

The Clancy Family of Ballylusky, Drangan in the War of Independence

By Seamus Cody

Introduction

The 1901 Census recorded Lawrence Clancy, an elderly farmer residing in Ballylusky, near Drangan, County Tipperary. The only other resident on the farm was his brother whom he cared for. (The census recorded his brother, William, as an 'idiot'). Ten years later, the Census recorded a much larger family grouping. Lawrence's son, Martin and his wife Margaret had returned from England.¹ They had seven children, two of whom were born in Liverpool – Lawrence and Patrick. Despite the progress achieved under the Land Acts, there was still land disputes and agitation in the Drangan area. Lawrence senior had been regularly summoned to Court in the 1890's for failure to pay rent and rates.² There was a strong correlation between activity during the War of Independence and historic, or even more recent, land agitation and disputes. Tipperary had a strong history in this regard. By the early 1900's, it had what was described as 'saturation policing' with a total of 55 Royal Irish Constabulary barracks in South Tipperary. Historic land agitation led to a consequential heavy police presence. The seeds of conflict never disappeared. During the War of Independence, one of the Volunteer leaders, Sean E. Walsh recorded shooting two alleged spies, both 'emergency men' – who had occupied and lived on farms from which he contended that *'the lawful tenants had been evicted'*. He also recorded shooting an extensive landowner on instructions from his Brigade and Battalion Officers without knowing the reasons for the order.³ Eamonn Kiely, a nephew of the Clancy's wrote that the Clancy's had lost land in the nineteenth century but *'recovered some of it at the time of the truce in 1921 in a coup de main carried out at the instigation of the eldest son, Larry'*.⁴

Easter 1916 and After

Little or no significant activity occurred in County Tipperary during the Easter Week Rising.⁵ That did not prevent the RIC County Inspector drawing up a list of 'dangerous people' to be arrested afterwards. A total of twenty eight South Tipperary residents were arrested including Tommy O'Donovan (also known as Donovan), a motor mechanic from New Birmingham who was arrested on 15th May 1916.⁶ O'Donovan, the son of a village grocer and publican, lived in his aunt's house in Drangan. As many of these prisoners were kept together in various barracks in Tipperary and, later, in prison camps in England and Wales, a bond and network was created. In many cases among people who had not previously known each other.

Following the releases of prisoners in late 1916 and into 1917, the Volunteers were reorganised. These were mainly locally based but in October 1918 the Third (South Tipperary) Brigade was established at a meeting presided over by the national Chief of Staff, Richard Mulcahy. Seamus Robinson (an 'outsider' from County Antrim who had fought in the Easter Rising and had been involved in organising Volunteers in South Tipperary since the release of prisoners) was appointed as Brigade Commandant. Tommy O'Donovan seconded the motion to appoint Robinson. The Volunteer organisation moved to public, open drilling of members, was assisted by a range of public events including those marking the death of Thomas Ashe in September 1917 and the conscription crisis in the late spring and early summer of 1918.

The Third Brigade, which over time amounted to approximately 3,500 members, was made up of eight separate battalions.⁷ The South Tipperary 7th Battalion, with 334 recorded members, was based in Drangan and was established in July 1920.⁸ Over time, each battalion was made up of separate companies. By the time of the truce there were 56 companies in the 3rd Brigade. The 7th Battalion had seven companies based on distinct areas or districts. For example, 'A' Company was based in Drangan, with 62 members and 'G' Company, with 34 members, was based in Killenaule.⁹ O'Donovan was the Drangan leader but was appointed Commandant of the entire battalion by the Brigade HQ. Cumann na mBan was based on the same organisational and geographic structure. Initially the Drangan Company had no arms and except for weekly parades or meetings there were no activities.¹⁰

The 7th Battalion

By January 1920, it was clear that the Irish attempts to secure recognition for independence was not going to emerge from the Versailles talks. This led to the Volunteers GHQ sanctioning the use of offensive action against crown military and police forces. This certainly suited Tommy O'Donovan who had been regularly arrested (sometimes for petty offences like making a collection without a permit or driving a motorcycle during curfew hours without a light¹¹) and was also subject to internment orders¹². He was bored by prison life and decided to fight rather than endure further arrests and imprisonment. Under his leadership the area of the 7th Battalion became a hotbed of activity¹³.

In his witness statement, James Leahy from Poulnacapple, who was a member of the Kilkenny Brigade, recalled that, early in 1920,

I was in touch with the late Tommy Donovan of Drangan, then Commandant of the 7th Battalion of the South Tipperary Brigade, regarding a proposed attack on Drangan R.I.C. barracks, to be carried out jointly by units of both battalions, i.e. 7th Battalion of the Kilkenny Brigade and the 7th Battalion of the South Tipperary Brigade - our areas joined each other along the Kilkenny-Tipperary border. Tommy Donovan was arrested before the plans were completed and for the moment the idea of an attack on Drangan barracks was abandoned.

However, as part of a nationwide campaign to attack RIC Barracks, a further plan was prepared to attack the Drangan Barracks. This commenced at around 10.00 pm on 3 June 1920 and continued until the police surrendered during the morning of the 4th.

we had some difficulty in keeping them in after the mail car episode.

The ordinary mails now are very erratic, and nearly always come a day late if not more.

How is the landlady now? I heard from Aunt Ede that you had been into Kerry & met them.

The weather here has improved a bit the last few days. We have actually seen the sun once or twice.

With very best love to you & Diddy.

Remain
your loving son
Edward Clancy John's son.



The Carracks
Tipperary.

2. 8. 20

Dear Edmund

Thanks awfully for the cakes and letter of good wishes. The former is splendid and jolly good to eat.

The General who was captured has escaped as I expect you will have heard by now. For about 24 hours after he had got away we were plagued with newspaper reporters. One of them had the cheek to ring up on the telephone at 10 o'clock in the morning.

The orderly went and told the orderly officer, whose reply was what & to the point but does not bear repeating.

I don't know if the reporter got the message, but if he did I don't think he will bother us again.

On some day the mail car was attacked and two of the escort killed and two wounded. They did not know if they had got any of the rebels.

When the said car returned we supplied it with an escort. The following day on its way up from Cork, it was again attacked.

Some of the escort were wounded

at the start by a bomb. They then fought for 2 1/2 hours, and eventually got back to Cork without losing the mails or any arms. They know for certain that they killed one Jim Dineen, and wounded another very badly.

The official telegram also said that many pools of blood were noticed around about, so quite possibly they got a good many more.

Sooner or later there will be a bust up in this place. If any of our fellows get killed the troops will undoubtedly sack the place.

E.R. Litchford's letter to his mother dated 2nd August 1920.

The attack was led by Sean Treacy. Seamus Robinson and Ernie O'Malley were also involved. Two young participants in the attack were Pat and Martin Clancy.¹⁴ Pat was a storeman in the local Drangan co-operative creamery while Martin was a farm labourer on a neighbouring family farm.¹⁵ Their sister, Josie, later recalled the strong smell of paraffin oil from their clothes the morning after the burning of the Barracks.¹⁶ Their brother Larry was also a member of the 7th Battalion and Josie was a member of Cumann na mBan. Josie joined Cumann na mBan in 1919 at the age of 15.¹⁷ Her brothers had joined the Volunteers the previous year.¹⁸ Their mother stated that younger brother Jim also played a role in the struggle before the truce in mid-1921.¹⁹

James Leahy was also involved in this attack. He recalled,

That morning in Callan I met Fr. Delahunty, who told me that the attack on Drangan barracks was to come off that night. He told me to be ready and to be on the road. Later on in the day I received a dispatch to report at Cahill's of Cappaheny at 9 o'clock that night. There I met Jim Roughan, the Battalion Commandant, and six of his Ahernure men. They were armed with rifles. I was given a shotgun, as there were no more rifles available. I already had my revolver, which I had brought with me. There was some kind of a discussion, in which it was stated that only men with rifles were to go to Drangan. None of those who had rifles would part with one, and then it was agreed that I should take charge of a party of men who were also there and who had hatchets, cross-cuts and saws to block the Kilkenny-Drangan road between Modeshill and Lismolin.

Edward Halley and myself took charge of the blocking of the roads. We were only about three miles from Drangan, and hearing the explosions and seeing the Verey lights which the police sent up, we knew that the attack was on. After we had felled either 7 or 8 trees across the road I sent the men home and I then went on towards Drangan. It was daybreak by this time, and at Knockclura Hill, about a mile from Drangan, I met some of the Mullinahone Volunteers, who had been on scout duty, on their way home. They gave me the news that the police had surrendered and that the attack was over. After the attack on Drangan, the R.I.C. in Mullinahone were reinforced by a company of the Lincolnshire Regiment and, at the same time, a company of the Devonshire Regiment were posted to Callan.

The Lincolnshires obviously began to make their presence felt as the war in this region was to quickly become a deadly dual between the Regiment, the local population and the Volunteers. Ambushes and reprisals became the order of the day.

James Ryan recorded the prominent role played by O'Donovan in the Drangan attack.

He was a brave soldier of Ireland as was also his companion Mick Burke. In the attack on Drangan Bks. he acted with great daring. Climbing to the roof of the barracks, under fire, he removed the slates and poured petrol in, which set fire to the barracks.²⁰

Leahy, again, recalled,

About mid August, 1920, I was again in touch with Tommy Donovan ...who had returned after serving a prison sentence. We planned an ambush at Ballincullen or New Line Cross on the road between Mullinahone and Slievenamon. We occupied the position with about 50 men drawn from both battalion areas. Twelve were armed with rifles, the remainder with shotguns. As a decoy to draw out the military from Mullinahone, we held up the mail car, took the mails and then allowed it to go on into Mullinahone. A patrol did come out on bicycles to investigate, but when within a short distance of the ambush position they must either have noticed something or become suspicious, for they suddenly turned around and cycled back towards Mullinahone. One of our men fired a few shots after them. Tommy Donovan, who was in charge, then decided to disperse our men. Later a larger party of military came to the scene. They burned cocks of hay and arrested a man named Gleeson who lived nearby. All our men got home safely.

Patrick Ryan from Fethard was a Captain in the 1st Battalion. He was close to Tommy O'Donovan and participated in a number of attacks with him. He recalled that in the Autumn of 1920 he was 'on the run' and spent practically all his time with O'Donovan and others from the 7th Battalion area. He recalled that O'Donovan told him that he had orders from G.H.Q to shoot a Lieutenant Litchfield (Litchford) from the Lincolnshire Regiment who was then stationed in Killenaule. O'Donovan gave orders that Litchford was to be shot on sight.²¹ On a few occasions they went to Killenaule at night and patrolled the streets but failed to see Litchford. Clearly Litchford's activities had come to the attention of the national IRA leadership who made him a marked man.

Edward Rowland Litchford was a 22 year old British Officer, an only child, born in 1899. His father was Rowland Litchford, who was born in Fenagh, County Carlow in 1870, so he had Irish connections. He was commissioned as a 2nd Lieutenant in the Lincolnshire Regiment in August 1918, too late to play any significant role in the Great War.²² He was appointed as a full Lieutenant in February 1920.²³

He wrote a letter to his mother in August 1920 which gives a flavour of his personality and the mind-set of the British Officer Corps assigned to Ireland at the time.²⁴ Writing from the Barracks in Tipperary Town he thanked his mother for cake and a letter. '*The former is splendid and jolly good to eat.*' He then commented on the situation in Ireland. He referenced the capture by the IRA of a high ranking British officer, General Lucas, who was later released or escaped. He complained of a journalist having the cheek to ring the Barracks at 10.00 in the morning making enquiries. *Having received a short and to the point response that does not bear repeating, 'I don't think he will bother us again'.* More seriously, he referred to IRA attacks on mail cars, killings and injuries. '*Sooner or later there will be a burst up in this place. If any of our fellows get killed the troops will undoubtedly sack the place. We had some difficulty in keeping them in after the mail car episode.*'

Death of Tommy O'Donovan

On the other side of the battle lines on Sunday 31 October 1920, Patrick Ryan was present at a meeting when O'Donovan decided to take a party to Killenaule. His plan was to fire a few shots at the sentry who patrolled outside the Barracks and to lure Litchford out of the Barracks. Along with Ryan and O'Donovan were a wider group including Patrick Clancy – all armed with revolvers. O'Donovan sent Ryan and Clancy into the town to scout around. They saw two RIC men leave the Barracks and enter O'Connell's Public House. O'Donovan, who had followed the two, observed that they would capture the two RIC men and hold them hostages. A number of Volunteers blocked the back door and O'Donovan, Ryan and Clancy approached the front door. They entered the pub and unsuccessfully searched the premises for the RIC men. The landlady shouted and screamed and became violently hysterical and the three abandoned their search. O'Donovan then decided to carry out their original plan but the Barracks sentry had been withdrawn.



COMMANDANT THOMAS O'DONOVAN,
7th Batt, 3rd Tipperary Brigade I.R.A., killed in
action in Killenaule on Monday, October 31, 1920.

Thomas O'Donovan, Killenaule

Patrick Ryan described the subsequent events;

'We moved down the street and when about 100 yards from the barracks stood for a few minutes while Donovan considered what our next move should be. What looked to us to be two very drunken British soldiers then came around a corner about 50 yards away from us. They had their arms around each other's shoulders and were singing "For He's a jolly good fellow". They staggered about the street and as they approached us Donovan remarked to me, "Will we hold them up", and I replied, "What's the use? They are only two poor drunken soldiers". Donovan's remark were the last words he ever spoke, for when the two soldiers were about two yards from us they shed all signs of intoxication and fired point blank at us with revolvers which they had in their hands. They were, in fact, Lieutenant Litchfield himself and a sergeant of his unit. Donovan was hit in the head by a shot, and as he fell he, too, fired and I saw the bullet from his gun break the surface of the road. I was hit by a bullet which entered my right leg just over the knee and emerged near the groin. Clancy was wounded in the arm and back. Both Clancy and I crawled to the opposite side of the street, where we were again fired at, but this time without effect. I next saw Litchfield and his companion catch Donovan by the legs and drag him to the barracks'.

Harry Bushe and Nicholas Moroney came to the assistance of Clancy and myself. They put me up on a bicycle and, holding me on it - one at each side - they took me to a house some distance from the town. Clancy was able to walk; the wounds in

his arm and back were not so serious as what was first feared. We were then taken in a pony and trap to Hayden's of Parson's Hill, near Drangan, where Dr. Stokes of Fethard attended to us both. It was dangerous to remain at Hayden's as this house was frequently raided, so, again in the pony and trap, we were brought to Tobin's of Knockkelly, where we remained for the night, and next day we were removed to Doran's of Slievenamon. After two or three days at Doran's it was learned that British military with bloodhounds were searching the countryside for wounded men and we were moved further afield to Cahill's of Grangemockler, where we remained for some nine or ten days. From Cahill's we were again taken by pony and trap to Donovan's of Castlejohn, near Callan. This latter house was situated in a nice quiet place, and a neighbouring nurse called each day to dress the wounds. Dr. Stokes of Fethard and Dr. Conlon of Mullinahone paid weekly visits to me while I was a patient at Donovan's.

Tommy O'Donovan's replacement as Commandant of the 7th Battalion, Sean Walsh, recalled;

On the day on which Tommy Donovan was killed. i.e. on 31st October, 1920, I attended a battalion council meeting which was held at Mrs. Kennedy's house at Mogordun near Moyglas There was at the time a notorious British Army officer named Lieutenant Litchfield stationed in Killenaule, and it was decided at the meeting that Tommy Donovan (the Battalion Commandant) with a party of 5 or 6 men would go to Killenaule that night to attack Litchfield if, as was his custom, he left the barracks and went to his favourite publichouse for a few drinks. Donovan selected Denis Sadlier²⁵ Paddy Ryan, Paddy Clancy, two or three others and myself to accompany him to Killenaule, but as I had no bicycle he told me to go instead to Hayden's of Parson's Hill where some Volunteers were mobilised and to take them to Drangan where he and his party would rejoin me on their return from Killenaule. Donovan was of the impression that if Lieutenant Litchfield was shot in Killenaule the British military would carry out reprisals in his (Donovan's) native place of Drangan. I was only a very short time at Hayden's when two Killenaule Volunteers arrived, bringing with them Paddy Ryan and Paddy Clancy, both of whom were wounded, and also the news that Tommy Donovan was dead in the barracks in Killenaule, having been shot in the attack on Lieutenant Litchfield which had miscarried. For the moment Drangan was forgotten and I had to concentrate on getting a doctor for the two wounded men and to get them to a place of safety. The British military did not, however, make any attempt to carry out reprisals in Drangan that night. ²⁶

Ironically, it would seem that Litchford was not involved in the Killenaule event. There was a case of mistaken identity between him and another Officer, Lieutenant George Hooton – sometimes mistakenly named as Heuton. The Regimental report on the episode named Lieutenant Hooton and Sergeant Davies as the men responsible for killing O'Donovan whom it called '*the most daring murderer in the South of Ireland*'.²⁷ The RIC Chief Inspector's report described him as '*the notorious Thos Donovan... It is hoped that the disappearance of this young ruffian from the countryside will have a salutary effect.*'²⁸

In the shoot-out, Davies was wounded in the shoulder and Hooton very slightly in the hand. The two were later given prestigious awards - an MBE for the Officer and an OBE for the Sergeant.²⁹ With poignant timing, the awards were presented to them one day after the truce came into effect in July 1921.³⁰

Thomas O'Carroll, Adjutant of the 7th Battalion, gave the following account,

About this time, i.e. October 1920, the officer in charge of the British forces stationed in Killenaule was a, Lieutenant Hueton. He let it be known that if either himself or any of his men were ever attacked, he would bring out a party of British forces and burn down the village of Drangan. We had information that in company with a sergeant he was in the habit of frequenting Connell's public house in Killenaule at night time. A member of the Moyglass company, the late Michael Burke of Knockforla, had been arrested by Hueton and was then undergoing a prolonged hunger—strike in Cork. We were daily expecting to hear of Michael Burke's death. At a Battalion Council meeting which was held in the barn of Mrs. Kennedy's farmhouse at Silverfort near Moyglass on Sunday, 31st October 1920, it was decided to challenge Hueton's threat and the following plans were drawn up :

(1) Denis Sadlier, the Battalion Vice-Commandant, to take a party of 5 or 6 members of the A.S.U. into Killenaule that night to raid Connell's premises and to shoot Hueton. Scouts from the Killenaule Company to keep in contact with Sadlier and his party and to let them know when Hueton and his friend the sergeant had left the barracks and gone to Connell's public house.

(2) I to go to Drangan to mobilise the local unit and to make preparations to deal with the British forces if and when they came to the village to carry out their threat. In this I was to be assisted by Sean Hayes and his company.

(3) Tommy Donovan, the Battalion Commandant, to go to Hayden's of Parson's Hill (between Drangan and Killenaule) where Hayes and myself were to report back to him that night, and where Sadlier and his party were also to report on their return from Killenaule. All would then go to Drangan for what we termed the "Defence of Drangan".

Sean Hayes joined me that evening in Drangan and, having made our plans for the night, we went to Hayden's to report to Donovan at about 8 or 9 p.m. Donovan was not there.

Thinking that he might be at King's of St. John's Town, we went on there. The house was in darkness but, in answer to our knocking, Mrs. King opened the door. She asked me in rather frightened tones what had happened and, as I paused rather surprised, she added: "Tommy Donovan is dead He was shot tonight in Killenaule". This was a bit of a shock to Hayes and myself. Subsequently, I learned that before leaving for Killenaule, Sadlier had some difference of opinion with Donovan about the plans for when they got to Killenaule. Donovan decided to go with them. In Killenaule they failed to contact the scouts (if the scouts were ever put out) and,

after waiting for some time, Sadlier was of the opinion that the job should be called off for that night. Taking two members of the party with him (Paddy Ryan of Fethard and Pat Clancy of Ballyuskey) Donovan went up the street and knocked at the door of Connell's public house. After some hesitation, Mrs. Connell admitted them. Lieutenant Hueton and the sergeant were not there. Donovan and his two men then left the public house and took up a position on the opposite side of the street and, shortly afterwards, Hueton and the sergeant left the barracks and came down the street in the direction of Connell's. Donovan then made the mistake of crossing the street in the bright moonlight in front of them. He was wearing a trench coat which, I suppose, helped to give him away if he was not known. The sergeant shot him while he (Donovan) was still in the act of getting his Colt automatic out of his pocket. I also learned at the time that Donovan was not dead when he was brought into the barracks and that in the barracks Lieutenant Hueton fired a shot at him which proved fatal. The threat to come out to burn Drangan did not materialise on that night or on any other night.³¹

O'Carroll's account of the events in Killenaule was second hand and the details of the shooting cannot be relied on. However his account of the original plan and O'Donovan's fatal departure from the plan has a ring of truth about it.³²

To understand O'Donovan's foolhardy initiative, it is important to understand some contemporary events. The 25 year old second in command of the 3rd Brigade, Sean Treacy, was killed in a shoot-out with the military in Dublin on 14 October. Terence MacSwiney, Lord Mayor of Cork, had died on 25 October after 73 days on hunger strike. Kevin Barry was due to be executed the day after the Killenaule attack. This had national prominence and emotions were high in the ranks of the Volunteers. In addition, O'Donovan's close friend and comrade from the 7th Battalion, Mick Burke, had been arrested and badly beaten by a military party under Hooton, having tried to pull the pin from a bomb he was carrying in order to throw it in the direction of the soldiers. According to his family, Burke was beaten beyond recognition. He went on hunger strike in Cork jail which lasted 90 days. He came off the strike at the request of the national leadership but he was not expected to survive. No doubt this was an emotional time for O'Donovan who was described by a historian of the period as impetuous.³³ Ernie O'Malley saw him as *'eager and willing to fight. He was wild and wildness counted'*.³⁴

Donovan had been under continuous pressure from the military and police. He was arrested frequently. In early 1920 he was interned accused of acting, or having acted or being about to act in a manner prejudicial to the public safety and the Defence or the Realm.³⁵ He was sentenced to two years hard labour for possession of arms, ammunition and explosives. In response, he described himself as a soldier of the Irish Republic. After a hunger strike, he was later released. In September 1920, military files recorded an instruction that he be arrested without warrant, being suspected of a recent murder.³⁶ An informer had offered to locate him for a reward of £30.³⁷ Increasingly, he had been involved in violent activities and like Sean Treacy, he took more chances than were wise.³⁸

Josie Clancy was sent to Killenaule Barracks to identify the remains of O'Donovan, indicating his closeness to the Clancy family and the fear of sending an adult into the charged atmosphere of the army barracks.³⁹ The *Weekly Freeman* newspaper reported widespread fear in the locality of military reprisals. It also recorded that the 'deceased saw the inside of many jails as a political prisoner and was more than once on hunger strike. He was identified with the volunteers but for some time past has been 'on the run'.⁴⁰

In his witness statement, James Leahy from Poulnacapple, who was a member of the Kilkenny Brigade, recalled a further episode arising from the movement of the wounded Volunteers

'The officer in charge of the British forces in Callan was a Captain Banim. He was a District Inspector of the Royal Irish Constabulary. One night I learned that he had gone in civilian clothes to visit Briarsfield House near Mullinahone. With two others I went to Briarsfield and closed the avenue gate so that he would have to get out of his car when leaving. As Briarsfield was in the Mullinahone Company area, I sent for Paddy Egan, the O/C of that company. Egan told me that there were two wounded Volunteers lying in a house nearby and, on that account, we decided not to shoot Banim that night. The two wounded Volunteers were Patrick Clancy of Killusty and Patrick Ryan of Fethard. They had been wounded in Killenaule on the night of October 31st when my old friend Tommy Donovan was killed'.⁴¹

Thomas O'Carroll gave an account of the killing of Pat Clancy.

Patrick Clancy, one of the two men who accompanied Donovan to Connell's public house in Killenaule was wounded on that occasion - He was sent to friends of his at Garryricken, near Callan, to recuperate. He was a Lieutenant in 'A' (Drangan) Company. When he was all right I sent him a dispatch to report to a company parade⁴². I attended the parade after which Clancy mentioned that he was anxious to visit his people at Ballyuskey. He was armed with a police carbine which, against my advice, he insisted on bringing with him. He was accompanied on his way home to Ballyuskey by two unarmed members of the company, Joseph Byrne and James Maloney. It so happened that on this particular night, 18th Nov. 1920, a patrol of military left Killenaule to meet a patrol from Mullinahone at Drangan. The patrol from Killenaule was attracted by a youngster who was flashing a flash lamp in the yard of Hickey's house at New Line, Newtown, Drangan. Some of the patrol surrounded the house, while the remainder took up a position on the road. It was dark at the time and Clancy and his two pals walked straight into the party on the road. Clancy had the carbine slung over his shoulder and when he received the order to put his hands up he had no chance either to use it or dispose of it. An officer named Lieutenant Lichfield (sic), who was in Hickey's Yard investigating the flashing of the lights, was brought on the scene by one of the N.C.Os. Lichfield walked straight up to Clancy and shot him dead on the road. Byrne and Maloney were taken prisoner and they were detained in custody until the general release after the signing of the Treaty in December 1921.⁴³

Pat Clancy's brother, Larry, was about 200 yards behind his brother and was apprehended minutes later. It is obvious that he was returning from the parade in Drangan, but when asked his name, he had the presence of mind to initially say Martin Casey. When brought to trial, Larry gave evidence of the events of that night.⁴⁴

He said the officer told his brother to leave down his hands and proceeded to search him. Joseph Byrne also said that Patrick Clancy had his hands down by his side at the time he was shot. Larry's evidence was reported;

He was halted a quarter of a mile from the village of Drangan, placed under arrest and marched into a farmyard at that place. He recognised Jas. Moloney, Jos. Byrne standing under a military guard. He saw a man lying on the ground, breathing heavily and appeared to be dying. He asked one of the men on guard who he was, and the reply he got was 'I expect he is your pal'. He whispered to one of the men who was under arrest and asked who he was and he answered 'Pat'. Accused asked the man on guard, would he allow him to get a priest and he referred him to the officer. Just then the officer walked out from the house to the wounded man who was about four paces from the door, lying on the ground. He bent down over the man, caught him by the hair of the head, and lifted his head off the ground and said 'I wonder if this b----- is done enough'. The officer then said he possibly could live. Accused tipped the officer on the hip to draw his attention, saying 'excuse me sir, would you allow someone to go for a priest for the dying man, that he (the accused) could get a girl to go as it was only about 200 yards distant where the clergyman lived'. He replied 'you know this man then' and accused answered that he did and told him that his name was Clancy, and that he was deceased's brother. The officer then said 'I will give you priests – those who murder need no priests' – at the same time giving him a blow of his fist on his nose, which bled. With two or three of his men, they punched him and knocked him down.

In an internal report to his military superiors, Litchford denied all of Larry Clancy's allegations. The military also took steps to prevent a repeat of this type of allegation '*adverse to the conduct of His Majesty's forces*' being made in open court should be published without their right of rebuttal.⁴⁵

As had happened with O'Donovan, Josie had to identify the remains of her brother in Mullinahone Barracks. She also visited her brother Larry who, along with Byrne and Maloney and the young Hickey, had been arrested and charged with unlawful assembly. Clancy and Hickey were acquitted after a trial in Cork but Byrne and Maloney were sentenced to 18 months hard labour. On another occasion, Larry Clancy was arrested and his sister succinctly recorded that he was charged 'for murdering his majesty's forces'.⁴⁶

Three days after the Drangan shooting, a military Court of Enquiry was held in Killenaule. Most of the evidence confirmed Thomas O'Carroll's description of the events. Litchford gave evidence. He stated that one of his men advised him that a civilian had been caught with a carbine.

I then went out to investigate. Just as I came up to him, I said 'what is your name?' He replied Patrick Clancy and as he said it his right hand went down to his pocket

whereupon I promptly shot him. I was present when a pistol was removed from his pocket by one of the men of my patrol immediately after he had fallen to the ground. I was also present when a quantity of ammunition was taken from his pockets. I went into Mullinahone to try to get a Ford car to take the body to Killenaule but could not get a car. Next morning, two Crossley Tenders arrived and with the County Inspector from Clonmel. I placed a Lewis gun and an escort on one tender and fetched the body to Killenaule.

Other soldiers confirmed that Pat Clancy was shot in his head, over his right eye. He had a pistol with six rounds, an RIC carbine and thirty three rounds of ammunition, two detonators and a map.⁴⁷

It was inevitable that Pat Clancy would have wished to return home for a visit. He had been shot and wounded and ferried from one safe house to another. He was a nineteen year old youth who naturally wanted to visit his homestead where he would have been welcomed in his own right but also for his role in the struggle. He may well have wished to display his weapons to his parents and siblings. It is clear that his superiors did not oppose him visiting his family but there were reservations about him bringing weapons. His decision to go armed certainly appears foolhardy. The fact that his two unarmed comrades were not executed out of hand would imply that he may have survived if he was unarmed. However, we do not know if he was a marked man whose only hope of survival from an encounter with the military was to be in a position to defend himself. He had been on active service and was described by the police as a 'well known Sinn Feiner'⁴⁸. He had attempted to kill a prominent British officer and may well have been responsible for other attacks. His brother, Larry, also believed that he would have been shot that night if he was found to be a brother of Pat. No reliance can be placed on the soldiers' evidence to the Court of Enquiry. All those who gave evidence had the same tale of a quick movement towards his pocket which allegedly took place with little or no visibility in the pitch dark. Any conclusion can only be a matter of speculation in the absence of any other evidence.

However, is worth noting that a file prepared for the Under Secretary in Dublin Castle by military GHQ in anticipation of parliamentary questions, listed Patrick Clancy's killing under the heading 'attempting to escape'.⁴⁹ A consistent narrative was difficult to maintain.

In a post script to the event, a Cork IRA battalion adjutant, Tom Barry⁵⁰, later recalled an ambush he led around 10th December 1920 near Mitchelstown, They captured some mail bags and in the search of the mails afterwards '*we found three silver medals - one which I possess now. It is inscribed, "To Lieutenant E.R. Litchford, Lincolnshire Regiment, for gallant conduct in Ireland, 19th November, 1920". 'This was the first time I became aware they were awarded decorations for gallant conduct in Ireland'*⁵¹

The award was obviously granted to Litchford for having killed Pat Clancy.

Active Service Unit

There was a significant escalation in the war at the end of 1920 and the beginning of 1921. Casualties grew on both sides. The 7th Tipperary and Kilkenny Battalions worked on joint operations through their Active Service Units. This included an attack on a cycle patrol of RIC and Army leading to the deaths of an RIC Sergeant and the wounding of a Black and Tan. In January, a mixed convoy of military and police were attacked at Poynestown, just outside Tommy O'Donovan's birthplace, New Birmingham. Two soldiers of the Lincolnshire Regiment were killed and seven wounded⁵². While the attack was led by the Flying Column of the 2nd (Mid – Tipperary) Brigade, it took place in the 7th Battalions area of South Tipperary. In retaliation, several properties in Glengoole and the village of New Birmingham were destroyed as an official reprisal.

William Campbell was an RIC Constable based in Mullinahone. It would appear that he regularly passed on military intelligence to local volunteers. In early March 1921, he received information in the barracks that a farm house in Knockroe, overlooking the Mullinahone Drangan Road was to be a venue for a council meeting of the 7th Battalion and a raid was planned by the Army. He told two local IRA members of the plans but his warning was ignored or never got through.⁵³

Sean E. Walsh recalled;

On Sunday evening, March 6th, 1921, I was present at a battalion council meeting which was held in an outhouse on a farm at Knockroe near Drangan. This outhouse was situated in an isolated spot on the brow of a hill, and at the back of the hill there was a deep ravine covered by gorse and shrubbery. The nearest road was about 200 yards away. As far as I can now recollect, there were twelve battalion and company officers present. I was armed with an automatic revolver and I cannot say if any of the others were armed with short arms. I am sure none of the officers had rifles or shotguns. The meeting lasted for about half an hour, and before it ended I sent out one man to scout around and he reported that all was clear. Five minutes later as we were breaking up I saw from the doorway some British soldiers who had arrived cross-country in extended order. At the time I saw them they were about to occupy a position behind a stone wall not more than 15 yards from the outhouse door. I fired one shot with my automatic and this had the effect of making the soldiers take cover for a few seconds at least. When I went to fire again I found that my automatic had jammed. Meanwhile, with one exception, those who were with me had got out of the outhouse, around to the back and headed for the cover of the furze and gorse in the ravine. The exception was Dick Fleming, Captain of the Moyglass Company. He seemed to hesitate and was killed almost beside me as I left the doorway by the first, or one of the first, volleys fired by the British soldiers. In addition to rifle and machine-gun fire, the British soldiers fired rifle grenades and two more of our men, Martin Clancy and Patrick Hackett, both of Drangan, were killed before they reached cover. A fourth man, Denis Croke of Laffan's Bridge, was wounded and captured and my brother Maurice, who went to Croke's assistance when he fell wounded, was captured. Our casualties might have been higher still had I not seen two or three others going towards an open space which was under fire by the military. I attracted their attention by whistling and waved them back

to the ravine by using the cover provided in the ravine and later moving across country, we got away towards Cloneen and were given food and shelter.

Thomas O'Carroll was also in Knockroe.

On Sunday evening, the 6th March 1921, I attended a Battalion Council meeting which was held in an disused stable at Knockroe. There had been an arms fund collection in the battalion area shortly before and the company officers were handing in the money collected at this meeting. The officers from the Ballingarry Company had not arrived and we hung on for a considerable time so that they would not be disappointed if they came. Meanwhile, our principal scout, who was posted on a nearby hill, left his post and came into the stable. As the meeting was almost over we took no notice of him. There were 12 officers including myself and Denis Sadlier at the meeting. Of the 12, I think only Sadlier, myself and perhaps one or two others were armed. At length it was decided to wait no longer and I called the meeting to attention and was about to give the order 'Dismiss' when someone remarked "Look outside". Glancing through what had once been a window, I saw the steel helmets of British troops advancing in extended order towards the old stable. There was only one exit through the doorway and that was facing the oncoming soldiers. I was more than familiar with the countryside around Knockroe and I felt that if we could reach a fox covert through which ran a ravine some short distance to the rear of the stable, we would have a good chance of escaping. There was no time for any discussion, so, telling them to follow me, I rushed out the door and reached some cover provided by a low wall to the right of the stable. Six or seven of the party, including Sadlier, followed me. From the cover of the wall, Sadlier fired a few shots at the soldiers, made them take cover for a few moments at least. We succeeded in getting around the stable and, under fire from the troops, we managed to reach the fox covert and eventually the ravine. Here Sadlier parted from us and went away on his own. While picking my steps through the ravine, I had the misfortune to be knocked down into thick slimy mud by one of my own party. I was covered with it almost up to the neck and it left me almost powerless to move. I discarded my overcoat and, dragged myself through some high grass and furze in an effort to remove the mud. In addition to rifle fire, the troops were now firing rifle grenades into the covert. Leaving the ravine, I had to cross an open space which was under fire from another small party of 3 or 4 troops, but by running diagonally I succeeded in joining the others safely, and we made our way across country to Cloneen. There I discovered that a bullet had ripped through my coat at the shoulder.

To revert to the remaining members of the party at the stable, two of them, Martin Clancy of Drangan and Denis Croke of Laffan's Bridge, turned left when they came out the doorway. They had got about 150 yards from the stable when they came directly under the fire of the British troops. Clancy fell wounded at the side of a ditch and when the soldiers came up to him they shot him dead. Denis Croke was wounded and captured. Patrick Hackett of Drangan was riddled with Lewis gun fire and died on the side of a hill directly opposite to and about 100 yards from the stable. Apparently he ran straight towards the soldiers. Richard Fleming

of Moyglass remained in the stable and was killed there by a grenade which the soldiers flung into the stable.⁵⁴

Lieutenant M.N. Ormond of the 1st Lincolnshire Regiment gave evidence to a Military Court of Inquiry the following week. He gave the following evidence;

At Knockroe, New Drangan, on 6th March 1921 at about 16.00 hours, I was in charge of a mixed patrol. On approaching a ruin some shots were fired at the patrol and a party of around 15 armed rebels ran out of the ruin towards a deep ravine. The Lewis gun section opened fire on the right flank killing one rebel and wounding another. Some of the remainder ran past the left flank of my patrol and one armed rebel was shot there by rifle fire. The remainder escaped into the ravine. We proceeded to comb the ravine and two rebels came out of it and surrendered. One of them was wounded. The unwounded gave his name as Morris Walsh of Curraghtonena. The wounded prisoner's name was Denis Croke.

We then gave up the pursuit, collected the casualties and took them to the Court House at Mullinahone. The next day, one of the dead and the other wounded man were identified as Martin Clancy and Patrick Hackett respectively.

Morris Walsh, after surrender stated to me that he had been sent with a message to O/C 3rd Battalion (Brigade?), the gist of which was that the receiver of the message was to assemble his men at Mullinahone at midnight 6-7th March 1921 to attack the police barracks. He refused to give any information about the description of the man who received and sent the message.

We picked up two service rifles and two bandoliers of S.A.A⁵⁵ containing about 50 rounds of ammunition. The rifles had charged magazines and were loaded.

Private J.R. Marsh was in charge of the Lewis gun. He gave the following evidence;

When approaching an old ruin we saw some armed rebels. We extended and advanced towards them and they fired some shots at us. I opened fire with the Lewis gun at the barn door to cover Lance Corporal Wymer who advanced towards it. I then advanced and when about 15 yards from the door a rebel came to the doorway and fired at me with a revolver. He missed me and I shot him. Later we advanced to the ravine and I emptied a drum along the bottom of it. Two prisoners came out and surrendered.

Captain J.H. Howitt R.A.M.C. gave evidence of having examined Martin Clancy's body. Gunshot wounds were identified in right and left legs, both bones fractured, right side of body and front of chest, the last named penetrating the heart. The wounds were such as, in my opinion, might have been caused by fire from a Lewis gun. Death was due to shock and haemorrhage.

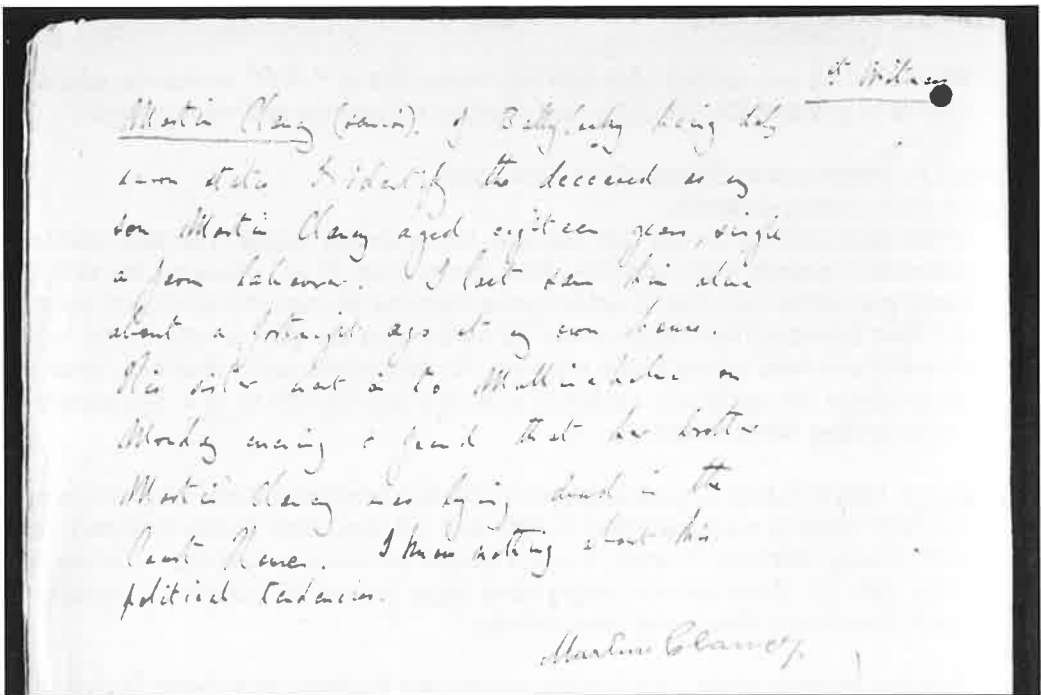
It is clear that Martin's death was instantaneous and the fatal shots were fired by the Lewis gunner, Private J.R. Marsh. Martin Clancy was later described as an Adjutant in

the 7th Battalion but, unlike his brother Pat, he was not known to the military according to the Intelligence Officer of the Lincolnshire Regiment for the area.⁵⁶

The word of the Volunteers deaths spread in the locality and, as before, Josie Clancy was sent to identify the dead. She wrote that 'I was compelled the next day to go to Mullinahone again and identify the dead. As in the fight, the IRA got separated and the dead were unknown, and I may add this was just a little too much for me, as I got such a shock to see my second brother dead in a couple of months'.⁵⁷

One can only imagine the shock for a 16 year old to unexpectedly find her dead brother. She wrote that this caused a breakdown in her health that lasted over twelve months, rendering her unfit for work of any kind.

On 10 March 1920, the remains of the three dead volunteers were removed for internment from Fethard. The three coffins were placed on the back of a lorry. Following the lorry were two cars carrying the relatives of the deceased men. The breastplates contained their IRA rank and 'Died for Ireland'. The coffins were draped by the tricolour flag. A large force of military, with a machine gun, took up a position near the church and remarkably stood to attention as the remains were borne out of the building. The number attending the funeral was limited by the military. It was intended that the day was to be marked by general mourning and all shops closed but the military compelled them to reopen until the coffins passed by.⁵⁸ The funeral was attended by members of the active service unit of the



Martin Clancy's evidence to the Military court of enquiry into the death of his son, Martin Clancy.

Kilkenny 7th Battalion. They met their Tipperary comrades in Killusty and they identified Litchford as the foxy haired officer who had killed Pat Clancy and they also blamed him for the massacre at Knockroe as they believed he had ordered rifle and machine gun fire and explosive grenades to be directed at unarmed or lightly armed volunteer officers.⁵⁹ The two battalions decided to carry out a combined attack on the Mullinahone Barracks to restore the prestige and morale of their men.⁶⁰ This never came to pass as, having returned from the funeral to Garryricken House, near Callan in Kilkenny, the Kilkenny volunteers found themselves ambushed in a significant engagement with police and military. Most of the ASU escaped but several police and Black and Tans were killed in the engagement.

Lieutenant Litchford continued to have a high profile and remained a target due to his treatment of Volunteer prisoners. O'Carroll was arrested soon after the Knockroe incident and was used as a hostage as army units travelled around the area. This was common practice as the military sought to use civilian prisoners as human shields to protect their convoys. O'Carroll remembered that 'once in Mullinahone a Mrs. Ryan, seeing my plight in the lorry, approached with some tea for me. One of the officers, Lieutenant Lichfield, already mentioned as the officer who shot Patrick Clancy, pointed his gun at her and ordered her away at once. I was not permitted to accept the cup of tea'.

Litchford was now a constant target as his enemies sought to kill the 'foxy officer'.

James Leahy recalled;

I received a despatch saying that the officer in charge of the British forces in Mullinahone had gone with 3 soldiers in a commandeered motor car to Tipperary Town. I cannot now recall what his correct name was but we always called him "the foxy officer". We assumed that he was attending some kind of an inquiry into the shooting at Knockroe on the previous Sunday. The six of us (i.e. the A.S.U.) and Sean Hayes of Moyglass, who had come to Ballymack with us from Ballingarry, went that evening to Cappagh Cross, about 3 miles from Mullinahone on the Mullinahone-Fethard road, in the hope that we could ambush "the foxy officer" and his party on their way back from Tipperary Town. It was a desperately cold night and we waited until 3 a.m., but no sign of our quarry. Next day at Tobin's of Kyletolea we received word that he had returned to Mullinahone by another route the night before and that he had left again that morning, presumably on another visit to Tipperary Town where the headquarters of his regiment, the Lincolnshires, was situated. Reinforced by three local Volunteers with shotguns, we occupied the ambush position at Cappagh Cross again that night. Again we remained there until 3 a.m., but again we were disappointed. On the following day, Friday, we got word that he was back in Mullinahone, and that night we decided that Sean Hayes would go to Drangan for a few extra men and that we would meet him on Saturday night and go into Mullinahone for a further attempt to get "the foxy officer"

Separately, Edward Aylward of the Kilkenny Brigade remembered;

Another incident which comes to mind concerns an individual who was known to us as "The Foxy Officer". I do not know whether he was an Intelligence Officer or not,

but he had been in Killenaule and I think he had also been stationed in Tipperary town. Everybody in the 3rd Tipperary Brigade and in our Battalion area was anxious to get this man who had made himself particularly unpleasant and was looked upon as a dangerous character. I got word one night that he was in Mullinahone and that we would most likely find him in a certain publichouse there, where he often adjourned to play the piano and have a few drinks. I got a lot of the men from the Ahenure Company together and placed them at the back of the barracks, with instructions that when they heard our fire at the publichouse where we intended to go to shoot "The Foxy Officer", they would open fire on the barracks to keep the enemy indoors. That was the plan, but it miscarried. Three or four of our men went along at the back of the houses opposite the house where the Foxy Officer was, and Jimmie Kelly and I went along the street and stood in a doorway near the pub. In this way we thought that if the men on the opposite side of the Street, failed to get him when he came out, we could get him if he came our way. Whichever way he went we could have a crack at him. One of the houses which the other men passed behind across the street was the house of one of the ordinary R.I.C. men and as this fellow was at home and heard the men walking down the back gardens, thinking perhaps it was someone trying to steal something, he came out and followed them, coming in behind them to the empty house opposite the pub where they had got into. He was in uniform and when he suddenly appeared in the house coming in on their rear and glimpsing his uniform in the semi-darkness, one of the men shot him. Immediately this shot was heard, the men behind the barracks, assuming that that was the shot fired at the Foxy Officer, opened fire on the barracks and then, of course, the fat was in the fire. The soldiers in the barracks began replying to the fire and the Foxy Officer and the others with him, guessing at the situation, did not emerge from the pub. There was nothing to do, therefore, but retire. That incident took place, I think, sometime in April 1921 and the name of the policeman who was shot was Grace.⁶¹

The policeman was not named Grace. In fact, he was Campbell – the RIC man that had attempted to warn the IRA of the fact that the Knockroe meeting was to be attacked⁶². He was, in reality, the final victim of the Knockroe incident.⁶³

After his service in Ireland, Litchford was assigned to the Tank Corps, becoming a Lieutenant Colonel at the end of 1941 during the Second World War. He ended his military career as Deputy Chief Inspector in the Inspectorate of Fighting vehicles.⁶⁴

Postscript 1.

I was staying at Kennedy's of Silverfort near Moyglass when the Truce came into operation on 11th July. There were quite a number of us there at the time and we had been notified of the Truce by Brigade Headquarters. To celebrate the cessation of hostilities, the local members of Cumann na mBan arranged a dance in Moyglass for that night. As it was still early in the day, we got a few horses and traps and drove to Drangan. On our way we met a British armoured car and a lorry of troops. It was then about 1 p.m., or about one hour after the Truce had come into operation. I was in the first car and wondered for the moment what action the British troops would take. However, saying to myself that the Truce must be on, I made no effort

to conceal the rifles and equipment which we had with us. When the armoured car came alongside, the soldiers on it saluted smartly as did those on the lorry as they too passed by. We returned their salute and continued on our way to Drangan.

Thomas O'Carroll, Adjutant, 7th Battalion, Third Tipperary Brigade.

Postscript 2.

In the dying weeks of the Civil War, a group of republican irregulars in the Knockmealdown Mountains sought to escape from a sweep by the national (Free State) army. One of those seeking to escape was the Commander in Chief of the anti-treaty forces, Liam Lynch. As the small group of irregulars sought to escape over the mountain, they were spotted standing on rocks and the officer in charge of the pursuing soldiers ordered that his men fire at the escaping party. A man was observed to fall. His comrades sought to drag him away but, under fire, they turned leaving him on the hillside. As the soldiers approached the wounded man, some thought they had shot and captured Eamonn de Valera as the wounded man wore glasses like Dev's. As the soldiers approached, he said 'get me a priest and a doctor, I'm dying'.

The wounded man was Liam Lynch. The officer in command of the soldiers was Larry Clancy who had taken the Free State side in the Civil War. Over the next few hours the two conversed. In 1953, Clancy recorded his memories of that morning.

Lynch asked him;

'Are you one of the old crowd, the IRA, I mean' Clancy replied that he had two brothers killed during the Tan war, with smoking guns in their hands and that he had been tried by Field-General Court-Martial at Victoria Barracks, Cork for murdering his majesty's forces and police. Lynch raised his right hand and said *'Shake hands, I am one of the old crowd too'* and with that, tears began to stream down his face. Clancy wrote; *'With my hands clasped in his, I too, sobbed. God Pray for me. All this is a pity. It should never have happened. I am glad now I am going from it all. Poor Ireland. Poor Ireland.'*⁶⁵

Postscript 3.

Obituary of Senator Bill Quirke, 2005.

*Bill Quirke took the anti-treaty side in the terrible Civil War of the early 1920s. One day, the story goes, he came face to face with Larry Clancy, a neighbour from Drangan who was on the pro-treaty side. Both of them were armed. Bill is alleged to have defused what might have been a serious situation by saying, "Larry, if I shoot you or you shoot me, there is not much in that for either of us, so why don't we both have sense and go home?"*⁶⁶

Endpiece.

A monument outside Drangan is dedicated to the memory of the three Clancy Brothers. It would be timely to consider an addition in the memory of their sister, Josie.

Note: spelling of names and places, dates and locations that are quoted are as originally written in military witness statements, military pension and medal applications and other statements. It should also be noted that the 'Volunteers' and 'IRA' were interchangeable titles in contemporary usage. The latter title emerged from a Dáil Eireann decision in

August 1919 that Volunteers would take an oath of allegiance to the Dáil and the Irish Republic. Thanks are due to Eamonn Kiely and the staff of the Source Library, Thurles, for their assistance with research.

References

- 1 Lawrence had another son, also named Lawrence, who was a private in the British Army at the time of the Boer War. He died of disease (most likely typhoid) in May 1900 and was buried in Bloemfontein.
- 2 Ireland, Petty Sessions Court Registers 15/06/1896.
- 3 WS 363 Sean E. Walsh, Commandant, 7th Battalion, 3rd Tipperary Brigade.
- 4 Kiely, Eamonn, *Pat and Martin Clancy in the War of Independence* p. 1 (Private Publication).
- 5 O'Duibhir, Eamonn, The Tipperary Volunteers in 1916 *Tipperary Historical Studies* 1991 pp 9-18
- 6 Marnane, Denis G *The 3rd Brigade* 2018 p. 94
- 7 By way of comparison, the Dublin Brigade, at the time of the truce in July 1921 had almost 5,500 members.
- 8 WS 1,243 Thomas O'Carroll, Adjutant 7th Battalion
- 9 Marnane, *ibid* pp 471-472.
- 10 WS 1,243 Thomas O'Carroll, *ibid*.
- 11 Ireland, Petty Sessions Court Registers 22/08/1919.
- 12 WO 35/139, National Archives, London.
- 13 Augusteijn, Joost, *The operations of South Tipperary IRA, 1916 – 1921*, Tipperary Historical Journal 1996 p 152.
- 14 Apart from their republican activities, both brothers were keen sportsmen, winning medals for athletics. Martin also travelled to Templemore in September 1920 to view the infamous 'bleeding statue', later found to be a hoax. (Kiely, *ibid* p 5). It is unclear whether he attended as a sightseer or in his capacity as a Volunteer, as the IRA had effectively taken over control of Templemore during the events.
- 15 Military Service Pensions, *Martin Clancy*. In a later document, Pat was described as a cheesemaker.
- 16 Kiely *ibid* p. 6
- 17 Kiely, Josie (nee Clancy) *Letter of application for military service medal*. Military Archives MD18871.
- 18 Clancy, Larry *Obituary* 1956.
- 19 Military Service Pensions, *Martin Clancy*.
- 20 Ryan, James WS 151 Irish Volunteers, Clonmel, 1916
- 21 WS 1,380 Patrick Ryan, Captain 'B' Company 1st Battalion, 3rd Tipperary Brigade.
- 22 <https://deriv.nls.uk/dcn30/8816/88162475.30.jpg>
- 23 <https://deriv.nls.uk/dcn30/8928/89285183.30.jpg>
- 24 MS 41,539 (NLI) Letter from Edward Rowland Litchford to his mother, Mrs. E.V. Litchford of Roseleigh, Billdeston, Suffolk, 2 Aug 1920.
- 25 Sadlier was an experienced soldier, having previously served in the British Army.
- 26 WS 1,363 Sean E. Walsh, Commandant 7th Battalion, 3rd Tipperary Brigade.
- 27 Marnane, *ibid* p 335.
- 28 Augusteijn *ibid* p 152
- 29 Marnane, *ibid* p 335.
- 30 <http://www.cairogang.com/awards-medals/obe-mbe.html>
- 31 WS 1,243 Thomas O'Carroll, Adjutant 7th Battalion.
- 32 An entirely different account of the events of that night are contained in an anonymous paper contained in the Sean O'Mahony papers *TL/A/48B/50* dealing with the 1920 attack on Killenaule Military Barracks. This is held in the Tipperary County Library in Thurles and maintains that the attacking party took a bottle of whiskey with them in the car from Drangan

- to Killenaule and O'Donovan consumed some. It is unclear whether this account can be relied on as many of the other details in the paper are factually incorrect.
- 33 Maher, Jim *The Flying Column – West Kilkenny 1916 – 1921* p 36.
- 34 O'Malley, Ernie *Raids and Rallies* p 43.
- 35 WO 35/139, National Archives, London.
- 36 This was a reference to the shooting of RIC Sergeant Tobin who was killed in an ambush near Cashel.
- 37 WO 35/110, National Archives, London.
- 38 Augusteijn, Joost Why was Tipperary so active in the war of independence, *Tipperary Historical Journal 2006*, p 213.
- 39 Kiely, Josie *ibid*. By coincidence, Josie Kiely was buried almost 67 years later in a grave in New Birmingham beside Tommy O'Donovan's final resting place. She had married Denis Kiely from Glengoole. She was the mother of 15 children, 14 of which survived to adulthood. Josie was awarded a military service pension and medal in the 1950's. She explained her late applications were due to her fear that she would not receive fair treatment from the previous Fianna Fail Government due to her support for the Free State side in the civil war.
- 40 Weekly Freeman, 6 November 1920.
- 41 WS 1,335 James Leahy, Commandant 7th Battalion, Kilkenny Brigade.
- 42 This parade took place in Drangan.
- 43 WS 1,243
- 44 WO 35/127, National Archives, London.
- 45 WO 35/127 *ibid*.
- 46 Kiely, Josie *ibid*
- 47 *Proceedings of a court of enquiry into the death of Patrick Clancy*, WO 35/147A National Archives, London
- 48 The RIC Inspectors report for October 1920, signed by L.T. Gates stated that 'Armed bands of young men, on the run, were keeping this Riding in a state of disorder and unrest'. The November report in Gates handwriting says 'During the month a well known Sinn Feiner attempted to draw an automatic pistol when held up by a military patrol near Killenaule and was shot dead. There was a police carbine and much ammunition found on him'.
- 49 WO 35/145, National Archives, London.
- 50 Not to be confused with the author of the same name of '*My fight for Irish Freedom*'.
- 51 WS 430 Thomas Barry, Battalion Adjutant, County Cork
- 52 Marnane, *ibid* p 376.
- 53 Marnane, *ibid* p 423.
- 54 O'Carroll *ibid*
- 55 Small arms ammunition.
- 56 WO 35/147A/64 *Courts of Inquiry in lieu of Inquests*, National Archives, London.
- 57 Kiely, Josie *ibid*
- 58 Freeman's Journal, 14 November 1921.
- 59 There is no evidence that Litchford was involved in the Knockroe ambush. In contrast to the Pat Clancy inquest, he gave no evidence to the Martin Clancy Inquest.
- 60 Maher, *ibid* p 81.
- 61 Aylward, Edward WS 980 O/C 7th Battalion, Kilkenny Brigade.
- 62 Marnane, *ibid* pp 423-424.
- 63 Knockroe continued to be a meeting place and was used by the anti-treaty forces in the Civil War to plan an attack on Carrick on Suir. (E. Hall. Drangan Co-Operative Creamery Society Ltd. A Century of Success 1897 – 1997 (Kilkenny: 1997) p 151.
- 64 <https://www.forces-war-records.co.uk/records/4476959/colonel-e-r-litchford-british-army-inspectorates-defence/>
- 65 Evening Herald, February 1, 1972.
- 66 Fethard News, 14th March 2005. Quirke was one of the irregulars with Liam Lynch when he was shot and killed in April 1923.