Uprising and Civil War

1. British Government and Home Rule and Conscription
   a. Aug. 1914, Redmond commits Irish Volunteers to join with Ulster Volunteers, moment of unity in Westminster
   b. Blood sacrifice: from initial enthusiasm to disenchantment to large-scale resistance to conscription
      i. Aug. 1915: 132,454 Irish in British Army (77,511 Catholics, 52,943 Protestants), by April 1916: 150,183 (compare to 1,500 republicans that turned out for Easter Rising)
   c. as one Home Ruler noted of his service: after Easter 1916, while the rebels would “go down in history as heroes and martyrs, I will go down—if I go down at all—as a bloody British officer.”
   d. Conscription
      i. pro-Germanism of Roger Casement and others (revolutionaries will look for German aid): “Ireland’s opportunity is England’s adversity.”
      ii. As late as 1918, Lloyd George’s government thinks that conscription can be introduced
   e. General Election of 14 December 1918 reveals no political support for Home Rule outside Ulster:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Votes</th>
<th>MPs</th>
<th>Candidates</th>
<th>Unopposed</th>
<th>% total UKvote</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unionist</td>
<td>292,722</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish Party</td>
<td>238,477</td>
<td>7*</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinn Fein</td>
<td>486,867</td>
<td>73**</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*includes one Liverpool  
**several in more than one seat; 69 candidates entered

   i. lots of IRB intimidation
   ii. voting “5 or 6 times at least” in rural areas
   f. Would return to Home Rule c. Dec. 1920, with Government of Ireland Act, but with proviso of two Irelands
      i. dead letter in the South
      ii. as unemployment worsened after the war, Catholic workers would be expelled from shipyards and factories in Ulster, in violent street fighting
      iii. but six counties–Antrim, Armagh, Derry, Down, Fermanagh, and Tyrone–embrace the separate Parliaments

2. Sinn Féin organizes
   a. Electoral Victory of Sinn Fein
      i. at first not over the British but over the Irish Parliamentary Party
   b. Dáil Éireann, meets Dublin (21 Jan. 1919): appoints de Valera, Griffith, and one other as delegates to Paris Peace Conference (although first two still in prison)
      i. Feb. 1919, Boland and Collins arrange de Valera’s escape from Lincoln gaol
      ii. Dáil (proscribed in Aug. 1919) meets irregularly through 1921
   c. de Valera to USA from June 1919 to Dec. 1920
      i. disturbed to find Irish-Americans more concerned to defeat the League of Nations than to assist newly proclaimed republic
      ii. raises $5,000,000 for republican “bonds”
   d. hunger strikes (Thomas Ashe dies, 1917, because of British bungled attempts at forced feeding)
      i. Collins’s eulogy

3. War
   a. tactics determined by small size and poor “guerrilla country”
      i. some 5,000 IRA fighters only, but a sympathetic population
      ii. Collins organizes the 20th century guerilla war
      iii. from Jan. 1919 with assassination of two RIC, IRA (new name for IV) ambush, assassinate, capture arms dressed in civilian clothes
   b. government responds by becoming harsher
i. March 1920, first of some 1,200 Black and Tans (ultimately, some 2,300 former officers as auxiliary police) arrive
ii. reprisals
iii. Cabinet adheres to “murder gang” theory about the nationalists
c. war escalates
i. by April 1921, IRA initiating 300 operations/week; by May, 500/week
ii. British suffer 1/4 casualties in May, June, and early July 1921 (truce July 11)
   dead               wounded
   soldiers/police    230               369
   IRA                752               866
iii. or, according to another tally: 18 deaths (1919), 282 (1920, plus 82 in Ulster’s sectarian riots), 1,086 (1921), with about half = soldiers/police; or another, at least 1,200 deaths
4. Peace
a. Truce 11 July; talks between de Valera and Lloyd George begin 14 July
i. Lloyd George prepared to offer Dominion status
ii. de Valera wants a treaty of Association
iii. stalls on issues of partition and loyalty to Crown
b. Negotiations continue in October 1921: not de Valera, but Griffith, Collins, 3 others, and Erskine Childers as sec.
i. split among Irish
ii. split among British?
c. 6 Dec., Anglo-Irish Treaty, agreement reached
i. Irish Free State, 26-county, dominion status, gov. gen., UK naval facilities; boundary commission
d. Elections 21 June 1922
   Party               votes       seats
   Sinn Féin (pro-treaty) 620,283 58%
   antitreaty            133,864 35%
   Labour/indepens/others 247,226 28%*
   majority pro vs. anti 6.5/1     2.5/1
*voted with pro-treaty
5. Civil War
a. even before elections, and outside control of de Valera, anti-treaty (republican) extremists take over Four Courts in Dublin in April
i. elections mean country is behind pro-treaty Sinn Fein
ii. 22 June, British Field Marshall assassinated in London
iii. 28 June, Collin decides to dislodge them with guns and cannon fire
b. Irish Free State Army (formed out of same IRA as their opponents) battles anti-treaty Republicans in gruesome year-long war
i. (5-800 dead officially [probably 1,600 unofficially], 77 executions, 3,000 wounded, 13,000 prisoners [10,000 held without trial])
ii. conflict mainly in hills and bogs
iii. deaths include Collins and Brugha
iv. de Valera (in prison until 1924) sends a note to “legion of the rearguard” to stop fighting; ends 24 May 1923
c. de Valera held to republican ideal of Pearse and Connolly
i. but changes, small only republican rump in IRA and Sinn Fein to keep on the struggle
6. Effects
a. independence struggle had dissolved into Civil War
i. the dream of Pearse–independent, republican, Gaelic, and united Ireland–had not been achieved.
ii. cult of revolutionary violence continues (cult of the gunman)
iii. first successful 20th-century war of liberation
iv. economy shattered, railways disrupted
v. creates new police force (An Garda Síochána) an unarmed force
vi. continued process begun with Gladstone of turning tenants into small proprietors
b. odd polarization not between left and right, but between pro and anti-treaty forces
   i. protreaty Sinn Fein becomes Cumann na nGaedheal (“Community of Irishmen”, 1923-33, then Fine Gael, one of two contemporary parties in Ireland
   ii. de Valera forms new party, 1926, Fianna Fáil (“warriors of Fál”); takes oath, but says it is just meaningless words), reenters politics and, next year, parliament

c. Northern Ireland question unsolved
   i. NI Parliament opened by King George V, 22 June 1921
   ii. continued sectarian violence (mainly Protestant) in Six counties
   iii. Boundary Commission, 1925, comes close to actually moving some parts of Southern 26 counties into North; Free State responds by accepting existing boundaries