Unit 7:

The Irish War of Independence, 1919-21

Part 1

Senior Cycle Worksheets
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UNIT 7:  
THE IRISH WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

PHASE I: JAN 1919 - MARCH 1920

The first phase of the War of Independence consisted mainly of isolated incidents between the IRA and the Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC). From the beginning of the conflict, the British government refused to recognise the Irish Republic or to admit that a state of war existed between this republic and the UK. The violence in Ireland was described as ‘disorder’ and the IRA was a ‘murder gang’ of terrorists and assassins. For this reason, it was the job of the police rather than the 50,000-strong British army garrison in Ireland to deal with the challenge to the authority of the British administration. British soldiers would later become heavily involved in the conflict, but from the beginning the police force was at the front line of the conflict.

Soloheadbeg Ambush

On the same day as the meeting of the First Dáil on 21 January 1919, members of the South Tipperary Brigade ambushed a convoy of RIC at Soloheadbeg. The aim of the operation was to capture the gelignite being escorted to a local quarry, and to intensify hostilities against the RIC. Led by Dan Breen, Séan Treacy and Seamus Robinson, the Tipperary Volunteers acted independently of Volunteers General Headquarters (GHQ), which had forbidden arms raids. The ambush resulted in the deaths of two police constables, James McDonnell and Patrick O’Connell. The action was condemned by the church and the attackers reprimanded by GHQ.

POLICE BOYCOTT

Eamon de Valera escaped from Lincoln Jail on 3 February 1919 and when the remaining ‘German Plot’ prisoners were released in March 1919, the President of the Dáil was able to return to Ireland without danger of arrest. He presided at a meeting of Dáil Éireann on 10 April 1919 at which the assembly confirmed a policy of boycotting against the RIC.

THE RIC ARE “SPIES IN OUR MIDST … THE EYES AND EARS OF THE ENEMY … THEY MUST BE SHOWN AND MADE TO FEEL HOW BASE ARE THE FUNCTIONS THEY PERFORM AND HOW VILE IS THE POSITION THEY OCCUPY”.

- Eamon de Valera (Dáil Debates, vol. F, no. 6, col. 67)

This ‘social war’ first initiated by republicans in 1917, succeeded in driving a wedge between the RIC and the community and prepared the ground for the actual war that was waged against the force from early 1920.

Brighid O’Mullane, Cumann na mBan
Organiser, 1917-1923

In 1919, owing to the officiousness of the local police in supplying information to the British military, Cumann na mBan decided to have an extra activity, namely, the social ostracism of the police throughout the country.

This I put into operation by getting the Cumann na mBan girls to refuse to dance with, or to greet the police on the street, and further, to encourage shopkeepers to have no business dealings with them. I even got mothers to pull in their children from the doorways of the houses when the policemen were passing. This turned out to be a most effective method of preventing the police from supplying the British army with information.
The RIC was poorly prepared for the conflict. In 1919 the police force did not have the equipment, the training or the young men it needed to fight a guerrilla war. Their distinctive uniforms made them conspicuous and their barracks were often located in isolated rural areas. After a series of sporadic, unsuccessful attacks on police barracks in the second half of 1919, the RIC inspector general ordered the closure of the more vulnerable police stations. The police force was concentrated in more heavily fortified barracks that were better protected against rebel attacks.

As the number of violent incidents gradually increased, the British authorities introduced Special Military Areas where all public meetings were banned. Nonetheless, the RIC who were predominately Irishmen, became demoralised and less effective against the IRA. Many resigned or retired and the strength of the force declined steadily until the autumn of 1920.

THE INTELLIGENCE WAR

The 'intelligence war' was one of the most important military aspects of the Irish War of Independence. As IRA Director of Intelligence, Michael Collins built up an effective spy network which included Ned Broy, a member of G Division - an intelligence-gathering unit of plain-clothes Dublin Metropolitan Police (DMP) detectives. Collins' intelligence sources also included policemen, clerks, typists, waiters, hotel porters, post office staff, bar staff, railway officials and journalists.

Collins established a Volunteers General Headquarters (GHQ) Intelligence Department with offices at 3 Crow Street, only about 200 yards from Dublin Castle. Its personnel monitored British agents and spies, kept records on enemy personnel and monitored their telephone, telegraph and postal communications. Collins' assistant Joe O'Reilly, called twice a day to collect reports and deliver instructions.

THE SQUAD

On 30 July 1919 Squad members assassinated their first 'G'-man, Detective Sergeant Patrick Smyth. This was followed on 11 September by the assassination of Detective Sergeant Daniel Hoey. On the same day, the Dáil was declared a dangerous assembly and soon afterwards Collins went on the run, the Dáil government departments were forced underground, and the British government suppressed Sinn Féin and the Irish Volunteers. The year ended with the Squad's failed attempt on the life of Lord French at Ashtown railway station.

On 21 January 1920 the new Assistant Commissioner of the police, William Redmond, was shot dead and a reward of £10,000 was offered for the body of Michael Collins - dead or alive.
The RIC was formed in 1822 as a provincial constabulary; it became the county-based Irish Constabulary in 1836, and was renamed the Royal Irish Constabulary following the Fenian Rising in 1867. Barracks were built in towns and villages across the country and on the eve of the First World War there were over 1,400 RIC barracks spread across Ireland.

The RIC formed an essential part of the British administration. It was its eyes and ears on the ground and the first line of defence against any challenge to its authority.

For the mostly Catholic rank-and-file constables, joining the RIC provided not only stable employment but also conferred status and respectability, until the sea change heralded by the War of Independence.

[Source: National Archives, UK, RIC Returns by County, 1919 and 2019, HO 184/61]
Cork had the largest number of barracks in the country in January 1919, with 123 in total; the majority (87) were in the east-riding region, including eleven in the city. The countrywide IRA offensive against the RIC began in Cork in January 1920 when the semi-fortified barracks at Carrigtwohill was taken by the IRA. By January 1921 eighty barracks had been abandoned, including six of the eleven in the city. The policemen were reassigned to the remaining barracks and a new station opened on Empress Place as the headquarters of the Auxiliaries. Nineteen of the thirty-six barracks in west Cork had closed by January 1921, leaving those in the larger towns and villages with heavily supplemented numbers. This pattern was replicated in east Cork and across the country.

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**SUNDAY INDEPENDENT**

Vol. 14 no. 44  SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 2nd, 1919  PRICE 1½ d

**POLICE BARRACKS ATTACKED**

BY ARMED MEN

A sensation has been caused by the report of armed attacks which were made on two outlying barracks in Co. Meath on Friday night, with fatal consequences in one case. Shortly after ten o’clock Bellivor Barracks, some distance outside Trim, was raided by an armed party ... and all the arms and ammunition in the place removed in two motor cars. Almost simultaneously a raid was made on Dillon’s Bridge Barracks, but in this case the assailants were driven off after an exchange of shots which lasted for a considerable time ... The police have been unable to obtain any immediate clue to the identity of the raiders, and the absence of witnesses at the scene leaves the mystery still unsolved. The raiders made off in a motor car, and the authorities are about to institute a thorough inquiry.
### DISPOSITION OF ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY IN LIMERICK, 1919-1921

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<td>8</td>
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<tr>
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**TOTAL** 357  373  553

DI = District Inspector  ** = Partial Occupation  
HC = Head Constable  *** = Temporary Police Unit  
Sgt = Sergeant  Con = Constable

COMPREHENSION QUESTIONS

Documents A - E

1. Why were members of the Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC) socially ostracised [boycotted] from 1917? (Doc A)

2. How did members of Cumann na Ban help to enforce the boycott? (Doc A)

3. What does Document C suggest about the effect of IRA attacks on police barracks between 1919-21?

4. Why do you think the IRA attacked the rural Royal Irish Constabulary Barracks?

5. Does the information in table (Doc E) support the evidence in the map of the Irish RIC barrack closed between 1919 and 1921? (Doc C) Explain your answer.

6. Calculate the average number of constables assigned to the barracks outside Limerick City in 1919. (Doc E)

7. What three barracks in Limerick saw the highest increase in constables due to the closure of the rural barracks. (Doc E)

YOUR TASK:

You are a Royal Irish Constabulary District Inspector in Cork in 1921 and are required to write a report on barracks closures in the city and county in the past three years. Using the maps and captions (Docs C and D) as evidence, write your report using the template provided in this worksheet.
Royal Irish Constabulary Barrack Closures since 1919

Number of Barracks open in Cork City in 1919
Number of Barracks open in Cork County in 1919

Total number of Barracks open in Cork City & County in 1921

Locations of Cork City Barracks still open in January 1921

Reasons for the Closure of Barracks:

Problems Caused by the Closure of Barracks:

A Comment on the Morale of R.I.C Constables and Sergeants

Other Irish Counties in which large numbers of barracks have been closed

Signed: ___________________________ Date: ___________________________
The RIC had established a system of espionage which was wonderfully efficient [by 1916]. In every town and village all the movements of persons was watched and reported on. All popular organisations were kept under observation, and all persons who expressed patriotic opinions were the object of surveillance ... In Dublin the work fell upon the ‘political section’ of the ‘G’ or detective division of the Dublin Metropolitan Police. Their methods were more crude and obvious. They ‘shadowed’ men known to have what they called ‘extreme views’ [and] noted their movements and their associates ... This was done in so open a manner that our being followed around by our ‘escort’ of ‘G’ men, was a matter of jest to us.

The first step towards creating a Volunteer, or (to use the later term) IRA intelligence service came from within this very ‘political section’ of the ‘G’ or detective division. Some young men in that body were in secret sympathy with those they were required to spy on, and made cautious overtures to Sinn Féiners of their acquaintance in early 1918. Through Mr Michael Foley, Eamonn (Ned) Bro ... came into contact with Michael Collins and arranged a system of sending him information ... This was the beginning of the systematic undermining of the British machinery of espionage in Ireland. Subsequently, Michael Collins got in touch with another detective, David Nelligan, who later was sworn in as a member of the British secret service! ... In April 1919, Collins made a daring midnight visit to the headquarters of ‘G’ division in Brunswick Street, now Pearse Street. Bro was alone on duty, and had locked the door of the dormitory in which the other detectives were sleeping. A number of secret documents and confidential reports were locked up in a small room on the upper floor, which Bro unlocked with a skeleton key, and Collins spent several of the small hours of the morning studying these papers and making notes. He was particularly amused by a report on himself, which began with the words: ‘He comes of a brainy Cork family.’

In 1918 a department of intelligence was set up by GHQ [Volunteers General Headquarters] ... Finally, in 1919, Michael Collins became officially director of intelligence and commenced to organise a department on a considerable scale ... The intelligence staff was built up slowly, as suitable men were not easily found. A good intelligence officer is born, not made ... In July 1919, ‘The Squad’ was formed, a body that played a big part in the subsequent fighting in Dublin. The Squad consisted of a small body of Volunteers attached to the intelligence department, especially selected for dangerous and difficult jobs ... The activities of the intelligence department continued to expand. The keys to police, official and military cipher codes were obtained and gradually a system was established by which English official messages were tapped at various postal centres and decoded. Copies of the necessary codes were sent to intelligence officers in the country to enable them to deal at once with matters urgently concerning their own units.

By the end of 1920, battalion intelligence officers were appointed in every active area in Ireland [and...] by 1921 the department possessed photographs of practically every Auxiliary and most of the intelligence officers in Dublin.

There were no jobs to be got around the country at all during the First World War, but I used to notice some of the local men from where I came in from West Limerick coming home from their jobs in the Dublin police, the DMP. They used to be home on leave wearing fine suits of clothes and high stiff collars and riding bicycles, and I used to envy them this, you see. I thought they were paid for walking around the town and doing nothing. So I applied for the Dublin police. My father didn’t want me to leave the place at all, and he burned my papers when they came down from Dublin Castle. The revolution was livening up at the time and he didn’t want me to get mixed up with anything like that ... but I wanted to shake the dust off my feet, so I gave a neighbour’s address, and the papers came down and I found myself on the way to Dublin ...

I soon found out that the police weren’t paid for walking about and doing nothing else, as I thought when I was an ignorant godsdaw down the country. I had to go on night duty, 10 p.m. to 6 a.m. every night for a solid month ... Well, of course, I soon got fed up with the old uniformed job ... so I decided to join the ‘G’ division looking for adventure. ‘Twas easy for me to join because they were all getting shot by revolutionaries and they were taking on practically anybody, ... A man named Tim Kennedy from Tralea down in Kerry sent word to my brother that he wanted to see me. He was a small little man about four feet nothing in height. But he was a Jekyll and Hyde - we were all Jekyll and Hyde characters in those days. He was an accountant by day and a revolutionary by night...

He told me that he had a letter from Michael Collins. He said ‘Collins wants to see you’. ‘What does he want me for?’ says I. Collins was only a legendary character as far as I was concerned. He said, ‘I think he wants you to [do] police work for the IRA.’ ... Joe O'Reily took me down to an old third rate pub in upper Abbey Street ... and there was a handsome-looking man sitting there in an old shabby suit and an old dust coat thrown over the back of the chair. This was the famed Michael Collins. I didn’t fancy the role of spy at all ... Listen Dave’, says he, ‘the British trust you and we trust you. If you want to serve this country and the revolution then go back to [G division]. He was a persuasive kind of man, and a very magnetic character. So against my better judgment ... I started my nefarious career as a double agent’. 
Collins was the key organiser of the independence movement, holding the two key positions of IRA director of intelligence and Dáil Éireann secretary for finance. In Dublin he maintained numerous offices, safe houses and meeting places, many of them clustered around Parnell Square in the north inner city. Some of his administrative centres were disguised as commercial offices, and Collins usually moved about well dressed, resembling a clerk or businessman. He also relied on seemingly innocent hotels, pubs and shops run by republican sympathisers.

The identifiers of the locations come from contemporary language and denote slang of the period, such as ‘joint’ (a hotel or public house where Collins met colleagues, spies, messengers, etc.), ‘dump’ (a place where arms and ammunitions were stored) and ‘dugout’ (a place where Squad members ‘holed up’ while on the run or waiting for action). This map also features some locations associated with Collins’ ‘Squad’, a group of IRA intelligence operatives who specialised in assassination, such as the ‘Bloody Sunday’ operation in November 1920.
Apart from my activity in the Battalion I became involved in Intelligence. I was a Post Office Telegraphist - reinstated following a period of suspension from duty after Easter Week. On 21st August, 1918, two sisters and a brother were prosecuted in Glasgow for attempting to carry arms to Ireland. I took a copy of a cipher [coded] message from R.I.C. Dublin to Police Glasgow and brought it to Collins. He was very interested and asked could I get more. I said I thought so.

By degrees I organised a group of about a dozen men and women who worked for the next four years on this task ... Because of the anti-national outlook of some of the staff, we had to be very careful. Supervision of staff was very close. I think my most profitable period was when curfew began at 8 p.m. I was on night duty and each morning for three weeks I took out in my socks copies of every police cipher message that had passed through the office the previous day. This was November, 1920 ...

Some time before I got on this work Collins had made contact with members of the detective division and he soon was able to supply me with the key to the cipher ... The key was a word in which no letter was repeated, and having 10 or 11 letters but not more than 13. The word being written out was followed by the first letters of the alphabet which were not [already] in [the word] to bring the number of letters to 13, and the remaining letters of the alphabet written underneath, viz:-

SWITZERLANDBC
FGHJKLMOPQUVXY

Thus F = S or vice versa. As the new key word was sent out in the old cipher on the 1st of each month, we were automatically supplied ... Collins had several “post offices” in the city into which we could drop [deciphered] messages and one, a dairy, was in Amiens Street, a short distance from the telegraph office.

From about October 1920 until the Truce I was “on the run” as far as not being able to sleep at home was concerned. In the daytime I was, of course, on duty in the Central Telegraph Office. I suffered two raids, one early in 1918 by four detectives .. I was not at home when they called, and though they made a close search of my room they did not open a locked drawer which, besides two revolvers, contained a lot of very incriminating papers. From the description I concluded the “Dog” Smyth, Hoey and Coffey were in the party.
Comprehension Questions

Documents F - I

1. What did Piaras Béalsaí find funny about the methods of the Dublin 'G' men. (Doc F)

2. Why was Ned Broy a valuable addition to Michael Collins' intelligence service? (Doc F)

3. How did Ned Broy assist Michael Collins during his 'daring midnight visit' to Pearse Street in April 1919? (Doc F)

4. What do you think Piaras Béalsaí meant when he said, 'A good intelligence officer is born, not made'?

5. Do you consider Document F to be an objective source? Explain your answer with reference to the text.

6. Why did David Nelligan apply to join the Dublin Metropolitan Police? (Doc G)

7. What were David Nelligan's first impressions of Michael Collins? (Doc G)
8. What are the strengths and weaknesses of an oral history interview as an historical source?

9. When meeting messengers or spies in Dublin, how many ‘joints’ did Collins’ have to choose from? (Doc H)

10. Can you suggest why most of Collins’ ‘joints’ were based in public houses or hotels? (Doc I)

11. Based on Document I, why do you think it was important for Collins to disguise his identity?

12. Why do you think Collins was ‘very interested’ in Liam Archer’s coded message?

13. Is there any evidence in Archer’s witness statement that his work for Collins was dangerous? (Doc G)

**Your Task:**

It is November 1919 and one of Collins’ intelligence operatives in the Telegraph Office has just intercepted a message from a ‘G’ man providing information on Michael Collins’ background, appearance and his movements during the previous week. The first part of the message is written in English/Irish. The final sentence, giving the location in Dublin for a planned RIC stakeout, is written using code.

**Step 1:** Your teacher will divide the class into groups of three students. Each group should compose the ‘G’ man’s message using the telegraph template provided.
Step 2: Conduct research into the biography and appearance of Michael Collins and complete the first paragraph of the telegram.

Step 3: In the second paragraph of the telegram briefly describes Collins’ activities during the previous week when he inspected the locations in Dublin associated with the ‘Squad’. Using the information in the map (Doc H), write a short report on his movements around the city and his possible activities.

Step 4: Using the code provided by Liam Archer in his witness Statement, (Doc I) and the map (Doc H) write a short sentence giving the location of a planned police stakeout. You should choose a location on the map where Collins would be likely to visit.

Step 5: The last step in the task is to swap your coded message with another group and, working together, try to crack the code.
PHASE II: MARCH 1920 - DEC 1920

From 1 January when 1920 when IRA General Headquarters (GHQ) officially approved offensive action against Crown Forces saw the intensity of activities increase all over the country. Unlike IRA activity during 1919, which consisted mainly of arms seizures and attacks on individual policemen, the new year marked the commencement of an all-out assault on the RIC.

At Easter 1920 GHQ ordered a major mobilisation by the Irish Volunteers for a concerted nationwide assault that saw the destruction of over 300 buildings, including vacated police barracks, courthouses and taxation offices on the night of 3-4 April. By the end of the year, 533 police barracks were destroyed, of which twenty-three had been in use when attacked.

Raids and arrests became more frequent and curfew was introduced. However, some police began resorting to violence outside the law. On 20 January 1920, after an RIC constable was wounded in Thurles, County Tipperary, his comrades rioted, firing in the streets and smashing the windows of buildings belonging to prominent local republicans.

On 20 March 1920, after the Volunteers had killed three RIC constables in three days, Lord Mayor Tomás MacCurtain was shot dead in his own home in Cork city, almost certainly by the police. The conflict was made more bitter by such acts and the reprisals that followed.

BRITISH COUNTER-OFFENSIVE

By this time the British government was taking steps to reinforce the demoralised RIC. In December 1919, it initiated a recruitment campaign in Britain aimed at young ex-servicemen with military skills and experience.

Due to a shortage of the dark bottle-green RIC uniform, the new RIC recruits were uniformed in a mixture of police and military clothing; in some cases they wore military trousers and tunic with a policeman’s cap and belt. Within a few months they were nicknamed ‘Black and Tans’, most likely after a famous pack of foxhounds in County Tipperary.

The Black and Tans began to arrive in Ireland in March 1920. They were most numerous in the south, where the fighting was fiercest and police casualties and resignations had been the highest. Like their Irish comrades the Black and Tans also soon became associated with unofficial reprisals.

The Black and Tans were supplemented in July by the new Auxiliary Division of the RIC. The elite corps of ex-British Army officers were paid twice as much as the cadets and the Auxiliary companies were heavily armed with light machine guns and repeating shotguns as well as service rifles and revolvers.
Auxiliary companies were also full motorised, with touring cars for officers, Crossley Tenders (light-duty trucks) for their men, and even armoured cars. They wore distinctive khaki and black uniforms topped with a tam-o-shanter bonnet. The Auxiliary Division soon gained a reputation for harsh treatment of civilians, assassinating known and suspected revolutionaries and burning the homes and shops of their supporters.

**IN ITS ATTEMPTS TO STAMP OUT THE ‘MURDER GANG’ IN IRELAND, THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAD CREATED UNIFORMED GANGS OF ITS OWN, WHO FOUGHT WHAT WAS, IN EFFECT, A POLITICAL GANG WAR WITH THE IRA UNTIL THE TRUCE OF JULY 1921.**


Prior to 1920, direct attacks by the IRA were focused on the RIC and the British Army remained on the sidelines of the conflict. However, as the RIC required greater support, the military presence in Ireland increased. Troops began to take over large local buildings such as workhouses and other public buildings and by the summer of 1920 the IRA and the British army were engaged in a bloody guerrilla war.

By this point it was clear to the newly-appointed Chief Secretary, Sir Hammar Greenwood, and the Commander-in-Chief of the British Forces in Ireland, General Sir Nevil Macready, that British authority in Ireland was becoming less effective. On 9 August 1920 the government introduced the Restoration of Order in Ireland Act, which gave Dublin Castle the power to govern by regulation. Mass arrests, internment, deportations, courts martial, curfews and executions were implemented as the military situation deteriorated.
Do You Want a Job?

YOU CAN JOIN THE R.I.C.

“The Finest Constabulary Force in the World.”

**PAY**

- 10/- Daily - Temporary Bonus
- 12/- weekly for Married Men,
- 6/- weekly for Single Men, in addition.
- Service Pay is also issuable in certain cases - 1/- and 2/- a day.

**UNIFORM**

- Free to all Recruits; Boot Allowances of 1/6 per week extra
- Free Subsistence Allowance in addition when away from station, on duty.

**QUARTERS**

- A Month’s Leave on Full Pay every twelve months. A Free Railway Warrant from Ireland to your home and back

**LEAVE**

- Pensions on the Highest Scale payable to any police force in the United Kingdom.

**PENSIONS**

- Opportunities for Men of special ability occur frequently.

**PROMOTION**

- For wounds received in action generous Compensation is paid.

If you have the Physique - - If you have a Good Character
And especially - if you are an Ex-Service Man

**You can join the R.I.C to-day.**

Call at any Army Recruiting Office or write to, or call at, either of the following Addresses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LONDON</th>
<th>LIVERPOOL</th>
<th>GLASGOW</th>
<th>DUBLIN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Recruiting H.Q., Great Scotland Yard, S.W.1.</td>
<td>The Recruiting Office, 19, Old Haymarket</td>
<td>The Recruiting Office, 130, Bath Street</td>
<td>Command, R.I.C. Depot, Phoenix Park</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**REMEMBER**

If you don’t like the job - you can give a month’s notice - and leave
The Depot Company was based originally at the Curragh but moved to Beggar’s Bush Barracks in Dublin in September 1920. A Veterans & Drivers Division numbering 856, based at Gormanstown, provided the drivers for ADRIC, while two companies, S" and Z", involved in intelligence and communications work, were based at Dublin Castle. Seventeen field companies (‘A’ to ‘R’) were based at different times across seventeen counties.

Interviewer: Now, one of your early experiences was that you were posted to Ireland during the “Troubles” there. Can you tell me about your posting there?

RG: Well, we were sent there in July 1920 from Devonport. Headquarters [was] at Waterford and detachments, companies, were sent out to Waterford, Clonmel, Kilkenny and various other places.

Interviewer: Where did you go?

RG: Waterford ... There were two barracks in Waterford: the artillery and the infantry barracks. The infantry barracks was built to accommodate about 200 men but there was about 600 in them till we sent out the detachments. We were sleeping on floors or in tents and so forth.

Interviewer: Did you ever get an impression of the situation in Ireland as far as the “Troubles” were concerned?

RG: Yes, because we had men wounded, policemen were wounded, ambushes were of a frequent nature, police barracks were attacked and burnt down and there was little or no cooperation between the Royal Irish Constabulary and the troops ... and then they recruited the Black and Tans who were for all intents and purposes the dirty job boys. You know, they were ex-officers clad in all sorts of uniform, armed with various weapons and they were paid a pound a day. They were really tough people

Interviewer: Was a pound a day a lot then?

RG: Oh yes. My pay as a boy was a shilling a day and a full-blown soldier, a fully-trained soldier, got four shillings a day.

Interviewer: What did the Army think of the Back and Tans?

RG: We didn’t see a lot of them. They’d swoop into barracks, in and out ... they seemed to be a law unto themselves.

Interviewer: What did the civilian population think of the Back and Tans?

RG: Oh, they loathed them. They hated them ... because the Black and Tans stood absolutely no nonsense. They bashed people about, shot them. And it is suspected that they burnt down the main shopping centre in Cork after thirteen or fourteen chaps had been killed in an ambush.

Interviewer: How did you know that the civilian population was hostile to the Black and Tans?

RG: In many ways. You see if a soldier went into a pub he wasn’t exactly welcomed with open arms but he was given a drink and they would talk to him, the publican would, but if a Black and Tan went into a pub there was dead silence.

Interviewer: Did you ever seen any hostilities yourself?

RG: No, I saw the results of them. On January 4th 1921, the police barracks at Tramore was attacked, we sent out a large patrol and luckily the patrol heard a shot go off. The force was split in two and they caught the Shinners [in the] crossfire and killed and wounded several .... Well, that morning I went into breakfast and there was two bodies laid out on the tables ... two Shinners. We were very lucky. We had several men wounded but only one fatal one.

Interviewer: What was the Army’s opinion of the people against whom they were fighting?

RG: Not very much. Not very high at all. It was this question of tip and run. You see the ambushes were made chiefly by flying columns. They used to rendezvous at a certain point and the weapons for the ambush were brought out by the women in jaunting cars and things like that. Well, then having carried out the ambush, they’d push off and so another one.

Interviewer: Did you take any prisoners of the Sinn Fein?

RG: Oh yes, yes. But it usually meant if they were taken prisoner [in the later part of the war], they were court-martialed and shot. At one incident at County Cork, four or five men caught digging trenches across the road were court-martialed- if I remember - at four o’clock in the afternoon and shot at half past five .... That same night the Shinners went out and picked six British soldiers ... and shot them. So it was tit for tat.

Interviewer: When you saw the Sinn Fein prisoners what impression did you get of them?

RG: Well, I shan’t say that they were nondescript, but they seemed to be of a certain age group ... early thirties I should say, maybe a bit younger. The older men of course were the Commandants as they called themselves, the OCs of the various brigades and whatnot.

Interviewer: Did you have any dangerous moments yourself in Ireland?

RG: Not myself because I was young, silly, I used to wander miles out into the countryside taking a girl home but nothing was said to be me. Yet in other cases men had been picked up and shot [because of] associating with Irish girls. You see Cork was the worst place of the lot; they’d be more violent there than anywhere. Cork and Dublin were pretty bad.

Interviewer: So you were courting an Irish girl were you?

RG: Well, you know, the usual thing, a lad of fifteen.
COMPREHENSION QUESTIONS

Documents J-L

1. For what purpose was *Document J* created in 1920?

2. Based on the evidence in *Document J* what type of man was the RIC recruitment drive aimed at?

3. What financial incentives were offered to encourage recruitment to the RIC in Ireland in 1920? *(Doc J)*

4. Identify three persuasive techniques used in RIC recruitment advertisement. *(Doc J)*

5. Based on *Document K*, what was the name of the Auxiliary company involved in intelligence work and (b) where was that company based?

6. What types of buildings were taken over by Auxiliary companies in County Cork? *(Doc K)*

7. What was Major Reginald Graham's impression of the Black and Tans? *(Doc L)*

8. According to Major Graham, what were the main differences between the British soldiers and the Black and Tans during the War of Independence? *(Doc L)*
9. In your own words explain why the British Army did not have a high opinion of the people they were fighting? *(Doc L)*


THE IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY (IRA)

Nearly every community in Ireland contained an Irish Republican Army (IRA) presence. Some IRA units - frustrated by a lack of arms and ammunition - were largely inactive. Others, particularly those in southern Munster, created sophisticated guerrilla organisations.

In theory, the Irish Republican Army (IRA) was commanded by a General Headquarters (GHQ) staff in Dublin. In reality, most IRA brigades governed their own areas with little direct oversight. GHQ offered encouragement and unity to the underground army, especially through the distribution of its journal *An t-Óglach* edited by Piaras Beaslai.

IRA Chief of Staff Richard Mulcahy oversaw the directors of ten departments including Intelligence, Organisation, Training, Publicity and Engineering, Purchasing, Munitions, and Chemicals. Expertise about bomb building and road destruction was distributed across the organisation, while Michael Collins’ intelligence department passed on relevant information to provincial units.

Many of the IRA were not armed due to the short supply of guns. They relied on other weapons such as stealth, resourcefulness, patience and discipline. They were engaged in felling trees or digging trenches to block off roads, scouting and carrying dispatches. Different brigades produced landmines, bombs and hand grenades. Volunteers with a knowledge of engineering and explosives prepared and planted land mines at strategic points and supervised bridge destruction.

FLYING COLUMNS & GUERILLA TACTICS

After the introduction of the ‘Restoration of Order in Ireland Act’ in August 1920, more and more IRA men were forced to leave their homes and go ‘on the run’ to avoid arrest. These fugitive Volunteers banded together for safety and became the nucleus of elite IRA active service units, or ‘flying columns’.

> “WHAT WE HAD IN MIND WAS AN EFFICIENT, DISCIPLINED, COMPACT AND SWIFT-MOVING BODY OF MEN WHICH WOULD STRIKE AT THE ENEMY WHERE AND WHEN A SUITABLE OPPORTUNITY AROSE.”
> - Donal O’Hannigan, ‘Origin of the Flying Column,’ An Cosantóir 6:12 (1946) -

Flying columns were composed of young, full-time, armed Volunteers available for joint operations with local IRA units. After the first columns were formed in Limerick in the summer of 1920, IRA GHQ quickly recognised the military potential of their hit and run tactics and in August encouraged the organisation of additional columns across the country.

Led by men such as Tom Barry, Liam Lynch and Ernie O’Malley, IRA ‘flying columns’ and local IRA units engaged in highly effective form of guerrilla warfare.
Despite their lack of weapons, the IRA built a sophisticated guerrilla army based on a parish-by-parish organisation. A village or town comprised a company; a number of companies formed a battalion and a number of battalions formed a brigade. By the time of the Truce of 1921, there were approximately sixty-five brigades and 297 battalions of the IRA in Ireland, with a strength of 115,550 Volunteers. Late in the War of Independence and during the Truce period, brigades were organised into divisions.

[Source: Irish Military Archives, Military Service Pensions Collection, IRA Nominal Rolls, RO/1-611]
Extracts from the 15 March 1920 issue of *An t-Óglach*.

Deemed illegal under the heavy censorship imposed by the Defence of the Realm Act (DORA), the journal was printed in secret in Dublin, and sent out to every IRA unit in Ireland - despite the fact that possession of *An t-Óglách* after 1919 meant a sentence of six months hard labour.

Since the last issue of *tOglach* went to press a number of successful engagements have been recorded in different parts of the country; and attempts at a counter-offensive on the part of the enemy have been for the most part conspicuously unsuccessful ...

[However] all Volunteers are not equally efficient, and even those who have proved their courage and efficiency in a marked manner may be all the better of a lecturing now and again. Self-satisfaction is a dangerous frame of mind for soldiers engaged in warfare with an enemy of enormous numerical strength, armament and resources ... It is true that our successes far exceed our failures; but the fact remains that there have been failures and there should be none...

No responsible officer of the Volunteers should undertake an operation against the enemy without carefully thought-out plans, without having the utmost pains to acquire all the information bearing on his subject and satisfied himself of the probability of success. Having decided on an undertaking, officers and men must go into it with their minds made up that they are going to succeed. There must be no half-hearted attempts ... In the lexicon of the Volunteers there must be no such word as fail.

The necessity of strict discipline cannot too often be emphasised ... A number of cases of raiding the houses of private citizens for arms have recently been reported in the newspapers ... it seems hardly possible that any Volunteer is unaware that the raiding of private houses is contrary to the express orders of Headquarters, .... We are not at war with our neighbours, but with the forces and officials of the English enemy, whether they wear the uniform of policeman or soldier or the civilian attire of magistrate or spy...

**GENERAL NOTES**

The Dublin Brigade are to be congratulated on a notable triumph in the capture of the enemy mail bags containing a large quantity of documents of the highest importance and value. The efforts of the enemy to recover the documents by raiding simultaneously a large number of suspected places throughout Dublin proved a ludicrous failure.

The *Constabulary Gazette* continues to supply interesting and amusing reading to Volunteers. One nervous correspondent asks:-

“What is the reason ...that there are barracks to be found in lonely rural districts in Ireland with from twelve to fourteen windows in them, and not so much as a sandbag has been supplied. Not even a substantial lock on the front or back door ... I say it is outrageous”. We agree. It is certainly a grave reflection on the local Volunteer Corps that such a state of affairs should be allowed to continue
The density of IRA membership reflects successful mobilisation of young men for resistance to British governance in Ireland. Using the 1911 census and IRA membership figures at the time of the 1921 Truce, this map shows the ratio of IRA Volunteers per head of population in each county.

IRA volunteers, as a percentage of the males aged between 15-55 years in 1911 per county:

- Under 2.5
- 2.5 - 5.0
- 5.1 - 7.5
- 7.6 - 12.0
- 12.1 - 15.0
- Over 15.0

[Source: Irish Military Archives, MSPC, RO/1-611]
The Restoration of Order in Ireland Act was passed in August 1920 and re-applied many of the WWI Defence of the Realm Regulations to Ireland. Its enactment marked a change in British policy to take harsher measures to defeat the republican movement.

RESTORATION OF ORDER IN IRELAND ACT, 1920

An Act to make provision for the Restoration and Maintenance of Order in Ireland, 10 & 11 Geo. V Ch. 31 (9 August 1920)

1. (1) Where it appears to His Majesty in Council that, owing to the existence of state of disorder in Ireland, the ordinary law is inadequate for the prevention and punishment of crime or the maintenance of order, His Majesty in Council may issue regulations under the Defence of the Realm Consolidation Act, 1914 ... for securing the restoration and maintenance of order in Ireland ...

(3) Regulations so made may also -
...
(b) confer on a court-martial the powers and jurisdiction exercisable by justices or any other civil court for binding persons to keep the peace or be of good behaviour ... and for compelling persons to give evidence and to produce documents before the court;
...
(e) authorise the conveyance to and detention in any of His Majesty's prisons in any part of the United Kingdom of any persons upon whom a sentence of imprisonment has been passed in Ireland, whether before or after the passing of this Act;
(f) provide for any of the duties of a coroner or coroner’s jury being performed by a court of inquiry constituted under the Army Act instead of by the coroner and jury;
...
(h) authorise the trial without a jury of any action, counter claim, civil bill, issue, cause or matter in the High Court or a county court in Ireland, which apart from this provision, would be triable with jury;
...

Document Q-

Excerpts from a selection of Bureau of Military History Witness Statements describing membership of three different flying columns during the War of Independence

(a) BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY, 1913-21.
STATEMENT BY WITNESS

DOCUMENT NO. W.S... 1,459...

Edward O’Leary, Commander of a Flying Column in Tipperary

I was not involved in any armed activity against the British forces until the formation of the No. 1 Tipperary Brigade Flying Column or Active Service Unit in October, 1920. This column was set up as a result of a brigade council decision which also appointed me as the column commander.

Each battalion in the brigade was asked to supply two men … [and] the Column [of 15] assembled in Seymour’s field in Arderney. Nine of the men had rifles and the rest carried shotguns. That night it moved to Windybarn, 1½ miles from Moneygall, and there commenced a period of three weeks arduous training under Seán Glennon, who was an ex-Irish Guards [British Army] man. … Food was provided by the Moneygall members of the Cumann na mBan, and to meet urgent expenses the brigade council gave the sum of £50 which I entrusted for safe custody to Jeremiah Larkin who acted as a sort of an unofficial quartermaster …

Following the shooting of an R.I.C. man named McCarthy in Nenagh on 2nd November 1920, the brigade commandant expected that the creamery in that town would be burned that night as a reprisal and he decided to intercept any enemy forces who might attempt to attack the creamery. The Flying Column, backed up by about forty men of the 1st (Nenagh) Battalion, occupied positions around the creamery between 7 and 8 p.m. and waited there until midnight, but not a solitary policeman or soldier came within sight. The column then withdrew and slept that night in a haybarn at Casey’s Cross, two miles from Nenagh.

(b) BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY, 1913-21.
STATEMENT BY WITNESS

DOCUMENT NO. W.S... 1,523...

Daniel Cashman, member of East Cork Flying Column, 1917-1921.

I was one of the first members of the East Cork Flying Column which was started in October, 1920, with Diarmuid Hurley of Midleton in charge … The Column at first comprised about ten or twelve men [and … ] was fairly well armed with revolvers, police carbines and rifles, which had been captured on the occasion of the successful attack on Carrigtwohill R.I.C. barracks on 3rd January, 1920.…

Diarmuid Hurley, better known as “The Gaffer”, was a fearless leader. He was a strict disciplinarian, particularly as regards drink. When planning an attack on the enemy he never worried about the odds against him, believing that a surprise attack with a very much interior force, would sway the balance in his favour. His death … on 28th May, 1921 in an encounter with a patrol of R.I.C. and Black and Tans … was a very great loss to the Column and to the ‘Movement’ generally in East Cork. After his death Paddy Whelan was appointed to take his place.

From the time “The Gaffer” was killed up to the Truce of 11th July, 1921, we were mainly engaged in carrying out harassing attacks on the enemy, sniping at barracks and military patrols, felling trees to block roads and suchlike.

(c) BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY, 1913-21.
STATEMENT BY WITNESS

DOCUMENT NO. W.S... 1,402...

Edward Young, member of Cork III Brigade Flying Column.

The full strength [of the column] was about 28 … [In November 1920] we moved to Aghilane near Ballineen there we billeted in a vacant house belonging to a man named O’Sullivan. I would like to state that it was customary for the members of the column to recite the Rosary before retiring each night … We remained in billets until about 2 a.m. on Sunday morning, 28th November 1920, when we were again paraded. Nearly every man on parade was armed with a rifle and about 50 rounds. There were also some shotguns in the party. We were then informed by the O/C (Tom Barry) that we were to attack the enemy, but he did not say where. However, we moved off across country towards Kilmichael area, where an ambush position had been selected.
IRA Volunteers serving in Active Service Units ('flying columns') in July 1921

Based primarily on brigade submissions to the Military Service Pensions Collection (MSPC), this map shows the number of full-time armed IRA guerrilla fighters who were on 'active service' at the time of the 1921 Truce. The MSPC figures do not always tally with flying-column strengths provided in the Bureau of Military History (BMH) witness statements. In units where the numbers are different, figures from both the MSPC and BMH have been provided. The MSPC appears to have missed some columns entirely, such as two columns operated by the Longford Brigade (north Longford, twenty-three Volunteers; and south Longford, thirteen Volunteers).
Both the British and the republican forces adapted to changing conditions during the conflict, as seen by the evolving targets of IRA attacks. The IRA targeted RIC barracks and courthouses in the early stages of the war, until those remaining became better defended. The spike in police casualties (killed and wounded) from late 1920 can be attributed to the development of IRA fighting units the country. The increasing involvement of the British Army can be detected in the steady growth of military casualties in 1921, especially woundings. New tactics are also apparent, such as IRA attacks on coastguard stations and lighthouses for arms and/or explosives. The evolution of the IRA intelligence networks is evident in the jump in mail raids during the spring of 1921.

| 'Outrages' committed by the Irish Republican Army (IRA) during the War of Independence |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| IRISH OFFICE STATISTICS OF OUTFRAGES 1919-1921 | TO JUNE 1920 | TO SEP 1920 | TO DEC 1920 | TO MARCH 1921 | TO JUNE 1921 | TO TRUCE |
| Courthouses destroyed           | 30             | 33             | 6             | 5             | 9             | 5             |
| Vacated RIC barracks destroyed   | 343            | 140            | 27            | 2             | 9             | 1             |
| Vacated RIC barracks damaged     | 104            | 10             | 5             | 1             | 1             | 0             |
| Occupied RIC barracks destroyed  | 12             | 7              | 4             | 1             | 1             | 0             |
| Occupied RIC barracks damaged    | 24             | 17             | 13            | 59            | 119           | 35            |
| Raids on Mail                   | 91             | 449            | 459           | 433           | 976           | 196           |
| Raids on Rates Collectors, etc  | 0              | 0              | 0             | 51            | 70            | 1             |
| Raids on Coastguard Stations or Lighthouses | 19          | 19             | 9             | 9             | 29            | 12            |
| Raids for Arms                  | 760*           | 1,885          | 328           | 114           | 123           | 8             |
| Police Killed                   | 55             | 46             | 76            | 87            | 117           | 24            |
| Police Wounded                  | 74             | 94             | 90            | 148           | 225           | 51            |
| Military Killed                 | 5              | 11             | 38            | 44            | 41            | 11            |
| Military Wounded                | ?               | 60             | 61            | 85            | 114           | 25            |
| Civilians Killed                | 15             | 10             | 17            | 49            | 81            | 24            |
| Civilians Wounded               | 39             | 36             | 29            | 29            | 46            | 6             |

TOTAL NUMBER OF OUTFRAGES  8,987

* Figure for August. No figure available for June

[Source: National Archives, UK, CSI Weekly Surveys, Cabinet papers, CP series, CAB 24]
**Comprehension Questions**

**Documents M-R**

1. What part of Ireland had the highest number of IRA brigades in 1921? *(Doc M)*

2. What IRA brigades operated in the 4th Western Division?

3. Based on the information in the map, what IRA brigade operated in the area closest to your school? *(Doc M)*

4. Complete this simple diagram using the information about IRA structure in the map's caption *(Doc M)*

5. How would you describe the tone of the *An t-Óglach* article ‘We must not Fail’? Refer to the document in your answer. *(Doc N)*

6. In what way, according to *An t-Óglach*, did IRA Volunteers disobey direct orders from Headquarters? *(Doc N)*
7. In what ways does the 15 March 1920 edition of *An t-Óglach* demonstrate that the journal was published to guide and encourage the IRA Volunteers?

8. Based on your reading of *An t-Óglach* can you suggest why it was banned by the British government under the Defence of the Realm Act (DORA)?

9. Based the map (*Doc O*) what Irish county had the highest IRA membership figures in 1921?

10. Comparing *Documents M and O*, identify the brigade areas with the highest mobilisation of IRA Volunteers in 1921.

11. In what ways did the Restoration of Order in Ireland Act passed in August 1920 make it more dangerous to be a member of the IRA Volunteers? (*Doc P*)

12. Explain the difference between an IRA Flying Column and a regular IRA Company in 1920.
13. By what other name were Flying Columns known? (Doc Qa)

14. What assistance was provided to the newly-formed Tipperary flying column in October 1920?

15. Based on Edward O'Leary's account, can you suggest what the word 'reprisal' means?

16. Why was the newly-formed East Cork Flying Column 'fairly well armed'? (Doc Q(b))

17. List five pieces of information about Flying Columns revealed by the witness statements. (Doc Q (a-c))

1. 

2. 

3. 

4. 

5. 

18. What two sources were used to create the map of IRA Volunteers serving in Active Service Units (ASU) in July 1921? (Doc R)

19. In Edward Young's brigade area, which of these two sources provided the lower number of ASU members at the time of the truce? (Docs Q and R)

20. Based on your reading of Document R, which counties in Ireland saw the highest levels of guerrilla warfare during the War of Independence?

21. According to Document R, approximately how many men were active in Edward O'Leary's flying column at the time of the truce in July 1921?

22. Explain why Document R might be considered a warning to historians about the importance of cross-referencing sources?
Your Task:

A new book has been commissioned on *Flying Columns during the Irish War of Independence*. As local historians, you have been asked to **contribute a short chapter** on IRA guerrilla activity in your local area. Your chapter should include:

1. An introduction about the War of Independence in general
2. A brief account of the establishment of the local flying column
3. Information about the column and any particular activities or engagements that they were involved in
4. Any conclusions about the IRA activity in your area

You have also been asked to submit **artwork for the cover** of the new book, to **suggest a title** and **write the blurb** for the back cover.

**Step 1:** Your teacher will divide the class into groups of four students.

**Step 2:** Using the information in the Student Worksheet and *Documents J-R* as a starting point, each group should discuss ideas about the book title and cover art. The title should be historically relevant but also memorable. The artwork should reflect the atmosphere of the period as well as the topic of the book.

**Step 3:** All group members will conduct research before the next class. The Bureau of Military History website is an excellent place to start. Your local library will also have information on the period.

**Step 4:** Before the class finishes, group should decide who will take on the editorial duties of:

- **Artist:** Creating the Cover Art
- **Promotions person:** Writing the Blurb
- **General Historian:** Writing the chapter’s general introduction about the War of Independence
- **Local Historian:** Combining the research of each group member into one short chapter

**Step 5:** In the next class each group member should present their findings before holding a group discussion about how to incorporate that research into a coherent chapter.

**Step 6:** Once the group has agreed what to include and what to omit, the relevant research should be given/sent to the Local Historian and/or the General Historian. Before the class finishes, the group should finalise a name for the book and agree on the nature of the cover art. To assist promotions in writing the blurb, the group should also consider the unique selling points of the book and compile a list of persuasive words and phrases.

**Step 7:** Once you have completed the book all group members will be interviewed by RTE about the research process, the content and the layout of the book.