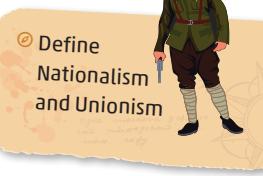




# What was Nationalism and Unionism?

At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Ireland was ruled directly from London. Irish members of parliament (MPs) and lords sat in the House of Commons and House of Lords in Westminster, London. It was here that the laws for Ireland were passed. This is the way Ireland had been ruled since the **Act of Union** in 1801 (see p. 171). The two main political groups in Ireland in 1911 were the **nationalists** and the **unionists**. (See pp. 162–63)



Define  
Nationalism  
and Unionism

## What did each group want?

### Nationalists

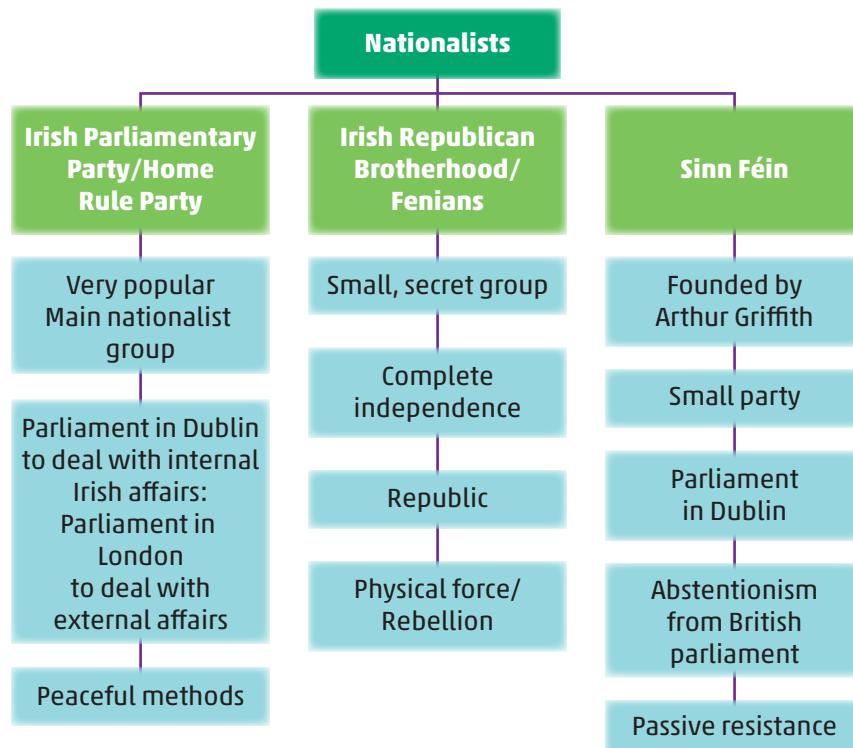
... wanted changes in the way Ireland was ruled. They wanted some form of **self-government** with a parliament in Dublin.

### Unionists

... wanted to keep the system as it **was**, with a parliament in Westminster making laws for Ireland.

## Nationalists

The majority of people in Ireland were **nationalists**. There were a number of different nationalist groups.



John Redmond, leader of the Home Rule Party, the main nationalist party



Arthur Griffith, founder of Sinn Féin, a small nationalist party

## Unionists

The majority of unionists lived in the **north-east of Ireland**, especially the counties of Antrim and Down. Other unionists were scattered throughout the rest of Ireland. Their leaders were **Edward Carson** and **James Craig**. Carson was an outstanding speaker, while Craig was a very good organiser.

### Unionism

Mostly in north-east of Ireland

Retain the Act of Union  
Laws for Ireland made in parliament in Westminster



### PROFILE – EDWARD CARSON, UNIONIST LEADER

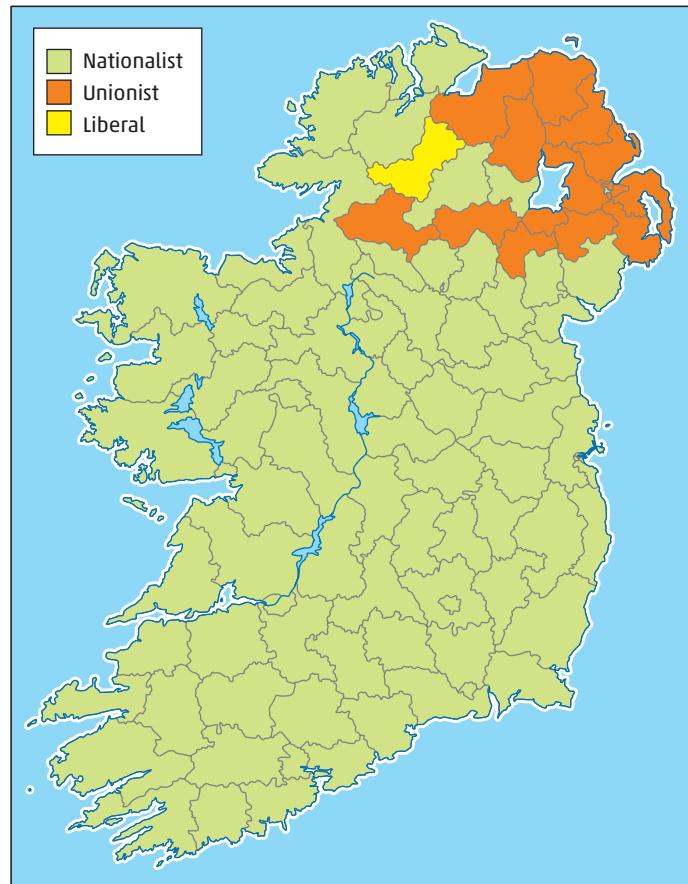
- Carson was born in Dublin, where he trained as a barrister.
- He was elected MP for Trinity College, Dublin.
- He was devoted to Ireland and to the union between Ireland and Britain: '*It's only for Ireland that I'm in politics*', he said.
- He did not want Home Rule for any part of Ireland. He was disappointed when a Home Rule parliament was set up in Belfast in 1921.



Nationalists from the 1910 General Election results in Ireland



What does the map tell you about the spread of Nationalism and Unionism in Ireland in 1910? Can you explain why Unionism was largely confined to one area in Ireland? (See Ch. 8)

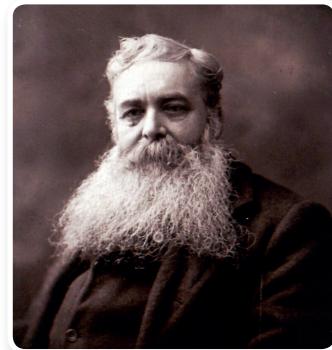


## What was the influence of Cultural Nationalism?

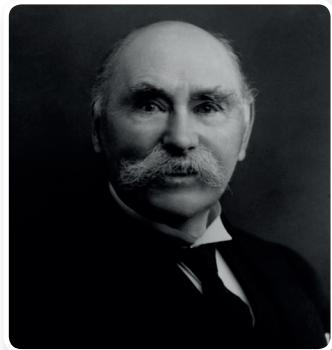
Ireland went through a cultural revolution at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. A number of organisations and movements promoted the idea of an Irish Ireland or **Gaelic Ireland**. Even though they were not political groups, they influenced the political thinking of many people. Some leaders, especially those who later led the 1916 Rising, believed that the only way a Gaelic Ireland could be achieved was by **full independence from Britain**.

The groups included:

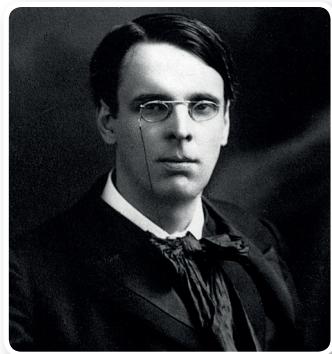
- The **Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA)**, founded in 1884 to promote Gaelic games, including hurling and football (see Ch. 14).
- The **Gaelic League**, founded in 1893 to promote the use of the Irish language and to de-Anglicise Ireland.
- The **Anglo-Irish literary movement**, which promoted Irish literature in the English language using Irish folktales and history.



Michael Cusack, founder of GAA



Douglas Hyde, founder of Gaelic League



W.B. Yeats, Anglo-Irish Literary Revival

## The Home Rule Crisis, 1912–14

### Background

The Conservative Party ruled Britain from 1895 to 1906. During that time, unionists in Ireland were happy because they knew that a Home Rule Bill would not be passed. But, in 1906, the Liberal Party took over government. They supported Home Rule.



### The Parliament Act, 1911

In 1910, after two elections, the Liberals needed the support of the Home Rule Party to stay in government (power). The Liberals also passed a new law in 1911 – the **Parliament Act**. Up to this, the House of Lords could vote against (and defeat) Bills coming from the House of Commons. Now under the Parliament Act, the House of Lords could delay laws for **only two years**.

With the Liberals depending on the Home Rule Party and with the power of the House of Lords weakened, Home Rule for Ireland seemed likely.

### The Third Home Rule Bill, 1912

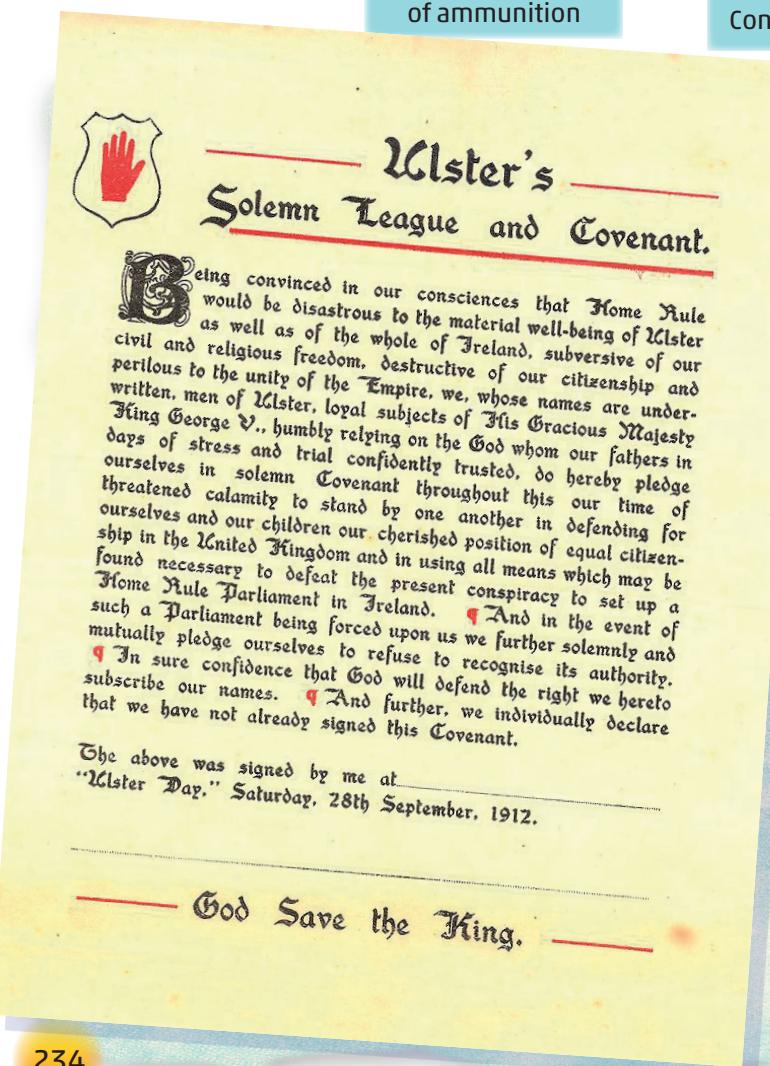
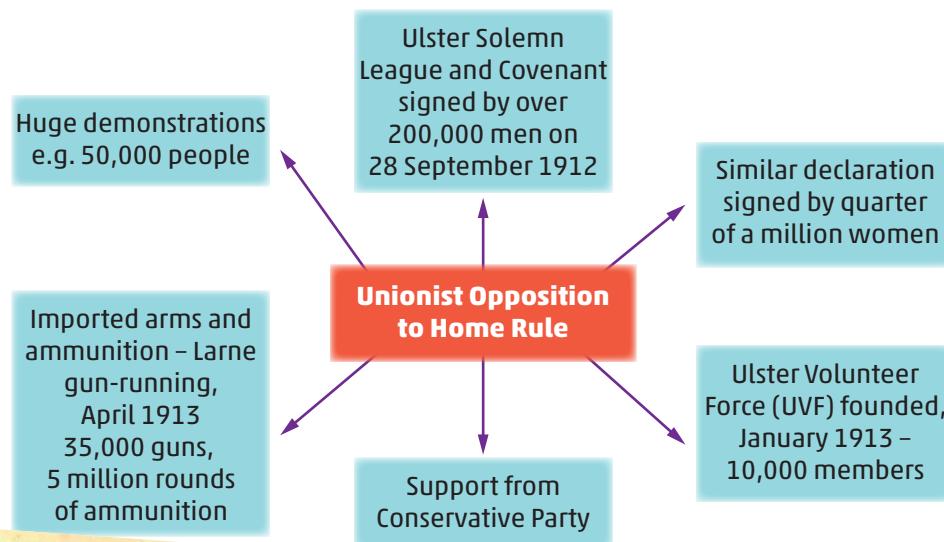
The Liberal Party had tried to pass two Home Rule bills in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Both of these had been defeated. In 1912, the Liberals, led by Prime Minister **Asquith**, introduced the **Third Home Rule Bill**. According to this bill:

- A parliament in Dublin would deal with **internal Irish affairs**.
- The parliament in Westminster would deal with **external affairs**.

The Unionist Party and the Conservatives were opposed to the bill, but the House of Lords could not delay the bill for more than two years. So Home Rule would become law in 1914.

## Unionist opposition

The unionist leaders, Carson and Craig, believed that if they opposed the bill strongly enough, the British government would be forced to drop it. They began to organise strong opposition to the bill.

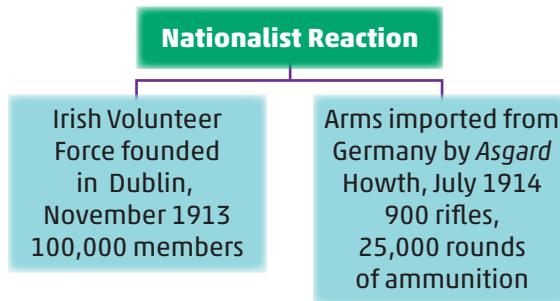


- What did the **signatories** of the Ulster Solemn League and Covenant 'pledge to defend'?
- What was 'the present conspiracy' mentioned in the document?
- From the document, identify **two reasons** why unionists **opposed** Home Rule.
- Why, do you think, the document said, 'God Save the King'?
- Investigate the **significance** of the symbol of the red hand on the top left-hand corner of the document (See Ch. 8).
- Why is this document regarded as a **primary source** for historians?
- Is this document **useful**?
- Is this document **reliable**?

Explain your answers using the evidence in the document.

## Nationalist reaction

Nationalists also organised themselves. In November 1913, Eoin MacNeill, Professor of History at University College, Dublin, wrote an article called 'The North Began'. He suggested that nationalists should follow the example of the Northern unionists and form their own Volunteer force. This would put pressure on the British government to bring in Home Rule.



## The threat of civil war

At this time, the Third Home Rule Bill was making its progress through the British parliament at Westminster. Attempts at compromise or agreement between nationalists and unionists failed. It looked as if Ireland was heading for civil war.

But the crisis came to a sudden end. On 4 August 1914, Britain declared war on Germany. World War I had begun. The Home Rule Bill became law on 18 September, but it was immediately suspended and not revived until 1919.

## Reaction to World War I

### Nationalist Split

The Irish Volunteers split over Ireland's part in World War I. The vast majority of the Irish Volunteers followed the views of John Redmond, leader of the Home Rule Party. These became known as the National Volunteers. Redmond said Irishmen should take part in the war to defend Home Rule.

### Unionists in Northern Ireland

Unionists, north and south, joined the British army to take part in the war. In the north, Carson asked the Ulster Volunteer Force to '*answer immediately his Majesty's call*' to arms. In some places, Irish Volunteers and Ulster Volunteers marched together and cheered each other.

However, the Ulster Volunteers were able to enlist in their own Ulster Division, while National Volunteers were sent to different regiments. There was equally heavy recruitment from both nationalists and unionists in the early months of the war. But the different treatment of Ulster Volunteers compared to National Volunteers, along with the delay in implementing Home Rule, caused nationalist recruitment to slow down.



# Analysing Sources

## Different attitudes to Ireland and World War I

### HISTORICAL JUDGEMENT



1. What is the **duty** of Irish manhood, according to John Redmond in Source 1?
2. How are the 'interests of Ireland' at stake in the war?
3. Does John Redmond believe that Irishmen should 'stay at home to defend the shores of Ireland'?
4. What does he believe Irishmen should do?
5. According to Arthur Griffith, what is the **duty** of Irish nationalists?
6. Does Arthur Griffith agree with John Redmond?
7. Identify one **fact** and one **opinion** in either of the sources above?
8. Are these sources **biased**?
9. Are these sources **propaganda**?
10. Do these sources help you **understand** why the Irish Volunteers split?  
Explain your answers using evidence from the sources.

### Q Source 1

'The duty of the manhood of Ireland is twofold. Its duty is, at all costs, to defend the shores of Ireland against foreign invasion. It is a duty more than that, of taking care that Irish valour (bravery) proves itself on the field of war as it has always proved itself in the past. The interests of Ireland – the whole of Ireland – are at stake in this war. The war is undertaken in defence of the highest principles of religion and morality and right, and it would be a disgrace forever for our country ... if young Ireland confined their efforts to remaining at home to defend the shores of Ireland from an unlikely invasion.'

I say to you, therefore, ... 'Go on drilling and make yourselves efficient for the work, and then account yourselves as men, not only in Ireland itself, but wherever the firing line extends, in defence of right, of freedom and of religion in this war.'

**(John Redmond, speaking to Irish Volunteers in Co. Wicklow, on 20 September 1914)**

### Q Source 2

'Ireland is not at war with Germany ... England is at war with Germany, and Mr Redmond has offered England the services of the National Volunteers to defend Ireland. ... Our duty is in no doubt. We are Irish nationalists and the only duty we have is to stand for Ireland's interests, irrespective of the interests of England, or Germany, or any other foreign country.'

**(Arthur Griffith writing in his newspaper, Sinn Féin, 1914)**

### Nationalist Split over WWI

#### National Volunteers

- Followed John Redmond
- Supported Irishmen fighting abroad
- Defended Home Rule
- About 110,000 men

#### Irish Volunteers

- Followed Eoin MacNeill
- Opposed to Irishmen fighting abroad
- Defended Ireland in Ireland
- About 10,000 men

## The 1916 Rising

### Plans for a Rising

The IRB (Irish Republican Brotherhood) leaders began to make plans for a rising soon after the start of World War I. The IRB believed that '*England's difficulty was Ireland's opportunity*.' They felt that this was a good time for a rising because the English government's attention would be distracted from Irish affairs by the World War. The IRB formed a Military Council to organise the Rising.

### Military Council plans

The Military Council needed **arms and ammunition** and they needed **men** for the Rising.

But they also wanted to keep their plans **secret**, because of the danger that spies would provide information to the British government.



Examine the causes, course and impact of the 1916 Rising

In January 1916, the Military Council decided that the Rising would take place at Easter.

## Arms from Germany

Roger Casement got arms from Germany, England's enemy in the war. The Germans gave him 20,000 rifles, ten machine guns and ammunition. These were loaded on board the *Aud*, which set sail for Ireland.

## Involving the Irish Volunteers

Eoin MacNeill and the Irish Volunteers were needed to provide men for the Rising. But MacNeill was opposed to a rising.

Just before Easter 1916, the Military Council showed MacNeill a document – the 'Castle Document' – that said the British government was planning to disarm the Irish Volunteers. As a result, MacNeill allowed the Irish Volunteers to go ahead with drills and manoeuvres planned for Easter Sunday.

It now seemed as if all the plans were working out. Arms would be landed in Co. Kerry, and distributed to Volunteer groups out on training exercises on Easter Sunday. The Rising would be a national (countrywide) rising.

Then the plans began to go wrong.

## The plans go wrong

- On the Friday before Easter, the *Aud* was captured off the Kerry coast. It was sunk by its captain off Cork harbour and all the arms and ammunition were lost.
- Roger Casement was captured in Kerry after coming ashore from a German submarine.
- Eoin MacNeill found out that the Castle Document was a **forgery**. He then cancelled the Volunteer manoeuvres for Easter Sunday.



### PROFILE – PATRICK PEARSE, LEADER OF 1916 RISING

- Pearse was born in Dublin in 1879.
- He joined the Gaelic League and edited their newspaper, *An Claidheamh Soluis*.
- He founded a school, St Enda's, in Dublin.
- He joined the Irish Volunteers and the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) in 1913.
- He was a member of the Military Council of the IRB in planning the 1916 Rising.
- He read the *Proclamation of the Irish Republic* outside the General Post Office (GPO) on Easter Monday, 1916.
- He was executed after the Rising, and buried in Arbour Hill Cemetery, Dublin.





# Analysing Sources

## Pearse and the Use of Violence

### HISTORICAL EMPATHY



1. In Source 1, what will be achieved by **violence or armed rebellion**, according to Pearse?
2. What 'mistakes' could happen at the beginning, according to Pearse?
3. What is Pearse's view about **bloodshed**?
4. Would all nationalist leaders at that time agree with Pearse's views on violence and bloodshed?
5. Who are the 'Defenders of the Realm' in Source 2?
6. What is Pearse's main **message** here?
7. What does Pearse mean by the last sentence?
8. Why are both of these sources **primary** sources? Are they **biased**? Are they **propaganda**?
9. How do these sources help you **explain the causes** of the 1916 Rising?  
Explain your answers using evidence from the sources.

### Source 1

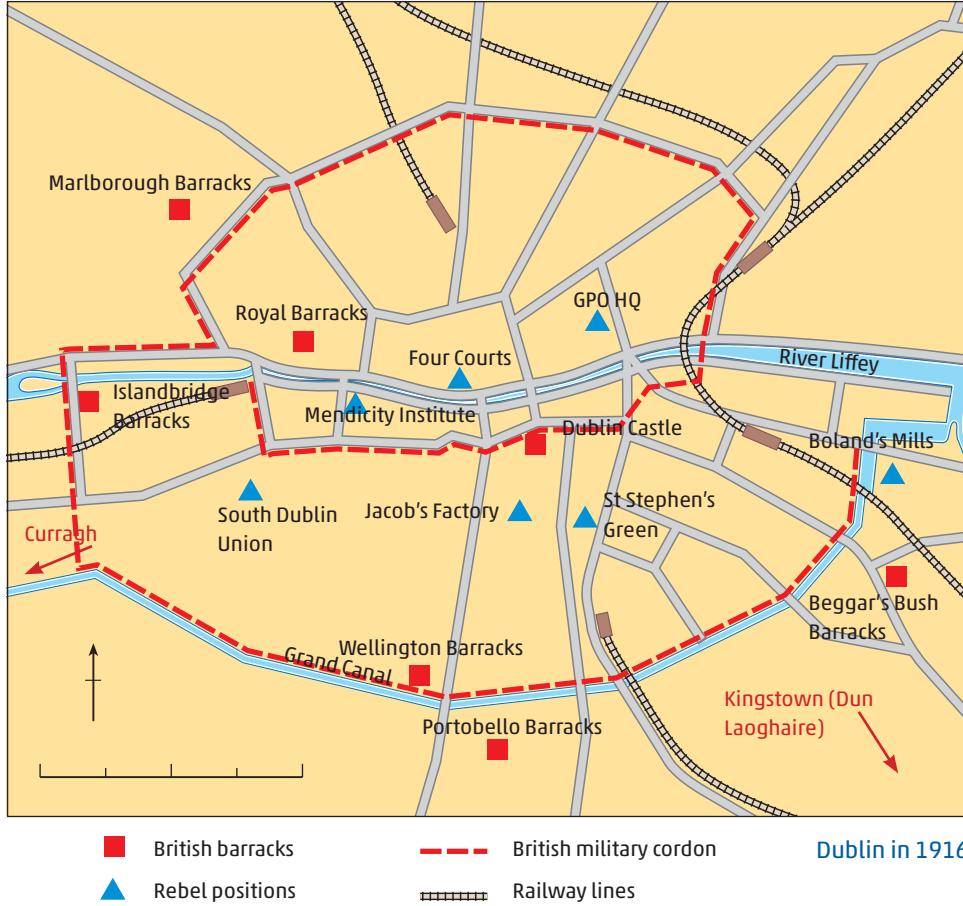
Ireland unarmed will attain just as much freedom as it is convenient for England to give her: Ireland armed will attain ultimately just as much freedom as she wants ... We must accustom ourselves to the thought of arms, to the sight of arms, to the use of arms. We may make mistakes in the beginning and shoot the wrong people; but bloodshed is a cleansing and a sanctifying thing, and a nation which regards it as the final horror has lost its manhood.

(Source: Patrick Pearse, *The Coming Revolution* [1913])

### Source 2

Life springs from death; and from the graves of patriot men and women spring living nations. The Defenders of the Realm ... think they have pacified Ireland. They think they have purchased half of us and intimidated (frightened) the other half ... but the fools, the fools, the fools! – they have left us our Fenian dead, and while Ireland holds these graves, Ireland unfree shall never be at peace.

(Patrick Pearse's speech at the funeral of O'Donovan Rossa, an old Fenian, who died in August 1915)



### The Rising goes ahead

The Military Council decided that the Rising would go ahead on **Easter Monday**, influenced by Pearse's ideas of a **Blood Sacrifice**, that their deaths would inspire the rest of the Irish people and reawaken the national spirit. However, the Rising would now be confined mainly to Dublin. It also had **no hope of military success**.

On Easter Monday morning, 1,500 Volunteers took over key buildings in the city centre. The General Post Office (GPO) became the headquarters of the Rising. Here, Pearse read out the **Proclamation of the Irish Republic** on the street outside.



# POBLACHT NA H EIREANN, THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF THE IRISH REPUBLIC TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

**IRISHMEN AND IRISHWOMEN:** In the name of God and of the dead generations from which she receives her old tradition of nationhood, Ireland, through us, summons her children to her flag and strikes for her freedom.

Having organised and trained her manhood through her secret revolutionary organisation, the Irish Republican Brotherhood, and through her open military organisations, the Irish Volunteers and the Irish Citizen Army, having patiently perfected her discipline, having resolutely waited for the right moment to reveal itself, she now seizes that moment, and, supported by her exiled children in America and by gallant allies in Europe, but relying in the first on her own strength, she strikes in full confidence of victory.

We declare the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland, and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies, to be sovereign and indefeasible. The long usurpation of that right by a foreign people and government has not extinguished the right, nor can it ever be extinguished except by the destruction of the Irish people. In every generation the Irish people have asserted their right to national freedom and sovereignty: six times during the past three hundred years they have asserted it in arms. Standing on that fundamental right and again asserting it in arms in the face of the world, we hereby proclaim the Irish Republic as a Sovereign Independent State, and we pledge our lives and the lives of our comrades-in-arms to the cause of its freedom, of its welfare, and of its exaltation among the nations.

The Irish Republic is entitled to, and hereby claims, the allegiance of every Irishman and Irishwoman. The Republic guarantees religious and civil liberty, equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens, and declares its resolve to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation and of all its parts, cherishing all the children of the nation equally, and oblivious of the differences carefully fostered by an alien government, which have divided a minority from the majority in the past.

Until our arms have brought the opportune moment for the establishment of a permanent National Government, representative of the whole people of Ireland and elected by the suffrages of all her men and women, the Provisional Government, hereby constituted, will administer the civil and military affairs of the Republic in trust for the people.

We place the cause of the Irish Republic under the protection of the Most High God, Whose blessing we invoke upon our arms, and we pray that no one who serves that cause will dishonour it by cowardice, inhumanity, or rapine. In this supreme hour the Irish nation must, by its valour and discipline and by the readiness of its children to sacrifice themselves for the common good, prove itself worthy of the august destiny to which it is called.

Signed on Behalf of the Provisional Government.  
 THOMAS J. CLARKE,  
 SEAN Mac DIARMADA, THOMAS MacDONAGH,  
 P. H. PEARSE, EAMONN CEANNT,  
 JAMES CONNOLLY. JOSEPH PLUNKETT.

1. According to the Proclamation, from whom does Ireland receive her 'old tradition of nationhood'?
2. Name **one** of the groups that 'organised and trained her manhood'.
3. Give **one** piece of **evidence** to show that the Rising received support from outside of Ireland.
4. What does the document accuse the 'alien government' of doing?
5. Give **two** pieces of **evidence** from this document to show how the leaders hoped that this document would encourage people to support the Rising.
6. Give **one fact** and **one opinion** from the document.
7. Is this document **propaganda**?
8. Is this document a **primary source**?
9. How does this document **explain** the causes of the 1916 Rising?
10. How does this document **differ** from the Ulster Solemn League and Covenant, p. 234?  
Explain your answers by referring to evidence in the source.

## The British government reaction

The British government was taken by surprise by the Rising. Reinforcements (extra soldiers) were brought in from the Curragh and from England. A **military cordon** (barrier) was thrown around the centre of Dublin. By Wednesday, the rebels were outnumbered 20 to one. Artillery was brought in, and a gunboat, the *Helga*, was brought up the Liffey to shell the GPO.

## End of the Rising

By the end of the week, the city centre was in ruins, the rebel positions surrounded, widespread looting was occurring and many civilians had been killed. On Saturday, Pearse surrendered unconditionally.

The rebels were rounded up and held as prisoners. Then, between 3 May and 3 August 16 leaders were executed, mostly in Kilmainham Gaol in Dublin.



## Why did the Rising fail?

Which of these reasons, do you think, was the most important in explaining the military failure of the Rising?

Irish Volunteers outnumbered

British army had greater fire power

Rising largely confined to Dublin

The capture of the *Aud*

Bad tactics of the Volunteers

Irish Volunteers failed to get the support of the people

## What serious mistake did the British government make?

The British government made a serious political mistake in executing the leaders of the Rising and in rounding up so many people who had nothing to do with the Rising. Irish public opinion began to favour the Rising. This, along with later events, (see The Rise of Sinn Féin, p. 242) resulted in those who were involved in the Rising becoming more popular and eventually leading the main political organisation in Ireland in 1918.



p. 133

## The results of the Rising

### DEATHS

- 500 people killed including...
  - 130 British army and Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC)
  - 64 Volunteers
  - 300 civilians
  - About 2,500 injured

### RISE OF SINN FÉIN

- Sinn Féin were not involved in the Rising, but newspapers called it the 'Sinn Féin Rising'

### DESTRUCTION IN DUBLIN

- The equivalent of €3.8 million worth of damage was done

### MILITARY IN CONTROL

- Martial law (military law) imposed
- 170 people tried
- 2,000 people interned (imprisoned without trial)

### PEOPLE'S REACTION

- Anger over food shortages and destruction
- People supported Home Rule party and sent soldiers to the war
- Home Rule in danger

### EXECUTIONS

- 15 executed in Kilmainham Gaol, including seven signatories of the Proclamation

### CHANGING REACTIONS

- Executions and internments began to change people's minds in favour of the Rising.



# Analysing Sources

## Reporting the 1916 Rising

JOB OF THE HISTORIAN

The *Irish World* newspaper was published in New York between 1878 and 1951.

The Irish Times and Evening Herald were published in Dublin.



The *Evening Herald*, 5 May 1916

### How England Goaded Ireland Into Rebellion

Orders On File at Dublin Castle Show That England Contemplated the Arrest of the Officers of Every Irish Ireland Organization and of Every Irishman Suspected of Loving His Country – England Demanded Absolute Submission of Irishmen Under Threats of Massacre – The Irish Volunteers Preferred to Face the Enemy and Die.

**IRISH REPUBLIC DECLARED**  
THE PROCLAMATION OF THE REBELS

The *Weekly Irish Times*,  
5 and 13 May 1916

The *Irish World*,  
13 May 1916

THE IRISH WORLD, 13 MAY, 1916  
**THE MEN BUTCHERED BY ENGLAND**  
The Most Cultured of Ireland's Sons Murdered Because They Loved Their Native Land—Put to Death as Common Felons After Surrendering as Prisoners of War—Their Heroic Bravery and Unselfish PatriotismAppealed not to a Callous and Brutal Enemy—Irish Poets and Prose Writers Executed a Few Hours After They Laid Down Their Arms—Dead. They Still Serve Their Loved Ireland—The Memory of What They Did Will Be an Inspiration for Their Countrymen—England Will Yet Be Taught That They Did Not Die in Vain.

The *Irish World*, 13 May 1916



The *Weekly Irish Times*, 5 and 13 May 1916

THE WEEKLY IRISH TIMES, APRIL  
**EXECUTION OF THIRTEEN OF THE REBEL LEADERS.**

SIXTY OTHERS SENTENCED TO PENAL SERVITUDE.

COUNTESS MARKIEVICZ GETS A LIFE SENTENCE.

The *Weekly Irish Times*,  
April 1916

The *Weekly Irish Times*,  
5 and 13 May 1916

- What are the **main headings** in the *Evening Herald* in relation to the 1916 Rising?
- What are the **main headings** in the *Irish World* in relation to the 1916 Rising?
- What are the **main headings** in the *Weekly Irish Times* in relation to the 1916 Rising?
- Which of the newspapers is **most factual**?
- Which of the newspapers is **most biased**?
- Why were newspapers such an **important source** of news in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century?
- How would the reporting of any of the newspapers have **influenced your view** of the Rising, if you were living in 1916?
- Are these newspapers **primary sources**?
- How **useful** are they for historians researching the 1916 Rising?
- Why would historians have to research many **different** newspapers? Explain your answers using evidence from the sources.



**MILITARY AND POLICE CASUALTIES OVER FIVE HUNDRED**

124 OFFICERS AND MEN KILLED.

217 VICTIMS BURIED IN GLASNEVIN CEMETERY.

The *Weekly Irish Times*,  
5 and 13 May 1916



Go onto YouTube and look up 'Miss Stout's History Class The 1916 Rising'

Visit ...

GPO Witness History, [www.gpowitnesshistory.ie](http://www.gpowitnesshistory.ie)

Kilmainham Gaol Museum, [www.kilmainhamgaolmuseum.ie](http://www.kilmainhamgaolmuseum.ie)

Arbour Hill Cemetery, Dublin

## Timeline of Nationalism and Unionism, 1916–23

1916	Easter Rising and execution of leaders Battle of the Somme
1917	Sinn Féin grew in popularity Sinn Féin changed its aims
1918	Congression for Ireland German Plot End of World War I General election victory for Sinn Féin
1919	War of Independence began
1920	Government of Ireland Act Northern Ireland Parliament established
1921	Truce in War of Independence Anglo-Irish Treaty
1922	Irish Civil War Irish Free State established
1923	End of Civil War

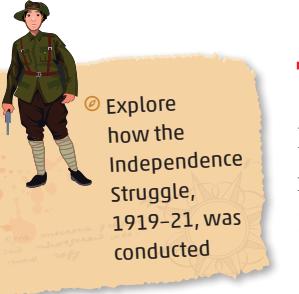
## The Rise of Sinn Féin

Sinn Féin rose in popularity over the next two years.

- Éamon de Valera took over from Arthur Griffith as President of Sinn Féin. He was also President of the Irish Volunteers.
- Sinn Féin won by-elections in 1917 and 1918.
- The British government tried to introduce conscription (compulsory military service) to Ireland in 1918. Sinn Féin gained popularity by leading a victorious anti-conscription campaign.
- Sinn Féin campaigned in the 1918 general election for a republic with complete independence from Britain. They won 73 out of 105 seats in Ireland. They followed a policy of abstentionism (they would form their own parliament in Dublin rather than going to Westminster).

1910 AND 1918 GENERAL ELECTION RESULTS

	1910	1918
Home Rule Party	73	6
Sinn Féin	0	73
Unionists	19	23



Explore how the Independence Struggle, 1919–21, was conducted

## The Independence Struggle, 1919–21

Between 1919 and 1921, nationalists in Ireland organised a strong campaign to gain independence from Britain. The campaign took two forms:

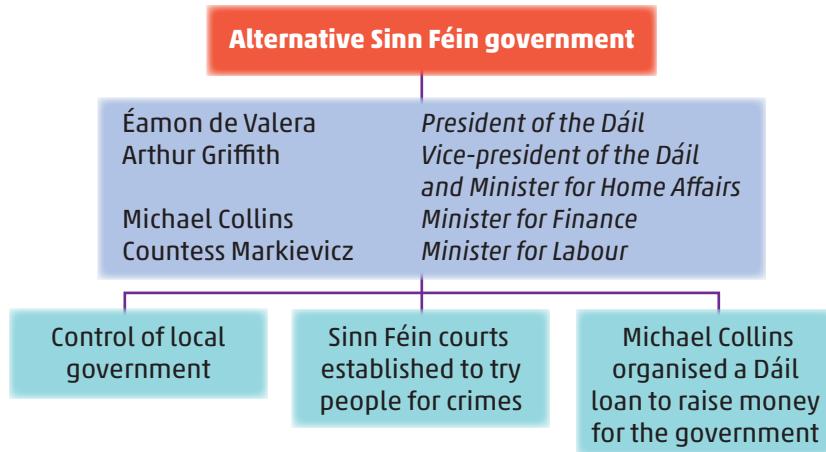
1. Sinn Féin organised passive resistance, a policy of opposing the British government without using violence.
2. The Irish Volunteers (who now became known as the Irish Republican Army, or IRA) organised a guerrilla warfare campaign.

### How did passive resistance work?

On 21 January 1919, Sinn Féin held a meeting of the First Dáil Éireann (parliament) in the Mansion House, Dublin. Only 27 TDs attended, because the remainder were either in jail or on the run.

On that day, the First Dáil issued:

- The Declaration of Independence
- A Message to the Free Nations of the World
- A programme to improve living and working conditions



The actions of the **Sinn Féin government** showed that they could run an independent government. The actions also helped to win the battle over public opinion.

## The War of Independence, 1919–21

On the same day that the First Dáil met, 21 January 1919, an RIC (Royal Irish Constabulary) patrol was ambushed in Soloheadbeg, Co. Tipperary. A local IRA unit led by Dan Breen and Seán Treacy carried out the ambush. The IRA men attacked police who were guarding a supply of gelignite going to a nearby quarry. Two policemen were shot dead. These were the first shots of the War of Independence.

## Guerrilla warfare

The IRA used **guerrilla war tactics** against the British government forces. These were ambush, or 'hit and run' tactics. The IRA's main target was the **RIC**. They attacked isolated barracks in the countryside to get arms and ammunition. The IRA also intimidated the RIC members and their families.

### SOURCES



Seán Keating's (1889–1977) painting of a flying column from the North Cork Brigade IRA, *Men of the South*, painted in 1921

1. What **evidence** is there to suggest that the men are not professional soldiers?
2. What **type of warfare** did these men carry out?
3. How would you describe the **look** on the men's faces?
4. Is there any **evidence** in the painting which would support the view that the British government had difficulties defeating men like these?
5. Is this a **primary** or a **secondary** source?
6. What **type** of primary or secondary source is it?
7. Is this painting **biased** or **objective**? In your opinion, is the painter opposed to or a supporter of the IRA?  
Explain your answer using evidence from the painting.

For more information, consult the website [www.historyireland.com](http://www.historyireland.com) and search for 'Men of the South Revisited'.

## Flying columns

As the IRA increased in numbers, local units called **flying columns** were formed. The men in these units lived off the countryside getting food and shelter from the local people. Flying columns took part in large-scale ambushes, for example, at Kilmichael and Crossbarry, Co. Cork.

## The role of Michael Collins

Collins operated an **intelligence network**, using spies to gather information. He got information from secretaries, porters and policemen. He used this information to direct operations by the IRA.

He also organised a special group in Dublin called '**The Squad**'. Their job was to kill spies and detectives.

## The British response

The British government, led by **David Lloyd George**, Prime Minister, recruited **ex-soldiers** in Britain to overcome a shortage of recruits in the RIC. Members of the new force became known as the '**Black and Tans**', because they wore a mixed army and RIC uniform.

The government also recruited **ex-officers**. These were known as the **Auxiliaries**. Very often these forces carried out **reprisals** against local people because of attacks on themselves. These actions helped the IRA, which got greater support from the people. The British government also introduced the **Government of Ireland Act 1920**. Under the Act, two parliaments were to be set up, one in Dublin and one in Belfast. Sinn Féin rejected this Act.

# The Foundation of Northern Ireland

## After World War I

There was a different attitude to World War I amongst **Northern unionists** compared to **nationalists**. Northern unionists took **pride** in their part in the war. Many

commemorated the **Battle of the Somme** on 1 July each year when thousands of men from the Ulster Division had fought and died.

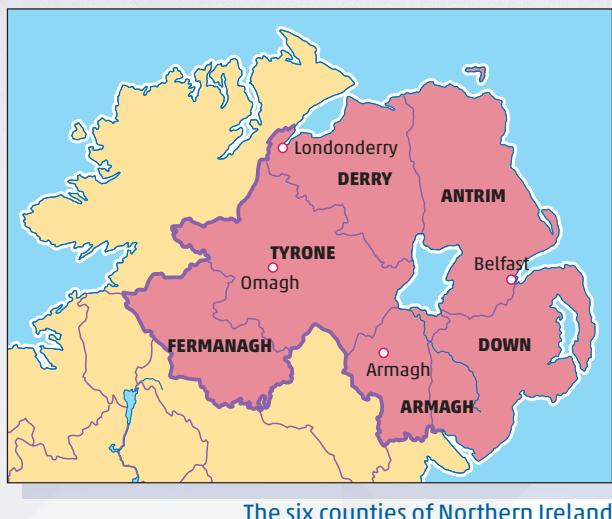
There was also commemoration amongst many nationalists for some years after the war. But over the decades, nationalists' part in the war was played down and largely forgotten.

## The Government of Ireland Act, 1920

The state of Northern Ireland was formed under the **Government of Ireland Act 1920**. This Act **partitioned** (divided) the country. It established a parliament for Northern Ireland and a parliament for a parliament



- Describe how the state of Northern Ireland was founded
- Outline the conflict between Protestants and Catholics



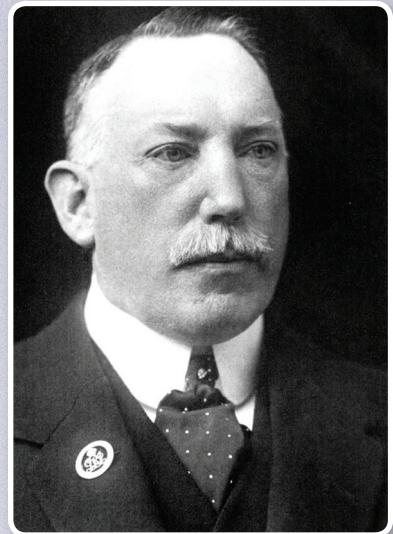
in Dublin for the South of Ireland. In the South, Southern unionists refused to accept this. But unionists in Northern Ireland formed their own government and parliament after a general election in 1921.

The Northern parliament had power over internal Northern Ireland affairs, such as education, health, policing and roads. The parliament at Westminster controlled trade, international relations, peace and war.

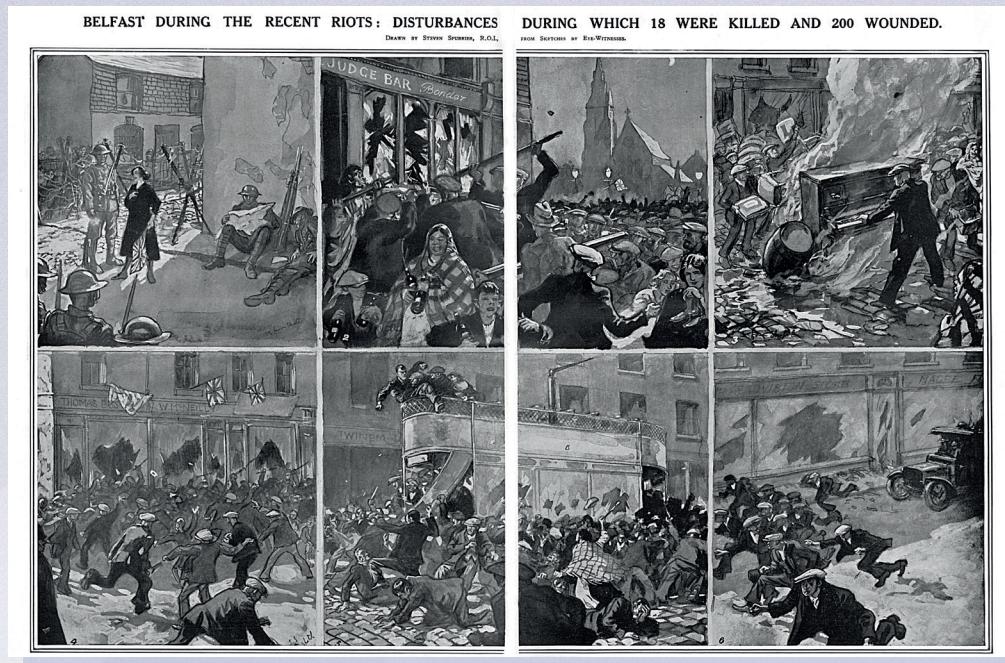
This was the way Northern Ireland was ruled for the next 50 years.

## Unionist control

The Unionist Party, led by James B. Craig as Prime Minister, dominated the political system. It won all elections with clear majorities. The party had close links with the Orange Order, which organised parades and marches to maintain unionist domination (control).



James Craig



Select three of the pictures here and describe what is happening in each of them.

## Protestant and Catholic conflict

In the early 1920s, serious conflict arose between Protestants (unionists) and Catholics (nationalists). Unionists believed that Catholics wanted to destroy Northern Ireland.

- Unionists were opposed to a united Ireland because they feared being discriminated against in a nationalist/Catholic-dominated country
- They also felt that the Northern Ireland economy would suffer more by being cut off from the British market

The Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) was formed in 1922 as an armed police force. It had a mostly Protestant membership. It was helped by the B-Specials, a part-time police force. They could use the Special Powers Act (1922) to arrest and imprison anyone. Nationalists felt that the B-Specials and the Special Powers Act were used to keep them down.

## Riots

In the sectarian riots in the early 1920s between Protestants and Catholics, Catholics suffered more than Protestants:

- More Catholics were killed
- Thousands of Catholics lost their jobs – in the most famous incident, Catholics were driven out of the Harland and Wolff shipyards (July 1920)
- Catholic houses and businesses were burned

The IRA continued a campaign in the north during 1922. RUC were attacked and killed, big houses were burned, and railway stations were attacked. There were continued killings of Catholics and Protestants in Belfast.

The outbreak of the Civil War in the south ended the violence. Over a period of two years from 1920 to 1922, 557 people had been killed in Northern Ireland – almost 60 per cent of these were Catholics.

## Major incidents of the War of Independence

Put these events of the War of Independence in chronological order:

### CHRONOLOGICAL AWARENESS



p. 136

Terence MacSwiney, Lord Mayor of Cork, died on hunger strike in Brixton Prison, London, after 74 days

Ambush at Kilmichael

Members of the RIC murdered Tomás MacCurtain, Lord Mayor of Cork, in front of his family

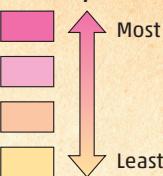
Bloody Sunday – Collins' Squad killed 11 British agents sent specially to catch him. Black and Tans shot into Croke Park during a football match, killing 12 people

IRA attack on the Custom House, Dublin; over 80 IRA captured

  
Write a report on major incidents of the War of Independence based on the events here.



### Casualties due to IRA violence, 1920-22



Raids by Black and Tans or Auxiliaries

Border between North and South after Government of Ireland Act 1920

### Incidents in the War of Independence

- 1 The burning of Cork City
- 2 Ambush at Crossbarry, Co. Cork
- 3 Ambush at Kilmichael, Co. Cork
- 4 The attack on the Custom House, Dublin



# Analysing Sources

## What happened at Croke Park on Bloody Sunday?

### CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES

#### Q Source 1

##### Historian's view

Today two theories exist as to what happened in Croke Park. At a time when there was considerable infiltration of the GAA by the IRA, the authorities claimed that the first shots were fired by IRA men hiding in the crowd of spectators in order to create a panic and evade arrest. The alternative theory is that Auxiliary/RIC forces went to Croke Park in reprisal for the attacks that morning on British secret service men at the hands of Collins' squad. According to the RIC/Auxiliary witness accounts, on their arrival at Croke Park a number of civilians appearing to be a picquet (on duty, on guard), were seen outside at the entrance close to the turnstiles and began firing at the forces as they dismounted from their convoy. It is this piece of information that is central to the authorities according blame to the civilians.

(Source: The GAA through History and Documents, 1870–1920 [2008])

#### Q Source 3

##### Witness Statement 22

On Sunday 21<sup>st</sup> inst., I was on duty outside the main entrance [to] Croke Park in Jones's Road ... three small Crossley lorries pulled up in Jones's Road. There were about ten or 12 men dressed in RIC uniforms in each. When they got out of the cars they started firing in the air which I thought was blank ammunition, and almost immediately firing started all round the ground. Some of the men who got out of the lorries went into the field and others remained on the road.

#### Q Source 2

##### Witness Statement 15

At Croke Park on 21<sup>st</sup> November I was in the second lorry of the police convoy. As soon as we got to the top of the Canal Bridge I saw a group of about ten civilians. Some in the middle of the street and some on the sides between the bridge and the turning down to the turnstiles. By their demeanour (behaviour) and formation, they gave us an impression that they were a picquet (on guard). Those men immediately on our arrival turned round and started to run towards the nearest entrance gates; as they ran they turned round and fired at the first car. Those were the first shots I heard. I noticed three or four of them firing.



- According to Source 1, what did the authorities **claim** happened at Croke Park?
- In Source 1, why did the Auxiliaries go to Croke Park, according to the second theory?
- What is the **main point** made by Witness Statement 15 in Source 2?
- What is the **main point** made by Witness Statement 22 in Source 3?
- What **conclusions** were made by the Military Court of Enquiry in Source 4?
- Which of the **two theories** in Source 1 are supported by either of the Sources 2 and 3?
- Can you **explain** why the witnesses in Source 2 and 3 disagree?
- Are these sources **biased**?
- What, do you think, happened in Croke Park on that day?  
Explain your answers using evidence from the sources.

#### Q Source 4

##### Opinion of Military Court of Inquiry into what happened

I consider that the first shots were fired by members in the crowd, and that these shots led to the panic.  
I consider that the firing on the crowd was carried out without orders, was indiscriminate (random), and unjustifiable, with the exception of any shooting that took place inside the enclosure.

**(Major-General Boyd, Commanding Dublin District, 11 December 1920)**

## Peace

By 1921, both sides wanted peace

- The IRA was running short of men and ammunition
- The people wanted peace
- The British government was being criticised at home and in America for the actions of the Black and Tans and the Auxiliaries
- The war was costing the government a great deal of money

De Valera returned from America where he had been during most of the War of Independence. He agreed the terms of a ceasefire with Lloyd George. The ceasefire came into operation on 11 July 1921.



Go onto YouTube and look up 'Miss Stout's History Class First Year History'



① Explain the background to and terms of the Anglo-Irish Treaty, 1921

② Consider the arguments for and against the Anglo-Irish Treaty, 1921

③ Analyse the impact of the Anglo-Irish Treaty

## The Anglo-Irish Treaty, 1921

### Delegations

After the truce, the British government and Sinn Féin began negotiations. The Sinn Féin government selected a delegation to represent them at the talks in London. The delegates were Arthur Griffith, Michael Collins, Robert Barton, Eamonn Duggan and George Gavan Duffy.

De Valera refused to go because:

- He was head of state
- He wanted to control extremists at home

Lloyd George headed the British delegation. He was assisted by Winston Churchill, Austin Chamberlain and Lord Birkenhead.

### Different aims

Sinn Féin had two main goals in the negotiations:

- To achieve a republic (complete independence from Britain)
- To have no border, or partition, between the north and south of Ireland

The main British aim was:

- To keep Ireland within the British Empire (or Commonwealth, as it was known).

### Negotiations

From October to December 1921, the two delegations negotiated in London. Finally, on 6 December 1921, they signed the 'Treaty between Great Britain and Ireland', or the Anglo-Irish Treaty.

### The terms of the Anglo-Irish Treaty

1. Ireland would be known as the Irish Free State.
2. Ireland would still be a dominion (part of) the British Commonwealth.
3. The King of England would be represented in Ireland by a Governor-general.
4. Members of the Dáil and Seanad (Senate) would take an oath of allegiance to the Irish government and the King of England.

5. Britain would have the use of three ports (the 'Treaty ports') – Berehaven, Cobh and Lough Swilly.
6. A Boundary Commission would be established to decide on the border between the north and south of Ireland.

## The Treaty debates

There was widespread debate in Ireland over the terms of the Treaty. The Dáil debated the Treaty from December 1921 to January 1922.

 p. 137



### ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST THE TREATY

#### PRO-TREATY

- The IRA was not able to carry on a war any longer.
- The Treaty was a stepping stone to full independence. Collins said: '*It gives us freedom, not the ultimate freedom that all nations desire and develop to, but the freedom to achieve it.*'
- The Treaty gave Ireland much more independence than Home Rule.
- In favour: Collins and Griffith

#### ANTI-TREATY

- The Treaty did not give Ireland the republic they had fought for.
- Better terms could have been negotiated.
- The oath of allegiance recognised the king as head of state.
- Against: De Valera and Cathal Brugha

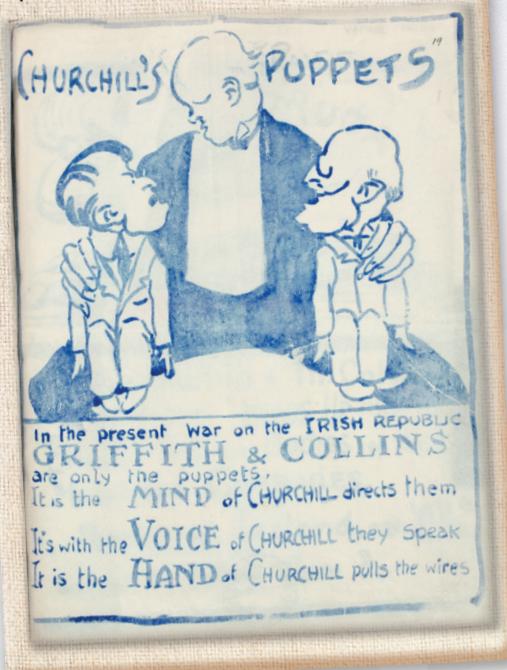
The debate sometimes became very emotional. It concluded on 7 January 1922, when the Treaty was accepted by 64 votes to 57. De Valera resigned as President of the Executive Council. He and his supporters left the Dáil. The Pro-Treaty side now took over the government, with Arthur Griffith replacing de Valera as president.

## For and Against the Treaty

### CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES

#### Q Source 1

A print attributed to Countess Markievicz



#### Q Source 2

A Pro-Treaty poster



1. Who are Churchill's puppets, according to Source 1?
2. What is the **main point** being made by the print?
3. What **evidence** suggests that this is an anti-Treaty print?
4. What **terms** of the Anglo-Irish Treaty could be used **in support** of the main point of this print?
5. What **terms** of the Anglo-Irish Treaty could be used **against** the main point of this print?
6. In Source 2, select what you consider are the **four main points** made in support of the Treaty.
7. Which source is more **effective** in getting its point across?
8. Why would historians consider both sources as **propaganda**? Explain your answers by referring to evidence in the sources.



Explore how the Civil War was conducted

# The Irish Civil War

After the Dáil debates, the divisions between the Pro-Treaty and Anti-Treaty sides grew wider. Very often, families and friends disagreed.

The slide towards Civil War began when a group of Republicans (Anti-Treaty) took over the **Four Courts** in the centre of Dublin in April 1922. This was a **direct challenge** to the government. The government was also under pressure from the **British government** who feared that war would break out again.

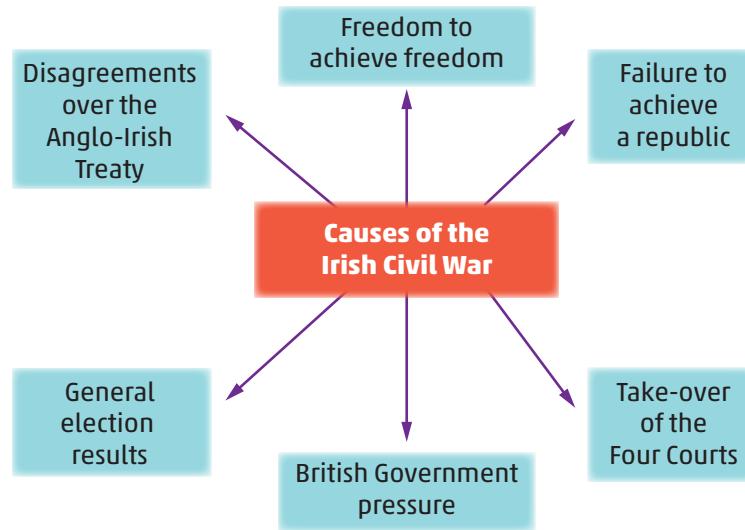
A general election in June 1922 gave a huge majority **in favour** of the Treaty. This put the Free State government in a stronger position. When the Republicans in the Four Courts captured a Free State general, Griffith and Collins decided to attack them.

Pro-Treaty	Anti-Treaty
Regulars	Irregulars
Free State government	Republicans
Government forces	

General election results June 1922	
Sinn Féin (Pro-Treaty)	58
Sinn Féin (Anti-Treaty)	36
The rest (including the Labour Party) – Pro-Treaty	34
Total – Pro-Treaty	92
Total – Anti-Treaty	36



Can you explain these causes of the Irish Civil War?



## The fighting begins

### Fighting in Dublin

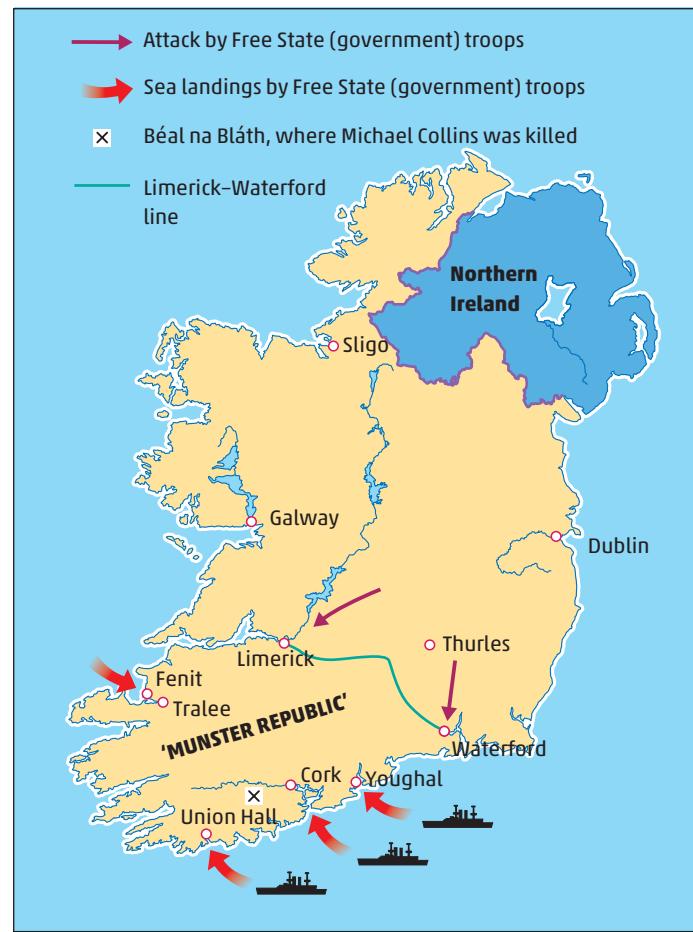
The **Free State army**, led by Collins, borrowed artillery from the British army to shell the Four Courts. Within two days, the 200 Republicans inside surrendered. Fighting continued in the centre of Dublin for a few more days, but the government forces defeated the Republicans easily.

## The Munster Republic

The Republicans retreated south of a line from Limerick to Waterford. This area became known as the 'Munster Republic'. However, the Free State army, which now had 60,000 soldiers, easily captured Limerick and Waterford. Collins decided to use ships to carry troops to Cork, and to Fenit in Kerry. The Republicans were now forced to retreat to the countryside.

## Deaths of Griffith and Collins

The two most important leaders of the Free State government died within a short time of each other. Griffith died on 12 August 1922 of a brain haemorrhage. Collins was killed ten days later in an ambush at Béal na Bláth, Co. Cork (pp. 7–8). W. T. Cosgrave and Kevin O'Higgins became the new leaders of the Free State government.



The main fighting in the Civil War



### PROFILE – MICHAEL COLLINS, POLITICAL AND MILITARY LEADER

- Collins was born near Clonakilty in West Cork in 1890.
- He worked for a while in London, then came back to Ireland and fought in the 1916 Rising.
- After the Rising, he was involved with Sinn Féin and the Irish Volunteers.
- He was Minister for Finance in the First Dáil.
- During the War of Independence, he was Director of Organisation and Intelligence for the IRA.
- He was a member of the delegation that negotiated the Anglo-Irish Treaty.
- He believed that the Treaty was a stepping stone to independence.
- He was Commander-in-Chief of the Free State army in the Civil War.
- He was killed in an ambush at Béal na Bláth on 22 August 1922.



### *The Irish Independent, 24 August 1922*

The story of the fatal ambush at Béal na mBláth, between Bandon and Macroom, on Tuesday evening, shows that the Commander-in-Chief fought heroically to the last, and then with his dying breath breathed into the ears of his comrades Forgive them. These were the last words he uttered. General Collins was returning from an inspection of National troops posts in South Cork. Blocking of the roads forced the party, who had a bodyguard with an armoured car, to take to by-roads. Suddenly a volley came from ambushers, estimated to number 200. General Collins immediately assumed command and directed the fight, lasting three-quarters of an hour. Just as his bodyguard gained the upper hand, and the ambushers were retiring, came the fatal bullet.

'The greatest and bravest of our countrymen has been slain, but he cannot die,' says a statement from his ministerial colleagues, who declare their determination to maintain his fight to establish the rule of the people. The body was taken to Cork on Tuesday night and yesterday conveyed by sea to Dublin, arriving early this morning. From St. Vincent's Hospital the remains will be removed to the City Hall, and there lie in State until Sunday evening. His remains will then be taken to the Pro-Cathedral and the funeral takes place in Glasnevin on Monday.

(Extract from *The Irish Independent*, 24 August 1922, on the death of Michael Collins)

1. What were Michael Collins' last words, according to the extract?
2. Why was Michael Collins in West Cork?
3. Why did Collins' party take to the by-roads?
4. In your opinion, how did Collins behave during the ambush? Give **one piece of evidence** to support your answer.
5. What did his ministerial colleagues declare their determination to do?
6. From the funeral arrangements, mention **one piece of evidence** to show that Collins was regarded as a very important person at the time.
7. Is this extract a **primary** or **secondary** source? Explain.
8. Is there any evidence of **bias**? Explain your answer.
9. **Research:** Identify at least **one** factual error in this report. (See also pp. 7–8)



## Guerrilla warfare and the end of the Civil War

The Republicans now resorted to guerrilla warfare. But they were not as successful as they had been during the War of Independence.

- Most of the people now supported the Treaty.
- The Free State army knew the countryside as well as the Republicans did.

The Civil War became very bitter. Both sides carried out brutal killings. The war dragged on until Liam Lynch, leader of the Anti-Treaty IRA, was killed in April 1923. Frank Aiken replaced him as chief of staff. Aiken and de Valera decided to call a ceasefire in May 1923.

## The consequences of the Civil War

Which of these consequences or results do you consider the **most significant**? What other results would you include?



### POLITICAL PARTIES

- Two largest political parties grew out of Pro- and Anti-Treaty sides
  - Cumann na nGaedheal (later Fine Gael) from Pro-Treaty side
  - Fianna Fáil from Anti-Treaty side

### LOST LEADERS

- Ireland lost some of its most able leaders, including Griffith and Collins

### BITTERNESS

- Great bitterness, which lasted for decades
- Government executed Anti-Treaty leaders
- Anti-treaty forces assassinated government TDs

### DEMOCRATIC TRADITION

- Victory for the government forces reflected the majority opinion of the people
- Strengthened democratic (parliamentary) tradition

### DEATH AND DESTRUCTION

- Up to 1,500 people killed
- Damage to property, the equivalent of €38 million
- Dublin destroyed for the second time in six years

### Visit ...

Glasnevin Cemetery and Museum to learn more about the key historical figures who are buried there.

The Garden of Remembrance, Parnell Square, Dublin  
Kilmainham Gaol, Dublin  
Independence Museum, Kilmurray, Co. Cork



Who are the experts on Unionism?

Who are the experts on the 1916 Rising?

## INVESTIGATE A REPOSITORY OF HISTORICAL EVIDENCE OF THE USE OF NATIONALISM AND UNIONISM

### National Museum of Ireland, The Easter Rising: Understanding 1916,

Go to [www.museum.ie](http://www.museum.ie) and search for 'The Easter Rising: Understanding 1916'

### Galway City Museum, 1916–1923 Rising and Civil War,

[www.galwaycitymuseum.ie/category/1916-1923-rising-and-civil-war/?locale=en](http://www.galwaycitymuseum.ie/category/1916-1923-rising-and-civil-war/?locale=en)

### Waterford County Museum, Irish War of Independence, 1919–21,

Go to [www.waterfordmuseum.ie](http://www.waterfordmuseum.ie) and search for 'Irish War of Independence, 1919–21'

### Military Archives,

[www.militaryarchives.ie](http://www.militaryarchives.ie)

### Kilmainham Gaol Museum,

[www.kilmainhamgaolmuseum.ie](http://www.kilmainhamgaolmuseum.ie)

### Fernhill House, The People's Museum, Belfast

### Ulster Museum, Belfast

## ► Preparing for CBA1

**A project related to an aspect of the history of your locality or place (or personal/family history)**

### LOCAL PROJECTS FROM THE RISE AND IMPACT OF NATIONALISM AND UNIONISM

- The Irish Volunteers in your locality
- Southern unionists in your locality
- Irish/National Volunteers enlisting in WWI
- Aspects of the 1916 Rising in your locality
- Local aspects of the Conscription Crisis, 1918
- A local leader in the War of Independence
- Local events in the War of Independence
- British army barracks in your locality
- Local events of the Civil War

Your  
locality can  
include your  
county

## ► Preparing for CBA2

**A project on the life and experience of a person of historical interest**

### PERSONS OF INTEREST FROM THE RISE AND IMPACT OF NATIONALISM AND UNIONISM

- |                       |                    |                     |
|-----------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| ● Edward Carson       | ● John Redmond     | ● James Craig       |
| ● Eoin MacNeill       | ● James Connolly   | ● Patrick Pearse    |
| ● Thomas Clarke       | ● Seán MacDiarmada | ● Thomas MacDonagh  |
| ● Countess Markievicz | ● Mary MacSwiney   | ● Éamon de Valera   |
| ● Michael Collins     | ● Arthur Griffith  | ● Tom Barry         |
| ● Terence MacSwiney   | ● Tomás MacCurtain | ● Elizabeth Farrell |
| ● Liam Lynch          | ● Roger Casement   | ● Kathleen Lynn     |



### Focus Task



#### Historical Debate

- Divide the class into small groups. The groups should discuss the motion that 'The 1916 Rising did more harm than good for Ireland'. Some groups should be 'for' the motion and some groups should be 'against'. Each group should present its findings to the rest of the class.