**Today is 21st January 2019, and on this day in history 100 years ago occurred the following events…**

The building was, in many respects, unimpressive. Hardly the place for a new republic to be proclaimed, or confirmed, or reimagined – the nomenclature was a bit foggy, but what was not foggy was exactly how significant this act was. It hadn't been particularly well advertised, and the British administration, led by Sir John French of the early BEF fame, had even removed the requirement of a police permit. French thought the whole performance ludicrous, and gave it little attention. At Dublin’s Mansion House, where the Lord Mayor of Dublin traditionally stayed, in the Round Room which had been constructed specifically for the purpose of welcoming King George IV in 1821, were gathered the nucleus of Ireland’s radical independence movement.

Sinn Fein, the inheritor of the 1916 rising, had won for itself the mandate of Irish political support in the December 1918 GE. While LG enjoyed a surge in popularity for his coupon coalition, the Irish next door were redefining what it meant to be nationalist. The IPP, which had monopolised Irish politics for years with the goal of HR, that is, limited self-rule for Ireland, had been completed annihilated and supplanted in that GE by SF, the republican movement which had, erroneously as it turned out, been associated with the doomed rising during Easter week, 1916. The SF rebellion, as it had then been called, evoked passionate feelings and sympathies among the Irish people only after the British military establishment implemented martial law, arrested thousands of Irish people without trial and, critically, executed the ringleaders. A fortnight after the rising had ended, those men who Dubliners had once pelted with rotten fruit were now being hailed as the noblest of heroes and martyrs. It was just as Padraig Pearse, one of many de facto leaders of the rising, had wanted, and imagined. The rising was never a militarily feasible campaign; instead, it was a blood sacrifice, a mission to create new martyrs in the 20th century, and to invigorate the Irish people in the process. The British, it has to be said, walked right into the trap.

Those that gathered at Dublin’s Mansion House on this day 100 years ago were benefactors of this British mismanagement. ‘Indeed’, wrote the historian Charles Townsend, ‘if the British government had possessed the composure to consign its leaders to an asylum rather than putting them in front of a firing squad, what followed might have been very different.’[[1]](#footnote-1) That the firing squad was the choice of the military governor Sir John Maxwell, rather than perceptive calm and wise counsel, proved to be a choice that profoundly affected my country’s history. As it stood in spring 1918, following two years of agitation and outcry against the British actions, republicanism and the brave stand of the rebels was already becoming national canon. Then, another miscalculation, the decision to impose conscription on the Irish, just as the German Spring Offensive was entering its climax, added further fuel to the bonfire. As it happened, the military situation reversed and stabilised itself, and conscription was not needed for Ireland. The suggestion was withdrawn, and SF claimed victory. It was a massive boost to the organisation’s profile, and it seemed genuinely possible now that the movement could put up candidates for election once the war ended. To fully grasp the seismic change which occurred in the 1918 GE, one must compare the results of the last GE from 1910. A map demonstrating the party’s wins cuts an even more devastating profile. Ireland effectively swapped the IPP for SF, with some exceptions, across the whole island.

73 SF MPs were returned, but this victory had come with some caveats. An incredible 34 of this number were actually in prison; many of the candidates which SF put up had been in prison when they had been elected. This effectively halved the party’s people power, but it did not halt the plan. What plan? Those in London could not be entirely sure – what was certain was that SF was the party of ruffians, worse than that, its republican socialist elements whiffed of Bolshevism, and it was convenient sometimes to tar them with the same brush. If any Sinn Feiners did show up in London, it was feared they would cause a scene and an international embarrassment by publicly refusing to take their seats. They were thus to be arrested on sight – if necessary, the defeated candidates were to take their places, though this was not essential, since Ireland had already been under martial law relatively recently, and it would not be difficult to institute this regime once again. Sir John French was, after all, desperate for a chance to recoup his lost reputation which the battering of the BEF had tarnished. The pacification of Ireland would grant him the ideal opportunity to do just that.

When French picked up some SF contraband in a raid a week before, some of the materials included the declared constitution of the new assembly and the declaration of independence. It was these documents that convinced French that the SF gathering was not to be taken seriously – its members were clearly delusional and stood no chance of success. French had heard other reports, how the republican organisations was impassioned and eager to act, but how its administrators dressed in old, shabby clothes, how its run down offices churned out manifestos on cheap paper, and its hardline members spoke in a language nobody could understand. Predictably enough, even while French did not take SF seriously, those 34 elected MPs who remained free viewed this event as one of the greatest importance, and as a race against time. It was imperative that they make these declarations now, before the British Parliamentary system resumed in early February, and before the PPC went too far. The best way to wrest recognition and favours from the international community was to appear legitimate and stable in its organisation and administration.

The whole thing was a spectacle from start to finish. Journalists, over fifty in all, had been invited to attend this gathering from all over the world, and many now sat in this Round Room, pen and paper in hand, ready to record what was said. It was, by all accounts, an impressive sight. The layout and lighting of the room focused the attention upon the SF deputies, who filed into the room at about 3.30PM. The presence of foreign journalists did accrue a certain authenticity to the proceedings – it was certainly a larger turnout than French had expected. It was also more homogenous – no other party save SF sent representatives; neither the Labour Party nor the older IPP was represented, giving the event a singular appeal, but also suggesting that the foundations of a one party state were being laid.

However, if one looked deeper, then it would not have been hard to detect chasms of difference in opinion between even these 34 SF deputies. What all gathered could at least agree on was that Ireland must be independent, that it had an undeniable right to exist as an independent state, and that the Irish people had voiced this opinion in the recent GE. Irish republicanism finally had the assent of the majority of the country. This was the strange endorsement of the 1916 message, where the movement and its core aims were adopted, but not necessarily the use of violence. Politics, after all, had compelled these 34 deputies to gather here, not a repeat of the rising.[[2]](#footnote-2)

Cathal Brugha, declared as the chairman of this assembly, began by reading out Ireland’s provisional constitution, before then launching into arguably the core of the speech, Ireland’s declaration of independence. This speech read as follows:

The Irish people [are] by right a free people. And for seven hundred years the Irish people [have] never ceased to repudiate and has repeatedly protested in arms against foreign usurpation. English rule in this country is, and always has been, based upon force and fraud and maintained by military occupation against the declared will of the people. The Irish Republic was proclaimed in Dublin on Easter Monday, 1916, by the Irish Republican Army acting on behalf of the Irish people. The Irish people is resolved to secure and maintain its complete independence in order to promote the common weal, to re-establish justice, to provide for future defence, to insure peace at home and goodwill with all nations and to constitute a national polity based upon the people's will with equal right and equal opportunity for every citizen. At the threshold of a new era in history the Irish electorate has in the General Election of December, 1918, seized the first occasion to declare by an overwhelming majority its firm allegiance to the Irish Republic. Now, therefore, we, the elected Representatives of the ancient Irish people in National Parliament assembled, do, in the name of the Irish nation, ratify the establishment of the Irish Republic and pledge ourselves and our people to make this declaration effective by every means at our command. We ordain that the elected Representatives of the Irish people alone have power to make laws binding on the people of Ireland, and that the Irish Parliament is the only Parliament to which that people will give its allegiance. We solemnly declare foreign government in Ireland to be an invasion of our national right which we will never tolerate, and we demand the evacuation of our country by the English Garrison. We claim for our national independence the recognition and support of every free nation in the world, and we proclaim that independence to be a condition precedent to international peace hereafter. In the name of the Irish people we humbly commit our destiny to Almighty God who gave our fathers the courage and determination to persevere through long centuries of a ruthless tyranny, and strong in the justice of the cause which they have handed down to us, we ask His divine blessing on this the last stage of the struggle we have pledged ourselves to carry through to Freedom.[[3]](#footnote-3)

It wasn’t until Cathal Brugha read this a second time though that those journalists and foreign observers actually grasped what he was saying. This is because, uniquely in Irish political history, a great portion of the meeting, including Brugha’s opening address, was conducted in Irish. The second reading of the declaration of independence was in English, and then the third in French. Significantly for the period, Brugha did not stop talking to the audience after this declaration.[[4]](#footnote-4) The ‘message to the free nations of the world’ was the next step, and with this additional speech, it was shown by those Irish rebels that they fully grasped the weight of the circumstances in which they lived. It wasn’t enough to simply proclaim Irish independence, other nations must be welcomed to recognise this independence. It was predicted that Britain would hold out from accepting this latest chapter in Irish resistance to British rule, and it was therefore essential that one of the first steps which this First Dáil made was one of gathering likeminded nations together to recognise the Irish claims. The more nations that jumped on the bandwagon of Irish recognition, the harder it would be for London to ignore or discount what SF had just done. The message to the free nations of the world read as follows:

The Nation of Ireland having proclaimed her national independence, calls, through her elected representatives in Parliament, assembled in the Irish Capital on January 21st, 1919, upon every free nation to support the Irish Republic by recognising Ireland's national status and her right to its vindication at the Peace Congress.

Before we look at the rest of the speech, it’s important to pause here and emphasise the very real fact of the Irish situation in 1919 – this was not an isolated or insular movement, cut off from the rest of the world. Ireland and its statesmen were connected and were aware of what was going on in Paris, these SF politicians knew that representatives from other nationalities were en route to Paris to attain recognition. So long as this recognition did not embarrass the allies, it was likely they would be successful. Thus, the Irish representation had to be skilful, tactful and persistent if it was to break through the British stonewalling. The speech in the Dáil continued:

Nationally, the race, the language, the customs and traditions of Ireland are radically distinct from the English. Ireland is one of the most ancient nations in Europe; and she has preserved her national integrity, vigorous and intact, through seven centuries of foreign oppression; she has never relinquished her national rights, and through the long era of English usurpation she has in every generation defiantly proclaimed her inalienable right of nationhood down to her last glorious report to arms in 1916. Internationally, Ireland is the gateway of the Atlantic. Ireland is the last outpost of Europe towards the West: Ireland is the point upon which great sea routes between East and West converge: her independence is demanded by the Freedom of the Seas: her great harbours are empty and idle solely because English policy is determined to retain Ireland as a barren bulwark for English aggrandisement, and the unique geographical position of this island, far from being a benefit and safeguard to Europe and America, is subjected to the purposes of English policy of world domination. Ireland today reasserts her historic nationhood the more confidently before the new world emerging from the War. Because she believes in freedom and justice as the fundamental principles of international law, because she believes in a frank co-operation between the people for equal rights against the vested privileges of ancient tyrannies, because the permanent peace of Europe can never be secured by perpetuating military domination for the profit of empire but only by establishing the control of government in every land upon the basis of the free will of a free people, and the existing state of war, between Ireland and England, can never be ended until Ireland is definitely evacuated by the armed forces of England. For these among other reasons, Ireland – resolutely and irrevocably determined at the dawn of the promised era of self-determination and liberty that she will suffer foreign dominion no longer - calls upon every free nation to uphold her national claim to complete independence as an Irish Republic against the arrogant pretentions of England founded in fraud and sustained only by an overwhelming military occupation, and demands to be confronted publicly with England at the Congress of the Nations, in order that the civilised world, having judged between English wrong and Irish right, may guarantee to Ireland its permanent support for the maintenance of her national independence.[[5]](#footnote-5)

Throughout the length of the PPC, the Irish continued to lobby to secure and audience with WW, and to agitate for recognition from those powers who were assembled; we will certainly have cause to revisit their efforts in later episodes. While a proper analysis of this event and the war of independence which sprang from it are events near and dear to my heart, obviously enough, I feel it would be woefully out of place if I launched into a multi part series on that conflict now. Don’t worry though, we will revisit the Irish situation and give them their proper send-off in a later episode. Before we look in a bit more detail at the event in Dublin itself, it is worthwhile to consider a significant fact about the Irish in 1919. The Irish were the only European people who apparently were not deserving of independence.

Wilson could say all he wanted about self-determination, but it was clear that this concept was conditional, and not as liberal or straightforward as the President might have claimed. Someone who recognised this was Erskine Childers, an Irish republican who would later be executed for his role in the Irish Civil War. On 5th May 1919, Childers wrote a letter to the *Times* and in the process broke open the careful shell which WW had chosen to surround his self-determination yolk in. It was a further blow against the President’s ideology, and in this context, it also served to highlight the unfairness of the Irish situation. Childers said:

Ireland is now the only white nationality in the world where the principle of self-determination is not, at least in theory, conceded. [[6]](#footnote-6)

The meeting of the first Dáil had been laced with symbolism, from the language used – Irish and only Irish unless making an address – to the very name of the assembly. The term Dáil was taken from Ireland’s medieval past, and meant ‘council of elders’, but many of those assembled were not old or all that radical in outlook. Some believed politics would win out, and that by taking legitimacy from the British establishment in Ireland, the Irish people would complete the revolution peacefully, and British would be too embarrassed to stop them. Others saw this act as a publicity stunt by SF. Indeed, in many respects it had been. The guests of this first Dáil were effectively bribed with a grand dinner in their honour after the gathering. Incredible though it sounds now, Sir John French had commissioned one of the guests to write an account of the proceedings, but he never saw any need to interrupt this direct challenge to the British establishment. Such a lax attitude towards the First Dáil was more a reflection of French’s refusal to take the First Dáil seriously, rather than his tendency to not treat challenges of British authority seriously per se.

Still, even though French was holding back the dogs, this didn’t mean that SF had gotten away with the act. It had been remarkably well attended considering the lack of advertising and short notice, but this gathering had the potential to ignite a war between SF and the British. This time, the SF organisation would enjoy much greater support from the island of Ireland, and her members would not be launching a blood sacrifice, but a guerrilla war which they believed they could win. Inflammatory though the illegal Irish assembly appears on the surface, it was not this political act that ignited a new round of hostilities between these old antagonists. Instead, it was unquestionably the eruption of violence many miles away from Dublin, on the very same day that these grand speeches were being made, that had the greatest impact upon what followed. Soloheadbeg, a town near Tipperary, was about to play host to the opening shots of Ireland’s War of Independence.

John McCormack stood side by side President Wilson as the *Mayflower*, the Presidential yacht, sailed down the Potomac to George Washington’s plantation at Mount Vernon. The day was one of great significance for the President – independence day, and the second one where the US had been at war. As wreaths were laid by George Washington’s tomb, John McCormack sang the ‘Battle Hymn of the Republic’ as the audience looked on. It was not certain whether these onlookers had journeyed so far because of the day that was in it, because they wanted to see their president, or because they wanted to catch a glimpse of one of the best and brightest stars the world had to offer. John McCormack was fortunate to have a good agent, who transformed him from an obscure opera singer into a box office phenomenon whose concert tickets were as rare as hen’s teeth. Of course, John wouldn’t have gotten far without his talents, which were considerable. By 1918 indeed, he was still riding the wave of his greatest and most durable hit, one which he wrote overnight following a bet by Birmingham music hall entertainer in 1912. From such unremarkable beginnings was arguably the theme song of the Great War born – it’s a long way to Tipperary.

Song had been released in November 1914, and within a month, the lonely lament of an Irish emigrant in London who yearned to see his Tipperary sweetheart had captivated listeners the world over, but significantly, it had also captivated soldiers, and came to be seen as the song of patriots. Ten thousand copies of the sheet music were sold ever day in these early months; soldiers sang it in London on their way to the front. In Dublin, a city bathed in Union Jacks and declarations of loyalty during the first few months of the war, volunteers had adopted it effectively as their theme song as they were waved off to Kingstown and to the front themselves. When an American journalist visited the British capital for the performance of *Tommy Atkins*, that rousing wartime musical, he noted that only the singing of ‘it’s a long way to Tipperary managed to truly rouse the audience to new heights of patriotic fervour. More amusingly, when a senior French Parliamentarian met with his Irish counterparts to celebrate Ireland’s entry into the war, he attempted to get to the bottom of the song. Was Tipperary ‘the promised land’, asked the Frenchman, ‘where Paddy would find peace and happiness’?

He wasn’t the only one taken with a reference to this obscure Irish town. One London newspaper actually sent its own photographer and reporter crew to Tipperary to find out what the fuss was about. They discovered a town which provided ‘a characteristic glimpse of Irish life.’ Tipperary was found to be quietly proud of its newfound fame, and saw its association with the Western Front as evidence of its overall loyalty to the noble cause.[[7]](#footnote-7) Across county Tipperary itself, the various towns had put on their best patriotic face as they waved off their local men and boys, sending them on this incredible adventure which represented a once in a lifetime opportunity to see the world and save it too. It was a classic story, represented across the island and within Britain as well.[[8]](#footnote-8) Yet, Tipperary’s contributions and its later suffering during the war should not obscure the fact that, as elsewhere in Ireland, certain disgruntled individuals were not happy that Ireland was fighting Britain’s war.

One such individual was Dan Breen, who had worked for Great Southern Railways only a year before the eruption of the war. This was not his war – rather than fight for London, Irishmen should be fighting for their independence; it was a shambles. Those that filed past for the front chanting that Tipperary song wore at his patience. Dan and his close friends made it their mission to demonstrate that they were above the war enthusiasm which seemed to have driven their compatriots mad, even going as far as refusing to contribute to collections for wounded soldiers. Every other night, Dan Breen would drill with the small minority of Irish Volunteers that had split from the larger movement and refused to follow the call of IPP leader John Redmond to go to the front. This sense of being in a minority persisted until 1916, when the rising and its aftermath roused nationalist Irish opinion and made the country question its commitment, and then in spring 1918, when a desperate London government issued a demand for the conscription of all Irishmen over 18 years of age.

Suddenly the ranks of Dan Breen’s minority group began to swell with the times. There was talk of preparing to fight the British, of stockpiling supplies and medicine in caves, of drilling with weapons, of storming the barracks. Cathal Brugha, later to read out the speeches near the beginning of the episode, communicated a plan to assassinate leading members of the British government. It seemed as though the island was on the cusp of a conflict which Breen so longed for – the struggle would be bloody and costly, but he believed that even with the death of several millions, the unity and resilience which would be forged thereafter would be worth the price paid in blood. Just as it seemed so tantalisingly near though, the tension began to recede. After assessing the situation in Ireland and on the improving Western Front, London backed off on its plans to introduce conscription in Ireland. Where once Dan’s compatriots had been so animated, so apparently ready to fight for freedom, now the numbers dwindled once more.

Disgruntled and frustrated, the occasion of the December 1918 GE provided another opportunity to fight back, this time with politics. Breen and his mates cycled across the countryside, hurriedly painting slogans on landmarks or on buildings which urged Tipperary natives to ‘vote for the republic’, to ‘stand by the men of 1916’ or to ‘rally to SF.’ The political result was phenomenal, but when the guns still did not fire, Dan believed more would have to be done. Politics would not be enough, the country would have to be placed on a war footing against the British. In collusion with the local commander of the Irish Volunteers in Tipperary and a handful of other men, on 21st January 1919 Breen planned to ambush a wagon carrying gelignite, intended for blowing the rocks at a nearby quarry in the town of Soloheadbeg, a journey of three miles. This was a small window of success, and the wagon was known to be defended by two Irishmen in the British police force, the RIC. The ambush was destined to be a brutal but brief affair; Dan and his friend had refrained from telling their commander beforehand that whatever happened, they intended to shoot the RIC men, because only by killing someone could a war between Britain and Ireland be ignited. ‘The only regret we had following the ambush’, said Breen three decades later, ‘was that there were only two policemen in it instead of the six we expected, because we felt that six dead policemen would have impressed the country more than a mere two.’

Yet, something which Breen and his peers were forced to admit in the aftermath, was that the country was anything but impressed. The senseless killing horrified Tipperary locals as well as SF representatives, and the act was condemned by the Catholic Archbishop, the coroner and a local priest. The latter had remarked, prophetically, that ‘it used to be said where Tipperary leads, Ireland follows, but God help poor Ireland if she follows that lead of blood.’ Breen recalled in the aftermath that he and his peers were on the run for several weeks, and nobody wanted to shelter them after what they had done. Ireland, evidently, had not been prepared to fight the British, especially when that meant killing Irishmen employed by the British establishment. Even the more radical Irish Volunteer commandant in Dublin was cautious, though he did believe, like Breen, that Ireland could only be freed through a war with Britain.

Interestingly, and revealingly, outcry against the murder of the two policemen was more a result of the innocence and good reputations of the two men, rather than due to a lack of enthusiasm for agitation against Britain. Many civilians, Volunteers and Sinn Feiners would not condemn the act, even though many others did. The country was somewhat divided – it was unpalatable to shoot and kill family men who were just doing their job, and who happened to be in the wrong place at the wrong time. Yet, what would happen when a known critic of SF and senior detective of the RIC was assassinated? Breen’s ambush certainly did not unite the country or rouse its nationalistic enthusiasms, but it did show that certain portions of opinion were willing to go along with the act. Efforts by the British to get information about Breen and his peers went down like a led balloon, as did the promise of a £10,000 reward. Horrified at the act though they were, it would have been difficult indeed to find an Irish person willing to be labelled as an informer for the British, notwithstanding the reward.[[9]](#footnote-9)

The grey area existed where the target for assassination was British, rather than Irish, or where an Irishman had clearly worked against Irish interests, at least as the majority perceived them. Thus, the volunteers became more effective in singling out targets that would not put them under condemnation, and which might force Irish people to take sides. One of the first such targets killed was a British magistrate in Mayo, who had sent Volunteers to prison on several occasions for drilling in the streets.[[10]](#footnote-10) In June, a senior detective of the RIC was assassinated while presiding over horseracing. He had been a known opponent of SF during his near 30 year career, and had made a habit of breaking up nationalist meetings. The killing, in this case, seemed justified. Then the British establishment determined to work once more from its fundamentally flawed hymn sheet on 1916, and to respond with repression.

In July 1919, Sir John French, who had no real business being a governor of anything, decided that it made perfect sense to outlaw SF, the Volunteers, the Gaelic League and other nationalist organisations. As Dan Breen had suspected, the British would walk right into the trap once again, and would do much of the work for them. As the tension mounted, a man by the name of Michael Collins began recruiting assassins to execute senior detectives, known as G-men, who had been tasked with harassing and prosecuting SF gatherings now that the movement was illegal. It does not take a political scientist or psychologist to ascertain why anger against the British establishment only increased during the summer of 1919. By acting, Sir John French did not just outlaw SF, he also outlawed the political organisation which Irish people en masse had voted for in the previous GE. By so doing he vindicated the warnings of those volunteers and republicans who had claimed that Britain would never allow Ireland to have proper political representation, and that the only way for Ireland to truly gain its independence was through force.[[11]](#footnote-11)

That said, the violence over the course of 1919 was conducted sporadically and without any real plan. The new Irish Government, declared on this day in history 100 years ago, and the violence which occurred on that same day, did serve to demonstrate a key fact about the state of the island. Politics and violence, for so long at opposite ends of the spectrum of Irish political identification, could no longer be separated, to the extent that manifestations of both occurred on the same day. The intertwining of violence with politics represented, in the end, a sign of things to come. Although 1919 was a year of unplanned, mostly unconnected, violent acts against the British establishment, the ambush at Soloheadbeg is still recognised as the beginning of what would become the war of independence. As we will see in later episodes, indeed, this first official year of the Anglo-Irish war demonstrated that the Irish, far from insular and isolated, were more interested in representing their cause to the rest of the world. Irishmen were thus sent to the different corners of this changing world throughout 1919, but there existed no greater opportunity for the satisfaction of the Irish mission of recognition than at the most significant gathering of nations which the world had ever seen – at the PPC. In such a manner would the double edged sword of violence and politics be wielded; only time could tell what impact this weapon would inflict not merely on Ireland, but also the world in which she lived…

1. Charles Townsend, *The Republic: The Fight for Irish Independence, 1918-1923* (Penguin; London, 2013), p. 2 of Section 1 – sourced from Google eBook preview where page numbers are not available. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. See Maurice Walsh, *Bitter Freedom: Ireland in a Revolutionary World 1918-1923* (Faber and Faber Ltd; London, 2016), pp. 65-67. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Speech is edited slightly from the original, the constant and disarming use of ‘whereas’ being the only real omission. The original speech is available: https://www.difp.ie/docs/1919/Declaration-of-independence/1.htm [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. Walsh, *Bitter Freedom*, p. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. Speech available from Wikisource: https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Message\_to\_the\_Free\_Nations\_of\_the\_World [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. Cited in Diarmaid Ferriter, *The Transformation of Ireland 1900-2000* (Profile Books; London, 2004), p. 194. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. Walsh, *Bitter Freedom*, pp. 70-72. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. For more on Tipperary’s experience of the war see John Dennehy, *In a Time of War: Tipperary 1914-1918* (Merrion Press; Dublin, 2013). [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. Walsh, *Bitter Freedom*, pp. 73-80. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. Michael Hopkinson, *The Irish War of Independence* (Gill & Macmillan; London, 2002), p. 28. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. Walsh, *Bitter Freedom*, pp. 81-86. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)