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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 & GUERRILLA 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 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]
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-Oglách after 1919 meant a sentence of six months hard labour.

WE MUST NOT FAIL

Since the last issue of an tOglách 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

I joined the Volunteers in late 1919 or early 1920... In Colbeck Street we had lectures and weapon training: the weapons were few and usually only one was available, that being used by the lecturer ... The outdoor parades (on a Sunday morning) included close order and extended order drill and I am afraid our Company Commander took a keen delight in getting us into the prone position in our Sunday suits where cattle had decorated the landscape. We also did some physical drill: Pa Walsh, an ex-British army instructor, took us over for this. The usual procedure at parades was roll call, payment of subscriptions, reading of orders, reading of extracts from An t-Oglách, a lecture or drill. Parades lasted for an hour and a half or two hours. It was usual to detail men for outpost duty so that the Company would not be surprised by a sudden British raid.

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.

[Source: http://antoglach.militaryarchives.ie/]
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;

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.

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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. ...

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.
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 wounding. 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IRISH OFFICE STATISTICS OF OUTRAGES 1919-1921</th>
<th>TO JUNE 1920</th>
<th>TO SEPT 1920</th>
<th>TO DEC 1920</th>
<th>TO MARCH 1921</th>
<th>TO JUNE 1921</th>
<th>TO TRUCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Courthouses destroyed</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vacated RIC barracks destroyed</td>
<td>343</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vacated RIC barracks damaged</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupied RIC barracks destroyed</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupied RIC barracks damaged</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raids on Mail</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>449</td>
<td>459</td>
<td>433</td>
<td>976</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raids on Rates Collectors, etc</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raids on Coastguard Stations or Lighthouses</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raids for Arms</td>
<td>760*</td>
<td>1,885</td>
<td>328</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police Killed</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police Wounded</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military Killed</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military Wounded</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civilians Killed</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civilians Wounded</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TOTAL NUMBER OF OUTRAGES** 8,987

* Figure for August. No figure available for June

[Source: National Archives, UK, CSI Weekly Surveys, Cabinet papers, CP series, CAB 24]
1. What part of Ireland has 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 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, have IRA Volunteers disobeyed 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 to 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)? (Doc N)

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 R (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? (Doc 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 cross referencing sources?
REPUBLICAN WOMEN

Cumann na mBan played an important role as an auxiliary to the Irish Volunteers during the War of Independence. Less likely to be searched by police, female dispatch carriers transported messages from General Headquarters (GHQ) to regional brigades and between Volunteer units. Postmistresses who were in Cumann na mBan played an especially important role in interrupting communications intended for the police and military, and by warning the local IRA of the Crown-forces’ plans.

Cumann na mBan also assisted in the acquisition, storage and transportation of armaments and offered their homes as safe houses for Volunteers on the run. Their training in first aid was valuable in treating Volunteers who were wounded in engagements with Crown Forces.

Cumann na mBan also continued its political work during the period from 1919 to 1921, including advertising and collecting for the Dáil Loan and participating in the Dáil’s boycott of the RIC. When republican funerals, executions, and hunger strikes became more common in the second stage of the War of Independence, Cumann na mBan frequently organised prayer vigils as a form of public protest. At a time when the Crown forces aggressively dispersed civilian demonstrations, these vigils created a safe space to express messages of solidarity and defiance.

As the conflict progressed, the authorities became more aware of the extent of women’s involvement and they were more likely to be searched, arrested and imprisoned. Approximately forty-six women were imprisoned for republican-related activities in early 1921. Cumann na mBan members also suffered non-judicial repercussions for their actions, such as having their hair cut off.

At the time of the Truce in mid-1921 Cumann na mBan had an approximate membership of 18,000.
Excerpts from a selection of Bureau of Military History Witness Statements describing the involvement of the women of Cumman na mBan in the War of Independence

(a)

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

It was my custom to contact the Volunteer O/C who gave me the names of reliable girls. Having got the names, I convened a meeting, generally at the private house of one of the girls; occasionally it might be at a local hall or even a barn .... I had a good deal of prejudice to overcome on the part of the parents, who did not mind their boys taking part in a military movement, but who had never heard of, and were reluctant to accept, the idea of a body of gun-women ...

While preserving their separate identity, the (CnB) branches worked in close conjunction with the local I.R.A. companies, which constantly availed of their services in activities such as, the carrying of arms and ammunition, despatch carrying, intelligence work, getting safe houses for wanted men, looking after the wounded when necessary, seeing to the wants of prisoners, and collecting funds for the Volunteers. For the latter purpose, they organised concerts, céilidhthe, aeridheachta.

[In 1920] the situation for organisers became more dangerous because, in the early months of the year, the Black and Tans began to arrive. They patrolled the country in their Lancia cars, raiding, shooting and looting, and a solitary cyclist like myself, whose work entailed being out late at night, was in continuous danger. ... I was determined to carry on the work of forming and reorganising branches, which was my main objective, although I would have had an easier time in jail if I had allowed myself to be arrested. I was increasing the membership of Cumann na mBan, with the result that, when the Truce came, there were 1,400 branches in operation in the country.

It must have been early in 1920 that the Executive found it necessary to have Cumann na mBan organised into areas corresponding to the I.R.A. battalion areas. Each company of the I.R.A. would then have a branch or squad of Cumann na mBan attached to it ...

The Branches were always busy making field dressings and first-aid outfits. This was generally done in the girls’ own homes. They also stored arms and ammunition in safe dumps, and kept the rifles and revolvers cleaned and oiled. If required by the I.R.A., they were utilised to transport arms to and from the [arms]dump before and after engagements, while others of them attended in the vicinity of an ambush, fully equipped with first-aid outfits to treat the wounded, if any, after the ambush. All this entailed a certain amount of danger for the girls, and I know of a few occasions on which they barely escaped with their lives from the scene of an ambush.

(b)

Josephine MacNeill, member of Cumann na mBan, 1918-21

I joined Cumann na mBan in Thurles at the time of the conscription crisis ... During the Black and Tan period I resided with Máirín McGavock at 51 Lower Beechwood Avenue. We had each a bedroom, but we gave one up to men on the ‘run’. Máirín allowed me to share hers. Among those who stayed was Desmond Fitzgerald who came to the house on ‘Bloody Sunday’ as his flat was near a house where a British officer had been killed. Desmond was working on the propaganda side and had nothing to do with the events of the day ... Ernie O’Malley also came at a later stage after his escape from Dublin Castle. He was in a poor condition of health and required nursing ...

On one occasion when I was given despatches to carry to Dundalk and Belfast, to avert suspicion I dressed myself very grandly and took a first class ticket ... When I arrived at Dundalk, I found that the address I had to go to was in a humble quarter of the town where my smart attire made me conspicuous. However, I met the I.R.A. man and handed over my despatches to him and was hospitably entertained by him and his sister.
This data for this map comes from Military Service Pension Collection (MSPC) submissions made in 1936-37. The data is not comprehensive as numerous District Councils apparently did not submit their details (for example, west Limerick, north Cork and Waterford), while some branch lists compiled fifteen years after the conflict likely omitted certain members. However, despite these weaknesses the collected data illuminates the inner workings of the female republican organisation. The MSPC sources indicate that there were 17,119 members attached to 750 branches across Ireland at the time of the Truce. Economically disadvantaged parts of the west seem to have organised fewer women, which might reflect financial barriers caused by Cumann na mBan’s weekly dues and the cost of uniforms. Overall, the map indicates an uneven national organisation that mobilised women in cities, towns, and villages across urban and rural Ireland with varying levels of success.
The Irish White Cross was formed to distribute the funds raised by the American Committee for Relief in Ireland. Mainly administered by women, the Irish White Cross supplied critical financial assistance to the families of republican prisoners and to the victims of government reprisals.

(a) Extract from the unpublished autobiography of Cumann na mBan member Máire Comerford. She was one of the people appointed to identify those in need of assistance from the Irish White Cross.

I did not experience the fury of the English terror campaign. I merely followed some of its tracks - within days or even weeks, and in daylight. I was not involved in the sense of having anything to lose, except perhaps my own life or liberty. It was not my woman's lot to have those nearest to me killed, imprisoned ... or marching with the trench-coated, disciplined, guerilla units of the IRA. No home was burned over my head. No children in my care depended on [the] income or wages of a soldier of Ireland, or a prisoner [who] had ceased to earn, or which a worker [had] lost with the destruction of a creamery or factory. I was not one of the 10,000 victims of the Belfast pogroms. This left me available when the Irish White Cross was founded. I was nominated - by whom I do not know - to be a member of its General Council.

Mother's diary shows that I went off for a tour for the White Cross on March 2nd 1921. I had a new Wexford-made Pierce bicycle all in order to eat up the roads in Connacht.... Destitution was a new and terrible condition to be experienced by proud women ... I cannot forget my calls at the homes of fighting men, or dead men, where the wives or widows were learning lessons which, too often, are behind the scenes of glory.


(b) Map showing amounts raised in each US state by the American Committee for Relief in Ireland fundraising drive launched in March 1921. In total $5,223,496 (c. £1.3m) was raised for distribution by the Irish White Cross.

[Source: Reports of American Committee for Relief in Ireland and Irish White Cross (New York, 1922)]
1. What prejudice did Brighid O’Mullane have to overcome when recruiting for Cumann na mBan? *(Doc S (a))*

2. How did the women of Cumann na mBan provide assistance to the local IRA units? *(Doc S (a))*

3. Based on the evidence in Brighid O’Mullane’s witness statement how would you describe the women of Cumann na mBan during the War of Independence? Give reasons for your answer.

4. What additional information does Josephine MacNeill provide about the tasks undertaken by Cumann na mBan women during the 1919-21? *(Doc S (b))*

5. What counties in Ireland had the highest mobilisation of women in Cumann na mBan in July 1921?

6. Can you identify any parallels between the information about the IRA and Cumann na mBan in the maps O, R and T?

7. How did the Irish White Cross provide assistance during the Irish War of Independence? *(Doc U)*
8. What insights does Máire Comerford’s unpublished autobiography provide into the suffering experienced by women during the War of Independence? (Doc U(a))

9. Name one strength and one weakness of an autobiography as a historical source? (Doc U(a))

   Strength: ..............................................................................................................................

   Weakness ............................................................................................................................

10. Based on the information in the map, what American states donated the most money to the Irish White Cross. (Doc U(b))

11. Can you think of any reason why these states may have contributed the most?

   ..............................................................................................................................................

Your Task:

Using your own research and documents S-U as source material, write a letter to the editor of the Irish Times expressing an opinion about how the role of women during the Irish War of Independence has been unappreciated. The letter should include:

☐ Factual historical information about the experience of women generally, and of Cumann na mBan in particular during the War of Independence

☐ Your opinion about how these women have been remembered

☐ Your suggestion for an appropriate tribute to the women of that period

Find inspiration from historian Liz Gillis here:
http://www.universitytimes.ie/2015/10/at-a-duges-talk-liz-gillis-reflects-on-women-in-irelands-wars/

And from Documentary Guns and Chiffon: Women of 1916 and the Irish War of Independence
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QTC6kWQDXFc
One of the first major reprisals occurred when the Crown forces terrorised the inhabitants of the town of Tuam in Co. Galway. The killing of two RIC constables – Patrick Carey and James Burke – in an ambush at Newtown Darcy, about three miles from Tuam, on 19 July 1920 resulted in a police reprisal in the early hours of the following morning that saw indiscriminate firing and widespread looting and burning of property in Tuam town. In August 1920, Black and Tans burned the Town Hall, Market Hall and the Urban District Offices in Templemore, County Tipperary after the assassination of a District Inspector.

On September 20, Head Constable Peter Burke was shot dead by the IRA in a pub in Balbriggan, Co. Dublin. Two hours later, a party of Auxiliaries arrived from Gormanstown depot. For five hours, they ran riot in the town. One of their first acts of reprisal was to burn down the hosiery factory, the principal employer in the area. Houses were cleared of inhabitants and burned to the ground. The invaders took John Gibbon out of his house into the street, where they shot and bayoneted him. They also seized James Lawless and took him to the local police barracks, where he was killed.

The capture of Mallow Barracks by a small force of the IRA’s Cork No. 2 Brigade led by Liam Lynch on the evening of 27 September 1920, sparked a British reprisal that devastated Mallow town. On the same evening in Trim, County Meath, up to 200 Black and Tans burned homes and business premises owned by suspected republicans as a reprisal for an IRA attack on the town’s RIC barracks. The Irish White Cross allocated £277 in relief funds to the town in 1921.

A spate of IRA attacks in Kerry from late October to early November 1920, in which the IRA killed fourteen constables, resulted in the ‘Siege of Tralee’ - a series of reprisals and burnings of public buildings and business premises. Attacks on property peaked in November–December 1920, when 180 such incidents were recorded, culminating in the burning of Cork city on 11 December 1920. After a rebel grenade attack left one Auxiliary dead and eleven wounded, Auxiliary cadets set fire to part of Cork city centre, damaging or destroying over eighty commercial premises, as well as City Hall and the Carnegie Library.

Reprisals finally became official policy at the end of December 1920 when the British army’s military governors began imposing them on districts that were under martial law. The first official reprisal occurred at Midleton, east Cork on 29 December 1920, when six houses were destroyed following an IRA ambush. In the first two months of ‘official reprisals’ in 1921 Dáil Éireann Publicity Department recorded seventy-nine attacks on property.
Ballytrain RIC barracks in County Monaghan, which was captured and sacked by the IRA under the command of Ernie O’Malley and Eoin O’Duffy on 14 February 1920
[See BMH WS 519 (Thomas Donnelly); Photo: National Library of Ireland, HOGW 53]

British troops wrecked businesses such as this public house in Templemore, County Tipperary after the assassination of District Inspector William Wilson, on 16 August 1920
[Photo: National Library of Ireland, HOGW 113]
# Photograph Analysis Worksheet

## 1. THE BASICS

**Photograph Type:** tick any boxes that apply

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<th>Doc A</th>
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## 2. FIRST IMPRESSIONS

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<td><strong>WHERE AND WHEN WAS THE PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN?</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>LIST THE PEOPLE/GROUPS, OBJECTS IN THE PHOTOGRAPH</strong></td>
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<td><strong>WHAT ACTIONS/ACTIVITIES (IF ANY) ARE TAKING PLACE</strong></td>
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<td><strong>WHAT BODY LANGUAGE/FACIAL EXPRESSIONS, ARE CAPTURED ON FILM?</strong></td>
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<td><strong>THREE WORDS THAT SUM UP YOUR FIRST IMPRESSION</strong></td>
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## 3. ANALYSE

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<td><strong>WHY DO YOU THINK THIS PHOTOGRAPH WAS TAKEN?</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>WHAT DOES THE ANGLE/FRAME/PERSPECTIVE OF SUGGEST ABOUT THE PHOTOGRAPHER’S POINT OF VIEW ABOUT THE SUBJECT.</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>WHAT 3 ADJECTIVES BEST DESCRIBE THE VIEWPOINT OF THE PHOTOGRAPHER?</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>DO YOU HAVE ANY UNANSWERED QUESTIONS ABOUT THE PHOTOGRAPH?</strong></td>
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In response to a call from New York newspaper, the Nation a committee of influential public figures from across the US set up a commission to conduct an inquiry into conditions in Ireland. Witnesses from Ireland and America testified at six public hearings in Washington between 18 November 1920 and 21 January 1921.

**WHAT IS A 'REPRISAL'?**

The evidence would seem to show that the term 'reprisal' may be used to cover any case in which wholesale damage is inflicted upon property or life in Ireland. Reprisals consist sometimes in promiscuous killing of unarmed men, woman and children, as in the case of the football crowd at Croke Park; but, usually, in the burning, looting, and 'shooting up' of Irish towns such as Thurles, Balbriggan, Galway, Mallow, Templemore, Cork, Tuam, Hospital, Limerick, Granard, Tubberbury, Athenry, Tipperary, Ballylorby, and scores more...

**INDISCRIMINATE SHOOTING**

Besides the slaying of selected Republican citizens, and the destruction of Republican cities, towns and villages, indiscriminate violence also occurred. Miss Ellen Wilkinson, of Manchester England was an eye-witness to a shooting expedition to which she testified as follows:

"Curfew was at ten o'clock. We went to our room. According to law no one is supposed to have a light or look out of the window. But we turned our lights out and wrapped ourselves up and went to the window. First of all there came the soldiers in extended formation, each wearing tin helmets - the shrapnel helmets - and carrying guns with fixed bayonets. And then came three armoured cars packed with soldiers ... They went on by and when they came back they fired into the houses at a certain level. We saw the bullet marks next morning.

"The streets were filled with fully armed soldiers marching about with fixed bayonets and bombs hanging from their belts. Often tanks, even in the daytime, rolled along. Aeroplanes hovered over the city of Dublin incessantly. There were soldiers at the railroad stations and at most of the bridges leading into the city. The people lived in a state of military seige."}

**HOUSE RAIDS**

The testimony of Mrs Muriel MacSwiney, the Misses Walsh, Miss Craven, and others allowed us to realise the extent to which the sanctity of the Irish home is violated. A total of 48,474 raids by armed British on Irish homes in 1920, compiled from official Irish Republican sources, was presented to us. These raids would seem to take place usually in the night; and their avowed purpose seemed to be in part to find secreted arms and "wanted" men.

**"ON THE RUN"**

The men sought by the raiders were said to be "on the run", some from arrest; others, as has been shown, from assassination by the Imperial British forces. Lord Mayor MacSwiney, "on the run", saw his family rarely and by stealth. Lord Mayor O'Callaghan testified that he had not been able to enter his own home for two years. It would appear from testimony already cited that the family of a father or husband, son or brother "on the run", shared his peril even in his absence.

**SHELTER IN DITCHES**

And in some places, those who were not "on the run", and the infirm and aged, the women and the children, would appear to feel safer in the fields than in their homes. Mr Derham testified that for a week after the sack of Balbriggan the townspeople "spent the night in the country ... in the farmers' stables or barns or haylofts or anything they could get, or in the ditches. Two-thirds of the people left the town during the week".

And of a night in Mallow, Mr Frank Dempsey testified: "There is a graveyard immediately behind the Roman Catholic Church and behind the Protestant Church, and quite a number of woman and children spent the night sitting on gravestones - on the tombstones."

**CITY STREETS**

The terror that runs on the country roads would seem to abide in the city streets. Laurence Ginnell, for many years a member for Dublin of the British Parliament, gave us this picture of the occupied city of Dublin in March 1920. "The streets were filled with fully armed soldiers marching about with fixed bayonets and bombs hanging from their belts. Often tanks, even in the daytime, rolled along. Aeroplanes hovered over the city of Dublin incessantly. There were soldiers at the railroad stations and at most of the bridges leading into the city. The people lived in a state of military seige."

The Irish who live in this terror would seem also called upon to endure restrictions on their movements. It was stated in evidence that 7,589 Republicans had been arrested by the Imperial British forces in Ireland during 1920; and that the populace still at large were, by proclamation, forbidden to enter or leave certain areas, to possess motor cars, to travel twenty miles by motor, or to be on the streets after a given hour, without military permission. This curfew hour would seem to fall as early as five o'clock in the afternoon, at the whim of some Imperial British officer. Violation of these ordinances [rules] may end fatally ...
Like most of the large-scale reprisals in this period, the provocation was the killing of a policeman in the town. Black and Tans and Auxiliaries from the nearby Gormanstown training camp carried out the sacking. Fifty buildings were destroyed or damaged, twenty-six of which were private houses. Two local republicans were also bayonetted to death.

Photographs and reports of the destruction featured in many international newspapers and, along with the burning of Cork on 11 December 1920, Balbriggan became the best known of the Crown forces’ reprisal actions. The town suffered acute unemployment as a result of the destruction, especially of the Deedes, Templar & Co. hosiery factory, which employed over 400 directly and indirectly. The Irish White Cross allocated £4,000 to help employment in Balbriggan in 1921.
The ‘Sack of Balbriggan’ in September 1920 focused world attention on the campaign of reprisals in Ireland.

In advance of being stationed in Drogheda at the end of September 1920, the Black and Tans let the citizens know what to expect in this proclamation.

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**The Bold Black and Tan**

Says Lloyd-George to Macpherson, “I give you the sack, To uphold law and order you haven’t the knack, I’ll send over Greenwood, a much stronger man, And fill up the Green Isle with the bold Black and Tan.”

He sent them all over to pillage and loot And burn down the houses, the inmates to shoot, “To re-conquer Ireland, he said, is my plan With Macready and Co. and his bold Black and Tan.”

The town of Balbriggan they’ve burned to the ground While bullets like hailstones were whizzing around; And women left homeless by this evil clan. They’ve waged war on the children, the bold Black and Tan.

From Dublin to Cork and from Thurles to Mayo Lies a trail of destruction wherever they go; With England to help and fierce passions to fan, She must feel bloody proud of her bold Black and Tan...

We defeated Conscription in spite of their threats, And we’re going to defeat old Lloyd-George and his pets; For Ireland and Freedom we’re here to a man, And we’ll humble the pride of the bold Black and Tan.

[Source: Irish songs of resistance (1169-1923), Oak Publications, 1962, p. 63]

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**Drogheda Beware**

If in the vicinity a policeman is shot, five of the leading Sinn Feiners will be shot.

It is not coercion - it is an eye for an eye.

We are not drink-maddened savages as we have been described in the Dublin rags. We are not out for loot.

We are inoffensive to women. We are as humane as other Christians, but we have restrained ourselves too long.

Are we to lie down while our comrades are being shot down in cold blood by the corner boys and ragamuffins of Ireland?

We say ‘Never’, and all the inquiries will not stop our desire for revenge.

Stop the shooting of the police or we will lay low every house that smells of Sinn Fein.

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**American and Reprisals**

GRAPHIC EVIDENCE IN WASHINGTON

Mr. Derham, Balbriggan, gave a graphic account of the sack of Balbriggan before the Irish Atrocities Commission in Washington yesterday ... Mr Derham described how Crown Forces avenged alleged acts committed against the troops by the people of Irish towns. He described the burning of the hosiery factory, Balbriggan, and the looting and burning of private houses. Mr. Durham’s recital of the killing of James Lawless and John Gibbons, two of his fellow-townsmen, was one of the most dramatic stories yet heard by the committee. They were bayoneted to death, Mr. Derham said, although they did not know who had killed an officer in a saloon where Crown forces were celebrating his promotion...

His (Mr Derham’s) bar room was raided and burned, his family were taken from the hotel and he was brought to the barracks. He and his eldest son were badly beaten. Throughout the night, Crown forces were shooting, yelling and burning houses.

---

**Irish Rebel Song**

The Bold
Black and Tan

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His (Mr Derham’s) bar room was raided and burned, his family were taken from the hotel and he was brought to the barracks. He and his eldest son were badly beaten. Throughout the night, Crown forces were shooting, yelling and burning houses.
Attacks on property by the Crown forces, September 1919–February 1921, as compiled and listed by the Dáil Éireann Publicity Department

Over 90 per cent of attacks on property occurred after July 1920. This coincided with the full deployment of the Black and Tans and Auxiliaries but the regular Royal Irish Constabulary, and occasionally the British army, also played a role in reprisal attacks. Munster was the worst hit, accounting for 60 per cent of all attacks on property. Cork had the highest number (70) followed by Tipperary (62), Kerry (49), Limerick (36) and Clare (25). Outside of Munster, the highest rates occurred in Galway (25), followed by Dublin (16), Leitrim (16), Sligo (15), Longford (14) and Westmeath (12). Only one attack is recorded for each of the counties of Derry, Kilkenny, Meath, Laois and Wicklow, while Antrim alone has no incident listed.
COMPREHENSION QUESTIONS

Documents V-Y

1. How did the American Commission on Conditions in Ireland define the word ‘reprisal’? (Doc V)

2. According to the American Commissions Interim Report, why were raids carried out on Irish homes?

3. Based on Document V, give three ways in which the War of Independence affected civilians.

4. What were the names of the two men killed during the Sack of Balbriggan? (Doc W(a))

5. What two streets in Balbriggan suffered the most the damage to property during the September 1920 reprisal? (Doc W(a))

6. Based on the information in the map, do you think that Deedes, Templar & Co. hosiery factory was deliberately targeted during the reprisal attack? Explain with reference to the map and caption. (Doc W(a))

7. In what ways is a map such as Document W(a) more valuable to a historian than a photograph such as Document W(b)
8. Based on camera angle, framing and the content of the photograph, can you suggest whether the photographer was sympathetic to the Republicans or the British government? (Doc W(b))

9. In your own words outline the main message(s) of the Black and Tan Proclamation. (Doc X(c))

10. Identify the strengths and weaknesses of ballads such as Document X (b) as a historical source?

   Strengths

   Weaknesses:

11. Based on your study of the maps in this student worksheet, can you suggest why 60 percent of all attacks on property between September 1919–February 1921, occurred in Munster? (Doc Y)

12. Can you suggest why (a) creameries and (b) newspaper offices were targets for reprisals? (Doc Y)

13. Using the information in the map, identify the number of attacks and the type of attacks on property in your own county between September 1919 and February 1921?