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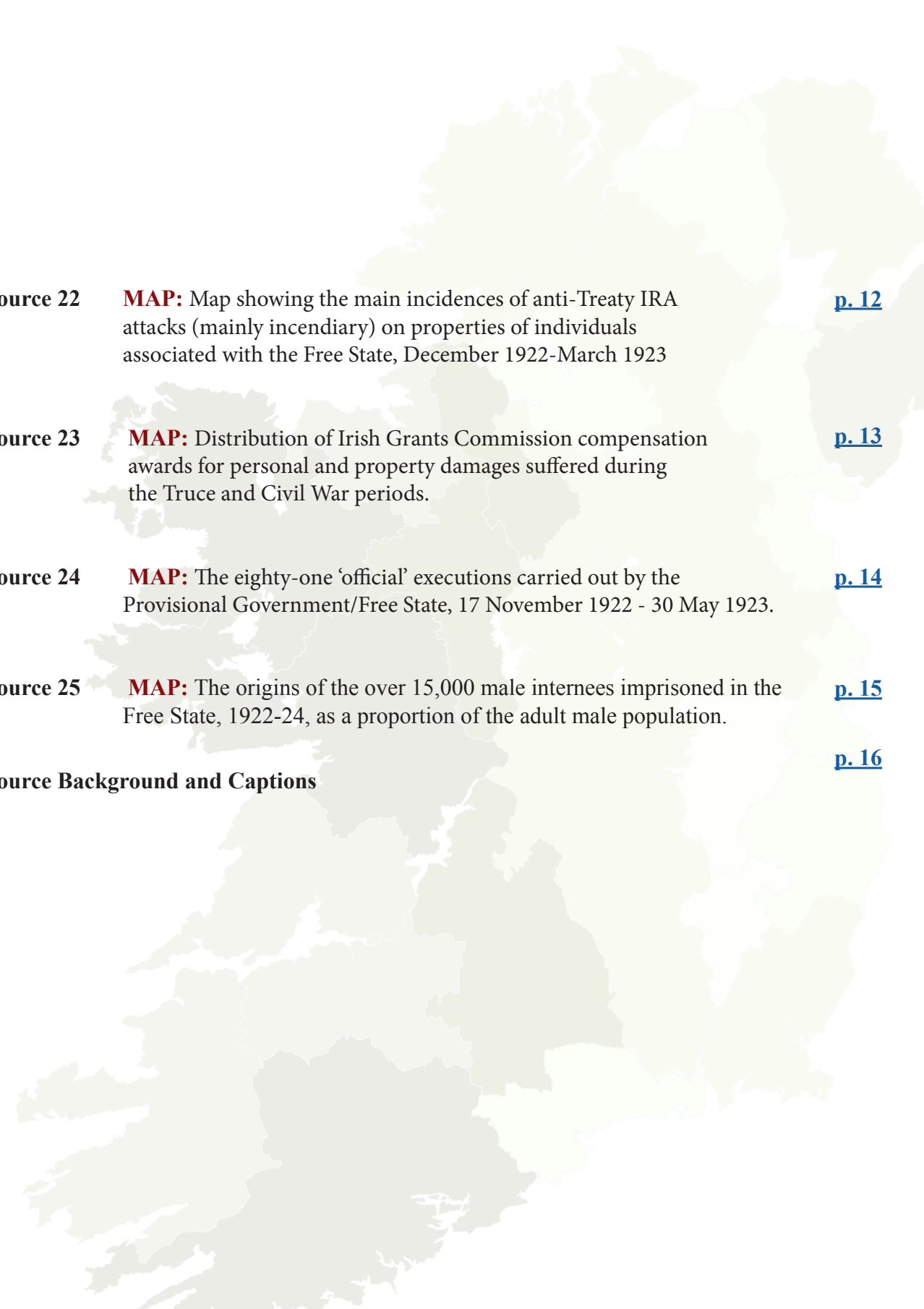
The Treaty and the Civil War

Document Pack

Part II

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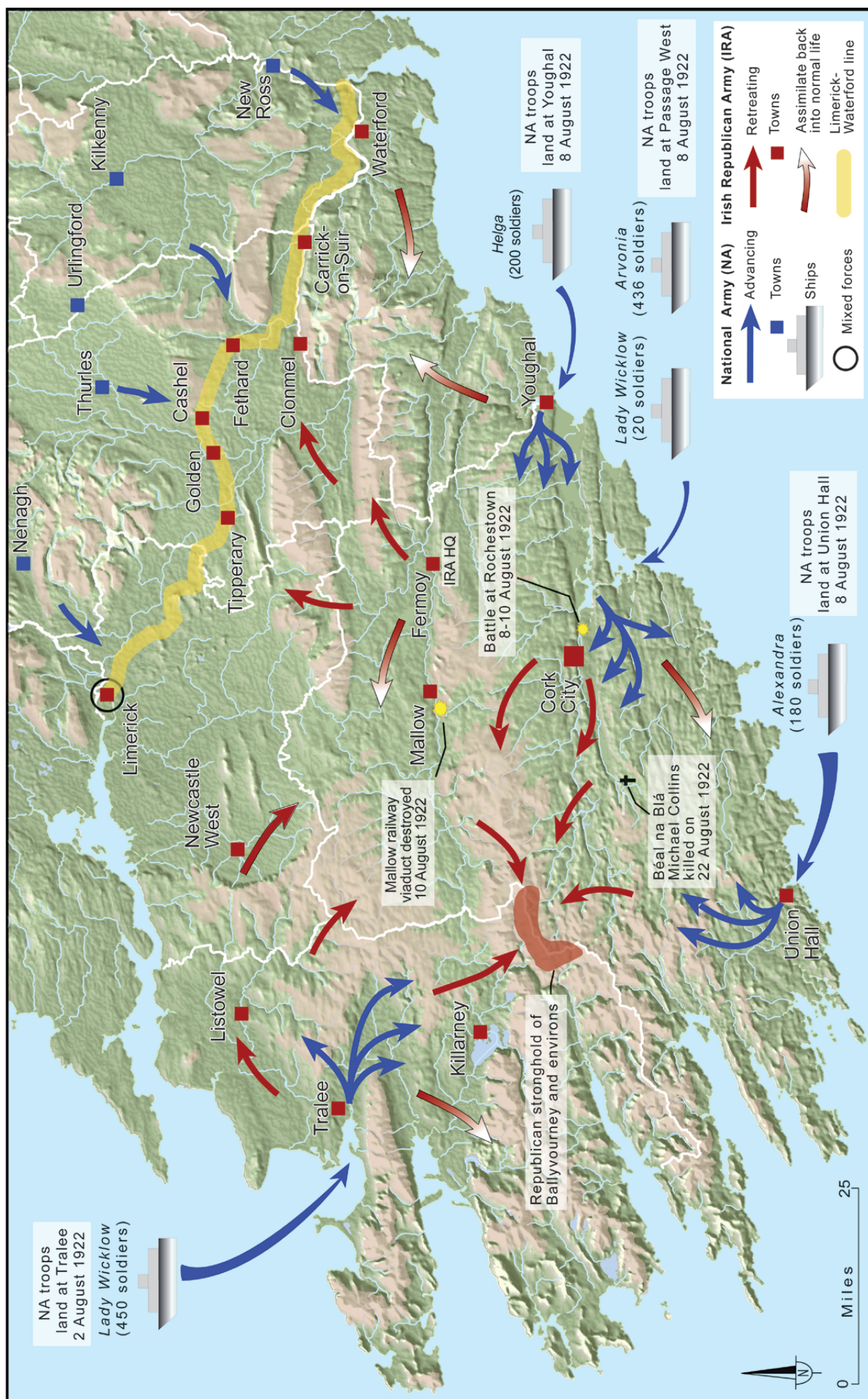
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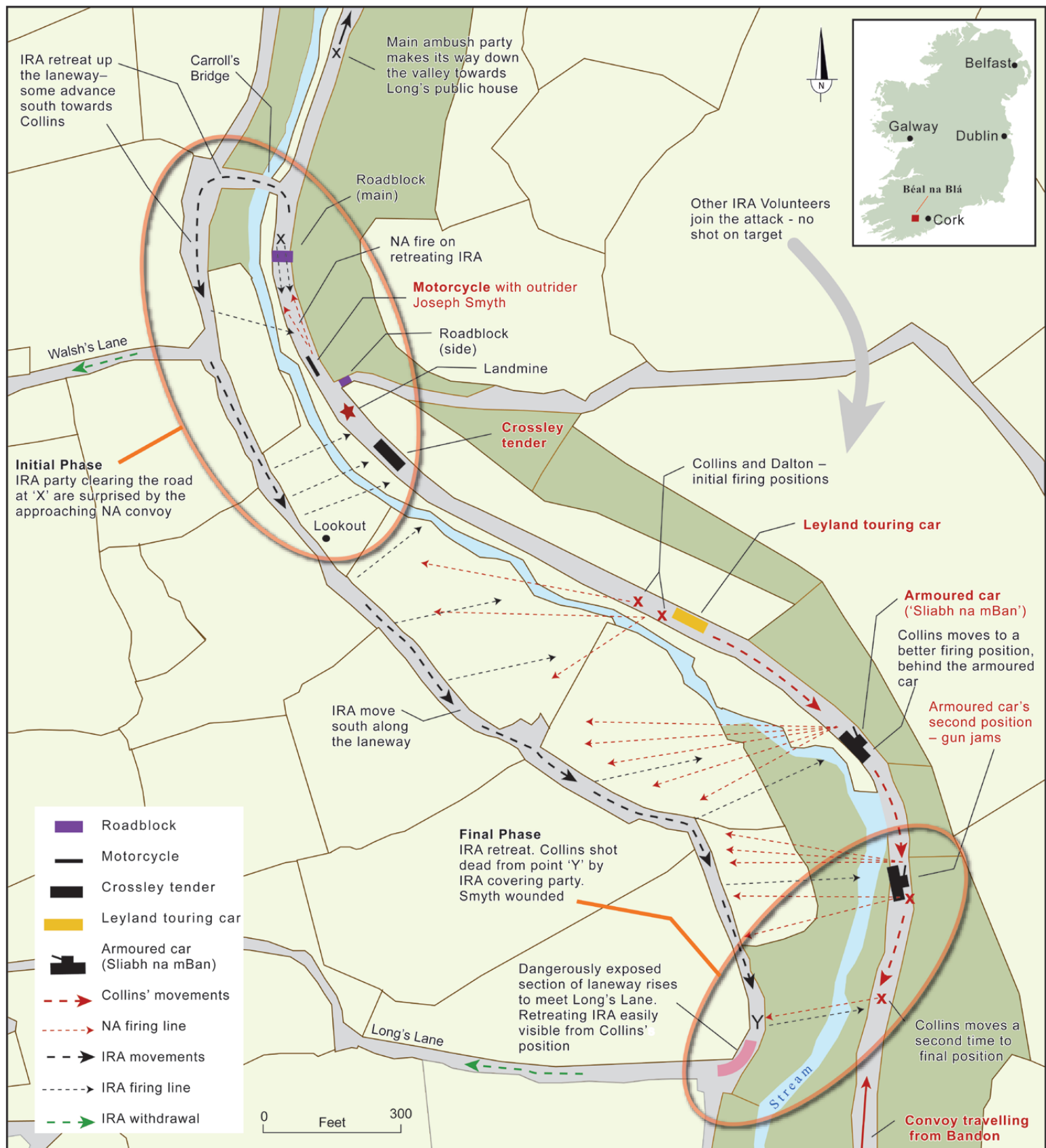




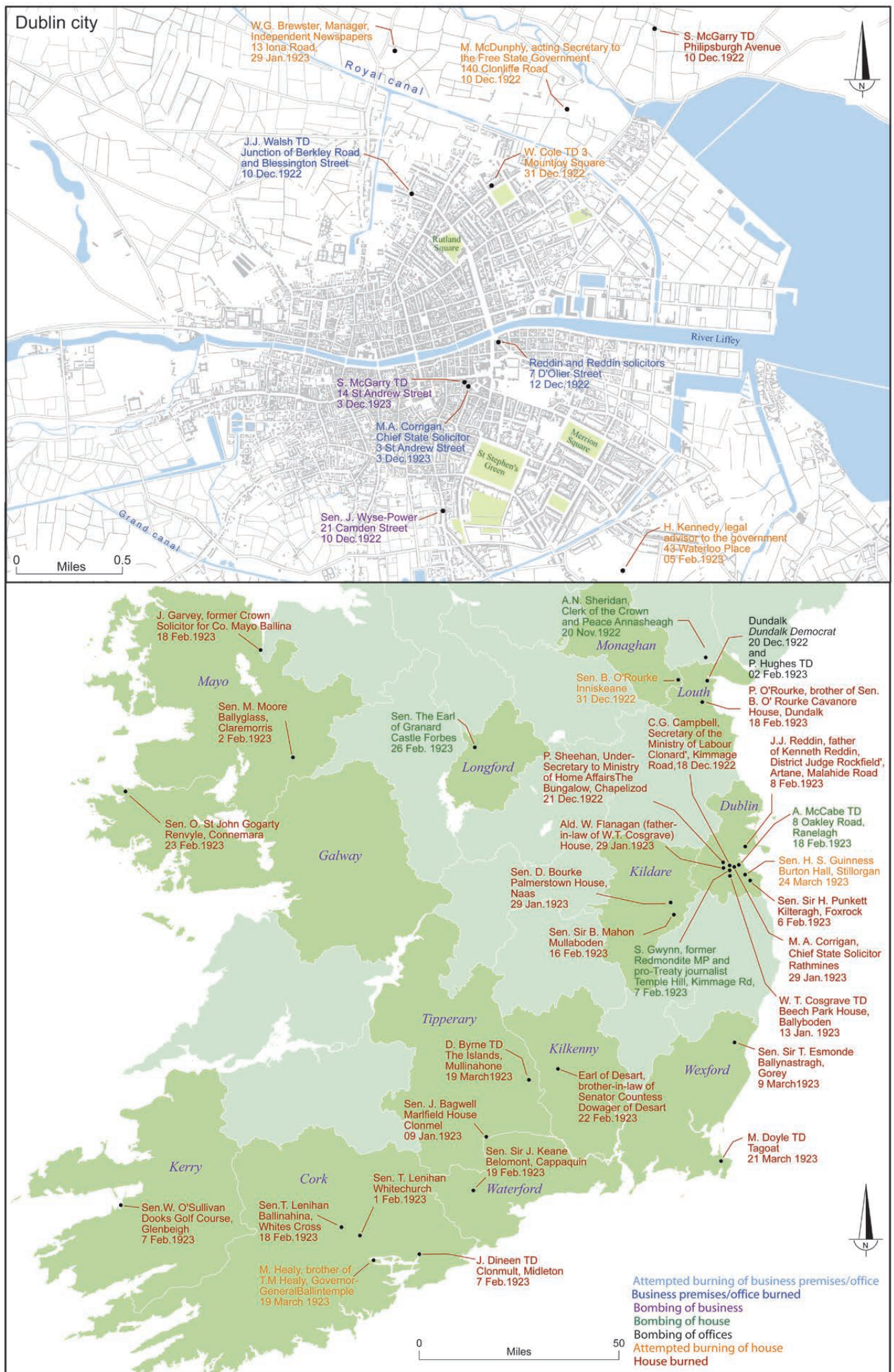


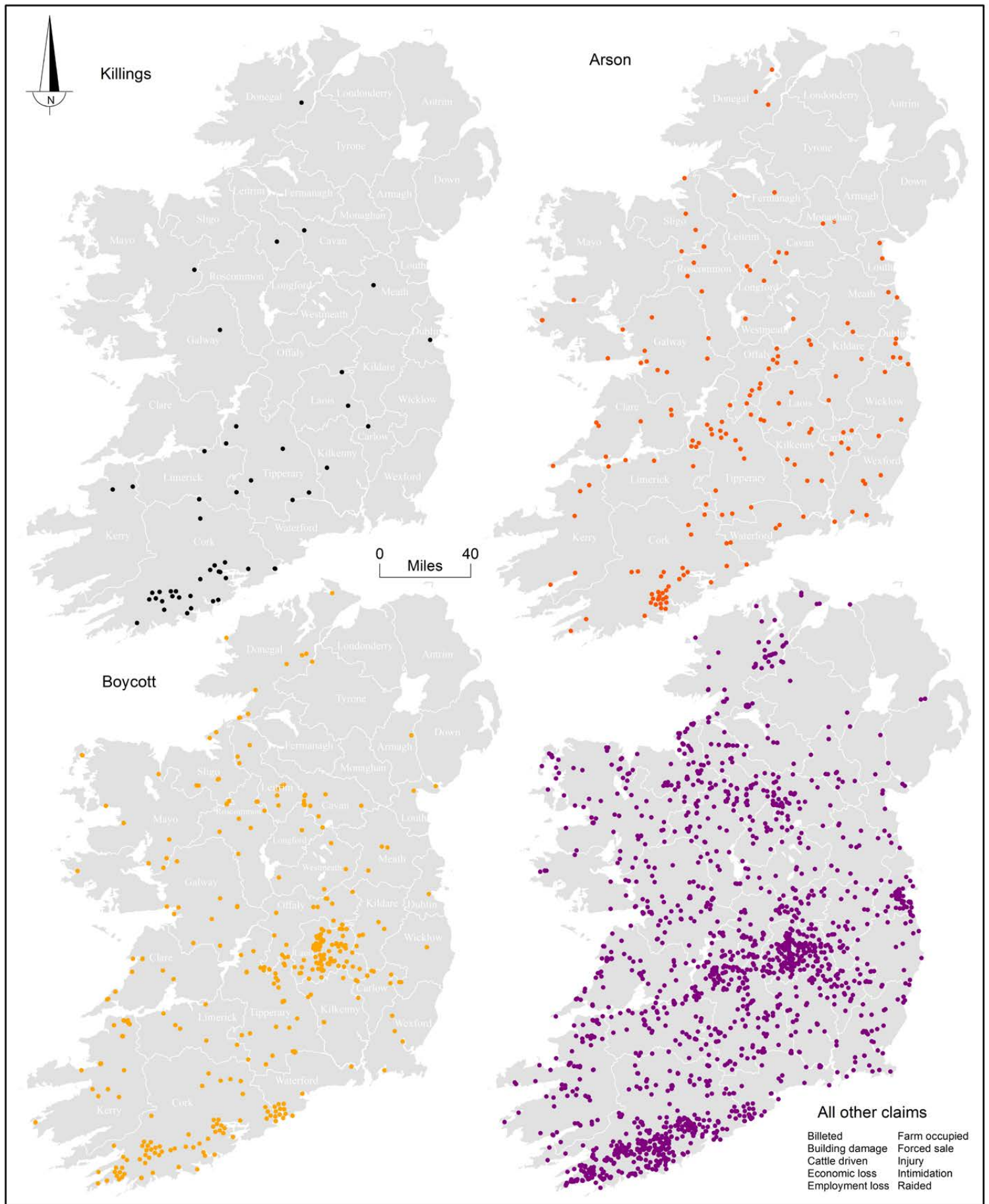








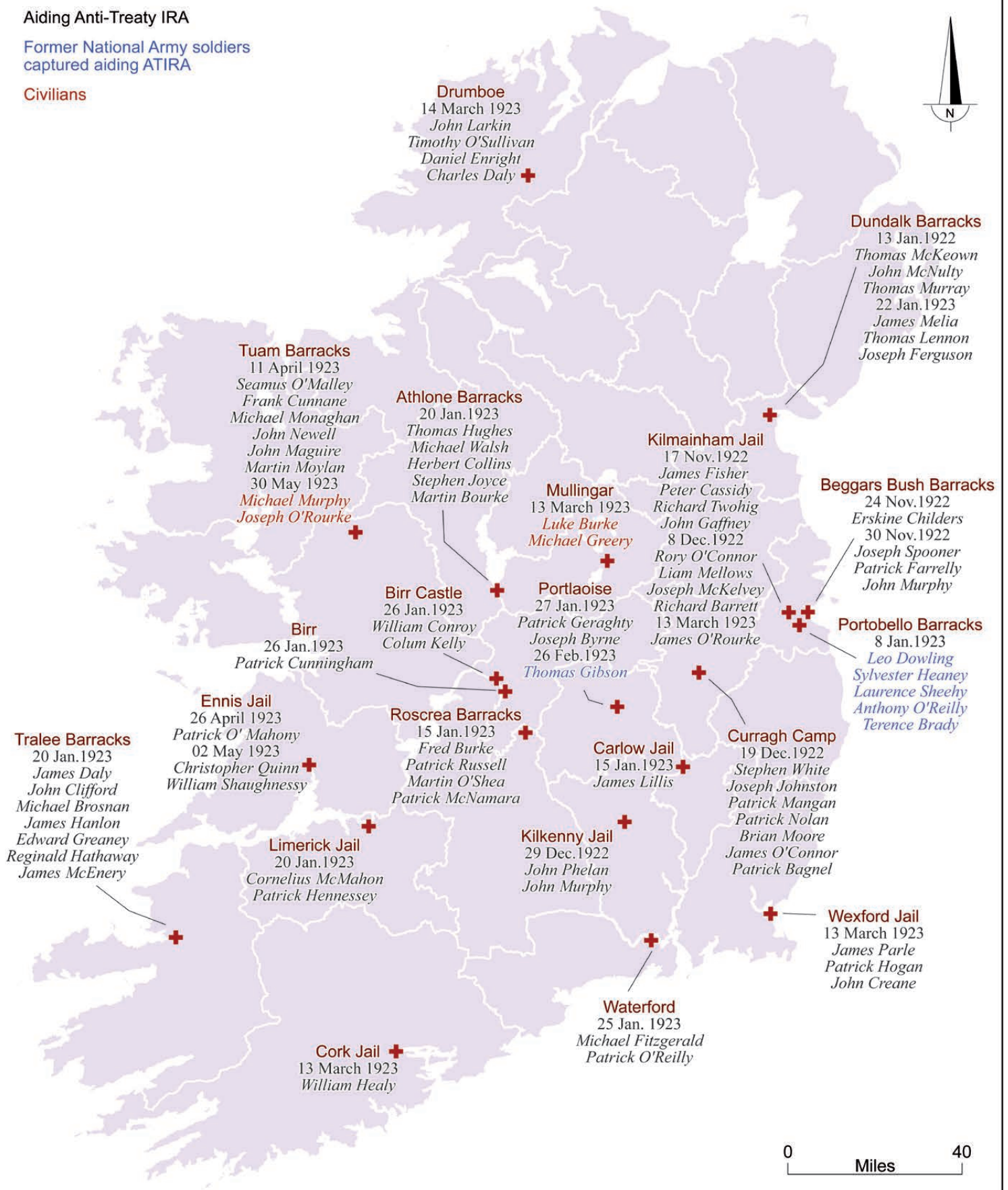


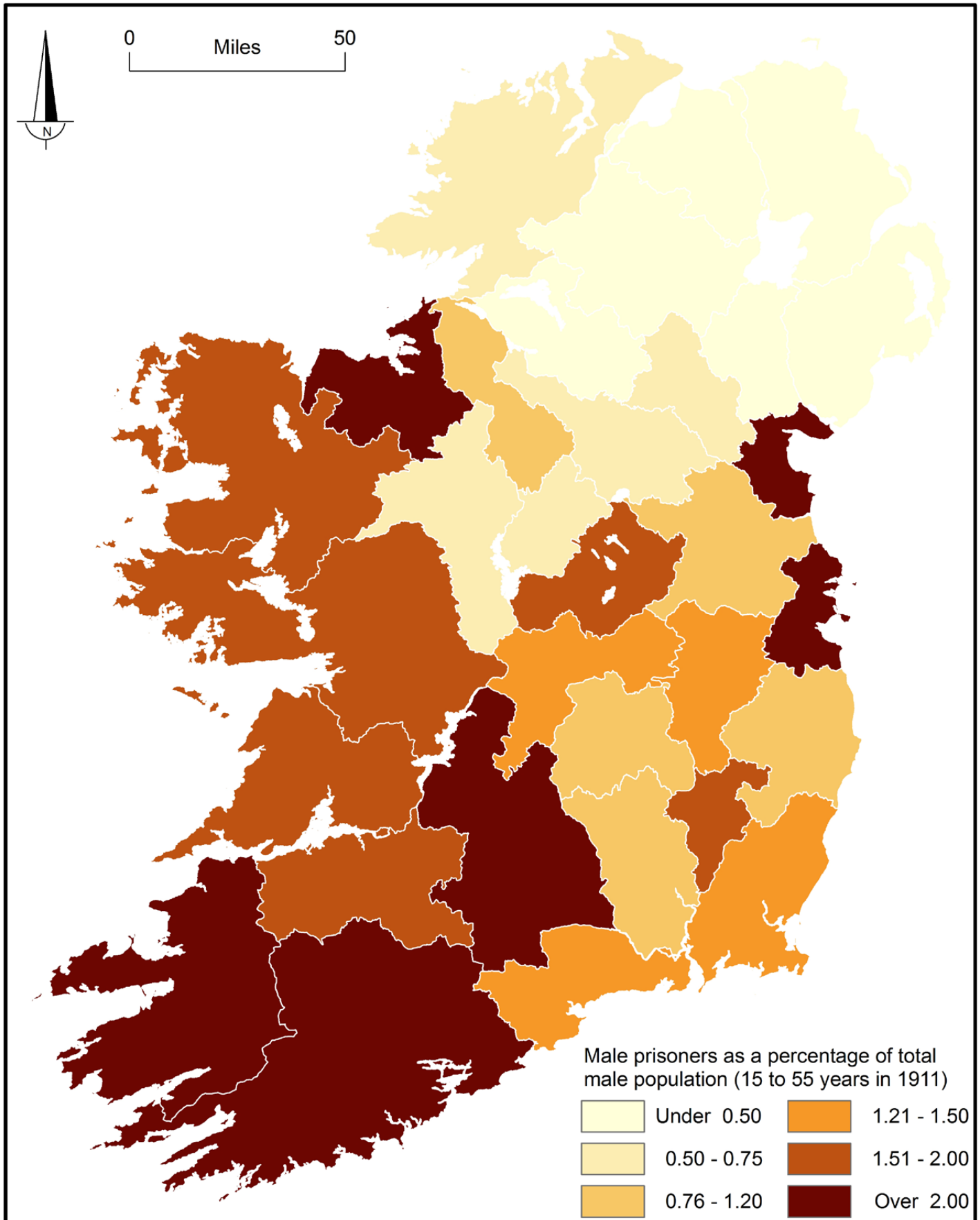


Aiding Anti-Treaty IRA

Former National Army soldiers
captured aiding ATIRA

Civilians





Context and Captions

Source 14. MAP: Map showing the events during the Battle for Limerick, July 1922

At the outbreak of the Civil War in later June 1922, Michael Brennan and Donnchadh O'Hannigan, commanders of the National Army (NA) in Limerick, had a combined force of just 400 soldiers in the city, armed with fewer than 150 rifles. They were heavily outnumbered and outgunned by a much larger anti-Treaty IRA force of 700 well-armed republicans from Cork, Kerry and west Limerick, who were led by IRA Chief of Staff, Liam Lynch. A peace agreement between the two rival military forces in the city held until 11 July, by which time the arrival of reinforcements from Dublin, Galway and the midlands strengthened the NA's position significantly. The first nine days of the Battle of Limerick involved intense street fighting that resulted in a stalemate, neither side inflicting any serious casualties or winning strategic territory from the other. The arrival of heavy artillery on the night of 20 July swung the battle in favour of the NA, which was able, within a matter of hours to force the anti-treaty IRA (ATIRA) garrison holding the Strand Military Barracks to surrender. Lacking any artillery of their own, the republicans were not in a position to defend their three other military barracks in the city, and on the evening of 21 July they burned their outposts and retreated south and west toward Kilmallock, Bruree and Adare, leaving the NA in full control of the city. At least six members of the anti-Treaty forces (five anti-Treaty IRA and one Fianna Éireann scout), six members of the NA, and eleven civilians were killed during the fighting in Limerick city.

[Source Pádraig Óg O Ruairc, *The Battle for Limerick City*, (Cork 2010)]

Source 15. PHOTOGRAPH: National Army troops at Ordnance Barracks, Mulgrave Street, Limerick

National Army troops at Ordnance Barracks, Mulgrave Street, Limerick. The Ordnance Barracks was one of four in the city destroyed by departing republicans, the other being the New Barracks (below), Castle Barracks and Frederick Street Barracks. A fifth, Strand Barracks, was wrecked following bombardment by National Army shell fire. An Irish Independent reporter described the 'extraordinary scene' at the barracks: 'Hundreds of women were busy carrying away all classes of materials, including spring mattresses, boards, and cooking utensils ... Crowds had the temerity to venture into the still burning building in search of souvenirs' (22 July 1922).

[Photo: National Library of Ireland, HOG 123]

Source 16. MAP: The Battle for Munster, July-August 1922

During late July and early August, the National Army (NA) and Anti-Treaty IRA (ATIRA) fought a series of engagements across the province of Munster. At the outset of the Civil

War, republican forces cleared the NA from much of the province. The ATIRA then held a defensive line across Munster, anchored by the cities of Limerick in the west and Waterford in the East. Republican forces were comprised of numerous brigade and battalion columns, usually numbering between twenty-five and fifty fighters, forming a loosely organized IRA 'field army'. It faced rapidly-growing NA forces that were well-armed with artillery and armoured vehicles.

The NA won a critical victory during the ten-day Battle of Limerick, which ended on 21 July. On the other end of the line, the NA overcame weaker ATIRA resistance and captured Waterford city also on 21 July. Over the next two weeks, the NA methodically pushed the republicans back in Tipperary, Limerick, and Waterford, capturing Carrick-on-Suir and Clonmel in the process. The most intense fighting occurred during the two-week Battle of Kilmallock, which extended into the nearby villages of Bruff and Bruree. The combat there varied from artillery and infantry attacks on primitive entrenchments, to fluid counter-attacks carried out by lorry-borne troops supported by armoured cars. The republicans commanded by Liam Deasy fought against a large but inexperienced NA force led by Eoin O'Duffy and W.R.E. Murphy.

Heavily reinforced and possessing superior firepower, the Free State forces eventually placed the ATIRA under intense pressure. The republican positions broke after the NA conducted surprise amphibious landings in Kerry and Cork in early August. The ATIRA had anticipated a possible sea-borne assault, and garrisoned coastal ports and destroyed some docking facilities. However, the flimsy republican defenses were no match for determined NA troops. Government forces arriving at Fenit, County Kerry captured Tralee after a brief but tough fight on 2 August. A more ambitious assault occurred on 8 August, when Emmet Dalton organized three simultaneous landings of Free State troops at Youghal, Union Hall, and Passage West in County Cork. The NA brushed aside light republican forces at Youghal and Union Hall, but faced much more determined resistance while trying to seize Cork city. During the three-day 'Battle of Douglas' on the city's outskirts, hundreds of troops faced each other, though once again Free State artillery and armoured cars proved decisive. The republicans evacuated Cork and fell back to the mountainous area around Ballyvourney, west of Macroom.

The Limerick/Waterford line collapsed completely as many of its front line units scrambled to contest the NA's amphibious offensive behind them. While Emmet Dalton's forces aggressively pushed inland across County Cork, Eoin O'Duffy's forces around Kilmallock moved south with less urgency. Scattered ATIRA resistance and road and railway sabotage bought the republicans time. IRA commander Liam Lynch managed to disperse his small 'field army' before it could be captured by converging NA forces. Though the Free State won a decisive victory, it failed to destroy republican resistance. When Lynch ordered his forces to resume guerrilla tactics in mid-August, he was able to mobilize enough seasoned IRA fighters to make much of the province ungovernable. One of the republicans' first guerrilla successes had immense political ramifications, when the ATIRA ambushed the Free State Commander-in-Chief Michael Collins' convoy at Béal na Blá on 22 August. With the death of Collins, both sides began to recognise that though the Battle of Munster was over, it had been replaced by a guerrilla war that would last considerably longer.

Source 17. PHOTOGRAPH: Major General Emmet Dalton and General Thomas Ennis (with ship officers) on board the SS Lady Wicklow

The SS Lady Wicklow was a steamship built in 1890 for the City of Dublin Steampacket Company and used as a troopship for the Irish Free State to transport 450 officers and men to Fenit and Cork during the Irish Civil War. Emmet Dalton was arguably the most effective military leader on either side during the Irish Civil War. In early 1922 he helped build the National Army into a cohesive conventional force, and in June his influence with the British army's Irish commander, General Nevil Macready, helped keep the British from intervening against the anti-Treaty IRA. Dalton personally maintained the artillery bombardment during the all-important attack on the Four Courts, and led aggressive drives south of Dublin into Wexford and Carlow afterwards. He is best known for his daring amphibious attacks on County Cork in early August 1922, which effectively ended the conventional phase of the Civil War, and for his presence at Michael Collins' side when the latter was shot dead at Béal na Blá.

[Source: National Library of Ireland, HoGW 170]

Source 18. PHOTOGRAPH: National Army soldiers in Bruff, County Limerick, in early August 1922

National Army soldiers and barefoot children in Bruff, County Limerick, following the taking of the town from the anti-Treaty IRA in early August 1922.

[Source: National Library of Ireland, HoG 109]

Source 19. PHOTOGRAPH: Republican prisoners in Cork City, following the National Army (NA) capture of the city on 10 August 1922

The photograph was taken shortly after NA troops arrived in Cork city, and shows anti-Treaty IRA prisoners being marched away to captivity. Many of the republicans pictured here were captured during the NA's surprise landing at Passage in the early hours of 8 August 1922, which precipitated a three-day battle for Cork. Within the crowd of civilian onlookers, a number of friends and family members can be seen waving farewell to individual prisoners. Near the front of the column, two republicans wear their flat caps backwards, which denoted active service in the IRA. The next row in front of them, a guard can be seen out of uniform and is likely a new recruit into the Free State forces. The NA force that captured Cork brought hundreds of extra rifles with them, and immediately began to enrol local volunteers into its ranks, including numerous former British soldiers and pro-Treaty IRA members.

[Photo: National Library of Ireland, HOGW 12]

Source 20. MAP: Map of events at Béal na Blá on 22 August 1922

(1) While an ambush was planned in advance, it had been effectively stood down and what Collins's convoy (a motorcycle outrider; a Crossley Tender with eight riflemen and two machine gunners; an open-top Leyland touring car with Collins and Emmet Dalton seated in the back; and the armoured car 'Sliabh na mBan' with six occupants, including a machine-gunner) encountered at Béal na Blá was a small group of Anti-Treaty IRA (ATIRA) Volunteers sent to clear the road after the ambush party had left the site. (2) Concerned for the safety of the ambush party making their way north down the valley towards Long's public house, the remaining lookout fired warning shots. After the initial engagement a number of the Volunteers ran south along the track (marked red on the map). They were knowingly moving towards Collins and the armoured car because the vehicle sequence had been noted when the convoy passed on their outward journey that morning. (3) On hearing the warning shots, Collins chose to stop and fight against the advice of Emmet Dalton; had they driven on they would have been forced to stop anyway due to the convoy ahead having halted, but Collins would have been less exposed. (4) The ATIRA continued to move along the track towards Collins, but were pinned down by machine-gun fire from the armoured car. The machine gun then jammed, which provided the ATIRA with an opportunity to escape, using the approach to Long's Lane. Collins moved to the back of the armoured car and then further south to get a better firing position and stood in the middle of the road, presumably believing the attackers were making their escape up the laneway. (5) The ATIRA, knowing how exposed they were, covered the retreat and it was this action that resulted in the killing of Collins. Smyth, the outrider, having made his way down the full length of the ambush site to attend Collins, was shot in the neck.

[Sources: All relevant published and available unpublished sources were consulted in the preparation of this map, combined with a survey of the site and utilisation of the OSI. Most of the key sources are listed and assessed in D. Lenihan, *The Death of Michael Collins: Who Pulled the Trigger* (Feb. 2014) - http://www.academia.edu/6255255/The_Death_of_Michael_Collins_Who_Pulled_the_Trigger). See also S.M. Sigerson, *The Assassination of Michael Collins: What Happened at Beal na mBlath* (no publication place, 2013); T.R. Dwyer, *Michael Collins and the Civil War* (Cork, 2012); and Colm Connolly, 'The Shadow of Béal na Bláth', RTÉ television documentary, 1989.]

Source 21. PHOTOGRAPH: Kevin O'Higgins on the day of his wedding to Bridget Cole on 27 October 1921

Kevin O'Higgins (centre) married Bridget Cole in the Carmelite Church in Whitefriar Street, Dublin. In attendance were Éamon de Valera as well as O'Higgins' best man, Rory O'Connor (right) who presented a toast - entitled 'The Men of 1916 - 'to the memory of our holy dead, to the long life and happiness of the beloved living and to the culmination of their dearest wish, the liberty, the untrammelled liberty of Ireland'. O'Higgins and O'Connor were both educated in Clongowes Wood College and University College Dublin and their friendship was forged during the War of independence. O'Connor who was wounded in the Rising opposed the Treaty sticking steadfastly to the Republic declared in 1916 while O'Higgins supported Collins' assertion that the Treaty represented an opportunity to attain

full freedom. Close bonds of friendship that formed during the struggle for independence were sundered in the subsequent Civil War – none more tragic than O'Connor and O'Higgins'. Rory O'Connor who was imprisoned in Mountjoy Jail after the surrender at the Four Courts was executed on 8 December 1922 in reprisal for the killing of Seán Hales TD outside Leinster House the previous day. Minister for Home Affairs Kevin O'Higgins was involved in the decision to execute O'Connor along with three others, Richard Barrett, Liam Mellows and Joe McKelvey.

[See 'Toast given at Kevin O'Higgins' wedding by his best man Rory O'Connor, UCD Archives, P197/248; Photo: National Library of Ireland, INDH359]

Source 22. MAP: Map showing the main incidences of anti-Treaty IRA attacks (mainly incendiary) on properties of individuals associated with the Free State, December 1922-March 1923

Map showing the main incidences of anti-Treaty IRA attacks (mainly incendiary) on properties of individuals associated with the Free State, December 1922-March 1923. The Irish Free State came into official existence on 6 December 1922, the first anniversary of the signing of the Treaty. By that stage the Free State had won the conventional phase of the civil war and was undergoing a prolonged anti-Treaty IRA campaign of guerrilla warfare and economic sabotage. On 30 November 1922 IRA chief-of-staff Liam Lynch sent instructions for operations against 'the enemy', which included shooting on sight TDs who had voted for emergency legislation and the destruction of residences and offices of those prominently associated with the state, including the homes of all Senators in the newly-created Free State upper house, which met for the first time on 11 December 1922. Following the killing of Sean Hales TD and the wounding of Pádraig Ó Maille TD on 7 December, the Free State extrajudicially executed four leading republican prisoners in Mountjoy Gaol, which seemed to act as a deterrent to further attempts on the lives of parliamentarians; the campaign against property, however, began in earnest with the burning of the house of Sean McGarry TD in Dublin, which resulted in the tragic death of his seven-year-old son.

[Sources: Contemporary newspaper reports; D. O'Sullivan, *The Irish Free State and Its Senate* (London, 1940), pp. 99-109]

Source 23. MAP: Distribution of Irish Grants Commission compensation awards for personal and property damages suffered during the Truce and Civil War periods

Irish Grants Commission compensation claims awarded in Counties Limerick, Tipperary, and Waterford. In the late 1920s former supporters of the British government in Ireland submitted compensation claims to the Irish Grants Commission for personal and property damages suffered during the Truce and Civil War periods. A preponderance of Irish Grant Commission applications came from Protestant Unionists, while former members of the Royal Irish Constabulary (both Catholic and Protestant) were also well-represented. The above shows compensation claims awarded for deaths, arson attacks, boycotts, and 'all other claims' in counties Limerick, Tipperary, and Waterford.

The last miscellaneous category encompasses losses from injuries, intimidation, arms seizures, forced property sales, lost employment, cattle driving, billeting in households by armed forces, and assorted property damage. IRA guerrilla fighters largely supported themselves by commandeering goods from the civilian population, and occasionally levying taxes on households. Claims for such seizures were common in areas with active IRA columns in the Truce period and Civil War, such as County Tipperary and West Limerick. Republicans maintained boycotts against businesses that traded with the Crown forces during the War of Independence, as seen in claims in 'garrison towns' like Nenagh and Clonmel.

Not all damage claims were directly related to the military campaign. During a long period when governance largely disappeared from rural Ireland, social conflict sometimes erupted over issues of employment, land ownership, and other forms of communal competition. Throughout the revolutionary period, County Tipperary experienced land agitation which was often apolitical and deployed agrarian intimidation tactics common in the same locales during the previous century. Class conflict from the intense Cleeves Creamery strike in 1921-22 can also account for some claims in southeast Limerick (near Bruff) and other parts of Limerick and Tipperary. Overall, political loyalty remained embedded within religious identity throughout this period, and the Irish Grants Commission claims illuminate the attacks and harassments endured by largely Protestant loyalists. Unfortunately, compensation records for other segments of the civilian populations that were victims of British, Free State, and republican violence have only recently become available to researchers. Their comparison with the Irish Grants Commission claims may complicate existing interpretations of communal unrest during the Irish Revolution.

[Source: National Archives UK, Colonial Office Irish Distress Committee and Irish Grants Committee, CO762]

Source 24. MAP: The eighty-one 'official' executions carried out by the Provisional Government/Free State, 17 November 1922 - 30 May 1923

The policy of executions marked a more ruthless phase of pro-Treaty policy in the Civil War and contributed significantly to the long-lasting bitterness and divisions engendered by the conflict. The majority of the executions were carried out under the emergency powers adopted by the Third Dáil in late September 1922, which allowed for military courts and, according to Labour leader Tom Johnson, effectively established a 'military dictatorship' (Dáil Debates, vol. 1, col. 812 ,27 Sept. 1922). Death sentences could be issued for the possession of arms or aiding and abetting attacks on the National Army. All those killed, with the exceptions of Erskine Childers, Charlie Daly, Liam Mellows, Rory O'Connor and Joe McKelvey (the latter three executed outside the terms of the law) were essentially IRA foot soldiers. As well as the famed 'seventy-seven' anti-Treatyites killed, the government also executed four civilians for armed robbery, two in Mullingar and two in Tuam. Six of the dead were former National Army soldiers, executed for treachery. All but eighteen of the executions occurred outside of Dublin, a deliberate policy of decentralisation adopted after the initial dozen men were killed in the capital. In addition to these executions, an estimated 150 republicans were killed in custody or while supposedly trying to evade

capture, while a 'hostage policy' was also pursued, whereby prisoners sentenced to death received a stay of execution pending the improvement of order in their respective localities, particularly Cork, Kerry and Donegal. [Source: Breen Timothy Murphy, 'The Government's Executions Policy during the Irish Civil War 1922-1923' (unpublished PhD thesis, NUIM, 2010)]

Source 25. MAP: The origins of the over 15,000 male internees imprisoned in the Free State, 1922-24, as a proportion of the adult male population

The number of prisoners in custody at the end of the Civil War (just under 12,000) was almost double the number in prison at the end of the War of Independence. These men and women were held in conventional prisons, internment camps, barracks and (in the case of female prisoners during the latter stages of the war and its aftermath) in the North Dublin Union workhouse, which was converted to this purpose in April 1923. A total of 505 women were interned or imprisoned, 22 of whom had British addresses and were mainly those rounded up in Britain in March 1923 and transported to the Free State. Of the remaining 483, 255 came from Dublin, 48 from Cork, the same number from Kerry, followed by Mayo and Galway (21 each), Limerick, Tipperary and Wexford (11 each), Louth (10) and Sligo (8). Smaller numbers (2 to 7) originated in Antrim, Carlow, Clare, Donegal, Kildare, Roscommon, Sligo, Tyrone and Wicklow. There was only one woman prisoner from each of Cavan, Down, Kilkenny, Laois, Longford, Offaly and Waterford, and none from Armagh, Derry, Fermanagh, Leitrim, Meath, Monaghan and Westmeath.

Places of detention for men were initially located in Athlone, Carlow, Athy, Carrick-on-Shannon, Cork, Dundalk, Galway, Gormanstown camp, Kilkenny, Limerick, Portlaoise, Naas, Navan, Newbridge, Sligo, Tipperary town, Thurles, Trim, Tralee, Wellington, Waterford and Westport; however, the Hare Park and Tintown camps at the Curragh, Kilmainham and Mountjoy gaols in Dublin and Beggars Bush and Portobello barracks in Dublin were the key locations as the conflict progressed. 3,101 of the male prisoners were from Dublin, 2,275 from Cork, 997 from Tipperary and 784 from Limerick – all areas that had been amongst the most active during the War of Independence. Counties that had been less active in the War of Independence and showed an upsurge in activity during the Civil War, as indicated by the number of prisoners included Kerry (936), Mayo (860), Louth (537), Sligo (475) and Wexford (407). The county with the lowest representation was Fermanagh with 8. The majority of those deported from Britain, male and female, came from Glasgow, Liverpool, London and Manchester.

[Source: Data kindly supplied by the Irish Military Archives, derived from the Civil War Internment Collection, IE/MA/CW/P]