Even if it is corroborated by evidence, a number of concomitant questions are left unanswered. Thus it remains to be seen what precisely caused this division. More

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1919-22 (Dublin 1995), p. 173; Joost Augusteijn, *From public defiance to guerrilla warfare. The experience of ordinary Volunteers in the Irish War of Independence 1916-1921* (Dublin and Portland, OR, 1996), pp 304-5; Murray, *Oracles*, p. 12 and Michael Hopkinson, *The Irish War of Independence* (Dublin, 2002), p. 17.

<sup>41</sup> D. George Boyce, *Nineteenth-century Ireland. The search for stability* (Dublin, 1990), p. 252.

<sup>42</sup> Marie Coleman, ‘Mobilisation: the South Longford by-election and its impact on political mobilisation’, in Augusteijn, *Revolution*, pp 53-69, at pp 58-9. See also Miller, *Church*, p. 221.

<sup>43</sup> Newsinger, ‘Sword’, p. 620.

<sup>44</sup> Murray, *Oracles*, p. 150.

<sup>45</sup> The Hardinge report: Aan de Wiel, *Church*, p. 99; R.I.C. reports: pp 99, 157, 163, 199-200, 314; Monsignor Hogan: p. 142; bishops attempting to restrict political influence: pp 180-1.

<sup>46</sup> Michael Laffan, *The resurrection of Ireland. The Sinn Féin party, 1916-1923* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 199.

<sup>47</sup> List of Sinn Féin officers (National Library of Ireland [N.L.I.], MS 5649).

importantly, it is still necessary to ascertain which kind of republicanism precisely parish priests rejected and curates supported. Did it involve the Volunteers, or was it limited to Sinn Féin and the Dáil? And if curates' support for republicanism did include the I.R.A., did it extend to guerrilla warfare or was it restricted to drilling and 'community duties' such as the maintenance of public order? The following chapters will address these questions.

### 2.1.3 Religion and violence

Although research of the clergy has shown that religion must not be ‘de-socialised’ or studied apart from its social context, nevertheless an important constant thread in modern religious history has been that religious belief can form an authentic motive for behaviour in its own right. Sociologist Steve Bruce has argued, however, that although the idea that religion is a ‘spent force’ in history has now been abandoned, the fact that religion is important does not in itself show ‘how religion should be fitted into an explanation of behaviour’.<sup>48</sup> This is true also for the impact of religion on the use of violence. Thus a strict definition of religious violence as ‘violence that is inspired or motivated by religion and would not have taken place in the absence of such inspiration or motivation’ rules out many conflicts and acts of violence in modern history that are nonetheless generally regarded as having a religious component.<sup>49</sup> If the attitude of the clergy to the use of violence in a political conflict is to be examined, it is necessary first to come to an understanding of the ways in which religion impacts on the use of violence.

In an illuminating entry in the 2005 edition of an American *Encyclopedia of religion*, historian Fritz Graf has further explored this issue. He has suggested that the topic can be studied under three headings: firstly, the use of religion to legitimise, condone, stimulate or incite to violence; secondly, aspects of religion that are inherently violent; and thirdly, the healing force of religion after violence has ended.<sup>50</sup> According to Graf, religion in ancient history primarily legitimised violence by providing rituals to mark the beginning and conclusion of special periods of warfare. This changed in Christian and Islamic times, when religion became ‘the very source of violence’ as the faithful waged war against heretics and infidels, although political and economic reasons for war were never lacking.<sup>51</sup> The emergence of the nation-state has complicated this scheme considerably. The significance of religion may not have declined, but its role in society has changed. Religious motives became less prominent as sole *casus belli* in themselves. Graf has attempted to resolve the question by proposing that violence and religion are linked to the extent that most religious traditions include stories or images of violent acts which have the potential to legitimise its use by

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<sup>48</sup> Steve Bruce, ‘Religion and violence. What can sociology offer?’, *Numen. International Review for the History of Religions*, lii, no. 1 (2005), pp 5-28, at pp 5-6.

<sup>49</sup> Definition derived from Henk Singor, ‘Religieus geweld. De periode van de Oudheid’, *Leidschrift. Historisch tijdschrift*, xx, no. 1 (2005), pp 19-34, at p. 19.

<sup>50</sup> Fritz Graf, ‘Violence’, in Lindsay Jones (ed.), *Encyclopedia of religion* (15 vols., 2nd ed., Detroit et al., 2005), xiv, pp 9595-600, at p. 9596.

<sup>51</sup> Graf, ‘Violence’, p. 9597.

adherents.<sup>52</sup> In the Christian tradition, most of these narratives involve violence directed by non-members against members of the community – whether it be Jesus Christ’s archetypal act of martyrdom on the cross or the martyrdom of his followers in the history of the church. Nevertheless, the apocalyptic element of the Christian tradition also contains instances of violence directed at non-members of the community. Crucially, Graf has argued that the religious historian seeks to analyse ‘why certain epochs, circumstances and charismatic personalities preferred one type of story or the other, and why certain epochs and circumstances actualized the dormant potential of the religious imaginary’.<sup>53</sup>

Other historians have also recognised the violent potential of religion. Thus Francisco Diez de Velasco has drawn on anthropological research which attempts to understand violence in terms of identity groups. Violence is aimed at non-members of a group, and since religion provides a definition of specific identity groups – and thus also of non-members – it can exacerbate the use of violence.<sup>54</sup> Moreover, religion not only provides precise external boundaries, but it also gives a qualitative definition of what makes for ‘good’ or ‘bad’ members of a group, thus enabling powerful elites to exercise violence against defective members of the same group.<sup>55</sup>

These theoretical deliberations are not without empirical corroboration. A leading French religious historian has observed that French soldiers during the First World War regarded it not as a merely political conflict, but as ‘a crusade’, ‘a fight against evil, against the devil’.<sup>56</sup> Annette Becker has examined the religious experience of French soldiers during the war and has observed a remarkable coincidence between the image proposed by official propaganda and the actual perception of the war by soldiers and their family members at home. She has described how French soldiers regarded German culture as demonic and destructive, and has pointed out that this negative judgment also had a religious component: Germany was the ‘mother of Protestantism’ and hated the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Catholic church.<sup>57</sup> A specific wartime spirituality emerged in which traditionally Christian concepts such as redemption, sacrificial suffering and apocalyptic punishment obtained a new relevance for soldiers and in which the cult of the saints and other Catholic devotions

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid., pp 9597-8.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., p. 9599.

<sup>54</sup> Francisco Diez de Velasco, ‘Theoretical reflections on violence and religion. Identity, power, privilege and difference (with reference to the Hispanic world)’, *Numen. International Review for the History of Religions*, lii, no 1 (2005), pp 87-115, at p. 90.

<sup>55</sup> Diez, ‘Reflections’, p. 93.

<sup>56</sup> Annette Becker, *War and faith. The religious imagination in France, 1914-1930* (Oxford and New York, 1998), p. 8.

<sup>57</sup> Becker, *Faith*, pp 11-12.

flourished excessively. This religion of war supported a culture of war, because it postulated a sacred union between God and the fatherland. Faith in God and faith in the fatherland became indissolubly interlinked: the fatherland had become holy and religion had become nationalised. Becker has observed that ‘the word of God was put at the service of collective violence’.<sup>58</sup> James McMillan has agreed with Becker that ‘religion rapidly established itself as one of the most powerful constituent elements in the creation of a “war culture”’ that encouraged people to ‘accept the inordinate demands which states made on individuals and families in a time of total war’.<sup>59</sup> Not only did religion help turn young men into soldiers willing to sacrifice their lives, it also helped ‘demonise’ the enemy. McMillan has provided examples of such religiously inspired demonisation of the enemy from both sides.<sup>60</sup>

Graf has acknowledged that religion can serve to prevent the outbreak of warfare. Nonetheless, he has argued that this potential was undone in the case of Christianity when the Emperor Theodosius I adopted it as the official faith of the Roman empire in 380.<sup>61</sup> Others have been more sanguine about the pacificatory potential of Christianity.<sup>62</sup> Thus Becker has contended that, during the First World War, religion occasionally turned against the war in a form of pacifism that criticised its very justification.<sup>63</sup> McMillan has pointed out that ‘the role of religion in inspiring opposition to the war’ is a ‘surprisingly understudied subject’.<sup>64</sup> He has discussed the emergence of Christian pacifist groups in the different belligerent countries, although he has admitted that they formed a ‘minority current of opinion’ among their coreligionists. Nevertheless, pacifism was not limited to small Christian denominations such as the Society of Friends (or Quakers), but existed to a greater or lesser degree within the larger churches as well. Several historians have observed that the role of Pope Benedict XV is an example of a Christian anti-war stance.<sup>65</sup> Not only did the pope attempt in the first years of the war to prevent countries such as Italy and the United States from entering it, he also sought to entice the belligerents to negotiate peace once they were involved. Benedict’s 1914 encyclical *Ad beatissimi apostolorum* was no departure from the church’s teachings on just war and was not therefore characteristic of the pacifism professed, for instance, by conscientious objectors in Britain. Nonetheless, although it was badly received by Catholics

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<sup>58</sup> Annette Becker, ‘De terugkeer naar de altaren. Kerken en religieuze hartstochten tijdens de Eerste Wereldoorlog’, in De Keizer, *Religie*, pp 32-46, at pp 34-8.

<sup>59</sup> McMillan, ‘First World War’, p. 52.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 53.

<sup>61</sup> Graf, ‘Violence’, p. 9597.

<sup>62</sup> See, for instance, Luykx, ‘Wetenschap’, pp 24-5.

<sup>63</sup> Becker, ‘Terugkeer’, p. 34.

<sup>64</sup> McMillan, ‘First World War’, p. 54.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 55. See also J. Pollard, *Benedict XV. The unknown pope and the pursuit of peace* (London, 1999).



in all belligerent countries and especially in the Allied world, McMillan has argued that Benedict's call for peace had some results. Thus Catholic priests serving in the Italian army adopted the pope's attitude towards the war and his words served as an inspiration for several, admittedly rather marginal Catholic pacifist groups in Britain.<sup>66</sup> Finally, Bruce has argued that a study of twentieth-century evangelical Protestantism in Northern Ireland shows that even 'militantly' fundamentalist religious convictions do not necessarily lead to the use of violence or even to a tacit approval of physical force.<sup>67</sup> This is especially the case if such religious convictions include a preference for the option of 'pietistic retreat from the world'.

It seems, then, that a consensus exists among religious historians that religion can provide grounds both for violence and for opposition to it, depending on precisely what aspect of the religious heritage is highlighted by figures of authority. At first sight, this is hardly a satisfactory outcome to an enquiry into the function of religion in the emergence of violence. Instead of providing an unequivocal answer to the question, it appears merely to reformulate the question: religion has the potential both to stimulate and to impede the rise of violence. But on closer reflection it suggests a helpful line of approach for historical research by pointing to the importance of the specific religious narrative used to justify violence or to undermine its justification. The Irish War of Independence was not a religious war as such and the violence used by republicans was political. The question at hand concerns the way in which priests assessed its legitimacy. As has been seen in section 2.1.1, the contents of the religious imagery or discourse used to condemn or support political violence must not be dismissed as essentially deceptive window-dressing for unspoken 'real' motives. Religious beliefs have the potential to motivate and must therefore be taken into account when analysing the clergy's discourse about the legitimacy of republican violence. This thesis intends to establish which particular beliefs were brought to the fore by priests when they argued for or against the legitimacy of violence.

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<sup>66</sup> Becker, 'Terugkeer', p. 41 and McMillan, 'First World War', pp 55-6.

<sup>67</sup> Bruce, 'Religion', p. 27.

## 2.2 Historiography of the War of Independence

### 2.2.1 *From republican narrative to statistical analysis*

It is important to identify the attitudes of priests to violence not merely from the perspective of researching clerical identity or the relation between religion and violence. It is also relevant to recent developments in the historiography of the War of Independence. Traditional accounts of the conflict focused on national leaders and their heroic exploits, but in recent times much of the attention has shifted to participants on a local level, and indeed to non-participants and their perspectives on the war. Groups in society whose involvement in the struggle was previously regarded as irrelevant have begun to be investigated. In order to place the War of Independence in its proper context, the experiences not merely of ‘ordinary’ Volunteers need to be examined, but also those of women, R.I.C. members, home rule supporters, Protestants, Irish First World War veterans and Catholic unionists.<sup>68</sup> Examining clerical perspectives will similarly contribute to an understanding of the conflict that does not privilege one group’s account above that of others. As has been seen in the introduction, the opening of the Bureau of Military History’s witness statements in 2003 has made this broadening of the scope of research possible. But even before the witness statements were made available, many significant developments in historiography paved the way towards this new perspective. The present section will trace these developments and show how examining clerical attitudes addresses a number of the questions raised by them.

‘Miss Macardle’s book supplies [a] complete and authoritative record ... Only a military history is now required to complete the narrative of the republican struggle’.<sup>69</sup> This recommendation flowed from the pen of Éamon de Valera as he prefaced the first edition of Dorothy Macardle’s book *The Irish republic* in 1937. De Valera was by no means a disinterested commentator, since one of Macardle’s main concerns had been to explain and vindicate his own somewhat erratic role in the republican struggle.<sup>70</sup> Nevertheless, de Valera’s ringing endorsement is indicative of more than his satisfaction at having come off

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<sup>68</sup> For a brief attempt to sketch the impact of the struggle on civilian life see Peter Cottrell, *The Anglo-Irish war. The Troubles of 1913-1922* (Oxford and New York, 2006), pp 68-79. For the role of women, see Margaret Ward, *Unmanageable revolutionaries. Women and Irish nationalism* (Dingle, 1983) and Ann Matthews, *Renegades. Irish republican women 1900-1922* (Dublin, 2010).

<sup>69</sup> Éamon de Valera, ‘Preface’, in Dorothy Macardle, *The Irish republic. A documented chronicle of the Anglo-Irish conflict and the partitioning of Ireland, with a detailed account of the period 1916-1923* (Dublin, 1937), pp 20-21.

<sup>70</sup> See Eunan O’Halpin, ‘Historical revisit: Dorothy Macardle, *The Irish republic* (1937)’, *Irish Historical Studies*, xxxi, no. 123 (1999), pp 389-394, for an assessment of Macardle’s treatment of de Valera’s role.

well in an account of the war. It is also typical of a generally accepted view at the time about the pursuit of history, that it was possible to have a complete narrative of any historical episode that showed ‘wie es eigentlich gewesen’.<sup>71</sup> Macardle’s version of events was not, of course, the only one. Thus Trinity College Dublin professor W. Alison Phillips had written a unionist account in 1923, and writer and Free State civil servant P. S. O’Hegarty published a pro-Treaty version of events in 1924.<sup>72</sup> But it was no less typical of the state of historiography at the time that the enduring existence of the ‘other side’s’ narrative did not challenge the plausibility of any ‘grand narrative’ of Ireland’s fight for freedom, but served rather to entrench the proponents of either side in their own views. Thus O’Hegarty gave his book the motto *nil nisi verum*, and Macardle stated confidently that ‘no thinking person can be close to a conflict so intense and desperate without forming an opinion as to where the balance of justice lies’.<sup>73</sup>

Until the 1970s, Irish academic historians largely ignored the revolutionary period of modern Irish history, mostly because the endurance of Civil War allegiances would have made any presentation of the subject a hazardous venture. In the public mind, however, a narrative of national liberation had emerged. The contents of this narrative were provided – apart from Macardle’s and O’Hegarty’s books – by the memoirs of celebrated Volunteer veterans such as Dan Breen, Ernie O’Malley, Tom Barry and Liam Deasy, by commemorative events and the erection of monuments.<sup>74</sup> The narrative assumed what de Valera called ‘this wonderful unanimity’ of the Irish people: the idea that the overwhelming majority of Irishmen and women had supported the struggle for independence, both by transferring allegiance from the British government to Dáil Éireann and its fledgling administration, and by actively aiding the I.R.A. campaign.<sup>75</sup> The implication was not only that the I.R.A. was a unified army with a clear structure of command from General Headquarters (G.H.Q.) down to ordinary Volunteers, but also that the Dáil government and

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<sup>71</sup> ‘How it really was’, von Ranke’s famous description of the task of the historian. It is from the preface to Leopold von Ranke, *Geschichten der romanischen und germanischen Völker von 1494 bis 1535* (Leipzig, 1824), p. vii.

<sup>72</sup> W. Alison Phillips, *The revolution in Ireland, 1906-1923* (London, 1923); P. S. O’Hegarty, *The victory of Sinn Féin. How it won it and how it used it* (Dublin, 1924).

<sup>73</sup> O’Hegarty, *Victory*, title page, and Macardle, *Republic*, p. 23.

<sup>74</sup> Dan Breen, *My fight for Irish freedom* (Dublin, 1924), Ernie O’Malley, *On another man’s wound* (2nd ed., Dublin, 1979), Tom Barry, *Guerrilla days in Ireland* (Dublin, 1949) and Liam Deasy, *Towards Ireland free. The West Cork brigade in the War of Independence 1917-1921* (Dublin, 1973). For commemorative events and monuments see Mary E. Daly and Margaret O’Callaghan (eds), *1916 in 1966. Commemorating the Easter rising* (Dublin, 2007).

<sup>75</sup> De Valera quotation in: Macardle, *Republic*, p. 19. See for instance *ibid.*, pp 29, 266, 288-290 and 315 and O’Hegarty, *Victory*, pp 33-43 and 61-62. See for the same argument Geraldine Counahan, ‘The people backed the movement 1920’, *The Capuchin Annual* (1970), pp 250-4.

the I.R.A. worked together in harmony and that a symbiotic relationship existed between the I.R.A. and the mass of the Irish people. Ideological motivation explained this great popular involvement in the struggle for independence: the Irish people's commitment to the doctrines of republicanism led them to support for the fight for freedom. These doctrines included a belief that there was such an entity as the Irish nation, that it had been oppressed by a foreign country since the twelfth century, that a secret brotherhood had worked for its freedom during the nineteenth century, and that this organisation had finally struck 'in full confidence of victory' in 1916 by proclaiming the Irish republic.<sup>76</sup> It also included the conviction that the republic had the right by any means possible to cast off the British yoke and vindicate its independence and sovereignty.<sup>77</sup>

The popularity of memoirs such as Breen's, O'Malley's, Barry's and Deasy's attests to the importance of heroic figures in this account of national liberation. Famous I.R.A. men who had led their units into victory, sacrificed their lives for the fatherland or endured persecution attained the status of heroes. The executed leaders of the 1916 rising and other martyrs, such as Thomas Ashe and Kevin Barry, quickly obtained a place in the pantheon of national freedom fighters. Some did not have to wait until death for this to happen: O'Malley recorded that he had heard his own name mentioned in songs at dances which he had attended himself.<sup>78</sup> Part of the narrative was that the I.R.A. had succeeded in forcing the enemy to concede defeat not simply through political or psychological pressure, but also on account of its superior military strength. This assertion was defended in 1973 in an article by Tom Bowden. He argued that 'it was in the military arena that the I.R.A. had its most visible success', caused by the fact that the organisation was a 'unified, cohesive' force which operated according to 'a fully orchestrated plan of campaign', supported by the majority of the people, 'who were not passive but committed to the fighting men and their creed'.<sup>79</sup>

De Valera's aspiration of a complete narrative of the republican struggle, incorporating both political and military aspects, was never achieved. Moreover, this heroic 'national liberation' account was never entirely uncontested. Thus artists such as Sean O'Casey, Seán Ó Faoláin and Frank O'Connor had pointed to the not-so-glorious aspects of the conflict. And Seán Edmonds, in his 1971 book *The gun, the law and the Irish people*,

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<sup>76</sup> Quotation from the 'Proclamation of the Irish republic', Easter 1916.

<sup>77</sup> For a recent discussion of the contents of Irish nationalist beliefs, see: R. V. Comerford, *Ireland* (London and New York, 2003), pp 1-13.

<sup>78</sup> O'Malley, *Wound*, p. 317. For other examples of heroic status for Volunteers, see Robert Kee, *The green flag. A history of Irish nationalism* (Harmondsworth, 2000), pp 690 and 708.

<sup>79</sup> Tom Bowden, 'The Irish underground and the War of Independence 1919-21', *Journal of Contemporary History*, viii, no. 2 (1973), pp 3-23.

asked some hard questions about the physical force tradition.<sup>80</sup> But it was the German historian Erhard Rumpf who first used a new method to research the episode in his book *Nationalismus und Sozialismus in Irland*, which was published in 1959, though it remained largely unnoticed in Ireland for many years.<sup>81</sup> Rumpf was less interested in the rhetoric and heroism of the republican struggle than in its social structure, and set out to provide a ‘geographical-sociological analysis’ of I.R.A. activity.<sup>82</sup> He attempted to gather precise data about the number and geographical spread of I.R.A. actions and the socio-economic background of Volunteers. Rumpf found that I.R.A. activity was not evenly spread across the country, but that some counties – notably in Munster – saw significantly higher numbers of operations than others. He tried to explain this unequal distribution by looking for a negative correlation between involvement in republican violence and social and economic factors that acted as disincentives towards revolution, such as ties with Britain and traditional acquiescence in cultural and political anglicisation. The accuracy of Rumpf’s findings has been disputed since, but the questions he asked and the methods he used to answer them indicated a decisive turn in the historiography of the Irish revolution.

The plausibility of the traditional narrative was undermined further by David Fitzpatrick’s 1977 book *Politics and Irish life 1913-1921*. Fitzpatrick shifted the focus from national leaders to local people’s experience of the war and political change on parish and county levels in County Clare.<sup>83</sup> Moreover, apart from studying those groups in society whose Irish credentials had never been in doubt – such as Sinn Féin members, Dáil administrators and Volunteers –, he also included members of the ‘old order’: policemen and soldiers, Protestants and unionists and supporters of the Irish Parliamentary Party. He attempted to quantify political organisation and popular participation in politics on the basis of research of local archive material, interviews, reports in local newspapers and sources relating to County Clare in national archives.<sup>84</sup> This methodology brought the existence of

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<sup>80</sup> O’Casey in his 1926 play *The plough and the stars*, Ó Faoláin between 1940 and 1946 as editor of *The Bell* and O’Connor in his Michael Collins biography *The big fellow. A life of Michael Collins* (London and New York, 1937); Seán Edmonds, *The gun, the law and the Irish people* (Tralee, 1971), pp 9-10 and 64-103.

<sup>81</sup> Erhard Rumpf, *Nationalismus und Sozialismus in Irland. Historisch-soziologischer Versuch über die irische Revolution seit 1918* (Meisenheim am Glan, 1959). See the revised edition in English translation for a reflection by Basil Chubb on the reception of Rumpf’s book in Ireland: Erhard Rumpf and A. C. Hepburn, *Nationalism and socialism in twentieth-century Ireland* (Liverpool, 1977), pp v-vi.

<sup>82</sup> Rumpf, *Nationalismus*, pp 61-73.

<sup>83</sup> Fitzpatrick’s book was first published in 1977. References to this book in the thesis are to the 1998 edition: David Fitzpatrick, *Politics and Irish life 1913-1921. Provincial experience of war and revolution* (Cork, 1998), p. xiii.

<sup>84</sup> Fitzpatrick, *Politics*, pp 236-40.

different and conflicting experiences of the revolution to light and undid the tacit exclusion of these ‘other stories’ from the accepted narrative of Irish history.

Similarly, Fitzpatrick’s approach to the Volunteers did not take their identity as ‘the army of the republic’ for granted. Rather than listing their military successes, it focused on who they were and how many of them – or how few of them – actually engaged in violence. Fitzpatrick took up Rumpf’s attempt to analyse statistical details about the Volunteers, such as age and social background in order to find an explanation as to why they became active in the republican fight.<sup>85</sup> Even though the Dáil did not take responsibility for I.R.A. actions until the spring of 1921, Macardle had written that ‘in the eyes of the Irish people the I.R.A. was the national army’ and ‘it was so regarded by every Volunteer and by the Dáil’.<sup>86</sup> Fitzpatrick made no such assumptions, however, and addressed the changing and sometimes troubled relationship between the two republican organisations. An article published by Charles Townshend in 1979 launched a further attack on Bowden’s account of the I.R.A. campaign.<sup>87</sup> Townshend especially contested the idea that there was a symbiotic relationship between the Volunteers and the population. He argued that the I.R.A. failed to mobilise the majority, that there was little contact between active Volunteers and ordinary people and that there was some evidence of popular hostility towards it. He also asserted that the I.R.A. had no clear organisation or plan of campaign, that local circumstances prevailed in determining the course of action and that I.R.A. activity was only marginally effective. Townshend moreover questioned the campaign’s military – as opposed to political – success.

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<sup>85</sup> Ibid., p. 185.

<sup>86</sup> Macardle, *Republic*, p. 436.

<sup>87</sup> Charles Townshend, ‘The Irish Republican Army and the development of guerrilla warfare, 1916-1921’, *The English Historical Review*, xciv, no. 371 (1979), pp 318-45. He had also made some of these points in idem, *The British campaign in Ireland, 1919-1921. The development of political and military policies* (Oxford, 1975), pp 59-72 and 106-31 and would make them again in idem, *Political violence in Ireland. Government and resistance since 1848* (Oxford, 1983), pp 328-40.

### 2.2.2 Violence

The methodological and ideological transition effected by Rumpf, Fitzpatrick and Townshend has given rise to a number of new debates that have dominated the historiography of the revolutionary period. Some of these raise questions about the role of the clergy during the conflict. The first debate concerns the occurrence and nature of republican violence. Ever since Rumpf's book, historians have observed the uneven geographical distribution of I.R.A. activity. This has led to greater attention to local factors as potential incentives or disincentives for the radicalisation of Volunteers. It has also led to the question as to what motivated Volunteers to take up arms and put their property and safety at risk. A second debate has revolved specifically around the issue of religious violence and has inquired whether I.R.A. actions were motivated by sectarian considerations. A third aspect concerns the question as to the social implications of the republican revolution. The present section discusses these debates and will indicate how the present research contributes to them.

Several historians have addressed the issue of the uneven geographical distribution of I.R.A. activity since Rumpf raised it first in 1959, but the most reliable statistics came from Peter Hart in his 1997 article 'The geography of revolution in Ireland 1917-1923'. From January 1920 to July 1921, I.R.A. violence was commonest in Counties Cork and Longford, somewhat less but still relatively common in Counties Kerry, Tipperary and Clare and almost non-existent in many Leinster, Ulster and Connacht counties.<sup>88</sup> Hart also addressed the question as to how these regional differences can be explained.<sup>89</sup> He has postulated a number of explanatory factors, including a correlation between I.R.A. activity and the percentage of young men who had been taught Irish as a second language at school and the percentage of young men who had been educated by the Christian Brothers.<sup>90</sup> Elsewhere Hart has argued that many I.R.A. members were part of a rebel youth culture excluded from the formal politics engaged in by their elders, among whom he has also mentioned priests.<sup>91</sup> Joost Augusteijn has identified a range of non-local influences that exclusive emphasis on the

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<sup>88</sup> Peter Hart, 'The geography of revolution in Ireland 1917-1923', *Past and Present*, clv (1997), pp 142-176, at p. 151. See also David Fitzpatrick, 'The geography of Irish nationalism 1910-1921', *Past and Present*, lxxviii (1978), pp 113-144.

<sup>89</sup> Hart, 'Geography', pp 156-170.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 170-172.

<sup>91</sup> For Hart's argument on youth culture, see: *idem*, 'Youth culture and the Cork I.R.A.', in David Fitzpatrick, *Revolution? Ireland 1917-1923* (Dublin, 1990), pp 10-24 and *idem*, *The I.R.A. and its enemies. Violence and community in Cork, 1916-1923* (Oxford, 1998), pp 165-183. For priests, see *idem*, *Enemies*, pp 167-8 and 170. This argument is reminiscent of Garvin's use of David W. Miller's term 'public bands' to describe I.R.A. units: Tom Garvin, 1922. *The birth of Irish democracy* (Dublin, 1996), pp 40-1.

locality fails to observe. Among these he has mentioned the role of G.H.Q., the exemplary function of I.R.A. activity outside the local area and operations by the Crown forces, which rarely discriminated between local units. He has consequently contended that the correlations between local characteristics and levels of violence ‘can never provide a full answer to why some men turned to the use of force’.<sup>92</sup> The same is true for these non-local factors when taken by themselves. Augusteijn has therefore devised a conceptual framework that combines both local and non-local factors in explaining the uneven spread of violence.<sup>93</sup> Central to this framework is the interaction between revolutionaries and their environment. Although prevailing conditions in Ireland favoured the outbreak of violence everywhere, differences in the way potential revolutionaries interacted with the community can serve to explain geographical differentiation.

In developing this theory, Augusteijn has expanded on an argument he made in his book *From public defiance to guerrilla warfare* in 1996. There he asserted that the use of violence took place in areas where I.R.A. men went on the run to avoid arrest and were thus no longer subject to the ‘restraining influence of the community’.<sup>94</sup> He has theorised that neither total support for the use of physical force among local communities, nor widespread rejection of it were conducive to the emergence of violence. The balance between the measure of support for and opposition to the use of violence was crucial. Some opposition was necessary, otherwise the incentive to go on the run was not strong enough, but some support was also important, otherwise it was impossible to sustain life on the run for very long. If the balance was right, then a break with the community occurred and violence became more likely. Augusteijn further asserted that successful ostracism of the local police force was also necessary in order to lower the threshold of violence against it.<sup>95</sup> In view of this argument about the importance of community links, a question arises as to the role of the local parish clergy. To what extent was its attitude to the use of political violence an incentive or a disincentive towards the taking up of arms by parishioners? Some clues as to the answer may be obtained by identifying geographical patterns in priestly attitudes towards violence and comparing them with Hart’s data about geographical distribution of violence.

Arguably the most emotive historical debate about the War of Independence concerns the allegedly sectarian nature of the conflict. It was engendered by Hart, who argued more

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<sup>92</sup> Joost Augusteijn, ‘Accounting for the emergence of violent activism among Irish revolutionaries, 1916-21’, *Irish Historical Studies*, xxxv, no. 139 (2007), pp 327-44, at p. 332.

<sup>93</sup> Augusteijn, ‘Accounting’, pp 332-3.

<sup>94</sup> Augusteijn, *Defiance*, pp 312-34 and p. 344. A similar argument had been made by Townshend, ‘Development’, p. 330.

<sup>95</sup> Augusteijn, ‘Accounting’, p. 340 and idem, *Defiance*, p. 344.



than once that there was ample evidence to suggest that republican violence during the revolutionary period took on a sectarian hue. Although it is undisputed that much of the violence between the Protestant and Catholic communities in Ulster was sectarian in nature, Hart's claim that sectarianism was 'embedded' in the I.R.A.'s campaign in Cork was new. Hart even used the term 'ethnic cleansing' to describe violence used by I.R.A. units against Protestants.<sup>96</sup> In an article published in 2002, Hart nuanced his argument somewhat by including anti-Catholic violence perpetrated by Crown forces and by recognising the mitigating effect of the official non-sectarian stance adopted by republican organisations.<sup>97</sup> Nonetheless, his assertion has sparked fierce debate with popular as well as academic defenders of the republican legacy. Brian Murphy accused Hart of having fallen prey to a propaganda hoax fabricated by Dublin Castle and Tom Barry's biographer Meda Ryan, already angered by his uncomplimentary description of Barry's role in the November 1920 Kilmichael ambush, vigorously disputed his contentions about the sectarian nature of the war in County Cork.<sup>98</sup> John Borgonovo studied Cork city in 1920 and 1921 and found no evidence of special targeting of Protestants. Coleman came across two instances of lethal violence against Protestants in County Longford but also found evidence of good relations between them and the I.R.A. and rejected the conclusion of sectarianism or ethnic cleansing. Similarly, Michael Farry found that although all Protestants in County Sligo were regarded as enemies by republicans, this did not usually lead to their victimisation.<sup>99</sup> Augusteijn has also found evidence of violence against Protestants in the areas which he researched and noted that Protestants were among those who 'failed the acid test of republicanism'.<sup>100</sup> He has argued, however, that there was no 'systematic attack' on Protestants during the War of Independence and that attacks on Protestants were usually justified with 'clear military reasons'.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> Peter Hart, 'The Protestant experience of revolution in Southern Ireland', in Richard English and Graham Walker (eds), *Unionism in modern Ireland. New perspectives on politics and culture* (Basingstoke, London and New York, 1996), pp 81-98, at p. 92 (ethnic cleansing). Reprinted in idem, *The I.R.A. at war 1916-1923* (Oxford, 2003), pp 223-40, quote at p. 237. Hart later denied that he had argued that ethnic cleansing took place: *Irish Times*, 28 June 2006. See also Hart, *Enemies*, pp 273-292. Incidentally, all of the evidence used by Hart in *The I.R.A. and its enemies* to support his claim of sectarianism is taken from the Civil War period.

<sup>97</sup> Hart, 'Definition', pp 24-27 and 29.

<sup>98</sup> Brian P. Murphy, *The origins and organisation of British propaganda in Ireland, 1920* (Millstreet, 2006), pp 71-5 and Meda Ryan, *Tom Barry. IRA freedom fighter* (Dublin, 2003), pp 156-170 (alleged sectarianism) and pp 49-67 (Hart's account of the Kilmichael ambush).

<sup>99</sup> John Borgonovo, *Spies, informers and the "Anti-Sinn Féin Society". The intelligence war in Cork city, 1920-1921* (Dublin and Portland, OR, 2007), pp 91-6; Marie Coleman, *County Longford and the Irish revolution, 1910-1923* (Dublin and Portland, OR, 2003), pp 153-7 and Michael Farry, *The aftermath of revolution. Sligo 1921-23* (Dublin, 2000), pp 177-201.

<sup>100</sup> Augusteijn, *Defiance*, pp 297-9 and 310.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 299.

Few of the contributors to this debate have mentioned the role of priests, but in an unexpected turn, Hart suggested that priests could also have been among those who informed on I.R.A. units rather than Protestants, who were widely but erroneously suspected of having been spies.<sup>102</sup> There were precedents for such behaviour from the time of Fenianism. Thus O'Shea has given examples of 'felon-setting' by priests who reported intended Fenian attacks to the police in the 1860s.<sup>103</sup> The issue of clerical informers apart, the question remains whether priests added fuel to the flames of sectarianism or, on the contrary, discouraged it. Historians who had addressed this issue previously presented conflicting evidence. Thus Ó Fiaich asserted that clergy in the twenty-six counties were unwavering in their condemnation of the attacks on Protestants which took place in 1920 in the aftermath of the anti-Catholic violence in Ulster.<sup>104</sup> He has also given an example of Catholic priests denouncing violence against Protestants when the Church of Ireland dean of Leighlin was killed in Bawnboy, County Cavan, in 1921. Other historians have pointed out, however, that bishops and priests did not always do much to prevent the campaign from taking a sectarian turn. Thus Dermot Keogh has quoted the statement of a County Mayo Presbyterian at the time of the truce who had heard that a local priest had preached against Protestants and said that Catholics should treat Protestants as Saint Patrick had treated the snakes.<sup>105</sup> Such rumours are of course difficult to substantiate. Aan de Wiel, however, has quoted a statement made by Bishop Patrick Morrisroe of Achonry in 1918 – admittedly before the outbreak of violence – in which he argued that the Protestant community in Ireland was 'a pampered minority' and 'the foreign garrison in our midst'.<sup>106</sup> The third chapter of this thesis will address this question in the light of new evidence.

One of the conclusions of Fitzpatrick's *Politics and Irish life* was that 'few revolutionaries have been so conservative in their response to social and political cataclysm as those who gave their guidance during the Irish troubles'.<sup>107</sup> A consensus has emerged among historians that the Irish revolution was a socially conservative one, rooted in middle-class nationalism, the presence of an Irish labour movement and James Connolly's participation in the 1916 rising notwithstanding. The Irish revolution advocated only the

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<sup>102</sup> Interview with Brian Hanley, 'Hart to heart', *History Ireland*, xiii, no. 2 (2005), pp 48-51, at p. 50.

<sup>103</sup> O'Shea, *Priest*, p. 144.

<sup>104</sup> Ó Fiaich, 'Clergy', p. 490.

<sup>105</sup> Keogh, *Vatican*, p. 78.

<sup>106</sup> Aan de Wiel, *Church*, pp 227-8.

<sup>107</sup> Fitzpatrick, *Politics*, p. 234. The same point was made by Patrick Lynch, 'The social revolution that never was', in T. D. Williams (ed.), *The Irish struggle, 1916-1926* (London, 1966), pp 41-54 and Michael Laffan, 'Labour must wait. Ireland's conservative revolution', in P. J. Corish (ed.), *Radicals, rebels and establishments. Papers read before the Irish Conference of Historians, Maynooth, 16-19 June 1983* (Belfast, 1985), pp 203-22.

constitutional ‘breaking of the link’ with Britain and did not envisage social change.<sup>108</sup> Much of the debate about this issue has understandably focused on the Civil War and Free State periods, since it was not until British rule in Ireland had ended and the government of the country was left to Irish statesmen that the fruits of the revolution – or arguably the lack thereof – could become evident.<sup>109</sup> But social conservatism was already in evidence during the War of Independence. For example, the Dáil government set up a land commission and arbitration courts to adjudicate in land disputes, thus thwarting the designs of ‘landgrabbers’ and preserving the existing distribution of land ownership.<sup>110</sup>

In an article published in 1964, Larkin chronicled the history of relations between the Catholic clergy and socialism. He has identified several stages of their ‘short but extremely sharp contest’ between 1909 and 1914, all of which included an initial ‘absurdly hysterical denunciation’ of socialism by the clergy and subsequent attempts by all to find practical solutions to the social deprivation of the relatively small urban working class in Ireland.<sup>111</sup> The church’s hostility to socialism sprang from the same source as its opposition to other forms of revolutionary thought: a fear of losing Catholics to secular ideologies, of the demise of the Christian character of society and of violation of the rights of the church. According to Murray, this fear had been inspired particularly by the revolutionary experience of the Catholic church on the continent, especially the fate of Pope Pius IX in 1848 and the even less enviable fate of Archbishop Georges Darboy of Paris, who was killed by Commune revolutionaries in Paris in 1871.<sup>112</sup> Larkin has observed that the Irish hierarchy’s traditional support for land reform in the second half of the nineteenth century was quite at odds with its relentless opposition to any suggestion of redistributing the industrial means of production. Though the bishops had admittedly condemned the violence that accompanied the land agitation in Ireland, they supported the land reform programme and ‘always distinguished between the main aim, social justice, and the attendant [sic] excesses’.<sup>113</sup> Such distinctions were not made at all when it came to the socialist agenda.

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<sup>108</sup> See Charles Townshend, ‘Historiography. Telling the Irish revolution’, in Augusteijn, *Revolution*, pp 1-16.

<sup>109</sup> For this debate see for instance Garvin, 1922, John Regan, *The Irish counter-revolution 1921-1936. Treatyite politics and settlement in independent Ireland* (New York, 1999), Richard English, *Radicals and the republic. Socialist republicanism in the Irish Free State, 1925-1937* (Oxford, 1994) and Bill Kissane, *The politics of the Irish Civil War* (Oxford, 2005).

<sup>110</sup> Laffan, ‘Labour’, p. 205.

<sup>111</sup> Emmet Larkin, ‘Socialism and Catholicism in Ireland’, *Church History*, xxxiii, no. 4 (1964), pp 462-83, at p. 462.

<sup>112</sup> Murray, *Oracles*, p. 5. Murray is under the impression that the Commune revolt took place in 1848. It is true, however, that Darboy’s predecessor Denis Affre was killed during the 1848 revolution.

<sup>113</sup> Larkin, ‘Socialism’, p. 462.

Miller has quoted an explanation for this fact provided by Maynooth professor Walter McDonald in 1920.<sup>114</sup> McDonald believed clerical unease with the demands of socialism was due to the fact that priests themselves were from tenant farmer backgrounds, and would naturally favour the demands of the class they belonged to by birth. Miller has asserted that this explanation is unsatisfactory because many urban labourers had rural backgrounds themselves, and did not see why socialist demands should be unjustified if the demands of land reformers were legitimate. According to Miller the explanation was rather that the church had developed an anti-urban ethos, which associated city life with moral corruption and secularism, and which caused the clergy to be much less well disposed to the workers' cause. Tom Garvin has also strongly insisted on this point and has argued that this ethos of suspicion towards modernity became an important aspect of Irish revolutionary republicanism.<sup>115</sup> This eventually convinced the clergy that they had nothing to fear from the republican movement and simultaneously turned republicanism into a 'prepolitical' ideology: its agenda of independence before everything else allowed it to forego many difficult and divisive political decisions. The church thus started to make a clear distinction between socialism and republicanism as soon as the republican movement proved that it could be trusted to leave aside any plans for changing the social order. This was not always so, and Mitchell has provided examples of clerical concern in 1920 that socialists might attempt to infiltrate Sinn Féin.<sup>116</sup> Murray has also observed such concerns, but has contended that these fears were considerably attenuated in 1916 when the rebels turned out to have fought and died as devout Catholics.<sup>117</sup> The third and fourth chapters of this thesis, which will address clerical denunciation of and support for republicanism respectively, will examine the attitude of priests to the movement's social conservatism.

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<sup>114</sup> Miller, *Church*, p. 269-70.

<sup>115</sup> Tom Garvin, 'Priests and patriots. Irish separatism and fear of the modern', *Irish Historical Studies*, xxv (1986), pp 67-81 and idem, *Nationalist revolutionaries in Ireland, 1859-1928* (Oxford, 1987), *passim* but especially pp 107-38. 'Prepolitical': idem, 1922, p. 11.

<sup>116</sup> Mitchell, *Government*, p. 177.

<sup>117</sup> Murray, *Oracles*, p. 6.

### 2.2.3 Clergy and republicanism

The rise of republicanism in other European countries almost invariably went accompanied by anticlericalism. It has struck historians that the same did not occur in Ireland – at least not to the same degree.<sup>118</sup> Although he has also described criticism of the clergy in Ireland, John A. Murphy has contrasted the Irish population’s respect for the clergy with the hatred and contempt for the priesthood displayed by some Spanish, Italian and French republicans or with the English nation’s ‘amused indifference’ to the clergymen of its established church.<sup>119</sup> An old and articulate strand of Irish republicanism stressed the non-sectarian and secular nature of the Irish republic and this emphasis was never relinquished throughout the history of the movement. But none of this prevented the emergence of an intense connection between republicans and the Catholic religion at the beginning of the twentieth century. John Newsinger has called the Irish revolution ‘the paradox of a “Catholic” revolution’, and has quoted with approval F. X. Martin’s judgment that it was ‘perhaps unique in the history of armed revolts in modern European history’.<sup>120</sup> Nor did the small tradition of Irish republican anticlericalism develop into a general characteristic of the movement. This thesis will argue that many priests in fact rejected the republican perception of the conflict between 1919 to 1921 and opposed republican violence. In view of this fact, it is necessary to inquire more closely into the phenomenon.

Several explanations have been proffered. Some have contended that there were always priests and sometimes bishops who deviated from official ecclesiastical condemnation of republican violence. This clerical voice in favour of republicans helped to avoid wholesale alienation of republicans from the church. Patrick Murray has argued for the Civil War that clerical support for republicanism reassured many radical activists troubled by official ecclesiastical denunciation.<sup>121</sup> It caused them to defy the church’s stance on the issue of violence without adopting an anticlerical or anti-religious outlook. He has given an

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<sup>118</sup> For anticlericalism in France, for instance, see Ralph Gibson, ‘Why republicans and Catholics couldn’t stand each other in the nineteenth century’, in Frank Tallett and Nicholas Atkin (eds), *Religion, society and politics in France since 1789* (London and Rio Grande, 1991), pp 107-20. For the absence of anticlericalism, see Murphy, ‘Priests’, at p. 235; Miller, *Church*, p. 3; Larkin, ‘Church, state’, pp 122-3; Newsinger, ‘Sword’, p. 610; O’Shea, *Priest*, pp 136-7; Keogh, *Vatican*, p. 1; Gilley, ‘Revolution’, pp 166-7; Morrissey, *Walsh*, p. 116 and Louise Fuller, *Irish Catholicism since 1950. The undoing of a culture* (Dublin, 2002), p. xxxvii.

<sup>119</sup> Murphy, ‘Priests’, p. 235.

<sup>120</sup> Newsinger, ‘Sword’, p. 609; F. X. Martin, ‘1916 – myth, fact and mystery’, *Studia Hibernica*, vii (1967), pp 7-126, p. 117.

<sup>121</sup> Murray, *Oracles*, p. 147. Survey of political allegiance of priests: pp 431-64. For the same view see Mary N. Harris, ‘The Catholic church from Parnell to partition’, in Bradshaw and Keogh, *Christianity*, pp 205-19, at p. 218.

impressive survey of the political allegiance of well over a thousand priests and bishops during the 1920s and 1930s, a considerable minority of whom can be shown to have supported the anti-Treaty side. And Keogh has stressed that political divisions existed among the bishops during the War of Independence which prevented them from forming a united front against the revolutionaries. According to Keogh, these differences of opinion among the bishops were in fact reflections of divisions that existed within the leadership of Sinn Féin itself.<sup>122</sup> I have argued elsewhere that these episcopal divisions must not be exaggerated and that there was a good deal of common ground among the bishops, especially when it came to violence.<sup>123</sup> But it is clear that there were bishops such as William Walsh of Dublin and Fogarty of Killaloe who were more sympathetic to republicanism than their conservative brethren.

However, the explanatory power of this argument is not self-evident. Newsinger has suggested that priestly support for republicanism in the early years of the century was the result rather than the cause of the centrality of Catholicism to Irish republicanism. He has portrayed the desire of I.R.B. members to be ‘bolstered by dissident priests’ as the height of clericalism rather than as evidence that clerics were making a last-ditch attempt to fight the otherwise ineluctable rise of anticlericalism.<sup>124</sup> According to Newsinger, ‘no alternative course was conceivable’ for Irish nationalists but to have their position legitimised by dissident clergy, implying that the I.R.B. would have lacked the kind of membership it actually enjoyed in the absence of such legitimisation. Chicken-or-egg problems such as this one are, of course, insoluble. But the evidence advanced by Gilley, Murray, Harris and Keogh is strong enough to warrant the conclusion that for many republicans the fact that there were always clerics at hand to mitigate official ecclesiastical denunciation played an important role in ensuring that their ideology did not assume an anticlerical character.

Other explanations for the absence of anticlericalism have also been advanced. Thus Murphy and Miller have pointed out that the bishops benefited from the fact that the Irish Catholic church had not occupied a position of privilege similar to that enjoyed by the church in Catholic countries on the continent.<sup>125</sup> This means that Ireland is more comparable to the

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<sup>122</sup> Keogh, *Vatican*, pp 29, 39, 45, 223.

<sup>123</sup> Brian Heffernan, “‘It is for a nation of martyrs to cultivate constant self-restraint.’ The Irish Catholic bishops’ attitude to the IRA campaign, 1919-21’, *Leidschrift. Historisch tijdschrift*, xxiii, no. 1 (2008), pp 151-69, at pp 152-6. See also B. J. Heffernan, ‘The churches and the Anglo-Irish war. An appraisal of the role of the bishops of the Roman Catholic church and the Church of Ireland in the Anglo-Irish war, 1919-1921’ (M.A. thesis, Leiden University, 2003), pp 66-105.

<sup>124</sup> Newsinger, ‘Sword’, p. 612.

<sup>125</sup> Murphy, ‘Priests’, pp 235-6 and Miller, *Church*, p. 3.

Polish and Greek cases, where the foreign government espoused a different religion to that professed by the majority of the population. Murphy has traced the political bond between Catholic priests and Irish people back to the late seventeenth century, when both were united in a common struggle for survival against the Protestant ascendancy and a hostile British state. This bond survived into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and prevented the church from becoming too closely identified with the state, thus removing an important cause of anticlericalism.<sup>126</sup> Murphy has also emphasised, however, that this was a bond between priests and people more than between bishops and people. In fact, he has argued that the absence of episcopal discipline during much of the eighteenth century contributed to the strength of this bond. Irish priests were freer from the ecclesiastical constraints that limited their colleagues' scope of action elsewhere, and could therefore associate with their people on the people's terms rather than the church's.

John H. Whyte has suggested that there was 'a tradition of independence of clerical guidance on some issues' in Ireland.<sup>127</sup> Murphy has described the same phenomenon, and used Apelles' dictum that 'the shoemaker should not go beyond his last' to characterise the response of republicans to clerical objections to violence: they accused the clergy of ultracrepidarianism. This issue of the remit of clerical guidance – of how far the church's power in society reached – has attracted much attention from historians. Some have contended that this power reached very far indeed and that it was in fact virtually unlimited. Thus Noel O'Reilly has analysed a series of lectures on the relationship between church and state by prominent theologian Father Peter Finlay, S.J. In these lectures, published in the *Irish Catholic* in February 1914, Finlay argued that the church itself held the prerogative of defining its own remit of authority.<sup>128</sup> Murray has presented evidence that Finlay's opinion was shared by the bishops, and that some of them defended the view as recently as 1950 that the episcopate itself was the only body competent to define what lay within and what lay outside of its own jurisdiction.<sup>129</sup> And Inglis has argued that priests in Ireland exercised an unrivalled power in their communities in the first part of the twentieth century.<sup>130</sup> According to him, the power of the clergy was by no means limited to explicitly religious affairs, but also extended to many social, political and economic areas. Thus parish priests were managers of local schools and sat on management committees of local sports and social

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<sup>126</sup> See for instance Harris, *Foundation*, p. 3; Murray, *Oracles*, p. 1.

<sup>127</sup> Whyte, *Church*, p. 8.

<sup>128</sup> Noel O'Reilly, 'Pro fide et patria? The Catholic church and republicanism in Ireland 1912-1923' (Ph.D. thesis, Queen's University of Belfast, 1994), pp 49, 54.

<sup>129</sup> Murray, *Oracles*, pp 13-14.

<sup>130</sup> Inglis, *Monopoly*, p. 11.

organisations.<sup>131</sup> Murray has agreed that the church has been ‘singularly effective in inducing lay Catholics to regard [moral, social and public policy] issues in the light of official church teaching’.<sup>132</sup> Inglis has also maintained that it was ‘central to the maintenance of the church’s moral power’ that priests had the competence to deviate from official norms in their counsels to the faithful. Inglis has contended that this flexibility lay at the heart of clerical power.<sup>133</sup>

Other historians have argued that this feature of clerical power – that it worked so long as priests articulated views already held by the faithful – is reason to conclude that the clergy’s influence was in fact quite limited. Thus Jérôme aan de Wiel has contended that priests favourable to the imperial war effort during the Great War were unable in the first few years of the conflict to convince Catholic Irishmen to enlist.<sup>134</sup> And Patrick Corish has asserted that ‘the clergy dared not lead where the laity would not ... follow’ and has defined priests’ political power as the ability to ‘push their priorities within a programme on which clergy and laity were agreed’.<sup>135</sup> This judgment is supported by Townshend’s observation that ‘the Catholic clergy were essentially followers rather than leaders of public opinion’.<sup>136</sup> Similarly, J. J. Lee has argued that the bishops’ public influence was in effect limited to the fields of sexual morality and the politics of education.<sup>137</sup> Within these fields, their power was supreme, but outside of them the bishops had but limited success in pressing their agenda. So long as politicians deferred to the church in the areas of education and sexual morality, ‘episcopal denunciation mattered little in the world of *realpolitik*’. He has argued that every example of political involvement by the bishops in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries shows that bishops were ‘either irrelevant or ineffectual, when their views deviated from those of the dominant elements in the body politic’.

Similarly, Murray has presented evidence to support his contention that most Volunteers during the War of Independence ‘ignored clerical denunciations as if these were merely biased political comments’.<sup>138</sup> And Whyte has argued that Irish Catholics developed an ability to ‘compartmentalise’ their loyalties, so that they were loyal to the church in faith and morals, and disloyal in matters deemed to fall outside of these categories. He has also

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<sup>131</sup> Ibid., pp 47-8.

<sup>132</sup> Murray, *Oracles*, p. 420.

<sup>133</sup> Inglis, *Monopoly*, p. 46.

<sup>134</sup> Aan de Wiel, *Church*, pp 24-5.

<sup>135</sup> Corish, *Experience*, p. 229.

<sup>136</sup> Townshend, *Violence*, p. 124. For similar statements see Townshend, ‘Religion’, p. 892; Murphy, ‘Priests’, p. 252 and Augusteijn, *Defiance*, pp 301, 305, 307.

<sup>137</sup> J. J. Lee, ‘On the birth of the modern Irish state: the Larkin thesis’, in Stewart J. Brown and David W. Miller (eds), *Piety and power in Ireland 1760-1960. Essays in honour of Emmet Larkin* (Belfast and Notre Dame, IN, 2000), pp 130-157, at pp 143-4.

<sup>138</sup> Murray, *Oracles*, pp 12-3.



asserted that there were three main episodes in modern Irish history where ‘large numbers of Catholics simply defied the rulings of the church’: Fenianism, the Parnell crisis and the Civil War.<sup>139</sup> Whyte does not believe that the War of Independence gave rise to any of the crises of conscience resolved in this way. This view is shared by Tomás Ó Fiaich, who, though professing to be ‘never very anxious to investigate cases of this kind’, interviewed Volunteer veterans about the subject and found that the strain on their loyalty to the church was much more acute during the Civil War.<sup>140</sup> From the evidence used by these authors, it seems that the strategy of sidestepping clerical condemnation by accusing the church of ultracrepidarianism worked very well for many republicans during the War of Independence.

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<sup>139</sup> Whyte, *Church*, p. 10.

<sup>140</sup> Ó Fiaich, ‘Clergy’, p. 501.

### **2.3 Summary**

The present chapter has discussed the achievement of historiography in the fields of religious history and the history of the War of Independence. This discussion has given rise to a number of questions concerning the attitude of the clergy to the use of political violence. Thus the hypothesis that a generational difference between senior and junior priests determined their response to republicanism needs to be tested. Moreover, the extent of any clerical support for the republican movement must be gauged to see if it included I.R.A. actions as well as non-violent activities. The content of the religious images and arguments used by clerics in formulating an attitude must also be examined. Such an analysis will discover how priests availed of the theological and spiritual traditions of the church to legitimise or condemn the use of violence in the present. The geographically differentiated incidence of violence during the War of Independence must be compared with the utterances and activities of priests in order to establish if they correspond to each other. Finally, the clergy's attitude towards sectarianism and the social conservatism of the republican movement must be examined. The following chapters will address these questions based on primary source material. The next chapter will begin by looking at clerical condemnation of republican violence.

### 3. OBEYING THE LAW OF GOD: CONDEMNATION

#### 3.1 ‘Thou shalt not kill’: themes of moral condemnation

##### 3.1.1 *The fifth commandment*

The most obvious feature to strike any inquirer into the attitude of priests towards republican violence during the War of Independence is the frequency with which they denounced it. Newspapers published many accounts of clerical condemnation during the period. In order to obtain an indication of the frequency and geographical spread of these denunciations, it is helpful to examine reports of them in two national newspapers. Both the weekly *Irish Catholic* and the daily *Irish Independent* took a keen interest in the views and utterances of the clergy and covered the entire country. When each issue of these journals is perused for the period beginning in January 1919 and ending in July 1921, and double reports of the same comments are taken into account, there were 223 instances of condemnation of republican violence by a total number of 140 bishops and priests.<sup>1</sup> It is not to be assumed that this was the total number of clerical condemnations, as it is very likely that many comments made by priests – especially after the occurrence of minor incidents of violence in the parish – never came to the attention of the press.

In table 1 these 223 cases have been broken down according to time and place. When the emerging pattern is compared with the number of non-agrarian indictable offences recorded by the R.I.C. – which give some indication of levels of I.R.A. violence during the war – the two sets of figures show a roughly similar chronological trend: generally low levels until the spring of 1920, then a marked increase before figures drop off again in the summer of 1921.<sup>2</sup> And a comparison with Hart’s data about the spatial distribution of I.R.A. violence per 10,000 people shows approximately the same geographical spread: the reports of clerical denunciation came mostly from Munster. County Cork was in the lead and Galway, Tipperary, Kerry and Longford followed. Hart calculated that I.R.A. violence per 10,000 people was most frequent in Counties Cork, Longford, Kerry, Clare, Tipperary and

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<sup>1</sup> See table 1.

<sup>2</sup> For R.I.C. figures on indictable offences, see Townshend, *Campaign*, p. 213.

Roscommon.<sup>3</sup> Thus it appears that clerics condemned I.R.A. violence more often as it became more frequent and as they lived closer to areas where it was more common.

*Table 1: Chronological and geographical spread of clerical condemnations of republican violence reported in the Irish Catholic and the Irish Independent, January 1919 – July 1921<sup>4</sup>*

County	Period					Total per county
	Jan. – June 1919	July – Dec. 1919	Jan. – June 1920	July – Dec. 1920	Jan. – July 1921	
<i>Ulster</i>						
Antrim	1	-	-	-	-	1
Armagh	1	1	-	2	3	7
Cavan	-	-	2	3	3	8
Derry	-	-	2	-	1	3
Donegal	-	-	-	2	3	5
Down	-	-	-	2	3	5
Monaghan	-	-	-	-	1	1
Tyrone	-	-	-	-	1	1
<i>Leinster</i>						
Carlow	-	-	1	2	1	4
Dublin	-	1	1	-	-	2
Kildare	-	-	-	1	-	1
Kilkenny	-	1	1	1	1	4
Longford	-	-	3	4	2	9
Louth	-	1	-	1	3	5
Meath	-	3	1	1	-	5
Offaly	-	-	-	4	-	4
Westmeath	-	-	-	4	-	4
Wexford	-	2	2	1	1	6
Wicklow	-	-	1	1	-	2
<i>Munster</i>						
Clare	-	4	-	5	1	10
Cork	3	5	20	16	5	49
Kerry	-	-	2	2	5	9
Limerick	1	-	1	1	-	4
Tipperary	10	1	9	5	2	27
Waterford	-	-	-	2	-	2

<sup>3</sup> For the geographical distribution of I.R.A. violence, see Hart, 'Geography', pp 147-54. Hart measured I.R.A. violence by calculating victims per 10,000 people.

<sup>4</sup> Based on entries from the *Irish Catholic* and the *Irish Independent* in appendices 2.1 and 2.2. Every issue of these two newspapers for the period was examined. There were no reports from Counties Fermanagh and Laois (Queen's County).

<i>Connacht</i>						
Galway	1	1	8	7	6	23
Leitrim	2	-	9	-	5	9
Mayo	3	-	-	-	1	4
Roscommon	-	-	-	5	1	6
Sligo	-	1	-	1	1	3
Total per period	22	12	56	41	31	223

When denouncing republican violence, priests and bishops used two distinct lines of argumentation: one denounced republican violence on moral grounds and the other on grounds of expediency. These two arguments were, of course, not mutually exclusive. Although some clerics are recorded to have used only one of them consistently throughout the struggle, others used both simultaneously or alternately, depending on the precise event that provoked their comment. Sections 3.1 and 3.2 will discuss the evidence for denunciations on moral grounds; section 3.3 will discuss that on grounds of expediency. Priests and bishops who publicly condemned republican violence often provided a rationale for doing so. Usually the reasons given referred to the standard moral theological discourse taught both in popular catechesis and in Catholic seminaries at the time. The present section will discuss some common themes that recurred frequently and will briefly explore their theological background.

The 1914 *Penny catechism* treated as follows the prohibition of murder found in the biblical decalogue and rendered as the fifth of the ten commandments in the Catholic tradition:

Q. Say the fifth commandment.

A. The fifth commandment is: Thou shalt not kill.

Q. What is forbidden by the fifth commandment?

A. The fifth commandment forbids all wilful murder, quarrelling, fighting, drunkenness, hatred, anger, and revenge.

Q. What else is forbidden by the fifth commandment?

A. The fifth commandment also forbids all injurious words, the giving of scandal or bad example, and not to ask pardon of those whom we have offended (Matt. v. 39).<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> *Catechism ordered by the National Synod of Maynooth and approved by the cardinal, the archbishops and the bishops of Ireland for general use throughout the Irish church* (repr. ed., Galway, s.a.), p. 36 ('Lesson 18. – On the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth commandments'). The original prohibition is from Exodus 20:13 and Deuteronomy 5:17. It is the sixth commandment in the Jewish, Orthodox and Protestant traditions. For a lucid explanation of this divergence see Diarmaid MacCulloch, *A history of Christianity. The first three thousand years* (London, 2010), pp 443-4.

Similar principles were expounded in the moral theological handbooks or manuals used for the teaching of theology in seminaries. Thus the handbook of moral theology used at a number of Irish seminaries in the early decades of the twentieth century, Jean Pierre Gury's *Compendium theologiae moralis*,<sup>6</sup> defined the fifth commandment as follows:

By this commandment homicide is directly and explicitly prohibited, that is: every unjust and violent killing of a human being by a human being; indirectly and implicitly, however, every unjust harming, wounding or mutilation of the body, either one's own or someone else's, and consequently everything which proximately disposes towards this, such as hatred, discord etc., is also prohibited.<sup>7</sup>

Apart from the 'killing of one's neighbour' ('occisio proximi'), Gury's discussion of the commandment also included suicide, duelling and warfare, and was typical of the manualist tradition in its casuistic approach to the subject. Thus he debated such pressing questions as whether it was permitted for a virgin to 'expose herself to the danger of death in the service of her chastity' – it was – or even to 'kill herself rather than be violated' – it was *probably* not.<sup>8</sup> As to the killing of one's neighbour, Gury distinguished three categories. Firstly, there was the 'killing of a culprit or criminal' ('occisio rei seu malefactoris'), which could be done legitimately on public authority. Secondly, there was the 'killing of an unjust aggressor' ('occisio injusti aggressoris'), which could be done legitimately by anyone in defence of his life or that of others. Thirdly, there was the 'killing of one who is innocent' ('occisio innocentis'), which was always morally wrong, whether it be done on public or private authority or even to serve the common good.<sup>9</sup>

When commenting on acts of violence perpetrated by republicans, Irish priests often referred to these moral precepts to condemn such acts. Thus at mass in June 1919, Father

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<sup>6</sup> I am grateful to Rt Rev. Prof. Patrick J. Corish, St. Patrick's college, Maynooth, who informed me of its use in Maynooth. Walter McDonald also mentions the book in his memoir: Walter McDonald, *Reminiscences of a Maynooth professor* (London, 1925), p. 196. It was also used in Holy Cross college, Clonliffe, Dublin, see Richard Sherry, *Holy Cross college, Clonliffe, Dublin, 1859-1959. College history and centenary record* (Dublin, 1962), p. 77. Gury's handbook became a model of the genre and was the basis for many subsequent manuals, see John A. Gallagher, *Time past, time future. An historical study of Catholic moral theology* (Mahwah, NJ, 1990), p. 51. I am grateful to Prof. Frans Vosman, Tilburg University, for this reference.

<sup>7</sup> Ioannes Petrus Gury, *Compendium theologiae moralis* (Regensburg, 1862), pp 149-59. 'Prohibetur hoc praecepto directe et explicite homicidium, id est: omnis injusta et violenta hominis occisio ab homine facta; indirecte autem et implicite quaelibet injusta laesio, vulneratio, aut mutilatio corporis sive proprii sive alieni, et consequenter prohibentur etiam ea omnia, quae proxime ad haec disponunt, ut odium, dissensiones etc.'

<sup>8</sup> Gury, *Compendium*, p. 150.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 151-5.

Michael Ryan, administrator of Thurles cathedral, denounced the killing in his town of R.I.C. District Inspector Michael Hunt. He said that ‘amongst the most elementary truths of Christian morality is that in the commandment “thou shalt not kill”, a truth which children are taught to grasp as soon as they understand the most elementary principles of right and wrong’.<sup>10</sup> He admitted that ‘side issues’, such as the injustice of British rule and the fact that Hunt was a man who had not ‘studied the art of winning popularity’, might dull a Catholic’s sense of horror at the murder. Nevertheless, ‘they should not blind him to a light clearer than that of day’. Some months later, another member of the R.I.C., Constable Luke Finnegan, was fatally shot in Thurles. Ryan’s curate and namesake Father Michael K. Ryan condemned the act in a sermon in the cathedral. He asked ‘if anyone believed he could dispense with God’s commandment, “thou shalt not kill”, or that he was justified in firing volley after volley into the body of a policeman?’<sup>11</sup> Ryan used highly emotive imagery to associate approval of Finnegan’s shooting with a deliberate and personal rejection of God: ‘If anybody approved or taught it, let him come to Jesus Christ and say – “I tear your fifth commandment in your face, and throw it back to you”.’

Bishop Daniel Cohalan of Cork also quoted the fifth commandment when he condemned the use of firearms by Volunteers while raiding police barracks, even if the intention was to take the barracks without loss of life. Cohalan admonished his audience in a sermon in the north cathedral in Cork in March 1920 that ‘where an attack involved danger to life it also involved the malice of murder, being violations of the divine commandment, “thou shalt not kill”’.<sup>12</sup> And in January 1921, Bishop William Codd of Ferns decried the fact that the ‘divine command, “thou shalt not kill,”’ had been ‘flagrantly violated in various parts of the country, and in the County Wexford also’.<sup>13</sup>

More general references to republican violence against the Crown forces as a violation of the ‘law of God’ were also common. When two constables were killed by Volunteers at Soloheadbeg, County Tipperary, in January 1919, Archbishop John Mary Harty of Cashel and Emly told a congregation in Thurles cathedral that he condemned ‘the crime as an offence against the laws of God’, and that they all had a ‘deep sense of the outrage that has been committed against Christian morals’.<sup>14</sup> Similarly, Father Ryan of Thurles followed his

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<sup>10</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 5 July 1919.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 31 Jan. 1920.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 20 Mar. 1920.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 15 Jan. 1921. Other examples of condemnations of violations of the fifth commandment: Archbishop Thomas Gilmartin of Tuam, *ibid.*, 14 June 1919; Dr Timothy Hurley, C.C. Strokestown, *ibid.*, 23 Oct. 1920; Thomas Canon O’Reilly, P.P. Leitrim, *ibid.*, 5 Feb. 1921.

<sup>14</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 1 Feb. 1919.

curate in denouncing the killing of Constable Finnegan in January 1920 as evidence of a ‘deplorable disregard for one of the most solemn ordinances of God’.<sup>15</sup> Father Thomas Lynch, curate in Athenry, County Galway, also invoked the ‘law of God’ when he told a congregation in March 1920 that the murder of landlord Frank Shaw-Taylor earlier that week was entirely unjustifiable, ‘for it was a direct violation of the law of God’.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 31 Jan. 1920.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 13 Mar. 1920. Other examples of condemnations of ‘violations of the law of God’: Bishop Cohalan, *ibid.*, 15 Feb. 1919; Father J. O’Gorman, C.C. Kilrush, *ibid.*, 23 Aug. 1919; Bishop Thomas O’Dea of Galway and the priests of Kilfenora diocese, *ibid.*, 2 Oct. 1920.



### 3.1.2 *Killing policemen and soldiers*

Denunciations of attacks on members of the Crown forces made up the bulk of published newspaper reports of clerical comments on the I.R.A. campaign. Many of these were intended to convince their audience that policemen and soldiers were not somehow exempt from the moral prohibition against murder because they were employed by the Crown. A number of historians have argued that ostracism of the R.I.C. by the local community was a necessary precondition for the successful radicalisation of Volunteers.<sup>17</sup> Clerical insistence on the humanity and the Catholic virtues of the constabulary shows that priests were often determined to counter this process of exclusion. Thus Father Daniel Kiely, parish priest of Templemore, County Tipperary, was quoted in the *Irish Catholic* in May 1919 as having said that the killing of a sergeant and constable during the Knocklong rescue incident ‘was a crime against God and against man’.<sup>18</sup> Although people ‘could cloak the crime with a political cover if they liked ... no matter how they tried to disguise it, murder was murder – and in this case it was cold-blooded’. And Father William Mullins, curate in Lahinch, County Clare, told a congregation after the killing of a sergeant and constable at Ennistymon in August 1919 that ‘if such a crime occurred in the heart of darkest Africa men would look for vengeance in order that an example might be made. ... Did it not make them hang their heads with shame to think that in this, the most Catholic county in Ireland, such a brutal deed could be committed in their midst?’<sup>19</sup>

A specific way to undermine the idea that servants of the Crown were enemies liable to be shot was to stress their humanity and Catholic virtues. Thus Father T. Dooley, curate in Toomevara, County Tipperary, gave a vivid description of the assistance he had offered to the victim of an I.R.A. ambush in his parish on the eve of St. Patrick’s day, 1920. The account emphasised the innocence of the victim and the fact that he had died a virtuous Catholic death:

I saw ... the murdered innocent young man with his head laid in the gutter. I put my hat under his poor head. Serg[ean]t Bergley, like the brave, humane man that he is, stripped off his tunic and placed it under the head of his murdered comrade. Who was the foul criminal that dared

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<sup>17</sup> See Townshend, ‘Development’, p. 330; Augusteijn, *Defiance*, pp 318-45 and 344; W. J. Lowe, ‘The war against the R.I.C., 1919-21’, *Éire-Ireland. An Interdisciplinary Journal of Irish Studies*, xxxvii, no. 3-4 (2002), pp 79-117, at p. 85.

<sup>18</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 24 May 1919.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 23 Aug. 1919.

in the very presence of the almighty God to usurp the divine functions? ... I watched by the poor innocent sufferer from 7 o'clock till he breathed his last, and it was never my privilege to watch the flight of a more sinless soul to his Maker than that of young Const[able] Rock.<sup>20</sup>

Another attempt to challenge the enemy status accorded to the R.I.C. was made by John Canon Gunning, parish priest of Tobercurry, County Sligo, in October 1920. Gunning responded to the killing of District Inspector James Brady by reading a letter from the dead man's father during his sermon at mass. In this remarkably magnanimous letter, Brady assured Gunning that neither he nor his wife

entertains the least feeling of ill-will towards anyone in connection with the tragedy. God's holy will be done. It was his way of bringing Jim to heaven ... My wife and I were deeply grieved to learn of the reprisals that have taken place in your parish ... If anything could now make my poor boy unhappy it would be to know that he was the innocent cause of injury to anyone.<sup>21</sup>

Not only did this letter enable Gunning to hold up Brady's family as exemplary Catholics, it also allowed him to condemn the Crown forces who had exacted a revenge which the victim's parents did not seek.

Yet another example was provided by Philip Canon Murphy, parish priest of Castlemartyr, County Cork, in November 1920. Two constables were killed in his parish. In his sermon the following Sunday he recounted how he had attended one of the dying men after he had been shot:

It is my duty ... to condemn in the strongest language that indefensible and odious outrage which has taken place in our midst in the killing of poor Constable Quinn and the wounding of Sergeant Curley ... It was pitiable to see poor Constable Quinn dragged, mortally wounded, by a woman from the street into a hallway, where I had to kneel in a pool of blood to hear his confession and speak words of prayer, encouragement, and hope into his dying ears.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 27 Mar. 1920.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 16 Oct. 1920.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 4 Dec. 1920. Other examples of condemnations of violence against R.I.C. men: Father William Keogh, C.C. Soloheadbeg, *ibid.*; Thomas Canon Shinkwin, P.P. Glanmire, *ibid.*; Bishop Cohalan, Pastoral letter, 12 Dec. 1920 (Cork and Ross Diocesan Archives [C.D.A.], Daniel Cohalan papers, box vi).

In one exceptional case in Listowel, County Kerry, constables who were involved in a mutiny from the R.I.C. in July 1920, sought a safe-guard from a priest once they had cut their links with the constabulary and were cast upon the world without protection. Constable Jeremiah Mee together with a number of fellow constables decided to leave the R.I.C. for conscientious reasons.<sup>23</sup> They went to see Father Charles O’Sullivan, a curate in Listowel with strong links to the I.R.A., who wrote a letter for each of the defectors to testify to their character and their honourable motives and commending them to the ‘esteem, patronage and protection of [their] fellow countrymen everywhere’.

Priests not only condemned violence against the R.I.C., but also against the military. When a soldier was seriously injured at Mount Massey, Macroom, County Cork, by Volunteers in an attempt to disarm him in January 1919, Father Maurice Brew, the local curate, condemned the attack as ‘unjustifiable from every point of view’.<sup>24</sup> He continued by challenging the notion that soldiers were culpable oppressors of the Irish people: ‘The soldiers were there against their will, and were as little responsible for the provocative policy of the government in this country as they were for the discussion at the peace conference’. When the I.R.A. killed a soldier in Fermoy in September 1919, Father John O’Donoghue, administrator of the parish, declared at mass that ‘the law of almighty God had been violated, an innocent life had been taken, and he, in the discharge of his duty, publicly denounced and condemned this most hideous crime’.<sup>25</sup> His curate, Father John Nunan, said at a later mass that ‘it was a most appalling tragedy, and every surrounding circumstance increased the enormity and wickedness. None of them knew where the authors of that horrible outrage came from or whence [sic] they went. Whoever they were they had usurped in a flagrant manner the right that belongs to God alone’.<sup>26</sup>

Other priests expressed their disapproval of republican violence in more general reflections on the state of the country. Thus Father Canice O’Gorman, O.E.S.A., a senior Augustinian priest who worked at his order’s general curia in Rome, was reported in May 1919 to have been ‘going around denouncing red ruin [and] revolution in all moods [and] tenses at his visitations’.<sup>27</sup> At a meeting of the local United Irish League branch in November

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<sup>23</sup> J. Anthony Gaughan (ed.), *Memoirs of constable Jeremiah Mee, R.I.C.* (Dublin, 1975), pp 116-7.

<sup>24</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 8 Feb. 1919. For the attack, see Kee, *Flag*, p. 633.

<sup>25</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 20 Sept. 1919.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.* Other examples of condemnations of violence against the military: Father Daniel Hughes, C.C. Ferrybank, *ibid.*, 19 July 1919; Father Denis Dennehy, C.C. Middleton, *ibid.*, 11 Sept. 1920; Dean Roderick Gearty, P.P. Strokestown, *ibid.*, 9 Apr. 1921.

<sup>27</sup> Curran to Hagan, 11 May 1919 (Archives of the Pontifical Irish College, Rome [A.I.C.R.], John Hagan papers, HAG1/1919/106). See Keogh, *Vatican*, p. 22 for more about O’Gorman.

1919, the parish priest of Ballymurn, County Wexford, targeted the Volunteers more directly. John Canon Walsh ‘denounced the physical force movement, and said that crime and outrage, instead of helping the Irish cause, only covered it with dishonour and disgrace’.<sup>28</sup> A resolution was passed at the meeting which condemned ‘the cowardly and brutal murders committed in several parts of the country as being not only forbidden by divine and human law, but inflicting a stain on the national character’.

The killing of officers of the Crown and the republican contention that such killings were acts of warfare and not murder were evidence for some clerics of a sinister collapse of the morality of the Catholic community. Thus the formidable dean of Cashel, Innocent Ryan, speaking in February 1920, complained that ‘there was a loosening of principles which they considered a second nature of their race. Otherwise how explain those robberies they read of every day, or the horrible murders, formerly so rare, now, alas! so frequent’.<sup>29</sup> Ryan blamed intimidation and peer pressure for the fact that so few dared to contradict the advocates of physical force: ‘Many people are afraid to raise their voices against wicked counsels and corrupt projects’. However, his argument also assumed that popular acclaim was to be had for supporting the use of violence: ‘They go with the crowd, and, through fear or for popular applause, encourage the foolhardy’. Some priests drew from this the conclusion that republicanism and nationalism as such were dangerous things. Thus Nicholas Canon Murphy of Kilmanagh, County Kilkenny, wrote to the editor of the *Irish Catholic* in July 1920 to congratulate him on his ‘timely protest against the un-Catholic teaching, that in times of revolt the commandments may be set aside....’<sup>30</sup> He evoked a sharp contrast between Catholicism and republicanism:

Nationality or patriotism, if carried too far, may become a species of idolatry before which all must bow down, as in the time of our Redeemer. What did the great majority of the chosen people care about this heavenly kingdom or its King? ... What an awful crime ... the assassination of so many policemen and others must be, and what a stain on the fame of holy Ireland. Freedom worth having cannot come to us by such means. It must come from God’s right hand – the kingdom of heaven first and above all.

Most clerics, however, seem to have emphasised that, though republican political objectives were legitimate, the use of violence to obtain them was not. In January 1920,

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<sup>28</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 22 Nov. 1919.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 7 Feb. 1920.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 24 July 1920.

Father Denis Flynn, parish priest of Kells, County Meath, told a congregation at mass that while they were ‘perfectly justified in demanding a change of government ... murder, whether of a rich man or poor man, policeman or civilian, was murder’.<sup>31</sup> Men who engaged in raiding for arms or money ‘may wear their masks, and were disguised before man, but before God there was no disguise. He saw and knew them all, and in his sight they were simply undisguised rogues and ruffians’. Almost a year later, Father John McSwiney, curate in Bandon, County Cork, similarly advised ‘youthful patriots’ during a sermon at mass to:

keep inviolate the sacred precepts which forbids [sic] the taking of human life, abandon those murderous attacks on the police and military; concentrate, if you will, on organised passive resistance; fall on your knees before the throne of grace and mercy, and then God will bestow that freedom which his eternal counsel has decreed for our good.<sup>32</sup>

Many clerical comments on attacks against the British forces challenged the notion that it was acceptable to kill servants of the Crown, or undermined it by stressing the bonds of humanity and Catholicity that linked them to the Irish majority. Other statements show a sense of alarm at the perceived disintegration of elementary moral convictions among Irish Catholics. Both concerns were expressed by Michael Canon O’Donnell, parish priest of Rathkeale, County Limerick, in a letter he wrote to the rector of the Irish college in Rome, Michael O’Riordan, after the Soloheadbeg shooting in January 1919. He was responding to an earlier letter from O’Riordan, in which the latter had apparently defended the morality of republican acts of violence as long as they had a chance of success. O’Donnell wrote that ‘as far as I am able to ascertain the views of others, I conclude that a majority of the bishops [and] priests of the country are opposed to the Sinn Fein policy, [and] I believe opposed to it on the grounds of morality’.<sup>33</sup> He then quoted a respected fellow-priest who had said to him: ‘strange that the principles we learned in college are being upset at the present day’. O’Donnell had an opportunity to reiterate the same views in public more than a year later when Sergeant George Neazor was shot dead by Volunteers in Rathkeale in early March 1920. He said then that ‘no amount of government provocation could excuse such deeds. The

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 24 Jan. 1920.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 11 Dec. 1920.

<sup>33</sup> O’Donnell to O’Riordan, 30 Jan. 1919 (A.I.C.R., Michael O’Riordan papers, box 19, folder 190, no. 14). See appendix 1.2 for the full text of this letter.

people should nurture and stimulate healthy Catholic opinion, and no longer tolerate such unholy doings in their midst'.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 20 Mar. 1920. Other examples of more general denunciations of republican violence: Father James McKeone, Adm. Dundalk, *ibid.*, 23 Aug. 1919; Msgr Bartholomew FitzPatrick, P.P. St. Kevin's Harrington Str., Dublin, *ibid.*, 2 Nov. 1920; James Canon Halpin, P.P. Tulla, *ibid.*, 9 Oct. 1920.

### 3.1.3 'Sudden and unprovided death': rituals of death and sins of the mind

Another recurring theme was the contention that killing someone was especially heinous if the victim was not given time to prepare spiritually for his death. The history of Catholic spirituality had a long tradition of the 'good death', which not only required the right spiritual disposition on the part of the dying person, but also the sacramental ministrations of a priest.<sup>35</sup> The priest would hear the dying person's confession, bestow indulgenced apostolic benediction, administer the sacrament of extreme unction and give holy communion as 'viaticum' or 'food for the journey'. The necessity and form of this ritualisation of death were communicated to the laity during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries through the medium of popular missals.<sup>36</sup> These often included instruction for relatives as to the liturgical objects required for the priest's visit on a sick call, the text of the liturgy of extreme unction and that of appropriate devotional prayers such as the 'prayers for the dying'.<sup>37</sup> Many of these prayer books disseminated the idea that the moment of death was a particularly significant one with regard to the dying person's eternal fate. Immediately upon departing this life, the soul faced judgment, whereafter it would either ascend to heaven – directly or through purgatory – or descend to eternal punishment in hell. Consequently, a sudden death, which left no time to make peace with God, became the object of particular fear for many Catholics. The faithful were encouraged throughout their lives to ask God and the saints for the grace of a happy death, and many prayers to obtain this favour were circulated in popular devotional texts.<sup>38</sup> One such prayer was the pious ejaculation 'From a sudden and unprovided death, deliver us, O Lord', derived from the litany of the saints.<sup>39</sup>

It was a recognised principle in theology, however, that God granted pardon for sins committed even without the sacramental ministry of a priest if people 'made an act of perfect contrition' in the moment of death. The *Penny catechism* explained that 'perfect contrition will reconcile us to God, and give us pardon of our sins' if 'we cannot go to confession soon

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<sup>35</sup> See Philippe Ariès, *L'homme devant la mort* (Paris, 1977) for an overview and interpretation of this tradition. See Lawrence J. Taylor, 'Bás i-nÉirinn. Cultural constructions of death in Ireland', *Anthropological Quarterly*, lxii, no. 4 (1989), pp 175-87, at pp 179-83 for a discussion of 'Catholic death' in Ireland.

<sup>36</sup> See André Haquin, 'The liturgical movement and Catholic ritual revision', in Geoffrey Wainwright and Karen B. Westerfield Tucker (eds), *The Oxford history of Christian worship* (Oxford and New York, 2006), pp 696-720 for the history of popular missals and Joseph A. Chinnichi, 'The Catholic community at prayer, 1926-1976', in James M. O'Toole (ed.), *Habits of devotion. Catholic religious practice in twentieth-century America* (Ithaca, 2005), pp 9-88 for a discussion of the spread of popular missals in the United States during a later period.

<sup>37</sup> See for instance *The Roman missal adapted to the use of the laity from the Missale Romanum* (21st ed., Toronto, 1913).

<sup>38</sup> See for instance *The golden manual, being a guide to Catholic devotion, public and private, compiled from approved sources* (New York, 1902), p. 249.

<sup>39</sup> 'A subitanea et improvisa morte, libera nos, Domine': *Golden manual*, p. 74.

after falling into mortal sin'.<sup>40</sup> Similarly, Gury's *Compendium theologiae moralis* taught that 'perfect contrition justifies man by itself even outside of the sacrament of penance'.<sup>41</sup> It hastened to add, however, that perfect contrition had this effect only when accompanied by the desire to receive the sacrament, since 'the sacrament of penance actually received or at least desired is the only medium instituted by Christ to remit sins committed after baptism'. Perfect contrition was defined by the Council of Trent as 'sorrow of the soul and a detestation for sin committed, with the purpose of not sinning in the future', and was distinct from imperfect contrition or attrition in being inspired by love of God and not by fear of punishment.<sup>42</sup> Children were taught the text of an act of contrition in the *Penny catechism*, not only so that they would know to use it during confession, but also so that they would be well prepared if some fatal danger were to come their way. Moreover, Catholics who whispered the act of contrition into the ear of a person ostensibly in danger of death were praised for their exemplary conduct.<sup>43</sup>

Referring to the theme of preparedness for death in a sermon at mass after the Soloheadbeg shootings of January 1919, Arthur Canon Ryan, parish priest of Tipperary, denied that the killing of the two constables could be compared to the killing of soldiers in war or the execution of criminals:

The soldier, before he faced the enemy's bullets, prepared himself for death. ... Even the murderer who paid the penalty of his crime on the scaffold, had the benefit of the ministrations of his clergyman. But the murderers with the blackened faces and blacker hearts

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<sup>40</sup> *Catechism*, p. 24.

<sup>41</sup> Gury, *Compendium*, p. 510: 'Contritio perfecta hominem justificat *per se* etiam extra sacramentum Poenitentiae. ... Contritio *perfecta* non remittit peccata mortalia seu hominem non justificat nisi cum voto confessionis ... atqui sacramentum poenitentiae in re vel saltem in voto est unicum medium a Christo institutum ad remittenda peccata post baptismum patrata'.

<sup>42</sup> Definition of contrition: *Canones et decreta sacrosancti oecumenici concilii Tridentini sub Paulo III. Iulio III. et Pio IV. pontificibus maximis cum patrum subscriptionibus* (Rome, 1866), p. 73: sessio xiv, cap. 4: 'Contritio ... animi dolor ac detestatio est de peccato commisso cum proposito non peccandi de cetero'. Distinction between perfect and imperfect contrition: Gury, *Compendium*, p. 505: 'Contritio duplex distinguitur: 1. *Perfecta*, quae est detestatio peccati orta ex motivo speciali caritatis perfectae seu bonitatis Dei *propter se* summe dilecti. 2. *Imperfecta* seu *attritio*, quae est detestatio peccati orta ex alio motivo supernaturali, v.g. ... ex metu inferni...'

<sup>43</sup> *Catechism*, p. 24. The text of the traditional 'act of contrition' in English was 'O my God! I am heartily sorry for having offended thee, and I detest my sins above every other evil, because they displease thee, my God, who for thy infinite goodness art so deserving of all my love; and I firmly resolve, by thy holy grace, never more to offend thee, and to amend my life'. (Ibid.). For lay Catholics whispering an act of contrition into the ear of victims of violence see *Irish Catholic*, 17 July 1920 and 12 Mar. 1921.



gave their victims no such chance. They shot them as if there were no immortal souls within those poor bodies – as if there were no judgment to follow instant death.<sup>44</sup>

Similarly, Bishop Thomas O’Dea of Galway and Kilmacduagh condemned the killing of two constables near Ennistymon in early August 1919 by observing that ‘one of the victims has been mercilessly sent before his God without notice or preparation ... God grant that those who shot [him] may not themselves meet with such an unprovided death’.<sup>45</sup> When a sergeant was killed in Lorrha, County Tipperary, in September, the parish priest, Father John Gleeson, was also shocked that the victim had not been given a chance to prepare for his death: ‘he ... fell dead, without having time to say an act of contrition; but I believe he was fully prepared to die’.<sup>46</sup>

Clerics professed to be especially horrified that young Catholic Irishmen displayed such a lack of religious sensibility. Thus Bishop Morrisroe of Achonry told the parish priest of Tobercurry in a public letter in November 1920 that he regretted that

fine young fellows, so stainless and pure in most ways, ... will ... speed the bullet that leaves wife without husband, child without father, and that will, perhaps – most awful reflection of all – send a soul for which Christ died into the presence of its Maker without a moment’s time for preparation.<sup>47</sup>

When gunmen looking for arms fatally shot Ellen Morris in her home in Ballagh, County Wexford, in February 1920, they prevented family members from sending for a priest for two hours. Father John Maher, parish priest of Oulart, commented at mass on the subsequent Sunday that, ‘not content with taking the woman’s life, these men – Irishmen – refused to let the priest be sent for to help the dying woman to meet her Judge. That is the crowning horror of this revolting crime’.<sup>48</sup>

Priests and bishops not only denounced killings and other acts of violence by republicans, they also warned the faithful not to sympathise with such deeds of bloodshed.

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<sup>44</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 1 Feb. 1919. For Ryan’s background in the years leading up to the Soloheadbeg ambush see Denis G. Marnane, ‘Canon Arthur Ryan, the National Volunteers and army recruitment in Tipperary’, *Tipperary Historical Journal* (2006), pp 150-73 and idem, ‘The War of Independence in Tipperary town and district. Part one: chronology’, *Tipperary Historical Journal* (2008), pp 142-57.

<sup>45</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 16 Aug. 1919.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 13 Sept. 1919. See appendix 1.1 for the full text of Gleeson’s sermon as it appeared in the press.

<sup>47</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 16 Oct. 1920.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 28 Feb. 1920. For a description of the shooting, which happened after Morris defended herself against her attacker with a spade, see *Irish Times*, 16 Feb. 1920.

Canon Walsh of Ballymurn contended in November 1919 that ‘he who committed a crime or endorsed it, or countenanced it in any way, even remotely, was an enemy of Ireland’.<sup>49</sup> Two months later, Bishop Foley of Kildare and Leighlin addressed a congregation in Carlow cathedral with the following warning:

[In] the inflamed state of the popular mind, there may be grave danger of permitting to spring up in your hearts sentiments which, if indulged in, must partake of a murderous character. You must be on your guard against permitting yourselves to deliberately indulge in sentiments of approval of murder, no matter who may be the victim, or who the doer of the dastardly deed; ... Beware, then, of thoughts of your minds, and the feelings of your hearts.<sup>50</sup>

And the archbishop of Armagh, Michael Cardinal Logue, reminded the clergy of his diocese on the occasion of St. Patrick’s day 1920 that the Irish people need not expect their patron saint’s intercession

if we do not abstain from crime which outrages the majesty of God. It were vain to raise blood-stained hands to heaven in appeal for peace. ... We cannot hope for God’s mercy and blessing if we either commit, encourage, approve, or even sympathise with crime.<sup>51</sup>

These warnings not to sympathise with republican violence betray unease as to whether the lay faithful fully shared the abhorrence of political bloodshed demanded by the precepts of moral theology. This unease was apparent also in the oft-repeated assertion by clergy that the people of the parish or the diocese in which such deeds took place had no knowledge of them. In a letter to Father Andrew Nestor, parish priest of Ennistymon, Bishop O’Dea wrote:

I need scarcely add that I do not assume that this crime has been committed by any of your people, or that they are in sympathy with the perpetrators. On the contrary, I believe that, like all right-minded men, they are horrified by this wanton disregard of human life and of God’s law.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 22 Nov. 1919.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 3 Jan. 1920.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 12 Mar. 1921. Other examples of warnings not to sympathise with republican acts of violence: Arthur Canon Ryan, P.P. Tipperary, *ibid.*, 1 Feb. 1919; Dean Innocent Ryan of Cashel, *ibid.*, 7 Feb. 1920; Bishop Codd of Ferns, *ibid.*, 15 Jan. 1921.

<sup>52</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 16 Aug. 1921.

When two arms raids were carried out in December 1919 and January 1920 in Tralee, the parish priest and dean of Kerry, David O'Leary, defended the reputation of his parishioners. He told a congregation at mass that

he felt bound to repudiate in the name of the people of Tralee any connection, direct or indirect, with these attacks. It was acknowledged on all hands that their people had nothing whatever to do with these attacks, and had no interest in them.<sup>53</sup>

And Father Matthew O'Farrell, parish priest of Skreen, County Meath, said at mass after the shooting of an R.I.C. sergeant in Lismullen that 'he wished it to go forth that no one belonging to that parish had hand, act or part in it'.<sup>54</sup> The frequent repetition of this theme raises the suspicion that priests were worried that the opposite might in fact be the case.

Bishop Joseph MacRory of Down and Connor condemned the killing of District Inspector Oswald Swanzy in Lisburn in August 1920 in an interview with a newspaper correspondent. When asked if he intended to send a public letter to the press denouncing the shooting, as he had done with the recent expulsion of Catholic workers from the Belfast shipyards, MacRory said that he did not, as 'he had no reason to think that any of his flock were concerned'.<sup>55</sup> Were he to write a letter of condemnation, this might 'be taken to imply that he believed members of his own flock to be implicated, and this he was especially anxious to avoid'. MacRory then told the reporter that 'for all he ... knew of the authors of the Lisburn tragedy they might be [atheists] or nihilists and not Catholics at all'. Unlikely as the suggestion was that atheists or nihilists were responsible for the killing, the frequent clerical assertion that local people had no responsibility for acts of violence committed locally was nevertheless not entirely without credibility. Augusteijn has shown that since I.R.A. brigade areas extended across county boundaries, Volunteers often took part in operations outside of their counties. Moreover, Volunteers at times also operated outside of their brigade areas, and in some parts of the country, such as Ulster, they operated away from their home area as a rule.<sup>56</sup>

Cardinal Logue may have referred to this practice when he denounced the killing of a constable in Dundalk in a letter to the administrator, Father James McKeone, in August 1920.

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<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 17 Jan. 1920.

<sup>54</sup> *Meath Chronicle*, 8 Nov. 1919.

<sup>55</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 28 Aug. 1920.

<sup>56</sup> Augusteijn, 'Accounting', pp 331-2.

He remarked that ‘no doubt the actors in this evil deed have come from outside – for this seems to be the policy of those who organise these crimes’.<sup>57</sup> Archbishop Thomas Gilmartin of Tuam also took this view in a public correspondence with the commander-in-chief of the army in Ireland in the summer of 1920. Gilmartin wrote a public letter to Sir Nevil Macready after Crown forces carried out reprisals in Tuam following the killing of two constables. Referring to the shooting of the policemen, Gilmartin said: ‘I am satisfied the good people of Tuam do reprobate this deed; but the sequel is calculated to seriously imperil the peace and good order of the town’.<sup>58</sup> Macready responded a few days later, writing that ‘he would be only too ready to share his grace’s opinion that no large section of the people of Tuam have sympathy with crime; but the fact that a jury could not be found to inquire into the shootings of policemen proves that the people are at least indifferent’.<sup>59</sup> The archbishop responded by insisting that ‘the assassination of two constables three miles from Tuam by unknown persons is no evidence that a large section, or even a small [section], of the people of the town have any sympathy with crime’.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 4 Sept. 1920.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 24 July 1920.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 31 July 1920.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.* Other examples of contentions that the local population bore no responsibility for republican acts of violence: Arthur Canon Ryan, P.P. Tipperary, *ibid.*, 1 Feb. 1919; Father Timothy Trant, P.P. Ballymacelligott, *ibid.*, 24 Jan. 1920; Father Joseph Sheridan, C.C. Mountcharles, *ibid.*, 5 Mar. 1921. See appendix 2.23 for further instances.

## 3.2 ‘The stain of blood’: further themes of moral condemnation

### 3.2.1 *The brand of Cain*

Condemnation of republican violence by the clergy was not a matter of dispassionate application of moral principles to practical cases. It was an understandably emotional affair, and the themes of moral condemnation chosen by priests reflected this reality. On 30 July 1919 detective Sergeant Patrick Smyth of the Dublin Metropolitan Police was shot in Drumcondra by Michael Collins’s I.R.A. intelligence unit. He died on 8 September. Four days later a second D.M.P. detective, Constable Daniel Hoey, was shot dead in the city centre of Dublin. On 1 October, Catholic layman James Fitzgerald wrote a letter to Archbishop Walsh of Dublin complaining that he had

not heard a word in condemnation of these crimes uttered by any priest in any Catholic church in Dublin. I respectfully point out to you as the spiritual guardian of the Catholics of this city that it is the duty of the clergy to condemn murder and to uphold the commandments of God.<sup>61</sup>

Fitzgerald contended that there was a secret society at work which carried out such killings and he asserted that

until our priests take their courage in their hands and openly condemn these revolting crimes the murders will continue and good Irishmen’s lives [be] destroyed. If there was one priest in each diocese to speak out like Father Gleeson of Lorrha the murder campaign would soon stop.

A few days previously, Gleeson had delivered an emotional sermon on the recent killing of Sergeant Philip Brady in his parish. Gleeson admitted that

Since the commission of this crime my whole outlook on life seems to be changed. The ... parish of Lorrha, in which I have been content to end my days, seems now to me to be changed into a desert of bitterness. Each morning when I look from my window I shall see the place where an innocent stranger was murdered in cold blood; the dead face of the murdered

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<sup>61</sup> Fitzgerald to Walsh, 1 Oct. 1919 (Dublin Diocesan Archives [D.D.A.], William Walsh papers, 386/8).

man will greet me. How can I care to die in this parish? We cannot restore life to the dead, nor remove from the clay of the parish the stain of blood.<sup>62</sup>

By no means all priests and bishops commenting on republican acts of violence showed such personal involvement with the victim. But many statements did betray a sense of shock at the fragility of the catechisation of Irish Catholics and of fear that the moral fabric of society was coming apart. Thus Canon O'Donnell of Rathkeale wrote to Rector O'Riordan in January 1919 that 'at the present day, people have lost their heads – there is a delirium going, the delirium of Sinn Fein.... If all that is not so, then it is myself that have the delirium.... There is a spirit of unrest in the country'.<sup>63</sup> This delirium could not be cured by mere denunciation. Archbishop Walsh, responding to criticism from people such as James Fitzgerald, acknowledged as much in a letter written in December 1919:

Do they really think that denunciation is an effective remedy for crime? Surely there is no one in Ireland sunk in such ignorance of the moral law as not to know that murder ... is one of the most appalling crimes in the whole catalogue of guilt.<sup>64</sup>

Father Gleeson, similarly convinced of the futility of simply pointing out that killings were morally wrong, went on in his sermon to denounce the killing of Sergeant Brady:

The sin of Cain has been committed in the peaceable parish of Lorrha; ... The brand of Cain lies on the assassins, who, standing behind a wall, slew an innocent man, almost at our own doors, on Tuesday night, and the shadow of that crime will hang over this parish for many generations. The murderers ... will walk, like Cain, fugitives on the earth. ... May the curse of Cain, the curse of the priest, and the curse of God fall on those who are guilty of this murder.<sup>65</sup>

This terminology – indelible stains of blood, the sin of Cain, the brand of Cain, the curse of Cain, the curse of the priest and of God – was quite different from the dispassionate, parenetic language of moral disapproval analysed in the previous section. Moreover, as will

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<sup>62</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 13 Sept. 1919.

<sup>63</sup> O'Donnell to O'Riordan, 30 Jan. 1919 (A.I.C.R., O'Riordan papers, box 19, folder 190, no. 14). Other examples of this: Father Michael Ryan, Adm. Thurles, *Irish Catholic*, 31 Jan. 1920; Dean Innocent Ryan, *ibid.*, 7 Feb. 1920; Bishop Denis Kelly of Ross, *ibid.*, 31 July 1920.

<sup>64</sup> Circular letter to the parish priests of the diocese of Dublin, newspaper cutting (D.D.A., Walsh papers, 386).

<sup>65</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 13 Sept. 1919.

be seen, some of it went beyond the confines of the teaching of the church. It referred not so much to the essentially rational discourse of moral theology, but to irrational, numinous sensibilities. Where simple condemnation of infractions upon the moral law proved to be ineffective, the almost magical connotations of this terminology would, it was hoped, have greater success. Vague popular traditions, moreover, which objectified moral evil by projecting it outwards onto actual, ‘cursed’ people and places could be merged quite easily with the biblical account of the primordial fratricide. Such language was criticised by priests of a more republican bent. Father John Magee, parish priest of Tober, County Offaly, responded angrily to Gleeson’s outburst in a letter to the *Irish Independent*. Referring to Gleeson’s invocation of curses he wrote that ‘the author of creation reserves such a matter to himself, and [Father] Gleeson might do well to respect the monopoly’.<sup>66</sup>

The parishioners of Swanlinbar, County Cavan, had no reservations about taking the ‘curse of the priest’ seriously when their parish priest denounced an act of violence that had taken place in their parish a year later. Police had been ambushed in the town by the I.R.A. in December 1920 and one constable was killed and two others badly wounded. The local parish priest denounced the incident and told his congregation that ‘the actual murderers [and] their relatives could not expect good luck even in this world’.<sup>67</sup> According to the R.I.C.’s county inspector for Cavan, it was well known locally that two brothers of a family named Leonard had been ‘the chief instruments in bringing the ambush off’. The two brothers judiciously absconded. Within a month of the priest’s denunciation local people looked on in horror as two Leonard sisters, who up to that time had been the picture of health, suddenly ‘pined away [and] died’. And when the Leonard parents were then also stricken by illness and were not expected to recover, the parish quickly made up its mind that these deeds were ‘acts of vengeance from on high’ in fulfilment of their parish priest’s dire predictions. Nor did the incident miss its effect on the local I.R.A., and the inspector general reported in May 1921 that the district was still comparatively peaceful owing to the ‘strange occurrence’ that had taken place in December.

Although the notion of the ‘curse of Cain’ had biblical roots, the transfer of the concept from the Old Testament to twentieth-century Ireland came with a subtle semantic shift. The book of Genesis recounts how Yahweh cursed Cain after he killed his brother Abel. Yahweh told Cain:

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<sup>66</sup> *Irish Independent*, 11 Sept. 1919. For an anthropological account of magical powers attributed to Irish priests, see Lawrence J. Taylor, *Occasions of faith. An anthropology of Irish Catholics* (Dublin, 1995), pp 102-66.

<sup>67</sup> Inspector general’s monthly confidential report [I.G.M.R.], May 1921 (The National Archives [T.N.A.], Colonial Office: Dublin Castle records, CO904/115).

Listen! Your brother's blood is crying out to me from the ground. Now be cursed and banned from the ground that has opened its mouth to receive your brother's blood at your hands ... a restless wanderer you will be upon the earth.<sup>68</sup>

This curse, however, was not itself the 'brand of Cain'. After Cain complained that this punishment was greater than he could bear, Yahweh put 'a mark' upon him 'so that no one coming across him would kill him'. The significance of this brand was that it was the pledge of a guarantee that 'whoever kills Cain will suffer a sevenfold vengeance'. Thus the biblical 'brand of Cain' was a mark of protection for the outcast killer, not itself a sign of the curse that rested upon him. The image was nevertheless used by priests in Ireland to indicate some kind of invisible brand which marked out the murderer for doom.

Thus Father Denis O'Brien, curate in Thurles, said in January 1920 that the killer of Constable Finnegan 'must have known and felt that ... he was imprinting on his own soul the brand of Cain, and staining it with blood which, as long as he lives, shall never cease to cry to heaven against him'.<sup>69</sup> Archbishop Gilmartin, preaching in Cummer near Corrofin, County Galway, in March 1920, referred to the fatal shooting of the farmer Martin Cullinane during a raid for arms. He evoked a chilling scene reminiscent of the dialogue between Yahweh and Cain:

The voice of God might be heard to-day in Cummer parish saying to some unfortunate soul: 'Where is Martin Cullinane, whose blood crieth to me from the hearthstone where he fell on Thursday night?' ... If the man who fired the shot which deprived a young wife of her husband and left four young children without a father should answer callously, as Cain did: 'I know not; am I my brother's keeper?', the voice which cursed Cain might resound in his ears now: 'Therefore cursed shalt thou be upon the earth'.<sup>70</sup>

The concept was, moreover, widened to include not only the killers themselves, but also those who sympathised with them, those who happened to live in the locality or in the entire parish. Bishop O'Dea wrote to Father R. McHugh, parish priest of Castlegar, County Galway, to condemn the killing of the caretaker of a local landowner's estate in March 1920. He said: 'I pray God ... to spare the murderers and your whole parish by not letting his curse,

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<sup>68</sup> Genesis 4:10-16 (*New Jerusalem Bible*)

<sup>69</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 31 Jan. 1920.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 13 Mar. 1920. See *Irish Times*, 6 Mar. 1920 for a description of the killing.



the curse of Cain, fall upon the murderer, or upon any of your people'.<sup>71</sup> Similarly Canon Ryan, administrator of Tipperary, said in January 1919 that he hoped and prayed that there was none among his parishioners who excused or justified the Soloheadbeg shooting, because those who did were 'partakers in this crime, and the curse of Cain that has ever followed the murderer will rest on them, too'.<sup>72</sup>

Not only the people involved were liable to be struck with the curse of Cain, the whole Irish nation and the cause of Irish freedom were also likely to be so afflicted. Commenting on the state of Ireland after it had escaped the ravages of the Great War, Bishop Denis Kelly of Ross stated in the summer of 1920 that 'they had now brought on war by their own act, and he feared also the curse of almighty God'.<sup>73</sup> Similarly, John Canon Hannon, parish priest of Miltown Malbay, County Clare, reflected on the shooting of a constable in his parish in April 1921 by asking 'how could such a deed bring a blessing on a cause, no matter how good? 'T was more likely to bring a curse and a blight'.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 13 Mar. 1920. This killing was linked to a land dispute and probably had no directly political aspect: *Meath Tribune*, 14 Feb. 1920.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 1 Feb. 1919. Other references to the curse of Cain: Father M. Heany, P.P. Caherlistrane, *ibid.*, 24 Jan. 1920; Father Michael Ryan, Adm. Thurles, *ibid.*, 9 Oct. 1920; Bishop Joseph Hoare of Ardagh and Clonmacnoise, *ibid.*, 5 Feb. 1921.

<sup>73</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 31 July 1920.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 9 Apr. 1921. Another example of references to the 'curse of God': Dean Innocent Ryan of Cashel, *ibid.*, 7 Feb. 1920.

### 3.2.2 'Out, damned spot': individual and collective responsibility

Underlying these references to the 'brand of Cain' was the belief that acts of violence disturbed a supernatural moral order. The shedding of blood left an indelible stain on the locality and on the country which transcended the issue of individual responsibility. Thus Bishop Kelly reflected in a sermon during holy week, 1919, in the pro-cathedral in Skibbereen that recent 'deeds done in Ireland' were 'a blot on their country; almighty God must be insulted at these wicked things, and it was their business to try to avert the vengeance of God'.<sup>75</sup> Archbishop Gilmartin warned a congregation at Claremorris, County Mayo, during a confirmation visit that 'God's commandments could not be violated with impunity, for God would strike sooner or later if people did not repent'.<sup>76</sup> When Sergeant Patrick Finnerty was shot dead in Balbriggan, County Dublin, on 14 April 1920, the parish priest, Eugene Canon Byrne, told his audience that 'he hoped that the scourge of God would not fall on his parish' on account of the crime.<sup>77</sup> Perhaps Catholic republicans took comfort from the fact that some clerics at least deferred the exercise of God's vengeance until the last day. Thus Bishop Robert Browne of Cloyne had denounced the killing of a soldier in Queenstown, County Cork, a month earlier by warning the killers that they were 'laying up against themselves a terrible vengeance on the great accounting day for trampling under foot the law of God'.<sup>78</sup>

While obviously chosen for their emotive character, these threats of divine wrath were not without roots in the theological tradition of the church. Late medieval penitential writers had noticed that certain sins were described in the Bible as crying to God for justice in the absence of a human tribunal. This was particularly the case with sins committed by the rich and powerful, who had no reason to fear the exercise of human justice. Although neither the church fathers nor the scholastic theologians of the high middle ages referred to them as a distinct group, a separate category of four specific sins emerged in the fourteenth century. They were wilful murder, sodomy, the oppression of the poor, widows and orphans and defrauding labourers of their just wages.<sup>79</sup> These sins were called the 'peccata in coelum clamantia' ('sins that cry to heaven') or 'peccata clamantia' ('sins that cry'). Michael

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<sup>75</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 19 Apr. 1919.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 24 May 1919.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 1 May 1920.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 6 Mar. 1920.

<sup>79</sup> H. Noldin, *Summa theologiae moralis*, i: *De principiis theologiae moralis* (Innsbrück, 1910), pp 391-2. 'a. homicidium voluntarium; b. sodomia; c. oppressio pauperum, viduarum et pupillorum; d. defraudata operariorum merces'. See Michael Sievernich, *Schuld und Sünde in der Theologie der Gegenwart* (Frankfurt am Main, 1982), p. 271 for the history of the *peccata clamantia*.

Sievernich has observed that this category of sins ‘did not play an important role in general consciousness; only in times of social crisis do they seem to have been remembered’.<sup>80</sup> They were in fact absent both from the Irish *Penny catechism* and from Gury’s handbook for seminarians, though Gury did mention that defrauding labourers of their just wages was one of the sins that cry to heaven for vengeance. Perhaps this single reference was a reflection of the late nineteenth-century Catholic interest in the social question.<sup>81</sup> Other manualists did include a section on these sins, such as the influential 1899 handbook *Summa theologiae moralis* by the Austrian Jesuit Hieronymus Noldin and the 1919 American *A handbook of moral theology* by Anton Koch and Arthur Preuss.<sup>82</sup> Although the four *peccata clamantia* originated in random references from different books of the Bible, in true neo-scholastic fashion Noldin and Koch-Preuss managed to provide a systematic reason for their classification as a single category. Thus Noldin explained that their peculiar malice consisted in the fact that they went against the natural inclination to ‘constitute and conserve the human society’ and that they violated those laws that ensure that ‘the highest social goods are served’. And Koch-Preuss argued that the ‘distinguishing note of the so-called *peccata clamantia* is violent suppression of certain natural instincts and conscious frustration of their ends and objects’.<sup>83</sup> Besides involving a transgression of the moral order, they consequently also entailed ‘a violation of the laws of nature’ and therefore provoked ‘divine wrath in a special manner’.<sup>84</sup>

Many bishops and priests referred to this category of sins when condemning political killings committed by republicans. Father John O’Donoghue, administrator of Fermoy, commented in September 1919 that the killing of soldiers was ‘a terrible crime, which cried to heaven for vengeance’.<sup>85</sup> Father Florence McCarthy, administrator of Skibbereen pro-cathedral, denounced the killing of Constable Timothy Scully in Glanmire, County Cork, in March 1920 in a similar way. He said: ‘when man so far forgot the law of God as to stain their hands with the blood of their fellow-man the crime cried to heaven for vengeance. He

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<sup>80</sup> Sievernich, *Schuld*, p. 271, note 179. ‘Im allgemeinen Bewusstsein allerdings scheint dieser Topos keine grosse Rolle gespielt zu haben; nur in sozialen Krisenzeiten scheint man sich dieser erinnert zu haben’.

<sup>81</sup> Gury, *Compendium*, p. 147. Sievernich has found other examples of a rediscovery of the fourth of these sins by Catholic catechists with explicit reference to the social question at the end of the nineteenth century: Sievernich, *Schuld*, p. 271, note 180.

<sup>82</sup> H. Noldin, *Summa*, pp 391-3 and Antony Koch and Arthur Preuss, *A handbook of moral theology*, ii: *Sin and the means of grace* (St. Louis, MO, and London, 1919), pp 85-90. Noldin’s book was itself based on Gury’s, see Gallagher, *Time past*, p. 51.

<sup>83</sup> Noldin, *Summa*, p. 392. ‘horum peccatorum peculiaris malitia in eo consistit, quod adversentur inclinationi hominis sociali, quae omnibus a natura indita est, ad constituendam et conservandam societatem humanam, et quod per ea violentur leges, quae eo tendunt, ut summa bona socialia serventur’. Koch-Preuss, *Handbook*, p. 86.

<sup>84</sup> Koch-Preuss, *Handbook*, p. 86.

<sup>85</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 20 Sept. 1919.

asked the congregation to appeal to God not to visit the people with his wrath'.<sup>86</sup> The medieval origins of the tradition of the 'sins that cry to heaven for vengeance' were crimes perpetrated by the powerful who would remain unpunished by human judges and whose victims had recourse only to divine judgment. The collapse of policing and of the public prosecution of crime by the British authorities in many parts of the country also created a situation in which those engaged in violence had a good chance of escaping the exercise of justice. Archbishop Gilmartin, condemning the killing by the I.R.A. of two constables in Tuam in June 1920, referred to this tradition by acknowledging that 'in the present circumstances it was not likely the perpetrators would be brought to justice'.<sup>87</sup> He added, however, that 'blood haunted, and often in strange ways revealed the murderer' and that 'those concerned must answer before the bar of divine justice'.

The notion that the killer's deeds would come back to haunt him even on earth was also a popular theme. Father Michael K. Ryan, curate in Thurles, asserted after the killing of District Inspector Hunt that 'the memory of that awful deed would haunt the guilty man all his life, and would rise up before him on his death bed'.<sup>88</sup> Bishop Patrick Finegan of Kilmore told an audience in Cootehill, County Cavan, in the summer of 1920 that 'it was true that God forgave even the murderer on sincere repentance, but if he did he very often made an example of him. If there was no public punishment, the torture of a guilty conscience was sufficient for him'.<sup>89</sup> The parish priest of Leitrim, Thomas Canon O'Reilly, denounced the killing of a soldier by warning his congregation in January 1921 that 'people who were guilty of murder had their blood spilt, and he knew of instances where they died in asylums or other places which brought disgrace on themselves and their families'.<sup>90</sup>

A sense that the spilling of blood left an almost physical stain on the locality was also evident in many clerical utterances. Canon Ryan, parish priest of Tipperary, quoted Lady Macbeth in his comment on the Soloheadbeg shootings in January 1919:

How can we wash that stain away? Not merely by saying, like the murderess in the tragedy, 'Out, damned spot'. We must show our abhorrence of this inhuman act; we must denounce it and the cowardly miscreants who are guilty of it.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> Ibid., 20 Mar. 1920.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., 31 July 1920.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., 5 July 1919.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., 19 June 1920.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., 5 Feb. 1921.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., 1 Feb. 1919. The quotation is from William Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, act 5, scene 1, 26-40.

Denouncing the killing of two constables some months later, Father William Mullins, curate in Lahinch, said that though his parishioners had no sympathy with the crime, ‘yet because it occurred in their midst they incurred the odium and disgrace which attached to the place wherein that fiendish crime had been committed’.<sup>92</sup> Bishop Patrick O’Donnell of Raphoe denounced the killing of a local justice of the peace, Major G. H. Johnstone, in Ardara, County Donegal, in September 1920 in a similar way. He lamented the fact that the deed was ‘not the only attempt on human life in the parish in recent days, but it has left a foul stain on one of the choice spots of our county, and on the country at large’.<sup>93</sup>

A secular version of this theme was that the shedding of blood gave the county, the diocese or the country a bad name. Thus Canon Ryan, in the statement just quoted, referred to Archbishop Harty’s assertion that, after the shootings, a ‘stain is on the fair name of Tipperary’.<sup>94</sup> He exclaimed: ‘It used to be said “where Tipperary leads, Ireland follows”. God help poor Ireland if she follows this lead of blood!’ Father John Maher, parish priest of Oulart, County Wexford, responded to the killing of Ellen Morris in February 1920 by saying that ‘up to now ... this part of Ireland has been free from crime, but now there is a stain upon the fair name of the parish, and until that stain is removed we must, all of us, hang our heads for shame’.<sup>95</sup> And in November 1920, Bishop Joseph Hoare of Ardagh and Clonmacnoise

made a strong appeal against the commission of any crime which would bring disgrace on the county. He laid particular stress on the shooting of policemen, saying that it might mean the destruction of their fine old cathedral town [of Longford], which, up to the present, sustained an unblemished record.<sup>96</sup>

Finally, several bishops instructed priests and laity to perform acts of reparation for the bloodshed that had taken place in their dioceses or parishes. In one case republicans killed a man within the precincts of a church building, an act which required the liturgical ‘reconciliation’ or rededication of the edifice.<sup>97</sup> On Sunday morning 25 July 1920, R.I.C.

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<sup>92</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 23 Aug. 1919.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, 11 Sept. 1920. Other examples of references to spilt blood staining the locality: Father T. Dooley, C.C. Toomevara, *ibid.*, 27 Mar. 1920; Father Michael O’Leary, C.C. Bantry, *ibid.*; Father Philip Callery, P.P. Tullamore, *ibid.*, 13 Nov. 1920.

<sup>94</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 1 Feb. 1919.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 28 Feb. 1920.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, 6 Nov. 1920. Other examples of references to violence as a stain on the fair name of the locality: James Canon O’Connor, P.P. Gurteen, *ibid.*, 12 July 1919; Father John Hurley, C.C. Bantry, *ibid.*; Nicholas Canon Murphy, P.P. Kilmanagh, *ibid.*, 24 July 1920; Philip Canon Murphy, P.P. Castlemartyr, *ibid.*, 4 Dec. 1920.

<sup>97</sup> The *Code of canon law* stipulated that the commission of homicide within a church amounted to profanation of the building, see *C.I.C.*, canon 1172, par. 1. Once a church had been profaned, the celebration of mass was

Sergeant William Mulherin made his way to 8 o'clock mass in St. Patrick's church in Bandon, County Cork.<sup>98</sup> As he entered the porch, two armed men jumped out from behind the church doors and fired shots at him. A congregation had already assembled in the church in preparation for mass, and, according to a newspaper report, the shooting caused a panic and many people were observed rushing excitedly from the building. The parish priest, Jeremiah Canon Coholan, came out of the sacristy to administer extreme unction and Mulherin died after about ten minutes. Coholan, who had already recited the prayers before mass, announced to the congregation that the building had to be reconciled before mass could commence and proceeded to perform the required ritual. When mass was finally celebrated at 10 o'clock, Coholan condemned the killing in his sermon and observed that it had always been the case throughout the 'ages of Catholic history' that church buildings were places of sanctuary where even criminals found protection. His brother, the bishop of Cork, denounced the crime in a public letter some days later and imposed the canonical censure of interdict on the guilty parties, which, among other things, deprived them of the right to receive the sacraments.<sup>99</sup>

Mostly, however, acts of reparation followed from the belief that infractions of the moral order would draw down divine wrath if not collectively atoned for. Bishop O'Dea, in his February 1920 letter to Father McHugh, ominously referred to the biblical story of the punishment of the people of Israel after they had worshipped the golden calf:

The recent murder in your parish is a shocking insult to God, which calls for public atonement from your people. When the Jews long ago offered a similar insult to God by their worship of the golden calf, their leader stood in the gate of the camp and said – 'If any man be on the Lord's side let him join with me'. A multitude joined him, and going through the camp from gate to gate, they punished the guilty by putting 23,000 of them to death. Let the atonement be the joint offering by priests and people of all the masses in the parish on to-morrow [sic], for the purpose of appeasing God's anger, followed immediately, or in the course of the day, by the public performance of the stations of the cross.<sup>100</sup>

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prohibited until the building had been reconciled, see canon 1173, par. 1. The rite of reconciliation was to take place as soon as possible and – unlike the initial consecration of the church – could be performed by a priest as well as a bishop, see canon 1174, par. 1 and canon 1176.

<sup>98</sup> For an account of the killing, see *Irish Catholic*, 31 July 1920.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.* For the censure of interdict, see *C.I.C.*, canons 2268-77.

<sup>100</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 13 Mar. 1920. The biblical reference is to Exodus 32:25-29. Exodus mentions 'only' 3,000 victims. O'Dea's 23,000 was probably taken from 1 Corinthians 10:8, which mentions the number of 23,000 and is perhaps a reference to the golden calf episode.

While O’Dea did not say that Father McHugh and his parishioners were legally or morally culpable for the crime, it certainly appears from his letter that he believed they bore some indirect responsibility. The story quoted from the Old Testament characteristically lacks a category of individual, as opposed to collective, responsibility. O’Dea’s reference to it demonstrates, apart from irritation at the local clergy’s inability or unwillingness to restrain extreme elements, a belief that individual deeds affected the moral status of the community. Father Bernard McKenna, curate in Kilbrittain, County Cork, in February 1920 referred to similar instructions issued by Bishop Cohalan after a policeman had been killed in the parish some months previously:

It was a crime which demanded reparation. The bishop had directed that even where the people had no responsibility for the crime, reparation should be held, to beg God’s pardon, and to pray for the soul of the victim. Therefore, in accordance with his lordship’s direction, he had decided to say the litany of the Blessed Virgin at the conclusion of mass during Lent, to be devoutly answered by the whole congregation.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 28 Feb. 1920. Other examples of acts of reparation demanded by the local bishop: Bishop Kelly of Ross, *ibid.*, 19 Apr. 1919; Archbishop Harty of Cashel and Emly, *ibid.*, 1 May 1920.

### 3.2.3 Ireland's unjust war

Canon law provided bishops with a number of ecclesiastical penalties that could lend force to the rhetoric of condemnation. The most serious of these was excommunication, which was defined in the 1917 code as 'a censure by which a person is excluded from the communion of the faithful' and which deprived him or her of the right to assist at the church's public worship, to receive the sacraments or Christian burial.<sup>102</sup> This measure was in fact employed once during the War of Independence, in the diocese of Cork. Bishop Daniel Cohalan imposed it in December 1920 upon anyone 'who, within this diocese of Cork, shall organise or take part in ambushes or kidnapping, or shall otherwise be guilty of murder or attempted murder'.<sup>103</sup> Two days later, the lord mayor of Cork, Domhnall Ó Ceallachain, and J. J. Walsh, Sinn Féin *teachta dála* for Cork city, sent a letter to all members of the hierarchy to protest against the decree. Ó Ceallachain and Walsh assured the bishops that they did not wish to interfere in any matter of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, as 'it may be left to the individual conscience and the individual confessor to carry out in accordance with the recognised rules of moral theology'.<sup>104</sup> Nevertheless there was underlying the bishop's action 'a false supposition concerning this nation, which we cannot allow to go unchallenged'. They argued that the bishop's action:

assumes that Ireland is not a nation, a complete political community, with all the rights, powers and functions consequent thereon. He assumes that there is no such thing as an Irish government and an Irish army, that the English invaders have a moral right in this country. Furthermore, he implies that we, as an organised nation, have no right of self-defence, no right after an order of murder, arson and robbery, to strike back the criminals who are attacking us.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> *C.I.C.*, canon 2257, par. 1: '... censura qua quis excluditur a communione fidelium ...'. Other stipulations: *ibid.*, canons 2259-60.

<sup>103</sup> Pastoral letter, 12 Dec. 1920 (C.D.A., Cohalan papers, box vi). The decree was signed on 12 Dec. 1920 and promulgated in that day's edition of *Cork Examiner*. The text was also published in *The Irish Catholic directory and almanac for 1922 with complete directory in English* (Dublin, 1922), p. 504. It was a decree of excommunication *latae sententiae*, which means that anyone who committed any of the acts described was automatically excommunicated upon doing the deed without the need for any further declaration from the side of the church.

<sup>104</sup> Ó Ceallachain and Walsh, 'Communication to all members of hierarchy', 14 Dec. 1920 (D.D.A., Walsh papers, 380/5).

<sup>105</sup> Ó Ceallachain and Walsh, 'Communication'.



Never one to miss an opportunity for controversy, Cohalan responded vigorously.<sup>106</sup> In a pastoral letter issued five days later, on the fourth Sunday of Advent, he published the decree a second time and observed icily that ‘some of the corporators have thought it fit to criticize this decree’.<sup>107</sup> He commented that

some would like at the present moment ... to divert attention ... from the consequences of the false teachings of persons who should know better, that Ireland is at the moment a sovereign independent state, and that consequently Irishmen have authority to kill English forces and to burn English property in Ireland.

The consequences the bishop had in mind were reprisals, such as those inflicted upon his city in recent days: ‘Patrick Street is an ugly, and to these teachers, disquieting, consequence of their false and immoral teaching’. Furthermore, referring to the exploits in moral theology of the University College Cork professor and member of Cork city council, Alfred O’Rahilly, Cohalan asked ‘why should the corporation and their lay theologian murmur if punishment is decreed for attempt at murder?’<sup>108</sup>

Cohalan addressed the issue of the moral status of the I.R.A. campaign and of the legitimacy of the Dáil administration at greater length in his next pastoral letter to the diocese. Pádraig Corkery has argued that Cohalan’s argument in the letter accompanying the decree focused mainly on the fact that I.R.A. violence was not proportionate in its effects to the ills it sought to remedy.<sup>109</sup> He has also contended that Cohalan’s reasoning changed between December 1920 and February 1921. In his February pastoral, issued on Quinquagesima Sunday (the Sunday before Lent), he stressed the lack of a ‘competent authority’ in Ireland which could declare war on Britain. He wrote:

If Ireland is a sovereign state she has the right to use physical force, but if Ireland is not a sovereign state the physical force policy is unlawful. ... The question is: was the proclamation of an Irish republic by the Sinn Fein members of parliament after the last general election sufficient to constitute Ireland a republic according to our church teaching. I answer: it was not.... However we may desire the position of absolute independence for our country we

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<sup>106</sup> Brian Murphy aptly described Cohalan’s style as a polemicist some years earlier as ‘an arrogant assertion of authority, combined with a ruthless exposure of any defects in his opponent’s arguments’. Murphy, *Bulletin*, p. 171.

<sup>107</sup> Cohalan, Pastoral letter, 19 Dec. 1920 (C.D.A., Cohalan papers, box vi).

<sup>108</sup> Cohalan, Letter, 19 Dec. 1920.

<sup>109</sup> Pádraig Corkery, ‘Bishop Daniel Cohalan of Cork on republican resistance and hunger strikes: a theological note’, *Irish Theological Quarterly*, lxxvii (2002), pp 113-24, at pp 117-9.

cannot hold that the proclamation of Dail Eireann constituted Ireland validly a sovereign state.<sup>110</sup>

Cohalan's argument hinged on the question as to whether the Irish republic was a sovereign state that had a moral right to wage war against a foreign invader. It was a direct answer to the arguments proposed by Ó Ceallachain and Walsh. Under accepted principles of moral theology, states that were attacked could justly wage defensive war. Thus Gury asserted that 'war by itself is licit either to repel injustice or to vindicate one's right', because 'a society in any way independent from other societies must have the means to defend itself against injustice and to vindicate its right'.<sup>111</sup> Many republicans, not least Éamon de Valera after his return from the United States in December 1920, attempted to portray the I.R.A. campaign as precisely such a war. De Valera succeeded on 11 March 1921 in persuading the Dáil to pass a motion acknowledging the existence of a state of war and taking responsibility for I.R.A. actions.<sup>112</sup>

Cohalan was not alone in rejecting the republican argument. Thus Dean Ryan of Cashel observed at a meeting of the local temperance society in the beginning of 1920 that 'someone or other had said, in justification or palliation of those loathsome deeds, "We are at war with England, and can, therefore, shoot down the upholders of the English law"'.<sup>113</sup> Ryan rejected this claim and said that 'if people are justified in killing the props of English rule in Ireland, England's soldiers in our midst would be justified in shooting us'. Bishop Kelly repeated the same argument some months later: 'it took two nations to make war, and if England be at war with Ireland the representatives of England were perfectly justified in shooting down the Irish'.<sup>114</sup> He concluded with the dire observation that 'they depended at the present moment on England, and, if England wanted to conquer them, there was not a man or woman listening to him that would not starve, so that they were entirely in her hands'. The argument that Ireland lacked the legitimate authority to declare war upon Britain was derived from traditional just war theory. This theory, dating back to Cicero and christianised by Augustine and Aquinas, postulated the existence of a number of criteria for determining

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<sup>110</sup> *Freeman's Journal*, 7 Feb. 1921.

<sup>111</sup> Gury, *Compendium*, p. 157: 'bellum per se licitum est sive ad injuriam repellendam, sive ad jus suum vindicandum ... quia societas quaelibet independens ab alia societate habere debet medium se tuendi contra injuriam et jus suum vindicandi'.

<sup>112</sup> 'Acceptance of state of war', Dáil Éireann debates, vol. 1, 11 Mar. 1921 (Parliamentary Debates, <http://historical-debates.oireachtas.ie/D/DT/D.F.C.192103110061.html> [retrieved 12 Aug. 2010]). See Mitchell, *Government*, p. 266.

<sup>113</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 7 Feb. 1920.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, 19 June 1920.

whether war was just or not. Although writers differed on the exact number and content of these criteria, they often included the need for ‘proper authority’ to make a public declaration of war and the existence of reasonable probability of success.<sup>115</sup>

The most formidable clerical critique of the view that Ireland was a separate state at war with England came in the autumn of 1919, when Walter McDonald, professor of theology at Maynooth, published *Some ethical questions of peace and war*. This book was a response to ten ‘recent statements made by representative Irish Catholics’ asserting the separate nationhood of Ireland.<sup>116</sup> McDonald responded specifically to two articles on the 1918 conscription crisis written by Peter Finlay, S.J., professor of Catholic theology attached to University College Dublin, and McDonald’s colleague Peter Coffey, professor of philosophy at Maynooth.<sup>117</sup> McDonald’s book was divided into two parts, the first of which, ‘Questions of peace’, dealt with the question as to whether Ireland was indeed ‘a united and fully independent nation’ and whether British rule in Ireland was legitimate or not. The second, ‘Questions of war’ was actually devoted mostly to matters of *ius in bello* (‘justice in war’) and *ius post bellum* (‘justice after war’) during the Great War. However, it also discussed the legitimate form of ‘pressure that may be applied to secure local self-government’ for Ireland.<sup>118</sup>

Though McDonald did not specifically address the I.R.A. campaign that had haphazardly started in January 1919, he cast great doubt on many articles of the separatist creed. Thus he argued that Ireland had never been a single, united nation before the Norman conquest of the twelfth century. He also contended that the leaders of the Irish people throughout the time of English rule had acquiesced in colonial constitutional arrangements and that this acquiescence had established legitimacy. Having denied that a claim of full Irish

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<sup>115</sup> See Corkery, ‘Cohalan’, p. 117. See also Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, IIa IIae, q. 40, art. I. Thomas distinguished three criteria: 1. competent authority; 2. just cause; 3. right intention on the part of those who wage war. See Thomas de Aquino, *Summa theologiae cura et studio Instituti Studiorum Mediaevalium Ottaviensis ad textum S. Pii Pp. V iussu confectum recognita* (5 vols., Ottawa, 1943), iii, pp 1632b-3a.

<sup>116</sup> McDonald’s book was first published in 1919. References here are to the 1998 edition in the *Classics of Irish history* series with an introduction by Tom Garvin: Walter McDonald, *Some ethical questions of peace and war with special reference to Ireland* (Dublin, 1998), pp 3-9.

<sup>117</sup> The articles referred to were Peter Coffey, ‘The conscription menace in Ireland and some issues raised by it’, *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, xi (1918), pp 484-98, and Peter Finlay, ‘Irish Catholics and conscription’, *Irish Independent*, 14 May 1918. Finlay signed as ‘Professor of Catholic theology, National University of Ireland’. No department of theology existed in the N.U.I., but Finlay held a special extra-mural chair at U.C.D. See Dáire Keogh, ‘William J. Walsh, 1908-21’, in Tom Dunne (ed.), *The National University of Ireland 1908-2008. Centenary essays* (Dublin, 2008), pp 121-134, at p. 128. See Murphy, *Bulletin*, pp 259-62, for a discussion of similar debates conducted in the pages of the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* and the *Irish Theological Quarterly*.

<sup>118</sup> ‘Questions of peace’: McDonald, *Questions*, pp 1-88; quotation on ‘fully independent nation’: *ibid.*, p. 10; ‘Questions of war’: *ibid.*, pp 89-140; quotation on ‘legitimate pressure’: *ibid.*, p. 106.

independence held any credibility, McDonald went on to defend the implementation of home rule in Ireland:

Local governments should rule by consent of the majority of those whom they govern; even though these should differ, in politics and otherwise, from the majority of some larger place or kingdom in which the district in question is contained.<sup>119</sup>

This principle, of course, applied also to unionists in Ulster, and McDonald consequently argued in favour of a separate measure of home rule within Ireland for the north-east. Referring to the 1916 Easter rising, he then asserted that the use of physical force had been unethical, because it had been used to obtain the illegitimate aim of full independence rather than home rule. Moreover, it treacherously came at a time of great danger for the United Kingdom:

I cannot see my way to approve of any such active or passive resistance to a government recognised as legitimate as would leave this exposed to be crushed by a powerful foreign enemy with whom it was engaged in a life-and-death struggle at the time. I would press it to grant any measure of home rule which I regarded as due, but not for more than was due; nor even for what was due would I allow any pressure that might seriously endanger the whole commonwealth.<sup>120</sup>

McDonald's book amounted to treason in the eyes of many republicans and even senior churchmen without sympathy for republican violence viewed it as an embarrassing exercise in querulousness. Thus Monsignor Terence O'Donnell, a vicar general of Archbishop Walsh, wrote to Walsh after attending a meeting at Maynooth that 'there was a good deal of talk about the book in Maynoot[h] yesterday, and I fear it is likely to create a regular furore'.<sup>121</sup>

While few bishops and priests shared McDonald's enthusiasm for the union or for partition, many agreed with him in rejecting the view that republican violence was legitimate warfare. Canon O'Donnell of Rathkeale discussed the issue at length in his letter to Michael O'Riordan of January 1919. He wrote:

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<sup>119</sup> Ibid., p. 68.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid., 109. Home Rule for Ulster: *ibid.*, pp 69-70.

<sup>121</sup> O'Donnell to Walsh, 21 Oct. 1919 (D.D.A., Walsh papers, 386/6).

My contention is that the Easter week rebellion was morally wrong – that consequently it is wrong to approve of it, to praise those who took part in it, especially its instigators [and] leaders ... or to do or say anything that would naturally be interpreted *by your audience* ... as approval of same.<sup>122</sup>

O'Donnell also addressed another argument sometimes used to condone the violence of the Easter rising. It pointed to the American revolution, which, though violent, had affected great good and was not condemned as morally wrong by anyone anymore. O'Donnell argued, however, that 'if the American revolt was justifiable, it was not its success that made it so, and if the E[aster w[EEK] affair was morally wrong this is not because of its failure'. He did not deny that good might come from movements whose beginnings were morally wrong, such as the American revolution, the doings of the Manchester martyrs and even 'the shooting of two policemen near Tipperary recently'. However, in line with Catholic moral thinking, O'Donnell contended that the consequences of actions did not determine their moral status. He concluded by observing that 'the spirit of Easter week is still there, and their heart is set on a rising'. The people had

been taught a lesson, by word [and] example, during Easter week, and has that lesson been since 'un-taught' to them? What difference can those poor fellows see between shooting policemen and soldiers in and around Dublin during Easter week, and shooting policemen around Tipperary another week?

In truth, O'Donnell was not being entirely consistent, because he did not himself admit that there was a difference – both cases were equally wrong. But it is telling that he assumed that clergy who had come to view the Easter rising in an apologetic way would nonetheless agree that the Soloheadbeg shootings were morally unacceptable.

Cardinal Logue addressed the same issue in August 1920 when he commented on a fatal I.R.A. attack on a police patrol in Dundalk. He wrote:

Am I to be told that this is an act of war? That it is lawful to shoot at sight anyone wearing a policeman's uniform and honestly discharging a policeman's duty? I prefer to call it by its true name – a cool, deliberate, wilful murder, pure and simple.<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> O'Donnell to O'Riordan, 30 Jan. 1919 (A.I.C.R., O'Riordan papers, box 19, folder 190, no. 14). Italics O'Donnell's.

<sup>123</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 4 Sept. 1920.

Father Joseph McCarthy, curate in Tipperary, appealed to the authority of the bishops to contradict the idea that the killing of officers of the Crown was an act of war. Denouncing an ambush of R.I.C. men at Inch's Cross, County Tipperary, in November 1920, he told a congregation at mass that

on such an issue, I appeal to the bishops of the church.... I do not know of any Irish bishop ... who has put forward or adopted this notion of Ireland being at war. On the contrary, many of the bishops have repudiated the idea, and they have all of them denounced the killing of police as bearing the awful guilt of murder.<sup>124</sup>

Many clerics took the view that the I.R.A. campaign was in fact terrorism organised by a secret society. A few days after Bloody Sunday (21 November 1920), the prominent Jesuit academic Father William Delaney wrote to Archbishop Walsh deploring the violence that had taken place in Dublin. He added: 'especially saddening it is to realise (as we are forced to do every day) that there is a [controlling] inner gang, who are the authors of these abominable assassinations'.<sup>125</sup> In evidence for this analysis he recounted a story told by one of the members of the Jesuit community in Lower Leeson Street where he lived:

A few days ago a young man (respectable solicitor) told one of our fathers that he has been sworn in by a leading Sinn Feiner; sworn to obey orders from *unknown chiefs*, and to carry them out as directed without question. This, *if true*, as it seems to be, would bring the society – or that portion of them who recognise the inner gang – under the excommunication of the bull *Apostolicae Sedis* – as the Fenians came under it in 1870.<sup>126</sup>

The iniquity of secret societies was a matter not in doubt for most clerics. The ban on them which had been introduced by Pope Pius IX in 1869 had been reiterated by the new *Code of canon law* of 1917.<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> Ibid., 20 Nov. 1920. Other examples of condemnation of the idea that Ireland was at war with Britain: Father John Gleeson, P.P. Lorrha, *ibid.*, 13 Sept. 1919; Father Timothy O'Hea, P.P. Timoleague, *ibid.*, 22 May 1920; Father Joseph McCarthy, C.C. Tipperary, *ibid.*, 20 Nov. 1920.

<sup>125</sup> Delaney to Walsh, 27 Nov. 1920 (D.D.A., Walsh papers, 380/3).

<sup>126</sup> Delaney to Walsh, 27 Nov. 1920. Delaney referred to Pope Pius IX's constitution *Apostolicae sedis* which regulated the use of ecclesiastical censures in the church before the introduction of the *Code of canon law* in 1917. See Pius PP. IX, 'Constitutio qua ecclesiasticae censurae latae sententiae limitantur', 'Apostolicae sedis', 12 Oct. 1869, *Acta Sanctae Sedis*, v (1869), pp 287-312. Italics Delaney's.

<sup>127</sup> *C.I.C.*, canon 2335.

The belief that republican violence was instigated by a secret society was widespread among its clerical detractors. Thus, denouncing the killing of an R.I.C. sergeant in Tobercurry in September 1920, Bishop Morrisroe wrote to the parish priest that

these boys allege that ‘they must obey orders’. What does this mean? It must mean that they are in the grip of some secret organisation.... Any priest will at once tell you that such a society places its dupes beyond the pale of practical Catholicity.<sup>128</sup>

The parish priest of Caherlistrane, County Galway, Father M. Heany, condemned an I.R.A. attack on police barracks in Castlehackett in January 1920 in similar terms. He contended that ‘it was evident ... that experts from a distance’ had been involved in the attack, but, he asked, ‘were they tutored by local guides?’<sup>129</sup> Father Heany continued by stating ‘the law of the church regarding secret societies, and appealed to parents to see that their boys were not lured into them. There were, he said, other and lawful means at the disposal of a down-trodden and misgoverned people’. Not all clerics were equally concerned about the threat of secret societies, however. Although Bishop Patrick McKenna of Clogher in March 1919 accepted that there had been ‘some regrettable incidents of disorder, and a few isolated crimes’ in Ireland, he wittily ridiculed the British response:

Almost daily we read of youths being arraigned before courts martial or special courts and sentenced to long terms of severe imprisonment on trifling charges, sometimes nothing more serious than to have been discovered cycling in some kind of organised order to a football match, and to have given such proof of high military organisation as to be able to dismount at a given signal without serious risk of collision and broken bones.<sup>130</sup>

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<sup>128</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 16 Oct. 1920.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, 24 Jan. 1920.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, 8 Mar. 1919. Other examples of references to secret societies: Curtain to O’Riordan, undated but 1919 (A.I.C.R., O’Riordan papers, box 19, folder 190, no. 2); John Canon Kelly, P.P. Doon, *Irish Catholic*, 13 Mar. 1920 (see for this incident also: Colmcille [Ó Conbhuidhe], ‘Tipperary’s fight in 1920’, *The Capuchin Annual* [1970], pp 255-75, at pp 261-2); Michael Canon O’Donnell, P.P. Rathkeale, *ibid.*, 20 Mar. 1920.

### 3.3 Themes of condemnation on grounds of expediency

#### 3.3.1 '*Riveting our chains the faster*': adverse political and military effects

The previous two sections have examined different themes of moral condemnation of the I.R.A. campaign. Apart from such moral strictures, priests and bishops also contended that republican violence did not properly serve the cause it was intended to serve: the attainment of Irish independence. In fact, Sheridan Gilley has argued that the clergy's main objection to revolutionary violence was not a theological or moral one, but a 'prudential' argument: 'reason told them that the empire was the strongest power on earth' and that the chances of success for Irish rebels were slim.<sup>131</sup> But this practical consideration was itself part of a theological argument derived from the neo-scholastic thought prevalent at the time and the distinction between moral and practical must not be insisted upon too strongly. Peter Donnelly has argued that the Irish bishops based their arguments about the legitimacy or illegitimacy of revolutionary violence on the neo-thomist handbooks of moral theology used in Irish seminaries.<sup>132</sup> As Corkery has contended, the just war tradition expounded in these manuals required that insurrectionary violence against an oppressive government should meet a number of criteria in order to be legitimate.<sup>133</sup> These criteria, if met, established a *ius ad bellum* – a 'right to wage war'. One of them was that there should be a reasonable probability of success. Moreover, once the legitimacy of violence had been established, fighting should take place according to the *ius in bello* – or 'law of war'. One tenet of the *ius in bello* was that the violence used must be proportionate to the ills it sought to remedy. Thus the question as to whether there was a *ius ad bellum*, and, if so, whether the violence used in this just war was used in a just manner, required the most un-theological exercise of making an assessment of the military feasibility and practical consequences of guerrilla activity. Clearly the realms of theology and practical judgment were not very separate.

Although considerations of expediency thus entered into the moral assessment, for psychological purposes it made quite a difference whether priests adopted the rhetoric of moral condemnation or of warnings on grounds of prudence. It is also reasonable to assume that different choices of rhetoric were inspired by different attitudes on the part of the clergy. Neither form of condemnation can have given much encouragement to Catholics sympathetic

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<sup>131</sup> Gilley, 'Revolution', p. 161.

<sup>132</sup> Peter Donnelly, 'Bishops and violence. A response to Oliver Rafferty', *Studies. An Irish Quarterly Review*, lxxxiii, no. 331 (1994), pp 331-40.

<sup>133</sup> Corkery, 'Cohalan', p. 117.



to the I.R.A. campaign. But priests who condemned violence exclusively on grounds of expediency were perhaps more sympathetic towards it in principle than priests who expressed denunciation in moral terms. It is impossible to draw certain conclusions from the sources, because doing so almost always involves using an argument from silence. Nonetheless it is a fruitful exercise to speculate about priests' motives for confining themselves to one or other of these reasons.

Clerics who relied predominantly on denouncing violence on grounds of morality are likely to have done so simply out of conviction. Frequent insistence that acts of bloodshed were immoral and likely to draw down the wrath of God suggests that priests were bewildered by the breakdown of obedience to the moral law. Their response was to refer back to the 'principles we learned in college', which had previously ranked among the least contentious of the tenets of Christian moral catechesis.<sup>134</sup> However, it must have struck many of them that appeals to these principles were less than compelling for those not schooled in theology, and not only for those. In any case, priests also used much more emotive themes to convince their audience. These 'dramatic' themes were intended to frighten those planning to disregard them into thinking twice.

It is all the more interesting, therefore, to inquire into the motivation of priests who condemned violence on the grounds of expediency rather than morality. One such motive may have been that they did not think that warning about the deleterious supernatural consequences would be effective. Some clerics used both moral censures and arguments based on grounds of expediency. Thus Bishop Browne commented on the killing of a British soldier in Queenstown in February 1920 by telling a congregation in his cathedral:

Let us hope and pray, brethren, that our condemnation and denunciation may help to open the eyes of those desperate men who are out for crime, to see that by such wicked courses they are riveting our chains the faster, and laying up against themselves a terrible vengeance on the great accounting day for trampling under foot the law of God.<sup>135</sup>

Others, however, did not apparently mention the moral aspect but dwelt exclusively on the negative consequences of the use of violence. In some cases such priests may not themselves have believed that republican violence was morally wrong, or did not want their congregation

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<sup>134</sup> Quotation from O'Donnell to O'Riordan, 30 Jan. 1919 (A.I.C.R., O'Riordan papers, box 19, folder 190, no. 14).

<sup>135</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 6 Mar. 1920. Corkery has noted that Cohalan's pronouncements on the issue made use also of both moral and pragmatic arguments, Corkery, 'Cohalan', p. 117.

to think that they did. The wording of some of these denunciations suggested as much. Thus Father Edward Dalton, curate in Carrick-on-Shannon, County Leitrim, asked his congregation at mass one Sunday in February 1920 whether they really believed that ‘the raids on police barracks were doing any good to the country. If he thought they were he would be the first to say, “Go ahead”; but he could not say so’.<sup>136</sup> He went on to predict, not inaccurately as it turned out, that if the police were ‘cast aside, the scum of the English towns would be brought over to take their place’. Father Dalton’s main objection to the raiding of police barracks and the killing of policemen was that the Sinn Féin policy ‘was sure to come down’ – i.e. fail – as a result, and Irish policemen would be replaced by undesirable English substitutes. Keogh has argued that the fact that the I.R.A. fought a guerrilla war rather than ‘clean’, regular warfare was one of the causes of episcopal opposition. Interestingly, he has traced this argument, which was made privately and publicly by several bishops during the war, to Pope Benedict XV, who first made it to Seán Ó Ceallaigh during an audience in May 1920.<sup>137</sup>

However, most priests and bishops who criticised violence on grounds of expediency did so without entertaining the possibility that it could ever be anything but inexpedient. Many of them emphasised that the use of violence reinforced British and international prejudices about the congenital irresponsibility of the Irish. Thus Father William Delaney, S.J., in his November 1920 letter to Archbishop Walsh, deplored the ‘abominable assassinations’ that had recently taken place in the capital, which were ‘furnishing our enemies with such taking arguments for our unfitness for self-government’.<sup>138</sup> Similarly, Bishop Lawrence Gaughran of Meath asked a congregation in Mullingar cathedral in November 1919: ‘what benefit could come to the country from crimes that are representing Irishmen to be as savage and uncultivated as the bushmen of the forest?’<sup>139</sup> And a few months later, Archbishop Gilmartin argued that ‘the few miscreants who are responsible for the crimes are ... giving our enemies an opportunity of calumniating the whole Irish people, and are affording a hostile government an excuse for its regime of oppression’.<sup>140</sup>

This last point was also a popular theme. Some priests made rather a lot of it, such as Father Joseph McCarthy, curate in Tipperary town, who announced in November 1920 that ‘every policeman murdered is a cause of distress and dismay to Ireland’s friends, and can

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<sup>136</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 28 Feb. 1920.

<sup>137</sup> Keogh, *Vatican*, pp 40, 248.

<sup>138</sup> Delaney to Walsh, 27 Nov. 1920 (D.D.A., Walsh papers, 380/3).

<sup>139</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 8 Nov. 1919.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, 13 Mar. 1920.

give joy and satisfaction only to her enemies, who only want excuse to dragoon the country and lay her in the dust, as Cromwell and his Ironsides did'.<sup>141</sup> This cynical view of the aims of British rule in Ireland was shared by the Waterford-born archbishop of Sydney, Michael Kelly, who visited his native country in the summer of 1920. He told an audience at New Ross, County Wexford: 'Never break the law of God.... Otherwise you may give your enemies an opportunity, of which, I am afraid, it is in their hearts to take advantage to mow you down. Don't give them that chance'.<sup>142</sup> Sinn Féin vice-president and clerical *franc-tireur* Father Michael O'Flanagan, curate in Roscommon town, entertained a similar view, as attendees of an *aeridheacht* or open-air rally at Gortletteragh, County Leitrim, discovered in October 1920. O'Flanagan denounced the use of violence and said that:

Since 1914 efforts had been made to get the young men of Ireland away. Lord French admitted that when he blurted out that there were 200,000 young men in Ireland too many.... All that England wanted now was that the young men of Ireland would come out in the open to fight her, so that they could have machine guns on the one side and blackthorn sticks on the other.<sup>143</sup>

This statement obviously discouraged the use of violence. But the unspoken implication of the last sentence – 'machine guns on the one side and blackthorn sticks on the other' – was that there were no moral impediments worth mentioning to stop the 'young men of Ireland' from fighting if they *had been* properly armed.

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<sup>141</sup> Ibid., 20 Nov. 1920.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid., 24 July 1920.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid., 30 Oct. 1920. See Denis Carroll, *They have fooled you again. Michael O'Flanagan (1876-1942). Priest, republican, social critic* (Blackrock, 1993), p. 115 and I.G.M.R., Aug. 1919 (T.N.A., CO904/109) for other statements by O'Flanagan on violence. Other examples of the argument that republican violence would elicit further British violence: Bishop O'Donnell of Raphoe, *ibid.*, 11 Sept. 1920; Father John Murphy, Adm. south parish Cork, *ibid.*, 15 Jan. 1921. See appendix 2.2 for further instances.

### 3.3.2 *The futility of violence*

In addition to objections to violence mentioned in the previous section, many priests and bishops also urged the more general consideration that the physical force policy was powerless to achieve its aims. Some pointed to the obvious discrepancy in military strength between the Volunteers and the forces of the British empire. Thus Father J. F. Enright, curate in Miltown Malbay, somewhat despondently told a congregation at a funeral in October 1920 that ‘it is folly to make an attempt to overthrow the power of the British government .... The murder of a few policemen ... will not overthrow the power of the government, and it is absolute insanity to think so’.<sup>144</sup> Archbishop Gilmartin echoed these sentiments some months later when he assured an audience at Knock, County Mayo that ‘he had no doubt about the bravery of the Irish boys, and he did not want to say anything against them; they were a magnificent body of men, but no matter how good they were they were not equal to the forces against them’.<sup>145</sup> On a more practical level, priests also argued that specific I.R.A. tactics were futile. Father E. J. O’Reilly, parish priest of Kinnitty, County Offaly, condemned the destruction of police barracks in August 1920 as ‘the military or police could commandeer private houses’.<sup>146</sup>

In the early stages of the conflict assertions of the futility of violence often reflected the unorganised and unsystematic nature of the I.R.A. campaign. Responding to the Soloheadbeg killings, Dr John Slattery, administrator of the parish, denounced the shooting and deplored ‘the habit of many young fellows, without much sense or education or steadiness of character, of carrying loaded firearms’.<sup>147</sup> This habit was especially dangerous considering ‘the temptation that so easily arises from possession of firearms’. Slattery therefore advocated that ‘due restriction on the right of all men to carry firearms was demanded as their contribution to real Irish liberty’. And Father Patrick O’Connell, parish priest of Cootehill, County Cavan, condemned the raiding for arms in his parish in September 1920 for the reason that the arms ‘generally taken were fit only for shooting rooks’.<sup>148</sup> A similar view of the Volunteers as irresponsible young men engaged in dangerous foolishness was voiced by Cardinal Logue. In his 1919 Lenten pastoral he asked the Catholics of his diocese not to expose themselves to trouble by attending ‘needless assemblies, gatherings, or

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<sup>144</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 30 Oct. 1920.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, 7 May 1921.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, 21 Aug. 1920.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*, 1 Feb. 1919.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*, 25 Sept. 1920.

other practices which serve no useful purpose'.<sup>149</sup> He singled out drilling as a case in point – “tomfoolery,” as a learned judge lately termed it. They might practice the goose-step to the Greek kalends, and it would never bring them one step nearer to freedom’.

As the I.R.A. campaign became more violent and the authorities retaliated in kind, clerical insistence on its futility increasingly came to reflect its seriousness and often deplored the disruption it caused to society. In November and December 1920, the city and county of Cork were the scene of a number of hard-hitting I.R.A. actions and reprisals by Crown forces. Bishop Cohalan, who had only recently earned the sympathy of republicans by visiting Terence MacSwiney during his hunger-strike, proved a vociferous critic of I.R.A. violence and often reiterated his belief in its futility. In an address in the north cathedral in Cork in December 1920, Cohalan challenged the contention that certain areas in the country had been liberated from British control by a campaign against the police. So far from being delivered from British rule these areas had become subjected to horrendous reprisals: ‘now it looked like a devil’s competition between some members of the I.R.A. and agents of the Crown in feats of murder and arson’.<sup>150</sup> When the parish priest of Dunmanway, Thomas Canon Magner, was killed by an Auxiliary on 15 December, Cohalan regarded the event as confirmation of his view that the I.R.A. campaign impeded rather than furthered the cause of Irish freedom. In a letter published in the *Cork Examiner* on 16 December, he – erroneously, as it later appeared – described the murder as a reprisal for the Kilmichael ambush. He then said: ‘whether that be the explanation of Canon Magner’s murder or not, the ambush involved the murder of 15 Englishmen, the death of three of the ambushing party, several deaths since, and it has not brought us nearer the republic’.<sup>151</sup> And in his Advent pastoral issued a few days later, the bishop repeated this view: ‘the killing of a policeman was morally murder and politically of no consequence and the burning of barracks was simply the destruction of Irish property’.<sup>152</sup>

As this shows, condemnation on grounds of expediency was not wholly a matter of cool calculation as to which tactics were best suited to bring about Ireland’s freedom. Even when priests did not dwell on the morality of acts of violence, many argued that there was a

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<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, 8 Mar. 1919.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*, 18 Dec. 1920.

<sup>151</sup> *Cork Examiner*, 16 Dec. 1920.

<sup>152</sup> Cohalan, Pastoral letter, 19 Dec. 1920 (C.D.A., Cohalan papers, box vi). See also Cohalan’s comment in Cork cathedral in Mar. 1920: *Irish Catholic*, 20 Mar. 1920. For other examples of the view that I.R.A. violence did the cause of freedom harm see: Father Francis Cassidy, P.P. Kilfenora, *ibid.*, 19 July 1919; Father Joseph McCarthy, C.C. Tipperary, *ibid.*, 13 Nov. 1920; Father John Murphy, Adm. south parish Cork, *ibid.*, 15 Jan. 1921; Father James Byrnes, P.P. Bansha, *ibid.*, 28 May 1921.

contrast between the cause of ‘holy Ireland’ and the unworthy means used by the I.R.A. to serve it. Father Francis Cassidy, parish priest of Kilfenora, County Clare, expressed this concern when he presided over an ad hoc meeting of townspeople in Kilfenora in July 1919 after an ambush on constables in his parish. The meeting passed a resolution which declared that it ‘knew of no reason why any policeman in Kilfenora should be attacked’ and asserted that

Kilfenora, in common with Claremen generally, believe [sic] in fair-play. They do not think that the right of Ireland to self-determination can be helped by midnight assassins. The true friends of Ireland prize the honour of their native land too highly to have it stained by abominable crime.<sup>153</sup>

Not only did violence contrast with the stainless reputation of Ireland, it also imperilled the spiritual regeneration of the Irish nation upon which nationalistic clerics had fixed their hopes. Thus Bishop Hoare of Ardagh warned in March 1919 that revolutionary action would not only make the Irish people ‘the prey of their enemies’, but would also lead to ‘what has taken place in France, Portugal, Mexico, and Russia. Secret societies and revolution did not bring the rebirth of nations, but their devastation and destruction’.<sup>154</sup> Similarly, Father Philip Callery, parish priest of Tullamore, contended in November 1920 that ‘it is not by the wanton destruction of property and of human life ... that the regeneration of our country is to be effected’.<sup>155</sup> On the contrary, he advised his parishioners, ‘freedom, like the thrones of heaven, by suffering virtue, must be won’. Equally sceptical about I.R.A. tactics was Father Gleeson of Lorrha, from whose public statement on the killing of R.I.C. Sergeant Brady we have already quoted. His criticism concerned the fact that the I.R.A. did not possess a popular mandate to justify its actions, and he asked:

Who has authorised a small band of unknown, ignorant persons ... to decide that the life of a fellow-being may be lawfully taken? The Irish people did not consider this question at the general election. It was not put before them, and if it had been, it would have been rejected with horror.<sup>156</sup>

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<sup>153</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 19 July 1919.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, 8 Mar. 1919. Other examples of the contrast between ‘holy’ Ireland and the use of violence: Dr John Slattery, Adm. Solohead, *ibid.*, 1 Feb. 1919; John Canon Walsh, P.P. Ballymurn, *ibid.*, 22 Nov. 1919; John Canon Kelly, P.P. Doon, *ibid.*, 13 Mar. 1920.

<sup>155</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 13 Nov. 1920.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, 13 Sept. 1919.

He questioned the fitness of those involved in violence to act on behalf of Ireland at all: ‘better for Ireland to wait on than to place power in the hands of men who would work out their ends by the weapons of the tyrant’.

Others did not share this dim view of the quality of men involved in the I.R.A. campaign. Instead, they warned young men against joining the movement for their own good, because it was purportedly riddled with spies. Joining the I.R.A. exposed them to the danger of arrest by British authorities. Archbishop Gilmartin gave this warning, more concerned with the safety of potential Volunteers than that of their potential victims, in a new year’s address in his cathedral in 1921. Counselling his audience not to have anything to do with secret societies, he told the congregation that ‘we know from history that every revolutionary movement is shadowed by informers, and that the members of secret organisations are known to those who may want them’.<sup>157</sup> More substantial evidence for the truth of these fears was advanced in a letter by Father Timothy Curtain, parish priest of Croom, County Limerick, to Michael O’Riordan. He told O’Riordan that ‘whenever there is an agitation on for any purpose spies get up these societies [and] the government encourages them as they pay the spies well’.<sup>158</sup> Curtain then recounted a story of a ‘young fellow’ from Croom in whose possession arms and Sinn Féin literature had been found by police after the Easter rising. In spite of that he was not arrested. He subsequently started drilling other local young men, was arrested briefly and then released again. ‘He was not long at home when some houses in the neighbourhood were raided for arms’. After two raiders were captured and convicted, some local boys came to see Father Curtain and told him they had been sworn into a secret society – probably the Volunteer youth organisation Na Fianna Éireann – by a friend. Curtain then denounced the parents of the convicted raiders from the pulpit: ‘if [they had] looked after them properly they would not have got into trouble’. He also mentioned publicly that other boys had come to him and had told him the name of the person who had sworn them in, as he ‘had their permission’. He remarked: ‘our friend left next day [and] has not since returned’. For Curtain ‘getting into trouble’ meant being caught by the British authorities rather than engaging in attacks against them.

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<sup>157</sup> Ibid., 8 Jan. 1921.

<sup>158</sup> Curtain to O’Riordan, undated but from 1919 according to the archivist’s note (A.I.C.R., O’Riordan papers, box 19, folder 190, no. 2).

### 3.3.3 *Clashes between priests and republicans*

Some of the I.R.A.'s acts of physical force affected not merely Crown forces or specifically targeted civilians, but simply random members of the public, including on occasion priests. Thus mail addressed to members of the Tullabeg Jesuit house of studies, County Offaly, was raided by the I.R.A. in December 1920. Some days after the raid the letters were returned opened and marked 'Censored by Irish republic'.<sup>159</sup> Interestingly, most of the letters that were censored were addressed to the tertians – Jesuits who had worked in the Society already for a number of years before they were admitted to the final stage of formation. Sometimes such mail raids had fortunate consequences for correspondents. Father W. Hanton, a priest of the diocese of Ferns, wrote to the vice-rector of the Irish college in Paris in 1931 to explain why a cheque which he said he had posted during the War of Independence to clear a debt had never arrived. He had since spoken to a member of the raiding party, who told him that all the letters captured had been hastily destroyed when military suddenly arrived at the house where they were being kept.<sup>160</sup> The residence of Father Charles Boyce, curate in Ballintra, County Donegal, was raided for arms, although nothing was apparently found, in September 1920.<sup>161</sup> As the raid took place at a time when the houses of local unionists were also searched by unknown men, it is likely that the raiders were republicans.

Other priests sustained personal injuries as unintended victims of republican violence. Thus Father John Trainor was wounded by broken glass when the mail train carrying him from Enniskillen to Dundalk was fired on by Volunteers near Ballybay, County Monaghan, in December 1919.<sup>162</sup> Similarly, Father Matthew Carroll, curate in Ballybricken, County Limerick, was hit by a 'flying splinter' as he travelled on the train from Cork to Waterford in May 1921.<sup>163</sup> The train was held up by republicans at a crossing near Kilmacthomas, County Waterford, and was attacked because it was carrying soldiers and ammunition for the army. And Bishop Charles O'Sullivan of Kerry sent the commander of the I.R.A.'s Kerry no. 1 brigade an angry letter in March 1921 complaining that I.R.A. men in the locality had exposed the residents of a Mercy convent in Tralee to danger.<sup>164</sup> I.R.A. men had been firing

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<sup>159</sup> Entry for 31 Dec. 1920 in 'Notes &c. for Litt. Ann., Hist. Dom., 1919-'20. 1920-'21' (Jesuit Provincial Archives [J.P.A.], Papers of the Tullabeg community, Rahan, Tullamore, Co. Offaly, FM/TULL/289).

<sup>160</sup> Hanton to McGuinness, 4 Feb. 1931 (Archives of the Irish College, Paris [A.I.C.P.], Papers of the Collège, A2.h136).

<sup>161</sup> *Irish Independent*, 9 Sept. 1920.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*, 17 Dec. 1919.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, 2 May 1921.

<sup>164</sup> Kennedy witness statement, pp 110-1 (N.A.I., BMH/WS1413).



at a British airplane that had landed nearby the convent when lorries of Auxiliaries unexpectedly turned up on the scene and started firing at the Volunteers with machine guns. The men scrambled and some of them escaped by climbing over the walls of the convent, thus making the building a target for machine gun fire.

Other priests were specifically targeted because they had fallen foul of the I.R.A. The nature of the sanctions imposed varied considerably. Father John Hurley, curate in Bantry, County Cork, was banned by the I.R.A. from attending an *aeridheacht* in his parish when he had foiled an attempted arrest by Volunteers of a local bank manager in early 1921.<sup>165</sup> When two members of the I.R.A. went to arrest the bank manager, they found him in a bathing-box together with Hurley. According to the man who recounted the incident to I.R.A. chief of staff Richard Mulcahy some time later, the bank manager ‘appealed to F[ather] Hurley for sanctuary’ when two Volunteers made their purpose known, and Hurley obliged. The Volunteers then left and nothing further was apparently done until the local I.R.A. company organised a fund-raising *aeridheacht* together with the Bantry Sinn Féin and Gaelic League branches. When the Volunteers put in a proviso that Hurley was not welcome at the event, the Sinn Féiners and Gaelic Leaguers withdrew their support, because Hurley was president of the local branches of both organisations. On another occasion, fund-raising by the I.R.A. also became a bone of contention between the movement and the clergy. In his report for June 1921, the R.I.C. inspector general wrote that in some parts of County Tyrone, Catholic priests had denounced collections that had recently been held for the I.R.A. because the collectors lacked the required authority from Sinn Féin.<sup>166</sup>

Other priests also offered resistance to the I.R.A. and had to pay a higher price for it than Father Hurley did. When Father Daniel Coughlan, parish priest of Aughrim, County Galway, refused to appoint a Sinn Féiner as teacher in the local school in February 1919, local republicans declared a boycott of the school.<sup>167</sup> Shortly afterwards shots were fired into the house of a local man who had defied the boycott and continued to send his children to Coughlan’s school. And when Father Patrick Tuite, parish priest of Delvin, County Westmeath, refused to give permission to Father O’Flanagan to use the parish hall in July 1919, a shot was fired at the door of his presbytery at night.<sup>168</sup> According to the inspector general, Tuite had not just refused permission to O’Flanagan to hold the meeting, but was

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<sup>165</sup> Hayes to Mulcahy, 15 Sept. 1921 (University College Dublin Archives [U.C.D.A.], Richard Mulcahy papers, P7/A/24).

<sup>166</sup> I.G.M.R., June, 1921, p. 694 (T.N.A., CO904/115).

<sup>167</sup> I.G.M.R., Feb. 1919, p. 247 (T.N.A., CO904/108).

<sup>168</sup> I.G.M.R., July 1919 (T.N.A., CO904/109). For the refusal see also *Irish Catholic*, 3 May 1919.

also believed to have been the cause that a Sinn Féin meeting – presumably the same one – had been proclaimed. In any case he was ‘opposed to Sinn Fein’. And Father Gleeson of Lorrha received several ‘abusive and threatening letters’ after his condemnation of the Brady killing in September 1919.<sup>169</sup> Augusteijn has also mentioned a number of other threats made to clerics because of their opposition to the republican movement.<sup>170</sup>

In a bizarre incident in October 1920, Father Michael Hayes, parish priest of Feakle, County Clare, found that his housekeeper had been kidnapped.<sup>171</sup> It is not entirely clear who was responsible for this outrage on Miss Johanna Slattery. The *Irish Independent* reported that notices had been posted in Feakle saying that if Slattery was not returned speedily, prominent Sinn Féiners would be shot. This was possibly an indication that republicans were the culprits. This theory is strengthened by the inspector general’s observation that Hayes was ‘strongly opposed to Sinn Fein’. It could also be that the affair was a ploy by unscrupulous members of the Crown forces, who carried out the kidnapping themselves so that they could blame it on the I.R.A. At any rate, Slattery was safely reunited with her employer after three days. Naturally the possibility must not be discounted either that her own political activities were the cause of her abduction. In a different case, Father John Godley, parish priest of Adrigole, County Cork, also became the victim of republican violence in November 1920. According to an official Dublin Castle report, his motorcar was stolen from his garage one night and found burnt out along the roadside.<sup>172</sup> The report noted that Godley had condemned the shooting of police, raids, burnings and ambushes on the day before the destruction of his car and that twelve armed men had entered his garage on the day of the theft. No independent corroboration of this report has survived, but a letter preserved in the Kerry diocesan archives proves that Godley had the reputation of being an enemy of republicans.<sup>173</sup> This being the case it is very likely that the official report was not far from the truth.

Another official Castle report stated that Father Denis O’Hara, parish priest of Kiltimagh, County Mayo, earned the ire of republicans when he attempted to release a rate collector seized by armed men in May 1921.<sup>174</sup> John O’Donnell was collecting dog licence fees when he was seized by two men with guns, assaulted, robbed of his cash and ordered to withdraw an amount of money lodged in the bank. O’Hara and another bystander came on the

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<sup>169</sup> I.G.M.R., Sept. 1919, p. 8 (T.N.A., CO904/110).

<sup>170</sup> Augusteijn, *Defiance*, p. 305.

<sup>171</sup> I.G.M.R., Oct. 1920 (T.N.A., CO904/113) and *Irish Independent*, 26 Oct. 1920.

<sup>172</sup> *Irish Independent*, 26 Nov. and 2 Dec. 1920.

<sup>173</sup> See Dunne to O’Sullivan, 4 May 1922 (Kerry Diocesan Archives [Ky.D.A.], Charles O’Sullivan papers, ‘Parish correspondence’, Adrigole).

<sup>174</sup> *Irish Independent*, 5 and 9 May 1921.

scene and each grabbed one of O'Donnell's assailants, the priest exclaiming that he 'would not let him go until he was arrested or identified'.<sup>175</sup> 'A number of Sinn Feiners' then stepped into the fray and rescued the armed men from the priest's grip. The newspaper made no mention of O'Donnell's subsequent fate. Another amusing story – told this time by Dan Breen in his memoir – is illustrative of the uneasiness that sometimes characterised relations between active Volunteers and the clerical establishment. On one occasion, when disguised as a priest and on his way to Dublin by bicycle, Breen noticed that he had a puncture in his tyre just as he rode into Maynooth.<sup>176</sup> Rather than going to the college to ask for help, Breen instead decided to go to the police station. Apart from fearing that his poor mastery of the Latin tongue might give him away in the college, he was also afraid that the staff 'might not be too pleased to find a gunman masquerading as a clergyman'. Nor, presumably, would the R.I.C., but Breen nonetheless preferred to fall into the hands of constables than those of the president of Maynooth.

Augusteijn has observed that there were reports from all over the country of priests interfering with the Volunteers to stop actions from taking place.<sup>177</sup> He has quoted the example of the parish priest of Foulksmills, County Wexford, whose interventions caused the cancelling of a large-scale attack on the local R.I.C. barracks.<sup>178</sup> Another priest, Father Geoffrey Prendergast, curate in Ballyhaunis, County Mayo, threatened not to say the stations in the house of anyone who gave shelter to I.R.A. columns. And Volunteer veteran Pat Fallon told Ernie O'Malley that the 'fair grip' which Canon Healy of Kilmaine, County Mayo, exercised over his parishioners had turned the area against the movement.<sup>179</sup> Similarly, the *Irish Catholic* reported in August 1920 that Father Joseph Houlihan, curate in Kinnitty, County Offaly, had called unsuccessfully on the Volunteers to desist from their preparations to destroy the local police barracks.<sup>180</sup> After the attack had gone ahead, Houlihan commented at mass that 'those engaged in the destruction would be better employed suppressing intemperance'. Houlihan and the local Volunteers were clearly not on the best of terms, because the newspaper also recorded that the curate had previously been 'held up' as the I.R.A. were in the process of destroying Kilcormac R.I.C. barracks. Houlihan had also

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<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.*, 9 May 1921.

<sup>176</sup> Breen, *My fight*, p. 76.

<sup>177</sup> Augusteijn, *Defiance*, p. 307.

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 118.

<sup>179</sup> Father Prendergast: Johnny Duffy, Ernie O'Malley notebooks (U.C.D.A., Ernie O'Malley papers, P17b/109). See also Augusteijn, *Defiance*, p. 307. Canon Healy: Pat Fallon, Ernie O'Malley notebooks (U.C.D.A., O'Malley papers, P17b/109) and Augusteijn, *Defiance*, p. 307.

<sup>180</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 21 Aug. 1920.

protested against that attack. His detention at the hands of the Volunteers did not take long, however, and he was allowed to proceed when he was 'recognised'.

### 3.4 Attitudes towards Protestants and home rule politics

#### 3.4.1 Sectarianism

As has been seen in the previous chapter, it has been the subject of some debate whether the War of Independence was a sectarian conflict directed partly at the Protestant religious minority. In view of this debate it is important to establish whether or not the clergy put a sectarian gloss on the conflict. It is clear that the bishops were generally eager in their public pronouncements not to mix the struggle for independence with denominational antagonism. Thus Cardinal Logue wrote a letter to the administrator of his cathedral to express his horror at the fact that Sinn Féin colours had been painted on a pillar at the entrance to the Church of Ireland cathedral in Armagh in April 1920.<sup>181</sup> He condemned the ‘flagrant outrage’ and deplored the fact that not even religious edifices had been spared the vandalism of ‘reckless characters, to whom nothing is sacred’. He prided himself on the fact that he had always ‘by precept and example [tried] to encourage and maintain peace, charity, goodwill and neighbourly feeling ... among the people of every denomination’. Logue’s message was clear when he said that ‘we have misery enough without the added curse of sectarian strife’. Some months later, in July, Bishop Kelly was equally uncompromising when he said in a sermon after the killing of a constable in Skibbereen, County Cork, that ‘if people could not live in peace with almighty God and their neighbours of different religions and races they are no longer Catholics’.<sup>182</sup>

Priests often followed suit, and there are a number of examples of priests personally denouncing or organising meetings to denounce acts of violence against Protestants and Protestant churches. Thus the parish priest of Glenville, County Cork, presided over a meeting of Catholics in December 1919 which passed a resolution condemning the breaking into the local Protestant church.<sup>183</sup> And when a Protestant church in Navan, County Meath, was broken into and various parts of the inventory were vandalised in May 1920, local priest Father W. Gleeson referred to the incident during an address at a mission in his parish the next day.<sup>184</sup> He condemned the incident strongly and, on his own behalf and on behalf of the Catholics of Navan, tendered his sympathy with the rector and the Church of Ireland congregation.

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<sup>181</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 17 Apr. 1920.

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*, 31 July 1920.

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*, 13 Dec. 1919.

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid.*, 8 May 1920.

As has been seen, priests frequently condemned the killing of members of the Crown forces, whether these were Catholics or Protestants. When Protestant civilians were killed, this often elicited similar clerical denunciation. When a Protestant man was shot dead near Skibbereen in February 1921 – allegedly for having had ‘some relations with the Crown authorities recently’ – Father Florence McCarthy, the administrator of the pro-cathedral, strongly condemned the killing.<sup>185</sup> The greatest show of Catholic clerical indignation at the killing of a Protestant came in June 1921, when a retired Church of Ireland clergyman was killed in Bawnboy, County Cavan. In the early hours of 12 June, a group of armed men called at the house of the octogenarian dean of Leighlin, James Finlay. According to a statement made by the chief secretary in the House of Commons, the group told the residents to leave their house within ten minutes. Dean Finlay’s wife, sister-in-law and servants then departed for a neighbour’s house. When Mrs. Finlay returned to the scene some hours later, she found the house completely burned down and her husband dead on the lawn, felled by what appeared to have been a gunshot to the back of the head.<sup>186</sup> On the subsequent Sunday at mass, Father Terence Brady, parish priest of Templeport, County Cavan, said that ‘where violence was committed, he would condemn it’.<sup>187</sup> He knew that crime was committed by both sides, but there were circumstances to this case which could not be overlooked: ‘the victim ... was an old man, kind and charitable to his Catholic neighbours, and the gravity of the crime made it heinous’. Brady, and Father Patrick O’Reilly, parish priest of Swanlinbar, were present at Finlay’s funeral and wrote a public letter together with Father John McGovern, parish priest of Curlough, referring to the crime.<sup>188</sup> The three parish priests expressed their horror and indignation at the murder and tendered their sympathy to his relatives. They wrote that they ‘imagined his age, his venerable appearance, his kindly relations with everyone in the locality, and, above all, his profession would have saved him from such a sad fate’. They also disassociated their parishioners from the killing, adding – perhaps more wishfully than truthfully – that ‘such was the respect in which Dean Finlay was held that there is not a single neighbour of his who does not view the crime with the same horror as we’.

Sometimes clerical exhortations to treat Protestants respectfully and with civility were made in the somewhat backhanded form of comparisons of their treatment in the southern

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<sup>185</sup> *Irish Independent*, 21 Feb. 1921.

<sup>186</sup> Sir Hamar Greenwood, 16 June 1921, *Hansard 5 (Commons)*, cxliii, c. 572. Padraic O’Farrell has suggested that there are reasons to believe that the killing was an accident: Padraic O’Farrell, *Who’s who in the Irish War of Independence and Civil War 1916-1923* (Dublin, 1997), p. 33.

<sup>187</sup> *Irish Independent*, 22 June 1921.

<sup>188</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 25 June 1921. *I.C.D. 1921* has McGovern as ‘McGauran’, p. 172.

provinces of Ireland with that of Catholics in Ulster. Thus Archbishop Gilmartin congratulated his congregation in Tuam cathedral in July 1920 on the ‘magnificent patience and restraint they had shown’ and said that he hoped that, despite the ‘fatal and raging bigotry’ manifested by the Orangemen in the north, ‘no Catholic would dream of insulting a non-Catholic neighbour’.<sup>189</sup> He added that ‘religious bigotry would eventually bring about its own defeat and disgrace’. And James Canon Halpin, parish priest of Tulla, County Clare, told his parishioners on Sunday in October 1920 that ‘they must be tolerant and broad-minded to those who differed from them, in spite of the example of another part of Ireland’.<sup>190</sup> Father Richard Cohalan, parish priest of Bray, County Wicklow, used a similar theme, but directed it not at the Catholic but the unionist population of his parish in August 1920. At mass on Sunday, Cohalan appealed to unionists to remember the contrast between the treatment of Catholic workmen by their Protestant employers in Belfast and the support given to Protestant merchants in Bray by Catholic patrons.<sup>191</sup> ‘He appealed to them to give expression to the generous and tolerant support they receive from the Catholics of the district, and also to throw in their lot with the unionists of the other parts of southern Ireland’.

Others in Ulster itself took a more conciliatory approach. Thus Father James O’Boyle, parish priest of Ballymoney, County Antrim, told a group of parishioners in November 1920 that his relations with his non-Catholic neighbours had always been cordial and that ‘he could never forget their generosity’.<sup>192</sup> He praised the local Orange lodge because its band had always stopped playing when parading past his church while devotions were in progress there. In fact, very little evidence has emerged during the research carried out for this thesis of priests fanning the flames of sectarianism. Some instances of negative clerical comments on Protestants have been mentioned in a previous chapter.<sup>193</sup> And the R.I.C. inspector general reported in April 1921 that a number of Catholic priests had encouraged the boycott of Protestant families in one part of County Offaly.<sup>194</sup> There were also a number of unflattering remarks about Protestants in general and Orangemen in particular made by the *chronista* of Clonard Redemptorist monastery in Belfast in April 1920 and July 1921. When recording a mission given by Clonard priests in Aldergrove, County Antrim, the chronicler wrote that

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<sup>189</sup> Ibid., 31 July 1921.

<sup>190</sup> Ibid., 9 Oct. 1920.

<sup>191</sup> Ibid., 21 Aug. 1920.

<sup>192</sup> Ibid., 6 Nov. 1920.

<sup>193</sup> See 2.2.3. Keogh mentioned a Presbyterian from County Mayo who complained about sectarian language from a priest and Aan de Wiel quoted a statement by Bishop Morrisroe about the Protestant ‘pampered minority’ being a ‘foreign garrison in our midst’. Keogh, *Vatican*, p. 78 and Aan de Wiel, *Church*, pp 227-8.

<sup>194</sup> I.G.M.R., Apr. 1921, p. 10. (T.N.A., CO904/115).

‘this portion of the parish [of Glenavy] is still more Protestant than Glenavy itself, but thanks be to God, the Catholics are getting the upper hand; farms formerly held by Protestants are being bought up by Catholics to a large extent’.<sup>195</sup> And his account of the sectarian rioting that engulfed the flashpoint area where Clonard was situated in July 1921 contained numerous references to ‘Orange murder gangs’ and ‘scoundrels’.<sup>196</sup> But both the record of missions and the domestic chronicle were private documents not accessible to members of the public. Moreover, the remarks about Orangemen must be seen in the context of the rioting which had taken place some months before they were made, during which one member of the community had been killed, possibly, as will be seen in a next chapter, by Orangemen. Neither of these comments can therefore be used as evidence for the encouragement of sectarianism by Catholic clergy.

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<sup>195</sup> Book A, ‘Missionary works 1896-1924’. p. 403 (Clonard Monastery Domestic Archives [C.M.A.]).

<sup>196</sup> ‘Domestic Chronicles of the House of the Most Holy Redeemer, Belfast, founded Nov. 1<sup>st</sup> 1896’, i: ‘Domestic Chronicle 1896-1930’, pp 318-9 (C.M.A.).



### 3.4.2 *'In the old groove': home rule politics*

It may well be asked whether a negative judgment by clergy on the use of violence necessarily entailed antagonism towards the political views and activities of Sinn Féin, the Dáil and the Dáil administration. The conversion of many priests and some bishops from the Irish Parliamentary Party to Sinn Féin in the aftermath of the Easter rising has been well established.<sup>197</sup> While we cannot here attempt to give a comprehensive analysis of the political views of the clergy at the time, it is possible to make some observations. This section will look at evidence for continued priestly support for the Irish Party and home rule during the War of Independence. Father J. P. Conry of Ballyhaunis, County Mayo, wrote to John Hagan, the vice-rector of the Irish college, Rome, in August 1919: 'I am astonished at the number of priests I meet [in the diocese of Tuam] who do not think our way. So many of them are in the old groove. These simply laugh at us'.<sup>198</sup> One such Tuam priest was quoted by Augusteijn as having written in a local newspaper in March 1920 that Sinn Féin politicians were 'upstarts who imagine that they are the alpha and omega of nationality here' even though they were all 'corner boys without any business'.<sup>199</sup>

The observation that many priests, so far from supporting violence, were not even in favour of Sinn Féin, is corroborated by a number of sources about priestly views on politics at the beginning of the conflict. Thus in his January 1919 letter to Michael O'Riordan, Canon O'Donnell of Rathkeale compared the Sinn Féin leadership unfavourably with the land league leaders of the 1880s and 1890s. He challenged the argument – advanced by O'Riordan – that excesses by excited followers were not the responsibility of the Sinn Féin leadership:

Such outrages, you say, follow *praeter intentionem* of leaders ... as happened in the land league days. With all respect, I deny the parity. The land league leaders did not go in for physical force .... Very different now. The spirit of Sinn Feinism is active resistance, [and] very active [and] aggressive, even to attacking barracks [and] shooting soldiers [and] policemen. And the leaders did not stop at words but set the example by their own deeds.<sup>200</sup>

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<sup>197</sup> For instance by Miller, *Church*, pp 391-425, Keogh, *Vatican*, p. 25 and Aan de Wiel, *Church*, pp 153-253.

<sup>198</sup> Conry to Hagan, 27 Aug. 1919 (A.I.C.R., Hagan papers, HAG1/1919/293). For another example of a priest observing that other priests were 'not so staunch' in their support for Sinn Féin see a letter from Father Patrick Flynn, Longford, to Hagan: Flynn to Hagan, 9 Jan. 1920 (A.I.C.R., Hagan papers, HAG1/1920/86).

<sup>199</sup> Parish priest of Cong, County Mayo. Augusteijn, *Defiance*, p. 308. Ironically, this priest's curate, Father Michael Carney, was the treasurer of the South Mayo Sinn Féin constituency executive. See List of Sinn Féin officers (N.L.I., MS 5649).

<sup>200</sup> O'Donnell to O'Riordan, 30 Jan. 1919 (A.I.C.R., O'Riordan papers, box 19, folder 190, no. 14). '*Praeter intentionem*' means 'outside the intention'.

Bishop Kelly of Ross entertained similar suspicions about the violent leanings of the leaders of Sinn Féin. In a sermon in Skibbereen pro-cathedral on Palm Sunday 1919 he complained that ‘several elected members of parliament [had] held up to admiration the actions of the people in Russia and Hungary’ during a session of Dáil Éireann in the previous week.<sup>201</sup> Kelly had paid no attention to the ‘wild ideas’ of Madame Markievicz, who had ‘proclaimed the doctrine twelve months ago of backing up the revolution’, because he thought she stood alone. He had now found ‘in his newspapers on Saturday that these ideas were also held by responsible men – members of parliament and some officials of the new “government”’, and this was cause of great concern to him. He warned the congregation that ‘if these ideas were spread amongst them, if they were picked up, the faith of St. Patrick would not stand’. Kelly had previously explained the reasons for his unease about Sinn Féin in a private letter to the rector of the Irish college in Paris, Father Patrick Boyle, C.M. He wrote that ‘all Ireland has declared itself Sinn Fein. Their present policy is ... to resist English law in Ireland. This means constant collision with police and military – arrests, trials, possibly bloodshed’.<sup>202</sup> This caused him concern because ‘we had not so strong an old Tory government for a century. They will stand no humbug from Sinn Fein’. Some months later Kelly offended republican sensibilities when he refused to say prayers in Skibbereen pro-cathedral for the repose of the soul of Sinn Féiner and Volunteer leader Pierce McCan, who died in England in March 1919.<sup>203</sup>

Kelly was not alone in his criticism of Sinn Féin. Thus Cardinal Logue had warned Archbishop Walsh in March 1919 that Sinn Féin politicians were bent on manipulating the clergy into organising meetings for them.<sup>204</sup> Some priests shared this negative view of the movement. Thus the rector of the Jesuit Crescent college, Limerick, Father Lawrence Potter, S.J., complained to his provincial in February 1920 that one of the members of staff, a priest by the name of Robert Dillon-Kelly, was ‘somewhat outspoken against the Sinn Feiners’.<sup>205</sup> Since ‘Limerick at present is almost completely dominated by Sinn Fein’, this did Father Dillon-Kelly no favours in the eyes of students and parents. Dillon-Kelly had apparently been involved in producing the school’s recent plays, which, Potter reported, had been ‘a dismal

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<sup>201</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 19 Apr. 1919.

<sup>202</sup> Kelly to Boyle, 6 Jan. 1919 (A.I.C.P., Collège papers, A2.h108).

<sup>203</sup> *Catholic Bulletin*, ix, no. 5 (May 1919), p. 218.

<sup>204</sup> Logue to Walsh, 14 Mar. 1919 (D.D.A., Walsh papers, 386/5).

<sup>205</sup> Potter to Nolan, 17 Feb. 1920 (J.P.A., Papers of the Sacred Heart College, Limerick [Crescent college papers], SC/CRES/57).

failure'. The rector blamed the college's box office flop on a number of factors, but the fact that Dillon-Kelly was unpopular was one of them.

Other priests feared the purported social radicalism of Sinn Féin. In July 1919, Archdeacon Thomas Power, parish priest of Galbally, County Tipperary, wrote to John Hagan that 'the clergy seem here much divided almost entirely on account of the extreme labour element of S[inn F[éin]'.<sup>206</sup> And the venue of a Sinn Féin meeting held in Tinahely, County Wicklow, in March 1919 had to be changed because the parish priest, John Canon Dunne, forbade its original location near his church.<sup>207</sup> As the meeting was in progress, Dunne turned up and declared that although he was not a Sinn Féiner and did not support their programme, he sympathised with the object of the meeting, which was to demand the release of political prisoners. He also said that he would do 'anything which was not against the moral law' to help them. And Father Nicholas Lawless, parish priest of Kilcurry, County Louth, presiding at a meeting of delegates of the United Irish League and the Ancient Order of Hibernians in November 1919, declared that an Ulster parliament should be accepted 'as an admission of the home rule principle'.<sup>208</sup>

Some priests who were sceptical of Sinn Féin did not change their tune as the conflict progressed. An example was James Canon Dunne, vicar general of Archbishop Walsh and parish priest of Donnybrook. During Terence MacSwiney's hunger-strike in the autumn of 1920, a number of republican parishioners complained to Walsh that Dunne had 'flatly refused' their request to have mass said for MacSwiney's intentions in Donnybrook church. Dunne had also 'caused grievous pain to his interviewers by the manner and words of his refusal'.<sup>209</sup> Moreover, they recalled that his inaction during the anti-conscription campaign in 1918 had 'pained many of our people' and that he had offended parents by showing 'hostility to the teaching of the Irish language in the schools'. Walsh apparently replied that he was not planning to try and influence Dunne's private opinions on 'a matter in dispute among theologians'.<sup>210</sup> The correspondents agreed to let the issue rest, but not without again assuring Walsh that: 'we feel keenly the manifestations of hostility shown by our parish priest to the

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<sup>206</sup> Power to Hagan, 14 July 1919 (A.I.C.R., Hagan papers, HAG1/1919/207). For a senior priest who believed that Sinn Féin was a dangerous organisation on account of its association with socialism, see Augusteijn, *Defiance*, p. 306.

<sup>207</sup> File marked 'G.H.Q.I. D. of R.R. Gallagher, Sweeney. Addressing Sinn Fein meetings at Tinahely and Aughrim on 14.3.19.' (T.N.A., War Office: Army of Ireland: Administrative and Easter rising records, WO35/104).

<sup>208</sup> *Irish Independent*, 11 Nov. 1919.

<sup>209</sup> O'Connor c.s. to Walsh, 10 Sept. 1920 (D.D.A., Walsh papers, 380/4).

<sup>210</sup> O'Connor to Walsh, 15 Sept. 1920 (D.D.A., Walsh papers, 380/5).

national and patriotic aspirations of our people and we resent deeply his refusal to comply with our legitimate demands’.

Most of the examples of priestly hostility towards Sinn Féin cited above date from the early stages of the conflict: 1919 and early 1920. After the fighting intensified and the political irrelevance of what was left of the Irish Parliamentary Party became increasingly clear, such examples became less frequent. Coleman has observed that although clergy in County Longford were less supportive of the I.R.A. during the War of Independence than they had been of Sinn Féin during 1917 and 1918, clerical condemnations of the I.R.A. nonetheless gradually gave way to more frequent denunciations of the Crown forces.<sup>211</sup> The fact that clerical attitudes towards Sinn Féin became less pronouncedly hostile during the conflict did not mean, however, that priests had become wedded to the idea of bringing about a sovereign and fully independent republic. To the frustration of republican leaders, clerics occasionally claimed during the war that some kind of home rule arrangement short of a republic would satisfy the Irish people. Such views were already evident in 1919. Thus a youthful protégé of John Hagan’s, Father Edward Rawlins, wrote to Hagan in June 1919 that he had met a priest in Kingstown, County Dublin, whom he described as a ‘true blue’ and ‘who hated Sinn Feiners simply [and] solely because de Valera had said they wouldn’t accept anything less than independence’.<sup>212</sup> And Father Michael O’Neill, parish priest of Termoneeny, County Derry, told John Hagan in October 1919 that ‘an Irish republic is unattainable’.<sup>213</sup> But some bishops continued in this vein even at later stages of the conflict. Thus Morrisroe, in a public letter to the parish priest of Tobercurry in October 1920 argued for a ‘sane political outlook that will enable true statesmanship to look straight at the facts ... and, putting aside the impossible and unattainable, work for ends that it is possible to achieve’.<sup>214</sup> His emphasis on attainability and the need for realism in politics was a swipe at the perceived intransigence of the republican leaders. He contended that

the fostering during these latter years of ideals clearly impossible of attainment has done much to unsettle the mind of our youth ... We must not look for miracles in the political sphere as we might not expect them in other spheres either without very good reason.

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<sup>211</sup> Coleman, *Longford*, p. 157.

<sup>212</sup> Rawlins to Hagan, 12 June 1919 (A.I.C.R., Hagan papers, HAG1/1919/154).

<sup>213</sup> O’Neill to Hagan, 18 Oct. 1919 (A.I.C.R., Hagan papers, HAG1/1919/467).

<sup>214</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 16 Oct. 1920.

When it came to emphasising the importance of realism in political aspirations, Morrisroe found an important ally in Bishop Cohalan. In his Lenten pastoral of 1921 Cohalan asserted that:

everything depends on whether a republican status is attainable or not. Suppose it is unattainable, who then stultifies himself – the man who is in favour of keeping the country in turmoil and crime looking for an unattainable object, or the man who accepts provisionally a less perfect settlement.<sup>215</sup>

And Gilmartin declared in December 1920 that the great majority of the Irish people ‘would be willing to accept what is called dominion home rule, including full fiscal control’.<sup>216</sup>

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<sup>215</sup> *Freeman's Journal*, 7 Feb. 1921. For other examples of clerical rejection of the objective of a republic, see Gilmartin, *Irish Catholic*, 19 Feb. 1921 and *ibid.*, 7 May 1921.

<sup>216</sup> *I.C.D.* 1922, p. 503.

### 3.4.3 *The international dimension: Rome and Paris*

An excellent source for the political views of Irish priests during the War of Independence is the archive of the pontifical Irish college in Rome. Keogh has contended that the college played a pivotal role in Irish ecclesiastical politics and that this was due mainly to the activities of its two rectors, Michael O’Riordan, who was rector from 1905 to 1919, and John Hagan, who was rector from 1919 to 1930.<sup>217</sup> The underlying conviction of the two men was that the British government’s case concerning Ireland was well-represented at the Vatican – both through the British envoy to the Holy See and through the influence of senior English Catholics in the curia – but that the Irish voice was not yet properly represented. Aan de Wiel has emphasised the role played by Bishop Edward O’Dwyer of Limerick and O’Riordan in forging a new relation between nationalist Ireland and the Vatican during the First World War.<sup>218</sup> Keogh has argued that Hagan followed up a tradition initiated by Archbishop Walsh of attempting to keep papal interference in Irish affairs at bay whilst simultaneously forging links with the Irish nationalist and later republican leadership.<sup>219</sup> This background and the personal views of O’Riordan – according to Keogh a supporter of the Irish Parliamentary Party – and Hagan – a republican – ensured that the Irish college became a centre of ecclesiastical sympathy for republicanism. Keogh has also contended that Hagan attempted to draw a sharp distinction between ‘the political wing of Irish nationalism and its “physical force” counterpart’.<sup>220</sup> As a next chapter will demonstrate, the opening to the public of the Bureau of Military History witness statement of Hagan’s vice-rector Michael Curran has shown that Hagan and Curran sometimes crossed this line between the two wings of Irish republicanism. Their aim of forging close relationships with the republican leadership earned Hagan and Curran all manner of connections with senior Sinn Féin and I.R.A. figures. But the policy also caused Hagan to correspond with many like-minded priests in Ireland. Such correspondence served to keep Hagan abreast of the political statements and actions of fellow priests in the motherland, making his papers an indispensable source for clerical political views at the time.

One entertaining correspondent of Hagan’s was a priest mentioned in the previous section called Father Edward Rawlins. Rawlins – probably a former student at the college –

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<sup>217</sup> Keogh, *Vatican*, pp 13-4.

<sup>218</sup> Jérôme aan de Wiel, ‘Monsignor O’Riordan, Bishop O’Dwyer and the shaping of new relations between nationalist Ireland and the Vatican during World War One’, *Archivium Hibernicum*, liii (1999), pp 95-106 and Aan de Wiel, *Church*, pp 256-303.

<sup>219</sup> Keogh, *Vatican*, pp 10-4, p. 30.

<sup>220</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

was seemingly unassigned during the summer of 1919 in expectation of an appointment in Newfoundland. During this period he took it upon himself to tour the country and report verbatim to Hagan what colleagues had told him about their political views.<sup>221</sup> He shared Hagan's republican views and derived much conspiratorial pleasure from acting as his informant. In his first letter he explained his tactics to Hagan:

Since my arrival here I have met several priests and had some very amusing while at the same time interesting conversations. It is very hard to restrain oneself at times here, however, one easily succeeds by making sure he himself never becomes the centre of the conversation.<sup>222</sup>

Rawlins was appalled by a conversation he had with Father Thomas Ryan, curate in St. Andrew's parish, Westland Row, Dublin. Ryan told him that he was 'sorry to know I was a Sinn Feiner and that I had received such a narrow education. I did not know whether he was joking or no [sic] but determined to say little'. This gave Ryan the opportunity to assure Rawlins that there were no Sinn Féin supporters among the eight priests attached to the parish. It turned out, however, that Ryan was mistaken in believing this. Rawlins replied that another curate at Westland Row, Dr Richard Fleming, was a republican. Ryan answered that Fleming 'gave his attentions to the language rather than to politics'. But when Rawlins subsequently reported the contents of this conversation to Fleming and told him that he was 'disgusted' by Ryan's political views, Fleming 'threw up his hands [and] said, – why he's not a Sinn Feiner, he's a conservative. He added also that F[ather] Ryan's policy was absurd today'.<sup>223</sup> It is possible, of course, that Ryan and Fleming were playing tricks on Rawlins, but if they were not, Father Fleming had been successful in concealing the real extent of his political views from his closest colleagues.

Father Rawlins's adventures continued. He next visited Dunleer, County Louth, as a guest of one of the curates, who brought him to see the parish priest, Father John Byrne. 'Two minutes conversation showed me he was no Sinn Feiner. Consequently our meeting was short. There was no love lost'.<sup>224</sup> He fared no better with the senior curate, Father Peter Coherane: 'At first sight he appeared to me to be a very strange man. The next day I was

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<sup>221</sup> Apparently Rawlins had been dispatched to Ireland from Rome especially for this purpose. P. J. Keohane wrote to Hagan in July that Rawlins 'will be able to give you some true accounts of the *condition of mind* of certain curates and inscrutable "P.P.s" here and there'. Keohane to Hagan, 1 July 1919 (A.I.C.R., Hagan papers, HAG1/1919/184). Italics in the original.

<sup>222</sup> Rawlins to Hagan, 12 June 1919 (A.I.C.R., Hagan papers, HAG1/1919/154).

<sup>223</sup> Rawlins to Hagan, 25 June 1919 (A.I.C.R., Hagan papers, HAG1/1919/176).

<sup>224</sup> Rawlins to Hagan, 25 June 1919. *I.C.D. 1919* has Coherane as 'Corcoran', p. 136.

confirmed in this opinion on hearing from others every word that had fallen from my lips. I immediately smelt a rat!’ ‘A few hot words on politics’ exchanged with Coherane later that day convinced Rawlins that he ‘also was a fierce anti-Sinn Feiner’. A month later, Rawlins was in County Wexford, attending a concert in the presence of Father Thomas Quigley, parish priest of Blackwater. At the end of the recital, Quigley gave a speech during which he made the unwise observation that the cause of Ireland’s difficulties was the fact that ‘Irishmen could never agree’.<sup>225</sup> ‘This language of the enemy rose my blood’, Rawlins confessed, and ‘as a result I made a horrible mistake’. He stood up and told the audience: ‘Well now ladies [and] gentlemen, I said, ... it’s a damn lie. Needless to say the cheering was fierce [and] F[ather] Quigley was as mad as could be’. However, according to Rawlins, the other priests present appeared delighted, even though there was only one priest in the presbytery who was ‘willing to stand or fall by S[inn] F[éin]’. He feared that many priests who supported Sinn Féin were beginning to lose confidence in the party. Rawlins attributed this to the fact that the emphasis on an appeal to the peace conference in Paris was not paying off. The correspondence between Rawlins and Hagan, apart from showing the strength of their commitment to republicanism, also demonstrates the extent to which both senior and junior priests remained sceptical of Sinn Féin.

This impression was confirmed by a number of other correspondents of Hagan’s. A senior Augustinian friar of Irish extraction, Father Canice O’Gorman, had visited Dublin some days previously. Patrick Keohane, another republican friend of Hagan’s, sadly reported that he was

inclined to think [O’Gorman] will return with really wrong impressions about the condition of the country generally from a political standpoint; and through no fault of his. ... He met of course Canon W[aters] and many of the notabilities [sic] with whom perhaps he found himself in general agreement on deep theological questions, and no doubt they regaled him with tales of atrocities sufficient to shake the faith of any man less or perhaps more robust in sympathy with us than he is.<sup>226</sup>

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<sup>225</sup> Rawlins to Hagan, 25 July 1919 (A.I.C.R., Hagan papers, HAG1/1919/233).

<sup>226</sup> Keohane to Hagan, 1 July 1919 (A.I.C.R., Hagan papers, HAG1/1919/184). John Canon Waters was president of the diocesan seminary of Holy Cross college, Clonliffe. Waters was the ecclesiastical censor for the diocese of Dublin and Keohane’s employer, Gill, would have had dealings with him about religious publications. See Murphy, *Bulletin*, p. 242. See Keogh, *Vatican*, p. 22 for the turbulent relation between O’Gorman and Hagan.



This observation certainly confirms the impression which Father Rawlins formed of the political views of many senior priests in the city of Dublin.

An interesting letter from Curran to Hagan in September 1919, when Curran was still Archbishop Walsh's secretary, shows that priests' political views were sometimes determined by which clerical clique in the diocese they belonged to. Curran wrote after Rector O'Riordan's death amid speculations about the appointment of a successor. He mentioned the existence of a group of priests in the diocese whose opposition to Hagan's political views was closely linked to their personal antagonism towards O'Riordan and Hagan. This antipathy stemmed from the time they had been subjected to O'Riordan and Hagan's regime in the Irish college while students there.<sup>227</sup> These ex-students had found willing supporters among conservative senior priests in the diocese, who disliked the advanced political views current in the Irish college. When the matter of the appointment of a new rector came up, Curran was able to inform Hagan that his candidature was vigorously opposed by many of the conservative, anti-O'Riordan party among the Dublin clergy. As the next chapter will show, a similar instance of ecclesiastical divisions taking on a political hue existed in the diocese of Ferns.

John Hagan and the Irish college in Rome functioned as the centre of a coterie of republican-minded priests who reported back on the latest political and ecclesiastical manoeuvrings of their colleagues. The Irish college in Paris fulfilled quite the opposite function – at least for Bishop Kelly, who was a most frequent correspondent of Rector Boyle. Kelly acted as secretary at episcopal meetings and much of his correspondence with Boyle was to do with financial affairs. But he frequently referred to the political state of affairs in the country and felt free to vent his frustration not only at Sinn Féin but also at brother bishops and priests who had been unable to resist the strong republican current of the day. Thus he wrote in August 1919 that 'the world is so upset that I ... don't know what to do beyond trying to save my soul, and preach to others the *defined* truths of religion – even the latter are now doubted'.<sup>228</sup> In July 1920 he reported that a priest they both knew had told him that 'the *active* movement in Cork is pure communism – les rouges de Paris in 1871'.<sup>229</sup> Two months later, Kelly mentioned the Paris commune again in a letter; this time revealing something of the background to his aversion to armed rebellion: 'the rouges in Paris in 1871 were sound in doctrine as compared to pious Irish today. That same 1871 has saved the

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<sup>227</sup> Curran to Hagan, 14 Sept. 1919 (A.I.C.R., Hagan papers, HAG1/1919/389).

<sup>228</sup> Kelly to Boyle, 14 Aug. 1919 (A.I.C.P., Collège papers, A2.h108). Italics Kelly's.

<sup>229</sup> Kelly to Boyle, 10 July 1919 (A.I.C.P., Collège papers, A2.h108). Italics Kelly's. 'Les rouges de Paris' were the activists of the Paris Commune.

cardinal, myself and others – a pity more of us did not go through it’.<sup>230</sup> Kelly, just as Cardinal Logue, had been at the Irish college in Paris during the 1871 rising. That experience had coloured his outlook on rebellion ever since. In May 1921 he told Boyle that he had done well not to visit Ireland. He complained that ‘there is no security of life, liberty or property. In train, on street, in your house, your life may go at any moment between the I.R.A. and the English forces’.<sup>231</sup> Kelly’s analysis of the problem showed his perspective on Sinn Féin and the I.R.A.: ‘our universities, colleges and schools are chock-full of youths – there is now, and will be, no room for them, and they are a veritable power-house of mischief’.

A letter which Kelly sent just after the truce, in September 1921, demonstrates that other bishops viewed the Irish college as an anti-republican institution. Kelly told Boyle that ‘the b[ishop] of Killaloe complained that Paris priests were no patriots’.<sup>232</sup> According to Kelly, Killaloe priests such as John Canon Halpin of Tulla – presumably an alumnus of the college – had been ‘thorns’ for Fogarty, while Kelly himself ‘of course [was] the Coryphaeus of non-patriots’. The upshot of Fogarty’s complaint was that he had suggested that the college be abolished as a seminary; ‘young priests having got the true faith in Maynooth should go there for a high course’. Kelly was attempting to frustrate this plan by having the impending visitation of the college by Fogarty and the bishops of Clogher and Kerry deferred until next year. He contended that ‘the temperature of Sinn Fein is rapidly falling’ and the visitors – whom he described as ‘mad on politics’ – were likely to be ‘more reasonable’ in May 1922 than in November 1921, which was the original date for the visitation. In Kelly’s mind, Fogarty’s plan for the college was linked with Sinn Féin’s usual *modus operandi*: ‘Sinn Fein has a mania for smashing up, and does not count the cost, nor the power of reconstructing’. Nor did the bishop of Ross perceive Boyle simply as a discreet friend in whom he could confide. In a letter written in December 1921 after the Anglo-Irish treaty had been put before the Dáil, he assured Boyle that ‘through the country the opinion in favour of the treaty seems to be general. In Dublin and among the T.D.s, opinion seems strongly divided’.<sup>233</sup> Determined that the students at the Parisian college would not be misinformed by republicans about the political situation at home, he then asked Boyle to ‘kindly convey these facts to the students’.

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<sup>230</sup> Kelly to Boyle, 16 Sept. 1919 (A.I.C.P., Collège papers, A2.h108).

<sup>231</sup> Kelly to Boyle, 5 May 1921 (A.I.C.P., Collège papers, A2.h108).

<sup>232</sup> Kelly to Boyle, 28 Sept. 1921 (A.I.C.P., Collège papers, A2.h108).

<sup>233</sup> Kelly to Boyle, 14 Dec. 1921 (A.I.C.P., Collège papers, A2.h108).

### 3.5 Summary

Many priests and bishops expressed disapproval of republican violence, especially as the conflict increased in intensity in 1920 and particularly in areas where there was much I.R.A. activity. Those who condemned violence on moral grounds often simply denounced such deeds as violations of the law of God. The biblical commandment not to kill – widely disseminated through popular catechesis – was considered to be self-evident, ‘a light clearer than that of day’.<sup>234</sup> Clergy believed this to be the case not only because it had been widely taught, but also because it was a tenet of the natural law and was as such supposed to resonate innately with all people, regardless of religious beliefs and level of catechisation. Appeals to the fifth commandment were very frequent. Some priests made a special effort to challenge the notion that it was acceptable to kill servants of the Crown by emphasising that many of these – especially members of the ‘old’ R.I.C. – shared a common humanity, nationality and religion with other Catholic Irishmen. Often clerical condemnations of bloodshed exuded a sense of bewilderment at what appeared to be a breakdown of the most elementary rules of civilised society.

Not only did priests and bishops condemn the killing of servants of the Crown as violations of elementary moral laws, they also stressed that these killings could not be compared to the killing of enemy soldiers in war. The I.R.A. took its victims by stealth and left them unable to make spiritual provision for their death. Many clerics were horrified that Irish Catholics should show such disregard for the eternal fate of the souls of others. While the rituals of death needed to be respected, sins of the mind needed to be avoided. Clerical exhortations not to sympathise with murder betray the apprehension that Catholics had come to view I.R.A. killings in a more benign light than they were supposed to. Frequent clerical protestations that local parishioners had no hand, act, or part in crimes committed locally – whatever about their truth – reveal a similar anxiety.

Conscious that the reasoned rejection of republican violence on grounds of moral theology was not an effective method of discouraging Catholics from participating, priests and bishops also employed more emotive themes to the same end. The concept of the curse was particularly popular among preachers, and the Swanlinbar incident of December 1920 shows that it clearly resonated with parishioners. Murderers and their accomplices were told that a curse had been placed upon them and, according to many a clerical commentator, even

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<sup>234</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 5 July 1919.

the Irish people in general and the cause of Irish independence could be so affected. The ‘brand of Cain’ was the biblical source for these superstitious musings, but – as so often with ostensibly biblical ideas used to prove some point outside of their context – the original story conveyed a different message than the version peddled from Irish pulpits.

Priests also emphasised that acts of violence were not merely a matter for the individual responsibility of the killers. They placed a collective responsibility upon the community to make reparation. Not only did murder stain the fair name of Ireland, it was also a sin that cried to heaven for vengeance against the perpetrators of the crime and against the people. Priests and bishops used this theme to convince Catholics that political violence was harming both them and the cause of Irish freedom in some inscrutable and supernatural way. Liturgical acts of reparation were held to avert impending doom and to impress upon the faithful a true sense of the enormity of what lay hidden behind the euphemism of ‘physical force’. One of the many themes of moral condemnation was to argue that the I.R.A. campaign did not qualify for the status of ‘just war’. According to just war theory, no war was just unless it had been declared by proper authority and unless there was a reasonable probability of success. Although priests and bishop also raised many doubts as to the I.R.A.’s chances of success, their main objection was the absence of a legitimate authority. Instead, many clerics preferred to view the I.R.A. campaign as the operation of a prohibited secret society.

In addition to stressing the immorality of political violence, many priests referred to reasons of a pragmatic nature to dissuade their community from becoming involved. Some of these did so without mentioning any moral considerations at all. One important pragmatic objection was that violence gave Ireland and its bid for independence a bad name by reinforcing prejudices about the Irish nation’s unfitness for self-government. A second one was that the killing of members of the Crown forces provided the British authorities with an eagerly-awaited pretext to further indulge their taste for terror and oppression. Priests also drew attention to the futility of violence. Thus they argued that the I.R.A. was no match for the forces of the British empire and that the destruction of police barracks would not lead to the defeat of the Crown forces. In 1919, when I.R.A. actions were still sporadic and unsystematic – if therefore no less lethal – clergy who denounced acts of violence regarded them as excesses engaged in by groups of irresponsible young men. Cardinal Logue dismissed ‘tomfoolery’, which was dangerous for those who participated in it and did not

bring Irish freedom any closer.<sup>235</sup> This attitude changed with the character of the struggle, as Bishop Cohalan's spirited protests in November and December 1920 show.<sup>236</sup> He tried to convince the Catholics of his diocese that violence had not brought freedom closer, but, on the contrary, had had disastrous consequences. Other priests and bishops emphasised that the cause of Ireland's freedom was not well served by deeds of bloodshed and that such a freedom struggle would only disappoint hopes of a moral regeneration of the nation. Several clerics also attempted to discourage potential recruits by pointing out that government spies were active in the organisation.

Although on the whole priests managed to convey their negative judgment about the I.R.A. without suffering any personal consequences, a number of incidents show that such condemnation was sometimes received in bad spirit. Known cases of republican targeting of the clergy were small in number and of a relatively mild nature, but there were nevertheless some incidents where priests were made to pay for having obstructed the I.R.A. Thus they were banned from participating in republican public meetings, had their schools boycotted, received threatening letters, had their property destroyed and were stopped from interfering with Volunteer activities. Compared to the scale of violence during the conflict, these incidents did not amount to serious victimisation of the clergy and clerical condemnation of I.R.A. violence continued throughout the conflict.

In their public statements during the War of Independence, the bishops on the whole stressed that Catholics should maintain good relations with their Protestant neighbours. Similarly, public statements of priests concerning Protestants during the period usually discouraged sectarian interpretations of the conflict. These statements condemned violence against Protestant churches and against Protestants – and especially against clergymen, with whom many Catholic priests must have felt a professional solidarity. Exhortations to treat Protestants properly were perhaps somewhat less than whole-hearted when they were accompanied by comparisons with Protestant treatment of Catholics in Ulster. Although there are examples of clergy acting in a conciliatory manner in Ulster, clerical emotions sometimes privately ran high in areas that were the scene of sectarian rioting, such as Belfast. This did not amount to incitement to sectarian violence, however, and was a result rather than the cause of the souring of relations between Catholics and Protestants.

Although many priests gave support to Sinn Féin, others remained highly suspicious of the party throughout the War of Independence. There are many sources dating to the first

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<sup>235</sup> Ibid., 8 Mar. 1919.

<sup>236</sup> Ibid., 18 Dec. 1920 and *Cork Examiner*, 16 Dec. 1920.

part of the conflict that speak of clerical opposition to Sinn Féin. Such reservations were often based on the suspicion that the republican leadership could not be relied upon to keep Russian-style revolution at bay. Bishops continued to embarrass the republican leadership by declaring that the Irish people would settle for less than a republic. The Rawlins-Hagan correspondence demonstrates that opposition to Sinn Féin was not reserved to bishops and senior priests, and that it also existed among curates. The Curran-Hagan correspondence shows that the adoption of political views by priests was often linked to personal antagonisms and clerical career politics. This chapter has analysed one part of the clerical response to republican violence. The next will look at the opposite response.

## 4. VERBO, OPERE ET OMISSIONE: SUPPORT IN WORD AND DEED

### 4.1 Words of support

#### 4.1.1 'Such things will happen': the language of resignation

John A. Murphy has contended that the Irish revolution 'completely bypassed the priests, and that it was carried through without benefit of clergy'.<sup>1</sup> And Oliver MacDonagh has remarked that the church practised 'recessional baptism' of successful revolutions by holding back from endorsing them while the outcome was still uncertain and ratifying the winner's cause as soon as victory was assured.<sup>2</sup> In his 1988 book *Modern Ireland 1600-1972*, Roy Foster recorded Michael Collins's distaste for 'weaklings and cowards' who disagreed with the use of force, and noted that these included the clergy, who, while tacitly supporting republican institutions not engaged in violence, also 'condemned "gunmen" and "assassins"'.<sup>3</sup> Another example shows that the perception of clerical hostility to republicanism already existed at the time of the War of Independence. W. H. Kautt recounted that Father Edward Shinnick, parish priest of Coachford, County Cork, warned the flying column of the I.R.A. sixth battalion Cork no. 1 in January 1921 that an informer had tipped off British forces at the Ballincollig barracks about its intended ambush of troops at Dripsey Bridge.<sup>4</sup> The column, however, refused to believe Shinnick because he was 'against the cause'.<sup>5</sup> The result was that both the ambush and its interception by the British went ahead with much loss of blood. Of course this example does not prove that I.R.A. men in general considered priests to be hostile to their cause, but it shows at least that their views in this case were founded on an erroneous perception of Shinnick's political standpoint. As this chapter will show, there were in fact many priests who supported Sinn Féin, and some who supported the I.R.A.

For evidence of clerical support for the I.R.A. campaign we must begin by looking in the same place where evidence of clerical condemnation can be found: in priests' public utterances. The previous chapter has established that a majority of priests who commented publicly condemned the use of political violence in one way or another. It has also shown that there were priests who supported republican ideology and the politics of Sinn Féin. They kept

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<sup>1</sup> Murphy, 'Priests', p. 257.

<sup>2</sup> Oliver MacDonagh, *States of mind. A study of Anglo-Irish conflict, 1780-1980* (London, 1983), p. 98.

<sup>3</sup> R. F. Foster, *Modern Ireland 1600-1972* (Harmondsworth, 1989), p. 495.

<sup>4</sup> W. H. Kautt, *Ambushes and armour. The Irish rebellion, 1919-1921* (Dublin and Portland, OR, 2010), p. 126. See also Hopkinson, *War*, pp 110-1.

<sup>5</sup> Hopkinson, *War*, pp 110-1.

in touch with each other – through a pivotal figure such as John Hagan – and informed each other of the activities of those priests who continued to think ‘in the old groove’. The latter were no less determined to claim the field for themselves. The evidence is thus for the existence of divisions between priests. In spite of the existence of a significant group of republican sympathisers among the clergy, no priest is on record as having stated publicly that the use of violence by the I.R.A. was legitimate and that it was right for Catholics to kill servants of the Crown. There was, however, in the public statements of some priests a note of resignation to the fact that violence was an inevitable part of an otherwise legitimate struggle. Although strictly speaking these statements did not endorse the use of violence, they undermined the moral imperative to abstain from it.

Referring to I.R.A. raids on police barracks in the locality, Father Patrick Flynn, curate in Longford, wrote to Hagan in January 1920 that ‘I suppose such things will happen in every national agitation till we get our freedom’.<sup>6</sup> Similarly, when a constable was shot dead in Ballymote, County Sligo, in March 1921, the parish priest, Father T. H. Quinn, responded by saying that ‘he did not think the present a time for a lecture or a warning, much less for placing blame’.<sup>7</sup> Such warnings, he argued, were futile, because those who listened did not need them and those who needed them did not listen. Sentiments such as these were also expressed by bishops. Thus Bishop Fogarty of Killaloe, whilst advising against the use of violence, told a congregation in Ennis in September 1920 that ‘mistakes and sorrows are, I suppose, inevitable in such an intense struggle as we are now passing through’.<sup>8</sup> And a year previously Fogarty had replied to a correspondent who had asked him if he would condemn I.R.A. violence from the pulpit: ‘Why should I? ... I will not permit myself to become a tool of any political agitator’.<sup>9</sup> Even Bishop Morrisroe of Achonry – not known for his liking for Sinn Féin, let alone the Volunteers – said at mass in Gurteen, County Sligo, in May 1921 that he had ‘the greatest respect for the courage of those who endeavoured to secure justice for their country, and for the great sacrifice they were prepared to make’.<sup>10</sup>

A convenient moment for priests to express the highest praise for I.R.A. men was after their execution by the British. Fourteen Volunteers were officially executed by the

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<sup>6</sup> Flynn to Hagan, 9 Jan. 1920 (A.I.C.R., Hagan papers, HAG1/1920/86).

<sup>7</sup> *Irish Independent*, 19 Mar. 1921.

<sup>8</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 2 Oct. 1920.

<sup>9</sup> *Catholic Bulletin*, Sept. 1919, ix, no. 9, p. 437.

<sup>10</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 14 May 1921. Diarmaid Ferriter described Morrisroe during the 1930s as ‘fanatically anti-de Valera’: Diarmaid Ferriter, *Judging Dev. A reassessment of the life and legacy of Eamon de Valera* (Dublin, 2007), p. 217.



authorities during the War of Independence.<sup>11</sup> Thus the parish priest of Berkeley Road parish, Dublin, Daniel Canon Dowling, told a congregation during a mass for the repose of Kevin Barry's soul in November 1920 that 'I have not found in the lives of the saints anything more beautiful and more edifying than his heroic death and resignation and tender piety in death'.<sup>12</sup> The prison chaplains who gave spiritual assistance to those sentenced to death during their last moments often featured prominently in subsequent press coverage of the events. They gave accounts of the exemplary calm and piety with which the doomed men had met their fate. Occasionally these included unexpected details. Thus an anonymous witness of six executions in Mountjoy in March 1921 – who was probably one of the attending chaplains – described how one of the Black and Tan guards assisted at mass in the convicts' cell and received communion with them.<sup>13</sup> On several occasions it fell to the chaplain of Mountjoy prison, John Canon Waters, to perform the melancholy duty of attending to those condemned to death in Dublin, as it did to Michael Canon O'Sullivan in Cork.<sup>14</sup> O'Sullivan commented on the death of six prisoners executed in February 1921 by remarking that 'if we all die as they did, ... then our lives are well spent'.<sup>15</sup> These encomiums mostly concerned the prisoners' manner of dying and not their manner of living. Nonetheless Canon O'Sullivan permitted himself a reflection on the activities in which the convicts had been engaged before their arrest: 'though some of us do not approve of their methods, there is nobody but can approve of their motives'.<sup>16</sup>

Two incidents during the war show that the hierarchy and clerical opinion would not tolerate too flagrant a public endorsement of violence. The best-known of these came in the wake of a newspaper interview which Father Michael Curran gave in the *Morning Post* in December 1919. In the interview, Curran – secretary to Archbishop Walsh – argued that the British government rather than the republican killers bore responsibility for the fatal casualties that sometimes occurred in the course of arms raids. During the conversation he corrected his own use of the word 'murders', saying instead the 'shooters [*sic*] of these soldiers and police'.<sup>17</sup> Walsh could not countenance the implication that Curran believed that there were 'murderers who are not murderers', as the newspaper headline helpfully spelt out.

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<sup>11</sup> Hopkinson, *War*, p. 202.

<sup>12</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 13 Nov. 1920.

<sup>13</sup> *Freeman's Journal*, 15 Mar. 1921.

<sup>14</sup> See for instance *Irish Independent*, 7 Mar. 1921, *Freeman's Journal*, 15 Mar. 1921 and *Irish Independent*, 7 Mar. 1921.

<sup>15</sup> *Irish Independent*, 7 Mar. 1921.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> *Morning Post*, 9 Dec. 1919. See Miller, *Church*, p. 433 and Morrissey, *Walsh*, pp 326-7 for accounts of the affair.

A few days later Curran wrote to Hagan that ‘his grace of course was very annoyed with me’, and that the archbishop had decided in view of the ‘unfortunate’ interview that Curran could not remain as his secretary.<sup>18</sup> Curran’s subsequent appointment to the vice-rectorship of the Irish college in Rome was hardly a demotion, but the incident shows that the bishops expected subtlety in priests’ comments on the I.R.A. campaign. The second incident also involved the British press and shows that not only the hierarchy, but also clerical opinion in general rejected any attempt to associate Irish priests with the I.R.A. campaign. A Plymouth-based newspaper called the *Morning News* reported in July 1920 that a Limerick priest had announced from the altar that he would grant a hundred days’ indulgence to anyone who would shoot another policeman.<sup>19</sup> The story was derived from a circular produced by the Southern Irish Loyalists’ Defence Fund, of which a Catholic, the earl of Denbigh, was the treasurer. The report had caused much adverse publicity internationally and even the pope had apparently made enquiries about the case, which sparked outrage in the Irish nationalist press.<sup>20</sup> Father Stephen Connolly, administrator of Limerick cathedral, engaged a solicitor who threatened the *Morning News* with legal proceedings if it did not retract. The newspaper bowed to pressure and apologised, as did Lord Denbigh, who also resigned the treasurership of the Defence Fund.

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<sup>18</sup> Curran to Hagan, 13 Dec. 1919 (A.I.C.R., Hagan papers, HAG1/1919/558).

<sup>19</sup> *Irish Independent*, 7 and 8 July 1920.

<sup>20</sup> Pope’s question: Hagan to anon. archbishop [draft], c. Jan. 1921 (A.I.C.R., Hagan papers, HAG1/1921/41).

#### *4.1.2 Seditious statements*

Favourable public references to republican violence by the clergy were few and far between. More common were instances of support for the peaceful activities of the republican movement, such as the Dáil's alternative administration. In practice the situation in Ireland during the war provided clerics with ample opportunity to show their contempt for the British authorities and to make statements of a seditious nature. Priests had been making such utterances ever since the upsurge of advanced republicanism after the Easter rising. A report by an R.I.C. sergeant about an incident during a parish mission in Creemully, County Roscommon, in July 1917 stated that the Passionist missionaries, who were ardent Sinn Féiners, had referred to political matters in their discourse in church.<sup>21</sup> Moreover, one of the missionaries, Father Joseph Smith, struck a member of the Ancient Order of Hibernians who tried to remove a Sinn Féin flag from the church. Similarly, Father T. Curtayne, curate in Lixnaw, County Kerry, shouted 'up with the kaiser!' at a rally attended by Countess Markievicz in his parish in October 1917. And Father Daniel O'Meara, parish priest of Ogonelloe, County Clare, had made violent speeches on political subjects after mass in the same month.<sup>22</sup>

Father Smith was not the only priest whose ardent political views on occasion got the better of his gravitas. Edward Rawlins reported to Hagan that Father Peter Rogers, curate in Dunleer, County Louth, had threatened a constable in December 1918 that 'he'd get all the fellows in the town to drive him out with stones' if he continued canvassing for the Irish Parliamentary Party, as he had apparently been doing.<sup>23</sup> And in August 1919, the R.I.C. county inspector for Cork noted that a Father O'Shea had behaved in a 'most extraordinary manner' in Blarney Castle. O'Shea, a native of Dungarvan, County Waterford, and living in the United States, had been observed waving a Sinn Féin flag from the castle, singing the Soldier's song and shouting 'up the republic!'<sup>24</sup> When police officers were sent up to remove him, he resisted, perhaps encouraged by the crowd, which showed signs of hostility towards the police. The first priest to be arrested during the War of Independence on charges of sedition was another member of the Irish diaspora. Captain Thomas O'Donnell, a chaplain in the Australian imperial forces, was arrested in October 1919 for having used language

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<sup>21</sup> File marked 'Defence of the Realm Regulations. Geraghty Geo., Gannon Fk., Passionists [sic] Priests. Sinn Fein Flag at Creemully Church' (T.N.A., WO35/97).

<sup>22</sup> File marked 'Headquarters, Irish Command. A2/1913. Defence of the Realm Regulations. Seditious Conduct of R.C. Clergymen. C.M.A. Cork 25/10/17' (T.N.A., WO35/99).

<sup>23</sup> Rawlins to Hagan, 25 June 1919 (A.I.C.R., Hagan papers, HAG1/1919/176).

<sup>24</sup> I.G.M.R., Aug. 1919, p. 931 (T.N.A., CO904/109).

disloyal to the king.<sup>25</sup> The prosecutor at his court-martial in London alleged that O'Donnell had argued loudly in a hotel in Killarney that 'the king and the royal family are no use to this or any other country'. This statement had been overheard by another guest at the hotel, a British army officer, who reported O'Donnell to the military authorities. The *Irish Independent* found much to complain about in the conditions of O'Donnell's imprisonment in Ireland and when he was brought to the Tower of London to await court-martial, it made the most of his brief sojourn in a cell beside that once occupied by Roger Casement.<sup>26</sup> Although O'Donnell made no secret of his sympathy for Ireland's grievances against Britain and resigned his commission after the trial, he recognised the authority of the Australian court that tried him in London and emphasised his loyalty and service to the Crown. He denied the charges and was acquitted.

Several other priests took the opportunity of court appearances to demonstrate their contempt for British rule in Ireland. Thus Father Malachy Brennan, curate in Caltra, Ballinasloe, County Galway, refused to take off his hat in a court in Galway in November 1919 when attending a case against parishioners for unlawful assembly. During his ejection from the courtroom, Brennan explained that 'he had no respect for the court or for any English court'.<sup>27</sup> Similarly, Archdeacon John Power, parish priest of Dungarvan, County Waterford, refused to plead before a court in Fermoy in May 1921 when he was accused of having presided at an unlawful meeting to further the objects of the White Cross society. He was convicted and fined, but refused to pay, causing the court to issue a distress warrant.<sup>28</sup> A curate in Carrick-on-Shannon, County Leitrim, Father Edward O'Reilly, also refused to attend a hearing and was consequently fined £10 for contempt of court in March 1919. O'Reilly had returned the subpoena citing conscientious objections. He subsequently somewhat obscured the initial clarity of his defiance by explaining incoherently that his refusal was 'because of the sacredness of the oath administered, the priestly character, to save his soul, ill-health and other reasons'.<sup>29</sup>

Not recognising the legitimacy of British courts in fact became an eloquent way for priests who found themselves in the dock to demonstrate their republican views. In May 1921

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<sup>25</sup> *Irish Independent*, 26 Nov. 1919.

<sup>26</sup> Complaints about conditions in Ireland: *ibid.*, 21 Oct. 1919; cell in Tower of London: *ibid.*, 29 Oct. 1919.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 18 Nov. 1919. Not recognising British courts was a common way of defying the government. See for instance Edmonds, *Gun*, pp 67-8

<sup>28</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 14 May 1921 and *Irish Independent*, 5 May 1921. The *Irish Independent* mistakenly gave his name as Ryan. He is listed as Power in *The Irish Catholic directory and almanac for 1920 with complete directory in English* (Dublin, 1920), p. 268.

<sup>29</sup> *Irish Independent*, 10 and 15 Mar. 1919.

the curates of Mullagh, County Clare, Fathers Patrick Gaynor and Michael McKenna, were court-martialled in Limerick for possession of seditious documents. Gaynor has left a truly exceptional account of his involvement in the republican movement in a voluminous handwritten memoir kept in the National Library of Ireland. When a court official attempted to administer the oath, Gaynor ‘protested fiercely against this travesty as an insult to almighty God when [the court’s] rules were devised not to give justice but to facilitate injustice’.<sup>30</sup> The two curates then refused to recognise the authority of a British court to place Irishmen on trial and made no defence. They were sentenced to six months in prison.

Some weeks into their sentence they were joined by the parish priest of Ballina, County Tipperary. Father James Nunan had been convicted of having incited a civilian to disobey the orders of an Auxiliary to help remove a road obstruction. The civilian had been driving Nunan’s cattle to a field for him. When he was ordered to come and help fill a trench, Nunan ‘felt very sore that his cattle would be allowed to drift all over the village’.<sup>31</sup> When another officer present told Nunan that if he had used his influence the right way, trench cutting would not have occurred in the first place, heated exchanges understandably followed. The upshot of the affair was that Nunan was himself placed under arrest and later convicted and fined. While in prison, Father McKenna tried to persuade Nunan that ‘he ought to ignore the military court and to stick out his sentence rather than to pay a fine’.<sup>32</sup> Prison life, McKenna continued, was not so bad and Nunan could look forward to the prospect of playing ‘pitch and toss’ and acting ‘as referee at our games of ragfootball and rounders’. None of this, however, seemed quite as enticing to Nunan as it did to McKenna. He promptly agreed to pay the fine, much to Gaynor’s contempt: ‘Probably [Father] Nunan – a priest of the old school – would have missed, above all else, his nice glass of punch at bed-time’.<sup>33</sup> It did not occur to the two curates that Nunan, a parish priest, presumably also wished to return to his parish as quickly as possible. Their own parish priest appears to have managed quite well without them and after their release from prison Bishop Fogarty in fact gave them a month’s holiday before

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<sup>30</sup> Patrick Gaynor, ‘Kilmihil parish. Its origins and scraps of its history’ and ‘Sinn Fein days (personal memoir)’, 29 Sept. 1946, p. 530 (N.L.I., Patrick Gaynor papers, MS 19,826). Most of ‘Sinn Fein days’ was published in Eamonn Gaynor (ed.), *Memoirs of a Tipperary family. The Gaynors of Tyone, 1887-2000* (Dublin, s.a.), pp 7-220. Parts were also published in Patrick Gaynor, ‘The dean of Cashel and the 1918 general election’, *Tipperary Historical Journal* (1990), pp 52-8 and idem, ‘The Sinn Féin ard-fheis of 1917: a North Tipperary priest’s account’, *Tipperary Historical Journal* (1997), pp 60-4. References in this thesis are to the original manuscript, because it includes parts of the text not published in any of the above.

<sup>31</sup> *Irish Independent*, 2 July 1921.

<sup>32</sup> Gaynor, ‘Sinn Fein days’, p. 537 (N.L.I., Gaynor papers, MS 19,826).

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 537-8.

moving them to other parishes.<sup>34</sup> But it was quite a different matter for a curate to stick to his principles without counting the cost than it was for a parish priest.

There were a thousand other gestures that republican-minded priests could make to show support for Sinn Féin and scorn for the British authorities without getting themselves into quite as much trouble as the Mullagh curates did. Newspaper reports of the first session of the Dáil on 21 January 1919 noted with satisfaction that a great many priests were among those who passed into the Mansion house to witness proceedings.<sup>35</sup> A few weeks later, Father Michael Breen, the parish priest of Dysart, County Clare, urged a Clare county committee to decline ‘to make any arrangement for the conduct of commercial classes for [decommissioned] English soldiers while the English government has under lock and key our members of parliament and other men who are dear to the Irish people’.<sup>36</sup> And in February 1921, the clergy of Omagh, County Tyrone – one of whom was president of the local Sinn Féin *comhairle ceanntair* –, ‘asked the R.C. traders ... to do no business with any Belfast firms or banks until the R[oman] C[atholic] workers in Belfast are unconditionally restored to their former employment’.<sup>37</sup> Clerical support for the Belfast boycott also caused the Omagh St. Vincent de Paul society to transfer its funds from a bank account in the Northern Bank to one in the Bank of Ireland.

A particularly crass example of clerical incitement to seditious behaviour was described by R.I.C. officer John Regan in his memoir. The Sunday after Regan had accompanied a party of Crown forces to the house of the parish priest of Drimoleague, County Cork, to arrest the priest’s nephew, Regan went to mass in his own parish.<sup>38</sup> In his sermon, the curate launched into a colourful diatribe against Regan personally, calling him a ‘myrmidon of the British government’ and asking how much longer it was to be tolerated that the houses of priests were violated by the likes of Regan. As there were two I.R.A. officers sitting in the church just opposite Regan, the sermon made him fear for his safety and he left

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<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 542.

<sup>35</sup> *Irish Independent*, 22 Jan. 1919. Mitchell says there were ‘about fifty priests’ in the audience: Mitchell, *Government*, p. 17. Dom Francis Sweetman, O.S.B. and Father Patrick Browne were among them: Dominic Aidan Bellenger, ‘An Irish Benedictine adventure: Dom Francis Sweetman (1872-1953) and Mount St. Benedict, Gorey’, in W. J. Sheils and Diana Wood (eds), *The churches, Ireland and the Irish. Papers read at the 1987 summer meeting and the 1988 winter meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* (Oxford and New York, 1989), pp 401-46, at p. 409 and Browne witness statement, p. 12 (N.A.I., BMH/WS729). Father Michael O’Flanagan took the floor and opened proceedings with a prayer: Mitchell, *Government*, p. 17.

<sup>36</sup> *Catholic Bulletin*, Mar. 1919, ix, no. 3, p. 111.

<sup>37</sup> I.G.M.R., Feb. 1921, p. 380 (T.N.A., CO904/114). Father John McKenna, C.C. Knockmoyle, Omagh, president of Sinn Féin constituency executive: List of Sinn Féin officers (N.L.I., MS 5649).

<sup>38</sup> Joost Augusteijn (ed.), *The memoirs of John M. Regan. A Catholic officer in the RIC and RUC, 1909-1948* (Dublin and Portland, OR, 2007), p. 126. Cf., however, Head Constable John McKenna’s comment that between 1920 and 1922 he ‘went to mass daily, unarmed and in uniform, and no person ever molested’ him. John McKenna, *A beleaguered station. The memoir of Head Constable John McKenna, 1891-1921* (s.l., 2009), p. 32.

the church, commenting later that the curate's remarks had amounted to 'an incitement to murder'. Finally, the confidential nature of the mission chronicle of Clonard Redemptorist monastery in Belfast allowed the *chronista* or chronicler to slip in an occasional comment about the British forces in his record of missions. When describing a mission in Dunmanway given by priests from Clonard in May 1921, he observed that the people

attended well in spite of the very anxious time. The 'auxiliary police' an English 'irregular' force of 'blackguards [and] tanguards' [sic] murderers [and] robbers had a company stationed in Dunmanway workhouse.... They were raiding the country around.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Book A, 'Missionary works 1896-1924', p. 426 (C.M.A.).

### ***4.1.3 Criticism of non-republican Catholics***

As has been seen, an R.I.C. sergeant called Philip Brady was killed by the I.R.A. in an ambush near Lorrha, County Tipperary, in September 1919. This killing elicited an emotional condemnation from the local parish priest, Father John Gleeson. Among other things, Gleeson said that

It is stated – I do not know if it is true – that fifteen men are appointed in each district to shoot the police. I find it extremely difficult to believe that statement, but if there is truth in that statement, the cause which advocates such methods is a doomed cause.<sup>40</sup>

Gleeson's challenge to the legitimacy of physical force, his suggestion that it was orchestrated by a secret organisation and his condemnation of a cause furthered by such means offended more republican-minded priests. In a letter published in the *Irish Independent*, the parish priest of Tober, County Offaly, took Gleeson to task for his 'insinuations, ... which reflect gravely and unjustifiably ... on Irish character'.<sup>41</sup> Father John Magee did not object to Gleeson's condemnation of the crime, but branded his assumption that Brady had been killed by Irishmen 'not only strange, but un-Christian and unpatriotic'. According to Magee, the Irish people were well aware of the church's teachings about the immorality of murder, and Gleeson's implication that some held a different view was 'but a backhanded method of striving to blacken our people'. Magee suggested that Gleeson's mention of the appointment of fifteen men per district to kill police was most likely a rumour that emanated from the Castle. He protested against the whole tone of Gleeson's remarks, which he thought was indicative of the 'remnant of the slave-spirit still present amongst us'. He asked whether Gleeson had been motivated by cowardice in choosing to denounce the killing of an officer of the Crown rather than that of Irishmen 'coldly murdered by the agents of foreign government'.

Gleeson's comments drew the ire not only of priests unknown to him, but also of his own curates. Fathers D. Crowe and B. McMahon wrote to the *Irish Independent* in early October to distance themselves from their parish priest's statement. They explained that they had investigated the truth of the allegation that fifteen men had been appointed per district to

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<sup>40</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 13 Sept. 1919.

<sup>41</sup> *Irish Independent*, 11 Sept. 1919.



murder policemen.<sup>42</sup> After ‘mature and earnest investigation’, the details of which they unfortunately did not divulge, they came to the conclusion that there was no foundation for such an allegation as far as the parish of Lorrha was concerned. Similarly, when a number of county councils passed resolutions condemning outrages committed against life and property in November 1919, this brought a stinging attack from Father Patrick Mallon, curate in Ballinamore, County Leitrim. In a letter in the *Irish Independent*, Mallon remarked that the county councils were bringing in a verdict of ‘guilty of outrages’ against the Irish people ‘while astride our nation sits the most colossal outrage in the civilised world’.<sup>43</sup> One councillor had apparently made reference to ‘the teachings of the church’ during the debate. This was entirely misplaced, according to Mallon. He acknowledged that the church disapproved of crime, but ‘it equally strongly condemns slander and oppression, and refuses to be stampeded into crying peccavi for sins which are still unproven’.

Walter McDonald, who published his anti-separatist book *Some ethical questions of peace and war* in the autumn of 1919, also had to face criticism from priests over his arguments against republicanism. His Maynooth colleague James MacCaffrey, in a letter to Hagan in October 1919, called McDonald’s book too outrageous to do any harm.<sup>44</sup> Curran also wrote to Hagan about the book at the same time, saying that it was so extreme that it would do little harm ‘except to the servile clique which he represents’.<sup>45</sup> In July 1920, Curran wrote to Hagan again, telling him of a letter he had received from Archbishop Michael Kelly of Sydney, who had just returned to Australia after a visit to Ireland. Kelly had told Curran that the clergy he had met would welcome a genuine home rule act.<sup>46</sup> Curran commented acidly: ‘Enough said, except to add that he says he has been with old friends in Dublin [and] Ossory. The “old” might help to explain matters’. Privately, bishops also criticised one another for their lack of republican fervour. In April 1919, Bishop Fogarty complained to John Hagan about a recently published sermon of Bishop Kelly of Ross in which he had been ‘trying to blacken S[inn] Fein with a religious tar brush’.<sup>47</sup> Fogarty called Kelly’s sermon ‘little short of an outrage on our country, and I feel it intensely’. And when a delegation of American politicians visited Ireland in the spring of 1919, they were invited to join a number of bishops at a reception hosted by the lord mayor of Dublin. While attempting to enter the Mansion house, the delegates, Archbishop Harty and Fogarty were held up by security forces.

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<sup>42</sup> *Irish Independent*, 10 Oct. 1919.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 1 Dec. 1919.

<sup>44</sup> MacCaffrey to Hagan, 25 Oct. 1919 (A.I.C.R., Hagan papers, HAG1/1919/479).

<sup>45</sup> Curran to Hagan, 26 Oct. 1919 (A.I.C.R., Hagan papers, HAG1/1919/480).

<sup>46</sup> Curran to Hagan, 15 July 1920 (A.I.C.R., Hagan papers, HAG1/1920/346). Italics in original.

<sup>47</sup> Fogarty to Hagan, 17 Apr. 1919 (A.I.C.R., Hagan papers, HAG1/1919/71).

Curran wrote to Hagan expressing his delight at the incident, which furnished the delegation with a “star performance” of militarization in Ireland’.<sup>48</sup> He also remarked, however, that there was ‘considerable indignation among the antistits [bishops] that Ara C[oeli] [Cardinal Logue] did not summon a meeting or turn up in some shape or form’.

Not only priests lacking the required measure of republicanism, but also lay people came under fire from other clerics. When Father William Hackett, S.J., arrived at a new post in Crescent college in Limerick in 1914, he set up a Volunteer cadet corps. Although his aim was that ‘all the youth of Ireland’ would eventually join the organisation, in the event only pupils from Crescent college and the Society’s other Limerick school, Mungret college, signed up.<sup>49</sup> Hackett encountered many problems in recruiting boys, and he recalled later that ‘the material in the Crescent was of the worst possible kind for there were very few big boys and there were very many seonins’. He found it very difficult ‘to get an Irish spirit into the boys because they were saturated for the most part in anglicisation’. And the Gorey-based Benedictine priest Dom Francis Sweetman, president of the North Wexford Sinn Féin constituency executive, borrowed a phrase in January 1919 by announcing that if his party ‘did not succeed in making Ireland safe for democracy, they would at least succeed in making it a very unpleasant place for hypocrisy’.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Curran to Hagan, 11 May 1919 (A.I.C.R., Hagan papers, HAG1/1919/106). ‘Ara C.’ refers to Ara Coeli, the residence of the archbishops of Armagh.

<sup>49</sup> William Hackett, ‘Seven years in Limerick’, undated typescript, p. 1. (J.P.A., ‘Brief lives’ papers, J172/5).

<sup>50</sup> *Irish Independent*, 29 Jan. 1919.

## 4.2 Treasonable activities

### 4.2.1 Support for Sinn Féin activities

Many other priests also supported Sinn Féin. Thus the inspector general of the R.I.C. reported in January 1919 that a curate in County Galway, ‘a mischievous Sinn Feiner, was recently transferred at two days notice by the bishop who directed the local clergy to warn their parishioners against joining secret societies’.<sup>51</sup> After Arthur Griffith and Eoin MacNeill were arrested in November 1920, prominent Jesuit Father William Delaney complained that the arrests ‘make me somewhat anxious about one of our fathers who made himself auspicious in championing MacNeill’.<sup>52</sup> A member of the Missionaries of the Blessed Sacrament, a diocesan missionary society based in Enniscorthy, County Wexford, wrote to John Hagan in November 1920 that ‘things are looking pretty bad here just now, but then men have become “shiners” during the past fortnight who until then were opponents of the movement’.<sup>53</sup> The writer, Father James Sinnott, attributed this happy development to the death of Terence MacSwiney and the execution of Kevin Barry, which had ‘brought a great change over many ardent supporters of English rule in Ireland’. And a soldier writing a report on a military raid on a Christian Brothers’ school in Drogheda noted in December 1920 that ‘the brothers except the superior hold [and] express extreme Sinn Fein views’.<sup>54</sup>

One way for priests of showing support for the party was by advocating the redirection of funds earmarked for the 1918 anti-conscription campaign to the Dáil and by supporting the 1919 Dáil national loan scheme.<sup>55</sup> The inspector general reported in June 1919 that the Dáil had failed to obtain possession of the anti-conscription fund of £250,000.<sup>56</sup> According to him as much as £164,000 of this money had been returned to the subscribers, ‘or applied with their consent to ecclesiastical charities’, and no more than £17,000 had been handed over to Sinn Féin, and this only because Sinn Féin representatives had been present when the money was being returned to the subscribers.<sup>57</sup> It is indeed clear that much of the money went to the church. Thus Bishop Cohalan of Cork appealed to the Catholics of his diocese to divert the money they had donated to a fund for the erection of a new cathedral,

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<sup>51</sup> I.G.M.R., Jan. 1919, p. 17 (T.N.A., CO904/108).

<sup>52</sup> Delaney to Walsh, 27 Nov. 1920 (D.D.A., Walsh papers, 380/3).

<sup>53</sup> Sinnott to Hagan, 5 Nov. 1920 (A.I.C.R., Hagan papers, HAG1/1920/409).

<sup>54</sup> Envelope marked ‘23-12-20. 11/143’ (T.N.A., WO35/81).

<sup>55</sup> For the loan, see Mitchell, *Government*, pp 57-65.

<sup>56</sup> I.G.M.R., May 1919, p. 11 (T.N.A., CO904/109).

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

arguing that subscribers would somehow help to ‘perpetuate the memory of the national opposition to conscription’ by doing so.<sup>58</sup> His colleague of Clonfert, on the other hand, was not keen on priests suggesting to parishioners that their money should be redirected to the church. Father Bernard Bowes, parish priest of Tynagh and Killeen, County Galway, explained to Bishop Thomas O’Doherty in December 1919 that a priest in his parish had told the congregation that they could ask for their money back, but that if they did not ask for it, it would be used to improve the curate’s residence in Tynagh or the church in Killeen.<sup>59</sup> A pencilled marginal note by O’Doherty shows that the bishop thought that this solution was unsatisfactory: ‘have ordered the money to be distributed’. But much of the money returned to the subscribers eventually still ended up in the Dáil’s coffers, and priests were active in persuading parishioners to give the returned funds to the new parliament. Thus Father Matthew Ryan, parish priest of Knockavilla, County Tipperary, wrote to Father O’Flanagan in March 1919 that ‘my parishioners and I regard Dáil Éireann as the legitimate custodian and disbursing officer of national funds’.<sup>60</sup> He therefore sent a cheque for the remainder of the funds collected in his parish for the ‘national defence fund’ during 1918. And Father James Bergin, parish priest of Phillipstown, County Carlow, said in March 1919 that he would be handing over the £9 he got back from the anti-conscription fund to the ‘self-determination fund’ set up by the Dáil, ‘and he hoped all in the parish would do the same’.<sup>61</sup>

Separately from the issue of how to dispose of the remaining anti-conscription money, a number of priests subscribed to the Dáil national loan. Thus Father Thomas Wall, curate in Drumcollogher, County Limerick, and a stalwart republican, purchased bonds to the tune of £20 in October 1919.<sup>62</sup> Other bishops and priests publicised their support for the loan campaign. Thus in November 1919, Archbishop Walsh wrote a letter to the archbishop of Boston in which he announced his contribution.<sup>63</sup> Archbishop Harty followed suit in January 1920.<sup>64</sup> Similarly, Father John Madden, curate in Ballinasloe, County Galway, arranged to have a public meeting in support of the loan on the last day of the town’s October horse fair in 1919. The R.I.C. county inspector reported that ‘the meeting was proclaimed [and] Father

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<sup>58</sup> *I.C.D.* 1920, p. 498.

<sup>59</sup> Bowes to O’Doherty, 12 Dec. 1919 (Clonfert Diocesan Archives [Ct.D.A.], Thomas O’Doherty papers, xii.c.23).

<sup>60</sup> *Irish Independent*, 5 Mar. 1919.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 26 Mar. 1919.

<sup>62</sup> Receipt from Dáil ministry of finance made out to Wall, 26 Oct. 1919 (Military Archives [M.A.], BMH/CD323/5/1).

<sup>63</sup> Copy in Father Michael Browne’s witness statement to the Bureau of Military History (N.A.I., BMH/WS538).

<sup>64</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 31 Jan. 1920.

Madden was warned accordingly, but he disregarded the warning and attempted to hold it', prompting the police to disperse the crowds with a baton charge.<sup>65</sup> As the minutes of a house consultation in Clonard monastery, Belfast, show, religious communities also contributed. At the meeting in December 1919 'it was decided to give £10. to the Irish national loan'.<sup>66</sup> And Father William O'Kennedy, president of St. Flannan's college, Ennis, County Clare, did more than contribute: he acted as the collector for Dáil loan monies in the East Clare constituency.<sup>67</sup> A member of staff in the college at the time recalled later that 'it was in moments of anxiety that thousands and thousands of pounds were checked, counted and consigned to hiding places before the ultimate transfer to Michael Collins'.

The Ballinasloe incident illustrates that meetings to further the republican cause were often banned. As with Father Madden, this did not deter priests from attending them. In April 1919, the Sinn Féin hall in Caltra, County Galway, was closed under regulations of the Defence of the Realm Act.<sup>68</sup> Two months later the name of the local curate, Father Malachy Brennan, whose acquaintance we have already made in section 4.1.2, topped a police list of twelve people who had entered the building in breach of the order.<sup>69</sup> A fortnight later, Brennan and seven others were again found on the premises, only to be apprehended in the same place again a month later, this time in the presence of Father Martin Kielty, his parish priest, and Father Michael O'Flanagan.<sup>70</sup> It is no surprise to find the county inspector of Galway East Riding breathing a sigh of relief in November 1920 after Brennan had been moved to a parish outside of the county.<sup>71</sup> When a military patrol arrived at the Sinn Féin hall in Crogan, County Roscommon, one afternoon in October 1920, it found a group of people leaving the building and a number of others still inside, including two local curates, Fathers James Roddy of Breedogue and J. Glynn of Drumlion.<sup>72</sup> Father Glynn protested that they had merely come to the meeting to hear what was going on, and to prevent the people getting out of hand. This did not prevent them from being arrested and convicted of having been present at a proscribed meeting, although they were released without sentence.

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<sup>65</sup> I.G.M.R., Oct. 1919, p. 384 (T.N.A., CO904/110).

<sup>66</sup> Minute of 19 Dec. 1919 meeting, 'House consultation 1916-1950', G5. In box marked 'G. House administration I. House meetings. Visitations' (C.M.A.).

<sup>67</sup> Aodh Ó Haichir, *A rebel churchman: Very Rev. Canon William O'Kennedy, B.D., St. Flannan's, Ennis* (Tralee, 1962), p. 4.

<sup>68</sup> The Defence of the Realm Act of 1914 – and its subsequent amendments – gave the government emergency powers, see Townshend, *Violence*, pp 303-13.

<sup>69</sup> File marked '65/856/30. D. of R.R. Sinn Fein Meetings proclaimed. Meetings etc. throughout Ireland' (T.N.A., WO35/98).

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, reports of 11 June 1919 and 24 July 1919.

<sup>71</sup> I.G.M.R., Oct. 1920, pp 12 and 167 (T.N.A., CO904/113).

<sup>72</sup> File marked 'Court Martial – Civilians. Mel Ward & 12 others. Present at an executive Sinn Fein meeting at Crogan on 13/10/20. Possession of seditious documents' (T.N.A., WO35/131).

Many illegal *aeridheachta* were presided over by the local clergy.<sup>73</sup> These meetings were not strictly speaking Sinn Féin activities, but they had a distinctly republican flavour. Collections for Sinn Féin were also held at church doors and leaflets with republican messages were handed out at churches on Sundays. Neither practice necessarily implied the support of the clergy, as they happened outside of the church building. It is nevertheless difficult to envisage that such actions would have taken place against the wishes of the parish clergy. A police report shows that posters in Arklow, County Wicklow, announced that a collection would be made outside the Catholic church on a stated date in March 1919 ‘to promote the independence of Ireland and that a S[in]n Fein meeting would be held’ later on the same day.<sup>74</sup> Three tables were set up at the church railings for the collection, although the sergeant who reported believed that fewer people went into the church having made a donation than did without having done so. Similarly, leaflets explaining how ‘the English murderer’ went about his business were handed out outside Rathfarnham church, Dublin, after 11.30 mass on a Sunday in March 1919.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> For one example see *Irish Independent*, 10 June 1919.

<sup>74</sup> Police report by C. D. Murphy, 23 Mar. 1919 (T.N.A., WO35/65/1).

<sup>75</sup> File marked ‘‘G.H.Q.I. Defence of the Realm Regs. Donnelly Chas & Cowley Jas. Distributing printed leaflet outside Rathfarnham R.C. Church 9:3:19’ (T.N.A., WO35/104).

#### 4.2.2 *Sinn Féin priests*

Not only did priests support Sinn Féin activities, they also became active members and officials of the party. The most famous of these was doubtless the Elphin priest Father Michael O’Flanagan, who became vice-president in 1917. O’Flanagan had been curate in Crossna, County Roscommon, until his flouting of canonical statutes concerning priestly attendance at political meetings earned him a suspension *a divinis* in July 1918. After having spent some time in Dublin, he was reconciled with his bishop in the summer of 1919 and returned to parish work in Roscommon town, although he continued his activities for Sinn Féin.<sup>76</sup> His endeavours during the War of Independence most notably included an ill-advised overture to the British government in December 1920 and January 1921, which lost him much credit with the leadership of the republican movement.<sup>77</sup> O’Flanagan was not the only priest to take up senior office in Sinn Féin. Father Patrick Gaynor, Killaloe diocesan schools examiner, was a member of both the *ard comhairle* or national executive council and the standing committee, as well as being chairman of the North Tipperary constituency executive or *comhairle ceanntair* – although he resigned from the latter position when he was appointed curate in Mullagh, County Clare, in March 1920.<sup>78</sup> Many priests became active in leading positions in the party at county and parish level. Michael Laffan has observed that in 1917 most local Sinn Féin clubs in County Clare were presided over by priests.<sup>79</sup> He has also drawn attention to a list of constituency executives drawn up by the party leadership in January and February 1920, giving an overview of party officials at constituency level.<sup>80</sup> 24 out of 87 constituency executives were presided over by priests, mainly in Ulster and Connacht, 20 of these priests being curates and only four parish priests or administrators. 21 other priests – again mostly curates – served as vice presidents, treasurers, or delegates to the national executive. Laffan has noted that priests were proportionally overrepresented in the higher echelons of the party hierarchy: ‘if the clergy held any positions in the party, they tended disproportionately to assume the most senior and honorific posts’.<sup>81</sup>

There was just one religious priest on the list – the Augustinian Father Joseph Hennessy, who served as vice-president in Limerick. Another religious priest had been president of the North Wexford *comhairle ceanntair* in 1919. Dom Francis Sweetman, O.S.B.,

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<sup>76</sup> Carroll, *Foiled*, pp 104-6.

<sup>77</sup> Murray, *Oracles*, pp 156-60.

<sup>78</sup> Gaynor, *Memoirs*, p. 11. The date of his transfer appears in List of Sinn Féin officers (N.L.I., MS 5649).

<sup>79</sup> Laffan, *Resurrection*, p. 199.

<sup>80</sup> List of Sinn Féin officers (N.L.I., MS 5649). See Laffan, *Resurrection*, p. 199.

<sup>81</sup> Laffan, *Resurrection*, p. 199.

resigned this office in March 1919, apparently at the behest of his Benedictine superiors.<sup>82</sup> Sweetman found in Bishop Codd of Ferns a persistent opponent. The conflict was not just of a political nature, but also concerned church affairs. A remark made by Codd to John Hagan shows that Sweetman continued to wield control over Sinn Féin clubs in north Wexford in February 1921. According to Codd, Sweetman had ‘been using the Sinn Fein clubs and workmen’s clubs to stimulate an agitation here’.<sup>83</sup> The bishop told Hagan that William Canon O’Neill, the parish priest of Gorey, had ‘been worried by him and the local Sinn Fein club’. Codd’s antipathy towards Sweetman was the result of a long-running dispute between the Benedictine and the diocese. According to Dominic Bellenger, Sweetman’s college in Gorey had been ‘interfering with the local church by taking congregations away from the local parishes’.<sup>84</sup> The troublesome monk’s control over Sinn Féin clubs in north Wexford had caused a classic dispute between religious and secular clergy to take on a political hue.

On an even smaller scale, priests were chairmen of Sinn Féin clubs at parish level. Laffan has argued that this involvement ‘often represented little more than yet another example of the deference shown to the clergy by a pious people’ and as the ‘obvious [leaders] of the community’, priests were often naturally invited to take up the leadership of the local Sinn Féin club.<sup>85</sup> Thus Father Patrick Doyle, later rector of Knockbeg college near Carlow, was president of the Naas Sinn Féin club while he was a curate there, and Father Terence Caulfield, curate in Belcoo, County Fermanagh, was described by the *Irish Independent* in September 1919 as a Sinn Féin leader, meaning that he chaired the local party club.<sup>86</sup> The Sinn Féin sympathies of many other priests have also been recorded. Thus Father Patrick Browne, professor of mathematics in Maynooth, became heavily involved in canvassing for the East Cavan by-election in June 1918.<sup>87</sup> Browne had extra time on his hands that month because the trustees of Maynooth had brought forward the end of the academic term to allow staff and students of the college to assist in the anti-conscription campaign. Giving the trustees more than they bargained for, Browne set up headquarters in Ballyjamesduff, County Cavan, to canvass for Sinn Féin in the by-election. Ballyjamesduff was situated in the diocese of Kilmore, and before long Browne received a letter from the bishop, Patrick Finegan,

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<sup>82</sup> President of executive: *Irish Independent*, 29 Jan. 1919. Resignation: I.G.M.R., Mar. 1919, pp 503-4 (T.N.A., CO904/108).

<sup>83</sup> Codd to Hagan, 16 Feb. 1921 (A.I.C.R., Hagan papers, HAG1/1921/76).

<sup>84</sup> Bellenger, ‘Adventure’, p. 412.

<sup>85</sup> Laffan, *Resurrection*, pp 198-9.

<sup>86</sup> Doyle: exercise book ‘Sean Connolly Sinn Fein Club – Naas’ (N.L.I., Patrick J. Doyle Papers, MS 13,561/5); Caulfield: *Irish Independent*, 13 Sept. 1919.

<sup>87</sup> Browne witness statement, pp 10-12 (N.A.I., BMH/WS729). See also Corish, *Maynooth*, p. 304.



instructing him not to take any further part in the campaign in his diocese on pain of censure. Browne recounted later with evident relish how he evaded Finegan's injunction by moving his headquarters to Kingscourt, which was in the East Cavan constituency, but in the diocese of Meath. Corish contended that Browne was reprimanded, but Browne's witness statement made no mention of this other than to say that Finegan said to him later that Browne had obeyed his order 'in the letter but not in the spirit' before letting the matter rest.<sup>88</sup> By his own admission he had few further dealings with the republican movement during the War of Independence, except that he was present at the first Dáil session and bought bonds in the Dáil loan scheme. He also stated that he knew 'nothing at all about the physical activities'.<sup>89</sup>

During the election campaign for the December 1918 elections, other party members made a point of canvassing the clerical vote. The superior of the Jesuit community at Milltown Park, Dublin, Father Martin Maher, wrote to his provincial in December 1918 that 'canvassers have been here [and] have shown lists indicating the views of various members of the community'.<sup>90</sup> The canvassers had asked that those priests who had left Milltown but were still on the register should be recalled to vote and offered that travel expenses would be paid by Sinn Féin. They also stated that 'the members of the other orders in the division – Carmelites, [Holy Ghost Fathers], [Redemptorists] –, were to vote [and] presumably in favour of S[inn] F[éin]'. The domestic chronicle of Clonard monastery recorded for the elections held under the 1920 Government of Ireland Act in April 1921 that 'four Fathers [and] four Brothers of the community who had suffrage rights gave at the general election their first votes' to the 'Sinn Feinach' candidates, and their second votes to the Parliamentary Party candidates 'as arranged between these two parties on the principle of proportional representation'.<sup>91</sup>

As has been seen, many priests and bishops were wary of Sinn Féin because of its purported socialist leanings. For some adventurous priests, this was the party's attraction. The parish priest of Aughagower, County Mayo, wrote a horrified letter to Archbishop Gilmartin in May 1921 about his curate, Father Patrick MacHugh.<sup>92</sup> MacHugh had told him over breakfast that he was 'for the shooting of all tyrants, [and] all landlords [and] all landgrabbers

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<sup>88</sup> Corish, *Maynooth*, p. 304 and Browne witness statement, p. 12 (N.A.I., BMH/WS729).

<sup>89</sup> Browne witness statement, p. 12 (N.A.I., BMH/WS729).

<sup>90</sup> Maher to Nolan, 8 Dec. 1918 (J.P.A., Papers of Milltown Park, FM/MILL/75).

<sup>91</sup> Entry for 24 Apr. 1921 in 'Domestic chronicles of the house of the Most Holy Redeemer, Belfast, founded Nov. 1<sup>st</sup> 1896', vol. i: 'Domestic chronicle 1896-1930', p. 316 (C.M.A.). The Government of Ireland Act of 1920 provided for the partitioning of Ireland and set up parliaments in Dublin and Belfast. The elections for the Dublin parliament in 1921 produced the second Dáil. The Clonard votes were cast for the parliament of Northern Ireland.

<sup>92</sup> Flatley to Gilmartin, 23 May 1921 (Tuam Diocesan Archives [T.D.A.], Thomas Gilmartin papers, B4/8-ii/5).

were tyrants [and] should be shot'. It is interesting to note that his allusion to the permissibility of tyrannicide savoured of the casuistry of theological textbooks rather than the theories of Marx. The parish priest, Father John Flatley, told MacHugh that he must not flout the principles of the institution whose bread he was content to eat. The curate asked which institution that would be. When Flatley replied that it was the Catholic church, MacHugh answered: 'I am not eating the bread of the church ... I am eating the bread of the people, [and] I am faithful to their principles'. As a next chapter will show, MacHugh's inchoate social radicalism did not survive for very long, but the fact that he stressed his fidelity to the 'principles of the people' rather than those of the church demonstrates that clerical adherents to such advanced views could occasionally be found.

### 4.2.3 Republican courts

Although republican arbitration courts had featured on the agenda of the newly-established Dáil ministry of home affairs in 1919, they were eventually not imposed from Dublin but established from below.<sup>93</sup> Writing about County Meath, Raé Kearns has observed a distinction between courts run by the Dáil and courts run by the I.R.A. – with priests serving on the former but not the latter.<sup>94</sup> Certainly there is much evidence that priest served as judges in Dáil courts. Thus two priests were arrested by military in Claremorris, County Mayo, in October 1920 during the sitting of a republican court.<sup>95</sup> Ex-army chaplain and Cong curate Father Michael Carney, and Williamstown, County Galway, curate Father J. Burke, were among the justices arrested, while litigants, lawyers and solicitors were also apprehended. And when Father Malachy Brennan was transferred to another parish outside of the county in the same month, the county inspector reported that he had been president of Ballinasloe Sinn Féin court.<sup>96</sup> And according to an *Irish Independent* report of October 1920, when a ‘lorry-load of men’ – presumably Black and Tans or Auxiliaries – visited the village of Duagh, County Kerry, they accosted Father Florence Harrington, the local curate, and asked if he was the president of the local republican court.<sup>97</sup> Harrington replied in the affirmative, and was told that it would be ‘serious’ for him if he did not give up the position. According to the newspaper, the courageous curate replied that whatever the consequences, he would remain president of the court.

Fitzpatrick has very plausibly argued that Patrick Gaynor’s account of the functioning of the republican court in west Clare shows that neither priests nor other Sinn Féin officials ‘showed great respect for the Dáil courts as constituted, though all shared a robust faith in the efficacy of *force majeure*’.<sup>98</sup> Gaynor’s own assessment of the functioning of the local district court was that even though it rejected ‘hoary and frivolous claims’, it had the effect of raking up ‘claims and disputes about land which dated back fifty years or more’.<sup>99</sup> Nor were its

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<sup>93</sup> Mary Kotsonouris, ‘The courts of Dáil Éireann’, in Brian Farrell (ed.), *The creation of the Dáil. A volume of essays from the Thomas Davis lectures* (Dublin, 1994), pp 91-106, at p. 92.

<sup>94</sup> Raé Kearns, ‘Republican justice in Meath 1919-1922’, *Ríocht na Midhe. Records of Meath Archaeological and Historical Society*, ix, no. 2 (1996), pp 154-63, at p. 163.

<sup>95</sup> *Irish Independent*, 12 Oct. 1920. Carney ex-army chaplain: *I.C.D. 1919*, p. 278.

<sup>96</sup> I.G.M.R., Oct. 1920, pp 12 and 167 (T.N.A., CO904/113). Brennan was also the chairman of Sinn Féin in East Galway: see Timothy G. McMahon (ed.), *Pádraig Ó Fathaigh’s War of Independence. Recollections of a Galway Gaelic Leaguer* (Cork, 2000), p. 16.

<sup>97</sup> *Irish Independent*, 21 Oct. 1920. See also *Catholic Bulletin*, Nov. 1920, x, no. 11, pp 650-1 for a reference to the affair.

<sup>98</sup> Fitzpatrick, *Politics*, p. 150.

<sup>99</sup> Gaynor, ‘Sinn Fein days’, p. 466 (N.L.I., Gaynor papers, MS 19,826).

judgments always just according to Gaynor. He mentioned one particular case which was heard in the absence of the court's president, Kilmihil curate Father Charlie Culligan. Gaynor believed that the impartiality of two of the remaining judges was much in doubt. When they found for what he considered to be the wrong party, the disappointed litigant appealed against the verdict to Gaynor. This step in itself was remarkable, because Gaynor did not possess any legal title to hear such appeals. His membership of the Sinn Féin *ard comhairle* and the party's standing committee surely did not give him authority, as Carmel Clancy has argued, to exercise appellate jurisdiction, much less to dismiss the court outright for incompetence, as he did next.<sup>100</sup> Gaynor's authority in the eyes of the defeated party naturally came from his position in Sinn Féin and perhaps from his clerical status. A new court was elected, but Gaynor decided that the case would instead be tried again by a convention composed of Volunteer officers, members of the Sinn Féin executive and the members of the newly elected court. So far from proving that Gaynor's efforts were to 'preserve the integrity of the courts', as Clancy has contended, the entire affair shows how little the protagonists of the republican administration respected judicial independence when courts made unwelcome decisions.<sup>101</sup> It also demonstrates how large the figure of local authority figures could loom over proceedings.

In most cases the choice of a priest to serve as judge in a court must have been simple and in keeping with the accepted leadership status of the clergy in the locality. Some confusion emerged in the summer of 1920, however, about whether ecclesiastical legislation prevented priests from serving on arbitration courts. Archdeacon Patrick Kilkenny, parish priest of Claremorris, County Galway, was asked to attend a convention which would establish Sinn Féin courts, but refused on the grounds that 'recent ecclesiastical legislation' barred him from doing so.<sup>102</sup> Some industrious journalist decided to ask Kilkenny's bishop, Harty, whether this was true. The *Irish Catholic* published the archbishop's response a week later: '[Harty] ... said he had issued no regulation whatsoever forbidding priests to take part in arbitration courts. He had left it to the discretion of each priest to do what he thought was best in each case'.<sup>103</sup> It is not unthinkable that Kilkenny was reluctant to become involved in

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<sup>100</sup> Ibid., pp 468-9. Carmel Clancy, 'The experiences of a Sinn Féin priest: Father Pat Gaynor and self-government in Clare 1919-1921', *The Other Clare. Annual Journal of the Shannon Archaeological and Historical Society*, xxxi (2007), pp 51-8, at p. 53. Fitzpatrick mistakenly believes that it was the local Volunteer battalion commandant, Father Michael McKenna, who dismissed the court: Fitzpatrick, *Politics*, p. 150.

<sup>101</sup> Clancy, 'Sinn Féin priest', p. 54.

<sup>102</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 7 Aug. 1920. By 'recent ecclesiastical legislation' Kilkenny undoubtedly meant the new *Code of canon law* which had been promulgated in 1917.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., 14 Aug. 1920.

the courts for reasons of a political nature – or out of fear – and that he pleaded canonical impediments so as not to have to tell the truth. But the same misunderstanding had also arisen the previous month in the diocese of Ferns. The *Irish Independent* reported in July 1920 that Bishop Codd had ‘prohibited the clergy of his diocese from taking part in the people’s arbitration courts’.<sup>104</sup> The next day it carried a rectification: ‘no special prohibition of any kind, said his lordship, was needed or issued’.<sup>105</sup> The issue was addressed by the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* in the canonical questions and answers section of that publication in 1921.<sup>106</sup> According to canon law expert Professor Jeremiah Kinane of Maynooth, the new *Code of canon law* prohibited priests from assuming the office of judge in a civil court without an indult from the Holy See. Skilled in the art of casuistry, however, he added that it was ‘the *office* of judge in the civil courts that is banned’, and not the acting as judge ‘by special appointment in individual cases’. Moreover, Kinane argued that ‘an arbitrator is not a judge, nor does he exercise jurisdiction in the strict sense’ and that the relevant canon therefore did not prohibit participation of priests in arbitration courts.

Not only did priests serve on republican courts as judges, they also appeared there as litigants. No less a cleric than Bishop Cohalan announced to the faithful of his diocese in August 1920 that

the arbitration courts of Sinn Fein have almost entirely supplanted the other courts in the country, and people of all creeds and classes have recourse to them for the settlement of disputes. As executor of a will, in the case of a difference of opinion about the value of a small piece of property, I have myself asked that the matter should be left to a Sinn Fein arbitration court.<sup>107</sup>

Cohalan also asserted that ‘the capacity for government exhibited by Sinn Fein has won the recognition and admiration of friend and foe’. His words and example are all the more remarkable, because Cohalan was to argue publicly a few months later that a sovereign republic had not yet been legitimately established in Ireland. It is difficult to reconcile the two statements with each other and we can only surmise that the upsurge in I.R.A. violence and British reprisals in Cork after the summer of 1920 explains the bishop’s apparent change of heart. An illustration of how close the links between clerical and lay elites were is given by a

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<sup>104</sup> *Irish Independent*, 20 July 1920.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, 21 July 1920.

<sup>106</sup> J. Kinane, ‘May clerics be judges in the civil courts?’, *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, xviii (1921), p. 522.

<sup>107</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 14 Aug. 1920.

report of the inquest into the death of the lord mayor of Cork, Thomas McCurtain, in March 1920. The inquest resulted in a verdict of wilful murder against David Lloyd George and several R.I.C. inspectors. The *Irish Independent* reported that at the beginning of the inquest, ‘the Most Rev. Dr. Cohalan came with the coroner and all present rose as they entered’.<sup>108</sup>

In view of this incident it is interesting to note that priests appearing before republican courts did not always win their cases. In June 1920 a layman called Daniel Donovan from Whitechurch, County Cork, brought a slander case against a local curate, Father Philip Sheehan, before the king’s bench in Dublin.<sup>109</sup> After the jury failed to deliver a verdict and the trial was rescheduled, Donovan instead brought the case before a republican court in Cork. Sheehan had accused Donovan of having burgled his house and refused to apologise for the accusation, upon which Donovan sued him for slander. A complication arose when Donovan threatened to withdraw the case from the republican court, because he felt it was procrastinating and the king’s bench would be able to hear it at an earlier date. Eventually, however, he acquiesced and the arbitration court found in his favour, awarding him damages and ordering Sheehan to pay the costs of arbitration. Sheehan at this stage appears to have lost much of the sympathy of his parish priest, Michael Canon Barrett. Barrett appealed to Donovan not to withdraw the case from the republican court as ‘the whole parish was in an agony, the case was dragging on so long’.

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<sup>108</sup> *Irish Independent*, 29 Mar. 1920.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, 12 June 1920 and 19 June 1920.

## 4.3 Aiding and abetting

### 4.3.1 Shelter for men ‘on the run’

The previous sections have shown that priests endorsed the peaceful wing of the republican movement in many ways, especially by supporting Sinn Féin and the Dáil. Some republican priests went further and gave support to the I.R.A. Unlike members of local Volunteer companies, who continued to live at home, members of ‘active service units’ or ‘flying columns’ participated in ambushes or other acts of violence and had to go ‘on the run’ to avoid arrest.<sup>110</sup> They were constantly in need of safe houses where they could stay without being detected and could convene to plan further activities. As has been seen, Townshend and Augusteijn have contended that the experience of these Volunteers, which took them away from the ‘restraining influence of the community’, was an important factor in the radicalisation of the movement.<sup>111</sup> As the restraints imposed by interaction with relatives, friends and the wider parish community were removed, such Volunteers became more likely to engage in ever more violence. Safe houses were provided by sympathetic civilians, including priests.

Not a few of these were the houses of religious orders. Such buildings were often spacious and were set away from the street out of sight of passers-by. Moreover, they were able to cater for large and fluctuating numbers of people. The military authorities were well aware of this potential and specifically targeted religious houses for search raids. They often hoped to find leading members of the I.R.A. Thus the instructions for the military party raiding the Carmelite college in Terenure, Dublin, in December 1920 were to search and arrest ‘Mulcahy [and] Bruga [sic]’.<sup>112</sup> Those of the party that raided the Holy Ghost college in Rathmines, Dublin, on Christmas Day 1920 were to search and arrest ‘Burgess’. And the Capuchin monastery in Church Street, Dublin, was suspected of harbouring ‘Michael Collins, R. Mulcahy, Cathal Bruga [sic]’.<sup>113</sup> None of these leading figures were actually apprehended in the places where they were thought to be. But there are some indications that relatively important figures in the republican movement did in fact avail of the clandestine hospitality of religious orders. Apart from Éamon de Valera, who was famously given shelter in the gate

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<sup>110</sup> Hopkinson, *War*, pp 72-4.

<sup>111</sup> Townshend, ‘Development’, p. 330 and Augusteijn, *Defiance*, pp 312-334 and 344.

<sup>112</sup> Envelope marked ‘21/12/20 11/141’ (T.N.A., WO35/81).

<sup>113</sup> Rathmines college: envelope marked ‘Area or House Raided. Misc. Dates (approx. 25-12-20) 7/107’ (T.N.A., WO35/81); Capuchin monastery: envelope marked ‘16/12/20, 17/12/20, 11/137’ (T.N.A., WO35/81).

lodge at archbishop's house in Drumcondra in February 1919, this was also the case with Michael Collins and William Cosgrave, who reportedly stayed both in the Oblate reformatory school in Glencree, County Wicklow, and in Terenure college.<sup>114</sup> Similarly, the Trappist abbey of Mount Melleray, County Waterford, gave food and shelter to men of several I.R.A. brigades as well as their prisoners and also provided spiritual services. Thus the commandant of the Waterford brigade wrote that the abbey was 'always a port of call' for his brigade and that the monks heard the men's confessions and gave them a bite to eat while listening to their stories.<sup>115</sup> And Paul Merrigan of the South Tipperary brigade recounted that the monks gave food and shelter to a flying column with their prisoner, District Inspector Potter, after they had crossed the Knockmealdown Mountains in April 1921.<sup>116</sup> Lesser gods were now and then arrested on the premises of religious orders. Thus when Milltown Park was raided by military in February 1921, a man called J. Martin was arrested. He had been placed on a wanted list by the army in November 1920 for membership of the I.R.A. and had been evading arrest since then.<sup>117</sup>

Schools were also suitable places to provide shelter for men on the run. There were rumours that Father Sweetman hosted I.R.A. men at his ill-fated Mount St. Benedict school in Gorey; that he harboured stolen goods and exhorted people to fight for the republic.<sup>118</sup> These rumours were denied in written testimonies by I.R.A. veterans and English officers in 1925. But C. S. Andrews recalled having stayed at Mount St. Benedict for a while during the Civil War.<sup>119</sup> More evidence for the fact that schools were used to provide shelter for republicans on the run comes from a witness statement taken from Father Doyle, erstwhile curate in Naas, then rector of Knockbeg lay college. The statement, entitled 'An anthology of fugitive memories', recorded frequent visits made by Dáil minister Kevin O'Higgins and Volunteers

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<sup>114</sup> For de Valera, see Michael Curran's correspondence and explanatory marginal notes in the contemporary documents accompanying his witness statement to the Bureau of Military History (M.A., BMH/CD131/3/4); for Cosgrave see Anthony J. Jordan, *W.T. Cosgrave 1880-1965. Founder of modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2006), p. 96 and Peter O'Dwyer, *The Irish Carmelites (of the ancient observance)* (Dublin, 1988), p. 351; and for Collins see Fergus A. D'Arcy, *Terenure College 1860-2010. A history* (Dublin, 2009), p. 140.

<sup>115</sup> James Mansfield, 'The Decies brigade – 1920', *The Capuchin Annual* (1970), pp 377-83, at p. 381.

<sup>116</sup> Marcus Bourke, 'Life with the South Tipperary Volunteers 1914-1921 by Paul Merrigan, from the Bureau of Military History 1913-21', *Tipperary Historical Journal* (2005), pp 179-86, at p. 184. In July 1920 Macready received information that General Lucas – also a prisoner of the I.R.A. – was being held in Mount Melleray. See Michael Hopkinson (ed.), *The last days of Dublin Castle. The Mark Sturgis diaries* (Dublin and Portland, OR., 1999), p. 12. Mark Sturgis doubted that this was true and so does Michael Hopkinson.

<sup>117</sup> Folder marked '21/2/21' and '44/708' (T.N.A., WO35/83).

<sup>118</sup> Bellenger, 'Adventure', pp 410-1.

<sup>119</sup> C. S. Andrews, *Dublin made me. An autobiography* (2nd ed., Dublin, 2001), pp 281-2. See also Murray, *Oracles*, p. 170.



Padraic Fleming and Rory O'Connor to the college during Doyle's rectorship.<sup>120</sup> Doyle gave an example of how arrangements were made for a clandestine stay at the college:

I had been informed through 'the underground' that [Kevin O'Higgins] would arrive on a certain night at Knockbeg. I sat up all night ... waiting for him .... At six o'clock I celebrated mass .... During mass I heard the door of the chapel open, and when mass was finished found Kevin in a state of complete exhaustion at the end of the chapel. He had ridden all night and had been forced to take several detours to reach the college.<sup>121</sup>

According to Doyle, O'Higgins and the other men who took refuge in Knockbeg would usually stay for a few days. One of those who stayed longer was Padraic Fleming, who had escaped from Mountjoy jail in March 1919 and was sent to Knockbeg when his Dublin hiding place became too dangerous. Fleming did not find it easy to settle down in his new surroundings and 'after the hectic doings of his jail days, chafed against the inactivity of his days in the college'.<sup>122</sup> One source of consolation for him, however, was the frequent opportunity he had to talk with 'our activist visitors who gave him first-hand information of developments on the liberation front'. Doyle believed that his activities in sheltering wanted men were well known to the authorities. He contended that Knockbeg college 'was freely referred to as "the rebels' paradise"' among police and military in Carlow.<sup>123</sup> Nonetheless the school was never raided, a fact Doyle somewhat over-confidently explained by surmising that the Crown forces thought that 'the gates of that "paradise" would be defended by desperate men'.<sup>124</sup>

Individual priests living in parochial or curates' houses also sheltered fugitives. It is hardly surprising that the house shared by Mullagh curates Fathers Gaynor and McKenna was a favoured destination. Gaynor and McKenna's visitors were clearly not as bored during their stay as Padraic Fleming was in Knockbeg. According to Gaynor

Gaiety was the order of the day – and of the night – during the mad year and a half which I spent with F[ather] McKenna in Mullagh. Sometimes I tried to call a halt, adverting that the Tans might raid the house and find a festive party in the small hours, and, worse still, might

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<sup>120</sup> P. J. Doyle, 'An anthology of fugitive memories' (N.L.I., Doyle papers, MS 13,561/12).

<sup>121</sup> Doyle, 'Anthology', pp 15-16.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid., p. 38.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid., pp 17-18.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid.

capture a frequent guest, Ignatius O'Neill, whom they would have burned to death after the Rineen ambush.<sup>125</sup>

O'Neill had been part of the I.R.A.'s mid Clare brigade, which ambushed Crown forces at Rineen, County Clare, in September 1920, killing six men.<sup>126</sup> Gaynor suspected that neighbours would eventually disclose O'Neill's whereabouts to the authorities, thus putting himself and McKenna at risk too. There were a few visits of the police to the house before the inevitable arrest finally came. After one of these visits, during which 'Ignatius and F[ather] McKenna were still in bed together' and the police were fobbed off by the housekeeper, Gaynor tried to convince McKenna that their guest was no longer safe. McKenna, however, refused to 'insult a guest', and moreover 'had great belief in his luck though his experiences in laying wagers should have made him distrust the fickle goddess'.<sup>127</sup>

Dan Breen has mentioned the example of Father Richard McCarthy, curate in Ballyhahill, County Limerick, who gave him and his comrades shelter after they had carried out the Soloheadbeg ambush in January 1919 and 'never counted the cost of "harbouring outlaws"' in subsequent years.<sup>128</sup> Similarly, John Canon Hegarty, parish priest of Belmullet, County Mayo, was recorded as having given food and a blanket to two I.R.A. fugitives after an ambush in May 1921.<sup>129</sup> Hegarty invited the men in for tea, but they had to turn down his offer because they were being pursued by soldiers. Some priests had relatives who were members of the I.R.A., such as Dr John Slattery, administrator of Soloheadbeg, County Tipperary, whose nephew William was shot and killed by Crown forces in December 1920.<sup>130</sup> Although Slattery condemned republican violence, it is likely that priests with relations in the I.R.A. would have harboured them occasionally in spite of their moral misgivings.<sup>131</sup> Priests also took in I.R.A. men wounded during exchanges with the Crown forces. Thus Father John Fogarty, curate in Puckane, County Tipperary, was awoken one night in 1920 by a party of Volunteers returning from an attack on Borrisokane barracks. One of them, a man called O'Meara, had sustained injuries and was left in Fogarty's care.<sup>132</sup>

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<sup>125</sup> Gaynor, 'Sinn Fein days', p. 494.

<sup>126</sup> Hopkinson, *War*, p. 130.

<sup>127</sup> Gaynor, 'Sinn Fein days', p. 496.

<sup>128</sup> Breen, *My fight*, pp 44, 48-9.

<sup>129</sup> Carmel Hughes (contributor), 'Statement of Michael Hughes Castlebar battalion I.R.A.', *Cathair na Mart. Journal of the Westport Historical Society*, no. 19 (1999), pp 77-85. See also Augusteijn, *Defiance*, p. 309, who mentions some other instances from the O'Malley notebooks. Most of these in fact refer to the Civil War.

<sup>130</sup> *Irish Independent*, 31 Dec. 1920.

<sup>131</sup> Slattery condemns Soloheadbeg ambush, January 1919: *Irish Catholic*, 1 Feb. 1919.

<sup>132</sup> Gaynor, 'Sinn Fein days', p. 460.

### 4.3.2 *Priests with guns*

Members of the I.R.A. became quite inventive in finding places of concealment for the guns and ammunition needed for their campaign against the Crown. The *Irish Independent* reported in November 1919 that a man in Kells, County Meath, had been convicted of possession without a permit of ammunition and explosives, of which 154 rounds of revolver and other ammunition had been found hidden in a statue of St. Joseph in his bedroom.<sup>133</sup> And Joost Augusteijn has quoted from a Volunteer's interview with Ernie O'Malley, in which he stated that arms and ammunition had been hidden in statues of the Blessed Virgin and St. Joseph in the church in Shough, County Tipperary.<sup>134</sup> He was not the only one whose thoughts turned to religion when looking for suitable places of concealment for arms and ammunition. Many of the raids carried out by Crown forces on religious houses and presbyteries revealed that the inhabitants were in the possession of arms and ammunition. In September 1920 the military confiscated a fowling piece and ammunition from the residence of Father P. J. Clyne, curate in Boyle, County Roscommon. The party also raided the house of the Church of Ireland rector of Ardcarne, from whom they took a sporting gun and rook rifle.<sup>135</sup> The same happened to Father Philip Mulligan, parish priest of Curracastle near Ballaghaderreen, County Roscommon, whose gun was confiscated by police and military.<sup>136</sup>

No further action appears to have been taken against the owners of these illegal objects. Other priests did not get off so lightly. When an army officer knocked at the door of Father George Culhane, parish priest of Cratloe, County Clare, in November 1920, Culhane immediately confessed that he had a sporting rifle and ammunition.<sup>137</sup> The officer went into the house and Culhane handed him the rifle and fifteen rounds of ammunition. After the officer had tested the ammunition and found that it fitted the rifle, Culhane was placed under arrest. The priest protested that the gun and ammunition were formerly the property of his brother now deceased, and that he was unaware that he had committed an offence in retaining them in his possession without a permit. Although he was released again immediately, he received a summons to appear in court some weeks later and was fined £5 or a fortnight's imprisonment in default of payment.

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<sup>133</sup> *Irish Independent*, 17 Nov. 1919.

<sup>134</sup> Augusteijn, *Defiance*, p. 309.

<sup>135</sup> *Irish Independent*, 23 Sept. 1920.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, 16 Sept. 1920.

<sup>137</sup> Folder marked 'Courts Martial Civilians. Rev. Geo. Culhane, P.P. Possession of Sporting Rifle and Ammunition. Cratloe Co. Clare' (T.N.A., WO35/123).

Some months later one of the teachers in St. Malachy's college, Belfast, Father John McCaughan, was in a similar predicament. A soldier taking part in a raid on the college in April 1921 looked under a staircase on the first floor, and on a brick ledge there found a miniature rifle, a cleaning rod, and a revolver cleaning brush.<sup>138</sup> When the officer in charge announced that he would arrest the president of the college, McCaughan stepped forward and claimed ownership of the objects. He explained that he had them for shooting birds and sometimes cats, but used it only in the college grounds and had stopped doing so after it became necessary to obtain a permit before acquiring ammunition. He acknowledged that he also owned the revolver cleaning brush, which was not suited for the rifle that he owned, but claimed that he had purchased it for the weapon at hand and that he had at no time possessed a revolver. The case went to trial before a court-martial and McCaughan was found guilty and also fined £5 or a month's imprisonment.<sup>139</sup>

Neither Culhane or McCaughan were taken into custody after being arrested. In fact, there is good reason to doubt that the weapons found in their cases were intended for seditious purposes. There was nothing out of the ordinary about colleges or presbyteries being equipped with shotguns to shoot rooks or protect the chickens from the fox. Although McCaughan's gun was his personal property and the college authorities were apparently unaware of its existence, his defence that he had used it only to rid the grounds of birds and cats is quite plausible. Some priests actually held a permit for their guns and ammunition. When Auxiliaries raided the Oblates' reformatory school in Glenree, County Wicklow, in April 1921, they found among the belongings of the superior, Father James Moran, O.M.I., a double barrel hammer gun and forty-five rounds of ammunition, for which he held a permit.<sup>140</sup> Even those who possessed guns and ammunition legitimately were, however, easily parted from their property by determined Volunteers. In September 1920 this happened to Father James Maguire, the parish priest of Louth, whose gun became the prize of a small arms race between the police and the Volunteers. Presumably Maguire held a permit for his gun, because the newspaper report suggested that the police and military who called at his

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<sup>138</sup> File marked 'Courts Martial – Civilians. Revd. J. Mc Caughan. Belfast. Possession of fire arms', undated (T.N.A., WO35/126).

<sup>139</sup> Register of cases tried (1921 Feb – Apr), p. 250 (T.N.A., WO35/135).

<sup>140</sup> Folder marked '4/4/09, 44/718' (T.N.A., WO35/83). We can only speculate as to the uses which Moran found for his weapon. The Irish government's *Commission to inquire into child abuse*, which investigated abuse in reformatory and industrial schools between 1914 and 2000, reported in 2009 that witnesses had made reference to 'being threatened and intimidated by Brothers who had dogs and carried guns for hunting'. Report of the Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse, 20 May 2009, vol. 3, chapter 7, no. 7.26, <http://www.childabusecommission.com/rpt/03-07.php> [1 Sept. 2009]. The commission did not, however, hear any testimonies concerning St. Kevin's School, Glenree.

house to confiscate it knew that he possessed one. Maguire told them, however, that they had been anticipated by thirteen hours by the Louth I.R.A. brigade, which had got to it before the Crown forces did.<sup>141</sup> In fact Maguire was able to present a receipt for the coveted object, signed by the commandant of the I.R.A. brigade.

In some cases, however, the Crown forces' suspicion that arms and ammunition discovered in the possession of priests were kept for use by the Volunteers was quite justified. On a Wednesday evening in October 1920, Father Michael Morley, curate in Headford, County Galway, was arrested in the public square and brought to Galway jail. His house had been raided the previous Sunday and it was alleged in the press that a shotgun and ammunition had been seized.<sup>142</sup> When Morley was released again the following day and brought back to his parish, it looked like the case would end with a fine.<sup>143</sup> But at his court-martial in Galway ten days later, Morley was charged with possession of three detonators, nine revolver cartridges, three fuses and one round of .22 ammunition, as well as a full box of sporting cartridges and a sporting gun, for which he had a permit.<sup>144</sup> It is difficult to see how Morley could have had legitimate personal need for detonators and fuses and for the ammunition that did not fit the fowling piece. It is also clear that Morley held republican views. He refused to plead and denied the right of the court to try him, although he sympathetically assured the judges that 'he had no objection to them personally'. Moreover, he made a lengthy speech at the end of the hearing, which the press was not allowed to record, and which therefore presumably included statements of a seditious nature. Morley claimed that the objects seized had been in his possession for many years as 'curios'. He struck a defiant note by demanding his sporting gun back together with the cartridges belonging to it and by asserting that money had been stolen from his house by the raiding party. Morley was eventually convicted and sentenced to nine months in prison with hard labour. The sentence was remitted in view of the fact that he had spent the time between the hearing and the sentence in jail and because he 'was the first clergyman charged with contravention of the order of the military authority' which prohibited the possession of arms and ammunition without a permit.<sup>145</sup> Although no direct evidence of links between Morley and the I.R.A. was brought forward during the trial, it is surely no flight of fancy to suspect that he held the items for the Volunteers.

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<sup>141</sup> *Irish Independent*, 7 Sept. 1920. For local competition between the Crown forces and the I.R.A. to impound arms in private possession, see Townshend, *Campaign*, p. 62.

<sup>142</sup> *Irish Independent*, 8 Oct. 1920.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, 9 Oct. 1920.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, 19 Oct. 1920.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, 29 Oct. 1920.

The same suspicion comes to mind in the case of the parish priest and curate of Ballymoney, County Antrim, who were arrested for possession of ammunition in November 1920. When the residence of Fathers John O'Neill, parish priest, and Patrick McNamara, curate, was raided by Crown forces, a damaged Mauser automatic pistol, one .45 revolver cartridge, one dum dum rifle cartridge, three rounds of .25 automatic pistol ammunition, one round bullet and three lists of anti-conscriptionists were found there.<sup>146</sup> Clearly this was equipment suited for purposes other than shooting birds or cats, and O'Neill claimed instead that the objects had been given to him as souvenirs by a military officer who had brought them from France. This account of the provenance of the items may or may not have been true, but either way it is very likely that they were intended for use by the I.R.A. Remarkably, the officer in charge advised against prosecution, although he recommended that the articles be forfeited. He wrote that there was no reason to doubt O'Neill's statements, as he was a 'constitutional nationalist', and although McNamara had Sinn Féin sympathies, he had 'not shown any activity in that direction here'. Perhaps it is more likely that the authorities decided not to prosecute because they had no desire to fan the flames of sectarian unrest which plagued Antrim at the time. In a similar case, Father John Meehan, curate in Castlebar, County Mayo, and president of the West Mayo Sinn Féin *comhairle ceanntair*, was arrested in October 1920 for possessing a shot gun or shot gun ammunition and seditious literature.<sup>147</sup> As will be explained in chapter 6, charges against Meehan were dropped after a deal was done with his bishop. And Father O'Flanagan's biographer has contended that O'Flanagan carried a gun in October 1920 at a time when his rooms in Roscommon and those of his secretary were raided by Crown forces.<sup>148</sup>

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<sup>146</sup> Folder marked 'Courts Martial Civilians. Rev. John O'Neill, P.P. Rev. Patk. McNamara, C.C. Possession of Ammunition. Ballymoney' (T.N.A., WO35/129).

<sup>147</sup> President of the West Mayo *comhairle ceanntair*: List of Sinn Féin officers (N.L.I., MS 5649). Reputation with authorities: I.G.M.R., Oct. 1920 (T.N.A., CO904/113). Arrested: file marked '6/86', 'Raids. Period 1<sup>st</sup> October 1920 – 31<sup>st</sup> Dec. 1920' (T.N.A., WO35/70).

<sup>148</sup> Carroll, *Foiled*, p. 116.

### 4.3.3 *Guns and ammunition in institutions and religious houses*

Religious houses came in for a good deal of the Crown forces' attention during the struggle, and sometimes with significant results. When the Capuchin priory in Church Street, Dublin, was raided in December 1920, some revolver ammunition, blank cartridges and one round of '12 bore ammunition' were found in the Father Mathew memorial hall beside the priory.<sup>149</sup> This resulted in the arrest of the lay caretaker of the hall, a man by the name of Michael Murray. A raid was carried out on the Carmelite priory in Whitefriar Street, Dublin, in December 1920. Upon arrival around the corner in Aungier Street, the raiding party was greeted with gunfire – coming not from the priory itself but from buildings on the opposite side of the road. When the soldiers entered the priory after the shooting had stopped, they found a six-chambered revolver, two old guns, a substantial amount of ammunition, two bandoliers and two Volunteer drill books, as well as an old sword and a pair of khaki breeches.<sup>150</sup> Whatever about the last two items, the first certainly suggest that the priory was being used to store arms for the Volunteers. This suspicion is strengthened by the fact that the items were hidden in the cellar, up the chimney among other places. A servant who admitted to Sinn Féin sympathies was arrested. The Carmelite community later released a statement to the press, saying that it was 'somewhat misleading' to state that the objects were found in the monastery.<sup>151</sup> In fact, they had been found in a 'very old part of the basement of the monastery', to which there was 'comparatively easy access from the street', and which had been in constant use as a workshop and store by many engaged in building work during the previous few years. This explanation did not satisfy the authorities, and the provincial received a letter from army G.H.Q. a few days later asking him to investigate the matter and forward an explanation.<sup>152</sup> The provincial was also called upon to state what steps he proposed to take to ensure that 'monasteries, churches, buildings or grounds under [his] control, are not used to secrete arms, ammunition, equipment or seditious persons or literature'. The letter assured the provincial that the commander-in-chief did not wish to subject church buildings or monasteries unduly to search or interference. But without

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<sup>149</sup> Envelope marked '16/12/20, 17/12/20, 11/137' (T.N.A., WO35/81).

<sup>150</sup> For the firing upon arrival and the two old guns see: 'Pro-forma "A"' by Bt. Lt. Col. Charlton, 23 Dec. 1920, envelope marked '23-12-20, 11/143' (T.N.A., WO35/81). For the other evidence found see 'Pro-forma "B"' by Bt. Lt. Col. Charlton, 23 Dec. 1920, *ibid.*

<sup>151</sup> *Irish Independent*, 24 Dec. 1920.

<sup>152</sup> Colonel on the staff of G.H.Q., Parkgate, to provincial, 3 Jan. 1921 (Carmelite Provincial Archives [C.P.A.], Gort Muire, Ballinteer). The letter is reproduced in D'Arcy, *Terenure*, pp 152-3.

satisfactory assurances that these buildings would be confined only to sacred use, he had no alternative but to treat them on the same footing as ‘putative centres of rebel action’.

The Whitefriar Street priory was not the only Calced Carmelite house where ammunition was found during the War of Independence. As has been seen, Terenure college probably harboured I.R.A. men on the run, and it was there that ammunition was found during a raid in January 1921. A futile search for Mulcahy and Brugha in the college in December 1920 had not satisfied the authorities that all things were as they should be in that institution. On 23 January, a battalion of the Welch regiment raided the college a second time, this time with the instruction to arrest ‘William Cosgrave and Charles Burgess’.<sup>153</sup> Again, no wanted persons were found, but this time the raiding party came across three or four<sup>154</sup> rounds of .22 ammunition and one round of .32 revolver ammunition. These objects were found in the possession of the prior, the Australian Father Louis Gerhard. Gerhard could not account for them and was placed under arrest, but was released again before the raiding party left. He was warned, however, that if at any future period occasion arose which necessitated the house being raided again and anything incriminating, however small, was found, he would be arrested. He was also told that it was on account of his being a priest that a lenient view was taken on this occasion. According to the officer in charge, Gerhard was genuinely unaware that he had ammunition in his possession. In view of the fact that he frequently provided shelter to Cosgrave, we cannot be so sure. A tradition exists in the Carmelite province that Gerhard asked the commanding officer during the raid on the college for permission to make his confession to a confrere while they were lined up against a wall.<sup>155</sup> According to Frank Shortis, Gerhard believed ‘that it was possible they would be executed’. Perhaps this incident proves nothing more than Gerhard’s piety, but it is more likely that he knew that discovery would be made of the ammunition. In any case, Gerhard received permission and the commanding officer obliged him even further by ordering away a soldier who stood too close. Whether this story is true or not, it is probable that the ammunition in Gerhard’s possession was intended for use of the I.R.A.

Arms were also concealed at St. Flannan’s college, Ennis, County Clare. Father M. Hamilton, a member of staff of the college, recounted that when the college was raided on 18 December 1920 only one room in the building was searched.<sup>156</sup> This was fortunate, ‘as there

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<sup>153</sup> Envelope marked ‘23/1/21’ and ‘34/434’ (T.N.A., WO35/82).

<sup>154</sup> Two reports disagree.

<sup>155</sup> Frank Shortis, ‘Louis Michael Gerhard, O.Carm.’, 8 Mar. 2009 (C.P.A.). I owe this reference to the archivist, Laura Magnier. See also D’Arcy, *Terenure*, p. 140.

<sup>156</sup> Ó Haichir, *Churchman*, pp 13-5.



was in the building at the time a revolver belonging to a lay professor [and] a rifle belonging to the steward ... an active member of the I.R.A.’ As has been seen, money intended for the Dáil was also kept in the college, as well as Sinn Féin literature. The Irish college in Rome was the scene of an ineffectual attempt by the I.R.A. to procure arms from the Italian government in November 1920. Michael Curran, vice-rector, recorded in his witness statement to the Bureau of Military History that he and Rector Hagan had a visit of two Irishmen who were ostensibly in Rome on behalf of the Dublin Industrial Development Association to meet shipping directors with whom they wished to discuss trading prospects with Dublin.<sup>157</sup> In fact, ‘the visit was for the direct purpose of buying arms from the Italian ministry of war’. Curran claimed that he and Hagan knew that the representatives had a commission from Michael Collins and the I.R.A. ‘Although we were fully aware of the nature of the mission and keenly interested in it, our formal attitude was one of non-interference’. This bit of mental reservation did not stop a curious Curran from making discreet enquiries to find out what the results had been of the meeting with the Italian ministry. Nothing further was heard about the deal until Curran read a statement from a *teachta dála* in December 1921 that the I.R.A.’s shortage of arms had been one of the reasons for the Anglo-Irish treaty. He contacted one of the intermediaries to ask how this statement could be reconciled with the deal he believed had been made in Rome. The representative in question replied that Collins ‘had cancelled the whole transaction at the last moment’ and was otherwise reluctant to give further information ‘except to convey his own indignation in the matter’.

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<sup>157</sup> Curran witness statement, pp 493-4 (N.A.I., BMH/WS687).

## 4.4 Waging war

### 4.4.1 Local non-column Volunteer units

A surprising aspect of the period was the seemingly unproblematic integration into parish life of local non-column Volunteer units and the cordial relations which existed between them and the clergy, even those who were among the I.R.A.'s most persistent critics. Thus Archbishop Harty replied to an address by Volunteers at Murroe, County Limerick, in October 1920 by saying that 'the Irish Volunteers were the backbone of the country and the mainstay of law and order'.<sup>158</sup> Archbishop Gilmartin's praise of the 'Irish boys' who were a 'magnificent body of men' has already been quoted.<sup>159</sup> Similarly, Archbishop Kelly of Sydney told a crowd in New Ross in July 1920 that 'you have Volunteers. A body of them formed a guard of honour for me to-day. I am proud of them'.<sup>160</sup> These words of praise stand in apparent contrast to the policy of denouncing republican violence which most Irish bishops maintained throughout the war. In fact, however, they reflect the reality that not all Volunteers were engaged in the same activities. Much of the guerrilla warfare was the work of flying columns rather than local non-column units, whose members continued to live at home and only occasionally – if at all – engaged in fighting. The episcopal plaudits were intended more for what Clare I.R.A. man Michael Brennan called the 'flag-waggers' than for the fighters among the Volunteers.<sup>161</sup>

Local Volunteer units performed all kinds of public order functions at parish events organised by the church. When, for example, the Augustinian church in Galway organised a bazaar presided over by an Australian bishop to clear off a debt during race week in 1920, the Volunteers held order.<sup>162</sup> Local clergy also called in Volunteer support to help out at specifically religious celebrations. When the parish priest of Aughadoon, County Cork, celebrated mass at a mass rock near the village on a Sunday in July 1920, the traffic generated by the large attendance, including many sodalities and city bands, was regulated by the Volunteers.<sup>163</sup> Similarly, when Patrick Canon Hayes, parish priest of Ballylongford,

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<sup>158</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 9 Oct. 1920.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*, 7 May 1921. See p. 84.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*, 24 July 1920.

<sup>161</sup> 'Flag-waggers' and fighters: Fitzpatrick, *Politics*, p. 191. For the episcopal response to republican violence see Heffernan, 'Martyrs', pp 160-4. For the widening gap between local Volunteer companies and radicalised Volunteers on the run, see Fitzpatrick, *Politics*, pp 180-91 and Augusteijn, *Defiance*, pp 124-86.

<sup>162</sup> *Irish Independent*, 3 Aug. 1920.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, 1 July 1920.

County Kerry, was transferred to the parish of Berehaven in December 1919, he was given a memorable send-off by his former parishioners, as ‘Volunteers and a band accompanied [him] through the town, which was decorated with flags and bunting’.<sup>164</sup> T. Ryle Dwyer has contended that the local Volunteer unit in Ballylongford had been set up by Hayes in 1914.<sup>165</sup> Hayes’s involvement with the Volunteers did not mean that he supported the use of violence, and when two soldiers were killed by the I.R.A. in his new parish in May 1921, he explained at mass that ‘the taking of human life, except in war or the circumstances of war, was murder’.<sup>166</sup>

Funerals were a common occasion for Volunteer units to act as guards of honour. This was the case not only at politically sensitive funerals such as those of victims of British violence, but also at funerals of local dignitaries without direct links to the republican cause. When Maurice Canon O’Callaghan, formerly parish priest of Cloyne, County Cork, was buried in the graveyard beside his church, ‘members of the Cloyne corps of the Irish Volunteers carried the coffin through the streets of the town, and walked in procession after the remains’.<sup>167</sup> This took place in the presence of Bishops Browne of Cloyne and Cotter of Portsmouth, a native of Cloyne town. But more frequent were reports of Volunteers leading the cortege at the funeral of some I.R.A. victim of British violence. Persons involved with violence committed by the I.R.A. were officially deprived of the right to a Christian burial in at least two dioceses – in Cork by virtue of Bishop Cohalan’s excommunication decree of December 1920 and in Kilmore by virtue of a statement made by Bishop Finegan in March 1921.<sup>168</sup> But they took place quite publicly elsewhere and also in Cork and Kilmore before the respective episcopal statements were made. In well-established Irish tradition, such ceremonies were focal points for political manifestation. The *Irish Independent* described the funeral cortege of a man shot dead by Auxiliaries in Bantry, County Cork, in June 1920 as follows: ‘First came the parish clergy, followed by 500 Cumann na mBan, and Irish Volunteers’ guard of honour. Next marched 1,000 Volunteers, then the chief mourners’.<sup>169</sup> At

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<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*, 2 Dec. 1919.

<sup>165</sup> T. Ryle Dwyer, *Tans, terror and troubles. Kerry’s real fighting story 1913-23* (Cork and Dublin, 2001), p. 36. This theory is strengthened by Brian O’Grady’s observation that Hayes had said after a local arms raid in February 1918 that he would not condemn any local young men who had been involved ‘because generations of our people have been fighting for ... freedom for the last seven-hundred years’. Brian O’Grady, ‘Old I.R.A. days in Ballylongford’, *The Shannonside Annual*, iv (1959), pp 33-7, at p. 37. See also Sinéad Joy, *The IRA in Kerry 1916-1921* (Cork, 2005), p. 76.

<sup>166</sup> *Irish Independent*, 16 May 1921.

<sup>167</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 11 Sept. 1920.

<sup>168</sup> Cohalan’s decree: Pastoral letter, 12 Dec. 1920 (C.D.A., Cohalan papers, box vi); Finegan’s statement: I.G.M.R., Mar. 1921, pp 617 and 735 (T.N.A., CO904/114).

<sup>169</sup> *Irish Independent*, 28 June 1920. For other examples see: *ibid.*, 19 Apr. 1920, 29 Apr. 1920 and 1 July 1920.

the cemetery three volleys were fired over the grave and the parish priest, Martin Canon Murphy, having recited the Rosary in Irish, advised the people to disperse peaceably.

Not that such ceremonial duties always passed without incident. The presence of Volunteers and republican paraphernalia such as flags sometimes provoked intervention by the Crown forces. At the funeral of another victim of British violence in Kilmallock, County Limerick, in September 1920, the crowds were stopped at the church gates and only clergy and relatives of the deceased were allowed to pass through. When soldiers attempted to seize the flag draped over the coffin, a Volunteer ‘quickly took possession of the tricolour, and when the coffin had been placed in the church the flag was again placed on it’.<sup>170</sup> Military then entered the church and demanded that one of the priests hand over the flag, which he did. On another occasion, Volunteers drawn up in military formation received the remains of another victim at a churchyard in Mallow, County Cork, despite the presence of fully equipped British soldiers and mounted military.<sup>171</sup> Although the parish priest had been told by the army that attendance at the funeral would be limited to relatives and close friends, a party of Volunteers in uniform fired parting volleys over the grave.

On other occasions officiating clergy were also served with notices by the military about the regulation of the Volunteers and the attending crowds. Thus during the obsequies of a hunger-strike victim in Cork in October 1920, six Volunteers acted as guards of honour at the catafalque in the church during the requiem mass.<sup>172</sup> While the parish priest, Patrick Canon O’Leary, was pronouncing the absolution, armed soldiers entered the church and handed him a notice saying that the funeral procession was to be limited to a hundred and that no one was to march in military formation. Canon O’Leary was requested to do all in his power to see that the order was carried out. While the soldiers were conversing with O’Leary, the Volunteer guards of honour slipped away and disappeared, their place being taken by six other men. After the ceremony had concluded, Canon O’Leary ascended the pulpit and told the congregation about the order he had received, expressing the hope that they would carry it out. One of the curates, Professor Alfred O’Rahilly and the Volunteers then regulated traffic while the congregation left the church and the order was complied with. According to the newspaper report, the large presence of British military and its threats to fire if the order was not obeyed filled many in the crowd with consternation, but ‘priests patrolled the route, and

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<sup>170</sup> Ibid., 27 Sept. 1920.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid., 19 Oct. 1920.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid., 20 Oct. 1920.

their presence did much to calm the people'. Despite the British army presence, Volunteers carried the coffin from the church to the cemetery.

When public order broke down in Derry in June 1920 as a result of sectarian rioting, priests took the lead in setting up a vigilante or 'civil guard' to protect the grounds of Watt's whiskey distillery on Abbey Street. According to the *Irish Independent* 'a priest has taken charge of the guard'.<sup>173</sup> This unnamed priest clearly took his job seriously, because the report went on to say that 'two men caught attempting to interfere with whiskey barrels were each given six strokes with a birch'. The next day, the newspaper reported that the administrator of Long Tower parish, Father Walter O'Neill, had been arrested together with three civilians.<sup>174</sup> When they were searched, several hundred rounds of revolver and rifle ammunition were found on the priest and on one civilian. O'Neill was released again immediately 'on his own recognisances'. Another article in the same paper reported that O'Neill had been escorted out of the presbytery by three civilians because it had come under attack from unionists and police assistance had not been forthcoming. Perhaps O'Neill was indeed merely a refugee, but maybe the fact that he was carrying ammunition suggests that he was the priest in charge of the vigilante guard. A curate from St. Eugene's cathedral was also involved in the guard. Some days after the O'Neill incident, a group of unionists from William Street thanked Father John McGettigan, 'and the Volunteers', for having provided 'the guard for protecting their lives and property'.<sup>175</sup>

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<sup>173</sup> *Irish Independent*, 24 June 1920.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*, 25 June 1920.

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.*, 1 July 1920.

#### *4.4.2 Activities connected with I.R.A. violence*

The fact that flying columns rather than local non-column units carried out most of the I.R.A.'s guerrilla campaign does not mean that local units did not occasionally engage in violence. Father Gaynor's 'Sinn Fein days' account reveals that priestly involvement in such local units could extend well beyond organising Volunteer support for church bazaars and guards of honour at funerals. Gaynor's fellow Mullagh curate, Father Michael McKenna, joined the Volunteers and became commandant of the local battalion, having been chosen for this post among other things because he had been an army chaplain during the First World War.<sup>176</sup> The range of activities which this position required of McKenna did not include taking on the Crown forces. In September 1920, McKenna suspected that the killing of a resident magistrate in Doonbeg would be followed by reprisals, and Crown forces would also descend on Mullagh. This caused him to take the only military operation in the parish during the War of Independence. It consisted of arming his men with such weapons as they could muster, and keeping an all-night vigil in the vicinity of the village.<sup>177</sup> When Crown forces did not show up the operation was called off. Otherwise, as Gaynor noted, 'all our efforts were devoted to upholding Sinn Fein law and to preserving peace'.

This is not to say that these efforts were entirely peaceful. Now and then McKenna used force or the threat of force against contumacious Volunteers or recalcitrant civilians. In late 1919 or early 1920, McKenna was informed that a cattle-drive was taking place in the neighbouring village of Quilty. The priest went there to put a stop to it and found himself facing a mob on his own. Before long someone from the crowd had thrown a stone at McKenna, which hit him in the face. 'Next evening, the Volunteer battalion marched on Quilty and put the fear of death in Michael Casey, the local patriot who had organised the cattle-drive for his own ends'.<sup>178</sup> In another instance, McKenna had an ex-constable called Patrick Connors arrested for having terrorised his uncle, with whom he had a dispute about land. McKenna had him tried by court-martial before the battalion staff. During the trial, which took place in the dining room of the curates' house, 'Connors was so impudent that F[ather] McKenna struck him a hard blow in the face'. On Gaynor's advice – which was sought even though he had no part in the court-martial – the sentence was that Connors

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<sup>176</sup> Gaynor, 'Sinn Fein days', p. 464 (N.L.I., Gaynor papers, MS 19,826).

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 479.

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 464.

should be brought to Mutton Island, off the West Clare coast. He was held there in solitary confinement for a month.<sup>179</sup>

Although Gaynor emphasised in his memoir that he was not a member of the I.R.A., in practice he had a large say in the affairs of the local unit. On one occasion he deployed a dozen Volunteers to return cattle to a farm after a farmer attempting to undo the sale of land which had previously belonged to him had organised a cattle drive. Gaynor ordered the culprit to pay the Volunteers ten shillings per person for their trouble and noted that they took care to see that the guilty party obeyed the order.<sup>180</sup> Not that Gaynor's activities during the War of Independence were entirely without legal sanction. When the brigade chief of police died, Gaynor decided to assume that position himself in an acting capacity until some reliable successor could be found.<sup>181</sup> As such Gaynor ensured that 'the writ of the Irish government ran merrily in our area of jurisdiction'. The truth of this statement patrons of Davie Walsh's public house in Mullagh soon found out. On his way home at midnight, Gaynor heard sounds of revelry coming from the establishment. In punishment for selling drink after hours and in order to avoid the attentions of the R.I.C. he made the publican close shop for a week. He acknowledged that the late-night entertainments frequently hosted by McKenna and himself 'put Davy's tavern in the shade; but he had to obey the order'.<sup>182</sup> Gaynor also issued an order that everyone attending fairs in Mullagh must leave the village by four in the afternoon for the same reason. It was carried out by the republican police, who had to use force to persuade some inebriated visitors to comply.

Some time before these incidents, Gaynor had faced his hottest challenge. After his release from Mutton Island, Connors had obtained an order from Gaynor's predecessor as chief of police giving him possession of his uncle's farm. Connors – who carried a gun – then forcibly ejected his uncle from the property. As this contradicted the sentence passed by McKenna's court, Gaynor, who in the meantime had become acting chief of police, organised a convention of 'all the authorities under the Irish republic in West Clare'. This body rescinded the offending order and instructed Connors to move out. It fell to Gaynor to enforce the verdict. He wrote later that 'Connors stood in peril of his life, for in no circumstances would I have allowed a miscreant, within our area of jurisdiction, to defy the authority of the Irish government'.<sup>183</sup> Gaynor went to the farm to warn Connors to leave. When Connors

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<sup>179</sup> Ibid., pp 470-1. See also Fitzpatrick, *Politics*, p. 150 for this incident.

<sup>180</sup> Gaynor, 'Sinn Fein days', p. 466.

<sup>181</sup> Ibid., p. 473.

<sup>182</sup> Ibid., p. 482.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid., p. 475.

refused, Gaynor warned him that he would be back in half an hour, ‘but not alone next time: you have to decide whether you will walk out alive or be carried out dead’. Gaynor then went off and asked three Volunteers to accompany him. He told them that he took

legal and moral responsibility: that they were in a position similar to that of organised armed forces in any country and were free, if necessary, to open fire on Connors without any qualm of conscience.<sup>184</sup>

When the party arrived back at the farm, Connors fled and the case was settled without force.

Gaynor’s retrospective comments on the incident highlight the extent to which his roles as chief of police, Sinn Féin leader and curate were blurred. Although he acted as chief of police carrying out the orders of a republican court, he attributed his success in enforcing the eviction at least in part to the respect which Connors owed him as a priest: ‘Being clever, he did not dare to use his revolver against a priest and against volunteers on duty’.<sup>185</sup> He claimed that he would have given the order to use lethal force against Connors if necessary, but was relieved that it had not come to that because it ‘would have put an end to my career as a priest on the mission. Even if I were not executed by the British forces I should have had to retire to a monastery’. His conscience would have been unperturbed, because he had safeguarded

the moral position from the viewpoint of the natural law by invoking the authority of all the organised forces which upheld Irish government in West Clare. But there is no safeguard for a priest who takes human life even within the moral law: he is ruined beyond redemption at least in this world.<sup>186</sup>

It is significant that Gaynor’s aunt, a religious sister, told him once early on in his priestly career: ‘Never mind this Irish, Pat. Mind your orders’.<sup>187</sup>

In another example of the blurring of priestly and secular roles, Father Charlie Culligan, the absentee president of the West Clare arbitration court, had to face alien oppressors of an entirely different kind. A lady from London had held a spiritualist séance in one of the houses in the parish of Kilmihil, where Culligan was a curate. Having conjured up

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<sup>184</sup> Ibid., pp 475-6.

<sup>185</sup> Ibid., p. 477.

<sup>186</sup> Ibid., pp 476-7.

<sup>187</sup> Gaynor, *Memoirs*, p. 35.



a number of ghosts, she proved unable to get rid of them again. As a result, Gaynor recounted, ‘farmstock “went mad” around the field, and neighbours were frightened out of their wits by noises at night’.<sup>188</sup> After some time a priest was sent for in the person of Father Culligan. The curate, evidently placing his trust in men rather than the Lord, brought an escort of republican police with him to the house, but on second thoughts beat a retreat. Eventually the matter was left to the parish priest, Father Daniel Hayes, whose proposed remedy of killing a sheep proved effective. Gaynor’s description of Hayes as ‘a menace to sobriety’ perhaps explains the unconventional nature of this exercise of pastoral ministry. Just as Gaynor conjectured that his priesthood had stood him in good stead during his confrontation with Connors in the exercise of his duties as an officer of the Irish republic, Culligan made use of the services of republican police in the discharge of what may, one supposes, be counted as his priestly duties.

Elsewhere in the same account, Gaynor discussed his views on the use of violence by the I.R.A. Commenting on an attack on the R.I.C. in Kilmihil on a Sunday after mass in April 1920, Gaynor said that ‘it seems to me – though I thought our appeal to the gun a tactical mistake – that the volunteers acted within their rights as soldiers of the Irish army’.<sup>189</sup> He repeated this view that violence was legitimate but inopportune when discussing the merits of Frank Magrath, the North Tipperary I.R.A. brigade commandant. According to Gaynor, Magrath

did not favour the active policy which had [in 1920] been sanctioned by the supreme command in Dublin. I do not criticise him on that score. I did not approve of open war, myself, though I never said a word against the policy; but then I was not a volunteer and was not free, as a priest, to urge young men into battle when I would not have shared their risks. ... But Mr Magrath should not have clung to his position of honour in the volunteers if he felt obliged, either by sincere convictions or for personal reasons, to obstruct the policy of his superiors in the organisation.<sup>190</sup>

There is some ambiguity in this passage. Gaynor expressed reservations about ‘open war’, which he might not have meant to include the ambushes characteristic of the I.R.A.’s guerrilla campaign. Also, Gaynor’s priestly concern for the safety of the Volunteers stands in

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<sup>188</sup> Gaynor, ‘Kilmihil parish’, p. 159.

<sup>189</sup> Gaynor, ‘Sinn Fein days’, p. 583.

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 455.

contrast to his willingness to expose them to Connors's revolver – although admittedly he himself did share their risks on that particular occasion.

Other priests gave material support to I.R.A. operations against the Crown forces. Thus a Father Carmody, a Kerry native but resident in the United States, purchased arms and ammunition for the I.R.A.'s Kerry no. 1 brigade while on holidays in his native land.<sup>191</sup> And Father Doyle of Knockbeg college employed the commandant of the I.R.A.'s Carlow-Kildare brigade, Gearóid O'Sullivan, as a teacher at his school. One day, when Doyle was travelling in West Cork, O'Sullivan arranged for Doyle to go to the islands in Baltimore harbour. Doyle recounted that

the local captain of the Volunteers provided a motor boat for the trip. I visited several of the islands where we deposited strange longitudinal parcels. The wily Volunteer had taken advantage of the innocent priest's trip to distribute rifles to the Volunteers on the islands.<sup>192</sup>

In his memoir, Father William Hackett, S.J., of Limerick described being consulted by two Limerick Volunteer leaders during the Easter rising. 'They asked me the momentous question "Shall we lead the men?"'<sup>193</sup> Hackett advised against it when he heard that they did not have orders to proceed from G.H.Q. The fact, however, that he was consulted on such an important question shows his proximity to the leadership of the local unit and demonstrates that he was able to exercise authority in an unofficial capacity. His own activities mainly centred around his 'cadet corps'. He took the cadets to camps on the banks of the Shannon 'to train my boys to ... be ready to fight for Ireland when their turn came'.<sup>194</sup> That this training normally included instruction in the use of guns is evident from his remark that 'we used no guns at our camp in 1920'.<sup>195</sup> He also kept a gun in his rooms in the college. Commenting on a raid on the college by 'three strangers' in November 1920, Hackett wrote: 'my room was seething with sedition and there was a rifle up the chimney and [a] file full of Dail correspondence against the wall'.<sup>196</sup> The rifle he had only replaced the day before as it had tumbled down

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<sup>191</sup> Kennedy witness statement, p. 85 (N.A.I., BMH/WS1413).

<sup>192</sup> Doyle, 'Anthology', p. 7 (N.L.I., Doyle papers, MS 13,561/12).

<sup>193</sup> Hackett, 'Seven years', p. 5 (J.P.A., 'Brief lives' papers, J172/5).

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>196</sup> Hackett, 'Seven years', pp 13-14 (J.P.A., 'Brief lives' papers, J172/5). Hackett wrote on p. 14 that the raid took place in November 1921. An entry in the minister's journal of Crescent college, Limerick, shows, however, that it took place a year earlier. See entry for 12 Nov. 1920, 'Ministers journal Sept. 1920 to Dec. 31<sup>st</sup>. 1927' (J.P.A., Crescent college papers, SC/CRES/4/2/2). For a discussion of the identity of the 'three strangers', see Brenda Niall, *The riddle of Father Hackett. A life in Ireland and Australia* (Canberra, 2009), p. 73. The chief

when a sweep was cleaning the chimney. The raiders incompetently discovered none of these items and Hackett was left unmolested.

Others who joined the I.R.A. became implicated in violence used against the Crown forces. One of these was John Ginty, a first year's student at All Hallows' college, Dublin, who was arrested during a raid on the college in October 1920. A search at his home address had uncovered a letter stating that he had joined the I.R.A., another letter indicating that he was a member of the Volunteers and a written document concerning an attack on a police patrol.<sup>197</sup> Ginty was convicted of all charges and sentenced to two years' imprisonment with hard labour, though the record of his case does not show whether he actually served the sentence or not.<sup>198</sup> And when Liam Deasy was on the run, he once found Father Joseph Breen in hiding at a 'safe house' in April 1921. Breen, curate in Millstreet, County Cork, was himself also a fugitive on account of his connection with the Volunteers.<sup>199</sup> According to Deasy, Breen had fled his house to go on the run in 1920 when it transpired that British forces were looking for him. And Ryle Dwyer has reported that a Tralee curate called Father William Behan drew up a petition during the war protesting that the Kerry no. 1 brigade commandant failed to undertake operations around Tralee.<sup>200</sup> He was not the only one to encourage violence. Father Culligan on one occasion 'urged the people to defend themselves against the police and Tans and ... told the women to "use their hat pins"'. Culligan had nonetheless also discouraged local Volunteers on a number of occasions from carrying out rash attacks on the security forces.<sup>201</sup>

Priestly involvement in I.R.A. activities was not confined to Kerry or West Clare. Ex-army chaplain Father Thomas Duggan, hospital chaplain in Cork city, described himself subsequently as 'combatant (more or less) against the Black and Tans'.<sup>202</sup> After an unsuccessful stint as secretary to Bishop Cohalan, Duggan had been appointed to the chaplaincy of the Bon Secours hospital in August 1920. The hospital was located beside Cork

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secretary denied in a statement to the rector, Father Laurence Potter, S.J., that either the military or the R.I.C. were responsible for the raid: *Irish Catholic*, 4 Dec. 1920.

<sup>197</sup> Register of cases tried (1920 Sep – Nov), p. 200 (T.N.A., WO35/133). See also *Irish Independent*, 13 Oct. 1920 and file marked '6/86', 'Raids. Period 1<sup>st</sup> October 1920 – 31<sup>st</sup> Dec. 1920' (T.N.A., WO35/70). See O'Connor to Logue, 21 Dec. 1920 (N.L.I., MS 21,697) for the contents of the letter about the ambush, which was purportedly from one cleric to another.

<sup>198</sup> Register, p. 200. Similarly, Paul Connell has contended that some students in St. Finian's College, Mullingar, 'were involved' in the War of Independence: Paul Connell, 'St. Finian's College 1802-1994', *Ríocht na Midhe. Records of Meath Archaeological and Historical Society*, ix, no. 1 (1994/5), pp 135-57, at p. 142.

<sup>199</sup> Deasy, *Ireland free*, p. 267.

<sup>200</sup> Ryle Dwyer, *Tans*, p. 306. Unfortunately Ryle Dwyer does not provide his readers with a reference for this account.

<sup>201</sup> Gaynor, 'Sinn Fein days', p. 583.

<sup>202</sup> Secretary to Cohalan: Carthach MacCarthy, *Archdeacon Tom Duggan in peace and in war* (Tallaght, 1994), p. 57; quotation: Duggan witness statement, p. 5 (N.A.I., BMH/WS552). Ex-army chaplain: *I.C.D. 1919*, p. 243.

jail and Duggan occasionally did duty for the prison chaplain. On one of these occasions he ‘was made beast of [burden]’ for the republican prisoners who were hatching plans to blow up the prison walls so that they could escape.<sup>203</sup> Duggan’s use of the passive voice somewhat obfuscates the active role which he actually played if we are to believe Tom Barry’s account of the episode. Barry recounted that Duggan ‘personally thought [the escape] could be effected’ despite the scepticism of the Cork I.R.A. brigade.<sup>204</sup> In any case, Duggan carried in a wooden mallet – ‘to percuss the warders’ – a knuckle-duster with dagger and two slabs of gun cotton.<sup>205</sup> In the event the action was called off, but this did not let him off the hook according to his clerical biographer, Carthach MacCarthy, who felt that ‘there was no possible justification’ for Duggan’s contribution in this affair.<sup>206</sup> According to MacCarthy, Duggan ‘was taking advantage of his position of a priest to become directly involved in acts of violence which might have caused deaths and injuries’.

Galway priests also engaged in I.R.A. activities. Bishop O’Doherty of Clonfert received a letter from the commandant of the British army in Galway in December 1920 concerning Father Martin O’Farrell, curate in Kilreekil, County Galway. The officer complained that letters had been found in O’Farrell’s house from which ‘it would appear that he is acting as an intermediary for members of the Irish Republican Army’.<sup>207</sup> He told O’Doherty that he would not be taking official action against O’Farrell, but wished to bring the matter to the bishop’s attention. Enclosed was a copy of one letter, signed ‘M.’, which contained instructions to an unidentified person about certain orders that had apparently not been carried out. It also mentioned that the letter in question would be sent to O’Farrell who would forward it to the addressee. There was a covering note to O’Farrell asking him to ‘give enclosed to the captain of company’. The precise extent of O’Farrell’s involvement in the I.R.A. – besides acting as an intermediary – can only be surmised, but it is clear from a letter sent to him by O’Doherty during the Civil War that he had republican sympathies. The bishop reprimanded O’Farrell for having read the bishops’ October 1922 pastoral condemning anti-Treaty republicans ‘in a mumbled tone, so that it was not understood by the congregation’.<sup>208</sup> He also complained that the priests ‘political allusions from the altar have been frequent and irritating’ and commented that his ‘conduct in the matter of drink’ left much to be desired. There are many other examples of priests acting as intermediaries for the

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<sup>203</sup> Duggan witness statement, pp 4-5 (N.A.I., BMH/WS552).

<sup>204</sup> Barry, *Guerrilla days*, p. 167.

<sup>205</sup> Duggan witness statement, pp 4-5 (N.A.I., BMH/WS552).

<sup>206</sup> MacCarthy, *Duggan*, p. 64.

<sup>207</sup> Brigadier general to O’Doherty, 9 Dec. 1920 (Ct.D.A., O’Doherty papers, xii.c.6).

<sup>208</sup> O’Doherty to O’Farrell, 6 Jan. 1923 (Ct.D.A., O’Doherty papers, xii.c.6).

I.R.A. As a following chapter will document, Father Albert, O.S.F.C., did so in Dublin.<sup>209</sup> And Tom Barry recounted how Father John Crowley, curate in Caheragh, County Cork, passed on a warning to him that Crown forces were on their way to his hiding place in May 1921.<sup>210</sup>

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<sup>209</sup> Garry Hoolihan interview, Ernie O'Malley notebooks (U.C.D.A., O'Malley papers, P17b/105). See 5.3.3.

<sup>210</sup> Barry, *Guerrilla days*, p. 177. See for similar incidents: a Father Moloney: Ned O'Reilly interview, Ernie O'Malley notebooks (U.C.D.A., O'Malley papers, P17b/126). See also Augusteijn, *Defiance*, p. 308.

#### 4.4.3 'Chaplains to the forces'

The support which the priests mentioned in the previous section gave to I.R.A. operations consisted of activities which were essentially unrelated to their priestly identity or ministry; activities which could be – and in most cases were – undertaken by lay people. This was different for priests who supported the I.R.A. by acting specifically as chaplains to the organisation. Such was the case for instance with the Cork-based Capuchin priest Father Dominic O'Connor. In December 1920 Dominic, who also famously served as chaplain to Terence MacSwiney during his fatal hunger-strike, signed a letter to the adjutant of the Cork brigade of the I.R.A. as 'brigade chaplain'.<sup>211</sup> The adjutant, Florence O'Donoghue, had written to Dominic to ask whether Bishop Cohalan's excommunication decree would cause them any difficulties. In a truly impressive display of hermeneutical creativity, Dominic's letter reassured him that this was not the case. Cohalan had excommunicated everyone 'who, within this diocese of Cork, shall organise or take part in ambushes or kidnapping, or shall otherwise be guilty of murder or attempted murder'.<sup>212</sup> Dominic explained that the decree did not in fact apply to those taking part in ambushes or kidnapping or murder or attempted murder, so long as they were acting 'with the authority of the state – the republic of Ireland'.<sup>213</sup> If the Volunteers did these things as private persons, they would fall under the excommunication; if they did them as soldiers of the army of the republic these deeds were 'not only not sinful but ... good and meritorious'. Therefore, he wrote, 'the excommunication does not affect us. There is no need to worry about it'. In fact, he informed O'Donoghue that 'had I been at home I would have urged you to ambush each day'.

It is not entirely clear of what Dominic's activities as chaplain consisted. A confrere, eulogising at the repatriation of his remains and those of Father Albert from the United States in 1959, wrote of the latter that 'in the thick of the fight, when the bullets were flying, you could imagine him hardly knowing that shots were being fired'.<sup>214</sup> This suggests that he knew that Albert had actually ventured out into the field with flying columns during ambushes. There is no evidence that Dominic accompanied the men of his Cork brigade during ambushes, although this of course does not mean that he did not. Borgonovo has called him a

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<sup>211</sup> Dominic to O'Donoghue, 15 Dec. 1920 (N.L.I., Florence O'Donoghue papers, MS 31,170).

<sup>212</sup> Pastoral letter, 12 Dec. 1920 (C.D.A., Cohalan papers, box vi).

<sup>213</sup> Dominic to O'Donoghue, 15 Dec. 1920.

<sup>214</sup> Bernard, 'Fathers Albert and Dominic, O.F.M.Cap. The repatriation of their remains', *The Capuchin Annual*, (1959), pp 380-3, at p. 380.

‘source of great spiritual and occasional physical assistance’ to the Volunteers of Cork city.<sup>215</sup> F. J. Dennett has speculated in the case of William Hackett that he ‘was not a fighting man: he regarded himself as the chaplain to the I.R.A. and a non-combatant’, although he has acknowledged that this leaves the rifle which Hackett kept up his chimney unexplained.<sup>216</sup> Dan Breen has recounted that Father Richard McCarthy, curate in Ballyhahill, County Limerick, accompanied a flying column out into the field, although he left before the actual ambush took place. He wrote in his memoir that McCarthy had been ‘bivouacking’ with a flying column on the Limerick-Kerry border, and that one of the men accidentally took McCarthy’s hat when the column left their camp to set up ambush.<sup>217</sup> When the hat was later discovered by Crown forces on the scene of the ambush, McCarthy was warned by a Volunteer to go into hiding, which he did. It is clear that McCarthy was closely associated with the brigade. In his memoir, Liam Deasy mentioned that McCarthy represented the West Limerick brigade at a meeting of I.R.A. brigade commandants in Dublin on one occasion in July 1920.<sup>218</sup>

Two other priests who provided spiritual services also featured in Breen’s memoir. These did not have a permanent association with any particular I.R.A. brigade such as Dominic and McCarthy had. While a fugitive, Breen married his fiancée during a secret mass celebrated in the presence of many Volunteers by Father John Murphy, a curate in Newinn, County Tipperary, and attended also by Father Ferdinand O’Leary, O.F.M.<sup>219</sup> The latter was a special friend, as the presence of Breen’s wallet among O’Leary’s papers in the Franciscan Library in Killiney demonstrates. A note by O’Leary in the wallet shows that he had obtained the item in a legal manner: it was given to him in 1920 by Breen who had ‘come across a better one’.<sup>220</sup> There is evidence of many more priests who gave spiritual support to men on the run. Thus Father Patrick O’Connell, parish priest of Enniskean, County Cork, heard the confessions of the men who carried out the Kilmichael ambush in November 1920 before the attack took place.<sup>221</sup> Similarly, an unidentified priest from near Drumshanbo, County Leitrim, was friendly to the I.R.A. He said mass for them and gave them holy communion, not in

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<sup>215</sup> John Borgonovo (ed.), *Florence and Josephine O’Donoghue’s War of Independence. A destiny that shapes our ends* (Dublin and Portland, OR, 2006), p. 232.

<sup>216</sup> F. J. Dennett, ‘“’Tis sixty years since”. Fr. William Hackett and the Irish Troubles’ (1984), p. 15. (J.P.A., ‘Brief lives’ papers, J172/1).

<sup>217</sup> Breen, *My fight*, p. 48.

<sup>218</sup> Deasy, *Ireland free*, p. 132.

<sup>219</sup> Breen, *My fight*, p. 164.

<sup>220</sup> Note in wallet in file ‘Ferdinand O’Leary’ (Franciscan Library Killiney [F.L.K.], ‘Individual Friars, M-W’).

<sup>221</sup> Barry, *Guerrilla days*, p. 39 and Deasy, *Ireland free*, p. 170.

private houses or in the field but in his church.<sup>222</sup> And I.R.A. veteran Batty Cryan recounted how some of his comrades went to confession to a ‘curate, a young man’ near Bohola, County Mayo.<sup>223</sup> Deasy mentioned that when an I.R.A. company went to attack the R.I.C. barracks in Skull, County Cork, in October 1920, they met the local curate, Father Denis Ahern on their way. When told what their business was, Ahern told them to kneel and gave them general absolution.<sup>224</sup> Similarly, Waterford I.R.A. commandant James Mansfield stated that the Augustinians of Dungarvan provided spiritual assistance to the men of his brigade.<sup>225</sup> A brother of Mansfield’s was a novice at the Irish Augustinian province’s priory in Rome. More evidence of republican sympathy among the Augustinians came from Father J. P. Conry of Ballyhaunis, County Mayo, who wrote in August 1919 that the Augustinian friars in his parish were ‘on the right side’ when it came to politics – by which he meant the republican side.<sup>226</sup>

One priest’s ministry to men on the run came to an abrupt end when one of the men ministered to turned out to be an informer. The case is an interesting one, because it lifts the lid on the confidential spiritual support given by priests to I.R.A. men which has ordinarily left no traces in archives or newspapers. The unfortunate priest was Father Patrick MacHugh, curate in Aughagower, County Mayo. His remarks on the morality of tyrannicide have already been quoted above.<sup>227</sup> In May 1921 he wrote a letter to Archbishop Gilmartin of Tuam to say that he was ‘in serious trouble’.<sup>228</sup> He explained that he had heard the confessions of men on the run and had given them communion. The police and military had gotten wind of this and had searched his house. He wrote that the matter had unnerved him and he did not want to stay in his house for fear of being molested by the Crown forces. In fact it turned out that MacHugh had gone to a private house in the parish and had said mass there. He later claimed it had been a station mass, but MacHugh’s parish priest had not given permission and denied that it was one.<sup>229</sup> At this mass men on the run had attended. Unfortunately for MacHugh, one of them was what the parish priest described as a ‘pretend Volunteer’.<sup>230</sup> Gilmartin later received a copy of this man’s statement to the police, in which

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<sup>222</sup> Veronica McCarthy, ‘The story of Leitrim 1920-1921’, *The Capuchin Annual* (1970), pp 400-4, at p. 403.

<sup>223</sup> Bohola curate: Batty Cryan interview, Ernie O’Malley notebooks (U.C.D.A., O’Malley papers, P17b/120). See also Augusteijn, *Defiance*, p. 309.

<sup>224</sup> Deasy, *Ireland free*, p. 151.

<sup>225</sup> Mansfield, ‘Decies’, p. 381.

<sup>226</sup> Conry to Hagan, 27 Aug. 1919 (A.I.C.R., Hagan papers, HAG1/1919/293).

<sup>227</sup> See 4.2.2.

<sup>228</sup> MacHugh to Gilmartin, 23 May 1921 (T.D.A., Gilmartin papers, B4/8-ii/5).

<sup>229</sup> Flatley to Gilmartin, 27 May 1921 (T.D.A., Gilmartin papers, B4/8-ii/5).

<sup>230</sup> Flatley to Gilmartin, 23 May 1921 (T.D.A., Gilmartin papers, B4/8-ii/5).



he claimed that MacHugh had said in confession that ‘as long as he [the informant] got the orders he was not responsible’ for the deaths of policemen that he would kill during an ambush and that the morality of these killings depended ‘on the intention he had at the moment’.<sup>231</sup> MacHugh’s parish priest, Father John Flatley, also told Gilmartin that he had heard MacHugh on a previous occasion ‘approve [and] approve determinedly, [and] with passion, the murder of policemen’. A few days later, after Flatley had received an assurance from the local police commissioner that MacHugh would be left unmolested, Flatley reported to Gilmartin that the whole affair had changed MacHugh into a rampant loyalist. He wryly remarked that ‘it is a pity the Orangemen had not him in Belfast for the polling day’.<sup>232</sup> MacHugh’s conversion is confirmed by references to him in interviews given by I.R.A. veterans to Ernie O’Malley. Johnny Duffy was complimentary to MacHugh and described how he had given him shelter during the war, despite the proximity of Father Flatley, whom Duffy called ‘an imperialist’.<sup>233</sup> But Thomas Heavey recounted that when the I.R.A. carried out an ambush at Carrowkennedy some days after the station mass-incident involving MacHugh, the curate had condemned it as murder.<sup>234</sup>

The provision of spiritual services to I.R.A. men also extended to officiating at their funerals. Dead Volunteers were sometimes buried publicly, but, as has been seen, such funerals often attracted the attention and the intervention of the authorities. Often when Volunteers had been killed in action they were buried clandestinely at night. Thus Seán MacBride recounted that nocturnal funerals took place at Whitefriar Street Carmelite church in Dublin in 1920.<sup>235</sup> And Father O’Connell of Enniskean, who heard the confessions of the men who carried out the Kilmichael ambush in November 1920, also presided at their funerals some days later. Deasy has given an account of the funeral of the three Volunteers killed during the attack.<sup>236</sup> The remains of the dead men had been hidden in a bog until coffins could be procured. On the night of the funeral, a cortege was formed and made its way to a local cemetery, where it arrived around 11.00 p.m. At 2.00 a.m., O’Connell performed the burial service and gave a sermon in which he paid tribute to the dead and their glorious fight for freedom. Deasy commented that ‘his consoling words made such an impression that they were soon being repeated all over the district’.

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<sup>231</sup> John Pierce statement, 20 May 1921 (T.D.A., Gilmartin papers, B4/8-ii/5).

<sup>232</sup> Flatley to Gilmartin, 27 May 1921 (T.D.A., Gilmartin papers, B4/8-ii/5).

<sup>233</sup> Johnny Duffy, Ernie O’Malley notebooks (U.C.D.A., O’Malley papers, P17b/109).

<sup>234</sup> Thomas Heavey, Ernie O’Malley notebooks (U.C.D.A., O’Malley papers, P17b/120).

<sup>235</sup> Seán MacBride, *That day’s struggle. A memoir 1904-1951* (Blackrock, 2005), p. 89.

<sup>236</sup> Deasy, *Ireland free*, pp 176-7.

Augusteijn has suggested that the presence of priests at the execution of spies served to relieve Volunteer officers from moral responsibility.<sup>237</sup> He has given an example of a priest who positively sanctioned the killing of a man in I.R.A. custody whose confession he had just heard. It is not clear, however, that all priests who attended such killings necessarily agreed with what was going on. The *Irish Independent* reported that an unidentified priest was stopped in Ballycar, County Clare, in May 1921 by two men, who told him to come with them to attend to a man.<sup>238</sup> When the priest asked what for, he was told that ‘it would be as good for him not to know’. He was then taken to a place outside town where he was told to wait until a man was brought to him who was to be shot as a spy and to whom he should minister. After the priest had heard the convict’s confession, the man was shot dead and the priest anointed the body. A similar story was told by the R.I.C. inspector general in his monthly report for April 1921 about a case in Carrickmacross, County Monaghan. According to the report ‘a pedlar named John McCabe’ was taken out of his house and ‘a priest was procured to confess him and after confessing to the rev[erend] gentleman he was taken out and shot and left for dead’.<sup>239</sup> These two stories have survived because they appeared in a newspaper and in a police report respectively. It is unlikely that the priests in question would have mentioned to journalists or constables that they knew the men who carried out the killings or that they endorsed these, even if they did. But the possibility must not be discounted that they did not know the killers or endorse the killings. Father Laurence, O.C.D., of Clarendon Street Carmelite priory, Dublin, stated in 1953 that he accidentally walked into Volunteer territory on Easter Monday 1916 and was brought down to Jacob’s factory.<sup>240</sup> He contended that he had no inkling as to what was going on and that the men whose confessions he heard were all strangers to him.

In the two cases mentioned, the priests in question were not named, although their stories later became known. There is no indication in either case that the priest in question was prosecuted. There is one case where the authorities did investigate – but not prosecute – a priest who had been present at an I.R.A. killing because he refused to tell all he knew about a similar incident. In December 1920 General Macready sent a letter to Cardinal Logue asking him to put pressure on a priest of the Meath diocese to reveal information he had

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<sup>237</sup> Augusteijn, *Defiance*, pp 308-9.

<sup>238</sup> *Irish Independent*, 13 May 1921.

<sup>239</sup> I.G.M.R., Apr. 1921 (T.N.A., CO904/115).

<sup>240</sup> Laurence witness statement, p. 3 (N.A.I., BMH/WS899).

about a man killed by the I.R.A.<sup>241</sup> He enclosed a witness statement given by Father Patrick Kelly, curate in Dunboyne, County Meath, at the inquest on the death of Bernard Reilly. It is very probable that Reilly – a 19-year-old labourer – was a member of the I.R.A. and was killed by his comrades. Newspaper reports at the time mentioned that the inhabitants of the village were ‘very reticent regarding the tragedy’ and that Father Kelly ‘would make no statement’.<sup>242</sup> Kelly declared in his witness statement that he had been summoned to the cemetery and found Reilly there, as well as some five or six other people standing around.<sup>243</sup> The curate then administered the last rites and was asked to go and inform Reilly’s father of his son’s death. He was told by the men present at the scene that Reilly had been killed in an accident and Kelly declared at the inquest that ‘from facts stated to me ... I believe the injury was caused by an accident’. Kelly refused to tell whom he had seen in the cemetery, to say what steps he took to verify the statement that the killing had been accidental and to say whether Reilly was ‘a member of any illegal organization or not, also whether the five or six men in the graveyard were members of similar organizations’. Although Kelly claimed that these refusals were ‘by reason of my being a priest’, Macready’s comment to Logue that the information had not been obtained in confession and was therefore not privileged was apparently closer to the truth.

In another incident the priest in question publicly disclosed his own identity himself. Eleven men from County Meath were arrested in March 1921 and charged with having falsely imprisoned two other men, whom they had accused of robbing an elderly man.<sup>244</sup> According to a witness for the prosecution, one of the accused had impersonated a priest and heard the two men’s confessions to extract information. The eleven accused, who called themselves ‘soldiers of the Irish republic’ and refused to recognise the British court martial, strenuously denied this last allegation. According to testimony of one of the witnesses who had been imprisoned, the accused had been Volunteers and members of a Sinn Féin court. Some days later a Kilmessan curate, Father James Gilmore, wrote a letter to the *Irish Independent* stating that he had been the priest who had heard the prisoners’ confessions and that there was no question of impersonation: ‘I, being the curate of the parish, was summoned to a certain house, where three men were detained in custody. I was told they expressed a

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<sup>241</sup> Macready to Logue, 17 Dec. 1920 (Armagh Diocesan Archives [A.D.A.], Michael Cardinal Logue papers, ARCH9/5/4).

<sup>242</sup> *Irish Independent*, 10 Dec. 1920.

<sup>243</sup> ‘Evidence of Rev. Patrick Kelly, C.C., Dunboyne’, enclosed in Macready to Logue, 17 Dec. 1920 (A.D.A., Logue papers, ARCH9/5/4).

<sup>244</sup> *Irish Independent*, 5 Mar. 1921.

desire to see me. I attended the call, as I was bound to do'.<sup>245</sup> Gilmore asked them if they had sent for him, and having been assured that they had, heard their confessions. Since the witnesses testified that they had seen a priest only once, Gilmore's letter proved that the man accused of impersonation was 'quite innocent of the sacrilegious conduct attributed to him'. Gilmore's explanation that he was bound to attend to any call for spiritual assistance was significant, because it showed that priests who acted as chaplains to the I.R.A. – whether in ministering to Volunteers or to their prisoners – viewed this as part of the pastoral duties which they were required to perform as priests.

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<sup>245</sup> Ibid., 12 Mar. 1921. This report calls him 'Gilmor' and the *Irish Catholic* of 19 Mar. 1921 'Gilmoy'. *I.C.D. 1921* calls him Gilmore, p. 144.

## 4.5 Summary

The previous chapter has shown that priests made many public statements condemning I.R.A. violence. These public displays of hostility towards the republican campaign must not obscure the fact that there was a great deal of support among the clergy for Sinn Féin, and indeed some for the I.R.A. This chapter has examined the extent to which priests endorsed republicanism. Some did so by saying in reference to republican violence that ‘mistakes’ were bound to happen and that ‘such things’ were inevitable. This language of resignation undermined the condemnation of crime and bloodshed that other clerics were anxious to get across. In public statements, priests could not afford to go beyond such messages of complacency. Curran found this out when he implied during an interview with a newspaper that he did not believe that the killing of servants of the Crown was murder. Moreover, one priest took legal action to stop an English newspaper from associating the Irish priesthood with support for the killing of constables.

Many priests expressed strong support for republican ideology and contempt for the government. Republican priests who found themselves in British courts made a point of showing that they did not recognise the tribunal or the legitimacy of its proceedings. Dyed-in-the-wool republicans such as Father Patrick Gaynor measured the calibre of other priests arraigned before the courts by their willingness to forego the comforts of clerical life for the cause. Others found less taxing ways of expressing their contempt for British rule. Refusal to provide services for decommissioned soldiers returning to the country was one of these and active support for the Belfast boycott in 1921 was another. The presence among the clergy of those who made common cause with the administration, or who manifested a lack of enthusiasm for the republican effort was a source of particular dismay for republican-minded priests. There were numerous occasions when they gave expression to their irritation, both privately and in public. They also criticised lay Catholics who lacked the required intensity of ‘the Irish spirit’.

Clerics expressed their support for Sinn Féin not only in word, but also in deed. The winding up of the anti-conscription fund held in trust by priests in many parishes throughout the country provided an occasion for clerical shows of support for the party. Priests encouraged contributors to redirect their returned subscriptions to Sinn Féin or the Dáil and when the Dáil set up a national loan scheme in the course of 1919, many clerics, including bishops, stated publicly that they had purchased bonds. Some, such as Father John Madden, actively sought to promote the scheme through the organisation of public meetings. A

number of clergy fell foul of the emergency regulations enforced by the military by attending illegal Sinn Féin meetings in their parishes. Others permitted church door collections for the party or the handing out of leaflets outside their churches.

Some priests took office in Sinn Féin. Father Michael O'Flanagan did so at the highest level when he became vice-president, and Father Patrick Gaynor was a member of the national executive and standing committee, as well as being the chairman of a constituency executive. As Laffan has observed, it was quite common for priests to become chairmen at constituency or parish level. Other priests aided the party in other ways, such as Father Patrick Browne of Maynooth college, who was reprimanded by the bishop of Kilmore in 1918 for having spent his holidays canvassing votes for the east Cavan by-election in June. The clerical vote itself was also canvassed and party activists kept well abreast of the political views of the members of religious communities, who could, if wooed properly, deliver a bloc vote for the right candidate. Although the suspected social radicalism of the party scared many priests off, some impetuous young curates such as Father Patrick MacHugh found it attractive and flaunted their support for it to their more senior confreres. Republican priests also demonstrated their support for the cause by sitting as judges in arbitration courts. The Gaynor case shows that the independence of these courts was not always guaranteed. Other priests declined to play a role in them, even though the excuse that it was inappropriate for clerics to do so lost its persuasiveness after assurances to the contrary from bishops and a canon law expert. Priests not only served as judges, but also brought own cases before arbitration courts and were sued before them. In a bold show of legal impartiality, one court found against a priest in a suit brought against him by a layman.

Support for Sinn Féin did not necessarily mean support for the I.R.A. There are examples of priests involved with the party who publicly or privately condemned the use of violence. But some priests did support the Volunteers. Thus clergy offered shelter to I.R.A. men on the run. Houses of religious orders and colleges were used as safe houses for those evading arrest. Curates also provided hospitality to fugitives, and others took care of Volunteers who had been wounded during engagements with the Crown forces. Volunteers who went on the run did so because they feared arrest on account of their involvement in acts of violence. Priests who gave them shelter were willing to accept considerable personal risk in doing so and it is reasonable to assume that they endorsed their guests' activities. Gaynor's account of his hospitality to Clare I.R.A. man Ignatius O'Neill is just one example of this. British forces knew that houses of the clergy and ecclesiastical institutions were frequently

used as safe houses for I.R.A. men and many presbyteries and religious houses were raided as a consequence.

There is also much evidence to show that priests illegally possessed arms and ammunition. In many cases the arms in question were innocuous sporting guns or rook rifles. Priests caught in the possession of such guns without a permit could nevertheless expect to be prosecuted, because, as the Maguire case shows, any gun could be put to political use if appropriated by the I.R.A. In a number of cases, arms and ammunition were found in the possession of priests that were clearly not for their own personal use. In the Morley, O'Neill and McNamara cases the most probable explanation is that the objects were being held for the I.R.A. The same is true for religious houses where arms and ammunition were found. This happened especially in two Calced Carmelite houses – Whitefriar Street priory and Terenure college in Dublin – but they were also discovered in the Capuchin priory in Church Street, Dublin, and were concealed in St. Flannan's college, Ennis. The Irish college in Rome facilitated an unsuccessful bid made by Dublin I.R.A. men to procure arms in Italy.

Outright links between priests and local non-flying column Volunteer units were quite frequent. In fact, some of these units had been founded by priests, were firmly rooted in the parish community and performed activities that were a function of parish life. Often it involved such harmless activities as regulating traffic and holding order at public events. Acting as guards of honour at funerals could be a more contentious affair. The Mallow and Cork funerals, where priests were treated as spokespersons for the Volunteers by the military, and where clerics exercised influence over the Volunteers to defuse a potentially violent situation, demonstrate that the links between priests and local units were strong. This was also the case in violence-struck Derry, where priests took the lead over an ad hoc vigilante guard.

A number of priests, such as Father Michael McKenna, joined local units of the I.R.A. and assumed positions of leadership in the organisation. Gaynor, though not a member, exercised control over them and assumed the position of chief of republican police in his area. On occasion McKenna and Gaynor used their social authority as clerics in the exercise of their secular functions. Conversely, Father Charlie Culligan's exorcist expedition shows that Volunteers – or republican police in this case – were also employed in assisting in the clergy's religious duties. The Mullagh Volunteers controlled by McKenna and Gaynor did not engage in acts of violence against the Crown forces, but force was sometimes used against civilians in the course of carrying out what were essentially police duties. Priests also gave material aid to the I.R.A.'s guerrilla campaign. Thus Father Patrick Doyle distributed

arms, Father William Behan urged G.H.Q. to step up the violence in Kerry, Father Thomas Duggan used his *de facto* position as prison chaplain to smuggle the requisites for an explosion into the jail and Father Martin O'Farrell and others acted as intermediaries for the I.R.A. It is significant to note that these activities did not of themselves require the intervention of a priest, and were essentially unrelated to these priests' clerical identity and ministry.

Other priests gave support to the movement specifically in their priestly capacity by acting as chaplains. Although it is possible that some of them joined flying columns out in the field and also provided material support, these priests primarily offered spiritual assistance. Some, such as Fathers Dominic and Albert in Cork and Richard McCarthy in Limerick, acted as permanent chaplains to specific brigades and styled themselves 'brigade chaplain'. Others, such as Fathers Patrick O'Connell of Enniskean and Denis Ahern of Skull, were known to the I.R.A. for their republican sympathies and provided occasional spiritual services. This assistance took the form of hearing Volunteers' confessions, saying mass for them, giving them holy communion and officiating at their weddings and funerals. Priests were also asked to minister to prisoners of the I.R.A. In contrast to priests who aided the I.R.A. campaign by giving material support, priests who acted as chaplains engaged in specifically priestly work, although it must be supposed that these two forms of clerical support in practice frequently overlapped.

The present chapter has analysed the various degrees of support given by priests to the republican movement, including its violent wing. It has established that such endorsement existed, and that it included assistance for the I.R.A. campaign as well as spiritual support for Volunteers. The clerical response to the use of violence cannot be properly understood, however, if the clergy's treatment at the hands of the British forces is not taken into account. The following chapter will examine how the Crown forces dealt with priests and how this shaped the clergy's response to the I.R.A.'s guerrilla campaign.



## 5. 'CRIMES WERE COMMITTED BY BOTH SIDES': CLERGY AND THE BRITISH

### 5.1 Clerical victims of British violence

#### 5.1.1 *The martyr boy priest*

In December 1923, Bishop Cohalan of Cork submitted his first *relatio status* or report on the state of his diocese to the Roman authorities. The report consisted of an extensive questionnaire on the ecclesiastical and pastoral conditions that prevailed among his flock. One of the questions enquired as to the 'general morality of the people'. Cohalan responded that 'generally the faithful of the diocese live as practical Catholics', but added that he said 'generally', because since 1916 political turmoil and civil war had raged and 'many crimes were committed by combatants of both sides'.<sup>1</sup> For many priests the issue of whether to support or condemn republican violence was fraught with moral and practical difficulties. Not so the question as to what to think of violence perpetrated by the British. A clear lead had been given by the bishops' October pastoral of 1920, which had blasted the 'terrorism' perpetrated by the forces of the Crown and had compared their 'reign of frightfulness' to the 'horrors of Turkish atrocities, or ... the outrages attributed to the red army of bolshevist Russia'.<sup>2</sup> These sentiments were broadly shared by the Irish clergy and animosity towards the Crown forces only increased when it became apparent that 'neither sacred places nor sacred persons were spared', as Pope Benedict XV put it in his public letter to Cardinal Logue in April 1921.<sup>3</sup> Before looking at the response of the clergy to violence by the Crown forces and at the occurrence of clerical loyalism, this chapter will examine instances where priests found themselves either at the receiving end of British violence or the subject of official investigation or prosecution.

The tally of clerics killed by British forces during the War of Independence came to three, or, if we disregard the strictest canonical meaning of that term and include a

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<sup>1</sup> 'Relatio super statu dioecesis Corcagiensis prima facta ab episcopo Daniele Cohalan, 1922', 23 Dec. 1923 (C.D.A., Cohalan papers, box vi), p. 29: 'Populi mores generatim? Fideles dioecesis vivunt generatim ut Catholici practici ... Dictum est "generatim": quia ab anno 1916 perturbatio politica et bellum civile saevierunt, et multa crimina a bellantibus utriusque partis commissa sunt'.

<sup>2</sup> *I.C.D. 1921*, pp 556-61, at p. 556.

<sup>3</sup> Benedictus PP. XV, 'Epistola ad Michaëlem S.R.E. Card. Logue, Archiepiscopum Armachanum: de necessitate et ratione pacis intra fines Hiberniae reconciliandae', 27 Apr. 1921, *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, xiii (1921), pp 256-8, at p. 257: 'sacris nec locis nec hominibus parcitur'.

Redemptorist lay brother and two seminarians, to six.<sup>4</sup> By far the most famous of these was Father Michael Griffin (1892-1920), a curate in Ragoon, County Galway. He was killed in November 1920, the first priest to meet with this grim fate during the war. The shock which his death caused to public consciousness at the time ensured him an enduring place in republican martyrology. Griffin's status was reinforced by such hagiographical portrayals as John Rushe's article in the 1961/2 edition of *Vexilla Regis* – a journal published by the eponymous association of lay Maynooth alumni – and by commemorative pictures sold at fairs and markets by 'ballad men'.<sup>5</sup> In one of those strangely frequent interconnections that seem to be a peculiar feature of Irish life, the Griffin case was also mentioned in James Joyce's 1939 novel *Finnegans wake*. Joyce's partner Nora Barnacle was from Ragoon and a few years before Griffin's arrival in the parish she had been the lover of the curate's neighbour; a man who gave evidence at the military enquiry which took place after Griffin's death.<sup>6</sup> The circumstances surrounding Griffin's disappearance and death have frequently been the subject of speculation, and the opening of the Bureau of Military History's witness statements in 2003 has only added to the multiplicity of theories.<sup>7</sup> The undisputed part of the affair is that around midnight on Sunday 14 November 1920 men came to the door of the house on Montpellier Terrace in Galway city where Griffin and his fellow-curate Father John O'Meehan lived.<sup>8</sup> After a short while, Griffin left his house with them, fully dressed and apparently without offering resistance. Nothing more was heard of the unfortunate twenty-eight-year-old until his body was found buried in a bog at Cloughscoiltia, County Galway, a week later. Two doctors who performed a post mortem on the body concluded that Griffin had been shot through the head.

Despite the claim made by the R.I.C. county inspector in November 1920 that Griffin had been 'slain by Sinn Feiners' or by 'some friends' of a man who had recently been killed by the I.R.A., in fact there has been virtual unanimity that the men who abducted Griffin were

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<sup>4</sup> The 1917 *Code of canon law* defined as clerics those who had been advanced to the sacred ministry 'at least by first tonsure' ('per primam saltem tonsuram'), see *C.I.C.*, canon 108. This excluded lay religious and seminarians during the early stages of their studies.

<sup>5</sup> John Rushe, 'The martyr boy priest: Father Michael Griffin', *Vexilla Regis. Maynooth's Laymen's Annual*, ix (1961/2), pp 60-72. For *Vexilla Regis*, see Corish, *Maynooth*, p. 344. For an example of a commemorative picture featuring Griffin and the other two priests killed during the War of Independence, see Pádraic Ó Laoi, *Fr. Griffin 1892-1920* (s.l., 1994), p. 95.

<sup>6</sup> Michael Begnal, 'Hosty's ballad in *Finnegans Wake*. The Galway connection', in idem (ed.), *Joyce and the city. The significance of place* (Syracuse, NY, 2002), pp 151-161.

<sup>7</sup> William Murphy, in his entry for Griffin in the *Dictionary of Irish biography*, mentions the relevant witness statement references, but does not discuss their contents. See William Murphy, 'Griffin, Michael Joseph', in James McGuire et al. (eds), *Dictionary of Irish biography from the earliest times to the year 2002* (9 vols, Cambridge and Dublin, 2009), iv, p. 275. I am much obliged to him for providing me with these references before the *Dictionary* was published.

<sup>8</sup> *Connacht Tribune*, 20 Nov. 1920.

members of the Crown forces.<sup>9</sup> This was the view expressed by Griffin's parish priest, Father Peter Davis, and by a conference of the bishops of Galway and Clonfert and the senior priests of Galway city at the time of Griffin's disappearance. Bishop O'Dea of Galway repeated it after his body had been found.<sup>10</sup> Pádraic Ó Laoi has identified three theories about the identity of the culprits: the first that they were Black and Tans, the second that they were secret service men operating separately from other Crown forces and the third that they were regular R.I.C.<sup>11</sup> General Frank Crozier, head of the Auxiliary Division in 1920 and 1921, mentioned in his 1932 book *Ireland for ever* that he knew the name of the murderer.<sup>12</sup> This person did not answer to his command, but was part of a 'secret hand' that attempted to quell the insurrection 'on lines which were not only un-British but doomed to failure'. Others, such as Father O'Meehan, also claimed to have known the identity of the killers.<sup>13</sup> These claims are not much use to us in the absence of names and credible explanations as to how Crozier and O'Meehan came to be acquainted with them. On the whole it is nevertheless a reasonable assumption that the killers were members of the Crown forces.

Apart from the identity of the killers, there has also been much controversy concerning the question as to why they targeted Griffin in particular. Although the curate had republican sympathies and supported Sinn Féin, he was not conspicuous for his contacts with the I.R.A. Of course this does not necessarily mean that he did not have them, and there are in fact some indications that he did. Thus Ó Laoi has argued on the strength of recollections of a former classmate and friend of Griffin's that he was 'in the confidence of many of the head men in the Volunteers'.<sup>14</sup> This claim gains some credibility by the inclusion in Ó Laoi's book of a photograph of Griffin in I.R.A. uniform. This picture, the author claims, was taken as Griffin posed in the uniform of one of his neighbours who was an officer in the I.R.A. Interestingly, however, it was Griffin's fellow-curate O'Meehan who had a much stronger public profile as a republican. It was frequently remarked upon at the time that O'Meehan had been the recipient of no fewer than five threatening notices, and O'Meehan's bishop

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<sup>9</sup> I.G.M.R., Nov. 1920, p. 479 (T.N.A., CO904/113).

<sup>10</sup> Father Davis's comments: *Irish Catholic*, 20 Nov. 1920; statement of the bishops of Galway and Clonfert and senior priests of Galway city: Statement, undated (Galway Diocesan Archives [G.D.A.], Thomas O'Dea papers, box 32, no. 15); O'Dea's repetition: O'Dea to Greenwood, 25 Nov. 1920 (G.D.A., O'Dea papers, box 31, no. 7).

<sup>11</sup> Black and Tans: Ó Laoi, *Griffin*, p. 35; secret service men: *ibid.*, p. 62; R.I.C.: *ibid.*, p. 84.

<sup>12</sup> F. P. Crozier, *Ireland for ever* (London and Toronto, 1932), p. 107. Crozier wrote to Archbishop Gilmartin about the Griffin case in April 1922 to give him names of senior members of the Crown forces whose evidence might help a case for compensation which the church could take. See Crozier to Gilmartin, 17 Apr. 1922 (G.D.A., O'Dea papers). Gilmartin forwarded the letter to Bishop O'Dea of Galway upon receipt.

<sup>13</sup> Leech witness statement, p. 2 (N.A.I., BMH/WS1034). Rushe mentions that enquiries that he made revealed that the names of the killers, whom he believed were Black and Tans, were 'well established locally': Rushe, 'Martyr boy priest', p. 71.

<sup>14</sup> Quotation from Ó Laoi, *Griffin*, p. 20. Photograph is in *ibid.*, p. 21.

Thomas O’Dea complained of them in a public letter to the chief secretary.<sup>15</sup> O’Meehan’s sister asserted that he had been actively involved in the Volunteers in Kinvara, County Galway, where he had been a curate before he was changed to Ragoon. This assertion is confirmed by a complaint in May 1916 from General Maxwell to Bishop O’Dea that O’Meehan had helped with the drilling of Volunteers in Kinvara.<sup>16</sup> Because of these threats, O’Meehan no longer slept at home, taking refuge instead in a local nursing home. O’Meehan believed that he had been the real target of the killers and that they had taken Griffin instead because he refused to tell where O’Meehan could be found.<sup>17</sup>

At this remove, it is impossible to discover the true motives for the Griffin killing, but an incident that took place in Galway in October 1920 nonetheless provides some significant clues. A man called Patrick Joyce, a teacher at Barna national school in Griffin’s parish, had been abducted by the I.R.A. on 15 October 1920. He was sentenced to death by court-martial for espionage after letters from him to the authorities were discovered. Joyce was killed and buried and his grave was not discovered until 1998.<sup>18</sup> Rumours were quickly abroad that a priest had been summoned by the I.R.A. to hear Joyce’s last confession and to be present at the killing. Ó Laoi has suggested that in the minds of his killers, Griffin was connected to Joyce’s disappearance and that he was put to death as a reprisal.<sup>19</sup> He has also argued that it had not in fact been Griffin, but Father Thomas Burke, curate in Glencorrib, County Galway, who had attended at Joyce’s death.<sup>20</sup> Burke was a man of known republican sympathies, who acted as a chaplain to the Volunteers in his area.<sup>21</sup> Ó Laoi’s argument is contradicted, however, by the witness statement of Father O’Meehan’s sister Mary Leech, who declared in 1954 that her brother had revealed to her in the summer of 1921 that ‘he had attended to the spiritual needs of Joyce, a spy’.<sup>22</sup> She also claimed that her brother thought that Griffin’s killers knew that O’Meehan had been present at the Joyce killing, and that he had been their real target. This part of Leech’s statement is corroborated by the fact that O’Meehan fled to

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<sup>15</sup> See *Irish Catholic*, 27 Nov. 1920. For O’Dea’s statement, see O’Dea to Greenwood, 25 Nov. 1920 (G.D.A., O’Dea papers, box 31, no. 7).

<sup>16</sup> Leech statement: Leech witness statement, p. 1 (N.A.I., BMH/WS1034). Maxwell’s complaint: Maxwell to O’Dea, 6 May 1916 (G.D.A., O’Dea papers, box 40, no. 224). For O’Meehan’s activities in Kinvara see also McMahon, *Ó Fathaigh*, p. 7.

<sup>17</sup> Leech witness statement, p. 3 (N.A.I., BMH/WS1034).

<sup>18</sup> Killing and burial: Ó Laoi, *Griffin*, pp 25-30, 67-73. Discovery of remains: *City Tribune*, 10 July 1998.

<sup>19</sup> Ó Laoi, *Griffin*, pp 71-3.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 68-70.

<sup>21</sup> See for instance Collins to Burke, 20 June 1918 (U.C.D.A., Papers of Margaret and Father Tom Burke, P30/7) and Ó Maolíosa to Burke, undated (*Ibid.*).

<sup>22</sup> Leech statement, p. 2 (N.A.I., BMH/WS1034). Some details of the Griffin abduction in Leech’s account do not tally with the evidence given by Griffin’s housekeeper and neighbour during the military enquiry after his death. See Ó Laoi, *Griffin*, pp 46-8 and 58-62. But Leech was not present when the abduction took place and these discrepancies do not mean that her account of her brother’s statement to her is untrustworthy.

Scotland after the Griffin killing. Whether it was Burke or O'Meehan – or both – who attended Joyce, there is really nothing that links Griffin personally to the affair. It appears that his own death was due to his association with people who were involved with the I.R.A.

### 5.1.2 Other clerical fatalities

The killings of the other two priests were no less tragic than Griffin's, but they did not capture subsequent public imagination to the same degree as those of the 'boy-priest's' death.<sup>23</sup> In neither case, however, was the victim specifically targeted because of some presumed association with the I.R.A. Both events occurred in the diocese of Cork and both victims were priests of that diocese. A month and a day after Griffin's disappearance, on the afternoon of Wednesday 15 December 1920, Resident Magistrate P. S. Brady was driving along the Dunmanway to Ballineen road in County Cork when his car broke down.<sup>24</sup> The septuagenarian parish priest of Dunmanway, Thomas Canon Magner (1850-1920) was walking along the road when he came across Brady trying to start his car. He offered assistance, and after an initial refusal Brady accepted, and Magner helped him push the vehicle. A young man from the locality called Timothy Crowley then passed by on a bicycle and Magner asked him for help.

At that moment came the fatal arrival on the scene of two lorries of Auxiliaries, one of which drove past and one of which stopped. An armed cadet called Vernon Hart, who was in charge of the lorry that stopped, emerged from the vehicle and asked Brady who he was, making threats to shoot him. Hart then turned to Crowley, while Brady took the opportunity to walk over to the lorry out of Hart's sight. Brady and the Auxiliaries in the lorry then heard a shot.<sup>25</sup> When they went to look, they saw Crowley lying on the ground with a gunshot wound to his head. According to the *Irish Independent*, Hart then forced Magner on his knees, and interrogated him for some time before shooting him in the head too. Brady, who understandably feared for his life, made good his escape. After his departure the lorry which had driven past, and which was carrying the district inspector, returned to the scene.<sup>26</sup> According to subsequent statements from the Auxiliaries, Hart initially also threatened to shoot the district inspector before he was persuaded to put his revolver back into its holster. The party then flung Crowley's and Magner's bodies over a ditch adjoining the road and returned to Dunmanway workhouse, where Hart was disarmed and placed under arrest.

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<sup>23</sup> The under-secretary, Sir John Anderson, for instance reportedly wondered shortly after the incident why 'the murder of Canon Magner had aroused so little storm' in Ireland. Hopkinson, *Last days*, p. 97.

<sup>24</sup> The following account is derived from *Freeman's Journal*, 17 Dec. 1920 and *Irish Independent*, 17 Dec. 1920.

<sup>25</sup> *Irish Independent*, 17 Dec. 1920.

<sup>26</sup> Donal O'Donovan, *The murder of Canon Magner and Tadhg O'Crowley* (s.l., 2005), pp 8-9.

Original press reports stated that Magner had been shot trying to intervene on Crowley's behalf, but later newspaper articles did not repeat this claim.<sup>27</sup>

The crime was discovered when Magner's curate, Father Michael Carmody, was alerted by someone that people had been shot. He cycled to the scene of the crime, but could not find the bodies. He then went to a cottage in the vicinity where he found Brady, who had taken refuge there. Brady then brought Carmody to the bodies, finally managed to start his car and drove it to Macroom, where he reported events to the R.I.C.<sup>28</sup> While Carmody was on the scene, another lorry with Auxiliaries passed by and stopped. The officer in charge expressed regret to Carmody and informed him that the killer had been placed under arrest. The lorry then transported the bodies to the workhouse mortuary in Dunmanway, whence they were removed to the church.<sup>29</sup> Dublin Castle afterwards issued a statement declaring that upon return to their quarters in Dunmanway workhouse, the Auxiliaries in the lorries made a report to the colonel in charge, who placed Hart under arrest.<sup>30</sup> The culprit, a close friend of whose had been killed during an I.R.A. ambush at Dillon's Cross, Cork, the previous Saturday, was taken to Cork under escort, where he was reportedly 'out of his mind'. He was court-martialled in Cork in early January and found guilty of the murders, but insane.<sup>31</sup> The day after the murder, Bishop Cohalan of Cork received a telegram from T. J. Smyth, the inspector general of the R.I.C., who asked him to accept his sympathy on the death of Canon Magner and to convey to his relatives 'an expression of my deep sorrow and sincere sympathy'.<sup>32</sup> Cohalan cabled back to say that he would have accepted the sympathy of the inspector general of the old R.I.C., but that he could not accept or convey Smyth's sympathies, 'whose men are murdering my people and have burned my city'.

The third priestly victim was a young curate called Father James O'Callaghan. O'Callaghan had spent some years as a chaplain to the Good Shepherd convent in Sunday's Well, Cork, before being appointed a curate in the north cathedral in October 1920.<sup>33</sup> His new appointment left him without living quarters. O'Callaghan was friendly with Sinn Féin

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<sup>27</sup> See for example *Freeman's Journal*, 16 Dec. 1920.

<sup>28</sup> T. M. Healy, *Letters and leaders of my day* (2 vols., New York, 1929), ii, pp 620-1.

<sup>29</sup> *Irish Independent*, 17 Dec. 1920.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> *Freeman's Journal*, 8 Jan. 1921. See O'Donovan, *Murder*, pp 27-38 for lengthy quotations from court-martial proceedings.

<sup>32</sup> *Freeman's Journal*, 17 Dec. 1920.

<sup>33</sup> This and the following details are derived from a statement accompanying a letter sent to Bishop Cohalan by Liam de Róiste, T.D. De Róiste to Cohalan, 19 May 1921 (C.D.A., Cohalan papers, box i). See also statements from Norah de Róiste, Bridget O'Brien and Kate Kearney (N.L.I., Maurice Moore papers, MS 10,556). For O'Callaghan's previous position as chaplain to the Good Shepherd Convent see *Cork Constitution*, 16 May 1921. Attached to the convent was St. Finbarr's industrial school for girls.

member and *teachta dála* Liam de Róiste, who lived in a house on Upper Janemount, Sunday's Well. He asked de Róiste for hospitality, and was invited to stay at the parliamentarian's house. According to a statement which de Róiste sent to Cohalan after O'Callaghan's killing, Crown forces raided his house only a few days after O'Callaghan had moved in and treated him roughly.<sup>34</sup> At the elections held in May 1921 under the provisions of the 1920 Government of Ireland Act, de Róiste was an unopposed Sinn Féin candidate for the Cork borough constituency. Fearing that this circumstance would attract adverse attention from the Crown forces, de Róiste did not sleep in his house at night, leaving O'Callaghan there together with his wife, his mother-in-law and a servant girl.

In the early hours of Pentecost Sunday, 15 May 1921, the residents of the house were awoken by shouting and knocking at the door. Armed men, whom de Róiste's wife Norah believed were Black and Tans, demanded to see 'Mr. Roche' and sought entry. Both Norah de Róiste and O'Callaghan shouted to them that the man they sought was not at home and that the only residents were three women and a priest. Eventually the intruders – who were inebriated according to the unanimous verdict of all witnesses – gained entry to the house and struggled both with Norah de Róiste and with O'Callaghan. According to the servant's subsequent statement, O'Callaghan shouted: 'I am a priest, for God's sake don't shoot me' while grappling with one of the intruders.<sup>35</sup> The man who was holding him nevertheless shot him in the back and fired at him again as he was lying on the ground before making off. Norah de Róiste then called for assistance through her bedroom window, and priests, a doctor and an ambulance soon arrived on the scene. O'Callaghan, who was still conscious, was removed to hospital and lived until the afternoon. The administrator of his parish, Michael Canon O'Sullivan, later swore an affidavit to say that he had visited him in hospital before he died and had asked him if he knew who shot him. According to O'Sullivan, O'Callaghan answered, 'I do, he is a tall lanky fellow with a clean shaven face, a Black and Tan I've often seen at the North Gate Bridge'.<sup>36</sup> O'Callaghan's funeral, presided over by the bishop, took place under huge public interest on the Wednesday after his death.<sup>37</sup>

The only religious to be killed – months before Griffin's death – was a Redemptorist lay brother by the name of Brother Michael Morgan, C.Ss.R., from Clonard monastery on the Falls-Shankill border in Belfast. During an outbreak of sectarian violence in July 1920, the

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<sup>34</sup> De Róiste to Cohalan, 19 May 1921 (C.D.A., Cohalan papers, box i)

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> O'Sullivan affidavit, 29 June 1921 (N.L.I., Moore papers, MS 10,556). The de Róiste statement gives a slightly different version of O'Callaghan's response to the question: 'A Black and Tan policeman. He was from Shandon barrack': De Róiste to Cohalan, 19 May 1921 (C.D.A., Cohalan papers, box i).

<sup>37</sup> *Irish Independent*, 17 May 1921.



monastery became the target of gunmen. While shooting was in progress on 22 July, Morgan looked out of a window on the top floor of the monastery. A gunman took aim at Morgan and fired three bullets that killed him instantly.<sup>38</sup> The rest of the community were sheltering in the cellar and had to drag him down the stairs by the feet to administer the last rites. James Grant has pointed out that there was a tradition in the Clonard community that Morgan was mistaken by his killer for a sniper and had therefore been shot.<sup>39</sup> Similarly, in a letter written four days after the events, a member of the community called Father A. J. Cleary, C.Ss.R., stated that ‘the soldiers fired on Br[other] Michael in good faith’.<sup>40</sup> Judging from this sentence and from other passages in his letter, it is also evident that Cleary thought that Morgan had been killed by a soldier. This belief was not shared by the *chronista* or chronicler who kept Clonard’s official house record. His entry for 22 July stated that the firing originated with Orangemen and that ‘soldiers stood by and never interfered with the Orangemen doing their deadly work’.<sup>41</sup> Ó Fiaich mentioned the killing of another religious brother, Finbar Darcy, ostensibly an Alexian, in Cork in January 1921.<sup>42</sup> But newspaper reports from the time carried statements from the Alexian Brothers saying that Darcy had been dismissed from the congregation some time previously and was no longer a member when he was killed.<sup>43</sup>

Finally, two seminarians were also killed during the conflict. The first of these was John Lawlor, a student at All Hallows’ college, Drumcondra, Dublin. He was a native of Listowel, County Kerry, and was beaten to death by armed men in his home town on New Year’s day 1921.<sup>44</sup> The second was Patrick McDonnell, who was studying in Maynooth for the diocese of Meath and was on sick leave when he was shot dead by Crown forces near Oldcastle, County Meath, on 23 March 1921.<sup>45</sup> According to the *Freeman’s Journal*, McDonnell was wanted by the Crown forces and was shot while attempting to evade arrest. This may have been the truth of the matter, although many republicans took ‘shot while attempting to escape’ as a sinister euphemism for murder. The press also reported the fatal

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<sup>38</sup> Cleary to Burke, 26 July 1920 (C.M.A., box marked ‘T. The Troubles and Clonard, 1920-2000’, envelope marked ‘T1. Br. Michael’s killing’)

<sup>39</sup> James Grant, *One hundred years with the Clonard Redemptorists* (Blackrock, 2003), p. 97.

<sup>40</sup> Cleary to Burke, 26 July 1920 (C.M.A., box marked ‘T. The Troubles and Clonard, 1920-2000’, envelope marked ‘T1. Br. Michael’s killing’).

<sup>41</sup> Entry for 22 July 1920, ‘Domestic Chronicles of the House of the Most Holy Redeemer, Belfast, founded Nov. 1<sup>st</sup> 1896’, vol. i: ‘Domestic Chronicle 1896-1930’, p. 302 (C.M.A.).

<sup>42</sup> Ó Fiaich, ‘Clergy’, p. 496.

<sup>43</sup> *Irish Independent*, 7 Jan. 1921.

<sup>44</sup> *Freeman’s Journal*, 4 Jan. 1921.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 24 Mar. 1921.

shooting of William Cullinane in Dublin on Bloody Sunday, 21 November 1920.<sup>46</sup> According to newspaper reports, Cullinane was preparing for the priesthood, but it does not appear that he had already been enrolled in a seminary.

Hopkinson has estimated that the total number of casualties during the War of Independence – civilians, members of the I.R.A. and members of the Crown forces – came to 1,400. Out of a total population of around 4.4 million this amounts to a percentage of 0.03.<sup>47</sup> Since Hopkinson's figure includes belligerents of both sides, the number of non-belligerent civilians killed was even smaller. The number of priests killed during the conflict – three – amounts to the fractionally higher percentage of 0.08 out of a total of some 3,700, indicating that priestly fatalities were more or less in line with those of the wider population.<sup>48</sup> In both cases numbers of fatal casualties were proportionally very low. The three priests who had been killed nonetheless enjoyed a long afterlife in republican memory, although Brother Michael and the two seminarians were largely forgotten. Like the population at large, many more priests were subjected to non-lethal violence carried out by the Crown forces. The next section will examine a number of cases and will analyse the impact this had on relations between the clergy and the British.

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<sup>46</sup> *Irish Independent*, 26 Nov. 1921 and *Connacht Tribune*, 27 Nov. 1921.

<sup>47</sup> Hopkinson, *War*, pp 201-2. The total population is based on the 1911 census.

<sup>48</sup> An estimate based on the figures for 1911 (3,689) and 1926 (3,836) given in table III in Jeremiah Newman, 'The priests of Ireland: a socio-religious survey. I. Numbers and distribution', *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, xcvi (1962), pp 1-27, at p. 6.

### 5.1.3 Clerical victims of non-lethal violence

Cases of clerical victims of non-lethal violence carried out by the Crown forces can be grouped into six categories: death threats, shots fired at priests or their residences, physical assault, the burning or destruction of residences, theft of possessions and clerics forced to attend to road works. This section will examine evidence from each of these categories. Attacks were mostly carried out by Black and Tans, Auxiliaries or soldiers. As will be seen, there were a number of instances where constables of the 'old R.I.C.' prevented their newly-arrived colleagues from harming priests. The belief that priests had little to fear from the long-serving members of the R.I.C. is evident from the fact that republicans in the early stages of the conflict sometimes donned clerical dress to escape detection by the police. Thus Dan Breen called the cassock 'not an uncommon disguise' at the time and contended that the 'old Peelers ... gave the benefit of the doubt even to suspicious-looking clergy'.<sup>49</sup>

Dozens of priests and religious were threatened that their lives would be taken, usually through the medium of the anonymous letter. Often the reason given was that the priest in question had used the power of his word to incite his flock to violence against the Crown forces. In November 1920, Father Bernard Crehan, curate in Grange, County Sligo, wrote to the secretary of the bishop of Elphin that he had received a threatening notice.<sup>50</sup> A colleague sent the bishop a copy. The letter, signed 'Black [and] Tans', stated pointedly that 'surely your conscience are [sic] troubling you, if not they will in future as you can prepare for the same end as Fr. Griffin'.<sup>51</sup> The authors also explained why Crehan had merited this fate: 'we hold you responsible for the murder of the Cliffoney police by your sermons preached each Sunday to the congregation'. Crehan explained to the bishop's secretary that he was not aware of having done anything wrong, unless it was 'the holding of views professed by the nations at the time of the Great War – the right of any nation to self-determination, [and] the Irish word for that is Sinn Féin'.<sup>52</sup> A similar fate befell the Christian Brother community of Castlebar Street, Westport, County Mayo, in 1921. An envelope addressed to the 'head monk' of the monastery was delivered there and was opened by the acting superior, Brother P. C. Ward.<sup>53</sup> It contained a letter purporting to come from 'head

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<sup>49</sup> Breen, *My fight*, p. 74.

<sup>50</sup> Crehan to Crowe, 25 Nov. 1920 (Elphin Diocesan Archives [E.D.A.], Bernard Coyne papers, box marked 'Bishop Coyne, 1913-1919', folder marked 'Jan-Dec '20').

<sup>51</sup> Undated letter signed 'Black & Tans' enclosed in Doorly to Crowe, 30 Nov. 1920 (E.D.A., Coyne papers, box marked 'Bishop Coyne, 1913-1919', unmarked folder)

<sup>52</sup> Crehan to Crowe, 25 Nov. 1920.

<sup>53</sup> Ward contemporary document, unsigned and undated but 1921 postmark visible (M.A., BMH/CD77/11).

officer, Westport', which announced: 'we will take you out and shoot you again [sic] the wall, like a dog and burn the place after to ashes'. Things 'nearly as bad' were threatened against an unspecified group of nuns and the superior was asked to tell Father Patrick Patterson, a local curate, that he would 'get something before we leave town'.

Death threats did not always come in written form, but were sometimes made in person amid the consternation following an I.R.A. ambush. This is what happened in March 1921 to Patrick Canon MacAlpine, vicar general of the archbishop of Tuam and parish priest of Clifden, County Galway. After two R.I.C. men were killed by a flying column, Crown forces ransacked Clifden on St. Patrick's day. After having attended to the wounded policemen, MacAlpine walked into the town at night as a number of buildings were burning. He was approached by a member of the Crown forces who told him to go away. When MacAlpine met the same man again some minutes later while he was talking to a regular policeman, the armed man pointed his rifle at him and told MacAlpine 'I will give you while I count four, and if you are not out of it by that time you will never get out of it'.<sup>54</sup> The regular policeman defused the situation, however, allowing MacAlpine to escape unscathed. A few days previously two soldiers were seriously wounded during an ambush near Partry, County Mayo. Immediately after news of the event reached him, the parish priest, Father Thomas O'Malley, made his way to the place where the wounded soldiers were lying. On his way he met the captain of the party that had been attacked and some of his soldiers. O'Malley wrote to Archbishop Gilmartin afterwards that the infuriated soldiers 'threatened me, pointed revolvers [and] rifles at me, charged me with being the whole cause of the ambush. I was in real peril of my life'.<sup>55</sup> Although the captain forbade him to proceed, he waited until the captain had turned a corner to steal up to the lorry that contained the wounded soldiers. When he found out that both were Catholics, O'Malley administered extreme unction and had them conveyed to his house on a cart.

Other priests were shot at by members of the Crown forces. Sometimes this happened in circumstances suggesting that the clerical state of the target had little to do with the shooting. Thus Father Michael Kelly, curate in Clane, County Kildare, was shot at near his residence when he ignored a challenge to stop while driving through a checkpoint on New Year's day 1921.<sup>56</sup> The bullets luckily missed target and instead entered a shop window. On other occasions, however, the shooting was intentionally aimed at priests to frighten or

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<sup>54</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 26 Mar. 1921.

<sup>55</sup> O'Malley to Gilmartin, 11 Mar. 1921 (T.D.A., Gilmartin papers, B4/8-ii/4). See appendix 2.20 for more examples of death threats.

<sup>56</sup> *Irish Independent*, 6 Jan. 1921.

intimidate them. Well-known republican activist and president of the North Offaly Sinn Féin *comhairle ceanntair* Father Thomas Burbage, curate in Geashill, was fired at from a lorry while cycling from Tullamore to Geashill one evening in October 1920.<sup>57</sup> A few months previously Father Quaide, who was doing temporary duty in the parish of Ballyhea, County Cork, was walking along the road when a bullet fired from a lorry carrying members of the Crown forces ‘almost grazed his cheek’.<sup>58</sup> Others had a decidedly more harrowing experience. Father John O’Malley, parish priest of Turloughmore, County Galway, wrote to Gilmartin’s secretary in December 1920 that Crown forces had fired shots outside his house for more than two hours on three nights in October, causing him and his co-residents to ‘shelter behind a wall away from windows and doors’.<sup>59</sup> After that, R.I.C. lorries from Galway had passed the priest’s residence almost every day for about a fortnight, on each occasion firing shots when passing. O’Malley suffered a similar fate as Fathers Burbage and Quaide in late October, when police fired over his head while he was cycling one evening, although he believed that the shots were blanks on that occasion. A young De la Salle brother from Dunmanway, County Cork, topped the list, however, when he was shot in both hands by Auxiliaries trying to gain entry to the monastery in January 1921.<sup>60</sup> Brother Cormac, F.S.C., who was described as ‘a mere youth [with] no connection to politics’, had tried to push away the Auxiliaries’ revolvers when they entered the building, and in return they shot and wounded him. He managed to escape and was brought to a Cork hospital to recover from his injuries.

Other clerical victims of British violence also suffered physical assault. Thus Father P. Ryan, curate in Bournea, Roscrea, County Tipperary, wrote to Bishop Fogarty in December 1920 that he had been visited at home by ‘masked men with foreign accents’ who had searched his house. ‘When the search was completed I was taken out, tied hands and feet to a gate about a mile from the house and my life was threatened’.<sup>61</sup> The men accused Ryan of having been an agitator and said that unless he severed his connection with the arbitration courts and left the district his life would be taken. A curate in Feakle, County Clare, Father Patrick O’Reilly, suffered a similar ordeal, as he testified in a letter to the *Irish Independent*

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<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 16 Oct. 1920. For Burbage’s reputation – and role in the Civil War – see: Philip McConway, ‘Offaly and the Civil War executions’, *Offaly Heritage. Journal of the Offaly Historical and Archaeological Society*, v (2007-8), pp 251-74, at pp 261-5. I am grateful to Ciarán J. Reilly for this reference. President of the *comhairle ceanntair*: List of Sinn Féin officers (N.L.I., MS 5649).

<sup>58</sup> *Irish Independent*, 11 Aug. 1920.

<sup>59</sup> O’Malley to Walsh, 3 Dec. 1920 (T.D.A., Gilmartin Papers, B4/8-ii/4).

<sup>60</sup> *Kerryman*, 29 Jan. 1921.

<sup>61</sup> Ryan to Fogarty, 1 Dec. 1920 (Killaloe Diocesan Archives [K.D.A.], Michael Fogarty papers, F5A20).

in October 1920.<sup>62</sup> After an ambush in his parish had left two R.I.C. men dead, a district inspector and a group of soldiers arrived at his door and took him out. They dragged him to a wall and ‘proceeded “to thrash” [him] with a stock of a rifle’ and threatened his life. Throughout that night and for a number of subsequent nights, shots were fired at O’Reilly’s house and explosives thrown in through the broken windows. Finally, all his belongings were taken out, piled up in front of the house and burned. And an unidentified curate in Kiltimagh, County Mayo, was marched through the streets of the town at the point of a bayonet by military on 22 March 1921.<sup>63</sup> When his parish priest, Father Denis O’Hara, complained to the commanding officer the next day about this and other actions of the military, his house was attacked and fired into, forcing him to make an undignified retreat into the garden dressed in his night attire.

Such treatment was not only meted out to country priests. When the archbishop of Perth, Patrick Clune, C.Ss.R., visited Ireland in 1920, his Clare-born secretary Father J. T. McMahan travelled with him. Black and Tans raided McMahan’s parents’ house in Ennis while he was staying there. He stated later that they ‘dragged me out into the street, and what would have happened then, heaven knows, had not my mother followed them down the stairs and clung on to me, despite their efforts to shake her off’.<sup>64</sup> After kicking McMahan ‘around the street’, they took Mrs. McMahan’s money and left. McMahan later recounted his experience to Pope Benedict XV when he accompanied Clune to an audience. According to McMahan, his story, combined with Clune’s own eye-witness account of horrors, convinced the pope of the gravity of the situation in Ireland. The archbishop presumably also mentioned to the pontiff on this occasion that his own nephew, Conor Clune, had been killed by Crown forces in Dublin Castle in November 1920.<sup>65</sup>

A familiar tactic of the Crown forces during reprisals was to burn or otherwise destroy the residence of persons suspected to be in sympathy with republicans. Clerics were not exempt from this treatment. In April 1921, Crown forces came to the area surrounding Tralee, County Kerry, to take revenge for the recent killing of Major B. A. McKinnon by the I.R.A. The parish priest and curate of Ballymacelligott, Fathers Timothy Trant and Michael McDonnell, had to flee their presbytery, which was completely consumed by fire.<sup>66</sup> Neither

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<sup>62</sup> *Irish Independent*, 15 Oct. 1920.

<sup>63</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 9 Apr. 1921. For the fate that befell Father Denis O’Hara, the parish priest, subsequently, see also Ned Maughan interview, Ernie O’Malley notebooks (U.C.D.A., O’Malley papers, P17b/109).

<sup>64</sup> McMahan witness statement, p. 34 (N.A.I., BMH/WS362).

<sup>65</sup> For the Clune killing see T. Ryle Dwyer, *The squad and the intelligence operations of Michael Collins* (Dublin, 2005), p. 193.

<sup>66</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 23 Apr. 1921.

Trant nor McDonnell had a republican reputation. On the contrary, an I.R.A. officer reported to Richard Mulcahy in September 1921 that ‘both F[ather] Trant and F[ather] Mc Donnell ... have given ample proof that they were not friendly during the war’.<sup>67</sup> The two priests clearly became the victim of indiscriminate violence on this occasion. Similarly, on the night after an ambush near Ballinhassig, County Cork, in February 1921, curate Father Laurence Callanan was about to go to bed when he saw someone trying to push back the shutter of his dining room window.<sup>68</sup> When he went outside he was told by a voice in the darkness to go back inside but to stay away from the dining room. As soon as he was back inside, an explosive device was detonated which destroyed the window. Earlier that day, Callanan’s servant boy had been arrested in connection with the ambush and Callanan himself had been questioned about his own knowledge of the attack.

Other priests became the victim of theft or the confiscation of their property. The experience of the Jesuit community in Tullabeg, County Offaly, in June 1920 was but a minor example. Some members of the community noticed soldiers on guard at an adjacent bridge milking the Jesuits’ cows and estimated the loss at about five gallons.<sup>69</sup> Similarly, a group of priests of the Maynooth Mission to China, travelling by train from Dalgan Park, County Galway, on their way to the Orient in March 1920, had their luggage seized at Broadstone station in Dublin.<sup>70</sup> Military authorities in Dublin Castle later explained that they had been looking for ammunition. A visit to the Castle by the Mission’s co-founder Father John Blowick was to no avail. The boxes, which according to the newspaper contained religious goods and the priests’ property, were eventually returned to the railway authorities, just in time for the group’s departure on the first leg of their journey to China.<sup>71</sup> Other priests were forced to repair roads that had been sabotaged by republicans. This happened to Father J. Clancy, curate in Scariff, County Clare, in April 1921. He was prevented from celebrating mass in the parish church one Sunday morning and was instead ‘compelled to accompany his parishioners, who were performing forced labour on road repair at the instance of the Crown forces’.<sup>72</sup> Similarly, three novices from Tullabeg were commandeered by military in July 1921 to clear a road of stones.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Officer to Mulcahy, 17 Sept. 1921 (U.C.D.A., Mulcahy papers, P7/A/24).

<sup>68</sup> *Irish Independent*, 10 Feb. 1921.

<sup>69</sup> Entry for 30 June 1920 in ‘Notes &c. for Litt. Ann., Hist. Dom., 1919-’20. 1920-’21’ (J.P.A., Tullabeg papers, FM/TULL/289).

<sup>70</sup> *Irish Independent*, 23 Mar. 1920.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 27 Mar. 1920.

<sup>72</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 11 June 1921.

<sup>73</sup> Entry for 1 July 1920 in ‘Notes &c. for Litt. Ann., Hist. Dom., 1919-’20. 1920-’21’ (J.P.A., Tullabeg papers, FM/TULL/289).

Priests responded differently to the threat of violence. Some took it quite philosophically, such as Father Crehan who explained to Bishop Coyne's secretary in November 1920 that, though it was not pleasant to receive a threatening letter, 'if it is God's will I am ready'.<sup>74</sup> Others came under considerable psychological pressure. It is difficult not to feel sympathy for one unfortunate Belgian Redemptorist called Jules Peeters. After presumably having lived through the Great War in his home country, Father Peeters was sent to Clonard in Belfast. When the monastery came under fire from soldiers or loyalists in the summer of 1920, the priest fell while rushing down the cellar stairs to find a hiding place, and badly wounded his face.<sup>75</sup> An entry in the domestic chronicle for 21 January 1921 shows that the 'nervous shock' he had incurred during the shootings had occasioned his return to Belgium.<sup>76</sup> Peeters' stay in his native country was equally disaster-prone, however, and he broke his arm while attempting to board a tram there. A second stint in Belfast proved too much for the ill-fated priest, and five months later the chronicler recorded that he had left for Liverpool 'on account of Orange pogroms'.<sup>77</sup> Since then Peeters had returned to Ireland again, but this time to the tranquillity of St. Joseph's monastery in Dundalk, County Louth.

The motives expressed by members of the Crown forces who threatened priests show that they believed that the clergy used their sermons to incite people to violence. This is evident from the Crehan notice, which said that he bore responsibility for the death of policemen 'by [his] sermons preached each Sunday to the congregation'. Similarly, O'Malley was charged with 'being the whole cause of the ambush' when he was threatened by soldiers and Ryan was told that he was an agitator and that he must sever his links with the arbitration courts. Moreover, a previous chapter has shown that an Auxiliary said to the parish priest of Ballina, County Tipperary, that the digging of trenches would not have occurred if he had used his influence the right way.<sup>78</sup> The suspicions revealed in such threats were shared by government officials, who frequently ordered arrests of priests and raids of presbyteries and religious houses.

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<sup>74</sup> Crehan to Crowe, 25 Nov. 1920 (E.D.A., Coyne papers, box marked 'Bishop Coyne, 1913-1919', folder marked 'Jan-Dec '20').

<sup>75</sup> Cleary to Burke, 26 July 1920 (C.M.A., box marked 'T. The Troubles and Clonard, 1920-2000', envelope marked 'T1. Br. Michael's killing').

<sup>76</sup> Entry for 21 Jan. 1921, 'Domestic Chronicles of the House of the Most Holy Redeemer, Belfast, founded Nov. 1<sup>st</sup> 1896', vol. i: 'Domestic Chronicle 1896-1930' (C.M.A.).

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, entry for 23 May 1921.

<sup>78</sup> Father James Nunan, see 4.1.2.



## 5.2 Arrests, raids and sacrilege

### 5.2.1 Priests under arrest

The British authorities engaged in official operations targeted at the clergy. The most important of these were arrests and raids of presbyteries and ecclesiastical institutions. This section will examine priests under arrest. Section 5.2.2 will study raids, while section 5.2.3 will look at allegations of sacrilege levelled against the Crown forces on a number of occasions. As can be seen from table 2, forty-three cases of arrests of priests have come to light.<sup>79</sup>

Table 2: Chronological and geographical spread of arrests of priests, January 1919 to July 1921<sup>80</sup>

County of residence	Period					Total per county
	Jan. – June 1919	July – Dec. 1919	Jan. – June 1920	July – Dec. 1920	Jan. – July 1921	
Foreign	-	1	-	-	-	1
<i>Ulster</i>						
Antrim	-	-	-	-	1	1
Derry	-	-	1	-	-	1
Donegal	-	-	-	-	1	1
Monaghan	-	-	-	1	1	2
<i>Leinster</i>						
Carlow	-	-	-	-	1	1
Dublin	-	-	-	3	1	4
Kildare	-	-	-	-	1	1
Kilkenny	-	-	-	1	-	1
Offaly	-	-	-	-	2	2
Westmeath	-	-	-	-	1	1
Wexford	-	-	-	1	-	1
<i>Munster</i>						
Clare	-	-	-	1	6	7
Cork	-	-	-	-	3	3
Kerry	-	-	-	-	1	1

<sup>79</sup> Ó Fiaich, 'Clergy', pp 497-8, counted twenty-two. For the forty-two names and sources see appendix 2.19. One priest – Father Eugene Coyle, C.C. Clontibret, Co. Monaghan – was arrested twice.

<sup>80</sup> Based on entries in appendix 2.19. Includes those placed under arrest for some time during a raid without subsequent incarceration. Includes one deacon and one seminarian.

Tipperary	-	-	-	1	1	2
Waterford	-	-	-	-	1	1
<i>Connacht</i>						
Galway	-	-	-	1	2	3
Mayo	-	-	-	4	1	5
Roscommon	-	-	-	3	-	3
Sligo	-	-	-	-	1	1
Total per period	-	1	1	16	25	43

Sometimes these arrests amounted to a few hours of detention in the priest's own house during a search, without charge or incarceration, and sometimes they led to court-martials and convictions. Some of these arrests went almost unnoticed in the press, while others became celebrated cases of clerical victimisation. As can be seen from appendix 2.19, it is clear that most of the priests arrested had republican sympathies. The table shows that arrests became more frequent from the second half of 1920 onwards, with a mere two out of forty-three occurring before then, and most of them – twenty-five – taking place in the first half of 1921. Clare and Mayo were the counties with most arrests of priests, with Dublin, Cork, Galway and Roscommon following. As has been seen, Hart's figures show that I.R.A. violence occurred most frequently in Counties Cork, Longford, Clare, Tipperary and Roscommon.<sup>81</sup> It appears therefore that in Clare high levels of I.R.A. violence went together with relatively numerous arrests of priests. The same trend – if much weaker than in Clare – is visible in Cork, Tipperary and Roscommon, where there was much violence and some arrests of priests. The reverse was true for Mayo and Dublin, however, where there was relatively little violence, but many arrests of priests.

As has been seen in the previous chapter, the first priest to be arrested was the Australian chaplain Thomas O'Donnell in October 1919. O'Donnell was acquitted of having used seditious language about the king. The circumstances of his trial were unique, however, as he was tried by an Australian court-martial in London. Other priests were arrested for offences that were only peripherally linked to the politics of the day. Thus Father Patrick Walsh, curate in Raheen, County Wexford, was arrested in September 1920 for driving a car without a valid permit.<sup>82</sup> The offence was not a political one, but in view of Walsh's republican credentials it is likely that his failure to obtain a permit was the result of defiance rather than absent-mindedness. And Father Edward Campion, curate in Tinryland, County Carlow, was arrested on 4 June 1921 when police found a copy of a threatening letter in his

<sup>81</sup> Hart, 'Geography', pp 147-54.

<sup>82</sup> *Irish Independent*, 9 Sept. 1920. For Walsh's reputation, see Tom Williams, 'Fr. Pat Walsh – the republican priest', *The Journal of the Taghmon Historical Society*, no. 4 (2001), pp 13-22.

room. The original had been sent to the owner of a local estate.<sup>83</sup> When the owner's solicitors found out about Campion's arrest, they contacted the police to testify that they had given him the copy of the letter and that Campion could therefore not be linked to its authors. Although according to his necrologist Campion 'took his full part' in the 'national movement from 1916', it appears that his arrest was the result of a misunderstanding.<sup>84</sup>

The republican activities of Father Eugene Coyle, curate in Clontibret, County Monaghan, caused him to be arrested twice. No charges were made against him on either occasion, though he was held in custody for some weeks after the second arrest. Coyle was arrested for the first time on 26 September 1920, when he refused to allow inspection of documents in his possession at a checkpoint.<sup>85</sup> Coyle and a few other priests were returning by car from a Sinn Féin meeting, all of them carrying incriminating documents. When they saw the checkpoint they decided that one would take all the documents so as to make only one person liable to prosecution. It was decided that Coyle would be the sacrificial lamb. A soldier went through their pockets and felt papers in Coyle's. He asked the curate to hand them over, but Coyle refused. The soldier then said that 'he did not like the unpleasantness of searching a priest' and asked Coyle to take off his coat so that he could examine the papers without discommoding their bearer. Coyle refused this too and was placed under arrest. He was then conveyed to the military barracks, where the incident was reported to an inebriated officer in charge. Coyle told the officer that 'as a priest I objected to being searched by either military or police officers'. The officer accepted this explanation and released him from custody immediately and without having seen the papers Coyle was carrying.<sup>86</sup>

A few months later, on 30 May 1921, Coyle was arrested again, this time during a search of his house by the R.I.C.<sup>87</sup> The police brought him to their barracks in Castleblayney where he was locked up in a cell. After about two hours an R.I.C. sergeant came and told Coyle that he did not think the cell was a 'proper place' for a priest to be detained. Instead Coyle was brought to the guardroom, which he shared with a number of constables and Black and Tans who were playing a card game. When a lorry arrived at the barracks some hours later to bring news of an ambush which had killed one of their comrades, the atmosphere

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<sup>83</sup> Dockrell to Foley, 29 June 1921 (Kildare and Leighlin Diocesan Archives [K.L.D.A.], Patrick Foley papers, BP18/1921/30).

<sup>84</sup> Peadar MacSuibhne, 'The late Very Reverend Edward I. Campion, P.P.', *Carloviana* (1974), pp 12-4.

<sup>85</sup> Coyle witness statement, pp 7-8 (N.A.I., BMH/WS325). In his statement Coyle claimed that this arrest took place 'early in the year 1921', but the newspaper report of the events appeared in September 1920: see *Irish Independent*, 28 Sept. 1920.

<sup>86</sup> *Irish Independent*, 28 Sept. 1920.

<sup>87</sup> Coyle witness statement, p. 8 (N.A.I., BMH/WS325).

changed immediately. Coyle was attacked by the Black and Tans in the guardroom, who accused him of bearing responsibility for their colleague's death.<sup>88</sup> The intervention of a number of regular constables saved Coyle from harm. That night an R.I.C. sergeant came to tell Coyle that he was being transferred to the Auxiliaries' local headquarters near Castleblayney, because the constables in the barrack had sworn an affidavit to say that they would not be able to protect him from the Tans. Upon arrival in the Auxiliaries' headquarters, however, Coyle was joined in his cell by a man purporting to be an I.R.A. activist, who attempted to draw Coyle out about things republican.<sup>89</sup> Coyle wrote that he was convinced the man was a spy and that he saw him later in an Auxiliary uniform.

Bishop Patrick McKenna of Clogher came to visit Coyle in detention in the spring of 1921 because worrying reports had reached him from the British authorities that Coyle and other priests of his diocese had attended republican meetings. At some of these meetings plans for attacks on Crown forces had allegedly been made.<sup>90</sup> Coyle denied this and argued that they had just been ordinary Sinn Féin meetings. McKenna told him after his release in June or July 1921 that he had been informed by contacts in Dublin Castle that Coyle's had been a test case because the government had become concerned about the involvement of younger priests in I.R.A. activities. In spite of this, Coyle was never prosecuted.<sup>91</sup>

It is likely that the authorities decided to make an example of some republican priests. This was probably the case with Father Peter Delahunty, curate in Callan, County Kilkenny. His house was searched by Crown forces in September 1920 and seditious documents were found, specifically papers proving that he had subscribed to the Dáil national loan and letters addressed to him concerning the Dáil and Sinn Féin.<sup>92</sup> He was not arrested until 30 November, which enabled him to be present on a train conveying some of the Gaelic football players on their way to the fateful 'Bloody Sunday' match in Croke Park stadium on Saturday 20 November.<sup>93</sup> He was court-martialled and convicted in Waterford on 17 December 1920, although his sentence of two years' imprisonment with hard labour was commuted to two years' imprisonment without hard labour in January. In November 1921 Delahunty took matters into his own hand by escaping from Kilkenny jail, but his political activities soon

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<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.

<sup>92</sup> Entry in Register of cases tried (1920 Sep-Nov), 3 Sept. 1920 (T.N.A., WO35/120). The original file, of which the register is an abstract, could not be located.

<sup>93</sup> Arrest: *Irish Independent*, 2 Dec. 1920. Presence on train: Thomas Ryan, 'One man's flying column', *Tipperary Historical Journal* (1991), pp 19-34, at p. 31.

incurred the displeasure of his bishop, who eventually suspended him during the Civil War. The public attention which his arrest and conviction aroused gave Delahunty the status of a martyr. Journalists got carried away in attempts to expose the horrors of his sufferings, the *Irish Independent* announcing in January 1921 for example that Delahunty had been shipped off to England, only to have to retract the statement again a week later.<sup>94</sup> The arrest of a curate from Templemore, County Tipperary, was similarly over-dramatised in the press. On New Year's day 1921, the *Irish Catholic* reported that Father Philip Hickey, 'a young and popular priest', had been arrested on Christmas eve while hearing confessions.<sup>95</sup> The newspaper's next issue carried a retraction stating that Hickey had been in the grounds of a local convent and was 'not occupied in any religious duties' at the time of his arrest.<sup>96</sup> Hickey was apparently arrested on a charge of 'aiding a supposed Sinn Feiner', but the witnesses *à décharge* were able to disprove this allegation and the priest was acquitted.<sup>97</sup>

Two other cases of clerical incarceration also received much public attention. The first of these was that of Father John Loughrey, curate in Thomastown, County Kilkenny, who was arrested on charges of unlawful assembly and possession of seditious literature in May 1921 together with three parishioners.<sup>98</sup> At a court-martial in June, Loughrey was convicted of possession of a Dáil decree enforcing the Belfast trade boycott. Together with his co-defendants, he was fined £10 or three months' imprisonment in default of payment.<sup>99</sup> Loughrey *cum suis* refused to recognise the court or to pay anything and they consequently ended up in prison.<sup>100</sup> Another priest whose arrest also received much press attention was Father William O'Kennedy, the president of St. Flannan's college, Ennis, County Clare, and a judge in the local republican court.<sup>101</sup> St. Flannan's had attracted the attention of the authorities at the end of 1920 and the college was raided by military and police on the festive occasion of St. Flannan's night, 17 December 1920.<sup>102</sup> The Crown forces returned on 6 July 1921, during the Killaloe diocesan clergy's annual retreat, and arrested O'Kennedy while Bishop Fogarty, the canons of the cathedral chapter and many other priests were present in

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<sup>94</sup> Escape: entry in Register of cases tried (T.N.A., WO35/120). Further history: Murray, *Oracles*, p. 166. Public attention: *Irish Independent*, 2 Dec. 1920, 16 Dec. 1920, 4 Jan. 1921, 12 Jan. 1921, 18 Jan. 1921, 30 May 1921, 14 June 1921, 31 Aug. 1921, *Freeman's Journal*, 13 June 1921, 30 Aug. 1921, *Anglo-Celt*, 4 June 1921, 18 June 1921, *Irish Catholic*, 18 June 1921. Shipped off to England: *ibid.*, 4 Jan. 1921. Retraction: *ibid.*, 12 Jan. 1921.

<sup>95</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 1 Jan. 1921.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, 8 Jan. 1921.

<sup>97</sup> *Irish Independent*, 6 Jan. 1921.

<sup>98</sup> File marked 'Courts Martial Civilians. Rev. John Loughrey & Others' (T.N.A., WO35/126).

<sup>99</sup> Entry in Register of cases tried (T.N.A., WO35/136).

<sup>100</sup> Loughrey to military authorities, 11 July 1921, in file marked 'Courts Martial Civilians. Rev. John Loughrey & Others' (T.N.A., WO35/126).

<sup>101</sup> Ó Haichir, *Churchman*, p. 8.

<sup>102</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 1 Jan. 1921.

the college.<sup>103</sup> The assembled clergy immediately published a strongly-worded public protest, calling the arrest an ‘uncalled for and shameful outrage on religious decency, and good order’.<sup>104</sup> O’Kennedy was held in a military prison on Bere Island in County Cork until he was released on parole in December 1921. During his imprisonment, Fogarty appointed O’Kennedy to the cathedral chapter and made him chancellor of the diocese. But after a while the urgency of O’Kennedy’s college obligations began to make itself felt and before long Fogarty was urging him to request parole. This was necessary, he wrote to O’Kennedy in November, because the college needed him back and he had difficulty in ‘having to explain to the pope why [O’Kennedy was] not entering upon office’, presumably as chancellor.<sup>105</sup> O’Kennedy’s reply shows that he was sensitive to the necessity of dealing with this practical consequence of his prolonged incarceration. He replied that he was ‘very useful here to the men – I do quite a lot of work for them – spiritually – when I get out I’ll have much to tell you’.

As has been seen in a previous chapter, Fathers Dominic and Albert were arrested in December 1920 during a raid on the Capuchin priory in Church Street, Dublin. The instructions issued for the raid had been, ambitiously, to arrest Michael Collins, Richard Mulcahy and Cathal Brugha as well as the two friars.<sup>106</sup> The raid was personally approved by the chief secretary, who hoped that it would lead to the apprehension of Collins. Another reason for the raid was the interception of a letter written by Dominic which contained seditious contents.<sup>107</sup> None of the wanted lay men were found on the premises, but Dominic and Albert were found amid a mass of incriminating documents strewn about their rooms. The two men were sent by armoured car to Dublin Castle. The superior warned the commanding officer several times that Albert was ‘a very delicate man and [that] his nerves and digestive organs [were] not in a healthy condition’.<sup>108</sup> The officer recommended that Albert be seen by a medical officer as soon as possible. If we are to believe Albert’s own subsequent statement, this recommendation was not heeded, because he claimed that he was shouted at, that his life was threatened and that he was led to believe that Dominic had been shot.<sup>109</sup> According to his confrere Aloysius Travers, Dominic was kept in solitary

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<sup>103</sup> Ibid., 9 July 1921.

<sup>104</sup> *Nenagh Guardian*, 9 July 1921.

<sup>105</sup> Appointment as canon and chancellor: Ó Haichir, *Churchman*, p. 9. Fogarty’s letter is mentioned in O’Kennedy’s reply: O’Kennedy to Fogarty, 28 Nov. 1921 (K.D.A., Fogarty papers, F5A17).

<sup>106</sup> Envelope marked ‘16/12/20, 17/12/20, 11/137’ (T.N.A., WO35/81).

<sup>107</sup> Personally authorised by the chief secretary: Hopkinson, *Last days*, p. 93; Dominic’s letter: *ibid.*, p. 93 and Aloysius witness statement, p. 3 (N.A.I., BMH/WS207).

<sup>108</sup> Envelope marked ‘16/12/20, 17/12/20, 11/137’ (T.N.A., WO35/81).

<sup>109</sup> ‘Rough statement of Father Albert of the Franciscan Friars’, undated (N.L.I., Moore papers, MS10,556).

confinement between his arrest and his transfer to an English prison in January 1921, but Ernie O'Malley claimed to have shared a cell with him in December.<sup>110</sup> Dominic was eventually sentenced by court-martial to five years penal servitude for 'making statements[,] spreading false reports [and] having documents, the publication of which would be likely to cause disaffection'.<sup>111</sup>

Those who may have thought that priests were exempt from the government's security measures were quickly disabused of their belief. But arrests of priests were a double-edged sword, because of their extraordinary potential to arouse public indignation. Ó Fiaich has remarked that the number of priests arrested during the war was quite large.<sup>112</sup> Undoubtedly the arrest of forty-three priests during a period of two and a half years is quite high when compared to most periods of modern Irish history. But if it is taken as a percentage of the total number of priests in Ireland – 1.2 per cent – the number does not warrant the conclusion that the clergy were specifically targeted for arrest. Priests were certainly thoroughly investigated. The number of raids carried out on presbyteries and other ecclesiastical institutions indicates how widely the government suspected the clergy. The next section will examine these raids.

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<sup>110</sup> Aloysius witness statement, p. 4 (N.A.I., BMH/WS207) and O'Malley, *Wound*, p. 272. See also Murphy, *Origins*, p. 60. Aloysius's elusive surname was revealed to me by Dr Máire Ni Chearbhaill, to whom I am grateful for this information.

<sup>111</sup> Sentence: Aloysius witness statement, p. 5 (N.A.I., BMH/WS207). Charge: File marked '12/152. WAR DIARY. Weekly returns of civilians tried by F.G. Courts Martial. D.D. from December 1920 – August 1921' (T.N.A., WO35/93B).

<sup>112</sup> Ó Fiaich, 'Clergy', p. 497.

### 5.2.2 Raids on churches and ecclesiastical buildings

An R.I.C. document from 1920 was discovered in a Waterford police barracks in March 1922 in which county and district inspectors were instructed not to search ‘convents, monasteries and churches’ without the inspector general’s authority.<sup>113</sup> This must not be taken as proof, however, that ecclesiastical targets were exempt from government interference. The instruction specifically stated that all private houses, including those of clergymen, were liable to be searched if there were grounds for suspicion. According to Ó Fiaich, ‘so many priests’ houses were raided, often with threats or actual physical violence to the occupants, that even the list of those which found their way into the daily press would be too long for inclusion’ in his 1970 article about clerical involvement in the War of Independence.<sup>114</sup> The research carried out for this thesis has uncovered 126 instances, and it is quite likely that the true number was even higher. The objects of the Crown forces’ attention can be grouped into four categories: church buildings, presbyteries, monasteries or convents and colleges.

The Crown forces frequently employed the tactic of surrounding churches on Sunday mornings while mass was in progress. The entire congregation or its male half was then searched upon leaving the building. This tactic led commanders of flying columns to instruct their men not to attend mass at all. Thus Richard Dalton, a South Tipperary I.R.A. veteran, recounted that ‘as a precautionary measure whilst on the column we rarely, if ever, went to mass on Sundays’.<sup>115</sup> Round-ups at mass were frequent occurrences and newspapers abounded with reports. On 19 September 1920, randomly selected men from a congregation leaving St. Mary’s pro-cathedral in Marlborough Street, Dublin, were searched by Crown forces while ‘groups who attempted to stand about were ordered to disperse’.<sup>116</sup> On Sunday 9 January 1921, a force of military and police surrounded Aughagower parish church in Westport, County Mayo. Father John Flatley, parish priest, wrote to Archbishop Gilmartin that the security forces arrived just as first mass had commenced.<sup>117</sup> Flatley went into the church and informed the congregation at the end of mass what was about to happen. He also ‘regulated the order in which they should leave the church passing out the women [and] children first’. After they had left, the men went out one by one, the police taking the names

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<sup>113</sup> D.I. in divisional commissioner’s office, Cork, to county and district inspectors, 23 July 1920 (N.L.I., MS 31,225). See also Augusteijn, *Defiance*, p. 309.

<sup>114</sup> Ó Fiaich, ‘Clergy’, p. 495.

<sup>115</sup> Quoted in Tony Patterson, ‘Third Tipperary Brigade, number two flying column, January to June 1921’, *Tipperary Historical Journal* (2006), pp 189-206, at p. 203.

<sup>116</sup> *Irish Independent*, 20 Dec. 1920.

<sup>117</sup> Flatley to Gilmartin, 9 Jan. 1921 (T.D.A., Gilmartin papers, B4/8-ii/4).



of anyone they did not know already. The Crown forces then searched the church and left. A similar raid was carried out in Moycullen, County Galway, in September 1920. A lorry with Auxiliaries converged on the town during mass and separated the men from the rest of the congregation as it exited the church afterwards.<sup>118</sup> The men were told to go into an adjoining field, where one Auxiliary told them that they were reinstating the agent of a local estate in his house. The crowd was also warned that if anything were to happen to the agent, ‘someone will suffer and the place will be riddled, or words to that effect’.

Apart from church buildings, Crown forces also often raided presbyteries. The number of cases in which Crown forces actually found incriminating objects or documents during such raids is quite small and allegations often followed that such items were planted.<sup>119</sup> The parish priest of St. Joseph’s church, Berkeley Road, Dublin, told Archbishop Walsh in a telegram in September 1920 that the house of Denis Canon Pettit, parish priest of Fairview, had been raided by military during the night.<sup>120</sup> He added that ‘should I be honoured I will wire you’. Such events became ever more frequent during the last months of 1920 and the first half of 1921. Father Michael Carney, curate in Cong, County Mayo, wrote to Gilmartin’s secretary in December 1920 that the military ‘have not bothered me yet beyond searching my rooms about a month ago’.<sup>121</sup> The curates of Dungarvan, County Waterford, and their colleague in Ballindangan, County Cork, had a similar experience on 10 October 1920. Fathers Michael Walshe, Laurence Hearne and Maurice Egan were compelled to get out of bed at night while their residence was subjected to a thorough search by soldiers, while a raid on Father J. Casey’s house led to the confiscation of a number of papers to do with the Gaelic League.<sup>122</sup>

Westbourne, the Ennis residence of Bishop Fogarty, was the target of ‘four Auxiliaries with blackened faces’ on the night of 3 December 1920.<sup>123</sup> Archbishop Clune had asked Fogarty to come and meet him in Dublin and Fogarty left Westbourne for the capital on the night of the raid. The bishop’s absence was most fortunate, because Auxiliaries arrived at the door later that night and asked to see him. When they were told he was not present, they made a thorough search of the house and went through some papers in the library before sampling whiskey in the cellar. According to rumours later published by General Crozier,

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<sup>118</sup> *Connacht Tribune*, 2 Oct. 1920.

<sup>119</sup> For allegations, see those made by the president of St. Columb’s college, Derry, in October 1920: *Irish Independent*, 21 Oct. 1920.

<sup>120</sup> Downing to Walsh, 2 Sept. 1920 (D.D.A., Walsh papers, 380/3).

<sup>121</sup> Carney to Walsh, 12 Dec. 1920 (T.D.A., Gilmartin papers, B4/8-ii/4).

<sup>122</sup> *Irish Independent*, 11 Oct. 1920.

<sup>123</sup> Typescript statement by Bishop Fogarty, undated (K.D.A., Fogarty papers, F3A23)

some members of the Crown forces had decided to kill Fogarty that night by drowning him in a sack in the Shannon.<sup>124</sup> Questions were asked by an English member of parliament about the raid in the House of Commons, but the prime minister assured the House that the raid had been carried out by ‘unknown men’.<sup>125</sup> Fogarty stated subsequently that ‘their names were never discovered even by Mick Collins’, but he himself believed that one of them was an English Auxiliary of Italian extraction by the name of Gennochio, who had met a violent death in Cork after the truce.<sup>126</sup> One night in April 1921, Westbourne was visited again by anonymous callers who set fire to the building. Fogarty’s housekeeper noticed the fire on time and two priests staying at the house successfully fought the flames with the aid of a Minimax fire extinguisher.<sup>127</sup>

Monasteries were also frequently searched.<sup>128</sup> The Cistercian abbey of Mount Melleray, County Waterford, was raided in the autumn of 1920, as were a number of religious houses in Dublin. The Capuchin priory in Church Street, the Calced Carmelite priory in Whitefriar Street and the Discalced Carmelite priory in Clarendon Street were raided in December 1920. St. Saviour’s Dominican community in Lower Dominick Street and St. Francis Xavier’s Jesuit community in Upper Gardiner Street followed in February 1921.<sup>129</sup> When St. Joseph’s Redemptorist monastery in Dundalk was also raided in February, soldiers found a membership card of the Irish Volunteers and Sinn Féin badges among other seditious items in the rooms of a lay member of the community called Brother Paul.<sup>130</sup> He escaped prosecution only when it was established that his surname was different from the name on the membership card. Similarly, the army visited convents on a number of occasions from late 1920 onwards. The first of these raids in Dublin was carried out during the night of 29 December 1920 on a convent of the sisters of Mary Reparatrix on Merrion Square.<sup>131</sup> The convent was searched by an officer and soldiers who behaved ‘in a most gentlemanly manner’ and were very apologetic about having to search a place where, as the superior

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<sup>124</sup> Crozier, *Ireland*, p. 107.

<sup>125</sup> David Lloyd George responding to a question by Walter Smith, M.P. Wellingborough, 7 Apr. 1921: *Hansard* 5 (*Commons*), cxl, c. 466W.

<sup>126</sup> Collins quote: Fogarty statement, undated (K.D.A., Fogarty papers, F3A23). Gennochio: Fogarty to O’Reilly, 30 Nov. 1928 (K.D.A., Fogarty papers, F3A23).

<sup>127</sup> Fogarty to O’Reilly, 30 Nov. 1928 (K.D.A., Fogarty papers, F3A23).

<sup>128</sup> See appendix 2.20 for a list and sources.

<sup>129</sup> Mount Melleray: *Catholic Bulletin*, Nov. 1920, x, no. 11, pp 650-1; Church Street Capuchins: envelope marked ‘16/12/20, 17/12/20, 11/137’ (T.N.A., WO35/81); Whitefriar Street Calced Carmelites: envelope marked ‘23-12-20, 11/143’ (T.N.A., WO35/81); Clarendon Street Discalced Carmelites: *Irish Catholic*, 25 Dec. 1920; Dominick Street Dominicans: *Irish Independent*, 1 Mar. 1921; Gardiner Street Jesuits: *ibid.*, 19 Feb. 1921.

<sup>130</sup> Folder marked ‘Courts Martial – Civilians. Brother Paul. Possession of Seditious documents. Dundalk’ (T.N.A., WO35/129).

<sup>131</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 8 Jan. 1921.

explained, ‘no males were ever allowed’. A reference to the search in the War Office papers reveals that the raiding party was looking for one male in particular, a man called Coulan, whom they had assumed was staying at the sisters’ address.<sup>132</sup> The error of this assumption became apparent when it was realised that Coulan’s place of residence was in fact directly to the rear of the convent. The suspect was duly apprehended there. Another raid took place in the Presentation sisters’ convent and school in Tuam, County Galway, in January 1921. And St. Joseph’s convent of enclosed Carmelite nuns in Ranelagh, County Dublin, was visited no less than three times in December 1920 and January 1921.<sup>133</sup> On the third occasion the grave of a recently deceased nun was opened as far as the coffin lid. The military’s interest in this convent was not entirely gratuitous. During the first raid, the gatekeeper’s son, who lived with his family in a house on the convent grounds, had been arrested. He was transferred to Ballykinlar camp in County Down, where republican prisoners were interned.

Finally, schools and colleges run by religious orders were also raided by Crown forces on numerous occasions. Most of the country’s prominent colleges were visited, such as Rockwell college, Cashel, St. Columb’s college, Derry, Blackrock college and St. Mary’s college, Rathmines. Some were visited more than once, such as Crescent college, Limerick, St. Flannan’s college, Ennis, Terenure college and St. Malachy’s college, Belfast.<sup>134</sup> The first college to fall victim to aggression from the Crown forces was St. Colman’s college, Fermoy, County Cork. The institution came under attack one Saturday evening in September 1919 after a soldier had been killed by the I.R.A. in the locality earlier that day.<sup>135</sup> And the Oblate novitiate at Belmont House, Galloping Green, County Dublin, was raided on 5 January 1921. The Auxiliaries and R.I.C. who searched the house had a list of names of Oblate novices whom they obviously suspected of illegal activities.<sup>136</sup> They searched the house, including the papers of the former apostolic vicar of the Transvaal, Bishop William Miller, O.M.I., who

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<sup>132</sup> File marked ‘6/86’, ‘Raids. Period 1<sup>st</sup> October 1920 – 31<sup>st</sup> Dec. 1920’ (T.N.A., WO35/70). Presumably Dublin Castle civil servant Mark Sturgis was referring to this incident when he recorded General Macready’s anger at the raiding of ‘a monastery which turned out to be a nunnery’. Hopkinson, *Last days*, p. 104.

<sup>133</sup> Presentation convent, Tuam: Telegram, 25 Jan. 1921 (T.D.A., Gilmartin papers, B4/8-ii/20). Carmelite sisters, Ranelagh: *Irish Catholic*, 8 Jan. 1921.

<sup>134</sup> Rockwell college: *Irish Independent*, 21 Sept. 1920; St. Columb’s: *ibid.*, 21 Oct. 1920; Blackrock college: *ibid.*, 1 June 1921; St. Mary’s college: envelope marked ‘Area or House Raided. Misc. Dates (approx. 25-12-20) 7/107’ (T.N.A., WO35/81); Crescent college: entries for 12 and 15 Nov. 1920, in ‘Minister’s journal Sept. 1920 to Dec. 31<sup>st</sup>. 1927’ (J.P.A., Crescent college papers, SC/CRES/4/2/2); St. Flannan’s college: *Irish Independent*, 24 Dec. 1920 and *Nenagh Guardian*, 9 July 1921; Terenure college: envelope marked ‘21/12/20 11/141’ (T.N.A., WO35/81) and envelope marked ‘23/1/21’ and ‘34/434’ (T.N.A., WO35/82); St. Malachy’s college: *Irish Catholic*, 2 Apr. 1921 and folder marked ‘Courts Martial – Civilians. Revd. J. Mc Caughan. Belfast. Possession of Firearms’. (T.N.A., WO35/126). See appendix 2.20 for more examples and sources.

<sup>135</sup> *Irish Independent*, 10 Sept. 1919.

<sup>136</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 8 Jan. 1921.

lived in retirement in Belmont. Two students were taken away by the raiding party, only to be released from their lorry when it got to Donnybrook.

Entries for 5 May 1921 in the house chronicle of the Jesuit house of studies in Tullabeg give an interesting account of a military raid on the college from the perspective of a member of the college community.<sup>137</sup> At around 8 a.m., two groups of horses and men assembled in front of the house after an airplane had flown low over the grounds of the college just before the raid. Soldiers searched some rooms on the ground floor and the infirmary. They told the rector they wanted to see the community all gathered together and the rector suggested that breakfast was the best opportunity for this. Three officers then accompanied him into the refectory while the community was having breakfast, one of the officers 'going along tables [and] looking at breakfasters'. According to the chronicler, the airplane flew overhead for several hours. Some days after the Tullabeg raid, Tuam's diocesan college, St. Jarlath's, suffered a similar fate. Among the rooms searched were those of many priests and students. Some letters belonging to a student were taken away as well as pictures from priests' rooms.<sup>138</sup> Examinations were being conducted at the college during the raid, among others by Archbishop Gilmartin, who was present during the entire exercise. John Cunningham has suggested that it was the presence of lay professor J. B. Whelehan, a Sinn Féiner of national renown, which attracted the interest of the authorities.<sup>139</sup>

Not only did Crown forces raid colleges, on at least one occasion they also contemplated commandeering one. Archbishop Harty of Cashel complained to John Hagan in January 1921 that 'about a week ago auxiliary police came with the intention of commandeering our ecclesiastical college'.<sup>140</sup> St. Patrick's college, Thurles, was spared this fate, however, after Harty wired a protest to General Macready, who cancelled the move. Harty told Hagan that 'if they proceed with their intention I shall send you a wire, so that you may tell his holiness if you think it well to do so'. He emphasised that the college was not only the diocesan seminary, but also ordained students for the foreign missions and that he held a special rescript from the Holy See for this purpose.

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<sup>137</sup> Entry for 5 May 1921 in 'Notes &c. for Litt. Ann., Hist. Dom., 1919-'20. 1920-'21' (J.P.A., Tullabeg papers, FM/TULL/289).

<sup>138</sup> *Irish Independent*, 19 May 1921.

<sup>139</sup> John Cunningham, *St. Jarlath's College, Tuam 1800-2000* (Tuam, 1999), p. 124.

<sup>140</sup> Harty to Hagan, 13 Jan. 1921 (A.I.C.R., Hagan papers, HAG1/1921/19).

### 5.2.3 *Sacrilege*

As the case of Father Hickey shows, public imagination was much exercised about acts of sacrilege committed by the Crown forces. Doubtless such acts did take place, although they were probably not always intentional or quite as shocking as they appeared in the newspapers. The commanding officer of a raiding party was required to list any damage done to the buildings searched and the owner of the property was asked to concur with a note of damage done and an estimate of the cost incurred.<sup>141</sup> But during nightly visits by masked persons such procedures were obviously dispensed with, and even during official raids aggressive behaviour could easily result in accusations of sacrilege. Catholics at the beginning of the twentieth century were quite familiar with the concept of sacrilege, mainly in the context of the unworthy reception of the sacraments. But when servants of the Crown were disrespectful of sacred objects, the term also provided for an interpretation in terms of religious persecution. Eleven instances of sacrilege came to the fore during the research carried out for this thesis.<sup>142</sup>

The most celebrated case concerned a raid by the military on a temporary church during what the priest involved described as a ‘station’ in Dunmore, County Galway, in October 1920. Accounts of the incident have survived in the Tuam diocesan archives in the form of two letters from the priest and a statement by the commanding officer of the raiding party. Dean Thomas Macken, parish priest of Dunmore, was celebrating mass in a school building used as a temporary church in an outlying part of his parish. When mass had concluded, he was standing at the altar to address the congregation about the religious examinations which awaited their children, when a soldier brandishing a revolver entered the building.<sup>143</sup> The soldier said that they should come outside, whereupon Macken told him that they were engaged in a religious service, that they would leave when they were finished and that he had no right to give such a command. The soldier left and returned after some minutes, repeated his demand and left again. When Macken had finished addressing the congregation, he went out to speak to the commanding officer, a Major Blackburn. Macken told him that he protested against the interruption of the service and said that ‘such outrageous conduct is unknown in any civilized country today’. Then Macken told the people they could go home, whereupon the major said: ‘I’m not done with them’. According to

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<sup>141</sup> See for example ‘Pro forma “A”’, 21 Feb. 1921, signed by Major W. B. Ritchie with regard to a raid on Milltown Park Jesuit community, folder marked ‘21/2/21’ and ‘44/708’ (T.N.A., WO35/83).

<sup>142</sup> See appendix 2.9 for details and sources.

<sup>143</sup> Macken to Gilmartin, 16 Oct. 1920 (T.D.A., Gilmartin papers, B4/8-ii/4).

Macken, Blackburn then threatened the people that their houses would be burnt if ‘any other mail car was raided’. Macken replied: ‘if you think that that will intimidate me you are making the mistake of your life’, whereupon Blackburn dismissed the people and left.

A statement by a member of the Crown forces gives a slightly different account of events.<sup>144</sup> The statement is not signed but it is probably by Blackburn himself. The major – or captain, according to the statement – led a patrol to search houses on that day after the mail had been raided near Dunmore. When the patrol observed a number of men standing outside the school building, who dispersed when they noticed the soldiers’ presence, Blackburn believed that the building was being used for an illegal assembly. A priest – Macken’s curate – was standing outside and informed the party that confessions were being heard inside. A soldier then went in and told the congregation to ‘wait outside as they finished’. The account made no mention of a second entry nor of any instruction to vacate the building. When the service was finished and the people left, Blackburn asserted that

I collected all together [and] told them what would occur if mails continued to be raided. As I finished Dean Macken came up rather upset and rather lost control of himself. Told him why I came there: not for purpose of upsetting religious ceremony and then I left.

Since the building was not externally recognisable as a church, it is probable that Blackburn did not intend to interrupt a religious service when he first approached the scene. Macken emphasised in a second letter to Archbishop Gilmartin that Blackburn’s soldier had been informed twice that he was interrupting a religious service – once by his curate outside and once by Macken himself when the soldier entered the building first.<sup>145</sup> It is impossible to tell what communications passed between Major Blackburn and the anonymous soldier, but it does seem to have been the case that Blackburn did not retreat when he found out that a religious service was in progress.

Macken was well aware of the public relations significance of the incident. He informed Gilmartin in his first letter that ‘this is the first instance of stopping a religious service [and] I am sending a wire to the press’.<sup>146</sup> In his second letter, he told Gilmartin that ‘the report sent to the Independent was carefully corrected by the [curates] before being sent,

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<sup>144</sup> Unsigned and undated statement from soldier, probably Blackburn (T.D.A., Gilmartin papers, B4/8-ii/4).

<sup>145</sup> Macken to Gilmartin, 18 Oct. 1920 (T.D.A., Gilmartin papers, B4/8-ii/4).

<sup>146</sup> Macken to Gilmartin, 16 Oct. 1920 (T.D.A., Gilmartin papers, B4/8-ii/4).

[and] it is perfectly correct and quite full'.<sup>147</sup> The newspaper report did not mention that the building was a school and was therefore not recognisable to outsiders as a church building, nor that men standing outside it dispersed when they saw the military approaching. Although the *Irish Independent* said that the service 'had almost concluded' when the soldier entered for the first time, it emphasised that the service was 'a station of confessions, including mass and holy communion'. This gave the impression that the military had interrupted while the sacred mysteries were being celebrated. In fact Macken acknowledged in his letter to Gilmartin that mass was over and that he had been addressing the people. Macken was clearly keen on making the most of the incident.

Other incidents of sacrilege involved nightly visits to church buildings by anonymous persons assumed to have been members of the Crown forces. They forced their way into the sacristy and threw vestments and sacred vessels around the floor. Such incidents happened in St. Joseph's church, Berkeley Road, Dublin, in October 1920, in St. Mary's church, Killanena, County Clare, in November 1920 and in the house of Father J. W. Cunnane, curate in Moycullen, County Galway, in the same month.<sup>148</sup> A more serious incident was alleged by Father Michael McKenna of Mullagh, County Clare, at his court-martial in May 1921. McKenna told the court that on the day of his arrest, the door of the tabernacle of Mullagh parish church had been forced open and 'frightful desecration' had been committed.<sup>149</sup> A similar incident took place at Creeve parish church, County Roscommon, in January 1921. Thomas Griffiths, a Welsh member of parliament, asked the chief secretary in the House of Commons in March 1921 if he planned to investigate allegations that sacrilege had been committed by Auxiliaries and R.I.C. searching the congregation as it left the church after mass. The searching of congregations upon exiting a church after mass was a relatively common procedure. But this time 'the officiating priest was subjected to a search, during the progress of which he was compelled to keep the sacred host, which was in his custody at the time, in his outstretched hand, in order to prevent desecration'.<sup>150</sup> The raiding party then searched the church and the sacristy, forced the priest to open the door of a tabernacle, peered into an empty ciborium and broke open the door of another tabernacle. In a comparable incident, four women praying in the Catholic church of Claudy, County Derry, were horrified

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<sup>147</sup> Macken to Gilmartin, 18 Oct. 1920. For press report see *Irish Independent*, 16 Oct. 1920. See also *Irish Catholic*, 23 Oct. 1920.

<sup>148</sup> St. Joseph's, Berkeley Road: *Irish Independent*, 1 Nov. 1920, St. Mary's, Killanena: *ibid.*, 15 Nov. 1920 and Father Cunnane: O'Dea to Greenwood, 25 Nov. 1920 (G.D.A., O'Dea papers, box 31, no. 7).

<sup>149</sup> *Irish Independent*, 24 May 1921.

<sup>150</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 12 Mar. 1921. For the House of Commons debate, 3 Mar. 1921, see: *Hansard 5 (Commons)*, cxxxviii, c. 1981.

to behold a man smoking a cigarette emerge from the sacristy and ascend the altar steps before mass one Sunday morning in May 1921.<sup>151</sup> The man's conduct led the women to believe that he was under the influence of drink, and he was wearing a uniform. As the Ulster 'Specials' had just visited the grounds of the church to tear down election posters displayed there, they assumed he was one of them. After 'a mock display on the altar' the man opened the tabernacle and searched it. He then 'approached the women and asked them what they were doing there' before departing.

Two incidents of gunshots fired at churches while services were in progress also aroused religious indignation. The first of these happened in St. John's church, Tralee, although accounts varied as to whether the offending bullets came from the British or from the I.R.A. On 26 March 1921, a number of people were assembled in the church waiting for Dean David O'Leary and his curates to hear their confessions, when a burst of machine-gun fire was heard just outside the church.<sup>152</sup> Those present threw themselves on the ground and a bullet entered the roof of the church precisely over the dean's confessional. O'Leary mentioned afterwards that he had been hearing a woman's confession when the shooting took place. She retired during the fusillade, but returned again after fifteen minutes and continued her confession where she had left off, 'like a true, brave Irishwoman'. He said that 'the event would be heard of throughout the world, and everywhere humanity would be shocked'. A similar incident happened in Kilmoyle, County Roscommon, a few months later. While mass was being celebrated in the parish church, machine-gun fire from close by caused a panic, especially when one bullet 'perforated the roof above the priest's head and scattered mortar over the altar and sacristy'.<sup>153</sup> The *Irish Catholic* reported keenly that when the celebrant interrupted mass to administer general absolution to the faithful, 'immediately a perfect quiet was restored'. After mass the men of the congregation were searched and the explanation was proffered that 'men were seen running away when the forces were about a quarter of a mile from the church'. Both O'Leary's story about his penitent and the *Irish Catholic's* emphasis on the miraculous effect of the sacraments show that the incidents were quickly assimilated into a narrative reminiscent of penal times.

Some incidents occurred that fell well within any definition of sacrilege, but that were nonetheless not presented as such, even by the priest reporting them to the press. Thus Crown forces entered the church of Meelin, County Cork, on a weekday in January 1921, to find

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<sup>151</sup> Ibid., 28 May 1921.

<sup>152</sup> *Irish Independent*, 28 Mar. 1921. See *Kerryman*, 2 Apr. 1921, for the assertion that the shots came from 'civilians'.

<sup>153</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 9 July 1921.



Father Roche, the curate, hearing confessions. They ordered both Roche and his penitents out and also stopped the parish priest, Father Timothy Crowley, at the church gates, preventing him from entering the church. Crowley did not mention the sacrilegious interruption of confession, but said instead that ‘it was an awful insult to me to be prevented from entering my own church’.<sup>154</sup> This example shows that it depended very much on the way in which the priest involved reported events to the press whether an incident was deemed sacrilegious or not.

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<sup>154</sup> *Irish Independent*, 8 Jan. 1921.

## 5.3 Response to British violence

### 5.3.1 Verbal response

As has been seen, the bishops' most important pronouncement during the war was the October pastoral. It was a joint statement issued after a plenary meeting in Maynooth in October 1920.<sup>155</sup> The letter was a full-blown attack on British rule in Ireland, saying that 'terrorism, partiality, and failure to apply the principles which its members have proclaimed' were its main characteristics. The bishops stated that they had 'warned the government that the oppressive measures, which they were substituting for their professions of freedom, would lead to the most deplorable consequences', but the warning had been in vain and 'never in living memory has the country been in such disorder as it is now'. For the 'reign of frightfulness' established by the Crown forces 'not the men, but their masters [were] chiefly to blame'. The bishops argued that there was more to the British campaign in Ireland than the lashing out of individual men under extreme provocation. Rather, 'outrage has been connived at and encouraged, if not organised, not by obscure and irresponsible individuals, but by the government of a mighty empire, professing the highest ideals of truth and justice'. Another important grievance was the fact that the government had turned a blind eye to the persecution of Catholics in Ulster, and had in fact furnished 'a corner of Ulster with a separate government, or its worse instrument, a special police force, to enable it all the more readily to trample underfoot the victims of its intolerance'. They contended that the government's 'grossly partial course' with regard to Ulster was 'more potent than even the rule of brute force' in reducing the country to anarchy.

These sentiments cannot have come as a surprise to observers. Individual bishops had frequently expressed their dismay at the way the country was being governed before October 1920. Thus in September 1919, Bishop Browne of Cloyne addressed a public letter to the administrator of Fermoy condemning I.R.A. violence in his parish, but also saying that the subsequent reprisals carried out by the military were disgraceful.<sup>156</sup> He wrote that 'the military seem to have been let loose to wreak their frenzied vengeance on the unoffending people of Fermoy. ... We cannot refrain from condemning the outrageous conduct of the soldiers'. Similarly, when reprisals were carried out in Trim, County Meath, in September 1920, Bishop Lawrence Gaughran of Meath presided over a conference of the clergy of his

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<sup>155</sup> *I.C.D. 1921*, pp 556-61.

<sup>156</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 20 Sept. 1919.

diocese in Navan. The meeting issued a statement protesting specifically against the conduct of the Black and Tans ‘in burning and sacking Trim’ by calling it ‘the negation of all government’.<sup>157</sup> Nor did the bishops change their views after the publication of the October pastoral. Thus Bishop MacRory of Down and Connor was reported to have told a congregation in Belfast in March 1921 that the state of the country was ‘a disgrace not only to Christianity, but to civilisation’.<sup>158</sup> Referring to the recent Belfast ‘pogroms’, he summed up the situation:

houses were burned, large parts of cities, towns, and villages were wrecked and reduced to ruins, creameries were destroyed, innocent lives were taken daily, and thousands of their young men were hunted like wild beasts.

According to MacRory, the British government was the main culprit. The bishop blamed the ‘age-long denial of their unquestionable rights’ for this state of affairs and said that ‘this tyranny and perfidy and denial of their rights’ was teaching their young men to spurn constitutional action in favour of violence.

Condemnation of British violence was virtually the only response to the conflict that avoided getting the bishops into the bad books of any section of society that mattered to them. They were well aware of the importance of good publicity. On 1 December 1920, Bishop O’Doherty of Clonfert wrote to Archbishop Walsh to remind him of a recommendation made at the hierarchy’s last meeting that ‘each bishop should get compiled a list of the outrages committed in his diocese by the agents of the British Crown’.<sup>159</sup> According to his letter, a ‘publication committee’ had been established, consisting of O’Doherty as secretary and a number of other bishops, apparently one each to represent the provinces of Armagh, Dublin and Cashel. According to O’Doherty ‘the English are spreading broadcast everything that can tell against Ireland while concealing or denying their own evil deeds’. Evidence of further activity on the part of this committee can be found in the Galway diocesan archives. Letters from Harty and Fogarty to Bishop O’Dea of Galway and a letter from Bishop Morrisroe of Achonry to O’Doherty were responses to a request for a list of outrages in their dioceses. Thus Harty wrote to O’Dea on 3 December 1920 that

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<sup>157</sup> Ibid., 2 Oct. 1920.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid., 2 Apr. 1921.

<sup>159</sup> O’Doherty to Walsh, 1 Dec. 1920 (D.D.A., Walsh papers, 380/1). See for a newspaper report claiming that no such initiative was being taken: *Irish Independent*, 22 Nov. 1920.

‘unfortunately my diocese can supply very many cases’ and Fogarty wrote later that month that ‘the sort of list you mention is already being made out in this diocese’.<sup>160</sup>

Morrisroe provided O’Doherty with two relevant statements in January 1921.<sup>161</sup> They were signed by the bishop himself and gave details of reprisals in Ballaghaderreen, County Roscommon, and Tobercurry, County Sligo, in September 1920. Morrisroe added a note to the statement concerning the Ballaghaderreen reprisals that it

gives an accurate account, in my opinion, of what has occurred there. It does not exaggerate, nor does it describe the terror and panic infused into the inhabitants by the burnings and the fearful noise that accompanied them.

A file kept in the Tuam diocesan archives containing numerous statements from parishioners who witnessed atrocities committed by Black and Tans was probably also connected to this project.<sup>162</sup> These statements were solicited by the clergy, who wrote them down in presbyteries and countersigned them. Most of them were from Tuam and had been signed by the administrator of the cathedral, Father Owen Hannan. It is most likely that they were sent to Gilmartin to provide him with material for O’Doherty’s list. In spite of all this activity, no evidence can be found to show that the bishops actually published the list which they were planning.

Priests of all political persuasions followed the hierarchy’s lead in condemning acts of violence committed by the British. Often they did this in much the same terms in which they denounced republican violence. Thus the parish priest of Ferns, County Wexford, John Canon Doyle, condemned the shooting of a local man by a constable in his parish in July 1920.<sup>163</sup> He said in a sermon at mass that the deed was a crime that cried to heaven for vengeance and warned the congregation that ‘the police were strangers, and it was the business of the people to keep away from them’. Similarly, the parish priest of Drogheda, Monsignor Patrick Segrave, said at the funeral of two victims of government violence in February 1921 that the crime was ‘most cold-blooded murder, without any warning or provocation’.<sup>164</sup> He claimed that there had been no town or district in the country so peaceful

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<sup>160</sup> Harty to O’Dea, 3 Dec. 1920 (G.D.A., O’Dea papers, box 39, no. 193) and Fogarty to O’Dea, 23 Dec. 1920 (G.D.A., O’Dea papers, box 39, no. 194).

<sup>161</sup> Morrisroe to O’Doherty, 7 Jan. 1921 (G.D.A., Thomas O’Doherty papers, box 45, no. 5).

<sup>162</sup> Files of lay witness statements (T.D.A., Gilmartin papers, B4/8-ii/6 and B4/8-ii/4). See also Kieran Waldron, *The archbishops of Tuam 1700-2000* (Tuam, 2008), p. 106.

<sup>163</sup> *Irish Independent*, 13 July 1920.

<sup>164</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 19 Feb. 1921.

as Drogheda, and that his parishioners had borne all manner of provocations by the Crown forces with restraint. 'It was', he said, 'scarcely conceivable that such a diabolical intent as to incite the population could be harboured', but if it was, he 'prayed to God that it be frustrated'. And Father M. J. Doyle of Kingstown, County Dublin, a former army chaplain, wrote to the *Freeman's Journal* in September 1920 that he had refused the honorary chaplaincy bestowed on him by the War Office for services rendered during the First World War.<sup>165</sup> He would not associate himself with the British uniform, 'owing to the disgrace and degradation into which that uniform has been brought by some of those who wear it in Ireland'. This state of affairs would continue until the British government would 'come to its senses and, not only [save] Ireland for the empire, but also [restore] discipline and dignity to the army'.

Doyle's concern for the empire and the dignity of the British army was far from the minds of other priests, who nonetheless shared his outrage at the Crown forces' lack of discipline. Eugene Canon Byrne, parish priest of Balbriggan, County Dublin, wrote to Archbishop Walsh in October 1920 after the reprisals in his parish. His letter contained the cynical reflection that 'considering the reckless shooting [and] savage treatment of the military, it is marvellous we had not more deaths'.<sup>166</sup> And Father Henry Foley, S.J., the rector of St. Ignatius' college, Galway, wrote to the Jesuit provincial in September of the same year that 'we are having a dreadful time with the Black and Tans. You could not believe what conscienceless vindictive brutes they are'.<sup>167</sup> The chaplains of Mountjoy prison, Canon Waters and Father McMahon, recorded their protest against the treatment of republican prisoners on hunger strike in an entry in the official 'Roman Catholic chaplain's journal' in April 1920. They objected to the enforcing of 'regulations against prisoners in Ireland, which the government does not maintain in England'.<sup>168</sup> They argued that 'all such discrimination against Irishmen in Ireland by the Irish government seems quite indefensible'.

Often priests repeated the bishops' contention that acts of violence were not the fault of individual members of the Crown forces, but that the government had either ordered them or was ultimately responsible. Father D. J. Fitzpatrick, curate in Adare, County Limerick, wrote to the *Irish Independent* in September 1920 criticising General Macready's

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<sup>165</sup> *Freeman's Journal*, 20 Sept. 1920.

<sup>166</sup> Byrne to Walsh, 9 Oct. 1920 (D.D.A., Walsh papers, 380/3).

<sup>167</sup> Foley to Nolan, Sept. 1920 (J.P.A., Papers of St. Ignatius' college, Galway [St. Ignatius' college papers] SC/GALW/45).

<sup>168</sup> Copy of extract from 'R.C. chaplain's journal', Mountjoy prison, signed by John Waters and M. S. MacMahon, 12 Apr. 1920 (D.D.A., Walsh papers, 380/2).

condemnation of reprisals by Crown forces.<sup>169</sup> He argued that ‘it is apparent that the government of England is at the back of the reprisals’. This was a point of view shared by Archdeacon James Walker, the parish priest of Donegal, who told a congregation in his parish two months later that ‘the military ... were not to blame, but their masters – the government – for the duties they had to perform’.<sup>170</sup> The archdeacon blamed the outrages on the government and said that it was ‘treating Ireland as they had treated Germany’. The Crown forces were ridiculed as well as criticised. Thus Father Burbage addressed the Maynooth union – the national seminary’s past pupils’ association – in June 1920 on the subject of social justice and educational opportunities for Irish Catholics. In the course of his talk he asked whether a college education was really very necessary at all for most important functions in society.<sup>171</sup> Law and order were not being maintained in the country at that moment by ‘the higher classes’, but by ‘the labourers and farmers’ sons, who had the true sense of justice and fair play’. In his part of the country, he added, ‘the army of occupation could not keep a hen off the road’.

Priests sometimes acted as spokespersons for their communities. This role was assumed by Father J. J. Walsh, parish priest of the Aran Islands, County Galway, in December 1920. Inishmore had been raided by military and police and there were reports that two people had been killed during the raid.<sup>172</sup> An officer consequently arrived at Kilronan to hold an inquiry, only to find that there had been no fatalities, although one man had suffered serious injuries from which he was to die soon after the officer had departed again. Walsh was invited to attend the inquiry, but, as he explained to Gilmartin, ‘considering the scope of the enquiry and the constitution of the court I didn’t see the use of attending’ and he declined.<sup>173</sup> Instead he called on the officer to lodge his protest ‘about the scandalous treatment meted out to the poor people on Sunday, and told him of the regular orgy of terrorism destruction and [looting] ... and asked him what was it that happened on the island to justify it’. The officer told him that he would collect claims made by the islanders and bring them to the attention of the proper authorities. Walsh made certain charges, but he refused to advise the people – who, he added, ‘will not come forward otherwise’ – to make other charges unless they received guarantees that they would not be penalised for doing so. Walsh also told the officer that ‘if it were possible for a man at my age [and] of my

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<sup>169</sup> *Irish Independent*, 25 Sept. 1920.

<sup>170</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 20 Nov. 1920.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*, 24 June 1920. For the Maynooth Union, see Corish, *Maynooth*, p. 239.

<sup>172</sup> *Freeman’s Journal*, 24 Dec. 1920.

<sup>173</sup> Walsh to Gilmartin, 23 Dec. 1920 (T.D.A., Gilmartin papers, B4/8-ii/4).

disposition and life-long habits to become a rebel scenes like that would make me one'. The priest's advice was heeded by his parishioners, and the *Freeman's Journal* reported that 'the islanders declined to give any information' to the inquiry.<sup>174</sup>

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<sup>174</sup> *Freeman's Journal*, 24 Dec. 1920.

### 5.3.2 *Civil disobedience*

Apart from the verbal denunciations discussed in the previous section, priests also frequently engaged in what are best described as acts of civil disobedience. These did not involve violence, nor did they qualify as clandestine subversive activity. Rather, they were done publicly and their main object was to be seen to be defying the authority of the British government, usually on some minor matter of public order. Priests engaged in this principled stance on numerous occasions, but most frequently in 1919. After that year, the deployment of the Black and Tans and Auxiliaries made even minor acts of civil disobedience hazardous ventures with potentially serious repercussions.

The most common form of such acts was to participate in meetings that had been proscribed by the authorities. This happened especially with *aeridheachta* or *feiseanna* – outdoor meetings organised to celebrate the Irish language and Gaelic culture, but which the government suspected were also used for the hatching of seditious plots and the propagation of ‘disaffection’. Father O’Flanagan was the invited speaker at a proclaimed *feis* in Kilmallock, County Limerick, in June 1919.<sup>175</sup> Police prevented the holding of the intended meeting, but O’Flanagan nevertheless managed to address the crowds at a gathering in the town. As it turned out, the authorities had reason to thank him. Violence soon erupted between the police and the crowd and it was only the intervention of O’Flanagan and another clergyman that prevented further bloodshed. A few days previously O’Flanagan had been in a more belligerent mood as he defied police orders not to address an audience attending a concert in aid of the Irish Republican Prisoners’ Dependents’ Fund held in Bray, County Wicklow.<sup>176</sup> The concert had been banned, and police blocked the entrance to the Arcadia theatre where it was to be held. O’Flanagan arrived in a car as crowds started to gather in the vicinity. The district inspector approached the priest but was struck on the ear by a member of the crowd, after which ‘much excitement prevailed’. The district inspector told O’Flanagan that he had better add his weight to the inspector’s in dispersing the crowd, but O’Flanagan interrupted him and launched into a speech. He told the people that they ought to take an example of the discipline of the group of policemen who were blocking their way and should place themselves under a single leader.

Not only clerical figures of national renown were invited to such meetings. As the leading figures in their parish communities, local priests too were often asked to preside or at

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<sup>175</sup> *Irish Independent*, 16 June 1919.

<sup>176</sup> *Ibid.*, 6 June 1919.



least to address the crowds. Many of these clerics accepted the invitation regardless of prescription orders issued by the authorities. Thus the administrator of Killarney cathedral and his curates presided at a proscribed *aeridheacht* organised by the Gaelic League in June 1919.<sup>177</sup> While skirmishes were taking place near the original venue of the event, Volunteers had brought the attendees to a different location where the meeting started without disturbance. Father P. J. Fitzgerald, the administrator, told the crowd that ‘owing to the kind attentions of the champion of small nations’ they were prevented from holding the meeting where they intended. He emphasised the cultural nature of the event, a point immediately proven by Father John Lynch, curate in Brosna, who delivered an eloquent address in the Irish language. A similar scene took place during the same weekend at Tullahinnell, County Kerry, whither a *feis* originally planned for Ballylongford was diverted after it had been banned by the authorities.<sup>178</sup> Canon Hayes, the parish priest, and two other priests joined members of the O’Rahilly family and Cathal Brugha for the event, the canon presiding.

Priests also made other symbolic acts of defiance. Father P. Sharkey, a curate in Liscannor, County Clare, was approached by a British officer in September 1920 as he was overseeing a sports match.<sup>179</sup> The officer told him to take down the republican flag which fluttered proudly above the pitch. Sharkey refused, prompting the officer to withdraw and return with a larger detachment of men. The curate then told the officer that ‘if he fired upon the flag he would be held accountable for his life if he shot him’. Presumably *Irish Independent* readers in 1920 found this accumulation of personal pronouns without antecedents as bemusing as the present-day reader, but the tenor of the message was unmistakably discouraging. After a while the Crown forces withdrew without securing the removal of the flag, but it was a sign of the times that the episode was followed by the searching, some days later, of Sharkey’s residence by the military. In 1919, Fathers O’Flanagan and Fitzgerald and Canon Hayes had survived their defiance of military instructions without suffering personal consequences.

The disobedience of Father Paul McLoughlin, curate in Islandeady, Tuam, County Galway, in May 1921 was more substantial than symbolic. Two I.R.A. men were killed during an ambush on a convoy of R.I.C. and Black and Tans near Islandeady. The Crown forces took the bodies of the victims with them and delivered them the next day to Islandeady church, instructing McLoughlin to have their funeral the following day at one o’clock in the

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<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*, 10 June 1919.

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*, 12 June 1919.

<sup>179</sup> *Irish Independent*, 6 Sept. 1920.

afternoon and to allow nobody but family to attend.<sup>180</sup> McLoughlin heeded neither of these instructions, commencing the obsequies at noon and allowing the local I.R.A. company to stage an elaborate funeral with flags, wreaths, guards of honour and a larger number of mourners than had ever been seen at a funeral in the village. When the Crown forces turned up close to one o'clock, the mass was over and the coffins had been interred. Some men on the run, for whose benefit the arrangements had been changed, escaped in the general confusion, leaving McLoughlin to face an officer's insults. Canon Dalton, parish priest of Ballinrobe, County Mayo, dealt with a different challenge in the same month, when an ambush near Tourmakeady resulted in the deaths of two constables and one I.R.A. man.<sup>181</sup> Remarkably, the remains of all three were removed to the same church in Ballinrobe. The I.R.A. victim's coffin had been placed in front of the high altar, while the R.I.C. coffins were positioned before the side altars on either side of the nave. This irked the R.I.C. and they protested, but the canon did not budge. To complete this impressive balancing act, Dalton accompanied Archbishop Gilmartin to Ballinrobe R.I.C. barracks to offer their condolences, both clerics 'describing the victims as men of excellent character'.

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<sup>180</sup> Patrick Maye, 'A short history of the I.R.A. in Islandeady, 1919-1921', *Cathair na Mart. Journal of the Westport Historical Society*, no. 15 (1995), pp 106-9, at pp 108-9.

<sup>181</sup> Seán Ó hÓgáin, 'The Tourmakeady ambush, May 1921 – part II', *Cathair na Mart. Journal of the Westport Historical Society*, no. 23 (2003), pp 44-59, at p. 54. See also Donal Buckley, *The battle of Tourmakeady. Fact or fiction. A study of the IRA ambush and its aftermath* (Dublin, 2008), p. 83.

### 5.3.3 Practical problems

The imposition of emergency regulations on many parts of Ireland by the government and the disturbed condition of the country during the war impacted in many ways on parish life and forced priests to make practical adjustments. In March 1924 a parishioner reported Father James O’Sullivan, parish priest of Abbeydorney, County Kerry, to his bishop for having failed to make a priest available for funerals during the previous years. O’Sullivan defended himself in a letter to Bishop O’Sullivan by saying that ‘during the Black [and] Tan War and the Irregulars War the roads were blocked and bridges destroyed in every direction in this locality and for a long time it was scarcely possible to travel to places even in the parish’.<sup>182</sup> Father O’Sullivan’s testimony was confirmed by remarks he had made to Bishop O’Sullivan in February 1921. In a letter he referred to another priest’s difficulty in reaching his parish: ‘F[ather] McGrath had difficulty in getting to Killorglin, the Dingle peninsula is invested [sic] by military and the roads are trenched about Keel’.<sup>183</sup>

The ‘chronicle of missions’ of Clonard monastery also supports this impression of widespread disruption to transport and communications during this period. Redemptorist priests from Clonard travelled around the country to give parish missions.<sup>184</sup> A chronicler kept a record of the missions preached, with comments as to the number of people attending, the number of communions and confessions, and sometimes added references to the political state of affairs. The schedule of services during such retreats frequently had to be changed on account of the conflict. Thus changes were necessary at a mission in the parish of Fintona, County Tyrone, in late May and early June 1921. The traditional hour of 7.30 p.m. for evening devotions was convenient for the parishioners, because they were cutting turf in the bog and had to walk a long distance to get to the church on time.<sup>185</sup> But as the ‘special tan-blackguards’ policed the roads at night, many had informed the clergy that they wanted to be home earlier after the service than the hour of 7.30 would allow. The time was consequently changed to 7 p.m. This had the effect of forcing some parishioners to leave off work early to be on time, but in spite of this the people attended very well. Similarly, the Jesuit community

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<sup>182</sup> O’Sullivan to O’Sullivan, 12 Mar. 1924 (Ky.D.A., O’Sullivan papers, ‘Parish correspondence’, Abbeydorney).

<sup>183</sup> O’Sullivan to O’Sullivan, 14 Feb. 1921 (Ky.D.A., O’Sullivan papers, ‘Parish correspondence’, Abbeydorney).

<sup>184</sup> See Brendan McConvery, ‘Some aspects of Redemptorist missions in the new Irish state (1920-1937)’, *Spicilegium historicum Congregationis Sanctissimi Redemptoris*, xlvii, no. 1 (1999), pp 105-25 and idem, ‘Hell-fire and poitín. Redemptorist missions in the Irish Free State (1922-1936)’, *History Ireland*, viii, no. 3 (2000), pp 18-22.

<sup>185</sup> Entry for 22 May 1921, Book A, ‘Missionary works 1896-1924’ p. 426 (C.M.A.).

in Crescent college, Limerick, had to curtail the devotions customarily associated with the forty hours' devotion – or 'quarant' ore' – in June 1920. The community usually organised the devotion in honour of the feast of the sacred heart. It involved the continuous adoration of the blessed sacrament for forty hours. The chronicler of the community noted that 'owing to trouble in town to-day (policeman shot)' it had been decided to close the church after devotions and to interrupt exposition during the night.<sup>186</sup>

With the introduction of emergency powers for the military came also the curfew.<sup>187</sup> This expedient affected not only church-goers but also the clergy themselves. Thus the *Irish Independent* reported in February 1920 that the imposition of the curfew on the Dublin metropolitan district prevented priests from answering sick calls after dark.<sup>188</sup> Many parish priests in the area were applying for permits allowing themselves and their curates to break the curfew for this purpose. But the newspaper expected that the number of sick calls would drop sharply, since the lack of telephones left most individual families without legal means of communicating with the presbytery. Some republicans made good use of the services of priests who had permits and could break the curfew without drawing suspicion to themselves. Thus Dublin Volunteer Garry Hoolihan recounted that he went to see Father Albert at the Capuchin priory in Church Street, Dublin, on one occasion as night was falling and it was necessary to have word of impending British actions sent to other members of the I.R.A.<sup>189</sup> Addressing the same difficulty of attending to sick calls after nightfall, the administrator of Limerick cathedral told the Jesuit community of Crescent college in May 1921 that 'owing to troubled times' they should have no hesitancy in giving the last sacraments to any ill person they encountered on sick calls.<sup>190</sup> Consequently priests on sick calls should take the holy oils and the blessed sacrament with them. The chronicler of Tullabeg Jesuit community had noted in September 1920 that the conflict had at least one salutary effect. 'Thousands now go to sacraments owing to terrible state of things' who would not otherwise have done so.<sup>191</sup>

Like all citizens, priests had to submit to a number of other inconveniences. Thus the telegraph and telephone in the Jesuit Clongowes Wood college, Clane, County Kildare, were removed in July 1921 by the military 'to prevent use or seizure of same by S[inn] F[éin]'.<sup>192</sup>

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<sup>186</sup> Entry in the Minister's journal for 11 June 1920 (J.P.A., Crescent college papers, SC/CRES/4/2/2).

<sup>187</sup> See Townshend, *Campaign*, p. 148.

<sup>188</sup> *Irish Independent*, 25 Feb. 1920.

<sup>189</sup> Garry Hoolihan, Ernie O'Malley notebooks (U.C.D.A., O'Malley papers, P17b/105). See also Augusteijn, *Defiance*, p. 309.

<sup>190</sup> Entry in Minister's Journal, 6 May 1921 (J.P.A., Crescent college papers, SC/CRES/4/2/2).

<sup>191</sup> Entry in house chronicle, 24 Sept. 1920 (J.P.A., Tullabeg papers, FM/TULL/289).

<sup>192</sup> Entry in Minister's Journal, 18 July 1921 (Clongowes Wood College Archives [C.W.C.A.], CWC/SCH/389).

And Jesuit chaplains to Temple Street hospital based in Belvedere college on Great Denmark Street, Dublin, were not allowed to pass through a military cordon put in place between Temple Street and the North Circular Road in February 1921.<sup>193</sup> Later during that morning the cordon was moved to just outside the college's main entrance and the boys were sent home through the office of the *Sacred Heart Messenger*, which was located at the rear of the college. As this incident proves, military rule was not all misery, and the college journal noted on this occasion: 'There's some use in the British army after all. Mountjoy area being invested [sic], we get off early'.<sup>194</sup> Six Redemptorists from Mount St. Alphonsus monastery in Limerick were no doubt less pleased when they were held up for several hours in pouring rain after returning from their walk in the same month.<sup>195</sup> The newspapers also often carried reports about clerics who were stopped at checkpoints set up as security cordons were placed around towns and villages. The parish priest of Glendalough, County Wicklow, Dr Michael Butler, was stopped and searched when passing through such a cordon around his parish in July 1920.<sup>196</sup> The same thing happened to unnamed clergymen 'of both denominations' in Mitchelstown, County Cork, as they attempted to leave the market square which had been surrounded by military in March 1921.<sup>197</sup> All males were questioned and had to remove their hats as they approached their interrogator – a requirement which caused the headline of 'Clergymen humiliated' in the *Irish Independent*. Sometimes, however, priests were the only persons not searched during such round-ups. This was the case in Clogheen, County Tipperary, in November 1920, when military surrounded the local workhouse where an arbitration court was in session.<sup>198</sup> All those present were searched, except for a priest.

Clerical motorists driving through the countryside were frequently stopped by Crown forces for inspection. Thus an unnamed priest in Ballysodare, County Sligo, was stopped and taken out of his car, and then searched and threatened in October 1920.<sup>199</sup> Moreover, Father B. Kelly, parish priest of Knockcroghery, County Roscommon, had his car requisitioned by Crown forces when returning to his parish one day in November 1920.<sup>200</sup> Four armed and masked men stopped him and commandeered the vehicle under the pretext that policemen

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<sup>193</sup> Entry in Minister's Journal, 18 Feb. 1921 (Belvedere College Archives [B.C.A.], Jesuit community papers, COM/2).

<sup>194</sup> *Belvederian*, vi, no. i (1921), p. 63.

<sup>195</sup> Entry in the house chronicle for 4 Feb. 1921 (Mount St. Alphonsus Redemptorist Monastery Domestic Archives [M.D.A.], House chronicles). I owe this reference to the archivist, Rev. Joe Mac Loughlin, C.Ss.R., who kindly provided me with these details (1 Oct. 2009).

<sup>196</sup> *Irish Independent*, 19 July 1920.

<sup>197</sup> *Ibid.*, 17 Mar. 1921.

<sup>198</sup> *Ibid.*, 18 Nov. 1920.

<sup>199</sup> Aloysius witness statement, p. 13 (N.A.I., BMH/WS207).

<sup>200</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 27 Nov. 1920.

had been shot in the vicinity and they wished to visit the scene of the crime. Kelly had to walk home and had not seen any trace of his vehicle at the time of the newspaper report. Sometimes a commandeered car was actually returned. Thus when Father William Hackett was engaged in the ecumenical business of showing a visiting group of English Quakers ‘some specimens of English brutality’ in County Clare in September 1920, his car and its driver were commandeered.<sup>201</sup> This left the Jesuit and the Quakers marooned together in Ennistymon. After an hour the car returned and Hackett insisted on getting it back. Fortunately for Hackett, another motorist unwittingly drove his car into the town and the soldiers decided to requisition his vehicle instead.

A number of bishops were subjected to similar treatment. In August 1920, William Barry, the Irish-born coadjutor-archbishop of Hobart, Australia, was being driven from Midleton, County Cork, to Youghal when his car was stopped by a party of soldiers just outside Mogeely.<sup>202</sup> Barry was ordered out and his car and driver were searched. When a soldier demanded to search his person for firearms, Barry refused and showed the soldier his card in the hope that proof of his high office might dissuade the soldier from carrying out his intention. After a discussion about the precise location of the city of Hobart, Barry was eventually allowed to proceed, albeit ‘without a word of apology’ as the *Irish Independent* crossly observed. A similar experience was had a few days later by Bishop Cohalan as he was driving from Cork to Queenstown. Near Rushbrooke his car was stopped by soldiers, who asked him if he would object to being searched.<sup>203</sup> This, needless to say, Cohalan did, telling the soldier that he would prefer to turn the car around and drive back to Cork rather than submit to being searched. The military party then decided to let him pass unsearched and Cohalan proceeded to his destination, where he had ‘important business’ to attend to.

In 1922 the authorities in Ulster made quite a habit of stopping Cardinal Logue and searching his car, each time providing him with an opportunity of ‘being difficult’ and causing embarrassment to the government.<sup>204</sup> Tomás Ó Fiaich mentioned that Logue was held up by ‘Specials’ as early as 26 December 1920.<sup>205</sup> Ó Fiaich included this incident among his list of ‘attacks on the clergy by the British’, and this was the way in which the indignity of bishops being searched was usually portrayed in press reports at the time. Privilege’s account of Logue’s frequent exposure to this kind of treatment has shown that such searches were

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<sup>201</sup> Hackett, ‘Seven years’, pp 11-3 (J.P.A., ‘Brief lives’ papers, J172/5).

<sup>202</sup> *Irish Independent*, 2 Aug. 1920.

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid.*, 11 Aug. 1920.

<sup>204</sup> Privilege, *Logue*, pp 180-3.

<sup>205</sup> Ó Fiaich, ‘Clergy’, p. 496.

mostly a matter of pure chance, with rank-and-file soldiers or policemen unaware of whom they were dealing with. He has also demonstrated that government authorities – at least in 1922 – were at pains to instruct troops on the ground not to search any ministers of religion at all in order to avoid the negative publicity which the procedure engendered.<sup>206</sup>

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<sup>206</sup> Privilege, *Logue*, pp 180-3.

## 5.4 ‘Castle Catholics’

### 5.4.1 *Support for the Crown forces*

The first two sections of this chapter focused on priests at the receiving end of the British government’s campaign in Ireland, either as victims of violence or as the subjects of raids, arrest or prosecution. The previous section has examined the clergy’s response to British violence and the implications which it had for the day-to-day functioning of parishes and religious communities. The present section will analyse evidence for clerical support for the British government and its campaign.

As has been seen in 3.1.2, condemnation of republican violence often took the form of attempts to counteract the ostracism of the police stimulated by the I.R.A. and Sinn Féin.<sup>207</sup> Priests sometimes discouraged contact with the Black and Tans and Auxiliaries. The words of Canon Doyle of Ferns that ‘the police were strangers, and it was the business of the people to keep away from them’ have been quoted above.<sup>208</sup> But many priests publicly expressed their support for the R.I.C. and emphasised the Irishness and Catholicism of its constables. When R.I.C. Sergeant Philip Brady was killed in Lorrha, County Tipperary, in September 1919, a curate from Armagh town wrote a letter to the *Irish Independent* to condemn the crime.<sup>209</sup> Brady had been stationed in Father Thomas MacBrien’s former parish of Portadown, County Armagh, and MacBrien testified to his excellent Catholic credentials. Brady had ‘attended daily mass, when he could. He was a weekly communicant. He never, through his own fault, missed benedictions or sodality meetings’. MacBrien described the dead man as ‘a quiet, inoffensive man [who] was deeply respected in the district by all classes and creeds’. Similar testimonies to the uprightness and religiosity of constables slain by republicans came from Fathers J. Crowley, curate in Inishannon, County Cork, in April 1920 and Timothy O’Hea, parish priest of Timoleague, County Cork, in May of the same year. In the aftermath of an ambush at Upton, during which an R.I.C. sergeant and constable were killed, Crowley said that ‘a better or more honest man or Catholic’ than the dead constable he had never spoken to, and that he felt his loss as he would the loss of a brother.<sup>210</sup> ‘He regarded both the constable and the sergeant as two saints’. O’Hea condemned the shooting of policemen

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<sup>207</sup> See for the I.R.A.’s ‘war on the R.I.C.’: Lowe, ‘War’, p. 85.

<sup>208</sup> *Irish Independent*, 13 July 1920.

<sup>209</sup> *Ibid.*, 15 Sept. 1919.

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid.*, 28 Apr. 1920.



during a sermon in his parish church and said that policemen were ‘devout and holy men’.<sup>211</sup> And when Constable William Potter was shot dead at Knockcroghery, County Roscommon, in August 1920, Father Columba, O.F.M., of the Franciscan priory in Athlone condemned the killing. He mentioned that he had spoken to a young policeman who had been to confession to him recently. This man had told him that he was a marked man even though he had never done injury to anyone, but that he forgave the man who might shoot him.<sup>212</sup> Columba concluded by saying that ‘we cannot, under God’s law, shed blood, even for the freedom of Ireland’. On occasion, the inspiration for such messages of support for the police came from the police itself. Thus the R.I.C. county inspector for Longford wrote in his report for March 1921 that he had had a personal interview with Thomas Canon Maguire, parish priest of Granard, after an attack on the police in the town.<sup>213</sup> During the interview, the county inspector had stressed very strongly to Maguire that even if outrages were committed in the town by strangers, they would still be held responsible for not taking steps to prevent the gunmen from loitering in their town. Maguire promised to do all he could to drive this message home to his congregation.

After our talk he preached a strong sermon urging all to do what they could to prevent any more shootings in the town [and] incidentally paying a high compliment to the [district inspector] for his tact [and] ability. The canon said that if they had a less capable officer their town would have been wiped out.

Historians have observed that not only many members of the ‘old’ R.I.C., but also some soldiers and Black and Tans and Auxiliaries were Catholics.<sup>214</sup> This is confirmed by the unexpected scene of priests receiving policemen or soldiers into the church during their tour of duty in Ireland. According to the *Irish Independent* this happened in December 1920, when an unnamed priest in Midleton, County Cork, attended a constable called Ernst Dray who had been fatally wounded during an I.R.A. ambush in his parish.<sup>215</sup> According to the newspaper, Dray – an Englishman – had been receiving instruction with a view to becoming a Catholic for some time when he was shot by republicans. Before he died at the barracks, he asked the priest who attended him to receive him into the church. And the same newspaper reported

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<sup>211</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 22 May 1920.

<sup>212</sup> *Irish Independent*, 31 Aug. 1920.

<sup>213</sup> I.G.M.R., Mar. 1921, p. 735 (T.N.A., CO904/114).

<sup>214</sup> See for instance Cottrell, *War*, pp 18-20.

<sup>215</sup> *Irish Independent*, 5 Jan. 1921.

that the archbishop of Cashel administered the sacrament of confirmation to seven soldiers, ‘converts to Catholicity’, in Templemore, County Tipperary, in October 1920.<sup>216</sup> Presumably it was the desire to marry Irish Catholic girls that motivated soldiers to change their religion. Senior Irish clerics also had relatives in the British army abroad or in the colonial civil service. A nephew of Bishop Patrick Foley of Kildare and Leighlin was a lieutenant in the army and died while on duty in Egypt in May 1919.<sup>217</sup> And the brother of Monsignor Bartholomew Fitzpatrick, parish priest of St. Kevin’s, Harrington Street, Dublin, was a former lieutenant-governor of the Punjab and a member of the Council of India.<sup>218</sup> And priests in Ireland hoped that the contribution they had made to the education of some senior members of the Crown forces would stand them in good stead when they needed protection. Father Henry Foley, S.J., rector of St. Ignatius’ college, Galway, wrote to his provincial in September 1919 that the local district inspector was a former pupil of his school and that the local divisional commissioner, R. Cruise, was ‘also a Jesuit boy’, having been at Belvedere college.<sup>219</sup> This, Foley believed, ‘may give us some security’.

Support for the Crown forces was also forthcoming from former army chaplains. The *Irish Catholic directory* for 1919 listed a total of 58 diocesan priests who were still serving as chaplains to the British army at the time and another 64 religious priests.<sup>220</sup> Some of these continued to feel loyalty to the army and the empire, although it is significant that some of the most republican priests were also among the ranks of ex-chaplains. One priest who continued to give support to the Crown forces was Father J. T. Crotty, O.P., chaplain to the Royal Dublin Fusiliers. Crotty attended a ‘welcome home’ dinner in Dublin in January 1919 at which hundreds of Royal Dublin Fusiliers were feted upon their return from the continent.<sup>221</sup> At the dinner, Crotty made a speech in which he said that many people had asked him during the war what the secret was that ‘bound together the men under him in their fervent and assiduous attendance to their religious duties’. Crotty told his audience that he had always replied that it was that they ‘had been what Irishmen and Irish Catholics should be – proud of their religion and true to their faith and country’.

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<sup>216</sup> *Ibid.*, 29 Oct. 1920.

<sup>217</sup> *Ibid.*, 31 May 1919.

<sup>218</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 29 May 1920. Another brother of Fitzpatrick’s was Dom Bruno, O.C.S.O., abbot of the Trappist monastery of Mount Melleray from 1848 until his death in 1893.

<sup>219</sup> Foley to Nolan, Sept. 1919 (J.P.A., St. Ignatius’ college papers, SC/GALW/45).

<sup>220</sup> *The Irish Catholic directory and almanac for 1919 with complete directory in English* (Dublin, 1919). The number had dwindled to 5 by 1921: *I.C.D. 1921*. A number of religious orders in Ireland formed part of provinces including other parts of the United Kingdom or the British empire. Chaplains from those parts of the province are included in this figure.

<sup>221</sup> *Irish Independent*, 22 Jan. 1919. The archivist of the Irish Dominican Province, Rev. Hugh Fenning, O.P., kindly provided me with some background information about Fr Crotty (8 June 2009).

A somewhat similar display of support for the military was given by the parish priest of New Ross, County Wexford, in October 1920. When his curate moved a motion at a meeting of the town's technical committee 'regarding the conduct of the military', Walter Canon Rossiter refused to second it.<sup>222</sup> The canon had developed a reputation for fearless intervention on behalf of British interests. The *Irish Independent* reported in December 1920 that he had stepped into a meeting of 300 men allegedly planning an ambush against the Crown forces.<sup>223</sup> Rossiter told them that 'he knew everyone present, and that if they did not disperse he would punish every one of them. They immediately cleared off'. Presumably Prime Minister Lloyd George had priests such as Rossiter in mind when martial law was proclaimed in most of Munster in December 1920 and it was decreed that 'the surrender of arms can be made either to an officer of the Crown or the police, or to a military officer, or to the parish priest, provided the parish priest surrenders them afterwards to the proper officer in the area'.<sup>224</sup>

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<sup>222</sup> *Irish Independent*, 5 Oct. 1920.

<sup>223</sup> *Ibid.*, 20 Dec. 1920.

<sup>224</sup> *Ibid.*, 12 Dec. 1920.

### 5.4.2 Informing on republicans

It was one thing to speak against the ostracism of the R.I.C. or express support for the Crown forces in public, but quite another to engage in activities that directly endangered the I.R.A. or its supporters. Nevertheless there is evidence that a small number of priests informed on republicans or made threats to do so. One extraordinary example was that of Father Hyacinth Collins, O.P.<sup>225</sup> Collins had served as a chaplain to the British forces in Greece, Egypt, East Africa and France from 1916 to 1918 before being sent to the Dominican priory in Tralee in 1920.<sup>226</sup> Tadhg Kennedy, an intelligence officer with the Kerry brigade of the I.R.A., described in his witness statement to the Bureau of Military History that he had received complaints about Father Collins's conduct in 1920. These complaints concerned the Dominican's frequent visits to the Tralee R.I.C. barracks and his alleged sympathy for the Black and Tans and Auxiliaries. Kennedy, who received information from a spy in the barracks, knew that Collins's visits had no pastoral purpose and complained to the prior of the Dominican house in Tralee, Father Raphael Ayres, O.P.<sup>227</sup>

Newspaper reports that mention Collins in early November 1920 did not refer to his relations with the police, but did bear out his close connection with the military. A few days after a constable was shot dead in Tralee and another was seriously wounded on 31 October 1920, Collins told a reporter of the *Irish Independent* that a guarantee of protection which he had personally obtained from the military was the cause that Tralee had not been subjected to reprisals.<sup>228</sup> A correspondent of John Hagan's described Collins in June 1921 as a man who 'changed with the times' rather than as a staunch loyalist. Art O'Murray told Hagan that Collins was 'at one time a *grate* [sic] republican'.<sup>229</sup> In fact, at the time of Terence MacSwiney's death, Collins had advocated his canonisation. But O'Murray commented that the influx of Auxiliaries, Black and Tans and soldiers in Kerry caused the Dominican priest to have a change of heart.

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<sup>225</sup> For accounts of the events described here, see also: Ryle Dwyer, *Tans*, pp 305-6 and Annie Ryan, *Comrades. Inside the War of Independence* (Dublin, 2007), pp 93-4.

<sup>226</sup> I am much obliged to Rev. Hugh Fenning, O.P., archivist of the Irish Dominican Province, for these biographical details. Collins must have been *in situ* in Tralee by 1920, as Tadhg Kennedy mentions that he had been receiving complaints about his conduct there in that year. See Kennedy witness statement, p. 100 (N.A.I., BMH/WS1413).

<sup>227</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>228</sup> *Irish Independent*, 4 Nov. 1920. When the military patrol was withdrawn during the following night, reprisals ensued after all. See *ibid.*, 5 Nov. 1920. See also Ryle Dwyer, *Tans*, p. 233.

<sup>229</sup> O'Murray to Hagan, 1 June 1921 (A.I.C.R., Hagan papers, HAG1/1921/298).

It is clear that Collins had shed his republican colours by 15 April 1921. On that day an Auxiliary officer called Major B. A. McKinnon was killed at Tralee golf links by the I.R.A. Shortly afterwards, Collins had a fateful conversation with a woman after mass. Mrs. Nolan, a frequent worshipper at the Dominican church in Tralee, held strongly republican views and had a brother who worked in the Dáil's defence ministry. When Collins condemned the killers of Major McKinnon during their conversation, she objected and commended them for having brought down a tyrant.<sup>230</sup> Shocked by this statement, Collins decided that he would make an example of Mrs. Nolan during a sermon at mass in the Dominican church some days later. Kennedy, who was present at the mass, recounted that Collins referred to 'this lady, a frequent communicant, who had made use of these uncharitable expressions'. At these words the prior, Father Ayres, whom Kennedy described as 'a sincere republican and a friend of every Irishman who had taken up arms for the freedom of his country', stepped into the sanctuary and interrupted Collins. After some whispering between the two clergymen, Collins addressed the congregation again with the words: 'my superior has forbidden me to preach'. He skipped the rest of his sermon and continued with the celebration of mass.<sup>231</sup>

Either before or after this incident, Collins went on what was apparently a routine visit to the R.I.C. barracks and told its occupants about the affair, 'little dreaming', as Kennedy noted in his statement, 'that everything he said was conveyed back to me at the I.R.A. brigade headquarters'. A few nights after Collins's visit to the R.I.C. barracks, Mrs. Nolan's house was attacked by Black and Tans. She and her daughter had a narrow escape from the explosives that were hurled into the building. Kennedy put two and two together and concluded that Collins had done the work of an informer for the Crown forces.<sup>232</sup> He reported the matter to the priest's namesake Michael Collins, who sent Kennedy to meet with the provincial of the Irish Dominicans, Father Finbar Ryan, in Dublin. The provincial received Kennedy in the company of an older confrere called Father R. M. Headley, who was described to Kennedy as having been a Fenian in his younger days. After Kennedy had recounted the story to the taciturn provincial, Headley spoke up. The two published accounts of this encounter contradict each other, so it is best to quote directly from Kennedy's witness statement:

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<sup>230</sup> Kennedy witness statement, p. 100 (N.A.I., BMH/WS1413).

<sup>231</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 101.

<sup>232</sup> *Ibid.*

Father Headley, when I was finished, asked me what I would do if [Collins] weren't a priest. I told him and he said: 'You are a brave man. This is no priest of God. Do your duty, boy, and you need have no fear of the future'. He said words to that effect several times and walked out of the room. I don't know whether it was Father Ryan or I was in the greater state of fright, but I think I recovered more quickly. I said I would go back and consult again my superior officers, but he may rest assured that I would submit being put against the wall myself before I would do my 'duty' on a priest, no matter how bad the case was.<sup>233</sup>

In her 2007 book *Comrades. Inside the War of Independence*, Annie Ryan described this scene as Kennedy recorded it, but in his 2001 book *Tans, terror and troubles. Kerry's real fighting story 1913-23*, Ryle Dwyer did not mention the presence of Headley and attributed the words spoken by him to the provincial.<sup>234</sup> Although Kennedy's witness statement allows us to discount Ryle Dwyer's impression that the provincial had urged a reluctant I.R.A. to kill one of his own priests, we must still countenance the fact that one Dominican priest was calling for the liquidation of another. Perhaps Headley's bloodthirsty promptings must be ascribed to the decline of old age. In any case they went happily unheeded by senior members of the I.R.A. When informed by Kennedy about his meeting with Ryan, Michael Collins sent him back to the provincial a second time, and the obvious decision was taken to have Hyacinth Collins reprimanded and moved to some other priory. Kennedy also described how Collins contacted him to apologise when he found out after the truce that Kennedy had been the person responsible for his transfer. Collins further redeemed himself somewhat in republican eyes by giving evidence for the plaintiff in a civil case for compensation brought by Kerry county council after Black and Tans burned down the county hall in Tralee.<sup>235</sup> Although Collins acted as an informer and was as such the cause of personal harm to Mrs. Nolan, the fact that he was not in the confidence of members of the I.R.A. meant that he had little to tell the Crown forces that could harm the movement's military operations.

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<sup>233</sup> Ibid., pp 101-2.

<sup>234</sup> Ryan, *Comrades*, pp 93-4 and Ryle Dwyer, *Tans*, p. 305-6. Since Ryle Dwyer did not reference any sources in this book, we remain in the dark about the reasons that led to his mistake. Collins's name was erased from Tadhg Kennedy's witness statement by the Military Archives in 2003. Ryan consequently did not mention him by name in her account of the case, but Ryle Dwyer did in his. We can be quite sure that he was justified in doing so. In his letter to Hagan, O'Murray mentioned the incident of a priest's sermon being interrupted by his superior. He told Hagan that the priest in question was Collins. Since the same incident is also mentioned in Kennedy's statement and refers there to the priest whose name was erased, we may safely conclude that it was Hyacinth Collins. See O'Murray to Hagan, 1 June 1921 (A.I.C.R., Hagan papers, HAG1/1921/298). For the form giving details of the abstraction, dated 7 March 2003, see Kennedy witness statement, p. 99 (N.A.I., BMH/WS1413).

<sup>235</sup> Kennedy witness statement, p. 102 (N.A.I., BMH/WS1413).

The Collins case apart, there are only a few other instances where allegations of espionage were made against priests. One of these involved Father John Maguire, curate in Tulla, County Clare. He was accused posthumously by a fellow priest of his own diocese of Killaloe, Father Patrick Gaynor. As has been seen, Gaynor was arrested in April 1921 and put on trial in Limerick for the possession of seditious documents.<sup>236</sup> In his memoir, Gaynor blamed Maguire for his arrest, apparently on the grounds that Maguire was the only priest who was present at his court martial, the date of which the authorities had kept secret.<sup>237</sup> Gaynor, who wrote that Maguire had been sent away from his former parish of Killanena because of suspicions that he was a spy, concluded from this that Maguire had been informed about the date by the authorities and further that the curate had had some part in occasioning his arrest.<sup>238</sup> This last assumption is surely not warranted by the simple fact that Maguire was present at the court martial. It is likely, however, that Maguire did make some representations to the R.I.C. urging stricter measures against Gaynor. In his memoirs, R.I.C. officer John Regan probably referred to Maguire when he mentioned a ‘somewhat odd’ curate who came to see him before Gaynor’s trial.<sup>239</sup> Regan, who was based in Limerick at the time, described a visit by a curate who asked him to use his influence to secure a severe sentence for the clerical ‘blackguard’ who was in custody in Limerick jail. Regan named neither the curate nor the ‘blackguard’, but it is likely that he was referring to Maguire and Gaynor. In that case Gaynor’s suspicions would not have been much mistaken, although Regan’s story only shows that Maguire urged the imposition of a heavy sentence and not that he had had anything to do with Gaynor’s arrest.

A second case was that of Father Michael Hehir, parish priest of Cooraclare, County Clare, and there is no evidence to suggest that he actually passed on information to the Crown forces. In his monthly report for August 1919, the county inspector for Clare stated that two brothers called Donnelly had been attacked by armed men outside their house in Cooraclare. During the incident, one of the attackers accused the brothers of ‘giving information to the local [parish priest] [and] the police’.<sup>240</sup> Nothing in this statement suggests that the priest – Hehir – had himself given information to the authorities, but it is significant that the attackers did not want Hehir to obtain any information. It was obviously feared that the priest was not to be trusted with sensitive knowledge. Another, more serious incident, which is

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<sup>236</sup> Entry in Register of cases tried, p. 125 (T.N.A., WO35/136).

<sup>237</sup> Gaynor, ‘Sinn Fein days’, p. 529.

<sup>238</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 506.

<sup>239</sup> Augusteijn, *Regan*, p. 167.

<sup>240</sup> I.G.M.R., Aug. 1919, p. 742 (T.N.A., CO904/109).

unfortunately lacking in substantiating evidence, was recounted to Ernie O'Malley by Mayo I.R.A. veteran Brodie Malone. Malone told O'Malley that a colleague had blamed a priest for having informed the police about an ambush planned by their company near Louisburgh, County Mayo.<sup>241</sup> One of the men in the company had gone to confession to an unidentified priest and mentioned the ambush, which was subsequently foiled by the R.I.C. In the absence of further corroboration of this accusation it is not possible to assess its credibility.

There was one case where a local priest threatened to inform on an I.R.A. operation planned in his parish if the commandant did not call it off. Augusteijn has observed that there were a number of examples of priests who intervened with the I.R.A. to stop acts of violence in their parishes, and indeed the case of Canon Rossiter in New Ross has been quoted in the previous section.<sup>242</sup> The present case is different, however, in that it involved a direct threat to inform the Crown forces if the operation was not cancelled. In his 1953 witness statement to the Bureau of Military History, Tom McEllistram, an I.R.A. commandant in County Kerry, mentioned that his Ballymacelligott company had been planning the ambush of a regular military picket in Castleisland for some time.<sup>243</sup> One night, McEllistram posted his men in houses on either side of the main street through which the picket usually marched early in the morning. About half an hour before the picket was due to appear, Father Patrick Brennan, parish priest, arrived on the scene. Brennan pleaded with McEllistram not to start shooting in his town. McEllistram insisted that he would have to carry out his work, but Brennan 'said if we were determined to do so he would be compelled to go to the barracks and ask the picket not to go out that morning'.<sup>244</sup> After a while, McEllistram yielded and called off the operation. It is remarkable that Brennan's intervention was successful and that he was not afraid to threaten that he would inform the police about the plans. He was confident that he had nothing to fear personally from the I.R.A. for issuing such a threat. The parish priest appears as man of authority determined to prevent anyone from disturbing the tranquillity which undoubtedly characterised Castleisland's main street by night.

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<sup>241</sup> Brodie Malone, Ernie O'Malley notebooks (U.C.D.A., O'Malley papers, P17b/109). See also Augusteijn, *Defiance*, p. 307.

<sup>242</sup> Augusteijn, *Defiance*, p. 308. For the Rossiter case, see p. 219.

<sup>243</sup> McEllistram witness statement, pp 19-20 (N.A.I., BMH/WS882). See also Ryle Dwyer, *Tans*, p. 226.

<sup>244</sup> McEllistram, witness statement, p. 20. For a similar incident in County Wexford where an I.R.A. action was called off after intervention by the parish priest see Augusteijn, *Defiance*, p. 118.



### 5.4.3 *Contacts between the British government and ecclesiastical authorities*

Official contacts between the government and the ecclesiastical authorities continued unabated during the war. Some of these consisted of peace initiatives involving senior clerics such as Archbishop Clune, but mostly they were to do with more mundane administrative affairs.<sup>245</sup> Routine business had to be taken care of even after the October pastoral and the announcement of the government's educational reform programme in November 1919, as the next chapter will show. Sometimes the tone of such correspondence was hostile and acerbic, but mostly it was courteous. Thus Archbishop Walsh was approached in November 1920 by the under-secretary, James MacMahon, and by the secretary to the governors of the Royal Hibernian military school in the Phoenix Park. MacMahon wrote politely to suggest a replacement for a clerical member of the school's supervisory board who had died recently. And the secretary of the Royal Hibernian school wrote equally respectfully to acknowledge receipt of a letter from Walsh concerning the appointment of a new Catholic chaplain.<sup>246</sup>

Another chaplaincy was the occasion for correspondence between the highest British official in the country and Walsh's soon-to-be successor as archbishop of Dublin, Edward Byrne. When Walsh died in April 1921, Byrne, auxiliary bishop and parish priest of St. Mary's church, Haddington Road, was elected vicar capitular by the metropolitan chapter. As such he was the administrator of the diocese until his own appointment as archbishop in August 1921. Some days after Walsh's death, a new lord lieutenant was appointed in the person of Viscount Fitzalan of Derwent, the first Catholic to accede to that position since the seventeenth century. Fitzalan had received permission from the Holy See to set up a chapel in the viceregal lodge in the Phoenix Park.<sup>247</sup> The challenge was to find a chaplain. Fitzalan wrote to Byrne saying that he had contacted the Jesuit provincial to ask for a priest. Father Nolan discussed this request at a provincial consultation, which concluded that it would be difficult for the province to let an Irish Jesuit take the position.<sup>248</sup> Instead they suggested that the English provincial should be asked. Fitzalan wrote to Byrne that he was disappointed that

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<sup>245</sup> See for the Clune negotiations: Michael Hopkinson, 'The peace mission of Archbishop Clune', in Laurence M. Geary and Andrew J. McCarthy (eds), *Ireland, Australia and New Zealand. History, politics and culture* (Dublin, 2008), pp 199-210.

<sup>246</sup> Board of Education vacancy: MacMahon to Walsh, 24 Nov. 1920 (D.D.A., Walsh papers, 380/5); Royal Hibernian Military School chaplaincy: Smyth to Walsh, 19 Nov. 1920 (D.D.A., Walsh papers, 380/5).

<sup>247</sup> Fitzalan to Byrne, 15 Apr. 1921 (D.D.A., Edward Byrne papers, box marked 'Government 1922-39, 2', folder 'Lord Lieutenant, 1921-22').

<sup>248</sup> Entry minute book of provincial consultations, 19 May 1921 (J.P.A., Provincial consultations, ADMIN/57/3).

‘the provincial in Dublin does not find it possible to spare me one of his Fathers’.<sup>249</sup> Byrne replied by commiserating with him and suggesting that he appoint the local parish priest as chaplain. The parish priest would be able to send a priest from Aughrim Street parish every day for the celebration of mass.<sup>250</sup> The *Irish Catholic* commented that ‘it would be hard to find in Ireland at present any priest, either secular or religious, who has the least ambition to fill [the] office’.<sup>251</sup>

Earlier that month, Walsh’s funeral arrangements had presented Byrne with other challenges. Fitzalan’s predecessor, Lord French, and General Macready had telegraphed Byrne to say that they intended to send representatives and a guard of honour to the funeral.<sup>252</sup> Byrne and the committee that was organising the funeral were not keen on taking them up on the offer, all the more so after they received information that leaders of the republican movement would boycott the obsequies if representatives from the Castle were to attend. Father Patrick Walsh, the archbishop’s former secretary and future biographer, was sent to the viceroy and the general, and managed to dissuade them from sending representatives. According to the ‘order of events’ which chronicled the archbishop’s funeral arrangements, Lord French even managed a smile when he was told that Byrne had received letters of condolence from Generals Nevil Macready and Richard Mulcahy by the same post. A similar tenor of mutual cooperation pervaded a letter sent by Lieutenant-Colonel C. D. Crozier to the secretary of the bishop of Kerry in March 1921. Crozier – not to be confused with his namesake Frank, the head of the Auxiliary Division of the R.I.C. – wrote to Father D. J. O’Herlihy requesting information about the health of one of the priests of the diocese whose evidence was required in some court case.<sup>253</sup> Crozier made every attempt to accommodate O’Herlihy and the priest in question, including offering to accept an affidavit in advance to see if the giving of evidence in person was really required. As Crozier did not wish to disturb the priest, who was in hospital at the time, he left it to O’Herlihy to communicate with him.

When Sinn Féin prisoners in Mountjoy went on hunger strike in April 1920 to demand treatment as political prisoners, the good will which had characterised many earlier

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<sup>249</sup> Fitzalan to Byrne, 29 Apr. 1921 (D.D.A., Byrne papers, box marked ‘Government 1922-39, 2’, folder ‘Lord Lieutenant, 1921-22’).

<sup>250</sup> Byrne to Fitzalan (copy), 2 May 1921 (D.D.A., Byrne papers, box marked ‘Government 1922-39, 2’, folder ‘Lord Lieutenant, 1921-22’).

<sup>251</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 18 June 1921.

<sup>252</sup> ‘Death of Most Rev. W. J. Walsh, Order of Events’ (D.D.A., Walsh papers, 380/8). See also Morrissey, *Walsh*, pp 348-9 for an account of this incident.

<sup>253</sup> Crozier to O’Herlihy, 10 Mar. 1921 (Ky.D.A., O’Sullivan papers, ‘Parish correspondence’, Abbeydorney). Unfortunately Crozier did not expand on the details of the case.

letters disappeared. Walsh criticised Lord French's handling of the affair in an interview with the *Evening Herald*.<sup>254</sup> MacMahon wrote some days later that French had instructed the governors of prisons in Dublin to regard the archbishop 'as a special visitor and to afford [him] admission to, and facilities for inspecting the prisons and examining the conditions under which these prisoners are treated'.<sup>255</sup> He invited Walsh to undertake an inspection tour so that he could verify that the prisoners were not treated unnecessarily harshly. Walsh replied nine days later, and though he explained that the delay was caused by ill health 'lest his excellency might perhaps suppose that [it] arose from some want of appreciation' of the importance of the proposal, he firmly rejected it.<sup>256</sup> Although Walsh's letter was deferential, he was determined to avoid giving the Castle the opportunity of implicating him in its policies.

Other dioceses furnish instances in which exchanges between bishops and the authorities turned sour. This was the case with correspondence between the chief secretary, Sir Hamar Greenwood, and Cardinal Logue in September 1920. Greenwood wrote to Logue to complain that police officers were often shot dead or wounded while 'passing to or from their church devotions, or [while] in barracks from which some occupants are absent at mass'.<sup>257</sup> He said he planned to prohibit the attendance at mass by members of the Crown forces in some areas in order to prevent further attacks. Greenwood also expressed the hope that Logue, in his 'ripe wisdom', might himself wish to think of a solution, the implication being that it would be more convenient for the government if the church could issue such an order itself. Instead of the desired instruction, Logue's reply was a diatribe against the government. The cardinal told Greenwood that he had no authority outside his diocese to impose any such orders, that it was not necessary in his own diocese and that in any case canon law already dispensed Catholics from their Sunday obligation if they had a grave reason to absent themselves.<sup>258</sup> He also said that 'the forces of the Crown, who [are] supposed to be the guardians of law and order, have, under the name of reprisal, set the pace in lawlessness and disorder'. Moreover, people believed that these 'unheard of outrages' had been sanctioned by the government. Catholics in the north had an additional argument for this view on account of the government's policy of arming the Orangemen: 'It was hard to

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<sup>254</sup> Morrissey, *Walsh*, pp 331-332.

<sup>255</sup> MacMahon to Walsh, 20 Apr. 1920 (D.D.A., Walsh papers, 380/5).

<sup>256</sup> Walsh to MacMahon (draft), 29 Apr. 1920 (D.D.A., Walsh papers, 380/5).

<sup>257</sup> Greenwood to Logue, 30 Sept. 1920 (A.D.A., Logue papers, ARCH9/5/1). See also Privilege, *Logue*, p. 145, for an account of this exchange.

<sup>258</sup> Logue to Greenwood (draft), undated (A.D.A., Logue papers, ARCH9/5/1).

believe that any responsible government ... would arm and cast them loose among their Catholic neighbours’.

Sometimes the irritation expressed came from the side of the government authorities. In February 1921, Galway divisional commissioner R. Cruise wrote to the archbishop of Tuam in reply to a letter which Gilmartin had sent him.<sup>259</sup> Gilmartin’s letter is lost and it is impossible to reconstruct the substance of his communication, but it concerned the discipline of police forces in Galway. It is clear from Cruise’s reply that Gilmartin had threatened to write to his superiors if he did not deal with the matter satisfactorily. Cruise – ‘a Jesuit boy’ who had attended Belvedere college<sup>260</sup> – did not appreciate being put under pressure. He wrote that ‘it is only the high respect I entertain for you that allows me to answer a letter which implies a threat of writing to higher authorities’. He also said that ‘threats of assassination or reports to my superiors will not intimidate me’. Presumably the archbishop had not threatened to assassinate Cruise, but Cruise evidently resented Gilmartin’s attempt to use his influence.

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<sup>259</sup> Cruise to Gilmartin, 18 February 1921 (T.D.A., Gilmartin papers, B4/8-ii/4).

<sup>260</sup> Foley to Nolan, Sept. 1919 (J.P.A., St. Ignatius’ college papers, SC/GALW/45).

## 5.5 Summary

Many people became the victims of violence during the War of Independence, and priests were not excepted. Three priests were killed between November 1920 and May 1921. Of these, ‘Father Griffin’ soon became a byword for the brutal victimisation of innocent Irish Catholics by the Black and Tans. Griffin’s fame was enhanced by the erection of monuments over his final resting place in Loughrea and over his temporary grave in Cloughscoiltia. Moreover, a road bearing his name was constructed in Galway and – by Irish standards surely the most important tribute – ‘Fr. Griffin’s G.A.A. club’ was established in the city in the 1940s.<sup>261</sup> It is no longer possible to trace the identity of Griffin’s killers or their exact motive. The most likely explanation is that they were members of the Crown forces and that their reason for choosing Griffin as their target was his connection with his fellow-curate O’Meehan, who was suspected of having been present at the killing of the spy Patrick Joyce. The two other priests who were also killed similarly became symbols in the minds of republicans of how British oppression of the Irish people and latter-day persecution of the Catholic religion were linked.

Priests were also targeted by Crown forces in many non-lethal ways. Thus they received death threats, either directly by policemen or soldiers after an I.R.A. ambush or delivered to them in the form of anonymous notes. Shots were fired at them as they were cycling or walking along the road, and were sometimes fired purposefully into their houses. Other priests were physically assaulted, such as Father Ryan of Roscrea, who was tied to a fence, and Fathers O’Reilly and McMahon, who were taken outside and beaten. On other occasions, priests had their houses destroyed or burnt, or possessions stolen, and in a few cases priests were forced to join others in carrying out repairs on sabotaged roads. All of these incidents naturally had a psychological effect on the priests who were at the receiving end of them, just as they must have had for lay victims. Some priests were defiant, while others showed signs of the strain.

The previous chapter has analysed evidence for the involvement of priests in republican violence. The present section has examined a number of other cases of priests under arrest. Some of these, such as the Walsh and Campion arrests, were related only indirectly to the conflict. The Coyle case, on the other hand, was based on strong – and well-founded – suspicions of republican activism. The arrangement made by Coyle and his fellow-

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<sup>261</sup> See Paddy O’Brien and Mick O’Sullivan (eds), *The first forty years. A history of the Fr. Griffin Gaelic football club and juvenile wing – St. Augustines* (s.l., s.a.).

republican priests just before his first arrest shows that they dealt with the risks involved in a calculated way. Coyle's argument that he objected to being searched as a priest also demonstrates that he was not afraid to use his clerical status to escape the consequences of his seditious activities. His second arrest and the treatment he received afterwards indicates that the government was keen to deal with the problem of republican priests and wished to use Coyle as a test case. Despite the fact that Coyle's life provided ample corroboration of the government's hypotheses, none of this emerged during his incarceration and he was not prosecuted. Delahunty and Loughrey were convicted on really rather minor indictments of the possession of seditious literature. Other priests discussed in chapter 4 – Morley of Headford, Meehan of Castlebar, Dominic, O.S.F.C., Greed and Spain of Killaloe, Gaynor and McKenna of Mullagh, to name but a few – were arrested on more serious charges. Coverage of arrests and convictions of priests shows an eagerness among the press to make maximum use of their propagandistic value. The same was true of the Hickey case and of O'Kennedy's high profile arrest.

The many raids on ecclesiastical buildings carried out by the Crown forces bear out the general suspicion which the authorities harboured with regard to the clergy. Church buildings were surrounded during Sunday mass, especially in rural areas, where such operations served as a convenient net to catch and search the entire local population. Presbyteries were raided very frequently, as were monasteries and convents. Many of these raids were legal and carried out in daylight by uniformed men who identified themselves. On other occasions, however, they took place at night by disguised armed men. Schools run by religious orders were also raided, the added interest for the government authorities being the fact that it allowed inspection of the student population as well as the staff. The fact that such raids were extremely common shows that the Crown forces believed that priests were complicit in republican activities and that incriminating documents and wanted persons could be found in ecclesiastical buildings. Frequently such raids passed without further incident. They were nonetheless reported by the press as proof of a shocking lack of respect for the clergy.

A number of incidents took place that were deemed sacrilegious. The most significant of these was an army patrol's visit to a temporary church in the parish of Dunmore in October 1920. The reason for its renown was the fact that the priest involved was alert to the propagandistic value of the incident and swiftly issued a statement to the press which portrayed events in an unflattering way for the Crown forces. On the face of it other incidents were much more serious – such as the 'frightful desecration' alleged by McKenna and the

occurrences in Creeve and Claudy – but they received much less attention in the press in the absence of a publicity-minded priest. As has been seen in chapter 3, republicans also committed sacrilegious acts – notably the shooting dead of a policeman in Bandon church. But the commission of such acts by the Crown forces took on a much stronger profile in the press.

The British campaign in Ireland had many critics among the clergy. The bishops led the attack, both individually and collectively in the October pastoral. Priests eagerly followed in their footsteps, using sermons and public statements to express indignation and to pour scorn on anything associated with the British government. A previous chapter has found that clerical denunciation of republican violence was widespread. This was even more true for condemnation of British violence. Both bishops and priests were well aware of their own public relations potential. O’Doherty’s list of outrages was an example of this awareness and so was Doyle’s refusal of a British military distinction.

Before the guerrilla war reached its peak during 1920, priests engaged frequently in acts of civil disobedience. Mostly this involved attending at proscribed meetings. Funerals also provided priests with the opportunity to show their contempt for the authorities. Clerical opposition to British violence was frequent and acts of defiance numerous. War conditions also caused all manner of practical problems for the day-to-day running of parishes. For most clerics, having to put up with bothersome incidents was the most common way in which hostilities impinged upon their lives. Often they were indiscriminately imposed upon the population and not targeted especially at priests. This did not stop some clever clergymen, such as Cardinal Logue, from presenting them as proof of intentional anticlericalism on the part of the Crown forces.

Not all priests were critical of the British authorities and there is in fact evidence of limited clerical support for the Crown forces. Often this took the form of public statements to the effect that members of the R.I.C. were good Catholics who did not deserve to be killed. Other priests were clearly loyalists. Sometimes this was because of continued links with the British army in which they had served as chaplains. A handful of priests took their support for the Crown forces to its extreme and engaged in espionage. Apart from showing up a truly startling lack of fraternal charity in some quarters in the Dominican order, the Collins case also shows that clerics whose treachery was discovered were likely to escape severe penalties much more easily than their lay counterparts. Apart from Collins, the evidence found for spying priests is not very strong. It is likely that a brother priest of the Killaloe diocese made representations to the R.I.C. to have a heavy sentence imposed on Gaynor, but the extent of

his interaction with the authorities did not amount to passing on incriminating information. And the Brennan case shows that a priest openly threatened the I.R.A. that he would go to the Crown forces with information if the planned operation in his parish was not called off.

Everyday contact between the leaderships of state and church continued as usual throughout the conflict. Mostly these exchanges were courteous, such as the correspondence between Fitzalan and Byrne and the meeting between Walsh and French. Sometimes they reflected increasing mutual frustration, such as the correspondence between Greenwood and Logue and that between Cruise and Gilmartin. This chapter has investigated the response of the clergy to the British campaign. Before we can safely draw a final conclusion, it is necessary to place the clerical response to political violence in its wider context.



## 6. CONTEXT OF THE CLERGY'S RESPONSE TO POLITICAL VIOLENCE

### 6.1 Relations among clerics

#### 6.1.1 *Secular clergy*

As chapter 4 has shown, differing views on Sinn Féin and the Volunteers divided the clergy even within the same diocese. The same chapter has also demonstrated that such political divisions in the dioceses of Dublin and Ferns coincided with informal clerical factions that predated the rise of advanced republicanism and were essentially unrelated to national politics. Divisions between priests were also reflected among the Irish and British clerical communities in Rome. Dermot Keogh has described John Hagan's exertions to counter the 'Anglo-Vatican tradition' which existed at the Vatican and which he feared were detrimental to the cause of Irish separatism.<sup>1</sup> Hagan maintained close contact with Sinn Féin leaders in Ireland, including leading I.R.A. men. Thus Father Patrick Doyle, rector of Knockbeg college, recounted how Michael Collins asked him to convey secret information to Hagan when he found out that Doyle was planning to visit Rome in the spring of 1920.<sup>2</sup> Doyle reached the city at the same time as Archbishop Daniel Mannix of Melbourne after his ill-fated attempt to visit Ireland. Mannix asked Doyle to join him for an audience with Pope Benedict XV in Easter week 1920. During Mannix's audience with the pope, Doyle and the other members of the archbishop's retinue were led into a throne room and told to kneel down in expectation of the pope's entry.

Standing near the door, leading into the private library, were a noble guard and a papal chamberlain of British nationality, a convert member of a well-known industrial company of manufacturers. In a tone that was made perfectly audible for us he sneeringly remarked to the noble guard, 'Well, I expect his grace is being taught his lesson this morning'. The remark put a very painful strain on our sense of fraternal charity. When is throttling legitimate?<sup>3</sup>

This question must also have been at the front of Father Charlie Culligan's mind one day in the spring of 1920. Culligan, curate in Kilmihil, County Clare, found himself arraigned before two of his fellow priests and two laymen during what Father Patrick Gaynor of

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<sup>1</sup> Keogh, *Vatican*, pp 7-75.

<sup>2</sup> Doyle, 'Anthology', p. 22.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 26.

Mullagh described as ‘an informal court-martial’.<sup>4</sup> During an attack on the R.I.C. in Kilmihil the Volunteers had sustained one fatality. The British authorities planned to hold an inquest into the Volunteer’s death and Dublin Castle sent a senior barrister to represent the Crown. This man and the coroner were both staying in Kilmihil, and Culligan felt obliged to invite them to dinner at his house. Gaynor believed that he could have done this ‘with only slight offense to local sentiment’, but as Culligan was president of the republican district court and chairman of the West Clare Sinn Féin executive, this was surely a strange decision by any standards. In any case, Culligan set about trying to procure a suitable joint of meat in the village, but without success. Culligan then went to the post office, telephoned the local police barracks and asked if they could send out a police car or lorry to bring him a leg of mutton for dinner.<sup>5</sup> It so happened that the postmaster was a Volunteer, who immediately explained the error of his ways to Culligan. The curate then telephoned the barracks again to cancel the order, but word had already spread about the incident. According to Gaynor it had convinced people that ‘F[ather] Charlie was frightened out of his wits and was anxious to placate the Tans’. After many deliberations, Gaynor’s fellow curate, Father Michael McKenna, and Gaynor decided to court-martial Culligan, who admitted the lapse and pleaded drunkenness! On Gaynor’s instigation he was reprimanded and told to go on his knees to take the pledge.<sup>6</sup> What is remarkable about this farcical story is that a priest was compelled to appear before a court comprised primarily of curates of a neighbouring parish. The fact that Gaynor, McKenna and Culligan shared a common priestly identity did not supersede their role as members of the republican administration.

One may well ask what the parish priest of Mullagh made of his curates’ extracurricular activities. According to Gaynor, Father John Glynn, whose leaking church roof was deemed by Fitzpatrick to have been a major reason for his support for Sinn Féin, ‘preferred milder curates, but he was very kind to us and let us go our own way without a word of censure’.<sup>7</sup> Although Fitzpatrick reported that Glynn had been the first in the diocese to set up a Sinn Féin club in his parish in 1917, Gaynor wrote that Glynn’s sympathies lay with Sinn Féin, but that he took no part in the movement. By 1919, in any case, Glynn does not appear to have played much of a role anymore in local republicanism. In fact, Gaynor’s memoir shows that Glynn was on friendly terms with British government authorities and with loyalists. Thus the local R.I.C. sergeant had told Glynn that he had ‘a pile of reports a foot

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<sup>4</sup> Gaynor, ‘Sinn Fein days’, inserted page between pp 582-3.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 464. Fitzpatrick, *Politics*, p. 118.

high' against Gaynor, all of them submitted by parishioners.<sup>8</sup> Glynn also had family ties with a local loyalist at the centre of a kidnapping case in April 1920. Gaynor's role in this unsavoury affair was to be his downfall.

Glynn's relative was a justice of the peace called Christy Kelly. He had become embroiled with the Volunteers, and in response to his request for protection, a company of soldiers was sent from Kilrush. When Kelly's son ventured out to a shop in Mullagh, two Volunteers who happened to be around seized the opportunity and kidnapped him. The Kellys were told that their son would be shot if there were further raids on houses in Kelly's neighbourhood.<sup>9</sup> Christy's wife came to see Gaynor and he agreed to contact the brigade commandant to ask for terms on behalf of the Kellys. When terms came and were accepted, Gaynor wrote and signed a guarantee of protection for the Kellys, this time 'on behalf of the Volunteers'. Moreover, Gaynor accepted the undertakings signed by Kelly to renounce British protection and resign his justiceship of the peace and kept them in a drawer in his house. When the Kellys mentioned Gaynor's role to the police, his house was raided and the Kelly documents were found in his room. His subsequent arrest prompted him to lament the 'treachery' of the Kellys.<sup>10</sup> The remarkable thing about the affair – apart from the fact that Gaynor blamed parents for objecting to their son's kidnapping – was that Kelly kept in touch with his cousin, Father Glynn, throughout proceedings. While negotiations between the Kellys and Gaynor were ongoing, Gaynor's parish priest continued to visit his relatives and conveyed messages from them to his curate.<sup>11</sup> After Gaynor's arrest, Glynn just as easily drove to Ennistymon to threaten papal protests if Gaynor were not released immediately.<sup>12</sup> It was obviously possible for priests in the same parish to have connections on opposite sides of the divide without any adverse effect on their relations.

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<sup>8</sup> Gaynor, 'Sinn Fein days', pp 479-80.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 506-7

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 508.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 507.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 517.

### 6.1.2 Religious clergy

In January 1917 two members of the Jesuit community in Milltown Park, Dublin, wrote to their provincial, Father Thomas Nolan, to complain about a book that was being read in the refectory during dinner. The offending publication was William O'Brien's 1905 *Recollections*. Father William Keane, an Englishman, complained that it was 'very hard to have to sit and listen to insulting language flung freely at England and those loyal to her'.<sup>13</sup> He objected to the glorification of rebellion and the threats of future rebellion which the book contained, 'and this amidst murmurs of approval from disloyalists sitting near me'. Keane's complaints to the rector of Milltown Park had resulted in the decision to omit the offensive portions of the book. But according to Keane this did not suffice, because it was the whole tone of the book which was objectionable and not merely one or two passages. Besides, the rector's decision had caused the anti-British section to gather round the book after dinner to see 'what insults we have been spared'. Keane was also displeased that some Irish members of the community had expressed amusement at the fact that five of the six readers chosen to read the book were Englishmen.

In a letter written on the same day, an Australian member of the community, Father H. B. Loughnan, raised the same objection. He described the response which the O'Brien readings received in the community:

As you know feeling is very sharply divided on the recent rebellion and as a result, community life has become extremely hard. But now familiar intercourse at recreation is made even more difficult where one meets men who while sitting beside one in the refectory have murmured applause at statements which an Englishman must regard as disloyal.<sup>14</sup>

Nolan's response to these letters is not known. A reference to readings in the refectory in a memorial of visitation in the house of studies in Tullabeg, County Offaly, a few years later perhaps indicates that communities had been instructed to revert to exclusively religious topics: 'the reading in the refectory ... which is done at supper should be devoted *exclusively* to the lives of the saints and distinguished men of the Society'.<sup>15</sup> The prohibition in the next

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<sup>13</sup> Keane to Nolan, 28 Jan. 1917 (J.P.A., Milltown Park papers, FM/MILL/72).

<sup>14</sup> Loughnan to Nolan, 28 Jan. 1917 (J.P.A., Milltown Park papers, FM/MILL/73).

<sup>15</sup> Memorial of visitation, W. Potter, S.J., 13 Feb. 1922, in 'Memorial of visitation (Noviceship & House of Studies)' (J.P.A., Tullabeg papers, FM/TULL/25). Italics in the original.

sentence of ‘books by Protestant authors treating in any way religious matters’ indicates, however, that the problem in Tullabeg had been of confessional rather than a political nature.

Disagreement about the reading of books in Milltown Park and Tullabeg was but a minor matter compared to the divisions that plagued the Gardiner Street Jesuit community in Dublin. Richard Mulcahy, chief of staff of the I.R.A., received a letter in June 1921 from the Dáil’s defence ministry reporting that ex-army chaplain Father Joseph Wrafter of Gardiner Street had been accused of deleting from the dead list in St. Francis Xavier’s church the names of two I.R.A. members killed during the previous month’s botched attack on the Custom House.<sup>16</sup> Mulcahy’s correspondent wrote that ‘the president wishes to have this proved’, and asked Mulcahy to have the matter investigated. It is difficult to tell what either de Valera or any other official of the Dáil administration were planning to do about a priest who had removed names from the dead list in his church. Significantly, Mulcahy’s correspondent also revealed that the informant who had made the accusation was ‘a member of the same order, living at the same place’, who wished to remain anonymous. In the event, information received proved that a mass had been celebrated by a different priest in the community for the dead men and that the Gardiner Street community had therefore not been lacking in its pastoral duties. But the fact that one Jesuit was informing on another community member to the republican leadership shows that divisions ran deep in the Society of Jesus.

The superiors of religious orders from time to time instructed the members of their province to abstain from political statements. They did this not only to prevent the political views of members becoming public, but also to prevent disharmony within the community itself. Thus Father William Power, S.J., visitor to the Irish Jesuit province, addressed a letter to his confreres in September 1922 advising them to ‘shun with the deepest aversion the confines of the political arena, and to live and move and have [their] being in an atmosphere far exalted above all earthly strife and tumult’.<sup>17</sup> But such lofty detachment did not come easily to all Irish Jesuits, and some brethren had to be exhorted frequently to spurn earthly divisions and seek the things that are above. Thus the rector of Crescent college, Limerick, Father William Hackett’s school, had a notice read at table in April 1920, which asked the members of the community

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<sup>16</sup> Anon. to Mulcahy, 10 June 1921 (U.C.D.A., Mulcahy papers, P7/A/19). Wrafter ex-army chaplain: *I.C.D. 1919*, p. 329.

<sup>17</sup> ‘Letter addressed to the Fathers and Brothers of the Irish Province by the Very Rev. William Potter, S.J., Visitor’, 17 Sept. 1922 (B.C.A., Headmaster’s annual files, HDM/REC/13). The allusion is to Epimenides’ poem *Cretica*, quoted in Acts 17:28.

to abstain, as far as possible, from talking about political matters to externs [and] before servants. Among ourselves, in the interests of charity, each one [should] be careful not to say anything that could offend the susceptibilities of others, who may perhaps have different political views.<sup>18</sup>

Although Hackett had uncharitably referred to his students as ‘seonins’ for their lack of nationalist fervour, his conversation with the three strangers who raided his room in November 1920 shows that he did usually have the interests of charity in mind.<sup>19</sup> He asked the raiders not to search all the rooms of the house, because ‘you will cause a great shock to some of the old Fathers who are free from blame as far as want of loyalty is concerned. Nor will you find arms or sedition there’.<sup>20</sup> An entry in the minister’s journal for Crescent college shows that this request had quite the reverse effect: most rooms were visited during the raid and the ones that had been skipped were searched during a second raid three days later.<sup>21</sup> Hackett’s prediction of the effects on the nervous state of his confreres turned out to be entirely accurate. The rector of Mungret college, Father John Fahy, S.J., wrote some days later to the provincial that ‘Brother Murphy’s nerves have been unsteadied by the Crescent raid: he seems to think that he himself was marked out as a victim!’<sup>22</sup>

Jesuits were not the only religious who needed an admonition to steer clear of politics. In November 1918, the master general of the Dominican order, the Dutchman Father Louis Theissling, wrote to the Irish provincial, Father Finbar Ryan, O.P., to urge his Irish confreres not to express their views in public or even among themselves in private.<sup>23</sup> Ryan brought the matter to the province’s attention again twice in 1922. In a letter to the priors of the province in January of that year, he quoted from a second letter written by Theissling, expressing the hope that none of the Irish Dominicans would say or do anything out of harmony with the hierarchy’s view on the treaty.<sup>24</sup> And in a second letter, Ryan reminded those involved in the mission season about to open in May 1922 that the prohibition against political references in

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<sup>18</sup> Entry for 14 Apr. 1920 in ‘Minister’s Journal. Sept. 1920 to Dec. 31<sup>st</sup>. 1927’ (J.P.A., Crescent college papers, SC/CRES/4/2/2). The rector of Clongowes Wood College had a similar notice read in the school in 1914. He feared that private opinions vented by members of staff would be presented outside the school as ‘the opinion of the Jesuits in Clongowes’. Notice from rector, 5 Dec. 1914 (C.W.C.A., CWC/SCH/305).

<sup>19</sup> See 4.1.3 and Hackett, ‘Seven years’, p. 1.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.

<sup>21</sup> Entry for 12 Nov. 1920 in ‘Minister’s Journal Sept. 1920 to Dec. 31<sup>st</sup>. 1927’ (J.P.A., Crescent college papers, SC/CRES/4/2/2). Entry for 15 Nov. 1920 in *ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> Fahy to Nolan, 25 Nov. 1920 (J.P.A., Mungret college papers, SC/MUNG/257).

<sup>23</sup> Theissling to Ryan, 23 Nov. 1918 (Dominican Provincial Archives [D.P.A.]). This and the following references were kindly provided to me by the archivist, Rev. Hugh Fenning, O.P.

<sup>24</sup> Ryan to priors, 19 Jan. 1922 (D.P.A., Letters of provincials).

public church utterances was still in force.<sup>25</sup> He contended that in the disturbed state of the times ‘it is all the more necessary that the people should find in the church and its services an influence of calm, not of further agitation’ and warned that the missionaries ‘must take particular pains to avoid the temptation to obtrude your personal political opinions in public, as well as that of purchasing a cheap personal popularity with a section of the people’. Sometimes the political statements of religious priests caused the bishop of the diocese in which they worked to complain to their superiors. This happened in 1922 to Father Dominic Enright, O.F.M., the provincial of the Irish Franciscans. Bishop Bernard Hackett of Waterford and Lismore – himself a Redemptorist – complained about the political activities of a Franciscan friar in Clonmel, County Tipperary, by the name of Father Michael Connolly, O.F.M. Enright wrote to Hackett that Connolly’s stridently republican views during the Civil War surprised him, because Connolly had previously ‘exhibited the spirit of obedience to superiors. Strange as it may seem just now, previous to the signing of the treaty he was opposed to all physical force in the struggle for national freedom’.<sup>26</sup>

Superiors also took steps to rid themselves of troublesome priests. Transferring problematic clerics to other houses within or outside of the country was a doubly effective measure. It placated the British authorities and it protected the offender from prosecution or a more sinister fate. After the November 1920 raids on Crescent college, Hackett was transferred to Belvedere college in Dublin, although he spent the next two years acting as a courier between I.R.A. leaders in Dublin and Robert Barton and Erskine Childers in Annamoe, County Wicklow. He was eventually sent to Australia by the provincial in September 1922.<sup>27</sup> Another Limerick priest was moved out of the city by his superiors in November 1920. Father Joseph Hennessy, O.E.S.A., was the prior of the Augustinian community in Limerick and vice-president of the Limerick city Sinn Féin *comhairle ceanntair*. He had been closely involved with the Volunteers ever since their foundation in 1913.<sup>28</sup> Hennessy’s reputation for republicanism was founded among other things on his attempt to ensure that the Limerick Volunteers ignored Eoin MacNeill’s countermanding order on Easter Sunday 1916. That he had such a reputation is confirmed by an I.R.A. veteran

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<sup>25</sup> Ryan to Anon., 5 May 1922 (D.P.A., Letters of provincials).

<sup>26</sup> Enright to Hackett, 29 Aug. 1922 (Waterford and Lismore Diocesan Archives [W.D.A.], Bernard Hackett papers, B/H10.34).

<sup>27</sup> Dennett, ‘’’Tis sixty years’, pp 10, 15 and 16.

<sup>28</sup> Thomas C. Butler, *The Augustinians in Limerick* (Limerick, 1988), p. 37. This and the reference in footnote 31 were kindly provided to me by the archivist, Rev. David Kelly, O.S.A. Vice-president of the *comhairle ceanntair*: List of Sinn Féin officers (N.L.I., MS 5649).

who told Ernie O'Malley that Hennessy was 'a fine priest and very loyal to us'.<sup>29</sup> And Hackett wrote in his account of the Crescent college raid that one of the theories floated to explain the event was that the raiders had been looking for Hennessy.<sup>30</sup> The Augustinian priest received a death threat in November 1920, and his provincial was warned by anonymous persons to move him out of Limerick. When Father Michael Griffin's body was discovered near Galway some days later, the provincial lost his nerve and transferred Hennessy out of the country. This exile had no adverse effects on Hennessy's subsequent career, as he was elected provincial himself only a few years after his return.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Ernie O'Malley notebooks (U.C.D.A., O'Malley papers, P17b/116, p. 55).

<sup>30</sup> Hackett, 'Seven years', p. 14.

<sup>31</sup> F. X. Martin, 'Fr. Joseph Hennessy, O.S.A. The patriot', *Limerick Souvenir* (1962), pp 20-22, at p. 22.



### 6.1.3 Bishops

Bishops discouraged their priests from becoming too deeply involved in politics. The 1917 *Code of canon law* allowed priests to seek election as members of legislative assemblies, on condition that they received permission from the appropriate ecclesiastical authorities. They were normally forbidden to accept public office involving the exercise of civil jurisdiction unless they had obtained an indult from the Holy See.<sup>32</sup> Priests in fact served as members of parliament in several European countries during the 1910s and 1920s, usually as representatives of Catholic political parties, such as Willem Nolens in the Netherlands and Ludwig Kaas in Germany.<sup>33</sup> A similar tradition of priestly parliamentarianism did not emerge in Ireland, for the simple reason that priests – both Catholic and Anglican – were barred by civil law from taking seats in the House of Commons.<sup>34</sup> But the fact that they could not stand for parliament did not deter priests from becoming heavily involved in politics in many other ways.

It was to curb too great a clerical propensity to engage in the affairs of the world that the 1875 and 1900 plenary synods of the Irish church enjoined priests to keep out of politics. The first such synod – held in Thurles in 1850 – remained silent about politics except to exhort parish priests to ensure that secret societies would not be established in their parishes.<sup>35</sup> The 1875 first synod of Maynooth, however, admonished all priests not to enter into arguments and disputes concerning political matters in public meetings or in magazines or newspapers, ‘lest priestly dignity suffer some detriment, or that charity which is the strength of the church be violated, or they become embroiled in strife or conflict with

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<sup>32</sup> Election as members of legislative assemblies: *C.I.C.*, canon 139, par. 4: ‘Senatorum aut oratorum legibus ferendis quos deputatos vocant munus ne sollicitent neve acceptent sine licentia Sanctae Sedis [aut] tum sui Ordinarii, tum Ordinarii loci in quo electio facienda est’; public office: *ibid.*, canon 139, par. 2: ‘Sine apostolico indulto ... officia publica, quae exercitium laicalis iurisdictionis vel administrationis secumferunt, ne assumant’. See 6.2.2 for a discussion of the precise meaning of this canon.

<sup>33</sup> For Nolens see J. P. Gribling, *Willem Hubert Nolens 1860-1931. Uit het leven van een priester-staatsman* (Assen, 1978); for Kaas see Georg May, *Ludwig Kaas. Der Priester, der Politiker und der Gelehrte aus der Schule von Ulrich Stutz*, 3 vols. (Amsterdam, 1981-2).

<sup>34</sup> The Second Test Act of 1678 excluded from sitting in the House of Commons all persons – clerical and lay – unwilling to take an oath abjuring central tenets of the Catholic faith. The House of Commons (Clergy Disqualification) Act of 1801 excluded all persons ordained a deacon or priest by a bishop, and ministers of the Church of Scotland. The Roman Catholic Relief Act of 1829 removed the anti-Catholic provisions of the Second Test Act, but specifically excluded Catholic priests from sitting in the House. See Oonagh Gay, ‘The House of Commons (*Removal of Clergy Disqualification*) Bill. Bill 34 of 2000-01’, House of Commons Library Research Paper 01/11, 26 Jan. 2001, <http://www.parliament.uk/documents/commons/lib/research/rp2001/rp01-011.pdf> [retrieved 26 Aug. 2010].

<sup>35</sup> *Decreta synodi plenariae episcoporum Hiberniae apud Thurles habitae, anno MDCCCL* (Dublin, 1851), p. 39, ‘Decretum de parochis’, art. 14: ‘Parochos monemus ut maximam diligentiam in eo ponant, ut hujusmodi societates in suis paroeciis non instituantur’.

others'.<sup>36</sup> The 1900 second synod of Maynooth reaffirmed this article and also stipulated in its 'decree to avoid dissensions among churchmen' that priests were forbidden from assuming any public or civil position without the bishop's written permission.<sup>37</sup> In a different article the same decree also repeated and confirmed a statute adopted by the bishops at a meeting in 1882 which regulated the attendance of priests at 'public meetings'. The statute prohibited all priests from participating in public meetings without the express permission of the parish priest in whose parish the meeting took place and prohibited curates from attending such meetings even in their own parish without their parish priest's permission.<sup>38</sup>

Of course it was a matter for debate where 'politics' started and the 'moral law' ended. Churchmen frequently stretched the definition of the latter to warrant interference in many an issue of which the moral or religious relevance had not previously been observed. As Murray has noted, canonical provisions gave some legal grounds for this practice. Thus the 1853 provincial council of Dublin – attended by the archbishop of Dublin and his suffragans – gave the familiar exhortation that priests must not speak about 'merely secular things or political elections ... which may easily encourage disagreement between the pastors and the people, and excite great unrest for souls'.<sup>39</sup> However, in a following decree, the same council expressly allowed priests '[to] show pious solicitude lest detriment to religion flow from political elections'. Murray has indicated what form such involvement might take: 'canvassing, resolutions of support for candidates, conveying voters to the polls, addressing

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<sup>36</sup> *Acta et decreta synodi plenariae episcoporum Hiberniae habitae apud Maynutiam, an. MDCCCLXXV* (Dublin, 1877), pp 95-6, 'Decretum de vita et honestate clericorum', art. 128: 'Hortamur ut lites et jurgia inter se de rebus politicis in conventibus publicis, et magis adhuc in foliis seu ephemeridibus publicis, non ineant sacerdotes, ne dignitas sacerdotalis aliquid detrimenti capiat, ne charitas illa, quae robur ecclesiae est, violeatur, et ne rixis et contentionibus cum aliis implicentur'.

<sup>37</sup> *Acta et decreta synodi plenariae episcoporum Hiberniae habitae apud Maynutiam an. MDCCC* (Dublin, 1906), p. 121: 'Decretum de dissensionibus inter viros ecclesiasticos evitandis', art. 396: 'Sacerdotes nullum munus publicum et civile sine scripta episcopi licentia sibi assumant'.

<sup>38</sup> *Acta ... MDCCC*, p. 121, art. 397: 'Omnibus sacerdotibus interdictum est quominus conventibus publicis intersint sine expresso parochi consensu, in cuius paroecia conventus habetur ... Vicariis interdictum est etiam in propriis paroeciis huiusmodi conventibus adesse sine parochi consensu'.

<sup>39</sup> Murray, *Oracles*, p. 2. Murray mistakenly calls this synod the 'national council of bishops of 1854'. In fact the council's decrees were binding only in the dioceses of the province of Dublin. See also John H. Whyte, 'Political problems, 1850-1860', in Patrick J. Corish (ed.), *A history of Irish Catholicism* (Dublin and Melbourne, 1967), v, pp 1-40, at pp 31-2. The text of the decrees was published in the same volume that contained the proceedings and decrees of the 1879 Dublin diocesan synod: *Synodus dioecesis Dublinensis, habita in ecclesia Sanctae Crucis, Dublini, die 25 Nov., 1879. Una cum statutis concilii provincialis Dublinensis an. 1853, et synodi dioecesis Dublinensis an. 1831. Necnon aliis documentis usui cleri accommodatis* (Dublin, 1879), pp 56-7: fourth decree: '... stricte prohibemus ne inter missarum sollemnia ... aut omnino in ecclesiis de rebus mere saecularibus, ut de politicis electionibus aut aliis hujusmodi rebus agatur, quae facile dissidia inter pastorem et populum promovere valeant, et magnam animorum commotionem excitare'. Ibid., p. 57: sixth decree: '... Atque prudenter et moderate, ut decet Christi ministrum, et cum dependentia a proprio episcopo solitudinem piam ostendere poterit ne quid detrimenti ex electionibus politicis aut aliis ejusmodi rebus religio capiat'.

meetings, ... hiring intimidatory mobs and ... the supply of intoxicating drink to the electors'.<sup>40</sup>

Bishops took measures against priests whose political activism threatened to take the overhand over their pastoral ministry. Thus Bishop Coyne of Elphin used a statute of the second synod of Maynooth to suspend Father O'Flanagan in 1918 when he had attended political meetings without the local parish priest's permission.<sup>41</sup> Other bishops attempted to persuade rather than to discipline. In December 1920, Father Matthew Lalor, parish priest of Mountmellick, County Laois, wrote to Bishop Foley of Kildare and Leighlin reporting a conversation he had had with another priest of the diocese, Father William Phelan. Lalor and Phelan had spoken about Father Thomas Burbage, curate in Geashill, whose republican activism had been causing Foley some concern.<sup>42</sup> Foley had written to Phelan asking him to talk to Burbage, and Phelan had asked Lalor for advice. Lalor told him to impress on Burbage that Foley's 'interest in him was a mark [and] proof of very real friendship'. Lalor did not think, however, that the bishop's overtures would make much of an impression, because Burbage 'holds his view with such intensity of conviction that arguments which might tell with others are only thrown away upon him'. Thus Burbage met references to the personal danger to which he was exposed with the proverb 'one does not make om[e]lles without breaking eggs'. Nor would a change of parish improve things: "'Coelum non animum" etc!<sup>43</sup> In fact, Lalor asked a friend of Burbage's if the rebellious curate would 'consent to leave himself in the bishop's hands' and he replied: 'F[ather] Burbage w[oul]d not part with his rights as a citizen even to secure a mitre'.

Lalor mentioned that there was 'immediate danger' for Burbage in Geashill. Burbage had been shot at from a military lorry once while cycling through his parish in October 1920, his house had been raided and searched in November of the same year and he was arrested only a few weeks after the Foley correspondence, in January 1921.<sup>44</sup> Perhaps the 'immediate danger' referred to was a reference to threats of violence, but perhaps it referred to some communication from the British authorities to Foley that Burbage would be prosecuted if the

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<sup>40</sup> Murray, *Oracles*, p. 2. Other examples on p. 122. See also Newsinger, 'Sword', p. 611.

<sup>41</sup> Carroll, *Foiled*, pp 82-3.

<sup>42</sup> Lalor to Foley, 26 Dec. 1920 (K.L.D.A., Foley papers, BP17/1920/47). As has been seen, Burbage was president of the North Offaly Sinn Féin *comhairle ceanntair*: List of Sinn Féin officers (N.L.I., MS 5649). Lalor was a frequent advisor of Foley's when it came to priests with troublesome political affiliations, see Murray, *Oracles*, p. 150.

<sup>43</sup> 'Coelum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt': 'they change the sky above them, not their souls, who hurry across the sea'. From Horace's *Epistulae*. Burbage was eventually censured by Foley during the Civil War: McConway, 'Offaly', pp 264-5.

<sup>44</sup> Fired at from military lorry: *Irish Independent*, 16 Oct. 1920; residence searched and Sinn Féin papers found: *ibid.*, 10 Nov. 1920; arrested: *ibid.*, 17 Jan. 1921.

bishop did not take appropriate measures. Such messages had been forthcoming from the Castle for some years. In May 1916, the commander-in-chief of the British army in Ireland, General John Maxwell, wrote to Bishop Thomas O'Dwyer of Limerick to ask that he move two of his priests 'to such employment as will deny their having intercourse with the people'.<sup>45</sup> The priests in question had transgressed by showing support for the Volunteers. O'Dwyer refused Maxwell's request and instead attacked him over the Easter rising executions in a famous letter that was soon published.<sup>46</sup> Miller has pointed out that a request from the secular authorities to a bishop to discipline a radical priest was rare but not unique.<sup>47</sup> In fact, exchanges between Maxwell and the bishops about republican priests during the years following the rising were quite frequent and all indications are that the ecclesiastical authorities usually acceded to the government's wishes.

Thus Bishop James Browne of Ferns addressed Father Michael Murphy, curate in Ferns, County Wexford, in May 1916 saying that he had been commanded by Maxwell 'to remove you out of Ferns to a place "where he will have no intercourse with the people"'.<sup>48</sup> Browne wrote that Murphy would have been arrested for his support for the rising had he been a layman. The bishop grudgingly acknowledged that 'I suppose I cannot put you in a place where you will have no intercourse with the people unless I suspended you', but the next best thing was obviously to change him to the curacy of Taghmon in the far south of the county. He threatened suspension 'should you resume the practices you have of late been engaged in' and told him 'let your motto in future be: ... keep out of politics'. Murphy did not heed this advice, as a list of Sinn Féin officers from January 1920 shows: he was then treasurer of the South Wexford *comhairle ceanntair*.<sup>49</sup>

Browne sent Murphy's parish priest, John Canon Doyle of Ferns, a sarcastic letter which shows that he had no high regard for the government even though he complied with Maxwell's request. He wrote that Murphy 'has given such a shake to the British government that the authorities consider that his continued sojourn in Ferns would ruin that institution'.<sup>50</sup> Browne told Doyle he was sending him another curate 'who is a staunch loyalist, as he was educated in a good seminary and escaped the rebel atmosphere of Maynooth'. This last

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<sup>45</sup> Quoted in Aan de Wiel, *Church*, p. 105.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 106.

<sup>47</sup> Miller, *Church*, pp 331 and 537.

<sup>48</sup> Browne to Murphy, 10 May 1916 (M.A., BMH/CD277).

<sup>49</sup> List of Sinn Féin officers (N.L.I., MS 5649).

<sup>50</sup> Browne to Doyle (copy), undated (M.A., BMH/CD277). See for Murphy's comments on the affair in his witness statement to the Bureau of Military History: Murphy witness statement, pp 11-2 (N.A.I., BMH/WS1277).

comment was a jibe at Doyle. Some years previously, the cathedral chapter of which Doyle was a member had scuppered Browne's plans to establish a philosophy course at St. Peter's college, Wexford, and to move the Ferns philosophy students from Maynooth to Wexford.<sup>51</sup> Murphy's fellow-republican priest, Father Patrick Walsh, curate in Carrick-on-Bannow, was also moved in 1916.<sup>52</sup> The bishop reportedly feared that Walsh would arrive in Wexford 'at the head of five hundred Cleriestown men, fully armed and [that] there would be bloodshed'.<sup>53</sup> As has been seen, in the event Walsh was arrested in September 1920 for driving a motor-car without a permit.<sup>54</sup> Other examples of what Father Thomas Lavin later called a plan on Maxwell's part to silence the 'patriotic priests of Ireland', came from the dioceses of Armagh, Galway, Kerry, Killaloe and Kilmore.<sup>55</sup> It is unclear in some of these cases how the bishop in question responded, but a number of priests were moved. O'Dwyer's response was not only an exception in that it was published, but probably also because it was a refusal.

There was also one case in which overtures about possible ecclesiastical sanctions in lieu of prosecution came from the church itself. As has been seen, in October 1920, Father John Meehan of Castlebar – president of the Sinn Féin West Mayo *comhairle ceanntair* – was arrested for possessing shot gun ammunition and seditious documents. He was brought to Galway, but released immediately on surety. Although the authorities decided that the seditious documents did not warrant prosecution, they awaited further instructions as to the possession of ammunition.<sup>56</sup> At this juncture, the under-secretary received a letter from Archbishop Gilmartin, who asked for a passport for Meehan to go to the United States. Gilmartin blithely asserted that Meehan's intended trip was not connected with the arrest, nor

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<sup>51</sup> Murphy witness statement, p. 12 (N.A.I., BMH/WS1277).

<sup>52</sup> Williams, 'Walsh', p. 13.

<sup>53</sup> Murphy witness statement, p. 12 (N.A.I., BMH/WS1277).

<sup>54</sup> *Irish Independent*, 9 Sept. 1920.

<sup>55</sup> Lavin's comment: Lavin witness statement, p. 4 (N.A.I., BMH/WS1407); Armagh: (Maxwell visits Logue in Maynooth) Privilege, *Logue*, p. 114; Galway: (Father J. W. O'Meehan, C.C. Kinvara) Maxwell to O'Dea, 6 May 1916 (G.D.A., O'Dea papers, box 40, no. 224); Kerry: (Father Curtayne, C.C. Ballybunion) Bushmill to Fitzgerald, 1 Nov. 1917, in file marked 'Headquarters, Irish Command. A2/1913. Defence of the Realm Regulations. Seditious Conduct of R.C. Clergymen. C.M.A. Cork 25/10/17' (T.N.A., WO35/99); Killaloe: (Father Flynn) Dublin Castle statement, 21 Oct. 1917 (K.D.A., Fogarty papers, F9A10); there is no covering letter, but the presence of a statement from the Castle in the K.D.A. suggests that it was sent to Bishop Fogarty by the authorities as evidence accompanying a complaint; Kilmore: (Fathers Coyle and O'Daly) Coyle witness statement, p. 6 (N.A.I., BMH/WS325).

<sup>56</sup> 'Report as to arrest', 12 Oct. 1920, in file marked 'G.H.Q.I. Restoration of Order in Ireland Regs. Revd. J. Meehan. Having shot gun ammunition and Seditious Documents' (T.N.A., WO35/117). President of the *comhairle ceanntair*: List of Sinn Féin officers (N.L.I., MS 5649).

had it any connection with politics.<sup>57</sup> Instead the curate was to take the place of his brother priest in the diocese of Sacramento, who wished to come home to see their father. Gilmartin also assured the under-secretary that there were other ‘purely *ecclesiastical* reasons’ why the applicant should be allowed to leave. The authorities were pleased with the opportunity to get rid of Meehan without a prosecution and Gilmartin received word that his request would be granted, on condition that Meehan would stay in America for six months and that he would not engage in political propaganda there. Gilmartin gave the assurance, the passport was granted and proceedings against Meehan were dropped.<sup>58</sup> Meehan left within days, to the relief of the R.I.C.’s county inspector for Mayo, who wrote in January 1921 that with Meehan ‘one of the strongest supporters of Sinn Fein has gone’.<sup>59</sup> He added that ‘another, Father Carney is preparing to follow him’, perhaps an indication that Gilmartin had also encouraged this Cong curate with Sinn Féin sympathies to visit American relatives.<sup>60</sup>

If we are to believe Gaynor’s memoir, bishops did not always think that a brush with the law was an undesirable thing for a priest. When Gaynor and McKenna were released from prison in 1921, Bishop Fogarty of Killaloe promoted them to important curacies some years before their time, although he took the wise precaution of not appointing the two comrades to the same parish again.<sup>61</sup> Fogarty also invited them to his residence in Westbourne and complimented them on having done credit to the diocese. This treatment contrasted with the way in which Fogarty responded to the actions of two other priests, Fathers John Greed and P. Spain. Curates in Killaloe, they had been arrested in January 1921 for possession of sporting and revolver ammunition and a firearm.<sup>62</sup> They made plea before the court and were released, ‘rather to the bishop’s displeasure’, according to Gaynor.<sup>63</sup> Fogarty could well have regarded matters in this light were it not for the fact that the newspaper reports of the time state that Greed and Spain were not simply released but acquitted. Presumably the bishop did not object to innocence.

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<sup>57</sup> Gilmartin to under-secretary, 15 Nov. 1920, in file marked ‘G.H.Q.I. Restoration of Order in Ireland Regs. Revd. J. Meehan. Having shot gun ammunition and Seditious Documents’ (T.N.A., WO35/117). Italics in original.

<sup>58</sup> Gilmartin to Chaplin, 2 Dec. 1920, in *ibid.*

<sup>59</sup> I.G.M.R., Jan. 1921, p. 23 (T.N.A., CO94/114).

<sup>60</sup> Carney was the treasurer of the South Mayo Sinn Féin *comhairle ceanntair*: List of Sinn Féin officers (N.L.I., MS 5649).

<sup>61</sup> Gaynor, ‘Sinn Fein days’, p. 544.

<sup>62</sup> *Irish Independent*, 15 Jan. 1921.

<sup>63</sup> Gaynor, ‘Sinn Fein days’, p. 544. Gaynor thinks it was not Father P. Spain but Father Tom Meagher. Newspaper reports of the time consistently give the second priest’s name as Spain. *I.C.D. 1921* also gives the names of the Killaloe curates as Greed and Spain, see p. 255. Meagher was a curate in Borrisokane.

In any case, priests of all political hues wished to avoid all too public a clash with the bishops. Thus Father Dominic responded angrily to a report in the *Morning Post* in September 1920 that he was in disagreement with Cardinal Logue's condemnation of an I.R.A. attack on a police patrol in Dundalk earlier that month. In a letter also published in Irish newspapers, Dominic declared: 'I heartily subscribe to his eminence's statement, and likewise deny "that this is an act of war, that it is lawful to shoot at sight anyone wearing a policeman's uniform and honestly discharging the policeman's duties"'.<sup>64</sup> This handsome denial was quite at odds with his private advice to Florence O'Donoghue three months later to 'ambush each day'.<sup>65</sup> It is hardly to be supposed, however, that this presented much of a challenge to Dominic's talent for finding just the right theology to suit the occasion. In private, priests of course had no qualms about criticising bishops for failing to support the republic adequately. Thus the parish priest of Ardee, County Louth, Canon Lyons, wrote to a correspondent in March 1921 that Bishop Cohalan of Cork

is now without a particle of influence over his own people owing to his precipitancy [and] flippancy. He had a great chance with his cathedral city smoking around him [and] he missed it. His chief contribution was – an excommunication which missed fire.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 4 Sept. 1920.

<sup>65</sup> See 4.3.3 and Dominic to O'Donoghue, 15 Dec. 1920 (N.L.I., O'Donoghue papers, MS 31,170).

<sup>66</sup> Lyons to Leslie, 9 Mar. 1921 (N.L.I., Shane Leslie papers, MS 22,838).

## 6.2 Forum and format, theological debates and alternatives

### 6.2.1 Forum and format

Chapter 4 has shown that some priests gave coded messages of support for republican violence. But most public comments by priests were denunciatory. The most common forum for such denunciations was the pulpit and the most common format was the sermon at a Sunday mass. A frequent prologue for newspaper reports of the comments of priests were the words ‘speaking at mass on Sunday’. Sermons have been the subject of some research by historians in recent years, although very little has been written about Catholic preaching in modern Ireland.<sup>67</sup> The 1917 *Code of canon law* prescribed that the parish priest should ‘with the customary sermon ... proclaim the word of God to the people, especially during the mass which is most frequented’ each Sunday and holy day of obligation.<sup>68</sup> The sermon was intended primarily to expound those things ‘which the faithful must believe and do for salvation’, and preachers were exhorted to ‘abstain from profane or abstruse arguments that exceed the common understanding of the audience’. In this way the code hoped to ensure that the ministry of the word would not be exercised ‘with persuasive words of human wisdom, nor with the profane lavishness and enticement of inane and ambitious eloquence’.<sup>69</sup> Archbishop Gilmartin echoed these instructions during a sermon in Westport, County Mayo, in June 1919 when he said that

a priest can have his views about [politics], but he is not to take an aggressive part on either side, because we belong to you and you are all belonging to us; and no priest should take any part in politics that would give offence to any section of his people, because he is the father of all his people.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> See for instance Carolyn Muessig (ed.), *Preacher, sermon and audience in the Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2002); Fletcher and Gillespie, *Preaching*; Heinrich Missala, “Gott mit uns”. *Die deutsche katholische Kriegspredigt 1914-1918* (Munich, 1968) and A. J. Hoover, *The gospel of nationalism: German patriotic preaching from Napoleon to Versailles* (Stuttgart, 1986).

<sup>68</sup> *C.I.C.*, canon 1344, par. 1: ‘Diebus dominicis ceterisque per annum festis de praecepto proprium cuiusque parochi officium est, consueta homilia, praesertim intra missam in qua maior soleat esse populi frequentia, verbum Dei populo nuntiare’.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, canon 1347, par. 1: ‘In sacris concionibus exponenda in primis sunt quae fideles credere et facere ad salutem oportet’; and par. 2: ‘Divini verbi praecones abstineant profanes aut abstrusis argumentis communem audientium captum excedentibus; et evangelicum ministerium non in persuasibilibus humanae sapientiae verbis, non in profano inanis et ambitiosae eloquentiae apparatu et lenocinio ... exercent’.

<sup>70</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 14 June 1919.



In practice neither the canonical injunction against ‘profane arguments’ nor the archbishop’s words prevented priests and bishops from dwelling at length on the state of the country and the merits of republican or government policies during their sermons – including, incidentally, Gilmartin himself. Nevertheless, both the code and Gilmartin’s terms permitted preachers to comment on the morality of political violence – that issue belonged to the realm of ‘things necessary for salvation’. Choosing the subject of a sermon was not left entirely to the preacher’s imagination. Indexes added to the *Roman catechism* – entitled *Praxis catechismi* – distributed parts of the catechism over the Sundays and feast days of the year, thus providing a roster of sermon subjects.<sup>71</sup> Such aids were not binding on priests, however, and they could choose their subject freely. There were frequent reports in newspapers of priests who denounced acts of violence that had taken place during the previous week to their congregation from the pulpit at mass on Sunday.<sup>72</sup> These sermons were not all tedious affairs. There are several reports of priests being overcome by emotion while delivering them. This happened to Canon Corbett, parish priest of Mallow, County Cork, in October 1920. In the course of a sermon condemning the I.R.A. ambush on Mallow barracks and, more specifically, the ensuing reprisal by the Crown forces, Corbett ‘broke down and left the pulpit’.<sup>73</sup>

Sometimes circumstances forced the preacher to deliver an impromptu sermon. On Sunday 25 July 1920, Jeremiah Canon Coholan’s prayers before mass in the parish church of Bandon, County Cork, were interrupted when R.I.C. sergeant William Mulherin was shot at the church door. At mass later that same morning, Coholan spoke eloquently not only about the scandal caused by this crime but also about the state of the country in general and the callousness of the English government in particular.<sup>74</sup> Sunday masses were not the only liturgical occasion where priests addressed the issue of republican violence. Many reports exist of clerics using sermons at funerals – often of victims – or devotional speeches at other religious services such as benediction or a parochial retreat or mission to the same end.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> Maurice Simon, *Le catéchisme de Jean-Paul II. Genèse et évaluation de son commentaire du symbole des apôtres* (Louvain, 2000), p. 26.

<sup>72</sup> See for example Father John Gleeson’s sermon in Lorrha parish church, County Tipperary, appendix 1.1. See also Father P. Coveney, Adm. Tracton Abbey, *Irish Catholic*, 3 Jan. 1920; Canon Doyle, P.P. Ferns, *ibid.*, 17 July 1920; Canon Keenan, P.P. Ballybay, *ibid.*, 2 Apr. 1921. See appendix 2.1 for other instances.

<sup>73</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 9 Oct. 1920. See also the case of Father John Considine, C.C. Gort, *ibid.*, 6 Nov. 1920, Father Peter Davis, P.P. Barna, *ibid.*, 27 Nov. 1920 and Bishop Hallinan of Limerick, *ibid.*, 19 Mar. 1921.

<sup>74</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 31 July 1920.

<sup>75</sup> See for example Archbishop Gilmartin of Tuam, *Irish Catholic*, 25 Sept. 1920; Father Anthony O’Neill, C.C. Lifford, *ibid.*, 23 Oct. 1920; Canon McMahon, P.P. Nenagh, *ibid.*; Msgr MacAlpine, P.P. Clifden, *ibid.*, 26 Mar. 1921. See appendix 2.1 for further instances.

On numerous occasions the local bishop wrote a letter to the parish priest of a parish where violence had taken place, with the instruction to read the letter publicly at the masses on the subsequent Sunday.<sup>76</sup> Sometimes these letters were addressed not to one parish only, but to all parishes in the locality or the diocese.<sup>77</sup> Occasionally, this placed priests in a difficult position when they believed that their bishop's comments were inopportune. This happened to Father J. McKeone, administrator of Dundalk, when an R.I.C. patrol was ambushed in his parish by the I.R.A. in August 1920, resulting in the death of a constable. Cardinal Logue wrote a public letter vigorously denouncing the outrage. However, before McKeone had a chance to read the letter on Sunday, Crown forces carried out reprisals in Dundalk and McKeone was concerned that Logue's letter might alienate the traumatised congregation. After having read the letter, he

said the cardinal had addressed them on certain moral duties, and his words should be heard with respect and obeyed ... Had [Logue] known [of the reprisal] he would, of course, have condemned and repudiated it in the strongest possible terms, and he would have sympathised with the relatives of those who had lost their lives.<sup>78</sup>

Apart from occasional public letters and the regular pastoral letters for Advent and Lent, bishops also seized the opportunity afforded them by canonical visitations to speak to the parish congregation, usually after mass on Sunday.<sup>79</sup> Similarly, confirmation visits gave them the chance not only to examine the doctrinal knowledge of their initiates, but also to address the children's parents about politics and war.<sup>80</sup> Moreover, bishops sometimes sent copies of their public letters to the press for publication. When Bishop Cohalan issued his excommunication decree in December 1920 he was obliged to give some thought to the matter of its promulgation, as this was a canonical condition for its validity. He wrote a letter to the editor of the *Cork Examiner* starting thus: 'Dear sir – Kindly give me space to publish

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<sup>76</sup> Thus Bishop O'Dea of Galway in Ennistymon, *Irish Catholic*, 16 Aug. 1919; Archbishop Harty in Drom and Inch, *ibid.*, 20 Mar. 1920; Bishop Mulhern of Dromore in Warrenpoint, *ibid.*, 19 Feb. 1921. See appendix 2.1 for further instances.

<sup>77</sup> Thus Archbishop Gilmartin, *Irish Catholic*, 12 June 1920; Bishop O'Dea, *ibid.*, 2 Oct. 1920 and Cardinal Logue, *ibid.*, 12 Mar. 1921.

<sup>78</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 4 Sept. 1920.

<sup>79</sup> Thus Bishop Fogarty in Miltown Malbay, *Irish Catholic*, 8 May 1920; Archbishop Harty in Knocklong, *ibid.*, 24 May 1919; Tipperary, *ibid.*, 11 Sept. 1920 and Galbally, *ibid.*, 24 May 1921. Diocesan bishops were required by canon law to visit all parishes and institutions in their diocese at least once every five years: *C.I.C.*, canons 343-6.

<sup>80</sup> Thus for example Archbishop Gilmartin in Claremorris, *Irish Catholic*, 24 May 1919; Bishop Foley of Kildare and Leighlin in Edenderry, *ibid.*, 9 Oct. 1920; Bishop Hackett of Waterford and Lismore in Grangemockler, *ibid.*, 4 June 1921. See appendix 2.1 for further instances.

and thus promulgate the following decree: ...'.<sup>81</sup> Priests sometimes also wrote directly to the newspapers to express their views, such as Canon Murphy of Kilmanagh in July 1920, whose letter criticising extreme nationalism has been quoted in chapter 3.<sup>82</sup> On several occasions priests convened ad hoc public meetings of Catholics in the parish to pass a resolution condemning deeds of bloodshed or destruction. Thus the parish priest of Kilfenora, Father Francis Cassidy, presided over 'a hastily-summoned meeting' to denounce an ambush on a number of constables in July 1919. And Peter Canon Bourke, parish priest of Clarecastle, County Clare, presided over a comparable meeting which denounced the destruction of the local Protestant church in May 1920.<sup>83</sup> Similarly, the diocesan bishop sometimes convened a conference of local clergy to discuss events and issue a public statement. This happened in Lisdoonvarna, County Clare, in September 1920, when Bishop O'Dea met the priests of the diocese of Kilfenora to condemn an I.R.A. ambush and British reprisals in Rineen. It also took place in Navan, County Meath, in the same month, when Bishop Gaughran met priests to denounce similar events in Trim.<sup>84</sup>

Two letters sent by William MacFeely, parish priest of Waterside, Derry, to Archbishop Walsh in September 1920 reveal another forum for communication with parishioners about the morality of the I.R.A. campaign. MacFeely told Walsh that he 'should like to know what is the status of the Volunteers as a body from the authoritative point of view. Do they possess moral authority to act ... ?'<sup>85</sup> Walsh's reply has not survived in the Dublin diocesan archives, but MacFeely wrote a second letter some days later. He explained:

owing to certain individuals asking me whether they could with a safe conscience join the organization to which I referred considering that in carrying out its aims there would probably be lives lost etc I found myself unable to give a decided answer ...<sup>86</sup>

MacFeely said that he 'and others [were] very circumspect when replying to querists as to the liceity of joining the body'. In spite of his circumspection, MacFeely revealed that he was himself in favour of giving his 'querists' positive advice: 'It would be more satisfactory if we could say without reservations, that it is morally lawful to join the organization'. In any case

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<sup>81</sup> *Cork Examiner*, 12 Dec. 1920. For Cohalan's dealings with the *Cork Examiner*, see Ian Kenneally, 'Reports from a "bleeding Ireland": the *Cork Examiner* during the Irish War of Independence', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, cviii (2003), pp 93-104, at p. 96.

<sup>82</sup> See 3.1.2 and *Irish Catholic*, 24 July 1920.

<sup>83</sup> Clarecastle: *Irish Catholic*, 19 July 1919. Kilfenora: *ibid*, 1 May 1920.

<sup>84</sup> Lisdoonvarna: *Irish Catholic*, 2 Oct. 1920; Navan: *ibid*.

<sup>85</sup> MacFeely to Walsh, 17 Sept. 1920 (D.D.A., Walsh papers, 380/2).

<sup>86</sup> MacFeely to Walsh, 28 Sept. 1920 (D.D.A., Walsh papers, 380/2).

the correspondence shows that parishioners had approached MacFeely and other priests to ask them whether they could, in good conscience, join the I.R.A. This demonstrates that at least a number of potential recruits took clerical opinion of the morality of the I.R.A. seriously. The MacFeely letters also illustrate that the *forum internum* was another important stage for the expression of clerical views – and by the nature of things one that has left few traces in archives and newspapers.

Priests and bishops also availed of their position as patrons, spiritual directors and chairmen of organisations to give voice to their opinions. Thus in November 1919, Canon Walsh of Ballymurn, County Wexford, addressed a meeting of the local temperance society to condemn crime and outrage. Dean Ryan of Cashel denounced the same at a meeting of his local temperance society in February 1920.<sup>87</sup> And Father T. Murphy, S.J., used the occasion of a public lecture on the topic of ‘The soul of Ireland’, given at the Mansion House in Dublin in December 1919, to express similar views.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> Walsh: *Irish Catholic*, 22 Nov. 1919; Ryan: *ibid.*, 7 Feb. 1920. See also Bishop Cohalan’s address to the annual meeting of the Cork Catholic Young Men’s Society in Feb. 1919: *ibid.*, 15 Feb. 1919.

<sup>88</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 13 Dec. 1919.

### 6.2.2 Theological debates

As has been seen in a previous chapter, it is not helpful when trying to explain the clergy's response to violence to postulate a stark contradiction between political pragmatism on the one hand and theological principle on the other.<sup>89</sup> Pragmatic judgments entered into the theological argument and the topical relevance of seemingly abstruse debates in clerical journals was not lost on the readers. It is necessary to return to the matter here in greater detail, because priests formed their opinions on the basis of specific arguments about the right way to apply generally acknowledged moral principles to particular cases at hand. Such arguments were made by theologians in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* and the *Irish Theological Quarterly*.

In the October 1920 issue of the *Irish Theological Quarterly*, Alfred O'Rahilly published an article entitled 'Some theology about tyranny'.<sup>90</sup> O'Rahilly was the registrar of University College, Cork, professor of mathematical physics, and one of the leaders of republican thought at that institution.<sup>91</sup> He was also a member of Cork borough council. The fact that his appointment was in a scientific department did not prevent him from discoursing on theological subjects, which in one instance earned him the bishop of Cork's scornful epithet of being the corporation's 'lay theologian'.<sup>92</sup> In his 1920 article O'Rahilly argued from Thomas Aquinas and his manualist commentator Francisco Suárez, S.J., that the people, who had 'an inalienable radical sovereignty', had the right to revolt against a tyrannical government.<sup>93</sup> This right to revolt was based on the 'natural right to self-defence inherent in every community as in every individual'.<sup>94</sup> O'Rahilly acknowledged that a number of criteria – reminiscent of the *ius ad bellum*-criteria mentioned in 3.3.1 – had to be met before such a revolt was legitimate. Thus he believed that there must be 'a reasonable probability of success', though he took the convenient view that as 'there are degrees in oppression and in resistance thereto', there are also degrees in success. Intimidation of the oppressor or even the spiritual and moral victory of a military defeat might count as success.<sup>95</sup> When these conditions had been met, it was important that the people exercised their sovereign right to

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<sup>89</sup> See 3.3.1.

<sup>90</sup> Alfred O'Rahilly, 'Some theology about tyranny', *Irish Theological Quarterly*, xv (1920), pp 301-20. See for the O'Rahilly and Fitzpatrick articles: Miller, *Church*, pp 463-5.

<sup>91</sup> John A. Murphy, 'O'Rahilly, Alfred', in McGuire, *D.I.B.*, vii, pp 825-6.

<sup>92</sup> Pastoral letter, 19 Dec. 1920 (C.D.A., Cohalan papers, box vi). See p. 73. O'Rahilly was not to be a layman all his life. He was ordained a priest in 1955 after being widowed.

<sup>93</sup> O'Rahilly, 'Some theology', pp 301-2.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 306-7.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 311-2.

repudiate the government.<sup>96</sup> Thereafter it was necessary to have a war that was ‘as formal and explicit as possible’ even though it might be ‘necessarily somewhat informal and irregular’.<sup>97</sup> This meant that ‘each individual is free to commit acts of war on the unjust invader of his country’. According to O’Rahilly, this was the opinion of Aquinas, Suárez and ‘practically the entire school’. The consequence was that ‘regular’ warfare, presumably guided by the principles of the *ius in bello*, could be legitimately dispensed with and that ‘irregular methods’ were morally acceptable until the nation had the means to organise a proper army.<sup>98</sup>

It may well be asked how this truly shocking article could have passed the ecclesiastical censor – especially since this functionary for the competent Dublin diocese was John Canon Waters, a conservative who had argued forcefully just a few years previously that hunger-strike was a grave mortal sin akin to suicide.<sup>99</sup> A note from the editors in the January 1921 issue stated disingenuously that ‘through some accident or other’ the proofs of the October 1920 issue had not reached the censor. No doubt considering that it was better to ask for forgiveness than permission, the journal’s publishers, Kenny Press of Middle Abbey Street, Dublin, had omitted to carry out their usual task of submitting material to Waters. The debate that inevitably followed concerned the question as to whether the people did indeed have the right ascribed to it by O’Rahilly to repudiate a legitimate government and wage war against it as a usurper.

In the January 1921 issue, Clonliffe professor John Fitzpatrick denied O’Rahilly’s claim that Suárez had taught that sovereignty was vested in the people and that a popular mandate empowering the civil authorities could be revoked by them.<sup>100</sup> On the contrary, he quoted Suárez to the effect that once the people had delegated power to the ruler they could not reclaim this power at will.<sup>101</sup> Fitzpatrick also insisted that the theory advocated by O’Rahilly had been condemned by Leo XIII’s 1881 encyclical *Diuturnum illud*. Fitzpatrick’s critique elicited a response from Father Edward Masterson, S.J., in the April 1921 issue of the *Quarterly*. Masterson denied that Suárez had been condemned by the magisterium. He claimed that it was the scholastic theory that power came to the civil authority through the people and that the doctrine of the divine right of kings had been taught mainly by heretics.

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<sup>96</sup> Ibid., p. 313.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid., p. 312.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., 319-20.

<sup>99</sup> John Waters, ‘The morality of the hunger-strike’, *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, xii (1918), pp 89-108, at pp 89-90.

<sup>100</sup> John Fitzpatrick, ‘Some more theology about tyranny. A reply to Prof. O’Rahilly’, *Irish Theological Quarterly*, xvi (1921), pp 1-15, at p. 2.

<sup>101</sup> Fitzpatrick, ‘Some more theology’, pp 2-3.

Donnelly has argued that Catholic moral theology provided two theories of legitimate political authority, which can be easily discerned in the opposing positions taken by Fitzpatrick and Masterson.<sup>102</sup> The point of view defended by Masterson, and called the ‘translation theory’ by Donnelly, was that the consent of the majority of the people was necessary for the conferring of legitimacy on a government. The point made by Fitzpatrick, however, and called the ‘designation theory’ by Donnelly, was that governments – even if elected democratically – always derived their authority from God and not from the consenting people. This latter view was the one taken by Pope Leo XIII in *Diuturnum illud*, which declared that by a democratic election ‘the ruler is designated, but the rights of ruling are not thereby conferred. Nor is the authority delegated to [the ruler], but the person by whom it is to be exercised is determined upon’.<sup>103</sup>

The relevance of all this was, of course, whether the people were allowed to rebel against an oppressive government. As Masterson noted:

whilst formerly the doctrine of Suarez was confined to the sheltered seclusion of the philosophical lecture hall, it has of late years been diffused among the masses of the people. ... The masses do not know it by the name of the ‘Suarezian doctrine’; but they are well up in the thing for which the same name stands. The new name is ‘Self-determination.’ Does not ‘Self-determination’ include all that is included in the term ‘Suarezian teaching’?<sup>104</sup>

Masterson realised that the only principle that could guarantee the moral legitimacy of the I.R.A. campaign was that of the ‘consent of the people’. If the government was not just foreign, but also oppressive, then this principle allowed for establishing the legitimacy of armed rebellion.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> Donnelly, ‘Bishops’, p. 335.

<sup>103</sup> Leo PP. XIII, ‘Diuturnum illud’, 29 June 1881, *Acta Sanctae Sedis*, xiv (1881), pp 3-14, at pp 4-5: ‘Quo sane delectu designator princeps, non conferentur iura principatus: neque mandatur imperium, sed statuitur a quo sit gerendum’.

<sup>104</sup> Edward Masterson, ‘The origin of civil authority. Has Suarez been condemned by the church?’, *Irish Theological Quarterly*, xvi (1921), pp 101-23, at p. 119.

<sup>105</sup> The debate dragged on until 1922 with the following contributions: John Fitzpatrick, ‘The origin of civil authority. A reply to Fr. Masterson’, *Irish Theological Quarterly*, xvi (1921), pp 213-28; Edward Masterson, ‘Suarez on the origin of civil authority’, *Irish Theological Quarterly*, xvi (1921), pp 309-30 and John Fitzpatrick, ‘Suarez on the origin of civil authority. A further reply to Fr. Masterson’, *Irish Theological Quarterly*, xvii (1922), pp 56-61. See also a further article published by O’Rahilly while he was interned on Spike Island by the British: Alfred O’Rahilly, ‘The sovereignty of the people’, *Studies. An Irish Quarterly Review of Letters Philosophy and Science*, x, no. 37 (1921), pp 39-56 and idem, ‘The sovereignty of the people’, *Studies. An Irish Quarterly Review of Letters Philosophy and Science*, x, no. 38 (1921), pp 277-87. Although the consent of the people was an important theme in this article, O’Rahilly did not deal again with the right to armed rebellion.

A number of other topical issues were also commented on in the theological journals. The most prominent of these was a debate on the morality of hunger-strike as a political weapon. Much ink was spilled in the course of the controversy, which took place in two rounds. The first one was fought out in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* from August 1918 to May 1919 between Waters and Father Patrick Cleary – recently retired from the professorship of theology at St. Patrick’s college, Maynooth and a member of the Maynooth Mission to China.<sup>106</sup> There was a lull until Father P. J. Gannon, S.J., addressed the issue again in the September 1920 issue of the Jesuit publication *Studies*, after Terence MacSwiney had started his well-publicised hunger-strike in August.<sup>107</sup> A reply by Father J. Kelleher, professor at St. John’s college, Waterford, in January 1921, sparked off the second round, this time in the *Irish Theological Quarterly* between Kelleher and Waters. Kelleher mercifully brought an end to the discussion with an article published in July 1921.<sup>108</sup> The details of the debate – which grew ever more acerbic as it became more repetitive – need not detain us here, except to note that Cleary, Gannon and Kelleher all attempted to convince an unrepentant Waters that he was wrong in saying that hunger-strike was a direct killing of oneself and therefore a grave mortal sin.

As has been seen, the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*’s canonical expert, Jeremiah Kinane, discussed the question whether priests were allowed to sit on arbitration courts in 1921. In the April 1919 issue, Kinane moreover replied to a query about whether the newly introduced code of canon law had changed the provisions of the 1869 bull *Apostolicae sedis* with regard to secret societies.<sup>109</sup> *Apostolicae sedis* regulated the censure of excommunication in the church before the promulgation of the code. Kinane responded that *Apostolicae sedis* excommunicated members of secret societies, those who ‘show favour to these societies, and ... those who fail to denounce the secret leaders in them’. The new code altered these provisions slightly by removing the favouring of such societies or the failure to denounce

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<sup>106</sup> Waters, ‘Hunger-strike’; P. Cleary, ‘Some questions regarding the morality of hunger-strikes’, *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, xii (1918), pp 265-73; John Waters, ‘The morality of the hunger-strike. A rejoinder’, *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, xiii (1919), pp 14-26; P. Cleary, ‘Some further questions regarding the morality of hunger-strike’, *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, xiii (1919), pp 219-29; John Waters, ‘The morality of the hunger-strike. A further rejoinder’, *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, xiii (1919), pp 391-403. See also Stuart Mews, ‘The hunger-strike of the lord mayor of Cork, 1920: Irish, English and Vatican attitudes’, in Sheils and Wood, *Irish*, pp 385-400.

<sup>107</sup> P. J. Gannon, ‘The ethical aspect of the hunger strike’, *Studies. An Irish Quarterly Review of Letters Philosophy and Science*, ix, no. 35 (1920), pp 448-54, at p. 448.

<sup>108</sup> J. Kelleher, ‘The lawfulness of the hunger strike’, *Irish Theological Quarterly*, xvi (1921), pp 47-64; John Waters, ‘The lawfulness of the hunger strike. A reply’, *Irish Theological Quarterly*, xvi (1921), pp 130-46; J. Kelleher, ‘The lawfulness of the hunger strike’, *Irish Theological Quarterly*, xvi (1921), pp 263-5.

<sup>109</sup> J. Kinane, ‘Changes in the bull “Apostolicae sedis” and in the Index legislation’, *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, xiii (1919), pp 332-5, at p. 333. For the text of the bull see Pius IX, ‘Apostolicae sedis’.



their leaders as grounds for excommunication, although those whose interference caused the membership of others still qualified. He added, however, that ‘clerics and religious who become members of such societies should be denounced to the Holy Office’. Kinane stressed that both *Apostolicae sedis* and the code defined secret societies as organisations that ‘plot against the church or against legitimate civil authority’. As the O’Rahilly-Fitzpatrick-Masterson controversy soon showed, this point of the legitimacy of the civil authority was a matter of debate.

### 6.2.3 Alternatives

When denouncing republican violence, many priests and bishops quite reasonably felt called upon to suggest acceptable alternative courses of action. Although it is probable that clerical opposition to the use of violence dissuaded prospective Volunteers from taking up arms, it must not be supposed that the alternatives suggested by bishops and priests persuaded them that there were other viable ways of obtaining their goals. As has been seen, public support was forthcoming from many priests for the non-violent aspects of the republican movement. But many alternatives suggested by priests critical of republican violence amounted to a pietistic retreat from politics. They demonstrate to what extent priests out of sympathy with advanced republicanism had lost touch with the political ideas and motivations of the day.

Father John Carr, parish priest of Lehane, County Galway, told his parishioners in January 1920 that people would be doing their country a service by taking up the study of Irish instead of carrying out arms raids and committing larceny.<sup>110</sup> Bishop Gaughran revealed during a sermon in Mullingar in November 1920 that he had it on good authority that ‘there never had been more drinking going on than at present’.<sup>111</sup> He asked:

How can anyone consider it a safeguard against the perils that encompass us that the population should be saturated with drink and maddened by alcohol, trying in danger ... to strengthen themselves by deprivation of their reason?

Alternatives urged by clergy quite consistently amounted to the counsel to pray and be patient. Thus the prior of the Dominican house in Kilkenny, Father J. A. O’Reilly, O.P., told a congregation in Wexford in October 1920 that ‘the people should have recourse to prayer that God might enlighten their neighbours across the Channel and lead them to conferring on Ireland the rights so long denied’.<sup>112</sup> At the funeral of one of the victims of the Crown forces, John Canon McMahon, parish priest of Nenagh, County Tipperary, advised those attending that ‘all should be in their homes in proper time to pray God for peace and unity amongst all’.<sup>113</sup>

Others emphasised the importance of patience and forbearance and the realisation that freedom could not be won by force but could only come through an act of divine providence.

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<sup>110</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 31 Jan. 1920.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 13 Nov. 1920.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, 9 Oct. 1920.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, 4 Dec. 1920.

Even though O’Rahilly had fulminated against the ‘fatalistic servility’ of those who suggested ‘passive resignation and prayer as the sole remedy against oppression’, he acknowledged that Thomas Aquinas had taught that if no human help could be had against a tyrant, ‘recourse must be had to God’.<sup>114</sup> That no human help could be had was clearly the view of Bishop Hackett of Waterford and Lismore. Speaking in Clonmel, County Tipperary, in the summer of 1919, he pointed out that ‘the affairs of the nations are in the hands of God, whose loving providence directs all things. It should, therefore, be the duty of the people to realise that the future is in God’s hands ...’.<sup>115</sup> Also insisting on passivity, Monsignor Patrick Segrave, parish priest of Drogheda, told a congregation at a funeral in February 1921 that ‘the truest patriots had told them that with those who could endure would victory be ...’.<sup>116</sup> He appealed to the people to have patience and recourse to prayer, and to ‘remember that the sacrifice of the cross was followed by the resurrection’. The example of passive endurance provided by Christ on the cross was a much-quoted theme. Archbishop Gilmartin, speaking in Tuam cathedral in September 1920 admonished the congregation to

Fix your minds to-day, you who are maltreated, on the suffering Christ. He was captured in the night-time, he was terrorised as far as he allowed it, he was scourged and he opened not his mouth. He was murdered with the most shocking cruelty, but all this was the greatest triumph of human history. In the patience of Christ you shall win.<sup>117</sup>

In what is perhaps a sign that not all priests were content with this message of acquiescence, Gilmartin also called upon his priests to ‘put religion above all politics and all human strategy, and to preach, in season and out of season, the great commandment of God’.<sup>118</sup>

Some priests and bishops suggested alternatives of a political rather than a religious nature. Thus Bishop Edward Mulhern of Dromore told John Hagan in March 1920 that ‘at last ... it must come home even to those unwilling to believe that to be an Irish patriot one need not indulge in outrage’.<sup>119</sup> More specific in his suggestions was Archbishop Walsh, who was not out of character in doing so, as his biographer has observed that he had been

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<sup>114</sup> ‘Passive servility’: O’Rahilly, ‘Some theology’, p. 309. Thomas Aquinas: *ibid.*, p. 305.

<sup>115</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 7 June 1919.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, 19 Feb. 1921.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, 2 Oct. 1920. See also similar statements by Gilmartin: *ibid.*, 4 Dec. 1920 and *ibid.*, 2 Apr. 1921; and by Canon Maguire, P.P. Granard, *ibid.*, 13 Nov. 1920.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, 25 Sept. 1920.

<sup>119</sup> Mulhern to Hagan, 22 Mar. 1920 (A.I.C.R., Hagan papers, HAG1/1920/241).

criticised in the past for being too political and secular and lacking ‘the pastoral spirit’.<sup>120</sup> When the I.R.A. carried out a failed attempt to assassinate the lord lieutenant, Lord French, in December 1919, Walsh wrote a public letter condemning the use of violence. In this letter he asked whether there was anyone

capable of deluding himself into the belief that such a method of seeking redress ... is likely to help on the efforts of the righteous men who are working earnestly with the single purpose of re-establishing in our country the reign of liberty and justice?<sup>121</sup>

As has been seen, some priests and bishops shared Walsh’s endorsement of the non-violent work of the Dáil administration as well as his advice to eschew violence. Thus Bishop Cohalan announced in March 1920 after the killing of several constables that he was satisfied that ‘the national organisation which the country has accepted, and which it supports, had no responsibility for these outrages’, and in August he told a congregation even more explicitly that ‘we shall win [our freedom] only on condition of national unity, of supporting loyally the representatives who were elected at the general election’.<sup>122</sup> The fact that Cohalan was to spend much energy six months later arguing that Ireland was not a sovereign republic by virtue of the Dáil’s declaration to that effect, shows the ambiguity of his support for non-violent republicanism.<sup>123</sup> A former secretary and stout republican, Father Thomas Duggan, did not exaggerate when he noted subsequently that he would not attempt to reconcile Cohalan’s ‘vacillations’ since they could not be reconciled.<sup>124</sup> In fact many churchmen were unable to decide whether the Dáil was an acceptable, peaceful alternative to the I.R.A. or an assembly of dangerous revolutionaries. Bishops Foley and Morrisroe preferred to point to the united anti-conscription front of 1918 to ask ‘why cannot something similar be done now’.<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>120</sup> Morrissey, *Walsh*, p. 103.

<sup>121</sup> Circular letter to the parish priests of the archdiocese of Dublin, newspaper cutting (D.D.A., Walsh papers, 386). See, however, Heffernan, ‘Martyrs’, p. 158, for another comment on the Dáil, which shows that however much Walsh may have stressed the importance of its electoral mandate, he did not recognise it as the legitimate government of Ireland.

<sup>122</sup> ‘National organisation’: *Irish Catholic*, 20 Mar. 1920; ‘representatives’: *ibid.*, 14 Aug. 1920. See also for similar sentiments Archbishop Harty’s letter to Éamon de Valera, in: *ibid.*, 31 Jan. 1920.

<sup>123</sup> See 3.2.3 and *Freeman’s Journal*, 7 Feb. 1921.

<sup>124</sup> Duggan witness statement, p. 3 (N.A.I., BMH/WS552).

<sup>125</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 3 Jan. 1920. See for the same point made by Morrisroe: *ibid.*, 14 May 1921.

## 6.3 Other activities

### 6.3.1 Peacekeeping

Archbishop Harty of Cashel wrote to John Hagan in March 1921 that they had ‘had a bad time of it in Thurles’ recently, but that ‘the clergy are doing their best to preserve the peace’.<sup>126</sup> The accuracy of Harty’s comment is borne out by numerous press reports from around the country. During the early stages of the war, numerous instances were reported of priests attempting to calm rowdy crowds at political meetings, thus avoiding potentially violent stand-offs with the British forces. During an *aeridheacht* in Inch, near Thurles, County Tipperary, in May 1919, police and military demanded that the speakers on the platform stop addressing the crowds and threatened that they would clear the platform if their order went unheeded.<sup>127</sup> According to a newspaper report, upon hearing this the crowd became ‘wildly excited’ and it was not until a local priest called Father O’Donoghue counselled calmness that the situation was defused. Similarly, when street battles were being fought out between crowds and the British forces in the streets of Derry on 17 April 1920, the administrator of Long Tower church, Father Walter O’Neill, was sent for and he ‘exerted his influence very successfully in pacifying a section of the crowd’.<sup>128</sup>

It was, no doubt, much of an exaggeration to say, as Father Timothy Trant, parish priest of Ballymacelligott, County Kerry, did in January 1920, that the clergy were ‘the final, and, indeed, now the only mainstay of whatever law and order English misrule has not already destroyed in this country’.<sup>129</sup> But priests did assume some of the community’s self-regulatory function as relations between the R.I.C. and the population soured. After the Crown forces increased in number during the summer of 1920 and the conflict took a more violent turn, clerical peacekeeping activities frequently involved clearing people from the streets and persuading them to stay indoors to avoid confrontation with police or military. When the I.R.A. killed a constable near Clonakilty, County Cork, the parish priest, Monsignor John O’Leary, and his curate Father John Collins, went through the town in July 1920 to advise the people to stay indoors. As a result of their endeavours, the streets of Clonakilty were deserted by the time large bodies of police and military arrived by 10 p.m. to

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<sup>126</sup> Harty to Hagan, 14 Mar. 1921 (A.I.C.R., Hagan papers, HAG1/1921/144).

<sup>127</sup> *Irish Independent*, 27 May 1919.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, 19 Apr. 1920.

<sup>129</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 24 Jan. 1920.

seek revenge.<sup>130</sup> During the riots in Derry in April 1920, two priests ‘patrolled the thoroughfares’ of the city one night, advising the people to stay indoors, with the result that the streets were empty when night fell.<sup>131</sup> Similar action was taken by Father Florence McCarthy, administrator of Skibbereen pro-cathedral, County Cork, in February 1921. McCarthy told all local publicans to close their premises at 9 p.m., and everybody in Skibbereen to ‘remain indoors to avoid threatened conflicts between the rival forces’.<sup>132</sup> And when Crown forces detonated two ‘bombs’ in Earl Street, Mullingar, County Westmeath, in November 1920, five local priests arrived on the scene and advised the panicked people to go indoors.<sup>133</sup>

Priests also negotiated with the commanders of local Crown forces to obtain guarantees, particularly guarantees not to take revenge after republican violence in the locality had led to victims on the British side. Thus when lorries of soldiers arrived in Trim, County Meath, in late September 1920 after the police barracks had been attacked, two local priests sought out some of the officers and assured them that the town would be quiet and that everybody would be indoors by 8 p.m. Having received this assurance the military withdrew from the town.<sup>134</sup> Similarly, when troops broke their barracks in Limerick in April 1920 after Ballylanders R.I.C. barracks was captured by the I.R.A., the cathedral administrator, Father W. Dwane, went to see the military governor. He asked him to confine the military to their barracks, which the governor agreed to do.<sup>135</sup> And John Canon McDonnell, parish priest of Dingle, County Kerry, called on the local district inspector in November 1920 after two ‘military policemen’ were shot and wounded in the town.<sup>136</sup> McDonnell’s parishioners feared reprisals and according to the *Irish Independent* ‘a general exodus from the town’ was in progress, including people taking refuge in boats in the harbour. Canon McDonnell spoke to the district inspector and obtained an assurance that there would be no reprisals.

Sometimes clerics tried to get protection for their parishioners from one part of the Crown forces against some other section of the police or military. When a military motor lorry was attacked by the I.R.A. with lethal effect near Middleton, County Cork, in August 1920, soldiers went on the rampage in Queenstown, causing damage to property. On the day after the reprisal, Bishop Browne of Cloyne led a deputation of townspeople to ask

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<sup>130</sup> *Irish Independent*, 30 July 1920.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, 21 Apr. 1920.

<sup>132</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 19 Feb. 1921.

<sup>133</sup> *Irish Independent*, 30 Nov. 1920.

<sup>134</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 2 Oct. 1920.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, 29 Apr. 1920.

<sup>136</sup> *Irish Independent*, 6 Nov. 1920.

Queenstown-based Admiral Sir Reginald Tupper, the Royal Navy's commander-in-chief of the western approaches, to offer protection to the town.<sup>137</sup> As a result the town was patrolled at night by marines. And, as has been seen in chapter 5, Father Hyacinth Collins, O.P., obtained a guarantee from the military in Tralee, County Kerry, in November 1920 that they would protect life and property in the town after the I.R.A. had killed two constables.<sup>138</sup> But when the troops were withdrawn, 'armed uniformed men' – presumably Black and Tans – descended upon the town and a reprisal took place after all.

On some occasions, clerical interventions with the British authorities were akin to negotiations for what effectively amounted to local truces. After the I.R.A. attacked the military barracks in Mallow, County Cork, in September 1920, the local population were reported to have become apprehensive, fearing that they would be subjected to reprisals.<sup>139</sup> The parish priest, Canon Corbett, took action, consulting with businesspeople of both religious denominations and conveying their concerns to the local resident magistrate and the county inspector. The latter spoke to the military commanders in the locality, who promised that no damage would be done if the people would keep off the streets after dark. This Canon Corbett and his curates agreed to ensure, and according to the *Irish Independent*, they, together with some prominent lay people, had the streets cleared at 9 p.m. And two religious priests in Limerick went to see the county inspector in July 1920 after men attending meetings of the archconfraternity of the Holy Family narrowly escaped molestation by Black and Tans in the city. Fathers Thomas Robinson, C.Ss.R., and Philip, O.F.M., obtained a guarantee from the inspector that the police would be confined to 'strictly police duties' after the priests promised to use all their influence to prevent interference with the constabulary.<sup>140</sup>

Archbishop Gilmartin of Tuam harked back to the medieval concept of the *treuga Dei* when he declared a truce of God in his diocese on Sunday 25 July 1920.<sup>141</sup> After two constables had been shot in Tuam, Gilmartin called for a truce, praying that

God's justice tempered with mercy may, for the good of society and the salvation of his soul, strike the first man – whether he be a policeman, civilian, or soldier – who fires a criminal shot within the precincts of this diocese.

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<sup>137</sup> Ibid., 30 Aug. 1920.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid., 4 and 5 Nov. 1920.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid., 30 Sept. 1920.

<sup>140</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 31 July and 14 Aug. 1920. For the incident see also Augusteijn, *Regan*, p. 166.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid., 31 July 1920. See also Waldron, *Archbishops*, pp 106-11.

Of course his qualification that the truce only prohibited ‘criminal’ shots gave the consciences of clerical and lay theologians of a republican bent a wide escape clause – and indeed those of any scrupulous Catholics that may have been in the Crown’s employment. But the archbishop took the truce very seriously and repeated his call for it on a number of occasions during the following months. He claimed in September that ‘so far as he knew there was no criminal shot fired since in the locality’, although he had to acknowledge in December that, while the people had kept the truce, the Crown forces had broken it on three occasions.<sup>142</sup> In January 1921, Gilmartin conceded that the truce had been broken by the people too with an ambush near Headford, County Galway.<sup>143</sup> This did not stop him, however, from renewing his call in a public letter to the parish priest of Clifden, County Galway, and in an address from the pulpit in Tuam cathedral in March 1921.<sup>144</sup>

Priests also managed on a number of occasions to snatch people from harm at the hands of members of either of the warring parties. In January 1921 two martial law proclamations posted in Enniscorthy, County Wexford, were defaced by unknown persons. In reprisal the military commander announced that he would arrest the chairman of the town council. But the administrator of the cathedral, Father James Rossiter, intervened and prevented the arrest.<sup>145</sup> Similarly, the parish priest and curate of Kilmurry, County Cork, Patrick Canon Tracey and Father M. Cotter, succeeded in preventing the shooting by constables of a county councillor suspected of having organised an attack on Kilmurry R.I.C. barracks.<sup>146</sup> The two priests were walking down a road near Kilmurry when they encountered the scene. According to the newspaper report, Councillor John Murphy had been told to ‘prepare for his doom’ by the two constables on account of his alleged involvement in the attack. A man accompanying him was told to get away and one of the policemen was loading his gun when Tracey and Cotter arrived. The priests reasoned with the constables, who were persuaded to forego their intention after some tense minutes had elapsed. On a number of occasions it appears that intended victims of the I.R.A. also had priestly intervention to thank for their escape. The *Irish Independent* repeated an official report in May 1921 concerning a farmer called Ross from Castletownroche, County Cork, who had been arrested by

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<sup>142</sup> September: *Irish Catholic*, 25 Sept. 1920; December: *ibid.*, 4 Dec. 1920.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, 29 Jan. 1921.

<sup>144</sup> Letter to the parish priest of Clifden: *ibid.*, 26 Mar. 1921; address in Tuam: *ibid.*, 2 Apr. 1921.

<sup>145</sup> *Irish Independent*, 18 Jan. 1921.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, 14 May 1920.



republicans on the accusation of espionage.<sup>147</sup> While his captors were tying him to railings outside the village school, an unnamed priest arrived on the scene and released him.

Finally, priests also took other precautions to ensure that the peace was preserved in their parishes. Chapter 4 has already mentioned the example of a vigilante led by a priest in Derry during the June 1920 riots, but the formation of such guards by priests was not unique to Ulster. The *Irish Independent* reported in August 1919 that Father John Glynn, parish priest of Kilmurry-Ibricane, County Clare, had announced the formation of a ‘vigilance committee’ in his parish for the preservation of the peace, since the police had withdrawn from the area.<sup>148</sup> This committee was possibly the same body as the republican police of which Glynn’s curate Patrick Gaynor took charge some months later.<sup>149</sup> Father Peter Hill, parish priest of Rosscarbery, County Cork, took a similar interest in the safety of his parishioners in April 1921.<sup>150</sup> He was reported to have been among a group of local inhabitants who ‘attacked and drove off’ a party of raiders who were proceeding to Rosscarbery after having ravaged the residence of prominent Catholic lawyer A. M. Sullivan. The village had acquired a bad reputation because its inhabitants had given support to the R.I.C. when the local barracks had come under attack from the I.R.A. And Father D. F. McCrea, parish priest of Kilrea, County Derry, was called to the scene of a stand-off between marchers of the Ancient Order of Hibernians and Crown forces in June 1920.<sup>151</sup> The A.O.H. marchers were planning to process through the town, but were stopped by soldiers holding rifles with fixed bayonets. McCrea managed to negotiate a compromise, in which the march was allowed through but without music.

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<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*, 20 May 1921. For another example – a priest in County Kerry who intervened with the I.R.A. to secure the release of two kidnapped R.I.C. men – see Joy, *Kerry*, pp 74-5.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*, 20 Aug. 1919.

<sup>149</sup> Gaynor, ‘Sinn Fein days’, p. 473.

<sup>150</sup> *Irish Independent*, 16 Apr. 1921.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, 23 June 1920.

### 6.3.2 Relief works

A significant part of the public letter which Pope Benedict addressed to Cardinal Logue in April 1921 was concerned with the relief of suffering caused by the conflict. The pope noted with pleasure that Logue had been ‘at pains to establish and zealous to foster an association known as the White Cross’, which had as its object ‘to collect alms for the relief of those reduced to straits by the devastation of property or other acts of violence’.<sup>152</sup> The pope did not confine himself to words, but also pledged 200,000 Italian lire towards the provision of relief to the victims.<sup>153</sup> For many priests the pope’s emphasis on a humanitarian response rather than the political aspects of the conflict was familiar. Their involvement with political violence primarily took the form of providing support for those families whose source of income was destroyed or who had to make ends meet after the breadwinner died or disappeared. The present section will examine different activities undertaken by bishops and priests to provide relief to the victims of the war.

Although Logue was the president of the Irish White Cross, he was not its instigator. The organisation was in fact a non-denominational body set up by the lord mayor of Dublin and supported by senior Christian and non-Christian clerics.<sup>154</sup> The White Cross had been set up to relieve the distress of people affected by British violence. It drew its funds from donations, which were sent to the society’s headquarters in Dublin. Parish committees were formed which reported to headquarters about the need for relief in their localities and headquarters then distributed the funds accordingly.<sup>155</sup> Logue was not the only bishop to become involved in a fund for the benefit of the afflicted. Bishop Charles McHugh of Derry set up a ‘Catholic relief fund’ in the spring of 1920 for victims of sectarian attacks in his city.<sup>156</sup> And Bishop Cohalan of Cork wrote to an acquaintance after his city had been burnt by Crown forces in December 1920 that he had called a number of meetings with the parish priests and administrators of the city parishes in order to ‘get accurate statistics of the distress

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<sup>152</sup> ‘Interea ... te ... opem ferri, consociationem quondam, a Cruce alba nuncupatam, constituendam curasse seduloque provehere, cuius est stipem iis iuvandis colligere qui vastationibus et violentiae motibus sint in angustias adducti’, Benedict, ‘Epistola’, 27 Apr. 1921, p. 258. English translation from *I.C.D. 1922*, p. 593.

<sup>153</sup> Equivalent to approximately £2,500 at the time. See exchange rate in *Irish Times*, 27 Apr. 1921.

<sup>154</sup> For the Irish White Cross, see Matthews, *Renegades*, pp 255-9. For an account by a participant, see Áine B. É. Ceannt, *The story of the Irish White Cross, 1920-1947* (Dublin, s.a.), pp 6-8. For Logue’s role see Privilege, *Logue*, p. 155 and *Irish Catholic*, 29 Jan. 1921. See also a few references in F. M. Carroll, ‘The American committee for relief in Ireland, 1920-22’, *Irish Historical Studies*, xxiii, no. 89 (1982), pp 30-49.

<sup>155</sup> Ceannt, *White Cross*, p. 10.

<sup>156</sup> Philip Donnelly, ‘Bishop Charles McHugh of Derry diocese (1856-1926)’, *Seanchas Ard Mhacha. Journal of the Armagh Diocesan Historical Society*, xx, no. 2 (2005), pp 212-44, at p. 239.

and to procure relief for urgent cases'.<sup>157</sup> Although the priests had assured him that there was no pressing distress yet, they believed this would follow after about two months as the impact of the loss of income would make itself felt. Cohalan ordered a collection in all the churches of his diocese for this purpose and expected to collect some £ 1,500. Similarly, Archbishop Gilmartin wrote at the same time that although there was no acute crisis in his diocese on account of the war, he was asking the parish priests of Connemara to warn him if such were to emerge.<sup>158</sup> Archbishop Walsh also provided incidental financial support to parishes subjected to government violence. When Balbriggan was damaged by Crown forces after an ambush in September 1920, he sent a telegram to the parish priest telling him to 'draw on me for a hundred pounds'.<sup>159</sup> The priest, Canon Byrne, wrote back thanking Walsh, but saying that there was no immediate want.<sup>160</sup> In spite of this, Byrne wrote to the archbishop again in early October thanking him for his 'princely munificence' but reiterated that there was 'no immediate want for your substantial cheque' and saying that the 'money is coming in, [and] the relief fund promises to be a great success'.<sup>161</sup> Walsh was not to be dissuaded, however, and a second letter from Byrne reached him in December thanking him again for an additional contribution.<sup>162</sup>

Bishops also showed their support for victims in other ways. Thus Walsh paid a visit to Balbriggan some days after the reprisal, giving the townspeople 'the greatest pleasure' as Byrne assured him.<sup>163</sup> In his capacity of chancellor of the National University of Ireland, Walsh also visited University College, Dublin, after it had been subjected to a military raid in November 1920.<sup>164</sup> Similarly, Bishop Browne of Cloyne went to Fermoy in September 1919 after the town had been sacked by the Crown forces and inspected houses that had been damaged.<sup>165</sup> Logue, Walsh and Cohalan also made attempts to have the sentences commuted of a number of political prisoners condemned to death, although none of these attempts were successful. This happened in February 1921, when a number of prisoners were executed in Cork, and again in March 1921 when executions were carried out in Mountjoy prison in Dublin.<sup>166</sup>

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<sup>157</sup> Cohalan to Leslie, 29 Dec. 1920 (N.L.I., Leslie papers, MS 22,838).

<sup>158</sup> Gilmartin to Leslie, 29 Dec. 1920 (N.L.I., Leslie papers, MS 22,841).

<sup>159</sup> Walsh to Byrne (telegram), undated but 22 Sept. 1920 (D.D.A., Walsh papers, 380/3).

<sup>160</sup> Byrne to Walsh (telegram), 22 Sept. 1920 (D.D.A., Walsh papers, 380/3).

<sup>161</sup> Byrne to Walsh, 9 Oct. 1920 (D.D.A., Walsh papers, 380/3).

<sup>162</sup> Byrne to Walsh, 21 Dec. 1920 (D.D.A., Walsh papers, 380/3).

<sup>163</sup> Byrne to Walsh, 9 Oct. 1920 (D.D.A., Walsh papers, 380/3).

<sup>164</sup> *Irish Independent*, 4 Nov. 1920.

<sup>165</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 27 Sept. 1919.

<sup>166</sup> February 1921: *Irish Catholic*, 5 Mar. 1921; March 1921: *ibid.*, 19 Mar. 1921.

Priests also gave aid to victims of violence in other ways. Thus Father M. McCabe, parish priest of Drumshanbo, County Leitrim, gave shelter in his home to a local businessman and his son who had to flee their own residence when it was torched by ‘disguised, uniformed men, armed with rifles and bombs’ in September 1920.<sup>167</sup> And Canon Corbett, parish priest of Mallow, recounted a week or two later that there had been ‘a rush of frantic women and children to his door at midnight asking him, for God’s sake, to provide them with some place of refuge’ when the town was attacked by the army in reprisal for the killing by the I.R.A. of a soldier.<sup>168</sup> Some women had fled to the local cemetery where they sat on their family graves clutching their children. Corbett managed to give them shelter in local convent schools.

There are also numerous examples of priests risking personal safety to attend to victims of violence perpetrated by both sides. Thus Father Michael McLaughlin, C.Ss.R., of Clonard monastery in Belfast, had to cross the line of fire between rioting groups of civilians in July 1921 to reach a number of Catholic victims of Orange violence so that he could administer the last rites.<sup>169</sup> And Philip Canon Murphy, parish priest of Castlemartyr, County Cork, was summoned to the local R.I.C. barracks after an attack by Volunteers.<sup>170</sup> The constables were afraid that a second attack would follow and so Murphy had to be admitted through the back entrance. Inside, he washed a constable’s wounds and told another policeman to fetch some brandy from the presbytery. Afterwards, Murphy went to the wounded man’s wife to break the news to her before visiting her husband in hospital in Cork after he had been conveyed there. And the parish priest of Strokestown, County Roscommon, sang a *Requiem* mass for four British soldiers killed at an ambush in April 1921 with a detachment from the army present in the church.

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<sup>167</sup> *Irish Independent*, 23 Sept. 1920.

<sup>168</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 9 Oct. 1920.

<sup>169</sup> Entry for 9-10 July 1921, ‘Domestic Chronicles of the House of the Most Holy Redeemer, Belfast, founded Nov. 1<sup>st</sup> 1896’, vol. i: ‘Domestic Chronicle 1896-1930’ (C.M.A.).

<sup>170</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 14 Feb. 1920.

### 6.3.3 *The 1919 Education Bill*

The one issue that exercised the Irish bishops most in 1919 and 1920 had little to do with I.R.A. ambushes or Black and Tan reprisals. The standing committee of the bishops contended in a public statement in December 1919 that ‘after religion and its immediate requirements no interest of the people so deeply concerns their pastors as does the interest of education’.<sup>171</sup> On the same day, the parish priest of St. Joseph’s church, Eccles Street, Dublin, wrote to Archbishop Walsh complaining that they were being ‘menaced with the plans of Mc Pherson [and] Co to supply us with our spiritual pabulum’.<sup>172</sup> He went on to quote Walsh’s own words that these plans would not ‘gradually ... undermine the whole fabric of the faith’, but would ‘by one bill ... destroy – forsooth the “soul of Ireland”’. The menacing plans in question consisted of the Education (Ireland) Bill, which the chief secretary, Ian Macpherson, had introduced in the House of Commons in November 1919.<sup>173</sup> The bill, which followed on foot of the reports of two committees of inquiry, was intended to remedy deficiencies in the Irish educational system – the inadequate remuneration of teachers in primary and secondary schools being foremost among them.<sup>174</sup>

It was not, however, the salary increase to which the bishops took exception, but the reorganisation of the educational system which was also included in the legislation. The bill proposed that a department of education be established for Ireland to replace the existing boards which were responsible for national, intermediate and technical schooling.<sup>175</sup> Moreover, county education committees were to be set up, consisting of county councillors and persons nominated by the new department. Also, local authorities were to be made responsible for the cost of maintaining school buildings. All of this was most objectionable to the hierarchy, because, as it claimed, ‘it would deprive the bishops and clergy of such control of the schools as is necessary for that religious training of the young which [is] a chief part of the care of souls’.<sup>176</sup> Robert Dudley Edwards has in fact suggested that the bill was part of an attempt by the government to secure Irish unionist acceptance of home rule.<sup>177</sup>

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<sup>171</sup> *I.C.D. 1920*, p. 520.

<sup>172</sup> Dowling to Walsh, 8 Dec. 1919 (D.D.A., Walsh papers, 386/6).

<sup>173</sup> *Hansard 5 (Commons)*, cxxi, c. 1451 (24 Nov. 1919). See also R. B. McDowell, ‘Administration and the public services, 1870-1921’, in W. E. Vaughan (ed.), *A new history of Ireland*, vi: *Ireland under the union*, II (Oxford, 1996), pp 571-605, at pp 600-1.

<sup>174</sup> E. Brian Tittley, *Church, state, and the control of schooling in Ireland 1900-1944* (Dublin, 1983), pp 55-61.

<sup>175</sup> R. W. Dudley Edwards, ‘Government of Ireland and education, 1919-1920’, *Archivium Hibernicum*, xxxvii (1982), pp 21-8, at pp 23-4.

<sup>176</sup> Statement, 27 Jan. 1920, *I.C.D. 1920*, p. 523.

<sup>177</sup> Dudley Edwards, ‘Education’, p. 22.

The standing committee of the bishops issued their statement in December 1919 condemning the proposed legislation and tried to link the matter with the national question by arguing that ‘education ... should be a native plant of native culture ... It should be a growth from within, not an importation from without. Its bloom and fragrance and fruit should be racy of the soil’.<sup>178</sup> This statement was followed by a second one issued by all the bishops at a meeting in January 1920, which announced that they would ‘resist by every means in our power’ any attempts to abolish the existing boards of education.<sup>179</sup> They also threatened that they would issue instructions to Catholic parents concerning the education of their children in case a department of education would be established. These statements formed the prelude to a campaign instigated by the bishops and carried out by the clergy to force the government to relinquish its plans. Highpoint of the campaign was a solemn novena in March 1920 and despite some support from teachers – who naturally took a more favourable view of the measures – the government quietly shelved the bill later that year.<sup>180</sup>

The campaign against the bill was instigated by the bishops, but it was to be carried out by priests. Thus the bishop of Kerry, Charles O’Sullivan, wrote to the vicars forane of his diocese in February 1920 to set the wheels in motion. He said that the bishops had suggested ‘that the priests of each deanery should meet together with a view to securing combined opposition’ to the bill.<sup>181</sup> O’Sullivan set a date for the meeting of the priests of the diocese and asked his vicars to call a conference of the priests of their deanery for that day. At this conference, the vicars were to discuss the holding of public meetings ‘to give the people an opportunity of expressing their views on this important question’. Lay speakers should hold pride of place at these meetings, but priests were quite at liberty to speak about the issue from the altar, ‘as this is primarily a religious question’. When doing so, and lest any lay persons should still waver, priests were expected ‘to explain to their flocks how objectionable and insidious this bill is, and how essential it is from every point of view that we should oppose it by all the means in our power’.

Apart from denouncing the bill from the pulpit and organising public meetings, priests at the deanery conferences were also to be instructed to take steps to secure the opposition of local government. This was especially important, as the bill envisaged an active role for

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<sup>178</sup> *I.C.D. 1920*, p. 520.

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>180</sup> For the campaign, see Miller, *Church*, p. 440 and Titley, *Schooling*, p. 128. For the dropping of the bill, see Dudley Edwards, ‘Education’, pp 27-8.

<sup>181</sup> O’Sullivan to vicars forane, 9 Feb. 1920 (Ky.D.A., O’Sullivan papers, ‘Ad clerum. Official circular letters 1919-1926. Most Rev. C. O’Sullivan D.D.’).

county, urban and rural councils in the management of local schools. O'Sullivan wanted priests to do 'quiet work' amongst the councillors resident in their parishes to ensure that councils would pass resolutions opposing the bill and 'declaring that if it is forced on this country [they] will refuse to strike a rate in connection with it'. In the event, many councils had withdrawn their allegiance from the British government and had declared support for Dáil Éireann, thus making fanciful any thoughts Macpherson may have had of implementing the measure.<sup>182</sup> O'Sullivan returned to the topic in a circular letter sent to the clergy of his diocese on 18 March 1920. In it he asked priests 'for the signatures of as many parents as possible' for a mass protest which had been planned for Sunday 21 March.<sup>183</sup> The clergy were expected to organise petitions for lay people in their parishes to give them the opportunity to record their abhorrence. He added that

while anything like compulsion would be undesirable, no effort should be spared to bring home to your people the disastrous results to faith, nationality and parental rights, that may ensue if the bill is forced on our country.

Miller has shown that the petition was not intended for the government but for the press, and has suggested that – despite the efforts of bishops such as O'Sullivan – it was 'apparently not well enough organised to produce any clearly stated vote of opposition'.<sup>184</sup>

Apart from organising opposition to the Education Bill, priests also found themselves occupied with other political activities. Thus Father Laurence Stafford, curate in Lucan, County Dublin, wrote to Archbishop Walsh in the summer of 1920 about his mediation between Messrs. Hill and Sons, who owned a wool factory in the parish, and 200 female employees who had gone on strike and had subsequently been locked out.<sup>185</sup> Stafford did not find Mr. Hill amenable to reasonable negotiation and contacted the 'ministry of labour' – presumably the Dáil's ministry of labour. An official from this institution visited the entrepreneur – who had retreated to Howth after shots had been fired at his Lucan dwelling – but all to no avail. Eventually Stafford called on the lord mayor's mediation, which Hill accepted.

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<sup>182</sup> See Miller, *Church*, p. 440.

<sup>183</sup> O'Sullivan to clergy, 18 Mar. 1920 (Ky.D.A., O'Sullivan papers, 'Ad clerum. Official circular letters 1919-1926. Most Rev. C. O'Sullivan D.D.').

<sup>184</sup> Miller, *Church*, p. 440.

<sup>185</sup> Stafford to Walsh, 28 Aug. [1920] (D.D.A., Walsh papers, 380/3). See also *Irish Independent*, 25 Sept. 1920.

## 6.4 Impact and reception

### 6.4.1 Criticism of the clergy

Many diocesan archives contain letters from lay persons complaining to the bishop in question that he or his priests had either been too diligent or had not been diligent enough in condemning republican violence. Thus in December 1919, Archbishop Walsh received a letter from prominent Catholic lawyer A. M. Sullivan, who protested that ‘the known murderers in this country ... are all notably pious’.<sup>186</sup> According to Sullivan, this was due to the fact that ‘no instruction to fortify your flock has been given from any pulpit during the three years in which the agents of the secret societies have represented murder as a sort of religious function’. Sullivan himself had been the recipient of threatening letters due to his work as a prosecutor for the Crown, and in fact he was soon to be the target of an unsuccessful assassination attempt near Tralee.<sup>187</sup> Walsh’s failure to instruct his flock against ‘murder propaganda’ had resulted in the situation that ‘now a Catholic who will not be silent about an article of his faith is exposed to assassination’. Sullivan continued:

By instituting a course of moral instruction, in the schools, from the pulpit and from the altar your grace may rescue hundreds of our boys and may save many lives if not mine ... The silence of the pulpit is [diligently] misrepresented as the approval of the church. I desire most solemnly to warn your grace of this public scandal and to call upon you to end it.

Similar sentiments were expressed by another layman from Dublin, who told Walsh in November 1920 that murders of the police ‘too often pass uncondemned by the hierarchy and priesthood’. And an Englishman told the archbishop in March 1921 that ‘when you use the word “barbarous” you should apply it to the Catholic cut-throats who started murdering, and those who support them, clergy included’.<sup>188</sup>

Other bishops with a reputation for being ‘soft’ on republicans received similar exhortations. Thus Bishop Fogarty of Killaloe was told in January 1920 by a Canadian Catholic called Keogh that his diocese ‘has been and is notorious as the most crime laden

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<sup>186</sup> Sullivan to Walsh, 22 Dec. 1919 (D.D.A., Walsh papers, 386/8). For Sullivan see: Paul Bew, ‘Moderate nationalism and the Irish revolution, 1916-1923’, *The Historical Journal*, xlii, no. 3 (1999), pp 729-49, at pp 736-9.

<sup>187</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 17 Jan. 1920.

<sup>188</sup> McDonnell to Walsh, 1 Nov. 1920 (D.D.A., Walsh papers, 380/5) and Blaker to Walsh, 2 Mar. 1921 (D.D.A., Walsh papers, 380/4).



district in Ireland'.<sup>189</sup> According to his correspondent, Fogarty was responsible for this state of affairs by 'brazenly defending such appalling conditions' and Keogh added that he hoped that 'the day is not far distant when [the Irish people] shall ... be freed from the dominance of prelates of your stamp who, in the name of religion, seek to gloss over and justify that which is wicked and evil in the sight of God and man'. Keogh's letter suggests that he had been the subject of taunts by non-Irish Canadians on account of his Irish Catholic background. A similar feeling was evident in the letter of an anonymous Irishman from Glasgow, who wrote to Walsh in December 1919 accusing him of being a 'partaker with the murderers' and complaining that 'Irishmen in Glasgow are looked down upon as never before' – presumably on account of I.R.A. violence.<sup>190</sup>

Not only bishops, but priests whose republican sympathies were known also received complaints. Thus Dom Francis Sweetman of Mount St. Benedict college in Gorey, County Wexford, told an audience in Enniscorthy in January 1919 that people had condemned him for 'mixing himself up in politics'.<sup>191</sup> Sweetman unsurprisingly rejected the criticism and said that 'they were full of praise for the patriot priests of Belgium and Poland, but when the priests of Ireland attempted to do something for their country they were told to keep out of politics'. Some sent complaints about priests to their bishops. In December 1920, Sir James O'Connor, the lord justice of appeal, wrote a long letter to Cardinal Logue protesting against the statements of priests who had condoned the use of violence against persons employed by the Crown.<sup>192</sup> O'Connor complained that Father Masterson – the Jesuit who had debated with John Fitzpatrick about the legitimacy of revolt – had said in a conversation that the killing of police and military was 'a debatable matter' and that another Jesuit had defended the legitimacy of such killings to a colleague. He had also heard from reliable sources that a Maynooth professor and many Redemptorists were of the same view. O'Connor gave other examples of clerical sympathy towards the I.R.A. – one being the fact that the *Irish Theological Quarterly* had published O'Rahilly's article in its October 1920 edition without having requested a *nihil obstat* from the censor. All of this had a disastrous influence, O'Connor contended, because it disturbed the consciences of many 'sincere and earnest Catholics' and because it gave a 'false conscience' to many young Irishmen. Logue replied that he had brought the issue to the attention of the bishops and that all of them had assured

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<sup>189</sup> Keogh to Fogarty, 20 Jan. 1920 (K.D.A., Fogarty papers, F3A21).

<sup>190</sup> Anon. to Walsh, 9 Dec. 1919 (D.D.A., Walsh papers, 386/8).

<sup>191</sup> *Irish Independent*, 29 Jan. 1919.

<sup>192</sup> O'Connor to Logue, 21 Dec. 1920 (N.L.I., MS 21,697). See Miller, *Church*, p. 466.

him that they had placed it before their priests at ‘the usual theological conferences’.<sup>193</sup> He also complained that bishops were usually the last persons to hear of their priests’ imprudent expressions and made the familiar assertion that they held no jurisdiction over religious.

Sometimes priests were denounced to their bishops by other priests. This happened to Father Gerald Dennehy, curate in Eyeries, County Cork, in February 1921. In that month Father Paul Kehoe, parish priest of Clonroche, County Wexford, sent Bishop O’Sullivan extracts from a book which had been forwarded to him by a Catholic friend in New Zealand. The extracts, from Owen Wister’s 1920 book *A straight deal, or The ancient grudge*, concerned a selection of utterances with which Irish Catholic priests had advised their flocks to oppose the introduction of conscription to Ireland in 1918.<sup>194</sup> One of these concerned Father Dennehy, who had allegedly told his congregation after administering holy communion one Sunday that they could kill at sight any Catholic policeman who had assisted in applying the draft to Ireland. ‘God will bless you and it will be the most acceptable sacrifice you can offer’. As has been seen in chapter 4, a similar story about a priest offering an indulgence to anyone who would kill another policeman had surfaced in the English press in July 1920. Kehoe suggested that Dennehy should assert the falsity of these statements by taking legal action against Wister’s publishers.

Frequently criticism also came from the other end of the spectrum and churchmen were censured for their alleged support for the government. Bishop Kelly of Ross was a habitual target for comments of this nature. The *Catholic Bulletin*’s editorial attacked him on a number of occasions. The first was in May 1919, after Kelly had condemned the killing of policemen and had criticised the radicalism of leading members of the Dáil during a sermon in Skibbereen.<sup>195</sup> The *Bulletin* attacked Kelly for having taken press reports of Dáil proceedings at face value and quoted from a letter to the editor which asked if the bishop now wished ‘to be recognised as a willing instrument of English tyranny’.<sup>196</sup> Kelly came under fire again from the same publication in October 1920. The editor praised Walsh’s recent refusal to support a home rule-based peace proposal and contrasted it with the ‘intemperate exhortations with which the eagle-eyed people of Skibbereen have been made familiar’. This was a reference to a statement of Kelly’s in which he claimed credit for having always

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<sup>193</sup> Logue to O’Connor, 23 Jan. 1921 (N.L.I., MS 21,697).

<sup>194</sup> Kehoe to O’Sullivan, 24 Feb. 1921 (Ky.D.A., O’Sullivan papers, ‘Parish correspondence’, Eyeries). The quotations are from Owen Wister, *A straight deal, or The ancient grudge* (New York, 1920), pp 262-3. Hart, *Enemies*, p. 61 quotes this statement in a slightly different version.

<sup>195</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 19 Apr. 1919.

<sup>196</sup> *Catholic Bulletin*, ix, no. 5, pp 217-9, at p. 218.

advised his flock not to associate with Germany.<sup>197</sup> Kelly's claim was cited as an example of the 'slavish statements on our national aspirations that have brought unenviable notoriety on many pulpits ... in Ireland'.

Archbishop Gilmartin of Tuam received a letter from Eoin MacNeill in July 1920 protesting against the fact that the archbishop had publicly described the recent killing of two policemen near Tuam as a 'dastardly murder'.<sup>198</sup> MacNeill argued that he was entitled to bear arms in defence of Ireland against the British forces. Since the possession of arms was a stated reason for the Crown forces to shoot civilians at sight, he contended that it was lawful for anyone carrying arms to shoot the military – or the police, who were 'a mere branch of the British military forces' – before these had had the chance to fire a shot themselves. He called on Gilmartin to 'define the extent of resistance that is morally justifiable' and said that the present situation was 'surely not a case for vagueness'. Until the church declared differently, he believed he was right in protesting against the epithet of "'murder" even without the qualifying adjective'.

Too much clarity was not appreciated either, however, as Cohalan found out after he issued his excommunication decree. A letter written to all members of the hierarchy by the lord mayor of Cork and a Cork county councillor to dispute Cohalan's right to excommunicate republicans has already been mentioned.<sup>199</sup> In a private letter to John Hagan, the Dáil's Parisian and Roman envoy Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh wrote that Cohalan's excommunication decree was 'a horrible and most disgraceful document for which, I am sure, I personally could never forgive him'.<sup>200</sup> Cohalan's 'unmerited and unjust attack on the republican forces should make particularly all Cork people, thoroughly ashamed of their bishop'. Ó Ceallaigh said he would love to have a chance of telling Cohalan 'straight to his face what a cowardly slave and traitor to Ireland' he was and also mentioned that Fogarty had been pained by Cohalan's decree. Terence MacSwiney's sister Mary was of the same opinion and wrote a statement to all the bishops in December 1920 telling them that Cohalan lacked the 'right power' to excommunicate conscientious Catholics who fought for the republic.<sup>201</sup>

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<sup>197</sup> Ibid., x., no. 10, p. 586. The aquiline adjective alluded to the *Skibbereen Eagle* newspaper, which famously informed an expansionist Tsar Nicholas II in 1898 that it would be 'keeping its eye on him'. For another example of criticism of Kelly, see *Catholic Bulletin*, xi., no. 1, pp 15-6.

<sup>198</sup> MacNeill to Gilmartin, 22 July 1920 (T.D.A., Gilmartin papers, B4/8-ii/8).

<sup>199</sup> Ó Ceallachain and Walsh, 'Communication to all members of hierarchy', 14 Dec. 1920 (D.D.A., Walsh papers, 380/5). See 3.2.3.

<sup>200</sup> Ó Ceallaigh to Hagan, 23 Dec. 1920 (A.I.C.R., Hagan papers, HAG1/1920/485).

<sup>201</sup> MacSwiney to bishops, 30 Dec. 1920 (U.C.D.A., Mary MacSwiney papers, P48a/192).

She also referred to the recently canonised Joan of Arc to show that those condemned by the bishops in their day might well be vindicated in the future.

Not just bishops, but priests also came under fire when they were found wanting in true republican zeal. In December 1921, Bishop O'Sullivan of Kerry received a letter from an anonymous lay person from Causeway near Tralee, who complained that the priests of the local parish had visited the premises of a woman boycotted by the I.R.A. because she had been accused of spying for the Crown forces during the War of Independence.<sup>202</sup> Father J. Cahill, the curate, had called those supporting the boycott 'scoundrels' and O'Sullivan's correspondent protested and wondered if Cahill's hostility was due to the fact that his 'brother was reduced in the ranks of the I.R.A.'. The county inspector of King's County's claim in March 1921 that a parish priest's entire congregation walked out of the church one Sunday when he had exhorted them to abstain from crime must be taken with a grain of salt.<sup>203</sup> But walk-outs and disturbances at mass certainly took place. The R.I.C. inspector general reported in August 1919 that Dean Daniel O'Connor, the parish priest of Carrickmacross, County Monaghan, had been interrupted during a sermon in which he had condemned the killing of policemen and had defended the character of the constabulary.<sup>204</sup> One 'local suspect' stood up and walked out, while another interrupted and addressed the clergyman.

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<sup>202</sup> Anon. to O'Sullivan, 28 Dec. 1921 (Ky.D.A., O'Sullivan papers, 'Parish correspondence', Causeway); see about this case also Clifford to Cahill, 9 July 1921, Cahill to Clifford, 10 July 1921 and Clifford to Cahill, 11 July 1921 (U.C.D.A., Mulcahy papers, P7/A/21).

<sup>203</sup> I.G.M.R., Mar. 1921, p. 729 (T.N.A., CO904/114).

<sup>204</sup> I.G.M.R., Aug. 1919, p. 755 (T.N.A., CO904/109).

#### 6.4.2 *Impact on republicans*

It would require a study of I.R.A. members rather than the clergy to measure fully the impact of clerical statements about the use of violence on those who were in the business of using it. Moreover, and more onerously, it would be necessary to establish whether republicans who considered committing acts of violence abandoned these plans after having been advised against it by a priest. There are nevertheless a number of clues as to the impact of clerical condemnation, mainly in the published memoirs of I.R.A. veterans. These sources show that those Volunteers who had already become involved in the guerrilla war were not dissuaded by clerical denunciation, although their reaction to such condemnation varied from breezy derision to apprehensive rejection.<sup>205</sup> Thus in his 1936 book *On another man's wound*, Ernie O'Malley recounted a conversation he had with Liam Lynch about Cohalan's excommunication decree in April 1921. Lynch was the commandant of the I.R.A.'s Cork no. 2 brigade and had discussed plans with O'Malley to include the Cork no. 1 brigade in a new southern division. Cork no. 2 brigade territory consisted mainly of areas in the diocese of Cloyne, but Cork no. 1 brigade territory was made up of areas mainly in the diocese of Cork.<sup>206</sup> This last circumstance led O'Malley to jest to Lynch that 'you'll be excommunicated ... when you take Cork one into the division'.<sup>207</sup> Lynch laughed and replied that 'old Cohalan had dinner with Strickland I suppose, before he took the pen in his fist, but nobody minds him now'.

Tom Barry's 1949 memoir *Guerrilla days in Ireland* contained no such flippancy. 'Let nobody minimise the gravity of such a decree in a Catholic country', he wrote, adding that his own reaction was one of anger.<sup>208</sup> He claimed that Cohalan's action was reckless and would have exposed Volunteers to harm if they had heeded the decree. 'For days [Barry] brooded over the decree, knowing full well how deeply religious the I.R.A. were'. This remark suggests that Barry's misgivings were of a practical nature and that he was mainly concerned about his comrades' response rather than the moral implications for himself. As to the latter, O'Rahilly's reply to the bishop 'completely clarified the position for anyone in doubt'. As to the former, Barry's concerns were unfounded as all 'active service men' in his brigade continued the fight, as well as the practice of their religion, aided therein by many

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<sup>205</sup> Augusteijn, *Defiance*, p. 308: 'Most Volunteers were ... unaffected by the condemnation of their actions by certain sections of the church'. Most of the statements Augusteijn quotes appear to refer to the Civil War.

<sup>206</sup> See for the territorial descriptions of the Cork I.R.A. brigades: Hart, *Enemies*, p. 53.

<sup>207</sup> O'Malley, *Wound*, p. 340. General Sir Peter Strickland was the military commander of the British army in Cork.

<sup>208</sup> Barry, *Guerrilla days*, p. 57.

priests who continued to administer the sacraments. A month later, Barry and some other leading Volunteers went on an inspection tour of various companies in the brigade to examine, among other things, the effects of Cohalan's decree.<sup>209</sup> The men were given the opportunity to step from the ranks at parade and leave 'if they had any religious scruples about carrying on'. None did so, and even if we make allowance for the fact that conscientious objectors may not have wanted to step from the ranks in full view of their comrades, the decree does appear to have been mainly ignored. The issue was not so urgent for Volunteers outside of the diocese of Cork. In his 1924 memoir *My fight for Irish freedom*, Tipperary I.R.A. man Dan Breen quoted a local priest who had condemned the Soloheadbeg shooting which Breen had carried out in January 1919. 'Such were the things said about us', he commented, 'but we kept on our course'.<sup>210</sup>

No doubt articles such as that by O'Rahilly and letters such as Dominic's letter to Florence O'Donoghue quoted above did much to resolve any difficulties I.R.A. men may have had. Kerry veteran Billy Mullins commented that although the Volunteers were refused the sacraments by 'a number of our bishops ... not all were of that mind'.<sup>211</sup> Mullins also mentioned the presence of a number of priests who gave sacramental sustenance to his company. And Liam Deasy mentioned Father O'Connell, parish priest of Enniskeen, County Cork, who 'never made any secret about his disapproval of the pastoral of Dr Coholan [sic], ... and in this he shared the feeling shown privately by many other priests in the diocese'.<sup>212</sup> In a similar vein, Murray has asserted that some advanced republicans had become impervious to the precepts of moral theology expounded by bishops such as Cohalan, because they had 'devised a new moral code' for themselves.<sup>213</sup> This 'new moral code' consisted mainly of the glorification of martyrdom. Miller and Murray have observed that the moral code enunciated by Pearse and the other 1916 leaders situated the ethical value of rebellion precisely in its failure, as a sacrificial act of bloodshed which would redeem and regenerate the nation unto maturity and independence.<sup>214</sup> Newsinger has emphasised that the choices made by the 1916 rebels cannot be understood exclusively or even at all as rational decisions made by thinkers more interested in politics than religion, but that they amounted to religious commitment, legitimised by a sense of vocation to martyrdom.<sup>215</sup> They devised a Catholic

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<sup>209</sup> Ibid., p. 67. See also Kautt, *Ambushes*, p. 113.

<sup>210</sup> Breen, *My fight*, p. 40.

<sup>211</sup> Billy Mullins, *Memoirs of Billy Mullins. Veteran of the War of Independence* (Tralee, 1983), p. 169.

<sup>212</sup> Deasy, *Ireland free*, p. 193.

<sup>213</sup> Murray, *Oracles*, p. 17.

<sup>214</sup> Miller, *Church*, pp 319-20, 398 and Murray, *Oracles*, p. 17.

<sup>215</sup> Newsinger, 'Sword', p. 609.

mysticism which sidestepped the church's traditional moral theological discourse, but which must nonetheless be viewed as much in terms of religion as of practical or even ideological politics. J. J. Lee has strongly criticised this conception of republican ideology and has argued that the 'blood sacrifice' theme was a *post factum* rationalisation for a failed insurrection.<sup>216</sup> In any case, the I.R.A. no longer had need for this theology of sacrifice during the War of Independence.<sup>217</sup> Whatever about a 'new moral code', the statements made by Barry about the effect of O'Rahilly's article, and by Mullins and Deasy about priests who shared their point of view, demonstrate that where alternative clerical authority was at hand to bolster the Volunteers in their rejection of clerical denunciation, this could be done without risk of apostasy.

It is impossible to tell if young men who were not Volunteers, or who belonged to units not involved in fighting, were deterred from the use of violence by clerical denunciation. As has been seen, it is clear from the MacFeely letters to Walsh in September 1920 that 'certain individuals' had asked him if they could join the I.R.A. with a safe conscience.<sup>218</sup> As has been seen, the published memoirs of I.R.A. veterans tended to emphasise that clerical condemnation of their campaign was ultimately dismissed by Volunteers, who continued on their chosen course of action. This may well have been the response of most republicans who had already gone down the path of violence. But the MacFeely letters show that at least a number of prospective I.R.A. members consulted the clergy. Presumably they attached some weight to the answers they received.

Ian Kenneally has argued that Cohalan's decree was heeded at least by some sections of society, as the *Cork Examiner* newspaper took its cue from the bishop in the way it reported I.R.A. violence. The newspaper 'unequivocally backed' Cohalan in his pronouncements condemning republican violence and 'infused its editorials with religious imagery, ... calling violence "crime against divine law" or "crime against moral law"'.<sup>219</sup> Sinéad Joy has observed that 'most I.R.A. veterans hotly deny that they ever allowed themselves to be intimidated by the local clergy'.<sup>220</sup> She has surmised, however, that clerical attitudes must have had some influence – though this influence either spurred on or deterred young men, depending on which side of the divide the sympathies of the priest in question

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<sup>216</sup> J. J. Lee, *Ireland 1912-1985. Politics and society* (Cambridge, 1989), pp 25-9.

<sup>217</sup> For the change in republican tactics, see for instance Hopkinson, *War*, p. 15.

<sup>218</sup> See 6.2.1 and MacFeely to Walsh, 28 Sept. 1920 (D.D.A., Walsh papers, 380/2).

<sup>219</sup> Kenneally, 'Bleeding Ireland', p. 96.

<sup>220</sup> Joy, *Kerry*, p. 74.

lay.<sup>221</sup> Joy has quoted I.R.A. veteran John Joe Rice's contention that lay people in the glens in Kerry were more likely to support the guerrilla campaign because they were further removed from the 'constant preaching of the clergy'.<sup>222</sup>

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<sup>221</sup> Ibid., p. 77.

<sup>222</sup> Ibid.



### 6.4.3 Reception

From 1930 to 1977 the Irish Capuchin province published a journal called the *Capuchin Annual*. A large section of its 1970 issue was dedicated to the fiftieth anniversary of 1920.<sup>223</sup> The issue contained no fewer than thirty-three articles on the War of Independence during that year, written by veterans such as Tom Barry and Seán Mac Eóin, as well as youthful historians such as Ambrose Macaulay and Michael Laffan. The articles were presented under the programmatic header ‘The Irish Volunteers in 1920 engage in arms the forces of Britain and break Britain’s centuries old stranglehold on Ireland’ – as good a summary of the republican narrative about the Irish revolution as can be found anywhere. Its purpose – no doubt reinforced by the most recent developments in Northern Ireland – was to ‘extol the generation that suffered unto victory’.<sup>224</sup>

In his contribution, Tomás Ó Fiaich was anxious to clear up the misunderstanding that the clergy had shown but doubtful allegiance to the republic in its early days, only to embrace it when it had proven to be successful. On the contrary, he argued that priests offered much support for the freedom fighters and that their customary hostility to republicanism, which dated back to Fenian times, had long since evaporated.<sup>225</sup> Although priests often had reservations about the use of violence – which was but to be expected from ‘men of peace’ – they supported the struggle for independence, shared in the population’s victimhood and spent much time condemning British outrages.<sup>226</sup> Another article in the same edition was written by Father Colmcille Ó Conbhuidhe, O.C.S.O., a Cistercian of Mellifont abbey, Collon, County Louth, and author of many articles on the War of Independence as well as a myriad other scholarly topics. Colmcille explained why senior clerics such as Archbishop Harty and Dean Innocent Ryan of Cashel had condemned I.R.A. attacks on police barracks: ‘not a few of the Catholic clergy ... had been unable to adapt themselves to the altered situation resulting from the setting up in Ireland by the Irish people [of] a native government’.<sup>227</sup>

Some of the participants themselves made similar attempts in later years to show their physical force credentials. Not all were quite as justified in doing so as William O’Kennedy, president of St. Flannan’s college, Ennis, who told the college community upon his release from prison in December 1921 that ‘if religion is ever to go down the slippery slope of

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<sup>223</sup> *The Capuchin Annual* (1970), pp 225-593.

<sup>224</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 225-6.

<sup>225</sup> Ó Fiaich, ‘Clergy’, p. 480.

<sup>226</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 500-1.

<sup>227</sup> Colmcille, ‘Tipperary’s fight’, p. 261.

infidelity, it will not be through the fault of the brave men whose guns spoke freedom on the fair hills of holy Ireland'.<sup>228</sup> A researcher for the Bureau of Military History interviewed Bishop Fogarty in 1949 and reported him as having said that 'the national interest would over-ride such unpleasant happenings as the shooting of policemen'.<sup>229</sup> Fogarty confirmed this impression in a subsequent letter, saying that he and O'Dwyer of Limerick would have stood over the guerrilla struggle to the extent that killings of policemen 'were carried through by authorization of at least de facto government'.<sup>230</sup> Although it is true that Fogarty had made statements during the War of Independence to the effect that 'mistakes and sorrows are ... inevitable' in the struggle that was underway, he also condemned the killing of constables on at least one occasion, saying that 'revenge is ... useless and wrong'.<sup>231</sup> Fogarty also declared in his statement that the bishops never discussed 'in council' the moral justification of the use of violence during the War of Independence. This was quite at odds with the assertion by Father Michael Curran, former secretary of Archbishop Walsh, that the bishops discussed a proposal to denounce the killing of policemen during a general meeting on 21 October 1919.<sup>232</sup> Perhaps Fogarty's memory transposed the views he was eager to profess in 1949 onto those he had held thirty years previously.

In its 1959 edition, the *Annual* had already featured a panegyric to Fathers Albert and Dominic on the event of the repatriation of their bodies.<sup>233</sup> After the War of Independence, Albert and Dominic were sent by their order to parishes in California and Oregon respectively. According to the eulogist in 1959, when they had died 'the voice of the people' demanded that their bodies be brought back to Ireland. Such eventually happened in June 1958. They were reinterred in the Capuchin cemetery in Rochestown, County Cork, but not before many speakers – lay and clerical – had sung their praises as heroes of Ireland's fight for freedom. In view of this emphasis on the virtues of these republican priests it is interesting to observe that another Irish exile to America had sounded a rather discordant note in 1936 when describing his encounter with Dominic during the conflict. As has been seen, Ernie O'Malley explained in his memoir how he had shared a cell with Father Dominic in December 1920. O'Malley 'found it hard to associate Dominic with a soldier's life'.<sup>234</sup> He

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<sup>228</sup> Ó Haichir, *Churchman*, pp 12-3.

<sup>229</sup> Michael Hayes in: Fogarty witness statement, p. 2 (N.A.I., BMH/WS271).

<sup>230</sup> Fogarty to Hayes, 24 May 1949 in: Fogarty witness statement, p. 2 (N.A.I., BMH/WS271).

<sup>231</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 2 Oct. 1920.

<sup>232</sup> Curran witness statement, p. 410 (N.A.I., BMH/WS687). According to Curran this proposal was opposed by the majority of the bishops, not because any of them expressed support for the use of violence, but because they feared that it might give the government an undue propaganda advantage.

<sup>233</sup> Bernard, 'Albert and Dominic'.

<sup>234</sup> O'Malley, *Wound*, p. 272.

also recounted how the Capuchin priest would often say that ‘they’ would murder them and commented that ‘Dominic showed his nervousness. A priest, I thought, should be more ready to meet them than I was’.<sup>235</sup>

Much earlier than the *Capuchin Annual*’s attempts to set the historical record straight, a work of fiction had provided another important, if overlooked, source for subsequent views on the role of the clergy in the War of Independence. Joseph Guinan’s 1928 novel *The patriots* was set in the fictional village of Druminara in the midlands during the War of Independence and the Civil War. Guinan (1863-1932) was a priest of the diocese of Ardagh and Clonmacnoise, and was parish priest of Bornacoola, County Leitrim, up to 1920, when he was moved to Ardagh, County Longford, and was made a canon.<sup>236</sup> The writer of a number of successful novels – among them *The soggarth aroon* (1905) and *Annamore* (1924) – he only published *The patriots* in the United States, presumably because his strongly pro-Treaty version of the Civil War would have embarrassed an Irish public trying not to mention the war. Both Guinan himself and Cardinal Curley of Baltimore who wrote the introduction, emphasised that Ireland’s fight for freedom had not been without excesses on either side, and that, in Guinan’s words, the novel dealt out ‘impartial condemnation’ to whoever had committed such acts.<sup>237</sup> Most of this condemnation was reserved for the Black and Tans and the anti-Treaty side during the Civil War. There are in fact also a number of references to the I.R.A.’s ‘guiltless victims of cruel destiny’, even during the War of Independence, as well as quite a few honourable R.I.C. men and even some good Black and Tans.<sup>238</sup> As Patrick Maume has observed, however, the book ‘utterly idealized’ the I.R.A. heroes of the War of Independence, while Catherine Candy has noted that Guinan contrasted the ‘nobility and glory of the fighting in the War of Independence with the ignobility of the Civil War’.<sup>239</sup> The novel’s two priests, Canon Killian, the parish priest, and Father Darragh, the curate, at one stage discuss the morality of violence against the police, with Killian contending that it was immoral and Darragh – though a supporter of Sinn Féin and benefactor of the local Volunteer branch – more or less concurring.<sup>240</sup> Darragh had purchased the first rifle for Druminara’s

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<sup>235</sup> Ibid., p. 273.

<sup>236</sup> Candy, *Fictions*, pp 45-6.

<sup>237</sup> Curley in Joseph Guinan, *The patriots* (New York, Cincinnati and Chicago, 1928), pp 3-7, at p. 5, and Guinan in his foreword at p. 9. I am grateful to Prof. R. V. Comerford for kindly lending me a rare copy of Guinan’s book.

<sup>238</sup> ‘Guiltless victims’: Guinan, *Patriots*, p. 200, see also p. 142; honourable R.I.C. men: pp 176-7; good Black and Tans: ibid., pp 221-5.

<sup>239</sup> Patrick Maume, ‘A pastoral vision: the novels of Canon Joseph Guinan’, *New Hibernia Review*, ix, no. 4 (2005), pp 79-98, at p. 95 and Candy, *Fictions*, p. 110.

<sup>240</sup> Guinan, *Patriots*, pp 131-6.

Volunteer branch, though ‘that it was intended for ornament rather than use was tacitly understood by all’.<sup>241</sup> The novel’s main hero, Seamus McGarry – modelled on Seán Mac Eóin – showed his concern for a proper theological justification for his actions. In order to avoid having to be the first to shoot when under siege from Black and Tans once in a house in the countryside, McGarry showed himself briefly at the front door, causing the Black and Tans to open fire. This allowed him to return fire with a clear conscience, since he could maintain that it had been in self-defence.<sup>242</sup>

Maume has argued that Guinan was not primarily concerned with the I.R.A. Instead he was intent on demonstrating the ‘indissoluble union of priests and people’.<sup>243</sup> One of the ways in which he did this was by emphasising the shared victimhood of the priests and their flock at the hands of the Black and Tans. Two central episodes are reminiscent of actual incidents during the War of Independence. In the first of these, Killian and Darragh happen upon the scene of an ambush on their way to a station and are held up by Black and Tans some suitably gloomy November morning.<sup>244</sup> The I.R.A. have overpowered the Black and Tans, disarmed them, set their lorries on fire and have departed by the time the priests arrive. But two Black and Tans have escaped before the ambush and come out of their hiding place to torment the two clergymen. In a scene evocative of that faced by Canon Magner of Dunmanway in his last moments in December 1920, they stop Killian and Darragh’s pony trap and tell them to alight. The two priests are forced onto their knees, and ‘one of the scoundrels [places] the muzzle of his pistol close to Father Darragh’s forehead, while the other ... with a blasphemous growl [pushes] the barrel of his revolver against Canon Killian’s mouth, breaking one of his teeth in the process’.<sup>245</sup> Killian and Darragh – the former with ‘the confidence of the Christian martyr’, the latter ready to sacrifice himself for his parish priest’s sake – experience some anxious moments as their tormentors debate their fate. Unlike Magner, Guinan’s priests are spared when the party’s commanding officer turns up at the critical moment and prevents the shooting.<sup>246</sup> The narrator next reflected that had it not been for this providential intervention, a crime would have been committed ‘similar to the murder of Canon Magner, or of Father Griffin, crimes that will rankle in the brooding memory of Ireland for ever’.<sup>247</sup> It was only due to ‘the shepherding care of providence for the *soggarth*

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<sup>241</sup> Ibid., p. 80.

<sup>242</sup> Ibid., pp 241-3.

<sup>243</sup> Maume, ‘Pastoral vision’, p. 95.

<sup>244</sup> Guinan, *Patriots*, pp 191-202, at p. 191.

<sup>245</sup> Ibid., p. 194.

<sup>246</sup> Ibid., pp 195-6.

<sup>247</sup> Ibid., p. 196.

aroon' that more priests were spared Magner's and Griffin's fate – the killing of Father James O'Callaghan in Cork in May 1921 seems to have escaped the narrator's attention.

There was more clerical victimhood in a chapter entitled 'The station tragedy', loosely modelled on the incident that took place in Dunmore in October 1920, when devotions in a temporary church were disturbed by Crown forces.<sup>248</sup> As has been seen, a school building used as a church was approached by a party of soldiers as Dean Macken was addressing a congregation after mass. A soldier entered and after a dialogue with Macken the party waited for the service to end before the congregation were addressed outside by the commanding officer. In Guinan's chapter, the station takes place in a private home – as was the custom – and Darragh has come to the end of the mass and is purifying the chalice when the word is given by scouts that Black and Tans are on their way.<sup>249</sup> A number of young men scurry out the back door. The raiders arrive as Darragh is saying the *De profundis*, a psalm said – only in Ireland – by priest and altar servers directly after mass had ended.<sup>250</sup> They fire shots at the fleeing men and storm into the house with drawn revolvers, ordering everyone to put up their hands. When one of them commands Killian to instruct Darragh to put up his hands too, Killian protests and tells the Black and Tan that the celebrating priest is 'engaged in the official service of the King of kings' and that he will comply with his orders as soon as he has finished his duty at the altar.<sup>251</sup> Outside, the fugitives are shot by Black and Tans. But the narrative's focus was on the priests as Darragh is searched together with all others present, despite the fact that he is still wearing his liturgical vestments.<sup>252</sup>

Things go from bad to worse when a Black and Tans develops an interest in the pyxis which Darragh holds in his hands: 'Now you must let me see ... what you've got in the small box that's in this purse. I notice you seem anxious to conceal its contents – explosives perhaps'.<sup>253</sup> Darragh is forced to open the pyxis. Women present in the kitchen kneel and weep during this episode, with the narrator comparing them to the women of Jerusalem who wept for Jesus as he was led to Calvary. Even though the cadet tells Darragh that he 'may keep these wafers', the profanation makes Jesus himself a victim of the Black and Tans, thus reinforcing the perception of the conflict as partly religious, identifying Catholicism and Irish nationality.

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<sup>248</sup> Ibid., pp 203-12.

<sup>249</sup> Ibid., p. 204.

<sup>250</sup> Corish, *Experience*, p. 117. It was recited before the 'Leonine prayers' which were said everywhere in the world 'for the conversion of Russia'.

<sup>251</sup> Guinan, *Patriots*, p. 206.

<sup>252</sup> Ibid., p. 209.

<sup>253</sup> Ibid., p. 210.

## 6.5 Summary

There was a context to the response of priests to political violence, consisting of their relations with their fellow priests and their bishops or superiors, the liturgical setting of their interaction with the faithful, theological debate and the other activities which required their attention. Relations between republican priests and those who opposed republicanism were potentially difficult. Doyle's anecdote about his encounter with an English monsignor in the Vatican is one example. The animosity which existed between two priests of the diocese of Killaloe – Fathers Gaynor and Maguire – is another. Relations between the Mullagh curates and their parish priest were quite cordial. The Culligan trial shows that complications could beset even relations between priests on the same side of the political divide. Thus the fact that they shared a common priestly identity did not prevent Gaynor and McKenna from court-martialling Culligan and imposing a sentence on him.

More so than secular priests, religious were bound together by their vows to form a single community. Religious orders were divided on the issue of republicanism. This is evident from the complaints about the reading of seditious books in the Milltown Park refectory during dinner in 1917 and from one Gardiner Street Jesuit's complaints about another which reached Mulcahy in June 1921. In an attempt to prevent disharmony in their communities, superiors forbade confreres from venting political views to the outside world and discouraged them from doing so within the community. Priests who had gained a reputation for republicanism and who disrupted harmony, or whose lives were at risk, were transferred out of harm's way. This happened to the Jesuit Father Hackett, who was moved from Limerick first to Dublin and subsequently to Australia, and to the Augustinian Father Hennessy, who was moved from Limerick to England for a number of years.

Like religious superiors, diocesan bishops also tried to find solutions for priests who had become conspicuous through their outspoken political views. Bishops responded differently to republican priests who had fallen foul of the government. Mostly they complied with governmental requests for disciplinary action, although the celebrated case of the Maxwell-O'Dwyer correspondence shows that bishops could not always be relied upon to view things from the government's perspective. Maxwell's defeat at O'Dwyer's hands did not stop the authorities from continuing to refer rebellious priests to their ecclesiastical superiors. Sometimes contact was initiated by the bishop, as in the Meehan case, where Gilmartin proposed an ecclesiastical alternative to prosecution. Priests were generally

anxious to avoid public clashes with the hierarchy, but privately they happily criticised bishops who did not live up to republican expectations.

When priests did comment on the conflict in public, they often did so in the sermon at Sunday mass in the parish church. It was the most common forum for the communication of clerical views on republican violence. Priests either offered general reflections on the state of the country, or, more frequently, responded specifically to events that had taken place in the locality during the previous week. Apart from issuing standard pastoral letters to everyone in the diocese twice annually, bishops wrote public letters to parish priests in whose parishes acts of bloodshed had taken place. These letters were then read from the pulpit at mass. Bishops and priests also wrote public letters to the press and presided over meetings and conferences of clergy and laity which passed resolutions condemning acts of violence. They also expressed their views outside of the liturgical setting in their capacity as chairmen of organisations and committees in their parishes or dioceses. Moreover, they had many an opportunity in private conversations – either inside or outside of the confessional – to get their message across to parishioners.

Clerical opinions were based not only on political considerations, but also on principles derived from moral theology. Arguments were made in clerical journals of theology as to how these principles could best be applied to the concrete situation at hand. Although few theologians specifically mentioned the situation that pertained in the country at the time, the practical consequences of their conclusions were clear. Opinions differed and consensus was not reached, but reasonably coherent arguments were made both for the legitimacy and the illegitimacy of armed rebellion. This provided priests with theological ‘ammunition’ to give some consistency to whichever position they adopted.

Those who regarded the use of physical force as immoral – and even some who believed that it was moral but inopportune – often offered alternative strategies to achieve the freedom of the country. Most were content to advocate what amounted to a spiritual retreat from the world, relying on prayer and divine providence to right the country’s political wrongs. Prayer, the virtue of patience and the imitation of Christ’s passive suffering on the cross were urged as the most desirable responses to the turmoil that threatened the safety and stability of society. A number of clerics recommended support for the non-violent work of Sinn Féin and the Dáil administration as an acceptable alternative course of action.

Examples of peacekeeping activities by priests abound, both in diocesan archives and in the press. Priests calmed crowds at republican rallies, patrolled the streets at night to keep people indoors and pleaded with army and police commanders to ensure that ambushes

would not be followed by reprisals. They also sought the protection of the army against the Black and Tans and called for truces in parishes or dioceses. Moreover, they intervened to save victims from their republican or government-affiliated tormentors and organised vigilante committees to keep the streets safe. In Ulster, they sometimes negotiated at the inevitable stand-offs during marches. Clerics also worked to provide relief and support to victims of violence both by the I.R.A. and by the Crown forces. Thus Catholic clergy played a prominent part in the organisation known as the Irish White Cross. Bishops also organised structural relief funds themselves or coordinated the provision of relief on an ad hoc basis for parishes that had been afflicted. Priests also gave support to the victims of violence by providing shelter in their houses or elsewhere and by attending victims, sometimes at risk to their own lives.

The parish had been an important locus for political life before the outbreak of hostilities. This function did not cease when the fighting started. One of the important political topics of the day was the Education Bill introduced by the government in November 1919. It intended to replace existing boards of education with a new department of education and would make local authorities responsible for the upkeep of school buildings, to be financed through local rates. The bishops set up a campaign against the measures contained in the bill, which would have much lessened the clergy's grip on the education system. A solemn novena was held in March 1920 and priests were instructed to organise rallies in their parishes and to do 'quiet work' to secure the opposition of local councillors.

Respect for the clerical state or even episcopal dignity was not such that lay persons necessarily refrained from criticising priests and bishops. Many complaints were received by bishops and priests who had acquired a reputation for being 'soft' on republicanism. These often came from prominent laypeople both in Ireland and in the diaspora, but people of lower social standing also made their grievances known. As the Dennehy case shows, priests sometimes complained to the bishop of a colleague who had made objectionable statements. Bishops and priests who had a reputation for being 'soft' on the government were also criticised. Bishops Kelly and Cohalan were lambasted by the republican press and priests who spoke out against I.R.A. actions sometimes faced a show of popular disapproval.

The published memoirs of I.R.A. veterans demonstrate that republicans who had become radicalised to the point of taking up arms against the Crown forces were not likely to change their minds on account of episcopal or priestly condemnation. Some laughed scornfully at Bishop Cohalan's decree of excommunication, while other Volunteers required the aid of republican-minded theologians to explain why they could disobey his injunction in



good conscience while continuing to practice their Catholic faith. For I.R.A. men outside of the diocese of Cork the stakes were not so high. But some veterans believed that communities farther removed from clerical influence were more likely to give active support to the guerrilla campaign.

In the decades after the revolutionary years, a number of priests were anxious to set the record straight with regard to the church's role in the country's fight for freedom. Tomás Ó Fiaich's contribution to the fiftieth-anniversary edition of the *Capuchin Annual* shows that he thought there was a belief among the heroes of the 'old I.R.A.' that the clergy had not been helpful during Ireland's struggle for independence. His article was conceived as an *apologia* to prove that priests – though opposed to violence – did their 'bit' for Ireland and suffered as much as their lay compatriots during the war. Canon Guinan's *The patriots*, on the other hand, made no apologies for the clergy's role in the conflict and stressed both the enthusiastic curate's republican credentials and the wise canon's manful sharing in the depredations which his flock had to suffer. The legitimacy of violence was an unresolved theme in his novel, which left theological objections to it unchallenged while simultaneously glorifying the *hommes armés* who fought for Ireland and managed to do so without compromising their consciences.

## 7. CONCLUSION

The objective of this thesis has been to establish what attitudes were adopted by Catholic priests at a local level towards the use of political violence during the War of Independence. In order to do this, it has been necessary to gauge the extent of clerical opposition to and support for the republican guerrilla campaign and to examine the content of the religious images and arguments which priests used to justify their attitude. The question is important for two reasons. Firstly because it sheds light on the actual lived experience of priestly existence during this period, as opposed to the official discourse which stressed docility of spirit, uniformity and zeal only for the salvation of souls. Specifically, it shows how priests dealt with the challenge of armed revolution in a society in which they traditionally occupied a strong position of moral authority. Secondly, it allows us to assess the clergy's specific contribution to the moral and political questions faced by laypeople, both those who were involved with the I.R.A. and those who served the Crown. In other words, it establishes the nature of the influence exercised by priests over those who engaged in political violence.

There was a small minority of priests who favoured the union of Ireland and Great Britain, and who gave support to the British campaign. Many more opposed the killing of members of the R.I.C., whom, they stressed, were fellow-Catholics and fellow-Irishmen. But on the whole, opposition to 'British oppression' was not controversial among the clergy, and condemnation of violence by the Crown forces was frequent and widespread. In this, priests followed the lead of the bishops, whose unanimous statement denouncing the government's Irish policy in October 1920 was an eloquent example of this attitude. We may conclude that on the issue of British violence, the clergy were by and large united in their condemnation.

More complex was the clergy's response to I.R.A. violence. This thesis has contended that there were two opposing clerical responses to the use of republican violence: condemnation and support. Priests who opposed it used the sermon at mass on Sunday to denounce incidents that had taken place in their parish during the previous week. Such condemnations frequently referred to the fifth commandment and pointed out that the killing of police and soldiers was a violation of the moral law. Many priests had recourse to more emotive themes closely linked to the rural population's supernatural sensibilities. Thus bishops and priests told their audiences that the 'curse of Cain' was the fate of the murderer and his accomplices, and that murder was a sin that called to heaven for vengeance. Others warned that responsibility for murders did not rest solely with the individuals who committed them, but also with the community which failed to prevent them. In several instances,

liturgical acts of reparation were prescribed to blot out the stain caused by the shedding of the blood of policemen or soldiers.

Apart from moral considerations, many priests also stressed that there were reasons of expediency why it was unwise to engage in guerrilla warfare against the British authorities. Thus assassinations and other acts of violence proved that the country was unfit for self-government. Others discouragingly pointed to the inability of an organisation such as the I.R.A. to defeat the power of the British empire. Priests also condemned violence directed at Protestant targets, especially clergymen and church buildings, although the sectarian character of the conflict in many parts of Ulster coloured clerical opinion there. But even in the northern counties, public statements by priests mostly emphasised conciliation. Suspicion of Sinn Féin remained widespread among priests – both senior and junior – and was often linked to fears of social radicalism in that party. Political divisions among priests and clerical factionalism were sometimes linked and the dioceses of Dublin and Ferns both provided examples of clerical conflicts that took on a political hue.

Condemnation of republican violence in itself did not amount to support for the British government or the Crown forces. In fact, clerics who used the traditional criteria of just war to argue that I.R.A. violence was immoral, often explicitly acknowledged that the government was oppressive. But other priests did offer support for the Crown forces. As has been mentioned, attempts to counteract the republican policy of ostracism of the R.I.C. were very common. Priests emphasised the shared Catholic faith, the Irish nationality and the humanity of constables who had been attacked, or painted colourful pictures of the horrid sufferings which they endured at the hands of their republican tormentors. In one or two cases, priests were suspected of having informed on republicans to the Crown forces. There are also some instances of priests who intervened to thwart I.R.A. operations, and at least one where the priest in question threatened to inform the British forces of an intended ambush. But such interventions must usually be taken as evidence of a desire to keep the parish out of trouble rather than of sympathy for the government.

One way of gauging clerical support for the I.R.A. campaign is to look at the number of priests who were targeted by the Crown forces. Not that involvement with the I.R.A. was a requirement for becoming a victim, but it is nonetheless reasonable to expect that among those targeted were a good number of persons who had at least some association with republicanism. The frequency with which Crown forces raided presbyteries, curates' houses, monasteries and colleges demonstrates that the clergy were specifically suspected by the authorities of engaging in seditious activities. If the reasons invoked in threats made to priests

are to be believed, there was a general perception among members of the British forces that priests incited the people to violence through their preaching, or had been negligent in restraining the people entrusted to their pastoral care. Certain priests made optimal publicity use of raids on their churches, and instances of sacrilege committed by the Crown forces were eagerly reported in the press. In no small number of cases suspicions that priests supported the republican cause were correct. Some did so by endorsing its peaceful institutions, such as Sinn Féin and Dáil Éireann. Although support for these institutions was indicative of republican sympathies and was often illegal, it was not in itself equivalent to endorsement of the I.R.A. campaign. Even close links with local non-column Volunteer units did not always mean that priests supported violence.

There were also priests, however, who actively aided the I.R.A. in the carrying out of its guerrilla campaign. Some did so by engaging in activities that were unrelated to their priestly ministry and could be – and were normally – done by lay people. They concealed guns and ammunition, passed on messages between Volunteer brigades, engaged in gun running and provided shelter for flying columns. Becoming involved meant accepting the risk that republican responsibilities might have to take precedence over priestly ones. Gaynor – though not involved in guerrilla warfare himself – reflected that he would have been willing to kill if he had had to do so in the line of duty, even if this would have put a stop to his priestly ministry. Others accepted ecclesiastical sanctions rather than give up their political activism. It is likely that this group of activist priests was not very large. A small number of familiar names come up time and again, both in the Bureau of Military History's witness statements, in church archives and in the War Office papers and Dublin Castle records. This is understandable given that few priests were willing to contemplate the possible consequences of this course of action.

Many more priests acted as chaplains to flying columns. This involved giving favourable advice to I.R.A. members in the confessional, celebrating mass disguised as 'station masses' for men on the run and ministering to prisoners sentenced to death by the I.R.A. Although not entirely risk-free – this is evident from the MacHugh case in Westport – these were confidential pastoral activities that could be presented as being part of the priestly job description. It was a way of contributing to the guerrilla struggle that was specific to the clergy and could often be done without having to commit oneself publicly to the republican cause or to expose oneself unduly to personal danger. Unlike priests who condemned republican violence, those who supported it did not use specifically religious images to justify their standpoint. If theories of blood sacrifice and regenerative martyrdom were popular

among some republican ideologues, such musings found few supporters among republican priests. They did not view the conflict in religious terms at all, but instead simply shared the usual republican motivation. They did argue, however, that the guerrilla struggle met the criteria for just war and was therefore acceptable according to the principles of moral theology.

Priests also became involved in the conflict in non-partisan ways, by trying to keep the peace in their parishes and by averting both I.R.A. ambushes and reprisals by the Crown forces. They coordinated relief works for victims of violence by raising funds and organising emergency accommodation for the dispossessed. Other political issues also occupied their minds during the conflict, such as the proposed Education Bill of November 1919 and the resolution of local labour disputes. These activities formed the context within which priests responded to the matter of violence. Both condemnation of and support for I.R.A. violence often went together with involvement in some of these activities.

This thesis has demonstrated that priests were divided, firstly on the merits of the republican separatist ideal itself, secondly on the peaceful activities of the Volunteers, Sinn Féin and the Dáil, and thirdly on the I.R.A.'s campaign of violence. It is important to realise the significance of this clerical division, especially when we place the Irish case in the international context of Catholicism during this period. In most European countries the first three decades of the twentieth century formed the very heyday of ultramontane Catholicism. The most striking aspect of this period in countries such as the Netherlands, Germany or Switzerland was the sheer level of unity and uniformity, not only among the clergy but even among the laity.<sup>1</sup> Divisions among priests on an issue so closely linked to public morality is in need of further analysis.

There are a number of potentially relevant factors that can help to put clerical division into perspective. The first is geographical distribution. Hart's list of counties where violence was relatively common includes Cork, Longford, Kerry, Clare, Tipperary and Roscommon.<sup>2</sup> As has been seen, a glance at the geographical locations of the priests who condemned physical force shows that they were mostly located in Counties Cork, Galway, Tipperary,

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<sup>1</sup> For the Netherlands, see Paul Luykx, 'Andere katholieken, 1920-1960' in Paul Luykx (ed.), *Andere katholieken. Opstellen over de Nederlandse katholieken in de twintigste eeuw* (Nijmegen, 2000), pp 9-41, at pp 13-14. Luykx actually challenges the historical consensus accepted here that Dutch Catholics were unified and uniform during this period. For Germany and Switzerland, see Urs Altermatt, *Katholizismus und Moderne. Zur Sozial- und Mentalitätsgeschichte der Schweizer Katholiken im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Zürich, 1989), pp 97-216.

<sup>2</sup> Hart, 'Geography', pp 147-54.

Kerry and Longford.<sup>3</sup> And arrests of priests – an imperfect but useful indicator of clerical support for republicanism – were commonest in Clare, Mayo and Dublin and to a lesser degree in Cork, Galway and Roscommon.<sup>4</sup> When these three sets of data are taken together, it appears that counties where there was much violence had the most instances of condemnation. This was the case for Cork, Longford, Kerry and Tipperary. In addition, Cork also had a number of arrests of priests, indicating that the county had much clerical support for the I.R.A. as well as opposition to it. Clare and Roscommon showed the reverse pattern, with high levels of violence and many arrests, but few instances of clerical condemnation. Galway was unique in having low levels of violence, but many condemnations and many arrests, while Mayo and Dublin had many arrests, but low levels of violence and few instances of condemnation. The strong anti-violence stance of the bishop of Cork and the archbishop of Tuam may account for the high number of instances of condemnation in Cork and Galway. The pattern that emerges from these data is that there was much condemnation of republican violence in areas where it was most frequent, but that clerical support occurred in areas with both high and low levels of violence. The fact that violence was prevalent in areas where there was much condemnation suggests that clerical opposition did not deter Volunteers.

A different line of explanation for clerical divisions is that there was a generational difference between older and younger priests, with condemnation coming from the former group and support from the latter. Of the 223 reported instances of clerical condemnation listed in table 1, 66 per cent were made by bishops, parish priests or administrators and 32 per cent by curates.<sup>5</sup> This shows that although many curates denounced the use of violence, they were less likely to do so than senior churchmen. This conclusion depends on information derived from the newspapers, which presumably were more likely to publish comments made by senior clergy. This calculation therefore probably underestimates the number of curates who condemned violence. But this bias is more than rectified by the circumstance that curates outnumbered parish priests by approximately two to one, meaning that if curates had been proportionally represented, they would have had a share of 66 per cent rather than 32.<sup>6</sup> It is

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<sup>3</sup> See table 1, p. 44.

<sup>4</sup> See table 2, p. 185.

<sup>5</sup> Based on information from appendices 2.1 and 2.2. 92 (senior) and 45 (junior) clerics out of 140. In 6 cases the status of the priest in question could not be determined. 'Senior priests' includes bishops, parish priests, administrators and priors of religious communities. 'Junior priests' includes curates, members non-priors of religious communities, deacons and seminarians.

<sup>6</sup> There were 1,115 parishes in 1911 and 3,027 diocesan priests and 1,116 in 1926 and 3,082 diocesan priests. Newman, 'Priests', p. 6. If we assume that each parish had a parish priest or administrator then the figure of two

not likely that this discrepancy was due merely to a selective publishing policy on the part of the newspapers. Of the forty-two priests whose arrest during the conflict has been recorded, 86 per cent were junior priests and 16 were senior priests, adding credibility to the hypothesis that the former were more likely to support the I.R.A. than the latter.<sup>7</sup> The propensity of parish priests to oppose the I.R.A. campaign was not only due to the fact that older men were simply more conservative. Parish priests also carried more responsibilities than curates, and could therefore not afford to take as many personal risks. It was a valuable and prestigious thing to be appointed parish priest, and any behaviour that could have caused a parish priest's separation from his parish was unattractive to him.

Another traditional locus of intra-clerical conflict was the division between religious and secular clergy. Religious priests in the early decades of the twentieth century made up between 18 and 20 per cent of the total clerical population in Ireland, but of the 223 statements condemning violence, only three – or just over one per cent – were made by religious priests.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, one of these was a statement of very doubtful truthfulness, as its author was Father Dominic, who was chaplain to a flying column.<sup>9</sup> Many religious orders seem to have had at least one member who lives on in tradition as a 'republican priest' and some individual houses and orders – such as Mount Melleray and the Capuchins respectively – acquired a similar reputation.<sup>10</sup> On the other hand, however, religious involvement in Sinn Féin was very limited, with only one religious priest mentioned as a party officer in 1920. And evidence from the Dominican and Jesuit orders shows that very sharp divisions also existed within these orders. It appears that religious did not become involved to the same extent as secular priests, but that those among them who did support the I.R.A. became more radical than their secular counterparts. Interestingly, three religious quoted in this thesis as examples of priests who made gestures of support for the Crown forces were all former army chaplains.<sup>11</sup> It must not be concluded, however, that a personal history of enlistment in the British army predisposed priests to opposition to the I.R.A. On the contrary, some of the most

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curates for each parish priest is more or less justified. This figure does not take into account any diocesan priests not employed in a parish.

<sup>7</sup> Based on information from appendix 2.19. 36 (junior) and 7 (senior) priests out of 42. In 2 cases the status of the priest in question could not be determined.

<sup>8</sup> 662 out of 3,689 (18 %) in 1911 and 754 out of 3,824 (20 %) in 1926. From table III in Newman, 'Priests', p. 6.

<sup>9</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 4 Sept. 1920.

<sup>10</sup> Republican priests: Fathers Dominic O'Connor and Albert Bibby, O.S.F.C., William Hackett, S.J., Ferdinand O'Leary, O.F.M., Louis Gerhard, O.Carm., R. M. Headley, O.P., Joseph Hennessy, O.E.S.A. and Francis Sweetman, O.S.B. It is possible to mention also Father Eugene Nevin, C.P. See Nevin witness statement (N.A.I., BMH/WS1605).

<sup>11</sup> J. T. Crotty, O.P., Hyacinth Collins, O.P., and Joseph Wrafter, S.J.

radical clerical republicans were also ex-chaplains, such as Fathers Dominic, Thomas Duggan and Michael McKenna.

The priestly protagonists of this thesis had many things in common with each other. They had received a broadly similar theological and spiritual formation in the seminary. They were under the same obligation to recite the divine office, and all of them celebrated mass frequently. They all heard confessions and gave spiritual and moral counsels within and outside of the confessional. All were bound by vows to celibacy and obedience to their bishop or superior. They wore the same distinguishing dress, and were addressed by the same titles. In their own minds and in those of the people to whom they ministered, they were ‘priests for ever’, to quote a biblical verse frequently printed on ordination cards. But this strong sense of role and identity did not prevent them from responding in completely different ways to the challenge of political violence during the War of Independence. Some exercised their priestly ministry by preaching against violence as a violation of God’s law, warning the perpetrators that they would have to render an account for their sins on the last day. Others exercised the same ministry by acting as chaplains to flying columns, dismissing as scruples any doubts which may have weighed down the consciences of Volunteers. This thesis has shown that being a Catholic priest did not mean the same thing to those who made up Ireland’s clergy during the War of Independence.



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## 1. TEXTS<sup>1</sup>

### *1.1 Report in the Irish Catholic of a sermon by Father John Gleeson, parish priest of Lorrha, County Tipperary, in response to the killing of an R.I.C. sergeant<sup>2</sup>*

‘The murder of Sergeant Brady. Parish priest’s strong denunciation. “The curse of God”. Denouncing the shooting of Sergeant Brady,<sup>3</sup> the Reverend J. Gleeson, P.P., Lorrha, speaking at mass on Sunday, said: “On Tuesday night a messenger came to my house. On inquiring the cause, I was told by a constable: ‘Two of our men are shot; one is dead and we cannot find the other’. I hastened to the place, and found an innocent man brutally murdered. The murderers<sup>4</sup> stood inside a wooden paling within four or five yards of their victims. Covered by the darkness of night, without notice, they fired on those innocent men; two guns went off, and two men were shot.<sup>5</sup> The third gun misfired, and one man providentially escaped. The murdered man could only say: ‘My God, I am shot’. He then fell dead, without having time to say an act of contrition; but I believe he was fully prepared to die. The sin of Cain has been committed in the peaceable parish of Lorrha; the widow and children are plunged into lifelong grief by the murderer of their father. The brand of Cain lies on the assassins, who, standing behind a wall, slew an innocent man, almost at our own doors, on Tuesday night, and the shadow of that crime will hang over this parish for many generations. The murderers, if they escape human justice, will not escape divine justice, and while they live the face of the dead innocent man – the good father and good Christian – will haunt their memory, and they will walk, like Cain, fugitives on the earth. Their fate is worse than the fate of the man who has been murdered. I do not know who the murderers are, but I now denounce them. I will stay to fight them, and God will punish them. We must now consider the question of moral sanction. It has been put forward by some unknown persons that there is a moral sanction for the murder of policemen in this country at present. The teaching of the Catholic church is, that it is only a public authority, established legitimately by the people of the country, after a fair trial, on sworn evidence, which has a moral sanction for the taking of human life. Who has authorised a small band of unknown, ignorant persons, to meet in secret, and to decide

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<sup>1</sup> In the editing of this and the following text, spelling and punctuation have been silently corrected.

<sup>2</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 13 Sept. 1919.

<sup>3</sup> Sergeant Philip Brady was part of an R.I.C. bicycle patrol ambushed near Lorrha by the I.R.A. on 2 September 1919. He was killed. See Kee, *Flag*, p. 657.

<sup>4</sup> The ambushing party consisted among others of John Madden, Michael Hogan, John Gilligan and James Carroll. See Richard Abbott, *Police casualties in Ireland 1919-1922* (Cork, 2000), pp 44-5.

<sup>5</sup> Sergeant Brady and Constable Foley. Foley was seriously wounded. See Abbott, *Casualties*, p. 44.

that the life of a fellow-being may be lawfully taken? The Irish people did not consider this question at the general election. It was not put before them, and if it had been, it would have been rejected with horror. If a hidden hand may commit murder, the life of no civilian is safe; that is the teaching of history. The Irish people would be mad and shallow-brained if they gave their sanction to such a principle. There is no moral sanction, and the persons who commit those crimes are murderers. It is stated – I do not know if it is true – that fifteen men are appointed in each district to shoot the police. I find it extremely difficult to believe that statement, but if there is truth in that statement, the cause which advocates such methods is a doomed cause. This statement should be challenged, and denied if it is false. The Irish people will not approve of bloodshed, and the freedom of martyred Ireland will never be achieved by midnight assassination. Better for Ireland to wait on than to place power in the hands of men who would work out their ends by the weapons of the tyrant. Keep your cause free from crime and God will be with you. Commit crime, and you bind the chains more firmly around your country. There is no coward like the miscreant who, covered by the darkness of night, and shielded by a stone wall, in cold blood, a human tiger, without pity, takes the life of a fellow-man and sends him without notice before God. The persons who commit murder are not fit to live. They should be removed from the earth. Every crime must be expiated, and the expiation of death is death. Since the commission of this crime my whole outlook on life seems to be changed. The ancient, religious, and peaceable parish of Lorrha, in which I have been content to end my days, seems now to me to be changed into a desert of bitterness. Each morning when I look from my window I shall see the place where an innocent stranger was murdered in cold blood; the dead face of the murdered man will greet me. How can I care to die in this parish? We cannot restore life to the dead, nor remove from the clay of the parish the stain of blood. But we have a duty to perform. We must denounce the murder, and we must pray for the soul of him who was murdered, and for his afflicted wife and orphans. The cause which is founded on murder and cemented by human blood is cursed by God and doomed to vengeance. May the curse of Cain, the curse of the priest, and the curse of God fall on those who are guilty of this murder, and may God have mercy on their souls””.

*1.2 Letter from Michael Canon O'Donnell, parish priest of Rathkeale, County Limerick, to Monsignor Michael O'Riordan, rector of the Pontifical Irish College, Rome, 30 January 1919<sup>6</sup>*

'13/1/19.<sup>7</sup>

My dear Monsignore

I have received your letter in which you kindly invite me to send you my views about "articulation" etc. I hope to do so soon, although my observations thereon are rather complaints about the want of the accomplishment or rather the requirement in our young priests, and the neglect of school and college training in this respect. At present however I wish first to say a word of comment on your previous letter to me. I have waited a little, partly because I did not wish to provoke you to write another long letter, especially on such a subject, and partly for want of more leisure.

As to that letter – I do not say that I am shocked and scandalised at it, but merely that it caused me a good deal of bewilderment. I am not scandalised, because when I don't understand the line of action or the pronouncements and line of argument of persons like you, our late bishop and our present bishop,<sup>8</sup> and when they seem to me to be at variance with what I was taught to venerate, to copy and to practise, then I hesitate and doubt and begin to think that I don't take in the situation properly, and that is why I say all this has caused me bewilderment rather than scandal. What I am about to write now, I ask you to take rather as difficulties which I ask you to explain to me, and not quite as arguments to upset your standpoint. I am putting this together in bits and scraps, according as I formulate a difficulty, because there are many in my mind from time to time.

My difficulties arise from religion, theology, morality. You have recalled grievances suffered by the people of this country. I believe I am as cognisant of them as any ordinary Irishman, and as sensitive to them, but do these grievances, many lasting down to the present day, justify a "rising" under present day circumstances? My opinion is that they do not; and if not, neither is there justification for approbation or condonation of such rising, nor

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<sup>6</sup> O'Donnell to O'Riordan, 30 January 1919 (A.I.C.R., O'Riordan papers, box 19, folder 190, no. 14).

<sup>7</sup> The date on the last page is given as 'January 30th 1919'. Since the letter mentions the Soloheadbeg ambush, which took place on 21 January 1919, we may safely assume that the later date is the correct one.

<sup>8</sup> 'Our late bishop' was Edward Thomas O'Dwyer (1842-1917), bishop of Limerick from 1886 to 1917, and 'our present bishop' was Denis Hallinan (1849-1923), bishop of Limerick from 1918 to 1923.

justification for any word or action that would of itself lead the public to believe in one's approbation or condonation of it. As far as I am able to ascertain the views of others, I conclude that a majority of the bishops and priests of the country are opposed to the Sinn Fein policy, and I believe opposed to it on the ground of morality. Of the clergy, those on the Sinn Fein side are mostly young men, many of them curates, anxious to take part in politics. I have a note about words of Bishop Butler<sup>9</sup> to the priests during the retreat, June 1882. He said an instruction had come from the Propaganda to the Irish bishops, to the effect that the bishops were not to allow priests, especially young priests, to attend political meetings indiscriminately, but when a meeting was to be held, to appoint priests who might attend and moderate the feelings of the people. During the recent elections many of the priests did not moderate the people's feelings. The Sinn Fein clergy took a prominent part at the elections, addressed meetings, canvassed personally, etcetera. The anti-Sinn Fein priests (by far the most numerous, as far as I could calculate) for the most part did not act thus, they remained quiet, abstained entirely, or at most here and there merely signed nomination papers or wrote letters of approval of a candidate. The country was dominated by the "clero basso",<sup>10</sup> and their selections got in.

My contention is that the Easter week rebellion was morally wrong; that consequently it is wrong to approve of it, to praise those who took part in it, especially its instigators and leaders (except with reservation, e.g. praising their bravery etcetera) or to do or say anything that would naturally be interpreted *by your audience* (such as they may happen to be) as approval of same. If the rebellion was not morally wrong, then my contention collapses.

You refer to the American revolt, and ask was it wrong? You say about the Easter week affair "It was useless shedding of blood, and was for that reason immoral". But if the American revolt was justifiable, it was not its success that made it so, and if the Easter week affair was morally wrong this is not because of its failure. The antecedent probability of success in such matters is a factor in estimating their morality, but it is only one factor. The morality is the same before and after the event whether the event brings success or failure. Such points are very much discussed at present. I have heard a priest to say that "it all depended on the result", and he quoted that same case of the American colony, and asked "who would think now of condemning their revolt as morally wrong? Look at the great good it has effected" etcetera, etcetera. I don't know whether it was wrong or not, but I do not

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<sup>9</sup> George Butler (1815-86), coadjutor bishop of Limerick from 1861 to 1864 and bishop of Limerick from 1864 to 1886.

<sup>10</sup> 'Lower clergy'.

forget that great good has been effected by movements whose beginnings were morally wrong. Some good laws owe their origin to custom which was at first introduced by acts morally wrong. And I should think that rebellion furnishes many an instance. I don't know why you refer to the case of the American colonies and the long list of Irish grievances except to show that the Easter week rising was justifiable, or at least that we should condone it, and may praise its leaders – or certainly that if successful, it would have been all right. You call it a “useless spilling of blood”. In that I cannot quite agree with you. I do not think it was “useless”, I think good may result from it – but it is not thereby justified – any more than the action of our old friends, the Manchester martyrs, of St. [ill.] dead list fame, from whose conduct, according to Gladstone, good resulted for Ireland – or any more than the shooting of two policemen near Tipperary recently,<sup>11</sup> from which possibly good may also come. Such outrages, you say, follow *praeter intentionem*<sup>12</sup> of leaders and agitators, as happened in the land league days. With all respect, I deny the parity. The land league leaders did not go in for physical force, except that expression may be applied to holding the rent in your pocket and sticking to your homestead. Passive resistance was their motto, even in boycotting it was something passive or negative. Very different now. The spirit of Sinn Feinism is active resistance, and very active and aggressive, even to attacking barracks and shooting soldiers and policemen. And the leaders did not stop at words but set the example by their own deeds. And Easter week is not past and gone. It still lives in the spirit of the Sinn Feiners. They would have it over again the first chance they got. They lost a great chance by the defeat of Germany. Had England gone under, her fleet carried off by Germany and her army scattered and her people in anarchy, then the Sinn Feiners would have been up and out again. “But,” said one of them to me recently (a professional man too) “this strike or mutiny in the army may spread and give us a chance, or if not”, continued he, “there is likely to be a revolution in England within the next five years, and then we shall have our chance”. The spirit of Easter week is still there, and their heart is set on a rising. But, you may say, they will not be so foolish as to bring about another “useless spilling of blood”. I reply that men who were foolish once may be foolish again. What guarantee have we that they have got sense? The presumption is that they are still foolish. And certainly their Easter week folly was so glaring that I don't see how the nation can be safe with such silly men for its leaders. But the people have chosen them – yes, the Irish people are “against the government” (for that I cannot

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<sup>11</sup> Constables James McDonnell and Patrick O'Connell were shot dead during an ambush in Soloheadbeg, Co. Tipperary, on 21 January 1919.

<sup>12</sup> ‘Outside the intention’.

blame them) and they will support the man who, against the government, uses the extremest means – they never stop to inquire whether the means are either effective or moral. “Spilling of blood” does something, brings some good, but even if it were not immoral yet the game would not be worth the candle. I remember a medical man once said that blood-letting was an excellent remedy for some diseases, was practised commonly long ago but was given up by modern physicians because they found it “too expensive a remedy”. The Sinn Fein leaders have yet to learn that much. But even supposing they have learned it, what about the rank and file? They have been taught a lesson, by word and example, during Easter week, and has that lesson been since “un-taught” to them? What difference can those poor fellows see between shooting policemen and soldiers in and around Dublin during Easter week, and shooting policemen around Tipperary another week? They broke into houses in the streets of Dublin for their own good purpose, and why not break into houses around Rathkeale as well? They are not robbers, they want nothing but arms and ammunition, they require these for the next occasion, because they are soldiers of the Irish Republic and must be ready to do their duty. That is quite a different thing from the outrages of the land league times. And these poor fellows are in bona fide, as a rule they are excellent practical Catholics. Certainly I don’t blame them. If blame is anywhere, it is on the shoulders of the clergy. But I gather that you hold there is no blame, except in some cases.

You are mistaken about the reference I made to Cardinal Cullen’s action. Cardinal Cullen’s action was taken not before the Fenian rising but two years after it. It was about the year 1877 that he published a letter forbidding a public funeral from the church for a dead Fenian. I was in the Irish college at the time. Someone there got a copy of the paper, and the letter was read for us in the camerata by, I think, the late Fr [ill.]. The Fenian spirit had cooled down considerably in ten years yet the Cardinal would not allow the celebration – he gave instances of cases in which the church granted a public funeral, others pointed out that it did not allow such an ecclesiastical function in a case like the present, especially since the deceased had been “deceiving young men” by inducing them to go into open rebellion. Yet the leaders, who deceived young men by getting into “useless bloodshed” got all the honours of the church. Hence my bewilderment.

I am glad to see that you approve of the sentiment that priests ought to keep out of politics. I wish they had done so at the recent elections. But ought not magazines with religious titles also keep out of politics? Or else change their titles, e.g. the Irish Rosary, the Catholic Bulletin. An “Irish Bulletin” might revel in politics, but a “Catholic” or a “Rosary” ought not touch them except when they encroach on church concerns. “The morality of the



hunger strike” is a fair subject for treatment in such a periodical, but I was astonished at the reasoning of Dr Cleary and at the prominence given to his article.<sup>13</sup> Canon Waters,<sup>14</sup> in my opinion, gives a crushing reply, but unfortunately he does it with what I consider bad taste – he deals with his adversary as if he were sitting on a student in class who dared to argue with a learned professor. I think if he adopted another style, his reply would have been more effective and more smashing even than it is. As far as my knowledge of cause and effect goes, and of a cause having two effects, one good and the other evil, I think Dr Cleary blundered badly – and I was about to write and ask Canon Waters to reply to him on that particular point, however, I find there was no need, he has replied. But at the present day, people have lost their heads – there is a delirium going, the delirium of Sinn Fein – and hence men like Dr Cleary make mistakes, and even John Lee publicly takes a bishop to task in the press. If all that is not so, then it is myself that have the delirium. But fearing this may be the case, I keep quiet, I don’t give my views to the public, but only in private and mostly in a confidential way, as I am now doing to yourself.

There is a spirit of unrest in the country. Such a spirit is fostered by declarations like that of Mr. John McNeill, one of the Sinn Fein leaders, in which he stated recently that he repudiates “constitutionalism”.<sup>15</sup> But how long is all this unrest to last? What will be the effect of it? I am reminded of words that occur in Joyce’s *Concise history of Ireland*:<sup>16</sup> “The native Irish, sick of anarchy, would have welcomed any strong government able and willing to maintain peace and protect them from violence”. That is in his introduction to the period dealing with the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland some 700 years ago. I am inclined to think the same feeling would prevail now if the Sinn Feiners broke out again.

You say that one could not condemn Sinn Fein action without condemning also the government – but was it right to condemn the government without saying a word against the Sinn Feiners? What would the ordinary man in the street conclude from it? No wonder that they sing “Who fears to speak of Easter week”.

I agree with you that the bishop was right in not acting at the behest of Maxwell.<sup>17</sup> I never objected to that – if things stopped at it, results would have been different.

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<sup>13</sup> Patrick Cleary (1886-1970), professor of theology in St. Patrick’s college, Maynooth (1914-18). The article referred to was Cleary, ‘Some questions’. This article itself was a reply to Waters, ‘Hunger-strike’.

<sup>14</sup> John Canon Waters (1866-1939), president of Holy Cross college, Clonliffe, Dublin (1915-22). See Sherry, *Clonliffe*, pp 100-1. The article referred to was Waters, ‘Rejoinder’.

<sup>15</sup> Eoin MacNeill (1867-1945). See *Irish Independent*, 19 Nov. 1918.

<sup>16</sup> P. W. Joyce, *A concise history of Ireland from the earliest times to 1837* (Dublin and London, 1893).

<sup>17</sup> Bishop O’Dwyer of Limerick refused to act on a request of General Maxwell to discipline Fathers Thomas Wall and Michael Hayes, priests of his diocese, who had been accused by Maxwell of seditious activities in a letter to their bishop. See Aan de Wiel, *Church*, pp 104-6.

You say you composed a memorial of facts for Roman authorities, and sent me a copy – I never got the copy, nor have I seen one.

You say that I seem to think that Sinn Fein began in Easter week. Well indeed if I thought so, the “delirium” should have seized me long ago. But I am so foolish as to think I had my hand on the pulse of the people long before Easter week, and to know that though there were Sinn Feiners throughout the country they counted for little until the rising and Maxwell’s consequent shooting brought them sympathy and support. Do you forget that Father Donor had an action against Arthur Griffith’s newspaper and that I was summoned as a witness in the case?<sup>18</sup> And I had the notoriety of having my name mentioned with praise in Griffith’s paper – because I discovered that though I was summoned on Father Donor’s side my evidence would go against him – but “the reason why” did not appear; it was because I did not think Griffith’s “libel” worth noticing, so weak were his supporters at the time. In other words, the “libel” was that Father Donor took no interest in encouraging the study of Irish etcetera. He maintained this was not true and that it lowered him in the estimation of his parishioners. My attitude was that whether true or not it did not lower him in their estimation, so little did people then care about Griffith’s views. On the Saturday of Easter week, late at night, when I had retired to my bedroom, I was called down to see two visitors. They were the local head constable and a local magistrate, both Catholics. They came to say that “the rebellion was now well in hand” as they had just learned by telegrams, that it was nearly suppressed and would be all over in a few days. They asked me to make an announcement to that effect at mass the next morning (Sunday). But I had my hand on the pulse of my people and I knew how feeling went – although on the whole it was then very strong against the Sinn Feiners (before Maxwell’s shooting) yet I knew “it is a bad bird that fouls its own nest”, and the Sinn Feiners were Irish, though misled and deceived by headless enthusiasts, and it would look badly to go boasting that an English army had got the better of them – it would be quite a different thing to denounce their conduct as wrong and irreligious – so I replied to the constable and the magistrate that such an announcement would be a political matter and I declined to make it in the church. I mention all this to let you see that I am not quite blind to what goes on in the country.

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<sup>18</sup> Michael Donor, parish priest of Shanagolden, Co. Limerick, took a libel suit against Arthur Griffith’s newspaper *The United Irishman* before Limerick Assizes in March 1906. Donor had been criticised by the newspaper on 18 August 1905 for having objected to the holding of a Gaelic League *feis* in his parish on a Sunday and then for not having attended the event when it was moved to a weekday instead. The jury found for the plaintiff and *The United Irishmen* collapsed as a result. See *Irish Independent*, 10 Mar. 1906 and *Sunday Independent*, 11 Mar. 1906.

You say you read the late bishop's pastorals, but you "did not read them with imperialistic spectacles and saw nothing wrong in them". Well I don't know if you imply that I read them with imperialistic spectacles, but I am not aware that I did. They treated of politics and that I did not like for a pastoral to be read in church. They took one side in politics, while many Catholics of the diocese were on the other side. They told a great many plain truths against England – "omnia licent sed non omnia expediunt".<sup>19</sup> When the country was in a most inflammable condition, what harm is there in striking a match? Unless you are in a powder magazine – that is all the difference.

I think you make a reference to Innocent Ryan.<sup>20</sup> The heat of an election renders inopportune a public discussion on the morality of canvassing, but apart from that consideration I think Innocent has made a good point in showing Catholics that it is not every form of socialism that is tolerated by the church.

I fear I have been foolish in writing so much on a subject on which we are not likely to agree, but I have formulated my difficulties. I am not the only one with difficulties. A priest, for whose ability I have great respect, said to me "strange that the principles we learned in college are being upset at the present day". I am trying to approach the subject calmly, and I should like to get reasons that could convince me that you are right – perhaps I am more anxious than you think to prove that the Easter week rising was lawful. Excuse these scraps of paper picked up at random and written in a hurry. Hoping you are now quite recovered, I am, yours very truly,

M. O'Donnell

Rathkeale, January 30<sup>th</sup> 1919.

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<sup>19</sup> 'All things are lawful, but not all things are expedient'. Biblical quotation from 1 Corinthians 10: 22.

<sup>20</sup> Innocent Ryan, dean of the diocese of Cashel and parish priest of Cashel, County Tipperary.

## 2. TABLES<sup>21</sup>

### 2.1 Clerical denunciations on moral grounds of violence attributed to republicans, January 1919 – July 1921

Date	Name	Nature of comment
26 Jan. 1919 <sup>22</sup>	John Mary Harty, Abp. Cashel and Emly	Condemns the killing of constables at Soloheadbeg in sermon during Sunday mass in Thurles cathedral. Offence against the laws of God
26 Jan. 1919 <sup>23</sup>	Arthur Canon Ryan, P.P. Tipperary	Condemns the killing of constables at Soloheadbeg in sermon during Sunday mass. Abhorrent crime that leaves a stain on the parish
26 Jan. 1919 <sup>24</sup>	John Slattery, Adm. Solohead, Co. Tipperary	Condemns the killing of constables at Soloheadbeg in sermon during Sunday mass. God would not bless a cause furthered by such means
26 Jan. 1919 <sup>25</sup>	William Condon, C.C. Tipperary,	Condemns the killing of constables at Soloheadbeg in sermon during Sunday mass. Killers bring disgrace upon country and God's curse upon themselves
30 Jan. 1919 <sup>26</sup>	Michael Canon O'Donnell, P.P. Rathkeale, Limerick	Condemns physical force policy on moral grounds in letter to Rector O'Riordan of the Irish college in Rome
2 Feb. 1919 <sup>27</sup>	Maurice Brew, C.C. Macroom, Co. Cork	Condemns attack on military at Mount Massey. Soldiers were not responsible for government's failings
Feb. 1919 <sup>28</sup>	Daniel Cohalan, Bp. Cork	Appeals to members of C.Y.M.S. always to act according to the ten commandments
2 Mar. 1919 <sup>29</sup>	Thomas Canon O'Reilly, P.P. Carrick-on-Shannon, Co. Leitrim	Condemns damaging of property of local justice of the peace in sermon at Sunday mass
2 Mar. 1919 <sup>30</sup>	William O'Farrell, C.C. Carrick-on-Shannon, Co. Leitrim	Condemns damaging of property of local justice of the peace in sermon at Sunday mass

<sup>21</sup> Incidents or comments that met the criteria for more than one table appear more than once.

<sup>22</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 1 Feb. 1919.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> O'Donnell to O'Riordan, 30 Jan. 1919 (A.I.C.R., O'Riordan papers, box 19, folder 190, no. 14).

<sup>27</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 8 Feb. 1919.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 15 Feb. 1919.

<sup>29</sup> *Irish Independent*, 5 Mar. 1919.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

5 Apr. 1919 <sup>31</sup>	Thomas McCotter, P.P. Antrim	Condemns killing of R.M. Milling in a letter to the newspaper. People living in the district where the crime took place should seek out the murderer and hand him over to justice
13 Apr. 1919 <sup>32</sup>	Denis Kelly, Bp. Ross	Condemns political violence. Deeds were done in Ireland that were greatly against God's doctrine
Apr. 1919 <sup>33</sup>	Thomas Gilmartin, Abp. Tuam	Condemns killing of R.M. Milling in Westport and attempt on life of constable in Co. Cork. Killer is enemy of God, of society and of Ireland
4 May 1919 <sup>34</sup>	Thomas Gilmartin, Abp. Tuam	Condemns killing of R.M. Milling. Hopes the culprit will be brought to justice
18 May 1919 <sup>35</sup>	Daniel Kiely, P.P. Templemore, Co. Tipperary	Condemns killing of constables at Knocklong, Co. Limerick, in sermon at Sunday mass. It was a crime against God and against man
May 1919 <sup>36</sup>	John Mary Harty, Abp. Cashel and Emly	Condemns killing of constables at Knocklong, Co. Limerick, in sermon at mass during visitation of Galbally parish. Crime against God and Ireland
May 1919 <sup>37</sup>	Thomas Gilmartin, Abp. Tuam	Condemns political violence in sermon at confirmation in Claremorris, Co. Mayo. God's commandments could not be violated with impunity
29 June 1919 <sup>38</sup>	Michael Ryan, Adm. Thurles, Co. Tipperary	Condemns the killing of D.I. Hunt in sermon at Sunday mass. Side issues may not blind a Catholic to a light clearer than that of day: murder is wrong
29 June 1919 <sup>39</sup>	Michael K. Ryan, C.C. Thurles, Co. Tipperary	Condemns the killing of D.I. Hunt in sermon at Sunday mass. The memory of the deed would rise up before the killer on his own death bed
29 June 1919 <sup>40</sup>	John Mary Harty, Abp. Cashel and Emly	Condemns killing of D.I. Hunt in sermon at Sunday mass in Thurles cathedral. Crime is a flagrant violation of the fifth commandment
June 1919 <sup>41</sup>	James Horan, P.P. Holycross, Thurles, Co. Tipperary	Condemns the killing of D.I. Hunt
6 July 1919 <sup>42</sup>	James Canon O'Connor, P.P. Gurteen, Co. Sligo	Condemns killing of D.I. Hunt in sermon at Sunday mass. The crime was diabolical in the extreme and was un-Irish and un-Christian
13 July 1919 <sup>43</sup>	Daniel Hughes,	Condemns throwing of stones at military in

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 5 Apr. 1919.

<sup>32</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 19 Apr. 1919.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 5 Apr. 1919 and 10 May 1919.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 10 May 1919.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 24 May 1919.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 5 July 1919.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 5 July 1919. See also Anon. to Boyle, 10 July 1919 (A.I.C.P., Collège papers, A2.h112).

<sup>41</sup> *Irish Independent*, 30 June 1919.

<sup>42</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 12 July 1919.

	C.C. Ferrybank, Waterford, Co. Kilkenny	Glenmore, Co. Kilkenny, in sermon at Sunday mass. People should conduct themselves properly
17 July 1919 <sup>44</sup>	Francis Cassidy, P.P. Kilfenora, Co. Clare	Summons meeting of townspeople to pass resolution condemning attempt to kill Constables O'Connor and Henahan as cowardly and murderous
8 Aug. 1919 <sup>45</sup>	Thomas O'Dea, Bp. Galway	Condemns killing of R.I.C. Sergeant Riordan and Constable Murphy in letter to P.P. Ennistymon. Appalling that God's law has been outraged
10 Aug. 1919 <sup>46</sup>	Dean Daniel O'Connor P.P. Carrickmacross, Co. Monaghan	Condemns attacks on R.I.C. and defends character of police force
15 Aug. 1919 <sup>47</sup>	J. O'Gorman, C.C. Kilrush, Co. Clare	Condemns killing of R.I.C. Sergeant Riordan and Constable Murphy. Grave violation of God's law
17 Aug. 1919 <sup>48</sup>	William Mullins, C.C. Lahinch, Co. Clare	Condemns killing of R.I.C. Sergeant Riordan and Constable Murphy. They must hang their heads in shame that such a deed had happened in Ireland
17 Aug. 1919 <sup>49</sup>	James McKeone, Adm. Dundalk, Co. Louth	Condemns political violence in sermon at Sunday mass. Leaders of political parties should keep hotheads under control
7 Sept. 1919 <sup>50</sup>	John Gleeson, P.P. Lorrha, Co. Tipperary	Condemns killing of R.I.C. Sergeant Brady. Brand of Cain lies on the killers. Persons who commit murder are not fit to live
11 Sept. 1919 <sup>51</sup>	Robert Browne, Bp. Cloyne	Condemns attack on soldiers in Fermoy in letter to Adm. Also condemns subsequent reprisals.
13 Sept. 1919 <sup>52</sup>	Thomas McBrien, C.C. Granemore, Co. Armagh	Condemns killing of R.I.C. Sergeant Brady. Victim was exemplary Catholic. Fr Gleeson's denunciation is manly
14 Sept. 1919 <sup>53</sup>	John O'Donoghue, Adm. Fermoy, Co. Cork	Condemns killing of Private Jones in Fermoy in sermon at Sunday mass. Law of almighty God had been violated. Also condemns subsequent reprisal
14 Sept. 1919 <sup>54</sup>	James Sheedy, C.C. Fermoy, Co. Cork	Condemns killing of Private Jones in sermon at Sunday mass. Also condemns subsequent reprisal
14 Sept. 1919 <sup>55</sup>	John Nunan, C.C.	Condemns killing of Private Jones in sermon at

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 19 July 1919.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 16 Aug. 1919.

<sup>46</sup> I.G.M.R., Aug. 1919, p. 755 (T.N.A., CO904/109).

<sup>47</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 23 Aug. 1919.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 23 Aug. 1919.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 13 Sept. 1919.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 20 Sept. 1919.

<sup>52</sup> *Irish Independent*, 15 Sept. 1919.

<sup>53</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 20 Sept. 1919.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

	Fermoy, Co. Cork	Sunday mass. Killers had flagrantly usurped right belonging to God alone
Oct. 1919 <sup>56</sup>	Unnamed preacher at mission, Co. Galway	Condemns secret societies, and absolves from its obligations any members of the congregation who might have taken the "Sinn Fein oath"
2 Nov. 1919 <sup>57</sup>	Lawrence Gaughran, Bp. Meath	Condemns killing of Constable Agar at Ballivor and the wounding of a sergeant at Lismullen. Murder cries to heaven for vengeance
2 Nov. 1919 <sup>58</sup>	Patrick Farrell, P.P. Ballivor, Co. Meath	Condemns killing of Constable Agar in sermon during Sunday mass
2 Nov. 1919 <sup>59</sup>	Matthew O'Farrell, P.P. Skreen, Co. Meath	Condemns killing of R.I.C. Constable Agar in Ballivor and wounding of sergeant at Lismullen. The events filled them with pain and disgust
19 Nov. 1919 <sup>60</sup>	Bartholomew Fitzpatrick, P.P. Harrington St., Dublin	Tells congregation at mass that the precept of charity is being violated in the country and so sin committed
Nov. 1919 <sup>61</sup>	John Canon Walsh, P.P. Ballymurn, Co. Wexford	Condemns crime and outrage at U.I.L. meeting. He who committed crime was an enemy of Ireland
28 Dec. 1919 <sup>62</sup>	P. Coveney, Adm. Tracton Abbey, Co. Cork	Condemns killing of Michael Blanchfield in sermon during Sunday mass
28 Dec. 1919 <sup>63</sup>	Patrick Canon O'Connor, P.P. Davidstown, Co. Wexford	Condemns raids of arms in sermon at Sunday mass
Dec. 1919 <sup>64</sup>	Thomas Gilmartin, Abp. Tuam	Condemns raiding for arms. The perpetrators are undisguised ruffians
4 Jan. 1920 <sup>65</sup>	John Keville, P.P. Drumlish, Co. Longford	Condemns attack on R.I.C. barracks in Drumlish
4 Jan. 1920 <sup>66</sup>	John Cosgrave, C.C. Drumlish,	Condemns attack on R.I.C. barracks in Drumlish

<sup>56</sup> I.G.M.R., Oct. 1919, p. 255 (T.N.A., CO904/110).

<sup>57</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 8 Nov. 1919.

<sup>58</sup> *Meath Chronicle*, 8 Nov. 1919

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>60</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 22 Nov. 1919.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 22 Nov. 1919.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 3 Jan. 1920.

<sup>63</sup> *Irish Independent*, 30 Dec. 1919.

<sup>64</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 3 Jan. 1920.

<sup>65</sup> *Irish Independent*, 8 Jan. 1920.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*

	Co. Longford	
11 Jan. 1920 <sup>67</sup>	Dean David O'Leary, P.P. Tralee, Co. Kerry	Condemns political violence in sermon at Sunday mass. The use of firearms was most objectionable
18 Jan. 1920 <sup>68</sup>	M. Heany, P.P. Caherlistrane, Co. Galway	Condemns attack on R.I.C. barracks in Castlehackett. Culprits came to kill and murder cries to heaven for vengeance
18 Jan. 1920 <sup>69</sup>	Timothy Trant, P.P. Ballymacelligott, Co. Kerry	Defends his record against attack in a speech by saying he has always denounced every outrage that occurred in his parish
25 Jan. 1920 <sup>70</sup>	Martin Brophy, C.C. Baltinglass, Co. Wicklow	Condemns attempt to kill two constables in sermon at Sunday mass
25 Jan. 1920 <sup>71</sup>	John Mary Harty, Abp. Cashel and Emly	Condemns killing of Constable Finnegan in Thurles in sermon during Sunday mass. Also condemns subsequent reprisals
25 Jan. 1920 <sup>72</sup>	Michael Ryan, Adm. Thurles cathedral, Co. Tipperary	Condemns killing of Constable Finnegan in Thurles in sermon during Sunday mass. Murder cannot be excused by the exigency of anyone's projects. Also condemns subsequent reprisals
25 Jan. 1920 <sup>73</sup>	Denis O'Brien, C.C. Thurles cathedral, Co. Tipperary	Condemns killing of Constable Finnegan in Thurles in sermon during Sunday mass. Cowardly, cold-blooded, cruel and heartless crime. Also condemns subsequent reprisals
25 Jan. 1920 <sup>74</sup>	Michael K. Ryan, C.C. Thurles cathedral, Co. Tipperary	Condemns killing of Constable Finnegan in Thurles in sermon at Sunday mass. Those who approve of it tear the fifth commandment up in Christ's face and throw it back at him
Jan. 1920 <sup>75</sup>	John Carr, P.P. Lehan, Co. Galway	Condemns raids for arms and money. Study of the Irish language would do their country a service
Jan. 1920 <sup>76</sup>	Denis Flynn, P.P. Kells, Co. Meath	Condemns political violence in sermon at mass. Just claims must be pursued within the commandments
Jan. 1920 <sup>77</sup>	Patrick Foley, Bp. Kildare and Leighlin	Condemns attempt on life of Lord French, lord lieutenant, in sermon at mass as a shocking violation of God's solemn commandment
22 Feb. 1920 <sup>78</sup>	William Codd, Bp. Ferns	Condemns killing of Ellen Morris during arms raid. Shocked beyond measure by this enormity

<sup>67</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 17 Jan. 1920.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 24 Jan. 1920.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>70</sup> *Irish Independent*, 27 Jan. 1920.

<sup>71</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 31 Jan. 1920.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 24 Jan. 1920.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 3 Jan. 1920.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 28 Feb. 1920.



22 Feb. 1920 <sup>79</sup>	John Maher, P.P. Oulart, Co. Wexford	Condemns killing of Ellen Morris during arms raid. It was a revolting crime. Killers are dupes led by knaves.
22 Feb. 1920 <sup>80</sup>	Bernard McKenna, C.C. Kilbriain, Co. Cork	Condemns killing of constable in the village some months previously in sermon at Sunday mass. Crime demanded reparation
22 Feb. 1920 <sup>81</sup>	Thomas Gilmartin, Abp. Tuam	Condemns firing into police barracks or houses in sermon at Sunday mass. It is a crime that cries to heaven for vengeance
29 Feb. 1920 <sup>82</sup>	Robert Browne, Bp. Cloyne	Condemns killing of soldier in Queenstown, Co. Cork in letter read at evening devotions in cathedral. Culprits laying up vengeance against themselves
Feb. 1920 <sup>83</sup>	Dean Innocent Ryan, P.P. Cashel	Condemns political violence in speech at Cashel temperance society meeting. God's curse on the head of murderers and their vile accomplices
7 Mar. 1920 <sup>84</sup>	Thomas Gilmartin, Abp. Tuam	Condemns killing of Martin Cullinane in Cumber, Tuam, by arms raiders during sermon at mass. Victim's blood cried to heaven for vengeance
7 Mar. 1920 <sup>85</sup>	John Canon Kelly, P.P. Doon, Co. Tipperary	Condemns attack on local R.I.C. barracks. It is criminal and futile and was carried out by a secret society
7 Mar. 1920 <sup>86</sup>	Thomas Lynch, C.C. Athenry, Co. Galway	Condemns killing of Frank Shaw-Taylor in sermon at Sunday mass. It is a direct violation of the law of God. It was foul, brutal and inhuman
14 Mar. 1920 <sup>87</sup>	Daniel Cohalan, Bp. Cork	Condemns the killing of policemen in sermon at Sunday mass.
14 Mar. 1920 <sup>88</sup>	Thomas Canon Shinkwin, P.P. Glanmire, Co. Cork	Condemns the killing of Constable Scully in Glanmire in sermon during Sunday mass
14 Mar. 1920 <sup>89</sup>	Michael Canon O'Donnell, P.P. Rathkeale, Co. Limerick	Condemns killing of R.I.C. Sergeant Neazor in sermon at Sunday mass. Congregation should nurture healthy Catholic opinion and no longer tolerate such unholy doings in their midst
17 Mar. 1920 <sup>90</sup>	T. Dooley, C.C. Toomevara, Co. Tipperary	Condemns killing of Constables Rock and Healy in a sermon during mass. It is a horrible crime and the killer is an outcast. The victims were exemplary Catholics

<sup>79</sup> Ibid.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., 6 Mar. 1920.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., 7 Feb. 1920.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., 13 Mar. 1920.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid. See also Colmcille, 'Tipperary's fight', pp 261-2.

<sup>86</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 13 Mar. 1920.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., 20 Mar. 1920.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., 27 Mar. 1920.

22 Mar. 1920 <sup>91</sup>	Edward Mulhern, Bp. Dromore	Says in private letter that Thomas McCurtain's death shows even to those unwilling to believe that to be an Irish patriot one need not indulge in outrage
Mar. 1920 <sup>92</sup>	Abraham Brownrigg, S.S.S., Bp. Ossory	Condemns attack on R.I.C. barracks in Hugginstown, Co. Kilkenny, in letter to P.P. Act was unjust and unlawful
Mar. 1920 <sup>93</sup>	John Mary Harty, Abp. Cashel and Emly	Condemns killing of Constable Heanue in the Ragg, Co. Tipperary, in letter to P.P. Drom and Inch. Killers despise the law of God
Mar. 1920 <sup>94</sup>	John McSwiney, C.C. Bandon, Co. Cork	Condemns attack on Constable Murray. Guilt of murder defiled the consciences of attackers
Mar. 1920 <sup>95</sup>	Denis Kelly, Bp. Ross	Condemns killing of Constable Scully at mass. Killers draw the curse of Cain upon themselves and the country
Mar. 1920 <sup>96</sup>	Florence McCarthy, Adm. pro-cathedral, Skibbereen, Co. Cork	Condemns killing of Constable Scully. Asks congregation to pray to God not to visit them with his wrath
18 Apr. 1920 <sup>97</sup>	Joseph Hoare, Bp. Ardagh and Clonmacnoise	Condemns killing of Martin Curran in Carrigallen in sermon at Sunday mass in Carrick-on-Shannon. Scourge of God might fall on them for it
25 Apr. 1920 <sup>98</sup>	John Canon O'Leary, P.P. Clonakilty, Co. Cork	Condemns killing of D.M.P. Constable McCarthy while on leave at home in Clonakilty
25 Apr. 1920 <sup>99</sup>	John Collins, C.C. Clonakilty, Co. Cork	Condemns killing of D.M.P. Constable McCarthy while on leave at home in Clonakilty
25 Apr. 1920 <sup>100</sup>	John Duggan, C.C. Clonakilty, Co. Cork	Condemns killing of D.M.P. Constable McCarthy while on leave at home in Clonakilty
25 Apr. 1920 <sup>101</sup>	Eugene Canon Byrne, P.P. Balbriggan, Co. Dublin	Condemns killing of R.I.C. Sergeant Finnerty. Hopes the scourge of God will not fall on the parish. Praises deceased's virtue
25 Apr. 1920 <sup>102</sup>	John Mary Harty, Abp. Cashel and	Presides at adoration in Thurles cathedral to atone for the recent murders in the diocese and to pray that

<sup>91</sup> Mulhern to Hagan, 22 Mar. 1920 (A.I.C.R., Hagan papers, HAG1/1920/241).

<sup>92</sup> *Irish Independent*, 17 Mar. 1920.

<sup>93</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 20 Mar. 1920.

<sup>94</sup> *Irish Independent*, 17 Mar. 1920.

<sup>95</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 20 Mar. 1920.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, 24 Apr. 1920.

<sup>98</sup> *Irish Independent*, 27 Apr. 1920.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>101</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 1 May 1920.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*

	Emly	God may avert recurrence of these crimes
Apr. 1920 <sup>103</sup>	Thomas Gilmartin, Abp. Tuam	Condemns killing of Frank Shaw-Taylor in sermon during confirmation in Athenry. It was a crime that cried to heaven for vengeance
2 May 1920 <sup>104</sup>	Jeremiah Ahern C.C. Murragh, Co. Cork	Condemns shooting of Constable Michael Walsh in sermon at Sunday mass
2 May 1920 <sup>105</sup>	Walter O'Neill, Adm. Long Tower, Derry	Condemns attack on Constable Henley in sermon at Sunday mass and denounced the use of firearms
May 1920 <sup>106</sup>	Denis Kelly, Bp. Ross	Condemns killing of constables in Timoleague. It was murder and the killers could not expect to go to heaven
May 1920 <sup>107</sup>	Thomas O'Dea, Bp. Galway	Condemns shooting and outrages in sermon at confirmation in Killanin. Even shots fired without intent to kill were sinful
May 1920 <sup>108</sup>	Timothy O'Hea, P.P. Timoleague, Co. Cork	Condemns killing of constables in Timoleague. Men killed were devout and holy
May 1920 <sup>109</sup>	Patrick Cahalane, C.C. pro-cathedral, Skibbereen, Co. Cork	Condemns killing of constables in Timoleague. Killers must be altogether divorced from God
May 1920 <sup>110</sup>	Patrick Finegan, Bp. Kilmore	Condemns political violence in sermon at confirmation in Bailieborough, Co. Cavan
May 1920 <sup>111</sup>	Robert Browne, Bp. Cloyne	Tells young men not to stain their conscience by any foul deed. Freedom would not be won by murder
9 June 1920 <sup>112</sup>	Denis Kelly, Bp. Ross	Tells congregation that killing constables is murder in sermon before administering confirmation in Aghadown, Co. Cork.
20 June 1920 <sup>113</sup>	Martin Canon Murphy, P.P. Bantry, Co. Cork	Condemns killing of Constable King in sermon at Sunday mass. A great stain had been placed on the parish. God's curse would be on the killers
20 June 1920 <sup>114</sup>	John Hurley, C.C. Bantry, Co. Cork	Condemns killing of Constable King in sermon at Sunday mass
20 June 1920 <sup>115</sup>	Michael O'Leary, C.C. Bantry, Co.	Condemns killing of Constable King in sermon at Sunday mass

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., 17 Apr. 1920.

<sup>104</sup> *Irish Independent*, 3 May 1920.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid.

<sup>106</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 22 May 1920.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., 15 May 1920.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., 22 May 1920.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., 19 June 1920.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid., 26 June 1920.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid.

	Cork	
27 June 1920 <sup>116</sup>	Patrick Finegan, Bp. Kilmore	Condemns outrages and denounces those who attack Crown forces in sermons at Sunday mass in Cavan cathedral
27 June 1920 <sup>117</sup>	William MacFeely, P.P. Waterside, Derry	Tells congregation in sermon at Sunday mass to put into practice the teaching of Christianity and to set aside all sense of resentment
June 1920 <sup>118</sup>	Thomas Gilmartin, Abp. Tuam	Condemns killing of J. D. Blake in a sermon at mass in Tuam cathedral
June 1920 <sup>119</sup>	Patrick Finegan, Bp. Kilmore	Condemns political violence in sermon before administering confirmation. Ireland entitled to independence, but only through lawful means
June 1920 <sup>120</sup>	Robert Browne, Bp. Cloyne	Condemns destruction of barracks in sermon in Macroom, Co. Cork. Their forefathers suffered more and still kept God's law
June 1920 <sup>121</sup>	Joseph Hoare, Bp. Ardagh and Clonmacnoise	Condemns killing of constables in sermon at confirmation in Drumard, Co. Longford. Killing policemen was murder and would be punished
10 July 1920 <sup>122</sup>	Denis Kelly, Bp. Ross	Says in private letter that 'the <i>active</i> movement in Cork is pure communism – les rouges de Paris in 1871'
18 July 1920 <sup>123</sup>	John Murphy, Adm. St. Finbarr's South Parish, Cork	Condemns shooting of Colonel Smyth in sermon at Sunday mass
19 July 1920 <sup>124</sup>	Nicholas Canon Murphy, P.P. Kilmanagh, Co. Kilkenny	Condemns political violence in letter to newspaper. In times of revolt the commandments may not be set aside. Nationality has become a species of idolatry
25 July 1920 <sup>125</sup>	Jeremiah Canon Cohalan, P.P. Bandon, Co. Cork	Condemns killing of R.I.C. Sergeant Mulherin in his church in sermon at Sunday mass directly following the killing. Mulherin was innocent and it was a violation of the church building
25 July 1920 <sup>126</sup>	Denis Scanlon, C.C. Bandon, Co. Cork	Condemns the killing of R.I.C. Sergeant Mulherin in sermon during Sunday mass
25 July 1920 <sup>127</sup>	John McSwiney, C.C. Bandon, Co.	Condemns the killing of R.I.C. Sergeant Mulherin in sermon during Sunday evening devotions

<sup>116</sup> I.G.M.R., June 1920 (T.N.A., CO904/112).

<sup>117</sup> *Irish Independent*, 28 June 1920.

<sup>118</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 19 June 1920.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, 3 July 1920.

<sup>122</sup> Kelly to Boyle, 10 July 1920 (A.I.C.P., Collège papers, A2.h108). Italics in original.

<sup>123</sup> *Irish Independent*, 20 July 1920.

<sup>124</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 24 July 1920.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, 31 July 1920.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*

	Cork	
25 July 1920 <sup>128</sup>	Denis Kelly, Bp. Ross	Tells congregation there are murderers in their country and that they must pray to avoid God's curse
25 July 1920 <sup>129</sup>	Florence McCarthy, Adm. pro-cathedral, Skibbereen, Co. Cork	Condemns the killing of policemen in sermon at Sunday mass
25 July 1920 <sup>130</sup>	Patrick Cahalane, C.C. Skibbereen, Co. Clare	Condemns the killing of policemen in sermon at Sunday mass
25 July 1920 <sup>131</sup>	Thomas Gilmartin, Abp. Tuam	Condemns killing of two constables in Tuam and subsequent reprisals in sermon at Sunday mass. Prays God will strike the first man to fire a criminal shot in the diocese
26 July 1920 <sup>132</sup>	Daniel Cohalan, Bp. Cork	Condemns the killing of R.I.C. Sergeant Mulherin in Bandon. It was murder and a violation of the church building in which it happened
15 Aug. 1920 <sup>133</sup>	Joseph Houlihan, C.C. Kinnitty, Co. Offaly	Condemns destruction of Kinnitty police barracks in sermon at Sunday mass. Says those involved in it would be better employed suppressing intemperance
15 Aug. 1920 <sup>134</sup>	E. J. O'Reilly, P.P. Kinnitty, Co. Offaly	Condemns destruction of Kinnitty police barracks in sermon at Sunday evening devotions. Such destruction would do no good
15 Aug. 1920 <sup>135</sup>	William Canon Fortune, P.P. Taghmon, Co. Wexford	Condemns killing of R.I.C. Sergeant Mulherin in Bandon church. Such sacrilegious crimes were reserved for 20 <sup>th</sup> century enlightened civilisation
22 Aug. 1920 <sup>136</sup>	Thomas O'Dea, Bp. Galway	Condemns killing of Constable Foley in sermon at Sunday mass. Killers have broken the law, even though there is extreme provocation
22 Aug. 1920 <sup>137</sup>	Anthony Considine, Adm. cathedral, Galway	Denounces the killing of Constable Foley
22 Aug. 1920 <sup>138</sup>	D. Casey, C.C. Oranmore, Co. Galway	Condemns the killing of Constable Foley. Laws of eternal salvation broken by killers. Also denounces reprisals
22 Aug. 1920 <sup>139</sup>	Michael Cardinal Logue, Abp.	Condemns burning of courthouse in Carlingford in address after Sunday mass in Carlingford. Such

<sup>128</sup> Ibid.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid.

<sup>132</sup> *Irish Independent*, 27 July 1920.

<sup>133</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 21 Aug. 1920.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid., 28 Aug. 1920.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid.

	Armagh	deeds were inspired by the evil spirit
29 Aug. 1920 <sup>140</sup>	Columba, O.F.M., Athlone, Co. Westmeath	Condemns the killing of Constable Potter in sermon at Sunday mass. People cannot under God's law shed blood even for the freedom of Ireland
29 Aug. 1920 <sup>141</sup>	Thomas Gallagher, C.C. Athlone, Co. Westmeath	Urges congregation to be restrained and comply with government's regulations after the killing of Constable Potter
29 Aug. 1920 <sup>142</sup>	Michael Cardinal Logue, Abp. Armagh	Condemns attack on R.I.C. patrol in Dundalk, Co. Louth, in letter to Adm. Dundalk. It is an outrage which no end and no plea could justify
29 Aug. 1920 <sup>143</sup>	Francis O'Hare, C.C. Newry, Co. Down	Condemns political violence in sermon at Sunday mass. Anyone who engaged in it was a traitor to God and to his country
Aug. 1920 <sup>144</sup>	Robert Browne, Bp. Cloyne	Condemns attempt on life of D.I. Morant in sermon in Queenstown cathedral
Aug. 1920 <sup>145</sup>	Joseph MacRory, Bp. Down and Connor	Condemns killing of D.I. Swanzy in an interview with the press. Killing was particularly indefensible and savage
5 Sept. 1920 <sup>146</sup>	John Mary Harty, Abp. Cashel and Emly	Condemns political violence as a stain on our Catholic faith and on our national honour in sermon at Sunday mass in Tipperary
5 Sept. 1920 <sup>147</sup>	Patrick Morrisroe, Bp. Achonry	Condemns killing of Constable McCarthy in sermon at Sunday mass. Also condemns subsequent reprisals
5 Sept. 1920 <sup>148</sup>	Joseph Hoare, Bp. Ardagh and Clonmacnoise	Condemns killing of Constable Mullan in sermon at Sunday mass in Longford. Murder is a sin that cries to heaven for vengeance
19 Sept. 1920 <sup>149</sup>	Thomas Gilmartin, Abp. Tuam	Condemns political violence in sermon at Sunday mass in Tuam cathedral
19 Sept. 1920 <sup>150</sup>	Patrick O'Connell, P.P. Cootehill, Co. Cavan	Condemns raiding for arms in sermon at Sunday mass. It was a dangerous practice and in any case the arms taken were only fit for shooting rooks
26 Sept. 1920 <sup>151</sup>	Michael Fogarty, Bp. Killaloe	Condemns killing of constables in Co. Clare in sermon at mass in Ennis. Hot-headed action by irresponsible individuals is wholly to be deprecated
26 Sept. 1920 <sup>152</sup>	Michael	Condemns physical force policy in speech at <i>feis</i> in

<sup>140</sup> *Irish Independent*, 31 Aug. 1920.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>142</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 4 Sept. 1920.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, 14 Aug. 1920.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, 28 Aug. 1920.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, 11 Sept. 1920.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, 25 Sept. 1920.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, 2 Oct. 1920.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*

	O'Flanagan, C.C. Roscommon	Keadue, Co. Roscommon. Violence is not Sinn Féin, it is not republicanism, it is pure blackguardism
26 Sept. 1920 <sup>153</sup>	Bernard Hackett, C.Ss.R., Bp. Waterford and Lismore	Condemns political violence in sermon at confirmation in Lismore. Says he is not in favour of shooting down people like dogs
26 Sept. 1920 <sup>154</sup>	James McKeone, Adm. Dundalk, Co. Louth	Condemns raiding for arms by civilians and shooting at night by Crown forces in sermon at Sunday mass
27 Sept. 1920 <sup>155</sup>	Lawrence Gaughran, Bp. Meath	Convenes a conference of clergy in Cavan, which passes resolution condemning shooting of Constable at Trim and subsequent reprisals
Sept. 1920 <sup>156</sup>	Denis Dennehy, C.C. Middleton, Co. Cork	Condemns killing of John Buckley and of a soldier. The fight was not against soldiers but against ministers
Sept. 1920 <sup>157</sup>	Dominic O'Connor, O.S.F.C., Cork	Concurs with Cardinal Logue that it is unlawful to shoot a policeman and that killings are acts of war
Sept. 1920 <sup>158</sup>	Patrick Foley, Bp. Kildare and Leighlin	Condemns killing of a constable near Kill and the serious wounding of another in letter to P.P. Kill. It is an awful crime against God's law
Sept. 1920 <sup>159</sup>	Thomas O'Dea, Bp. Galway, and priests of Kilfenora diocese	Condemn killing of six constables near Rineen, Co. Clare, in letter at conference in Lisdoonvarna. Also condemn subsequent reprisals
Sept. 1920 <sup>160</sup>	Patrick Foley, Bp. Kildare and Leighlin	Condemns shooting of constables in Tullow and the subsequent reprisals. Catholics should not participate in murder or outrage
Sept. 1920 <sup>161</sup>	T. J. Jones, C.C. Glendalough, Co. Wicklow	Condemns destruction of property in the area. If members of the congregation could bring the culprits to justice they were bound to do so
Sept. 1920 <sup>162</sup>	Patrick O'Donnell, Bp. Raphoe	Condemns killing of justice of the peace Major Johnstone in letter to P.P. Ardara. It is an appalling crime that has left a foul stain on one of the choice spots of the country
3 Oct. 1920 <sup>163</sup>	C. W. Canon Corbett, P.P. Mallow, Co. Cork	Condemns killing of a soldier. Also condemns the subsequent reprisals known as 'sack of Mallow'
3 Oct. 1920 <sup>164</sup>	James Canon	Condemns political violence in sermon at Sunday

<sup>153</sup> Ibid.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid., 11 Sept. 1920.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid., 4 Sept. 1920.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid., 11 Sept. 1920.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid., 2 Oct. 1920.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid., 18 Sept. 1920.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid., 11 Sept. 1920.

<sup>162</sup> Ibid.

<sup>163</sup> Ibid., 9 Oct. 1920.

<sup>164</sup> Ibid.

	Halpin, P.P. Tulla, Co. Clare	mass. Nothing could justify the commission of crime
3 Oct. 1920 <sup>165</sup>	H. Carpenter, Adm. cathedral, Mullingar, Co. Westmeath	Condemns political violence in sermon at Sunday mass. No matter the provocation, they should be guided by God's law and counsels of restraint and patience
17 Oct. 1920 <sup>166</sup>	Timothy Hurley, C.C. Strokestown, Co. Roscommon	Condemns killing of five constables at Fourmilehouse, Co. Roscommon in sermon at Sunday mass. The killers were enemies of God
31 Oct. 1920 <sup>167</sup>	Joseph Hoare, Bp. Ardagh and Clonmacnoise	Condemns shooting of policemen in sermon at Sunday mass. It might mean the destruction of Longford town
31 Oct. 1920 <sup>168</sup>	John Considine, C.C. Gort, Co. Galway	Condemns lethal ambush on R.I.C. patrol at Castledaly, Co. Galway in sermon at Sunday mass. 'Cried on the altar steps when speaking of the occurrence'
Oct. 1920 <sup>169</sup>	Patrick Foley, Bp. Kildare and Leighlin	Condemns political violence in sermon at confirmation in Edenderry. It is a terrible thing to send an unprepared soul to the tribunal of Christ
Oct. 1920 <sup>170</sup>	Dean Roderick Gearty, P.P. Strokestown, Co. Roscommon	Appeals to the young men of his parish to keep patient no matter what the provocation and to give no excuse for reprisals
Oct. 1920 <sup>171</sup>	Anthony O'Neill, C.C. Lifford, Co. Donegal	Condemns killing of Constable Gallagher in sermon at his funeral. Every Christian soul regarded the killing with horror and condemnation
Oct. 1920 <sup>172</sup>	Patrick Morrisroe, Bp. Achonry	Condemns political violence in a letter to P.P. Tobercurry. No matter how evil the system there can be no excuse for breaking the commandments
Oct. 1920 <sup>173</sup>	Michael O'Flanagan, C.C. Roscommon	Condemns political violence in speech at <i>aeridheacht</i> at Gortletteragh, Co. Leitrim. Killing people does not make the country better
1 Nov. 1920 <sup>174</sup>	Eugene Daly, C.C. Tullamore, Co. Offaly	Condemns killing of R.I.C. Sergeant Cronin in sermon at mass. Church unflinchingly denounced such violation of God's law
1 Nov. 1920 <sup>175</sup>	James Nolan, P.P. Killorglin, Co. Kerry	Condemns killing of constables in Killorglin in sermon at Sunday mass
1 Nov. 1920 <sup>176</sup>	Thomas Jones,	Condemns killing of constables in Killorglin in

<sup>165</sup> Ibid.

<sup>166</sup> Ibid., 23 Oct. 1920.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid., 6 Nov. 1920.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid., 9 Oct. 1920.

<sup>170</sup> *Irish Independent*, 9 Oct. 1920.

<sup>171</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 23 Oct. 1920.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid., 30 Oct. 1920.

<sup>174</sup> *Irish Independent*, 2 Nov. 1920.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid.



	C.C. Killorglin, Co. Kerry	sermon at Sunday mass
7 Nov. 1920 <sup>177</sup>	Philip Callery, P.P. Tullamore, Co. Offaly	Condemns killing of R.I.C. Sergeant Cronin in sermon at Sunday mass. Parish is stained with blood. Cause will not be blessed through violence
7 Nov. 1920 <sup>178</sup>	Thomas Canon Maguire P.P. Granard, Co. Longford	Tells parishioners in sermon at Sunday mass to let no thought of revenge enter their hearts after the destruction of the town. They must meditate on the sufferings of Christ
7 Nov. 1920 <sup>179</sup>	Joseph Hoare, Bp. Ardagh and Clonmacnoise	Condemns killing of D.I. Kelleher in sermon during Sunday mass in Longford. Victim had been a good Catholic
14 Nov. 1920 <sup>180</sup>	Arthur Canon Ryan, P.P. Tipperary	Condemns killing of Constables Mackessy and O'Leary in sermon at Sunday mass. The killings were murder and there was no excuse for them
14 Nov. 1920 <sup>181</sup>	Joseph McCarthy, C.C. Tipperary	Condemns killing of Constables Mackessy and O'Leary in sermon at Sunday mass. Such deeds give joy and satisfaction only to Ireland's enemies
22 Nov. 1920 <sup>182</sup>	John Murphy, Adm. St. Finbarr's South Parish, Cork	Condemns killing of R.I.C. Sergeant O'Donoghue and subsequent reprisals in sermon at Sunday mass
27 Nov. 1920 <sup>183</sup>	William Delaney, S.J., Leeson Street, Dublin	Tells Abp. Walsh that someone had told a confrere that he had been sworn into a secret society by a Sinn Fein leader to obey orders from 'unknown chiefs'. This society is therefore excommunicate
28 Nov. 1920 <sup>184</sup>	Philip Canon Murphy, P.P. Castlemartyr, Co. Cork	Condemns the killing of Constable Quinn in sermon at Sunday mass. No thanks to his assassins that he was not sent unprepared to his Maker
28 Nov. 1920 <sup>185</sup>	Thomas O'Doherty, Bp. Clonfert	Tells congregation at Loughrea cathedral that the death of Fr Michael Griffin does not call for reprisals. They sing no hymn of hate
Nov. 1920 <sup>186</sup>	Patrick Finegan, Bp. Kilmore	Condemns political violence in sermon in Cavan. Taking of life is a crime against God's law
Nov. 1920 <sup>187</sup>	John Canon McMahon, P.P. Nenagh, Co. Tipperary	Tells congregation at funeral of Volunteer to say or do nothing that would lead in any way to trouble. All should be in their homes in proper time to pray God for peace and unity

<sup>177</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 13 Nov. 1920.

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>180</sup> *Irish Independent*, 16 Nov. 1920.

<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*, 23 Nov. 1920.

<sup>183</sup> Delaney to Walsh, 27 Nov. 1920 (D.D.A., Walsh papers, 380/3).

<sup>184</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 4 Dec. 1920.

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid.*, 11 Dec. 1920.

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid.*, 6 Nov. 1920.

<sup>187</sup> *Ibid.*, 4 Dec. 1920.

5 Dec. 1920 <sup>188</sup>	John Finnegan, bishop's secretary, Mullingar, Co. Westmeath	Condemns murders committed by both sides. Counsels of prudence should prevail
5 Dec. 1920 <sup>189</sup>	John McSwiney, C.C. Bandon, Co. Cork	Advises young people in sermon at Sunday mass to keep inviolate the precepts which forbid the taking of human life and to abandon murderous attacks
5 Dec. 1920 <sup>190</sup>	Dean Daniel Keller, P.P. Youghal, Co. Cork	Condemns ambush near Youghal. The bishops had declared that the killing of policemen was murder
5 Dec. 1920 <sup>191</sup>	Unnamed clergy, Castleconnell, Co. Limerick	Condemn wounding of Captain Tidmarsh
12 Dec. 1920 <sup>192</sup>	Daniel Cohalan, Bp. Cork	Publishes decree excommunicating everyone in his diocese who commits murder, arson and other political crimes
19 Dec. 1920 <sup>193</sup>	Daniel Cohalan, Bp. Cork	Condemns crimes committed by both sides. Murder is murder, whether committed by agents of the government or the I.R.A. Repeats excommunication
Dec. 1920 <sup>194</sup>	Unnamed priest, Swanlinbar, Co. Cavan	Condemns killing of constable. Says neither killers or their relatives can expect luck in this world or the next. When the suspects' sisters die suddenly and their parents become seriously ill, parishioners think it was because of the priest's curse
1 Jan. 1921 <sup>195</sup>	Thomas Gilmartin, Abp. Tuam	Condemns political killings of members of the Crown forces. Warns against secret societies and says members are excommunicated
1 Jan. 1921 <sup>196</sup>	Denis Kelly, Bp. Ross	Condemns violence, even if engaged in with pure motives
9 Jan. 1921 <sup>197</sup>	Joseph Hoare, Bp. Ardagh and Clonmacnoise	Condemns killing of D.I. McGrath in sermon at Sunday mass in Longford.
9 Jan. 1921 <sup>198</sup>	John Murphy, Adm. St. Finbarr's South Parish, Cork	Condemns killing of Constables Johnson and Shortal at Parnell Bridge in sermon at Sunday mass. Killers were men of distorted and perverted moral sense and were excommunicated
16 Jan. 1921 <sup>199</sup>	Joseph Hoare, Bp.	Condemns ambush near Ballymahon, Co. Longford,

<sup>188</sup> *Irish Independent*, 7 Dec. 1920.

<sup>189</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 11 Dec. 1920.

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>191</sup> *Irish Independent*, 7 Dec. 1920.

<sup>192</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 18 Dec. 1920.

<sup>193</sup> Pastoral letter, 19 Dec. 1920 (C.D.A., Cohalan papers, box vi).

<sup>194</sup> I.G.M.R., May 1921 (T.N.A., CO904/115).

<sup>195</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 8 Jan. 1921.

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>197</sup> *Ibid.*, 15 Jan. 1921.

<sup>198</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>199</sup> *Ibid.*, 22 Jan. 1921.

	Ardagh and Clonmacnoise	in sermon at Sunday mass in Longford. Shooting of policemen or soldiers was murder in the first degree
23 Jan. 1921 <sup>200</sup>	Denis Canon O'Connor, P.P. Listowel, Co. Kerry	Condemns shooting of D.I. O'Sullivan in sermon at Sunday mass
23 Jan. 1921 <sup>201</sup>	Jeremiah Moynihan, president, St. Michael's college, Listowel, Co. Kerry	Condemns shooting of D.I. O'Sullivan in sermon at Sunday mass
23 Jan. 1921 <sup>202</sup>	C. O'Sullivan, C.C. Listowel, Co. Kerry	Condemns shooting of D.I. O'Sullivan in sermon at Sunday mass
30 Jan. 1921 <sup>203</sup>	Thomas Canon O'Reilly, P.P. Carrick-on-Shannon, Co. Leitrim	Condemns shooting of Private Early in sermon at Sunday mass. Some act of providence had spared his life. Murder is a crime that cries to heaven for vengeance
30 Jan. 1921 <sup>204</sup>	William O'Farrell, C.C. Carrick-on-Shannon, Co. Leitrim	Condemns shooting of Private Early in sermon at Sunday mass
Jan. 1921 <sup>205</sup>	William Codd, Bp. Ferns	Exhorts congregation in Wexford to bear with injustice and never to violate the fifth commandment
6 Feb. 1921 <sup>206</sup>	Unnamed clergy of Youghal, Co. Cork	Condemn killing of Alfred Kidney, suspected of being a spy for the military, in sermon at Sunday mass. No words strong enough to denounce killing
11 Feb. 1921 <sup>207</sup>	Msr. Patrick Segrave, P.P. Drogheda, Co. Louth	Tells congregation at funeral that they should act as if they had the entire town to answer for and would give no excuse to anyone for greater horrors
27 Feb. 1921 <sup>208</sup>	Abraham Brownrigg, S.S.S., Bp. Ossory	Condemns attack on military in Kilkenny in letter read in all churches in the town.
27 Feb. 1921 <sup>209</sup>	Joseph Sheridan, C.C. Mountcharles,	Condemns killing of Constable Satchwell in sermon at Sunday mass. Also condemns subsequent reprisals

<sup>200</sup> *Irish Independent*, 25 Jan. 1921.

<sup>201</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>202</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid.*, 1 Feb. 1921.

<sup>204</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>205</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 15 Jan. 1921.

<sup>206</sup> *Irish Independent*, 8 Feb. 1921.

<sup>207</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 19 Feb. 1921.

<sup>208</sup> *Ibid.*, 5 Mar. 1921.

<sup>209</sup> *Ibid.*

	Co. Donegal	
27 Feb. 1921 <sup>210</sup>	Patrick O'Donnell, Bp. Raphoe	Condemns killing of Constable Satchwell in letter to C.C. Also condemns subsequent reprisals. The killers have a good deal to answer for to God
Feb. 1921 <sup>211</sup>	Edward Mulhern, Bp. Dromore	Condemns shooting of a special constable in Warrenpoint in letter to Adm
Feb. 1921 <sup>212</sup>	Daniel McAlister, C.C. Warrenpoint, Co. Down	Condemns the killing of a special constable in Warrenpoint in sermon at mass
6 Mar. 1921 <sup>213</sup>	Thomas Canon O'Reilly, P.P. Carrick-on-Shannon, Co. Leitrim	Condemns killing of soldier during ambush in sermon at Sunday mass. No good followed from such acts
6 Mar. 1921 <sup>214</sup>	Edward O'Reilly, C.C. Carrick-on-Shannon, Co. Leitrim	Condemns killing of soldier during ambush in sermon at Sunday mass
6 Mar. 1921 <sup>215</sup>	Edward Dalton, C.C. Carrick-on-Shannon, Co. Leitrim	Condemns killing of soldier during ambush in sermon at Sunday mass
6 Mar. 1921 <sup>216</sup>	Michael Cardinal Logue, Abp. Armagh	Condemns political violence in letter read in all churches in diocese. We have to account for our own deeds, not those of the Black and Tans
13 Mar. 1921 <sup>217</sup>	Thomas O'Malley, P.P. Partry, Co. Mayo	Condemns killing and wounding of soldiers during ambush in sermon at Sunday mass. Also condemns subsequent reprisal
18 Mar. 1921 <sup>218</sup>	Patrick Canon MacAlpine, P.P. Clifden, Co. Galway	Condemns killing of Constable Reynolds in sermon at evening devotions in Clifden parish church. Victim an exemplary Catholic
19 Mar. 1921 <sup>219</sup>	Thomas Gilmartin, Abp. Tuam	Condemns killing of members of the Crown forces in Clifden and the subsequent reprisals in a letter to P.P. Clifden. I.R.A. has no mandate from Irish people
27 Mar. 1921 <sup>220</sup>	Laurence Canon Keenan, P.P.	Condemns shooting of Henry Carr, suspected of being a spy, in sermon at Sunday mass. Satisfied no

<sup>210</sup> Ibid.

<sup>211</sup> Ibid., 19 Feb. 1921.

<sup>212</sup> Ibid.

<sup>213</sup> *Irish Independent*, 8 Mar. 1921.

<sup>214</sup> Ibid.

<sup>215</sup> Ibid.

<sup>216</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 12 Mar. 1921.

<sup>217</sup> *Irish Independent*, 19 Mar. 1921.

<sup>218</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 26 Mar. 1921.

<sup>219</sup> Ibid.

<sup>220</sup> *Anglo-Celt*, 2 Apr. 1921 and *Irish Catholic*, 2 Apr. 1921.

	Ballybay, Co. Monaghan	one in his congregation was guilty of the outrage
27 Mar. 1921 <sup>221</sup>	Thomas Gilmartin, Abp. Tuam	Exhorts all to stop shooting in sermon at Sunday mass in Tuam cathedral and warns people that they will face eternal judgment in the next life
27 Mar. 1921 <sup>222</sup>	Unnamed clergy of Youghal, Co. Cork	Condemn killing of local Methodist, Cathcart, during arms raid in sermons at Sunday mass. There was no other name for the crime but murder
Mar. 1921 <sup>223</sup>	Patrick Finegan, Bp. Kilmore	States that those killed while participating in ambush on Crown forces should be refused Christian burial
Mar. 1921 <sup>224</sup>	Thomas Canon Maguire, P.P. Granard, Co. Longford	Condemns shooting of constables in sermon at Sunday mass. Advises congregation what to do in order to avoid town being hit by reprisals
Mar. 1921 <sup>225</sup>	Patrick Canon MacAlpine, P.P. Clifden, Co. Galway	Tells congregation in sermon at mass not to do anything to violate God's law or incur the divine displeasure, no matter how great the provocation
3 Apr. 1921 <sup>226</sup>	John Canon Hannon, P.P. Miltown Malbay, Co. Clare	Condemns killing of constable in the town in sermon at Sunday mass. Flagrant violation of God's law. It was likely to bring a curse and a blight rather than a blessing on their cause
3 Apr. 1921 <sup>227</sup>	Charles McHugh, Bp. Derry	Condemns political violence in letter read in St. Eugene's cathedral at Sunday masses. It is regrettable that Christians stain their hands with the blood of their fellow-men
Apr. 1921 <sup>228</sup>	Dean Roderick Gearty, P.P. Strokestown, Co. Roscommon	Condemns killing of soldier, Captain Peak, in sermon at mass. People were sorely tried but must be patient
15 May 1921 <sup>229</sup>	Patrick Canon Hayes, P.P. Castletownbere, Co. Cork	Condemns killing of three soldiers near Bantry in sermon during Sunday mass. Taking of human life except in war was murder
22 May 1921 <sup>230</sup>	James Byrnes, P.P. Bansha, Co. Tipperary	Condemns killing of Constable Nutley outside church in sermon at Sunday mass. Prays that God may not visit the taking away of life on the parish
22 May 1921 <sup>231</sup>	Bernard Hackett, C.Ss.R., Bp.	Tells Catholics in Clonmel to be on their guard not to let provocation lead them to do anything that

<sup>221</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 2 Apr. 1921.

<sup>222</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>223</sup> I.G.M.R., Mar. 1921, p. 610 (T.N.A., CO904/114).

<sup>224</sup> I.G.M.R., Mar. 1921, pp 617 and 735 (T.N.A., CO904/114).

<sup>225</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 2 Apr. 1921.

<sup>226</sup> *Ibid.*, 9 Apr. 1921.

<sup>227</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>228</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>229</sup> *Irish Independent*, 16 May 1921.

<sup>230</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 28 May 1921.

<sup>231</sup> *Ibid.*

	Waterford and Lismore	would bring God's anger upon them
22 May 1921 <sup>232</sup>	Michael McGeown, P.P. Greencastle, Co. Down	Condemns killing of R.I.C. Sergeant McDonagh in sermon at Sunday mass. Prays that the perpetrator of the killing may have time to repent
May 1921 <sup>233</sup>	Patrick O'Donnell, Bp. Raphoe	Condemns killing of Constable Carter in sermon at parish mission in Letterkenny
May 1921 <sup>234</sup>	Patrick Finegan, Bp. Kilmore	Condemns political killings in sermon after confirmation in Kill, Co. Cavan
May 1921 <sup>235</sup>	Michael Cardinal Logue, Abp. Armagh	Condemns political violence in sermon at confirmation in Clonoe, Co. Tyrone. He who commits crime gives strength to the enemy
May 1921 <sup>236</sup>	Joseph Hoare, Bp. Ardagh and Clonmacnoise	Condemns killing of two constables in Ballinalee during sermon at Sunday mass. It was murder and a breach of the fifth commandment
19 June 1921 <sup>237</sup>	Terence Brady, P.P. Templeport, Co. Cavan	Condemns killing of Church of Ireland Dean Finlay of Bawnboy in sermon at Sunday mass. Crime is heinous
19 June 1921 <sup>238</sup>	James McKeone, Adm. Dundalk, Co. Louth	Condemns political violence in sermon at Sunday mass. It was not war but assassination to shoot from behind a hedge at policemen
June 1921 <sup>239</sup>	Michael Cardinal Logue, Abp. Armagh	Condemns political violence in sermon at confirmation, Cookstown, Co. Tyrone. Crime did not justify crime
June 1921 <sup>240</sup>	James Nolan, P.P. Killorglin, Co. Kerry	Condemns killing of constables in sermon at Sunday mass
June 1921 <sup>241</sup>	Michael O'Donoghue, C.C. Killorglin, Co. Kerry	Condemns killing of constables in sermon at Sunday mass
June 1921 <sup>242</sup>	Patrick Foley, Bp. Kildare and Leighlin	Advised his people to observe God's law no matter what the provocation to violate it might be
June 1921 <sup>243</sup>	Terence Brady, P.P. Templeport,	Condemn killing of Church of Ireland Dean Finlay of Bawnboy in a letter to the press. There is not a

<sup>232</sup> *Irish Independent*, 24 May 1921.

<sup>233</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 28 May 1921.

<sup>234</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>235</sup> *Ibid.*, 7 May 1921.

<sup>236</sup> Maureen Mulryan, 'Bishop Hoare and politics', *Teathba. Journal of County Longford Historical Society*, iii, no. 2 (2007), pp 32-5, at p. 35.

<sup>237</sup> *Irish Independent*, 22 June 1921.

<sup>238</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 25 June 1921.

<sup>239</sup> *Ibid.*, 18 June 1921.

<sup>240</sup> *Irish Independent*, 9 June 1921.

<sup>241</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>242</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 2 July 1921.

<sup>243</sup> *Ibid.*, 25 June 1921.

	Patrick O'Reilly, P.P. Swanlinbar, John McGovern, P.P. Curlough, Co. Cavan	neighbour of his who views the crime with less horror than they do
1919-21 <sup>244</sup>	Michael Connolly, O.F.M., Clonmel friary, Co. Tipperary	Is said to have been 'opposed to all physical force in the struggle for Irish freedom' during the War of Independence, although he was suspected of hearing the confessions of 'Irregulars' during the Civil War

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<sup>244</sup> Enright to Hackett, 29 Aug. 1922 (W.D.A., Hackett papers, B/H10.34).

**2.2 Clerical denunciations on grounds of expediency of violence attributed to republicans, January 1919 – July 1921**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Nature of comment</b>
26 Jan. 1919 <sup>245</sup>	William Keogh, C.C. Solohead, Co. Tipperary	Condemns Soloheadbeg ambush in sermon at Sunday mass. Says their enemies would try to saddle it on the popular movement
26 Jan. 1919 <sup>246</sup>	William Condon, C.C. Tipperary	Condemns Soloheadbeg ambush in sermon at Sunday mass. Says that no good cause would be served by crimes such as this one
26 Jan. 1919 <sup>247</sup>	John Mary Harty, Abp. Cashel and Emly	Condemns Soloheadbeg ambush in sermon in Thurles at Sunday mass. Says it is an offence against the fair name of the country
2 Mar. 1919 <sup>248</sup>	Michael Card. Logue, Abp. Armagh	Advises people in Lenten pastoral not to expose themselves to penalties by needless assemblies and by drilling, which ‘would never bring them one step nearer to freedom’
May 1919 <sup>249</sup>	John Mary Harty, Abp. Cashel and Emly	Condemns Knocklong rescue in sermon in Galbally. Says such outrages could not but be detrimental to the best interests of the country
17 July 1919 <sup>250</sup>	Francis Cassidy, P.P. Kilfenora, Co. Clare	Presides over a meeting of townspeople which passes a resolution saying that ‘the right of Ireland to self-determination [cannot] be helped by midnight assassins’
7 Sept. 1919 <sup>251</sup>	John Gleeson, P.P. Lorrha, Co. Tipperary	Condemns lethal attack on R.I.C. in sermon at Sunday mass and says that Ireland’s freedom will never be achieved by midnight assassination
13 Sept. 1919 <sup>252</sup>	Thomas MacBrien, C.C. Granemore, Co. Armagh	Says in letter to the <i>Irish Independent</i> that the killing of constables is not conducive to Ireland’s welfare and gives an excuse to the country’s enemies to delay giving it its freedom
Sept. 1919 <sup>253</sup>	Michael O’Flanagan, C.C. Roscommon	Reportedly writes to Dáil to complain about violence committed by the Volunteers because it injured the influence of the Dáil
2 Nov. 1919 <sup>254</sup>	Lawrence Gaughran, Bp. Meath	Says in sermon at Sunday mass in Mullingar that the killing of policemen does not bring benefits for the country but represents Irishmen as savages
Nov. 1919 <sup>255</sup>	John Canon	Says at a meeting of the local United Irish League

<sup>245</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 1 Feb. 1919.

<sup>246</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>247</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>248</sup> *Ibid.*, 8 Mar. 1919.

<sup>249</sup> *Ibid.*, 24 May 1919.

<sup>250</sup> *Ibid.*, 19 July 1919.

<sup>251</sup> *Ibid.*, 13 Sept. 1919.

<sup>252</sup> *Irish Independent*, 15 Sept. 1919.

<sup>253</sup> I.G.M.R., Aug. 1919 (T.N.A., CO904/109).

<sup>254</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 8 Nov. 1919.

<sup>255</sup> *Ibid.*, 22 Nov. 1919.



	Walsh, P.P. Ballymurn, Co. Wexford	branches that those who commit crime did not help the Irish cause but covered it with dishonour
22 Feb. 1920 <sup>256</sup>	Edward Dalton, C.C. Carrick-on-Shannon, Co. Leitrim	Asks in sermon at Sunday mass if people really believed that raids on R.I.C. barracks were doing the country any good
22 Feb. 1920 <sup>257</sup>	John Maher, P.P. Oulart, Co. Wexford	Condemns killing of a local woman in raid for arms in sermon at Sunday mass. Asks what they were going to do with the arms
29 Feb. 1920 <sup>258</sup>	Richard Browne, Bp. Cloyne	Condemns killing of a soldier in letter read at Sunday mass in Queenstown. Says such actions invite God's wrath and are 'riveting our chains the faster'
7 Mar. 1920 <sup>259</sup>	Thomas Gilmartin, Abp. Tuam	Says in sermon at Sunday mass in Cummer that those who use violence against the Crown give 'our enemies' the opportunity to calumniate the whole country. They bring disgrace on Ireland
7 Mar. 1920 <sup>260</sup>	John Canon Kelly, P.P. Doon, Co. Tipperary	Condemns attacks on R.I.C. barracks in sermon at Sunday mass. Says if all the police barracks in the country were destroyed, Britain would put something else in their place
14 Mar. 1920 <sup>261</sup>	Daniel Cohalan, Bp. Cork	Says in sermon at Sunday mass in Cork that attacks on barracks had not brought Ireland closer to freedom
May 1920 <sup>262</sup>	Patrick Finegan, Bp. Kilmore	Says in sermon at confirmation in Bailieborough that the country could not be served by crime
9 June 1920 <sup>263</sup>	Denis Kelly, Bp. Ross	Says in sermon at confirmation in Aghadown that Ireland dependend on England and was entirely in her hands. Uses it to discourage violence
25 July 1920 <sup>264</sup>	Denis Kelly, Bp. Ross	Says in sermon at mass in Skibbereen that people who advocated murder were playing with fire and would get burned, and the rest of the country too
July 1920 <sup>265</sup>	Michael Kelly, Abp. Sydney	Tells Volunteers in address in New Ross that they must not forget God, or they will give their enemies an opportunity of which they will take advantage to mow them down
15 Aug. 1920 <sup>266</sup>	E. J. O'Reilly, P.P. Kinnitty, Co.	Condemns destruction of R.I.C. barracks in sermon at evening devotions. Says it does no good because

<sup>256</sup> Ibid., 28 Feb. 1920.

<sup>257</sup> Ibid.

<sup>258</sup> Ibid., 6 Mar. 1920.

<sup>259</sup> Ibid., 13 Mar. 1920.

<sup>260</sup> Ibid.

<sup>261</sup> Ibid., 20 Mar. 1920.

<sup>262</sup> Ibid., 22 May 1920.

<sup>263</sup> Ibid., 19 June 1920.

<sup>264</sup> Ibid., 31 July 1920.

<sup>265</sup> Ibid., 24 July 1920.

<sup>266</sup> Ibid., 21 Aug. 1920.

	Offaly	the police could commandeer private houses
27 Sept. 1920 <sup>267</sup>	Lawrence Gaughran, Bp. Meath and clergy	Pass resolution at meeting in Navan saying that attacks on the R.I.C. do not advance the cause which the perpetrators have at heart
Sept. 1920 <sup>268</sup>	Patrick O'Donnell, Bp. Raphoe	Writes in public letter to P.P. Ardara that those who commit murder place 'our poor country as a mat under the heel of foreign oppression'
10 Oct. 1920 <sup>269</sup>	Patrick Morrisroe, Bp. Achonry	Condemns violence against the Crown forces in public letter read at mass in Tobercurry. Says acts of violence are hurtful to the cause they try to serve
24 Oct. 1920 <sup>270</sup>	J. F. Enright, C.C. Miltown Malbay, Co. Clare	Says in sermon at Sunday mass that the murder of a few policemen will not overthrow the power of the British government
26 Oct. 1920 <sup>271</sup>	Denis Kelly, Bp. Ross	Says in letter that recent terror in Glandore and Leap happened because 'some blackguards fired at the police'
31 Oct. 1920 <sup>272</sup>	Joseph Hoare, Bp. Ardagh and Clonmacnoise	Tells people in sermon at Sunday mass in Longford not to commit any crime that would bring disgrace on the country. Longford might be destroyed in reprisal
Oct. 1920 <sup>273</sup>	Patrick Foley, Bp. Kildare and Leighlin	Says in sermon at confirmation in Edenderry that the murder of police will cause retaliation
Oct. 1920 <sup>274</sup>	Michael O'Flanagan, C.C. Roscommon	Says in address at <i>aeridheacht</i> in Gortletteragh that the welfare of the country was not served by killing someone. It was made worse, because somebody else was killed in return
7 Nov. 1920 <sup>275</sup>	Joseph Hoare, Bp. Ardagh and Clonmacnoise	Says in sermon at Sunday mass in Longford that Granard, a once-prosperous town, was now practically in ruins after reprisals for the killing of a district inspector
7 Nov. 1920 <sup>276</sup>	Philip Callery, P.P. Tullamore, Co. Offaly	Condemns attack on R.I.C. sergeant in sermon at Sunday mass. Says perpetrators did not care a straw if the town was wiped out of existence in reprisal
14 Nov. 1920 <sup>277</sup>	Joseph McCarthy, C.C. Tipperary	Condemns killing of constables in sermon at Sunday mass and says every policeman murdered is a cause of dismay to Ireland's friends and gives joy only to her enemies who are waiting to dragoon the country
27 Nov. 1920 <sup>278</sup>	William Delaney,	Writes in private letter to Walsh that killings of

<sup>267</sup> Ibid., 2 Oct. 1920.

<sup>268</sup> Ibid., 11 Sept. 1920.

<sup>269</sup> Ibid., 16 Oct. 1920.

<sup>270</sup> Ibid., 30 Oct. 1920.

<sup>271</sup> Kelly to Boyle, 26 Oct. 1920 (A.I.C.P., Collège papers, A2.h108).

<sup>272</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 6 Nov. 1920.

<sup>273</sup> Ibid., 9 Oct. 1920.

<sup>274</sup> Ibid., 30 Oct. 1920.

<sup>275</sup> Ibid., 13 Nov. 1920.

<sup>276</sup> *Irish Independent*, 10 Nov. 1920.

<sup>277</sup> Ibid., 16 Nov. 1920.

<sup>278</sup> Delaney to Walsh, 27 Nov. 1920 (D.D.A., Walsh papers, 380/3).

	S.J., Leeson Street, Dublin	servants of the Crown furnish their enemies 'with such taking arguments for our unfitness for self-government'
Nov. 1920 <sup>279</sup>	Joseph McCarthy, C.C. Tipperary	Says in sermon during a novena that acts of violence will do more harm to Ireland herself than to the enemy because of the reprisals
12 Dec. 1920 <sup>280</sup>	Daniel Cohalan, Bp. Cork	Asks in letter accompanying excommunication decree if the killing of policemen has brought the country any political benefits
19 Dec. 1920 <sup>281</sup>	Daniel Cohalan, Bp. Cork	Says in Advent pastoral that it is not valiant to carry out an ambush and then leave the countryside or city unprotected against reprisals
Dec. 1920 <sup>282</sup>	Daniel Cohalan, Bp. Cork	Condemns the killing of Canon Magner in a letter and says the killings of the Kilmichael ambush have not brought Ireland nearer to the republic
9 Jan. 1921 <sup>283</sup>	John Murphy, Adm. St. Finbarr's, Cork	Tells congregation in sermon at Sunday mass that if ambushes are persisted in, they could only bring further misfortune on the people
Jan. 1921 <sup>284</sup>	Thomas Gilmartin, Abp. Tuam	Warns young men not to become involved in Volunteers in address in Tuam. Revolutionary movements are always shadowed by informers
27 Feb. 1921 <sup>285</sup>	Abraham Brownrigg, S.S.S., Bp. Ossory	Says in letter read at Sunday mass in Kilkenny that those who commit violence expose their innocent neighbours to awful consequences
Feb. 1921 <sup>286</sup>	Nicholas Lawless, P.P. Faughart, Co. Louth	Writes in letter to Belfast nationalist gathering that force is no option for Ireland because it is the weaker nation. Advocating violence is like holding out false lights to a ship to lure it to her doom
2 Mar. 1921 <sup>287</sup>	Charles O'Sullivan, Bp. Kerry	Sends a letter to I.R.A. commandant to protest at the use of the grounds of the Mercy convent in Tralee by men under his command to escape from British fire. Presumably because it exposed convent to danger
6 Mar. 1921 <sup>288</sup>	Michael Card. Logue, Abp. Armagh	Says in letter read at all Sunday masses in diocese of Armagh that ambushes expose innocent residents to the danger of reprisal. They involve 'malice against all mankind'
6 Mar. 1921 <sup>289</sup>	Thomas Canon O'Reilly, P.P. Carrick-on-	Condemns I.R.A. ambush in sermon at Sunday mass and says that no good followed from such acts

<sup>279</sup> *Irish Independent*, 5 Nov. 1920.

<sup>280</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 18 Dec. 1920.

<sup>281</sup> Pastoral letter, 19 Dec. 1920 (C.D.A., Cohalan papers, box vi).

<sup>282</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 25 Dec. 1920.

<sup>283</sup> *Ibid.*, 15 Jan. 1921.

<sup>284</sup> *Ibid.*, 8 Jan. 1921.

<sup>285</sup> *Ibid.*, 5 Mar. 1921.

<sup>286</sup> *Irish Independent*, 21 Feb. 1921.

<sup>287</sup> Kennedy witness statement, pp 110-1 (N.A.I., BMH/WS1413).

<sup>288</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 12 Mar. 1921.

<sup>289</sup> *Irish Independent*, 8 Mar. 1921.

	Shannon, Co. Leitrim	
8 May 1921 <sup>290</sup>	Patrick Morrisroe, Bp. Achonry	Advises congregation in Gurteen in sermon at Sunday mass not to do anything that might have consequences for the life or property of the people
22 May 1921 <sup>291</sup>	James Byrnes, P.P. Bansha, Co. Tipperary	Speaking in sermon at Sunday mass condemns killing of constable after he attended mass in church previous week. Says those who carried it out are misguided and that their work had evil consequences
May 1921 <sup>292</sup>	Thomas Gilmartin, Abp. Tuam	Says in sermon in Knock that the 'Irish boys' were not equal to the forces against them no matter how good they were
May 1921 <sup>293</sup>	Michael Card. Logue, Abp. Armagh	Tells congregation at confirmation in Clonoe that those who commit crime give strength to the enemy

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<sup>290</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 14 May 1921.

<sup>291</sup> *Ibid.*, 28 May 1921.

<sup>292</sup> *Ibid.*, 7 May 1921.

<sup>293</sup> *Ibid.*

### 2.3 Clerical criticism of British rule in Ireland, January 1919 – July 1921

Date	Name	Nature of comment
2 Feb. 1919 <sup>294</sup>	Maurice Brew, C.C. Macroom, Co. Cork	Says in sermon at Sunday mass that soldiers are not responsible for the government's provocative policy
13 Apr. 1919 <sup>295</sup>	Michael Curran, secretary to Abp. Walsh, Dublin	Says in letter that 'people never think of Westminster now except an odd remnant of antiquity'
11 May 1919 <sup>296</sup>	Michael Curran, secretary to Abp. Walsh, Dublin	Refers in letter to army hold-up at Mansion house in Dublin as "'star performance"' of militarization in Ireland'
June 1919 <sup>297</sup>	Bernard Keane, C.C. Summerhill, Athlone, Co. Roscommon	Asks Athlone town council to refuse to let the courthouse to the army for balls and dances in protest against the exclusion of the public from the building during a trial
28 Nov. 1919 <sup>298</sup>	Capt. Thomas O'Donnell, chaplain Australian army	Tells journalists after his resignation from the Australian army after an acquittal by court-martial that he hopes to enlighten many people 'on the system by which the Irish people are oppressed'
8 Dec. 1919 <sup>299</sup>	Daniel Canon Downing, P.P. St. Joseph's, Eccles Street, Dublin	Criticises the Castle authorities for putting the country at the mercy of uncontrolled military authorities and for menacing the country with the destruction of education
Dec. 1919 <sup>300</sup>	Thomas Burbage, C.C. Geashill, County Offaly	Criticises 'motor permits order' in a letter in the press. Suppression of crime was pretext to enable 'capitalistic clique to enslave every class in the community but their own'
Jan. 1920 <sup>301</sup>	John Mary Harty, Abp. Cashel and Emly	Writes in public letter to de Valera that the government has trampled on the principles of democracy. Wishes efforts to free Ireland from the blighting influence of foreign rule every blessing
12 Apr. 1920 <sup>302</sup>	John Canon Waters and Matthew McMahon, chaplains, Mountjoy prison	Protest in report against the enforcement of regulations not enforced in England against prisoners in Mountjoy during hunger-strike. 'All such discrimination against Irishmen in Ireland by the Irish government seems quite indefensible'
May 1920 <sup>303</sup>	Robert Browne,	Condemns the treatment meted out to the country by

<sup>294</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 8 Feb. 1919.

<sup>295</sup> Curran to Hagan, 13 Apr. 1919 (A.I.C.R., Hagan papers, HAG1/1919/64).

<sup>296</sup> Curran to Hagan, 11 May 1919 (A.I.C.R., Hagan papers, HAG1/1919/106).

<sup>297</sup> *Irish Independent*, 6 June 1919.

<sup>298</sup> *Ibid.*, 29 Nov. 1919.

<sup>299</sup> Downing to Walsh, 8 Dec. 1919 (D.D.A., Walsh papers, 386/6).

<sup>300</sup> *Irish Independent*, 5 Dec. 1919.

<sup>301</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 31 Jan. 1920.

<sup>302</sup> Copy of extract from 'R.C. chaplain's journal', Mountjoy prison, signed by John Waters and M. S. MacMahon, 12 Apr. 1920 (D.D.A., Walsh papers, 380/2).

	Bp. Cloyne	the government during sermon at mass in Kanturk
June 1920 <sup>304</sup>	Thomas Burbage, C.C. Geashill, County Offaly	Claims in address to Maynooth Union that the 'army of occupation could not keep a hen off the road' in his area. Labourers and farmers' sons were keeping law and order, not the army
Aug. 1920 <sup>305</sup>	Thomas O'Dea, Bp. Galway	Says in a letter that the British government held the country down by brute force
Aug. 1920 <sup>306</sup>	Robert Browne, Bp. Cloyne	Says people are being provoked and maddened by the actions of the British government during sermon at mass in Queenstown. The rights of citizenship are denied them
1 Sept. 1920 <sup>307</sup>	Denis Devlin, O.Carm., prior, Whitefriar Str. priory	Says an awful crime was being committed in Brixton jail, referring to Terence MacSwiney's hunger-strike. 'The perpetrators were like Nero, who fiddled while Rome burned'
12 Sept. 1920 <sup>308</sup>	Patrick Foley, Bp. Kildare and Leighlin	Criticises the government for its dealings with Ireland during sermon at Sunday mass in Carlow cathedral
20 Sept. 1920 <sup>309</sup>	M. J. Doyle, former army chaplain, Dun Laoghaire, Co. Dublin	Tells War Office in public letter that he refuses honorary chaplaincy in recognition of services rendered in view of the 'disgrace and degradation' into which the uniform has been brought by some of those who wear it in Ireland
25 Sept. 1920 <sup>310</sup>	Denis Fitzpatrick, C.C. Adare, Co. Limerick	Criticises statement by General Maccready that he condemned and would punish reprisals by the army. 'It is apparent that the government of England is at the back of the reprisals'
26 Sept. 1920 <sup>311</sup>	Thomas O'Dea, Bp. Galway	Says in letter to the faithful of his diocese that the evil that exists in the country goes on unchecked, if not encouraged, by the government
26 Sept. 1920 <sup>312</sup>	Bernard Hackett, C.Ss.R., Bp. Waterford and Lismore	Says in sermon at confirmation mass in Lismore that the country was going through the dark night of persecution when liberty was ignored
28 Sept. 1920 <sup>313</sup>	William MacFeely, P.P. Waterside, Derry	Asks Abp. Walsh in letter not to delay an episcopal declaration against 'the present Cromwellian tyranny [sic]'
Sept. 1920 <sup>314</sup>	Michael Cardinal Logue, Abp.	Tells chief secretary in letter that the Crown forces have 'set the pace in lawlessness and disorder'. The

<sup>303</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 22 May 1920.

<sup>304</sup> *Irish Independent*, 24 June 1920.

<sup>305</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 28 Aug. 1920.

<sup>306</sup> *Ibid.*, 14 Aug. 1920.

<sup>307</sup> *Irish Independent*, 2 Sept. 1920.

<sup>308</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 18 Sept. 1920.

<sup>309</sup> *Freeman's Journal*, 20 Sept. 1920.

<sup>310</sup> *Irish Independent*, 25 Sept. 1920.

<sup>311</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 2 Oct. 1920.

<sup>312</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>313</sup> MacFeely to Walsh, 28 Sept. 1920 (D.D.A., Walsh papers, 380/2).

<sup>314</sup> Logue to Greenwood (copy), undated but Sept. or Oct. 1920 (A.D.A., Logue papers, ARCH9/5/1).

	Armagh	arming of fanatical Orangemen is hard to believe
Sept. 1920 <sup>315</sup>	Denis Dennehy, C.C. Midleton, Co. Cork	Says in sermon that the fight is against the discredited ministers of the worst government that ever ruled the country
Sept. 1920 <sup>316</sup>	Thomas Gilmartin, Abp. Tuam	Says in sermon at mass in Athenry that the country is the theatre of misgovernment, injustice, violence and terrorism
3 Oct. 1920 <sup>317</sup>	James Canon Halpin, P.P. Tulla, Co. Clare	Says in sermon at Sunday mass that the government was the prime cause of the bedlam to which things had been reduced in Ireland
19 Oct. 1920 <sup>318</sup>	Bishops of Ireland	Write joint pastoral letter decrying British government in Ireland in sharp terms
Oct. 1920 <sup>319</sup>	J. A. O'Reilly, O.P. prior, Dominican priory Kilkenny	Says in sermon at mass in Franciscan church in Wexford that Ireland was being overrun by the troops of an alien power. No man's life was safe any longer
27 Nov. 1920 <sup>320</sup>	William Delaney, S.J., Leeson Street, Dublin	Says in letter that the powers that be are absolutely unfit to rule any country
Nov. 1920 <sup>321</sup>	Archdeacon James Walker, P.P. Donegal	Tells congregation that the government is to blame for the duties of the military. He blamed the government for the outrages that were committed
1 Dec. 1920 <sup>322</sup>	Thomas O'Doherty, Bp. Clonfert	Tells Walsh in a letter that bishops have appointed a committee to publish lists of outrages committed by the British per diocese. 'The English are spreading broadcast everything that can tell against Ireland while concealing or denying their own evil deeds'
19 Dec. 1920 <sup>323</sup>	Daniel Cohalan, Bp. Cork	Says in pastoral letter that British government had 'conducted a reprisal campaign of murder of the innocent and destruction of their property'. Calls it terrorism
29 Dec. 1920 <sup>324</sup>	Daniel Cohalan, Bp. Cork	Accuses British government in letter of using 'peace talks' to keep people quiet until the Ulster parliament was opened, only to drop them then
Dec. 1920 <sup>325</sup>	Cornelius Short, P.P. Tandragee, Co. Antrim	Writes public letter to chief secretary mentioning a death threat he received and asking him to provide him with a gun to protect himself from the 'Specials'
27 Feb. 1921 <sup>326</sup>	Abraham Brownrigg, S.S.S.,	Says in letter to faithful of Kilkenny city that the government has pursued a partisan, provocative and

<sup>315</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 11 Sept. 1920.

<sup>316</sup> *Ibid.*, 25 Sept. 1920.

<sup>317</sup> *Ibid.*, 9 Oct. 1920.

<sup>318</sup> *I.C.D. 1921*, pp 556-61, at p. 556.

<sup>319</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 9 Oct. 1920.

<sup>320</sup> Delaney to Walsh, 27 Nov. 1920 (D.D.A., Walsh papers, 380/3).

<sup>321</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 20 Nov. 1920.

<sup>322</sup> O'Doherty to Walsh, 1 Dec. 1920 (D.D.A., Walsh papers, 380/1).

<sup>323</sup> Pastoral letter, 19 Dec. 1920 (C.D.A., Cohalan papers, box vi).

<sup>324</sup> Cohalan to Leslie, 29 Dec. 1920 (N.L.I., Leslie papers, MS 22,838).

<sup>325</sup> *Irish Independent*, 1 Jan. 1921.

<sup>326</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 5 Mar. 1921.

	Bp. Ossory	disastrous policy towards Ireland
27 Mar. 1921 <sup>327</sup>	Joseph MacRory, Bp. Down and Connor	Says in sermon at Sunday mass in Belfast that the present condition of the country was a disgrace not only to Christianity but to civilisation. The government's tyranny had taught people violence
Mar. 1921 <sup>328</sup>	Thomas O'Malley, P.P. Partry, Co. Galway	Says at funeral of man killed by Crown forces: 'When the authorities ask us priests to assist in putting down crime, they ought at least to come before us with clean hands'
April 1921 <sup>329</sup>	Michael Fogarty, Bp. Killaloe	Complains in letter to American relief organisation of the misgovernment of the country by the British
May 1921 <sup>330</sup>	Bernard Hackett, C.Ss.R., Bp. Waterford and Lismore	Says at confirmation in Clonmel that every effort had been made not merely to extirpate from the Irish the love of Ireland, but to extinguish even the spark of Catholic faith in their midst
May 1921 <sup>331</sup>	Bernard Hackett, C.Ss.R., Bp. Waterford and Lismore	Says during visitation of St. Mary's parish Clonmel that the Irish people were being treated as the very swine of the earth and that their lives and liberties were being trampled upon

<sup>327</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 2 Apr. 1921.

<sup>328</sup> *Irish Independent*, 19 Mar. 1921.

<sup>329</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 16 Apr. 1921.

<sup>330</sup> *Ibid.*, 21 May 1921.

<sup>331</sup> *Ibid.*, 28 May 1921.



**2.4 Clerical denunciations of violence attributed to the Crown forces, January 1919 – July 1921**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Nature of comment</b>
11 Sept. 1919 <sup>332</sup>	Robert Browne, Bp. Cloyne	Condemns ‘frenzied vengeance’ of soldiers in Fermoy after ambush on military in a letter to administrator. Shockingly disgraceful conduct. Also condemns ambush
14 Sept. 1919 <sup>333</sup>	John O’Donoghue, Adm. Fermoy, Co. Cork	Condemns reprisals in Fermoy in sermon at Sunday mass. Also condemns ambush that preceded it
14 Sept. 1919 <sup>334</sup>	James Sheedy, C.C. Fermoy, Co. Cork	Condemns reprisals in Fermoy in sermon at Sunday mass. Also condemns ambush that preceded it
14 Sept. 1919 <sup>335</sup>	John Nunan, C.C. Fermoy, Co. Cork	Condemns reprisals in Fermoy in sermon at Sunday mass. Also condemns ambush that preceded it
1919 <sup>336</sup>	Timothy Curtain, P.P. Croom, Co. Limerick	Says in private letter that spies and ‘ambitious and depraved policemen’ are responsible for many outrages
25 Jan. 1920 <sup>337</sup>	John Mary Harty, Abp. Cashel	Condemns reprisals in Thurles in sermon at Sunday mass. Also condemns killing of constable that preceded them
25 Jan. 1920 <sup>338</sup>	Michael Ryan, Adm. Thurles cathedral, Co. Tipperary	Condemns reprisals in Thurles in sermon at Sunday mass. Also condemns killing of constable that preceded them
25 Jan. 1920 <sup>339</sup>	Denis O’Brien, C.C. Thurles cathedral, Co. Tipperary	Condemns reprisals in Thurles in sermon at Sunday mass. Also condemns killing of constable that preceded them
2 May 1920 <sup>340</sup>	Michael Fogarty, Bp. Killaloe	Condemns killing of three men in Miltown Malbay by Crown forces in sermon at Sunday mass
27 June 1920 <sup>341</sup>	Martin Canon Murphy, P.P. Bantry, Co. Cork	Condemns killing of handicapped brother of local Sinn Feiner during reprisal. ‘A crime for which it would be difficult to find a parallel’. Also condemns killing of constable and urges against revenge
27 June 1920 <sup>342</sup>	John Hurley, C.C.	Condemns killing of handicapped brother of local

<sup>332</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 20 Sept. 1920.

<sup>333</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>334</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>335</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>336</sup> Curtain to O’Riordan, undated but 1919 (A.I.C.R., O’Riordan papers, box 19, folder 190, no. 2).

<sup>337</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 31 Jan. 1920.

<sup>338</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>339</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>340</sup> *Ibid.*, 8 May 1920.

<sup>341</sup> *Irish Independent*, 28 June 1920.

<sup>342</sup> *Ibid.*

	Bantry, Co. Cork	Sinn Feiner during reprisal. Also urges against revenge
27 June 1920 <sup>343</sup>	Michael O'Leary, C.C. Bantry, Co. Cork	Condemns killing of handicapped brother of local Sinn Feiner during reprisal. Also condemns killing of constable
11 July 1920 <sup>344</sup>	John Canon Doyle, P.P. Ferns, Co. Wexford	Condemns killing of local man by constable in sermon at Sunday mass. The crime cried to heaven for vengeance. The police were strangers and the people must stay away from them
July 1920 <sup>345</sup>	Thomas Gilmartin, Abp. Tuam	Condemns reprisals in Tuam after killing of constables in public letter to General Macready. Also condemns killing of constables
July 1920 <sup>346</sup>	Thomas Gilmartin, Abp. Tuam	Condemns reprisals in Tuam after killing of constables in address in Tuam cathedral. Also condemns killing of constables
29 Aug. 1920 <sup>347</sup>	James McKeone, Adm. Dundalk, Co. Louth	Condemns reprisals in Dundalk after ambush on R.I.C.
Aug. 1920 <sup>348</sup>	Thomas O'Dea, Bp. Galway	Condemns destruction of property in Oranmore in letter to local parish priest
26 Sept. 1920 <sup>349</sup>	Michael Fogarty, Bp. Killaloe	Condemns killings in Clare by both sides in sermon at Sunday mass
26 Sept. 1920 <sup>350</sup>	James McKeone, Adm. Dundalk, Co. Louth	Condemns 'shooting at night' by Crown forces in sermon at Sunday mass
27 Sept. 1920 <sup>351</sup>	Lawrence Gaughran, Bp. Meath and clergy	Condemn reprisals in Trim after attack on local police barrack. Also condemn attack
Sept. 1920 <sup>352</sup>	Henry Foley, S.J., rector of St. Ignatius' college, Galway	Says in letter that Black and Tans are 'conscienceless vindictive brutes' and that they are having a dreadful time with them
Sept. 1920 <sup>353</sup>	Patrick Morrisroe, Bp. Achonry	Condemns reprisals in Ballaghaderreen. Also condemns shooting of constable that preceded them
Sept. 1920 <sup>354</sup>	Patrick Foley, Bp. Kildare and Leighlin	Condemns reprisals in Tullow and the killing of policemen beforehand in address in Carlow cathedral
Sept. 1920 <sup>355</sup>	Thomas O'Dea,	Condemn reprisals in Rineen in letter at conference

<sup>343</sup> Ibid.

<sup>344</sup> Ibid., 13 July 1920.

<sup>345</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 24 July 1920.

<sup>346</sup> Ibid., 31 July 1920.

<sup>347</sup> Ibid., 4 Sept. 1920.

<sup>348</sup> Ibid., 28 Aug. 1920.

<sup>349</sup> Ibid., 2 Oct. 1920.

<sup>350</sup> Ibid.

<sup>351</sup> Ibid.

<sup>352</sup> Foley to Nolan, Sept. 1920 (J.P.A., St. Ignatius' college papers, SC/GALW/45).

<sup>353</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 11 Sept. 1920.

<sup>354</sup> Ibid., 18 Sept. 1920.

<sup>355</sup> Ibid., 2 Oct. 1920.

	Bp. Galway, and priests of Kilfenora diocese	in Lisdoonvarna. Also condemn killing of constables that preceded them
Sept. 1920 <sup>356</sup>	Thomas Gilmartin, Abp. Tuam	Condemns ‘destruction of life and property by agents of the government’ in sermon at mass. Also condemns republican violence
3 Oct. 1920 <sup>357</sup>	C. W. Canon Corbett, P.P. Mallow, Co. Cork	Condemns reprisals in Mallow in sermon at Sunday mass. It was a crime ‘hellish and dastardly’. Breaks down and leaves pulpit while delivering sermon
9 Oct. 1920 <sup>358</sup>	Eugene Canon Byrne, P.P. Balbriggan, Co. Dublin	Refers to reprisals in Balbriggan as ‘reckless shooting [and] savage treatment of the military’ in private letter
16 Oct. 1920 <sup>359</sup>	Thomas Gilmartin, Abp. Tuam	Condemns reprisals in Tuam by Crown forces following the shooting of two constables.
24 Oct. 1920 <sup>360</sup>	J. F. Enright, C.C. Miltown Malbay, Co. Clare	Condemns killing of local man by Crown forces in sermon at Sunday mass. Government would not hesitate in massacring the people, therefore they must give no provocation
Oct. 1920 <sup>361</sup>	Dean Roderick Gearty, P.P. Strokestown, Co. Roscommon	Says in church that reprisals by the Crown forces were not passionate outbursts but that orders had been issued regarding them. Urges people to give no provocation
Oct. 1920 <sup>362</sup>	Michael Ryan, Adm. Thurles cathedral, Co. Tipperary	Condemns shooting of local man by Crown forces in sermon at mass
Oct. 1920 <sup>363</sup>	Michael Glynn, P.P. Mountbellew, Co. Galway	Strongly condemns firing into Mountbellew parish church
Oct. 1920 <sup>364</sup>	Patrick Morrisroe, Bp. Achonry	Condemns reprisals in Tobercurry in letter to local parish priest. Also condemns republican violence
1 Nov. 1920 <sup>365</sup>	Eugene Daly, C.C. Tullamore, Co. Offaly	Condemns violations of God’s law no matter by whom committed in sermon at mass
21 Nov. 1920 <sup>366</sup>	Thomas O’Dea, Bp. Galway	Condemns murder of Fr Michael Griffin in a statement

<sup>356</sup> Ibid., 25 Sept. 1920.

<sup>357</sup> Ibid., 9 Oct. 1920.

<sup>358</sup> Byrne to Walsh, 9 Oct. 1920 (D.D.A., Walsh papers, 380/3)

<sup>359</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 30 Oct. 1920.

<sup>360</sup> Ibid.

<sup>361</sup> *Irish Independent*, 9 Oct. 1920.

<sup>362</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 9 Oct. 1920.

<sup>363</sup> *Irish Independent*, 9 Oct. 1920.

<sup>364</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 16 Oct. 1920.

<sup>365</sup> *Irish Independent*, 2 Nov. 1920.

<sup>366</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 27 Nov. 1920.

25 Nov. 1920 <sup>367</sup>	Thomas O’Dea, Bp. Galway	Condemns government outrages in a public letter to chief secretary
28 Nov. 1920 <sup>368</sup>	Thomas O’Doherty, Bp. Clonfert	Condemns murder of Fr Michael Griffin in sermon at Sunday mass in Loughrea cathedral
Nov. 1920 <sup>369</sup>	John Considine, C.C. Gort, Co. Galway	Condemns killing of woman by Crown forces in Kiltartan in an interview in paper
Nov. 1920 <sup>370</sup>	Thomas O’Doherty, Bp. Clonfert	Condemns shooting in Loughrea by Crown forces in public letter to chief secretary
1 Dec. 1920 <sup>371</sup>	Thomas Gilmartin, Abp. Tuam	Condemns three killings by Crown forces in sermon at funeral mass at Carrownaneen. Also urges against revenge
5 Dec. 1920 <sup>372</sup>	John Finnegan, bishop’s secretary, Mullingar, Co. Westmeath	Condemns murders which were being committed by both sides in Ireland in sermon at Sunday mass
19 Dec. 1920 <sup>373</sup>	Daniel Cohalan, Bp. Cork	Condemns crimes committed by both sides. Murder is murder, whether committed by agents of the government or the I.R.A.
Dec. 1920 <sup>374</sup>	Michael Carmody, C.C. Dunmanway, Co. Cork	Says at mass that Dunmanway is the scene of ‘one of the most sacrilegious and barbarous outrages ever perpetrated in a Christian land’: the murder of Canon Magner. Also calls on people not to take revenge
Dec. 1920 <sup>375</sup>	Daniel Cohalan, Bp. Cork	Condemns the murder of Canon Magner in a letter to the <i>Cork Examiner</i> . Also refuses to accept condolences from R.I.C. inspector general. Says his men ‘are murdering my people and have burned my city’
2 Jan. 1921 <sup>376</sup>	Denis Canon O’Connor, P.P. Middleton, Co. Cork	Condemns destruction of property in the town during a reprisal in sermon at Sunday mass. Also condemns shooting of police as ‘criminal folly’
Jan. 1921 <sup>377</sup>	Thomas Gilmartin, Abp. Tuam	Condemns reprisals in Headford in letter to local parish priest. Also condemns ambush that preceded them

<sup>367</sup> O’Dea to Greenwood, 25 Nov. 1920 (G.D.A., O’Dea papers, box 31, no. 7).

<sup>368</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 11 Dec. 1920.

<sup>369</sup> *Ibid.*, 6 Nov. 1920.

<sup>370</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>371</sup> *Ibid.*, 4 Dec. 1920.

<sup>372</sup> *Irish Independent*, 7 Dec. 1920.

<sup>373</sup> Pastoral letter, 19 Dec. 1920 (C.D.A., Cohalan papers, box vi).

<sup>374</sup> *Irish Independent*, 22 Dec. 1920.

<sup>375</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 25 Dec. 1920.

<sup>376</sup> *Irish Independent*, 5 Jan. 1920.

<sup>377</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 29 Jan. 1921.

11 Feb. 1921 <sup>378</sup>	Msgr. Patrick Segrave, P.P. Drogheda, Co. Louth	Condemns killing of two local men in sermon at funeral mass. Also urges against revenge
10 Mar. 1921 <sup>379</sup>	Denis Hallinan, Bp. Limerick	Condemns killing of mayor of Limerick and two other men in sermon at funeral mass
19 Mar. 1921 <sup>380</sup>	Thomas Gilmartin, Abp. Tuam	Condemns reprisals in Clifden in letter to local parish priest. Also condemns shootings that preceded them
26 Mar. 1921 <sup>381</sup>	Dean David O’Leary, P.P. Tralee, Co. Kerry	Condemns shooting into church by Crown forces during confessions in sermon at mass. ‘Everywhere humanity would be shocked’ when told of the crime
27 Mar. 1921 <sup>382</sup>	Joseph MacRory, Bp. Down and Connor	Condemns violence committed by Crown forces in sermon at Sunday mass in Belfast
Mar. 1921 <sup>383</sup>	P. Colgan, P.P. Clonbern, Co. Galway	Condemns killing of local youth by Crown forces. Death would cause ‘a deep sense of gloom amongst the whole Irish race’
Mar. 1921 <sup>384</sup>	Patrick O’Donnell, Bp. Raphoe	Condemns reprisals in Mountcharles in letter to local priest. Also condemns ambush that preceded them
Mar. 1921 <sup>385</sup>	Michael Cardinal Logue, Abp. Armagh	Condemns the violence committed by Crown forces in a letter to the clergy of the diocese of Armagh. Also condemns republican violence
Mar. 1921 <sup>386</sup>	Patrick Canon MacAlpine, P.P. Clifden, Co. Galway	Condemns reprisals in Clifden in letter to the press. Also condemns killing of constable that preceded them
Mar. 1921 <sup>387</sup>	Thomas Gilmartin, Abp. Tuam	Condemns killing of man in Clonbern by Crown forces in letter to local parish priest
22 May 1921 <sup>388</sup>	Thomas O’Doherty, Bp. Clonfert	Condemns violence by Crown forces in Loughrea in sermon at Sunday mass in Loughrea cathedral
June 1921 <sup>389</sup>	Thomas Gilmartin, Abp. Tuam	Condemns reprisals in Clifden in an address there. Streets there had been ‘desecrated by blood which cried to heaven for vengeance’
1919-21 <sup>390</sup>	Several priests of	Witnessed and signed a number of statements by lay

<sup>378</sup> Ibid., 19 Feb. 1921.

<sup>379</sup> Ibid., 19 Mar. 1921.

<sup>380</sup> Ibid., 26 Mar. 1921.

<sup>381</sup> *Irish Independent*, 28 Mar. 1921.

<sup>382</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 2 Apr. 1921

<sup>383</sup> *Irish Independent*, 5 Mar. 1921.

<sup>384</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 5 Mar. 1921.

<sup>385</sup> Ibid., 12 Mar. 1921.

<sup>386</sup> *Irish Independent*, 21 Mar. 1921.

<sup>387</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 12 Mar. 1921.

<sup>388</sup> Ibid., 28 May 1921.

<sup>389</sup> Ibid., 2 July 1921.

	Tuam diocese	people concerning atrocities committed against them by Black and Tans
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<sup>390</sup> Statements from lay witnesses, countersigned by priests, concerning atrocities committed against them by Black and Tans, several items of different dates (T.D.A., Gilmartin papers, B4/8-ii/6 and B4/8-ii/4).

**2.5 Clerical loyalism, support for the Crown forces, friendly relations with the British authorities or criticism of republicanism, January 1919 – July 1921**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Details/circumstances</b>
6 Jan. 1919 <sup>391</sup>	Denis Kelly, Bp. Ross	Writes to Fr Patrick Boyle, rector of the Irish college, Paris, that Sinn Féin's policy means violence, especially now the UK has such a strong 'old Tory government'
21 Jan. 1919 <sup>392</sup>	J. T. Crotty, O.P., chaplain to the Royal Dublin Fusiliers	Thanks members of committee who provided care to returned prisoners of war of the Royal Dublin Fusiliers at 'welcome home' dinner in Dublin
30 Jan. 1919 <sup>393</sup>	Michael Canon O'Donnell, P.P. Rathkeale, Co. Limerick	Expresses opposition to Sinn Féin in letter to Rector O'Riordan of the Irish college. Calls the popular support for the party a 'delirium'. Says the majority of clergy are opposed to the party
11 Feb. 1919 <sup>394</sup>	Daniel Coughlan, P.P. Aughrim, Co. Galway	Refuses to appoint a Sinn Féin nominee as teacher in local school
14 Mar. 1919 <sup>395</sup>	John Canon Dunne, P.P. Tinahely, Co. Wicklow	Refuses permission for a Sinn Féin meeting to be held near church. Attends the meeting, which was held elsewhere, but states he did not support the party's programme
16 Apr. 1919 <sup>396</sup>	Lawrence Potter, S.J., rector, Crescent college, Limerick	Writes to provincial that 'the police are very unpopular here and it would take very little to set some of the hot heads going'
May 1919 <sup>397</sup>	Patrick Foley, Bp. Kildare and Leighlin	Nephew is a lieutenant in the British army. He dies while on duty in Egypt
May 1919 <sup>398</sup>	Denis Kelly, Bp. Ross	Asked if he wished to be recognised as 'a willing instrument of English tyranny' after criticising republicanism in a sermon and refusing to pray for the repose of the soul of Pierce McCan
11 June 1919 <sup>399</sup>	Thomas Ryan, C.C. Westland Row, Dublin	Is reported by Fr Edward Rawlins to have said to him that he was sorry to know he was a Sinn Feiner and that he had received such a narrow education
June 1919 <sup>400</sup>	Peter Coherane,	Is reported by Fr Edward Rawlins to have been 'a

<sup>391</sup> Kelly to Boyle, 6 Jan. 1919 (A.I.C.P., Collège papers, A2.h108).

<sup>392</sup> *Irish Independent*, 22 Jan. 1919 and information kindly provided to me by the archivist of the Irish Dominican Province, Rev. Hugh Fenning, O.P. (8 June 2009).

<sup>393</sup> O'Donnell to O'Riordan, 30 Jan. 1919 (A.I.C.R., O'Riordan papers, box 19, folder 190, no. 14).

<sup>394</sup> I.G.M.R., Feb. 1919, p. 247 (T.N.A., CO904/108).

<sup>395</sup> File marked 'G.H.Q.I. D. of R.R. Gallagher, Sweeney. Addressing Sinn Fein meetings at Tinahely and Aughrim on 14.3.19.' (T.N.A., WO35/104).

<sup>396</sup> Potter to Nolan, 16 Apr. 1919 (J.P.A., Crescent college papers, SC/CRES/57).

<sup>397</sup> *Irish Independent*, 31 May 1919.

<sup>398</sup> *Catholic Bulletin*, ix, no. 5, pp 217-19.

<sup>399</sup> Rawlins to Hagan, 12 June 1919 (A.I.C.R., Hagan papers, HAG1/1919/154).

	C.C. Dunleer, Co. Louth	fierce anti-Sinn Feiner' after they exchanged some 'hot words' on politics
June 1919 <sup>401</sup>	Unnamed parish priest in unnamed county	Warns local R.I.C. sergeant to be on his guard against 'a class of men ... who don't care for priest' and who think it is no sin to shoot policemen
14 July 1919 <sup>402</sup>	Tipperary clergy	Are reported by Fr Power of Galbally, Co. Limerick, to have been 'divided almost entirely' on Sinn Féin
27 Aug. 1919 <sup>403</sup>	Clergy of the diocese of Tuam	Is reported by Fr J. P. Conry of Ballyhaunis, Co. Mayo, to have been numerous in priests who 'did not think our way'
Aug. 1919 <sup>404</sup>	Michael Hehir, P.P. Cooraclare, Co. Clare	Armed men attack two brothers whom they accuse of having given information to the parish priest and to the police
Aug. 1919 <sup>405</sup>	John Canon Waters, president, Clonliffe college, Drumcondra	Is reported by P. J. Keohane to have tried to influence Fr Canice O'Gorman, O.E.S.A., a senior Augustinian, against republicanism
Sept. 1919 <sup>406</sup>	Henry Foley, S.J., rector, St. Ignatius' college, Galway	Mentions that local R.I.C. district inspector is a former pupil of the college. Local R.I.C. Divisional Commissioner Cruise is a former Belvederian. 'That may give us some security'
18 Oct. 1919 <sup>407</sup>	Michael O'Neill, P.P. Termoneeny, Co. Derry	Tells Rector Hagan in a letter that an Irish republic is unattainable
Oct. 1919 <sup>408</sup>	Walter McDonald, professor of theology, Maynooth	Defends legitimacy of British government in Ireland and denies that claims of Irish independence hold any credibility
10 Nov. 1919 <sup>409</sup>	Nicholas Lawless, P.P. Faughart, Co. Louth	Says at a meeting of U.I.L. and A.O.H. in Dundalk that an Ulster parliament should be accepted as an admission of the home rule principle
12 Nov. 1919 <sup>410</sup>	Joseph Coen, O.C.D., member of Clarendon Street community	Celebrates mass in commemoration of Irish soldiers who fell during the First World War, arranged by the Irish Nationalist Veterans' Association
1919 <sup>411</sup>	John Francis Maguire, P.P. Killanena, Co.	Reportedly passes on information about I.R.A. arms to R.I.C.

<sup>400</sup> Rawlins to Hagan, 25 June 1919 (A.I.C.R., Hagan papers, HAG1/1919/176).

<sup>401</sup> I.G.M.R., June 1919, p. 258 (T.N.A., CO904/109).

<sup>402</sup> Power to Hagan, 14 July 1919 (A.I.C.R., Hagan papers, HAG1/1919/207).

<sup>403</sup> Conry to Hagan, 27 Aug. 1919 (A.I.C.R., Hagan papers, HAG1/1919/293).

<sup>404</sup> I.G.M.R., Aug. 1919, p. 742 (T.N.A., CO904/109).

<sup>405</sup> Keohane to Hagan, 27 Aug. 1919 (A.I.C.R., Hagan papers, HAG1/1919/295).

<sup>406</sup> Foley to Nolan, Sept. 1919 (J.P.A., St. Ignatius' college papers, SC/GALW/45).

<sup>407</sup> O'Neill to Hagan, 18 Oct. 1919 (A.I.C.R., Hagan papers, HAG1/1919/467).

<sup>408</sup> McDonald, *Questions*, pp 106-9.

<sup>409</sup> *Irish Independent*, 11 Nov. 1919.

<sup>410</sup> *Ibid.*, 13 Nov. 1919.

<sup>411</sup> Gaynor, 'Sinn Fein days', page inserted between pp 528-9 (N.L.I., Gaynor papers, MS 19,826).



	Clare	
Feb. 1920 <sup>412</sup>	Robert Dillon-Kelly, S.J., member of staff, Crescent college, Limerick	Described by rector of college as being ‘somewhat outspoken against the Sinn Feiners’ and unpopular among the students and their parents. Rector believed that his unpopularity was partly to blame for the failure of school plays staged by the college
20 May 1920 <sup>413</sup>	Bartholomew Canon FitzPatrick, P.P. Harrington Str., Dublin	Brother was former lieutenant-governor of the Punjab and a member of the council of India. He dies in London
Spring 1920 <sup>414</sup>	Charles Culligan, C.C. Kilmihil, Co. Clare	Invites coroner and solicitor for the Crown in an inquest to dinner and telephones Black and Tan barracks to bring him a leg of mutton. Also an active republican
19 July 1920 <sup>415</sup>	Nicholas Canon Murphy, P.P. Kilmanagh, Co. Kilkenny	Writes to <i>Irish Catholic</i> to say that ‘Nationality or patriotism, if carried too far, may become a species of idolatry before which all must bow down’
July 1920 <sup>416</sup>	John Maher, P.P. Oulart, Co. Wexford	Suggests at a trial that there was ‘someone more guilty’ behind the men convicted of manslaughter of Ellen Morris during a raid for arms on her house
10 Sept. 1920 <sup>417</sup>	James Canon Dunne, P.P. Donnybrook, Dublin	Described by disgruntled parishioners in a letter to Archbishop Walsh as being ‘out of sympathy with the views and aspirations of the vast majority of the Catholic people of the parish’
16 Sept. 1920 <sup>418</sup>	Denis Kelly, Bp. Ross	Writes to Patrick Boyle that the ‘rouges in Paris in 1871 were sound in doctrine compared to pious Irish today’
Sept. 1920 <sup>419</sup>	T. J. Jones, C.C. Glendalough, Co. Wicklow	Tells congregation to bring the ‘miscreants’ who had destroyed property in the district to justice if it was in their power to do so
Sept. 1920 <sup>420</sup>	John Glynn, P.P. Kilmurry-Ibrickane, Co. Clare	Talks to local R.I.C. sergeant, who tells him that he has a large pile of reports on his curate, Fr Patrick Gaynor, documenting his seditious activities and gathered by informants
23 Oct. 1920 <sup>421</sup>	Michael Hayes, P.P. Feakle, Co. Clare	Described as ‘strongly opposed to Sinn Féin’ by R.I.C. inspector general after his housekeeper was briefly kidnapped

<sup>412</sup> Potter to Nolan, 17 Feb. 1920 (J.P.A., Crescent college papers, SC/CRES/57).

<sup>413</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 29 May 1920.

<sup>414</sup> Gaynor, ‘Sinn Fein days’, page inserted between pp 582-3 (N.L.I., Gaynor papers, MS 19,826).

<sup>415</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 24 July 1920.

<sup>416</sup> *Irish Independent*, 6 July 1920.

<sup>417</sup> O’Connor et al. to Walsh, 10 Sept. 1920 (D.D.A., Walsh papers, 380/4). Second letter to Walsh of 15 Sept. 1920 in the same folder describes Dunne as hostile to the ‘nationalistic and patriotic aspirations of our people’.

<sup>418</sup> Kelly to Boyle, 16 Sept. 1920 (A.I.C.P., Collège papers, A2.h108).

<sup>419</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 11 Sept. 1920.

<sup>420</sup> Gaynor, ‘Sinn Fein days’, p. 479-80 (N.L.I., Gaynor papers, MS 19,826).

<sup>421</sup> I.G.M.R., Oct. 1920 (T.N.A., CO904/113).

31 Oct. 1920 <sup>422</sup>	John Considine, C.C. Gort, Co. Galway	Receives delegation of police to thank him for his emotional denunciation from the altar of ambush on police at Castledaly
Oct. 1920 <sup>423</sup>	Walter Canon Rossiter, P.P. New Ross, Co. Wexford	Refuses to second a motion put forward during a meeting of the New Ross technical committee by a curate regarding the conduct of the military
Oct. 1920 <sup>424</sup>	John Mary Harty, Abp. Cashel and Emly	Confirms seven convert soldiers in Templemore
2 Nov. 1920 <sup>425</sup>	Patrick Brennan, P.P. Castleisland, Co. Kerry	Pleads with local I.R.A. commander not to ambush military picket and threatens to go to the barracks to tell Crown forces to cancel the picket
Nov. 1920 <sup>426</sup>	John Considine, C.C. Gort, Co. Galway	Asks for police protection after receiving threatening letters. Constables sleep in his residence on two occasions
Nov. 1920 <sup>427</sup>	Unnamed priest in Clogheen, Co. Tipperary	Only one not searched when a session of an arbitration court in Clogheen workhouse was interrupted by military
Nov. -Dec. 1920 <sup>428</sup>	Thomas Gilmartin, Abp. Tuam	Arranges with military and government authorities for charges against Fr J. W. Meehan to be dropped in return for sending him to the United States
2 Dec. 1920 <sup>429</sup>	Michael Canon Higgins, P.P. Macroom, Co. Cork	Escorts funeral cortege of the Auxiliaries killed in the Kilmichael ambush from Macroom castle to outskirts of town together with Protestant minister
12 Dec. 1920 <sup>430</sup>	Parish priests in area placed under martial law	Government demands surrender of arms in area placed under martial either to members of the Crown forces or to parish priests, provided these pass them on to the authorities
29 Dec. 1920 <sup>431</sup>	Unnamed priest, Midleton, Co. Cork	Receives Constable Dray into the Catholic church after an ambush by I.R.A. during which Dray is mortally wounded
Dec. 1920 <sup>432</sup>	Walter Canon Rossiter, P.P. New Ross, Co. Wexford	Reported to have come on the scene of an assembly of 300 men planning an ambush. Reportedly told them he knew everyone of them and would punish them if they did not disperse immediately

<sup>422</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 6 Nov. 1920.

<sup>423</sup> *Irish Independent*, 5 Oct. 1920.

<sup>424</sup> *Ibid.*, 29 Oct. 1920.

<sup>425</sup> McEllistram witness statement, pp 19-20 (N.A.I., BMH/WS882). See also Ryle Dwyer, *Tans*, p. 226.

<sup>426</sup> I.G.M.R., Nov. 1920, p. 473 (T.N.A., CO904/113).

<sup>427</sup> *Irish Independent*, 18 Nov. 1920.

<sup>428</sup> File marked 'G.H.Q.I. Restoration of Order in Ireland Regs. Revd. J. Meehan. Having shot gun ammunition and Seditious Documents' (T.N.A., WO35/117).

<sup>429</sup> *Irish Independent*, 3 Dec. 1920.

<sup>430</sup> *Ibid.*, 12 Dec. 1920. A report in the same newspaper of 31 Dec. 1920 stated that no statistics were available concerning the number of arms surrendered to parish priests when the order making possession of arms punishable by death came into effect in the areas under martial law on 27 Dec.

<sup>431</sup> *Irish Independent*, 5 Jan. 1921.

<sup>432</sup> *Irish Independent*, 20 Dec. 1920.

1919-20 <sup>433</sup>	John Francis Maguire, C.C. Tulla, Co. Clare	Reportedly 'fraternised' with the Black and Tans and took 'joy-rides' in their lorries
1919-20 <sup>434</sup>	Dean John McInerney, P.P. Kilrush, Co. Clare	Reportedly a loyalist and in the confidence of the local head constable
16 Feb. 1921 <sup>435</sup>	William Codd, Bp. Ferns	Writes in letter that he will mention in the press that Fr Sweetman, O.S.B. and his local Sinn Féin club had worried the local clergy, even though 'I shall be pilloried in the press as an anti-Irishman'
14 Mar. 1921 <sup>436</sup>	Matthew McMahon, C.C. chaplain Mountjoy Jail	Gives communion to a Black and Tan who guards two republicans sentenced to death during mass in their cell before their execution
Mar. 1921 <sup>437</sup>	Thomas Canon Maguire, P.P. Granard, Co. Longford	Meets county inspector and agrees to exhort people to abide by security regulations from the pulpit. Compliments district inspector during sermon
Apr. 1921 <sup>438</sup>	Hyacinth Collins, O.P., Tralee Dominican priory	Tells R.I.C. in Tralee that a woman who frequents the Dominican church had praised the republicans who killed Major McKinnon. Her house is subsequently bombed by Black and Tans
Apr. 1921 <sup>439</sup>	Peter Hill, P.P. Rosscarbery, Co. Cork	Reportedly joins locals in 'attacking' raiders who were wrecking houses in the town after local residents aided the R.I.C. when the I.R.A. attacked the local police barracks
2 May 1921 <sup>440</sup>	Edward Byrne, Aux. Bp. Dublin	Expresses regret that the Jesuits did not accede to lord lieutenant's request to appoint a Jesuit to the viceregal lodge as chaplain
5 May 1921 <sup>441</sup>	Denis Kelly, Bp. Ross	Says in letter that Irish educational institutions are 'a veritable power-house of mischief', being 'chock-full' of youths for whom there was no room
May 1921 <sup>442</sup>	Denis O'Hara, P.P. Kiltimagh, Co. Mayo	Seizes armed republican in the act of holding up a rate collector working for the British government. The armed man was released from O'Hara's custody by 'a number of Sinn Feiners'
May 1921 <sup>443</sup>	Unnamed priest,	Reportedly frees a farmer tied to railings outside a

<sup>433</sup> Gaynor, 'Sinn Fein days', page inserted between pp 528-9 (N.L.I., Gaynor papers, MS 19,826).

<sup>434</sup> Ibid., page inserted between pp 582-3.

<sup>435</sup> Codd to Hagan, 16 Feb. 1921 (A.I.C.R., Hagan papers, HAG1/1921/76).

<sup>436</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 19 Mar. 1921.

<sup>437</sup> I.G.M.R., Mar. 1921, p. 735 (T.N.A., CO904/114).

<sup>438</sup> Kennedy witness statement, pp 99-102 (N.A.I., BMH/WS1413), which does not mention Collins by name, and O'Murray to Hagan, 1 June 1919 (A.I.C.R., Hagan papers, HAG1/1921/298), which does.

<sup>439</sup> *Irish Independent*, 16 Apr. 1921.

<sup>440</sup> Byrne to Talbot, 2 May 1921 (D.D.A., Byrne papers, box marked 'Government 1922-39, 2', folder 'Lord Lieutenant, 1921-22'). The provincial, Thomas Nolan, turned down the request pointing out 'the difficulty if any Jesuit should take' the position. See entry for 19 May 1921, minute book of provincial consultations (J.P.A., Provincial consultations, ADMIN/57/3).

<sup>441</sup> Kelly to Boyle, 5 May 1921 (A.I.C.P., Collège papers, A2.h108).

<sup>442</sup> *Irish Independent*, 5 and 9 May 1921.

	Castletownroche, Co. Cork	school by republicans after being accused of spying on them
May 1921 <sup>444</sup>	David Canon Keane, P.P. Glin Athea, Co. Limerick	Reportedly cycles past the scene of the shooting in a field by Black and Tans of three I.R.A. men without getting off and helping them
7 June 1921 <sup>445</sup>	John Canon Waters and Matthew McMahon, C.C., chaplains, Mountjoy prison	Witness an Auxiliary who guards two republicans sentenced to death for their part in the Knocklong ambush give one of them a pair of scapulars to wear during his execution. He had obtained them in Lourdes, worn them during the First World War and wanted them back after the hanging
June 1921 <sup>446</sup>	Unnamed clergy, Co. Tyrone	Denounced persons collecting funds reputedly for the I.R.A. because they had no authority from Sinn Féin
10 July 1921 <sup>447</sup>	J. Cahill, C.C. Causeway, Co. Kerry	Writes abusive letter to commander of local I.R.A. brigade for refusing to call off a boycott of widow and orphans. Calls him a 'skunk of the first water' and says he can have the curse of the widow for his portion
28 Sept. 1921 <sup>448</sup>	Denis Kelly, Bp. Ross	Says of a Killaloe priest in a letter that he was an 'extra patriot' but that knowledge of French communism had 'sobered' him by 1919
1921 <sup>449</sup>	John V. Hurley, C.C. Bantry, Co. Cork	Gives sanctuary to local bank manager when I.R.A. members attempt to arrest him while he is in a bathing-box with Hurley. President of local Sinn Féin club
1919-21 <sup>450</sup>	Timothy Trant, P.P., Michael McDonnell, C.C. Ballymacelligott, Co. Kerry	Reportedly 'not friendly during the war', especially Fr McDonnell, who said once that the name of Ballymacelligott stunk in the nostrils of the Irish people and on another occasion that the Volunteers could not do anything against the British with their six rifles
1919-21 <sup>451</sup>	David Breen, C.C. Kilgarvan, Co. Kerry	Reportedly passes over I.R.A. men at communion rails at mass and tells them that communion is 'not for the likes of you'
1919-21 <sup>452</sup>	Geoffrey Prendergast, C.C. Ballyhaunis, Co. Mayo	Tells congregation that he will not say stations in houses that harbour I.R.A. columns

<sup>443</sup> *Irish Independent*, 20 May 1921.

<sup>444</sup> Joy, *Kerry*, pp 75-6.

<sup>445</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 11 June 1921.

<sup>446</sup> I.G.M.R., June 1921, p. 694 (T.N.A., CO904/115).

<sup>447</sup> Cahill to Clifford, 10 July 1921 (U.C.D.A., Mulcahy papers, P7/A/21). See also Joy, *Kerry*, p. 48.

<sup>448</sup> Kelly to Boyle, 28 Sept. 1921 (A.I.C.P., Collège papers, A2.h108).

<sup>449</sup> Hayes to Mulcahy, 15 Sept. 1921 (U.C.D.A., Mulcahy papers, P7/A/24).

<sup>450</sup> Anon. to Mulcahy, 17 Sept. 1921 (U.C.D.A., Mulcahy papers, P7/A/24). See also Joy, *Kerry*, p. 75.

<sup>451</sup> Joy, *Kerry*, p. 75.

<sup>452</sup> Johnny Duffy, Ernie O'Malley notebooks (U.C.D.A., O'Malley papers, P17b/109). See also Augusteijn, *Defiance*, p. 307.

1919-21 <sup>453</sup>	Martin Healy, Adm. Kilmaine, Co. Mayo	Reportedly turns the area of his parish against the Volunteers
9 Apr. 1922 <sup>454</sup>	John Godley, P.P. Adrigole, Co. Kerry	Says from the pulpit during Sunday mass that he did not think the arrest of a local Volunteer on 3 July 1921 was a military act but that it was his own fault
17 Apr. 1922 <sup>455</sup>	Thomas Gilmartin, Abp. Tuam	Letter from Brigadier-General Crozier to Gilmartin telling him that the evidence of a number of police officers – whom he lists – might be of use in a case for compensation for the killing of Fr Griffin, Nov. 1920

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<sup>453</sup> Pat Fallon, Ernie O'Malley notebooks (U.C.D.A., O'Malley papers, P17b/109) and Augusteijn, *Defiance*, p. 307. Does not appear as Canon in *I.C.D. 1921*, p. 277.

<sup>454</sup> Dunne to O'Sullivan, 4 May 1922 (Ky.D.A., O'Sullivan papers, 'Parish correspondence', Adrigole).

<sup>455</sup> Crozier to Gilmartin, 17 Apr. 1922 (G.D.A., O'Dea papers).

## 2.6 Criticism of the clergy for its support for republicanism, January 1919 – July 1921<sup>456</sup>

Date	Cleric criticised	Details/circumstances
30 Jan. 1919 <sup>457</sup>	Michael O’Riordan, rector, Irish college, Rome	Michael Canon O’Donnell, P.P. Rathkeale, Co. Limerick, says he is bewildered by O’Riordan’s refusal to condemn republican violence outright. Also by same stance adopted by previous and present bishop of Limerick
Jan. 1919 <sup>458</sup>	J. F. Sweetman, O.S.B., Mt. St. Benedict, Gorey, Co. Wexford	Says in a speech in Enniscorthy that people had criticised him for ‘mixing himself up in politics’
27 Aug. 1919 <sup>459</sup>	Michael Fogarty, Bp. Killaloe	P. J. Keohane describes in private letter to Hagan that he heard bishops regretting that people with views such as Fogarty’s were selected as bishops
1 Oct. 1919 <sup>460</sup>	William Walsh, Abp. Dublin	Layman from Dublin complains that he has not heard a word in condemnation of killings by republicans from priests in church. Tells Walsh he needs to ensure that priests condemn murder
9 Dec. 1919 <sup>461</sup>	William Walsh, Abp. Dublin	Is told by anonymous ‘Irishman’ from Glasgow that he is a ‘partaker with the murderers’ by giving money to Sinn Féin
22 Dec. 1919 <sup>462</sup>	William Walsh, Abp. Dublin	Prominent Catholic layman complains that Walsh has done too little to counter the republican view that physical force is legitimate
20 Jan. 1920 <sup>463</sup>	Michael Fogarty, Bp. Killaloe	Canadian layman tells Fogarty that his diocese is ‘the most crime laden district in Ireland’ and that he has ‘brazenly’ defended that appalling condition. Fogarty seeks to gloss over and justify what is evil
1 Nov. 1920 <sup>464</sup>	William Walsh, Abp. Dublin	Layman from Dublin says that a letter from Walsh read in churches was too political and that clerical interference in politics has lead to many killings of police
1920 <sup>465</sup>	William Walsh, Abp. Dublin	Told by anonymous Irish Catholic that he made religion to fit politics instead of vice versa. ‘You helped drive John Redmond to his grave [and] then treat his dead body as if he were a dog’
24 Feb. 1921 <sup>466</sup>	Gerald Dennehy,	P.P. Clonroche, Enniscorthy, Co. Wexford, writes to

<sup>456</sup> This table does not include criticism contained in threatening notices. These are listed in appendix 2.20.

<sup>457</sup> O’Donnell to O’Riordan, 30 January 1919 (A.I.C.R., O’Riordan papers, box 19, folder 190, no. 14).

<sup>458</sup> *Irish Independent*, 29 Jan. 1919.

<sup>459</sup> Keohane to Hagan, 27 Aug. 1919 (A.I.C.R., Hagan papers, HAG1/1919/294).

<sup>460</sup> Fitzgerald to Walsh, 1 Oct. 1919 (D.D.A., Walsh papers, 386/8).

<sup>461</sup> Anon. to Walsh, 9 Dec. 1919 (D.D.A., Walsh papers, 386/8).

<sup>462</sup> Sullivan to Walsh, 22 Dec. 1919 (D.D.A., Walsh papers, 386/8).

<sup>463</sup> Keogh to Fogarty, 20 Jan. 1920 (K.D.A., Fogarty papers, F3A21).

<sup>464</sup> McDonnell to Walsh, 1 Nov. 1920 (D.D.A., Walsh papers, 380/5).

<sup>465</sup> Anon. to Walsh, undated (D.D.A., Walsh papers, 380/4).

<sup>466</sup> Kehoe to O’Sullivan, 24 Feb. 1921 (Ky.D.A., O’Sullivan papers, ‘Parish correspondence’, Eyerics).

	C.C. Eyeries, Co. Cork	Bp. of Kerry to complain about published statements attributed to Dennehy in which he tells a congregation during the conscription crisis that anyone aiding the draft will be excommunicated and cursed by God
2 Mar. 1921 <sup>467</sup>	William Walsh, Abp. Dublin	Layman from England suggests that Walsh 'keep some of [his] criticism for the murderers' of Irish Catholic unionists and servants of the Crown

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<sup>467</sup> Blaker to Walsh, 2 Mar. 1921 (D.D.A., Walsh papers, 380/4).

## 2.7 Criticism of the clergy for its support for the government, January 1919 – July 1921

Date	Cleric criticised	Details/circumstances
17 Apr. 1919 <sup>468</sup>	Denis Kelly, Bp. Ross	Fogarty criticises Kelly in letter to Hagan about a sermon in which Kelly had ‘blackened Sinn Féin with a religious tar brush’. It was little short of an outrage
11 May 1919 <sup>469</sup>	Michael Card. Logue, Abp. Armagh	M. J. Curran writes to Hagan that there was indignation among some bishops that Logue did not turn up to meet the American delegation of inquiry
May 1919 <sup>470</sup>	Denis Kelly, Bp. Ross	<i>Catholic Bulletin</i> editorial criticises him for a speech in which he denounced radical republicanism. Quotes from a letter that asks if he wants to be recognised as ‘a willing instrument of English tyranny’
7 Aug. 1919 <sup>471</sup>	Michael Card. Logue, Abp. Armagh and Robert Browne, Bp. Cloyne	P. J. Keohane calls statements by Logue and Browne ‘piffle’ in a private letter to Hagan. He is exasperated that they don’t accept the political ‘verdict of their own people’
10 Aug. 1919 <sup>472</sup>	Dean Daniel O’Connor, P.P. Carrickmacross, Co. Monaghan	Interrupted by two members of the congregation when condemning killing of R.I.C. and defending their character. One leaves, the other addresses him
9 Sept. 1919 <sup>473</sup>	John Gleeson, P.P. Lorrha, Co. Tipperary	Fr John Magee, P.P. Tober, Co. Westmeath, writes letter to the <i>Irish Independent</i> to protest against Gleeson’s assumption that Irish Catholics had committed crimes against the R.I.C. Gleeson was un-Christian and unpatriotic
23 Oct. 1919 <sup>474</sup>	Walter McDonald, professor of theology, Maynooth college	Two letters in the <i>Irish Independent</i> criticise McDonald’s book <i>Some ethical questions of peace and war</i>
22 July 1920 <sup>475</sup>	Thomas Gilmartin, Abp. Tuam	Eoin MacNeill criticises Gilmartin’s reference to the killing of members of the Crown forces as ‘dastardly murder’. Asks Gilmartin if he thinks he is a murderer too, because he believes he has the right to defend his country against ‘so-called “police”’
10 and 15 Sept. 1920 <sup>476</sup>	James Canon Dunne, P.P.	Prominent Donnybrook laypeople write to Archbishop Walsh to complain about Dunne’s

<sup>468</sup> Fogarty to Hagan, 17 Apr. 1919 (A.I.C.R., Hagan papers, HAG1/1919/71).

<sup>469</sup> Curran to Hagan, 11 May 1919 (A.I.C.R., Hagan papers, HAG1/1919/106).

<sup>470</sup> *Catholic Bulletin*, ix, no. 5, pp 217-9.

<sup>471</sup> Keohane to Hagan, 27 Aug. 1919 (A.I.C.R., Hagan papers, HAG1/1919/294).

<sup>472</sup> I.G.M.R., Aug. 1919, p. 755 (T.N.A., CO904/109).

<sup>473</sup> *Irish Independent*, 11 Sept. 1919.

<sup>474</sup> *Ibid.*, 23 Oct. 1919.

<sup>475</sup> Mac Neill to Gilmartin, 22 July 1920 (T.D.A., Gilmartin papers, B4/8-ii/8).



	Donnybrook, Co. Dublin	hostility to the ‘national and patriotic aspirations’ of the Irish people after he refused to allow mass to be said in public for Terence MacSwiney
Oct. 1920 <sup>477</sup>	Denis Kelly, Bp. Ross	Editorial criticises ‘slavish statements’ on national aspirations that came recently from pulpits, including Kelly’s exhortations not to associate with Germany
14 Dec. 1920 <sup>478</sup>	Daniel Cohalan, Bp. Cork	Prominent Cork Sinn Féiners criticise Cohalan’s excommunication decree and say it gives implicit justification to British barbarism and jeopardises the country’s struggle for independence
23 Dec. 1920 <sup>479</sup>	Daniel Cohalan, Bp. Cork	Seán Ó Ceallaigh writes to Hagan that Cohalan’s excommunication decree is disgraceful and that he will never forgive him for it. Cohalan is a cowardly slave and a traitor. Also says Fogarty was pained
30 Dec. 1920 <sup>480</sup>	Daniel Cohalan, Bp. Cork	Mary MacSwiney writes in a statement to all bishops that she thinks he does not have the power to excommunicate Catholics who fight for their country
Jan. 1921 <sup>481</sup>	Michael Card. Logue, Abp. Armagh and Denis Kelly, Bp. Ross	<i>Catholic Bulletin</i> editorial criticises statements from bishops that are ‘at variance with ... the general view of the Irish people’ because the English use them for propaganda. Logue and Kelly are examples
9 Mar. 1921 <sup>482</sup>	Daniel Cohalan, Bp. Cork, and Thomas Gilmartin, Abp. Tuam	Canon Lyons of Ardee writes privately that Cohalan has lost influence over his people through his ‘precipitancy [and] flippancy’. Blames Gilmartin for wrecking peace negotiations by undermining Sinn Féin
Mar. 1921 <sup>483</sup>	Unnamed P.P., County Offaly	Entire congregation reportedly left the church when he exhorted them to abstain from crime
3 May 1921 <sup>484</sup>	Michael Fogarty, Bp. Killaloe	Mary MacSwiney sends him a telegraph to ask him to confirm that he is not engaged in a ‘so-called peace move against republic’
28 Dec. 1921 <sup>485</sup>	J. Cahill, C.C. Causeway, Co. Kerry	Anonymous lay person complains to bishop that Cahill and his P.P. visit the house of a woman boycotted for being a spy and have denounced the boycott

<sup>476</sup> O’Connor et al. to Walsh, 10 Sept. 1920 (D.D.A., Walsh papers, 380/4) and O’Connor et al. to Walsh, 15 Sept. 1920 (ibid.)

<sup>477</sup> *Catholic Bulletin*, x., no. 10, pp 585-6.

<sup>478</sup> Ó Ceallachain and Walsh, ‘Communication to all members of the hierarchy’, 14 Dec. 1920 (D.D.A., Walsh papers, 380/5).

<sup>479</sup> Ó Ceallaigh to Hagan, 23 Dec. 1920 (A.I.C.R., Hagan papers, HAG1/1920/485).

<sup>480</sup> MacSwiney to bishops, 30 Dec. 1920 (U.C.D.A., MacSwiney papers, P48a/192).

<sup>481</sup> *Catholic Bulletin*, xi., no 1, pp 15-6.

<sup>482</sup> Lyons to Leslie, 9 Mar. 1921 (N.L.I., Leslie papers, MS 22,838).

<sup>483</sup> I.G.M.R., Mar. 1921, p. 729 (T.N.A., CO904/114).

<sup>484</sup> MacSwiney to Fogarty (telegram), 3 May 1921 (U.C.D.A., MacSwiney papers, P48a/192).

<sup>485</sup> Anon. to O’Sullivan, 28 Dec. 1921 (Ky.D.A., O’Sullivan papers, ‘Parish correspondence’, Causeway); see about this case also Clifford to Cahill, 9 July 1921, Cahill to Clifford, 10 July 1921 and Clifford to Cahill, 11 July 1921 (U.C.D.A., Mulcahy papers, P7/A/21).

1919-21 <sup>486</sup>	Priests educated at the Irish college, Paris	Bishop Kelly of Ross says that Fogarty complained more than once that priests educated at the college were 'no patriots' and that the college should therefore be abolished as a seminary
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<sup>486</sup> Kelly to Boyle, 28 Sept. 1921 (A.I.C.P., Collège papers, A2.h108).

## 2.8 Clerical counteracting of ostracism of the R.I.C., January 1919 – July 1921

Date	Name	Details/circumstances
26 Jan. 1919 <sup>487</sup>	Arthur Canon Ryan, P.P. Tipperary	Condemns shooting of two constables at Soloheadbeg, Co. Tipperary. Says the victims were 'martyrs to duty'
5 Apr. 1919 <sup>488</sup>	Thomas McCotter, P.P. Antrim	Writes letter to newspaper to condemn the killing of R.M. Milling. He had sympathised with persecuted Catholics when he had worked in Belfast. Calls on local people to hand killers over to justice
18 May 1919 <sup>489</sup>	Daniel Kiely, P.P. Templemore, Co. Tipperary	Condemns killing of R.I.C. sergeant and constable in his parish during sermon at Sunday mass. Says they had been discharging their duties
6 July 1919 <sup>490</sup>	James Canon O'Connor, P.P. Gurteen, Co. Sligo	Condemns killing of D.I. Hunt during sermon at Sunday mass. Hunt was an energetic and industrious native of the parish. Extends sympathy to mother of deceased, a parishioner present at the mass
17 July 1919 <sup>491</sup>	Francis Cassidy, P.P. Kilfenora, Co. Clare	Summons meeting of townspeople to pass resolution condemning attempt to kill constables. They know of no reasons why anyone would want to kill them, as they were well-disposed towards the public
15 Sept. 1919 <sup>492</sup>	Thomas MacBrien, C.C. Armagh	Writes letter to the <i>Irish Independent</i> in which he says that R.I.C. Sergeant Brady who was killed by I.R.A. was a daily mass-goer and weekly communicant, a quiet and inoffensive man
1919 <sup>493</sup>	Timothy Curtain, P.P. Croom, Co. Limerick	Says the police 'as a body' are well-conducted and religious and moral, even though some depraved policemen are responsible for outrages
14 Feb. 1920 <sup>494</sup>	Philip Canon Murphy, P.P. Castlemartyr, Co. Cork	Attends Constable Lee who is fatally wounded during attack on police barracks in Castlemartyr. Describes him as 'a good, deeply religious man'
14 Mar. 1920 <sup>495</sup>	Daniel Cohalan, Bp. Cork	Condemns killing of Constable Scully at Glanmire. Scully was 'an inoffensive man, now mourned by his widow and children'
17 Mar. 1920 <sup>496</sup>	T. Dooley, C.C. Toomyvara, Co. Tipperary	Recounts how he ministered to the dying Constable Rock, shot in his parish, and says he never saw the flight of a more sinless soul to his Maker
25 Apr. 1920 <sup>497</sup>	Eugene Canon	Condemns killing of R.I.C. Sergeant Finnerty in

<sup>487</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 1 Feb. 1919.

<sup>488</sup> *Irish Independent*, 5 Apr. 1919.

<sup>489</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 24 May 1919.

<sup>490</sup> *Ibid.*, 12 July 1919.

<sup>491</sup> *Irish Independent*, 19 July 1919.

<sup>492</sup> *Ibid.*, 15 Sept. 1919.

<sup>493</sup> Curtain to O'Riordan, undated but 1919 (A.I.C.R., O'Riordan papers, box 19, folder 190, no. 2).

<sup>494</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 14 Feb. 1920.

<sup>495</sup> *Ibid.*, 20 Mar. 1920.

<sup>496</sup> *Ibid.*, 27 Mar. 1920.

	Byrne, P.P. Balbriggan, Co. Dublin	Balbriggan and bears testimony to Finnerty's high character, his 'obedience to the church, and his desire to help the poor'
Apr. 1920 <sup>498</sup>	Daniel Cohalan, Bp. Cork	Says every reasonable man must wish that the charge hanging over the R.I.C. that they were responsible for Lord Mayor MacCurtain's death is dissipated
Apr. 1920 <sup>499</sup>	J. Crowley, C.C. Inishannon, Co. Cork	Says he had never spoken to a better Catholic than R.I.C. Constable McGoldrick, who was killed at Upton. He regarded McGoldrick and his fellow-victim, Sergeant Crean as two saints
16 May 1920 <sup>500</sup>	Timothy O'Hea, P.P. Timoleague, Co. Cork	Condemns shooting of policemen. Says they are devout and holy men
May 1920 <sup>501</sup>	Capt. O'Sullivan, army chaplain	Says the rosary while the bodies of two R.I.C. men are taken from a burned police barracks in Kilmallock, Co. Limerick. The police give the responses
June 1920 <sup>502</sup>	Patrick Gogarty, C.C. Cullyhanna, Co. Armagh	Condemns the shooting of R.I.C. men in his parish and tells how he attended a wounded sergeant in the pub where the police had retreated after the shoot-out
25 July 1920 <sup>503</sup>	Jeremiah Canon Cohalan, P.P. Bandon, Co. Cork	Condemns the shooting of R.I.C. sergeant Mulhern in his church and says he joined the R.I.C. long ago when there was no grudge against it
July 1920 <sup>504</sup>	Daniel Cohalan, Bp. Cork	Condemns the shooting of R.I.C. Sergeant Mulhern in Bandon church and says Mulhern had been to confession the evening before and was on his way to receive holy communion when he was killed
8 Aug. 1920 <sup>505</sup>	Robert Browne, Bp. Cloyne	Says during sermon at Sunday mass in Queenstown cathedral that he was glad that local D.I. had survived an assassination attempt. The D.I. exercised his functions faithfully and was esteemed by all
Aug. 1920 <sup>506</sup>	Columba, O.F.M., Franciscan priory, Athlone, Co. Westmeath	Referring to the killing of Constable Potter at Knockcroghery, he tells congregation about a policeman who had been to confession and had told him he was a marked man but forgave those who would shoot him
10 Oct. 1920 <sup>507</sup>	John Canon	Reads letter of father of R.I.C. man killed by I.R.A.

<sup>497</sup> Ibid., 1 May 1920.

<sup>498</sup> Ibid., 3 Apr. 1920.

<sup>499</sup> *Irish Independent*, 28 Apr. 1920.

<sup>500</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 22 May 1920.

<sup>501</sup> *Irish Independent*, 31 May 1920.

<sup>502</sup> Ibid., 8 June 1920.

<sup>503</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 31 July 1920.

<sup>504</sup> Ibid.

<sup>505</sup> Ibid., 14 Aug. 1920.

<sup>506</sup> *Irish Independent*, 31 Aug. 1920.

<sup>507</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 16 Oct. 1920.

	Gunning, P.P. Tobercurry, Co. Sligo	during sermon at Sunday mass. Says letter breathed the spirit of the charity of Christ
20 Oct. 1920 <sup>508</sup>	Thomas Gilmartin, Abp. Tuam	Writes letter to <i>Times</i> saying he did not believe local police officers in Tuam were responsible for reprisals carried out there
31 Oct. 1920 <sup>509</sup>	John Considine, C.C. Gort, Co. Galway	Condemns killing of R.I.C. men at Castledaly and 'cried on the altar steps when speaking of the occurrence'
Oct. 1920 <sup>510</sup>	Anthony O'Neill, C.C. Lifford, Co. Donegal	Condemns killing of R.I.C. Constable Gallagher and says his last words were Christian words uttered in the Christian spirit in which he had been raised
7 Nov. 1920 <sup>511</sup>	Joseph Hoare, Bp. Ardagh and Clonmacnoise	Condemns the killing of D.I. Kelleher in Granard, Co. Longford, during sermon at Sunday mass. Says Kelleher was 'a good Catholic' who came of 'good Catholic people'
28 Nov. 1920 <sup>512</sup>	Philip Canon Murphy, P.P. Castlemartyr, Co. Cork	Condemns killing of Constable Quinn. He administered the last rites before he died. Also condemns wounding of Sergeant Curley, a respectable, unoffending and good-living man
18 Mar. 1921 <sup>513</sup>	Patrick Canon MacAlpine, P.P. Clifden, Co. Galway	Condemns killing of Constable Reynolds in his parish. He knew him well and he was a splendid type of man, a practical Catholic, an example and a model to all, harmless and inoffensive
May 1921 <sup>514</sup>	Michael Card. Logue, Abp. Armagh	Says during sermon at confirmation in Clonoe, Co. Tyrone, that any of the police that he knew were edifying men

<sup>508</sup> *The Times*, 20 Oct. 1920.

<sup>509</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 6 Nov. 1920.

<sup>510</sup> *Ibid.*, 23 Oct. 1920.

<sup>511</sup> *Ibid.*, 13 Nov. 1920.

<sup>512</sup> *Ibid.*, 4 Dec. 1920.

<sup>513</sup> *Ibid.*, 26 Mar. 1921.

<sup>514</sup> *Ibid.*, 7 May 1921.

## 2.9 Acts of sacrilege attributed to Crown forces, January 1919 – July 1921

Date	Church/person	Details/circumstances
15 Oct. 1920 <sup>515</sup>	Temporary church, Dunmore, Co. Galway	Armed soldier enters church as Dean Macken is instructing the congregation after mass and tells congregation to leave. Soldiers stand outside; the officer in command says he thought there was some illegal assembly going on in what looked like a school. Macken tells soldier to wait
19 Oct. 1920 <sup>516</sup>	SS Peter and Paul's, Cork	Church entered by a party of armed officers during funeral
29 Oct. 1920 <sup>517</sup>	St. Joseph's, Berkeley Road, Dublin	Cups of chalices unscrewed and thrown on the floor together with patens in the sacristy at night. Valuable manuscript stolen. Parish priest suggests that Crown forces were to blame
10 Nov. 1920 <sup>518</sup>	St. Mary's, Killanena, Co. Clare	Uniformed men allegedly throw vestments and chalices on the church floor and steal a pyx, corporals and a purifier
21 Nov. 1920 <sup>519</sup>	Unnamed priest, Croke Park, Drumcondra, Dublin	Is knocked to the ground while holding the blessed sacrament by what an eye-witness calls a 'drunken "Tan"'. Is ministering to wounded after the Bloody Sunday shootings in Croke Park
Nov. 1920 <sup>520</sup>	Curate's house, Moycullen, Co. Galway	Bishop O'Dea of Galway states in public letter to chief secretary that sacred vessels and holy oils were stolen and a sacred shrine was smashed during a raid on Fr J. W. Cunnane's house
5 Jan. 1921 <sup>521</sup>	Church and presbytery, Meelin, Co. Cork	Church entered during confessions. Everyone ordered out, including Fr Roche C.C. Fr Timothy Crowley P.P. prevented from entering. Presbytery also searched
30 Jan. 1920 <sup>522</sup>	Creeve church, Co. Roscommon	Auxiliaries allegedly search a priest outside the church after Sunday mass while he holds the blessed sacrament and search two tabernacles in the church
26 Mar. 1921 <sup>523</sup>	St. John's, Tralee, Co. Kerry	Church fired at with machine guns during the hearing of confessions. Bullet strikes roof over confessional, no casualties. British authorities say the bullet came from I.R.A. fire
1 Apr. 1921 <sup>524</sup>	St. Mary's,	Curate alleges during his trial that on the day of his

<sup>515</sup> Macken to Gilmartin, 16 Oct. 1920 (T.D.A., Gilmartin papers, B4/8-ii/4), Macken to Gilmartin, 18 Oct. 1920 (T.D.A., Gilmartin papers, B4/8-ii/4) and unsigned and undated statement from soldier (T.D.A., Gilmartin papers, B4/8-ii/4).

<sup>516</sup> *Irish Independent*, 20 Oct. 1920.

<sup>517</sup> *Ibid.*, 1 Nov. 1920.

<sup>518</sup> *Ibid.*, 15 Nov. 1920.

<sup>519</sup> Ryan, 'Flying column', p. 34.

<sup>520</sup> O'Dea to Greenwood, 25 Nov. 1920 (G.D.A., O'Dea papers, box 31, no. 7).

<sup>521</sup> *Irish Independent*, 8 Jan. 1921.

<sup>522</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 12 Mar. 1921.

<sup>523</sup> *Irish Independent*, 28 Mar. 1921, and *Kerryman*, 2 April 1921.

<sup>524</sup> *Irish Independent*, 24 May 1921.

	Mullagh, Co. Clare	arrest by Crown forces the tabernacle door in the church was forced open and ‘frightful desecration’ was committed
22 May 1921 <sup>525</sup>	St. Patrick’s, Claudy, Co. Derry	Inebriated and smoking man in police uniform allegedly enters church through sacristy before Sunday mass for a ‘mock display on the altar’ and to search the tabernacle
3 July 1921 <sup>526</sup>	Kilmoyle church, Co. Roscommon	Church fired at during Sunday mass. Bullets enter the church. Priest administers general absolution before proceeding with the mass

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<sup>525</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 28 May 1921.

<sup>526</sup> *Ibid.*, 9 July 1921.

**2.10 Attacks on Crown forces making their way to or from church attributed to republicans, January 1919 – July 1921**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Church</b>	<b>Details/circumstances</b>
28 Sept. 1919 <sup>527</sup>	Berrings church, Co. Cork	Constables Michael Sweeney and Michael Walsh are assaulted by a group of men after emerging from church after mass. Shots are fired
16 Mar. 1920 <sup>528</sup>	Toomevara church, Co. Tipperary	Constables Charles Healy and James Rock are killed by I.R.A. men as they return to barracks after attending evening devotions in the church
18 Apr. 1920 <sup>529</sup>	Kilmihil church, Co. Clare	Sergeant Carroll is killed as well as an I.R.A. man and others are wounded after an R.I.C. escort picking up constables after mass is attacked. Constables were armed while attending mass <sup>530</sup>
20 Apr. 1920 <sup>531</sup>	Fermoy, Co. Cork	Arraglen R.I.C. barracks attacked while constables at mass. One constable who was present is bound and locked up
2 May 1920 <sup>532</sup>	Farnivane church, Bandon, Co. Cork	Constable Michael Walsh is wounded by I.R.A. men as he walks to mass
9 May 1920 <sup>533</sup>	Tiermaclane church, Ennis, Co. Clare	Ambush laid for R.I.C. on way to church. Constables decide to attend at a different church and escape attack
28 July 1920 <sup>534</sup>	Bandon church, Co. Cork	Sergeant William Mulherin is shot dead in the porch of Bandon church as he enters the building to attend mass
1 Aug. 1920 <sup>535</sup>	Youghal, Co. Cork	Head Constable Ruddock wounded when returning to barracks after mass
5 Sept. 1920 <sup>536</sup>	Belleek church, Co. Fermanagh	R.I.C. barracks raided while constables at mass. Mass-goers locked into church while raid lasts. Some constables present are overpowered
26 Sept. 1920 <sup>537</sup>	Trim, Co. Meath	R.I.C. barracks raided while constables at mass. Some constables present are overpowered

<sup>527</sup> I.G.M.R., Sept. 1919, p. 8 (T.N.A., CO904/110). See also Greenwood to Logue, 30 Sept. 1920 (A.D.A., Logue papers, ARCH9/5/1).

<sup>528</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 27 Mar. 1920.

<sup>529</sup> *Irish Independent*, 19 Apr. 1920.

<sup>530</sup> *Ibid.*, 13 May 1920.

<sup>531</sup> Greenwood to Logue, 30 Sept. 1920 (A.D.A., Logue papers, ARCH9/5/1).

<sup>532</sup> *Irish Independent*, 3 May 1920.

<sup>533</sup> Greenwood to Logue, 30 Sept. 1920 (A.D.A., Logue papers, ARCH9/5/1).

<sup>534</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 31 July 1920.

<sup>535</sup> Greenwood to Logue, 30 Sept. 1920 (A.D.A., Logue papers, ARCH9/5/1).

<sup>536</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>537</sup> *Ibid.*



**2.11 Molestation or obstruction of priests attributed to republicans, January 1919 – July 1921**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Details/circumstances</b>
11 Feb. 1919 <sup>538</sup>	Daniel Coughlan, P.P. Aughrim, Co. Galway	Shots fired through window of the house of a parishioner who sent his children to the local school. The school was under a Sinn Féin boycott because Coughlan refused to appoint the party's nominee as teacher
12 July 1919 <sup>539</sup>	Patrick Tuite, P.P. Delvin, Co. Westmeath	A shot fired at the door of the presbytery at night. Tuite was known to be opposed to Sinn Féin and had recently refused the use of the parochial hall for a lecture by Fr Michael O'Flanagan <sup>540</sup>
Sept. 1919 <sup>541</sup>	John Gleeson, P.P. Lorrha, Co. Tipperary	Receives several threatening letters after denouncing killing of R.I.C. Sergeant Brady
Dec. 1919 <sup>542</sup>	John Trainor, C.C. Ballyshannon, Co. Donegal	Wounded by broken glass while a passenger on a mail train that was shot at near Ballybay, Co. Monaghan
Aug. 1920 <sup>543</sup>	Joseph Houlihan, C.C. Kinnitty, Co. Offaly	Held up when he happened upon the destruction of Kilcormac R.I.C. barracks, but allowed to proceed when recognised. Houlihan had previously attempted to dissuade republicans from destroying Kinnitty police barracks
Sept. 1920 <sup>544</sup>	Charles Boyce, C.C. Ballintra, Co. Donegal	Residence raided for arms at night. The raid took place at the time that many Unionist houses were also raided for arms
23 Oct. 1920 <sup>545</sup>	Michael Hayes, P.P. Feakle, Co. Clare	Johanna Slattery, Hayes's housekeeper, kidnapped but released after three days. Hayes described as 'strongly opposed to Sinn Féin'
Nov. 1920 <sup>546</sup>	John Godley, P.P. Adrigole, Co. Cork	Unknown persons steal his motorcar and burn it on the roadside the day after Godley condemns acts of violence against the police. He has a reputation for anti-republican views
Dec. 1920 <sup>547</sup>	Jesuit community, Tullabeg, Co. Offaly	Post for Tullabeg community raided and subsequently delivered marked 'Censored by the Irish republic'. Most of the censored post was for the

<sup>538</sup> I.G.M.R., Feb. 1919, p. 247 (T.N.A., CO904/108).

<sup>539</sup> I.G.M.R., July 1919 (T.N.A., CO904/109).

<sup>540</sup> For this incident see *Irish Catholic*, 3 May 1919.

<sup>541</sup> I.G.M.R., Sept. 1919, p. 8 (T.N.A., CO904/110).

<sup>542</sup> *Irish Independent*, 17 Dec. 1919.

<sup>543</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 21 Aug. 1920.

<sup>544</sup> *Irish Independent*, 9 Sept. 1920.

<sup>545</sup> I.G.M.R., Oct. 1920 (T.N.A., CO904/113)

<sup>546</sup> *Irish Independent*, 26 Nov. 1920 and 2 Dec. 1920. For his reputation see Dunne to O'Sullivan, 4 May 1922 (Ky.D.A., O'Sullivan papers, 'Parish correspondence', Adrigole).

<sup>547</sup> Entry for 31 Dec. 1920 in 'Notes &c. for Litt. Ann., Hist. Dom., 1919-'20. 1920-'21' (J.P.A., Tullabeg papers, FM/TULL/289).

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Apr. 1921 <sup>548</sup>	Hyacinth Collins, O.P., Tralee Dominican priory	Moved from Tralee priory by provincial after pressure from I.R.A. leaders. Accused of spying for the Crown forces
Apr. 1921 <sup>549</sup>	Peter Hill, P.P. Rosscarbery, Co. Cork	Reportedly joins locals in ‘attacking’ raiders who were wrecking houses in the town after local residents aided the R.I.C. when the I.R.A. attacked the local police barracks
May 1921 <sup>550</sup>	Matthew Carroll, C.C. Ballybricken, Co. Limerick	Wounded by a ‘flying splinter’ while travelling on train carrying soldiers which is fired at by I.R.A. near Kilmacthomas, Co. Waterford
May 1921 <sup>551</sup>	Denis O’Hara, P.P. Kiltimagh, Co. Mayo	Seizes armed republican in the act of holding up a rate collector working for the British authorities. The armed man was released from O’Hara’s custody by ‘a number of Sinn Feiners’
1921 <sup>552</sup>	John V. Hurley, C.C. Bantry, Co. Cork	Local I.R.A. ban him from attending fund-raising <i>aeridheacht</i> after he foils an arrest by I.R.A. Local Gaelic League and Sinn Féin branches then pull out of event. Hurley is their chairman
Date unknown <sup>553</sup>	John Maguire, P.P. Killanena, Co. Clare	Allegedly resigned the parish to avoid being shot as a spy by Volunteers after having passed on information about their arms to British authorities

<sup>548</sup> Kennedy witness statement, pp 99-102 (N.A.I., BMH/WS1413), which does not mention Collins by name, and O’Murray to Hagan, 1 June 1919 (A.I.C.R., Hagan papers, HAG1/1921/298), which does.

<sup>549</sup> *Irish Independent*, 16 Apr. 1921.

<sup>550</sup> *Ibid.*, 2 May 1921.

<sup>551</sup> *Ibid.*, 9 May 1921.

<sup>552</sup> Hayes to Mulcahy, 15 Sept. 1921 (U.C.D.A., Mulcahy papers, P7/A/24).

<sup>553</sup> Gaynor, ‘Sinn Fein days’, page inserted between pp 528-9 (N.L.I., Gaynor papers, MS 19,826).

## 2.12 Clerical care of victims of violence by either side, January 1919 – July 1921

Date	Name	Circumstances/details
17 Sept. 1919 <sup>554</sup>	Robert Browne, Bp. Cloyne	Visits Fermoy and inspects houses damaged by military during reprisal
Feb. 1920 <sup>555</sup>	Philip Canon Murphy, P.P. Castlemartyr, Co. Cork	Summoned to the local R.I.C. barracks after an attack by I.R.A. was repulsed. Washed victim's wounds, had brandy fetched from his house and breaks news of shooting to constable's wife
8 May 1920 <sup>556</sup>	Edmund Comerford, C.M., Phibsborough, Dublin	Attends to D.M.P. detective sergeant when shot in the street in Glasnevin. Did not minister to him when he heard he was a Protestant
6 June 1920 <sup>557</sup>	Patrick Gogarty, C.C. Cullyhanna, Co. Armagh	Attends to victims among civilians and police after attack on R.I.C. at <i>aeridheacht</i>
30 Aug. 1920 <sup>558</sup>	J. Napier, C.C. St. Peter's, Belfast	Attends wounded people during riot between Orangemen and 'nationalists'. When he appears, leader of Orangemen stops the firing
22 Sept. 1920 <sup>559</sup>	Matthew McCabe, P.P. Drumshanbo, Co. Leitrim	Provides shelter for local businessman and his son who flee their house when it is attacked by disguised armed men
22 Sept. 1920 <sup>560</sup>	William Walsh, Abp. Dublin	Offers P.P. Balbriggan £100 in aid for the victims of reprisals in Balbriggan. Sends him a cheque – 'princely munificence' – for relief fund
5 Oct. 1920 <sup>561</sup>	C. W. Canon Corbett, P.P. Mallow, Co. Cork	Provides shelter in convent schools for women and children who flee military reprisal and come to his door at midnight
8 Oct. 1920 <sup>562</sup>	Patrick O'Reilly, C.C. Feakle, Co. Clare	Attends two policemen shot dead at an ambush. Is left alone with their bodies from 10.30 am to 2.30 pm until soldiers arrive. Is seriously maltreated by Crown forces subsequently
Nov. 1920 <sup>563</sup>	William Walsh, Abp. Dublin	Visits University College Dublin in his capacity of chancellor of the National University of Ireland after the college was subjected to a military raid
Dec. 1920 <sup>564</sup>	William Walsh, Abp. Dublin	Makes additional contribution to Balbriggan relief fund for the victims of reprisal
Dec. 1920 <sup>565</sup>	Daniel Cohalan,	Calls meetings with P.P.s and administrators of Cork

<sup>554</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 27 Sept. 1919.

<sup>555</sup> *Ibid.*, 14 Feb. 1920.

<sup>556</sup> *Irish Independent*, 10 May 1920.

<sup>557</sup> *Ibid.*, 8 June 1920.

<sup>558</sup> *Ibid.*, 31 Aug. 1920.

<sup>559</sup> *Ibid.*, 23 Sept. 1920.

<sup>560</sup> Walsh to Byrne (telegram), undated but 22 Sept. 1920 (D.D.A., Walsh papers, 380/3) and Byrne to Walsh, 9 Oct. 1920 (*ibid.*).

<sup>561</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 9 Oct. 1920.

<sup>562</sup> *Irish Independent*, 15 Oct. 1920.

<sup>563</sup> *Ibid.*, 4 Nov. 1920.

<sup>564</sup> Byrne to Walsh, 21 Dec. 1920 (D.D.A., Walsh papers, 380/3).

	Bp. Cork	city parishes after burning of Cork to assess want of those left without income. Organises relief fund and collection
Dec. 1920 <sup>566</sup>	Thomas Gilmartin, Abp. Tuam	Says he is writing to the P.P.s of Connemara to see if there is need for financial relief for victims
25 Jan. 1921 <sup>567</sup>	Michael Card. Logue, Abp. Armagh	Writes public letter to lord mayor of Dublin commending the White Cross organisation for the relief of victims of the conflict
26 Feb. 1921 <sup>568</sup>	Daniel Cohalan, Bp. Cork	Writes to General Strickland asking for commutation of death sentences of six prisoners in Cork
27 Feb. 1921 <sup>569</sup>	William Walsh, Abp. Dublin	Attempts to visit lord lieutenant and commander-in-chief of army to obtain reprieve for six prisoners condemned to death in Cork
7 Mar. 1921 <sup>570</sup>	Thomas O'Malley, P.P. Partry, Co. Mayo	Threatened by military when ministering to two soldiers wounded during ambush
Mar. 1921 <sup>571</sup>	Michael Card. Lougue, Abp. Armagh, and William Walsh, Abp. Dublin	Make representations to the authorities for the reprieve of prisoners condemned to death in Mountjoy prison
Apr. 1921 <sup>572</sup>	Dean Roderick Gearty, P.P. Strokestown, Co. Roscommon	Sings requiem mass for two military officers and two soldiers killed during ambush at Scramoge by I.R.A. Detachments from the army are present at the mass
Apr. 1921 <sup>573</sup>	Unnamed priest, Newmarket-on-Fergus, Co. Clare	Is told to come and minister to a man to be executed by the I.R.A. for espionage. Ordered to wait until the man was arrested, ministered to him and witnessed the killing, then anointed him
10 July 1921 <sup>574</sup>	Michael McLaughlin, C.Ss.R., Clonard, Belfast	Attends to Catholic victims of riots with Orangemen, has to cross line of fire at four points to do so

<sup>565</sup> Cohalan to Leslie, 29 Dec. 1920 (N.L.I., Leslie papers, MS 22,838).

<sup>566</sup> Gilmartin to Leslie, 29 Dec. 1920 (N.L.I., Leslie papers, MS 22,841).

<sup>567</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 29 Jan. 1921.

<sup>568</sup> *Ibid.*, 5 Mar. 1921.

<sup>569</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 5 Mar. 1921.

<sup>570</sup> O'Malley to Gilmartin, 11 Mar. 1921 (T.D.A., Gilmartin papers, B4/8-ii/4).

<sup>571</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 19 Mar. 1921.

<sup>572</sup> *Ibid.*, 9 Apr. 1921.

<sup>573</sup> *Irish Independent*, 13 May 1921.

<sup>574</sup> Entry for 9-10 July 1921, 'Domestic Chronicles of the House of the Most Holy Redeemer, Belfast, founded Nov. 1<sup>st</sup> 1896', vol. i: 'Domestic Chronicle 1896-1930' (C.M.A.).

### 2.13 Clerical endorsement of non-violent republicanism, January 1919 – July 1921

Date	Name	Circumstances/details
21 Jan. 1919 <sup>575</sup>	Group of priests	A ‘great many’ priests attend the first session of Dáil Éireann
26 Jan. 1919 <sup>576</sup>	William Keogh, C.C. Solohead, Co. Tipperary	Condemns Soloheadbeg ambush and says that no party in the country would be more pained by it than the leaders of Sinn Féin
Jan. 1919 <sup>577</sup>	J. F. Sweetman, O.S.B., Mt. St. Benedict, Gorey, Co. Wexford	Says in public address that if Sinn Féin did not succeed in making Ireland safe for democracy, it would at least make it an unpleasant place for hypocrisy
16 Mar. 1919 <sup>578</sup>	William Codd, Bp. Ferns	Writes in private letter to Rector O’Riordan that Sinn Féin members as a body are good Catholics
Mar. 1919 <sup>579</sup>	James Bergin, P.P. Philipstown, Co. Louth	Tells a protest meeting that he would hand over his returned subscription to the anti-conscription fund to the ‘self-determination fund’ and hoped all in the parish would do the same
Mar. 1919 <sup>580</sup>	Matthew Ryan, P.P. Knockavilla, Co. Cork	Writes public letter to Fr Michael O’Flanagan saying he and his parishioners regard the Dáil as legitimate custodian of their anti-conscription money
Mar. 1919 <sup>581</sup>	Patrick O’Mullin, P.P. Fahan, Co. Donegal	Presides at a meeting of local people which passes a resolution saying that any funds collected for self-determination would be given to the Dáil
Mar. 1919 <sup>582</sup>	William Condon, C.C. Tipperary	Pays glowing tribute to Pierce McCan in sermon at mass. He was a model of purity and holiness and deliberately chose the road of the Irish patriot
15 Apr. 1919 <sup>583</sup>	Charles O’Sullivan, Bp. Kerry	Says in private letter to Rector O’Riordan that Sinn Féin movement are ‘thoroughly religious’ and that some have become more so since they joined
17 Apr. 1919 <sup>584</sup>	Michael Fogarty, Bp. Killaloe	Writes to Hagan that Bishop Kelly’s recent attempt to ‘tar S[inn] Fein with a religious tar brush’ was ‘little short of an outrage on our country’
8 June 1919 <sup>585</sup>	Thomas Gilmartin, Abp. Tuam	Says in sermon at confirmation in Westport that although he is not a member of Sinn Féin, the party should not be punished. It has no sympathy with crime
25 June 1919 <sup>586</sup>	Peter Rogers, C.C.	Reportedly a Sinn Féin supporter

<sup>575</sup> *Irish Independent*, 22 Jan. 1919. See also Mitchell, *Government*, p. 17.

<sup>576</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 1 Feb. 1919.

<sup>577</sup> *Irish Independent*, 29 Jan. 1919.

<sup>578</sup> Codd to O’Riordan, 16 Mar. 1919 (A.I.C.R., O’Riordan papers, box 19, folder 190, no. 76).

<sup>579</sup> *Irish Independent*, 26 Mar. 1919.

<sup>580</sup> *Ibid.*, 5 Mar. 1919.

<sup>581</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>582</sup> *Ibid.*, 14 Mar. 1919.

<sup>583</sup> O’Sullivan to O’Riordan, 15 Apr. 1919 (A.I.C.R., O’Riordan papers, box 19, folder 190, no. 112).

<sup>584</sup> Fogarty to Hagan, 17 Apr. 1919 (A.I.C.R., Hagan papers, HAG1/1919/71).

<sup>585</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 14 June 1919.

<sup>586</sup> Rawlins to Hagan, 25 June 1919 (A.I.C.R., Hagan papers, HAG1/1919/176).

	Dunleer, Co. Louth	
June 1919 <sup>587</sup>	Richard Murphy, C.Ss.R., preacher at retreat in Loughrea, Co. Galway	Tells congregation that young girls must not associate with the soldiers who had just arrived in town. They were strangers and although he said nothing against them, they were not pro-Irish or pro-Catholic
8 July 1919 <sup>588</sup>	Priests in St. Mel's college, Longford and surrounding parishes	Reportedly are 'the real stuff' and support Sinn Féin
25 July 1919 <sup>589</sup>	Patrick Cummins, C.C. Ballyconnigar, Co. Wexford	Reportedly the only priest in the presbytery willing to 'stand or fall' by Sinn Féin
10 Aug. 1919 <sup>590</sup>	O'Shea, visiting Blarney Castle, Co. Cork	Waves Sinn Féin flag from Blarney Castle and resists arrest. Sings Soldier's song and shouts 'up the republic'
27 Aug. 1919 <sup>591</sup>	Augustinian priory, Ballyhaunis, Co. Mayo	Is said by local priest in a private letter to Rector Hagan to be 'on the right side' in politics
11 Sept. 1919 <sup>592</sup>	John Magee, P.P. Tober, Co. Offaly	Writes to newspaper criticising Fr Gleeson's condemnation of republican violence. Gleeson has the 'slave spirit' and is un-Christian and un-patriotic
11 Oct. 1919 <sup>593</sup>	John Madden, C.C. Ballinasloe, Co. Galway	Arranges public meeting on fair day to promote the Dáil loan. Persists when meeting is proclaimed
26 Oct. 1919 <sup>594</sup>	Thomas Wall, C.C. Drumcollogher, Co. Limerick	Purchased Dáil bonds
19 Dec. 1919 <sup>595</sup>	Redemptorist community, Clonard, Belfast	Subscribe £ 10 to the Irish national loan
Dec. 1919 <sup>596</sup>	Patrick Canon Hayes, P.P. Ballylongford, Co. Kerry	Volunteers accompany him on his way to a new parish
1919 <sup>597</sup>	Patrick Browne, Professor at Maynooth college,	Purchased Dáil bonds

<sup>587</sup> *Irish Independent*, 6 June 1919.

<sup>588</sup> Rawlins to Hagan, 8 July 1919 (A.I.C.R., Hagan papers, HAG1/1919/198).

<sup>589</sup> Rawlins to Hagan, 25 July 1919 (A.I.C.R., Hagan papers, HAG1/1919/233).

<sup>590</sup> I.G.M.R., Aug. 1919, p. 931 (T.N.A., CO904/104).

<sup>591</sup> Conry to Hagan, 27 Aug. 1919 (A.I.C.R., Hagan papers, HAG1/1919/293).

<sup>592</sup> *Irish Independent*, 11 Sept. 1919.

<sup>593</sup> I.G.M.R., Sept. 1919, p. 384 (T.N.A., CO904/110).

<sup>594</sup> Receipt from the minister of finance, 26 Oct. 1919 (M.A., BMH/CD323/5/1).

<sup>595</sup> Entry for 19 Dec. 1919, 'House Consultation 1916-1950', G5. (C.M.A., box marked 'G. House Administration I. House meetings. Visitations')

<sup>596</sup> *Irish Independent*, 2 Dec. 1919.

<sup>597</sup> Browne witness statement, pp 12-3 (N.A.I., BMH/WS729).

	Co. Kildare	
9 Jan. 1920 <sup>598</sup>	Priests of Ardagh and Clonmacnoise diocese	Practically all of them are reportedly ‘solid for Sinn Féin’
Jan. 1920 <sup>599</sup>	John Mary Harty, Abp. Cashel and Emly	Writes public letter to Éamon de Valera enclosing a cheque for the Irish national loan. Wishes him every blessing in his noble efforts to right the wrongs of centuries
Jan. 1920 <sup>600</sup>	William Walsh, Abp. Dublin	Congratulates Sinn Féin Alderman Thomas Kelly on ‘splendid and deserved success’ after his election as lord mayor of Dublin
Jan. 1920 <sup>601</sup>	Charles Culligan, C.C. Kilmihil, Co. Clare	President of the Sinn Féin district court and chairman of West Clare Sinn Féin <i>comhairle ceanntair</i>
Jan. 1920 <sup>602</sup>	John McSparran, C.C. Aughagallon, Co. Armagh	President of South Armagh Sinn Féin <i>comhairle ceanntair</i>
Jan. 1920 <sup>603</sup>	Joseph Meehan, C.C. Ballynarry, Co. Cavan	President of West Cavan Sinn Féin <i>comhairle ceanntair</i>
Jan. 1920 <sup>604</sup>	P. J. Hewitt, C.C. Kilkishen, Co. Clare	President of East Clare Sinn Féin <i>comhairle ceanntair</i>
Jan. 1920 <sup>605</sup>	Michael Crowe, C.C. Roslevin, Ennis, Co. Clare	Member of East Clare Sinn Féin <i>comhairle ceanntair</i>
Jan. 1920 <sup>606</sup>	James McRory, C.C. Limavady, Co. Derry	President of North Derry Sinn Féin <i>comhairle ceanntair</i>
Jan. 1920 <sup>607</sup>	Philip O’Doherty, P.P. Carndonagh, Co. Donegal	President of North Donegal Sinn Féin <i>comhairle ceanntair</i>
Jan. 1920 <sup>608</sup>	Denis Cahill, C.C. Clanvaraghan, Co. Down	President of East Down Sinn Féin <i>comhairle ceanntair</i>
Jan. 1920 <sup>609</sup>	Patrick Woods, C.C. Ballinamallard, Co.	President of North Fermanagh Sinn Féin <i>comhairle ceanntair</i>

<sup>598</sup> Flynn to Hagan, 9 Jan. 1920 (A.I.C.R., Hagan papers, HAG1/1920/86).

<sup>599</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 31 Jan. 1919.

<sup>600</sup> Walsh to Kelly, Jan. 1920 (D.D.A., Walsh papers, 380/2).

<sup>601</sup> President of the court: Gaynor, ‘Sinn Féin days’, p. 464; Chairman: List of Sinn Féin officers (N.L.I., MS 5649).

<sup>602</sup> List of Sinn Féin officers (N.L.I., MS 5649).

<sup>603</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>604</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>605</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>606</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>607</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>608</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>609</sup> *Ibid.* Appears as ‘Patrick Ward’ in *I.C.D. 1920*, p. 155.

	Fermanagh	
Jan. 1920 <sup>610</sup>	James Considine, C.C. Oughterard, Co. Galway	President of Connemara Sinn Féin <i>comhairle ceanntair</i>
Jan. 1920 <sup>611</sup>	J.W. Cunnane, C.C. Moycullen, Co. Galway	Vice-president of Connemara Sinn Féin <i>comhairle ceanntair</i>
Jan. 1920 <sup>612</sup>	M. McEvelly, C.C. Lettermullen, Co. Galway	Member of Connemara Sinn Féin <i>comhairle ceanntair</i>
Jan. 1920 <sup>613</sup>	Denis McCarthy, C.C. Camus, Rosmuck, Co. Galway	Director of elections of Connemara Sinn Féin <i>comhairle ceanntair</i>
Jan. 1920 <sup>614</sup>	Thomas Dunne, P.P. Kilnadeema, Co. Galway	President of South Galway Sinn Féin <i>comhairle ceanntair</i>
Jan. 1920 <sup>615</sup>	P. J. Brennan, C.C. Castleisland, Co. Kerry	President of East Kerry Sinn Féin <i>comhairle ceanntair</i>
Jan. 1920 <sup>616</sup>	Thomas Henebery, C.C. Dunamaggin, Co. Kilkenny	Secretary of South Kilkenny Sinn Féin <i>comhairle ceanntair</i>
Jan. 1920 <sup>617</sup>	James O'Carroll, C.C. St. John's, Limerick	Member of Limerick city Sinn Féin <i>comhairle ceanntair</i>
Jan. 1920 <sup>618</sup>	E. Tyans, C.C. Aughavass, Co. Leitrim	President of the South Leitrim Sinn Féin <i>comhairle ceanntair</i>
Jan. 1920 <sup>619</sup>	Michael McNamara, C.C. Cullohill, Co. Laois	President of the Laois-Offaly Sinn Féin <i>comhairle ceanntair</i>
Jan. 1920 <sup>620</sup>	Michael Connolly, C.C. Swinford, Co. Mayo	Delegate of the East Mayo Sinn Féin <i>comhairle ceanntair to the ard comhairle</i>
Jan. 1920 <sup>621</sup>	Michael Carney, C.C. Cong, Co. Mayo	Treasurer of South Mayo Sinn Féin <i>comhairle ceanntair</i>
Jan. 1920 <sup>622</sup>	Patrick Murphy,	President of South Monaghan Sinn Féin <i>comhairle</i>

<sup>610</sup> Ibid.

<sup>611</sup> Ibid.

<sup>612</sup> Ibid.

<sup>613</sup> Ibid.

<sup>614</sup> Ibid.

<sup>615</sup> Ibid.

<sup>616</sup> Ibid.

<sup>617</sup> Ibid.

<sup>618</sup> Ibid. Tyans does not appear in *I.C.D. 1919* or *1920*.

<sup>619</sup> List of Sinn Féin officers (N.L.I., MS 5649).

<sup>620</sup> Ibid.

<sup>621</sup> Ibid.



	C.C. Ballybay, Co. Monaghan	<i>ceanntair</i>
Jan. 1920 <sup>623</sup>	Michael Keane, C.C. Killina, Co. Roscommon	President of North Roscommon Sinn Féin <i>comhairle ceanntair</i>
Jan. 1920 <sup>624</sup>	John Finan, Kiltewan, Co. Roscommon	Treasurer of South Roscommon Sinn Féin <i>comhairle ceanntair</i> and delegate to the <i>ard comhairle</i>
Jan. 1920 <sup>625</sup>	John Hennighan, C.C. Castletown, Co. Sligo	Vice-president of the North Sligo Sinn Féin <i>comhairle ceanntair</i>
Jan. 1920 <sup>626</sup>	Matthew Ryan, P.P. Knockavilla, Co. Tipperary	President of the Mid Tipperary Sinn Féin <i>comhairle ceanntair</i>
Jan. 1920 <sup>627</sup>	Thomas Maguire, C.C. Clogher, Co. Tyrone	President of the South Tyrone Sinn Féin <i>comhairle ceanntair</i> ; also delegate to the <i>ard comhairle</i>
Jan. 1920 <sup>628</sup>	John McKenna, C.C. Omagh, Co. Tyrone	President of the Mid Tyrone Sinn Féin <i>comhairle ceanntair</i>
Jan. 1920 <sup>629</sup>	Michael Murphy, C.C. Taghmon, Co. Wexford	Treasurer of the South Wexford Sinn Féin <i>comhairle ceanntair</i>
10 Feb. 1920 <sup>630</sup>	James MacPhillips, P.P. Scotstown, Co. Monaghan	President of North Monaghan Sinn Féin <i>comhairle ceanntair</i>
10 Feb. 1920 <sup>631</sup>	Eugene MacAdam, P.P. Newbliss, Co. Monaghan	Vice-president of North Monaghan Sinn Féin <i>comhairle ceanntair</i>
10 Feb. 1920 <sup>632</sup>	James O'Daly, C.C. Clones, Co. Monaghan	Vice-president of North Monaghan Sinn Féin <i>comhairle ceanntair</i> and delegate to the <i>ard comhairle</i>
23 Mar. 1920 <sup>633</sup>	Michael Fogarty, Bp. Killaloe	Writes a letter to Michael Collins – though it was probably not sent. Says he is most anxious about his safety and prays for him
18 Apr. 1920 <sup>634</sup>	Bernard Canon Donnellan, P.P. Dundalk, Co.	Officiates at funeral of dead Volunteer. Volunteers carry the coffin and follow the hearse in uniform, together with members of Cumann na mBan.

<sup>622</sup> Ibid.

<sup>623</sup> Ibid.

<sup>624</sup> Ibid.

<sup>625</sup> Ibid.

<sup>626</sup> Ibid.

<sup>627</sup> Ibid.

<sup>628</sup> Ibid.

<sup>629</sup> Ibid.

<sup>630</sup> Ibid.

<sup>631</sup> Ibid. Appears in the Sinn Féin list as 'C. MacAdam' and in *I.C.D. 1920* as 'Eugene'.

<sup>632</sup> List of Sinn Féin officers (N.L.I., MS 5649).

<sup>633</sup> Fogarty to Collins, 23 Mar. 1920 (K.D.A., Fogarty papers, F3A9).

<sup>634</sup> *Irish Independent*, 19 Apr. 1920.

	Louth	
18 Apr. 1920 <sup>635</sup>	John Canon Hannon, P.P. Miltown Malbay, Co. Clare	Officiates at funeral of dead Volunteer. Cortege joined by 'a huge body of Volunteers' and the coffin is draped in the tricolour
Apr. 1920 <sup>636</sup>	Thomas Power, P.P. Blackrock, Co. Dublin	Officiates at funeral of dead Volunteer. Volunteers provide a guard of honour
27 June 1920 <sup>637</sup>	John Russell, P.P. Glenville, Co. Cork and curates	Celebrates mass at mass rock in commemoration of penal days. Traffic is regulated by Volunteers
27 June 1920 <sup>638</sup>	Martin Canon Murphy, P.P. Bantry, Co. Cork	Officiates at funeral of dead Volunteer. Large number of Volunteers follow cortege, as well as members of Cumann na mBan
June 1920 <sup>639</sup>	John Canon Begley, P.P. Drumcollogher, Co. Limerick and curates	Officiates at funeral of republican. Volunteers walk in cortege and fire volleys over grave
11 July 1920 <sup>640</sup>	John Canon Doyle, P.P. Ferns, Co. Wexford	Tells congregation in sermon at Sunday mass that police are strangers and that it was the business of the people to stay away from them. Also condemns republican violence
2 Aug. 1920 <sup>641</sup>	Augustinian priory, Galway	Volunteers hold order at bazaar in aid of a debt on the Augustinian church
6 Aug. 1920 <sup>642</sup>	Daniel Cohalan, Bp. Cork	Writes in public letter that the 'capacity for government exhibited by Sinn Féin has won the recognition ... of friend and foe'
28 Aug. 1920 <sup>643</sup>	Laurence Stafford, C.C. Lucan, Co. Dublin	Goes to Dáil ministry of labour to ask for mediation in local labour dispute
29 Aug. 1920 <sup>644</sup>	Thomas Gallagher, C.C. Athlone, Co. Westmeath	Says in sermon at Sunday mass that he hopes the Volunteers would 'put strangers off the streets, where they have no business to be'
3 Sept. 1920 <sup>645</sup>	Peter Delahunty, C.C. Callan, Co. Kilkenny	Found in possession of documents proving subscription to the Dáil loan and links with Sinn Féin. President of South Kilkenny <i>comhairle ceanntair</i>
19 Sept. 1920 <sup>646</sup>	Patrick O'Connell,	Condemns raiding for arms in sermon at Sunday

<sup>635</sup> Ibid.

<sup>636</sup> Ibid., 29 Apr. 1920. Appears as C.C. Cabinteely and Foxrock in *I.C.D. 1920*, p. 183.

<sup>637</sup> Ibid., 1 July 1920.

<sup>638</sup> Ibid., 28 June 1920.

<sup>639</sup> Ibid., 1 July 1920.

<sup>640</sup> Ibid., 13 July 1920. See also *Irish Catholic*, 17 July 1920.

<sup>641</sup> *Irish Independent*, 3 Aug. 1920.

<sup>642</sup> Statement to parish priests, 6 Aug. 1920 (C.D.A., Cohalan papers, box vi).

<sup>643</sup> Stafford to Walsh, 28 Aug. [1920] (D.D.A., Walsh papers, 380/3).

<sup>644</sup> *Irish Independent*, 31 Aug. 1920.

<sup>645</sup> Entry in Register of cases tried, p. 271 (T.N.A., WO35/133). President of *comhairle ceanntair*: List of Sinn Féin officers (N.L.I., MS5649).

	P.P. Cootehill, Co. Cavan	mass and says Arthur Griffith was opposed to it too
25 Sept. 1920 <sup>647</sup>	Clergy in Kilmallock, Co. Limerick	Officiate at funeral of dead Volunteer. Tricolour seized by military
26 Sept. 1920 <sup>648</sup>	Michael O'Flanagan, C.C. Roscommon	Says at <i>aeridheacht</i> that the use of violence is not in accord with the principles of Sinn Féin, of the Dáil or of republicanism. Is president of South Roscommon Sinn Féin <i>comhairle ceanntair</i>
Sept. 1920 <sup>649</sup>	Superior of the Salesian order	Visits the Mansion house accompanied by Arthur Griffith during a visit to Ireland
12 Oct. 1920 <sup>650</sup>	John Meehan, C.C. Castlebar, Co. Mayo	Found in possession of seditious literature showing links with Sinn Féin. President of West Mayo Sinn Féin <i>comhairle ceanntair</i>
17 Oct. 1920 <sup>651</sup>	James Roddy, C.C. Breedogue and J. Glynn, C.C. Drumlion	Present at proscribed Sinn Féin meeting in Croghan. Convicted by court martial 18 Dec. 1920, sentenced but released
19 Oct. 1920 <sup>652</sup>	Patrick Canon O'Leary, P.P. SS. Peter and Paul, Cork	Officiates at funeral of dead Volunteer. Volunteers regulate traffic and form a guard of honour. British forces intervene
20 Oct. 1920 <sup>653</sup>	Florence Harrington, C.C. Duagh, Co. Kerry	Acknowledges to raiding party that he is president of the local republican court
1 Nov. 1920 <sup>654</sup>	Malachy Brennan, C.C. Caltra, Ballinasloe, Co. Galway	Reportedly the president of the local Sinn Féin court and 'one of the principal promoters of Sinn Féin'. President of East Galway <i>comhairle ceanntair</i>
5 Nov. 1920 <sup>655</sup>	James Sinnott, M.S.S., Enniscorthy, Co. Wexford	Displays his pleasure at the conversion of many opponents of Sinn Féin after the deaths of Terence MacSwiney and Kevin Barry. In private letter to Rector Hagan
18 Nov. 1920 <sup>656</sup>	Patrick McNamara, C.C. Ballymoney,	Described as having Sinn Féin sympathies when found in possession of arms

<sup>646</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 25 Sept. 1920.

<sup>647</sup> *Irish Independent*, 27 Sept. 1920.

<sup>648</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 2 Oct. 1920. President of *comhairle ceanntair*: List of Sinn Féin officers (N.L.I., MS 5649).

<sup>649</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 18 Sept. 1920.

<sup>650</sup> File marked 'G.H.Q.I. Restoration of Order in Ireland Regs. Revd. J. Meehan. Having shot gun ammunition and Seditious Documents' (T.N.A., WO35/117). President of the *comhairle ceanntair*: List of Sinn Féin officers (N.L.I., MS 5649).

<sup>651</sup> File marked 'Courts Martial – Civilians. Mel Ward & 12 others. Present at an executive Sinn Fein meeting at Croghan on 13/10/20. Possession of seditious documents' (T.N.A., WO35/131).

<sup>652</sup> *Irish Independent*, 20 Oct. 1920.

<sup>653</sup> *Ibid.*, 21 Oct. 1920.

<sup>654</sup> I.G.M.R., Oct. 1920, pp 12 and 167 (T.N.A., CO904/113). President of *comhairle ceanntair*: List of Sinn Féin officers (N.L.I., MS 5649).

<sup>655</sup> Sinnott to Hagan, 5 Nov. 1920 (A.I.C.R., Hagan papers, HAG1/1920/409).

<sup>656</sup> Folder marked 'Courts Martial Civilians. Rev. John O'Neill, P.P. Rev. Patk. McNamara, C.C. Possession of Ammunition. Ballymoney' (T.N.A., WO35/129).

	Co. Antrim	
25 Nov. 1920 <sup>657</sup>	Bernard Crehan, C.C. Grange, Co. Sligo	Writes in letter to bishop's secretary that he supports the right of self-determination and 'the Irish word for that is Sinn Féin'
27 Nov. 1920 <sup>658</sup>	Unidentified Jesuit, Leeson Street, Dublin	Reportedly made himself auspicious in championing Eoin MacNeill
1 Dec. 1920 <sup>659</sup>	P. Ryan, C.C. Bournea, Roscrea, Co. Tipperary	Writes in letter to Fogarty that masked men who raided his house told him to sever his connections with the arbitration courts
16 Dec. 1920 <sup>660</sup>	Dominic O'Connor, O.S.F.C. and Albert Bibby, O.S.F.C., Church St. priory, Dublin	Found in possession of seditious documents showing links with Sinn Féin
23 Dec. 1920 <sup>661</sup>	Christian Brother community, Drogheda, Co. Louth	Brothers except the superior reportedly 'hold [and] express extreme Sinn Féin views'
26 Dec. 1920 <sup>662</sup>	Thomas Burbage, C.C. Geashill, Co. Offaly	Is said to have held his republican views 'with such intensity of conviction that arguments which may tell with others are only thrown away upon him'. President of North Offaly Sinn Féin <i>comhairle ceanntair</i>
1920 <sup>663</sup>	John O'Meehan, C.C. Ragoon, Salthill Co. Galway	Reportedly involved with Pearse and Griffith and with the Volunteers before 1919. Continued his links with republicans during the War of Independence
11 Feb. 1921 <sup>664</sup>	Br Paul Griffin, C.Ss.R., Dundalk, Co. Louth	Found in possession of material showing links with Sinn Féin
Feb. 1921 <sup>665</sup>	Clergy in Omagh, Co. Tyrone	Reportedly support the Belfast trade boycott. St. Vincent de Paul funds transferred from Northern Bank to Bank of Ireland
24 Apr. 1921 <sup>666</sup>	Four priests and four lay brothers, Redemptorist community,	Give their first votes to Sinn Féin candidates in the general election

<sup>657</sup> Ó Croidheáin to Crowe, 1 Nov. 1920 (E.D.A., Coyne papers, box marked 'Bishop Coyne, 1913-1919', folder marked 'Jan-Dec '20').

<sup>658</sup> Delaney to Walsh, 27 Nov. 1920 (D.D.A., Walsh papers, 380/3).

<sup>659</sup> Ryan to Fogarty, 1 Dec. 1920 (K.D.A., Fogarty papers, F5A20).

<sup>660</sup> File in envelope marked '16/12/20, 17/12/20, 11/137' (T.N.A., WO35/81).

<sup>661</sup> File in envelope marked '23-12-20. 11/143' (T.N.A., WO35/81).

<sup>662</sup> Lalor to Foley, 26 Dec. 1920 (K.L.D.A., Foley papers, BP17/1920/47). President of *comhairle ceanntair*: List of Sinn Féin officers (N.L.I., MS 5649).

<sup>663</sup> Leech witness statement (N.A.I., BMH/WS1034).

<sup>664</sup> Folder marked 'Courts Martial – Civilians. Brother Paul. Possession of Seditious documents. Dundalk' (T.N.A., WO35/129).

<sup>665</sup> I.G.M.R., Feb. 1921, p. 380 (T.N.A., CO904/114).

<sup>666</sup> Entry for 24 Apr. 1921, 'Domestic Chronicles of the House of the Most Holy Redeemer, Belfast, founded Nov. 1<sup>st</sup> 1896', vol. i: 'Domestic Chronicle 1896-1930' (C.M.A.).

	Clonard, Belfast	
21 May 1921 <sup>667</sup>	John Loughrey, C.C. Thomastown, Co. Kilkenny	Found in possession of material to do with the Dáil and with the Belfast trade boycott
25 May 1921 <sup>668</sup>	Patrick O'Halloran, C.C. Nenagh, Co. Tipperary	Tells newspaper he has received threatening letter. He has no connection with the I.R.A. but believes in self-determination for Ireland
July 1921 <sup>669</sup>	Charles Troy	Visits Richard Mulcahy's sister in her convent in Thurles. Knew Michael Collins and Mulcahy himself
1919-21 <sup>670</sup>	William O'Kennedy, president, St. Flannan's college, Ennis, Co. Clare	Treasurer of the Dáil loan and judge on republican court. Treasurer and director of elections of East Clare Sinn Féin <i>comhairle ceanntair</i>
1919-21 <sup>671</sup>	Patrick Gaynor and Michael McKenna, C.C. Mullagh, Co. Clare	Gaynor is member of West Clare Sinn Féin <i>comhairle ceanntair</i> and of the <i>ard comhairle</i> . McKenna 'has control of the whole Sinn Féin movement in the parish'
1919-21 <sup>672</sup>	Joseph Hennessy, O.E.S.A., Limerick	Described by Ernie O'Malley as 'very loyal to us'. Vice-president of Limerick City Sinn Féin <i>comhairle ceanntair</i>

<sup>667</sup> Folder marked 'Courts Martial Civilians. Rev. John Loughrey & Others' (T.N.A., WO35/126).

<sup>668</sup> *Irish Independent*, 26 May 1921.

<sup>669</sup> Mary Angela to Mulcahy, 16 July 1921 (U.C.D.A., Mulcahy papers, P7a/44). Troy does not appear in *I.C.D. 1919, 1920 or 1921*. Perhaps he was from abroad.

<sup>670</sup> Ó Haichir, *Churchman*, p. 8. Treasurer and director of elections of *comhairle ceanntair*: List of Sinn Féin officers (N.L.I., MS 5649).

<sup>671</sup> Gaynor: Gaynor, *Memoirs*, p. 11; McKenna: Gaynor, 'Sinn Fein days', p. 464.

<sup>672</sup> Ernie O'Malley notebooks, p. 55/2 (U.C.D.A., O'Malley papers, P17b/116). Vice-president of *comhairle ceanntair*: List of Sinn Féin officers (N.L.I., MS 5649).

**2.14 Clerical endorsement of or participation in republican violence, January 1919 – July 1921**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Circumstances/details</b>
Jan. 1919 <sup>673</sup>	Richard McCarthy, C.C. Ballyhahill, Co. Limerick	Provides shelter to Dan Breen and other Volunteers after the Soloheadbeg killing. Reportedly ‘bivouacs’ with flying column later, in 1920 or 1921
June 1919 <sup>674</sup>	Peter Rogers, C.C. Dunleer, Co. Louth	Reportedly tells a policeman canvassing for the Irish Parliamentary Party that he would have him driven out with stones if he heard any more about it
4 July 1919 <sup>675</sup>	Malachy Brennan, C.C. Caltra, Ballinasloe, Co. Galway	Writes in letter in newspaper that the killing of D.I. Hunt had been given ‘undue prominence’ in the press
20 Aug. 1919 <sup>676</sup>	Michael Fogarty, Bp. Killaloe	Refuses to condemn shooting of land agents from behind hedges when asked to by journalist. ‘Why should bishops be asked to become police agents?’
14 Sept. 1919 <sup>677</sup>	Michael Curran, secretary to Abp. Walsh, Dublin	Writes in letter to Hagan that ‘human blood will take its own means of satisfying justice’ in a situation of oppression. Condemns acts of violence
27 Nov. 1919 <sup>678</sup>	Patrick Mallon, C.C. Ballinamore, Co. Leitrim	Criticises resolutions adopted by Leitrim, Meath and Westmeath county councils condemning outrages by the Volunteers
9 Jan. 1920 <sup>679</sup>	Patrick Flynn, C.C. Longford	Writes in letter to Hagan concerning attacks on R.I.C. barracks: ‘I suppose such things will happen ... till we get our freedom’
24 June 1920 <sup>680</sup>	Walter O’Neill, Adm. Long Tower, Derry	Arrested when rounds of revolver and rifle ammunition are found on his person. Released again on his own recognisances
June 1920 <sup>681</sup>	Unidentified priest, Knocknagoshel, Co. Kerry	Tells wives of two constables who were ordered to leave the area by republicans that he could do nothing, that they were strangers and had to go
26 Sept. 1920 <sup>682</sup>	Michael Fogarty, Bp. Killaloe	Exhorts congregation in sermon at mass on Sunday not to commit crime but says ‘mistakes and sorrows are ... inevitable in such an intense struggle’
28 Sept. 1920 <sup>683</sup>	William MacFeely, P.P. Waterside, Derry	Writes in letter to Archbishop Walsh that it would be more satisfactory if priest could say that it was morally lawful to join the I.R.A.

<sup>673</sup> Breen, *My fight*, pp 44, 48-9.

<sup>674</sup> Rawlins to Hagan, 25 June 1919 (A.I.C.R., Hagan papers, HAG1/1919/176).

<sup>675</sup> *Irish Independent*, 4 July 1919.

<sup>676</sup> *Irish Independent*, 20 Aug. 1919.

<sup>677</sup> Curran to Hagan, 14 Sept. 1919 (A.I.C.R., Hagan papers, HAG1/1919/389).

<sup>678</sup> *Irish Independent*, 1 Dec. 1919.

<sup>679</sup> Flynn to Hagan, 9 Jan. 1920 (A.I.C.R., Hagan papers, HAG1/1920/86).

<sup>680</sup> *Irish Independent*, 25 June 1920.

<sup>681</sup> Lowe, ‘War’, p. 100.

<sup>682</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 2 Oct. 1920.

<sup>683</sup> MacFeely to Walsh, 28 Sept. 1920 (D.D.A., Walsh papers, 380/2).

6 Oct. 1920 <sup>684</sup>	Michael Morley, C.C. Headford, Co. Galway	Has detonators, fuses and ammunition in his possession
12 Oct. 1920 <sup>685</sup>	John Ginty, student at All Hallows' college, Drumcondra, Dublin	Found in possession of a letter stating he was a member of the I.R.A. and another containing details about an ambush on R.I.C.
12 Oct. 1920 <sup>686</sup>	John Meehan, C.C. Castlebar, Co. Mayo	Shot gun and ammunition – or just ammunition – found in his house as well as seditious documents
Oct. 1920 <sup>687</sup>	Denis Ahern, C.C., Skull, Co. Cork	Gives absolution to I.R.A. men on way to attack R.I.C. barracks
18 Nov. 1920 <sup>688</sup>	John O'Neill, P.P., and Patrick McNamara, C.C. Ballymoney, Co. Antrim	Automatic pistol and several kinds of ammunition found at their house
20 Nov. 1920 <sup>689</sup>	Michael Curran, vice-rector Irish college, Rome	Facilitates a meeting between I.R.A. representatives and the Italian government to purchase arms and ammunition. Mission is unsuccessful
21 Nov. 1920 <sup>690</sup>	Patrick O'Connell, P.P. Enniskean, Co. Cork	Rides out to hear confessions of flying column members and to bless them before the Kilmichael ambush
Nov. 1920 <sup>691</sup>	William Hackett, S.J., Crescent college, Limerick	Conceals a rifle in his chimney and has contacts with Volunteers and with the Dáil
Nov. 1920 <sup>692</sup>	John O'Meehan, C.C. Ragoon, Salthill, Co. Galway	Reportedly attended to a man executed by the I.R.A. on conviction of espionage
Autumn 1920 <sup>693</sup>	Thomas Duggan, chaplain Bon Secours hospital, Cork	Carries materials and weapons into Cork jail needed to blow up the prison walls. Described himself as a 'combatant (more or less) against the Black and Tans'
8 Dec. 1920 <sup>694</sup>	Patrick Kelly, C.C. Dunboyne, Co.	Goes to attend to victim of I.R.A. violence and refuses afterwards to tell authorities who called him

<sup>684</sup> *Irish Independent*, 8 and 9 Oct. 1920.

<sup>685</sup> Entry in Register of cases tried, p. 200 (T.N.A., WO35/133).

<sup>686</sup> File marked 'G.H.Q.I. Restoration of Order in Ireland Regs. Revd. J. Meehan. Having shot gun ammunition and Seditious Documents' (T.N.A., WO35/117). Two reports in the file disagree as to what exactly was found.

<sup>687</sup> Deasy, *Ireland free*, p. 151.

<sup>688</sup> File marked 'Courts Martial Civilians. Rev. John O'Neill, P.P. Rev. Patk. McNamara, C.C. Possession of Ammunition. Ballymoney' (T.N.A., WO35/129).

<sup>689</sup> Curran witness statement, pp 493-4 (N.A.I., BMH/WS687).

<sup>690</sup> Barry, *Guerrilla days*, p. 39.

<sup>691</sup> Hackett, 'Seven years', pp 13-14 (J.P.A., 'Brief lives' papers, J172/5).

<sup>692</sup> Leech witness statement (N.A.I., BMH/WS1034).

<sup>693</sup> Duggan witness statement, pp 4-5 (N.A.I., BMH/WS552).

<sup>694</sup> 'Evidence of Rev. Patrick Kelly, C.C., Dunboyne', enclosed in Macready to Logue, 17 Dec. 1920 (A.D.A., Logue papers, ARCH9/5/4).

	Meath	and who was present at the scene and if they were members of an illegal organisation
15 Dec. 1920 <sup>695</sup>	Dominic O'Connor, O.S.F.C.	Writes in letter to Cork I.R.A. brigade commandant that Cohalan's excommunication decree does not apply to his men. 'Ambush each day'
16 Dec. 1920 <sup>696</sup>	Capuchin priory, Church Street, Dublin	Ammunition found in Fr Mathew Memorial Hall adjoining the monastery
23 Dec. 1920 <sup>697</sup>	Carmelite priory, Whitefriar Street, Dublin	Guns, ammunition, Volunteer artifacts and seditious literature found in window sash and fireplace in cellar and in confraternity rooms
Dec. 1920 <sup>698</sup>	Martin O'Farrell, C.C. Kilreekil, Co. Galway	A letter is found in his house which shows he is acting as an intermediary for the I.R.A.
Dec. 1920 <sup>699</sup>	Unidentified Jesuit priest, Dublin, and unidentified P.P. and C.C., Co. Wexford	Reportedly defended the morality of killing of police and military to a senior lawyer and to Logue's correspondent's brother respectively
1920 <sup>700</sup>	Ferdinand O'Leary, O.F.M., member of Clonmel friary	Note in wallet in his papers indicates that he got the wallet from Dan Breen in 1920
1920 <sup>701</sup>	St. Augustine's Augustinian priory, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford	Reportedly gave 'spiritual assistance' to men of the Waterford I.R.A. brigade. Commandant's brother was in the Augustinian novitiate
23 Jan. 1921 <sup>702</sup>	L. M. Gerhard, O.Carm., prior, Terenure college, Dublin	Ammunition found in his possession. Gerhard reportedly also gave shelter to Michael Collins and William Cosgrave
29 Jan. 1921 <sup>703</sup>	Michael Ahern, C.C. Castlelyons, Co. Cork	Accused of having withheld from the authorities the fact that he saw members of the ambushing party withdraw from the site of an ambush on military as he arrived to minister to the wounded. Acquitted
Jan. 1921 <sup>704</sup>	Edward Shinnick, P.P. Coachford, Co. Cork	Warns flying columns that R.I.C. know about an intended ambush at Dripsey Bridge

<sup>695</sup> Dominic to O'Donoghue, 15 Dec. 1920 (N.L.I., O'Donoghue papers, MS 31,170).

<sup>696</sup> Envelope marked '16/12/20, 17/12/20, 11/137' (T.N.A., WO35/81).

<sup>697</sup> Envelope marked '23-12-20. 11/143' (T.N.A., WO35/81).

<sup>698</sup> Copies of letters enclosed in Brigadier-General to O'Doherty, 9 Dec. 1920 (Ct.D.A., O'Doherty papers, xii.c.6).

<sup>699</sup> O'Connor to Logue, 21 Dec. 1920 (N.L.I., MS 21,697).

<sup>700</sup> In file marked 'Ferdinand O'Leary' (F.L.K., 'Individual friars, M-W').

<sup>701</sup> Mansfield, 'Decies', p. 381.

<sup>702</sup> Envelope marked '21/12/20 11/141' (T.N.A., WO35/81) and envelope marked '23/1/21' and '34/434' (T.N.A., WO35/82). Sheltering Collins: see D'Arcy, *Terenure*, p. 140. Sheltering Cosgrave: see O'Dwyer, *Carmelites*, p. 351.

<sup>703</sup> Entry for 29 Jan. 1921 in Register of cases tried (T.N.A., WO35/135). See also *Irish Independent*, 10 Mar. 1921.

<sup>704</sup> Kautt, *Ambushes*, p. 126.



22 Apr. 1921 <sup>705</sup>	Unidentified priest, Newmarket-on-Fergus, Co. Clare	Attends killing of a man convicted of being a spy by the I.R.A. Ministers to him. Newspaper quotes from Castle report, so he gave evidence about the affair to the authorities afterwards
24 Apr. 1921 <sup>706</sup>	Mt Melleray Trappist monastery, Co. Waterford	Give shelter and food to I.R.A. flying column and its prisoner, D.I. Potter. Also give food to Waterford I.R.A. brigade and hear the men's confessions
Apr. 1921 <sup>707</sup>	Unidentified priest, Co. Monaghan	Taken out to attend the killing of a man by I.R.A.
8 May 1921 <sup>708</sup>	Patrick Morrisroe, Bp. Achonry	Asks I.R.A. men in sermon at mass in Gurteen, Co. Leitrim, to count the cost of their actions, but says he has great respect for the sacrifice they are willing to make
16 May 1921 <sup>709</sup>	John Crowley, C.C. Caheragh, Co. Cork	Passes on a warning to Tom Barry that British forces are on their way to his hiding place
19 May 1921 <sup>710</sup>	John Canon Hegarty, P.P. Belmullet, Co. Mayo	Gives food and a blanket to two I.R.A. men on the run after carrying out an ambush. Invites them in when he hears who they are
May 1921 <sup>711</sup>	Patrick J. MacHugh, C.C. Aughagower, Co. Mayo	Says mass for men on the run in private house and hears their confessions. Also tells P.P. on a number of occasions that he supported the killing of policemen
10 June 1921 <sup>712</sup>	Anonymous Jesuit, Gardiner Street community, Dublin	Reports Fr Joseph Wrafter, S.J., of Gardiner Street to the Dáil's defence ministry because he took the name of two I.R.A. casualties of the Custom House attack off the dead list in St. Francis Xavier's church
12 June 1921 <sup>713</sup>	John Murphy, C.C. Newinn, Co. Tipperary, and Ferdinand O'Leary, O.F.M.	Murphy celebrates nuptial mass for Dan Breen and his bride in the presence of O'Leary and many I.R.A. men on the run
18 Dec. 1921 <sup>714</sup>	William Canon O'Kennedy, president St. Flannan's college, Ennis, Co. Clare	Mentions the 'brave men whose guns spoke freedom on the fair hills of holy Ireland' in an address to the college community after his release from prison
1921 <sup>715</sup>	Unnamed priest,	Was reportedly friendly to the I.R.A. and gave

<sup>705</sup> *Irish Independent*, 13 May 1921.

<sup>706</sup> Bourke, 'South Tipperary', pp 179-86 and Mansfield, 'Decies', p. 381.

<sup>707</sup> I.G.M.R., Apr. 1921, p. 7 (T.N.A., CO904/115).

<sup>708</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 14 May 1921.

<sup>709</sup> Barry, *Guerrilla days*, p. 177.

<sup>710</sup> Hughes, 'Statement', pp 77-85.

<sup>711</sup> MacHugh to Gilmartin, 23 May 1921; Flatley to Gilmartin, 23 May 1921; Flatley to Gilmartin, 27 May 1921 (T.D.A., Gilmartin papers, B4/8-ii/5).

<sup>712</sup> Anon. to Mulcahy, 10 June 1921 (U.C.D.A., Mulcahy papers, P7/A/19).

<sup>713</sup> Breen, *My fight*, p. 164.

<sup>714</sup> Ó Haichir, *Churchman*, pp 12-3.

	near Drumshanbo and Kiltubrid, Co. Leitrim	Volunteers holy communion
1921 <sup>716</sup>	Carmody, American diocese	Brother of Ardfert I.R.A. battalion adjutant. Pays for arms and ammunition while in Ireland on holidays
1921 <sup>717</sup>	John Kiely, O.P., sub-prior, St. Saviour's priory, Tralee, Co. Kerry	Reportedly tells leading I.R.A. man that the men could always go to him for confession
1919-21 <sup>718</sup>	Raphael Ayres, O.P., prior of Dominican priory, Tralee, Co. Kerry	Described by I.R.A. veteran as 'sincere republican and a friend of every Irishman who had taken up arms for the freedom of his country'
1919-21 <sup>719</sup>	William Behan, C.C. Tralee, Co. Kerry	Urges local I.R.A. brigade to undertake operations and volunteers for some personally. Draws up a petition to I.R.A. G.H.Q. complaining about the lack of activity on the part of the brigade commandant
1919-21 <sup>720</sup>	Patrick J. Doyle, rector, Knockbeg college, Co. Carlow	Carries arms to I.R.A. on island in Baltimore harbour. Acts as intermediary for secret information. Also gives shelter to I.R.A. men such as Kevin O'Higgins and Rory O'Connor in the college
1919-21 <sup>721</sup>	Patrick Gaynor and Michael McKenna, C.C. Mullagh, Co. Clare	McKenna is commandant of local Volunteer company and Gaynor serves as acting head of republican police. Give shelter to I.R.A. men on the run
24 Apr. 1949 <sup>722</sup>	Michael Fogarty, Bp. Killaloe	In 1949 Fogarty tells interviewer that 'the national interest would over-ride such unpleasant happenings as the shooting of policemen' during the War of Independence. In a letter he confirms this, provided the killings were authorised by 'at least de facto government': 'in that sense ... I would stand over the [guerrilla] struggle'

<sup>715</sup> McCarthy, 'Leitrim', p. 403.

<sup>716</sup> Kennedy witness statement, p. 85 (N.A.I., BMH/WS1413).

<sup>717</sup> Joy, *Kerry*, p. 75.

<sup>718</sup> Kennedy witness statement, pp 99-100 (N.A.I., BMH/WS1413

<sup>719</sup> Kennedy witness statement, pp 118-9 (N.A.I., BMH/WS1413).

<sup>720</sup> Doyle witness statement (N.L.I., Doyle papers, MS 13,561/12).

<sup>721</sup> Gaynor, 'Sinn Fein days', *passim*.

<sup>722</sup> Fogarty witness statement, p. 2 (N.A.I., BMH/WS271).

## 2.15 Clerical peacekeeping activities

Date	Name	Circumstances/details/charge
May 1919 <sup>723</sup>	Michael O'Donoghue, C.C. Kilcommin, Thurles, Co. Tipperary	Tries to calm a crowd during an <i>aeridheacht</i> in Inch near Thurles, Co. Tipperary, when police and military try to end the meeting
14 June 1919 <sup>724</sup>	Michael O'Flanagan, C.C. Roscommon	Asks crowd to retire after scuffles between them and the police in Kilmallock, Co. Limerick
Aug. 1919 <sup>725</sup>	John Glynn, P.P. Kilmurry-Ibricane, Co. Clare	Forms a vigilance committee in his parish for the preservation of the peace after the police are withdrawn
17 Apr. 1920 <sup>726</sup>	Walter O'Neill, Adm. Long Tower, Derry	Attempts to calm a crowd in Derry during riot involving civilians and Crown forces. Succeeds in persuading many of them to return home
20 Apr. 1920 <sup>727</sup>	Two unnamed priests, Derry	'Patrol the thoroughfares' from which the police had withdrawn at night, clear the streets of people by 10 pm
27 Apr. 1920 <sup>728</sup>	William Dwane, Adm. Limerick cathedral	Asks military governor General Strickland to ensure that troops are confined to barracks after military wreak havoc on city
28 May 1920 <sup>729</sup>	Patrick Woulfe, C.C. Kilmallock, Co. Limerick	Is 'active in advising the people to remain indoors' after there are fears of reprisals
May 1920 <sup>730</sup>	Patrick Canon Tracey, P.P. Kilmurry, Co. Cork, and curate	Dissuade two policemen from shooting a county councillor accused of having organised an attack on Kilmurry R.I.C. barracks. They chanced on the scene while walking down the public road
30 June 1920 <sup>731</sup>	John O'Donoghue, Adm. Fermoy, Co. Cork	Is part of a deputation to interview the chief secretary after reprisals by the army take place in Fermoy
June 1920 <sup>732</sup>	D. F. McCrea, P.P. Kilrea, Co. Derry	Reaches compromise between Crown forces and A.O.H. march. Crown forces blocked the way and let the procession pass when promised the band would not play while passing through the town

<sup>723</sup> *Irish Independent*, 27 May 1919.

<sup>724</sup> *Ibid.*, 16 June 1919.

<sup>725</sup> *Ibid.*, 20 Aug. 1919.

<sup>726</sup> *Ibid.*, 19 Apr. 1920.

<sup>727</sup> *Ibid.*, 21 Apr. 1920.

<sup>728</sup> *Ibid.*, 29 Apr. 1920.

<sup>729</sup> *Ibid.*, 31 May 1920.

<sup>730</sup> *Ibid.*, 14 May 1920.

<sup>731</sup> *Ibid.*, 1 July 1920.

<sup>732</sup> *Ibid.*, 23 June 1920.

June 1920 <sup>733</sup>	Unnamed priest, Derry	Takes charge of a civil guard to protect Watt's distillery. Guard meets out justice to looters
27 July 1920 <sup>734</sup>	Thomas Robinson, C.Ss.R., and Philip, O.F.M., Limerick	Visit county inspector to complain about molestation of men leaving confraternity meetings. Promise to use their influence to prevent interference with the police
28 July 1920 <sup>735</sup>	Msgr John O'Leary, P.P. Clonakilty, Co. Cork, and curate	Go through the town of Clonakilty to tell people to stay inside to avoid reprisals after a constable was killed
25 July 1920 <sup>736</sup>	Thomas Gilmartin, Abp. Tuam	Declares a 'truce of God' in the diocese of Tuam. Prays that God's justice may strike the first man to fire a shot
28 Aug. 1920 <sup>737</sup>	Robert Browne, Bp. Cloyne	Heads a deputation to ask admiral based in Queenstown for a patrol of marines in the town after soldiers had carried out a reprisal
Aug. 1920 <sup>738</sup>	Joseph Houlihan, C.C. Kinnitty, Co. Offaly	Says at mass that those preparing to destroy local R.I.C. barracks would do better to help suppress intemperance
19 Sept. 1920 <sup>739</sup>	Thomas Gilmartin, Abp. Tuam	Repeats call for 'truce of God' and says as far as he knows, nobody had broken it since he had called for it
26 Sept. 1920 <sup>740</sup>	Unnamed priests, Dunkerrin, Co. Offaly	Intervene to secure the release of five young men arrested at a ball alley by armed men
26 Sept. 1920 <sup>741</sup>	Unnamed priests, Trim, Co. Meath	Assure military that their town would be quiet and all the people would be indoors by 8 pm after shots were fired
28 Sept. 1920 <sup>742</sup>	C. W. Canon Corbett, P.P. Mallow, Co. Cork, and curates	Confers with Protestant and Catholic businessmen after raid on military barracks. Talks to R.I.C. and obtains guarantee from military commander that no reprisals would take place. Had the streets cleared of people by 9 p.m.
28 Sept. 1920 <sup>743</sup>	Patrick Canon Glynn, P.P. Kilkee, Co. Clare	Pleas with the Crown forces not to carry out reprisals after local R.M. Lendrum disappears
2 Nov. 1920 <sup>744</sup>	John Canon McDonnell, P.P.	Goes to district inspector to obtain guarantee that there would be no reprisals in Dingle after two

<sup>733</sup> Ibid., 24 June 1920.

<sup>734</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 31 July and 14 Aug. 1920.

<sup>735</sup> *Irish Independent*, 30 July 1920.

<sup>736</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 31 July 1920. See also Waldron, *Archbishops*, pp 106-11.

<sup>737</sup> *Irish Independent*, 30 Aug. 1920.

<sup>738</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 21 Aug. 1920.

<sup>739</sup> Ibid., 25 Sept. 1920.

<sup>740</sup> *Irish Independent*, 29 Sept. 1920.

<sup>741</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 2 Oct. 1920.

<sup>742</sup> *Irish Independent*, 30 Sept. 1920.

<sup>743</sup> Ibid.

<sup>744</sup> Ibid., 6 Nov. 1920.

	Dingle, Co. Kerry	'military policemen' were ambushed
3 Nov. 1920 <sup>745</sup>	Hyacinth Collins, O.P., Dominican priory, Tralee, Co. Kerry	Reportedly got a guarantee from the military that they would protect Tralee from reprisals after an attack on the R.I.C. After the military patrol is withdrawn reprisals follow
12 Nov. 1920 <sup>746</sup>	Michael McDonnell, C.C. Ballymacelligott, Co. Kerry	Asks man in charge of armed Crown forces to control their men after a shooting at local creamery
27 Nov. 1920 <sup>747</sup>	Five unnamed priests, Mullingar, Co. Westmeath	Advise people to go indoors when armed forces throw '2 bombs' in Earl Street, wounding a boy
1 Dec. 1920 <sup>748</sup>	Thomas Gilmartin, Abp. Tuam	Recalls his declaration of a 'truce of God' and says it has been upheld by the people but not by the Crown forces
19 Dec. 1920 <sup>749</sup>	Michael Carmody, C.C. Dunmanway, Co. Cork	Tells congregation at mass on Sunday that they must leave revenge to God after P.P. was shot dead by member of Crown forces
Dec. 1920 <sup>750</sup>	Daniel Cohalan, Bp. Cork	Writes letter in <i>Cork Examiner</i> to ask people who looted from shops destroyed by fire after the burning of Cork to return the goods privately to their priests, who would return them to their rightful owners
Dec. 1920 <sup>751</sup>	John Canon McMahon, P.P. Nenagh, Co. Tipperary	Tells congregation at funeral mass to say or do nothing that might lead to trouble. 'All should be in their homes in proper time to pray God for peace and unity'
15 Jan. 1921 <sup>752</sup>	James Rossiter, Adm. Enniscorthy, Co. Wexford	Intervenes to prevent the arrest by military of a local man after martial law proclamations are defaced
Jan. 1921 <sup>753</sup>	Thomas Gilmartin, Abp. Tuam	Writes public letter to P.P. Headford to condemn Kilrea ambush and says the perpetrators were the first civilians to break the truce of God which he declared
Feb. 1921 <sup>754</sup>	Florence McCarthy, Adm. pro-cathedral Skibbereen, Co.	Tells publicans in Skibbereen to close their premises at 9 pm and on all others to stay indoors to avoid 'conflicts between the rival forces'

<sup>745</sup> Ibid., 4 and 5 Nov. 1920.

<sup>746</sup> Ibid., 15 Nov. 1920.

<sup>747</sup> Ibid., 30 Nov. 1920.

<sup>748</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 4 Dec. 1920.

<sup>749</sup> *Irish Independent*, 22 Dec. 1920.

<sup>750</sup> Ibid., 2 Dec. 1920.

<sup>751</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 4 Dec. 1920.

<sup>752</sup> *Irish Independent*, 18 Jan. 1921.

<sup>753</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 29 Jan. 1921.

<sup>754</sup> Ibid., 19 Feb. 1921.

	Cork	
14 Mar. 1921 <sup>755</sup>	Thurles clergy, Co. Tipperary	Abp. Harty writes that ‘we have had a bad time of it in Thurles ... the clergy are doing their best to preserve the peace’
19 and 27 Mar. 1921 <sup>756</sup>	Thomas Gilmartin, Abp. Tuam	Calls again for a ‘truce of God’ in a public letter to P.P. Clifden and from the pulpit of Tuam cathedral
Apr. 1921 <sup>757</sup>	Peter Hill, P.P. Rosscarbery, Co. Cork	Reportedly joins locals in ‘attacking’ raiders who were wrecking houses in the town after local residents aided the R.I.C. when the I.R.A. attacked the local police barracks
Apr. 1921 <sup>758</sup>	Patrick Finegan, Bp. Kilmore	Praised by judge for having given ‘excellent advice’ to his diocese, keeping it relatively free from violence
May 1921 <sup>759</sup>	Denis O’Hara, P.P. Swinford, Co. Mayo	Reportedly puts a stop to the molestation of a local government official who was robbed of dog licence money by armed men. O’Hara held the man but ‘Sinn Feiners’ rescued him from the priest’s grip
May 1921 <sup>760</sup>	Unnamed priest, Castletownroche, Co. Cork	Reportedly frees a farmer tied to railings outside a school by republicans after being accused of spying

<sup>755</sup> Harty to Hagan, 14 Mar. 1921 (A.I.C.R., Hagan papers, HAG1/1921/144).

<sup>756</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 26 Mar. and 2 Apr. 1921.

<sup>757</sup> *Irish Independent*, 16 Apr. 1921.

<sup>758</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 9 Apr. 1921.

<sup>759</sup> *Irish Independent*, 5 and 9 May 1921.

<sup>760</sup> *Ibid.*, 20 May 1921.

## 2.16 Alternatives to violence suggested by clergy, January 1919 – July 1921

Date	Name	Alternative suggested
4 May 1919 <sup>761</sup>	Thomas Gilmartin, Abp. Tuam	Tells congregation in sermon at Sunday mass in Westport to suffer after the example of Christ and not to take revenge
1 June 1919 <sup>762</sup>	Bernard Hackett, C.Ss.R., Bp. Waterford and Lismore	Says in sermon at Sunday mass in Clonmel that it was the duty of the people to realise that the future lay in God's hands and they must not anger him
7 June 1919 <sup>763</sup>	D. J. Finucane, C.C. Killarney, Co. Kerry	Says in address at <i>aeridheacht</i> that if the people would speak Irish in their homes, they would ultimately defeat the machinations of their enemies
8 June 1919 <sup>764</sup>	Thomas Gilmartin, Abp. Tuam	Advises congregation at confirmation service in Westport to keep patient and to keep cool. They must maintain their dignity as Christians
Aug. 1919 <sup>765</sup>	John Glynn, P.P. Kilmurry-Ibrickane, Co. Clare	Advises the people to be patient as the present state of things could not last
2 Nov. 1919 <sup>766</sup>	Lawrence Gaughran, Bp. Meath	Tells congregation in sermon at Sunday mass in Mullingar that patient, confident trust in God's right arm will right the wrongs of the country
1 Jan. 1920 <sup>767</sup>	Patrick Foley, Bp. Kildare and Leighlin	Tells congregation in Carlow that hope of success lies in the adoption of lawful means, the union of all their forces spiritual and temporal and trust in providence
18 Jan. 1920 <sup>768</sup>	M. Heany, P.P. Caherlistrane, Co. Galway	Says in sermon at Sunday mass that there are 'other and lawful means at the disposal of a down-trodden and misgoverned people'
Jan. 1920 <sup>769</sup>	John Carr, P.P. Lehan, Co. Galway	Condemns raids for arms and money and says people would be doing their country a service by taking up the study of the Irish language
2 May 1920 <sup>770</sup>	Michael Fogarty, Bp. Killaloe	Says in sermon at Sunday mass in Miltown Malbay that the people must exercise Christian fortitude and patience
May 1920 <sup>771</sup>	Thomas O'Dea, Bp. Galway	Says in sermon at confirmation service in Killanin that the people must be calm and united

<sup>761</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 10 May 1919.

<sup>762</sup> *Ibid.*, 7 June 1919.

<sup>763</sup> *Irish Independent*, 10 June 1919.

<sup>764</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 14 June 1919.

<sup>765</sup> *Irish Independent*, 20 Aug. 1919.

<sup>766</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 8 Nov. 1919.

<sup>767</sup> *Ibid.*, 3 Jan. 1920.

<sup>768</sup> *Ibid.*, 24 Jan. 1920.

<sup>769</sup> *Ibid.*, 31 Jan. 1920.

<sup>770</sup> *Ibid.*, 8 May 1920.

<sup>771</sup> *Ibid.*, 15 May 1920.

June 1920 <sup>772</sup>	Patrick Finegan, Bp. Kilmore	Says in sermon at confirmation in Cootehill that they could not take independence by force. They must pray
19 July 1920 <sup>773</sup>	Nicholas Canon Murphy, P.P. Kilmanagh, Co. Kilkenny	Writes in letter to editor of <i>Irish Catholic</i> that freedom worth having must come from God's right hand. The kingdom of heaven must come first
25 July 1920 <sup>774</sup>	Thomas Gilmartin, Abp. Tuam	Tells congregation in sermon at Sunday mass in Tuam that they must not listen to angry passions but to the gospel of Christ
25 July 1920 <sup>775</sup>	Denis Kelly, Bp. Ross	Says in sermon at Sunday mass in Skibbereen that if they were to save themselves they must pray seriously and acknowledge their sins
6 Aug. 1920 <sup>776</sup>	Daniel Cohalan, Bp. Cork	Says in public statement that Ireland will win its freedom on condition of national unity and of supporting the Dáil loyally
22 Aug. 1920 <sup>777</sup>	Thomas O'Dea, Bp. Galway	Says in sermon at Sunday mass in Galway that if the people put their trust in God and Mary they would not be disappointed
29 Aug. 1920 <sup>778</sup>	Michael Card. Logue, Abp. Armagh	Writes in public letter to Adm. Dundalk that the people must bear the trials to which they are subjected with Christian patience
29 Aug. 1920 <sup>779</sup>	Francis O'Hare, C.C. Newry, Co. Down	Counsels congregation in sermon at Sunday mass to preserve the peace and to avoid confrontation
5 Sept. 1920 <sup>780</sup>	Joseph Hoare, Bp. Ardagh and Clonmacnoise	Tells congregation in sermon at Sunday mass in Longford that they must pray to God for relief and practical self-restraint
19 Sept. 1920 <sup>781</sup>	Thomas Gilmartin, Abp. Tuam	Tells congregation in sermon at Sunday mass in Tuam that they must carry out their political views observing the commandments of God
26 Sept. 1920 <sup>782</sup>	Michael Fogarty, Bp. Killaloe	Tells congregation in sermon at Sunday mass in Ennis that they must be patient as well as firm and that revenge is useless
26 Sept. 1920 <sup>783</sup>	Thomas Gilmartin, Abp. Tuam	Tells congregation in sermon at Sunday mass in Tuam that revenge belongs to God and that patient suffering is sure of victory
26 Sept. 1920 <sup>784</sup>	James Canon	Appeals to congregation in sermon at Sunday mass

<sup>772</sup> Ibid., 19 June 1920.

<sup>773</sup> Ibid., 24 July 1920.

<sup>774</sup> Ibid., 31 July 1920.

<sup>775</sup> Ibid.

<sup>776</sup> Statement to parish priests, 6 Aug. 1920 (C.D.A., Cohalan papers, box vi).

<sup>777</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 28 Aug. 1920.

<sup>778</sup> Ibid., 4 Sept. 1920.

<sup>779</sup> Ibid.

<sup>780</sup> Ibid., 11 Sept. 1920.

<sup>781</sup> Ibid., 25 Sept. 1920.

<sup>782</sup> Ibid., 2 Oct. 1920.

<sup>783</sup> Ibid.

<sup>784</sup> Ibid.



	Halpin, P.P. Tulla, Co. Clare	to keep cool in all circumstances. To win they must persevere in justice and self-restraint
26 Sept. 1920 <sup>785</sup>	Bernard Hackett, C.Ss.R., Bp. Waterford and Lismore	Says in sermon at Sunday mass in Lismore that the people must have patience and forbearance and must place their trust in God
Sept. 1920 <sup>786</sup>	Thomas Gilmartin, Abp. Tuam	Tells congregation in sermon at mass in Athenry that the clergy must preach the commandment of the love of God and one's neighbour. The people must heed the gospel of Christ, not that of the devil
Sept. 1920 <sup>787</sup>	Thomas O'Dea, Bp. Galway and clergy of Kilfenora diocese	Pass resolution counselling 'much prayer', especially the recitation of the family rosary and frequentation of the sacraments
Sept. 1920 <sup>788</sup>	John Mary Harty, Abp. Cashel and Emly	Advises congregation at confirmation service in Ballina, Killaloe, to foster love of country and work for their ends within the law of God
3 Oct. 1920 <sup>789</sup>	Dean Roderick Gearty, P.P. Strokestown, Co. Roscommon	Tells congregation in sermon at Sunday mass to pray fervently and God would succour their poor country
10 Oct. 1920 <sup>790</sup>	Patrick Morrisroe, Bp. Achonry	Writes in public letter to P.P. Tobercurry that success is more likely to be in peace and prayer than in any other line
24 Oct. 1920 <sup>791</sup>	Patrick O'Connell, P.P. Cootehill, Co. Cavan	Advises congregation in sermon at Sunday mass to observe charity and to use restraint and preserve peace
31 Oct. 1920 <sup>792</sup>	Patrick Finegan, Bp. Kilmore	Says in sermon at Sunday mass in Cavan that the people must pray for a measure of home rule that would satisfy the people
Oct. 1920 <sup>793</sup>	Patrick Foley, Bp. Kildare and Leighlin	Says in sermon at confirmation in Edenderry that they must be resigned to God's will and God will do the very best for them if he wants
Oct. 1920 <sup>794</sup>	J.A. O'Reilly, O.P., prior, Dominican priory Kilkenny	Tells congregation in sermon at mass in Wexford that they must have recourse to prayer so that God might enlighten their neighbours across the Channel and give them their right
7 Nov. 1920 <sup>795</sup>	Thomas Canon	Says in sermon at Sunday mass that the people must

<sup>785</sup> Ibid.

<sup>786</sup> Ibid., 5 Sept. 1920.

<sup>787</sup> Ibid., 2 Oct. 1920.

<sup>788</sup> Ibid.

<sup>789</sup> *Irish Independent*, 9 Oct. 1920.

<sup>790</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 16 Oct. 1920.

<sup>791</sup> Ibid., 30 Oct. 1920.

<sup>792</sup> Ibid., 6 Nov. 1920.

<sup>793</sup> Ibid., 9 Oct. 1920.

<sup>794</sup> Ibid.

<sup>795</sup> Ibid., 13 Nov. 1920.

	Maguire, Granard, Co. Longford	rely on the mercy of God and meditate upon the sufferings of Christ
7 Nov. 1920 <sup>796</sup>	Lawrence Gaughran, Bp. Meath	Asks congregation in sermon at Sunday mass in Mullingar how it would safeguard the people from the perils surrounding them to saturate themselves with alcohol, depriving themselves of their reason. They must take the pledge and lead temperate lives
7 Nov. 1920 <sup>797</sup>	P. Callary, P.P. Tullamore, Co. Offaly	Tells congregation in sermon at Sunday mass that ‘freedom, like the thrones of heaven, by suffering virtue must be won’
7 Nov. 1920 <sup>798</sup>	Joseph Hoare, Bp. Ardagh and Clonmacnoise	Says in sermon at Sunday mass in Longford that the people must keep cool, refrain from crime, frequent the sacraments and uphold their religion
14 Nov. 1920 <sup>799</sup>	Archdeacon James Walker, P.P. Donegal	Advises a congregation in sermon at Sunday mass to keep cool and practice restraint
21 Nov. 1920 <sup>800</sup>	John Murphy, Adm. St. Finbarr’s, Cork	Asks congregation in sermon at Sunday mass to pray to God to put an end to the reign of killing and to guide the people to the blessings of peace
Nov. 1920 <sup>801</sup>	Joseph McCarthy, C.C. Tipperary	Tells congregation at novena that the united prayer of a nation was the best means to seek relief
Nov. 1920 <sup>802</sup>	John Canon McMahon, P.P. Nenagh, Co. Tipperary	Counsels congregation at funeral mass to be patient. Says all should be in their homes in proper time to pray to God for peace and unity
5 Dec. 1920 <sup>803</sup>	John McSwiney, C.C. Bandon, Co. Cork	Says in sermon at Sunday mass that the young men must concentrate on organised passive resistance and must fall on their knees before the throne of God
Dec. 1920 <sup>804</sup>	Thomas Gilmartin, Abp. Tuam	Tells congregation at funeral in Carrowneen that revenge must not be their reply to government violence. Christ is their leader and his motto is patience
1 Jan. 1921 <sup>805</sup>	Abraham Brownrigg, S.S.S., Bp. Ossory	Says in public letter read at masses in diocese that perseverance in patience and forbearance is the policy that will please God best
1 Jan. 1921 <sup>806</sup>	Denis Kelly, Bp. Ross	Says in at mass in Skibbereen that he could promise them happiness if they had good conduct and observed God’s law

<sup>796</sup> Ibid.

<sup>797</sup> *Irish Independent*, 10 Nov. 1920.

<sup>798</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 13 Nov. 1920.

<sup>799</sup> Ibid., 20 Nov. 1920.

<sup>800</sup> *Irish Independent*, 23 Nov. 1920.

<sup>801</sup> Ibid., 5 Nov. 1920.

<sup>802</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 4 Dec. 1920.

<sup>803</sup> Ibid., 11 Dec. 1920.

<sup>804</sup> Ibid., 4 Dec. 1920.

<sup>805</sup> Ibid., 8 Jan. 1921.

<sup>806</sup> Ibid.

1 Jan. 1921 <sup>807</sup>	Thomas Gilmartin, Abp. Tuam	Tells congregation in Tuam that young men must practice self-restraint because it is the highest courage. All men should take Christ's message and renounce desires of revenge
6 Jan. 1921 <sup>808</sup>	Thomas Gilmartin, Abp. Tuam	Says in sermon at mass in Tuam that all must pray for peace and that Christianity is a religion of sacrifice and self-denial
9 Jan. 1921 <sup>809</sup>	William Codd, Bp. Ferns	Says in sermon at Sunday mass in Wexford that people should bear with unjust government until God removed the affliction
6 Feb. 1921 <sup>810</sup>	Michael Fogarty, Bp. Killaloe	Says in Lenten pastoral that Ireland in its distress needs fortitude and wisdom
11 Feb. 1921 <sup>811</sup>	Msgr Patrick Segrave, P.P. Drogheda, Co. Louth	Says in sermon at funeral that the truest patriots had told him that with those who could endure would victory be. The people must be patient and have recourse to prayer
27 Feb. 1921 <sup>812</sup>	Abraham Brownrigg, S.S.S., Bp. Ossory	Says in public letter read at masses in Kilkenny that persecuted Catholics must seek patience and strength in prayer and the sacraments
6 Mar. 1921 <sup>813</sup>	Thomas Canon O'Reilly, P.P. Carrick-on-Shannon, Co. Leitrim	Urges congregation in sermon at Sunday mass to pray to God to enlighten the government to give Ireland such a measure as would bring peace
27 Mar. 1921 <sup>814</sup>	Thomas Gilmartin, Abp. Tuam	Says in sermon at Sunday mass in Tuam that the young men of the diocese must imitate the patience of Christ, who was lead as a lamb to the slaughter
29 Mar. 1921 <sup>815</sup>	Patrick Morrisroe, Bp. Achonry, and clergy of diocese	Pass resolution at meeting protesting against treatment of Father D. O'Hara and exhort people to be still-patient and peace-abiding
Mar. 1921 <sup>816</sup>	Michael Card. Logue, Abp. Armagh	Tells people of his diocese in a public letter that they must rely for relief on the goodness and mercy of God rather than on politicians
Apr. 1921 <sup>817</sup>	Michael Fogarty, Bp. Killaloe	Says in letter to local press that British violence must not lead to the loss of self-restraint and common sense on the part of the Irish people
Apr. 1921 <sup>818</sup>	Patrick Canon MacAlpine, P.P. Clifden, Co.	Says in sermon at funeral mass that peace, patience and restraint should be the rule of action

<sup>807</sup> Ibid.

<sup>808</sup> Ibid., 15 Jan. 1921.

<sup>809</sup> Ibid.

<sup>810</sup> Ibid., 26 Feb. 1921.

<sup>811</sup> Ibid., 19 Feb. 1921.

<sup>812</sup> Ibid., 5 Mar. 1921.

<sup>813</sup> *Irish Independent*, 8 Mar. 1921.

<sup>814</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 2 Apr. 1921.

<sup>815</sup> Ibid., 9 Apr. 1921.

<sup>816</sup> Ibid., 12 Mar. 1921.

<sup>817</sup> Ibid., 30 Apr. 1921.

<sup>818</sup> Ibid., 2 Apr. 1921.

	Galway	
Apr. 1921 <sup>819</sup>	Dean Roderick Gearty, P.P. Strokestown, Co. Roscommon	Advises Irish people to be patient and put their trust in God
8 May 1921 <sup>820</sup>	Patrick Morrisroe, Bp. Achonry	Urges congregation in sermon at Sunday mass in Gurteen to practice self-restraint
22 May 1921 <sup>821</sup>	John Mary Harty, Abp. Cashel and Emly	Tells congregation in sermon in Fethard that Mary would free the country from the unhappy turmoil around them if they prayed to her
May 1921 <sup>822</sup>	Patrick Finegan, Bp. Kilmore	Tells congregation at confirmation service in Kill that they must pray for a just and lasting peace
May 1921 <sup>823</sup>	Thomas Gilmartin, Abp. Tuam	Says in address in Knock that good days were coming for Ireland, but that the people must be prudent and pray for peace and victory
May 1921 <sup>824</sup>	Bernard Hackett, C.Ss.R., Bp. Waterford and Lismore	Tells congregation at confirmation service in Clonmel that if they strove for freedom without incurring God's anger they need have no fear
May 1921 <sup>825</sup>	Michael Card. Logue, Abp. Armagh	Tells congregation at confirmation service in Clonoe that the people must suffer persecution with patience and resignation, trust and confidence in God's power
May 1921 <sup>826</sup>	Bernard Hackett, C.Ss.R., Bp. Waterford and Lismore	Says in address in Clonmel that the young men of the parish must adhere to the traditions of the Irish people and hand them down unsullied. They must strive to restrain themselves
May 1921 <sup>827</sup>	Patrick O'Donnell, Bp. Raphoe	Tells congregation at mission service in Letterkenny that they must redouble their prayers to God so that he may have mercy on their poor country
June 1921 <sup>828</sup>	Thomas Gilmartin, Abp. Tuam	Says in sermon at confirmation service in Clifden that the people must pray constantly and that he would arrange for prayers that God might grant peace and happiness once again
June 1921 <sup>829</sup>	Michael Card. Logue, Abp. Armagh	Tells congregation at confirmation service in Cookstown that there was no use in trusting to mere human agency. They must turn to almighty God

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<sup>819</sup> Ibid., 9 Apr. 1921.

<sup>820</sup> Ibid., 14 May 1921.

<sup>821</sup> Ibid., 28 May 1921.

<sup>822</sup> Ibid.

<sup>823</sup> Ibid., 7 May 1921.

<sup>824</sup> Ibid., 21 May 1921.

<sup>825</sup> Ibid., 7 May 1921.

<sup>826</sup> Ibid., 28 May 1921.

<sup>827</sup> Ibid.

<sup>828</sup> Ibid., 25 June 1921.

<sup>829</sup> Ibid., 18 June 1921.

## 2.17 Clerical anti-sectarianism

Date	Name	Circumstances/details/charge
Dec. 1919 <sup>830</sup>	John Russell, P.P. Watergrasshill, Co. Cork	Presides over a meeting of parishioners in Glenville which adopts a resolution condemning the recent breaking into the local Protestant church
10 Apr. 1920 <sup>831</sup>	Michael Card. Logue, Abp. Armagh	Says in public letter that he is horrified by Sinn Féin vandalism to Church of Ireland cathedral in Armagh. 'We have misery enough without the added curse of sectarian strife'
Apr. 1920 <sup>832</sup>	Peter Canon Bourke, P.P. Clarecastle, Co. Clare	Presides at a public meeting of local Catholics which adopts a resolution expressing horror at the burning of local Protestant church. Says it has no political significance. Conveys sympathy to Protestants
2 May 1920 <sup>833</sup>	W. Gleeson, C.C. Oldcastle, Co. Meath	Condemns the breaking into local Protestant church and the damage done inside. Tenders sympathy to rector and Protestant community
June 1920 <sup>834</sup>	John McGettigan, C.C. cathedral, Derry	Receives a note from eleven unionist businessmen thanking him and his volunteers for protecting their businesses during the riots
25 July 1920 <sup>835</sup>	Thomas Gilmartin, Abp. Tuam	Says in sermon in Tuam cathedral that he hopes that no Catholic would dream of insulting a non-Catholic neighbour even though the Orangemen were manifesting a fatal bigotry in the North
July 1920 <sup>836</sup>	Denis Kelly, Bp. Ross	Says in sermon in Skibbereen that people who could not live in peace with their neighbours of different religions were no longer Catholics
3 Oct. 1920 <sup>837</sup>	James Canon Halpin, P.P. Tulla, Co. Clare	Says in sermon at mass that congregation must be 'tolerant and broad-minded to those who differed from them' in spite of the bad example set in Ulster
Nov. 1920 <sup>838</sup>	James O'Boyle, P.P. Ballymoney, Co. Antrim	Reportedly always maintained cordial relations with non-Catholics in the parish. Orange parades always processed past his church in silence when devotions were on
20 Feb. 1921 <sup>839</sup>	Florence McCarthy, Adm. Skibbereen, Co. Cork	Condemns killing of local Protestant who was reportedly killed because of relations he had had with the Crown forces
19 June 1921 <sup>840</sup>	Terence Brady,	Condemns killing of Church of Ireland Dean Finlay

<sup>830</sup> *Irish Independent*, 8 Dec. 1919.

<sup>831</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 17 Apr. 1920.

<sup>832</sup> *Ibid.*, 1 May 1920.

<sup>833</sup> *Ibid.*, 8 May 1920.

<sup>834</sup> *Irish Independent*, 1 July 1920.

<sup>835</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 31 July 1920.

<sup>836</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>837</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 9 Oct. 1920.

<sup>838</sup> *Ibid.*, 6 Nov. 1920.

<sup>839</sup> *Irish Independent*, 21 Feb. 1921.

	P.P. Templeport, Co. Cavan	of Bawnboy in sermon at Sunday mass. Crime is heinous
June 1921 <sup>841</sup>	Terence Brady, P.P. Templeport, Patrick O'Reilly, P.P. Swanlinbar, John McGovern, P.P. Curlough, Co. Cavan	Condemn killing of Church of Ireland Dean Finlay of Bawnboy in a letter to the press. There is not a neighbour of his who views the crime with less horror than they do

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<sup>840</sup> Ibid., 22 June 1921.

<sup>841</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 25 June 1921.

## 2.18 Clerical sectarianism

Date	Name	Circumstances/details/charge
11-18 Apr. 1920 <sup>842</sup>	<i>Chronista</i> , Clonard Redemptorist Monastery, Belfast	Records details of mission given in Glenavy and Aldergrove by Clonard Redemptorists. 'Protestants are in ... majority over Catholics in the district, but they are on the down grade'. Also: 'thanks be to God ... Catholics are getting the upper hand'
22 Aug. 1920 <sup>843</sup>	Richard Cohalan, P.P. Bray, Co. Wicklow	Contrasts treatment of Catholics by Protestants in Ulster with the way in which Catholics treated Protestants in Wicklow. Asks Protestants to acknowledge this and 'throw in their lot with the unionists of the other parts of Southern Ireland'
Apr. 1921 <sup>844</sup>	Unnamed clergy, County Offaly	Reportedly encouraged the boycott of Protestant families 'in one part of the county'.
9-12 July 1921 <sup>845</sup>	<i>Chronista</i> , Clonard Redemptorist Monastery, Belfast	Numerous references to 'Orange murder gangs' and 'scoundrels' after riots take place and Catholics community around Clonard comes under siege from Protestants

<sup>842</sup> Book A, 'Missionary works 1896-1924', p. 403 (C.M.A.).

<sup>843</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 21 Aug. 1921.

<sup>844</sup> I.G.M.R., Apr. 1921, p. 10. (T.N.A., CO904/115).

<sup>845</sup> 'Domestic Chronicles of the House of the Most Holy Redeemer, Belfast, founded Nov. 1<sup>st</sup> 1896', vol. i: 'Domestic Chronicle 1896-1930', pp 318-9 (C.M.A.).

**2.19 Priests placed under arrest by Crown forces, January 1919 – July 1921<sup>846</sup>**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Circumstances/details/charge</b>
14 Oct. 1919 <sup>847</sup>	Capt. Thomas O'Donnell, chaplain Australian army	Using language disloyal to the King. Acquitted 27 Nov. 1919
24 June 1920 <sup>848</sup>	Walter O'Neill, Adm. Long Tower, Derry	Arrested in the company of laymen in possession of ammunition. Released immediately
8 Sept. 1920 <sup>849</sup>	Patrick Walsh, C.C. Raheen, Co. Wexford	Driving a motor-car without a valid permit. Released immediately
26 Sept. 1920 <sup>850</sup>	Eugene Coyle, C.C. Clontibret, Co. Monaghan	Brought to Castleblayney Barracks after refusing to be searched. Incriminating documents he was carrying were not found. Released immediately with apologies
6 Oct. 1920 <sup>851</sup>	Michael Morley, C.C. Headford, Co. Galway	Possession of detonators, fuses and ammunition. Convicted by court martial 28 Oct. 1920, sentenced but released
11 Oct. 1920 <sup>852</sup>	Michael O'Flanagan, C.C. Roscommon	Driving motor-car without military permit. Released immediately
11 Oct. 1920 <sup>853</sup>	Michael Carney, C.C. Cong, Co. Mayo	Arrested while involved in session of republican court in Claremorris. Released shortly afterwards
11 Oct. 1920 <sup>854</sup>	J. Burke, C.C. Williamstown, Co. Galway	Arrested while involved in session of republican court in Claremorris. Released shortly afterwards
12 Oct. 1920 <sup>855</sup>	John Meehan, C.C. Castlebar, Co. Mayo	Possession of shot-gun ammunition. Case dropped 2 Dec. 1920 on Archbishop's guarantee that Meehan will leave for U.S.A.
12 Oct. 1920 <sup>856</sup>	John Ginty, clerical student All Hallows' college,	Membership of I.R.A. and possession of documents relating to ambush. Convicted by court martial 8 Dec. 1920, not sentenced

<sup>846</sup> 'Arrest' is defined here as the deprivation of liberty, however temporary.

<sup>847</sup> *Irish Independent*, 20 Oct. 1919 and 29 Nov. 1919.

<sup>848</sup> *Ibid.*, 25 June 1920.

<sup>849</sup> *Ibid.*, 9 Sept. 1920.

<sup>850</sup> Coyle witness statement, pp 7-8 (N.A.I., BMH/WS325). In his statement Coyle claimed that this arrest took place 'early in the year 1921'. But the newspaper report of the events appeared in September 1920: see *Irish Independent*, 28 Sept. 1920.

<sup>851</sup> *Irish Independent*, 8 and 9 Oct. 1920.

<sup>852</sup> *Irish Independent*, 12 Oct. 1920.

<sup>853</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>854</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>855</sup> File marked 'G.H.Q.I. Restoration of Order in Ireland Regs. Revd. J. Meehan. Having shot gun ammunition and Seditious Documents' (T.N.A., WO35/117). For details of the arrest see *Irish Catholic*, 30 Oct. 1920.

<sup>856</sup> Entry in Register of cases tried, p. 200 (T.N.A., WO35/133).



	Drumcondra, Dublin	
17 Oct. 1920 <sup>857</sup>	J. J. Glynn, C.C. Drumlion, Co. Roscommon	Presence at Sinn Féin meeting in Croghan. Convicted by court martial 18 Dec. 1920, sentenced but released
17 Oct. 1920 <sup>858</sup>	James Roddy, C.C. Breedogue, Co. Roscommon	Presence at Sinn Féin meeting in Croghan. Convicted by court martial 18 Dec. 1920, sentenced but released
18 Nov. 1920 <sup>859</sup>	George Culhane, P.P. Cratloe, Co. Clare	Possession of sporting rifle and ammunition. Convicted and fined by court martial 28 Dec. 1920
30 Nov. 1920 <sup>860</sup>	Peter Delahunty, C.C. Callan, Co. Kilkenny	Possession of seditious documents. Convicted by court martial 17 Dec. 1920. Sentenced to 2 years imprisonment with hard labour
2 Dec. 1920 <sup>861</sup>	Michael Conroy, P.P. Kilmeena, Co. Mayo	Possession of a shot-gun
16 Dec. 1920 <sup>862</sup>	Albert Bibby, O.S.F.C., Church St., Dublin	Possession of forbidden literature. Released 17 Dec. 1920
16 Dec. 1920 <sup>863</sup>	Dominic O'Connor, O.S.F.C., Church St., Dublin	Possession of seditious documents. Convicted by court martial on 8 Jan. 1921. Sentenced to 3 years penal servitude, to serve 1 year
24 Dec. 1920 <sup>864</sup>	Philip Hickey, C.C. Templemore, Co. Tipperary	Aiding a Sinn Féiner. Acquitted 5 Jan. 1921
6 Jan. 1921 <sup>865</sup>	John Greed, C.C. Killaloe, Co. Clare	Possession of automatic revolver and ammunition. Acquitted 14 Jan. 1921
6 Jan. 1921 <sup>866</sup>	P. Spain, C.C. Killaloe, Co. Clare	Possession of automatic revolver and ammunition. Acquitted of revolver, convicted for ammunition 14 Jan. 1921. Released
15 Jan. 1921 <sup>867</sup>	Thomas Burbage, C.C. Geashill, County Offaly	Detained first in the Curragh, then moved to Ballykinlar
20 Jan. 1921 <sup>868</sup>	Murray, deacon,	Arrested at parents' home under provisions of the

<sup>857</sup> File marked 'Courts Martial – Civilians. Mel Ward & 12 others. Present at an executive Sinn Fein meeting at Croghan on 13/10/20. Possession of seditious documents' (T.N.A., WO35/131).

<sup>858</sup> Ibid.

<sup>859</sup> Folder marked 'Courts Martial Civilians. Rev. Geo. Culhane, P.P. Possession of Sporting Rifle and Ammunition. Cratloe Co. Clare' (T.N.A., WO35/123).

<sup>860</sup> Entry in Register of cases tried, p. 271 (T.N.A., WO35/133).

<sup>861</sup> *Irish Independent*, 3 Dec. 1920 and 13 Jan. 1921.

<sup>862</sup> Envelope marked '16/12/20, 17/12/20, 11/137' (T.N.A., WO/81).

<sup>863</sup> Ibid. and *Irish Independent*, 31 Jan. 1921.

<sup>864</sup> Ibid., 27 Dec. 1920 and 6 Jan. 1921.

<sup>865</sup> Ibid., 7 and 15 Jan. 1921.

<sup>866</sup> Ibid.

<sup>867</sup> Ibid., 17 and 31 Jan. 1921, 21 Mar. 1921.

	Tralee, Co. Kerry	Restoration of Order in Ireland Act
21 Jan. 1921 <sup>869</sup>	Timothy Mannix, C.C. Ballyhea, Charleville, Co. Cork	No charges known
23 Jan. 1921 <sup>870</sup>	L.M. Gerhard, O.Carm., Prior Terenure college, Dublin	Possession of ammunition. Released immediately with warning
24 Jan. 1921 <sup>871</sup>	Patrick Scott, C.C. Ballyrush, Co. Sligo	No charges known
29 Jan. 1921 <sup>872</sup>	Michael Ahern, C.C. Castlelyons, Co. Cork	Having been present at an ambush on Crown forces, withholding information from investigating officer. Acquitted 9 Mar. 1921
Feb. 1921 <sup>873</sup>	P. Smith, C.C. Rahan, Co. Offaly	Arrested at time of round-up of I.R.A. officers
24 Feb. 1921 <sup>874</sup>	Charles Boyce, C.C. Ballintra, Co. Donegal	Arrested by military together with three laymen. Released shortly afterwards
22 Mar. 1921 <sup>875</sup>	Unnamed curate, Kiltimagh, Co. Mayo	Arrested by military and marched through town at bayonet point
2 Apr. 1921 <sup>876</sup>	Patrick Gaynor, C.C. Mullagh, Co. Clare	Possession of seditious documents. Convicted by court martial on 23 May 1921. Sentenced to 6 months' imprisonment
2 Apr. 1921 <sup>877</sup>	Michael McKenna, C.C. Mullagh, Co. Clare	Possession of seditious documents. Convicted by court martial on 23 May 1921. Sentenced to 6 months' imprisonment
9 Apr. 1921 <sup>878</sup>	John McCaughan, St. Malachy's college, Belfast	Possession of rifle. Convicted by court martial 18 Apr. 1921 and fined
18 Apr. 1921 <sup>879</sup>	Michael Aherne, C.C. Youghal, Co. Cork	Arrested during meeting of Cork District Lunatic Asylum, released 19 Apr. 1921
4 May 1921 <sup>880</sup>	Archdeacon John	Having presided at a meeting of the White Cross

<sup>868</sup> *Kerryman*, 22 Jan. 1921.

<sup>869</sup> *Freeman's Journal*, 22 Jan. 1921.

<sup>870</sup> Envelope marked '23/1/21' and '34/434' (T.N.A., WO35/82).

<sup>871</sup> *Anglo-Celt*, 29 Jan. 1921.

<sup>872</sup> Entry in Register of cases tried, p. 108 (T.N.A., WO35/135).

<sup>873</sup> I.G.M.R., Feb. 1921 (T.N.A., CO904/114)

<sup>874</sup> *Ibid.*, 25 Feb. 1921.

<sup>875</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 9 Apr. 1921.

<sup>876</sup> Entry in Register of cases tried, p. 125 (T.N.A., WO35/136).

<sup>877</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>878</sup> Entry in Register of cases tried, p. 250 (T.N.A., WO35/135).

<sup>879</sup> *Irish Independent*, 19 Apr. 1921. Not to be confused with Father Michael Ahern, C.C. Castlelyons, who was also arrested.

	Power, P.P. Dungarvan, Co. Waterford	Association. Refused to plead or pay fine. A distress warrant was issued
21 May 1921 <sup>881</sup>	John Loughrey, C.C. Thomastown, Co. Tipperary	Unlawful assembly and possession of seditious documents. Convicted by court martial 11 June 1921 and fined. Went to prison in default of payment
30 May 1921 <sup>882</sup>	Eugene Coyle, C.C. Clontibret, Co. Monaghan	Arrested for the second time (see 26 Sept. 1920). No charges brought against him. Kept in Auxiliaries' local HQ. Released without charge in June or July 1921
June 1921 <sup>883</sup>	Michael Rice, C.C. Rathangan, Co. Kildare	Possession of rifle and ammunition. Case dropped
4 June 1921 <sup>884</sup>	Edward Campion, C.C. Tinryland, Co. Carlow	Arrested after a copy of an anonymous threatening letter to the owner of a local estate was found in his rooms. Released on 4 June 1921
26 June 1921 <sup>885</sup>	James Nunan, P.P. Killaloe, Co. Clare	Inciting a person to disobey an order received from Crown forces. Convicted by court martial 1 July 1921 and fined
26 June 1921 <sup>886</sup>	P. O'Dea, C.C. Rahoon, Co. Galway	No charges made
26 June 1921 <sup>887</sup>	Robert O'Reilly, C.C. Rahoon, Co. Galway	No charges made
June 1921 <sup>888</sup>	Unnamed priest, midlands	Arrested and brought to Mullingar, Co. Westmeath, together with 20 others
6 July 1921 <sup>889</sup>	William Canon O'Kennedy, president, St. Flannan's, Ennis, Co. Clare	No charges known

<sup>880</sup> Ibid., 5 May 1921 and *Irish Catholic*, 14 May 1921. See also Mansfield, 'Decies', p. 381 for this episode. Ryan's furniture was confiscated.

<sup>881</sup> File marked "Courts Martial Civilians. Rev. John Loughrey & Others' (T.N.A., WO35/126).

<sup>882</sup> Coyle witness statement, pp 8-13 (N.A.I., BMH/WS325). For date of arrest see *Irish Catholic*, 11 June 1921.

<sup>883</sup> Folder marked 'Courts Martial – Civilians. Rev. M. Rice, Rathangan. Possession of Rook Rifle & Ammunition' (T.N.A., WO35/130).

<sup>884</sup> Dockrell to Foley, 29 June 1921 (K.L.D.A., Foley papers, BP18/1921/30). Date of release: see MacSuibhne, 'Campion', pp 12-4.

<sup>885</sup> Ibid., 2 July 1921.

<sup>886</sup> *Freeman's Journal*, 27 June 1921 and *Irish Independent*, 27 June 1921.

<sup>887</sup> Ibid.

<sup>888</sup> *Irish Independent*, 2 June 1921.

<sup>889</sup> *Nenagh Guardian*, 9 July 1921.

**2.20 Ecclesiastical institutions, presbyteries and church buildings raided, searched or damaged by Crown forces, January 1919 – July 1921**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Institution</b>	<b>Circumstances/details/finds</b>
7 Sept. 1919 <sup>890</sup>	St. Colman's college, Fermoy, Co. Cork	College attacked after soldier is killed by I.R.A. earlier on the day
12 Sept. 1919 <sup>891</sup>	Curate's house, Belcoo, Co. Fermanagh	Residence of Fr Terence Caulfield C.C. searched
Sept. 1919 <sup>892</sup>	Priest's house in Arney, Co. Fermanagh	Residence of Fr Patrick Dempsey C.C. searched, 'books, papers, and letters being closely scrutinised'
27 Jan. 1920 <sup>893</sup>	Presbytery, Clarendon St., Dublin	Presbytery of St. Teresa's church raided
18 Apr. 1920 <sup>894</sup>	Curate's house, Kilmihil, Co. Clare	Residence of Fr Charles Culligan C.C. searched
June 1920 <sup>895</sup>	St. Columb's college, Derry	College fired at, including Bishop McHugh's rooms
8 July 1920 <sup>896</sup>	Bellewstown Catholic church, Co. Meath	Church raided
July 1920 <sup>897</sup>	Presbytery, Templetuohy, Co. Tipperary	Fr Patrick Murphy P.P.'s vegetable garden raided and plundered
1 Sept. 1920 <sup>898</sup>	Presbytery, Fairview, Dublin	Residence of Denis Canon Pettit P.P. searched
26 Sept. 1920 <sup>899</sup>	Moycullen church, Co. Galway	Congregation searched upon leaving church after mass on Sunday
Sept. 1920 <sup>900</sup>	St. Ignatius's college, Galway	College raided
Sept. 1920 <sup>901</sup>	Curate's house, Barna, Co. Galway	Residence of Fr John O'Meehan C.C. raided

<sup>890</sup> *Irish Independent*, 10 Sept. 1919.

<sup>891</sup> *Ibid.*, 13 Sept. 1919.

<sup>892</sup> *Ibid.*, 15 Sept. 1919.

<sup>893</sup> Carton to Hagan, 27 Jan. 1920 (A.I.C.R., Hagan papers, HAG/1/1920/140).

<sup>894</sup> *Irish Independent*, 19 Apr. 1920.

<sup>895</sup> Donnelly, 'McHugh', p. 240.

<sup>896</sup> *Irish Independent*, 12 July 1920.

<sup>897</sup> *Ibid.*, 21 July 1920.

<sup>898</sup> Downing to Walsh, 2 Sept. 1920 (D.D.A., Walsh papers, 380/3).

<sup>899</sup> *Connacht Tribune*, 2 Oct. 1920.

<sup>900</sup> Ó Fiaich, 'Clergy', p. 495.

<sup>901</sup> *Ibid.*

Sept. 1920 <sup>902</sup>	Curate's house, Boyle, Co. Roscommon	Residence of Fr P. J. Clyne C.C. searched. Fowling piece and ammunition taken
Sept. 1920 <sup>903</sup>	Presbytery, Louth, Co. Louth	Fr James Maguire P.P. asked for his gun. Volunteers had taken it a few hours previously. Maguire had a receipt for the weapon
Sept. 1920 <sup>904</sup>	Curate's house, Dunamaggin, Co. Kilkenny	Residence of Fr Thomas Henebery C.C. searched
Sept. 1920 <sup>905</sup>	Curate's house, Newmarket, Co. Cork	Residence of Fr James Cowhey C.C. searched
Sept. 1920 <sup>906</sup>	Curate's house, Callan, Co. Kilkenny	Residence of Fr Peter Delahunty C.C. searched
Sept. 1920 <sup>907</sup>	Presbytery, Liscannor, Co. Clare	Residence of Frs N. O'Fegan, Adm., and P. Sharkey, C.C., searched
Sept. 1920 <sup>908</sup>	Rockwell college, Cashel, Co. Tipperary	Holy Ghost college and vicinity searched
Sept. 1920 <sup>909</sup>	Presbytery, Rathmore, Co. Kerry	Military 'surrounded' the presbytery
Sept. 1920 <sup>910</sup>	Presbytery, Curracastle, Co. Roscommon	Residence of Fr Philip Mulligan P.P. searched by military and police. Gun taken
Sept. 1920 <sup>911</sup>	Abbey of Mt. Melleray, Co. Waterford	Cistercian abbey raided
3 Oct. 1920 <sup>912</sup>	Curate's house, Headford, Co. Galway	Residence of Fr Michael Morley C.C. searched. Detonators, fuses and ammunition found. Subsequently arrested and prosecuted.
5 Oct. 1920 <sup>913</sup>	Capuchin church and friary, Cork	Raided by military
7 Oct. 1920 <sup>914</sup>	Presbytery, Fintona, Co. Tyrone	Residence of Fr Joseph Raymund P.P. raided

<sup>902</sup> *Irish Independent*, 23 Sept. 1920.

<sup>903</sup> *Ibid.*, 7 Sept. 1920.

<sup>904</sup> *Ibid.*, 9 Sept. 1920.

<sup>905</sup> *Ibid.*, 6 Sept. 1920.

<sup>906</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>907</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>908</sup> *Ibid.*, 21 Sept. 1920.

<sup>909</sup> *Ibid.*, 6 Sept. 1920.

<sup>910</sup> *Ibid.*, 16 Sept. 1920.

<sup>911</sup> *Catholic Bulletin*, Nov. 1920, x, no. 11, pp 650-1.

<sup>912</sup> *Irish Independent*, 8 Oct. 1920 and 19 Oct. 1920.

<sup>913</sup> *Freeman's Journal*, 6 Oct. 1920.

<sup>914</sup> *Irish Independent*, 9 Oct. 1920.

10 Oct. 1920 <sup>915</sup>	Curates' house, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford	Residence of Frs Michael Walshe, Maurice Hearne and Laurence Egan C.C. searched
10 Oct. 1920 <sup>916</sup>	Curate's house, Ballindangan, Co. Cork	Residence of Fr John Casey C.C. searched. Gaelic League papers taken away
11 Oct. 1920 <sup>917</sup>	St. Kieran's college, Kilkenny	College searched
12 Oct. 1920 <sup>918</sup>	Presbytery, Castlebar, Co. Mayo	Residence of Fr John Meehan C.C. searched. Ammunition and seditious documents found. Arrested
12 Oct. 1920 <sup>919</sup>	All Hallow's college, Drumcondra, Dublin	College searched. One student arrested
12 Oct. 1920 <sup>920</sup>	Presbytery, Drumcollogher, Co. Limerick	Residence of Fr Tomas Wall C.C. searched. Gaelic League papers taken
19 Oct. 1920 <sup>921</sup>	Church of SS. Peter and Paul, Cork	Armed soldiers enter church during funeral of hunger-strike victim. Order P.P. to restrict number of people in funeral cortege
20 Oct. 1920 <sup>922</sup>	Presbytery, Duagh, Co. Kerry	Fr Florence Harrington C.C. and P.P.'s nephew taken out and threatened by a 'lorry-load of men'
20 Oct. 1920 <sup>923</sup>	St. Columb's college, Derry	College searched
30 Oct. 1920 <sup>924</sup>	St. Joseph's church, Berkeley Road, Dublin	Church and sacristy raided. Liturgical objects and vestments strewn about. Documents taken
30 Oct. 1920 <sup>925</sup>	Grange church, Co. Sligo	Shot fired through window of the church by police on Saturday evening
Oct. 1920 <sup>926</sup>	Curate's house, Borrisoleigh, Co. Tipperary	Residence of Fr Edward Hackett, C.C., fired into
Oct. 1920 <sup>927</sup>	Curate's house, Rosslare, Co. Wexford	Residence of Fr Patrick Kavanagh C.C. raided

<sup>915</sup> Ibid., 11 Oct. 1920.

<sup>916</sup> Ibid.

<sup>917</sup> Ibid., 12 Oct. 1920.

<sup>918</sup> File marked 'G.H.Q.I. Restoration of Order in Ireland Regs. Revd. J. Meehan. Having shot gun ammunition and Seditious Documents' (T.N.A. WO35/117).

<sup>919</sup> File marked '6/86', 'Raids. Period 1<sup>st</sup> October 1920 – 31<sup>st</sup> Dec. 1920' (T.N.A., WO35/70).

<sup>920</sup> *Irish Independent*, 13 Oct. 1920.

<sup>921</sup> Ibid., 20 Oct. 1920.

<sup>922</sup> Ibid., 21 Oct. 1920.

<sup>923</sup> Ibid.

<sup>924</sup> Ibid., 1 Nov. 1920.

<sup>925</sup> Ó Croidhéain to Crowe, 1 Nov. 1920 (E.D.A., Coyne papers, box marked 'Bishop Coyne, 1913-1919', folder marked 'Jan-Dec '20').

<sup>926</sup> Ó Fiaich, 'Clergy', p. 495.

<sup>927</sup> *Irish Independent*, 13 Oct. 1920.

Oct. 1920 <sup>928</sup>	Mountbellew church, Co. Galway	Church fired into
Oct. 1920 <sup>929</sup>	De la Salle Hostel, Dublin	Hostel attached to University College Dublin raided
Oct. 1920 <sup>930</sup>	Presbytery, Cloughbawn, Co. Wexford	Residence of Fr Paul Kehoe P.P. searched by military. Some papers taken. Visiting curate held up until search was over
Oct. 1920 <sup>931</sup>	Curate's house, Knockmoyle, Co. Tyrone	Residence of Fr James McKenna C.C. searched. Graveyard also searched, 'portions of it being dug up'
Oct. 1920 <sup>932</sup>	St. Michael's church, Enniskillen, Co. Fermanagh	Church raided
Oct. 1920 <sup>933</sup>	Presbytery, Knockavilla, Co. Tipperary	Residence of Fr Matthew Ryan P.P. searched. Vice-president of the Gaelic League and president of the Mid Tipperary Sinn Féin <i>comhairle ceanntair</i>
Oct. 1920 <sup>934</sup>	Curate's house, Knockavilla, Co. Tipperary	Residence of Fr Edmond Ryan C.C. searched
Oct. 1920 <sup>935</sup>	Grange parish church, Co. Sligo	Shot fired through church window. Fr Bernard Crehan C.C. saying office in the church
9 Nov. 1920 <sup>936</sup>	Curate's house, Geashill, Co. Offaly	Residence of Fr Thomas Burbage C.C. searched. Sinn Féin papers found
10 Nov. 1920 <sup>937</sup>	Priest's residence, Killanena, Co. Clare	Residence of Fr William O'Kennedy searched. Liturgical objects strewn about. O'Kennedy maltreated. Teapot stolen
10 Nov. 1920 <sup>938</sup>	Augustinian priory, Limerick	Priory searched by two armed men
11 Nov. 1920 <sup>939</sup>	Curates' house, Kilmaley, Co. Clare	Residence of Frs Murphy and J. Cleary C.C. searched
12 Nov. 1920 <sup>940</sup>	Crescent college,	Rooms of members of Jesuit community searched,

<sup>928</sup> Ibid., 9 Oct. 1920.

<sup>929</sup> *Catholic Bulletin*, Nov. 1920, x, no. 11, pp 650-1.

<sup>930</sup> *Irish Independent*, 2 Oct. 1920.

<sup>931</sup> Ibid., 9 Oct. 1920.

<sup>932</sup> Ó Fiaich, 'Clergy', p. 495.

<sup>933</sup> *Irish Independent*, 12 Oct. 1920. President of the *comhairle ceanntair*: List of Sinn Féin officers (N.L.I., MS 5649).

<sup>934</sup> *Irish Independent*, 12 Oct. 1920.

<sup>935</sup> Crehan to Crowe, 1 Nov. 1920 (E.D.A., Coyne papers, box marked 'Bishop Coyne, 1913-1919', folder marked 'Jan-Dec '20').

<sup>936</sup> *Irish Independent*, 10 Nov. 1920.

<sup>937</sup> Ibid., 15 Nov. 1920.

<sup>938</sup> Ibid., 11 Nov. 1920.

<sup>939</sup> Ibid., 13 Nov. 1920.

<sup>940</sup> Entry for 12 Nov. 1920 in 'Minister's Journal Sept. 1920 to Dec. 31<sup>st</sup>. 1927' (J.P.A., Crescent college papers, SC/CRES/4/2/2).

	Limerick	including Fr William Hackett, S.J.
15 Nov. 1920 <sup>941</sup>	Crescent college, Limerick	Rooms of members of Jesuit community searched
17 Nov. 1920 <sup>942</sup>	Presbytery, Ballymoney, Co. Antrim	Residence of Frs John O'Neill P.P. and Patrick McNamara C.C. searched. Automatic pistol and ammunition found
18 Nov. 1920 <sup>943</sup>	Presbytery, Cratloe, Co. Clare	Residence of Fr George Culhane P.P. searched. Sporting rifle and ammunition found. Arrested and prosecuted
20 Nov. 1920 <sup>944</sup>	Scarriff church, Co. Clare	All attending a funeral in the church stopped and searched. Church searched
21 Nov. 1920 <sup>945</sup>	Curates' house, Newcastle West, Co. Limerick	Residence of Frs John Kelly and Michael Hayes C.C. searched.
27 Nov. 1920 <sup>946</sup>	Curate's house, Goldenbridge, Dublin	Residence of Fr Thomas O'Ryan C.C. searched twice. Collection of old daggers and antique firearms taken
Nov. 1920 <sup>947</sup>	Capuchin college, Rochestown, Co. Cork	College raided
Nov. 1920 <sup>948</sup>	Curate's house, Roscommon	Rooms of Fr Michael O'Flanagan C.C. searched. Papers and articles taken
Nov. 1920 <sup>949</sup>	St. Nathy's college, Ballaghaderreen, Co. Roscommon	College raided
Nov. 1920 <sup>950</sup>	Curate's house, Roscrea, Co. Tipperary	Residence of Fr P. Ryan C.C. searched. Ryan taken a mile from the house and threatened
Nov. 1920 <sup>951</sup>	Curate's house, Cong, Co. Mayo	Residence of Fr Michael Carney C.C. searched
Nov 1920 <sup>952</sup>	Presbytery, Clontuskert, Ballinasloe, Co. Galway	Fr John Fallon P.P. taken out of bed, questioned and threatened
Nov 1920 <sup>953</sup>	Presbytery,	Residence of James Canon Daly P.P. raided

<sup>941</sup> Entry for 15 Nov. 1920, in 'Minister's Journal Sept. 1920 to Dec. 31<sup>st</sup>. 1927' (J.P.A., Crescent college papers, SC/CRES/4/2/2).

<sup>942</sup> Folder marked 'Courts Martial Civilians. Rev. John O'Neill, P.P. Rev. Patk. McNamara, C.C. Possession of Ammunition. Ballymoney' (T.N.A., WO35/129).

<sup>943</sup> Folder marked 'Courts Martial Civilians. Rev. Geo. Culhane, P.P. Possession of Sporting Rifle and Ammunition. Cratloe Co. Clare' (T.N.A., WO35/123).

<sup>944</sup> *Irish Independent*, 24 Nov. 1920.

<sup>945</sup> *Ibid.*, 22 Nov. 1920.

<sup>946</sup> *Ibid.*, 29 Nov. 1920.

<sup>947</sup> Ó Fiaich, 'Clergy', p. 495.

<sup>948</sup> *Irish Independent*, 20 Nov. 1920.

<sup>949</sup> Ó Fiaich, 'Clergy', p. 495.

<sup>950</sup> *Irish Independent*, 4 Jan. 1921.

<sup>951</sup> Carney to Walsh, 12 Dec. 1920 (T.D.A., Gilmartin papers, B4/8-ii/4).

<sup>952</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 13 Nov. 1920.



	Mullinabreena, Co. Sligo	
3 Dec. 1920 <sup>954</sup>	University Hall, Hatch Str., Dublin	Jesuit students' hall searched
3 Dec. 1920 <sup>955</sup>	Bishop's Palace, Westbourne, Ennis, Co. Clare	Residence of Bishop Michael Fogarty of Killaloe searched in his absence
16 Dec. 1920 <sup>956</sup>	Capuchin priory, Church St., Dublin	Priory and adjoining Fr Mathew Memorial Hall searched. Seditious papers found, Frs Dominic and Albert arrested. Ammunition found in Memorial Hall, lay caretaker arrested
16 Dec. 1920 <sup>957</sup>	Carmelite priory and church, Clarendon Str., Dublin	Church and priory searched
16 Dec. 1920 <sup>958</sup>	Tydavnet church, Co. Monaghan	Church searched after mass. Priest detained in church during search
17 Dec. 1920 <sup>959</sup>	St. Flannan's college, Ennis, Co. Clare	College searched during St. Flannan's night festivities. One student arrested and released
19 Dec. 1920 <sup>960</sup>	Pro-cathedral, Marlborough Str., Dublin	Randomly selected groups of men searched leaving the pro-cathedral after mass on Sunday
20 Dec. 1920 <sup>961</sup>	Terenure Carmelite college, Dublin	College searched. Instructions are to arrest Richard Mulcahy and Cathal Brugha. No one arrested
21 Dec. 1920 <sup>962</sup>	Presbytery, Athenry, Co. Galway	Residence of Fr Murtagh Farragher P.P. raided. Documents taken
22 Dec. 1920 <sup>963</sup>	Carmelite priory, Aungier St., Dublin	Priory searched. Arms, ammunition and Volunteer documents found. Lay servant arrested
23 Dec. 1920 <sup>964</sup>	Christian Brothers school, Drogheda, Co. Louth	School and residence of Christian Brothers community searched
25 Dec. 1920 <sup>965</sup>	St. Mary's college,	Holy Ghost college searched for Cathal Brugha. No arrests

<sup>953</sup> Ibid.

<sup>954</sup> Envelope marked '3/12/20' and '1/4' (T.N.A., WO35/80).

<sup>955</sup> Typescript statement by Bishop Fogarty, undated (K.D.A., Fogarty papers, F3A23)

<sup>956</sup> Envelope marked '16/12/20, 17/12/20, 11/137' (T.N.A., WO35/81).

<sup>957</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 25 Dec. 1920.

<sup>958</sup> *Irish Independent*, 20 Dec. 1920.

<sup>959</sup> Ibid., 24 Dec. 1920.

<sup>960</sup> Ibid., 20 Dec. 1920.

<sup>961</sup> Envelope marked '21/12/20 11/141' (T.N.A., WO35/81).

<sup>962</sup> *Irish Independent*, 23 Dec. 1920.

<sup>963</sup> Envelope marked '23-12-20. 11/143' (T.N.A., WO35/81).

<sup>964</sup> Ibid.

<sup>965</sup> Envelope marked 'Area or House Raided. Misc. Dates (approx. 25-12-20) 7/107' (T.N.A., WO35/81).

	Rathmines, Dublin	
25 Dec. 1920 <sup>966</sup>	St. Joseph's Carmelite convent, Ranelagh, Dublin	Convent searched for the second time. On the first visit (no date known) the son of the caretaker in the gate lodge was arrested
26 Dec. 1920 <sup>967</sup>	Curates' rooms, presbytery, Killaloe, Co. Clare	Rooms of Frs John Greed and P. Spain C.C. searched
30 Dec. 1920 <sup>968</sup>	Maria Reparatrix convent, Merrion Sq., Dublin	Convent 'perfunctorily' searched. Intended target was layman residing behind the convent on Fitzwilliam Lane
30 Dec. 1920 <sup>969</sup>	Rooms of chaplains, Dublin Union workhouse	Rooms of chaplains, Frs Dillon and McDermott, searched
Dec. 1920 <sup>970</sup>	St. Mary's college, Galway	College raided
Dec. 1920 <sup>971</sup>	Curate's house, Kilmihil, Co. Clare	Residence of Fr Charles Culligan C.C. searched 'several times lately'. Papers and other articles taken and furniture broken
Dec. 1920 <sup>972</sup>	Priest's residence, Kilreekil, Co. Galway	Residence of Fr Martin O'Farrell C.C. searched. Incriminating documents found
1920 <sup>973</sup>	St. Joseph's house, Termonbacca, Co. Derry	House belonging to the diocese of Derry and being prepared for use as an orphanage is occupied by the army for a period of time
1920 <sup>974</sup>	Church, Kiltimagh, Co. Mayo	Surrounded by military during parish mission, in spite of promise to P.P. made in advance. Men leave disguised as women and escape to convent nearby
1920 <sup>975</sup>	Curate's house, Mullagh, Co. Clare	Residence of Frs Patrick Gaynor C.C. and Michael McKenna C.C. raided on a number of occasions
2 Jan. 1921 <sup>976</sup>	Catholic church, Ormeau Rd, Belfast	All men searched upon leaving the church
2 Jan. 1921 <sup>977</sup>	St. Joseph's Carmelite	Convent searched including graveyard. Earth on recently used grave cleared away

<sup>966</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 8 Jan. 1921.

<sup>967</sup> *Irish Independent*, 30 Dec. 1920.

<sup>968</sup> File marked '6/86', 'Raids. Period 1<sup>st</sup> October 1920 – 31<sup>st</sup> Dec. 1920' (T.N.A., WO35/70).

<sup>969</sup> *Irish Independent*, 31 Dec. 1920.

<sup>970</sup> Ó Fiaich, 'Clergy', p. 495.

<sup>971</sup> *Irish Independent*, 27 Dec. 1920.

<sup>972</sup> Brigadier-General to O'Doherty, 9 Dec. 1920 (Ct.D.A., O'Doherty papers, xii.c.6).

<sup>973</sup> Donnelly, 'McHugh', p. 239

<sup>974</sup> George Maguire, 'Mayo and Sligo – 1920', *The Capuchin Annual* (1970), pp 396-9, at pp 396-7.

<sup>975</sup> Gaynor, 'Sinn Fein days', pp 496, 500, 501, 516.

<sup>976</sup> *Irish Independent*, 4 Jan. 1921.

<sup>977</sup> *Ibid.* and *Irish Catholic*, 8 Jan. 1921.

	convent, Ranelagh, Dublin	
5 Jan. 1921 <sup>978</sup>	Church and presbytery, Meelin, Co. Cork	Church entered during confessions. Everyone ordered out, including Fr Roche C.C. Fr Timothy Crowley P.P. prevented from entering. Presbytery also searched
5 Jan. 1921 <sup>979</sup>	Belmont House, Stillorgan, Dublin	Oblate novitiate raided and searched, including Bishop William Miller's papers. Two students taken and subsequently released
6 Jan. 1921 <sup>980</sup>	St. Patrick's college, Thurles, Co. Tipperary	Auxiliaries attempt to commandeer college. Protest from Archbishop Harty to General Macready prevents it happening
6 Jan. 1921 <sup>981</sup>	Watergrasshill church and presbytery, Co. Cork	Church cordoned off during mass, all men searched upon leaving. Priest allowed to go and have breakfast during search of men. Presbytery had been searched before he returned
9 Jan. 1921 <sup>982</sup>	Aughagower church, Co. Mayo	Church surrounded by military and police during first mass on Sunday. P.P. informs congregation at the end of mass. Men not known to authorities asked for name.
16 Jan. 1921 <sup>983</sup>	St. Michan's church and presbytery, Halston Str., Dublin	Church inside area of city cordoned off on Sunday. Men searched upon leaving church; P.P. cancelled subsequent masses. Presbytery searched
16 Jan. 1921 <sup>984</sup>	Presentation convent, George's Hill, Dublin	Convent and orphanage searched
17 Jan. 1921 <sup>985</sup>	Holy Faith convent, Little Strand Str., Dublin	Convent and school searched
23 Jan. 1921 <sup>986</sup>	Mallow Catholic church, Co. Cork	Male members of congregation taken to barracks after Sunday evening devotions and searched
23 Jan. 1921 <sup>987</sup>	Terenure Carmelite college, Dublin	College searched. Ammunition found in possession of President, Fr L. M. Gerhard. Arrested but released immediately
25 Jan. 1921 <sup>988</sup>	Presentation convent, Tuam,	Convent and school searched

<sup>978</sup> *Irish Independent*, 8 Jan. 1921.

<sup>979</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 8 Jan. 1921.

<sup>980</sup> Harty to Hagan, 13 Jan. 1921 (A.I.C.R., Hagan papers, HAG1/1921/19).

<sup>981</sup> *Irish Independent*, 8 Jan. 1921.

<sup>982</sup> Flatley to Gilmartin, 9 Jan. 1921 (T.D.A., Gilmartin papers, B4/8-ii/4).

<sup>983</sup> *Ibid.*, 17 Jan. and 18 Jan. 1921.

<sup>984</sup> *Ibid.*, 18 Jan. 1921

<sup>985</sup> *Freeman's Journal*, 19 Jan. 1921.

<sup>986</sup> *Irish Independent*, 26 Jan. 1921.

<sup>987</sup> Envelope marked '23/1/21' and '34/434' (T.N.A., WO35/82).

<sup>988</sup> Telegram, 25 Jan. 1921 (T.D.A., Gilmartin papers, B4/8-ii/20).

	Co. Galway	
30 Jan. 1921 <sup>989</sup>	Creeve Catholic church, Co. Roscommon	Church allegedly surrounded during mass. Congregation searched upon leaving. Church searched, including tabernacle
Jan. 1921 <sup>990</sup>	Presbytery, Moy, Co. Tyrone	Residence of Frs Patrick Quinn P.P. and Laurence Murray C.C. searched by R.I.C. and Ulster specials
Jan. 1921 <sup>991</sup>	St. Brendan's church, Annaghdown, Co. Galway	Church and sacristy searched just before funeral and male members of congregation asked for names
11 Feb. 1921 <sup>992</sup>	St. Joseph's Redemptorist monastery, Dundalk, Co. Louth	Rooms of Br. Paul Griffin, C.Ss.R. searched. Seditious documents found
18 Feb. 1921 <sup>993</sup>	Community and church, Gardiner Str., Dublin	Residence of Gardiner Str. Jesuit community and St. Francis Xavier's church searched. Public stopped from entering area; masses continued but without congregation
21 Feb. 1921 <sup>994</sup>	Milltown Park House of Studies, Dublin	House of studies and retreat house searched. All present brought to chapel and questioned. One lay retreatant arrested
28 Feb. 1921 <sup>995</sup>	St. Saviour's priory, Dominick Str., Dublin	Dominican priory and the sacristy to the church searched
Feb. 1921 <sup>996</sup>	St. John of God's hospital, Stillorgan, Co. Dublin	House raided, arms allegedly found in farmyard
21 Mar. 1921 <sup>997</sup>	St. Andrew's Church, Westland Row, Dublin	Vaults of the church searched twice
27 Mar. 1921 <sup>998</sup>	North cathedral, Cork	Vestry entered by soldiers during funeral. Administrator served with notice to restrict number of people in funeral cortege
Mar. 1921 <sup>999</sup>	Donagh Catholic church, Co. Fermanagh	Congregation searched upon leaving church after mass by special constabulary
Mar. 1921 <sup>1000</sup>	Aghadrumsee	Congregation searched upon leaving church after

<sup>989</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 12 Mar. 1921.

<sup>990</sup> *Irish Independent*, 6 Jan. 1921.

<sup>991</sup> Hannan to Gilmartin, 28 Jan. 1921 (T.D.A., Gilmartin papers, B4/8-ii/4).

<sup>992</sup> Folder marked 'Courts Martial – Civilians. Brother Paul. Possession of Seditious Documents. Dundalk (T.N.A., WO35/129).

<sup>993</sup> *Irish Independent*, 19 Feb. 1921.

<sup>994</sup> *Ibid.*, 22 Feb. 1921.

<sup>995</sup> *Ibid.*, 1 Mar. 1921

<sup>996</sup> Ó Fiaich, 'Clergy', p. 495.

<sup>997</sup> *Irish Independent*, 22 Mar. 1921.

<sup>998</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 2 Apr. 1921.

<sup>999</sup> *Irish Independent*, 10 Mar. 1921.

	Catholic church, Co. Fermanagh	mass by special constabulary
1 Apr. 1921 <sup>1001</sup>	St. Malachy's college, Belfast	College searched
4 Apr. 1921 <sup>1002</sup>	Glencree Reformatory school, Co. Wicklow	Oblate reformatory school searched
6 Apr. 1921 <sup>1003</sup>	Presbytery, Abbey, Co. Galway	Residence of Dr John Dignan P.P. searched in his absence. Explosive device detonated in one of the rooms
9 Apr. 1921 <sup>1004</sup>	St. Malachy's college, Belfast	College searched. Miniature rifle belonging to Fr John McCaughan found. Arrested and prosecuted
19 Apr. 1921 <sup>1005</sup>	Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul convent, North William St., Dublin	Part of convent searched
20 Apr. 1921 <sup>1006</sup>	Bishop's palace, Westbourne, Ennis, Co. Clare	Fire set to Bishop Fogarty's residence
5 May 1921 <sup>1007</sup>	Tullabeg House of Studies, Co. Offaly	Jesuit house of studies visited by military
18 May 1921 <sup>1008</sup>	St. Jarlath's college, Tuam, Co. Galway	College searched, including rooms of president and presbytery. Pictures and letters taken. Abp. Gilmartin present
21 May 1921 <sup>1009</sup>	Presbytery, Aughagower, Co. Mayo	Residence of John Flatley P.P. searched
21 May 1921 <sup>1010</sup>	Curate's residence, Aughagower, Co. Mayo	Residence of Patrick MacHugh C.C. searched
31 May 1921 <sup>1011</sup>	Blackrock college, Blackrock,	Holy Ghost college raided and searched

<sup>1000</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1001</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 2 Apr. 1921.

<sup>1002</sup> Folder marked '4/4/09, 44/718' (T.N.A., WO35/83).

<sup>1003</sup> *Irish Independent*, 9 June 1921.

<sup>1004</sup> Folder marked 'Courts Martial – Civilians. Revd. J. Mc Caughan. Belfast. Possession of Firearms'. (T.N.A., WO35/126).

<sup>1005</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 23 Apr. 1921.

<sup>1006</sup> Fogarty to O'Reilly, 30 Nov. 1928 (K.D.A., Fogarty papers, F3A23).

<sup>1007</sup> Entry for 5 May 1921, 'Notes &c. for Litt. Ann., Hist. Dom., 1919-'20. 1920-'21' (J.P.A., Tullabeg papers, FM/TULL/289).

<sup>1008</sup> *Irish Independent*, 19 May 1921.

<sup>1009</sup> Flatley to Gilmartin, 27 May 1921 (T.D.A., Gilmartin papers, B4/8-ii/5).

<sup>1010</sup> MacHugh to Gilmartin, 23 May 1921 (T.D.A., Gilmartin papers, B4/8-ii/5).

<sup>1011</sup> *Irish Independent*, 1 June 1921.

	Dublin	
May 1921 <sup>1012</sup>	Presbytery Athenry, Co. Galway	Residence of Fr Murtagh Farragher P.P. searched
May 1921 <sup>1013</sup>	Curate's house, Ballybay, Co. Monaghan	Residence of Fr Patrick Murphy C.C. searched
May 1921 <sup>1014</sup>	Priest's residence in diocese of Clonfert	House raided in absence of unnamed clerical resident
5 June 1921 <sup>1015</sup>	Holy Family church, Aughrim St., Dublin	Congregation searched upon leaving church after mass. Church entered afterwards
20 June 1921 <sup>1016</sup>	Priest's residence, Elphin, Co. Roscommon	Residence raided
26 June 1921 <sup>1017</sup>	Kilmaryl church, Elphin, Co. Roscommon	Church fired at during mass. Men in congregation lined up and searched after mass, some maltreated
26 June 1921 <sup>1018</sup>	Curate's house, Rahoon, Co. Galway	Residence of Frs P. O'Dea C.C. and Robert O'Reilly C.C. searched. Curates taken into custody for some time
June 1921 <sup>1019</sup>	Church, Cumber and Claudy, Co. Derry	People leaving church after devotions during Redemptorist mission held up and searched
June 1921 <sup>1020</sup>	Priest's house, Rathangan, Co. Kildare	Residence of Fr Michael Rice searched. Rook rifle found
3 July 1921 <sup>1021</sup>	Kilmoyle church, Co. Roscommon	Church fired at during Sunday mass. Congregation searched upon leaving building
6 July 1921 <sup>1022</sup>	St. Flannan's college, Ennis, Co. Clare	College visited during diocesan retreat. President, Fr William O'Kennedy, arrested

<sup>1012</sup> Ibid., 9 May 1921.

<sup>1013</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1014</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 28 May 1921.

<sup>1015</sup> Ibid., 11 June 1921.

<sup>1016</sup> 'Monthly diary of activities', North Roscommon I.R.A. brigade (U.C.D.A., Mulcahy papers, P7/A/21).

<sup>1017</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1018</sup> *Freeman's Journal*, 27 June 1921.

<sup>1019</sup> Entry in Book A, 'Missionary works 1896-1924', p. 430 (C.M.A.)

<sup>1020</sup> Folder marked 'Courts Martial – Civilians. Rev. M. Rice, Rathangan. Possession of Rook Rifle & Ammunition' (T.N.A., WO35/130).

<sup>1021</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 9 July 1921.

<sup>1022</sup> *Nenagh Guardian*, 9 July 1921.

**2.21 Clergy held up, obstructed, molested or killed by Crown forces or loyalists, January 1919 – July 1921**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Priest</b>	<b>Circumstances/details</b>
Apr. 1919 <sup>1023</sup>	Gerald Dennehy, C.C. Eyeries, Co. Cork	Military confiscate the building in which Dennehy occupies rooms as a reprisal for an attack on police. Dennehy and other tenants told to leave immediately
Sept. 1919 <sup>1024</sup>	Denis Cahill, C.C. Clanvaraghan, Co. Down	Stopped and searched by police while on his way home from a meeting
7 Feb. 1920 <sup>1025</sup>	Patrick Rowan, C.C. Rathmines, Dublin	Shots fired at presbytery from the direction of Portobello barracks. One bullet enters Rowan's sitting room window
Feb. 1920 <sup>1026</sup>	Priests in the Dublin Metropolitan District	Curfew order makes nocturnal sick calls by priests unlawful in the Dublin metropolitan district. Priests apply for permits, but houses without telephones are unable to contact a priest for a sick call during curfew hours
20 Mar. 1920 <sup>1027</sup>	Group of priests, Maynooth Mission to China	Luggage seized of group of priests travelling on train from Dalgan Park, Co. Mayo.
15 Apr. 1920 <sup>1028</sup>	Scally	Assaulted in Limerick when trying to protect Sinn Féin sympathisers who were the victims of assault
6 May 1920 <sup>1029</sup>	T. Curtaigne, C.C. Ballybunnion, Co. Kerry	Receives a death threat in the post. The letter claims all priests are murderers in God's sight who encourage crime in those who know no better
12 May 1920 <sup>1030</sup>	Charles Culligan, C.C. Kilmihil, Co. Clare	Receives a death threat in the post because of his alleged role in the shooting of Patrick Blake in Carrigaholt on 20 March 1920
May 1920 <sup>1031</sup>	John D'Arcy, P.P. Terryglass, Co. Tipperary	Insulted by constable during a hearing at court
30 June 1920 <sup>1032</sup>	Tullabeg Jesuit Novitiate and House of Studies, Co. Offaly	Military observed milking cows belonging to the community. About 5 gallons stolen

<sup>1023</sup> *Irish Independent*, 23 Apr. 1919.

<sup>1024</sup> *Ibid.*, 1 Oct. 1919.

<sup>1025</sup> *Ibid.*, 9 Feb. 1920.

<sup>1026</sup> *Ibid.*, 25 Feb. 1920.

<sup>1027</sup> *Ibid.*, 23 Mar. 1920.

<sup>1028</sup> *Ibid.*, 16 Apr. 1920. There was no Fr Scally in Limerick according to *I.C.D. 1920*. Presumably the newspaper reported a wrong name.

<sup>1029</sup> *Ibid.*, 10 May 1920.

<sup>1030</sup> *Ibid.*, 13 May 1920. See *Freeman's Journal*, 20 Mar. 1920 for the Blake shooting.

<sup>1031</sup> *Irish Independent*, 24 May 1920.

<sup>1032</sup> Entry for 30 June 1920 in 'Notes &c. for Litt. Ann., Hist. Dom., 1919-'20. 1920-'21' (J.P.A., Tullabeg papers, FM/TULL/289).

9 July 1920 <sup>1033</sup>	James Doherty, C.C. Glasnevin, Dublin	Stopped when passing through a cordon on his way to High Park convent, Drumcondra. Questioned
18 July 1920 <sup>1034</sup>	Michael Butler, P.P. Glendalough, Co. Wicklow	Stopped when passing through a cordon round Annamoe and surrounding villages. Questioned and searched
22 July 1920 <sup>1035</sup>	Br. Michael Morgan, C.Ss.R., lay member of Clonard monastery	Shot dead inside Clonard monastery, Belfast, during attack on monastery, allegedly by loyalist gunmen
23 July 1920 <sup>1036</sup>	Malachy Brennan, C.C. Caltra, Co. Galway	Residence fired into by policemen during the night
23 July 1920 <sup>1037</sup>	John O'Hare, P.P. Dromore, Co. Down	Windows of parochial house smashed by 'Orange' crowd. O'Hare and servant are forced to leave hurriedly
2 Aug. 1920 <sup>1038</sup>	William Barry, Abp. Hobart, Australia	Car held up by soldiers near Mogeely, Co. Cork, for 40 mins. Car searched
8 Aug. 1920 <sup>1039</sup>	Quaide, C.C., temporarily in Ballyhea, Co. Cork	Shot at from military lorry while walking along the road. Not hit
9 Aug. 1920 <sup>1040</sup>	Daniel Cohalan, Bp. Cork	Car held up by soldiers near Queenstown, Co. Cork. Refused to submit to search and was allowed to proceed
Aug. 1920 <sup>1041</sup>	Benjamin Kenneally, C.C. Liscarroll, Co. Cork	Visited by members of Crown forces who threaten that he will be shot if the military are ambushed
Aug. 1920 <sup>1042</sup>	Unnamed priest of Ross diocese, Co. Cork	Reported to have barely escaped being shot in reprisals
Aug. 1920 <sup>1043</sup>	John Rooney, P.P. Banbridge, Co. Down	Receives death threat in the post while sectarian violence rages
18 Sept. 1920 <sup>1044</sup>	Unnamed priest	Car held up by uniformed men near Tralee.

<sup>1033</sup> *Irish Independent*, 10 July 1920.

<sup>1034</sup> *Ibid.*, 19 July 1920.

<sup>1035</sup> Cleary to Burke, 26 July 1920 (C.M.A., box marked 'T. The Troubles and Clonard, 1920-2000'). See also Grant, *Clonard*, p. 97.

<sup>1036</sup> *Irish Independent*, 24 July 1920.

<sup>1037</sup> *Ibid.*, 26 July 1920.

<sup>1038</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 7 Aug. 1920.

<sup>1039</sup> *Irish Independent*, 11 Aug. 1920.

<sup>1040</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1041</sup> *Ibid.*, 23 Aug. 1920.

<sup>1042</sup> Kelly to Hagan, 6 Aug. 1920 (A.I.C.R., Hagan papers, HAG1/1920/351).

<sup>1043</sup> *Irish Independent*, 23 Aug. 1920.



	for the Californian mission	Questioned and threatened. Lay passenger maltreated
26 Sept. 1920 <sup>1045</sup>	Eugene Coyle, C.C. Clontibret, Co. Monaghan and others	Car held up by armed forces. Refused to leave the car or be searched. Arrested.
26 Sept. 1920 <sup>1046</sup>	Jeremiah Maher, P.P. Dunkerrin, Co. Offaly	Struck by member of Crown forces at encounter outside Dunkerrin after raid on village
Sept. 1920 <sup>1047</sup>	Patrick Walsh, C.C. Raheen, Co. Wexford	Car held up by military. Did not have valid permit and was arrested. Released, the car being detained
Sept. 1920 <sup>1048</sup>	William Hackett, S.J., Crescent college, Limerick	Car commandeered in Ennistymon and, when returned, searched in Miltown Malbay
5 Oct. 1920 <sup>1049</sup>	John O'Malley, P.P. Turloughmore, Co. Galway	Members of Crown forces fire shots outside house from 9 p.m. to 11 p.m. and on subsequent days. Residents take refuge behind a wall
8 Oct. 1920 <sup>1050</sup>	Patrick O'Reilly, C.C. Feakle, Co. Clare	Assaulted and beaten at home by members of Crown forces after having been found attending to the remains of two policemen killed in ambush. Residence then kept under fire during the night. Belongings taken out and burnt next morning
9 Oct. 1920 <sup>1051</sup>	Priest in Ballysodare, Co. Sligo	Allegedly taken out of a car, searched and threatened
13 Oct. 1920 <sup>1052</sup>	Daniel Canon O'Callaghan, P.P. Ballyclough, Co. Cork	Complained to army authority that a chalice, paten, vestments and liturgical books had been stolen from a house in Ballygraddy by military. Army denied accusation. Prosecution of Callaghan suggested in case of refusal to apologise for the allegation
14 Oct. 1920 <sup>1053</sup>	Thomas Burbage, C.C. Geashill, Co. Offaly	Fired at from military lorry while cycling on the road from Tullamore to Geashill. Not hit
15 Oct. 1920 <sup>1054</sup>	Patrick O'Connell, P.P. Cootehill, Co.	Stopped when passing through a cordon round Cootehill on the day of a fair

<sup>1044</sup> Ibid., 21 Sept. 1920.

<sup>1045</sup> Ibid., 28 Sept. 1920.

<sup>1046</sup> Ibid., 29 Sept. 1920.

<sup>1047</sup> Ibid., 9 Sept. 1920.

<sup>1048</sup> Hackett, 'Seven years', pp 11-3 (J.P.A., 'Brief lives' papers, J172/5).

<sup>1049</sup> O'Malley to Walsh, 3 Dec. 1920 (T.D.A., Gilmartin papers, B4/8-ii/4).

<sup>1050</sup> *Irish Independent*, 15 Oct. 1920.

<sup>1051</sup> Aloysius witness statement, p. 13 (N.A.I., BMH/WS207).

<sup>1052</sup> Correspondence in file marked '56/833. Complaints. Canon O'Callaghan re raid on house of James Twomey Ballygraddy' (T.N.A., WO35/119).

<sup>1053</sup> *Irish Independent*, 16 Oct. 1920.

<sup>1054</sup> Ibid., 18 Oct. 1920.

	Cavan	
15 Oct. 1920 <sup>1055</sup>	Dean Thomas Macken, P.P. Dunmore, Co. Waterford	Station devotions interrupted by party of armed men, who command people to leave building. Macken protests and complains to the commanding officer afterwards
18 Oct. 1920 <sup>1056</sup>	Michael Fogarty, Bp. Killaloe	Receives threatening letter telling him he and his house will be held responsible if two kidnapped constables are not returned within 48 hours
23 Oct. 1920 <sup>1057</sup>	John O'Malley, P.P. Turloughmore, Co. Galway	Blanks fired over his head from an R.I.C. lorry while cycling through his parish
Oct. 1920 <sup>1058</sup>	Terence Meehan, C.C. Ballynarry and J. Nangle, C.C. Mountnugent, Co. Cavan	Held up and searched by an officer
Oct. 1920 <sup>1059</sup>	Unnamed priest, Ballysadare, Co. Sligo	Held up and searched by members of the Crown forces while driving through the town. An order to fire was given but not obeyed
Autumn 1920 <sup>1060</sup>	J. T. McMahon, Secretary to Archbishop Clune of Perth	Dragged from parents' house by Black and Tans while on visit to native Ennis, Co. Clare, and beaten
10 Nov. 1920 <sup>1061</sup>	William O'Kennedy, Killanena, Co. Clare	Residence raided by uniformed men. O'Kennedy claims he was struck and his collar was torn off. Then taken in lorry and told to walk home after 12 miles
21 Nov. 1920 <sup>1062</sup>	Unnamed priest, Croke Park, Drumcondra, Dublin	Is knocked to the ground by what an eye-witness calls a 'drunken "Tan"' while ministering to the wounded in Croke Park stadium on the afternoon of Bloody Sunday
21 Nov. 1920 <sup>1063</sup>	Michael Griffin, C.C. Ragoon, Co. Galway	Found shot dead near Barna, Co. Galway
23 Nov. 1920 <sup>1064</sup>	William Cullinane, clerical student	Shot dead in Dublin on Bloody Sunday. Clerical student in unnamed seminary. From Claregalway, Co. Galway

<sup>1055</sup> Macken to Gilmartin, 16 Oct. 1920 (T.D.A., Gilmartin papers, B4/8-ii/4) and Macken to Gilmartin, 18 Oct. 1920 (T.D.A., Gilmartin papers, B4/8-ii/4).

<sup>1056</sup> Anon. to Fogarty, 18 Oct. 1920 (K.D.A., Fogarty papers, F3A23).

<sup>1057</sup> O'Malley to Walsh, 3 Dec. 1920 (T.D.A., Gilmartin papers, B4/8-ii/4).

<sup>1058</sup> *Irish Independent*, 18 Oct. 1920.

<sup>1059</sup> *Ibid.*, 9 Oct. 1920.

<sup>1060</sup> McMahon witness statement (N.A.I., BMH/WS362).

<sup>1061</sup> *Irish Independent*, 15 Nov. 1920. (For another reference to this case, see the witness statement of Father Aloysius Travers, O.F.M.Cap., N.A.I., BMH/WS207, p. 13. Aloysius got the date wrong).

<sup>1062</sup> Ryan, 'Flying column', p. 34.

<sup>1063</sup> Ó Laoi, *Griffin*, pp 38-9.

<sup>1064</sup> *Connacht Tribune*, 27 Nov. 1920.

23 Nov. 1920 <sup>1065</sup>	Thomas O’Dea, Bp. Galway	Receives threatening letter telling him he will meet with Fr Griffin’s fate if any member of the Crown forces are interfered with in Galway
24 Nov. 1920 <sup>1066</sup>	John Considine, C.C. Gort, Co. Galway	Receives threatening letter because of his ‘efforts to stir up blood-lust against the Crown forces’. Requests police protection. Officers sleep in his residence on two occasions
25 Nov. 1920 <sup>1067</sup>	Bernard Crehan, C.C. Grange, Co. Sligo	Received a letter threatening him with the same end as Fr Griffin. Holds him responsible for the killing of police in Cliffoey on account of his sermons
Nov. 1920 <sup>1068</sup>	John O’Meehan, C.C. Ragoon, Co. Galway	Received five threatening letters
Nov. 1920 <sup>1069</sup>	P. Ryan, C.C. Roscrea, Co. Tipperary	Residence searched, Ryan taken from his residence and bound hand and foot to a gate. Told to sever his connections with the republican movement and to leave the district
Nov. 1920 <sup>1070</sup>	Bartholomew Kelly, P.P. Knockcroghery, Co. Roscommon	Held up by armed masked men when driving back from Roscommon. Car commandeered and not returned
Nov. 1920 <sup>1071</sup>	J.W. Cunnane, C.C. Moycullen, Co. Galway	Reportedly received death threat, residence shot at and his belongings robbed and destroyed. Sacred vessels stolen
11 Dec. 1920 <sup>1072</sup>	Patrick MacSweeney, C.C. St. Finbarr’s Cork	Assaulted on a tram together with other passengers by armed men. Divested of items of clothing, struck and told to write ‘To hell with the Pope’ before being released
11 Dec. 1920 <sup>1073</sup>	Francis McCarthy, C.C. St. Patrick’s, Cork	Assaulted by a party of armed men on his way home. Told to go home and then fired at, though without being hit
13 Dec. 1920 <sup>1074</sup>	Joseph MacRory, Bp. Down and Connor	Reported not to be living at his residence anymore for fear of violence
15 Dec. 1920 <sup>1075</sup>	Thomas Canon Magner, P.P. Dunmanway, Co.	Shot dead by an Auxiliary in Dunmanway

<sup>1065</sup> I.G.M.R., Nov. 1920, p. 296 (T.N.A., CO904/113). For contents of letter see *Irish Catholic*, 4 Dec. 1920.

<sup>1066</sup> I.G.M.R., Nov. 1920, p. 478 (T.N.A., CO904/113). Quotation from letter is from *Irish Catholic*, 4 Dec. 1920.

<sup>1067</sup> Crehan to Crowe, 25 Nov. 1920 (E.D.A., Coyne papers, box marked ‘Bishop Coyne, 1913-1919’, folder marked ‘Jan-Dec ‘20’).

<sup>1068</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 27 Nov. 1920. See also Leech witness statement (N.A.I., BMH/WS1034).

<sup>1069</sup> Ryan to Fogarty, 1 Dec. 1920 (K.D.A., Fogarty papers, F5A20).

<sup>1070</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 27 Nov. 1920.

<sup>1071</sup> *Ibid.*, 4 Dec. 1920.

<sup>1072</sup> *Irish Independent*, 15 and 16 Dec. 1920.

<sup>1073</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1074</sup> O’Kelly to Hagan, 13 Dec. 1920 (A.I.C.R., Hagan papers, HAG1/1920/462).

<sup>1075</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 18 Dec. 1920.

	Cork	
25 Dec. 1920 <sup>1076</sup>	P. Ryan, C.C. Roscrea, Co. Tipperary	Receives a death threat in the post from the 'Anti-Sinn Fein society'. If on or after 27 Dec. he is seen in his house, he will be shot and the house burnt
26 Dec. 1920 <sup>1077</sup>	Michael Card. Logue, Abp. Armagh	Held up by 'Specials' near Armagh
Dec. 1920 <sup>1078</sup>	Cornelius Short, P.P. Tandragee, Co. Antrim	Receives a death threat in the post from the 'Sinn Fein club', telling him that he will be shot by Black and Tans
1 Jan. 1921 <sup>1079</sup>	John Lawlor, clerical student at All Hallows' college, Dublin	Beaten to death by armed men in Listowel, Co. Kerry, during Christmas holidays
1 Jan. 1921 <sup>1080</sup>	Michael Kelly, C.C. Clane, Co. Kildare	Shot at by Crown forces while driving his car near his residence when he failed to stop when asked to do so
3 Jan. 1921 <sup>1081</sup>	P. Ryan, C.C. Roscrea, Co. Tipperary	Residence entered in his absence. A note with a death threat from the 'Anti-Sinn Fein society' left behind
18 Jan. 1921 <sup>1082</sup>	Michael Morley, C.C. Headford, Co. Galway	Residence is burnt to the ground by Crown forces during an attack on Headford in reprisal for the ambush of Auxiliaries at Kilroe
28 Jan. 1921 <sup>1083</sup>	Cormac, F.S.C., member of De la Salle school, Dunmanway, Co. Cork	Shot in both hands by Auxiliaries during search of the De la Salle house in Dunmanway. Fled to the residence of a local postman
23 Jan. 1921 <sup>1084</sup>	William Ferris, C.C. Tralee, Co. Kerry	Receives letter from 'an earnest friend' suggesting that he leave Ireland for the U.S. or Australia without delay
29 Jan. 1921 <sup>1085</sup>	William Ferris, C.C. Tralee, Co. Kerry	Receives letter from 'Anti-Sinn Fein quarters' telling him that he is on their list for execution
30 Jan. 1921 <sup>1086</sup>	John Canon McDonnell, P.P. Dingle, Co. Kerry	Is told to instruct local population to fill up trenches around Dingle under threat of reprisals
3 Feb. 1921 <sup>1087</sup>	Laurence Callanan, C.C.	Explosive device detonated outside dining room window of residence. Callanan is asked to leave the

<sup>1076</sup> *Irish Independent*, 4 Jan. 1921.

<sup>1077</sup> Ó Fiaich, 'Clergy', p. 496.

<sup>1078</sup> *Irish Independent*, 1 Jan. 1921.

<sup>1079</sup> *Freeman's Journal*, 4 Jan. 1921.

<sup>1080</sup> *Irish Independent*, 6 Jan. 1921.

<sup>1081</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1082</sup> *Irish Independent*, 20 Jan. 1921.

<sup>1083</sup> *Kerryman*, 29 Jan. 1921.

<sup>1084</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1085</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1086</sup> Lynch to O'Sullivan, 7 Feb. 1921 (Ky.D.A., O'Sullivan papers, 'Parish correspondence', Annascaul).

<sup>1087</sup> *Irish Independent*, 10 Feb. 1921.

	Ballinhassig, Co. Cork	dining room before the explosion
4 Feb. 1921 <sup>1088</sup>	Six unnamed Redemptorists, Limerick	Held up in an ambush in East Limerick for several hours. They were returning from walks
13 Feb. 1921 <sup>1089</sup>	Patrick Murphy and T. Connolly, C.C. Ballybay, Co. Monaghan	Fired at from behind a hedge while out on a walk by Black and Tan policeman and two civilians. At their trial the accused denied having aimed at the priests
18 Feb. 1921 <sup>1090</sup>	Two unnamed Jesuit chaplains, Belvedere college, Dublin	Chaplains from Belvedere college stopped from passing cordon to attend Temple St. hospital and an unnamed institution in Gardiner St.
Feb. 1921 <sup>1091</sup>	J. A. Duffy, O.E.S.A., Prior, Augustinian Priory, Galway	Crown forces visit priory and dismantle Duffy's motor cycle. Duffy had failed to obtain a permit for the machine
7 Mar. 1921 <sup>1092</sup>	Thomas O'Malley, P.P. Partry, Co. Mayo	Threatened by military when ministering to two soldiers wounded during ambush
11 Mar. 1921 <sup>1093</sup>	John Burke, C.C. Charleville, Co. Cork	Produces at a military court of enquiry a threatening letter that he had received
14 Mar. 1921 <sup>1094</sup>	Unnamed priests in Mitchelstown, Co. Cork	Stopped when passing through a cordon round Market Square in Mitchelstown. Questioned
16 Mar. 1921 <sup>1095</sup>	Patrick Canon MacAlpine, P.P. Clifden, Co. Galway	Threatened by members of the Crown forces while attempting to enter Clifden during a reprisal
23 Mar. 1921 <sup>1096</sup>	Patrick McDonnell, clerical student, Maynooth, Co. Kildare	Shot dead by Crown forces near Oldcastle, Co. Meath, while home on sick leave
25 Mar. 1921 <sup>1097</sup>	Denis O'Hara, P.P. Kiltimagh, Co. Mayo	Shots fired into residence and threats made to his life after he complained to a senior officer of the treatment of one of his curates some days previously
Mar. 1921 <sup>1098</sup>	Maurice	Compelled to accompany members of the Crown

<sup>1088</sup> Entry for 4 Feb. 1921 in House chronicles (M.D.A., House chronicles). This reference was kindly provided to me by the archivist, Rev. Joe Mac Loughlin, C.Ss.R.

<sup>1089</sup> *Irish Independent*, 15 Feb. 1921.

<sup>1090</sup> Entry for 18 Feb. 1921 in 'Minister's Journal: 1 Sep 1904 – 28 Aug 1924' (B.C.A., Jesuit community papers, COM/2)

<sup>1091</sup> *Irish Independent*, 12 Feb. 1921.

<sup>1092</sup> O'Malley to Gilmartin, 11 Mar. 1921 (T.D.A., Gilmartin papers, B4/8-ii/4).

<sup>1093</sup> *Kerryman*, 12 Mar. 1921.

<sup>1094</sup> *Irish Independent*, 17 Mar. 1921.

<sup>1095</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 26 Mar. 1921.

<sup>1096</sup> *Freeman's Journal*, 24 Mar. 1921.

<sup>1097</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 9 Apr. 1921.

	O'Connell, C.C. Mitchelstown, Co. Cork	forces for the purposes of identifying someone. Upon arrival at the destination, O'Connell was dismissed again
15 Apr. 1921 <sup>1099</sup>	Timothy Trant, P.P., and Michael McDonnell, C.C. Ballymacelligott, Co. Kerry	Forced to flee as presbytery burnt to the ground during reprisals for the killing of Major McKinnon in Tralee
20 Apr. 1921 <sup>1100</sup>	Michael Fogarty, Bp. Killaloe	Door of residence set on fire
24 Apr. 1921 <sup>1101</sup>	J. Clancy, C.C. Scarriff, Co. Clare	Alleged that he was prevented from saying Sunday mass and was compelled to accompany parishioners, who were performing forced labour on a road
Apr. 1921 <sup>1102</sup>	Thomas Dunne, P.P. Kilnadeema, Co. Galway	Bomb thrown from police lorry at residence
Apr. 1921 <sup>1103</sup>	Two unnamed priests, Tralee, Co. Kerry	Receive death threats after the killing of Auxiliary Major McKinnon in Tralee
2 May 1921 <sup>1104</sup>	Br. Coyne, S.J., Tullabeg Jesuit Community, Co. Offaly	Compelled to help a group of civilians fill up holes in the road by Black and Tans. Treated civilly
7 May 1921 <sup>1105</sup>	Paul McLoughlin, P.P. Dooleague, Co. Mayo	Insulted by members of the Crown forces after holding the funeral of two I.R.A. men an hour earlier than he had been instructed so that men on the run could attend
15 May 1921 <sup>1106</sup>	James O'Callaghan, C.C. North cathedral, Cork	Shot dead in house of Liam de Róiste, T.D., in Cork
25 May 1921 <sup>1107</sup>	Patrick O'Halloran, C.C. Nenagh, Co. Tipperary	Writes letter to the press stating that he had received word that he had been doomed to death unless two kidnapped policemen turned up safe
28 May 1921 <sup>1108</sup>	Thomas O'Doherty, Bp. Clonfert	Police reportedly search bishop's residence at Coorheen, Co. Galway, and burn house of bishop's gardener after an ambush near Loughrea

<sup>1098</sup> *Irish Independent*, 5 Mar. 1921.

<sup>1099</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 23 Apr. 1921.

<sup>1100</sup> Fogarty to O'Reilly, 31 Nov. 1928 (K.D.A., Fogarty papers, F3A28).

<sup>1101</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 11 June 1921.

<sup>1102</sup> *Ibid.*, 23 Apr. 1921.

<sup>1103</sup> O'Murray to Hagan, 1 June 1921 (A.I.C.R., Hagan papers, HAG1/1921/298).

<sup>1104</sup> Entry in 'Notes &c. for Litt. Ann., Hist. Dom., 1919-'20. 1920-'21' for 2 May 1921 (J.P.A., Tullabeg papers, FM/TULL/289).

<sup>1105</sup> Maye, 'Islandeedy', p. 109.

<sup>1106</sup> Statement 'Attack on Alderman Liam de Roiste's house, and murder of Rev. Father O'Callaghan. On Whit Sunday morning, May 15<sup>th</sup>, 1921', undated (C.D.A., Cohalan papers, box i).

<sup>1107</sup> *Irish Independent*, 26 May 1921.

<sup>1108</sup> Martin Dolan, 'Galway 1920-1921', *The Capuchin Annual* (1970), pp 384-95, at p. 395.

31 May 1921 <sup>1109</sup>	Thomas Roche, C.C. Youghal, Co. Cork	Wounded by gunfire after a republican ambush on a party of soldiers. Driver of his car killed
May/June 1921 <sup>1110</sup>	Eugene Coyle, C.C. Clontibret, Co. Monaghan	Attacked by Auxiliaries while in custody in R.I.C. barracks in Castleblayney after news of an ambush on their comrades reaches them
21 June 1921 <sup>1111</sup>	Bartholomew Kelly, P.P. Knockcroghery, Co. Roscommon	Told to leave the presbytery by armed men at night during reprisal on the town. Part of the presbytery burnt, but the fire was put out by servants
30 June 1921 <sup>1112</sup>	Three Jesuit novices, Tullabeg Novitiate, Co. Offaly	Commandeered by the military to clear heap of stones on road for 15 mins
1920 or 1921 <sup>1113</sup>	Richard McCarthy, C.C. Ballyhahill, Co. Limerick	Reportedly has to 'lie low' to avoid attention from Crown forces after they find his hat when it is dropped by an I.R.A. man who had mistakenly taken it while McCarthy was bivouacking with the flying column before an ambush
1921 <sup>1114</sup>	P. C. Ward, C.F.C., acting superior, Christian Brothers house, Westport, Co. Mayo, and Patrick Patterson, C.C. Westport	Receives threatening letter telling him he will be killed and the Christian Brothers school will be burned to the ground. Also threatens local sisters and local curate

<sup>1109</sup> *Irish Independent*, 1 and 2 June 1921.

<sup>1110</sup> Coyle witness statement, pp 8-9 (N.A.I., BMH/WS325).

<sup>1111</sup> *Irish Independent*, 23 June 1921.

<sup>1112</sup> Entry for 1 July 1921 in 'Notes &c. for Litt. Ann., Hist. Dom., 1919-'20. 1920-'21' (J.P.A., Tullabeg papers, FM/TULL/289).

<sup>1113</sup> Breen, *My fight*, p. 48.

<sup>1114</sup> Contemporary document submitted to the Bureau of Military History by Brother P. C. Ward (M.A., BMH/CD77/11).

**2.22 Clerical obstruction of the authorities and acts of civil disobedience, January 1919 – July 1921**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Priest</b>	<b>Circumstances/details</b>
Jan. 1919 <sup>1115</sup>	Edward O’Flynn, C.C. St. Finbarr’s (West), Cork	Protests at a meeting of the Cork Technical Instruction Committee at proposals to provide demobilised soldiers with free schooling
23 Feb. 1919 <sup>1116</sup>	William Fanning, C.C. Rhode, Co. Offaly	Presides at a proscribed meeting to protest at a decision by the estates commissioners to give land in the neighbourhood to demobilised soldiers
Mar. 1919 <sup>1117</sup>	Edward O’Reilly, C.C. Carrick-on-Shannon, Co. Leitrim	Fined for contempt of court for failing to attend on subpoena as a witness. He was ‘a conscientious objector’ to appearing
1 and 15 June, 20 July 1919 <sup>1118</sup>	Malachy Brennan, C.C. Caltra, Co. Galway, Martin KIELTY, P.P. Caltra, and Michael O’Flanagan	Fr Brennan is present twice at meetings in Caltra Sinn Féin hall on 1 and 15 June 1919, contrary to an order made closing the building down. On 20 July Brennan was there again, joined this time by Frs KIELTY and O’Flanagan
5 June 1919 <sup>1119</sup>	Michael O’Flanagan	Turns up to address the audience at a concert in Bray, Co. Wicklow, in aid of the Irish Republican Prisoners’ Dependents’ Fund. Disregards D.I.’s orders to disperse the crowd
8 June 1919 <sup>1120</sup>	P. J. Fitzgerald, Adm. Killarney, Co. Kerry, and curates	Presides at a proscribed <i>aeridheacht</i> near Killarney, his curates attending and addressing the crowd
11 June 1919 <sup>1121</sup>	Patrick Canon Hayes, P.P. Ballylongford, Co. Kerry and two other priests	Canon Hayes presides at a proclaimed <i>feis</i> , two other priests attending. The Crown forces were ‘decoyed in another direction’
14 June 1919 <sup>1122</sup>	Michael O’Flanagan	Addresses a proclaimed <i>feis</i> in Kilmallock, Co. Limerick
June 1919 <sup>1123</sup>	Bernard Keane, C.C. Summerhill,	Appears before Athlone town council to ask that the town hall not be let to the military for dances in the

<sup>1115</sup> *Irish Independent*, 31 Jan. 1919.

<sup>1116</sup> *Ibid.*, 24 Feb. 1919.

<sup>1117</sup> *Ibid.*, 10 and 15 Mar. 1919.

<sup>1118</sup> File marked ‘65/856/30. D. of R.R. Sinn Fein Meetings proclaimed. Meetings etc. throughout Ireland’ (T.N.A., WO35/98).

<sup>1119</sup> *Irish Independent*, 6 June 1919.

<sup>1120</sup> *Ibid.*, 10 June 1919.

<sup>1121</sup> *Ibid.*, 12 June 1919.

<sup>1122</sup> *Ibid.*, 16 June 1919.

<sup>1123</sup> *Ibid.*, 6 June 1919.



	Athlone, Co. Roscommon	future in protest against the recent exclusion of the public during a military trial in the building
10 Aug. 1919 <sup>1124</sup>	O'Shea, American priest	Waves a tricolour from Blarney Castle, Co. Cork, and resists the police when they were called by the owner. Sings the Soldier's song and shouts 'up the republic' as he is being brought down
17 Aug. 1919 <sup>1125</sup>	Patrick Greenan, C.C. Banbrige, Co. Down	Attends and speaks at a proscribed <i>aeridheacht</i> at Castlewellan
11 Oct. 1919 <sup>1126</sup>	John Madden, C.C. Ballinasloe, Co. Galway	Organises a public meeting in the square in Ballinasloe on fair day to advertise Dáil national loan. Goes ahead with meeting even after it is proscribed
Nov. 1919 <sup>1127</sup>	Malachy Brennan, C.C. Caltra, Co. Galway	Refuses to remove hat while in court
July 1920 <sup>1128</sup>	Unnamed priests in unnamed place, Co. Limerick	Allegedly refuse to officiate at funeral of member of Crown forces killed by I.R.A.
Sept. 1920 <sup>1129</sup>	P. Sharkey, C.C. Liscannor, Co. Clare	Refuses to remove tricolour from sports pitch when told to do so by officer and threatens the officer not to shoot at the flag
Sept. 1920 <sup>1130</sup>	Michael Card. Logue, Abp. Armagh	Refuses to issue instruction to Catholics in R.I.C. dispensing them from obligation to attend mass on Sundays as requested by chief secretary
7 Mar. 1921 <sup>1131</sup>	Thomas O'Malley, P.P. Partry, Co. Mayo	Disobeys orders of captain of military party that had just been ambushed by I.R.A. by going to the victims and giving them the last rites
Apr. 1921 <sup>1132</sup>	Thomas Nolan, S.J., Provincial, Dublin	Refuses to appoint a Jesuit as chaplain to the viceregal lodge
7 May 1921 <sup>1133</sup>	Paul McLoughlin, P.P. Dooleague Islandeady, Tuam, Co. Galway	Disobeys orders from Crown forces about funeral of two I.R.A. casualties by beginning it an hour too early and allowing crowds of people to attend although instructed to allow only family
May 1921 <sup>1134</sup>	Edward Canon	Refuses request by the R.I.C. to rearrange the coffins

<sup>1124</sup> I.G.M.R., Aug. 1919 (T.N.A., CO904/109).

<sup>1125</sup> *Irish Independent*, 21 Aug. 1919.

<sup>1126</sup> I.G.M.R., Sept. 1919, p. 384. (T.N.A., CO904/110).

<sup>1127</sup> *Irish Independent*, 18 Nov. 1919.

<sup>1128</sup> I.G.M.R., July 1920, p. 288 (T.N.A., CO904/112).

<sup>1129</sup> *Irish Independent*, 6 Sept. 1920.

<sup>1130</sup> Greenwood to Logue, 30 Sept. 1920 and Logue to Greenwood (draft), undated (A.D.A., Logue papers, ARCH/9/5/1).

<sup>1131</sup> O'Malley to Gilmartin, 11 Mar. 1921 (T.D.A., Gilmartin papers, B4/8-ii/4).

<sup>1132</sup> Fitzalan to Byrne, 29 Apr. 1921 (D.D.A., Byrne papers, box marked 'Government 1922-39, 2', folder 'Lord Lieutenant, 1921-22').

<sup>1133</sup> Maye, 'Islandeady', pp 108-9.

<sup>1134</sup> Ó hÓgáin, 'Tourmakeady', p. 54.

	Dalton, P.P. Ballinrobe, Co. Mayo	of two R.I.C. and one I.R.A. casualty of the Tourmakeady ambush so that the I.R.A. victim's body would not occupy the place of honour in his church
26 June 1921 <sup>1135</sup>	James Nunan, P.P. Killaloe, Co. Clare	Tells workman to disobey order received from Crown forces to stop herding Nunan's cattle and help repair a road

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<sup>1135</sup> *Irish Independent*, 2 July 1921.

**2.23 Clerical disclaimers of local involvement in republican violence, January 1919 – July 1921**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Priest</b>	<b>Circumstances/details</b>
26 Jan. 1919 <sup>1136</sup>	Arthur Canon Ryan, P.P. Tipperary	Says in sermon at Sunday mass that he hopes and prays that there may be none among his parishioners who excuse or justify the Soloheadbeg attack
26 Jan. 1919 <sup>1137</sup>	John Slattery, Adm. Solohead, Co. Tipperary	Says in sermon at Sunday mass that he did not suggest that anyone in the parish had any part in the Soloheadbeg attack
4 May 1919 <sup>1138</sup>	Thomas Gilmartin, Abp. Tuam	Tells congregation in Westport in sermon at Sunday mass that he was sure they had no sympathy with recent attack on the R.I.C. there
18 May 1919 <sup>1139</sup>	John Mary Harty, Abp. Cashel and Emly	Says in sermon during visitation in Galbally that he condemned the Knocklong rescue because it happened in the neighbourhood and not because the people had any sympathy with crime or outrage
29 June 1919 <sup>1140</sup>	John Mary Harty, Abp. Cashel and Emly	Condemns killing of D.I. Hunt in sermon at Sunday mass in Thurles and says that though the crime was committed in Thurles, it was not of Thurles
8 Aug. 1919 <sup>1141</sup>	Thomas O’Dea, Bp. Galway	Writes in letter to P.P. Ennistymon that he does not assume that the two constables killed recently in the parish were killed by ‘any of your people’
15 Aug. 1919 <sup>1142</sup>	William Mullins, C.C. Lahinch, Co. Clare	Condemns killing of a boy in the parish and says he did not associate the hard-working, industrious men of Ennistymon with a crime they detested
17 Aug. 1919 <sup>1143</sup>	William Mullins, C.C. Lahinch, Co. Clare	Condemns killing of two constables in sermon at Sunday mass. Says they had not the smallest sympathy with the abominable crime
9 Sept. 1919 <sup>1144</sup>	John O’Donoghue, Adm. Fermoy, Co. Cork	Says at a public meeting on foot of reprisals in the town following an ambush on soldiers that no Fermoy man had anything to do with it
11 Sept. 1919 <sup>1145</sup>	Robert Browne, Bp. Cloyne	Writes in public letter to Fr John O’Donoghue, referring to ambush on soldiers in the town that ‘no one who knows anything of Fermoy will say that [the ambushers] came from there’
14 Sept. 1919 <sup>1146</sup>	John	Condemns killing of Private Jones in sermon at

<sup>1136</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 1 Feb. 1919.

<sup>1137</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1138</sup> *Ibid.*, 10 May 1919.

<sup>1139</sup> *Ibid.*, 24 May 1919.

<sup>1140</sup> *Ibid.*, 5 July 1919.

<sup>1141</sup> *Ibid.*, 16 Aug. 1919.

<sup>1142</sup> *Ibid.*, 23 Aug. 1919.

<sup>1143</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1144</sup> *Irish Independent*, 10 Sept. 1919.

<sup>1145</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 20 Sept. 1919.

<sup>1146</sup> *Ibid.*

	O'Donoghue, Adm. Fermoy, Co. Cork	Sunday mass and says there was no right-thinking person in the community who did not condemn it
14 Sept. 1919 <sup>1147</sup>	James Sheedy, C.C. Fermoy, Co. Cork	Says in sermon at Sunday mass that he believed that no person from the Fermoy district was responsible for the death of Private Jones. Also that no Catholic soldier was responsible for the subsequent reprisals
14 Sept. 1919 <sup>1148</sup>	John Nunan, C.C. Fermoy, Co. Cork	Says in sermon at Sunday mass that the people of that parish most willingly joined with the bishop in condemnation and denunciation of the crime
2 Nov. 1919 <sup>1149</sup>	Patrick Farrell, P.P. Ballivor, Co. Meath	Condemns shooting outrage in sermon at Sunday mass and says it was not the work of anyone in the parish
4 Jan. 1920 <sup>1150</sup>	Thomas Bowler, P.P. Carrigtohill, Co. Cork and curate	Says in sermon at Sunday mass that he does not believe even one of his parishioners was concerned in the attack on local R.I.C. barracks. Curate says words to same effect
4 Jan. 1920 <sup>1151</sup>	J. Cosgrave, C.C. Drumlish, Co. Longford and	Says in sermon at Sunday mass that he was convinced no man in the parish had taken part in a recent attack on local R.I.C. barracks
11 Jan. 1920 <sup>1152</sup>	Dean David O'Leary, P.P. Tralee, Co. Kerry	Says in sermon at Sunday mass that he repudiates in the name of the people of Tralee any connection with attacks on houses with fire-arms
18 Jan. 1920 <sup>1153</sup>	M. Heany, P.P. Caherlistrane, Co. Galway	Says in sermon at Sunday mass that those who attacked Castlehackett R.I.C. barracks were experts from a distance. Also asks whether they were tutored by local guides
22 Feb. 1920 <sup>1154</sup>	Thomas Gilmartin, Abp. Tuam	Tells congregation in Tuam in sermon at Sunday mass that he was sure the good people of his diocese had no sympathy with attacks on R.I.C. barracks
17 Mar. 1920 <sup>1155</sup>	T. Dooley, C.C. Toomevara, Co. Tipperary	Says in sermon at Sunday mass that those who killed Constables Rock and Healy showed by their crime that they were outcasts from the Christian people of the parish
25 Apr. 1920 <sup>1156</sup>	John Canon O'Leary, Clonakilty, Co. Cork and curates	Says in sermon at Sunday mass that he was satisfied no parishioners had been involved in an attack on R.I.C. near Innishannon which killed two constables. Curates say words to same effect
July 1920 <sup>1157</sup>	Thomas	Says in public letter to General Macready that the

<sup>1147</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1148</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1149</sup> *Meath Chronicle*, 8 Nov. 1919.

<sup>1150</sup> *Irish Independent*, 6 Jan. 1920.

<sup>1151</sup> Ibid., 8 Jan. 1920.

<sup>1152</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 17 Jan. 1920.

<sup>1153</sup> Ibid., 24 Jan. 1920.

<sup>1154</sup> Ibid., 28 Feb. 1920.

<sup>1155</sup> Ibid., 27 Mar. 1920.

<sup>1156</sup> *Irish Independent*, 27 Apr. 1920.

<sup>1157</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 24 and 31 July 1920. See also correspondence between Gilmartin and Macready, June-Sept. 1920 (T.D.A., Gilmartin papers, B4/8-ii/8).

	Gilmartin, Abp. Tuam	good people of Tuam reprobate the shooting dead of two R.I.C. men in the town. When Macready replies with incredulity, Gilmartin says that the assassination is no evidence that even a small section of the people of Tuam sympathised with it
8 Aug. 1920 <sup>1158</sup>	Robert Browne, Bp. Cloyne	Says in sermon at Sunday mass in Queenstown cathedral that it is certain that no Queenstown man had hand, act or part in the recent attempt on the life of a D.I. Morant
Aug. 1920 <sup>1159</sup>	Joseph MacRory, Bp. Down and Connor	Condemns killing of D.I. Swanzy in Lisburn in interview with journalist. Says no one belonging to the diocese had anything whatever to do with it
16 Oct. 1920 <sup>1160</sup>	Thomas Gilmartin, Abp. Tuam	Says in letter to the editor of <i>The Times</i> that the people of Tuam reprobated the shooting of two policemen near the town
17 Oct. 1920 <sup>1161</sup>	Timothy Hurley, P.P. Strokestown, Co. Roscommon	Asks congregation in sermon at Sunday mass to pray for the souls of the policemen shot in Ballaghaderreen and says he was sure that everyone in the parish regretted the occurrence
1 Nov. 1920 <sup>1162</sup>	Eugene Daly, C.C. Tullamore, Co. Offaly	Says in sermon at mass that R.I.C. sergeant who was killed in the town recently was probably killed by 'people from a distance, and not by natives of the town'
1 Nov. 1920 <sup>1163</sup>	Thomas Canon Maguire, P.P. Granard, Co. Longford	Calls upon the military officer after the killing of D.I. Kelleher and gives him his confident assurance that no one in the parish had act or part in the crime
7 Nov. 1920 <sup>1164</sup>	P. Callary, P.P. Tullamore, Co. Offaly	Says in sermon at Sunday mass that he believed that the shooting of a constable in the town had not been done by anyone in the parish
Nov. 1920 <sup>1165</sup>	Peter Davis, P.P. Ragoon, Co. Galway	Responds to R.I.C.'s statement that no member of the Crown forces had anything to do with Fr Griffin's disappearance to the effect that no Catholic and no Irishman would touch a hair of Griffin's head
9 Jan. 1921 <sup>1166</sup>	William Codd, Bp. Ferns	Says in sermon at Sunday mass in Wexford that he felt sure that nobody in his diocese sympathised with murder or was a party to it in any way
Jan. 1921 <sup>1167</sup>	Thomas Gilmartin, Abp. Tuam	Writes in letter to P.P. Headford that it is a consolation to know that none of his parishioners were implicated in an ambush in the town

<sup>1158</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 14 Aug. 1920.

<sup>1159</sup> *Ibid.*, 28 Aug. 1920.

<sup>1160</sup> *The Times*, 21 Oct. 1920.

<sup>1161</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 23 Oct. 1920.

<sup>1162</sup> *Irish Independent*, 2 Nov. 1920.

<sup>1163</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1164</sup> *Ibid.*, 10 Nov. 1920.

<sup>1165</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 20 Nov. 1920.

<sup>1166</sup> *Ibid.*, 15 Jan. 1921.

<sup>1167</sup> *Ibid.*, 29 Jan. 1921.

Feb. 1921 <sup>1168</sup>	Patrick O'Donnell, Bp. Raphoe	Writes in letter to C.C. Mountcharles that he credits his statement that no one in our around Mountcharles had part in or knowledge of the killing of a constable there
6 Mar. 1921 <sup>1169</sup>	Edward O'Reilly, C.C. Carrick-on-Shannon, Co. Leitrim	P.P. Carrick-on-Shannon says in sermon at Sunday mass that Fr O'Reilly had told him that no man from the district had been concerned in an attack on police
27 Mar. 1921 <sup>1170</sup>	Laurence Canon Keenan, P.P. Ballybay, Co. Monaghan	Condemns shooting of Henry Carr, suspected of being a spy, in sermon at Sunday mass. Satisfied no one in his congregation was guilty of the outrage
3 Apr. 1921 <sup>1171</sup>	John Canon Hannon, P.P. Miltown Malbay, Co. Clare	Condemns the killing of a constable in the town in sermon at Sunday mass and says he had met no one in town or district who had not also condemned it
3 Apr. 1921 <sup>1172</sup>	Charles McHugh, Bp. Derry	Writes in letter to Adm. cathedral, Derry, that he fears people will read his condemnation of rioting as an admission that the evildoers belong to the Catholic community
15 May 1921 <sup>1173</sup>	Patrick Canon Hayes, P.P. Castletownbere, Co. Cork	Condemns the killing of soldiers in sermon at Sunday mass and says he hoped his parishioners had nothing to do with it
22 May 1921 <sup>1174</sup>	Thomas O'Doherty, Bp. Clonfert	Says in sermon at confirmation service on Sunday in Loughrea cathedral that if there was any crime in his diocese it came from outside
May 1921 <sup>1175</sup>	Patrick O'Donnell, Bp. Raphoe	Says in sermon at commencement of mission in Letterkenny cathedral, commenting on killing of constable, that there is no one around the town of murderous intent

<sup>1168</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 5 Mar. 1921.

<sup>1169</sup> *Irish Independent*, 8 Mar. 1921.

<sup>1170</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 2 Apr. 1921.

<sup>1171</sup> *Ibid.*, 9 Apr. 1921.

<sup>1172</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1173</sup> *Irish Independent*, 16 May 1921.

<sup>1174</sup> *Irish Catholic*, 28 May 1921.

<sup>1175</sup> *Ibid.*

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