



Unit 8:

The Treaty and the Civil War

SENIOR CYCLE WORKSHEETS

PART II

CONTENTS

Lesson 7-9

Phase 2: The Battle for Munster and Béal na mBláth

Background: Phase 2: July-August 1922	3
Documents N-Q: Munster Republic	4
<i>Comprehension and Criticism Questions: Docs N-Q</i>	7
Newspaper Template: Task 4	8
Documents R-T3: The death of Michael Collins	10
Scene Storyboard Template: Task 5	16

Lessons 10-11

Phase 3: Guerrilla Warfare: August 1922-May 1923

Background: Phase III: August 1922- May 1923	17
Documents X-A1: Attacks and Executions	18
<i>Comprehension and Criticism Questions</i>	26
Pros and Cons Template: Task 6	27

PHASE 2: JULY-AUGUST 1922 - THE BATTLE FOR MUNSTER

IRA units evacuated Dublin in early July 1922 and republicans were able to consolidate their control of Munster and the west. Isolated pro-Treaty units in Listowel and Sligo were quickly overwhelmed and the Anti-Treaty IRA (ATIRA) held a defensive line across Munster, anchored by the cities of Limerick in the west and Waterford in the east. The ATIRA 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 FALL OF LIMERICK AND WATERFORD CITIES

The NA won a critical victory during the ten-day Battle of Limerick, which ended on 21 July. On the same day they captured Waterford city. 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



[Source: National Library of Ireland, HoG 109]

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

occurred during the two-week Battle of Kilmallock, which extended into the nearby villages of Bruff and Brurea during which Free State forces under the command of Eoin O'Duffy placed the ATIRA under intense pressure.

SEA LANDINGS

The republican positions finally broke after the NA conducted surprise sea landings in Kerry and Cork in early August. The ATIRA had anticipated such an assault, but the flimsy republican defences were no match for determined NA troops. Government forces arriving at Fenit, County Kerry captured Tralee after a brief but difficult 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 easily defeated 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 and the republicans evacuated Cork.

The Limerick/Waterford line collapsed completely, as many of its front line units moved back to engage with 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. The Free State won a decisive victory but 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 and killed the Free State Commander-in-Chief Michael Collins' at Béal na Blá on 22 August both sides understood that though the Battle of Munster was over, it had been replaced by a guerrilla war.

The National Army continued to publish the pre-split IRA news sheet. This edition gives an account of National Army military successes and advances after the Battle of Dublin, and challenges reports by republican news sheet, *Poblacht na hÉireann* in early July 1922.

AN T-ÓGLÁC

THE OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE ARMY.

[Vol. IV No. 7] (New Series)

JULY 22, 1922

[PRICE: TWOPENCE]

FICTION AND FACT

During the early days of the fighting in Dublin it was sought to strengthen the morale of the Irregulars by the daily publication of Irregular "victories" and "advances" in the Provinces. Since the re-establishment of communications with many parts of the country, and the unrestricted circulation of newspapers in Dublin, there has been a decided falling off in the circulation of this type of "news."

A brief review of the war reports circulated by the Irregulars early in the present month and the military situation in the country as it exists to-day, provides an interesting and instructive contrast.

July 2: The Irregulars' News Sheet (No. 6) reported that "the forces operating in Dublin have been reinforced with both men and material. For military reasons no further information can be given on this subject at the present time."

On the same date (July 2nd) the Irregulars' News Sheet announced to all and sundry that the troops in Galway were appealing for reinforcements to G.H.Q., "as they are being strongly pressed by our troops (the Irregulars) and cannot hold out much longer. The West's awake!"

Under date July 8rd (No. 7) the Irregular News Sheet says: "The Republican plan of campaign is developing exactly as intended. The defence of the Four Courts enabled all the manoeuvres to be carried out whilst the whole of the Free State Army was concentrated upon the attack."

In one of the early "News" sheets published by the Irregulars, it was announced the post occupied by troops in Listowel had been captured, and that the troops had thrown in their lot with the Irregulars. This mythical "victory" was too good to be lost sight of, and accordingly, on July 14th, the Irregular propagandists again declared that "the capture of Listowel was followed by a union of the two forces."

The facts are the Irregulars were not reinforced by either men or material in Dublin. All posts held in the city were surrendered or evacuated, many of the Irregulars retreating to the country.

After seventeen days have elapsed the troops are still holding out in Galway. In fact, they have occupied Renmore Barracks in Galway city, and other posts in the county from which the Irregulars have retreated. The ways of Irregular propagandists are strange.

The plan of campaign has developed exactly to the extent that the Irregulars now hold no posts in Dublin city or county, and that the [National] Army controls the entire Eastern and Midland Counties. At the moment the troops are operating successfully against the Irregular strongholds in the extreme South and West.

Capt. O'Grady, one of the officers stationed in Listowel ... has reported the facts of this case ... The barrack was attacked by a strong force of Irregulars drawn from a wide area. For four hours the garrison held out ... **There was no "union" with the Irregulars after the surrender. The truth is Capt. O'Grady, with more than 100 of his men are now serving with the Army in Limerick ...** So much for the Listowel fable.

The Big Advance

The initial successes of the Army in Dublin have been followed during the past ten days by many important achievements in the Provinces. In some instances, whole counties like Wexford and Louth have been cleared of Irregulars during one week.

On the eastern sea-board the Army has established complete control. Louth, Meath, Dublin, Wicklow and Wexford being strongly held. A remarkable feature of the campaign in this area, has been the small resistance offered by Irregulars in centres such as Gorey, Enniscorthy, and Baltinglass ... Those who have [boasted] most of dying for Ireland during the past few months have found it much more convenient to fly a White Flag for Ireland ...

In the Midlands.

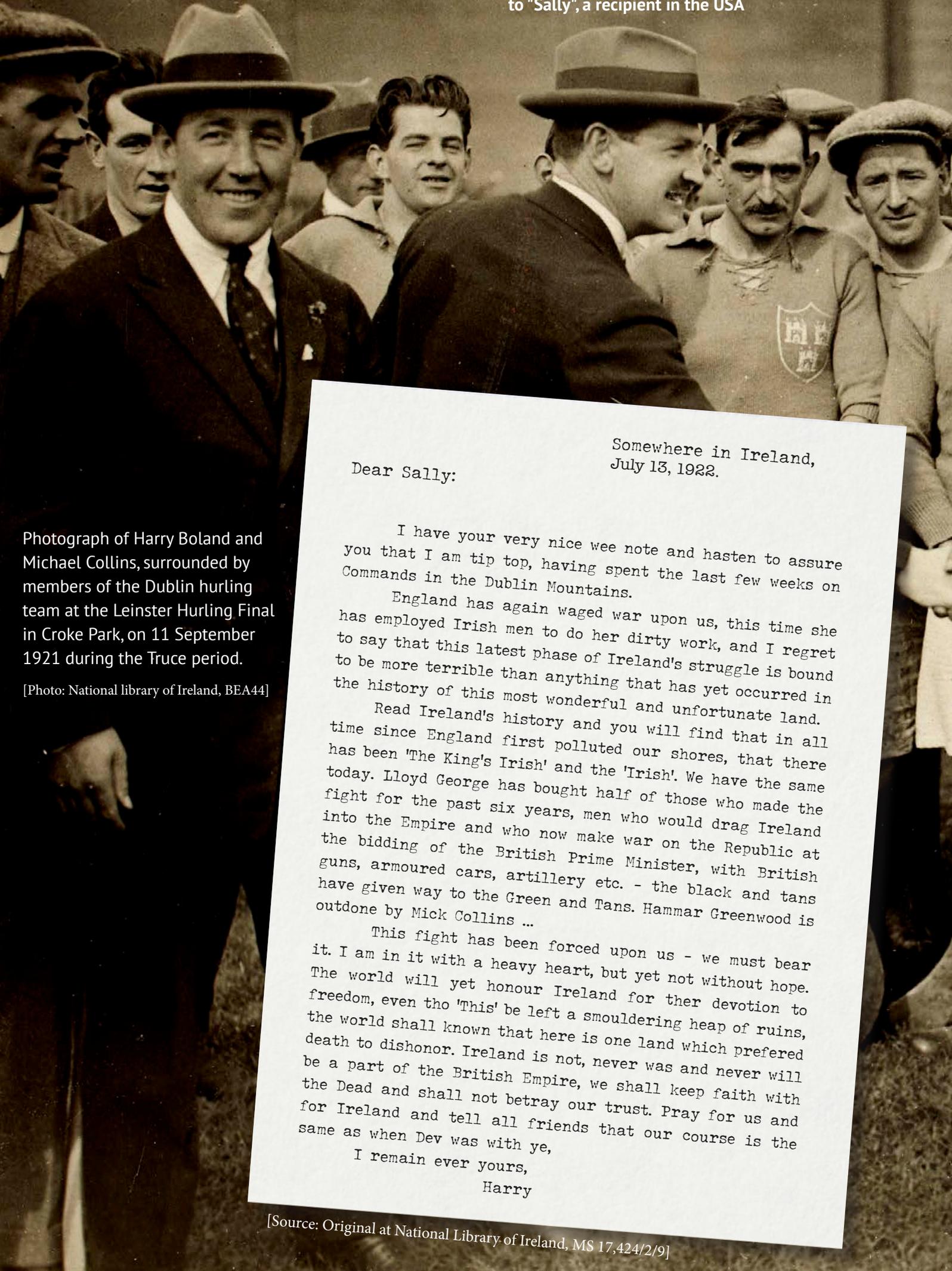
The situation in the Midlands is entirely reassuring. Here, as in the Eastern areas, those Irregulars who were not captured have found it more gallant to retreat southwards and westwards than attempt to withstand the advance of the troops. All the Midland counties, including Meath, Westmeath, Kildare, Longford, Leix and Offally are controlled by the Army. Birr and Tullamore are isolated posts held by the Irregulars in Offally, but at the time of writing it is reported that Birr is being evacuated.

In all the areas in which the Army is in control peace and security to life and property, have been restored. Everywhere they have entered the Troops have been extended a warm welcome by the people. In word and in deed the troops have shown that they are the protectors, not the suppressors, of the people's rights and liberties.

The South and West.

In the extreme south and west large tracts of country are still held by Irregulars who have been strengthened by those who retreated from Dublin, the Midlands and Eastern counties. This area comprises the counties of Cork, Kerry, and Waterford, a large portion of Mayo, Tipperary, Limerick and portions of Galway and Sligo ... From the Midlands, the Eastern Counties, Galway and Clare the Troops are now operating against the Irregulars in the south and West.

Typescript copy of a letter written by Harry Boland on 13 July 1922
to "Sally", a recipient in the USA



Photograph of Harry Boland and Michael Collins, surrounded by members of the Dublin hurling team at the Leinster Hurling Final in Croke Park, on 11 September 1921 during the Truce period.

[Photo: National library of Ireland, BEA44]

Somewhere in Ireland,
July 13, 1922.

Dear Sally:

I have your very nice wee note and hasten to assure you that I am tip top, having spent the last few weeks on Commands in the Dublin Mountains.

England has again waged war upon us, this time she has employed Irish men to do her dirty work, and I regret to say that this latest phase of Ireland's struggle is bound to be more terrible than anything that has yet occurred in the history of this most wonderful and unfortunate land.

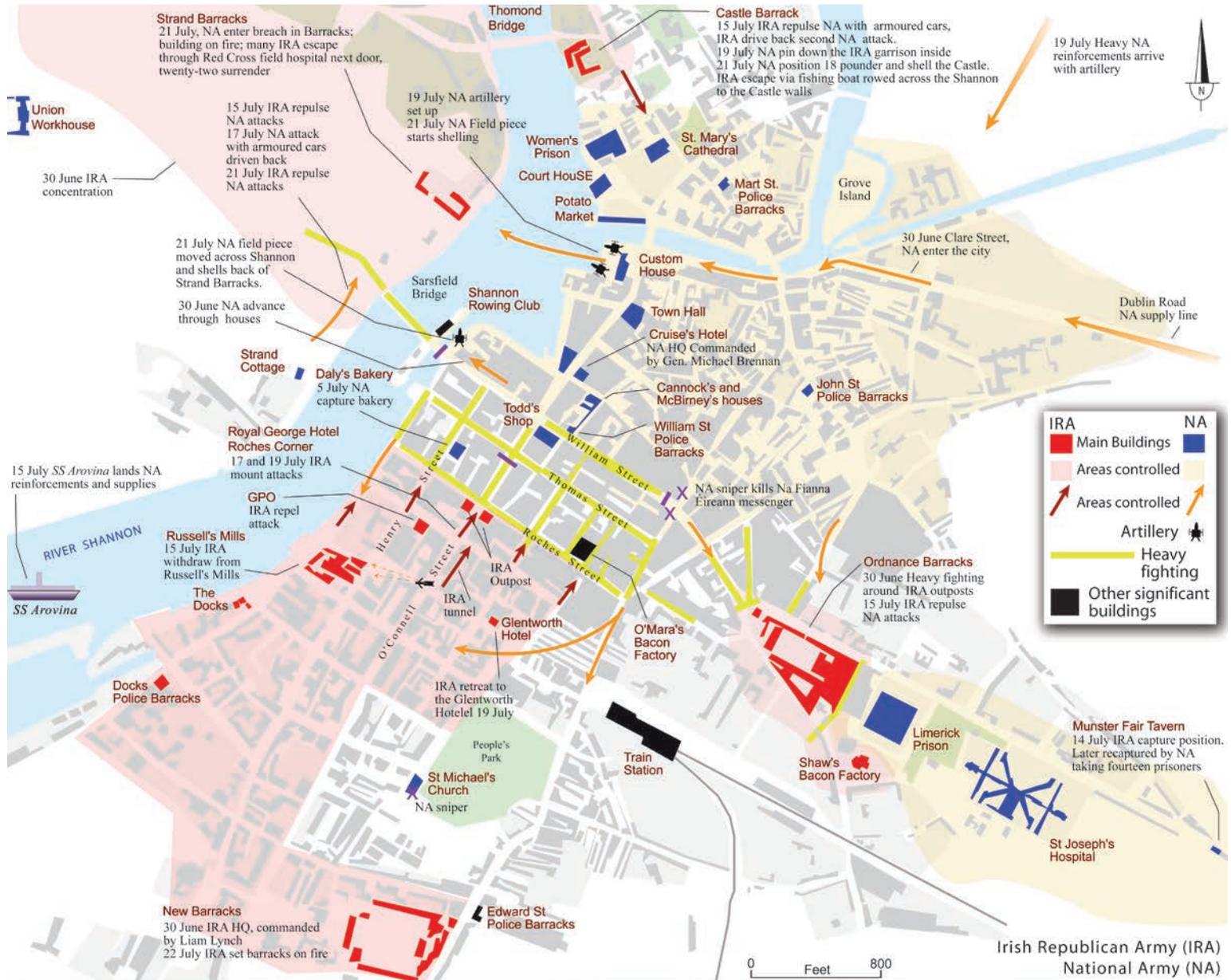
Read Ireland's history and you will find that in all time since England first polluted our shores, that there has been 'The King's Irish' and the 'Irish'. We have the same today. Lloyd George has bought half of those who made the fight for the past six years, men who would drag Ireland into the Empire and who now make war on the Republic at the bidding of the British Prime Minister, with British guns, armoured cars, artillery etc. - the black and tans have given way to the Green and Tans. Hammar Greenwood is outdone by Mick Collins ...

This fight has been forced upon us - we must bear it. I am in it with a heavy heart, but yet not without hope. The world will yet honour Ireland for their devotion to freedom, even tho 'This' be left a smouldering heap of ruins, the world shall know that here is one land which preferred death to dishonor. Ireland is not, never was and never will be a part of the British Empire, we shall keep faith with the Dead and shall not betray our trust. Pray for us and for Ireland and tell all friends that our course is the same as when Dev was with ye,

I remain ever yours,
Harry

[Source: Original at National Library of Ireland, MS 17,424/2/9]

Map showing the events during the ten-day Battle of Limerick, which ended on 21 July 1922



Caption: At the outbreak of the Civil War in late 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 out-gunned 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 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 burnt 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 Padraig Og O Ruairc, *The Battle for Limerick City*, (Cork 2010)]

LINK TO PATHE FILM RELATING TO THE BATTLE OF LIMERICK



COMPREHENSION & CRITICISM QUESTIONS

JULY-AUGUST 1922

1. What 2 claims made by republicans in issue No. 6 of their news-sheet does *An tÓglách* contradict? (Doc N)

.....

.....

2. According to *An tÓglách* what was the last post still held by republicans in the midlands? (Doc N)

.....

3. How does *An tÓglách* imply that popular opinion is in favour of the Free State troops? (Doc N)

.....

4. Identify any similarities and differences between the styles of writing in *An tÓglách* and the republican *Poblacht na hÉireann*? (Doc K and Doc N)

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5. What does *Document O* reveal about Harry Boland's opinion of (a) the British government (b) the pro-Treaty side?

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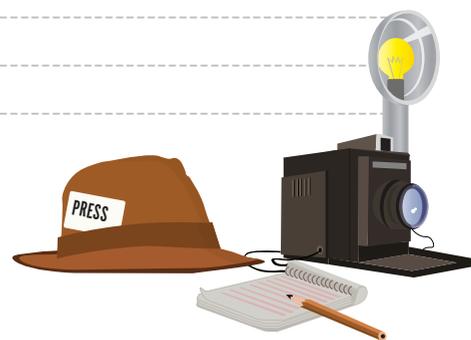
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YOUR TASK

Step 1: Your teacher will divide the class into pairs

Step 2: Using the information in the Map and its caption (*Document P*) as well as your own research, plan a front page article for the pro-Free State *Freeman's Journal*

In the article provide an account of the Battle for Limerick using specific references to relevant places in the city. Remember to use headlines that reveal the perspective of the newspaper



SPECTACLES AND EYEGLASSES
COMBINING
ALL THE LATEST IMPROVEMENTS,
W. K. Cahill, Optician, ESTD BY P. CAHILL
1845
46 Dawson Street, Dublin

The Freeman's Journal

ESTD. 1763 IRELANDS NATIONAL NEWSPAPER [ESTD 68.]

DUBLIN: FRIDAY, JULY 22ND, 1922

OUR TEA
THE BEST OF THE MARKET
BROUGHT TO YOU
BY THE
BECKER Bros
LTD.
8 SOUTH GT. BORO'S ST.,
17 NTH. BARR. ST., DUBLIN

Banner Headline Here

Main Headline

Sub-Headline

Article here with Sub-headings as needed



NATIONAL ARMY TROOPS AT ORDNANCE BARRACKS, MULGRAVE STREET, LIMERICK, 22 JULY 1922

[Photo: National Library of Ireland, HOG 123]

Letter from Michael Collins to Kitty Kiernan on 10 April 1922

10th April 1922

My Dearest Kitty,

No letter again today - I got back from Wexford last night but it was only this morning I got your wire. There was a very good meeting in Wexford and a very good reception all along both going and coming. No interruption at all at the meeting.

What has happened to you though seriously not to have written for three days. I suppose you've been enjoying yourself too well or something - staying up at night and in bed at day. Is that it?

How did the hunt go on? Honestly, I do think its a shame you haven't written - but then I may be hard on you. There may be a real reason and if I said anything - but then I don't say anything that I have to regret afterwards.

Things are rapidly becoming as hard as they can be and the country has before it

-2-

what may be the worst period yet. A few madmen may do anything. Indeed they are just getting on the pressure gradually - they go on from cutting a tree to cutting a railway line, then to firing at a barrack, then to firing at a lorry, and so on. But God knows I do not want to be worrying you with these things...

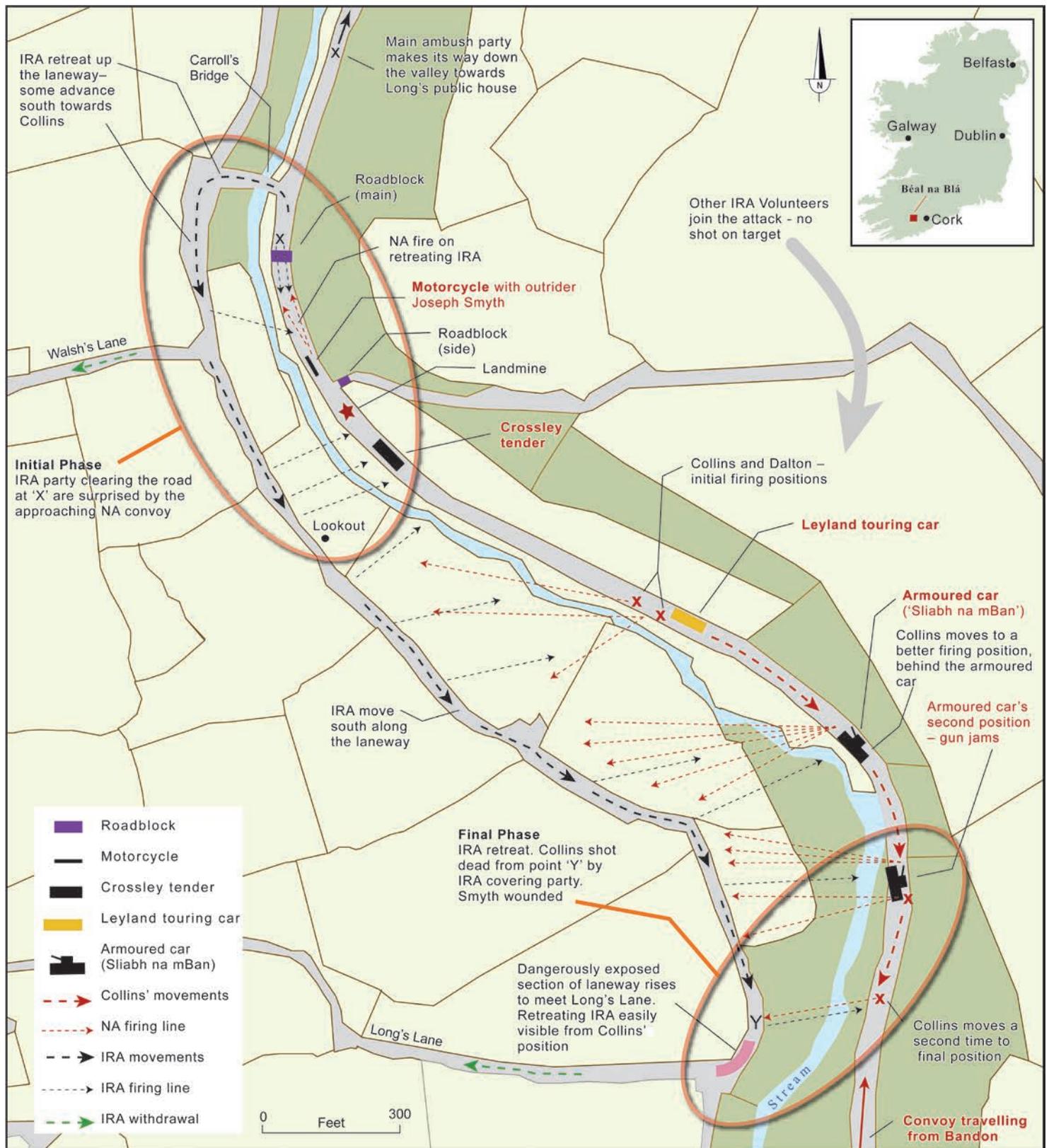
I'm most awfully anxious to see you quickly and this week is going to be a bad week with me by the look of things. Any improvement in the Connemara plans yet? Kitty do please hurry with making that definite, but I am anxious about you. I wonder if you're writing even today - Yes? No?

May God Bless you
Fondest Love
Míceál

[Source: National Library of Ireland, MS 49,618]

Michael Collins and Richard Mulcahy attending Arthur Griffith's funeral on 16 August 1922





Document S: Map of events at Béal na Blá on 22 August 1922

Caption: Michael Collins' convoy consisted of 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. (1) While an ambush was planned in advance, it had been effectively called off and what Collins and his men encountered was a small group of Anti-Treaty IRA (ATIRA) sent to clear the road after the ambush party had left. (2) Concerned for the safety of the ambush par-

ty 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 map). They were knowingly moving towards Collins and the armoured car, the vehicle sequence having been noted that morning. (3) Hearing the shots, Collins chose to stop and fight against Dalton's advice. (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.

EVENING HERALD

VOL 31. No 199

DUBLIN, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 23, 1922

PRICE: 1½

IRISH ARMY CHIEF KILLED IN CO. CORK AMBUSH

TO THE NATION

Irish Government on Loss of Chief

"WHEN VICTORY SMILES"

The following official statement is issued by the Publicity Department of the Government today :—

PEOPLE OF IRELAND,

The bravest of our countrymen has been snatched from us at the moment when victory smiled through the clouds upon the uprising of the Nation to which he had dedicated all the powers of his magnificent manhood.

The genius and courage of Michael Collins lent a force and an inspiration to the race which brought the long fight against the external enemy to the triumphant end which had become almost a dream, and swept before it the domestic revolt which tried to pluck from your hands the fruits of that triumph - your unchallenged authority in the land.

In every phase of the awakened activity of the Nation - constructive, administrative, executive, military - the personality of Michael Collins was vivid and impelling.

He has been slain to our unutterable grief and loss, but he cannot die. He will live in the rule of the people, which he gave his great best to assert and confirm, and which his colleagues undertake is a solemn charge to maintain

MANY TRIBUTES

Fearless Soldier and a Great Leader

Mr. Lloyd George has sent the following message to Mr W.T. Cosgrave, Acting Chairman of the Government :-

"Deeply regret to hear of the death of the Commander-in-Chief of the Free State Army. In his death the Free State has lost a fearless soldier, a leader of great energy and devotion, and a man of remarkable personal charm. Please convey to the members of your Government, my profound sympathy with them in their loss of one of Ireland's brilliant sons at a moment when Ireland most needed his special qualities of courage and resolution."

General Sir Neville Macready writes from British Headquarters, Parkgate, to the acting chairman of the Government :-

"I would ask you to accept my sincere sympathy on the heavy loss that has fallen upon yourself, the Provisional Government and the Irish Nation on the death of General Michael Collins. On many occasions during the last year when we met on official business, I always found him ever ready and willing to help in all matters that were brought to his notice in connection with the troops under my command, and I deeply regret that he was not spared to see in a prosperous and peaceful Ireland the accomplishment of his work."

LIMERICK SCENES

Crowd Dazed by Tragic Announcement

(By Our Special Representative) Limerick, Wednesday.

The people of Limerick were this morning shocked by the news of the death of General Michael Collins, which was announced in a brief notice posted outside the Post Office. The crowd that gathered around seemed dazed, and many ... refused to believe that the gallant Commander-in-Chief whom they had cheered but 3 days ago as he passed through their streets, was now dead. They found it difficult to realise, and sadly and silently each small group departed, as another took its place. The tragic news spread quickly, and cast a dark gloom over the city.

I last saw General Collins at Field G.H.Q., South-Western Command, on Sunday evening, as he was setting out on a tour of the command area in company with General O'Duffy and Comdt. General Finian Lynch. With a number of other journalists, I was admiring the high-powered special Leyland car in which he travelled, when General Collins came striding out of headquarters. The guard presented arms, and he returned the salute, then after his customary fashion he glanced quickly about him, his keen eye noting everybody that was gathered there. As he stood chatting with his fellow officers I took the opportunity to snap him with a small hand camera I had.

While I was focusing it he saw the movement, and turning with a smile he kindly paused a moment while I clicked the shutter, and though I have no proof of the fact, I believe that I was the last to photograph the dead Chief.

MICHAEL COLLINS DEAD

End of Short but Brilliant Career Devoted to Ireland's Cause

SHOT IN CO. CORK AMBUSH

Second Disastrous Blow to the Irish People Within a Few Days

The appalling news of the death of General Michael Collins has sent a thrill of horror through the nation this morning.

He was, according to a brief message from Cork this morning, shot dead in an ambush near Bandon in the county where he was born thirty years ago.

This is the second terrible tragedy that has befallen the country within a space of ten days, the first being the untimely end of President Griffith.

During the week-end General Collins had two escapes from death, one being a deadly attack on his motor car near Stillorgan, Co. Dublin, when fortunately he was not in the car; and the other being a collision between his car and another at Dun Laoghaire, when he escaped unhurt.



DETAILS OF THE APPALLING OCCURRENCE

(By Our Special Representative) Cork, Wednesday.

Cork to-day is a city of the dead. Despite the summer sun there is a deep gloom over everything, for the terrible news of the death of General Michael Collins, Commander-in-Chief of the National Army, has shocked the people beyond imagination. The details of the awful occurrence are only meagre as yet. Those who were present at the last scene are so overwrought as to be unable to give anything like a coherent account of the incidents that culminated in this national tragedy. From the particulars available it would seem that General Collins, who was accompanied by Major-General Dalton O.C. of the troops, Cork; Comdt. Dolan Military Governor of Mountjoy; and Staff-Capt. Conroy, were proceeding from Bandon. They had reached a place called Bealnablath, a little village midway between Macroom and Bandon.

General Collins and party were travelling in an open touring car, and were accompanied by a guard. They passed through the village and having gone 300 or 400 yards, ran into an ambush.

It was about 6.30 o'clock yesterday evening, and a large party of irregulars had taken advantage of the hilly and woody nature of the country. Without waning a volley of shots rang out. Nobody was hit. The party immediately took cover, and replied to the fire. Heavy exchanges took place for about half an hour and just at the moment when it was thought the attackers had been beaten off, General Collins, who had fought all the time, fell mortally wounded. He was hit by a bullet in the head at the back of the ear. He only survived a short time ...

General Dalton was also slightly wounded. One of the drivers was also hit and a motor cyclist who accompanied the party wounded in the neck. His condition is critical. Shortly afterwards the ambushers made off. The body of Michael Collins was subsequently removed to Cork and afterwards to Shanakiel Hospital where it now lies.

There was a painful sensation in the city when the sad news was announced. There is not a single shop open in Cork to-day. Flags on public buildings are at half-mast. Thousands of people are in the streets discussing the grim event. Everybody is pained and shocked, and stunned. It is, indeed, a city of death of gloom.

DUBLIN DAZED

Citizens Stricken with Great Grief

THEIR IDOL GONE

When the news of the death of General Collins became known in Dublin today it was read with feelings of horror and despair. At first the mind reeled, stunned at the dreadful import of this second appalling national tragedy in the short space of ten days. People were incapable of coherent thought. Then, as the dread realisation that this incomparable tragedy had indeed taken place sank in, the first numb feelings slowly died, and gave place to voluble expressions of grief and indignation. Ireland's irreparable loss became the one topic of discussion, and numerous aspects of the great chief's many-sided character were recalled.

THE ELUSIVE CHIEF.

Many spoke of the dashing, romantic figure of the "elusive Michael Collins" which loomed such a glorious symbol of unconquerable audacity and ingenuity of Young Ireland through the gloom and horror of the terror - of that Michael Collins, whose career is like to be the ideal and inspiration of Irish boys in generations to come.

Others, the older and more thoughtful spoke of the great statesman that had passed, the man with the blazing dreams of the idealist combined with the masterful, forceful personality, boundless energy, and shrewd practical common sense to carry them through.

In talking to the people in the street and seeing how the news reacted on so many diverse personalities, one comprehended, possibly more fully than ever, the completeness of the great leader's character, and now fitting this man was to be the leader of the race, in whom every type ... of the nation, might find some aspect of character attuned and responding to their own mentality ... The thinker and the man of action, the idealist and the man of affairs, each found in his complex personality the note that vibrated to his own mentality.

PATHETIC RECOLLECTIONS

With sad pity and pride people recalled his daring and his reckless contempt for death that was an outstanding characteristic of his. "Cowards die many times before their deaths, the brave man faces death but once" were apt words when applied to him.

Many also spoke of the honour and affection felt for him by the people of Dublin, of the faces that glowed as they watched him march in the funeral procession of the late President [Griffith], and recalled how, in spite of the solemnity and sorrow of the occasion, so great was his popularity that when scenes from the funeral procession of Mr Griffith were thrown on the screen the audience were unable to restrain their applause when General Collins appeared at the head of his Staff.

Those who knew and loved him spoke of his gaiety and of the great personal charm of his character; they recalled the delightful companion, the life and soul of every gathering of intimate friends. One colleague of his in the Dail said, "Through all his troubles and worries he had the laugh of a boy."

DEAD GENERAL'S LIFE

1892 -	Born near Clonakilty, Co. Cork.
1908 -	Entered postal service in London, eventually attaining a responsible position in the Guaranty Trust Company.
1915 -	Returned to Dublin, a refugee from conscription, working for a while in an accountant's office.
1916 -	Fought in the Insurrection, and was deported to Stafford Jail, and removed subsequently to Frongoch. He was released in the general amnesty at Christmas.
1917 -	Secretary to the National Aid Association and member of Sinn Fein and Army Executives, finding himself eventually in Sligo Jail on a charge of seditious speech.
1918 -	Released on bail from prison, and appointed Adjutant-General and Director of Organisation. Took active part in fighting conscription.
1919 -	Effected escape of de Valera from Lincoln and Barton from Mountjoy. Minister of Finance in the Dail, launching loans in Ireland, Gt. Britain, and America. Hunted night, noon, and morning by the British.
1920 -	Acting President of the Republic during de Valera's visit to U.S.A. and Griffith's imprisonment. Still hunted. The Truce (July 11). Griffith's chief colleague among the Plenipotentiaries. The Treaty (December 6).
1921 -	Chairman of the Provisional Government.
1922 -	

The Cork Examiner.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 24, 1922

MR COSGRAVE'S MESSAGE

(From our Reporter) Dublin, Wednesday

Acknowledging a message of condolence on the death of General Collins from the International News Service, Mr Liam T. Cosgrave, acting Chairman of the Irish Government, says - "His death is a terrible blow to the Irish nation at a time when it stood in need of his wise and courageous guidance, but we are confident that the example of his life, impressed on the people's minds by this tragedy, will rise their spirit

TO THE MEN OF THE ARMY

Stand calmly by your Posts, bravely and undaunted to your work. Let no cruel act of reprisal blemish your bright Honour. Every dark hour that Michael Collins met since 1916 seemed but to steel that bright strength of his and temper his [light-hearted] bravery. You are left each inheritors of that strength and of that bravery. To each of you falls his unfinished work. No darkness in the hour, no loss of comrades will daunt you at it. Ireland, the Army serves, strengthened by its sorrow

IRREGULARS PROTEST

Many Lay Down their Arms

The assassination of General Michael Collins has been found revolting even by many whose sympathies hitherto were on the side of the Irregulars. Yesterday several Irregulars in Cork laid down their arms as a protest against the terrible crime, and they have refused to take any further part in the Irregulars' resistance to the Government and the will of the people.

CORK CITY POLICE

The members of the Cork City Police Force were kept busily engaged yesterday in attending to their duties, and deserve to be congratulated on the excellent manner in which they performed those duties ... They were in charge of the streets through which General Collins's remains were borne to the ship for removal to Dublin, and notwithstanding the fact that the thoroughfares were lined with people, the police, who were most courteous and obliging to the spectators, were able, through their perfect arrangements, to ensure a clear passage for the sad procession.

Belfast News-Letter

TUESDAY, AUGUST 29th, 1922

MICHAEL COLLINS

REMARKABLE FUNERAL

REPUBLICAN CALLOUSNESS

The body of Michael Collins was buried yesterday in Glasnevin Cemetery, Dublin, in a grave dug beside that of Mr. Arthur Griffith, who was laid to rest only a fortnight ago.

The city was veritably one of the dead. All business activity was stopped for the day, and even the essential services were suspended during the funeral, which took four and a half hours to pass a given point.

Throughout the night and during the morning men and women poured into the city until by midday, when the cortège began a six-mile circuit of the principal streets, the footpaths were filled with densely-packed masses of people. The crowd took possession of the statues in Sackville (O'Connell) Street, spread themselves over the ruins of the old Post Office and the wreckage caused by Rory O'Connor's "insurrection," and waited for hours in silence until they had caught a glimpse of the coffin wrapped in a silken Sinn Fein flag.

During Sunday night Republicans had been active in the south and south-east of the country with a view to preventing sightseers and mourners from reaching Dublin, and the train service of the Great Southern Railway was greatly interrupted yesterday owing to the line having been cut in several places: Trains from Dublin could get no further south than Kildare. The line was torn up at Cherryville Junction, and trains from the South could not pass Dundrum, Co. Tipperary, where the line last night was still broken. Trains from Waterford; Kilkenny, Thurles, Roscrca, and Birr could not get nearer Dublin than Monasterevan and Kildangan, the lines at both places being torn up.

A requiem mass was conducted by the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin (Dr. Byrne) at the pro-Cathedral in Marlborough Street, at 11 o'clock, about 300 priests taking part in the elaborate ceremonial ...

After the Service the coffin was borne to the waiting gun carriage, drawn by six black horses, at the door. The procession then began its march through the streets to Glasnevin. Following the advance guard of mounted men were three hundred priests, including a number of Franciscan friars. A firing party was slightly in advance of the gun carriage, following which (came hundreds of Free State officers. Behind them came the carriages in which were the relatives. Next came the members of the Provisional Government, followed by the Lord Mayor and members of the Dublin Corporation. After them marched more Free State forces, carrying their arms reversed with a band of pipers. The remainder of the cortège was made up of Sinn Fein organisations, public bodies, detachments of the Dublin Metropolitan Police and the civic guard, the Dublin Fire Brigade, many members of trades and labour bodies, and some thousands of the general public, walking four abreast with bared heads. Fourteen motor cars were needed to carry the wreaths.

SNIPERS CARRY ON.

A vast concourse of mourners had gathered at the cemetery, and as the crowds were waiting for the cortège to enter the gates the report of Republican snipers' rifle fire could be heard. Bishop Fogarty recited the last prayers, and when the coffin was lowered into the grave the firing party, numbering fifty, fired three volleys, and The Last Post was sounded by buglers.

EVENING HERALD

VOL 31, No 204

DUBLIN, TUESDAY, AUGUST 29TH, 1922

PRICE: 1½ d

COMRADES' TRIBUTES TO LION-HEARTED CHIEFTAIN

General Eoin O'Duffy's Tribute

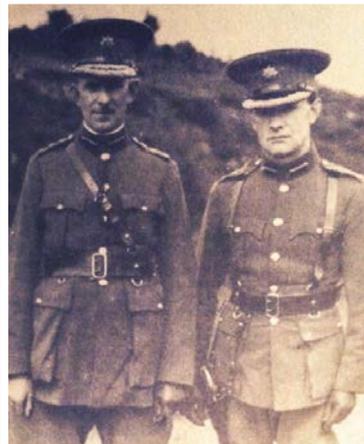
Addressing the troops and surrounding crowds at Limerick, General O'Duffy said: "Soldiers and citizens of the Irish nation. The people of Ireland today stand with sorrowful hearts over the grave of Michael Collins. The grave of Mick Collins! What a thought! What a reality!

This day week Gen. Collins was here in the South-Western Command reviewing his troops. I parted with him at Mallow, strong, virile and cheerful. No matter what his cares and responsibilities of State might be, and they were many, he always had time to be among his soldiers, to lead his gallant little army ...

He was an untiring worker in the cause of freedom. Speaking here to-day as an officer who held every executive position in the Army from Company Captain to Chief of Staff, I can only endorse what the late President Griffith said, that Michael Collins was the man who won the war ...

Will the Irish people ever place their trust and the destinies of the future Irish nation in the hands of those who are responsible for the murder of Michael Collins? No, never! Do the leaders on the other side see this? They do; but they see they can't rule Ireland now, and their policy is to ruin her.

We should pause a while. What will it serve in the cause of freedom to murder



GEN. EOIN O' DUFFY (LEFT) & MICHAEL BRENNAN

our troops, our gallant young soldiers, as is happening in Tralee, Killarney, Dublin, and Abbeyliex? In some of these places they covered before the Black and Tans, now murder our gallant young soldiers ... These soldiers have nothing to gain, and everything to lose and are prepared to sacrifice their lives that you may live, and that the Irish nation may survive ...

Collins' message to the Army at the height of the Black-and-Tan terror was: "Carry on the work." If Collins could speak today, his message to the Army would be: "Carry on the Work." ...

There is no one more anxious for peace than I am. I consider this an unnatural, unreal and heartbreaking fight, but the will of the Irish people must prevail.

Edited Extract from Bureau of Military History Witness Statement (#939) submitted on 12 April 1954 by Ernest Blythe, Member of Dail Cabinet, 1922

ORIGINAL

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY 1813-81
DATA 1813-81
7

Collins was killed only some ten days after Griffith's funeral. I had gone home that night [and...] some time early in the morning the sound of lorries was heard coming down to our door ... When I went downstairs Commandant Marie was in the sitting-room, and Michael Hayes, who had already been collected, was with him. He told me that Collins was dead and that a Cabinet meeting was being held to appoint a new Commander-in-Chief. As soon as I got my clothes on I went with [them] to Government Buildings... I never in my life saw a more dejected looking group. What we had to do was, however, obvious. General Mulcahy was the only man who could be appointed to succeed Collins, and that was duly done by a unanimous vote....

All members of the Government went down to the North Wall the night after the news came to meet Collins's body, which was being brought by boat from Cork. It was, I think, two or three o'clock in the morning before the ship arrived. Various people told me they never saw anything more moving or impressive than the sight of the procession when it reached Stephen's Green in the dark grey morning, the coffin on a gun-carriage, a piper in front and a small straggling crowd of two or three hundred people after it. Collins's body was laid that night in the mortuary chapel in Vincent's Hospital. I think his death had definitely a hardening effect on opinion everywhere, not only, amongst particular groups of soldiers, but also amongst the general public. Moreover, we felt that in certain respects Mulcahy was less sentimental about old comrades than Collins had been and, as we in the Government saw it, there was greater determination than before to complete the work and definitely establish the authority of the elected Government.

On Collins's death Kevin O'Higgins, who had been serving in the Army ... came back to the Government and became Minister for Home Affairs. At the meeting of the pro-Treaty party held on the evening before the Dail assembled, the question of who should be President in succession to Collins was debated ... I said that the effect upon the country and on the relations between the Army and the Government would be much better if the President were not in uniform. I think it was Pádraig O Maille who then arose and proposed Cosgrave [who ...] as far as I can remember, was unanimously selected.

After Collins's death, there was for some time a feeling that the Civil War would speedily end as major resistance was broken, but actually it began to assume a chronic character.

1980.

THE TERRIBLE DRAMA OF CIVIL WAR: AUGUST 1922

A new short play has been commissioned in advance of the anniversary of the death of Michael Collins. The producers want the play to capture the events surrounding his death as well as the significance of the fatal ambush in the midst of civil war.

Because one of the central scenes in the play is lacking sufficient dramatic tension and accurate historical information, the producers have asked for a rewrite of that scene.

YOUR TASK;

Step 1: Your teacher will divide the class into groups of four/five students. Each group represents a playwriting team. Your scene may be set at a time and location of your choosing in August 1922 but must include:



- An obvious storyline
- At least two characters in conversation
- Dialogue which reveals some of the significant events of August 1922
- Reference to the significance of the death of Michael Collins to the pro-Treaty and/or anti-Treaty side

Step 2: Working individually, conduct some preliminary research into Michael Collins and the events of August 1922 by examining *Documents R-T3*. Take note of any important or interesting details that might form the basis of your scene.

Step 3: Return to your groups to discuss your research and to plan your scene using the template on the next page.

Step 4: Perform your scenes for the class.





PLAY TITLE

Playwright:

Director:

Researcher:

Labelled Sketch of the Setting

Character Names, Descriptions and Background

Brief Description of the Scene

Beginning of Scene

Middle of Scene

End of Scene

Mood and Atmosphere of Scene

PHASE 3: AUGUST 1922- MAY 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.

Perhaps nowhere in Ireland was the Civil War fought as bitterly as in County Kerry. While the Kerry IRA had been reasonably active during the War of Independence, it waged an aggressive guerrilla war in 1922-1923. Frustrated by their inability to crush the determined armed resistance of the Kerry republicans, National Army officers took extreme measures against the IRA.

The Free State forces in Kerry included the 'Dublin Guard', comprised of IRA veterans from Dublin including the intelligence officer David Neligan and Major-General Paddy O'Daly, the commander of Free State forces in Kerry. Republicans accused both men of killing and brutalizing republican prisoners. The toxic environment culminated in several unofficial reprisal executions carried out by the National Army in March 1923, including the notorious 'Ballyseedy Massacre'.

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 homes and offices of those strongly 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 extra-judicially 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.

By early 1923, the anti-Treaty IRA were demoralised, lacked popular support, faced excommunication from the Catholic Church and fought a persistent and better equipped National Army. Republican resistance at this point consisted mostly of as the blocking of roads, attacks on railways, and destruction of bridges, to hinder National Army movement and disrupt the economy. By the end March 1923, IRA leaders in all parts of Ireland had begun to debate whether or not to continue the war. After Liam Lynch was shot dead on the slopes of the Knockmealdown Mountains on 10 April 1923 Lynch's successor as chief-of-staff, Frank Aiken, issued an order to 'Cease Fire - Dump Arms'. There was neither an official surrender nor a negotiated peace settlement, and Treaty issues would continue to dominate Irish politics for decades.

Kevin O'Higgins (centre) on the day of his wedding to Bridget Cole on 27 October 1921. In attendance were Éamon de Valera as well as O'Higgins' best man, Rory O'Connor (right).

Close bonds of close friendship that formed during the struggle for independence were broken in the bitter Civil War - none more tragic than O'Connor and O'Higgins'. O'Connor, who was imprisoned in Mountjoy Jail after the surrender at the Four Courts, was executed on 8 Decem-

ber 1922 in reprisal for the killing of Sean 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.

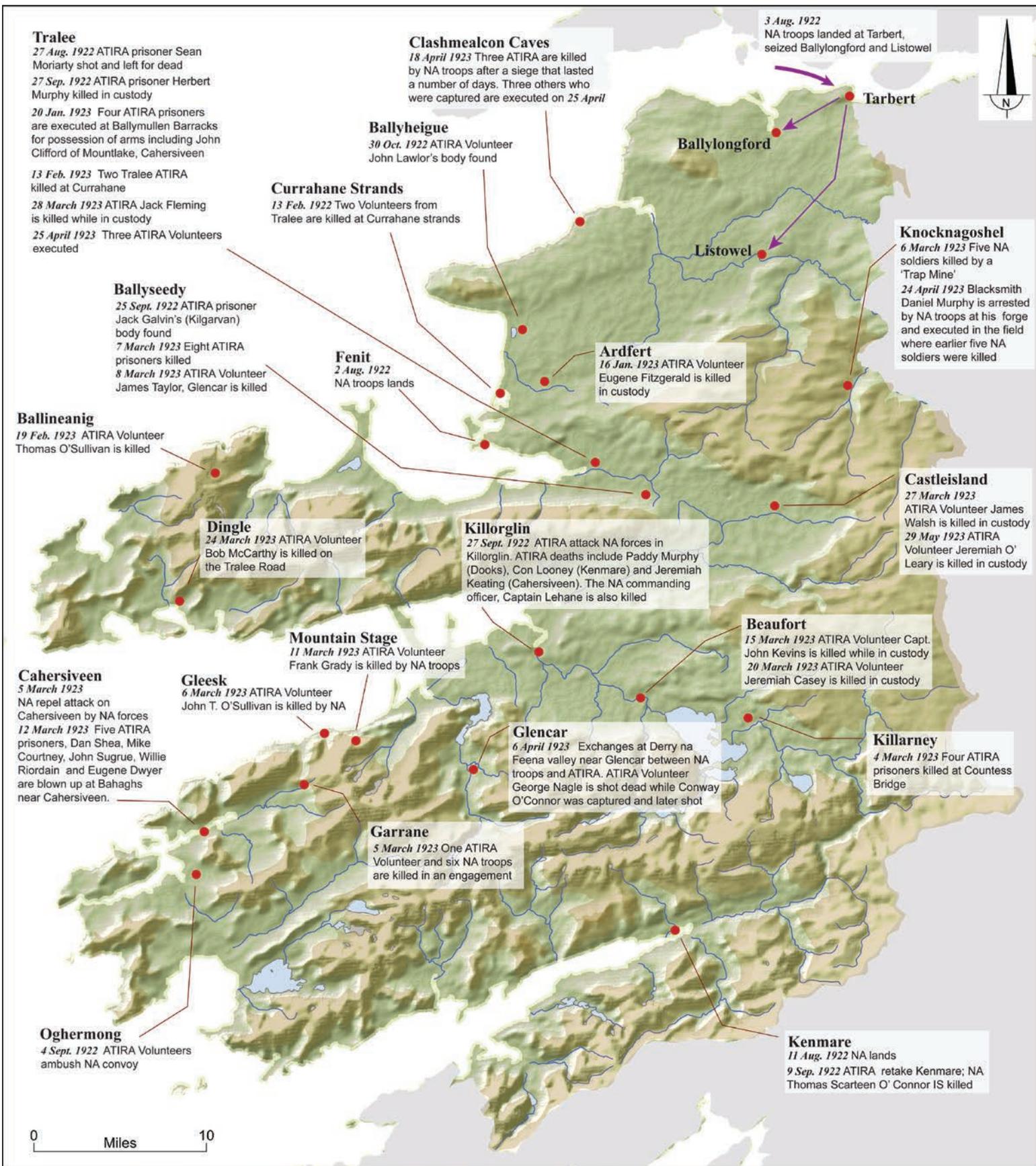


[Photo: National Library of Ireland, INDH359]

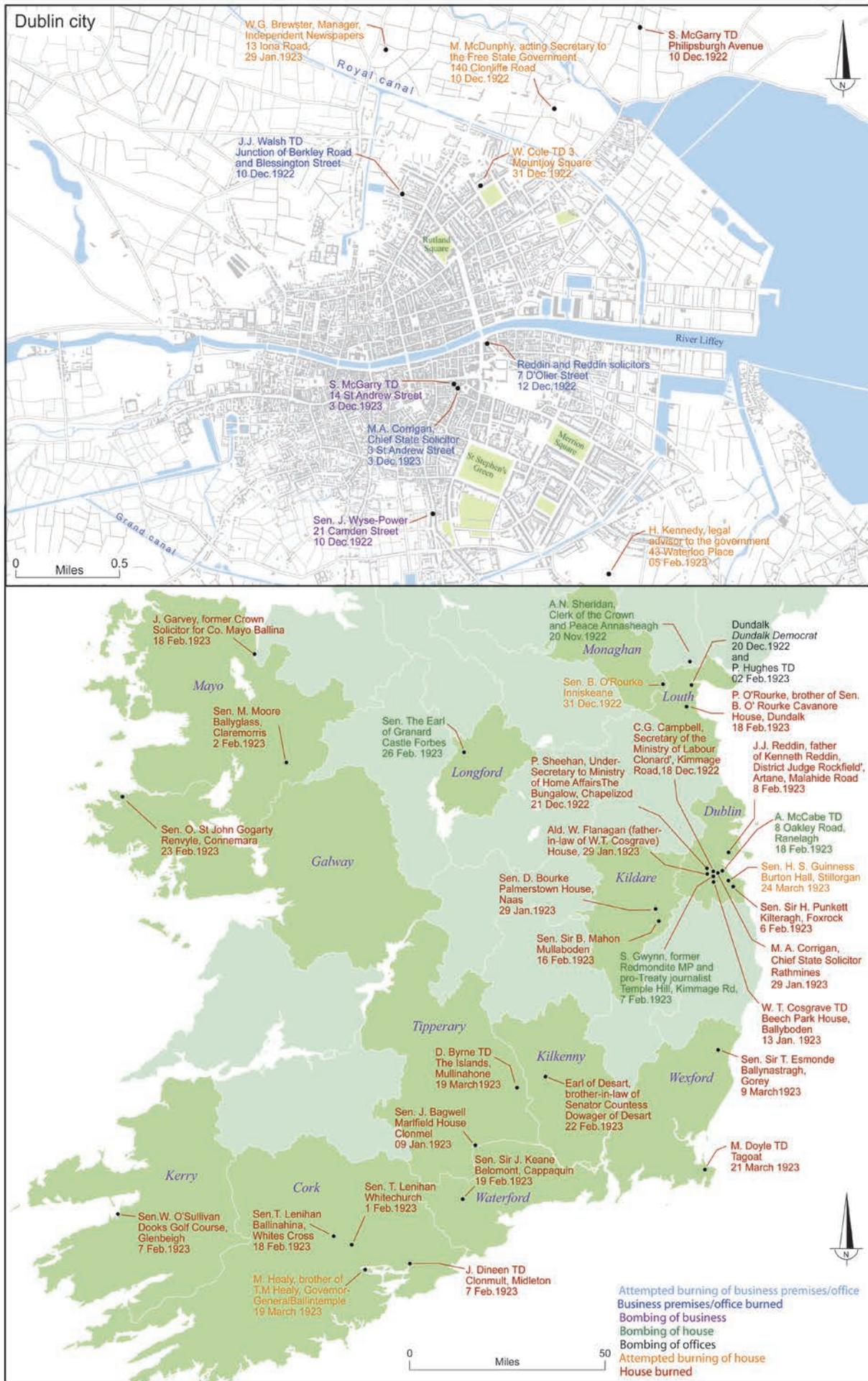
Map Showing the Events of the Civil War in County Kerry

Perhaps nowhere in Ireland was the Civil War fought as bitterly as in County Kerry. The republicans sustained determined armed resistance, inflicted heavy casualties on the National Army, and retained control of large swaths of the county for much of the conflict. Frustrated by their inability to crush the republicans, National Army officers took extreme measures against the IRA, culminating in several unofficial reprisal executions carried out

by the National Army in March 1923, including the notorious 'Ballyseedy Massacre'. This map lists a number of violent encounters from June 1922 to May 1923. It omits scores of low-scale IRA ambushes, National Army arrests, and killings committed by both sides. However, it does capture the spread of violence across the county, and highlights some hotspots.



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



Although the grip of the Irregulars was loosened ... guerrilla activities continued almost everywhere. Gradually, we came to the conclusion that steps must be taken to restore order fully, because what was going on was demoralising large numbers of the people. Ultimately we decided that men found in illegal possession of arms should be brought before committees of officers for trial and, if found guilty, executed ...

The first to suffer under the new arrangements were three young fellows who were caught with guns somewhere in County Dublin. They were duly brought before a committee of officers and sentenced to death. For some reason, Mr. Cosgrave was not able to be present ... and I happened to be the Minister whose duty it was to tell the Deputies that these men were to be executed the following morning. As I stood addressing the party, I noticed dismay on several faces. Pádraig O Máille, whose face very large and fat, sat directly in front of me and I remember that as he listened to the news, his whole visage shook like a blancmange. There were some appeals to the Government to let the young men off, but ... the big body of Deputies were more than tired of long drawn out sniping activities, and were fully prepared to support the Government in its determination that, if necessary, drastic steps should be taken. The executions presumably gave a shock to some members of the public, but many indications reached us to how that the general mass of the people were behind us.

Immediately after the execution of the three young lads, Erskine Childers was found illegally in possession of a pistol, and he became subject to the regulations. He was duly tried, found guilty and sentenced to death. In his case, however, all sorts of forces went into operation to try and prevent his execution ... [but] I think every Minister believed that if we were to reprieve Childers, having executed ignorant ordinary young fellows, our position would be impossible vis-a-vis the public and vis-a-vis the Army. I had no personal ill-feeling towards him at all, and I had never been angry with him for his attitude on the Treaty... I regarded his execution solely as an act of war, necessitated by public policy and absolutely essential to the country's welfare ...

When the Constitution had been passed, the new Government was established under the title "The Executive Council" ... On the day on which the voting for the Senate took place, Padraig O Maille and Sean Hales were fired upon on the quays ... Sean Hales was killed and Padraig O Maille wounded ... We agreed amongst ourselves that such an attack on the Dáil had to be met by drastic measures and that they should be taken at once... a list of names [was] read out. They were the names of Mellows, Barrett, O'Connor and McKelvey ... the proposal was that they should be executed in the morning without any form of trial ... I was always myself on the best of terms with Liam Mellows. Kevin O'Higgins had been an intimate friend of Rory O'Connor ... [However] we all felt that we were at a crisis in the national history which required us not to shirk any responsibility which came up to us, but to stand out firmly before the people, who were a good deal shaken by the events of previous months ... There is no doubt at all that the summary executions made a tremendous difference in the country. Some people were no doubt horrified, but for others the lesson was that the Government really meant business.

This Resolution was passed by the Dail on 28 September 1922, conferring extensive judicial and punitive powers on military courts, including the controversial right to impose the death penalty that resulted in notorious '77' executions during the Civil War.



THE ARMY EMERGENCY POWERS RESOLUTION

1. (1) WHEREAS the Government has entrusted the Army the duty of securing the public safety and restoring order throughout the country and has placed on the army the responsibility for the establishment of the authority of the Government in all parts of the country in which that authority is challenged by force.
 - (2) AND WHEREAS the Army Council has represented to the Government that in order to discharge effectively the duty and responsibility so placed on them it is essential that the Army Council should have the power to set up Military Courts or Committees with full powers of enquiring into charges and inflicting punishments on persons found guilty of acts calculated to interfere with or delay the effective establishment of the authority of the Government, and that the Army Council should have power to authorise the detention in places whether within or without the jurisdiction of the Government of persons in Military custody and power to control the dealing in and possession of fire arms.
 - (3) AND WHEREAS the Government recognising the force of such representations had sanctioned the doing under the authority of the Army Council of all or any of the following matters and things:
 - (a) The setting up of Military Courts or Committees for the enquiring into charges against persons in respect of any of the offences hereafter mentioned ...
 1. Taking part in or aiding and abetting any attack upon or using force against the National Forces.
 2. Looting, arson, destruction, seizure, unlawful possession or removal of, or damage to any public or private property.
 3. Having possession without proper authority of any bomb or any dynamite, gelignite or other explosive substance or any revolver, rifle gun or other firearm or lethal weapon or any ammunition for such fire arm.
 4. The breach of any general order or regulation made by the Army Council

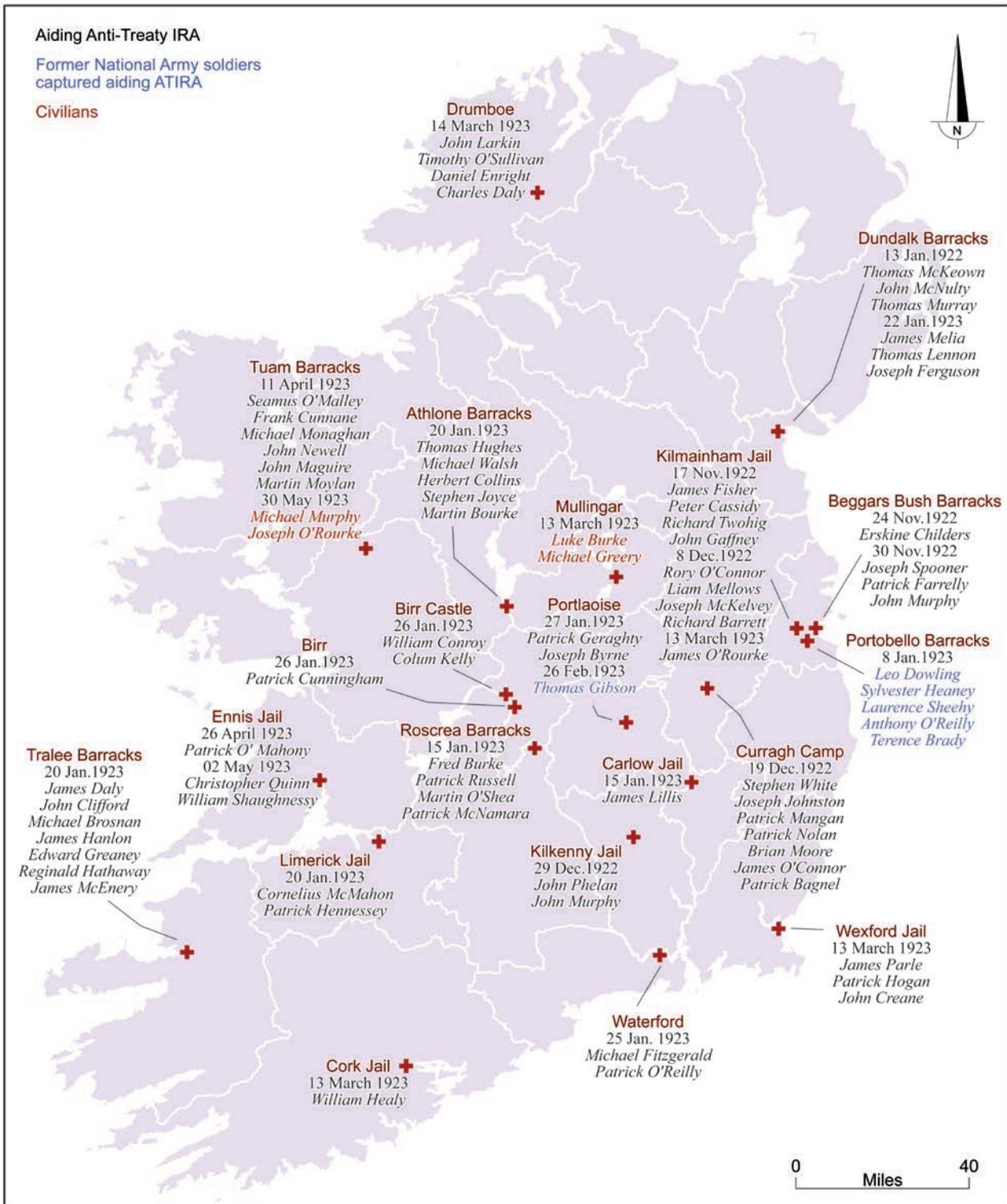
and the infliction by such Military Courts or Committees of the punishment of death or of penal servitude for any period or of imprisonment for any period or of a fine of any amount either with or without imprisonment on any person found guilty by such Court or Committee of any of the offences aforesaid ...

- Document Y -

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. 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. 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. All but eighteen of the executions occurred outside of Dublin, a deliberate policy adopted after the initial dozen men were killed in the capital.



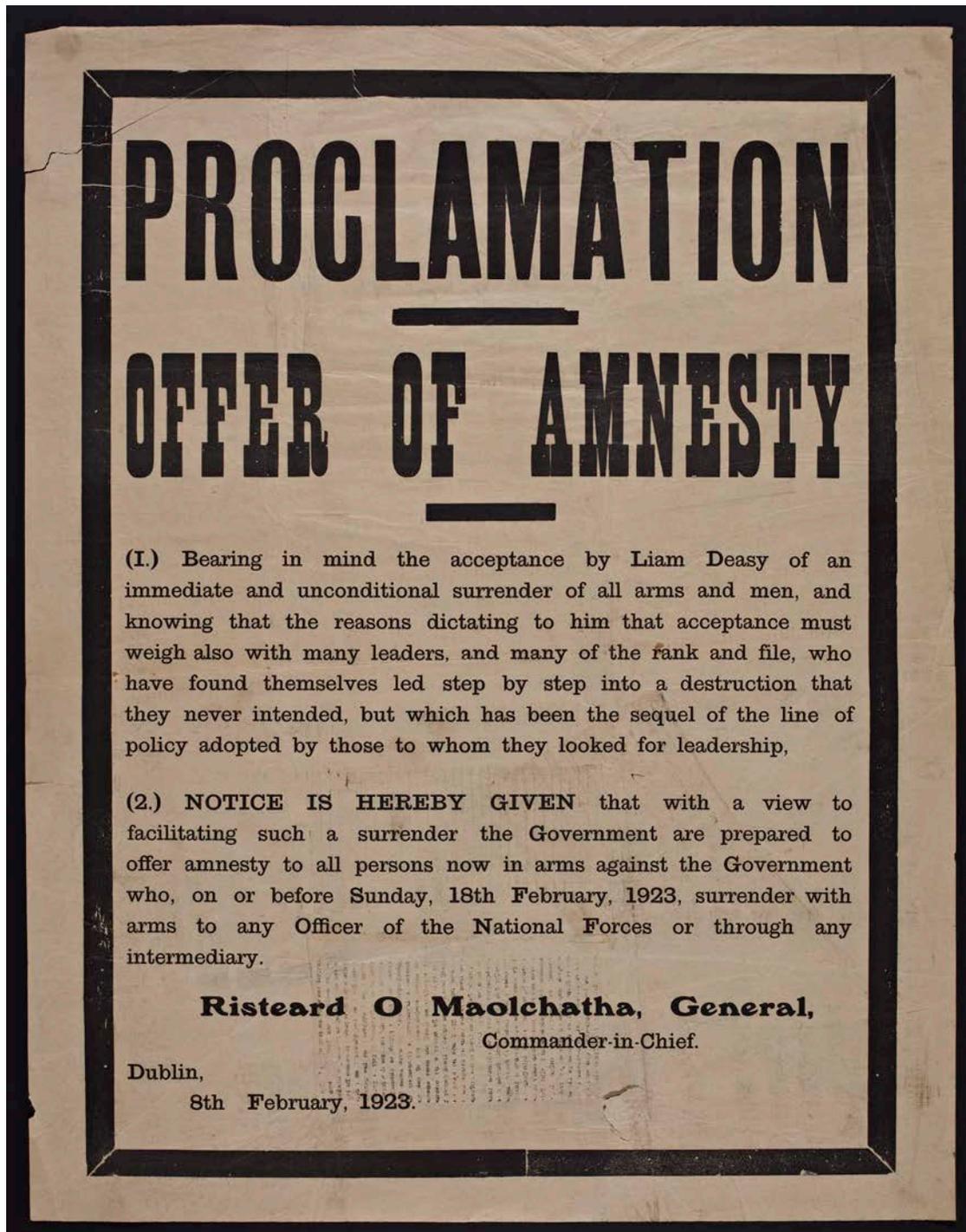
[Source: Breen Timothy Murphy, 'The Government's Executions Policy during the Irish Civil War 1922-1923' (unpublished PhD thesis, NUIM, 2010)]

- Document Z-

Richard Mulcahy's offer of amnesty to anti-Treaty IRA members willing to surrender

This followed upon the capture of IRA commander Liam Deasy on 18 January in the Galtee Mountains and his decision to sign a surrender and agree to Free State pressure to call on his fellow leaders to do likewise. While being spared execution was a clear incentive, Deasy was already seeking ways of ending the conflict and was extremely pessimistic about republican prospects by the

beginning of 1923. Deasy's call had most resonance in the prisons, where a number of prisoners 'surrendered', and amongst an isolated number of anti-Treaty columns, such as that in Leixlip, County Kildare. While the anti-Treatyites fought on until May, the Deasy episode can be seen, in the words of Michael Hopkinson as 'the beginning of the public collapse in the Republican military position.'



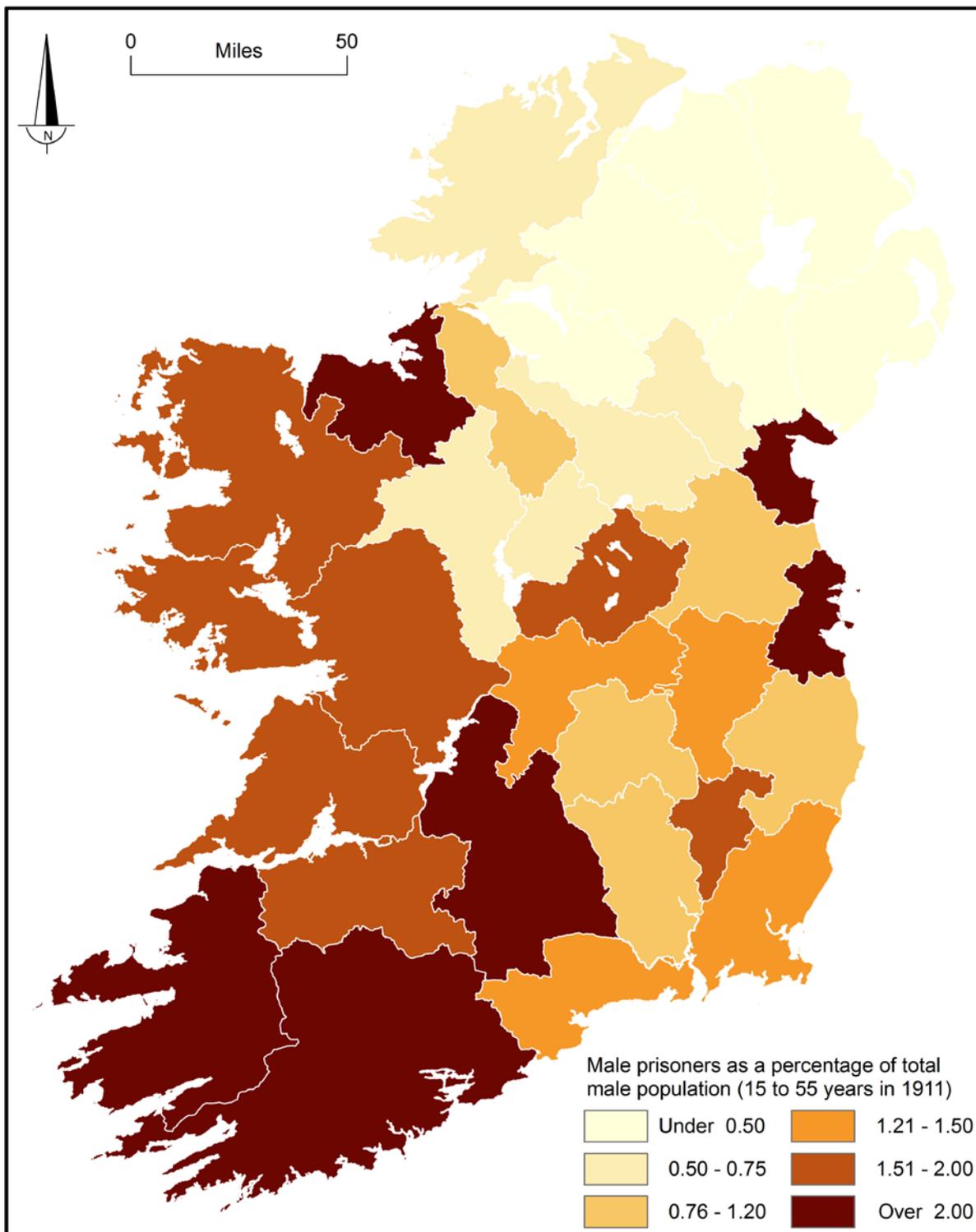
- Document A1-

Map showing origins of the over 15,000 male internees imprisoned in the Free State from June 1922 to the final releases in 1924, 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. 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 showed and 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]

Éamon de Valera's proclamation to the anti-Treaty IRA issued in conjunction with Frank Aiken's ceasefire order
on 24 May 1923

ÓGLAÍOÍ NA h-ÉIREANN.

(IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY)

Árd Oifig áit Cliath

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS,
DUBLIN

Dept :-

May 24th, 1923.

Ref. No. Order of the Day.

To:

All Ranks

from the President.

SOLDIERS OF LIBERTY - LEGION OF THE REARGUARD:

The Republic can no longer be defended successfully by your arms. Further sacrifices on your part would now be in vain and continuance of the struggle in arms unwise in the national interest. Military victory must be allowed to rest for the moment with those who have destroyed the Republic. Other means must be sought to safeguard the nation's right.

Do not let sorrow overwhelm you. Your efforts and the sacrifices of your dead comrades in this forlorn hope will surely bear fruit. 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.

Seven years of intense efforts have exhausted our people. Their sacrifices and their sorrows have been many. If they have turned away and have not given you the active support which alone would bring you victory in this last year, it is because they are weary and need a rest. Give them a little time and you will and see them recover and rally again to the standard. They will then quickly discover who have been selfless and who selfish - who have spoken the truth and who falsehood. When they are ready, you will be, and your place will be once more as of old with the vanguard.

The sufferings which you must now face unarmed, you will bear in a manner worthy of men who were ready to give up their lives for their cause. The thought that you have still to suffer for your devotion will lighten your present sorrow and what you endure will keep you in communion with your dead comrades who gave their lives and all these lives promised, for Ireland.

May God guard every one of you and give to our country in all times of need sons who will love her as dearly and devotedly as you.

EAMON DE VALERA



COMPREHENSION QUESTIONS

PHASE III: GUERRILLA WAR FARE

1. According to the map, in what month did most of the IRA attacks in Dublin take place? (*Doc V*)
.....
.....
2. What type of attack was carried out on H. Kennedy's property in Waterloo place and (b) why do you think it was targeted by republicans? (*Doc V*)
.....
.....
3. Explain why the types of attack shown on the map would be considered guerrilla warfare? (*Doc V*)
.....
.....
.....
.....
4. According to Ernest Blythe's witness statement, what action did the Provisional Government take in response to IRA guerrilla activities? (*Doc W*)
.....
.....
5. Can you suggest a reason for Pádraig O Máille's reaction to Blythe's news? (*Doc W*)
.....
.....
6. How does Ernest Blythe's justify the execution of Erskine Childers? (*Doc W*)
.....
.....
.....
7. What event in Dublin led to the Executive Council's decision to enforce 'drastic measures'? (*Doc W*)
.....
.....
8. According to Ernest Blythe, was effect did the executions have on (a) public opinion (b) the IRA?
(a).....
(b).....
9. Do you consider *Document A2* to be a reliable source? Refer to the document in your answer.
.....
.....
.....
.....



10. For what offences could people be tried before a military court after September 1922? (*Doc X*)

11. According to the map, what three locations in Dublin were used to execute prisoners under the Emergency Powers legislation? (*Doc Y*)

12. When and where were Rory O'Connor, Liam Mellows, Richard Barrett and Joseph McKelvey executed? (*Doc Y*)

13. How many of those executed between November 1922 and May 1923 were civilians? (*Doc Y*)

YOUR TASK

It is 10 April 1923 and Liam Lynch has just been fatally wounded in a firefight with National Army soldiers in the Knockmealdown Mountains. You are senior officers in the National Executive of the Anti-Treaty IRA. During an emergency meeting to decide the future, you compile a list of pros and cons for continuing the fight:

Step 1. Your teacher will organise the class into groups of four

Step 2: Using the information in Documents in this worksheet and your own research discuss the reasons why the IRA are in a weak position and should surrender and any reasons or justifications for continuing the fight against Free State forces

Step 3: Once each group member has contributed to the discussion, complete the pros and cons template on the next page

Step 4: Once the task is completed, your teacher will ask for feedback from each group



LIST OF PROS AND CONS FOR CONTINUING THE FIGHT AGAINST THE FREE STATE FORCES

PROS

CONS