



## 20|20 CENTENARY BLOODY SUNDAY

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#### ON THE COVER

Laurence Thermes as a British soldier in the TV docudrama, *A Terrible Beauty* (2013)

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# November 21, 1920:

## Catherine Holmes details the assassinations, indiscriminate slaughter and executions

**B**y 1920, British intelligence had improved its ability to gather information about the republican movement, and it posed a serious threat to insurgents. The Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC) was bolstered by war veterans, commonly known as the Black and Tans, and the new Auxiliary Division of the RIC whose role was to conduct counter-insurgency operations.

Michael Collins, the IRA's director of intelligence, had established the Squad, a special unit created to target members of the British intelligence such as plain-clothes detectives from the G Division, who held files on known IRA members. He had also built up a network of civilian informants including dock workers, cleaners and secretaries who fed him information about the British intelligence.

Collins sanctioned a plan to eliminate, in one operation, a large number of the British intelligence network in Dublin. In the weeks leading up to what became Bloody Sunday, Collins used his network of spies, particularly Lily Mernin, a typist in Dublin Castle, to gather names and addresses of undercover British officers. A list of targets was created. Due to the size of the planned operation, members of the Dublin Brigade were called in to support Collins' Squad.

On the night of November 20, 1920, the units involved were briefed on the plans at secret locations around Dublin including Gardiner Street, Gloucester Street and Parnell Square. After the briefings, Dick McKee, commanding officer of the Dublin Brigade, and Peadar Clancy, its vice-commandant, were arrested by the Auxiliaries at their hideout on Gloucester Street.

Conor Clune, a civilian and Gaelic League member, who was visiting Dublin from Co Clare, was arrested in a sweep of Vaughan's Hotel, which was a known IRA meeting place.

### TIMELINE OF A DAY OF BLOODSHED

**8.15am** The groups involved in the attacks set out, as recalled by Paddy Daly, a member of the Squad who helped organise them.

**9am** The series of killings of members of the British intelligence network began. Eleven British officers, two auxiliary cadets and two civilians were killed in Dublin's south inner city (see table). Two British intelligence officers survived, three were wounded and four who were targeted could not be found.



'Transilience', by artist David Sweeney, a former Dublin GAA senior hurling captain, was specially commissioned as part of the GAA Museum's exhibition to mark the centenary of Bloody Sunday

COURTESY OF THE GAA MUSEUM, CROKE PARK

A Collins Papers file in the Military Archives, listing hotels where British agents were staying, the Republican 'insiders' in each one, and codes for Collins' agents

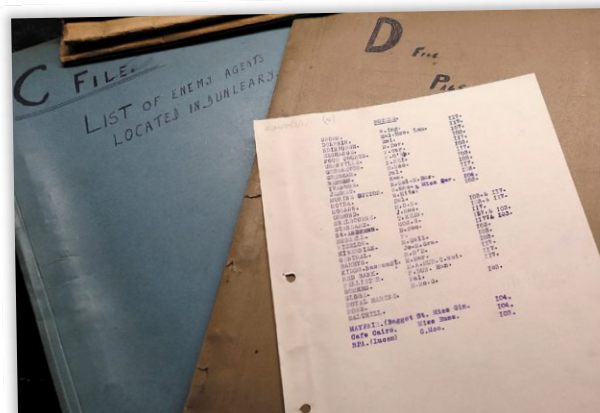
PHOTO: FRANK McGRATH

**9.20am** General FP Crozier was passing 22 Mount Street with a group of Auxiliaries when they heard shooting. They ran to the house, where a group of IRA men led by Squad member Tom Kehoe burst through the door and shot two Auxiliaries before escaping. Volunteer Frank Teeling was caught while trying to escape and sent to Dublin Castle.

**9.30am** Within half an hour, the killings were finished.

**10am-11am** Soon news of the killings reached the British administration at Dublin Castle. They suspected that the IRA might be using the Dublin-Tipperary football match at Croke Park as a cover, so planned a search operation as the crowds left the ground that afternoon.

**11.30am** The first game of the day at Croke Park, a Dublin Intermediate Championship match between Dún Laoghaire Commercials and Erin's Hope, began. The game was followed by a meeting of administrators from across the country to discuss the rule that banned GAA players playing soccer and rugby.





# How Bloody Sunday unfolded



**Midday** A large crowd was expected at the Dublin vs Tipperary match. News of that morning's killings had reached GAA general-secretary Luke O'Toole at Croke Park. Shortly before its scheduled start, three officers of the Dublin Brigade of the IRA advised cancelling the game. They had received a tip-off from a Dublin Metropolitan Police sergeant that a raid would take place at the ground. O'Toole talked to association officials Dan McCarthy, James Nowlan, Andy Harty and Jack Shouldice about cancelling the match but they decided not to. To call off the game at short notice when spectators were already gathering could have implicated the GAA in that morning's events, and an announcement to leave the stadium might have led to a panic and crush at the exits.

**2.45pm** The match was scheduled to begin at 2.45 but was delayed by 30 minutes as the crowd was still entering Croke Park. Estimates of the size of the crowd have varied between 5,000 and 15,000. The game was arranged after Tipperary men challenged Dublin to a match via the *Freeman's Journal*. The game was advertised as a benefit for an 'injured Gael' and was later described by Shouldice as a fundraiser for the Irish National Aid and Volunteers' Dependants' Fund. About £500 was raised from a percentage of ticket sales.

**3.15pm** As the game began, armoured lorries carrying a mix of RIC, military and Auxiliaries commanded by Major EL Mills

began to arrive and took up positions surrounding the ground on Clonliffe Road and Jones's Road outside the main entrance and at the Canal Bridge outside Croke Park.

**3.20-3.25pm** Five to ten minutes after the throw-in an aeroplane flew over Croke Park and circled the ground twice before flying in the direction of the Phoenix Park.

**3.26pm** The British authorities' intention was to announce by megaphone before the end of the game that spectators were to be searched as they left. However, shots were fired almost immediately after they reached the stadium. The British initially claimed that the IRA had fired first, but this has been disputed by historians.

Crown forces by Russell Street Bridge shot 11-year-old William 'Perry' Robinson as he sat in a tree and 10-year-old Jerome O'Leary as he sat on a wall watching the match. Around the same time, British forces entered Croke Park from the Canal End turnstiles and opened fire indiscriminately on the crowd.

Spectators and players rushed to all four exits but were stopped by the army, causing a series of crushes around the stadium. It was a scene of confusion and panic.

Many spectators were injured in the stampede and three died: Jane Boyle, who had first been shot, fell and was trampled, and James Teehan and James Burke were trampled as they tried to escape.

Some were injured by the rail-

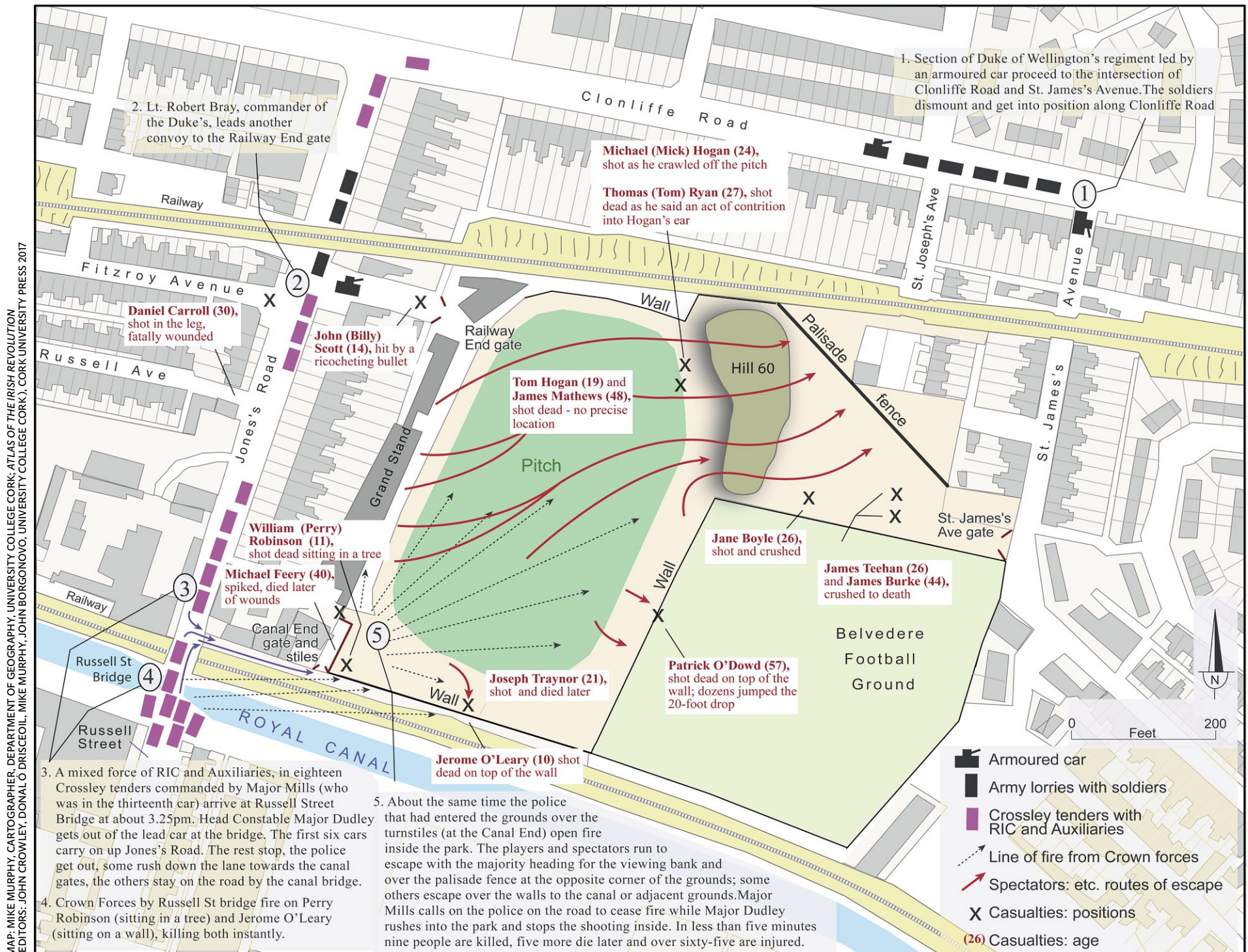
## The 11 British officers, two auxiliary cadets and two civilians killed in Dublin's south inner city on the morning of Bloody Sunday

LOCATION	VICTIMS	DETAILS
22 Lower Mount Street	 Lt Henry Angliss, a British intelligence officer	Angliss's belongings were searched before he was shot dead. A friend staying with him was left unharmed. Lt Peel, another British agent in the house, barricaded his door and managed to escape. Auxiliaries passing by heard the gunshots and attempted to enter the building.
38 Upper Mount Street	 Lt Peter Ashmun Ames, a commanding officer of the British intelligence unit   Lt George Bennett, a commanding officer of the British intelligence unit	Ames ( <i>pictured far left</i> ) and Bennett ( <i>below right</i> ) were marched to a back room where they were shot multiple times.
92 Lower Baggot Street	 Capt WF Newberry, a courts-martial officer	Newberry was shot multiple times while trying to escape through the window. His pregnant wife witnessed the attack and died giving birth to a stillborn baby weeks later.
119 Lower Baggot Street	 Capt George T Baggallay, a courts-martial officer	Future taoiseach Seán Lemass was one of the three men who shot the one-legged captain.
28 Earlsfort Terrace	Sgt John Fitzgerald of the RIC	Fitzgerald was killed in a case of mistaken identity when republicans were looking for a Colonel Fitzpatrick.
117-119 Morehampton Road	 Capt Donald L MacLean ( <i>left</i> ), an intelligence officer at Dublin Castle  TH Smith, a civilian landlord	MacLean was shot in a spare room as he begged not to be killed in front of his family. John Caldwell was wounded but survived. Smith, the owner of the house, was also shot dead.
28-29 Pembroke Street Upper	 Major CMG Dowling, a British intelligence officer  Capt Leonard Price ( <i>left</i> ), a British intelligence officer  Col Hugh F Montgomery, a staff officer	This proved to be one of the tougher assignments because in the house alongside the targets were four British infantry officers and their wives. A maid identified the rooms of Dowling and Price, where both men were shot in the chest. Montgomery was shot twice and died of his wounds on December 9. Col Woodcock and Capt Keenlyside were wounded but survived.
Gresham Hotel on Upper Sackville Street (now O'Connell Street)	Capt PJ MacCormack  LE Wilde, employment status unknown	MacCormack was almost certainly not engaged in any intelligence activity. He was shot in his bed while reading a newspaper. On the next floor Wilde was shot and killed instantly.
16 Northumberland Road	 Cadet Cecil A Morris  Cadet Frank Garniss ( <i>left</i> )	Having heard shooting on 22 Lower Mount Street, Garniss and Morris were sent to Beggars Bush Barracks to get reinforcements. They encountered an IRA lookout party and, although wearing civilian clothes, were identified and killed in the back garden of 16 Northumberland Road.





# A 10-year-old watching the game from a



ings as they tried to leave, including Michael Feery, who later died of his wounds.

Hundreds of people risked the 20ft drop along the Cusack Stand side and jumped into the adjoining Belvedere Sports Grounds. Patrick O'Dowd was shot dead while attempting this.

Many players on the pitch were near the Hogan Stand and ran to dressing-rooms or escaped over the gates quickly. About six players, including Tipperary full-back Michael Hogan, hit the ground instead and crawled on all fours towards the fence at Hill 60 (now Hill 16). Hogan was shot and died close to the edge of the field. Tom Ryan was shot while whispering the Act of Contrition in Hogan's ear. Tom Hogan, James Matthews and Joe Traynor were also shot dead and

John 'Billy' Scott was killed by a ricocheting bullet.

Daniel Carroll managed to escape the grounds of Croke Park but was fatally shot in the leg in nearby Russell Avenue.

Major Mills called for the police on the road to cease fire and Major Dudley stopped the shooting inside Croke Park.

In about 90 seconds of sustained fire, 50 rounds of ammunition had been discharged from a machine gun and a further

228 rounds from smaller weapons. Nine people died immediately, five more died later of their injuries and over 65 people were injured.

**5pm-5.30pm** The last spectators and the Tipperary team were searched and released from Croke Park.

**11pm** Bloody Sunday ended at Dublin Castle, the headquarters of the British administration. High-ranking IRA officers Dick McKee and Peadar Clancy and civilian Conor Clune, who had been arrested the previous evening, were being held in the guardroom because there was no room in the cells. All three were shot at 11pm for allegedly attempting to escape. Family members who saw the bodies in a hospital mortuary reported that there were signs of torture on the bodies of Clancy and McKee.

The shocking events of Bloody Sunday made headlines all over the world and marked a turning point in the War of Independence. The killing of innocent civilians in Croke Park further alienated the Irish public from the British Crown.

Collins had succeeded in penetrating and doing serious damage to the British intelligence operation in Ireland. Just a week later, on November 28, a flying column of the Cork Brigade commanded by Tom Barry killed 17 of 18 Auxiliaries at Kilmichael.

These events boosted morale and showed that the British services were not unbeatable. Violent events like these continued until both sides agreed to a ceasefire on July 11, 1921.

● Catherine Holmes, MA in public history, UCD





# wall was shot dead

## The 13 spectators and one player killed at Croke Park on Bloody Sunday

### VICTIMS

Jane Boyle (26), a butcher's assistant who lived on Lennox Street, Dublin.



James Burke (44) worked as a van driver and lived in Windy Arbour with his family.



Daniel Carroll (30) from Templederry, Co Tipperary, and living in Dublin.



Michael Feery (40) was living on Gardiner Place. He had served in the Royal Marine Labour Corps during World War I.

Michael 'Mick' Hogan (24) from Grangemockler, Co Tipperary. Unknown to the British Services, he was an IRA volunteer. In 1926 the Hogan Stand in Croke Park was named in his honour.



Tom Hogan (19), originally from Limerick and working in Dublin as a mechanic.



James Matthews (38) lived with his family on North Cumberland Street. His wife was pregnant at the time of his death and their daughter Nancy was born in 1921.

Patrick O'Dowd (57), a builder's labourer from Dublin.

Jerome O'Leary (10), the youngest victim

William 'Perry' Robinson (11) from Little Britain Street had climbed into a tree to watch the match.

Tom Ryan (27), originally from Glenbrien, Co Wexford and living in Dublin. An IRA volunteer who as part of that morning's orders had gone to a house in Marlborough Road, but there were no British intelligence officers there.

John 'Billy' Scott (14)

James Teehan (26), originally from Tipperary but living in Dublin above the pub where he worked on Green Street.



Joe Traynor (21) from Ballymount, Dublin, a labourer and an IRA volunteer.



### DETAILS

Shot while standing near the halfway line with her fiancé Daniel Byron and then crushed to death. She would be buried in her wedding dress in Glasnevin Cemetery.

Crushed to death in stampede.

Fatally shot in leg outside grounds while trying to flee. He was taken to Jervis Street Hospital but later died.

Wounded by railing spikes while trying to escape. Later died from his wounds.

The Tipperary full-back was shot dead while attempting to crawl off of the pitch.



Shot in the arm. His left arm was amputated but gangrene set in and he was the last victim to die, on November 26.

Shot in the leg.

Shot dead while on top of the wall between Croke Park and the Belvedere Sports Grounds. He was trying to help others escape.

Shot dead while sitting on a wall at the Canal End.

Shot in the chest while sitting in a tree by the Canal End. Died the next day.

Shot as he was whispering in Michael Hogan's ear. Died later that night in hospital.



Died after being hit by a ricocheting bullet near the Railway End gate. He was taken into a nearby house on St James's Avenue but died soon after.

Died of heart failure having been crushed in a stampede.

Shot twice in the back at the Canal End. He was taken into a nearby house before being taken to Jervis Street Hospital, where he died later that day.



Julianne McKeigue, grand-niece of Michael Hogan, in the GAA Museum in Croke Park.

PHOTO: GERRY MOONEY

## Michael Hogan: shot in the back as he crawled off the pitch

Kim Bielenberg talks to a descendant of the Tipperary defender, who was the day's highest-profile victim

Julianne McKeigue, events and education organiser at the GAA Museum in Croke Park, has a close family link with the events of Bloody Sunday.

Her grand-uncle was Michael Hogan, perhaps the best-known victim of the day. Hogan, aged 24 from Grangemockler in Co Tipperary, was the only player to be killed at Croke Park on Bloody Sunday, and the Hogan Stand is named after him.

It is fitting that 100 years on, McKeigue has been involved in organising events to mark the centenary.

Hogan was a brother of her grandmother, Kattie, who is buried in the same grave as the Tipperary player in his home village.

McKeigue is proud of the link, but she says that the topic was not frequently discussed in her family.

"After what happened in the War of Independence and the Civil War, people didn't really talk about it," she says. "It's really now, with an anniversary, that people talk about it."

"It was when I was at school and I chose Bloody Sunday for my Leaving Cert history project that I really took a great interest in it. But my involvement in Croke Park and the museum was coincidental."

McKeigue has been involved in organising lectures to mark the centenary, but events have had to be curtailed because of the coronavirus.

Lectures marking the centenary and other historical material are available at [crokepark.ie/bloodysunday](http://crokepark.ie/bloodysunday), and an exhibition will be open when Covid-19 restrictions are lifted.

Hogan was the corner back on the team and came from a farming background. His family home in

Grangemockler is still in the Hogan family. His brother Dan was a senior figure in the IRA.

On the day before the match, he had boarded a train to Dublin in Ballybrophy to meet his team-mates. Members of the team became involved in a fight with British soldiers on the train.

Hogan was marking Dublin's star forward Frank Burke of University College Dublin in the match. The first signs of trouble came 10 minutes into the game, soon after 3pm. Hogan was shot in the back as he fled the pitch to escape gunfire, crawling along the ground.

His team-mate Tommy Ryan, recalling the day, said: "Going across to Hogan, I tried to lift him, but the blood was spurting from a wound in his back and I knew he was very badly injured."

"He made the exclamation when I lifted him, 'Jesus, Mary and Joseph! I am done!' and he died on the spot. My hands and my jersey were covered in blood."

In the aftermath another team-mate, Ned O'Shea, identified the body and Tipperary priest Fr Crotty knelt beside him to say an Act of Contrition. Hogan's body was taken to the Mater hospital and his mother at home in Tipperary was informed of his death by two local priests.

In 1925, the GAA named the Hogan Stand at Croke Park in his honour. Hogan's brother Dan became chief of staff of the Defence Forces in 1927.

"He ended up going to America and then just disappeared," says McKeigue. Two of Hogan's sisters became nuns.

The Hogan Cup, the trophy presented to the winners of the All-Ireland secondary schools football championship, is named after another sibling, Brother Thomas Hogan.

*'The blood was spurting from a wound in his back... He made the exclamation when I lifted him, 'Jesus, Mary and Joseph! I am done!' and he died on the spot'*