PDST
Professional Development Service for Teachers | An tSeirbhís um Fhorbairt Ghairmiúil do Mhúinteoirí

Subject Support
Transition Year and Leaving Certificate

Teaching the Irish Civil War, 1922-1923

Applying the lessons of research on teaching emotive and controversial history to develop senior cycle students' ability to think critically about a historically contentious episode

November 2019

Note: Every effort has been made to ensure the accuracy of the historical data contained herein. Any inadvertent errors are regretted.

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LEAVING CERTIFICATE HISTORY

TEACHING THE IRISH CIVIL WAR 1922-1923

Applying the lessons of research on teaching emotive and controversial history to develop senior cycle students' ability to think critically

Introduction

The Republic of Ireland – the state of which we are citizens – evolved from the Irish Free State which came into existence, constitutionally and legally, on 6 December 1922, the first anniversary of the signing in London of the 'Articles of Agreement' for the international treaty which became known as the Anglo-Irish Treaty, 1921.

By the time the state came into legal existence, however, armed conflict had developed between those elements of Sinn Féin and the IRA that supported the Treaty settlement and those that opposed it. That armed conflict has become known as the Irish civil war. While those who engaged in armed struggle – either in opposition to the new state or in defence of it – often held passionate views on what was referred to as the 'national question', for other Irish people, a desire for peaceful living and a resumption of normal economic activity was a more pressing consideration.

If we take seriously the findings of research on teaching emotive and controversial history, it is important that we attempt to explore the 'multiple narratives' that surround the political and armed conflict of 1922-1923. It is also important that we follow an enquiry-based approach that seeks understanding on the basis of evidence explored. Primary sources – the 'raw material' of history – can help to bring students closer to the realities of what is being studied; secondary source extracts can supply valuable insights from historians who have examined a wider range of evidence than is feasible for hard-pressed history teachers and their students.

Why was there a 'civil war' in Ireland in 1922-1923? Who was involved? What were their motivations? What about those who were not directly involved? Why does this still matter today? These are some of the questions that students may wish to explore with their teachers. In exploring such issues with students, we have a great opportunity to develop their ability to think critically, which is one of the stated objectives of the syllabus, and an increasingly cherished aim of senior cycle education.

At previous history in-service sessions, it has been argued that some of the best ways in which students' critical thinking can be generated include:

- the use of the enquiry-focused approach
- the use of a multi-perspective approach
- the use of 'critical skills' exercises that involve group discussion and judgement-forming

All three approaches are drawn on in the pages that follow.

Note: This booklet is intended as a companion volume to the PDST booklet, *Teaching the period 1919-1923 in Irish history* and draws on some material from that resource.

Research on teaching emotive and controversial history

There is an extensive, and growing, literature on the teaching of controversial issues in history. *The Guided Reader to Teaching and Learning History* (2014) devotes a chapter (Chapter 6, pp. 65-76) to 'Teaching controversial, emotional and moral issues in history'. Some of this research relates to the teaching of the Holocaust; other studies relate to the teaching of history in countries and societies riven by conflict and ethnic division, such as Rwanda and Cyprus. In an Irish context, one of the pioneers in this area is Alan McCully – formerly of the University of Ulster – much of whose work was conducted during the course of the 'Troubles' in Northern Ireland.

The following is a representative selection of books, articles and reports that address the issues raised by the teaching of emotive and controversial history:

Barton, K.C. and Levstik, L.S. (2004) *Teaching History for the Common Good.* London: Laurence Erlbaum Associates.
Claire, H. and Holden, C. (2007) *The Challenge of Teaching Controversial Issues.* Stoke-on-Trent: Trentham Books.
Cole, E. (2007) *Teaching the Violent Past.* Plymouth: Rowan and Littlefield.
Davies, I. (ed.) (2000) *Teaching the Holocaust.* London: Continuum.
Freedman, S.W., Weinstein, H.M., Murphy, K. and Longman, T. (2008) Teaching history after identity-based conflicts: the Rwanda experience. *Comparative Education Review* 52:4, 683-689
Harris, R., Burn, K. and Wolley, M. (2014) *The Guided Approach to Teaching and Learning History.* London: Routledge, See, especially, Ch.6, pp. 65-76.
Harris, R. and Clarke, G. (2011) Embracing diversity in the history curriculum: A study of the challenges facing trainee teachers. *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 41 (2), 159-75
Historical Association (2007) *Teaching Emotive and Controversial History 3-19.* London: Historical Association. [TEACH report]
Kello, K. (2015) Sensitive and controversial issues in the classroom: teaching history in a divided society. *Teachers and Teaching*, 22:1, 35-53
McCully, A. (2012) History teaching, conflict and the legacy of the past. *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*, 7 (2), 145-159
Stradling, R. (2003) *Multiperspectivity in History Teaching: A Guide for Teachers.* Strasbourg: Council of Europe
Zembylas, M. and Kambani, F. (2012) The teaching of controversial issues during elementary-level history instruction: Greek-Cypriot teachers' perceptions and emotions. *Theory & Research in Social Education*, 40:2, 107-133

In an earlier (2017) booklet on teaching the period, 1919-1923, some pointers from the 2007 Historical Association TEACH report were explored. These pointers are reproduced on the following two pages for ease of reference.

Some pointers from the Executive Summary of the TEACH report 2007
TEACH: a report from the Historical Association on the challenges and opportunities for teaching emotive and controversial history 3-19

Good practice results when:

- There is a clarity of purpose and a rationale for the school that emphasises identity, values and diversity;
- History is taught both as a body and as a form of knowledge. The best practice places a high premium on planning, ensuring that the work has the right blend of content and hard thinking appropriate to the ages and ability;
- There is a strong emphasis on independent enquiry with its own procedures and conventions, ensuring that emotive and controversial issues are taught within a secure pedagogical and historic framework. The importance of good questioning is paramount;
- The planning and delivery builds in sufficient time and opportunities to reflect and to cover the different perspectives and beliefs involved. Where done fleetingly, learners failed to grasp the historical problem;
- The teaching matches clarity with a recognition of the complexity of emotive and controversial history;
- An emphasis on exploring multiple narratives and the past from different perspectives. The teaching of emotive and controversial history is seriously compromised if students do not see history as a subject that is open to debate and argument as they study different and competing views of the same events;
- Balance is heeded across a theme or topic and across a key stage;
- Learners are exposed to a rich variety of appropriate and stimulating resources, such as music, film and pictures. Quality resources can be a means of making personal engagement more likely.

TEACH REPORT 2007, p.5

Questions for reflection with colleagues

1. Do we have a clarity of purpose in teaching the period 1919-1923?
2. At school level, is there a focus on identity, values and diversity?
3. Do we teach history as a form of knowledge as well as a body of knowledge?
4. In our planning, do we strive to ensure that there is an adequate balance of content and 'hard thinking' appropriate to the age level of our students?
5. Do we have a strong emphasis on enquiry to ensure that issues are taught within a secure pedagogical and historical framework?
6. Does our practice embed the principle that good questioning is paramount in the history classroom?
7. Do we plan to build in sufficient time to address the different perspectives and beliefs involved – so that the problematic nature of history emerges and students realise that there are no easy answers?
8. In planning for clarity, are we careful also to convey the complexity of the issues involved?
9. Are we committed to exploring with our students the multiple narratives and the different perspectives on the period 1922-1923?
10. Are we committed to the principle of balance in seeking to explore with students the various events and issues of the period?
11. Are we committed to exposing students to a wide variety of appropriate and stimulating resources such as music, film and still images as part of our strategy to ensure their personal engagement?
12. Are there other ways in which we can strive to ensure the personal engagement of our students in the matters under discussion?

Notes:

Some insights from the work of Alan McCully

As previously mentioned, the work of Alan McCully, in a Northern Ireland context, also yields rich insights into the teaching of controversial history. In his 2012 paper, 'History teaching, conflict and the legacy of the past', McCully sketches the origins of the enquiry-focused and multiple perspective model of history in the Schools' History Project (SHP) in England in the 1960s, and he characterises the approach thus:

> It focuses on students developing the skills and concepts to enable them to investigate the past through the examination of primary and secondary evidence and to treat any narrative of the past as provisional and open to question. Thus, they are encouraged to view history as process orientated, to recognize that actors in the past often saw events differently and to evaluate differing (and conflicting) interpretations in the light of available evidence. p.148

McCully reports that research on its impact in Northern Ireland indicates that "a process, enquiry-based model of history education has some potential to challenge politically and emotionally charged group narratives and thus contribute to peace-building." He also argues that young people value the approach, "even though pedagogy lags behind curriculum intention." He goes on to identify four strengths of the approach as he sees it:

> First, it provides students with a foundation in critical analysis; second, it encourages them to recognize that the interpretation of the evidence of the past is a discursive and constructivist process in which alternative versions vie for recognition; third, it fosters empathetic understanding, or caring, for others; and fourth, it promotes democratic values. p.151

An important issue addressed by McCully is the use of textbooks in the history classroom. What role, if any, do textbooks have to play in supporting "a process, enquiry-based model of history education"? McCully argues that

> Textbooks can (with difficulty?) incorporate enquiry and multi-perspectivity but it may be that an over-reliance on the textbook is, itself, indicative of a more traditional mindset toward history teaching. In Northern Ireland a multi-resource approach has evolved in which the textbook is regarded as one source of information, open to scrutiny like all the others. p.152

Is the latter a trend with which we, in this jurisdiction, can identify?

In his conclusion, McCully argues that a number of questions require further study in the on-going deliberation on how best to teach emotive and controversial history; one of these questions is:

> [In] explaining conflict, how do educators represent a full range of views, thus avoiding a simplistic stereotyping of the past into 'two' sides? p.157

It is hoped that the current workshop will help teachers in addressing this question in the context of the civil war, as the centenary of that historical episode approaches.

Some further points for reflection/ discussion

McCully (2012), p.148

- McCully refers to "any narrative of the past as provisional and open to question". Are we aware that the Leaving Certificate History syllabus (p.6) refers to the "provisional nature of historical knowledge"? What are the implications of this for the way we teach history in senior cycle?

McCully (2012), p.151

- McCully identifies four strengths of a process, enquiry-based model of history teaching. To what extent do the benefits identified resonate with our own experience? Can we see the potential for achieving the benefits McCully mentions through a firm commitment to this manner of teaching? Are there any potential constraints that we need to consider?

McCully (2012), p.152

- Are there any further observations we would wish to make regarding McCully's comments on "over-reliance on the textbook", and the development of a multi-resource approach where the textbook is one among a number of sources and subject to scrutiny like the other sources?

McCully (2012), p.157

- In the conclusion to his paper, McCully asks, "In explaining conflict, how do educators represent a full range of views, thus avoiding a simplistic stereotyping of the past into 'two' sides?" Any initial thoughts on how this might be achieved?

Notes:

Some pointers from the Expert Advisory Group on Commemorations
Decade of Centenaries, Second Phase Guidance, 2018-2023

Some core principles are re-affirmed e.g.

- *The aim of commemoration should be to broaden sympathies without having to abandon loyalties ...*
- *... it is important not to forget the bloodshed and deep antagonism of these years. While few eyewitnesses survive, the memories remain vivid in some communities and families ...*
- *We should also be conscious that on this island we have a common history but not a common memory of these shaping events.* pp.3-6

Reflecting on the submissions made to the advisory group:

- *Historical authenticity was a recurring theme in the submissions received, highlighting the importance of ongoing research at national and local level; of free public access to authentic historical sources; and the collection and preservation of oral histories, stories, personal papers and ephemera from the period for future generations.* pp.7-8

Some observations on the civil war specifically:

- *... reconciliation requires the need, amongst other things, to confront the atrocities committed during the conflict.*
- *The consequences of the actions on all sides, and the depth, sincerity, or sometimes anger and sense of retribution underpinning those actions, needs to be confronted ...*
- *There are also opportunities to broaden the parameters of our understanding, highlight new information, and expose propaganda masquerading as history and deliberate selectiveness serving contemporary political needs at the expense of evidence and nuance.* pp.11-12

Some points for reflection on the above in teaching about the civil war

- How can we help to broaden students' sympathies?
- In recalling the "bloodshed and deep antagonism of these years", what sensitivities do we need to observe, and how do we do this whilst focusing at the same time on historical authenticity?
- How, as history teachers, do we "confront the atrocities committed during the conflict"?
- How, as history teachers, do we
    - "broaden the parameters of our understanding"?
    - "expose propaganda masquerading as history"?
    - "expose deliberate selectiveness serving contemporary political needs"?
    - value "evidence and nuance" in our teaching?

The enquiry-focused approach

The enquiry-focused approach involves organising a set of lessons around an enquiry question on which the teaching and learning activities are focused. It aims to give a clear focus to a series of lessons, to clarify for all concerned what the learning purposes are and to ensure that the sequence of lessons is leading to improved understanding on the part of the students.

In her book, *The Twentieth Century World* (The Historical Association, 1997), Christine Counsell outlines the rationale behind the approach. The following is an edited extract:

> Choosing a sequence of interesting historical enquiries gives a clear focus to any scheme of work. This approach has a number of advantages:
>
> (i) It prevents a superficial run through the content and leads pupils into deeper levels of historical understanding.
>
> (ii) It allows students to engage in real historical debate. Historians usually begin with a question.
>
> (iii) It motivates students by giving a clear focus to their work. Identifying key questions is a powerful way of 'sharing clarity with learners'. Teachers are thus reinforcing that the whole point of a sequence of lessons or activities is to build towards some attempt at answering the question. Some teachers who use this approach will refer to such a question in every single lesson. Pupils are constantly reminded of what they are trying to do and why.
>
> (iv) Key questions can shape and limit an otherwise sprawling content.
>
> (v) It encourages pupils to produce more substantial and significant outcomes at the end of a section of work. (pp.30-31)

All of the above factors, identified as advantages by Counsell, are worthy of consideration and deliberation. Note the emphasis on "deeper levels of understanding", "real historical debate", "clear focus", "key questions" and "more substantial outcomes". The pages that follow are intended to supply the resources and exemplify the methodological approaches whereby these advantages may be achieved in practice.

Given the importance of questioning in teaching and learning, it may be helpful to focus on point (iv),

"Key questions can shape and limit an otherwise sprawling content."

What aspects of your own experience would you bring to bear in considering and discussing this statement?

Examples of enquiry questions that have helped to "shape and limit an otherwise sprawling content" include:

- Why did the United States spend a lot of time and money during the 1960s on the preparations that led to the Moon landing, 1969?
- What role did the Vietnam War play in Lyndon Johnson's decision not to seek re-election in 1968?
- Why did Rosa Parks' refusal to give up her bus seat spark a national controversy?

A multi-perspective approach

The benefits of adopting a multi-perspective approach are set out in the Leaving Certificate History *Guidelines for Teachers* as follows:

> **Rationale**
> A multi-perspective approach can help students to grasp some of the key points that underlie the syllabus objectives, e.g.
>
> - that there is not necessarily one correct version of a particular historical event
> - that the same historical event can be described and explained in different ways depending on the standpoint of (for example) the eye-witness or historian
> - that the same piece of evidence may be interpreted differently by different historians
> - that few historical sources of evidence can be deemed to be totally impartial, and that the context in which they were produced must always be taken into consideration.

The *Guidelines* go on to identify the following 'teaching implications' of the approach:

> **Teaching implications**
> Firstly, the teacher will need a range of texts or other sources that display different perspectives on the historical phenomena under investigation. Secondly, the teacher will need to direct students in identifying similarities and differences in the accounts. If students are to understand particular viewpoints on an historical episode, they will need to be provided with a context, i.e. where the holders of a particular viewpoint are 'coming from'; what their political, economic, social or cultural circumstances are, and what are their specific objectives and priorities. Thirdly, the teacher will need to assist students in relating one perspective to another so that a more rounded and complete picture emerges. While the approach involves exposure to different perspectives, it also involves the development of analytical skills and a way of thinking historically that is always conscious of alternative viewpoints.

In his book, *Teaching 20th-century European History* (Council of Europe, 2001), Robert Stradling writes that

> Multi-perspectivity, within the context of history and history teaching, aims to achieve three things:
>
> - to gain a more comprehensive and broader understanding of historical events and developments by taking into account the similarities and differences in the accounts and the perspectives of all the parties involved;
> - to gain a deeper understanding of the historical relationships between nations, or cross-border neighbours, or majorities and minorities within national borders;
> - to gain a clearer picture of the dynamics of what happened through examining the interactions between the people and groups involved and their interdependence.

Discussion point: What is the relevance of each of the above bullet points to the study of the Irish civil war, 1922-1923?

Linking your teaching to the National Literacy and Numeracy Strategy

The following quote comes from *Literacy and Numeracy for Learning and Life: The National Strategy to Improve Literacy and Numeracy among Children and Young People* (Department of Education and Skills, 2011, p.8)

> Traditionally we have thought about **literacy** as the skills of reading and writing; but today our understanding of literacy encompasses much more than that. **Literacy includes the capacity to read, understand and critically appreciate various forms of communication including spoken language, printed text, broadcast media, and digital media.** Throughout this document, when we refer to "literacy" we mean this broader understanding of the skill, including speaking and listening, as well as communication using not only traditional writing and print but also digital media.

The student activities set down in this resource are designed to improve students' "capacity to read, understand and critically appreciate various forms of communication including spoken language, printed text, broadcast media, and digital media."

As the literacy strategy makes clear, a key element in developing literacy is promoting students' listening, talking, reading and writing skills, as well as their ability to critically assess visual images and other broadcast material. Some of the ways in which material from this booklet can be used to achieve these objectives are as follows:

- The questions/points for discussion that follow the sources are intended to form the basis for purposeful discussion among students and educative interaction between teacher and students. As well as promoting literacy, the teaching and learning conversation which this type of interaction underlies is a key component of all strategies for promoting assessment for learning in the classroom.

- The enquiry approach exemplified in this resource is designed to keep the learning outcomes constantly in the forefront of students' minds. This is important in all strategies to improve literacy and is a key component of strategies for assessment for learning.

- The critical skills exercise is a type of card sorting exercise which helps to develop students listening skills and oral skills, as well as their ability to think critically.

- The importance of consolidating learning through carefully-designed written tasks is fundamental to student learning. The enquiry approach exemplified here concludes with an activity for students: "Your conclusions on the enquiry". Also, some of the "Questions and points for discussion" set down for each step of the enquiry can be used as the basis for written tasks as deemed appropriate by the teacher.

The elements of *Literacy and Numeracy for Learning and Life* relating to numeracy identify the need to enable young people "to think and communicate quantitatively, to make sense of data, to have a spatial awareness, to understand patterns and sequences, and to recognise situations where mathematical reasoning can be applied to solve problems." All of these are relevant to the teaching of the 1922-1923 period e.g. in assessing the numbers of cabinet members and TDs supporting and opposing the Treaty; in identifying areas of most intensive conflict in the civil war; in identifying the sequence of events leading to civil war; and in contrasting numbers of fatalities in civil war with other conflicts.

The civil war, 1922-1923, and its aftermath: an overview

The civil war was fought between the anti-Treaty and pro-Treaty sections of Sinn Féin and the IRA, previously united under the leadership of Éamon de Valera. Whilst the Dáil voted to accept the Treaty in January 1922 and this was supported by a majority of the population, the Treaty was rejected by a significant minority of Sinn Féin and a majority of the IRA. The pro-Treaty side, led by Michael Collins and Arthur Griffith – and, after their deaths, by W.T. Cosgrave – set up a provisional government and a new national army which many pro-Treaty IRA men joined. In 1923 W.T. Cosgrave set up a new party, Cumann na nGaedheal. Politically, the anti-Treaty side retained the name Sinn Féin. While de Valera remained the political leader of the dissidents, he exerted little influence on the military wing, whose members were referred to in newspaper reports as 'Irregulars'.

For months, efforts were made to avoid all-out conflict, and some collaboration took place between the two wings of the IRA in opposing the new Northern government. However, matters came to a head when Rory O'Connor and other anti-Treaty IRA men seized the Four Courts building in Dublin in April 1922 and the deputy chief of staff of the new national army, J.J. ('Ginger') O'Connell, was kidnapped and lodged in the building in June. On 28 June, government forces attacked and the civil war was well and truly underway.

In Dublin, the fighting was over in less than two weeks and government troops controlled all urban areas by the end of August. The IRA then resorted to the guerrilla tactics employed during the war of independence. This time around, however, many were facing former colleagues who had an equal acquaintance with the terrain and 'safe' houses were harder to find. In terms of leadership, Michael Collins stepped down as chairman of the provisional government to become commander-in-chief of the new Free State army and served as a significant rallying point for the pro-Treaty side. Liam Lynch was nominal military commander of the anti-Treaty IRA but most IRA units operated under local commanders with little overall coordination.

After the shooting of Michael Collins in August, the war became more bitter. The government adopted strong measures to bring the fighting to an end, including internment and the introduction of the death penalty for carrying firearms. On 24 November, Erskine Childers, a strong critic of the government's actions in his role as head of the Republican Publicity Department, was executed for possession of a gun (ironically, one given to him by Michael Collins). This prompted Liam Lynch to order attacks on key government supporters. When pro-Treaty TD, Seán Hales, was shot dead in Dublin on 7 December, the government responded by executing four prisoners who had been held since the attack on the Four Courts: Rory O'Connor, Liam Mellows, Joe McKelvey and Dick Barrett. The fighting did not end until after the death of Liam Lynch in April 1923: the new chief of staff, Frank Aiken, called an end to hostilities on 24 May. It should be noted that the war, begun without any formal declaration of war, ended without a negotiated peace.

Although relatively brief in duration (June 1922-May 1923), the civil war was a bloody and bitter conflict, deepening divisions which were long-lasting and destructive. It has been calculated that more Irish people were killed by fellow Irish people during the civil war than were killed by British forces during the entire two and a half years of the War of Independence[1].

The depth of civil war divisions had a lasting impact on the political scene. The Fianna Fáil party established by de Valera in 1926 and the Fine Gael party which succeeded the Cumann na nGaedheal party in 1933 have been dominant players in Irish electoral politics ever since.

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[1] Francis Costello (2003), *The Irish Revolution and its Aftermath, 1916-1923.* Dublin: The Irish Academic Press, p.317.

Glossary of important terms: develop your historical literacy

Articles of Agreement for a Treaty, 6 December 1921
The Treaty negotiations concluded in the early hours of the morning of 6 December 1921 when the British government and Sinn Féin delegations signed what were described as 'Articles of Agreement' for a Treaty. Before the terms of the Treaty could become effective they needed the approval of both the Dáil and the Westminster parliament. The Dáil voted in favour by 64 votes to 57 on 7 January 1922 and the Westminster parliament approved the terms in March. As a consequence, the Irish Free State came into existence on 6 December 1922, one year after the signing of the 'Articles of Agreement' in London.

Cumann na mBan
Cumann na mBan (The Women's League) was established in 1914 and became the women's auxiliary corps to the Irish Volunteers. Some members resented the apparently subordinate status to the male leaders of the Volunteers. The radicalism of Cumann na mBan was evident when the vast majority of its members supported the Irish Volunteers when the Volunteer movement split in 1914. The corps was active in the 1916 Rising as nurses, despatch-carriers and in other supporting roles, though not as combatants. Between 1916 and 1918, members played an important role in promoting a cult of the dead leaders of 1916 through commemorative events, as well as raising money for prisoners and their dependants, canvassing for the 1918 elections and opposing conscription. During the war of independence they hid arms, provided safe houses and helped to run the Dáil courts. Most members opposed the Treaty; at least 400 members were imprisoned during the civil war.

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Firstdail.jpg
Members of the First Dáil: photograph taken at the Mansion House, 10 April, 1919

Dáil Éireann
'Dáil Éireann' was the name given to the assembly established in Dublin in 1919 by the elected Sinn Féin MPs who refused to take their seats in the Westminster parliament: henceforth, these members of parliament were known as Teachtaí Dála (Members of the assembly) or TDs. The assembly was unicameral i.e. it had only one chamber. (There was no upper house: no Senate or House of Lords.)

The first Dáil met between January 1919 and May 1921. Elections in May 1921 led to the establishment of a second Dáil which met between August 1921 and June 1922. Following adoption of the Treaty, the elections of June 1922 led to the convening of a new assembly which met between September and December 1922: this assembly, sometimes called the third Dáil, was boycotted by republicans.

With the adoption of the constitution of the Irish Free State in December 1922, a bicameral (two chamber) system was adopted which persists to this day, with the Dáil as the more representative and more powerful of the two houses of the Oireachtas (legislature).

Dominion status
The term was used to describe the degree of autonomy or self-determination granted to former colonies of the British Empire which retained allegiance to the British crown. The areas in question were areas of extensive white settlement. Prior to World War I, the following had attained this status: Canada (1867); Australia (1901); New Zealand (1907); and South Africa (1910). The term 'dominion' was applied to Canada and New Zealand; Australia preferred the term 'Commonwealth' and South Africa the term 'Union'.

The conception of 'dominion status' was extended by the Anglo-Irish Treaty, in that the Irish Free State was granted full fiscal autonomy and the wording of the Oath of Allegiance placed the Constitution of the Irish Free State before the king. The 1930 Statute of Westminster recognised the right of the dominions to full control of their own domestic and foreign affairs.

Dublin Guard
The first uniformed contingent of the new Free State army was the Dublin Guard which was based at Beggars Bush barracks. Its leader was Paddy O'Daly who had previously led Collins's Squad, and a number of other members of that group were also officers. Under the overall operational command of Emmet Dalton, O'Daly led the attack on the Four Courts garrison in June 1922 and, subsequently, the assault on positions in O'Connell Street occupied by members of the anti-Treaty IRA. It was the Dublin Guard's involvement in the subsequent war of attrition in Kerry that proved most controversial. In attempting to 'root out' anti-Treaty fighters, prisoners were often treated brutally: there were more summary executions of prisoners in Kerry than in any other area of fighting during the civil war. Following the booby-trap killings of five Free State soldiers at Knockagoshel on 6 March 1923, the subsequent killing of seventeen prisoners in mined explosions – including the eight killed at Ballyseedy – is generally accepted as a reprisal sanctioned by O'Daly.

Guerrilla warfare
This is a form of irregular warfare involving ambushes, raids, 'hit-and-run' tactics and other strategies that are suited to a situation where a relatively small or relatively weak number of fighters takes on a more powerful and, usually, traditional military force. Guerrillas, as in the Irish war of independence, frequently have the advantage of fighting on home territory against a force which is fighting on unfamiliar territory. In the civil war of 1922-1923, however, this advantage was mitigated by the fact that members of the new national army were frequently former IRA colleagues, or others with local knowledge who knew the terrain equally well.

Irish Volunteers / Irish Republican Army (IRA)
The Irish Volunteers were founded at the Rotunda meeting rooms in Dublin in November 1913. In an article in the Gaelic League newspaper, *An Claidheamh Soluis*, under the headline, 'The North began', Eoin MacNeill had called on nationalists to arm themselves to defend home rule following the formation of the Ulster Volunteer Force which was committed to opposing home rule. From the beginning, members of the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) – the secret, oath-bound organisation committed to armed rebellion – were active in its ranks, particularly at officer level. In June 1914 John Redmond, leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party, won substantial control of the organisation. Following the outbreak of World War I, Redmond called on members to support the war effort and this led to a split in the organisation. The majority of the 160,000 Volunteers supported Redmond and now became the National Volunteers. Those who opposed Redmond's call retained the name Irish Volunteers and Eoin MacNeill became their leader. Unknown to MacNeill, IRB members who held leadership roles in the organisation now began to plan a rebellion.

Reorganised after the 1916 Rising, the Irish Volunteers were closely aligned with the revitalised, 'second' Sinn Féin party, with Éamon de Valera assuming the leadership of both movements. Public drilling brought the Volunteers into conflict with the British authorities and strains developed between the political and military wings of the independence movement. Increasingly, violent action was taken on the initiative of local Volunteer leaders, even before the Soloheadbeg ambush of 21 January 1919 which is usually taken as the beginning of the war of independence (also known as the Anglo-Irish War). From the summer of 1919, the Volunteers were generally known as the Irish Republican Army (IRA).

When the IRA split over the Treaty in 1922 many pro-Treaty IRA men joined the new national army, while those who actively opposed the Treaty in the civil war became known as the Irregulars. To distinguish them from later incarnations of the IRA, the ones who fought in the war of independence were subsequently referred to as the 'Old IRA'.

Partition
The creation of a political border in Ireland began with the Government of Ireland Act 1920. Despite the formation of the parliament of Northern Ireland in 1921, Sinn Féin and the IRA refused to recognise the new arrangements and remained active in some Northern counties. The Boundary Commission provisions in the Treaty persuaded many nationalists that substantial change would result from its deliberations and, as a consequence, partition was not a major issue in the Treaty debates of December 1921-January 1922 or, indeed, the civil war that followed. However, the Boundary

Commission report proved unacceptable to nationalists and a tripartite agreement confirmed the existing border.

Reprisals
A 'reprisal' is an act of retaliation. In the context of the civil war, the term is used to describe killings carried out by both sides as a punishment for murder(s) carried out by the other side or, in some cases, threats of murder. The use of the term encompasses executions carried out on the orders of the government such as that of Erskine Childers on 22 November 1922 and those of Rory O'Connor, Liam Mellows, Joe McKelvey and Dick Barrett on 8 December.

Sinn Féin
Arthur Griffith founded the Sinn Féin party in 1905 as a radical nationalist party. With the help of Bulmer Hobson, it attracted a disparate group of supporters, including IRB men, disillusioned Irish Parliamentary Party supporters, feminists and pacifists. To achieve independence, including economic independence, Sinn Féin advocated passive resistance to British rule in Ireland. Griffith proposed that Irish MPs should withdraw from Westminster and form a national assembly in Ireland. Unsuccessful in political terms, Griffith's writings were widely read and respected among all radical nationalist groups, including members of the Irish Volunteers who fought in the 1916 Rising and who were sometimes referred to as 'Sinn Féin' Volunteers. Thus, Sinn Féin was widely held responsible for the 1916 Rising and Griffith was one of those arrested in its aftermath.

The executions and arrests that followed the Rising transformed public opinion, and Sinn Féin was re-constituted as a mass movement of militant nationalism determined to achieve national independence. Arthur Griffith stood down as president (becoming vice-president) and was replaced by Éamon de Valera. This party is sometimes referred to as the 'second' Sinn Féin party. It split in 1922 over the Treaty. The pro-Treaty members subsequently established the Cumann na nGaedheal party in 1923 under W.T.Cosgrave's leadership; in 1933, it merged with two other groups to form the Fine Gael party. The anti-Treaty members retained the name Sinn Féin under de Valera's leadership; however, in 1926 de Valera enjoyed the support of a majority of members when he decided to found a new party, Fianna Fáil. Because of their origins in the disagreements over the Treaty and the civil war that followed, Fine Gael and Fianna Fáil are sometimes referred to as the civil war parties.

Sovereignty
In a political context, the word refers to the power of a nation or national group to exercise full control over its own affairs. Thus, the 'pursuit of sovereignty' involves an attempt to achieve independence by wresting power away from an occupying power through negotiation and by constitutional means or by force of arms.

Biographical notes

(Main sources: Dictionary of Irish Biography *and* Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*)*

Note: The notes on Collins, Craig, de Valera and Griffith were originally included in the PDST booklet on *The Treaty Negotiations* case study; those on Countess Markiewicz and W.T. Cosgrave in the PDST booklet, *Teaching the period 1919-1923 in Irish history*, The notes on Liam Lynch, Mary MacSwiney, Richard Mulcahy, Kevin O'Higgins and Horace Plunkett are new.

Michael Collins (1890-1922) **Key personality**

Following his role as aide-de-camp to Joseph Plunkett during the 1916 rising and internment in Frongoch, North Wales, Collins was elected to the Sinn Féin executive in October 1917 and played a prominent role in the reorganised Volunteers. His intelligence network played a crucial role during the independence struggle, whilst his 'Squad' of gunmen (all members of the IRB into which Collins was sworn in 1909) killed police agents and others who were seen as threats. As minister of finance in the Dáil government (from April 1919), director of intelligence in the IRA and a leading figure in the IRB, his dominant role was resented by some, notably Cathal Brugha (as Minister for Defence) and Austin Stack (as Minister for Home Affairs). His intelligence operation came under pressure in 1921 when Ned Broy and other informants were arrested and his offices were raided (in April). His acceptance of the truce in July 1921 was influenced by his assessment of the military situation.

Collins was not chosen to accompany de Valera to London in July for the early stages of negotiations. When selected in September as a delegate to the London conference, he suspected that he and Griffith had been 'set up' by de Valera to make a compromise that de Valera himself would not wish to make. He travelled to London on 9 October, a day after the other members of the delegation and stayed with his personal entourage at 15 Cadogan Gardens. Due to Griffith's poor health, Collins was at times effectively head of the delegation. His decisions at this time appear to have been made on grounds of pragmatism: he signed the Treaty because it would bring about British military withdrawal from much of the country and accepted the boundary commission proposals as a way of preventing the northern issue from blocking a settlement between the British and Irish governments.

As chairman of the provisional government (from 14 January 1922), he tried to appease the republican opposition, drawing up a republican constitution and agreeing a pre-election pact with de Valera in May. When he and Griffith were summoned to London in late May, he reluctantly agreed to make the constitution conform to the terms of the Treaty. The rejection of the provisional government's authority by an IRA convention on 26 March and Collins' effective repudiation of the pact with de Valera (by calling on voters to support his views) deepened the developing fault lines between the pro- and anti-Treaty sides. When Sir Henry Wilson was killed in London on 22 June (a murder for which Collins himself may have given the orders), the British government blamed the anti-Treaty IRA forces who had been occupying the Four Courts in Dublin since 14 April and demanded that they be confronted. Reluctantly, Collins ordered the bombardment of the Four Courts on 28 June.

In the ensuing civil war, Collins was commander-in-chief of the new Free State Army and gave up his chairmanship of the provisional government. By August, the anti-Treaty forces had been driven from almost all of their urban strongholds and Collins began a military inspection tour of Munster. On 22 August, he was killed during an ambush in the valley of Béal na mBláth, close to his birthplace.

William T. Cosgrave (1880-1965) **Key personality**

Born at James's Street, Dublin, where his father had a public house, Cosgrave became one of the first members of the first Sinn Féin party when he attended a meeting at the Rotunda in Dublin in 1905. He was elected to the city corporation in 1908 and, in 1915, became chairman of the influential finance committee.

Although he declined a number of invitations to join the IRB, he did join the Irish Volunteers in 1913, becoming a lieutenant in the 4th battalion. Sentenced to death for his role in the 1916 Rising - where he served in the South Dublin Union, near his home – his sentence was commuted to life imprisonment and he was released from prison in 1917. Shortly afterwards he was elected as a Sinn Féin MP for Kilkenny in a by-election and was returned for Kilkenny North in the 1918 general election.

When Dáil Éireann met for the second time in April 1919, Cosgrave was appointed minister for local government and, along with his deputy, Kevin O'Higgins, succeeded in wresting power from the local government board and gaining the allegiance of a majority of county councils. When the Dáil cabinet split over whether to accept the 'Articles of Agreement' brought back from London in December 1921, Cosgrave's vote was crucial in ensuring that the proposals were placed before the Dáil. He supported the Treaty as the best settlement that could be achieved. The deaths of Griffith and Collins in August 1922 saw Cosgrave become chairman of the provisional government and, from 6 December 1922, president of the executive council of the Irish Free State. Strong on security and financial stability, he remained as president until the 1932 election, when he was succeeded by Éamon de Valera.

James Craig (1871-1940) **Key personality**

1st Viscount Craigavon, first prime minister of Northern Ireland. Born in Co. Down. Was one of the founding members of the Belfast stock exchange. Fought the Boers in South Africa, 1900-1901, as an officer with the Royal Irish Rifles. On death of his father in 1900, he inherited a fortune. First elected as unionist M.P. in 1906 (for Down East). Helped Carson become Ulster Unionist leader in 1910, the two men dominating the campaign against the Third Home Rule Bill of 1912. Stage-managed Carson's public appearances including that on 'Ulster Day', 28 September 1912. Actively involved in importation of guns. As advocate of six county exclusion from home rule, may be seen as architect of partition.

On outbreak of war in 1914, helped to create 36th (Ulster) Division, but resigned his commission in 1915 due to illness. In December 1916, on formation of second wartime coalition, given junior office as Treasurer of the Household and one of the government whips. Appointed Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Pensions in January 1919 and Financial Secretary to the Admiralty in April 1920. Was a significant influence on decision of cabinet committee drafting Government of Ireland bill to include a six county partition scheme.

In January 1919, accepted nomination as premier of Northern Ireland (after Carson declined the offer) and played the major role in shaping the new government and establishing security arrangements. Met de Valera on 5 May, 1921, at the behest of the British government, in an unproductive session. During the Treaty negotiations, resisted Lloyd George's efforts to secure his agreement to an all-Ireland framework. Was angry about the Boundary Commission proposal but less worried about its terms than was Carson. Met Collins in January, February and March in an effort to defuse the IRA campaign in Northern Ireland, but the 'Craig-Collins pact' of 29 March, 1922, quickly broke down. His handling of the Boundary Commission proposals in 1924-1925 is seen as assured.

Éamon de Valera (1882-1975) **Key personality**

Born in New York, only child of Juan Vivian de Valera and Catherine ('Kate') Coll. Christened 'Edward'. His father appears to have died in 1884. His mother's employment in domestic service led to his return with his uncle, Edward Coll, to the family home at Bruree, Co. Limerick, in 1885. Went to school locally at first, but academic ability led to invitation to attend Blackrock College. In 1903-1904, accepted appointment as replacement of Mathematics and Physics in Rockwell College. Taught mathematics in the teacher-training college at Carysfort, Blackrock, 1906-1912. Joined the Gaelic League in 1908, subsequently marrying his Irish teacher, Sinéad Flanagan, in January 1910. In October 1912, appointed temporary lecturer and acting head of the Department of Mathematics and Mathematical Physics in St. Patrick's College, Maynooth.

In November 1913, joined the Irish Volunteers at their inaugural meeting; his commitment led to his being appointed captain of the Donnybrook brigade. Involved in the Howth gun-running, July 1914 and sided with the minority who rejected John Redmond's call to support the war effort in September. Appointed commandant of the 3rd Battalion in March 1915, became adjutant to Thomas McDonagh and was involved in discussions on a planned rising. His battalion occupied Boland's Mill during the 1916 rising. Death sentence of 7 May was commuted to life imprisonment. His imprisonment, first in Mountjoy and, then, in four English prisons, greatly enhanced his revolutionary credentials. On release of remaining convicted prisoners, led the group home to Ireland by boat from Holyhead in June 1917.

Following victory in East Clare by-election, he was elected president of Sinn Féin and president of the Irish Volunteers in October, 1917. At Sinn Féin ard fheis, as differences emerged between hardline republicans and those with more open minds, de Valera managed to secure unanimous backing for a compromise motion that, "Sinn Féin aims at securing the international recognition of Ireland as an independent Irish Republic. Having achieved that status the Irish people may by referendum choose their own form of government." His role in the Conscription Crisis of 1918 enhanced his growing reputation. Was imprisoned following 'German plot' allegations in May 1918. Was in jail for eight months, a period which spanned the December 1918 election and the first meeting of Dáil Éireann in January 1919. Escape from jail in February 1919 was organised by Michael Collins and Harry Boland. Elected president at meeting of Dáil Éireann on 1 April, 1919.

In June 1919, began his 'American mission' to secure recognition of Irish republic, dissuade US government from backing British policy on Ireland and to raise external loan. (Only the last was successful.) Returned to Ireland in December 1920. Met with James Craig on 5 May in an unproductive meeting. Supported attack on Custom House, 23 May, which led to arrests of over 80 IRA men. Following truce of 11 July, met Lloyd George four times in London between 14 and 21 July. Rejected an offer of dominion status with safeguards for British defence interests. Following a prickly correspondence between the two men, on 30 September accepted Lloyd George's invitation to a conference in London.

His refusal to lead the delegation has been much criticised: reasons offered included that he needed to stay in Dublin so that delegates could justifiably delay signing any agreement until they had consulted with him. His 'Document No. 2', circulated during the Treaty debates, was an unsuccessful attempt to get unanimous backing for an alternative compromise. When Treaty was accepted on 7 January, he resigned as president but stood for re-election and was narrowly defeated. Tried to make a deal with Collins prior to June election to preserve unity, but 'pact' collapsed when Collins called on supporters to back Treaty. Electorate's backing for Treaty candidates in June election disappointed de Valera who was further sidelined when the outbreak of civil war handed the initiative to the militarists. Re-joining his old battalion of the IRA, he did so as a private, an indication of his increasing powerlessness. After the Boundary Commission outcome in 1925, he resolved to offer a democratic alternative to

Cumann na nGaedheal rule. Founded Fianna Fáil in 1926 and led the party into the Dáil in 1927, following the assassination of Kevin O'Higgins.

Arthur Griffith (1871-1922) **Key personality**

Born into a working class Dublin family, Griffith followed in his father's footsteps in becoming a printer. As a young man, he supported Parnell and developed radical nationalist views, being present at the first meeting of the Gaelic League. In South Africa (1897-1898), he began his involvement as a newspaper editor developing pro-Boer views that were critical of British policy in southern Africa. He returned to Ireland in autumn 1898 and launched the radical nationalist newspaper *United Irishman* with his friend Willie Rooney (d.1901). Publication ceased in 1908 when a libel action was brought against the paper, but another newspaper, *Sinn Féin*, soon appeared.

Griffith worked on a policy which he hoped would be supported by all nationalists from home rulers to republicans. The policy was set out in a series of articles in *United Irishman* from January to July, 1904, and re-printed in book form as *The Resurrection of Hungary*. Griffith proposed a 'dual monarchy' (whereby an independent Ireland would accept the King of England as being also King of Ireland) as a means of securing the consent of unionists to Irish independence. In order to secure independence, he advocated that Irish M.P.s should withdraw from Westminster and establish a parliament in Dublin. This latter strategy was adopted by Sinn Féin in the 1918 election.

Support for some of Griffith's policies among radical nationalists groups eventually led to the formation of a 'Sinn Féin' party (the phrase – already in use for his newspaper and associated with his policies – seeming to sum up very well the diverse aspirations of the various groups). Charles Dolan, M.P. for North Leitrim, resigned his seat and fought the resulting by-election as an abstentionist candidate. Following his defeat, Sinn Féin did not contest any more parliamentary seats and Griffith concentrated on his work as a journalist and proponent of radical action. He joined the Irish Volunteers on their formation in 1913 and the radical element in the new force became known as the 'Sinn Féin' volunteers (because the phrase had become associated with radical nationalist policies). As a party, Sinn Féin had almost ceased to exist by 1914 though Griffith's journalism kept him in the public eye.

Despite Griffith having no direct role in the 1916 rising, a number of factors spurred a modest recovery in the fortunes of his party after the rising: (1) the perception of a 'Sinn Féin' rebellion (due to the radical nationalist nature of the participants); (2) Griffith's imprisonment following the rising; and (3) the sharp public reaction to the spate of executions and large-scale arrests. When Éamon de Valera was released from prison and elected as M.P. for Clare in 1917, Griffith stood down as president and was replaced by de Valera. The party now agreed to work towards a republic, but accepted that the people would choose their own form of government once independence had been won. At the party's October ard fheis, Griffith was elected as vice-president and served de Valera as deputy over the next four years.
His leading role in opposing conscription in 1918, the withdrawal of Home Rule M.P.s from Westminster after the conscription bill was passed, and Griffith's arrest in connection with the so-called 'German plot', all helped to ensure his election as M.P. for Cavan East. Following the Sinn Féin successes in the 1918 general election, his policy of withdrawal from Westminster was implemented and in the first Dáil government he was minister of home affairs. When de Valera went to the US in June 1919, Griffith became acting president of the Dáil (until his own arrest at the end of 1920).

Following his release in June 1921, Griffith was one of those who accompanied de Valera to London for preliminary discussions with Lloyd George. Appointed minister for foreign affairs on 26 August, Griffith was chosen the following month as chairman of the delegation for the

conference in London. In November, Griffith privately agreed to a proposal for a boundary commission and agreed a written summary prepared by Tom Jones: this document was later (5 December) produced by Lloyd George to dissuade Griffith from breaking on the issue of Ulster. Lloyd George's late concession of the principal of fiscal autonomy was also designed to win Griffith's support. Griffith was first to sign the Treaty, indicating that he would sign even if his colleagues would not.

In the Dáil debates, Griffith defended the Treaty as providing the best terms available and as part of a process rather than a final settlement. He was a frequent visitor to London in 1922 as the provisional government tried to adopt a constitution that would be republican in nature, frequently defending positions that he himself considered unreasonable. The June elections saw pro-Treaty candidates receive 78% of the first preference vote and strong personal support for Griffith in Cavan. However, his health broke down and he was in a nursing home in Leeson Street, Dublin, when he died suddenly from a cerebral haemorrhage on 12 August 1922.

Liam Lynch (1893-1923)

Born in Co. Limerick, Lynch's family was politically active: his uncle took part in the Fenian Rising of 1867 and his mother had been active in the Ladies' Land League. Moving to Mitchelstown, Co. Cork, in 1910, where he worked in a hardware store, he joined the Gaelic League and the Ancient Order of Hibernians and, after their foundation in 1913, the Irish Volunteers. Moving to Fermoy in 1915, he was not involved in the 1916 Rising but the event became a turning point for him and he became more active in the Volunteer movement. From early 1917 he was first lieutenant in the small Fermoy company, and in 1919 he became commandant of Cork No. 2 Brigade.

Lynch's leadership during the war of independence enhanced his military reputation and, when the First Southern Division was formed in April 1921 (combining eight brigades from Cork, Kerry, Waterford and west Limerick), Lynch was elected divisional commandant, making him the most powerful officer outside GHQ. A staunch opponent of the Treaty, he supported the holding of an army convention to discuss the Treaty. The convention went ahead in March 1922, despite the opposition of the Provisional Government, and an Army Executive was elected, with Lynch as chief of staff.

Horrified at the prospect of civil war, following the fall of the Four Courts he returned to Cork and initially favoured a policy of 'containment', seeking to hold a line from Limerick to Waterford for the anti-Treaty forces. This soon failed, however, as government forces advanced and sent troops in by sea. Lynch operated for a time from secret headquarters in Santry, from where, in November 1922, he ordered the execution of pro-Treaty politicians as retaliation for the execution of republican prisoners. He resisted many calls from his own side for an end to hostilities but, following his shooting during a pursuit by Free State soldiers, in the Knockmealdown mountains, County Tipperary, and his subsequent death, in April 1923, his successor, Frank Aiken, ordered the IRA to 'cease fire and dump arms'.

Mary MacSwiney (1872-1942)

Born in London to a Cork-born father, the family moved to Cork city in 1879. Mary's brother Terence, who died on hunger strike during the War of Independence, was born that same year. The family was strongly separatist in outlook; however, women's suffrage was the political issue on which she first became active. The home rule crisis of 1912-1914 brought about a change of focus, as Mary founded a local branch of Cumann na mBan. Dismissed from her teaching position following the 1916 Rising, with her sister Annie she founded Scoil Íte (1916-54) at their home, an Irish-Ireland school on the model of Pearse's St. Enda's in Dublin.

Elected to the national executive of Cumann na mBan in 1917, it was her brother's death on hunger strike in 1920 that brought her to national and international prominence, as her vigil at Brixton prison with Annie and Terence's wife, Muriel, was covered by the world's press. During 1921, she made a successful coast-to-coast propaganda tour of the U.S. and, in June 1921, was elected as a T.D. for Cork city. Her speech against the Treaty settlement in December was the longest of the Treaty debates and established her reputation as an uncompromising republican. Re-elected in June 1922, as an abstentionist anti-Treaty T.D., she was imprisoned during the civil war due to her active support for the anti-Treaty forces.

Re-elected in August 1923, MacSwiney opposed de Valera's motion to the Sinn Féin ard fheis of 1926 to consider entering the Dáil if the oath were removed, and she remained implacably opposed to de Valera thereafter, condemning Fianna Fáil's decision to enter the Dáil in 1927. She remained a member of the Sinn Féin party until 1934, when, concerned at the influence of left-wing politics on some members and the election of Fr. Michael O'Flanagan as president of the party, she resigned her membership. Supportive of the IRA's bombing campaign in England in 1939, she suffered a heart attack in 1939 and died in 1942.

Countess Markievicz (1868-1927) **Key personality**

Born at Buckingham Gate, London, and named Constance, she was the eldest of three daughters of Sir Henry Gore-Booth of Lissadell, County Sligo. Educated at home, she made her formal début into 'society' when she was presented to Queen Victoria at Buckingham Palace in 1887. An aspiring artist, she went to the Slade School of Art in London in 1893.

Back in Sligo, in 1896, she presided over a meeting of the Sligo Women's Suffrage Society. In 1898 she went to Paris to further her studies in art and, there, met Count Casimir Dunin-Markiewicz, a Pole whose family held land in the Ukraine. They married in 1900. On returning to Dublin in 1903, the couple were active in cultural and social circles, exhibiting their paintings, putting on plays and helping to establish the United Arts Club. However, the couple separated in 1909.

Her conversion to republicanism dates from around 1908 when she joined Sinn Féin and Inghinidhe na hÉireann (Daughters of Ireland), a women's nationalist movement founded by Maud Gonne MacBride. In 1909 she founded Fianna Éireann, a republican youth movement. Increasingly interested in socialism and trade unionism, she was a strong supporter of the Irish Women Workers' Union and organised soup kitchens for strikers during the 1913 lock-out. When the Citizen Army was established she became an active and zealous member, favouring armed rebellion against British rule. During the Easter Rising she was second-in-command to Michael Mallin at St. Stephen's Green and the Royal College of Surgeons. Sentenced to death for her part in the Rising, this was commuted to life imprisonment, and she was released from Aylesbury prison in June 1917 as part of a general amnesty. Shortly after her return to Ireland she was received into the Catholic Church.

Elected to the executive board of Sinn Féin, Markiewicz was one of the leaders jailed in 1918 due to alleged involvement in a 'German plot'. In the 1918 general election she was the first woman to be elected to the British parliament but, in keeping with Sinn Féin policy, she refused to take her seat. Appointed minister for labour in the first Dáil government, she spent much of the war of independence on the run. A strong opponent of the Treaty settlement in 1921, she spent much of the civil war in hiding, writing anti-Treaty articles and promoting republican ideals. Elected to the Dáil for Dublin South in 1923, she refused to take the oath of allegiance and, like the other anti-treaty TDs, did not take up her seat. She joined Fianna Fáil on its foundation in 1926 and stood successfully as a Fianna Fáil candidate for Dublin South at the June 1927 election. However, ill health led to her admittance to Sir Patrick Dun's Hospital, Dublin, where she died on 15 July 1927.

Richard Mulcahy (1886-1971)

Born in Waterford, Mulcahy's family moved to Thurles in 1898 when his father, a post office clerk, was transferred there. He joined the post office himself at age 16, spending time in Tralee, Bantry, Ballingeary (in the west Cork Gaeltacht) and Wexford. His nationalist involvement began when he joined the Gaelic League in Thurles. By the time of his transfer to Dublin in 1907, he was a fluent Irish speaker and, through private study, had been promoted to the engineering branch of the post office.

Mulcahy's nationalist involvement increased when he joined the IRB in 1907 and, on IRB instructions, enlisted with the Irish Volunteers on their foundation in November 1913. Appointed second lieutenant in the 3rd battalion of the Dublin Brigade, he was promoted to first lieutenant shortly before the 1916 Rising. As second-in-command to Thomas Ashe in raids on the Swords, Donabate and Ashbourne RIC barracks, Mulcahy was one of the few Volunteer officers to emerge from the rising with his reputation enhanced. Interned after the rising, in 1917 he was in charge of all military arrangements for the funeral of Thomas Ashe, who had died on hunger strike. The funeral on 30 September gave Mulcahy a national profile among the Volunteers and marked the beginning of his association with Michael Collins, who delivered the graveside oration. Soon, Mulcahy was appointed commanding officer of the Dublin Brigade and a member of the executive when the Volunteer convention took place in October. When the executive met in March 1918 to establish a GHQ staff, Mulcahy was appointed chief of staff.

In December 1918, Mulcahy won a seat for Sinn Féin in Dublin (Clontarf) and attended the inaugural meeting of the first Dáil on 21 January 1919. Appointed Minister for Defence, he held this post until April, when Cathal Brugha was appointed in his place and Mulcahy became assistant Minister. (He retained his position of chief of staff of the Volunteers – or the IRA as they soon became known.) Mulcahy had disagreements with Cathal Brugha and with de Valera who, on his return from America in December 1920, favoured large-scale attacks on British targets. Mulcahy supported the Treaty, arguing in the Dáil debate on 22 December that they had "not been able to drive the enemy from anything but from a fairly good-sized police barracks". When the Dáil ratified the treaty on 7 January 1922, Mulcahy was appointed Minister for Defence.

In the months before the civil war, Mulcahy supported Collins in attempting to preserve unity within the IRA and arming the Northern IRA. However, once the civil war began, he favoured a peace policy in the North and, following the killing of Collins on 22 August, he became commander-in-chief and immediately cautioned against reprisals. His meeting with de Valera on 5 September was strongly criticised by Kevin O'Higgins, but this was his last attempt at compromise. He fully supported the Public Safety Act of 28 September and the reprisal executions carried out on the orders of the government. However, the command structures within the army which critics saw as loose led eventually to the 'Army Mutiny' of 1924, which saw him resign from government.

While Mulcahy returned to government in March 1927 when W.T. Cosgrave appointed him as Minister for Local Government and Public Health, the election to government of Fianna Fáil in 1932 meant that he was out of office for sixteen years. With the establishment of Fine Gael in September 1933, he served on its executive and front bench, and, on the retirement of W.T. Cosgrave in 1944, was unanimously elected as his successor. He was instrumental in the arrangements for the First Inter-Party government of 1948-1951 but, due in part to his civil war reputation, he was unacceptable as Taoiseach to Seán MacBride of Clann na Poblachta and others and stood aside instead, proposing John A. Costello as Taoiseach. He served as Minister for Education, 1948-51, and again, in 1951-54. He resigned as leader of Fine Gael in October 1959 and retired from active politics at the next general election in October 1961. Prior to his death arrangements were made to lodge his papers in UCD archives department.

Kevin O'Higgins (1892-1927)

Born in Stradbally, Co. Laois (then, Queen's County), O'Higgin's mother was from a well-known nationalist family, his mother being the daughter of T.D. Sullivan, the well-known home rule MP and poet, and the aunt of Tim Healy, who was later first Governor General of the Irish Free State. His father was a doctor and county coroner. O'Higgins received a B.A. and LL.B. from UCD, and was called to the bar in 1923. Despite his family's links with the Irish parliamentary party, O'Higgins joined the Irish Volunteers and Sinn Féin and, in the December 1918 election, was elected for Sinn Féin in Queen's County, joining the first Dáil in January 1919. Appointed assistant to the Minister for Local Government, W.T. Cosgrave, he acted as substitute Minister, May-December 1920, while Cosgrave was in prison. He played a key role in getting elected county councils to give their allegiance to the Dáil.

Re-elected to the Dáil in May 1921, he declined an invitation to act as one of the secretaries to the Treaty delegation at the London talks, due to his impending marriage to Brigid Cole. The best man at his wedding was Rory O'Connor. A strong supporter of the Treaty settlement, he was greatly influenced by the judgement of Collins and Griffith. After the Dáil acceptance of the Treaty in January 1922, he became Minister for Economic Affairs in both the Dáil Government (headed by Griffith) and the Provisional Government (headed by Collins). He travelled frequently to London for talks regarding the implementation of the Treaty in the first half of 1922.

Re-elected in the June 1922 election, when the civil war broke out he was relieved of his ministerial position and given a military staff position as assistant to the Adjutant General. When the cabinet was re-organised following the death of Michael Collins, he was appointed Minister for Home Affairs (August) and Vice President of the Executive Council (December). He argued strongly for the passage of the Army Emergency Powers Resolution which authorised military courts, internment and executions to deal with armed threats to the state. After the killing of Seán Hales T.D. in December 1922, he agreed to the reprisal executions of four anti-Treaty IRA men, including Rory O'Connor. In February 1923, his own father was attacked and killed in his home by anti-Treaty gunmen.

When the civil war ended, O'Higgins introduced public safety legislation (August 1923), allowing the continued internment of those held during the war, but transferring the special emergency powers from military to civil authorities. Under the Ministers and Secretaries Act, 1924, O'Higgins's position was re-titled 'Minister for Justice'. In the Army Mutiny of 1924, O'Higgins, as acting President, in the absence of Cosgrave due to illness, asserted the dominance of civil authority over the military. In the same year, he oversaw the amalgamation of the newly created Garda Síochána and the older DMP as an unarmed force.

On the international stage, O'Higgins attended the imperial conference in London in 1923 and the League of Nations at Geneva in 1925. He played a central role at the imperial conference in London in October-November 1926, which affirmed that the dominions – including the Irish Free State - were 'autonomous communities' and 'equal in status'. The conference also agreed to change the royal title from that of king 'of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British dominions beyond the seas' to 'of Great Britain, Ireland and the British dominions beyond the seas'. The change was nicknamed 'O'Higgins's comma'.

O'Higgins was re-elected in the general election of June 1927. The new Fianna Fáil party won 44 seats but would not sit in the Dáil due to their opposition to the oath. On Sunday 10 July 1927, on his way to mass, O'Higgins was shot by three gunmen and died of his wounds, having expressed forgiveness for his assassins. His assassination prompted the government to introduce legislation forcing abstentionist T.D.s to take their seats, which Fianna Fáil duly did, describing the words of the oath as an 'empty formula'. Thus, the death of O'Higgins marked a significant turning point in the transition from revolutionary to democratic politics.

Sir Horace Plunkett (1854-1932)

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Horace_Plunkett_1923.jpg

Born in the home of his maternal grandparents at Sherborne, Gloucestershire, England, Plunkett was the third son of the 16th Baron Dunsany whose family had settled in Meath in the twelfth century. Educated at Eton (1868-72) and Oxford (1873-78), on his return to Ireland in 1878 he opened a cooperative store for his father's tenants, implementing some ideas he had picked up in his encounters with the consumer protection movement in England. Due to ill health and the wish for a drier climate, he spent much of the year, for ten years from 1879, as a rancher in Wyoming.

Returning to Ireland on the death of his father in 1889, with the help of some aristocratic friends he set up a cooperative store in Doneraile, Co. Cork. When this venture failed, inspired by the example of the Danish dairy industry, he set up the first cooperative creamery at Ballyhahill, Co. Limerick, in 1891. Despite opposition from nationalist politicians and others, he persevered in spreading the cooperative idea, and was helped by a strong team which included Fr. Tom Finlay, S.J., economist and social reformer; George Russell ('AE'), poet, painter, writer; and Harold Barbour, a director of a flax-spinning factory in Co. Antrim. In April 1894, a coordinating body, the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society (IAOS) was established in Dublin, with Plunkett as president. This helped the spread of the cooperative movement: within four years, there were 243 affiliated societies.

Elected a unionist M.P. for Dublin South in 1892, he worked with Parnellite nationalists and others to demand an Irish department of agriculture and technical instruction. When this was established in 1899, Plunkett was appointed vice-president. However, as political tensions rose in the early years of the new century, Plunkett lost his seat in 1900 and was forced to step down from his role in the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction in 1907. Gradually, his political views changed as he abandoned constructive unionism and became a supporter of home rule.

In 1917, Plunkett chaired the Irish Convention which had been established by Lloyd George to allow different shades of opinion to debate possible resolutions of the demand for home rule. The Convention ended inconclusively a year later and, in 1919, Plunkett set up the Irish Dominion League to promote awareness of the benefits of dominion home rule. However, the struggle for independence overshadowed Plunkett's efforts and he turned his attention to promoting the cooperative idea abroad. On the establishment of the Irish Free State in December 1922, he accepted a nomination to the newly established Senate.

Distressed with the outbreak of the civil war, Plunkett did what he could to ensure that the cooperative movement would survive and prosper. On a personal level, the war was a tragedy for Plunkett: his house, Kilteragh, in Foxrock, Dublin, was bombed in January 1923 in a series of attacks on government supporters while he was in America, and burned out the following night. He moved to England – to the Crest House in Weybridge, Surrey, where he died in 1932.

The civil war, 1922-1923: timeline of important developments

1922, 7 January	Dáil vote on Treaty, 64-57 in favour
1922, 13 April	Four Courts, Dublin, seized by anti-Treaty forces
1922, 26 June	JJ ('Ginger') O'Connell, deputy chief of staff of the army of the Irish Free State was kidnapped and handed over to Four Courts garrison.
1922, 28 June	Government forces attacked Four Courts
1922, 5 July	Anti-treaty forces driven from Dublin, after which strongest resistance to new Free State government was located in Munster
1922, 9 August	After sea-borne attack, government forces occupied Cork city
1922, 12 August	Arthur Griffith, President of Dáil Éireann, died of cerebral haemorrhage
1922, 22 August	Michael Collins, commander-in-chief of government forces and chairman of provisional government, killed in an ambush at Béal na mBláth. Two days later, his cabinet colleagues elected W.T. Cosgrave as head of the provisional government.
1922, 28 September	Public Safety Bill passed by Dáil. Empowered military courts to impose the death penalty for carrying firearms.
1922, 22 October	Pastoral letter from Cardinal Logue and the Catholic hierarchy, condemning "The guerrilla warfare now being carried on by the Irregulars", was read at all Masses.
1922, 24 November	Execution by firing squad of Erskine Childers. (Had been caught carrying a gun, ironically, one given to him by Michael Collins)
1922, 30 November	Liam Lynch, IRA chief of staff, ordered attacks on prominent supporters of Provisional Government.
1922, 6 December	Irish Free State formally established, under terms of Treaty.
1922, 7 December	Shooting dead in Dublin of Seán Hales, pro-Treaty T.D.
8 December, 1922	Reprisal executions of four IRA men, who had been in prison since the attack on the Four Courts: Rory O'Connor, Liam Mellows, Joe McKelvey and Dick Barrett
1923, 6-7 March	Killing of five government soldiers in a booby-trap attack at Knocknagoshel, Co. Kerry, followed by controversial killing of nine anti-treaty IRA men at Ballyseedy Cross.
1923, 24 May	Frank Aiken, commander-in-chief of the anti-Treaty forces, issued an order to cease fire and dump arms.

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John A. Murphy (1975) *Ireland in the Twentieth Century.* Dublin: Gill and Macmillan

Robert Lynch (2015) *Revolutionary Ireland: 1912-25.* London: Bloomsbury Academic,

Seán Ó Faoláin (1965) *Vive Moi! An Autobiography.* London: Rupert Hart-Davis

Maurice Walsh (2015), *Bitter Freedom: Ireland in a Revolutionary World 1918-1923* . London: Faber & Faber.

Useful websites and web links

Historical Association 'TEACH' Report (2007)
https://www.history.org.uk/files/download/784/1204732013

http://www.rte.ie/centuryireland/

https://ifiplayer.ie/independencefilms/
(This Irish Film Institute site includes newsreel coverage of the civil war period.)

http://www.decadeofcentenaries.com

https://www.military.ie/en/public-information/defence-forces-museums/defence-forces-history/history-of-the-army/history-of-the-army.html

http://www.militaryarchives.ie/en/home/

http://www.militaryarchives.ie/collections/online-collections/military-service-pensions-collection-1916-1923

https://www.dublincity.ie/story/civil-war-dublin-images-irish-life-july-1922

http://treaty.nationalarchives.ie

http://www.kildare.ie/library/ehistory/2007/10/post_17.asp

http://dib.cambridge.org

http://www.difp.ie (Check link to e-book on Anglo-Irish Treaty)

https://www.scoilnet.ie/go-to-post-primary/collections/senior-cycle/decade-of-centenaries/the-civil-war/

https://www.dailymotion.com/video/x2budj0
(Episode dealing with civil war war from Robert Kee's *Ireland: A Television History*)

http://www.irishtimes.com/culture/heritage/century/the-civil-war/hearts-of-stone-in-ireland-s-civil-war-1.2125800

http://www.irishtimes.com/culture/heritage/stories-of-the-revolution-ballyseedy-and-the-civil-war-s-worst-atrocity-1.2462070

https://www.irishgenealogy.ie/en/ (Can be used to search records of revolutionary figures)

https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/visit-and-learn/teachers-and-students/ [For contextual purposes, a short animated film from Oireachtas TV on the First Dáil.]

Pedagogy
https://www.jigsaw.org; http://www.teachhub.com/jigsaw-method-teaching-strategy

Teaching the civil war, 1922-1923: a possible line of enquiry

If students are to understand the issues and events of this period, they will need a clear line of enquiry that gives coherence to an otherwise complex and sprawling mass of data. They will also need to explore a sufficient range of perspectives to get a reasonably clear grasp of some of the essential themes of the period. An enquiry question such as the following may be helpful in this regard:

Why did Irish people fight other Irish people in a bitter civil war, 1922-1923?

One way of approaching this enquiry is to focus first on the Treaty settlement that caused division in Sinn Féin and the IRA, and the process whereby those divisions spiralled into violent confrontation by June 1922. The various factors that prompted people to fight during the year of civil war might then be explored. A final stage might look at the degrees of enmity between former comrades during the civil war and the legacy of this enmity in the decades that followed. The following stages may be found helpful:

Stage 1

(a) In what ways did the Treaty settlement of December 1921 cause division and confrontation within the ranks of Sinn Féin and the IRA?
(b) In what ways did it divide opinion outside the ranks of Sinn Féin?

Stage 2

(a) What factors prompted people to fight during the year of civil war, 1922-1923?
(b) Why did some Irish people choose not to fight?

Stage 3

(a) How serious was the degree of enmity between former comrades during the civil war, 1922-1923?
(b) What was the legacy of this enmity in the decades that followed?

In the pages that follow, for each stage of the enquiry a list of 'factors identified in commentaries' is followed by a selection of linked source extracts, both secondary and primary.

While most sources have undergone some degree of editing, teachers may decide to engage in further editing of some sources to facilitate use with their own classes. Also, the sources provided are intended to assist teachers in taking students through the various stages of the enquiry and may be used selectively at the discretion of the teacher. It is important that the line of enquiry be pursued in a way that students find engaging and helpful to understanding.

Possible 'hook':
Contemporary film footage from IFI website – perhaps, 'Civil War in Ireland' at https://ifiplayer.ie/civil-war-in-ireland/ . This is a silent newsreel film produced by the Topical Film Company, with intertitles in English. Other relevant footage available.

CIVIL WAR IN IRELAND: contemporary newsreel film by the Topical Film Company, now available on Irish Film Institute (IFI) website

Transcript of intertitles:

Civil War in Ireland

Mr. Michael Collins' desperate fight against "Irregulars"

These remarkable pictures of the bombardment of the Rebels' Stronghold in the Four Courts, Dublin, were taken by "Topical's" operator lying on his back under fire.

A sniper's nest

Free State guns in action

Shells bursting on the Four Courts

Snipers emptied the Streets.

Homeless!

Rory O'Connor
Commandant of the Rebels and defender of the Four Courts

Later:
The Four Courts go up in Flames.

Questions and points for discussion

1. What does the title "Mr. Collins' desperate fight against 'Irregulars'" suggest about his leadership role at the time.
2. Which side in the civil war were referred to by their opponents as "Irregulars"?
3. What are we told about the circumstances in which the cameraman took the moving images shown in this film clip?
4. Why does the film have no sound?
5. Look down through the list of intertitles.
   (a) Who was the leader of the rebels in the Four Courts?
   (b) Whose army was in charge of the guns that bombarded the Four Courts?
   (c) What was the impact of "Shells bursting on the Four Courts"?
6. Explain what is meant by the title, "Snipers emptied the streets."
7. What does the title "Homeless!" along with the accompanying image suggest about the impact of the fighting on the lives of ordinary people?
8. What questions has the film clip raised that may be answered in the course of the enquiry?

Questions?

Stage 1

(a) In what ways did the Treaty settlement of December 1921 cause division and confrontation within the ranks of Sinn Féin and the IRA?

(b) In what ways did it divide opinion outside the ranks of Sinn Féin?

Among the factors identified in commentaries are:

(a)

- For many in Sinn Féin and the IRA, acceptance of any terms less than a full Republic was a betrayal of the oath they had taken to the Republic.
- For others in Sinn Féin and the IRA, the compromise that the Treaty involved was an unacceptable compromise because of particular details of the settlement, such as the Oath to the king and the retention by Britain of the so-called 'Treaty ports'.
- For those in Sinn Féin and the IRA who supported the Treaty, many argued that it gave the substance of what they had fought for. Others believed, as Collins argued, that it could be built on to achieve more complete freedom.

(b)

- For much of the electorate, peace was the overwhelming objective and pro-Treaty parties received majority support.
- Ulster Unionists saw Sinn Féin and the IRA as hostile forces and sought to resist any pressure to be involved in the Treaty settlement. The upcoming Boundary Commission was seen as a potential threat and one they were determined to confront.
- Many southern Unionists saw little point in opposing the new arrangements and sought to adjust themselves as best they could to the politics and governance of the new state.

Relevant sources

(a)

Source 1: Excerpt from the Treaty debates
Mr. Joseph McBride (North and West Mayo), 19 December 1921

I am standing in support of the ratification of the Treaty brought home from London by the plenipotentiaries of Ireland. I support it because I consider it will be for the best interests of this country. I support the ratification because I know the people demand its ratification. I support the ratification of it because I know that the ideals for which I have worked, and for which others who are listening to me worked through many long and weary years, will be quicker attained by ratification of this Treaty than otherwise.

https://celt.ucc.ie//published/E900003-001/, pp.29-30

Questions and points for discussion

1. The speaker says he is supporting "ratification of the Treaty". What does this mean?
2. What are the first two reasons that the speaker gives for supporting the Treaty?
3. Does the speaker regard the Treaty as an ideal settlement? Explain your answer.

Source 2: Excerpt from Treaty debates
Miss MacSwiney (Cork), 21 December 1921

I speak for the living Republic, the Republic that cannot die. That document will never kill it, never. The Irish Republic was proclaimed and established by the men of Easter Week, 1916. The Irish Republican Government was established in January, 1919, and it has functioned since under such conditions that no country ever worked under before. That Republican Government is not now going to be fooled and destroyed by the Wizard of Wales. We beat him before and we shall beat him again, and I pray with all my heart and soul that a majority of the Members of this assembly will throw out that Treaty and that the minority will stand shoulder to shoulder with us in the fight to regain the position we held on the 4th of this month.

https://celt.ucc.ie//published/E900003-001/, p.126

Questions and points for discussion

1. What words of the speaker show that she was not prepared to compromise on the issue of the Republic? Explain your answer.
2. To what two pivotal events in the establishment of a Republican form of government does the speaker refer?
3. (a) Who was "the Wizard of Wales" to whom the speaker refers?
   (b) What substance is there in the speaker's claim that "we beat him before"?
4. The speaker hopes that "a majority of the Members of this assembly will throw out that Treaty". Did they? Explain your answer.

Portrait of Mary MacSwiney

Image courtesy of the National Library of Ireland

Source 3: Excerpt from the Treaty debates
Seán MacEntee (Monaghan), 22 December 1921

I am opposed to this Treaty because it gives away our allegiance and perpetuates partition. By that very fact that it perpetuates our slavery; by the fact that it perpetuates partition it must fail utterly to do what it is ostensibly intended to do—reconcile the aspirations of the Irish people to association with the British Empire. When did the achievement of our nation's unification cease to be one of our national aspirations?

https://celt.ucc.ie//published/E900003-001/, p.152

Questions and points for discussion

1. Explain the speaker's main reason for opposing the Treaty.
2. What significant detail in the source description helps to explain why the speaker had a strong interest in the issue about which he speaks?

Seán MacEntee in 1973
© RTÉ Archives

Source 4: Excerpt from the Treaty debates
Mr. Éamonn Dee (Waterford and East Tipperary), 3 January 1922

I am against the ratification of the Treaty on several grounds, one of which is that it is a permanent barrier against the unity of Ireland. I am a Republican and I cannot swear fealty or allegiance to the British King. I object to the clauses in the Treaty pertaining to naval defence, submarine cables, wireless stations in time of peace or war. I also oppose the Treaty because of the partitioning of Ireland. As Deputy Sean MacEntee has said, it leaves a permanent barrier against the unity of Ireland. I object to the Treaty because of the liability for the British National Debt; but the main objection I have to ratification is because of the fact of swearing fealty to the English King.

https://celt.ucc.ie//published/E900003-001/, pp.207-208

Questions and points for discussion

1. The speaker says he is "against the ratification of the Treaty on several grounds". Make a list of the different reasons he gives for his opposition.
2. (a) Which of the reasons does he give as the main reason for objecting to the Treaty?
   (b) How typical was the speaker in identifying this factor as the main reason for his opposition? (See Secondary Source 2 below.) Explain your answer.

Source 5: Excerpt from the Treaty debates
Mr. Seán McKeon (Longford and Westmeath), 19 December 1921

To me this Treaty gives me what I and my comrades fought for; it gives us for the first time in 700 years the evacuation of Britain's armed forces out of Ireland. It also gives me my hope and dream, our own Army, not half-equipped, but fully equipped, to defend our interests. If the Treaty were much worse in words than it is alleged to be, once it gave me these two things, I would take it and say as long as the armed forces of Britain are gone and the armed forces of Ireland remain, we can develop our own nation in our own way.

https://celt.ucc.ie//published/E900003-001/, p.23

Questions and points for discussion

1. Find out: What role did Seán Mac Eoin/Seán McKeon play in the war of independence?
2. (a) What are the "two things" that make the Treaty worth accepting, according to the speaker?
   (b) According to the speaker, what is the significance of the "two things" that he identifies?

Secondary Source 1

The case of the pro-Treaty side was less an appeal to the unblemished virtues of the Treaty but rather a plea for pragmatism, arguing that it was the best deal that could have been reached and, in Collins' famous phrase offered. 'if not the ultimate freedom that all nations desire … the freedom to achieve it'. Collins, Griffith and Kevin O'Higgins would all be the key spokesmen for the Treaty arguing that an unwinnable war and more bloodshed was the only likely outcome of rejecting the Treaty.

Robert Lynch (2015) *Revolutionary Ireland: 1912-25.* London: Bloomsbury Academic, p.85

Questions and points for discussion

1. Discuss what the writer means when he says that the case of the pro-Treaty side was "a plea for pragmatism".
2. Discuss the meaning of "Collins' famous phrase" as mentioned by the writer.
3. (a) According to the writer, who were the key spokesmen for the Treaty?
   (b) What did these key spokesmen identify as the likely outcome of rejecting the Treaty?

General Michael Collins, date uncertain (probably August 1922)
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Michael_Collins_in_military_uniform.jpg

Secondary Source 2 (edited)

The anti-Treaty side appealed to idealism and the sanctity of the Republic. Their appeal was passionate and ideological, painting the Treaty as a betrayal of the dead martyrs of 1916. They reserved particular ire for the notion of taking an oath of allegiance to the British monarch, a feature of the Treaty which particularly enraged Robert Erskine Childers, the editor of the *Irish Bulletin* who had acted as secretary to the London delegation. Overwhelmingly, the oath would prove to be the single most offensive clause in the Treaty for the Republican side. The anti-Treaty appeal to emotion was demonstrated by the strong presence of female TDs in their ranks. These widows, wives and sisters of Republican martyrs, such as Mary MacSwiney, were treated by many as substitutes for their dead male relatives. So strong was opposition to the Treaty amongst female members of the Dáil that the pro-Treaty side soon sarcastically dubbed the opposition the 'Women and Childers Party'.

Robert Lynch (2015) *Revolutionary Ireland: 1912-25.* London: Bloomsbury Academic, pp.85-89

Questions and points for discussion

1. Explain the judgement of the writer that the appeal of the anti-Treaty side was "passionate and ideological".
2. What clause of the Treaty did its opponents find most offensive, according to the writer?
3. Erskine Childers was one of the most outspoken critics of the Treaty. What information about Childers does the writer include?
4. Why were the women TDs who opposed the Treaty likely to be emotional in their opposition?
5. Why were anti-Treaty TDs called the "Women and Childers" part by their opponents?

Erskine Childers in 1920
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Childers_1920.jpg

Countess Markiewicz, one of the women TDs
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Countess_Markiewicz.jpg

(b)

Source 6

For the first time in our history a Government using force to put down an insurrection has had the overwhelming support of the common people. As one moved about in the back streets, it was possible to gather the general feeling. Certainly there was some support for the Irregular cause, and what support they had was of a vociferous quality. It was apparent, however, that its mainspring was Sentiment and personal ties of kinship between the declaimers and the defenders [The IRA]. For every vehement harangue there were twenty solid and silent opponents who only vented an occasional growl of disapproval to show their real opinion. When it came to deeds, not words, the kindly attentions paid to the troops wherever they were quartered showed their own personal popularity and the popularity of their cause.

Dispatch from *Irish Times* reporter, early July 1922, cited in Tom Garvin (1996) *1922: The Birth of Irish Democracy.* Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, p.102

Questions and points for discussion

1. What had happened "for the first time in our history", according to the *Irish Times* report?
2. Explain the term "Irregular" as used in the report.
3. What type of people tended to support the Irregulars, according to the report?
4. How did the "common people" show their support for the [national] troops, according to the report?

Secondary Source 3 (edited)

The Treaty was, to Ulster Unionists, a betrayal of the assurances which Lloyd George had given previously and a surrender to what Carson described as a 'murder gang'. It proposed to transfer immediate sovereignty over the parliament of Northern Ireland from Westminster to Dublin, though the government of Northern Ireland was empowered to opt out of this arrangement. Should it do so – and it promptly did - the Government of Ireland Act would remain intact so far as Northern Ireland was concerned. Additionally, under the terms of the Treaty, the inevitable opt-out meant that a Boundary Commission would be established to review the border between the two jurisdictions.

The prospect of this Boundary Commission would have a significant impact on the early development of Northern Ireland. Unionists feared that it would transfer sufficiently large an area and population to the Irish Free State as to make Northern Ireland unviable. p.306

Susannah Riordan (2018), 'Politics, Economy, Society: Northern Ireland, 1920-1939', Chapter 10, *The Cambridge History of Ireland, Volume 4, 1880 to the Present*, pp. 296-322

Questions and points for discussion

1. What explanation does the writer give as to why Ulster Unionists felt betrayed by the Treaty?
2. The writer explains that the Treaty had an 'opt out' clause for Northern Ireland. What was to happen if Northern Ireland opted out of the Treaty arrangements, according to the writer?
3. In the immediate aftermath of the Treaty (1922-1925), what fear did Unionists have that had a significant impact on the early development of Northern Ireland, according to the writer?

Secondary Source 4

Craig was right to be angry at the terms of the Treaty. Article 12 may have been a master-stroke in preventing the Treaty negotiations breaking down on the Ulster question, but it served only to intensify the problems facing Northern Ireland. It heightened apprehensions among Unionists, particularly those living in border areas, who were alarmed at the possibility of being transferred to the Free State. It also created among nationalists in the North and South an expectation that Northern Ireland would soon disappear and a notion that its territory was a legitimate target for seizure.

Patrick Buckland (1980) *James Craig, Lord Craigavon*. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, p.70

Questions and points for discussion and research

1. (a) Article 12 said that a Boundary Commission was to be established if Northern Ireland decided to opt out of the Treaty provisions. How does the writer explain his assertion that "it served only to intensify the problems facing Northern Ireland"?
   (b) What was the nationalist 'reading' of Article 12, according to the writer?
2. Find out: What was the eventual outcome when the Boundary Commission met in 1924-1925?

Ulster Unionist leader, James Craig, arrives at City Hall, Dublin, for talks with Michael Collins, February 1922

Source 7

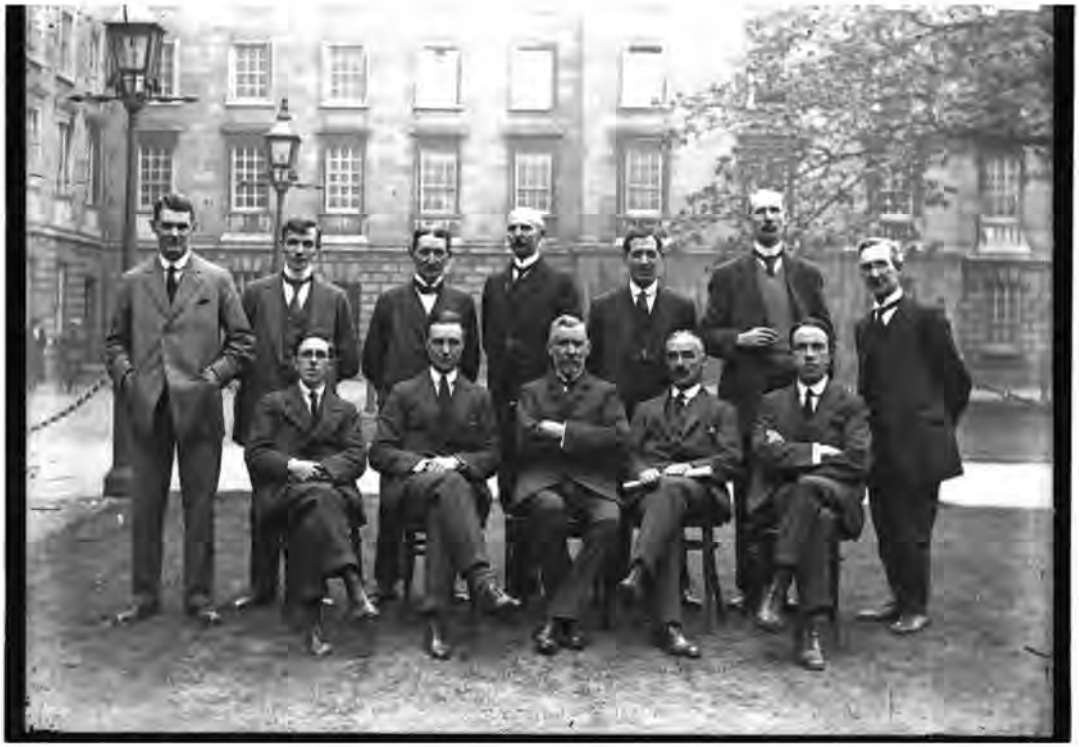
The I.A.O.S is to get a substantial grant from the Provisional Government. If it gets one from the Northern Government I shall be able to save it. It will be impossible to have a meeting of the Committee on the 11th, I fear as so many of the railways are broken up. But if things improve in the next few days I will decide upon a plan that will enable the work to go on.

Letter from Sir Horace Plunkett to Elizabeth, Countess of Fingall, 4 July1922, cited in Elizabeth, Countess of Fingall, told to Pamela Hinkson (1991) *Seventy Years Young: Memories of Elizabeth, Countess of Fingall.* Dublin: The Lilliput Press, p.406 (First published by Collins of London in 1937)

Questions and points for discussion

1. The I.A.O.S (Irish Agricultural Organisation Society) was founded in Dublin in 1894, with Sir Horace Plunkett as president, to coordinate the activities of the cooperative movement, a movement that was set up to help farmers help themselves. What was needed to save it, according to Plunkett?
2. Why would a meeting of the I.A.O.S. committee on 11 July 1922 be impossible, according to Plunkett?
3. Is there any evidence in the document that Plunkett wished the work of the I.A.O.S. to continue? Explain your answer.

Note: On the establishment of the Irish Free State, Plunkett accepted a nomination to the newly appointed Irish senate. During the civil war, on 29 January 1923, his house 'Kilteragh', in Foxrock, was bombed in a series of attacks on supporters of the government. It was burnt out the following night. The Countess of Fingall wrote in her memoirs (p.419): "So that was the end of the house that Horace had built for Ireland, the meeting place of so many streams – often troubled waters – of Irish life."



Sir Horace Plunkett (front row centre) and others at Trinity College, Dublin, c.1920

Source 8

The Irish Civil War was in progress and one of its victims – or very likely to be if he didn't look slippy – was my father – then a member of the Cosgrave government. He had returned once to our house outside Dublin with three perceptible bullet holes in the back door of his car, in no mood to share my mother's opinion, aimed at restoring his confidence, that the IRA had probably mistaken him for someone else. The shots had, apparently, been fired near Portobello Bridge. So sure was my father of their intended destination that he covered the three miles home in three minutes, and went straight to bed.

Excerpt from Patrick Campbell, *South of the Border*, in Molly Keane and Sally Phipps (eds.) (1993) *Molly Keane's Ireland: an anthology*. London: Harper Collins Publishers, p.219

Note: Patrick Campbell, 3rd Baron Glenavy, was a writer, humourist and television personality. His father, Charles Gordon Campbell, 2nd Baron Glenavy, spent much of his early career in London, but returned to Ireland in 1922 and was appointed secretary of the Department of Industry and Commerce. As a key figure in the new civil service, he was a target for anti-Treaty forces. Following the incident described above, his house in Terenure was badly damaged in an arson attack on Christmas Eve, 1922.

Questions and points for discussion

1. Was Patrick Campbell's father a politician or a civil servant? Explain your answer.
2. What does the writer mean when he talks about the need for his father to "look slippy"?
3. What was the outcome of the first IRA attack on the writer's father?
4. What indication is there in the above excerpt that the writer was a humourist?

Stage 2

(a) What factors prompted people to fight during the year of civil war, 1922-1923?

(b) Why did some Irish people choose not to fight?

Among the factors identified in commentaries are:

(a)

- Some felt honour-bound to defend the Republic that they believed was being subverted by the terms of the Treaty.
- Others wished to avoid conflict but, once conflict had begun, felt obliged to join with those who shared their opposition to the Treaty settlement.
- On the pro-Treaty side, some believed that the Treaty settlement needed to be defended if the freedom they believed had been won was to be secured and built on.
- Some wished to put their military experience to good use or hoped for reward if they helped the new State to survive the onslaught from its critics.

(b)

- For some Irish people, it was unacceptable to attack fellow countrymen and/or former comrades.
- For others, it was time to build up a peaceful society and economy after many years of war and suffering.

Relevant sources

Source 8 (edited)

An excerpt from *Vive Moi! An Autobiography* by the writer Seán Ó Faoláin

Civil war now threatened between the forces of the new government of the Irish Free State and those recalcitrant forces of the I.R.A. who had since the truce occupied public buildings and barracks in Dublin and various parts of the country, and now claimed the right to represent the symbolical Living Republic first declared during the 1916 Rebellion. I took the Republican side. The only Ireland I knew and loved was the Gaelic-speaking West, its hard ancestral memories, its ancient ways, its trackless mountains, small cottages, lonely lakes, ruined hermit chapels, wild rocky seas, and what on earth, I asked myself, had this primordial world to do with oaths of allegiance to rich, exploiting empires? The idea seemed incongruous, shameful, and a base betrayal.

Seán Ó Faoláin (1965) *Vive Moi! An Autobiography.* London: Rupert Hart-Davis, p.150

Questions and points for discussion

1. What does the writer tell us about those he refers to as "the recalcitrant forces of the IRA"?
2. Discuss the writer's explanation as to why he took the Republican side in the civil war.

Seán Ó Faoláin in 1967
© RTÉ Archives

Secondary Source 5

By August 1922 Cork city was the last major area still under control of the anti-treatyites. They had requisitioned local retailers to send provisions to fighters elsewhere. Trench-coats, boots, thousands of pairs of socks and commercial vans were confiscated and sent to Limerick. Priests denounced them as robbers and looters. At the beginning of July the republicans took over the customs house and began collecting the duty on the goods still being shipped into the port. Lodging £12,000 a week to a bank account, they were able to write cheques to pay for supplies rather than sequestering them. As the summer passed Cork enjoyed a strange isolated normality. It was cut off from the rest of Ireland but the racing results from England still came by wire. pp.366-7

Maurice Walsh (2015) *Bitter Freedom: Ireland in a Revolutionary World 1918-1923.* London: Faber & Faber.

Questions and points to consider

1. (a) What name does the writer use for the fighters who held Cork city in August 1922?
   (b) Explain what this name means.
2. How did the Cork fighters try to help their comrades in other areas, according to the writer? Explain your answer.
3. On what grounds did priests denounce the fighters, according to the writer?
4. What explanation does the writer give for the fighters being able to lodge £12,000 a week to a bank account?
5. Explain what the writer means when he says: "As the summer passed Cork enjoyed a strange isolated normality."

Source 9

It should be pointed out that in the present fighting the men we have lost have died for something, that the wounded are suffering for something … for the same principle that we fought the British for – the People's right to live and be governed in the way they themselves choose … What they are fighting for is the revival of the Nation [and] this revival and restoration of order cannot in any way be regarded as a step backwards, nor a repressive, nor a reactionary step, but a clear step forward.

Excerpt from memo by Collins to his colleagues in July 1922. Cited in Maurice Walsh (2015) *Bitter Freedom: Ireland in a Revolutionary World 1918-1923.* London: Faber & Faber, p.372

Questions and points to consider

1. What principle were those who fought under his command fighting for, according to Collins?
2. What represented "a clear step forward", according to Collins?

Secondary Source 6

The civil war was fought ostensibly over the Treaty, and particularly the oath. But the Treaty was merely the occasion, not the cause of the war. The cause was the basic conflict in nationalist doctrine between majority right and divine right. The issue was whether the Irish people had the right to choose their own government at any time according to their judgement of the existing circumstances.

J.J.Lee (1989) *Ireland 1912-1985: Politics and Society.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Questions and points to consider

1. Explain the writer's argument about the cause of the civil war.
2. Discuss whether the issue identified by the writer is still relevant today.

Secondary Source 7

When the Anglo-Irish Truce arrived in July 1921, he [Seán Lemass] was by no means a diehard purist, and seems to have wavered for a long time between the compromisers led by Collins and Cosgrave and the purists led by de Valera and Liam Lynch. In this, he was like many another. In early 1922 he served briefly as an instructor for the new police force, the Garda Síochána, being set up by the provisional government of Ireland, the predecessor of the Irish Free State. His leadership abilities had already been noticed, and by the pro-Treaty people. However, when his first pay cheque arrived, he noticed it was drawn on the provisional government rather than on the government of the Irish Republic, and he changed to the anti-Treaty side. This episode, displaying a legalism that was uncharacteristic of his later self, suggests that his Republicanism was somewhat marginal. Perhaps he could not stay away from his beloved de Valera and his pals in the Four Courts Garrison; like many others, he went with his peer group, a natural thing to do at age 23.

Tom Garvin (2009) *Judging Lemass: The Measure of the Man*. Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, pp.49-50

Questions and points to consider

1. What does the writer mean when he says that Seán Lemass "wavered for a long time between the compromisers … and the purists …"?
2. What role did Lemass take on for a short time early in 1922, according to the writer?
3. According to the writer, what prompted Lemass to change to the anti-Treaty side?
4. What other factors may have influenced Lemass in changing to the anti-Treaty side, according to the writer?

Supporters carrying Seán Lemass after his victory in a by-election in Dublin in 1924
© RTÉ Archives

Source 10

We were neither police nor soldiers at Oriel House, neither fish, flesh nor good red herring, so when the Four Courts fight started I joined Collins's army. Tom Ennis was a general in the Free State Army, and when I heard the shooting I went down to have a gape at what was going on, and I said to Tom, 'Tom, I want to join the army. Will you take me on?' 'Certainly, Dave,' he said. 'I'll make you my military secretary.' I knew as much about being a military secretary as I do about Einstein's theory, but one of the jobs I had to do at the Four Courts was to bring Tom Barry up to Mountjoy prison. He tried to get into the Four Courts dressed up as a nurse. He had a small little face under his costume. I said to him, 'Listen, Barry, don't try any tricks with me. It's not the Duke of Wellington's regiment you're dealing with now. You'll get your head blown off.' 'Don't worry,' he said, 'I won't.'

David Neligan, officer in the Free State army (and former Dublin Castle detective and Collins informant), cited in in Kenneth Griffiths and Timothy E. Grady, *Curious Journey: an Oral History of Ireland's Unfinished Revolution.* London: Hutchinson, 1982. p.284.

Note: Oriel House was located at 33-34 Westland Row, Dublin. It was the headquarters of the Criminal Investigation Division, a special police unit set up by Michael Collins during the civil war. Its main purpose was to protect the Dáil and the Provisional Government. It became controversial due to allegations of serious mistreatment of prisoners.

Questions and points for discussion

1. Discuss the reason the speaker gives for joining what he calls "Collins's army" following the attack on the Four Courts.
2. What was the first position he held in the Free State army, according to the speaker?
3. Tom Barry, leader of the Flying Column of Cork No. 3 Brigade of the IRA, was a leading figure in the war of independence. Discuss the speaker's portrayal of Barry in Source 10.
4. Soon appointed a chief intelligence officer and attached to the units of the Dublin Guard that pursued a bitter and controversial campaign against anti-Treaty forces in Kerry, Neligan was criticised by his opponents as ruthless and uncompromising. Is there any detail in Source 10 that suggests a ruthless streak? Explain your answer.

Public domain photograph of David Neligan: taken in 1923
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/David_Neligan

Source 11

Now when a civil war breaks out, it's brother against brother, and there's no saying what way you'd go. It all depended on which crowd you got into. That was the feeling of most of the lads. They were just depressed that there was any split at all, you see. So anyway, when I went out that morning I was in the middle of the Phibsborough Road, and I went up the road instead of down. . Had I gone down the road the first group I would have met would have been the Free State side, and I probably would have fought with them. Going up the road I would be going towards O'Connell Street, to the Republicans, and I would fight with them. But my mind wasn't made up as to what I would do until I found meself in the Republican group. So I took part in the Civil War as a Republican.

Seán Harling, Dubliner, cited in in Kenneth Griffiths and Timothy E. Grady, *Curious Journey: an Oral History of Ireland's Unfinished Revolution*. London: Hutchinson, 1982. p.285

Questions and points to consider

1. What insight does the speaker give into one of the reasons why people supported a particular side in the civil war?
2. Why were "most of the lads" depressed, according to the speaker?
3. Discuss the explanation the speaker gives as to why he supported the "Republican' group in the civil war.

Source 12

As a result of the split, we had this situation in the country – on one side a military force under the control of the Provisional Government. That was the body established for the purpose of putting the Treaty into operation. This section started to organise a vigorous recruiting campaign throughout the country. They had various inducements to offer recruits. First, the military force established by them was paid. Their army was given uniform, fed and maintained in barracks. As result of all those inducements they were able to appeal to the most selfish instincts in the nation. In addition to all I have set out were the prospects of a job of permanent employment of some nature in a newly-formed state. Their opponents, the anti-Treaty forces, in opposition to all this, had nothing to offer but the appeal to national principles and loyalties, and the wonder was, and will be thought so by the men who write the history of this period at some future date, that thousands of men in all parts of the country, north, south, east and west, thronged to the call of national principle and loyalty

BMH.WSO400: Statement of Richard Walsh, p.172

Note: Richard Walsh was a Fianna Fáil TD for Mayo South from 1927 to 1943 and 1944 to 1951. See pp.178-9 of his witness statement for his views on what caused the civil war.

Questions and points to consider

1. The writer refers to the military split in the IRA which led to civil war. What name is usually given to the "military force under the control of the Provisional Government" to which he refers?
2. What "inducements" and "prospects" were available to recruits in the army set up by the Provisional Government, according to the writer?
3. What was the only thing the anti-Treaty forces had to offer recruits, according to the writer?
4. Discuss the prediction made by the writer in the last sentence of Source 12.

(b)

Source 13

Resolution adopted at a Conference of Representatives of all Public Boards of Cork City and County 17 July, 1922 (edited excerpt)

1. *Against War.* We believe we are voicing the views of the people of Munster when we declare ourselves not satisfied that such a disastrous fratricidal strife is unavoidable and when we appeal to those who fought so nobly for freedom to consider whether we are all drifting towards the greatest calamity in Irish history.

... ...

3. *Armistice.* We ask for an immediate cessation of hostilities and we request Dáil Éireann to call an armistice. Pending the meeting of the Dáil we call upon the Government in Dublin and GHQ Clonmel to cease-fire.

Cited in Bill Kissane (2005) *The Politics of the Irish Civil War.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, p.131

Questions and points to consider and research

1. The conference referred to included representatives of all 'public boards' in Cork City and County. Discuss what is referred to by the term "public boards".
2. Research: How prominent a role did Cork play in the Civil War?
3. Explain the declaration and the appeal that are made in the first point of the resolution.
4. What action did point 3 of the resolution call for, in order to bring an end to the fighting?

Secondary Source 8

November [1922] saw further calls for a truce. A general convention of the Gaelic League called for a week's ceasefire. New Ross Rural Council called for an immediate truce. North Tipperary County Council suggested that a conference be held, chaired by Revd Dr Mannix, the archbishop of Melbourne. The Irish Women's International League also issued a call for a truce. On 20 November Dublin Corporation passed a resolution proposing that a peace conference be called. In the opinion of one member, the common people in the conflict were only playing 'the part of the bit of iron between the hammer and the anvil'. In Waterford on the same day, a meeting of the Workers' Council and Labour Party passed a resolution calling for an immediate cessation of hostilities.

Bill Kissane (2005) *The Politics of the Irish Civil War.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp. 135-6

Note: Daniel Mannix (1864-1963) was born in Charleville, Co. Cork, and became Archbishop of Melbourne in 1917. He was a sharp critic of the reprisals policy during the War of Independence, and was an outspoken critic of war.

Questions and points to consider

1. Make a list of the various organisations mentioned who called for a truce in November 1922. How similar or different to each other were these organisations?
2. Discuss why Archbishop Mannix may have been proposed to chair a conference to explore ways of ending the war.
3. Discuss the comment on the war made by a member of Dublin Corporation.

Source 14

In December 1922, the poet, painter and editor of the *Irish Homestead*, George Russell ('AE') wrote an open letter to *The Irish Times* addressed to those who were opposing the Treaty by force of arms. The following is an excerpt.

> My friends among you defend to me your warfare on the Free State on spiritual grounds, asserting the natural right of our people to complete independence, and that they had no freedom of choice in taking the decision they did, being under threat of a war to extermination if the Treaty terms were not accepted. I do not deny the right asserted. I could not without self-contempt condemn those who desire full independence for their country than I could blame those who would bring about a revolutionary change in the economic system so that none might be neglected or starved in mind or body. But there may be discussion over the means to those ends. I think, with your employment of force, the ideal you stand for tends to recede and become more and more remote in the affections of your countrymen. They cannot dissociate the ideal from the acts of those who uphold it and the ruinous consequences of those acts.
>
> *The Irish Times*, 29 December, 1922

Questions and points to consider

1. The writer had friends who were waging war on the Free State. What right had these friends asserted of which the writer says, "I do not deny the right ..."?
2. (a) What aspect of his friends' actions does the writer disagree with?
   (b) What reasons does the writer give for his disagreement?

George Russell and his wife, Violet (on left), with an unidentified woman, in their vegetable garden, south Dublin c.1930

Denis Johnston, as a guest on *The Late Late Show* in 1969. His wife, actress, Betty Chancellor, is also visible.

Source 15

An extract from the diary of Denis Johnston, writer and playwright, 29 June 1922

I can't conceive the mentality of a man behind his sandbag in the Four Courts, what he thinks is going to be the end of it, how he imagines he's going to affect anything by hanging on there and shooting at other Irishmen, and even if he were victorious over the Free State Army how he intends to deal with the British when they come back in these circumstances. Beyond me. They are a set of fanatics. "Fighting for Ireland" be damned, with those election results.

Cited in Maurice Walsh (2015) *Bitter Freedom: Ireland in a Revolutionary World, 1918-1923: Politics and Society.* London: Faber & Faber. p.363

Note: Denis Johnston (1901-1984) was a Dublin-born playwright and writer whose play *The Moon in the Yellow River* (1931), produced at the Abbey Theatre, explores tensions between 'Free Staters' and 'Republicans' in the aftermath of the Civil War.

Questions and points for discussion

1. What reasons does the writer give for being unable to understand the mentality of those anti-Treaty forces who had occupied the Four Courts?
2. Discuss what the writer means when he calls the anti-Treaty forces "a set of fanatics"?
3. Discuss what the writer means when he says, "'Fighting for Ireland' be damned, with those elections results."

Secondary Source 9

There is little doubt that the Treaty commanded majority support: this was to be made plain in both the 1922 and 1923 elections. It was favoured in the first place by all those who sought a quick return to peace and order. Those whose livelihood depended on trade were quick to support the Treaty as were church leaders of all denominations, though a handful of Catholic clergymen remained republican in sympathy. A joint pastoral from the Catholic hierarchy was to condemn the anti-Treatyites unequivocally later in 1922. The Treaty was also welcomed by most of the press, by former Home Rulers and by the southern Unionists. These latter had reconciled themselves rather rapidly to the shape of things to come and so guaranteed that they would be tolerated, at least, in the new order. Supporters of the Treaty also included those who were attracted by the prospect of army or civil service careers in the new state. Then there were the politically involved who, like Collins himself, believed the Treaty was a stepping stone to full independence, that partition would not last and that the British Empire was in decline. Many lesser figures were content to take their cue from Collins.

John A. Murphy (1975) *Ireland in the Twentieth Century.* Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, pp.47-48

Questions and points to consider

1. How does the writer back up his statement that "the Treaty commanded majority support"?
2. (a) List the different groups of people identified by the writer who supported the Treaty.
   (b) Taking each group, explain why it was likely or unlikely to favour fighting in the civil war.

A group of Free State army officers during the civil war (probably, 1922).
Eoin O'Duffy is on the left of the group.
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Irish_soldiers_during_the_Civil_War.jpg

Stage 3

(a) How serious was the degree of enmity between former comrades during the Civil War, 1922-1923?

(b) What was the legacy of this enmity in the decades that followed?

Among the factors identified in commentaries are:

(a)

- Despite initial attempts to avoid fighting each other and to collaborate in attacks on the new Northern Ireland regime, following the attack on the Four Courts in June 1922, deep bitterness developed between many leading figures in both the IRA and Sinn Féin.
- Both sides in the war were guilty of atrocities that increased the bitterness and sense of hurt and made the prospect of reconciliation more difficult.
- Former close friends became enemies and family splits developed as members took different sides in the war.

(b)

- The major political divisions in the new state were shaped by civil war allegiances.
- For decades, political campaigns were marked by personalised remarks and abuse based on civil war allegiances and, sometimes, alleged misdemeanours or cowardice.
- For many who took part in the civil war, a reluctance to talk about their role constrained considered discussion of the conflict.

Cumann na nGaedheal election poster, 1932

Image courtesy of the National Library of Ireland

Relevant sources

(a)

Secondary Source 10 (edited)

With the formation of a Provisional Government in Dublin under Michael Collins, the Irish leader quickly moved to instigate an aggressive anti-partition policy in the South. Nationalist-controlled local authorities were urged to opt out of the northern state and the bitterly divided IRA south of the border was united behind an aggressive policy aimed at launching an all-out offensive on the North. p.109

However, two developments took the pressure off the Belfast government. The first was its own decision to employ the full rigour of the Special Powers Act after the shooting of a Unionist MP, William Twadell, in late May. Mass round-ups were carried out and over 700 IRA Volunteers were interned. More significant perhaps was the opening of the civil war in the South on 28 June 1922. Immediately support for northern Nationalists collapsed with the supply of money and arms drying up.

Furthermore, in August 1922, Michael Collins, the one southern politician who had made a priority of northern affairs, was killed in an ambush in West Cork. The emerging Irish Free State leadership under William Cosgrave instigated 'a policy of peaceful obstruction towards the Northern government', turning its back on any kind of offensive policy with regard to the North. IRA units were withdrawn from the North and offensive action suspended. pp.110-111

Robert Lynch (2015 *Revolutionary Ireland 1912-25.* London: Bloomsbury Academic.

Questions and points to consider

1. According to the writer, what initially united a "bitterly divided IRA" following the formation of the Provisional Government in Dublin (16 January 1922)?
2. (a) According to the writer, what two developments "took the pressure off the Belfast government"?
   (b) Explain how these two developments eased the pressure.
3. How did the killing of Michael Collins in August 1922 further change the situation in Northern Ireland?

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:William_Thomas_Cosgrave.jpg

Source 16

Feelings ran very high here in Cork and when the split appeared in the I.R.A. it got bigger and bigger as time went on. One of the worst features of it was that it meant a second recruiting by both sides of forces that weren't engaged before in the struggle, and that made it even more bitter. A lot of us here who were in favour of the Treaty had to go on the run, because the general body of the Volunteers around Cork were anti-Treaty, and they had taken over barracks and given us a pretty rough time

John L. O'Sullivan, cited in in Kenneth Griffiths and Timothy E. Grady, *Curious Journey: an Oral History of Ireland's Unfinished Revolution*. London: Hutchinson, 1982. pp.288-289

Questions and points to consider

1. What explanation does the speaker give as to why the split in the IRA in Cork "got bigger and bigger as time went on"?
2. Why did the speaker and others living in Cork who supported the pro-Treaty side in the Civil War have to go 'on the run'?

Secondary Source 11 (edited)

The new army of the Irish Free State under Mulcahy found itself at war with old comrades, who kept the name of 'IRA' and declared that their objective was 'to guard the honour and maintain the independence of the Irish Republic'. Kevin O'Higgins, one of the most uncompromising members of the new government, referred to the dissidents more crisply as 'a combination of degenerate Apaches' and to de Valera as 'a crooked Spanish bastard'. Mutual recrimination became the order of the day.

R.F. Foster (2014) *Vivid Faces: The Revolutionary Generation in Ireland, 1890-1923*. London: Allen Lane, p.280

Questions and points to consider

1. Who was the leader of the new Free State army?
2. (a) What was the declared objective of Mulcahy's former IRA comrades?
   (b) What did this objective mean in practice?
3. What does the writer mean when he describes Kevin O'Higgins as "one of the most uncompromising members of the new government"?
4. What does the abusive language attributed to O'Higgins tell us about the state of relations between O'Higgins and his former comrades?
5. What does the writer mean when he says, "Mutual recrimination became the order of the day"?

Portrait of Kevin O'Higgins by Sir John Lavery, 1923
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Kevin_O%27Higgins_by_John_Lavery.jpg

Richard Mulcahy and his wife, Josephine ('Min') during the civil war.
See Secondary Source 15 for a discussion of how the civil war divided the 'Ryan girls' of whom 'Min' Mulcahy (née Ryan) was one.

Image courtesy of the National Library of Ireland

Source 17

Seán Hales and his brother, Tom, had been prominent in the fight against the British in the West Cork area. I had met Seán on the occasion of holding a court in Bandon in the period after the Truce, and had taken a liking to him. The impression he left upon me was that a big fair-to-reddish-haired Corkman of the finest type. As was not uncommon in families at the time, he and his brother differed upon the Treaty issue; and on the outbreak of civil war they took opposite sides. Seán Hales was a member of the Dáil as well as being a Brigadier in the National Army and had voted for the Army (Special Powers) Resolution. On December 7th he was leaving the Ormond Hotel on the North Quays to attend a meeting of the Dáil, in company with Pádraic Ó Máille, another member who had also voted for the Resolution, and they had just taken their seats on an outside car when a party of six or seven men opened fire on them with revolvers. The driver drove at once to Jervis Street Hospital where Hales was found to be dead. Ó Máille was seriously but not fatally injured.

BMH.WS1751: Statement of Cahir Davitt, Judge, Dáil Courts, p.56

Note: Cahir Davitt (1894-1986) was a son of Michael Davitt, the founder of the 19th century Land League. He was appointed the first judge advocate general of the national army in1922.

Questions and points for discussion

1. In what circumstances had the writer met Seán Hales?
2. According to the writer, what happened in the case of Seán and Tom Hales that "was not uncommon in families at the time"?
3. What two positions were held by Seán Hales at the time of his killing, according to the writer?
4. What details of the killing of Seán Hales does the writer give us?

Secondary Source 12 (edited)

Convinced that this [Seán Hales' murder] was merely the beginning of the threatened assassination campaign, army officers recommended shooting four prisoners captured after the surrender of the Four Courts in the summer as a devastating reprisal. p.383

Mulcahy signed official notices for the shooting of each prisoner that made no pretence that his orders possessed the legal authority conferred on the military courts. It was explicitly an act of retaliation: 'You are hereby notified that, being a person taken in arms against the Government, you will be executed at 8 a.m. on Friday 8th December as a reprisal for the assassination of Brigadier Seán Hales T.D., in Dublin, on the 7th December on his way to a meeting of Dáil Éireann and as a solemn warning to those associated with you who are engaged in a conspiracy of assassination against the representatives of the Irish People.' Later that morning, Rory O'Connor, Liam Mellows, Joe McKelvey and Dick Barrett, who had all surrendered after the fall of the Four Courts, were shot by firing squad in Mountjoy Prison. In the Dáil, Labour leaders said it was murder. In London, *The Times* asserted that the British government had never stooped to such drastic measures. pp.384-385

Maurice Walsh (2015 *Bitter Freedom: Ireland in a Revolutionary World 1918-1923.* London: Faber & Faber.

Questions and points for discussion

1. According to the writer, who recommended the shooting of four prisoners as a reprisal for the killing of Seán Hales?
2. Explain what the writer means when he says the shootings were "explicitly an act of retaliation".
3. What does the writer tell us about the public reaction to the shootings?

Secondary Source 13

The increasing barbarity of both sides had been reflected in two particular atrocities: when five Free State soldiers were killed by a mine at Knockagoshel in County Kerry, in reprisal eight republicans were tied to a mine and blown up at Ballyseedy, Tralee, also in Kerry. According to Dorothy Macardle, for days after 'the birds were eating the flesh off the trees at Ballyseedy Cross'.

Diarmaid Ferriter, *The Transformation of Ireland, 1900-2000.* Profile Books, 2004, p.264

Secondary Source 14 (edited)

In Dublin the corpses, in some cases mutilated, of around 25 abducted republicans were dumped on the streets. The psychological impact of such harrowing incidents on a tightly-knit movement probably contributed more than the relatively low levels of violence to the Civil War's bitter legacy. pp. 291-292

Fearghal McGarry (2018), 'Revolution, 1916-1923', Chapter 9, *The Cambridge History of Ireland, Volume 4, 1880 to the Present*, pp. 258-295

Questions and points for discussion and research

1. Discuss why the writer of Secondary Source 13 uses the words 'barbarity' and 'atrocities' in referring to the killings at Knocknagoshel and Ballyseedy in Kerry (in March 1923).
2. Research: Who was Dorothy Macardle? Was she an impartial observer, or did she support one or other of the sides in the civil war?
3. What significant point about the bitter legacy of the civil war does the writer make in Secondary Source 13?

Secondary Source 15

For the Ryan girls, the Treaty was intensely and intimately traumatic. Min, who had married Richard Mulcahy in 1919, became with him a linchpin of the new regime – though it is a fair bet that her first love, Seán MacDermott, would not have endorsed the Treaty had he lived to see it. Agnes and Denis McCullough also supported the Treaty and the political party – Cumann na nGaedheal, later Fine Gael – that grew out of it. But their sisters Phyllis, Chris and Nell, their brother James and above all the dominating and charismatic figure of Mary Kate set themselves firmly against it. Mary Kate and Seán T. O'Kelly would – like James – be consistent supporters of de Valera and founder members of Fianna Fáil, the 'slightly constitutional party' which he founded in 1926 on the basis of opposing the Treaty, and which propelled him to supreme political power in Ireland for decades from the early 1930s. The rift between Seán T. and Denis McCullough, his closest friend as well as his brother-in-law, was particularly searing.

R.F. Foster (2014) *Vivid Faces: The Revolutionary Generation in Ireland, 1890-1923.* London: Allen Lane, p.284

Questions and points for discussion

1. How does the writer justify his statement that, "for the Ryan girls, the Treaty was intensely and intimately traumatic"?
2. Make a list of the Ryan siblings and (where identified) their spouses, and indicate which side they supported in the Civil War.
3. Which two Ryan sisters were most prominent in political circles, as the writer explains?
4. What insights into the post-civil war career of de Valera does the passage provide?

(b)

Secondary Source 16

The endurance of Civil War hatreds also reinforced the marginal role of ideology in a party political system which, unlike most European countries (but like most former colonies), was structured more by divisions over the national question than by social or class issues. pp. 293-294

Fearghal McGarry (2018), 'Revolution, 1916-1923', Chapter 9, *The Cambridge History of Ireland, Volume 4, 1880 to the Present*, pp. 258-295

Questions and points for discussion

1. How was the post-civil war political system in Ireland different from that of other countries, according to the writer?
2. What similarity with some other countries does the writer mention?

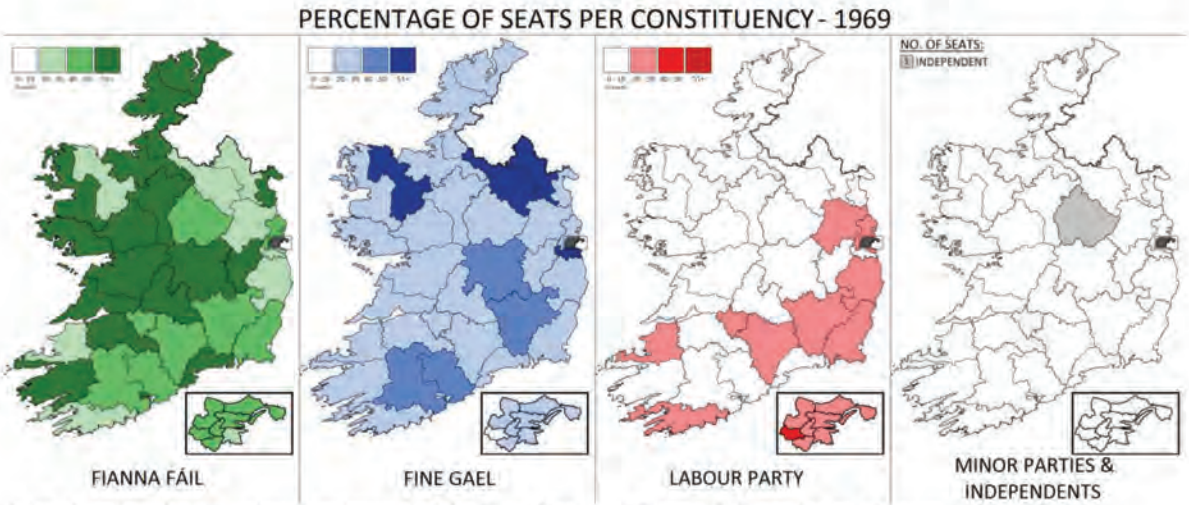
Secondary Source 17

The Treaty and Civil War would define Irish politics with the two major political parties, Fine Gael and Fianna Fáil, emerging to represent the pro- and anti-Treaty sides respectively. It was not until the 1970s that Ireland's prominent politicians ceased to be veterans of the civil war with the dominance of the civil war division stifling other more expansive political ideologies, particularly on the left where the Labour Party came a poor third in all elections until as recently as 2010. Even more, due to the messy end of the war and the lack of any form of negotiated peace, the IRA and its Republican irredentism endured in various forms, becoming the predominant ideology of Nationalist extremists in Northern Ireland during the 'Troubles'.

Robert Lynch (2015) *Revolutionary Ireland 1912-25.* London: Bloomsbury Academic, p.128

Questions and points for discussion and research

1. How does the writer justify his statement that "The Treaty and Civil War would define Irish politics …"?
2. What does the writer mean when he talks about the IRA's "Republican irredentism"? Ask for help with this, if needed.
3. What link does the writer make between the civil war and the 'Troubles'?



Map showing the on-going dominance of the Fine Gael and Fianna Fáil parties as reflected in the 1969 elections

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Irish_general_election_1969.png

Secondary Source 18

The sense that the state lived in the shadow of its revolution, that its political life was defined by the civil war, underestimates the intensity of bread and butter politics from the very outset. It is there to be found in the extent and range of legislation passed, while the frequency with which questions of land arose in the Dáil in this period is suggestive of a polity moving naturally and ploddingly on. The election literature of all parties, across the period shows that pounds, shillings and pence mattered when it came to the ballot box. pp. 343-344

The civil war mattered; it remained a handy register of abuse, but we take too readily for granted that politics in the state was bound to 'be disfigured by hatreds, betrayals, and disillusionment of the civil war'. In the 1920s and 1930s Military Service Pension applicants from both sides requested supporting references from old civil war enemies; it seems to have taken the historiography longer to get over the divide. It is still looking for the divisions, not what put this place back together again. p.344

Anne Dolan (2018), 'Politics, Economy and Society in the Irish Free State, 1922-1939', Chapter 11, *The Cambridge History of Ireland, Volume 4, 1880 to the Present*, pp. 323-348

Questions and points for discussion

1. Look at the opening sentence. How does the writer's view appear (at the very least, in terms of emphasis) to differ from the views expressed by the writers of Secondary Sources 16 and 17?
2. Discuss what the writer means by "bread and butter politics".
3. What examples does the writer give to support her view that "bread and butter" issues mattered?
4. Discuss what the writer means when she says the civil war "remained a handy register of abuse".
5. Explain the point the writer makes about people applying for Military Service Pensions in the 1920s and 1930s.
6. 'Historiography' is the writing of history and the study of the writing of history. In what way does the writer appear to criticise some of her fellow historians?

Secondary Source 19

Note: One of the strands of the Blueshirt phenomenon of the 1930s that links back to the divisions and conflict of the civil war is that many Blueshirt leaders were former IRA men who had chosen to support the Treaty. Here, Fergal Keane, the writer and journalist, describes and reflects on the situation at the time in the Listowel area.

Around Listowel, and certainly for Hannah, the Blueshirts were primarily the defenders of Collins's political legacy, and the physical response of his followers to Republican intimidation. They had formed a new political party, Fine Gael – the party of the Gael – but with de Valera's Fianna Fáil in government and escalating harassment from the rump of the IRA, they looked to the Blueshirts to protect political meetings and crack the skulls of their more militant opponents. The low-level violence that spluttered from 1934 through the following year was a coda to the Civil War. A former IRA guerrilla and Free State soldier, Paddy Joe McElligott, led the Listowel Blueshirts.

Fergal Keane (2015) *Wounds: a memoir of war & love*. London: HarperCollins Publishers, p.252

Note: Hannah Keane (née Purtill) was the writer's grandmother.

Questions and points for discussion

1. How were the Blueshirts of the 1930s seen by many in the Listowel area, according to the writer?
2. What defensive or protective role of the Blueshirts does the writer mention?
3. What does the writer mean in describing some of the '"low-level violence" of the 1930s as "a coda to the Civil War"?
4. What point does the writer make about the background of the Listowel Blueshirt leader?

Source 18

Excerpt from the autobiography of Donal Foley (1922-1981), journalist and newspaper editor, who grew up in Ferrybank, Co. Waterford

The Ireland of the thirties was a very political island. The Civil War hates and loves were still living and strong, no place more so than in small villages where neighbours, thrown together, had taken different sides. Ferrybank was no exception, and like many another village, these hates erupted occasionally on the hurling field, but mostly in the public house. I remember, one day when the Ferrybank hurling team was about to leave in a bus for a match at Moonrue, a group of men came into view on bicycles and one of them shouted as they passed – "Up the blueshirts." Within seconds they were set upon with hurleys and beaten to such an extent that a number were removed to hospital. That episode took place in the mid thirties.

Donal Foley (1977) *Three Villages*. Dublin: Egotist Press, p.12

Questions and points for discussion

1. In what type of place does the writer suggest, "Civil War hates and loves were still living and strong" in the 1930s"?
2. Where did post-civil war tensions sometimes erupt into violence, according to the writer?
3. What sparked the violence of the Ferrybank hurling team, according to the writer?

Source 19

Note: In 1989, Fintan O'Toole visited Bruree, the small village in Co. Clare where Éamon de Valera grew up. One of the people to whom he spoke was Lorcan Ó Maonaigh, a local farmer and veteran member of the local Fianna Fáil cumann.

Lorcan isn't sure when he joined Fianna Fáil, since it seemed that he was always in the party. After the Civil War, you always knew which side you had been on, and his family's side was staunchly Republican. 'It wasn't that there was much bitterness or enmity round here, it was just that there was a different sort of relationship. The Fianna Fáil fellas knew each other very well and there'd be a different sort of a handshake if you met on the road, that sort of a way.' A man who lived at the end of their boreen used to take Lorcan to Limerick every time that Dev was in town. 'I grew up with all those people, and I never changed.' p.276

Fintan O'Toole (1989), Dev's People, in John Horgan (ed.) *Great Irish Reporting.* Dublin: Penguin Ireland, pp.273-281.

Questions and points for discussion

1. Discuss why Lorcan was not sure when he joined the Fianna Fáil party.
2. What do you think the writer mean when he says, "After the Civil War, you always knew which side you had been on …"?
3. How does Lorcan explain to the writer the way in which post-civil war loyalties affected everyday life?
4. Explain Lorcan's comment to the writer: "I grew up with all those people, and I never changed."

Dáil Éireann and the Fianna Fáil cabinet of 1932. Ministers include Seán Lemass, top left (See Secondary Source 7); Seán T. O'Kelly, immediately right of de Valera (See Secondary Source 15); and James Ryan, bottom right (See Secondary Source 15).

Interactive, contextual timeline of the civil war

1922, 7 January	Dáil vote on Treaty, 64-57 in favour **See sources 1,2,3,4 and 5, and Secondary Sources 1 and 2**
1922, 13 April	Four Courts, Dublin, seized by anti-Treaty forces
1922, 26 June	JJ ('Ginger') O'Connell, deputy chief of staff of the army of the Irish Free State was kidnapped and handed over to Four Courts garrison.
1922, 28 June	Government forces attacked Four Courts. **Sources 6 and 15**
1922, 5 July	Anti-Treaty forces driven from Dublin, after which strongest resistance to new Free State government was located in Munster. **Source 8, Secondary Source 5**
1922, 17 July	Representatives of public boards in Cork city and county call for ceasefire. **Source 13**
1922, 9 August	After sea-borne attack, government forces occupied Cork city.
1922, 12 August	Arthur Griffith, President of Dáil Éireann, died of cerebral haemorrhage.
1922, 22 August	Michael Collins, commander-in-chief of government forces and chairman of provisional government, killed in an ambush at Béal na mBláth. Two days later, his cabinet colleagues elected W.T. Cosgrave as head of the provisional government. **Secondary Source 10**
1922, 28 September	Public Safety Bill passed by Dáil. Empowered military courts to impose the death penalty for carrying firearms.
1922, 22 October	Pastoral letter from Cardinal Logue and the Catholic hierarchy, condemning "The guerrilla warfare now being carried on by the Irregulars", was read at all Masses.
1922, 20 November	Dublin Corporation motion called for a peace conference. **Secondary Source 8**
1922, 24 November	Execution by firing squad of Erskine Childers. (Had been caught carrying a gun, ironically, one given to him by Michael Collins)
1922, 30 November	Liam Lynch, IRA chief of staff, ordered attacks on prominent supporters of Provisional Government.
1922, 6 December	Irish Free State formally established, under terms of Treaty.

1922, 7 December	Shooting dead in Dublin of Seán Hales, pro-Treaty T.D. **Source 17**
8 December, 1922	Reprisal executions of four IRA men, who had been in prison since the attack on the Four Courts: Rory O'Connor, Liam Mellows, Joe McKelvey and Dick Barrett. **Secondary Source 12**
29 December, 1922	George Russell (AE)'s "Open Letter to Irish Republicans" in *The Irish Times* called on anti-Treatyites to abandon their struggle. **Source 14**
1923, 6-7 March	Killing of five government soldiers in a booby-trap attack at Knocknagoshel, Co. Kerry, followed by controversial killing of nine anti-Treaty IRA men at Ballyseedy Cross. **Secondary Source 13**
1923, 24 May	Frank Aiken, commander-in-chief of the anti-Treaty forces, issued an order to cease fire and dump arms.
1932	Following election of Fianna Fáil government, release of many IRA prisoners and emergence of Blueshirt movement revive civil war tensions. **Secondary Source 19, Source 18**
1970s and beyond	Endurance of civil war divisions reflected in political affiliations with majority of voters supporting the 'civil war' parties, Fine Gael and Fianna Fáil. **See Secondary Sources 15, 16, 17 and 19; but see also Secondary Source 18 for another perspective.**
1969-1998	Northern Ireland 'Troubles' show persistence of 'Republican'/extreme nationalist physical force irredentism **Secondary Source 17**

A critical skills exercise

Documents-based study
▼
Development of critical skills
▼
Documents-based question

The Leaving Certificate History syllabus states that the documents-based study is "the primary means of developing [students'] skills in working with evidence". (p.5) The syllabus also states that, in the examination, the documents-based question "will test candidates' ability to interrogate, correlate and evaluate a particular body of evidence". (p.15)

Rationale for card sorts

In a card sort, cards with text (single words, phrases, sentences) are grouped or ranked according to particular criteria. Card sorts are good in helping students to make connections and form judgements. By having the text on cards, students can move them around, group them and, when necessary, change their minds. This approach promotes discussion and collaborative learning.

The intention of the critical skills exercise on the pages that follow is to illustrate in a practical and active manner the type of critical skills that the documents-based study is designed to develop. Essentially, the purpose of the exercise is to encourage students to THINK by discussing snippets of evidence and making judgements on their import by deciding whether they support or oppose the given proposition. The PLAY element is important and the exercise should be an engaging one for students. The intention is not to come up with answers that are either 'right' or 'wrong': much of the value of the exercise is in the process itself. That said, it should be possible to reach consensus in most cases and to clarify misunderstandings – where these arise – in the process.

In literacy development, such approaches can play a pivotal role as students engage together in purposeful reading and discussion of text and are active participants in the learning process.

What is involved in the critical skills exercise

Each group of 4-5 students is given an A4 sheet with the proposition at the top of the page and two columns headed: **Agrees** and **Disagrees**. Each group is also given an envelope containing 8 short documentary extracts – each on its own small strip of paper or cardboard – and the task is to discuss with each other the appropriate column in which to place each extract. When each group has reached its conclusions, the outcome of the exercise is discussed in a whole group setting.

Note: Since some of the sources are primary and others secondary, it may also be helpful to invite students to distinguish between the two types.

Proposition: Those who opposed the Treaty were wrong to wage war against the provisional government and the Free State government.

Place each of the source extracts in the appropriate column, depending on whether you think it agrees or disagrees with the above proposition. If the group cannot agree on whether a particular extract agrees or disagrees with the proposition, place it along the dividing line in the middle and wait to hear what other groups have to say about the extract.

Agrees	Disagrees

Source A I regarded the Provisional Government as political scoundrels, rascals and murderers supported by opportunists, gombeen men and West Britons.	***Source E*** One of the most tragic things … that happened in that period was that after the treaty was signed … there really was a considerable majority of the people against it and the pro-Treaty propaganda machine got to work and converted that majority into a minority.
Source B The republicans are irresponsible and must not be allowed to cow or awe the people of ireland.	***Source F*** The murder of Cathal Brugha has dishonoured the Free State uniforms. Men in green, throw them off & cease to do England's dirty work!
Source C … in this conflict I think the majority regard you, not the Government of the Free State, as the cause of their suffering.	***Source G*** You have saved the nation's honour and kept open the road to Independence. Laying aside your arms now is an act of patriotism as exalted and pure as your valour in taking them up.
Source D These men whom I saw around me were the same sort of men who had faced and beaten the British with an immense dash and courage in such ambuseshes as Kilmichael and Crossbarry … They had no such heart for fighting against their former comrades.	***Source H*** It's not at all pleasant cycling through the deserted streets of your home town [Dublin] and not knowing from what window or corner a bullet is going to flick past you.

Source E Richard Walsh, Fianna Fáil T.D., Mayo South, 1927-1943 and 1944-1951 Bureau of Military History statement, p.177	***Source A*** C.S. Andrews, IRA officer in the civil war *Dublin Made Me* (1979) p.259
Source F From a republican propaganda cartoon, attributed to Constance Markiewicz *Atlas of the Irish Revolution* (2017) p.686	***Source B*** W.T. Cosgrave From a memorandum, 12 August 1922 Cited in Michael Laffan (2014) *Judging Cosgrave*, p.114
Source G Éamon de Valera 'Soldiers of Liberty – Legion of the Rearguard', 24 May 1923 Cited in *Atlas of the Irish Revolution* (2017) p.720	***Source C*** George Russell ('AE') Open Letter to Irish Republicans, published in *The Irish Times*, 29 December 1922,
Source H Denis Johnston Diary entry, 2 July 1922 Cited in *Bitter Freedom: Ireland in a Revolutionary World, 1918-1923* (2015). p.361	***Source D*** Seán Ó Faoláin, Writer, IRA volunteer during civil war *Vive Moi! An Autobiography!* (1967), p.156

Your conclusions on the enquiry

Our enquiry has explored why Irish people fought each other in a bitter civil war, 1922-1923.

Based on the evidence you have encountered in the course of the enquiry, identify key points on each of the following:

(a) How differences over the Treaty caused division and tensions in Sinn Féin and the IRA
(b) Other factors that caused people to take sides in the civil war
(c) Episodes or events during the war that caused increased bitterness
(d) Why calls for peace from some Irish people increased in the second half of 1922
(e) Why the civil war left behind a bitter legacy

Make your case in a written report, devoting at least one paragraph to each of the headings above. In a concluding paragraph, give your judgement – based on the evidence you have studied – in relation to the question: *Why did Irish people fight each other in a bitter civil war, 1922-1923?*

OR

Now that we have looked at a wide range of evidence on why Irish people fought each other in a bitter civil war, 1922-1923,

- Give two reasons why people's feelings about the Treaty made them want to fight against the provisional government.
- Give two reasons why people backed one of the sides in the civil war.
- Give two examples of happenings in the war that caused people involved to become more bitter towards their enemies.
- Give two examples of people calling for peace in November-December 1922.
- Give two reasons why the divisions of the civil war did not come to an end when the civil war ended.

- For each of the reasons you give, back up your reason with evidence from the primary sources and secondary sources that we have studied.

Part II: History in Transition Year

Teaching aspects of the civil war, 1922-1923, in Transition Year, in a 'teaching emotive and controversial history' framework

Introduction

The civil war, 1922-1923 is a challenging period of Irish history to teach. In the context of the decade of centenaries, discussion of pivotal developments such as the Treaty and civil war has the capacity to stir strong emotions and make more challenging the classroom implementation of a genuinely historical approach. Research on the teaching of emotive and controversial history can be helpful here, as can methodologies recommended in the Leaving Certificate History Guidelines for Teachers such as the multi-perspective approach.

For Transition Year students, a study of themes or episodes from the period using a variety of online resources has the capacity to promote understanding of how historical accounts are formulated and the questioning approaches that we need to adopt when we encounter different types of sources. It can also enhance their critical skills in dealing with online materials and give them a greater sense of the strengths and limitations of information technology. The use of a pedagogical approach such as the 'jigsaw' classroom can help students see the different perspectives that individuals may have on the same historical phenomenon as well as providing a powerful teaching and learning tool that improves motivation and helps all students to engage in meaningful classroom learning.

For Transition Year students and teachers, the potential perspectives that might be considered in the classroom are many and complex. To begin with, there are the two sides in the war, those who supported the Treaty and those who opposed it. However, on both sides, there is a range of perspectives: on the pro-Treaty side, those who believed that any armed opposition to the new state was treacherous, and those who wished to do what they could to avoid fighting former comrades; on the anti-Treaty side, those who rejected the Treaty and fought vehemently, as they saw it, to maintain the republic declared in 1916 and 1919, and those whose objections were more narrowly focused on issues such as the oath of allegiance. There are also the perspectives of the many Irish people who did not wish to see civil war, as the various calls for peace demonstrate; the perspective of the Ulster Unionists for whom the Treaty with its Boundary Commission was a potential threat to their new political arrangements; and the perspectives of the many victims of civil war and their families.

While it may not be practical to draw on all of these perspectives, there is a need to draw on multiple perspectives if we are to help students develop a genuinely historical understanding. The 'jigsaw' approach can help students working in groups to see how individuals had their own unique perspective on events as well as a shared sense of mission with comrades. In the pages that follow, the two approaches are discussed and some ways in which the approaches can be deployed in the classroom are exemplified.

Some pointers from the Executive Summary of the TEAC.H report 2007
TEACH.: a report from the Historical Association on the challenges and opportunities for teaching emotive and controversial history 3-19

[For other pointers on teaching emotive and controversial history such as the civil war, see pp.8-10 of this booklet.]

Good practice results when:

- There is a clarity of purpose and a rationale for the school that emphasises identity, values and diversity;
- History is taught both as a body and as a form of knowledge. The best practice places a high premium on planning, ensuring that the work has the right blend of content and hard thinking appropriate to the ages and ability;
- There is a strong emphasis on independent enquiry with its own procedures and conventions, ensuring that emotive and controversial issues are taught within a secure pedagogical and historic framework. The importance of good questioning is paramount;
- The planning and delivery builds in sufficient time and opportunities to reflect and to cover the different perspectives and beliefs involved. Where done fleetingly, learners failed to see what the historical problem was at all about an issue;
- The teaching matches clarity with a recognition of the complexity of emotive and controversial history;
- An emphasis on exploring multiple narratives and the past from different perspectives. The teaching of emotive and controversial history is seriously compromised if students do not see history as a subject that is open to debate and argument as they study different and competing views of the same events;
- Balance is heeded across a theme or topic and across a key stage.
- Learners are exposed to a rich variety of appropriate and stimulating resources, such as music, film and pictures. Quality resources can be a means of making personal engagement more likely.

TEACH REPORT 2007, P. 5

Questions for reflection with colleagues

1. Do we have a clarity of purpose in teaching the period 1922-1923?
2. At school level, is there a focus on identity, values and diversity?
3. Do we teach history as a form of knowledge as well as a body of knowledge?
4. In our planning, do we strive to ensure that there is an adequate balance of content and 'hard thinking' appropriate to the age level of our students?
5. Do we have a strong emphasis on enquiry to ensure that issues are taught within a secure pedagogical and historical framework?
6. Does our practice embed the principle that good questioning is paramount in the history classroom?
7. Do we plan to build in sufficient time to address the different perspectives and beliefs involved – so that the problematic nature of history emerges and students realise that there are no easy answers
8. In planning for clarity, are we careful also to convey the complexity of the issues involved?
9. Are we committed to exploring with our students the multiple narratives and the different perspectives on the civil war, 1922-1923?
10. Are we committed to the principle of balance in seeking to explore with students the various events and issues of the period?
11. Are we committed to exposing students to a wide variety of appropriate and stimulating resources such as music, film and still images as part of our strategy to ensure their personal engagement?
12. Are there other ways in which we can strive to ensure the personal engagement of our students in the matters under discussion?

Notes:

Linking your teaching to the National Literacy and Numeracy Strategy

The following quote comes from *Literacy and Numeracy for Learning and Life: The National Strategy to Improve Literacy and Numeracy among Children and Young People* (Department of Education and Skills, 2011, p.8)

> Traditionally we have thought about **literacy** as the skills of reading and writing; but today our understanding of literacy encompasses much more than that. **Literacy includes the capacity to read, understand and critically appreciate various forms of communication including spoken language, printed text, broadcast media, and digital media.** Throughout this document, when we refer to "literacy" we mean this broader understanding of the skill, including speaking and listening, as well as communication using not only traditional writing and print but also digital media.

The student activities set down in this resource are designed to improve students' "capacity to read, understand and critically appreciate various forms of communication including spoken language, printed text, broadcast media, and digital media."

As the literacy strategy makes clear, a key element in developing literacy is promoting students' listening, talking, reading and writing skills, as well as their ability to critically assess visual images and other broadcast material. Some of the ways in which material from this booklet can be used to achieve these objectives are as follows:

- The 'jigsaw' method is designed to maximise the participation of all students in the classroom through group-work, cooperative structures that improve their 'capacity to read, understand and critically appreciate various forms of communication'. The interactive elements that that characterise the 'jigsaw' classroom are recognised as being key to improving literacy.

- The strong focus here on using various websites for historical research purposes can help to develop students' capacity to engage productively with digital media.

- The focus here on visual images has a key role to play in developing students' visual literacy in a historical context

- The importance of consolidating learning through carefully designed written tasks is fundamental to student learning. Here, the various 'frameworks' provided are intended to assist students in communicating research findings in a structured format.

The elements of *Literacy and Numeracy for Learning and Life* relating to numeracy identify the need to enable young people "to think and communicate quantitatively, to make sense of data, to have a spatial awareness, to understand patterns and sequences, and to recognise situations where mathematical reasoning can be applied to solve problems." All of these are relevant to the teaching of the civil war, 1922-1923 e.g. in considering the numbers in support of and opposed to the Treaty; in identifying areas of most intensive conflict in the civil war; in identifying the sequence of events leading to individuals' involvement in the civil war; and in employing the 'jigsaw' approach to maximise the learning of all students in respect of the period in question.

Pedagogical approaches

1. The 'Jigsaw' approach

Introduction

One approach that can be used very effectively in Transition year is the 'Jigsaw' approach, originally developed in the United States but now used in many countries across the globe. See https://www.jigsaw.org.

The jigsaw approach is a research-based cooperative learning technique invented and developed in the early 1970s by Elliot Aronson and his students at the University of Texas and the University of California. Since 1971, thousands of classrooms have used Jigsaw with great success.

As the 'Jigsaw' website notes, "The jigsaw classroom has a four-decade track record of successfully reducing racial conflict and increasing positive educational outcomes such as improved test performance, reduced absenteeism, and greater liking for school", and many practitioners who have successfully adopted the approach will corroborate this. (See, for example, http://www.teachhub.com/jigsaw-method-teaching-strategy)

The term 'Jigsaw' is used because, just like in a jigsaw puzzle, each piece – the part played by each student – is essential to the completion and full understanding of the final learning outcomes.

The ten steps

For the teacher, there are ten steps to follow in carrying out the approach:

1. Divide class into groups of 5-6 students.
   Groups should be diverse in terms of gender, ethnicity, ability
2. Appoint one student from each group as leader.
3. Divide the day's lesson into 5-6 segments.
   e.g. In lesson on Michael Collins: his early life; his early revolutionary involvement; his role as IRA Director of Intelligence, 1919-1921; his role in peace talks; civil war.
4. Assign each student to learn one segment.
   Ensure students have access only to their own segment.
5. Give students time to read over their segment at least twice and become familiar with it. *They do not need to memorise it.*
6. Form temporary 'expert groups' by having one student from each jigsaw group join other students assigned to the same segment.
   Give students time to discuss main points and what they will present to their group.
7. Bring the students back into their jigsaw groups.
8. Ask each student to present his/her segment to the group.
   Encourage others in the group to ask questions for clarification.
9. Float from group to group observing the process.
   If any group is having trouble (e.g. disruption) make an appropriate intervention. Long term, aim for leaders to do this. (Help by whispering instructions, advice.)
10. At the end of the session, ask questions to identify the key points learned.

The approach as outlined may be adapted for research tasks and this is the approach used in the pages that follow.

Points to consider when using this approach

- Expert groups work best when students have a clear understanding of the parameters of the task that they are set. It is advisable, therefore, to give students a framework or set of questions to guide their work. A number of examples relating to the period will be found in the pages that follow.

- In some cases it may be helpful for expert groups to lay out key points in graphic form, using mind maps or graphic organisers. For example, the 'Fish Bone' technique is often used to identify the various factors associated with a complex topic and to show how they inter-relate. The technique is described in the PDST booklet, *Graphic Organisers and other Literacy, Numeracy and AfL Strategies in Teaching and Learning*, pages 21-23, currently available at http://www.pdst.ie/sites/default/files/PDST%20GRAPHIC%20ORGANISER%20ENG%20FINAL.pdf

- In allocating students to their groups, in some contexts it may be appropriate to do this randomly. In other contexts (e.g. where there is a clear need to ensure that students with additional learning needs have adequate support), the teacher may need to ensure that there is a good balance within each group – taking into account such factors as strengths, interests and needs.

- Teachers may find it helpful to rotate the position of 'leader' who guides the discussion, so that all students or, at least, those who are interested in taking on the position, feel that they are getting a 'fair crack of the whip'.

- Leaders need to be helped to understand that their job is to spread participation as evenly as possible so that nobody feels 'left out'. Generally, students come to realise very quickly that the group functions better if each person is allowed to present his or her material before comments or questions are taken.

- The work of the 'expert groups' is of key importance. Before presenting their report to the members of the jigsaw group, individual students have the opportunity to discuss their report with members of the expert group who have prepared a report on the same topic. They can modify their report in the light of comments or suggestions made by fellow members of the expert group.

- The jigsaw approach gives all students the opportunity to become a 'leader of learning' and this can be a powerful motivational force for all students, including the brighter ones. If brighter students are encouraged to take on the mind-set of 'teacher', this can transform an ordinary everyday task into an exciting challenge. Furthermore, it is likely to facilitate more thorough learning of the topic in question.

- Further guidance on the Jigsaw approach may be found in the PDST booklet *Active Learning: An Integrated Approach to Learning, Teaching & Assessment*, pp.77-79, currently available at http://www.pdst.ie/sites/default/files/Integrated%20Approach_0.pdf.
The entire section on cooperative learning, beginning on p.57, contains much helpful advice.

2. A multi-perspective approach

The benefits of adopting a multi-perspective approach as set out in the Leaving Certificate History *Guidelines for Teachers* are also relevant to TY students. These are:

> A multi-perspective approach can help students to grasp some of the key points that underlie the syllabus objectives, e.g.
>
> - that there is not necessarily one correct version of a particular historical event
> - that the same historical event can be described and explained in different ways depending on the standpoint of (for example) the eye-witness or historian
> - that the same piece of evidence may be interpreted differently by different historians
> - that few historical sources of evidence can be deemed to be totally impartial, and that the context in which they were produced must always be taken into consideration.

In his book, *Teaching 20th-century European History* (Council of Europe, 2001), Robert Stradling writes that:

> Multiperspectivity, within the context of history and history teaching, aims to achieve three things:
>
> - to gain a more comprehensive and broader understanding of historical events and developments by taking into account the similarities and differences in the accounts and the perspectives of all the parties involved;
> - to gain a deeper understanding of the historical relationships between nations, or cross-border neighbours, or majorities and minorities within national borders;
> - to gain a clearer picture of the dynamics of what happened through examining the interactions between the people and groups involved and their interdependence. p.142

Combining approaches: In dealing with aspects of the civil war, 1922-1923 in Irish history, the 'jigsaw' approach and the multi-perspective approach can be combined effectively in ways that draw on the great wealth of material available online. Some of the ways in which this might be done are set out in the following pages.

The Anglo-Irish Treaty and the Civil War

The Republic of Ireland of which are we are citizens developed from the Irish Free State which came into existence on 6 December 1922. The Irish Free State was set up as a consequence of the Anglo-Irish Treaty 1921 which followed the War of Independence, 1919-1921, (also known as the Anglo-Irish War). The National Archives has an online Treaty exhibition which can be used by students to research a number of different aspects of the period 1922-1923 and to set those aspects in a wider chronological context.
http://treaty.nationalarchives.ie

The exhibition has biographical profiles of the five Sinn Féin delegates to the Treaty negotiations (Robert Barton, Michael Collins, Éamonn Duggan, George Gavan Duffy, Arthur Griffith) as well as the four secretaries who supported them in their work (John Chartres, Erskine Childers, Fionán Lynch, Diarmuid O'Hegarty).

'Jigsaw' groups of five could be set the task of drawing up their own profiles of the five delegates using a framework such as the following:

- What was the person's involvement in the independence struggle between 1919 and 1921? (e.g. was the person a member of the Dáil government? Was the person active in the military struggle?)
- How and/or why did the person come to play a part in the Treaty negotiations?
- How did the person vote when it came to the vote on the Treaty, 7 January 1922? (If students need to research this further, they may wish to consult the Treaty debates available online at https://celt.ucc.ie/published/E900003-001/index.html. By entering the name of the person they are researching, they will be able to see what that person said during the debates.)
- Did the person take any part in the civil war, 1922-1923? If so, what role did he play? Did he survive the civil war? If so, what did he do afterwards? If not, how did he die during the civil war?

Each person in the 'jigsaw' group prepares a series of key points as an initial draft of the presentation they will make to the group. They then join the expert group of students who are researching the same person as they are. The discussion in the expert group and the suggestions made will help each individual to refine her/his presentation prior to making the presentation to the group. The exercise could be continued with jigsaw groups of four dealing with the four secretaries to the delegation and using a similar framework.

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Jigsaw.png

Some less well-known figures involved in the civil war

Many people who played a significant role in some aspect of the civil war may be unfamiliar to students. A good exercise would be to get students to research the role of some of these figures, preferably adopting the jigsaw approach and using a framework similar to that on the previous page. An invaluable resource for students in this regard would be the Dictionary of Irish Biography published by the Royal Irish Academy and available to all schools through the Schools' Broadband Network. http://dib.cambridge.org.ucd.idm.oclc.org

In choosing the figures to be researched, teachers may wish to bear in mind local considerations – possibly including figures who are commemorated in some way in the locality but are not very well-known nationally. In line with the multi-perspective approach it is recommended that a range of figures be identified reflecting the different positions taken on the Anglo-Irish Treaty and the different positions adopted during the civil war. The following list is given as an example of the range of people that might be researched: C.S. Andrews (1901-1985), Emmet Dalton (1898-1978), Liam Deasy (1896-1974), Síghle Humphreys (1899-1994), Ernie O'Malley (1897-1957), Paddy O'Daly (1888-1957).

Taking the above list as an example, 'Jigsaw' groups of six could be set the task of drawing up their own profiles of the six figures using a framework such as the following:

- What involvement, if any, did this person have in the struggle for independence before 1919? (e.g. role in 1916, role in first Sinn Féin party or other nationalist organisation). If the answer is 'none', what sort of role(s) did the person have before 1919?

- What was the person's involvement in the independence struggle between 1919 and 1921? (e.g. was the person a member of the Dáil? Was the person active in the military struggle?)

- What position did the person take on the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921? Do we know why the person took that position? If so, what were the reasons?

- What sort of role did the person play in the civil war, 1922-1923? How significant was that role in the overall context of the war?

- What further role(s) did the person have in public affairs in Ireland or elsewhere?

Each person in the 'jigsaw' group prepares a series of key points as an initial draft of the presentation they will make to the group. They then join the expert group of students who are researching the same person as they are. The discussion in the expert group and the suggestions made will help each individual to refine her/his presentation prior to making the presentation to the group.

Using photographs as a focus for investigation

There are images relating to the civil war period on the RTÉ Stills Library website at https://stillslibrary.rte.ie. These images can be used to provoke students' curiosity and open up lines of investigation. As a first step, students might use the RTÉ Stills website to begin their investigation of the episode, person, movement or incident to which the images relate. Other images available online may be used in a similar way, including images uploaded on flickr.com by the National Library. Follow-up research using the 'centuryireland' and other websites mentioned in these pages is recommended.

The images below are provided as examples of ones that might be used.

A photo taken in the early 1920s (possibly May 1922) of IRA comrades: Seán Mac Eoin, Seán Moylan, Eoin O'Duffy, Liam Lynch, Gearóid O'Sullivan and Liam Mellowes.
Mac Eoin, O'Duffy and O'Sullivan backed the Treaty; Moylan, Lynch and Mellowes opposed it.

Possible avenues of investigation:

- What do we know about why each of the men above either supported or rejected the Treaty?
- Find out what happened to Liam Mellows and Liam Lynch in the course of the civil war.
- See what you can find out about the subsequent careers of Seán Moylan, Gearóid O'Sullivan and Seán Mac Eoin.

The Four Courts fire, 1922, following the attack by forces of the Provisional Government, 30 June 1922

Possible avenues of investigation:

- Find out what you can about the people who were occupying the Four Courts and why they came under attack from the forces of the Provisional Government on 30 June 1922.
- Try to find some primary sources that describe the attack on the Four Courts. If you do so, how do these sources help you better understand what happened in June/July 1922 in Dublin?
- Who were the main leaders that were captured when the Four Courts building was evacuated?
- What happened to some of the captured leaders later that year while they were still in custody?
- Who was the leader of the new army set up by the Provisional Government at the time the Four Courts was attacked? What happened to him just a couple of months later?
- Emmet Dalton played an important role in the attack on the Four Courts. Find out what that role was and any other involvement he had in the civil war.
- See if you can find out why the fire in the Four Courts was deeply disappointing to historians in particular.

Michael Collins, Richard Mulcahy and Kevin O'Higgins at the funeral of Arthur Griffith, 16 August 1922.

Possible avenues of investigation:

- Check the RTE Stills Library webpage to help you identify the position in the photograph of each of the named men attending the funeral.
- What official position or positions was held by each of the named men at the time of the funeral?
- Each of these men played a key role or roles during the civil war period. See what you can find out about the role of each of the men in the civil war.
- Two of the three men were assassinated, one during the civil war and the other a few years later. See what you can find out about the similarities and the differences between the two assassinations.
- The other man had a long military and political career. See what you can find out about his career after the civil war.
- The three men were attending the funeral of Arthur Griffith. There are a number of aspects of the career of Arthur Griffith that could be investigated. These include:
  - His establishment of the first Sinn Féin movement in 1905
  - His policy of withdrawal from Westminster and how it was implemented in 1919
  - His work as Minster for Home Affairs in the first Dáil government
  - His role in the Treaty negotiations, October-December 1921
  - His political role after the Treaty had been adopted

Soldiers pose with a mine at the Granville Hotel, Waterford, during the Civil War, 22 July 1922.

Image courtesy of the National Library of Ireland

The photograph may be investigated further at the following National Library of Ireland (NLI) link: https://www.flickr.com/photos/nlireland/5963109197/

Possible avenues of investigation:

- What was the context in which this photograph was taken? For example, why had troops such as these come to Waterford? (Check above link for help.)
- Can you find any other accounts of the episode of civil war history to which this photograph relates? (Again, the NLI link above may be helpful.)
- What questions might people wish to ask about the details in the photograph? Do you think it is possible to answer all of these questions with certainty? Why? / Why not?

Other avenues of investigation, especially for students living in Waterford

- Can you find the names and, perhaps, the personal testimonies of any of the people involved in the civil war in Waterford, either on the government side or on the anti-Treaty side?
- The Granville Hotel is linked to a nineteenth century Irishmen called Thomas Francis Meagher. Prepare a presentation on this man and his significance in Irish history.

https://www.flickr.com/photos/nlireland/5976742263
National Army troops lined up for roll call, 26 July 1922, Bruff, Co. Limerick

Image courtesy of the National Library of Ireland

Possible avenues of investigation:

- As with the previous photograph, see what you can find out about the context in which this photograph was taken. For example, why were the troops passing through Bruff at the time? (Check the link beneath the photograph for help.)
- Can you find any other accounts of the episode of civil war history to which this photograph relates? One online resource that may be helpful is http://www.limerickcity.ie/Library/LocalStudies/LocalStudiesFiles/C/CivilWar/ See in particular the article on "The Siege of Bruff 1922".
- If you are based in Limerick, you may wish to research other aspects of the civil war in Limerick, using the Local Studies File link above and/or other sources.
- Those living locally may wish to research other aspects of the history of Bruff. A short introduction is available at https://www.visitbruff.com/history.

  For an excellent introduction to resources available for the wider study of the history of Bruff, see the following page compiled by the genealogist and historian John Grenham: https://www.johngrenham.com/c_parish/c_parish_main.php?civilparishid=1528&civilparish=Bruff&county=Limerick

Re-building Mallow Bridge1923
© RTÉ Archives

Possible avenues of investigation:

- At first glance, this photograph may not appear very promising as a prompt for avenues of investigation. However, there are certainly a number of questions we might ask about what we see in the photograph. These questions can help us work out the background and context to this re-building effort. e.g.
    - How and/or why had Mallow Bridge been damaged?
    - Did this kind of damage happen only to Mallow Bridge or were other bridges damaged at this time?
    - Why was it being re-built in 1923? When was the re-building job finished? Was the civil war over at this time?

  Other sources that may be helpful in helping students to find out more about the bridge and its strategic importance include the following:
  https://www.rootsireland.ie/cork-genealogy/about-cork/
  http://www.irrs.ie/Journal157/157%20Mallow%20-%20Banteer%20-%20Kanturk.htm

- Another productive avenue of investigation linked to the photograph is the campaign of destruction of railways at this time. There is a useful, short summary in Crowley, Ó Drisceoil and Murphy (2017) *Atlas of the Irish* Revolution, Cork: Cork University Press, pp.688-690.

W. T. Cosgrave speaking at College Green at some time during the 1920s

Possible avenues of investigation:

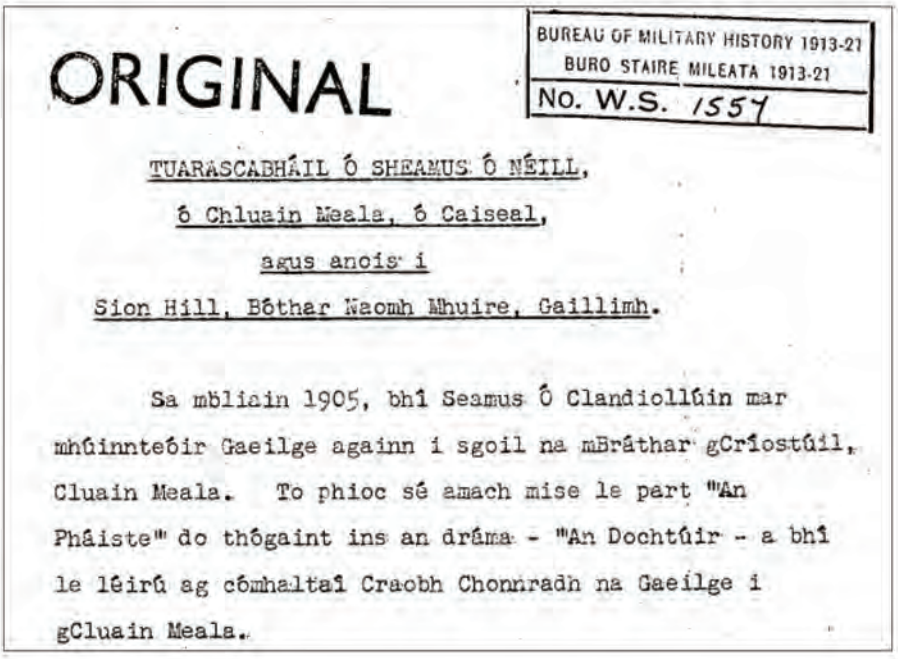
- Although we cannot be sure that this photograph was taken during the civil war, it is a good starting point for an investigation into the leadership of a man who became head of the Provisional Government during the civil war and became first President of the Executive Council (a position similar to Taoiseach today) on 6th December 1922, when the Irish Free State came into existence. The following are some aspects of the leadership of W.T. Cosgrave that might be investigated:
    - The circumstances in which he became head of the Provisional Government during the civil war
    - The actions his government took to deal with the threat from the anti-Treaty IRA, and what he said to justify these actions
    - The dangers to which he was personally exposed during the civil war
- The photograph was taken in Dublin City and Cosgrave himself was born there. See what you can find out about the following Dublin connections of Cosgrave:
    - The Dublin street and family into which he was born
    - The Dublin building that he was based in as a rebel during the 1916 Rising
    - The Dublin cemetery in which he was buried

A good secondary source (with lots of primary source documents) for the study of W.T. Cosgrave's career is Michael Laffan (2014) *Judging W. T. Cosgrave: The Foundation of the Irish State*, Dublin: Royal Irish Academy.

Suggestions for working with materials from The Bureau of Military History (1913-1921) at http://www.bureauofmilitaryhistory.ie/

The Bureau of Military History has a wide range of witness statements relating to the struggle for Irish independence, 1913 -1921, available online in PDF format. While the principal focus is on the period 1913-1921, a significant number of statements include testimony relating to the civil war, 1922-1923. Enter the words 'civil war' in the search box to bring up a selection of relevant statements.

Adopting a local approach can be fruitful. It is possible that some students will be able to locate family connections in these archives. Some accounts are in Irish.


ORIGINAL

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY 1913-21
BURO STAIRE MILEATA 1913-21
No. W.S. 1554

TUARASCABHÁIL Ó SHEAMUS Ó NÉILL,
ó Chluain Meala, ó Caiseal,
agus anois i
Sion Hill, Bóthar Naomh Mhuire, Gaillimh.

Sa mbliain 1905, bhí Seamus Ó Clandiollúin mar mhúinteóir Gaeilge againn i sgoil na mBráthar gCríostúil, Cluain Meala. To phioc sé amach mise le part "An Phâiste" do thógaint ins an dráma - "An Dochtúir - a bhí le léirú ag cómhaltaí Craobh Chonnradh na Gaeilge i gCluain Meala.

If you can find a military operation that happened in proximity to your school get the students to plot the incident on a map and/or to explore the route on foot to identify the exact locations of each stage of the ambush/attack/escape, etc. Ordnance Survey maps can be examined at https://www.osi.ie/education/schools-and-third-level/scoilnet/

1. Ordnance Survey Ireland Maps

OSi's large scale maps, aerial photography, historic maps and Discovery series for the Republic of Ireland.

Viewable in all schools on the Schools Broadband Network. Log-in required from non-school locations.

View map >

Another approach would be to identify and study accounts from different points-of-view. Can students identify viewpoint of witnesses? Can they think of ways they would double-check the veracity of these accounts (e.g. by checking local newspapers, etc.)?

- Seán Prendergast, Dublin Brigade IRA. Detailed account. Includes account of time in Kilmainham Gaol and internment camp at Gormanstown, Co. Meath. http://www.militaryarchives.ie/collections/online-collections/bureau-of-military-history-1913-1921/reels/bmh/BMH.WS0802.pdf#page=1

- In the second part of her statement, Brigid O'Mullane gives an account of her role as a director of propaganda for the anti-Treatyites during the civil war: http://www.militaryarchives.ie/collections/online-collections/bureau-of-military-history-1913-1921/reels/bmh/BMH.WS0485.pdf#page=1

- Pádraig Ó Catháin's account has some references to repercussions of the civil war in the Carlow area: http://www.militaryarchives.ie/collections/online-collections/bureau-of-military-history-1913-1921/reels/bmh/BMH.WS1572.pdf#page=25

- Timoty Buckley, Cork No.1 Brigade, describes guerilla activities in Waterford and Cork: http://www.militaryarchives.ie/collections/online-collections/bureau-of-military-history-1913-1921/reels/bmh/BMH.WS1674.pdf#page=11

- Cahir Davitt was appointed Judge Adjutant General to the Free State Army in August 1922. His statement gives a good insight into thinking on the Free State side during the civil war: http://www.militaryarchives.ie/collections/online-collections/bureau-of-military-history-1913-1921/reels/bmh/BMH.WS1751.pdf#page=86

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Department of Education and Skills

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