

Guide to the Papers of the Army Inquiry Committee

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Rumaidín.

Chairman
ARMY INQUIRY COMMITTEE.

While agreeing with the statements and findings contained in this Report, the undersigned, J. Creed Meredith, does not feel that without some additional statements it would adequately reflect his views on the subject-matter of the Inquiry, and accordingly he is obliged to sign subject to the annexed reservation.

(Sd) James C. Meredith

Dated this 7th day of June, 1924

Signed subject to annexed reservation.
Not printed. See introductory note.



An Roinn Cosanta
Department of Defence

Guide to the Papers of the Army Inquiry Committee

By

Mrs Lisa Dolan

Featuring essay by Colonel Tom Hodson (Retd.)

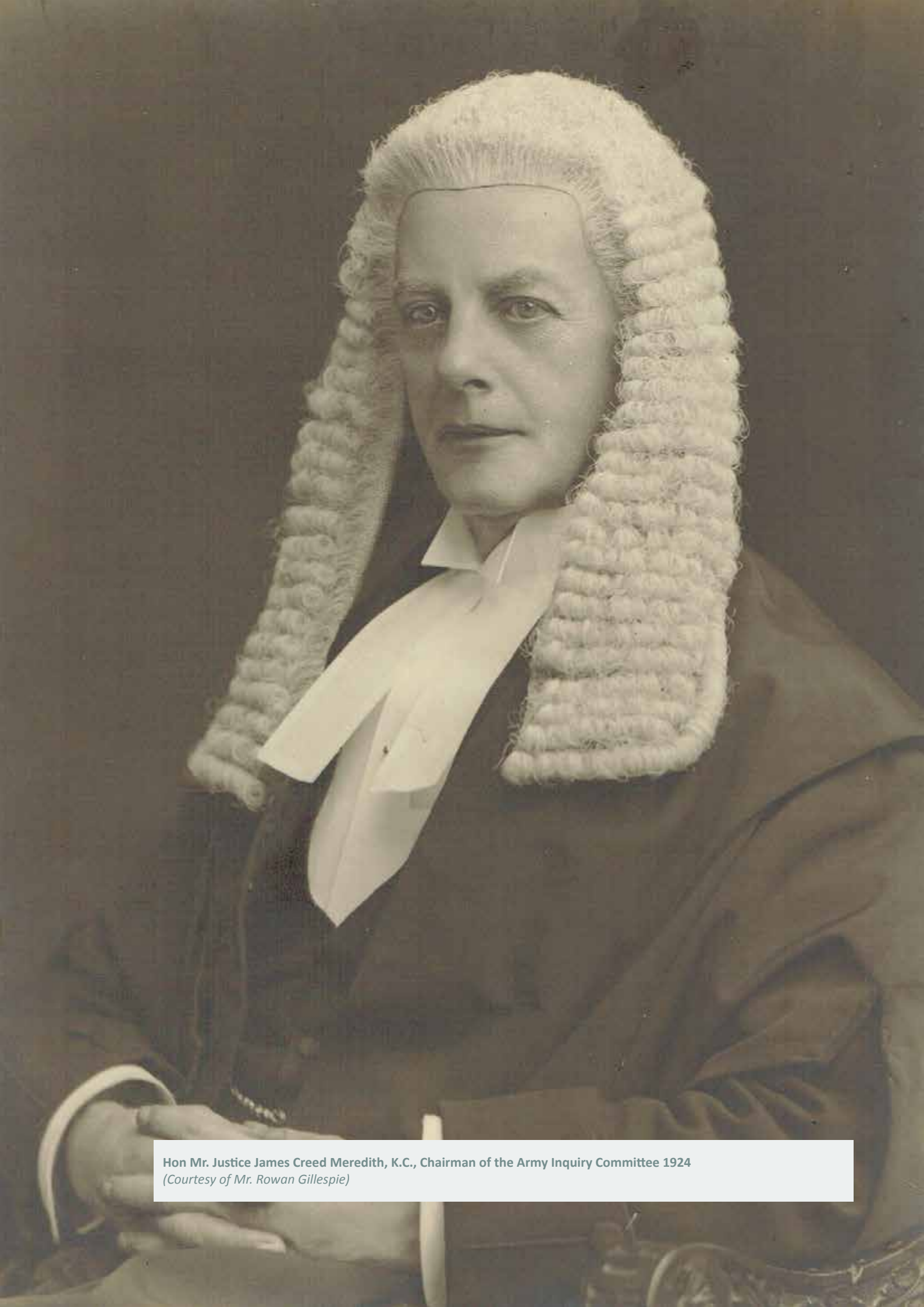


Certain members of the Executive Council and Dáil on the steps of Government buildings on the occasion of the review of the new Civic Guard, 21 February 1923. Image includes President W.T. Cosgrave, Kevin O'Higgins, Hugh Kennedy K.C., Major General Sean McKeon, Ernest Blythe and Commandant General O'Reilly. (IE-MA-GPN-057-037, An tOglach Glass plate negatives)

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Hon Mr. Justice James Creed Meredith, K.C., Chairman of the Army Inquiry Committee 1924
(Courtesy of Mr. Rowan Gillespie)

Editorial

Lisa Dolan - Project Archivist

The release of the Papers of the Army Inquiry Committee ahead of the 100th anniversary of the Civil War presents researchers and historians with fortuitous time and space to fully study the background to the cause célèbre that was the Army Mutiny 1924. The papers also provide opportunities for researchers to assess the ‘performance’ of the witnesses that participated, “in camera” before the Army Inquiry Committee in April and May 1924, and the conduct of the Army Inquiry Committee itself. This guide has been created to introduce users to the papers and to provide detail on the genesis and work of the Army Inquiry Committee. The Military Archives, by way of a beneficial and helpful professional relationship with the National Archives of Ireland and the Department of An Taoiseach, took possession of the papers a number of years ago. Since 2008, cataloguing and digitisation priorities in the Military Archives were focused on collections that spanned the revolutionary years (1913 – 1921). The development of our website and the expansion of our services meant the boxes labelled ‘Army Mutiny’ were left untouched for many years. In charting the evolution of the Military Archives and the progression of our aims, 2016 represented a very good year. The Military Archives moved from modified Victorian accommodation to a purpose-built, state-of-the-art facility, which was built as part of the Government’s programme to commemorate 1916. In view of this seismic move, the staff had a chance to flag the most important records to transfer first and plan out storage areas so that we would be in a position to open our doors to the public from May 2016 and facilitate research during that key year. The ‘Mutiny’ boxes were transferred at an early stage and stored with key reading room collections. This gives some impression as to what our intention was for these papers once the dust had literally settled and we had concluded a number of other projects.

The opportunity to physically ‘lift the lid’ came in 2018 when I asked one of our archive volunteers, Lieutenant Colonel Richard Cummins (Retd.) to have a first look, and to box-list and arrange the contents. A shared first impression was that the records were in pristine condition and that the passage of time and the movement of the records from one place to another had not created any issues. The records were firstly arranged by type and then chronologically (i.e. all the recorded evidence is contained in one series and runs chronologically), and key data was entered into a database. This work made the task of cataloguing a lot easier and speedier. I was the lucky Archivist who had the opportunity to read the material and expand the catalogue. As a newcomer to the subject, I was particularly struck by the dramatic setting of the Committee’s sessions held in the Council Chamber, Government Buildings, and the rapid manner in which the Committee members set up and carried out the inquiry. At times I couldn’t wait to turn the page such was the drama set by a preceding question or argument. I completed the catalogue knowing a lot more about the history of the early National Army and the key figures involved in its development and administration during the Civil War. The uncomplicated and fact-laden way the history is presented through the witnesses testimonies and the documentation gathered by the Army Inquiry Committee fostered that learning.

The papers are arranged in a way that future researchers can easily identify and target what they want to study. If researchers want to find out about the presence and influence of the Irish Republican Brotherhood in the National Army and in Government circles, there are key records such as the testimony of Sean O Muirthile, Professor James Hogan and Michael Costello that will expand on that largely undocumented and secret organisation. If researchers wish to look at the area of military discipline during the Civil War, the testimony of the Judge Advocate General is a must-read. What is lacking, however, is detailed information about the Army Mutiny itself and the Officers aligned with that event including Liam Tobin, Charlie Dalton and Tom Cullen. I contacted a long-time friend of the Military Archives, Colonel Tom Hodson (Retd.) to see if he would have an interest in taking a look at the collection and helping me figure out a way we could offer background information and context to help future users. We quickly decided that a contextualisation essay would be helpful. Colonel Hodson (Retd.) very generously gave his time and expertise and produced an outstanding piece of

writing which is contained in this guide. I also had the good fortune of making the acquaintance of Mr. Rowan Gillespie during the final stages of this project. Mr. Gillespie very kindly sourced and loaned two images of his Grandfather, James Creed Meredith, K.C., Chairman of the Army Inquiry Committee and chief author of the final Committee report; it was a personal highlight for me to put a face to the name of this central figure.

In conclusion, the Papers of the Army Inquiry Committee shed light on a mysterious and dramatic chapter in the history of the Defence Forces. It should be noted that some paperwork concerning Richard Mulcahy and his interaction with the Army Inquiry Committee can be found in the Mulcahy Papers in University College Dublin. However, the Papers of the Army Inquiry Committee include additional witness testimonies, correspondence between Committee members and witnesses, furnished questionnaires and support documents thus presenting scope for a thorough reappraisal of the Army Mutiny and its origins. Crucially, the papers contain a copy of the Chairman's reservation¹ to the final report which was not made public as it made explicit reference to the evidence gathered. The extended report was submitted solely to the Cabinet for their perusal, and a copy retained in the Army Inquiry Committee papers. It was a great pleasure for me to be involved in lifting the lid on this momentous chapter in Ireland's military and parliamentary history and I personally look forward to witnessing the interest of the public in these papers for years to come.

Acknowledgements

The support of Military Archives volunteers is vital to the continuance of our aims to preserve, and make available, the documentary heritage of the Defence Forces and the Department of Defence. One of our Archive volunteers, Lieutenant Colonel Richard Cummins (Retd.) played a pivotal role in box-listing and arranging the Papers of the Army Inquiry Committee and this work, along with Richard's contribution to past and present projects, is greatly appreciated. The Guide to the Papers of the Army Inquiry Committee is greatly enhanced by the inclusion of a contextualisation essay which discusses the unique political and personal character of the Army Inquiry Committee. The author, Colonel Tom Hodson (Retd.), spent a considerable amount of time researching the collection and produced a fascinating piece of writing which was a pleasure to read, and illustrate using our photo archives. We would also like to thank the National Library of Ireland and Mr Rowan Gillespie for their generosity in supplying us with unique images, and for allowing us to reproduce those images in this guide. Our thanks also to the Defence Forces Printing Press for assisting in the design and printing of this guide and Archivist Hugh Beckett for editing the guide.

“It was too soon to consider the matter and fully weigh possible consequences”

(General Richard Mulcahy)

The 1924 Army Mutiny and Army Inquiry Committee in context

By Colonel Tom Hodson (Retd.)

Introduction

The request to me, from Archivists Commandant Daniel Ayiotis and Mrs Lisa Dolan, to write a contextual essay for the Guide to the Papers of the Army Inquiry Committee, was as surprising as it was welcome. It has provided me, as a former Army officer, with the opportunity to engage with an event which was far from my consciousness when I received my commission in 1964, forty years after the events recalled in these archives. Mutiny was far from a young Second Lieutenant’s mind but even then certain commitments from the commissioning oath carried particular seriousness. Probably the most pertinent in the present context was ‘I will not join or be a member of or subscribe to any political party or any secret society whatsoever.’ I had no awareness that the reference to secret societies had its origins in an event which only gradually seeped into our consciousness as young officers. Over time, when the Army mutiny was discussed it was usually in terms of it being the continuing reason why strict departmental control was maintained over the administration of the Defence Forces, a reason which we of course felt to be at best anachronistic.

Mutiny is an ugly word and an ugly act. An Army’s effectiveness and value to its democratic civilian government depends entirely on the proper functioning of its command structures and authority, which ensure that soldiers obey the lawful orders of their superior officers. Attempts were made to mitigate the 1924 mutiny, by the mutineers naturally, but also by significant political figures of the day. This may have been unwise at the time, as Army intelligence reports indicated that the mutineers had serious intentions, however much they were belied by the eventual picaresque dénouement in Devlin’s Public house on Dublin’s Parnell Street. Part of the mitigation was the establishment of the Army Inquiry Committee by the President of the Executive Council, W.T. Cosgrave. The Committee was well aware of the seriousness of their task, but their reticence to explicitly use the word mutiny in the title of their Committee reflects their reluctance to further dramatise the event.

These events have been written about in the past, most notably by Maryann Gialanella Valiulis in her books *Almost a Rebellion: the Irish Army mutiny of 1924* (Cork, 1985) and *Portrait of a Revolutionary: General Richard Mulcahy* (Dublin, 1992). Her books, largely based on the Mulcahy Papers in the UCD Archives, provide the most analytical and detailed accounts of both the Mutiny and the Army Inquiry Committee. Now, for the first time, the Military Archives are making publically available the complete papers containing not only the Committee’s deliberations but also all witness statements and ancillary documentation gathered by the Committee.

The National Army in 1924

The mutiny occurred at a difficult time for both state and Army. The Executive Council headed by W.T. Cosgrave was attempting to establish the functions and remit of a democratic state in a country inhabited by a population wearied by more than five years of hostilities and conflict. The post-Civil War National Army was attempting to re-configure itself as an organisation modelled on modern European armies. Complicating matters was a mutually developing antipathy between the military establishment and politicians and officials. This antipathy or, to use a word which occurs not infrequently in this

collection, animus was manifested most publically in a political and personal dislike on the part of the Minister of Home Affairs Mr. Kevin O'Higgins for the Minister of Defence General Richard Mulcahy, lately also Commander in Chief of the Army.



General Richard Mulcahy, Commander in Chief (taking salute), Major General Charles Russell (Officer Commanding Railway Protection Repair and Maintenance Corps) and General Sean MacMahon (Chief of Staff) at a ceremony at Wellington Barracks, June 1923. (IE-MA-GPN-052-052, An tOglach Glass plate negatives)

Civil society was seeking a 'peace dividend' while a number of the 'fighting men' in the National Army felt that their sacrifices were inadequately recognised and resented the fact that they were now facing rapid and severe demobilisation. In addition, as Professor James Hogan of University College Cork, a former Major General and Director of Intelligence suggested to the Committee that "there is no use in assuming that officers in the Army are as clear-minded in the matter of the Minister of Defence's constitutional position as well-educated civilians".¹ This contention was backed up by the opinion of Colonel Charles Russell Commander of the Railway Protection Repair and Maintenance Corps who gave a startling view in his evidence to the Committee that

"The GOCs were most powerful men. They lived in castles all over the country, each with his little Army, and when they came to Dublin to attend meetings, they brought with them in their minds their armies, and backed up their arguments with the power of their positions".²

1 AMTY-03-054, 'Schedule "D". Documents submitted by Professor James Hogan, late Director of Intelligence'
2 AMTY-03-036, 'Verbatim report of evidence of Witness, Colonel Charles Russell', 10 May 1924, Part A6



At the scene of a major seaborne landing "One year after", Fenit, Tralee, Co. Kerry, September 1923. (Left to right) Colonel Bishop, Captain Kelly, Colonel Dunne, Senator O'Sullivan, Major General P. O'Daly (General Officer Commanding Kerry Command), Colonel Neligan (Director of Intelligence), General Sean MacMahon (Chief of Staff), Major General Sean Quinn, Major General P. MacMahon (General Officer Commanding Curragh Command), Colonel Padraic O'Connor and Colonel J. Maginnis.

(IE-MA-GPN-052-033, An tOglach Glass plate negatives)

The National Army, or the Regular Forces, had been hastily assembled in 1922 after the I.R.A. split over the Treaty. Hastily assembled as it was, it lacked in training, administration and cohesion. Now, some six months after the end of the campaign against the Irregulars, the Army was showing increasing signs of strain. The Chief of Staff General Sean MacMahon had become concerned that inspections carried out by the Command staffs were inadequate and had appointed Colonel Jephson O'Connell as GSO (2)³ in charge of the Inspection Branch of the Chief of Staff's Department, an appointment which O'Connell held from June 1923 to February 1924.

COMMAND OF THE NATIONAL FORCES.

Duties of the Military Members of the Council of Defence.

Defence Order No. 38, issued by the Minister for Defence, under date 1st December, 1923, is as follows:—

1. The Command of the National Forces is vested in the Executive Council and exercised through the Minister for Defence in accordance with the following Section 236 of the Defence Forces (Temporary Provisions) Act, 1923:—

“The Command-in-chief of and all executive and administrative powers in relation to the National Forces (including the power to delegate authority to such persons as may be thought fit) shall be vested in the Executive Council and exercised through and in the name of the Minister.”

2. A Council of Defence has been created for the purpose of assisting the Minister for Defence, in accordance with the following paragraph 2 of Executive Council Order, No. 11, of 1923:—

“There shall be and there is hereby constituted a Council of Defence to assist the Minister for Defence in the administration of the business of the Department of Defence but without derogating from the responsibility of the Minister for Defence to the Executive Council and to the Oireachtas respectively for all the administration and business of the Department of Defence and for the exercise and performance of all the powers, duties, and functions connected therewith.”

3. The Military Members of the Council of Defence are:—
The Chief of Staff.
The Adjutant General.
The Quartermaster General.

They are the heads of Departments for the proper administration of which they are respectively responsible direct to the Minister for Defence. Their Departments collectively constitute the General Headquarters of the Army and are at the same time branches of the Ministry of Defence.

4. The Chief of Staff, in addition to being responsible for the due performance of the duties assigned below to the General Staff, is also responsible to the Minister for:—

- (i) The proper co-ordination of the work of the Adjutant General's and Quartermaster General's Departments with the work of the General Staff.
- (ii) General Inspection.

5. The duties of the General Staff shall be as follows:—

Commissioned personnel:

- Appointments, promotions, transfers, retirements and personal affairs of Officers of all departments and services.
- Officers' records.
- Military policy—Schemes for defence and internal security.
- Organisation and distribution of the Forces.
- Establishments of personnel and equipment.
- Plans for mobilisation. Movements of troops and supplies.
- Operations.
- Field Service Regulations.
- Uses and employments of the Air, Marine and Engineering Services.

Intelligence—Collection, compilation and distribution of intelligence, including topographical information and mapping. Censorship. Reports on the Military situation.

- Training—Military education of Officers and the military efficiency of the Forces.
- Supervision of military schools and courses of instructions.
- Preparation of training books and notes.
- Military Libraries.

Intercommunication.
Bands.

6. The duties of the Adjutant General's Department shall be as follows:—

Non-commissioned personnel:—

- Recruiting for all branches of the Forces, fraudulent enlistment, promotions, transfers, desertions and discharges. Casualties, Funerals and Burials.
- Distinctions and Badges.
- Records and Statistics. Personal services. Education. Training of clerks.
- Discipline—Administration of military and martial law.
- Detection of prisoners.
- Supervision of military detention barracks.
- Military police measures.
- Interior economy, routine in camps and barracks, except barrack services.
- Scrutiny of unit routine orders.
- Medical services (except premises and medical stores), Invaliding and Sanitation.
- Spiritual Welfare—Chaplains.
- Ceremonial. Dress Regulations.

- 7. The duties of the Quartermaster General's Department shall be as follows:—
Supplies—Food, forage, fuel, light, water and disinfectants, clothing, equipment, stationery, furniture and bedding, and all stores and animals.
Scales of issues.
Maintenance of reserve stocks.
Purchases.
Administration of Factories and Experimental establishments.
Investigation of losses and damage.
Disposal of worn-out and surplus stores and equipment.
Transport by rail, sea and road of troops and stores. Supply of vehicles and accessories.
Regulations for the administration and inspection of the Supply and Transport Services.
Clothing and equipment regulations.
Veterinary matters.
Quarters—appropriation and allocation of premises. Repair and Maintenance.
Canteens.
Laundries and washing of bedding and clothing.
Barrack Services—Supply and Store accounting.
Administration of pay personnel.
- 8. The duties of a Finance Member of the Council of Defence who will in time be appointed and those of the Secretary of the Ministry will be indicated in a later order.
- 9. Officers Commanding Units, Corps and Services will be responsible for the efficiency of their Units, Corps and Services respectively to the Minister through the Members of the Council of Defence.

ARMY GOLFING SOCIETY.

FACILITIES EXTENDED TO MEMBERS OF THE ARMY GOLFING SOCIETY BY SOME OF THE IRISH GOLF CLUBS.

Bray G.C.—£3 3s. per year, to date from date of election, and payable in advance.

Limerick G.C.—£2 per year, payable at £1 per half year.

Wicklow G.C.—Annual subscription of one guinea without entrance fee.

Dunlaoghaire G.C.—Annual subscription of £5 5s., without entrance fee. Members to be duly proposed and elected.

Galway G.C.—At annual subscription, without entrance fee—subscription to run from 1st January.

Baltray (Co. Louth) G.C.—Entrance fee remitted in case of military members.

Rosslare G.C.—£1 11s. 6d. for the season.

Milltown G.C.—Officers stationed temporarily in Dublin or within twenty miles of the City admitted, without entrance fee, on payment of annual subscription of five guineas. Wives and daughters of military same privilege. The number at any one time not to exceed 25.

Ennis (Co. Clare) G.C.—Half annual subscription without entrance fee; also half usual visitors' fees.

Cork (Little Island) G.C.—Five guineas per annum, or £1 10s. per quarter.

Kenmare G.C.—20/- per annum, or 7/6 per quarter. No entrance fee.

Sutton G.C.—30/- per annum (half annual subscription) without entrance fee for six military members of 15 handicap or under.

Birr G.C.—Without entrance fee by payment of half year's subscription in advance.

Delgany G.C.—One guinea per annum.

Bettystown G.C.—All members of A.G.S. will be admitted as honorary members of this Club.

Skerries G.C.—No entrance fee. Annual subscription of £2 2s. Subscription to run from date of election.

Hermitage G.C.—Twenty members to be nominated at £1 11s. 6d. each for six months, payable in advance.

Co. Sligo (Rosses' Point) G.C.—Members of the Army may pay the entrance fee by instalments of one guinea yearly while using the Links. The annual subscription to be £2 2s. yearly, as for country members.

Island (Malahide) G.C.—If any member of the A.G.S. would apply to the Hon. Sec. of this Club, he will give voucher to play on the Links. No members in the ordinary sense.

O’Connell was a former Roman Catholic Chaplain in the British Army and former Officer Commanding the 59th Infantry Battalion in the Southern Command of the National Army. Undoubtedly a zealot, who later betrayed the Chief of Staff by complaining directly to the Minister for Home Affairs, the inspection reports by his team of inspectors (consolidated into a 225 page report) are exhaustive and detailed⁴. All Commands and battalions were inspected, some of them three or four times over, during the period he held office. The inspections covered administration, logistics, training and morale. The reports were anything but complimentary and caused difficulties between Colonel O’Connell, his inspecting officers and some General Officers Commanding; a case, no doubt, of blaming the messengers. The negative tone of the reports is best signified in an opinion expressed by the Commandant 8 Infantry Battalion (Cahirciveen) to a visiting Inspector:

“The best men in the battalion are leaving the Army, and the morale of the men who are remaining is poor. No training is carried on. The Battalion on the whole is slovenly. This is no doubt due to the conditions under which the men were living during the past six months. A big majority of the men and officers are locals, and a bad spirit exists, which can only be remedied by moving the battalion to another Command, and devoting the utmost attention to training”.⁵

These views on conditions in the National Army were not those of the Inspection Branch alone, they were also shared by onlookers in society. O’Connell includes in his report a lengthy letter from a Monsignor E.A. D’Alton in Ballinrobe which was addressed to the Minister of Finance Ernest Blythe, and transmitted onward to the Minister of Defence and thence to O’Connell with instructions that the Monsignor was reliable and that his complaints should be investigated.

Among D’Alton’s lengthy list of criticisms he reported to Blythe that;



“The rank and file are quite willing to learn, and are sick of the idle life, but the officers are unable to teach them, and don’t care to teach even if they knew how. There is no training, no marching, not even a walk in the country, no inspection, no supervision of accounts. The waste is appalling, clothes, food, camp followers; and there are ugly rumours of missing stores and even ammunition which I fear are true”.⁶

O’Connell’s reports, which included assessments of the capabilities of individual officers, were submitted to the Chief of Staff. Their content must have added further urgency to the process of demobilisation of the Army then being pursued by the Minister of Defence and GHQ. It was a process which, in the main, led directly to the mutiny.

The Army Mutiny

4 IE-MA-AMTY-03-015, ‘Statements submitted by Colonel J O’Connell to the Army Inquiry Committee’ 26 April 1924 and 6 May 1924. Chapter IV (Inspections), Claremorris Command.

5 Ibid.

6 Ibid.

When the Civil War ended the strength of the Army stood at 3,000 officers and 52,000 other ranks. It was a strength that was politically, militarily and financially unsustainable and a new organisation for an Army of 18,000 was proposed, which would entail the demobilisation of 37,000 members of the National Army. At the best of times it would have been a difficult feat to achieve and these were not the best of times with prevailing high unemployment and straitened national finances. Within the Army there was much tension and dissension particularly among the officer body. The officer body was composed of pre-Truce I.R.A. members and officers who were recruited after the outbreak of the Civil War, including a significant number of officers who had served in the British Army and whose perceived preferment caused great resentment. In these conditions, deciding who would remain and who would leave, even if clearly defined military criteria of competence and suitability had been available, would be difficult.

Further complicating matters was the existence of a recalcitrant group in the National Army of former members of Michael Collins' Old I.R.A. intelligence and counterintelligence unit, a cohort that were loyal effectively to the now dead Collins. This group, led by Major General Liam Tobin, Major General Tom Cullen and Colonel Charlie Dalton particularly resented what they saw as their sidelining from positions of authority and influence in the newly emerging Army organisation, which they believed was being influenced by a re-organised Irish Republican Brotherhood. They had been causing trouble ever since the death of Collins and this was initially revealed in a pay grievance highlighted by Oriel House (C.I.D) staff in March 1922. Ironically Tobin reacted to this isolated incident by qualifying the actions of the aggrieved C.I.D Officers as 'bordering on Mutiny.'⁷



Members of Michael Collins' "Squad" during the War of Independence. (Left to right) Mick McDonnell, Liam Tobin, Vinny Byrne, Paddy O 'Daly and James/Jim Slattery. All received commissions in the National Army.
(IE-MA-PRCN-04-02-75, Private collection of Vinny Byrne)

7 AMTY-03-010, Copy letter from Tobin to Colonel Commandant Thornton, 14 March 1922 affixed to 'Report from Colonel Costello, Director of Intelligence to the Army Inquiry Committee', 22 April 1924 (file no. 3)

Week ending 25th August 1922.

Signature

Liam Lakin	✓	6	10	0	Per P. M. Gae
V. Cullen	✓	6	10	0	Per P. M. Gae
Franc Thornton	✓	6	10	0	Per P. M. Gae
Pat Mc Crea	✓	6	0	0	Per P. M. Gae
Joe Dolan	✓	5	0	0	Per P. M. Gae
Joe Guilfoyle	✓	5	0	0	-
Charlie Dalton	✓	5	0	0	Per J. M. Lutter
Frank Saurin	✓	5	0	0	Per J. M. Lutter
Charlie Byrne	✓	5	0	0	Per J. M. Lutter
Joe Shanahan	✓	5	0	0	Per J. M. Lutter
Harry Conway	✓	5	0	0	undirect
Hugh Doyle	✓	4	10	0	Per J. M. Lutter
Peter M. Gae	✓	4	10	0	Per J. M. Lutter
Owen Yutty	✓	4	10	0	Lutter
Bart. Doyle	✓	4	10	0	Per J. M. Lutter
Bob. Halpin	✓	4	10	0	Per MMB
John Dalger	✓	4	10	0	SOS
John Scully	✓	4	10	0	J. Scully
x Joe Mc Mahon	✓	4	10	0	J. Mc Mahon
Charlie Mc Baine	✓	4	10	0	MMB
Joe Mc Donagh	✓	4	10	0	Per J. M. Lutter
A. Mc Kenna	✓	4	10	0	Per J. M. Lutter
Con O'Hill	✓	4	10	0	C. O'Hill
Seamus Murray	✓	5	0	0	Per P. M. Gae
B. Kane	✓	4	10	0	Per J. M. Lutter
W. Lyons	✓	4	0	0	Per M. D. Dool
A. Brennan	✓	3	10	0	Per M. D. Dool
M. Dowdall	✓	3	10	0	Per M. D. Dool
P. Landon	✓	3	10	0	Per M. D. Dool
Pat. Broughton	✓	3	10	0	Per M. D. Dool
		142	0	0	

Extract from Intelligence pay accounts (17 February to 8 September 1922) showing pay in respect of Intelligence staff employed at Headquarters (Director's office), command, division and brigade level. Above image shows pay in respect of staff employed week ending 25th August 1922, the same week General Michael Collins was shot. (IE-MA-PRCN-0072-02, Private collection of Commandant Desmond Mortell)

West Quay 75th August 1922

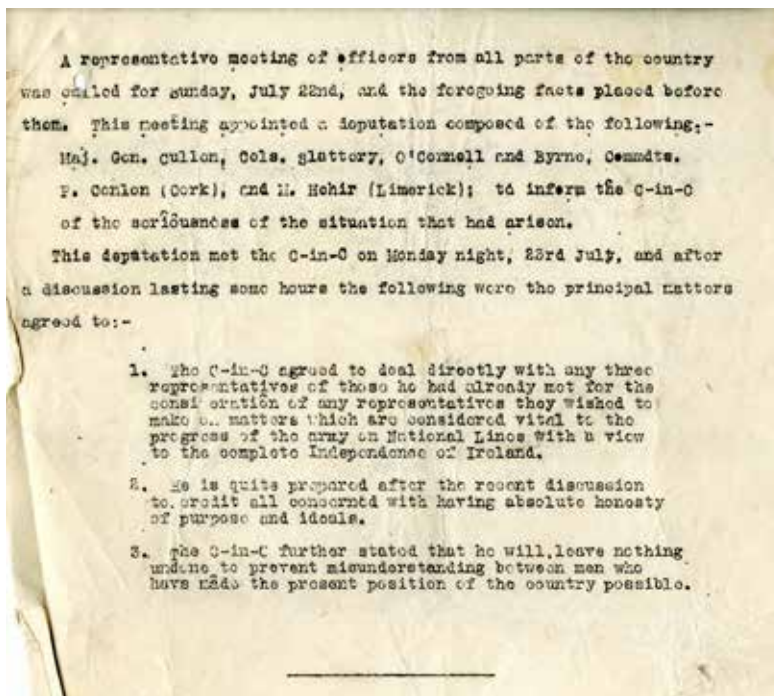
Signature

Dr. Forward.					
		✓	142	0	0
m. Keegan	✓	3	10	0	Per. m. Dood
y. Peppard	✓	3	10	0	Per. m. Dood
m. Dudd	✓	3	10	0	Per. m. Dood
L. Mc Auliffe	✓	3	10	0	Per. m. Dood
J. Bowley	✓	4	10	0	J. Bowley
H. Fox	✓	4	10	0	Hugh Fox
R. Leonard	✓	4	10	0	R. Leonard
P. Wylie	✓	4	10	0	P. Wylie
P. Mc Guirey	✓	3	10	0	Per. P. Guirey
Luke Smith	✓	4	10	0	Luke Smith
F. Byrne	✓	2	10	0	F. Byrne
D. Nolan	✓	2	10	0	Per. D. Nolan
J. Lawless	✓	4	10	0	J. Lawless
Fred O'Doherty	✓	4	10	0	wired
W. Hardiman	✓	4	10	0	wired
J.J. Dackery	✓	4	10	0	wired
James Guiney	✓	4	10	0	Per. P. m. Ge
John Guiney	✓	4	10	0	Per. P. m. Ge
Dan Finlayson	✓	4	10	0	Per. P. m. Ge
John Horgan	✓	4	10	0	Per. P. m. Ge
Leo O'Leary	✓	4	10	0	Per. P. m. Ge
Joe Jackson	✓	4	10	0	Per. P. m. Ge
J. Morgan	✓	4	10	0	Guiney
D. Bryan	✓	4	10	0	D. Bryan
Henry Morgan	✓	4	10	0	Per. O. Tully
John Keogh	✓	4	10	0	J. Keogh
Miss Kealey	✓	3	0	0	Per. F. Sumner
" Morgan	✓	3	0	0	M. Morgan
" Maloney	✓	3	10	0	Per. O. Tully

259 10 0

Eventually the group formed an organisation termed the Old I.R.A. organisation and proceeded to stir up unrest and resistance amongst the officer body to the continuing demobilisation programme. This resistance manifested itself particularly in the Curragh where officers who had been considered unsuitable had been sent to complete a course of instruction which may or may not have rendered them fit for retention. It is notable that the resistance to demobilisation was confined to the officer corps. Demobilisation of the other ranks proceeded according to plan, leading the Adjutant General to remark later that "It is of more than passing interest to note the comparative demeanour, decency and discipline of these men as contrasted with many of the officers"⁸

The unfolding of the eventual mutiny and its almost byzantine politico-military complexities has been well documented elsewhere and a full account could not be accommodated in this short essay. Richard Mulcahy was insistent that the military authorities should be allowed push through their demobilisation plans. Some politicians, principally the Minister of Industry and Commerce Joe McGrath, himself a former Major General, Director of Intelligence and member of the Collins intelligence group, assisted the Tobin group in pushing their eventual mutinous demands on the government and the Army.



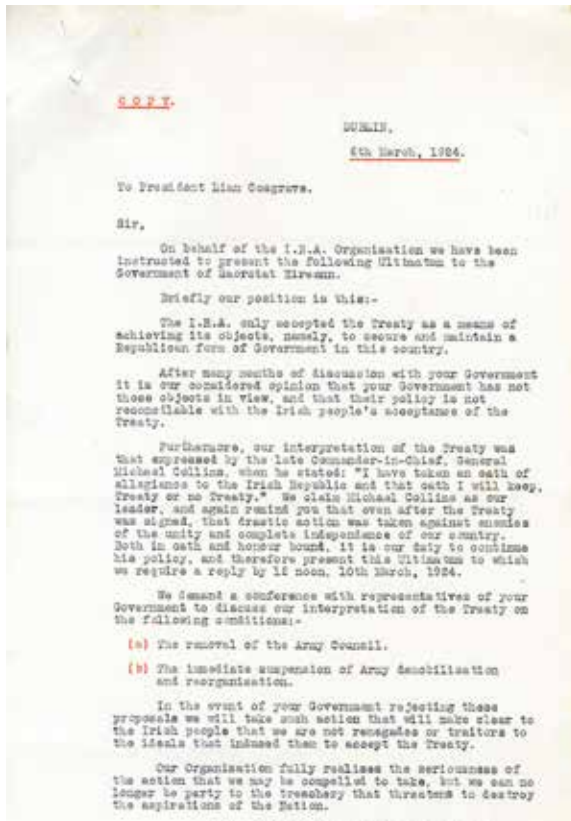
Summary of meeting held on 23 July 1923 when a deputation elected by a representative body of the I.R.A. organisation met General Richard Mulcahy Commander in Chief and principal matters were agreed. (IE-MA-AMTY-02-002, Papers of the Army Inquiry Committee)

8 AMTY-03-030, 'Statement submitted by Lieutenant General Gearóid O'Suilleavain to the Army Inquiry Committee', 6 May 1924, p.3



Joseph McGrath, Minister for Industry and Commerce 1922, 1923 and 1924 (resigned from the Ministry in March 1924).
(IE-MA-BMH-P-022-16, Bureau of Military History Photographs)

As a member of the Executive Council, Mulcahy found himself constrained by W.T. Cosgrave who was concerned with the upcoming General Election, which prompted him to enter into discussions with the eventual mutineers, a miscalculation which led them to believe that their demands would be acceded to. When, after the election, it became apparent that their demands were not acceptable, Tobin and Dalton presented an ultimatum to the government demanding the removal of the Army Council, the immediate suspension of demobilisation, the establishment of an inquiry and a say in the reorganisation of the Army.



Copy letter from Major General Liam Tobin and Colonel C.F. Dalton to President W.T. Cosgrave, 6th March 1924. It was supplied by President W.T. Cosgrave to the Committee of Inquiry on 7th April 1924. (IE-MA-AMTY-03-072, Papers of the Army Inquiry Committee)



Major General Liam Tobin in National Army uniform. (IE-MA-AL-SB-06 p. 29, Brother Allen collection)

Initially the Executive Council held firm against the mutineers and Tobin and Dalton went on the run. Before long, however, pressure from McGrath and from O'Higgins fed with a yearlong litany of complaints by Colonel Jephson O'Connell regarding the resurgence of I.R.B. influence in the Army, led to a change in political attitudes.

Cosgrave fell ill, Mulcahy became isolated and compromises were made with the by now fifty strong group of officer mutineers and orders were given that they were not to be arrested. To secure more control, the Executive Council appointed General Eoin O'Duffy, Head of the Civic Guard as Inspector General and General Officer Commanding the Defence Forces. While O'Duffy was negotiating his exact powers with the Executive Council, Mulcahy authorised the seizure of a number of mutineers who had gathered in a public house in Dublin.

General H O
 24th March 1924
 Received from Mr. J. McGrath T.D.
 27 Lee Enfield Rifles ✓
 3 Lewis Guns ✓
 46 Lewis Gun Pans ✓
 21 Bayonets ✓
 2 Lab. Web Equipment ✓
 7,500 Rounds .303 Ammunition ✓
 1 Bag Lewis Gun spare parts ✓
 Ammunition
 v. 2 21
 Checked
 Camp Const

From file containing details of arms and ammunition returned to army stores under the terms of O'Duffy's order dated 20th March 1924. The returns featured were organised by Mr Joe McGrath, T.D. and Mr. Michael O'Connell, County Councillor (Tipperary) (IE-MA-MS-388-03, Military Secretary files)

LANDRO IN AT TWO-MILE-DORRIS.
 BY.
 Mr. Michael O'Connell, County Councillor,
 Liberty Square,
 Thurles.

LEWIS GUNS	8
RIFLES	87
ROCKETS	80
REDS	29,856
LEWIS BAYONETS	21
LOADING MACHINES	34
MACHINE GUNS	2
BARNS SPARE PARTS	2

This was interpreted by the Executive Council as a breach of their instructions and they promptly called for the resignation of the Army Council. The Adjutant General and the Quartermaster General resigned but the Chief of Staff, who had been in Cork to stabilise the position there at the time of the raid, demurred but had his commission withdrawn. Mulcahy resigned at the sackings of these senior officers who were carrying out their duty to protect the democratic institutions of the State. The mutineers were effectively exonerated, were not court-martialled and were allowed resign from the Army. They also saw one of their demands acceded to when the President of the Executive Council W. T. Cosgrave constituted the Army Inquiry Committee on 3 April 1924.



Major General Tom Cullen in National Army uniform.
 (IE-MA-BMH-CD-188_02, Frank Thornton collection, Bureau of Military History Contemporary Documents)



Kevin O'Higgins, Minister for Justice, 1922 to 1927.
(IE-MA-GPN-044-004, An tOglach, Glass plate negatives)

The Army Inquiry Committee

The Committee's terms of reference were:

To enquire into the facts and matters which have caused or led up to the indiscipline and mutinous or insubordinate conduct lately manifested in the Army.⁹

This careful formulation ensured that as far as possible the events of the mutiny and the actions of the mutineers would not be too closely scrutinised. The terms were later expanded on by the President to determine 'whether the discontent among certain officers and men shown in the recent threat of mutiny and insubordination is justly and fairly attributed to "muddling, mismanagement and incompetence in the administration of the Army."' ¹¹ So, before the inquiry began its deliberations, the mutiny had been mitigated to a 'threat of mutiny' and the military authorities were to be judged on their 'muddling, mismanagement and incompetence', the charge made against them in the Dáil by Joe McGrath.



It was a charge which Mr McGrath was not prepared to press as he, along with participants in the mutiny, declined to give evidence to the Committee. Former members of the Army Council also declined to give evidence, until what they considered as unjust charges against them were refuted by legal counsel. Legal argumentation eventually resulted in counsel being accepted for the members of the Army Council with the Committee deciding that witnesses would be given a choice as to whether or not they would agree to be cross-examined by counsel. Focusing on the legal preliminaries alone, a request submitted by the Committee Chairman for access to a legal opinion expressed by the Attorney General for Cabinet (concerning the infamous Kenmare case) resulted in a key decision taken by an Irish Government to preserve the confidentiality of the opinion, and not openly publish it. ¹⁰

The first witness to appear before the Committee was Mr C.B. O'Connor the Secretary of the Ministry of Defence, a former decorated World War I veteran. Present-day readers will be surprised to read that Mr. O'Connor informed the Committee that his "knowledge of these matters on which you want information was almost nil."¹¹ He further suggested that the matters had been dealt with by the Army Council and the papers concerning the events were in "what is at present known as General Headquarters which is outside the area that I, practically speaking, can put my foot in."¹² Kevin O'Higgins showed no reluctance in continuing his attack on the Army and on General Mulcahy. He was "not satisfied that there permeated the Army, and particularly its officer personnel, a proper and reasonable sense of stewardship to the people" and he asserted "that the ex-Minister for Defence throughout the year previous to his resignation did not stand for stern impersonal discipline in the Army."¹³

9 IE-MA-04-002, 'Report of the Army Inquiry Committee', (Dublin, 1924)

10 AMTY-02-001, Copy letter from President William T. Cosgrave to Creed Meredith, 28 April 1924, in file titled Army Inquiry Committee

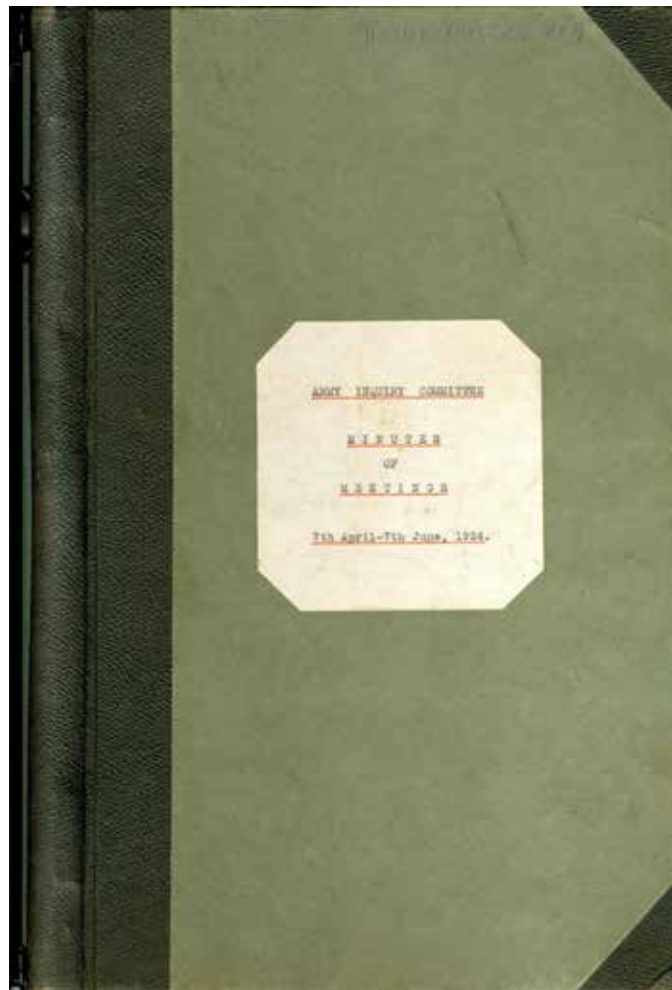
11 AMTY-03-002, 'Verbatim Report of Evidence of Mr C.B. O'Connor, Secretary, Department of Defence, 9 April 1924'

12 Ibid.

13 AMTY-03-009, 'Verbatim Report of Evidence of Mr C.B. O'Connor, Secretary, Department of Defence and Mr. Kevin O'Higgins, Minister for Home Affairs, 22 April 1924'

The feelings of the Army Council were clearly expressed by the Chief of Staff General MacMahon when he somewhat plaintively stated that,

“Sitting here at this Inquiry listening to statement after statement being read, and witnesses being cross-examined, I cannot help feeling a sting of degradation when I reflect on the work of the years that have passed and sit here accused of having done something – although that something is not quite clear to anybody – to disrupt the Army and pull down the edifice we have spent so many years and so much energy in building up”.¹⁴



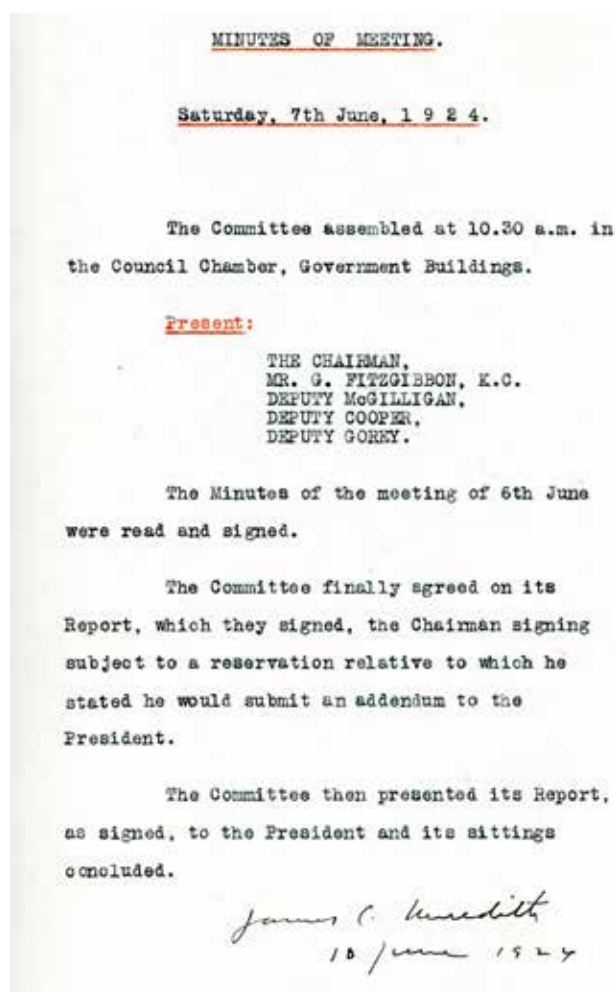
Much, much more of interest is to be found in the files of the collection, shedding light not just on the events of the mutiny but on the experiences of many participants in events before and leading up to the mutiny.

14 AMTY-03-027, 'Statement submitted by General Sean MacMahon to the Army Inquiry Committee'



General Sean MacMahon, former Chief of Staff and member of the Army Council.
(IE-MA-GPN-035-023, An tOglach Glass plate negatives)

The Committee delivered its report in, by present day inquiry standards, the remarkably short period of two months. Confusingly, it was presented as a unanimous report albeit that the Chairman James Creed Meredith felt it necessary to make his 'concurrence subject to a reservation as to completeness'.¹⁵



It found that the mutiny had been caused by a group formerly loyal to General Collins who resented their treatment during the difficult demobilisation process. It criticised the Army Council for allowing the reorganisation of the I.R.B. but found no evidence – befitting of a secret society – that membership or not of the I.R.B. had any influence on Army appointments. While it exonerated the Army Council of ‘muddling, mismanagement and incompetence in the administration of the Army’ the chairman’s lengthy addenda contained specific criticism of General Mulcahy. The chairman felt that events were conditioned by the ‘failure of the Minister of Defence to deal with the problem of the old I.R.A. officers in a direct and straightforward manner.’ Furthermore, on the charge of muddling and mismanagement, ‘he is not included in the exculpation specifically given to the ex-Chief of Staff.’¹⁶

These conclusions aided the Executive Council in closing the affair, evidenced by the almost complete lack of interest in the submission of the report to the Dáil and in General Mulcahy’s unsuccessful attempt to censure the government on the findings of the Committee. The sacking of the top military echelons - General MacMahon was eventually re-instated as a GOC– and their replacement went smoothly, and contributed greatly to the equally smooth transfer of obedience of the Army to the incoming 1932 Fianna Fáil Government. Major General Liam Tobin’s allegiance crossed over to the other side of the Civil War divide, and he was appointed by de Valera as superintendent of the Oireachtas in 1940.

15 IE-MA-04-002, ‘Report of the Army Inquiry Committee’, (Dublin, 1924)

16 AMTY-04-03, ‘Army Inquiry Committee Chairman’s Reservation to Committee’s Report 10 June 1924’



Lieutenant General Peadar MacMahon, Chief of Staff; General Eoin O 'Duffy, General Officer Commanding the Forces and President W.T. Cosgrave at the graveside of Wolfe Tone, Bodenstown, 22nd June 1924.

(IE-MA-GPN-046-020, An tOglach Glass plate negatives)

DEFENDERS OF THE STATE.

Ceremony of Swearing In the Army Chiefs at Government Buildings.

Simple, yet impressive, the ceremony of administering to the Senior Officers of the Army the oath of allegiance to the State, which took place at Government Buildings, Dublin, on Thursday, 9th inst., was remarkable for its brevity. It commenced at 3.17 p.m., and at 3.30 all who had participated in the ceremony were leaving the Council Chamber, where, five minutes later, a meeting of the Cabinet was being held.

The Council Chamber, a large austere room, with a long, dark table running down the centre, was thinly peopled for the occasion. In addition to the Officers concerned there were present:—The President (who presided), Mr. O'Higgins, Minister for Justice; Mr. Blythe, Minister for Finance; Mr. Desmond Fitzgerald, Minister for External Affairs; Mr. P. McGilligan, Minister for Industry and Commerce; Mr. E. J. Duggan, Parliamentary Secretary to the Executive Council; and Mr. J. O'Byrne, K.C., Attorney-General. A sprinkling of Pressmen stood at the end of the room opposite the President, and at the side between the tall windows looking out on the quadrangle, three photographers had arranged a table in a forlorn hope of securing pictures of the actual ceremony. A moment earlier brilliant sunshine had streamed in through those windows, but when the Chief of Staff stepped forward

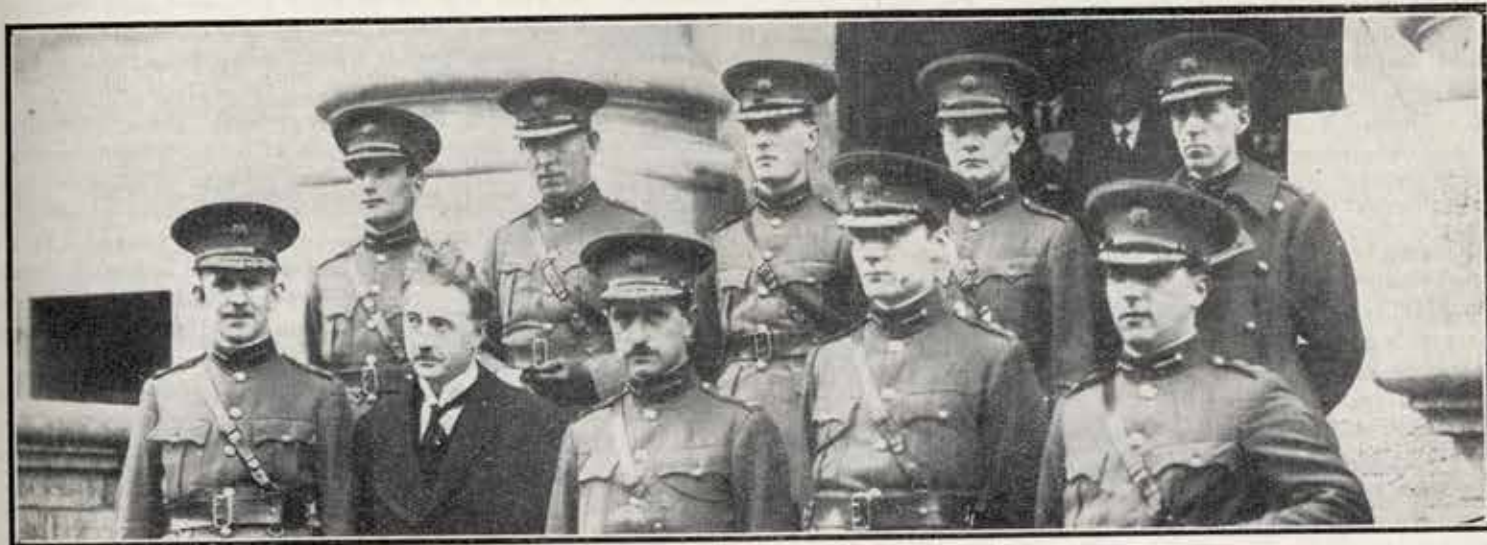
to administer the oath to the G.O.C.F., the light dimmed to a wintry greyness and remained so.

Holding the green-covered Testament in his right hand, and reading from the vellum copy of the oath which he held in his left, General Eoin O'Duffy pledged his fealty to the State in clear distinct tones, subsequently affixing his signature to the parchment. He then proceeded to administer the oath to the other Officers in the following order:—

Lieut.-General Peadar McMahon, Chief of Staff.
Major-General Hugo McNeill, Adjutant-General.
Major-General Felix Cronin, Q.M.G.
Major-General Sean McMahon, General Staff.
Major-General Ml. Brennan, G.O.C., Southern Command.
Major-General Daniel Hogan, G.O.C., Eastern Command.
Major-General Sean McKeon, G.O.C., Western Command.
Major-General Joseph Sweeney, G.O.C., Curragh.

A Guard of Honour was mounted outside the building and gave the salute on the arrival and departure of the Officers and members of the Government.

After the ceremony the Officers, at the request of the Editor of "An t-Oglach," kindly consented to be photographed at the entrance to the building.



Group photographed after the administration of the Oath of Allegiance to the State at Government Buildings, Dublin. Left to right (front row): General Eoin O'Duffy, G.O.C.F.; the President; Lieutenant-General Peadar MacMahon, Chief of Staff; Major-General H. MacNeill, Adjutant-General; Major-General Felix Cronin, Quartermaster-General. Back row: Major-General D. Hogan, Major-General Sean McKeon, Major-General Joseph Sweeney, Major-General M. Brennan and Major-General Sean MacMahon. ["Freeman's Journal" Photograph.]

THE DRUMS AND FIFES.

Drums and fifes were used in wars at a very early date, and from an ancient treatise on military music we learn that the players of those instruments had very onerous duties. "All captains," we are told, must have drums and fifes, and men to play the same, who should be faithful, secret, ingenious, of able personage to use their instruments, of sundry language, for oftentimes they are sent to parley with the enemy, to summon forts and towns, to redeem and conduct prisoners, and divers other messages which of necessity require languages. If such drums or fifes should fall into the hands of the enemy no gifts or threats should cause them to disclose any secret that they know; they must often practice their instruments, teach the company their sound of the march, alarm, approach, assault, battle, retreat, skirmish, or any other call that of necessity should be known."

PUNISHMENT BY DECIMATION.

Punishment was inflicted in a rather drastic fashion in by-gone days. When a large number of soldiers were concerned in a crime it was usual for the delinquents to be decimated. The manner in which this was carried out was as follows:—A number of slips equal to the number of men to be decimated were placed in a helmet, every tenth slip being marked with the letter D. The helmet was then shaken, and the men, filing singly from the right, passed the commanding officer, who held the helmet. As they passed each drew a slip and presented it to an officer placed to receive them. If the slip had the fatal mark the soldier was seized and taken to the rear, if he drew a blank slip he passed on and fell in with the other men who passed before him.

Conclusion

When I was a child, my late mother Mary Hodson, who lived to be 103, would tell me of how she worked as what we would now call an au pair for a family with young children. The family lived on Infirmary Road in Dublin close to GHQ. She enjoyed the work and got on very well with the family whom she continued to visit occasionally over the years. Her employment was abruptly ended however after she told my grandfather that she had seen the father of the family and other men burying ‘something’ in the back garden. My grandfather decided that ‘she was not brought up for that sort of carry-on’ and decided that she must leave. It was not until later when I applied to join the Cadet School that she told me that the Mr. Tobin she had worked for had been a General in the Army. I doubt that she ever appreciated the significance of the reference to secret societies in my commissioning oath that day in the Curragh on 11 October 1964.

It is probably unfortunate also that General Mulcahy did not fully appreciate that same significance when in his evidence, he reflected on the subject;

“Last year in the Dáil I refused an amendment, or a suggestion to put in a Clause, or some form of Oath that would forbid membership of Secret or Political Societies to Army officers and men. It was too soon to consider the matter and fully weigh possible consequences.¹⁷”

Perhaps if he had not delayed there would have been no Army Mutiny and no Army Inquiry Committee, but then we would not have had access to this outstanding window into our history.



President W.T. Cosgrave, General Richard Mulcahy, General Sean MacMahon (Chief of Staff) and Lieutenant General Gearóid O’Suilleavain (Adjutant General) at Wolfe Tone’s grave, Bodenstown, 24 June 1923.

(IE-MA-GPN-060-007: IE-MA-GPN-060-008, An tOglach Glass plate negatives)



Liam Tobin at the unveiling of a memorial at Tom Cullen's grave, Rathnew, Co. Wicklow, 19 June 1927.
(IE-MA-PRCN-04-02-15, Private collection of Vinny Byrne)



Captain M. Dunne, Captain Thomas Flood and Captain Vinny Byrne on the steps of Government buildings.
(IE-MA-PRCN-04-02-67, Private collection of Vinny Byrne)

O'Malley	Christopher	Colonel	as from 29 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		
Ryan	Jeremiah	Colonel	as from 21 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	V/General Officer Commanding, Waterford	5 Brigade
Slattery	James	Colonel	as from 29 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		
Thornton	Frank	Colonel	as from 29 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		
Brannock	Michael	Comdt.	as from 21 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	Officer Commanding 52 Bn, Claremorris	Reserve
Breslin	Edmund	Comdt.	as from 29 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		
Broderick	Seán	Comdt.	as from 29 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		
Byrne	Charles	Comdt.	as from 29 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		
Byrne	Vincent	Comdt.	as from 21 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	Officer Commanding 1 Bn, Dublin Command	Reserve
Compton	Henry	Comdt.	as from 21 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	Claremorris Command	Reserve
Conroy	James P.	Comdt.	as from 29 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		
Coughlan	Francis X.	Comdt.	as from 21 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	Department of General Staff	Intelligence
Curley	John K.	Comdt.	as from 1 April 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		
Dolan	Joseph	Comdt.	as from 29 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		
Donnelly	Thomas	Comdt.	as from 29 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		

18 List prepared by Staff Duties department, 12 April 1924
19 Cullen claimed he resigned on 25th March 1924 in a letter published in the Freeman's Journal, 3 April 1924.

Appendix 1

National Army Resignations (Officers) 9 March – 29 April 1924

█ Name appears on list with a remark that resignation was “due to crisis” (see list “B”, IE-MA-AMTY-02-003)¹⁸

Surname	Forename	Rank	Date of resignation and source	Appointment before reorganisation	Appointment after reorganisation
MacMahon	Seán	General	as from 20 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		
O’Muirthuille	Seán	Lt. General	as from 20 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		
O’Suilleavain	Seán	Lt. General	as from 20 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		
¹⁹ Cullen	Thomas	Maj. Gen	as from 14 April 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		
Ennis	Thomas	Maj. Gen	9 March 1924 (see MSPC 24SP7328)	i/c Inspection, General Headquarters	Unplaced
McSweeney	William	Maj. Gen.	as from 29 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		
O’Daly	Patrick	Maj. Gen	as from 21 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	General Officer Commanding, Kerry	Unplaced
Tobin	Liam	Maj. Gen.	as from 29 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		
Byrne	Bernard	Colonel	as from 21 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	V/General Officer Commanding, Cork	Commanding Officer, 3 Brigade
Dalton	Charles Francis	Colonel	as from 29 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		
Leonard	Joseph	Colonel	as from 21 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	Staff, Kerry	7 Brigade
McCrea	Patrick	Colonel	as from 29 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		

Murphy	Stephen Joseph	Comdt.	as from 29 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		
Neary	Seán	Comdt.	as from 21 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	26 Bn, Claremorris [Command]	Brigade Officer, 2 Brigade
Nolan	Seamus	Comdt.	as from 1 April 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		
O'Leary	Edward F.	Comdt.	as from 21 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	Artillery Corps	Reserve
O'Connell	Seán	Comdt.	as from 29 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		
O'Sullivan	Seán	Comdt.	as from 29 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	O.M.G [Quartermaster General] Department	Reserve
Roche	Seán	Comdt.	as from 29 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		
Surname	Forename	Rank	Date of resignation and source	Appointment before reorganisation	Appointment after reorganisation
Ryan	Patrick Joseph	Comdt.	as from 29 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		
Saurin	Francis	Comdt.	as from 21 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	Department of General Staff	Intelligence
Small	Michael	Comdt.	as from 14 April 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		
Toomey	Seán	Comdt.	as from 21 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	Governor 'B' Tintown Internment camp	Reserve
Ashton	George	Capt.	as from 29 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		
Boyle	Patrick Joseph	Capt.	as from 7 th April (Iris Oifigúil)	"A" Coy, 16 Bn, Dublin Command	Reserve
Breen	Seán	Capt.	as from 29 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		
Brennan	Michael Joseph	Capt.	as from 7 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	A.C.E [Army Corps of Engineers] Athlone Command	Unplaced

Surname	Forename	Rank	Date of resignation and source	Appointment before reorganisation	Appointment after reorganisation
Duffy	Luke	Comdt.	as from 21 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	44 Bn, Claremorris [Command]	Adjutant, 4 Brigade
Finnegan	Lee (Laurence)	Comdt.	as from 14 April 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	15 Bn, Cork Command	Reserve
Flood	Thomas	Comdt.	as from 29 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		
Flynn	John Joseph	Comdt.	as from 19 April 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		
Griffin	Patrick	Comdt.	as from 29 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		
Griffin	William	Comdt.	as from 29 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	Officer Commanding, 9 Bn, Kerry Command	Reserve
Heffernan	Liam	Comdt.	as from 1 April 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	51 Bn, Athlone Command	Reserve
Hunt	James	Comdt.	as from 21 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	Camp Comdt. Donegal Command	Reserve
Hurley	Jerome	Comdt.	as from 29 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		
Lalor	Anthony	Comdt.	as from 21 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	Camp Comdt. Waterford Command	Q.M, 20 Bn
Maguire	Michael	Comdt.	as from 21 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	A.C.E [Army Corps of Engineers]	District Engineer. Eng. District (2)
McCrea	James	Comdt.	as from 21 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	Officer Commanding, 50 Bn, Dublin Command	Reserve
McGrath	Edmund	Comdt.	as from 21 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	Staff, Waterford Command	"C" Coy. 19 Bn
Mullooly	Patrick	Comdt.	as from 7 April 1924 (Officers records). See also list "B", IE-MA-AMTY-02-003	Department of General Staff	Reserve
McGrath	Gabriel	Comdt.	as from 29 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		

Goulding	John A.	Capt.	as from 29 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		
Grace	John	Capt.	as from 21 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	38 Bn, Cork Command	"A" Coy, 15 Bn
Grey (Gray)	James	Capt.	as from 21 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	"B" Coy, 11 Bn	Reserve
Halpin	Robert	Capt.	as from 29 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		
Hamilton	David J.	Capt.	as from 29 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		
Hogan	Michael	Capt.	as from 21 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil). See also list "B", IE-MA-AMTY-02-003	"C" Coy, 36 Bn, Waterford Command	"D" Coy, 19 Bn
Horgan	John	Capt.	as from 29 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	6 Bn, S.I.C. [Special Infantry Corps]	"B" Coy, 26 Bn
Keane	Seán	Capt.	as from 21 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	A.G's [Adjutant General's] Department	Reserve
Kelly	Joseph	Capt.	as from 21 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	"A" Coy, 8 Bn, Dublin Command	Supplies, workshops and supply coy.
Kileen (or Killeen)	Andrew Bernard	Capt.	as from 1 April 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	A.C.E.	B.E.O [Battalion Engineering Officer]
Kerrigan	Richard	Capt.	as from 21 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	Q.M. 64 Bn, Dublin Command	Q.M. 23 Bn
Kilroy	Thomas	Capt.	as from 29 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	44 Bn, Claremorris [Command]	"A" Coy, 4 Bn
Lennon	Seán	Capt.	as from 21 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	44 Bn, Claremorris [Command]	"B" Coy, 4 Bn
Lennon	Thomas	Capt.	see list "B", IE-MA-AMTY-02-003 as from 29 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	Adjt. 45 Bn, Dublin Command	Assistant Adjt. 21 Bn
L'Estrange	Michael	Capt.	as from 29 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	"B" Coy, 44 Bn, Claremorris [Command]	Assistant Adjt. 6 Bn

Surname	Forename	Rank	Date of resignation and source	Appointment before reorganisation	Appointment after reorganisation
Breslin	William	Capt.	as from 29 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		
Byrne	Christopher	Capt.	as from 21 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	Q.M [Quartermaster], 16 Bn, Dublin Command	Reserve
Byrne	Joseph	Capt.	as from 21 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	2 i/c, Infantry Bn, Dublin Command	Reserve
Cawley	Thomas	Capt.	as from 21 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	Officer Commanding "C" Coy, 46 Bn	"A" Coy, 24 Bn
Conaty	Charles	Capt.	as from 29 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	"C" Coy, 48 Bn, Dublin Command	"A" Coy, 24 Bn
Conlon	Robert	Capt.	as from 29 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		
Crowley	John Thomas	Capt.	as from 14 April 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	M.O. Cork Command	Inspection Officer
Dalton	John	Capt.	as from 21 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	"C" Coy, 48 Bn, Dublin Command	"D" Coy, 23 Bn
Daly	William D.	Capt.	as from 21 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	A.C.E. [Army Corps of Engineers]	B.E.O [Battalion Engineering Officer]
Dominican (or Domigan)	John	Capt.	as from 21 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	2 i/c, 56 Bn, Dublin Command	Reserve
Doran	Michael	Capt.	as from 21 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	"B" Coy, 24 Bn, Dublin Command	"C" Coy, 23 Bn
Egan	Thomas	Capt.	as from 1 April 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	"B" Coy, 52 Bn, Claremorris [Command]	"C" Coy, 52 Bn, Claremorris [Command]
Flood	Peter	Capt.	as from 21 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	"C" Coy, 56 Bn, Dublin Command	Reserve
Foy	John	Capt.	as from 29 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		
Gantly	Joseph F.	Capt.	as from 21 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	A.C.E. [Army Corps of Engineers]	Stores Officer, Eng. District

O'Sullivan	Patrick	Capt.	"since army crisis began" (see list "B", IE-MA-AMTY-02-003)	Q.M. 2 Bn, S.I.C. [Special Infantry Corps]	Reserve
Redmond	Eoin N.	Capt.	as from 29 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	"A" Coy, 50 Bn, Dublin Command	"B" Coy, 22 Bn
Robinson	Christopher	Capt.	as from 29 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		
Robinson	Jeremiah	Capt.	as from 29 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		
Roche	Seán	Capt.	as from 21 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	I.O. Dublin Command	Reserve
Ryan	John	Capt.	as from 21 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	"D" Coy, 38 Bn, Cork Command	"B" Coy, 15 Bn
Tumbleton	Seán	Capt.	as from 21 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	Department of General Staff	Intelligence
Walpole	Robert Henry	Capt.	as from 19 April 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		
Whitty	Patrick	Capt.	as from 21 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	"B" Coy, 57 Bn, Dublin Command	Assistant Adjt. 22 Bn
Boles	Patrick	Lieut.	as from 29 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	I.O. 22 Bn, Athlone Command	Reserve
Brennan	Peter	Lieut.	as from 29 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		
Byrne	Ambrose	Lieut.	as from 21 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	A.G.'s Department	Reserve
Byrne	John	Lieut.	as from 21 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	Intelligence, General Headquarters	Unplaced
Cleary	John	Lieut.	as from 7 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	O.T.C Curragh	Reserve
Colleran	Edward	Lieut.	as from 21 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	M.G. [Machine Gun] Coy, 44 Bn, Claremorris [Command]	"C" Coy, 6 Bn
Couba	Thomas J.	Lieut.	as from 29 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		

Surname	Forename	Rank	Date of resignation and source	Appointment before reorganisation	Appointment after reorganisation
McCormack	John J.	Capt.	as from 21 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		
McCormack	Joseph	Capt.	as from 7 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	Q.M.'s Staff, Athlone Command	Unplaced
McGinley	Anthony	Capt.	as from 21 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	Ordnance Officer, Donegal Command	Reserve
Molloy	Joseph	Capt.	as from 29 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		
Mooney	Patrick	Capt.	as from 29 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	2 i/c 16 Bn, Dublin Command	Reserve
Murphy	James	Capt.	as from 29 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	Adjt, 21 Bn, Dublin Command	"B" Coy, 24 Bn
Murray	Michael	Capt.	as from 1 April 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		
Myles	William	Capt.	as from 21 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	2 i/c 64 Bn, Waterford Command	Q.M. [Quartermaster] 18 Bn
Nolan	Thomas	Capt.	as from 29 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		
[O] Carroll	Thomas	Capt.	as from 21 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	2 i/c, 24 Infantry Bn, Dublin Command	"D" Coy, 23 Bn
O'Doherty	Thomas	Capt.	as from 29 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	School of Music, Dublin Command	Reserve
O'Donnell	James H.	Capt.	as from 7 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	Adjt. 35 Bn, Donegal Command	Reserve
O'Donovan	Daniel	Capt.	as from 14 April 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	"A" Coy, 15 Bn, Cork Command	Reserve
O'Dwyer	James Kevin	Capt.	as from 29 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	Q.M. 18 Bn, Limerick Command	Reserve
O'Gorman	Patrick	Capt.	as from 21 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	"A" Coy, 36 Bn, Waterford Command	"D" Coy, 19 Bn

McLoughlin	Neil	Lieut.	as from 29 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		
Morris	James	Lieut.	as from 19 April 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		
Murray	John Joseph	Lieut.	as from 21 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		
O'Brien	Alfred	Lieut.	as from 21 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	A.P.C	Adjutant, A. Service Corps
O'Donnell	Michael	Lieut.	as from 14 April 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	M.G. Coy, 18 Bn, Limerick	Reserve
O'Donnell	Patrick	Lieut.	as from 14 April 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		
O'Donovan	Michael	Lieut.	as from 14 April 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	"C" Coy, 65 Bn, Cork	"D" Coy, 15 Bn
Surname	Forename	Rank	Date of resignation and source	Appointment before reorganisation	Appointment after reorganisation
O'Neill	Conn	Lieut.	as from 21 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	Intelligence, General Headquarters	Reserve
Robinson	Michael	Lieut.	as from 29 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		
Ryan	Peter	Lieut.	as from 19 April 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		
Sargent	Phillip	Lieut.	as from 19 April 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		
Sweeney	Daniel	Lieut.	as from 19 April 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		
Walsh	Michael Joseph	Lieut.	as from 14 April 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	A.M Corps [Army Medical Corps]	A.M Corps
Wylie	Patrick	Lieut.	as from 7 April 1924 (Officers records) . See also list "B", IE-MA-AMTY-02-003.	I.O, Dublin Command	Reserve

Surname	Forename	Rank	Date of resignation and source	Appointment before reorganisation	Appointment after reorganisation
Coughlan	Cornelius	Lieut.	as from 1 April 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		
Creighton	Patrick	Lieut.	as from 29 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	I.O. [Intelligence Officer] 55 Bn, Dublin Command	unplaced
Cronin	Denis	Lieut.	as from 14 April 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	O.T.C [Officer Training Corps]	Reserve
Doyle	James	Lieut.	as from 7 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil) (see a list "B", IE-MA-AMTY-02-003)	Arbour Hill detention barracks	Unplaced
Duggan	Edward	Lieut.	as from 14 April 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	M.O. 18 Bn	M.O. Brigade Coy, Army Medical Corps
Gallagher	Edward	Lieut.	as from 21 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	46 Bn, Donegal Command	"B" Coy, 2 Bn
Goodwin	John	Lieut.	as from 21 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	"C" Coy, 55 Dublin Command	Reserve
Hume	John	Lieut.	as from 29 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		
Kane	Robert	Lieut.	as from 19 April 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		
Kelly	Daniel	Lieut.	as from 29 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	P.O. 46 Bn, Donegal Command	Reserve
Keogh	William	Lieut.	as from 31 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		
Kerrigan	Patrick Joseph	Lieut.	as from 14 April 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		
Lynch	Thomas P.	Lieut.	as from 21 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	"A" Coy, 16 Bn	Reserve
McDarby	Joseph	Lieut.	as from 1 April 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		
McLoughlin	Edward Joseph	Lieut.	as from 29 March 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	"B" Coy, 13 Bn, Dublin Command	"A" Coy, 23 Bn

Surname	Forename	Rank	Date of resignation and source	Appointment before reorganisation	Appointment after reorganisation
Duhig	Joseph	2/Lieut.	as from 19 April 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		
Hanley	Rody	2/Lieut.	as from 19 April 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		
Lamb	Patrick	2/Lieut.	as from 19 April 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		
Murphy	John J.	2/Lieut.	since Army crisis began (see list "B", IE-MA-AMTY-02-003)	A.C.E. Dublin	Q.M. Eng. Dist. 3, A.C.E
Skelly	Robert	2/Lieut.	as from 1 April 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)	Asst. Adjt. 30 Bn, Cork Command	Reserve
Woods	Peter	2/Lieut.	as from 19 April 1924 (Iris Oifigúil)		

File note held in personal record of Commandant Thomas Flood (SDR/967)

OFFICE OF CHIEF OF GENERAL STAFF
Staff Duties Branch

RESIGNATION ACCEPTED

File No. *SDR/967*

Name *Kenneth Thomas Flood*

As from *29th March 1924*

For Appointment *Que to Reserve*

Date

4
E.L. 711-200 541.4776



Kevin O'Higgins, Patrick McGilligan and Eamon Duggan leaving an event with police guard and military band in attendance. c. 1922

(KEN3, Private papers of Hugh Kennedy. Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Ireland)

Appendix 2

Schedule of witnesses that appeared before the Army Inquiry committee

Date	Name of Witness	Rank or Position
1924		
April 9 th	C.B. O'Connor	Secretary, Ministry of Defence
April 10 th	C.B. O'Connor	Secretary, Ministry of Defence
April 10 th	Joseph McGrath	Deputy
April 11 th	Richard Mulcahy	Late Minister for Defence
April 14 th	C.B. O'Connor	Secretary, Ministry of Defence
April 15 th	C.B. O'Connor	Secretary, Ministry of Defence
April 16 th	Cahir Davitt	Colonel, Judge Advocate General
April 16 th	Jephson O'Connell	Colonel, Late G.S.O (2) Inspection Department
April 16 th	Michael Costello	Colonel, Director of Intelligence
April 16 th	Harry Murray	Captain, Ministry of Industry and Commerce
April 17 th	C.B. O'Connor	Secretary, Ministry of Defence
April 17 th	Thomas Ryan	Lieut-Colonel, late G.S.O (2) Training and Operations
April 22 nd	C.B. O'Connor	Secretary, Ministry of Defence
April 22 nd	Kevin O'Higgins	Minister for Justice
April 24 th	P. Hogan	Minister for Lands and Agriculture
April 24 th	Cahir Davitt	Colonel, Judge Advocate General
April 24 th	Harry Murphy	Captain, Ministry of Industry and Commerce
April 28 th	C.B. O'Connor	Secretary, Ministry of Defence
April 28 th	Frederick Henry	Colonel, Officer i/c Discipline
April 28 th	Michael Costello	Colonel, Director of Intelligence
April 28 th	James Hogan	Professor, formerly Major General, Director of Intelligence
April 29 th	Jephson O'Connell	Colonel, late G.S.O (2) Inspection Department
April 29 th	Thomas Ryan	Lieut-Colonel, late G.S.O (2) Training and Operations
April 29 th	Richard Mulcahy	Late Minister for Defence
May 2 nd	Frederick Henry	Colonel, Officer i/c Discipline
May 6 th	Jephson O'Connell	Colonel, late G.S.O (2) Inspection Department

May 8 th	Jephson O'Connell	do.do.
May 9 th	Charles F. Russell	Colonel – Comdt. Officer Commanding Army Corps of Engineers
May 10 th	Thomas J. Corcoran	Ex-Captain
May 10 th	Charles F. Russell	Colonel – Comdt. Officer Commanding Army Corps of Engineers
May 10 th	D. Neligan	Colonel, late Director of Intelligence
May 12 th	J.J. O'Connell	Colonel
May 12 th	James Hogan	Professor, formerly Major General, Director of Intelligence
May 12 th	Frederick Henry	Colonel, Officer i/c Discipline
May 12 th	Charles F. Russell	Colonel – Comdt. Officer Commanding Army Corps of Engineers
May 12 th	W. Stapleton	Major, A.M.C.
May 13 th	Martin Nolan	Ex-Captain
May 13 th	E. Broy	Colonel, Secretary to Commissioner, D.M.P.
May 13 th	James Hogan	Professor, formerly Major General, Director of Intelligence
May 13 th	Thomas Corcoran	Ex-Captain
May 14 th	Robert J. Page	Ex-Lieutenant
May 14 th	Gearóid O'Suilleavain	Late Adjutant-General
May 15 th	Gearóid O'Suilleavain	do.
May 15 th	Seán O' Muirthuille	Late Quartermaster General
May 16 th	Seán O' Muirthuille	do.
May 16 th	Seán MacMahon	Late Chief of Staff
May 17 th	Seán MacMahon	do.
May 19 th	Denis Cronin	Ex-Captain
May 19 th	Seán MacMahon	Late Chief of Staff
May 19 th	Richard Mulcahy	Late Minister for Defence
May 20 th	Richard Mulcahy	do.
May 22 nd	John Cullen	Ex-Private
May 23 rd	Seamus Woods	Colonel
May 23 rd	Eoin MacNeill	Minister for Education
May 24 th	Richard Mulcahy	Late Minister for Defence

Appendix 3

Papers of the Army Inquiry Committee

Reference code:	IE-MA-AMTY
Title:	Papers of the Army Inquiry Committee (1924)
Dates:	December 1923 – June 1924
Level of description:	Fonds
Extent:	12 Boxes
Creator (s):	Army Inquiry Committee General Headquarters staff (National Army)

Scope and Content:

- AMTY- 01** **Papers of the Cabinet Committee** established to investigate claims for reinstatement by demobilised Officers (December 1923 - March 1924). **Fifty nine (59)** files mostly containing application forms completed by Officers that were demobilised as consequence of Army reorganisation and demobilisation measures. Files also contain related correspondence between the Secretary, Minister of Defence, the Secretary, Cabinet Committee and members of the Cabinet Committee.
- AMTY - 02** **Army Inquiry Committee** - establishment and preliminaries. **Three (3)** files containing paperwork on the setting up of the Committee
- AMTY - 03** **Army Inquiry Committee** - hearings and statements. **Seventy two (72)** files containing record of evidence produced in line with the appearance of witnesses before the Army Inquiry Committee. Includes supplementary statements and questionnaires supplied by witnesses and related correspondence between Committee members and witnesses.
- AMTY - 04** **Army Inquiry Committee** - Administration and report. **Six (6)** files containing draft reports and final report. With bound volume containing minutes of Committee meetings signed by Committee Chairman.
- AMTY - 05** **Army Inquiry Committee**. **Seven (7)** files containing press reports compiled by the Army's Intelligence Department on the Army Inquiry Committee.

Access conditions

- Access:** Available by appointment
- Finding aid:** Descriptive list (digital and hardcopy available)