

Notes

1 Re-approaching the Social Dimensions of the Irish Civil War

1. Brendan Clifford (1993) *The Irish Civil War: the Conflict that Formed the State: a Speech given to the Duhallow Heritage Centre on the 22nd April, 1992* (Cork).
2. Patrick Lynch (1966) 'The Social Revolution That Never Was' in Desmond Williams (ed.) *The Irish Struggle 1916–1926* (London), pp. 41–54. Francis Costello (2003) *The Irish Revolution and its Aftermath, 1916–1923: Years of Revolt* (Dublin), p. 285 and *passim*. R. F. Foster (1988) *Modern Ireland, 1600–1972* (London), p. 515.
3. Seán Cronin (1980) *Irish Nationalism: a History of its Roots and Ideology* (Dublin), p. 219.
4. Richard English (1994) *Radicals and the Republic: Socialist Republicanism in the Irish Free State, 1925–1937* (Oxford), pp. 59, 38, 45, and 272.
5. However, the notion of an 'Irish Revolution' is not entirely anachronistic. See William O'Brien (1923) *The Irish Revolution and How it Came About* (Dublin). On the terminological and conceptual issues surrounding the notion of an 'Irish Revolution' see the contributions of Charles Townshend, Peter Hart, and Tom Garvin in Joost Augusteijn (ed.) (2002) *The Irish Revolution 1913–1923* (Basingstoke).
6. Frank Gallagher (2005 edn) *The Four Glorious Years, 1918–1921* (Dublin).
7. On the early 'conventional' phase of the fighting see Paul V. Walsh (1998) 'The Irish Civil War, 1922–1923: a Military Study of the Conventional Phase, 28 June–11 August, 1922', paper delivered to NYMAS at the CUNY Graduate Center, New York (available online as a NYMAS Fulltext Resource).
8. From de Valera's famous end-of-war message to the IRA in Maurice Moynihan (ed.) (1980) *Speeches and Statements by Éamon de Valera 1917–73* (Dublin), p. 114.
9. Walter Lippman in Robert Andrews (1993) *The Columbia Dictionary of Quotations* (Columbia), p. 555.
10. Michael Hopkinson (2004 edn) *Green against Green: the Irish Civil War* (Dublin), p. 273. Anne Dolan (2003) *Commemorating the Irish Civil War: History and Memory, 1923–2000* (Cambridge), p. 1. For a discussion of casualty totals with an emphasis on Dublin, see John Dorney (2012) 'Casualties of the Irish Civil War in Dublin', *The Irish Story* [website] (theirishstory.com): <<http://www.theirishstory.com/2012/06/19/casualties-of-the-irish-civil-war-in-dublin/>>.
11. Hopkinson, *Green against Green*, p. 273.
12. Eunan O'Halpin (1999) *Defending Ireland: the Irish State and its Enemies since 1922* (Oxford), p. 42.
13. Bill Kissane (2002) *Explaining Irish Democracy* (Dublin), p. 5.
14. P. S. O'Hegarty (1998 edn) *The Victory of Sinn Féin: How It Won It and How It Used It* (Dublin), *passim*.
15. Dorothy Macardle (1968 edn) *The Irish Republic: a Documented Chronicle of the Anglo-Irish Conflict and the Partitioning of Ireland, with a Detailed Account of*

- the Period 1916–1923* (London). On O’Hegarty and Macardle’s interpretative influence see Bill Kissane (2005) *The Politics of the Irish Civil War* (Oxford), Chapter 9.
16. Eoin Neeson (1989 edn) *The Civil War 1922–23* (Swords, Co. Dublin). Calton Younger (1969) *Ireland’s Civil War* (New York).
 17. For instance, see: Terence Brown (1981) *Ireland: a Social and Cultural History 1922–79* (Glasgow), p. 45. Mike Milotte (1984) *Communism in Modern Ireland: the Pursuit of the Workers’ Republic since 1916* (Dublin), pp. 51–2. Michael Laffan (1999) *The Resurrection of Ireland: the Sinn Féin Party, 1916–1923* (Cambridge), pp. 362–3. Hopkinson, *Green against Green*, p. 46. Alvin Jackson (1999) *Ireland 1798–1998: Politics and War* (Oxford), pp. 268–70. T. P. Coogan (1994) *The IRA: a History* (Niwot, CO), p. 21.
 18. See for example J. J. Lee (1989) *Ireland 1912–1985: Politics and Society* (Cambridge), p. 542. Frances Blake (1986) *The Irish Civil War and What It Still Means for the Irish People* (London), pp. 16–17.
 19. Ernie O’Malley (2013 edn) *On Another Man’s Wound* (Cork), p. 29.
 20. Statement of the National Executive, Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress, *Voice of Labour*, 14 Jan. 1922. Kilkenny Workers’ Council delegate quoted in *Kilkenny Journal and Leinster Commercial and Literary Advertiser*, 2 Dec. 1922. Cartoon: ‘A Plague on Both Your Houses’ in *Voice of Labour*, 17 March 1923.
 21. ‘The Gathering Sharks’, within ‘Notes of the Week’, *Voice of Labour*, 28 Jan. 1922.
 22. ‘1913–1922’, *The Nation*, 12 August 1922. ‘General Outline of the Present Movement’ by ‘Mr. Ambrose’, c.1927 and August 1927 memo on labour movement by ‘Mr. Holmes’, P69/72(3–18), M. Twomey Papers, UCDA.
 23. Milotte, *Communism in Modern Ireland*, p. 51.
 24. J. D. Clarkson (1925) *Labour and Nationalism in Ireland* (New York). T. A. Jackson (1970 edn) *Ireland Her Own: an Outline History of the Irish Struggle for National Freedom and Independence* (London). Erich Strauss (1951) *Irish Nationalism and British Democracy* (London). C. D. Greaves (2004 edn) *Liam Mellows and the Irish Revolution* (Belfast and London). See also George Gilmore (1974 edn) *The Irish Republican Congress* (Cork). R. M. Fox (1943) *The History of the Irish Citizen Army* (Dublin). Anthony Coughlan (1994) ‘Ireland’s Marxist Historians’, in Ciaran Brady (ed.) *Interpreting Irish History: the Debate on Historical Revisionism* (Dublin), pp. 288–305.
 25. Jackson, *Ireland Her Own*, *passim*.
 26. Strauss, *Irish Nationalism and British Democracy*, *passim*.
 27. Greaves, *Liam Mellows and the Irish Revolution*, *passim*.
 28. Important works in this genre include: Peter Berresford Ellis (1985; originally published 1972) *A History of the Irish Working Class* (London). Emmet O’Connor (1988) *Syndicalism in Ireland, 1917–23* (Cork). Emmet O’Connor (1992) *A Labour History of Ireland 1824–1960* (Dublin). D. R. O’Connor Lysaght (1978) *The Republic of Ireland: an Hypothesis in Eight Chapters and Two Intermissions* (Cork). Conor Kostick (1996) *Revolution in Ireland: Popular Militancy 1917 to 1923* (London).
 29. See, for example, D. R. O’Connor Lysaght (1982) ‘Class Struggle during the Irish War of Independence and Civil War, 1916–1924’ (MA Thesis, UCD), p. 176.
 30. These are Coughlan’s labels. Relevant works include Paul Bew, Ellen Hazelkorn, and Henry Patterson (1989) *The Dynamics of Irish Politics* (London). Henry

- Patterson (1997) *The Politics of Illusion: a Political History of the IRA* (London and Chicago). Paul Bew, 'Sinn Féin, Agrarian Radicalism and the War of Independence, 1919–1921', in D. G. Boyce (ed.) (1988) *The Revolution in Ireland, 1879–1923* (Dublin).
31. Bew et al., *The Dynamics of Irish Politics*, p. 11.
 32. Patterson, *The Politics of Illusion*, p. 24.
 33. Erhard Rumpf and A. C. Hepburn (1977) *Nationalism and Socialism in Twentieth-Century Ireland* (New York), Chapter 2 *passim*.
 34. Peter Pyne (1970) 'The Third Sinn Féin Party: 1923–1926, Part II', *Economic and Social Review*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (Jan.), 237 and Tables 4–6.
 35. David Fitzpatrick (1978) 'The Geography of Irish Nationalism, 1910–1921', *Past and Present*, No. 78, 113–44.
 36. Peter Hart (1997) 'The Geography of Revolution in Ireland 1917–1923', *Past and Present*, Vol. 155, No. 1, 142–76.
 37. Hart, 'The Geography of Revolution in Ireland 1917–1923', 163.
 38. Marie Coleman (2003) *County Longford and the Irish Revolution, 1910–1923* (Dublin), p. 172–3.
 39. Coleman, *County Longford and the Irish Revolution*, pp. 172–3, 176, and 6.
 40. *Italics mine*. Michael Farry (2000) *The Aftermath of Revolution: Sligo, 1921–1923* (Dublin), pp. 105–6.
 41. Rumpf and Hepburn, *Nationalism and Socialism*, pp. 34–5.
 42. Tom Garvin (2005 edn) *The Evolution of Irish Nationalist Politics* (Dublin), p. 144.
 43. Tom Garvin (1986) 'The Anatomy of a Nationalist Revolution: Ireland, 1858–1928', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 28, No. 3 (July), 485, 488.
 44. For example: Fergus Campbell (2004) 'The Social Dynamics of Nationalist Politics in the West of Ireland 1898–1918', *Past and Present*, No. 182 (Feb.), 175–209.
 45. Peter Hart (1998) *The IRA and its Enemies: Violence and Community in Cork 1916–1923* (Oxford), pp. 155–7. See also Peter Hart (1999) 'The Social Structures of the Irish Republican Army, 1916–1923', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 42, No. 1 (March), 212.
 46. Joost Augusteijn (1996) *From Public Defiance to Guerilla Warfare: the Experience of Ordinary Volunteers in the Irish War of Independence 1916–1921* (Dublin), pp. 353–67 *passim*.
 47. David Fitzpatrick (1998 edn) *Politics and Irish Life 1913–1921: Provincial Experience of War and Revolution* (Cork). Sinead Joy (2005) *The IRA in Kerry 1916–1921* (Cork). Coleman, *County Longford and the Irish Revolution*. And Farry, *The Aftermath of Revolution*.
 48. Augusteijn, *From Public Defiance to Guerilla Warfare*, p. 363.
 49. Hart, 'The Social Structures of the IRA', p. 212. Hart, *The IRA and its Enemies*, p. 160.
 50. Hart, 'The Social Structures of the IRA', pp. 224–5. Hart, *The IRA and its Enemies*, p. 163.
 51. Kissane, *The Politics of the Irish Civil War*, p. 8.
 52. Fitzpatrick, 'The Geography of Irish Nationalism, 1910–1921', 137. Fitzpatrick's militant language echoes T. W. Moody (1994) 'Irish History and Irish Mythology', in Brady (ed.), *Interpreting Irish History*, pp. 71–86.

53. English, *Radicals and the Republic*, pp. 52, 63 and 1–65 *passim*. See also Roy Foster (2006) 'The Red and the Green', *Dublin Review*, Autumn, p. 51. Clifford, *The Irish Civil War*, pp. 152–3. And Cronin, *Irish Nationalism*, pp. 154, 218–19.
54. Peter Bourke (1980) *Sociology and History* (London), p. 67. See also Raymond Williams (1983 edn) *Keywords: a Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (New York), pp. 60–9.
55. Hart, 'The Geography of Revolution in Ireland, 1917–1923', 163.
56. William Bulfin (1907) *Rambles in Eirinn* (Dublin), p. 65. George Birmingham [pseudonym for James Owen Hannay] (1914) *Irishmen All* (Edinburgh), pp. 175–8. D. P. Moran (1905 edn) *The Philosophy of Irish-Ireland* (Dublin), *passim*. O'Malley, *On Another Man's Wound*, p. 29. Seán Ó Faoláin (1963) *Vive Moi!* (Boston), p. 72. Liam O'Flaherty (1929) *A Tourist's Guide to Ireland* (London).
57. George Mosse (1985) *Nationalism and Sexuality: Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe* (New York), p. 10 and *passim*.
58. Tony Farmar (1991) *Ordinary Lives: Three Generations of Irish Middle Class Experience 1907, 1932, 1963* (Dublin), Chapter 1 *passim*.
59. Tom Garvin (2005 edn) *Nationalist Revolutionaries in Ireland 1858–1928* (Dublin), *passim*. Other works attentive to status issues to some degree include: Patrick Maume (1999) *The Long Gestation: Irish Nationalist Life 1891–1918* (Dublin); Senia Pašeta (1999) *Before the Revolution: Nationalism, Social Change, and Ireland's Catholic Elite, 1879–1922* (Cork); Fitzpatrick, *Politics and Irish Life 1913–1921*; Hart, *The IRA and Its Enemies*; and Diarmaid Ferriter (2004) *The Transformation of Ireland 1900–2000* (London).
60. Respectability's essentially adjectival function is reinforced by its absence from most indexes (the honorable exception being J. J. Lee, *Ireland 1912–1985*, which also includes an entry for a related Irish social phenomenon, 'begrudgerý').
61. Richard Swedberg (2005) *The Max Weber Dictionary: Key Words and Central Concepts* (Stanford, CA), p. 269.

2 Pro-Treaty Social Attitudes and Perceptions of Republicans

1. On the small scale of the civil war see Michael Hopkinson (2004 edn) *Green against Green: the Irish Civil War* (Dublin), pp. 272–4. Bill Kissane (2004) *The Politics of the Irish Civil War* (Oxford), Chapter 4 *passim*. Anne Dolan (2003) *Commemorating the Irish Civil War: History and Memory, 1923–2000* (Cambridge), p. 1. On comparative civil wars see Kissane, *The Politics of the Irish Civil War*, pp. 6–10. Kissane (2004) 'Democratization, State Formation, and Civil War in Finland and Ireland: a Reflection on the Democratic Peace Hypothesis', *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 37, No. 8, 969–86. Jonas Jørstad (1990) 'Nations Once Again: Ireland's Civil War in European Context', in D. Fitzpatrick (ed.) *Revolution? Ireland 1917–1923* (Dublin), pp. 159–73. J. J. Lee (1989) *Ireland 1912–1985: Politics and Society* (Cambridge), p. 68–9.
2. Kissane distinguishes the ideological intensity and political intractability of the civil war with the very limited extent of fighting. Kissane, *The Politics of the Irish Civil War*, p. 65, Chapters 4 and 5 *passim*.
3. Quotation from Hopkinson, *Green against Green*, p. xii. See also Tom Garvin (2005 edn) *The Evolution of Irish Nationalist Politics* (Dublin), p. 118.

4. Kissane, *The Politics of the Irish Civil War*, p. 65.
5. 'Description of life in Kerry in Civil War', 9pp letter c.1922, MS 10,781, NLI, p. 1.
6. Ambrose Bierce defined respectability as 'The offspring of a *liaison* between a bald head and a bank account', Bierce (1993 edn) *The Devil's Dictionary* (New York), p. 105. On respectability in different, but not totally unrelated, contexts, see F. M. L. Thompson (1988) *The Rise of Respectable Society: a Social History of Victorian Britain 1830–1900* (Cambridge, MA), and George Mosse (1985) *Nationalism and Sexuality: Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe* (New York).
7. Ernie O'Malley (2013 edn) *On Another Man's Wound* (Cork), p. 423. E. O'Malley (2012 edn) *The Singing Flame* (Cork), p. 23. Peter Hart (1998) *The IRA and its Enemies: Violence and Community in Cork 1916–1923* (Oxford), p. 112. Tom Garvin (1996) *1922: the Birth of Irish Democracy* (Dublin), p. 52. Michael Farry (2000) *The Aftermath of Revolution: Sligo, 1921–1923* (Dublin), p. 32. Michael Laffan (1999) *The Resurrection of Ireland: the Sinn Féin Party, 1916–1923* (Cambridge), p. 298.
8. C. S. Andrews (2001 edn) *Dublin Made Me* (Dublin), pp. 214–15. See also Connie Neenan quoted in Uinseann Mac Eoin (1980) *Survivors* (Dublin), p. 241.
9. O'Malley, *The Singing Flame*, pp. 23–5. John Regan (1999) *The Irish Counter-Revolution 1921–1936: Treaty Politics and Settlement in Independent Ireland* (Dublin), p. 37.
10. John Pinkman (Francis Maguire, ed.) (1998) *In the Legion of the Vanguard* (Boulder), p. 85.
11. O'Malley, *The Singing Flame*, p. 47. Hart, *The IRA and its Enemies*, p. 261.
12. On 'breathing space', see Seán Kavanagh quoted in K. Griffith and T. O'Grady (1999 edn) *Ireland's Unfinished Revolution: an Oral History* (Niwot, CO), p. 234. On influx of new members, see Hopkinson, *Green against Green*, p. 16. Hart, *The IRA and its Enemies*, pp. 109, 227–28. Andrews, *Dublin Made Me*, p. 214. On trucer companies see O'Malley, *The Singing Flame*, p. 47. For total IRA numbers pre- versus post-truce, see Laffan, *The Resurrection of Ireland*, p. 302. Francis Costello (2003) *The Irish Revolution and its Aftermath, 1916–1923: Years of Revolt* (Dublin), p. 357, footnote 9. Despite the seemingly high pre-truce figure, it has been suggested that only about 10 percent were active fighters. Hopkinson, *Green against Green*, p. 16. For an even smaller estimate see 1946 statement by P. S. O'Hegarty, MS. 31,333(1), p.1, Florence O'Donoghue Papers, NLI.
13. T. Ryle Dwyer (2001) *Tans, Terrors and Troubles: Kerry's Real Fighting Story, 1913–1923* (Cork), pp. 321, 325. Niall Harrington (1992) *Kerry Landing: an Episode of the Civil War* (Dublin), p. 5. Hart, *The IRA and its Enemies*, p. 229. Laffan, *The Resurrection of Ireland*, p. 302. O'Malley, *The Singing Flame*, p. 47.
14. Laffan, *The Resurrection of Ireland*, p. 302.
15. Ryle Dwyer, *Tans, Terrors and Troubles*, p. 325. Harrington, *Kerry Landing*, p. 5.
16. Hart, *The IRA and its Enemies*, p. 262.
17. Hopkinson, *Green against Green*, pp. 15–16. Farry, *Aftermath of Revolution*, pp. 22, 33. Fearghal McGarry (2005) *Eoin O'Duffy: a Self-Made Hero* (Oxford), p. 77. Tom Barry quoted in Mac Eoin, *Survivors*, pp. 239, 247.
18. The President of the Irish Farmers' Party declared that he 'had no respect for the post Treaty Volunteers'. *Freeman's Journal*, 21 April 1922.

19. For an anti-treaty example, see Grace Plunkett cartoon in *The Plain People (Na Daoine Macanta)*, 9 April 1922.
20. The term outlasted the civil war. See 'A Lively Meeting. Queries Hurlled at Minister', *The Irish Independent*, 15 February 1926.
21. Patrick Twohig (1994) *Green Tears for Hecuba: Ireland's Fight for Freedom* (Ballincollig, Co. Cork), p. 346.
22. P. S. O'Hegarty (1998 edn) *The Victory of Sinn Féin: How It Won It and How It Used It* (Dublin), p. 105. Oliver St John Gogarty (1994 edn) *As I Was Going Down Sackville Street* (Dublin), p. 131.
23. Letter from Muiru Ó Morotha, 16 March 1922, P80/260, D. FitzGerald Papers, University College Dublin Archives (UCDA).
24. 'The "Trucileer": the Slacker Who Became a Warrior' (*The Free State/An Saorstát*), reprinted in the *Freeman's Journal*, 5 Aug. 1922. 'The Murder of Seán Hales', *Freeman's Journal*, 8 December 1922.
25. *Free State*, 28 Oct. 1922. *United Irishman*, 1 March 1923.
26. Kevin O'Higgins (1924) *Three Years Hard Labour: an Address Delivered to the Irish Society of Oxford University on the 31st of October, 1924* (Dublin), NLI Call # 5B2957.
27. Hart, *The IRA and its Enemies*, pp. 262–8. Farry, *Aftermath of Revolution*, p. 127.
28. Desmond Williams (1966) 'From the Treaty to the Civil War' in Desmond Williams (ed.) *The Irish Struggle 1916–1926* (London), pp. 118–19.
29. Hopkinson cites a pro-treaty estimate of 12,900 anti-treaty fighters in June 1922. *Green against Green*, p. 127.
30. *Freeman's Journal*, 5 Aug. 1922.
31. 'Adventures of Moryah', *An tÓglach*, 27 Jan. 1923.
32. Tadhg Mologa piece, *United Irishman*, 1 March 1923. 'The Problem of the Soldier', *Free State*, 28 October 1922.
33. Hopkinson, *Green against Green*, p. 275.
34. Eoin Neeson (1989 edn) *The Civil War 1922–23* (Swords, Co. Dublin), p. 92. 'Adventures of Moryah', *An tÓglach*, 27 Jan. 1923. 'This Freedom', *Freeman's Journal*, 21 Dec. 1922. 'The Making of an Irregular', *Free State*, 4 Nov. 1922. 'The Murder of Seán Hales', *Freeman's Journal*, 8 Dec. 1922.
35. St John Gogarty, *As I Was Going Down Sackville Street*, p. 131.
36. For example, see *Truth*, 1 Aug. 1922. A similar cartoon is reprinted in Laffan, *The Resurrection of Ireland*, p. 415.
37. *Free State*, 16 [?] August 1922.
38. *Truth*, 22 August 1922.
39. *Freeman's Journal*, 21 December 1922.
40. 1946 statement by P. S. O'Hegarty, MS. 31,333(1), p. 2, F. O'Donoghue Papers, NLI.
41. 'To Any Irish Decadent', *United Irishman*, 22 February 1923.
42. 'The Essential to Success', *An tÓglach*, 29 July 1922.
43. Brian Hanley (2003) 'The Rhetoric of Republican Legitimacy' in Fearghal McGarry (ed.) *Republicanism in Modern Ireland* (Dublin), p. 170.
44. 'Tyranny in Excelsis', *An tÓglach*, 29 July 1922.
45. Hart, *The IRA and its Enemies*, p. 171.
46. Description of Kerry in 'FSA General Survey for Fortnight ending 29 Sept. 1923', P17a/210, E. O'Malley Papers, UCDA.

47. Extract letter [n.d.] from Rev. W. J. Byrne, The Presbytery, Glenbeigh in 'Irregular Activity Kerry Command', MS 175, Irish Military Archives (MA). See also *Kerry People*, 7 Jan. 1922.
48. William Sears, TD, speaking in the Dáil, 12 Sept. 1922, Third Dáil, Vol. 1, D. E. website archives.
49. 16 Oct. 1922 letter from republican emissary to US, Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington, MS. 15,444, folder 3, E. Childers Papers, NLI.
50. The Bishop of Cork's Pastoral Letter condemning anti-treaty campaign in *Freeman's Journal*, 25 Sept. 1922.
51. 'The New Terrorists', *Freeman's Journal*, 26 July 1922; 'Who is Responsible?', *Freeman's Journal*, 22 Feb. 1923.
52. P. G. Minutes, 30 June 1922 (morning meeting), P. G. 43, National Archives of Ireland (NAI).
53. *An tÓglach*, 29 July 1922.
54. *Freeman's Journal*, 26 July 1922.
55. *Freeman's Journal*, 27 July 1922.
56. Manuscript [n.d.] by Hugh Kennedy attacking 'Diehards', P4/548, H. Kennedy Papers, UCDA. See also Frances Blake (1986) *The Irish Civil War 1922–1923 and What It Still Means For the Irish People* (London), p. 18.
57. Extract of Statement by Catholic Primate and Bishops, *Free State*, 5 July 1922.
58. Catholic Bishops' joint pastoral in *Freeman's Journal*, 11 Oct. 1922.
59. Quoted in *Freeman's Journal*, 12 Feb. 1923.
60. 'Gone Wrong – Youth Demoralised by Irregularism', *Freeman's Journal*, 8 Dec. 1923.
61. *Donegal Democrat*, 2 or 3 [?] June 1922. It appears that the young men may have been affiliated with local republicans.
62. *Freeman's Journal*, 8 Dec. 1923.
63. *Freeman's Journal*, 14 Dec. 1922.
64. 'The Lesson of the Civil War', *Free State*, 5 July 1922.
65. Phrases taken from O'Higgins' 15 April 1922 article for *Free State* reprinted as O'Higgins (1922) *Civil War and the Events Which Led To It*, P91/91(40–59), Todd Andrews Papers, UCDA. William Sears (TD) 12 Sept. 1922, Third Dáil, Vol. 1, D. E. website archive.
66. O'Higgins' speech quoted in 'People's Right Challenged', *Freeman's Journal*, 17 Aug. 1923. Also see Andrew E. Malone in *Free State*, 15 April 1922.
67. Editorial, *Galway Observer*, 9 Sept. 1922.
68. *Free State*, 30 Sept. 1922. O'Higgins, *Civil War and the Events Which Led To It*. *Free State*, 8 July 1922. Draft memorandum by Michael Collins, c.4 Aug. 1922, P4/254(5), H. Kennedy Papers, UCDA. *Freeman's Journal*, 25 Sept. 1922. *Donegal Democrat*, 2/3 June 1922. William Sears (T. D.), 12 Sept. 1922, Third Dáil debates, Vol. 1. *A Painful Necessity* (n.d.) (n.p.), P80/318(3), D. FitzGerald Papers, UCDA.
69. W. B. Yeats, 'The Man and the Echo' (c.1938/39) in Richard Finneran (ed.) (1996 edn) *The Collected Poems of W. B. Yeats* (New York), pp. 345–6.
70. The editorial was published 31 January 1919. See Robert Kee (2000 omnibus edn) *The Green Flag: a History of Irish Nationalism* (London), p. 635.
71. Anonymous threat (postmarked 2 Nov. 1923) to General P. Béaslaí, GHQ Portobello Barracks, Dublin, MS. 33,918(16), Béaslaí Papers, NLI.
72. *A Painful Necessity*, P80/318(3).

73. 'The "Pictures" Responsible', *Free State*, 6 May 1922.
74. *Freeman's Journal*, 12 Feb. 1923.
75. *Southern Bulletin*, 27 Jan. 1923.
76. *Poblacht na hÉireann* (War News), 6 Nov. 1922.
77. *Freeman's Journal*, 8 Aug. 1922.
78. 'The Best Joke of the War ...', *The Fenian*, July [?] (No. 13) 1922. *Freeman's Journal*, 4 Sept. 1922.
79. *Galway Observer*, 18 Nov. 1922.
80. Hart, *The IRA and its Enemies*, pp. 178–83. P. Hart (1990) 'Youth Culture and the Cork IRA', in Fitzpatrick (ed.), *Revolution?*, pp. 15–16.
81. *Westmeath Guardian and Longford Newsletter*, 5 Jan. 1923.
82. IRA General Order No. 15 (robbery), 9 Feb. 1923, and misc. republican propaganda, P17a/96 and P17a/244, O'Malley Papers, UCDA. See also statement the IRA extracted from four Mayo men who committed larceny on 28 Sept. 1922 while falsely representing themselves as IRA, Captured Documents, Lot 184, MA.
83. *Donegal Democrat*, 15 Sept. 1922. *Freeman's Journal*, 30 April 1923.
84. O'Hegarty, *The Victory of Sinn Féin*, *passim*.
85. *Freeman's Journal*, 12 Feb. 1923. Hugh Kennedy manuscript attacking 'Diehards', P4/548, UCDA.
86. *Freeman's Journal*, 15 Jan. 1923.
87. *Freeman's Journal*, 1 Jan. 1923.
88. *Freeman's Journal*, 23 Aug. 1923.
89. *Freeman's Journal*, 30 Aug. 1922. See also reference to September 1922 Sunday Mass in Nollaig Ó Gadhra (1999) *Civil War in Connacht, 1922–1923* (Cork), p. 41.
90. *Freeman's Journal*, 12 Feb. 1923.
91. *Freeman's Journal*, 22 Feb. 1923. The republican press often took pains to deny that any girls were involved in IRA operations. *Poblacht na hÉireann* (War News), 21 Oct. 1922.
92. *An tÓglach*, 30 Jan. 1923.
93. *Freeman's Journal*, 25 Sept. 1922.
94. *United Irishman*, 8 March 1923. Other examples: *Freeman's Journal*, 22 Feb. 1923; 14 July 1922; 5 May 1922; 9 Jan. 1923; 22 Jan. 1923; 1 Feb. 1923; and 14 April 1923.
95. Jenny Wyse Power to Sighle Humphreys, 14 March 1922, relating Charles Wyse Power's experience of his Donegal train being held up, P106/746, S. Humphreys Papers, UCDA. See also Eithne Coyle (i.e. Mrs Bernard O'Donnell) WS 750, BMH.
96. 'Clear Away Order', *Freeman's Journal*, 22 Jan. 1923. 'Early Morning Scene', *Freeman's Journal*, 1 Feb. 1923.
97. Tom Garvin (1986) 'The Anatomy of a Nationalist Revolution: Ireland, 1858–1928', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 28, No. 3 (July), 491. See also Garvin (2005 edn) *Nationalist Revolutionaries in Ireland 1858–1928* (Dublin), p. 152.
98. Hart, *The IRA and its Enemies*, p. 172.
99. Prisoner lists, Hare Park internment camp (line 'B'), Captured Documents, Lot 148, MA.
100. Farry, *Aftermath of Revolution*, pp. 125–9.

101. Hart, *The IRA and its Enemies*, pp. 173–6; Hart, ‘Youth Culture ...’, p. 12. Conrad Arensberg (1968 edn) *The Irish Countryman: an Anthropological Study* (Garden City, NY), pp. 63–7, 108–10, 117, 119–20, 133. See also Andrew Forrest (1999) *Worse Could Have Happened: a Boyhood in the Irish Free State 1922–1937* (Dublin), p. 119.
102. Marie Coleman (2003) *County Longford and the Irish Revolution, 1910–1923* (Dublin), pp. 54–5. Hart, *The IRA and its Enemies*, Chapter 8 *passim*. Richard English (1998) *Ernie O’Malley: IRA Intellectual* (Oxford), pp. 112–13.
103. For a contemporary picture of the age versus youth cleavage in pre-1916 nationalist politics, see Bulmer Hobson (1968 edn) *Ireland Yesterday and Tomorrow* (Tralee, Co. Kerry), pp. 29–30.
104. Liam Mellows, ‘Notes from Mountjoy Jail’ (Irish Communist Group, n.d.), IR 3359 P38, NLI. See also Oscar Traynor’s ‘Address to the Dublin Brigade’, *Poblacht na hÉireann*, 11 July 1922.
105. E. Davis (1990) ‘The Guerilla Mind’, in Fitzpatrick (ed.), *Revolution?*, p. 52.
106. For republican commentary see *The Fenian*, 30 Aug. 1922, and *Freedom*, 5 Sept. 1922.
107. *The Southern Star (Realta Deiscirt)*, 2 Sept. 1922.
108. ‘I.R.A. Murdered in Custody by Free State Army and C.I.D. Personnel’, P91/87 (5–11), Todd Andrews Papers, UCDA.
109. *Freeman’s Journal*, 10 Oct. 1922.
110. For a more recent commentary on the Clondalkin tragedy see Kevin Myers, ‘Pity Those Poor Children – All Victims of Our Rising “Heroes”’, *Irish Independent.ie*, 29 Jan. 2008, <<http://www.independent.ie/opinion/columnists/kevin-myers/pity-those-poor-children-all-victims-of-our-rising-heroes-26348012.html>>.
111. *Freeman’s Journal*, 24 Jan. 1923. Seán O’Farrell, ‘Here’s Their Memory’ in Séamus Mac Suain (1993) *Republican Wexford Remembers, 1922–1923* (Wexford), p. 37.
112. Calton Younger (1969) *Ireland’s Civil War* (New York), p. 333.
113. With a median age of 38 years in 1922, the 11-member Free State Executive was still considerably younger than the British and Northern Irish cabinets.
114. Justin P. McCarthy (2006) *Kevin O’Higgins: Builder of the Irish Free State* (Dublin), p. 66.
115. Regan, *The Irish Counter-Revolution*, *passim*. But recently, Jason Knirck has challenged this picture of Cumann na nGaedheal. J. Knirck (2014) *Afterimage of the Revolution: Cumann na nGaedheal and Irish Politics, 1922–1932* (Madison, Wisconsin), Introduction pp. 3–21 and *passim*.
116. *Morning Post*, RIC reports, and other sources quoted in Sinead Joy (2005) *The IRA in Kerry* (Cork), pp. 42–3. General Sir Nevil Macready (1924) *Annals of an Active Life* Vol. 2 (London), pp. 460, 463, and 653.
117. ‘The Trucileer: the Slacker Who Became a Warrior’, *Freeman’s Journal*, 5 Aug. 1922.
118. St John Gogarty, *As I Was Going Down Sackville Street*, p. 186, 105. *Free State*, 29 July 1922. Neeson, *The Civil War*, p. 282.
119. Description of County Dublin in Civic Guard ‘state of the country report’ for Jan. 1923, JUS/H99/125, NAI.
120. ‘Letters to the Editor’, *Freeman’s Journal*, 20 July 1922.

121. Carlow in Civic Guard 'state of the country report' for Jan. 1923, JUS/H99/125, NAI.
122. St John Gogarty, *As I Was Going Down Sackville Street*, p. 168.
123. *Freeman's Journal*, 9 December 1922.
124. A pungent example of hostility to the poor and unemployed expressed by Dáil Éireann Minister for Local Government, William Cosgrave, can be found in Diarmaid Ferriter (2004) *The Transformation of Ireland 1900–2000* (London), p. 186.
125. 'The Rise and Fall of the Irregulars', *Free State*, 8 July 1922.
126. O'Higgins to Executive Council: 'Proposed Rough Draft of Advertisement' c.1922/23, P80/724(4), FitzGerald Papers, UCDA.
127. O'Higgins memorandum RE: 'Conference Jan. 1923', P7b/194(3–6), R. Mulcahy Papers, UCDA.
128. *An tÓglach*, 30 Jan. 1923.
129. St John Gogarty, *As I Was Going Down Sackville Street*, p. 105.
130. 'Types of the One Percent Minority', *United Irishman*, 22 Feb. 1923.
131. *Freeman's Journal*, 5 Aug. 1922. *United Irishman*, 22 Feb. 1923. Terence de Vere White (1986 edn) *Kevin O'Higgins* (Dublin), p. 79.
132. *United Irishman*, 1 March 1923.
133. 'The Problem of the Irregular', *Free State*, 28 Oct. 1922.
134. Collins to Griffith, 14 July 1922, quoted in Eunan O'Halpin (1999) *Defending Ireland: the Irish State and its Enemies since 1922* (Oxford), p. 25.
135. Risteárd Mulcahy (1999) *Richard Mulcahy (1886–1971): a Family Memoir* (Dublin), p. 82. Ironically, Mulcahy later admitted that 'a large proportion of the criminal element found its way into the [Free State] Army', Hopkinson, *Green against Green*, p. 137.
136. All from *Free State*, 11 March 1922.
137. *Free State*, 29 July 1922.
138. For example, see *Southern Bulletin*, 27 Jan. 1923. 'Ruffians' from O/C Military Barracks, Wexford to Commandant General Prout, G.O.C. Waterford Command, 3 Feb. 1923, 'Irregular Activity Wexford Situation', MS 070, MA.
139. 'State of the Country Report for Jan. 1923', *passim*, JUS/H99/125, NAI. Garda Commissioner to Min. Home Affairs, 28 Dec. 1922 and 2 Jan. 1923, and report on 'Attacks on Civic Guard Stations by Armed Men to 31 March 1923', all within 'Attacks on Garda Síochána (1922–1923), Part 1', JUS/H99/109, NAI. 'Garda Commissioner report for March, 1923', P80/725(3), FitzGerald Papers, UCDA.
140. Said of Co. Clare in 'State of the Country Report for Jan. 1923', *passim*, JUS/H99/125, NAI.
141. Confidential Memo from Patrick Hogan to President Cosgrave, 11 Jan. 1923, P7b/194(11–15), R. Mulcahy Papers, UCDA.
142. 'The Drift to Anarchy', *Freeman's Journal*, 5 June 1922.
143. *Freeman's Journal*, 15 April 1922. The same sentiment can also be found also in 'Notes by General Michael Collins, August, 1922', in Michael Collins (1996 edn) *The Path to Freedom* (Boulder, Co.), p. 16.
144. Letter from James E. Murray (Dir. For Montana AARIR) to Frances J. Horgan, Boston, 10 July 1922, P152/265(1–3), George Gavan Duffy Papers, UCDA. John Graham (editor of *The Irish Vindicator*), Cleveland, Ohio, to Arthur

- Griffith, 9 February 1922, P80/263(1–3), FitzGerald Papers, UCDA. ‘What America is Thinking’, *Freeman’s Journal*, 25 March 1922.
145. O’Higgins quoted in *Irish Independent*, reprinted in *Freedom*, 14 Sept. 1922.
 146. John Regan (2001) ‘Strangers in Our Midst: Middling People, Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Twentieth-Century Ireland’, *Radharc*, II, 36–7.
 147. Garda Commissioner 22 Feb. 1923 state of the country report for month of January 1923, JUS/H99/125, NAI.
 148. Erhard Rumpf and A.C. Hepburn (1977) *Nationalism and Socialism in Twentieth-Century Ireland* (New York), p. 60.
 149. Peter Hart (1997) ‘The Geography of Revolution in Ireland 1917–1923’, *Past and Present*, Vol. 155, No. 1, 142–76.
 150. Garvin, 1922, p. 125.
 151. St John Gogarty, *As I Was Going Down Sackville Street*, pp. 186, 190.
 152. Correspondence from P. V. T. Murphy, Castletownberehaven, Cork to ‘Phil’ in Australia, 3 August 1922, Captured Documents, Lot 3, MA.
 153. Pinkman, *In the Legion of the Vanguard*, p. 97.
 154. Hopkinson, *Green against Green*, p. 205.
 155. See FSA summary reports of conditions in all commands for fortnights ending 14 July, 29 September, and for week ending 23 June, all 1923, P17a/210 and P17a/209, O’Malley Papers, UCDA.
 156. Cork Command in FSA General Survey for week ending 28 April 1923, P80/727, FitzGerald Papers, UCDA.
 157. 2 May 1923, District Judge J. V. Fahy to Minister for Home Affairs, in ‘Quarter Sessions, Co. Wexford, 1923’, JUS/H185/8, NAI.
 158. 8 Feb. 1922, O’Duffy to Min. of Home Affairs, in ‘Attacks on Garda Síochána’ (1922–23), JUS/H99/109 (Part 1), NAI.
 159. Jan. 1923 Garda Report, JUS/H99/125, NAI.
 160. On ‘evil’ of illicit distillation during the civil war see Civic Guard Commissioner to Minister for Home Affairs, 24 Feb. 1923, ‘Illicit Distillation: Longford County’, JUS H67/11; and County Mayo entry in State of the Country report for Jan. 1923, JUS/H99/124, NAI.
 161. 8 March 1923 correspondence from Castlebar, Mayo Superintendent D. O’Meara to Civic Guard Commissioner, 8 March 1923, JUS/H67/13, NAI.
 162. Monthly Confidential Report by Garda Commissioner for March 1923, FitzGerald Papers, P80/725(21), UCDA.
 163. ‘The Poteen Factor’, *United Irishman*, 22 Sept. 1923.
 164. Reprinted 7 Oct. 1922 issue of the *Spectator*, among press clippings in A. Ó Briain Papers, MS. 8452, NLI.
 165. Correspondence from ‘Maurice’ to ‘Jimmy’, 12 Feb. 1923, among Reports from No. 1 Unit, SIC files, box 2, MA.
 166. D. O’Meara to Civic Guard Commissioner, 8 March 1923, JUS/H67/13, NAI.
 167. 22 August 1922 report of FSA Field GHQs, S.W. Command, Limerick, Mulcahy Papers, P7/B/71, UCDA. British General Maccready had a similar view of the IRA, *Annals of an Active Life*, Vol. 2, p. 641.
 168. ‘Vanishing Ideals’, *Kilkenny Journal and Leinster Commercial and Literary Advertiser*, 13 May 1922.
 169. ‘Tirconail Nightmare’, *Freeman’s Journal*, 10 Nov. 1923.

170. See, for example, *United Irishman*, 11 and 18 Aug. 1922. See also L. P. Curtis (1997 edn) *Apes and Angels: the Irishman in Victorian Caricature* (Washington DC).
171. 'The Savage', *The Separatist*, 15 April 1922.
172. Kevin O'Higgins, *Three Years Hard Labour*.
173. I borrow this useful term from Dave Neiwert, www.dneiwert.blogspot.com.
174. *The Free State*, 8 July 1922.
175. Reported in *Poblacht na hÉireann*, 25 Oct. 1922.
176. *Freeman's Journal*, 6 Nov. 1922.
177. 1932 campaign leaflet for Cumann na nGaedheal candidate, John Conlan, Mulcahy Papers, P104/1611, UCDA.
178. From *Daily Mail*, 3 July 1922, reprinted and repudiated in the *Irish Bulletin*, 17 July 1922, A. Ó Briain Papers, MS 8449, NLI.
179. *United Irishman*, 8 March 1923.
180. *Free State*, 11 March 1922. Parasitism is also mentioned in *The Irish People*, 23 July 1922.
181. 'The Lesson of the Four Courts', *The Free State*, 5 July 1922. See also 'Using the Tradition of Lawlessness', *The Free State*, 15 April 1922.
182. M. Collins, *The Path to Freedom*, pp. 23, 15, 22. The authorship of this collection has long been questioned: *Éire* (Glasgow), 17 March 1923.
183. Trevor Wilson (ed.) (1970 edn) *The Political Diaries of C. P. Scott 1911–1928* (Ithaca, NY), pp. 404–5.
184. 'The Rise and Fall of the Irregulars', 8 July 1922; 'The Lesson of the Four Courts', 5 July 1922; 'The "Pictures" Responsible', 6 May 1922, all in *Free State*.
185. 'Diehards' (draft), Hugh Kennedy Papers, P4/548, UCDA.
186. O'Hegarty, *The Victory of Sinn Féin*, p. 91.
187. 'The Elimination of the Yahoos', *Free State*, 8 July 1922.
188. *An tÓglach*, 27 Jan. 1923.
189. 'Types of the One Percent Minority', *United Irishman*, 22 Feb. 1923. Governor-General Tim Healy described the 'antes' as a 'poor-brained lot', 19 August 1924 letter, Healy/Sullivan Family Papers P6/A/103, UCDA.
190. *Galway Observer*, 9 Sept. 1922.
191. Quoted in Mac Eoin *Survivors*, pp. 117–18.
192. M. G. Valiulis (1992) *Portrait of a Revolutionary: General Richard Mulcahy and the Founding of the Irish State* (Dublin), p. 180. 'Hammer-Heads' cartoon and reference to 'Sledgers' in *Freeman's Journal*, 11 April and 6 April 1922. To be fair, the paper was reacting to the IRA's destruction of its printing press.
193. Jeffrey Prager (1986) *Building Democracy in Ireland: Political Order and Cultural Integration in a Newly Independent Nation* (Cambridge) and Garvin, 1922. 'Non-rational' comes from Charles Townshend (1983) *Political Violence in Ireland: Government and Resistance since 1848* (Oxford), p. 363.
194. 'To our Latest Volunteer', *An tÓglach*, 11 Nov. 1922.
195. *United Irishman*, 6 Oct. 1923. *Freeman's Journal*, 17 April 1923. On this theme see Gavin Foster (2012) 'Res Publica na hÉireann? Republican Liberty and the Irish Civil War', *New Hibernia Review*, Vol. 16, No. 3, Autumn, p. 31.
196. 'The Higher Mathematics', *Freeman's Journal*, 17 April 1922.
197. 'The Rise and Fall of the Irregulars', *Free State*, 8 July 1922.
198. *Freeman's Journal*, 21 Aug. 1922.
199. *Iris An Airm*, 26 Sept. and 1 Oct. 1922.

200. Reginald Hathaway is a complex case in point. See Ernie O'Malley (Cormac O'Malley and Tim Horgan eds) (2012) *The Men Will Talk To Me: Kerry Interviews By Ernie O'Malley* (Dublin), pp. 24–7.
201. O'Hegarty, *The Victory of Sinn Féin*, p. 100.
202. 'An Outside Criticism', *Freeman's Journal*, 28 August 1922.
203. John Devoy allegedly suggested that republicans' efforts to disrupt the Tailteann Games were 'at the bidding of a Jewish b-t-d (*sic*)', by whom he presumably meant de Valera. 19 August 1924, Tim Healy to his sister-in-law, Anne. P6/A/103, Healy/Sullivan Family Papers, UCDA. See also private letter RE: 'Irish industries. Prevention of control by Jews' to Arthur Griffith, 17 July 1922, TAOIS/ S 555, NAI. Andrew Forrest recalled once hearing a man refer to de Valera as 'that American dago!' Forrest, *Worse Could Have Happened*, p. 174.
204. 'Impartial Judges', *Poblacht na hÉireann* (Southern Edition). 18 October 1922. On hatred of Childers within the Free State cabinet see E. Blythe, WS 939, BMH, pp. 187, 132–3.
205. Younger, *Ireland's Civil War*, p. 199.
206. 'English Fanatic', *Freeman's Journal*, 18 August 1922. For typical press references to Childers' Englishness and work for Britain see *Freeman's Journal*, 17 March 1922; *Free State*, 22 April 1922; *Freeman's Journal*, 1 May 1922; and photograph in his C.I.V. uniform *Freeman's Journal*, 11 November 1922. Ernest Blythe recalled – but disagreed with – Griffith's spy accusations, Blythe WS 939, BMH.
207. *Free State*, 1 and 8 April 1922.
208. 'Taking Tone's Name in Vain', *An tÓglach*, 2 September 1922.
209. Ernest Blythe, BMH, WS. 939, p. 186. *Freeman's Journal*, 17 Aug., 30 Aug., 31 Aug., 18 Sept., all 1922.
210. 'Description of Life in Kerry in Civil War', 9pp letter, c.1922, p. 8, MS 10,781, NLI.
211. *Free State*, 25 March 1922.
212. *Free State*, 1 April 1922.
213. See, for example, 'A Dictionary for the Times', *Free State*, 8 April 1922. *Freeman's Journal*, 21 April, 15 July, 6 Nov., all 1922. On the term's enduring rhetorical appeal see Garvin, *Nationalist Revolutionaries in Ireland*, p. 136.
214. *An Talamh (The Land)*, 2 June 1923.
215. 'Our Policy' and 'The Lay of the Shadow Hunters', *United Irishman*, 15 Feb. 1923. *The Separatist*, 15 April 1922. 'The Worm Turns', *Freeman's Journal*, 21 April 1922.
216. 'The Dead Chief', *An tÓglach*, 26 Aug. 1922. See also P. Béaslaí (1926) *Michael Collins and the Making of a New Ireland* (Vol II) (London), p. 358 and O'Hegarty, *The Victory of Sinn Féin*, p. 100.
217. Valiulis makes a very similar point at the individual level, *Portrait of a Revolutionary*, p. 245. See also J. J. Lee, *Ireland 1912–1985*, p. 173.
218. Seymour Lipset (1960) *Political Man: the Social Bases of Politics*, cited in Peter Davies and Derek Lynch (2002) *The Routledge Companion to Fascism and the Far Right* (London), p. 46. On the relationship between right-wing nationalism and respectability, see Mosse (1985) *Nationalism and Sexuality*.

3 Republican Social Attitudes and Perceptions of the Free State

1. On Free State Soldiers as ex-British Army, RIC, and other 'mercenary' elements: 20 June 1922 'Manifesto to the People of Ireland', in anti-treaty party folder, MS 17,141, T. Johnson papers, NLI; *The Fenian*, 2 and 17 Aug. 1922; *Poblacht na hEireann* (Southern Edition), 1 September 1922; C. Markievicz cartoon, 'Reinforcements for the Free Staters', 'Republican cartoons, CW period', PD 3076 TX 17, NLI; Tom Maguire quoted in Uinseann Mac Eoin (1980) *Survivors* (Dublin), pp. 292–3; and Joe Baker (J. Duffy, ed.) (1988) *My Stand for Irish Freedom: Autobiography of an Irish Republican Soldier* (Westport), p. 66.
2. Tom Garvin (1996) *1922: the Birth of Irish Democracy* (Dublin). See also Ronan Fanning, (1983) *Independent Ireland* (Dublin). Michael Laffan (1999) *The Resurrection of Ireland: the Sinn Féin Party, 1916–1923* (Cambridge).
3. See F. M. L. Thompson (1988) *The Rise of Respectable Society: a Social History of Victorian Britain 1830–1900* (Cambridge, MA); and George Mosse (1985) *Nationalism and Sexuality: Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe* (New York).
4. Stephen Collins (1996) *The Cosgrave Legacy* (Dublin), pp. 4–5.
5. C. S. Andrews (1982) *Man of No Property: an Autobiography (Volume Two)* (Cork), p. 7.
6. Francis Stuart (1995 edn) *Black List Section H* (Dublin), p. 94.
7. *The Fenian*, 9 August 1922.
8. *Straight Talk*, 14 December 1922,
9. O'Donnell quoted in Mac Eoin, *Survivors*, p. 24.
10. The series commenced in *The Fenian* on 18 Sept. 1922 and continued into early October. An accompanying series on Mellows' programme commenced on 26 September.
11. C. D. Greaves (2004 edn) *Liam Mellows and the Irish Revolution* (Belfast), p. 365.
12. Richard English (1993) *Radicals and the Republic: Socialist Republicanism in the Irish Free State, 1925–1937* (Oxford), 'Introduction' *passim*. D. R. O'Connor Lysaght (1970) *The Republic of Ireland: a Hypothesis in Eight Chapters and Two Intermissions* (Cork), p. 70. Mike Milotte (1984) *Communism in Modern Ireland: the Pursuit of the Workers' Republic since 1916* (Dublin), pp. 61–2.
13. Donal Ó Drisceoil (2001) *Peadar O'Donnell* (Cork), pp. 26–9.
14. *Ireland Over All*, 7 April 1922; *The Fenian*, 9 Aug. 1922; *The Nation*, 23 Sept. 1922; *The Plain People*, 4 June 1922; *The Nation*, 23 and 30 Sept. 1922. 'Fruits of Culture', anti-treaty party documents 1922–26, T. Johnson Papers, MS.17,141, NLI. See also references to anti-capitalist views in *The Nation*, 12 Aug. and 16 Sept. 1922.
15. Letter to Joseph McGarrity cited in Seán Cronin (1980) *Irish Nationalism: a History of its Roots and Ideology* (Dublin), p. 148. For evidence of the complex and ambiguous nature of de Valera's social thinking see de Valera to Father McKenna, 26 Dec. 1922; 25 Jan. 1923 Memo to 'P. O.C.'; and other documents in de Valera Papers, P150/1729, UCDA.
16. See, for example, 'Let Them Out', *The Workers' Republic*, 27 Oct. 1923; and 'The Treaty and the Working Class', *Voice of Labour*, 31 Dec. 1921.

17. 'Activities of ex-members of the CID, Protective Corps, etc. 1923', JUS/H197/27, NAI; Free State Army report on Kerry in 'General Survey (fortnightly) for period ending July 14, 1923', O'Malley Papers, P17a/210, UCDA.
18. Provisional Government Cabinet Minutes, No. 56, 11 July 1922, NAI.
19. 13 February 1923 communication from HQ First Southern Division to I.O. Cork 3, P17a/92, O'Malley Papers, UCDA.
20. Five-page confidential memo from Minister/Agriculture Hogan to the President of the Executive, P7b/194(11–15), Mulcahy Papers, UCDA.
21. 27 June 1922, J [?] O'Carroll, Droumclough, Listowel, to P. Béaslaí, TD, MS 33,917 (14), Béaslaí Papers, NLI.
22. *Free State*, 25 Feb. 1922.
23. 'Nationality v. Efficiency', *Free State*, 9 Sept. 1922.
24. 27 June 1922, O'Carroll to Béaslaí, MS 33,917 (14), Béaslaí Papers, NLI.
25. Letter to the editor, *Freeman's Journal*, 27 July 1922.
26. E. Blythe, Witness Statement 939, B.M.H., p. 194. NAI.
27. Tom Garvin (1986) 'The Anatomy of a Nationalist Revolution: Ireland, 1858–1928', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 28, No. 3 (Jul.), 484–91.
28. John Regan (1999) *The Irish Counter-Revolution 1921–1936: Treatyite Politics and Settlement in Independent Ireland* (Dublin), pp. 82–94 *passim*.
29. C. S. Andrews (2001 edn) *Dublin Made Me* (Dublin), p. 218.
30. Ernie O'Malley (2012 edn) *The Singing Flame* (Cork), p. 182.
31. Andrews, *Dublin Made Me*, p. 246.
32. *New Ireland* excerpt quoted in *Voice of Labour*, 17 June 1922.
33. 'The Enemy', *Plain People*, 11 June 1922. 'General Outline of the Present Movement', by 'Mr. Ambrose', c.1927 and August 1927 memo by 'Mr. Holmes', Twomey Papers, P69/72(3–18), UCDA. Clipping from *Daily Bulletin*, 4 Jan. 1923, Thomas Johnson Papers, MS.17,141, NLI Republican hecklers at a Waterford labour meeting, *The Nationalist and Munster Advertiser*, 30 May 1923.
34. First point quoted approvingly in *The Fenian*, 2 Oct. 1922. Second point in 26–9 Aug. 1922 memoranda by Mellows, Captured Documents, Lot 210/1(b), MA.
35. *Daily Bulletin*, 4 January 1922 among anti-treaty party materials, MS.17,141, Johnson Papers, NLI.
36. *Voice of Labour*, 2 December 1922.
37. Additional examples are provided by *The Workers' Republic's* militant critique of the increasing 'air of respectability' of the ITGWU (*The Workers' Republic*, 19 Nov. 1922) and 'Song of the Respectable Boy', *Voice of Labour*, 24 March 1923.
38. *Poblacht na hÉireann (War News)*, 25 and 26 Oct. and 15 Nov. 1922; *Republican War Bulletin*, 28 September and 25 Oct. 1922; *Éire* (Glasgow), 24 March 1923. And 23 July 1922 correspondence from Aodh de Blacam to ?, H. Kennedy Papers, P4/292(6), UCDA.
39. For an important revisionist perspective on popular perceptions of the 'Tans' see D. M. Leeson (2011) *The Black and Tans: British Police and Auxiliaries in the Irish War of Independence* (Oxford).
40. Quoted in Joe Baker, *My Stand for Irish Freedom*, p. 80.
41. All found in 'Source of Ireland's Awakening', 'Our Glorious Heritage', and 'Be Ready Now', typed articles for the Volunteers, c.1922, MS. 31, 251,

- F. O'Donoghue Papers, NLI; and IRA ballad quoted in Patrick Twohig (1994) *Green Tears for Hecuba: Ireland's Fight for Freedom* (Ballincollig, Co. Cork), p. 161. Peter Hart (1998) *The IRA and its Enemies: Violence and Community in Cork, 1916–1923* (Oxford), p. 142.
42. Hart, *The IRA and its Enemies*, pp. 12, 147–50, 310–12.
 43. *An tÓglach*, 14 October 1918.
 44. 'Worse than the Tans', *Poblacht na hÉireann* (Southern Edition), 1 September 1922; *Republican War Bulletin*, 28 September 1922; *Straight Talk*, 14 December 1922; and PD 3072 TX1(A), Republican Cartoons Civil War period (attributed to C. Markiewicz), NLI.
 45. Letter from Bill Whelan, 28 Feb. 1923, MS. 15,993, John J. Hearn Papers, NLI; Tom Maguire interviewed in Mac Eoin, *Survivors*, p. 293.
 46. See, for example, c.1923 IRA Public Notice RE: beggars, hawkers, poachers, etc. within folder of republican handbills, P17a/244, E. O'Malley Papers, UCDA.
 47. Letter from Valentia, 20 Sept. 1922; 'It's a Curious Army', 12 August 1922; and 'Edelstein, the Notorious Jew Spy', 15 September 1922, all from *The Fenian*.
 48. Reprinted in Bulmer Hobson (1968 edn) *Ireland Yesterday and Tomorrow* (Tralee, Co. Kerry), Appendix 1, p. 97.
 49. 'Adjutant's report on military situation', *Republican War Bulletin*, 25 October 1922.
 50. *Éire* (Glasgow), 24 March 1923.
 51. Tom Barry (1995 edn) *Guerilla Days in Ireland: a Personal Account of the Anglo-Irish War* (Boulder, CO), pp. 7, 89–90. See also Hart, *The IRA and its Enemies*, p. 151.
 52. Barry, *Guerilla Days in Ireland*, p. 99.
 53. Barry interviewed in his old age in Kenneth Griffith and Timothy O'Grady (1999 edn) *Ireland's Unfinished Revolution: an Oral History* (Niwtot, CO), p. 169.
 54. Eoin Neeson (1989 edn), *The Civil War 1922–23* (Swords, Co. Dublin), p. 131.
 55. 'The Problem of the Soldier', *Free State*, 28 October 1922.
 56. *Freedom*, 15 October 1922. 'Army of Soupers', *Éire* (Glasgow), 17 March 1923.
 57. *The Nation*, 19 August 1922.
 58. *Freedom*, 15 October 1922.
 59. *Straight Talk*, 14 December 1922.
 60. 'The Dwindling Army', *Poblacht na hÉireann*, 26 October 1922.
 61. *The Nation*, 19 August 1922.
 62. Peter Carleton quoted in Mac Eoin, *Survivors*, pp. 305–6.
 63. Mary [Quinn?] 3/6/23 entry in prisoner autograph book of Frances Casey, 20 MS 1D3401, Kilmainham Gaol Archive. De Valera published a 4 July statement to the American people, *Poblacht na hÉireann*, 7 July 1922.
 64. Gavin Foster (2012) 'Res Publica na hÉireann? Republican Liberty and the Irish Civil War', *New Hibernia Review*, Autumn, Vol. 16, No. 3, 20–42.
 65. See Tom Garvin (2005 edn) *Nationalist Revolutionaries in Ireland 1858–1928* (Dublin), p. 30.
 66. 'The Men of the Bush', *Republican War Bulletin*, 17 September 1922.
 67. 'Open Letter from Pádraig O'Brian of the "Irregular" Force to his former Friend and Comrade, Pat O'Brien of the "National Army"', among other anti-treaty propaganda, P17a/245, Ernie O'Malley Papers, UCDA.
 68. *An tÓglach*, 14 October 1918. See also Michael Laffan, *The Resurrection of Ireland*, p. 277.

69. 'The Volunteer Spirit', *An tÓglach*, 18 November 1921, and 'The National Army', 12 April 1922 issue.
70. 'Non-Commissioned Officers' and 'The Conduct of the Private', *An tÓglach*, 23 September 1921.
71. *An tÓglach*, Vol. 1, No. 1 of a new series, 24 February 1922.
72. *An tÓglach*, 17 June 1922.
73. 'Fight Fair', *An tÓglach*, 27 January 1923. (See also 29 July 1922 issue.) Compare these with 'The Laws of War', *An tÓglach*, 27 May 1921 and 'Engineering Notes – Railway Demolition', 14 Oct. 1918.
74. John Pinkman (Francis E. Maguire, ed.) (1998) *In the Legion of the Vanguard* (Boulder, CO), p. 194.
75. *An tÓglach*, 5 May 1923.
76. Patrick Maume (1999) *The Long Gestation: Irish Nationalist Life 1891–1918* (Dublin), p. 33.
77. *An tÓglach*, 31 December 1918/15 January 1919.
78. Quotation from 4 July 1922 IRA manifesto signed by M. Kilroy, G.O.C. 4th Western Division. Published in *Connaught Telegraph*, 8 July 1922. See Laffan, *The Resurrection of Ireland*, p. 302.
79. William O'Brien (1923) *The Irish Revolution* (Dublin), p. 447.
80. 'Letter from Staff Captain E. Childers', *Poblacht na hÉireann* (*War News*), 15 Aug. 1922; *Republican War Bulletin*, 10 Oct. 1922. Harry Boland to 'Sally', 13 July 1922, P.8184, J. McGarrity Papers, NLI.
81. *Poblacht na hÉireann* (*Scottish edition*), 14 October 1922. *Freeman's Journal*, 21 September 1922.
82. *The Fenian*, 28 September 1922.
83. 'The Song of Merrion Street', *The National Democrat*, 2 August 1923. 'An Irish Priest Answers the Bishop of Buffalo', *The Fenian*, 11 Aug. 1922.
84. Boland to Sally, 13 July 1922, p. 8184, McGarrity Papers, NLI.
85. Markievicz cartoon, PD 3076 TX 7, NLI.
86. *The Fenian*, 11 Sept. 1922.
87. *Éire* (Glasgow), 22 Dec. 1923.
88. *Éire* (Glasgow), 22 Dec. 1923.
89. *The Fenian*, 2 Aug. 1922.
90. *Éire* (Glasgow), 22 Dec. 1923.
91. Regan, *The Irish Counter-Revolution*, p. 110.
92. T. W. T. Dillon to father, 13 Jan. 1923, T. W. T. Dillon Papers, P 126/2[?]6, UCDA.
93. Report of republican hecklers at public meeting of Waterford Workers' Council and Labour Party, *The Nationalist and Munster Advertiser*, 30 May 1923. 'Open letter to Mr. Thomas Johnson, T. D.' in *Daily Mail*, 4 Jan. 1923, among clippings in T. Johnson Papers, MS 17,141, NLI; and a *New Ireland* article extract on Labour Party 'Whiggery' in *Voice of Labour*, 17 June 1922.
94. 'Republican Cartoons – Civil War Period – attributed to C. Markievicz', PD 3076 TX 1, NLI.
95. Republican handbill, P17a/246, O'Malley Papers, UCDA.
96. *Poblacht na hÉireann* (*War News*), 9 Sept. 1922.
97. 'The Free Alcohol State', 8 Nov. 1922, and reference to 'Bung Guinness Politicians', 14 December 1922, both in *Straight Talk*.
98. *Freeman's Journal*, 2 Oct. 1922.

99. 'The Till of the People' and 'The Paid Majority', *Poblacht na hÉireann (War News)*, 15 Sept. 1922.
100. Regan, *The Irish Counter-Revolution*, pp. 99–100.
101. 1 March 1922, Dáil Debates, Vol. 'S2', D. E. website archive.
102. *The Plain People*, 30 April 1922.
103. O'Donnell quoted in Mac Eoin, *Survivors*, p. 28.
104. O'Donnell in Mac Eoin, *Survivors*, p. 28.
105. 'Mr. Collins Hits Out', *Freeman's Journal*, 13 March 1922.
106. 'Paying the Price', *Poblacht na hÉireann* (Southern Edition), 4 Sept. 1922, and in Constance Markievicz's 'Free State Freaks' cartoon series, NLI, fully cited above.
107. *Poblacht na hÉireann* (Southern Edition), 25 Aug. 1922.
108. 28 February 1923 letter from Bill Whelan to [J. J. Hearn?], MS. 15,993, J. J. Hearn Papers, NLI.
109. *Workers' Republic*, 4 Mar. 1922.
110. Michael Hopkinson (2004 edn) *Green against Green: the Irish Civil War* (Dublin), p. 13.
111. IRB Statement on the treaty in A. Mitchell and P. Ó Snodaigh (eds) (1985) *Irish Political Documents: 1916–1949* (Blackrock, Co. Dublin), p. 122.
112. 'Government by the IRB', *Poblacht na hÉireann (War News)*, 25 July 1922.
113. Boland to McGarrity, 25 July, 1922, P.8184, J. McGarrity Papers, NLI.
114. PD 3076 TX 9 and PD 3075 TX respectively, within C. Markievicz's 'Free State Freaks' cartoon series, NLI.
115. *The Fenian*, 4 Sept. 1922.
116. *Poblacht na hÉireann* (Southern Edition), 6 Sept. 1922. Harry Boland to Joseph McGarrity, 13 and 15 July 1922, McGarrity Papers, P. 8184, NLI.
117. Provisional Government Cabinet Minutes: P.G. 46 (2 July 1922); PG 50 (4 July 1922); PG 59 (13 July 1922); PG 60 (14 July 1922); PG 61 (15 July 1922); and PG 104 (30 August 1922), NAI.
118. *The Fenian*, 4 Sept., 2 Aug., 23 Aug. 1922. *Poblacht na hÉireann* (War Issue), 25 July 1922.
119. Peadar O'Donnell, 'The Imperial Labour Party', *Workers' Republic*, 26 August 1922.
120. English, *Radicals and the Republic*, 'Introduction' *passim*. Garvin, 1922: *the Birth of Irish Democracy*; Fanning, *Independent Ireland*; and Laffan, *The Resurrection of Ireland*.
121. Bill Kissane (2005) *The Politics of the Irish Civil War* (Oxford). Regan, *The Irish Counter-Revolution*.
122. *Poblacht na hÉireann* (War News), 26 November 1922.
123. *Connaught Telegraph*, 9 September 1922. The phrase appeared in a reprinted statement from the Archbishop of Baltimore, USA.
124. 'General Survey of Situation for the Week Ending April 21, 1923', Free State Army, P80/727, p. 8, D. FitzGerald Papers, UCDA.
125. Copy of c.25 November 1922 letter from Margaret Collins O'Driscoll to editor of the *Daily Mail* in response to an article by Madame Andre Viollis, P17a/224, O'Malley Papers, UCDA.
126. Liam Deasy (1998) *Brother against Brother* (Dublin), p. 56. On the split as a conflict over jobs see D. Williams (1966) 'From the Treaty to the Civil War', in D. Williams (ed.) *The Irish Struggle 1916–1926* (London), p. 122.

127. *The Fenian*, 2 Oct. 1922.
128. Undated document, 4th Western Division GHQ IRA, O'Malley Papers, P17a/121, UCDA. See also *Freeman's Journal*, 5 April 1922.
129. Michael Hopkinson (2002) *The Irish War of Independence* (Dublin), pp. 134–5.
130. IRA Memo No. 7, 'General Activities', 4 Nov. 1922, Twomey Papers, P69/2 (61–2), UCDA.
131. 'A Tribute to Liam Lynch', *Éire*, 26 May 1923, in Florence Donoghue Papers, MS. 31,260–6, NLI.
132. David Fitzpatrick (1978) 'The Geography of Irish Nationalism, 1910–1921', *Past and Present*, No. 78, 114.
133. On redundancy see 1981 Interview with Michael Flannery, MS. 41, 928, Seán O'Mahony papers, NLI. The term 'outcasts' come from Pax Ó Faoláin quoted in Mac Eoin, *Survivors*, p. 144. See also Mossie Harnett (J. H. Joy, ed.) (2002) *Victory and Woe: the West Limerick Brigade in the War of Independence* (Dublin), p. 127.
134. Phrase taken from a cartoon in *Sinn Féin*, 15 Nov. 1924.
135. *The Fenian*, 9 September 1922; and *Ireland Over All*, 7 April 1922.
136. Anti-treaty propaganda, Childers Papers, MS. 15,444 (folder 3), NLI.
137. 'The Omen', *Éire* (Glasgow), 11 August 1923.
138. Reference to 'putrid politics' from Liam Mellows' 'Jail Notes' quoted in Greaves, *Liam Mellows*, p. 366.
139. Mellows, 3 May 1922, Vol. 'S2', D. E. Debates.
140. Brugha, 17 May 1922, Vol. 'S2', D. E. Debates.
141. Boland, 17 May 1922, Vol. 'S2', D. E. Debates.
142. Dan Breen (1964 edn) *My Fight for Irish Freedom* (Tralee), p. 161.
143. Cairtriona Lawlor (ed.) (2005) *Seán MacBride: That Day's Struggle: a Memoir 1904–1951* (Blackrock), p. 35.
144. Andrews, *Dublin Made Me*, p. 222.
145. Deasy, *Brother against Brother*, p. 43.
146. Dorothy Macardle (1968 edn) *The Irish Republic* (London), p. 559.
147. M. Ó Suilleabháin (1965) *Where Mountainy Men Have Sown: War and Peace in Rebel Cork in the Turbulent Years 1916–21* (Tralee, Co. Kerry), p. 170.
148. 13 May 1923 letter from de Valera to Michael Colivet, quoted in Lord Longford and T. P. O'Neill (1971) *Eamon de Valera* (Boston), p. 207.
149. 22 May 1922, 'Interview given by Mr. Roderick O'Connor, Dir. of Engineering, GHQ, IRA', Publicity Dept., Irish Republican Organization, Childers Papers, MS. 15,444 (folder 3), NLI.
150. Lynch to Assistant Chief of Staff, 30 August 1922, FitzGerald Papers, P80/763, UCDA.
151. For example, Laffan, *The Resurrection of Ireland*, pp. 277–84, 298–300, 424, 426.
152. For a useful discussion of the issue see John Regan's 17 December 2004 review of Peter Hart, *The IRA at War 1916–1923*, at <<http://www.history.ac.uk/reviews/paper/regan.html>>.
153. O. Dudley Edwards, 'Ireland 1922. The End of the Republic', c.1968, a copy found among Frank Aiken's Papers, P104/1399(1–2), UCDA.
154. Garvin, *Nationalist Revolutionaries in Ireland*, p. 30; Garvin (2005 edn), *The Evolution of Irish Nationalist Politics* (Dublin), p. 130; Garvin, *1922: the Birth of Irish Democracy*, pp. 3, 92.
155. Garvin, *Nationalist Revolutionaries in Ireland*, p. 30.

156. The terms 'sledgers' and 'Hammer-Heads' come from the *Freeman's Journal*, 6 and 11 April 1922, respectively.
157. The problem of Free State soldiers not getting paid was bad enough to necessitate a newspaper advertisement encouraging soldiers to contact the Minister for Defence. *The Fenian* commented, 'what a confession of incompetence by the "Government of all the talents"' (12 August 1922). Problems within the prisons and internment camps are well documented in the Military Archives' Civil War prison administration and internment files. A more partisan picture can be found in anti-treaty party materials, MS 17.141, T. Johnson Papers, NLI.
158. Constance Markievicz (Amanda Sebestyen, ed.) (1987 edn) *Prison Letters of Countess Markievicz* (London), p. 300.
159. Robert Briscoe (with Alden Hatch) (1958) *For the Life of Me* (Boston), pp. 237–8.
160. Disparaging commentaries on 'shoneenism' were not confined to the anti-treaty camp. See 'The Shoneen Wail', *The Separatist*, 27 May 1922.
161. Diarmaid Ó Muirithe (2000) *A Dictionary of Anglo-Irish: Words and Phrases from Gaelic in the English of Ireland* (Dublin), p. 175.
162. F. S. L. Lyons defined 'shoneen' as a person 'of native Irish stock who committed the unforgivable sin of aping English or West-Briton manners and attitudes', Lyons (1973 edn) *Ireland Since the Famine* (London), p. 233. Roy Foster offers a more literal definition: 'Little Johnny, with overtones of Johnny-come-lately as well as John Bull.' However, his discussion of the cultural revivalist context in which the term 'shoneen' gained currency stresses the 'fundamentally sectarian and even racist' emotions it tapped. Roy Foster (1988) *Modern Ireland, 1600–1972* (London), p. 453.
163. D. P. Moran (1905 edn) *The Philosophy of Irish-Ireland* (Dublin), pp. 53–4.
164. Original italics. P. W. Joyce (1997 edn) *English As We Speak It in Ireland* (Dublin), p. 321.
165. The crucial class connotations of the concept are further corroborated by Moran's contemporary, William Bulfin (1907) *Rambles in Eirinn* (Dublin), pp. 89–90.
166. *Freeman's Journal*, 22 Dec. 1922.
167. *The Plain People*, 21 May 1922.
168. 'Paying the Price', *Poblacht na hÉireann* (Southern Edition), 4 September 1922.
169. Dáil Debates, 10 May 1922, Vol. 'S2', D. E.
170. *The Fenian*, 28 Aug. 1922. A standard Irish language dictionary defines *seoinín* as 'flunkey, toady'. Niall Ó Dónaill (1992 edn) *Foclóir Gaelige-Béarla* (Dublin), p. 1088.
171. *The Fenian*, 15 August 1922.
172. O'Malley, *The Singing Flame*, p. 365.
173. Italics mine. 'Aping the British', *Plain People*, 2 July 1922.
174. However, Cosgrave does appear to have selected at least two nominees on the basis of assistance they provided during the Anglo-Irish War. William Cosgrave, BMH WS 268, NAI.
175. *Freeman's Journal*, 7 December 1922.
176. 'Members of Seanad Éireann Chosen' and 'Dail's Choice', *Freeman's Journal*, 7 and 8 December 1922 respectively. One of the elder nationalist activists offered a potential seat in the Senate was William O'Brien. Citing the 'crime' of Partition, he declined. *Freeman's Journal*, 14 November 1922.

177. Justin MacCarthy (2006) *Kevin O'Higgins: Builder of the Irish Free State* (Dublin), pp. xv, 76–7; Donal Sullivan's assessment quoted and endorsed by J. M. Curran (1980) *The Birth of the Irish Free State, 1921–23* (Mobile, AL), p. 265.
178. Calton Younger (1969) *Ireland's Civil War* (New York), p. 484.
179. Min. Def. to C/S, 23 Nov. 1923, within 'Protection of Lands', DOD A/07432, Military Archives. For a description of the looting of Lansdowne's Dereen property by crowds of locals, see Taois S1 940, NAI.
180. P. G. Minutes, 17 Oct. 1922, NAI.
181. Robert Briscoe, *For the Life of Me*, p. 239.
182. 'Provisional Government Must Obey the Shoneens', *The Nation*, 23 Sept. 1922.
183. *Poblacht na hÉireann* (Scottish Edition), 23 Dec. 1922; Briscoe, *For the Life of Me*, p. 246.
184. P. G. Minutes, 20 October and 3 Nov. 1922, NAI.
185. *Poblacht na hÉireann* (Scottish Edition), 23 Dec. 1922.
186. IRA Operational Order No. 16, 'Senators', 26 Jan. 1923, Twomey Papers, P69/2(18), UCDA. Terence Dooley (2001) *The Decline of the Big House in Ireland: a Study of Irish Landed Families, 1860–1960* (Dublin), Chapter 7 *passim* and p. 287 (Tables 7.3 and 7.4).
187. 'Breaking the Terror', *Freeman's Journal*, 15 January 1923.
188. 'The Incendiaries', *Freeman's Journal*, 28 March 1923.
189. *The Nation*, 19 Aug. 1922.

4 Social and Political Meanings of Clothing Pre- to Post-Revolution

1. Richard Swedberg (2005) *The Max Weber Dictionary: Key Words and Central Concepts* (Stanford, California), p. 269. Bryan Turner (1988) *Status* (Minneapolis), p. 66.
2. Robert Ross (1999) *Status and Respectability in the Cape Colony, 1750–1870* (Cambridge), p. 85. Mairead Reynold (1980) *Some Irish Fashions and Fabrics c. 1775–1928* (Dublin), p. 3.
3. Richard Wrigley (2002) *The Politics of Appearance: Representations of Dress in Revolutionary France* (Oxford).
4. Thanks to Margaret Doody for the English Civil War example. Ambrose Bierce humorously suggested that hairstyles were what the two sides were actually fighting over. Bierce (1993 edn) *The Devil's Dictionary* (New York), p. 110. Katrina Navickas (2010) "'That sash will hang you': Political Clothing and Adornment in England, 1780–1840', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 49, Issue 3 (July), 540–65. Joshua I. Miller (2007) 'Black Fashion as a Political Form', paper delivered at the 65th Annual National Conference of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago.
5. Wrigley, *The Politics of Appearance*.
6. Margaret Rose Jaster (2006) "'Out of All Frame and Good Fashion": Sartorial Resistance as Political Spectacle', *Irish Review*, Issue 34, 44–57.
7. See Marta Ramón-García (2010) 'Square-Toed Boots and Felt Hats: Irish Revolutionaries and the Invasion of Canada, 1848–1871', *Estudios Irlandeses*, Issue 5, 81–91. Tom Garvin (2004) 'Cogadh na nCarad: the Creation of the

- Irish Political Elite', in Garvin, Manning, Sinnott (eds) *Dissecting Irish Politics: Essays in Honour of Brian Farrell* (Dublin), p. 6.
8. Thanks to Maurice Bric.
 9. Ernie O'Malley (2013) *On Another Man's Wound* (Cork), p. 29.
 10. Senia Pašeta (1999) *Before the Revolution: Nationalism, Social Change, and Ireland's Catholic Elite, 1879–1922* (Cork), p. 135.
 11. Terence Dooley (2001) *The Decline of the Big House in Ireland: a Study of Irish Landed Families, 1860–1960* (Dublin), pp. 10–11, 127. But others have argued that 1000 acres was the minimum necessary for gentry status. Kim O'Rourke (1990) 'Descendancy? Meath's Protestant Gentry' in Fitzpatrick (ed.) *'Revolution?' Ireland 1917–1923* (Dublin), pp. 99–100.
 12. Dooley, *Decline of the Big House*, pp. 110–11. David Fitzpatrick (1998 edn) *Politics and Irish Life 1913–1921: Provincial Experience of War and Revolution* (Cork), pp. 40–1.
 13. William Bulfin (1907) *Rambles in Errinn* (Dublin), p. 65. O'Rourke, 'Descendancy? Meath's Protestant Gentry'.
 14. On the disproportionate social and economic power still wielded by Protestant elites on the eve of the revolution, see F. Campbell (2009) *The Irish Establishment 1879–1914* (Oxford), Chapters 1, 5, and Conclusion *passim*.
 15. Bulfin, *Rambles in Errinn*, p. 58, 63.
 16. O'Malley, *On Another Man's Wound*, p. 106.
 17. Tom Barry (1995 edn) *Guerilla Days in Ireland: a Personal Account of the Anglo-Irish War* (Boulder, CO), p. 6. Fitzpatrick, *Politics and Irish Life*, p. 231. Oliver Coogan (1983) *Politics and War in Meath, 1913–23* (Dunshaughlin, Co. Meath), p. 3.
 18. Barry, *Guerilla Days*, p. 7.
 19. Sinead Joy (2005) *The IRA in Kerry 1916–1921* (Cork), p. 13 and Bulfin, *Rambles in Errinn*, *passim*.
 20. Joy, *The IRA in Kerry*, p. 12.
 21. Kevin O'Sheil, BMH WS 1770 (Pt 1), pp. 41–2.
 22. Andrew Forrest (1999) *Worse Could Have Happened: a Boyhood in the Irish Free State 1922–1937* (Dublin), p. 115.
 23. F. X. Martin (1966) 'The Origins of the Irish Rising of 1916' in D. Williams (ed.) *The Irish Struggle 1916–1926* (London), p. 8.
 24. Brian Inglis endorsing and expanding de Vere White's list of elite Protestant shibboleths, Inglis (1962) *West Briton* (London), pp. 26–7.
 25. Nora Robertson quoted in Pašeta, *Before the Revolution*, p. 135.
 26. George Birmingham (1914) *Irishmen All* (Edinburgh), p. 178.
 27. Eileen Costello, BMH WS 1184, p. 7.
 28. Inglis, *West Briton*, pp. 18–20.
 29. Inglis, *West Briton*, p. 25.
 30. On Pareto and Irish society see Tom Garvin (2005 edn) *Nationalist Revolutionaries in Ireland 1858–1928* (Dublin), p. 40. 'Ascribed' versus 'achieved' status are the modern sociological terms for this distinction, Turner, *Status*, p. 4.
 31. Inglis, *West Briton*, p. 15. On Moran see Patrick Maume (1999) *The Long Gestation: Irish Nationalist Life 1891–1918* (Dublin), p. 59, and Pašeta, *Before the Revolution*, pp. 39–41, 96–8, 120, 125.
 32. Tony Farmar (1991) *Ordinary Lives: Three Generations of Irish Middle Class Experience, 1907, 1932, 1963* (Dublin), pp. 23–4.

33. Farmar, *Ordinary Lives*, p. 19.
34. 'To-Day and Yesterday', *Irish Independent*, 9 November 1922. The motor-car had similarly ceased to be the 'badge of class distinction' it had once been, *Freeman's Journal*, 11 Oct. 1922.
35. 'State Guarantee of Respectability', *Irish Independent*, 7 May 1923.
36. O'Malley, *On Another Man's Wound*, p. 153.
37. Letters to the Editor, *Irish Independent*, 7 Oct. 1922.
38. Peter Hart (1998) *The IRA and its Enemies: Violence and Community in Cork, 1916–1923* (Oxford), p. 156.
39. Birmingham, *Irishmen All*, p. 213–16. Garvin, *Nationalist Revolutionaries*, pp. 46–7.
40. Birmingham, *Irishmen All*, p. 213. Garvin, *Nationalist Revolutionaries*, p. 24. In his BMH statement, Kevin O'Shiel recalled that Omagh's bankers, 'though miserably remunerated, enjoyed (as by way of compensation) considerable social prestige.' K. O'Shiel, BMH WS 1770 Pt. 1, p. 39.
41. Farmar, *Ordinary Lives*, p. 12 and Chapter 1 *passim*.
42. Kevin O'Shiel, BMH WS 1770 Pt 1, p. 42.
43. On distance from work and home as a measure of prestige see George Mosse (1985) *Nationalism and Sexuality: Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe* (New York), p. 18. On living above versus away from one's business premises see C. S. Andrews (2001 edn) *Dublin Made Me* (Dublin), pp. 5–6. On 'huckstering' see Liam O'Flaherty (n.d.) *A Tourist's Guide to Ireland* (London), p. 63.
44. Birmingham, *Irishmen All*, p. 169. David Fitzpatrick (2003) *Harry Boland's Irish Revolution* (Cork), p. 31.
45. W. B. Yeats, 'Easter, 1916' (25 Sept. 1916) in Richard Finneran (ed.) (1989 ed.) *The Collected Poems of W. B. Yeats* (New York), pp. 180–2.
46. Peter Hart (1999) 'The Social Structure of the Irish Republican Army, 1916–1923', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 42, No. 1 (Mar.), 226–7.
47. Garvin, *Nationalist revolutionaries*, Chapter 2 *passim*.
48. Farmar, *Ordinary Lives*, p. 31.
49. See, for example, Mary Butler, 'Women's role in sustaining Gaelic culture (1901)', in Alan O'Day and J. Stevenson (eds) (1992) *Irish Historical Documents since 1800* (Dublin), p. 133.
50. Into the 1930s William Cosgrave apparently wore only Irish cloth for his otherwise English-styled fashions, Farmar, *Ordinary Lives*, p. 102.
51. Farmer, *Ordinary Lives*, p. 13.
52. Hyde quoted in Garvin, *Nationalist Revolutionaries*, p. 97.
53. W. K. Haselden, 'Adapt your Dress to your Audience', *Daily Mirror*, 20 Oct. 1924, British Cartoon Archive, University of Kent, <<http://opal.kent.ac.uk/cartoonx>>.
54. Liam Kelly (2005) *Kiltubrid, County Leitrim: Snapshots of a Rural Parish in the 1890s* (Dublin), pp. 48, 52.
55. Hart, *The IRA and its Enemies*, p. 66.
56. Seán Connolly (2001 edn) *Priests and People in Pre-Famine Ireland, 1780–1845* (Dublin), pp. 103–4.
57. 'Clothes at Inspection', *An tÓglach*, 30 Sept. 1921.
58. Joy, *The IRA in Kerry*, pp. 12–13.
59. Frank O'Connor (1961) *An Only Child* (New York), pp. 32–3. On attitudes towards 'shawlies' see Hart, *The IRA and its Enemies*, pp. 11–12.

60. 'The Plough and the Stars' in Seán O'Casey (1973 edn) *Three Plays* (London).
61. Col. Eamon Broy, BMH WS1, 280, p. 49. See also James Stephens (1999 edn) *The Insurrection in Dublin: an Eyewitness Account of the Easter Rising, 1916* (Barnes and Noble Books), pp. 30–1.
62. Diarmaid Ferriter (2004) *The Transformation of Ireland 1900–2000* (London), p. 151.
63. Yeats, 'Easter, 1916', in Finneran (ed.), *Collected Poems*, pp. 180–2.
64. Mossie Harnett (J. H. Joy, ed.) (2002) *Victory and Woe: the West Limerick Brigade in the War of Independence* (Dublin), p. 19.
65. Macardle (1969 edn) *The Irish Republic* (London), pp. 211–12.
66. 'Notes from Headquarters: Equipment', *An tÓglach*, 29 Oct. 1918.
67. Later, the guerilla nature of the IRA's campaign was explicitly referenced. 'Guerilla Warfare', *An tÓglach*, 15 Jan. 1920.
68. Seamus O'Connor (1987) *Tomorrow Was Another Day: Irreverent Memories of an Irish Rebel Schoolmaster* (Dun Laoire, Co. Dublin), p. 43.
69. On republican hostility towards poppy-wearers, see Fearghal McGarry (2002) *Frank Ryan* (Dublin), pp. 15–19. On the Blueshirts' uniform and clashes with republicans, see Maurice Manning (2006) *The Blueshirts* (Dublin), pp. 52–7, 114–16, 125–6.
70. Joost Augusteijn (1996) *From Public Defiance to Guerrilla Warfare: the Experience of Ordinary Volunteers in the Irish War of Independence 1916–1921* (Dublin).
71. Dan Breen (1964 edn) *My Fight For Irish Freedom* (Tralee), p. 171. Liam Deasy (1992 edn) *Towards Ireland Free: the West Cork Brigade in the War of Independence 1917–1921* (Cork), p. 204. O'Connor, *An Only Child*, p. 188. O'Malley offers a detailed description of his own ensemble in *On Another Man's Wound*, pp. 214–15. See representative examples in James Durney (2004) *The Volunteer: Uniforms, Weapons and History of the Irish Republican Army 1913–1997* (Naas, Co. Kildare).
72. *Irish Songs of Resistance*, Vol. 2 (n.p., n.d.), p. 1.
73. O'Malley, *On Another Man's Wound*, p. 215.
74. E. Davis, 'The Guerilla Mind', in Fitzpatrick (ed.), *Revolution?*, p. 45. Peter Hart, *The IRA and its Enemies*, p. 111. Also see Dan Breen's 'Bonnie-and-Clyde-esque' wedding photograph in Durney, *The Volunteer*, p. 32.
75. O'Connor, *An Only Child*, p. 188. See also Joy, *The IRA in Kerry*, p. 60.
76. Tom Barry quoted in K. Griffith and T. O'Grady (1999 edn) *Ireland's Unfinished Revolution: an Oral History* (Niwt, CO), p. 241.
77. Breen, *My Fight for Irish Freedom*, p. 171. Deasy, *Towards Ireland Free*, p. 204.
78. Peadar O'Donnell observed, 'city-minded Sinn Féin was darkly suspicious of the wild men on the land', O'Donnell (1963) *There Will Be Another Day* (Dublin), p. 19.
79. O'Malley, *On Another Man's Wound*, p. 160.
80. Quoted in Richard English (1998) *Ernie O'Malley: IRA Intellectual* (Oxford), p. 157.
81. O'Malley, *On Another Man's Wound*, p. 382. See also pp. 153, 160–2.
82. Sidney Czira, BMH WS 909, p. 16.
83. On disguises, see J. Clarke, BMH WS 699, pp. 2–3. Very Rev. Patrick Doyle, BMH WS 807, pp. 46–7.
84. See *Morning Post*, RIC reports, and other sources quoted in Joy, *The IRA in Kerry*, pp. 42–3. General Sir N. Maccready (1924) *Annals of an Active Life*, Vol. II (London), pp. 460, 463. 653. Hart, *The IRA and its Enemies*, pp. 130, 134–9.

85. Joy, *The IRA in Kerry*, p. 67. Hart, *The IRA and its Enemies*, p. 143.
86. T. Ryle Dwyer (2001) *Tans, Terrors and Troubles: Kerry's Real Fighting Story, 1913–1923* (Cork), p. 268.
87. Deasy, *Towards Ireland Free*, pp. 179–80.
88. Barry, *Guerilla Days*, p. 93.
89. Ernie O'Malley (2012 edn) *The Singing Flame* (Cork), p. 186.
90. Ferriter, *The Transformation*, pp. 151–2.
91. Kenneth Reddin (1936) *Somewhere to the Sea* (Boston and New York), pp. 90–1.
92. O'Malley, *On Another Man's Wound*, pp. 79, 384–5.
93. Reddin, *Somewhere to the Sea*, p. 81.
94. *Irish Destiny* (1926). I would like to thank Jim Smyth for drawing my attention to this detail in the film.
95. Seamus O'Connor, *Tomorrow Was Another Day*, pp. 70, 76, 79.
96. Josephine Clarke, BMH WS 699, p. 13.
97. John Regan (1999) *The Irish Counter-Revolution 1921–1936: Treatyite Politics and Settlement in Independent Ireland* (Dublin), p. 113.
98. Charles Dalton (1929) *With the Dublin Brigade (1917–21)* (London), pp. 176–7.
99. Francis Costello (2003) *The Irish Revolution and its Aftermath, 1916–1923: Years of Revolt* (Dublin), p. 301.
100. Peter Hart (2006) *Mick: the Real Michael Collins* (New York), p. 199.
101. Seamus O'Connor, *Tomorrow Was Another Day*, p. 98.
102. M. G. Valiulis (1992) *Portrait of a Revolutionary: General Richard Mulcahy and the Founding of the Irish State* (Dublin), p. 128.
103. Tom Garvin (1996) *1922: the Birth of Irish Democracy* (Dublin), p. 124.
104. Garvin, *1922*, p. 124.
105. Dan Breen, BMH WS 1763, p. 49. See also Eoin Neeson (1989 edn) *The Civil War 1922–23* (Swords, Co. Dublin), p. 162, and O'Connor, *Tomorrow Was Another Day*, p. 60.
106. 25 July 1922 memorandum regarding use of military patrols in civilian dress, TAOIS S 1/376, NAI. On Henry Harrison leading armed civilian patrols in the capital, see Blythe BMH WS 939, pp. 167–8.
107. On IRA fighters dressed as workmen, see FSA 22nd Infantry Battalion Intelligence Report for week ending 25 April 1923 RE: “‘Irregular’ activities in Castlereagh district”, P 151/200, S. MacEoin Papers, UCDA. On women hiding weapons in clothes, see Younger (1969) *Ireland's Civil War* (New York), p. 425.
108. See piece reporting on bands of ‘Irregulars’ stealing and wearing ‘comfortable overcoats’ (*Galway Observer*, 29 July 1922); report on sale of looted goods from Inch Fort (*Donegal Democrat*, 21 July 1922); and ‘Dublin Robberies’, *Freeman's Journal*, 22 Sept. 1922.
109. 18 Sept. and 9 Oct. 1922 correspondence between Adjutant General FSA and Military Governor, Newbridge Camp, CW P/1 Box 1, MA.
110. Peter Carleton in Uinseann Mac Eoin (1980) *Survivors* (Dublin), pp. 305–6; Michael Hopkinson (2004 edn) *Green against Green: the Irish Civil War* (Dublin), p. 137.
111. On ‘Green-and-Tans’ see C. Markiewicz cartoon, ‘Reinforcements for the Free Staters’, in ‘Republican cartoons, CW period’, PD 3076 TX 17, NLI. On origins of the term ‘Black-and-Tans’: Patrick Twohig (1994) *Green Tears for Hecuba: Ireland's Fight for Freedom* (Ballincollig, Co. Cork), p. 69. The

- 'Black-and-Tans' tend to be conflated with the Auxiliaries. Apart from differences in operational functions and pay, 'Tans' and 'Auxies' can often be distinguished by the latter's distinctive Tam O'Shanters, Younger, *Ireland's Civil War*, p. 101. 'Auxies' also tended to have better quality leather trench coats and full-length leather boots rather than mere cloth puttees.
112. *United Irishman*, 19 May 1923.
 113. James I. Dougherty (2010) "'Ocular Demonstration" or "Tremendous Treasure"?", *History Ireland*, Vol. 18, Issue 3 (May/June) accessed at <<http://www.historyireland.com/20th-century-contemporary-history/ocular-demonstration-or-tremendous-treasure/>>.
 114. Josephine Clarke, BMH WS 699, p.16. The *Freeman's Journal* published a brief guide to the ranks denoted by various bars and stripes on officers' uniforms, 7 Feb. 1923.
 115. Harnett, *Victory and Woe*, p. 127.
 116. J. A. Pinkman (1998) (Francis E. Maguire, ed.) *In the Legion of the Vanguard* (Boulder, CO), p. 148.
 117. J. R. Hill (ed.) (2003) *A New History of Ireland, VII, Ireland 1921–84* (Oxford), p. lxxii. Eunan O'Halpin (1999) *Defending Ireland: the Irish State and its Enemies since 1922* (Oxford), p. 78. Stephen Collins (1996) *The Cosgrave Legacy* (Dublin), p. 44.
 118. *Irish Times*, 9 Sept. 1922, quoted in Collins, *The Cosgrave Legacy*, p. 35.
 119. 'A Vivid Memento of 1916', *Freeman's Journal*, 15 Jan. 1923.
 120. Andrews, *Dublin Made Me*, p. 329.
 121. Andrews (1982) *Man of No Property: an Autobiography (Volume Two)* (Cork), p. 25 and *Dublin Made Me*, pp. 328–9.
 122. Joseph Campbell (E. Ní Chuilleanáin, ed.) (2001) *'As I Was Among the Captives': Joseph Campbell's Prison Diary, 1922–1923* (Cork), pp. 83, 95, 80.
 123. Andrews, *Dublin Made Me*, p. 329.
 124. Markievicz's Civil War cartoons, PD 3076 TX8, NLI.
 125. T. de Vere White (1967) 'Social Life in Ireland 1927–1937', in Francis MacManus (ed.) *The Years of the Great Test* (Cork), p. 24.
 126. <http://www.millerhats.com/hatcare_index/tophatscare.html>, last accessed July 2011.
 127. Robert Ross (1990) 'The Top-Hat in South African History: the Changing Significance of an Article of Material Culture', *Social Dynamics*, Vol. 16, No. 1, 90–100.
 128. W. K. Haselden, 'The Tragic History of the Top Hat', *Daily Mirror*, 13 May 1917, British Cartoon Archive, University of Kent.
 129. Ross, 'The Top-Hat in South African History'.
 130. Rev Fr Eugene Nevins, C.P., BMH WS 1605, p. 20.
 131. Kevin O'Shiel, BMH WS 1770 Part 1, pp. 31–2.
 132. Birmingham, *Irishmen All*, p. 216.
 133. Haselden, 'Clothes and the President', *Daily Mirror*, 18 March 1913, British Cartoon Archive.
 134. 'Dublin Theatre Strike', *Voice of Labour*, 30 June 1923. Seán Ó Faoláin (1963) *Vive Moi!* (Boston), p. 259.
 135. D. R. O'Connor Lysaght (1970) *The Republic of Ireland: an Hypothesis in Eight Chapters and Two Intermissions* (Cork), pp. 82–3.
 136. Farmar, *Ordinary Lives*, p. 102.

137. Ross, 'The Top-Hat in South African History', 95.
138. 'London Letter', *Freeman's Journal*, 23 Jan. 1924.
139. Margaret Rose Jaster (2006) "'Out of all Frame and Good Fashion": Sartorial Resistance as Political Spectacle', *Irish Review*, Issue 34, 47.
140. 'Grand Military Ball in Mullingar', *Westmeath Guardian and Longford Newsletter*, 1 December 1922. And 28 Jan. 1923 invitation to 'G Division Dance', MS 333,918(1), P. Béaslaí Papers, NLI.
141. *An tÓglach*, 5 May 1923.
142. August 1923 Invitation to a fête, from Mrs Murphy, Greystones, Wicklow, MS 33,918(16), Béaslaí Papers, NLI. On nationalists' antipathy to tennis see O'Malley, *On Another Man's Wound*, p. 79.
143. July 1923 invitation to a tennis match at Lissenfield House, P4/1637, H. Kennedy Papers, UCDA.
144. Correspondence from Governor-General T. M. Healy to his sister-in-law, Annie, 5 and 19 August 1924, P6/A/100 and P6/A/103, Healy/Sullivan Papers, UCDA.
145. B. White-Scott to Gov.-Gen. Healy, 14 June 1925, P6/C/30, Healy/Sullivan Papers, UCDA.
146. 'F. S. Reception. A Distinguished Gathering', leaflet c.1930, P104/1589, Aiken Papers, UCDA.
147. See for example, invitation to a 1924 'At Home' at the Cosgrave's residence, MS 33,983(20), Béaslaí Papers, NLI; and a description of a champagne lunch Cosgrave attended with Yeats, among others, in Collins, *Cosgrave's Legacy*, p. 47. More examples can be found among the invitations and clippings in Béaslaí's papers at the NLI as well as in the papers of George A. Lyons, especially MS 33,675/B/1, NLI.
148. F. M. L. Thompson (1988) *The Rise of Respectable Society: a Social History of Victorian Britain 1830–1900* (Cambridge), p. 109.
149. 1932 uncorrected version of 'Blow Billy Down' published by Eamon Donnelly, election agent for Thomas Harris, P104/1797(3), Aiken Papers, UCDA.
150. Tom Garvin (2005 edn) *The Evolution of Irish Nationalist Politics* (Dublin), p. 174.
151. Hill (ed.), *A New History of Ireland: VII*, p. lxxii.
152. O'Halpin, *Defending Ireland*, p. 78. See also Hill (ed.), *A New History of Ireland: VII*, p. lxxii.
153. Reprinted in Farmar, *Ordinary Lives*, p. 101.
154. This is readily apparent from Figure 4.6, a group photograph of Fianna Fáil TDs elected in June 1927, P176/1279, Fianna Fáil Party Archives, UCDA.
155. Speech by de Valera at Limerick, 19 Jan. 1929, P104/1458(7), Aiken Papers, UCDA.
156. Farmar, *Ordinary Lives*, p. 102. See also de Vere White, 'Social Life in Ireland 1927–1937', in MacManus (ed.), p. 24.
157. Liam Skinner (1946) *Politicians by Accident* (Dublin).
158. Robert Briscoe (with A. Hatch) (1958) *For the Life of Me* (Boston), p. 239.
159. Andrews, *Man of No Property*, Chapter 2 *passim*.
160. I borrow this useful phrase from Robert Ross, who uses it in a different context in *Status and Respectability in the Cape Colony, 1750–1870*, p. 138.
161. Kate O'Malley public talk, April 2008, Keough-Naughton Center for Irish Studies, University of Notre Dame.

162. Forrest, *Worse Could Have Happened*, p. 199. O'Halpin, *Defending Ireland*, pp. 116–17.
163. N.Y. Clan na Gael and Irish Republican Veterans of America, Annual Field Day, Sept. 1963, p. 4, IR 300 p. 124, NLI.
164. Birmingham, *Irishmen All*, pp. 175–8, 216. Ó Faoláin, *Vive Moi!*, p. 72. Garvin, *Nationalist Revolutionaries in Ireland*, p. 144.
165. Conor Cruise O'Brien quoted in Paul Bew (2007) *Ireland: the Politics of Enmity 1789–2006* (Oxford), p. 444.

5 The Varieties of Social Conflict in the Civil War

1. Charles Townshend (1983) *Political Violence in Ireland: Government and Resistance since 1848* (Oxford), pp. 366, 376, 371.
2. Emmet O'Connor (1988) *Syndicalism in Ireland, 1917–23* (Cork), Chapter V *passim*.
3. David Fitzpatrick (1998 edn) *Politics and Irish Life 1913–1921: Provincial Experience of War and Revolution* (Cork), p. 191.
4. Gemma Clark (2014) *Everyday Violence in the Irish Civil War* (Cambridge).
5. T. Varley (1988) 'Agrarian Crime and Social Control: Sinn Féin and the Land Question in the West of Ireland in 1920', in M. Tomlinson et al. (eds) *Whose Law and Order? Aspects of Crime and Social Control in Irish Society* (Belfast), pp. 54–75. Fergus Campbell (2004) 'The Social Dynamics of Nationalist Politics in the West of Ireland 1898–1918', *Past and Present*, No. 182, 175–209 and Campbell (2005) *Land and Revolution: Nationalist Politics in the West of Ireland* (Oxford). Terence Dooley (2004) *The Land for the People: the Land Question in Independent Ireland* (Dublin). P. Bew (1988) 'Sinn Féin, Agrarian Radicalism and the War of Independence, 1919–1921', in D. G. Boyce (ed.) *The Revolution in Ireland, 1879–1923* (Dublin), pp. 217–34, and P. Bew et al. (1989) *The Dynamics of Irish Politics* (London), Chapter 1. Fitzpatrick, *Politics and Irish Life 1913–1921*.
6. For example, Dooley, *The Land for the People: the Land Question in Independent Ireland*.
7. O'Connor, *Syndicalism in Ireland*, p. xi.
8. O'Connor, *Syndicalism in Ireland*, pp. xviii–xix.
9. E. O'Connor (1992) *A Labour History of Ireland 1824–1960* (Dublin), pp. 56, 90–1, 109–15, 125.
10. Conor Kostick (1996) *Revolution in Ireland: Popular Militancy 1917 to 1923* (London and Chicago), pp. 1–3, 166, 182.
11. Richard English (1994) *Radicals and the Republic: Socialist Republicanism in the Irish Free State 1925–1937* (Oxford), p. 60. See also Eunan O'Halpin (1999) *Defending Ireland: the Irish State and its Enemies since 1922* (Oxford), p. 39.
12. O'Connor, *Syndicalism in Ireland*, p. xi.
13. Details of the Murphy case are taken from 20 Nov. 1922 correspondence from Minister Hogan to the Minister for Defence in 'Agrarian disputes correspondence', DOD A/07869, Military Archives.
14. Of course, from a more socially radical perspective, prevailing conceptions of 'law and order' are inherently politically problematic. The *Voice of Labour* made this point by republishing a James Connolly piece from 1899

- critiquing the class inequalities inherent in capitalist 'law and order'. *Voice of Labour*, 4 March 1922.
15. 'Social Order', *An tÓglach*, 3 February 1922, and 'Our Responsibilities', *An tÓglach*, 17 February 1922.
 16. O'Halpin, *Defending Ireland*, p. 45.
 17. O'Halpin, *Defending Ireland*, pp. 4–10.
 18. 22 November 1922 IRA 'Proclamation – Civic Guard', Lot No. 110, Captured Documents, MA.
 19. *The Fenian*, 9 Sept. 1922.
 20. General Order No. 10, 9 April 1923, Lot No. 118, Captured Documents, MA.
 21. 22 November 1922 IRA 'Proclamation – Civic Guard'.
 22. 'Attacks on Civic Guard Stations by Armed Men to 31 March 1923', JUS/H99/109 Pt 1, NAI.
 23. Extensive evidence of these tactics can be found in 'Attacks on Garda Síochána (1922–23), Pt 1', JUS/H99/109, NAI. The sole police fatality in the IRA's campaign in 1922–3 was a sergeant killed in Kerry. In the ensuing years, however, several more police were killed by the IRA. See O'Halpin, *Defending Ireland*, p. 64, and D. Fitzpatrick (1998) *The Two Irelands 1912–1939* (Oxford), p. 168.
 24. IRA General Order No. 12 ('Civilians Cooperating with Enemy'), Lot. No. 77, Captured Documents, MA; and 8 Jan. 1923 correspondence from Civic Guard Superintendent M. J. Walsh to Commissioner O'Duffy discussing 'distinct possibility' of raids on Hills' Woolen Mills when military evacuates Lucan, DOD A/07432, MA.
 25. Unless noted, all of the examples and evidence discussed in this section are taken from 'Attacks on Garda Síochána (1922–23), Pt 1', JUS/H99/109, NAI.
 26. Reporting on a fierce night attack on the Civic Guard barracks in Killimore, County Galway during which two of the barrack's defenders sustained injuries, the *Freeman's Journal* commended 'the bravery of the Guards' in 'prevent[ing] the success of the plan ...', *FJ*, 6 Dec. 1923. Another press report noted the 'remarkable escape' made by a pair of Guards as 'bullets whizzed all around them' in Longford, *Freeman's Journal*, 31 May 1923.
 27. *Connacht Tribune* editorial responding to robberies and attacks on Guards in Galway, reprinted in *United Irishman*, 3 November 1923.
 28. Phrase taken from Wexford report within Garda Síochána State of the Country Monthly Report for Jan. 1923, p. 21, JUS/H99/125, NAI.
 29. Tom Garvin (1996) *1922: the Birth of Irish Democracy* (Dublin), p. 93.
 30. This is shown by the comments laced throughout the Gardaí State of the Country Monthly Report for Jan. 1923, JUS/H99/125, NAI.
 31. Unless otherwise noted, all of these examples are from 'Attacks on Garda Síochána (1922–23), Pt 1', JUS/H99/109, NAI.
 32. Gardaí State of the Country Monthly Report for Jan. 1923, p. 9, JUS/H99/125, NAI.
 33. See materials relating to IRA collection of dog registration fees, including a General Order threatening to shoot the dogs of delinquent owners, P69/2 (41), M. Twomey Papers, UCDA.
 34. All terms found in Gardaí Monthly Report for Jan. 1923, JUS/H99/125; and 'Attacks on Garda Síochána (1922–23), Pt 1', JUS/H99/109, both NAI.
 35. Anthony Kinsella (1997) 'The Special Infantry Corps', *The Irish Sword: the Journal of the Military History Society of Ireland*, XX, No. 82, 331–45. O'Connor,

- Syndicalism in Ireland*, pp. 162–3. Dooley, *The Land for the People*, p. 51. Detailed returns and administrative files relating to the SIC are held in SIC Box 1 and SIC Box 2, MA.
36. 22 December 1922 Memo RE: Seizures of Land, DOD A/07869 (correspondence re: agrarian disputes), MA. See O'Halpin, *Defending Ireland*, pp. 31–3.
 37. 11 January 1923 Confidential Memo from Hogan to Cabinet, P7b/194 (11–15), Mulcahy Papers, UCDA.
 38. Hogan to Defence Minister, 20 Nov. 1922, DOD A/07869, MA.
 39. 11 January 1923 Confidential Memo from Hogan to Cabinet, P7b/194 (11–15), Mulcahy Papers, UCDA.
 40. For a like-minded assessment of 'irregularism' see Memorandum from Kevin O'Higgins for January 1923 conference, P7b/194(3–6), Mulcahy Papers, UCDA. See also John McCarthy (2006) *Kevin O'Higgins: Builder of the Irish Free State* (Dublin), p. 107.
 41. 'Static outlawry' and 'static illegalities' in O'Higgins' Memorandum for January 1923 Conference, P7b/194(3–6); and 29 March 1923 Correspondence from Police Commissioner to Minister for Home Affairs, TAOIS S 582, NAI.
 42. 26 Nov. 1922 Army Council Memo re: 'cases of Land Aggression', DOD A/07869, MA.
 43. 20 Nov. 1922 correspondence from Minister Hogan to the Min. for Defence in 'Agrarian disputes correspondence', DOD A/07869, MA.
 44. Garda Commissioner O'Duffy noted a 'coldness, almost amounting to hostility' between the SIC and local troops, 29 March 1923 correspondence with Min. Home Affairs, TAOIS S 582, NAI.
 45. 27 April 1923 correspondence from J. Kelly, Land Settlement Commission, to Min. for Agriculture, in 'Conditions in Sligo ...', JUS/H5/749, NAI.
 46. 24 Nov. 1922 Office of Commander-in-Chief to Min. for Agriculture, DOD A/07869, MA.
 47. 22 Dec. 1922 Min. for Agriculture to Min. for Defence RE: Seizures of Land, DOD A/07869, MA.
 48. 'Memorandum from K. O'Higgins for Jan. 1923 Conference', point VI, P7b/194(2–6), UCDA. Hogan's Dec. 1922 memo also suggested a "'flying column" type unit' for such work.
 49. 5 April 1923 Cover memorandum RE: SIC scheme from Min. for Home Affairs, TAOIS S 582, NAI.
 50. 19 Feb. 1923 correspondence from a Wexford-based Captain in FSA, to 'each member of the Army Council', MS 070 (Irregular Activity Wexford Situation), MA.
 51. O'Halpin, *Defending Ireland*, p. 41.
 52. 5 April 1923, O'Higgins (Min. for Home Affairs) to Cosgrave, TAOIS S 582, NAI.
 53. 'List of prisoners arrested by SIC 1 Feb. 1923–29 Sept. 1923', among Returns from SIC Beggars Bush, Dublin, CW P/1 Box 1, MA.
 54. 'Illicit stills found' from 1 Feb. 1923–29 Sept. 1923, CW P/1 Box 1, MA.
 55. 'Returns showing prosecutions for illicit distillation', March–August 1923, JUS H67/23, NAI.
 56. 24 Feb. 1923, Garda Commissioner to Min. for Home Affairs, in 'Illicit Distillation Longford County', JUS H67/11, NAI.
 57. March 1923 correspondence in 'Illicit Distillation Mayo County', JUS H 67/13, NAI.

58. Draft version of Army Council Proclamation re: 'Illicit Distillation', 23 April 1923; the Judge Advocate General's opinion arguing against it; and 15 May 1923 Executive Council meeting notes, 'Illicit Distillation – Army Action 1923', TAOIS S 2 091, NAI.
59. Commentary on illicit distillation problem in police 'state of the country report' for Jan. 1923, especially drink-related mental illness in County Longford, p. 11, JUS/H99/125, NAI.
60. 'Cattle seizures and list of prisoners arrested by SIC 1 Feb. 1923–29 Sept. 1923', CW P/1 Box 1, MA.
61. 22 December 1922 Memo RE: 'Seizures of Land', DOD A/07869 (correspondence re: agrarian disputes), MA.
62. State of the Country Report for March 1923, P80/725(2-33), D. FitzGerald Papers, UCDA.
63. 18 May 1923, O/C 2nd Battalion SIC, Carrick-on-Shannon, to O/C SIC, Portobello Barrack, in '2nd Battalion reports and operations', Box SIC 2, MA.
64. 13 April 1923, Lt. McKenna FSA Command HQs Limerick to Maj. General Brennan, GOC Limerick, DOD A/07432, MA.
65. This discussion comes from June 1921 – Fall 1923 'Spy Farms'– correspondence, DOD A/00613, MA.
66. 17 June 1921 correspondence from Chief of Staff to Min. for Defence, DOD A/00613, MA.
67. 18 November 1922 Adjutant General to Commander-in-Chief (FSA) RE: 'Mrs. E. A. O'Connell, Lisnaskea, Skibbereen', DOD A/00613, MA.
68. 1 June 1921 Michael Collins to Adjutant General (IRA) 'RE: Timothy Donovan, Butlerstown', DOD A/00613, MA.
69. 18 November 1922, Adjutant General to Commander-in-Chief (FSA), DOD A/00613, MA.
70. 5 May 1923 'Report on Land Seizures and "Spy" Farms in County Cork' by Seán Ó Coileain, Land Settlement Commission inspector to Min. for Agriculture, DOD A/00613, MA.
71. June 1923 to Fall 1923 correspondence 'RE: Mrs. O'Connell', DOD A/00613, MA.
72. Circa May 1923 'Threatening notice. Andrew Byrnes, S.C. Mac Tiernan of Edenderry', JUS/H5/775, NAI. 29 April 1922 'Threatening notices to Mr. Davison, Victor P. Perry and Stationmaster at Mogeely (G.S.W. Railway employees)', JUS/H5/250, NAI. Townshend, *Political Violence in Ireland*, p. 371.
73. 'Situation – Waterford' MS 132, MA. O'Connor, *Syndicalism in Ireland*, pp. 162–3.
74. Fitzpatrick, *Politics and Irish Life*, p. 194.
75. 30 May 1923 correspondence from Chief/General Staff to GOC Waterford Command, MS 132, MA.
76. Statements by East Waterford farmers alleging attacks by strikers between 23 May and 24 June 1923, in 'Strike of Farm Labourers, Waterford Co. (1923)', JUS/H156/16, NAI. The tactics they complained about were almost identical to those described in a resolution by the Windgap Farmers' Association during labour trouble a year earlier. 'Strike of farm labourers at Windgap. Destruction of goods, intimidation, etc.', May 1922 Resolution, JUS/H156/2, NAI.
77. On hoisting of the red flag see 14 June 1923, Waterford SIC to Chief of General's Staff, MS 132, MA.

78. Multiple instances of sniping were reported in September 1923 by SIC 11th Battalion, Union Barracks, in its summary reports for Kilmacthomas operations, Box SIC 2, MA.
79. 12 June 1923 Commanding Officer SIC (Patrick Dalton) to Chiefs of General Staff, MS 132, MA.
80. 1 June 1923 report ('Farm Labourers' Strike East Waterford. Armed Attack on Convoy of Food Stuffs at Kilmeadon 30/5/23') by Superintendent Brennan, Waterford, in JUS/H156/16, NAI.
81. FSA General Survey of Situation for week ending 16 June 1923, FitzGerald Papers P80/727, UCDA. Such tactics are also referenced in 'Strike of farm labourers Waterford Co., 1923', JUS/H156/16, NAI.
82. FSA General Survey of Situation for week ending 23 June 1923, FitzGerald Papers, P80/727, UCDA.
83. 4 July 1923, SIC O.C. Dalton to Chief of General Staff, MS 132, MA.
84. On curfew see O'Connor, *Syndicalism in Ireland*, pp. 162–3. References to troops firing towards curfew breakers can be found in August and September 1923 operations reports, SIC 11th Battalion, Union Barracks, Box SIC 2, MA.
85. 4 July 1923, SIC O.C. Dalton to Chief of General Staff, MS 132, MA.
86. FSA General Survey for week ending 30 June 1923, P17a/209, O'Malley Papers, UCDA.
87. FSA General Survey for week ending 30 June 1923, P17a/209, O'Malley Papers, UCDA.
88. FSA General Survey for week ending 28 July 1923, P80/727, FitzGerald Papers.
89. Correspondence RE: 'warrants for wanted Irregulars still at large' c.Sept.–Dec. 1923, CW P/1 (Civil War) Box 1, MA.
90. 11 September 1923 correspondence from Lt. O'Brien to Commander I.O. Clonmel, MS 132, MA.
91. See also 'Outrages on members of the ITGW Union, RE Waterford strike', 26 October 1923, Chief Superintendent's Office, Waterford to Garda Commissioner, JUS/H156/16, NAI.
92. 4 October 1923 report from Superintendent Waterford to Garda Commissioner, JUS/H156/16, NAI.
93. 11 September 1923 correspondence from Lt. O'Brien to Commander I.O. Clonmel, MS 132, MA.
94. 11 September 1923, Lt. O'Brien to Commander I.O. Clonmel, MS 132, MA.
95. 13 November 1923, Operation Order No. 40 by Maj Gen. Prout, MS 132, MA.
96. Civic Guard 'Confidential report for month of February, 1924', P24/323 (5pp), Blythe Papers, UCDA.

6 State Repression in the Civil War's Aftermath

1. Pádraig Ó Tuille (n.d. [1966]) *Life and Times of Brian O'Higgins* (Navan, Co. Kildare), p. 20.
2. Anne Dolan (2003) *Commemorating the Irish Civil War: History and Memory, 1923–2000* (Cambridge), p. 95 (footnote 254).
3. Bill Kissane (2005) *The Politics of the Irish Civil War* (Oxford), pp. 2–4.

4. 'Irish Peace Offer – Rebel Offensive to Cease – De Valera's Terms', *The Times*, 28 April 1923. Michael Hopkinson (2004 edn) *Green against Green: the Irish Civil War* (Dublin), pp. 256–7.
5. Over a hundred republican fighters were captured in the first week of May alone, Dorothy Macardle (1968 edn) *The Irish Republic* (London), pp. 779–80.
6. Tom Garvin (1996) *1922: the Birth of Irish Democracy* (Dublin), pp. 120–1.
7. Garvin, 1922, pp. 120–1. Also see 'Dublin Breakdown. Government's Reply to De Valera', *The Times*, 10 May 1923.
8. 'General Outline of the Present Movement' by 'Mr. Ambrose' [?] c.1927, P69/72(3–14), Twomey Papers, UCDA.
9. Hopkinson, *Green against Green*, p. 259. For text of the 24 May 1923 order see Cormac O'Malley and Anne Dolan (eds) (2007) *No Surrender Here! The Civil War Papers of Ernie O'Malley 1922–1924* (Dublin), p. 377.
10. 'Witness Statement [unknown but possibly Connie Neenan] on Cork Volunteers, Civil War, and post-independence life in NY 1916–40', MS 44,064/3, p. 106, Seán O'Mahony Papers, NLI.
11. Hopkinson, *Green against Green*, p. 259. See also Sligo IRA member William Pilkington quoted in Michael Farry (2000) *The Aftermath of Revolution: Sligo, 1921–1923* (Dublin), p. 93.
12. Francis Blake (1986) *The Irish Civil War 1922–1923 and What It Still Means For the Irish People* (London), p. 56.
13. Hopkinson, *Green against Green*, p. 259.
14. Macardle, *The Irish Republic*, p. 786; O'Halpin (1999) *Defending Ireland: the Irish State and its Enemies since 1922* (Oxford), p. 42; and Michael Hopkinson in J. R. Hill (ed.) (2003) *A New History of Ireland, VII, Ireland 1921–84* (Oxford), p. 52. Higher figures appear in Meda Ryan (2003) *Tom Barry: IRA Freedom Fighter* (Cork), p. 196; McGarry (2002) *Frank Ryan* (Dublin), p. 5; and Pyne (1969) 'The Third Sinn Féin Party: 1923–1926, Part 1', *The Economic and Social Review*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (Oct.), 33.
15. August 1923 Free State list of detention facilities, internment documents, CW P/1 (Civil War) Box 1, MA.
16. Robert Kee (2000 edn) *The Green Flag: a History of Irish Nationalism* (London), p. 744.
17. Ernie O'Malley (2012 edn) *The Singing Flame* (Cork), p. 292.
18. See O'Malley, *The Singing Flame*, p. 292; Peter Hart (1998) *The IRA and its Enemies: Violence and Community in Cork, 1916–1923* (Oxford), p. 125; and Jeremiah Murphy (1998) *When Youth Was Mine: a Memoir of Kerry, 1902–1925* (Dublin), p. 268.
19. Calton Younger (1969) *Ireland's Civil War* (New York), p. 503. Uinseann Mac Eoin (1997) *The IRA in the Twilight Years 1923–1948* (Dublin), pp. 77, 79.
20. Contrary to a misleadingly captioned newspaper photograph, floggings were not performed publicly! 'Detroit News photo/caption of Republican tableaux purporting to demonstrate F. S. flogging', Dept. of Foreign Affairs, DFA/ES P19, National Archives of Ireland. Ironically, the Free State had previously condemned the Northern Irish government's use of corporal punishment.
21. Seosamh Ó Longaigh (2006) *Emergency Law in Independent Ireland, 1922–1948* (Dublin), pp. 39–41.
22. Hopkinson, *Green against Green*, p. 268.
23. Younger, *Ireland's Civil War*, p. 502.

24. Free State Cabinet Minutes, 24 Sept. 1923, C 2/2, NAI.
25. Hopkinson, *Green against Green*, p. 271; Garvin, 1922, p. 121.
26. T. P. Coogan (1994) *The IRA: a History* (Niwot, CO) pp. 31–2. IRA policy against ‘signing out’ was codified in General Order No. 24, Brian Hanley (2002) *The IRA 1926–1936* (Dublin), pp. 37–9.
27. Hopkinson in Hill (ed.), *NHI Vol. VII*, p. 54. On Breen’s release, also see Cabinet Minutes, item one, 24 September 1923, C 2/2, NAI.
28. ‘Decision RE: committee to expedite release of “more or less harmless type” of prisoners’, Cabinet Mins, 16 June, 1923, C 1/123, NAI. For a reference to ‘harmless’ prisoners being released despite refusing to sign forms of undertaking, see 7 Sept. 1923 correspondence from Newbridge Military Governor to A/G Prisoners’ Department, folder titled ‘Newbridge Prison’ in CW P/1 Box 1, MA.
29. O’Halpin, *Defending Ireland*, p. 43.
30. O’Malley, *The Singing Flame*, p. 368. Younger, *Ireland’s Civil War*, p. 504.
31. ‘List Showing Numbers of Prisoners Released each day since August 20, 1923’, Dept. Foreign Affairs, DFA/ES P72, NAI.
32. Murphy on December 1923 Cork mass escape, *When Youth Was Mine*, p. 281.
33. Litton (1995) *The Irish Civil War: an Illustrated History* (Dublin), pp. 125–6.
34. Blake, *The Civil War*, pp. 60–3.
35. ‘Dáil Éireann: Government of the Republic of Ireland’, published statement c. October 1923, ‘Anti-Treaty Party 1922–1926’, MS. 17,141, T. Johnson Papers, NLI.
36. See numerous MacSwiney quotations and references in ‘Notebook D’, ‘Gormanstown Camp autograph books 1923’, MS. 33,717, NLI.
37. ‘WS [author Connie Neenan?]...’, MS 44,064/3, p. 107, S. O’Mahony Papers, NLI.
38. 7 November 1923 reply from National Executive of the ILP and TUC to Sec. ITGWU, Cork, *Freeman’s Journal*, 9 Nov. 1923.
39. ‘The Hunger-Strike’, *Freeman’s Journal*, 7 Nov. 1923.
40. Statement accompanying release of intercepted documents, ‘Responsibility for Hunger-Strike’, *Freeman’s Journal*, 15 Nov. 1923.
41. Intercepted letter from ‘Kit Byrne’ (O/C Prisoners, Tintown A Camp, Curragh) to ‘Lillie asthore’ (*sic*), 8 Nov. 1923, Lot 51 (‘Intelligence’ file), CW P/1 Box, MA.
42. *Freeman’s Journal*, 7 Nov. 1923.
43. ‘How Prisoners Were Released’, *Freeman’s Journal*, 21 Nov. 1923.
44. ‘Case of internee who died on hunger strike’, 20 Nov. 1923, DOD, P24/192(56), E. Blythe Papers, UCDA. While occasionally left out of accounts of civil war hunger striking deaths, Whitty is included elsewhere, such as the hunger strike memorial within the Republican Plot in St. Finbarr’s Cemetery, Cork.
45. Macardle, *The Irish Republic*, p. 790.
46. Frank O’Connor described the post-strike mood in his camp as a ‘grave of lost illusions’, Frank O’Connor (1961) *An Only Child* (New York), p. 270–1. See also J. Campbell (Eiléan Ní Chuilleanáin, ed.) (2001) *As I Was Among the Captives: Joseph Campbell’s Prison Diary, 1922–1923* (Cork), p. 105.
47. O’Higgins to Cosgrave (15 Nov. 1923) argued that, to avoid giving the impression that the government had bowed to the strike, Christmas should be the occasion for renewed releases, P24/193(2–3), Blythe Papers, UCDA.

48. Harnett (J. H. Joy, ed.) (2002) *Victory and Woe: the West Limerick Brigade in the War of Independence* (Dublin), p. 159.
49. O'Malley, *The Singing Flame*, p. 368.
50. P. J. Ruttledge, Acting President of Sinn Féin, statement to Sinn Féin Ard Fheis, 16 Oct. 1923, P104/1260(12), Aiken Papers, UCDA.
51. Constance Markievicz, NDU Internment Camp, 12 Dec. 1923 letter to sister, Eva, in Markievicz (1987 edn) (A. Sebestyen, ed.) *Prison Letters of Countess Markievicz* (London), p. 282.
52. C. S. Andrews (1982) *Man of No Property: an Autobiography (Volume Two)* (Cork), p. 51.
53. Blake, *The Irish Civil War*, p. 56. Kiernan McCarthy and Major Britt Christensen (1992) *Cobh's Contribution to the Fight for Irish Freedom 1913–1990* (Cobh, Co. Cork), p. 130.
54. O'Halpin, *Defending Ireland*, p. 42; J. M. Curran (1980) *The Birth of the Irish Free State, 1921–23* (Mobile, AL), pp. 259–60, 267; D. Fitzpatrick (1998) *The Two Irelands 1912–1939* (Oxford), pp. 205–6, 241–2; Garvin, 1922, pp. 53–4, 165–8; J. Bowyer–Bell (1997 edn) *The Secret Army: the IRA* (Dublin), p. 41; Coogan, *The IRA*, pp. 30–1.
55. 28 Nov. 1923 Min./Home Affairs memo on 'Robber and Irregular Bands', in October 1923 Garda reports, P24/323(3), Blythe Papers, UCDA. However, elsewhere it has been argued that many ongoing 'republican attacks' were merely bouts of indiscriminate firing by drunken or inexperienced Free State troops (Macardle, *The Irish Republic*, p. 780), or fabricated incidents intended to slow down demobilization, Mac Eoin, *The IRA in the Twilight Years*, p. 82.
56. 'Robber and Irregular Bands' in October 1923 Garda reports, P24/323(3), Blythe Papers, UCDA. See also 'Attacks on Garda Síochána (1922–23)', JUS/H99/109, NAI. But army sources tend to be less alarmist. See, for example, references to relative tranquility of Cork, Clare, Limerick, and Tipperary in '10th Battalion S.I.C. Reports RE: Operations', SIC Box 2, MA.
57. 'Confidential Report for Month of February, 1924', P24(323)(5), Blythe Papers, UCDA.
58. Min./Justice O'Higgins' 10 Jan. 1924 memo to Executive Council and accompanying Garda crime returns for 1 July–21 Dec. 1923 highlighting cases involving (ex-)members of the National Army, P24/323, E. Blythe Papers, UCDA. John Regan (1999) *The Irish Counter-Revolution 1921–1936: Treatyite Politics and Settlement in Independent Ireland* (Dublin), p. 178.
59. 'Irregular Activity Wexford Situation', MS. 070, MA.
60. Hanley, *The IRA 1926–1936*, pp. 31–2. Coogan, *The IRA*, p. 30. In a July 1923 letter, IRA C/S Aiken wrote that the pro-government press were 'quite wrong if they think they have heard the last of the IRA', Aiken to Father Thomas Lynch, 6 July 1923, in Letters of Liam Lynch, List No.109/MS.36,251, NLI.
61. Government's Publicity Office on American press's tendency to stress the 'return of normalcy' to the Free State, 28 April 1923 memorandum from Seán Lester to Desmond FitzGerald, P80/296(1), FitzGerald Papers, UCDA. 'Back to Normal', *Freeman's Journal*, 9 April 1923. 'Business as usual' also characterized the government's handling of the IRA's intimidation campaign against public amusements, Cabinet Minutes, 15 March, 1923, C1/63, NAI and 'Attempt by Anti-Government Forces to Prohibit Sports and Amusements', JUS/H84/13, NAI.
62. O'Halpin in Hill (ed.), *NHI. Vol. VII*, p. 92.

63. 'President Message', 27 Aug. 1923, and editorials, 'The Issues' and 'The Elections', 6 and 8 Aug. 1923, all *Freeman's Journal*.
64. 'Election Liveliness', *Freeman's Journal*, 17 Aug. 1923.
65. 'Ruin or Prosperity', *Freeman's Journal*, 27 Aug. 1923.
66. *Kerry People*, 25 Aug. 1923.
67. *Kerry People*, 18 Aug. 1923.
68. 'Organised Intimidation', *Freeman's Journal*, 17 Aug. 1923.
69. Macardle, *Irish Republic*, p. 787. Neeson (1989 edn) *The Civil War 1922–23* (Swords, Co. Dublin), p. 294 and Mac Eoin, *Survivors*, p. 50.
70. 'Whether harm was intended de Valera is uncertain. ... Almost anything was possible at the time.' Younger, *Ireland's Civil War*, p. 504.
71. 'De Valera in Gaol. Election Meeting Arrest, Panic Stricken Crowd', *The Times*, 16 Aug. 1923. For a defense of de Valera's arrest, see 'A Challenge Answered', *Freeman's Journal*, 16 Aug. 1923.
72. Macardle, *Irish Republic*, p. 788.
73. 'Electioneering by Aeroplane' and 'A President in Unusual Garb', *Freeman's Journal*, 20 Aug. 1923.
74. '10th Battalion S.I.C. Report RE: Operations', Box 'S.I.C. 2', MA. See also Macardle, *The Irish Republic*, p. 789.
75. E. Blythe, WS 939, BMH, pp. 196–7.
76. Macardle, *The Irish Republic*, p. 789.
77. O'Halpin in Hill (ed.), *NHI*, Vol. VII, p. 92.
78. FSA General Survey for the fortnight ending 29 September 1923, P17a/210, O'Malley Papers, UCDA.
79. O'Halpin in Hill (ed.), *NHI*, Vol. VII, p. 92. Regan, *The Irish Counter-Revolution*, p. 148.
80. Máire Comerford quoted in Mac Eoin, *Survivors*, p. 50.
81. 'Seventy-seven Who Died for Ireland', *Sinn Féin*, 8 Nov. 1924. But a republican poster, 'The British Empire Unlimited' lists 79 executions, P150/1657, de Valera Papers, UCDA. The National Graves Association website claims 78: <http://www.nga.ie/Civil%20War-Noel_Lemass.php>. Based on cross-referencing multiple sources, 81 executions are cited by Timothy Breen Murphy, 'The Government's Execution Policy during the Irish Civil War 1922–1923' (PhD thesis, NUI Maynooth, 2010), pp. 299–301. However, Mac Eoin quoted Blythe recalling 83 to 84 executions, *The IRA in the Twilight Years*, p. 61.
82. Regan, *The Irish Counter-Revolution*, pp. 108–9.
83. See Chapter 2 on Childers' 'otherness'.
84. Misc. materials in 'E. Childers – Imprisonment, Execution', TAOIS/S 1396/14, NAI.
85. 'A Painful Necessity' (n.d.), P80/318(3), FitzGerald Papers, UCDA. 'The Government meant business' from E. Blythe statement, WS 939, BMH, pp. 192, 194–5.
86. See undated letter from Tom Casement (National Land Bank, Tralee) to Gen. Murphy, and 7 Dec. 1922 correspondence from Murphy to Mulcahy, P7/B/72(6–7,8), Mulcahy Papers, UCDA. Murphy's impressions are anecdotally corroborated by letters of protest on the eve of Childers' execution in TAOIS/S 1396/14, NAI. See also 5 Feb. 1923 Dunfanaghy Rural District Council resolution in Civil War P/1, Box 1, Lot 52, MA.
87. If we count all of the 1916 executions plus those carried out 1919–21, Britain's execution toll was still only one third of the Free State's total in a mere seven months.

88. 24 Feb. 1923 Barton to de Valera, P150/1801, de Valera Papers, UCDA.
89. References to public indifference in IRA 'survey' of attitudes in the No. 1 and No. 2 Battalions, Carlow Brigade, Lot 12, Captured Documents, MA. Examples of some initial public opposition include a motion at Dublin County Council, 11 Dec. 1922, P152/236, G. Gavan Duffy papers, UCDA; petition to the Governor-General, unsigned and undated, P17a/163, O'Malley Papers, UCDA; and the 16 Dec. 1922 resolution of the Tralee Rural District Council, MS 33,917(15), P. Béaslaí Papers, NLI. However, the legitimacy of the Tralee RDC vote was questioned by Kerry TD/Min. of Fisheries, Fionán Ó Loingsigh, (4 Jan. 1923, Ó Loingsigh to T. Lawlor) MS 33917(15), NLI.
90. Hopkinson appears to support both of these conclusions, *Green against Green*, pp. 191–2.
91. 'Military Prisoners Killed at Ballyseedy Bridge on 8th March', JUS/H197/7, NAI. 'Proceedings of a military court of inquiry held at Ballymullen Barracks Tralee to inquire into certain allegations against Free State troops in connection with the deaths of Republican prisoners caused by mine explosions at Ballyseedy, Killarney, Castleisland, and Cahirciveen, with associated correspondence, etc., March–April, 1923', MS 22, 956, NLI. Monthly report from Kerry Command to C/S GHQ Portobello, 24 April 1923, P91/84(1–4), T. Andrews Papers, UCDA. List of Kerry Murders, extracts from IRA reports to GHQ on March murders, and report on Murder of Republican prisoners in Kerry', P69/26(1–2 & 7–10), Twomey Papers, UCDA. Misc Material RE: Ballyseedy, MS. 40,629/1, Niall Harrington Papers, NLI.
92. September 1924 IRA Director of Intelligence to C/S GHQ Dublin claiming 'absolutely reliable' information on the Knocknagoshel link and the identities of Ballyseedy perpetrators, P69/137(47–48), Twomey Papers, UCDA.
93. Correspondence between Macardle and IRA C/S, P69/56, Twomey Papers, UCDA.
94. Brian O'Higgins (1962 edn) *Wolfe Tone Annual* (Dublin), pp. 24–7.
95. 'I.R.A. Murdered in Custody by Free State Army and C.I.D. Personnel', P91/87(5–11), T. Andrews Papers, UCDA. See also Andrews, *Dublin Made Me*, p. 270, O'Halpin, *Defending Ireland*, p. 35, and Mac Eoin, *The IRA in the Twilight Years*, p. 91. I would like to thank Tim Horgan, Cormac Ó Comhraí, and Michael McKenna for clarifications of various details of murders in Kerry, Galway, and Dublin respectively.
96. I arrived at a figure of 16 from O'Higgins' list by including both of the names with post-ceasefire dates beside them as well as undated ones that are corroborated as post-April 1923 by other sources. Two 'authorized murders' occurred post-ceasefire: the executions of Christopher Quinn and William Shaughnessy in County Clare on 2 May.
97. Brian O'Higgins lists eight such victims post-ceasefire, O'Higgins (1962 edn) *Wolfe Tone Annual* (Dublin: n. p.), pp. 28–9.
98. Mac Eoin, *The IRA in the Twilight Years*, p. 89. Reportedly, Brosnan was killed by a Free State officer in the context of a personal dispute (the officer was then convicted and executed for the murder). While a 'non-political' death then, the soldiers involved were implicated in violence against prisoners in Castleisland during the civil war. (Thanks to Tim Horgan for these details.)
99. O'Halpin, *Defending Ireland*, p. 35.

100. Seamus Mac Suain (1993) *Republican Wexford Remembers 1922–1923* (Loch Garman, Ireland), pp. 26–7, 44. See also Hart, *The IRA and its Enemies*, p. 125.
101. ‘The Gang Who Murdered Harry Boland Have Gone South to Murder Eamon de Valera and Erskine Childers’ in ‘Republican Cartoons – Civil War Period’ attributed to Constance Markievicz, PD 3076 TX11, NLI. See also PD 3076 TX11(B) and PD 3076 TX12.
102. *Poblacht na hÉireann*, 27 September 1922.
103. See, for example, P69/20(428) and P69/22(130), Twomey Papers, UCDA.
104. Ernie O’Malley (2012) (C. K. H. O’Malley and T. Horgan eds) *The Men Will Talk to Me: Kerry Interviews* (Cork), pp. 26, 28–9, 75–6, 95–7, 102–8, 146, 211, 235, 258–9, 278–9, 286–7, 293, 329. But O’Malley himself expressed some skepticism about the blame his interviewees placed on Daly and Neligan, p. 293.
105. Kerry Volunteers, in particular, dwell on the topic of dugouts. Seamus O’Connor (1987 edn) *Tomorrow Was Another Day: Irreverent Memories of an Irish Rebel Schoolmaster* (Dun Laoire, Co. Dublin), pp. 91–2, 113. Also see John Joe Sheehy in Mac Eoin, *Survivors*, p. 358.
106. Murphy, *When Youth Was Mine*, pp. 267–80 *passim*.
107. Liam Skinner (1946) *Politicians by Accident* (Dublin), p. 87.
108. *Leitrim Observer*, 27 Oct. 1923.
109. F. S. L. Lyons (1979) *Culture and Anarchy in Ireland, 1890–1939* (Oxford), Chapter 4 *passim*.
110. Skinner, *Politicians by Accident*, p. 54.
111. Skinner, *Politicians by Accident*, p. 87.
112. John Horgan (1997) *Seán Lemass: the Enigmatic Patriot* (Dublin), p. 26.
113. Horgan, *Seán Lemass*, p. 26. Skinner, *Politicians by Accident*, p. 87.
114. Padraic O’Farrell (1997) *Who’s Who in the Irish War of Independence and Civil War 1916–1923* (Dublin), p. 169.
115. Horgan, *Seán Lemass*, p. 27. Mother’s statement to the *Irish Independent*, 12 Nov. 1923.
116. Skinner, *Politicians by Accident*, p. 87; Horgan, *Seán Lemass*, p. 27.
117. Horgan, *Seán Lemass*, p. 27.
118. This theory is mentioned in passing in a civil war history piece in a ‘Series on the Civil War in Galway’, p. 4, *Tuam Herald*, 25 April 1998. The old rumors of Lemass’ involvement in the killing of Hales are also mentioned – but refuted – in a more recent article concerning Ulick O’Connor’s diary entries during the premiere of his 1985 civil war play, *Execution*. O’Connor details how an elderly IRA veteran who attended the play shared with him details about the shooting of Hales, including the identity of the real triggerman, ‘The Truth Behind the Murder of Sean Hales’, *Irish Independent*, 17 February 2002. <<http://www.independent.ie/opinion/analysis/the-truth-behind-the-murder-of-sean-hales-26239306.html>>.
119. *Irish Independent*, 12 November 1923.
120. Paddy O’Connor, P17b/100, p. 21, O’Malley Papers, UCDA. I thank Mike McKenna for sharing this reference and information with me.
121. Murphy questioned at inquest, *Freeman’s Journal*, 23 Oct. 1923.
122. Devine interviewed at inquest, *Freeman’s Journal*, 23 Oct. 1923.
123. *Freeman’s Journal*, 15 Oct. 1923.
124. *Freeman’s Journal*, 15 Oct. 1923.

125. Seán Kennedy (2005) 'Cultural Memory in Mercier and Camier: the Fate of Noel Lemass', in Marius Bunig et al. (eds) *Historicizing Beckett/Issues of Performance* (Amsterdam and New York), p. 118.
126. *Freeman's Journal*, 24 Oct. 1923.
127. *Freeman's Journal*, 15 Oct. 1923.
128. Letter to the editor from Mrs Francis Lemass. *Irish Independent*, 25 April 1924.
129. *Freeman's Journal*, 17 Oct. 1923.
130. Mac Eoin, *The IRA in the Twilight Years*, p. 347. In the early 1930s a Celtic cross was officially unveiled at the site. However, a simpler cross adorned the spot years earlier: see reference to it in *Sunday Independent*, 24 July 1927. In 1998 a new monument was erected at the site, Dolan, *Commemorating the Irish Civil War*, p. 95.
131. *Freeman's Journal*, 24 Oct. 1923.
132. *Freeman's Journal*, 16 Oct. 1923.
133. Mac Eoin, *The IRA in the Twilight Years*, pp. 85, 90, 167. On Murray's sentencing for the Bergin murder, see *Irish Independent*, 13 June 1925.
134. Tuite and Broderick's testimony, *Freeman's Journal*, 16, 23, and 24 Oct. 1923.
135. Mac Eoin, *The IRA in the Twilight Years*, p. 131.
136. 16 May 1924 communication from the Office of the (FSA) Director of Intelligence to the General Officer Commanding Forces, CW P/1 Box 1 [folder's cover torn, Lot No. 9?] MA. Kissane, *The Politics of the Irish Civil War*, p. 166.
137. Murphy, *When Youth Was Mine*, pp. 280–1.
138. This fallacious assumption occurs in an undated excerpt of an essay entitled 'Ireland 1922. The End of a Republic' by Owen Dudley Edwards, P104/1399(1–2), Aiken Papers, UCDA.
139. Entry for FSA's Waterford Command 'General Survey for Fortnight ending 11 August, 1923', P17a/210, O'Malley Papers, UCDA.
140. 'Persons "on the run" – Return of to their homes (1923–24)', JUS/H197/31, NAI. On the fear of retribution by the IRA see Garvin, 1922, p. 166.
141. 14 December 1923, Min/Defence to Min/Home Affairs, and 17 December 1923 Min/Home Affairs to Commissioner, Garda Síochána, in JUS/H197/31, NAI. Many more instances of appeals for clemency or immunity from arrest can be found within this folder.
142. JUS/H197/31, NAI.
143. 17 January 1924 'Statement by the Chief-of-Staff Frank Aiken', and 8 Feb. 1924 communication from the Army Director of Intelligence to members of the Free State's Defence Council. Both documents in CW P/1 Box 1 [folder's cover torn, Lot No. 9?], MA.
144. O/C First Southern Division to IRA C/S, 1 April 1924, and the C/S's 16 April reply. See also 11 April 1924 C/S to Commandant Seán Moylan, P69/27(106–7), Twomey Papers, UCDA.
145. Civic Guard Commissioner report to Army Director of Intelligence, 19 May 1924, CW P/1 Box 1 [folder's cover torn, Lot No. 9?], MA.
146. The accused appears to have been referring to these killings when he told Ernie O'Malley years later, 'People began to be hostile in the Gurteen and Moylough area and it looked by their conduct that the people thought we were beaten. Shortly after that we [local IRA leader Frank Carty's men] shot two spies.' Quoted in Farry, *The Aftermath of Revolution*, p. 107.
147. See documents within CW P/1 Box 1, [folder's cover torn, Lot No. 9?], MA.

148. 1923–4 Quarter Sessions reports for Co. Leitrim, Carlow, and Westmeath, JUS/H185/13, 26, and 27, NAI.
149. State Solicitor Keenan to Secretary, Minister for Home Affairs, 15 June 1923 in Quarter Sessions County Monaghan, 1923', JUS/H 185/14, NAI.
150. Superintendent A. O'Reilly to Garda Commissioner, 15 May 1924, in 'Quarter Sessions County Leitrim, 1923', JUS/H 185/13, NAI.
151. Aiken noted that 'a large number' of Volunteers were being acquitted when tried, 11 April 1924 to Commandant Seán Moylan, P69/37(123), Twomey Papers, UCDA.
152. See file marked 'Intelligence – Sentenced Prisoners whose cases have been reviewed by the Judges ...', Civil War P/1 Box 1, MA.
153. Prisoners released during week ending 5 July 1924, Dept. Foreign Affairs/ES P72, NAI.
154. 'Irregular Campaign Indemnity', resolution adopted by FS Executive Council on 4 November 1924, P24/134, Blythe Papers, UCDA.
155. Garvin, 1922, p. 166.
156. Macardle, *The Irish Republic*, pp. 792–3.
157. Mac Eoin, *The IRA in the Twilight Years*, p. 77.
158. Fitzpatrick, *The Two Irelands*, p. 241.
159. O'Halpin, *Defending Ireland*, p. 42.
160. The three acts were the 'Public Safety (Powers of Arrest and Detention) Temporary Bill, 1924', the 'Public Safety (Punishment of Offences) Temporary Act, 1924', and the 'Firearms (Temporary Provisions) Act, 1924'. Ó Longaigh, *Emergency Law*, pp. 45–50; also see F. S. L. Lyons (1973 edn) *Ireland Since the Famine* (London), pp. 487–8.
161. Ó Longaigh, *Emergency Law*, pp. 62–8. Macardle, *The Irish Republic*, p. 804.
162. O'Halpin, *Defending Ireland*, p. 65.
163. Ryan, *Tom Barry*, pp. 202–3. Michael Laffan (1999) *The Resurrection of Ireland: the Sinn Féin Party, 1916–1923* (Cambridge), p. 439.
164. A 23 November 1926 statement from the IRA Publicity Department argued that the Civic Guard was not, in fact, an unarmed force, and that local police stations were acting as 'collecting centres' for intelligence on republican activists, P69/39(1–2), Twomey Papers, UCDA. On the November attacks see Mac Eoin, *The IRA in the Twilight Years*, pp. 129–30 and Fitzpatrick, *The Two Irelands*, p. 168.
165. Ó Longaigh, *Emergency Law*, pp. 74–6; Fitzpatrick, *The Two Irelands*, p. 168; Lyons, *Ireland Since the Famine*, p. 495.
166. Government suspicions initially focused on Frank Ryan and Seán MacBride, but no one was ever charged. Citing Harry White's memoir, Terence de Vere White identified three men as the perpetrators in (1986 edn) *Kevin O'Higgins* (Dublin), pp. 255–6.
167. Lyons, *Ireland Since the Famine*, p. 498; Ó Longaigh, *Emergency Law*, pp. 76–86.
168. De Valera's 11 July 1927 statement in Maurice Moynihan (ed.) (1980) *Speeches and Statements by Eamon de Valera 1917–73* (Dublin), pp. 148–9.
169. Electoral Amendment Act (1927). Laffan, *The Resurrection of Ireland*, pp. 443–4.
170. Alvin Jackson (1999) *Ireland 1798–1998: Politics and War* (Oxford), p. 287; Regan, *The Irish Counter-Revolution*, pp. 288–94.
171. Fitzpatrick, *The Two Irelands*, pp. 164–5.
172. Kissane, *The Politics of the Irish Civil War*, p. 172.

173. Fitzpatrick, *The Two Irelands*, pp. 164–5.

174. Fitzpatrick, *The Two Irelands*, p. 241.

7 Winners and Losers: Financial Victimization and the Economics of Animosity after the Civil War

1. September 1921 County Inspector's report for Kildare, quoted in Michael Laffan (1999) *The Resurrection of Ireland: the Sinn Féin Party, 1916–1923* (Cambridge), p. 302.
2. Terence Brown (1981) *Ireland: a Social and Cultural History 1922–1979* (London), p. 14.
3. Dorothy Macardle (1968 edn) *The Irish Republic* (London), p. 596.
4. 'Problems of Peace', *Free State*, 25 June 1923.
5. 'Unemployment', c. late 1923, P35b/1(1), Pat McGilligan Papers, UCDA.
6. Peter Pyne (1970) 'The Third Sinn Féin Party: 1923–1926, Part II', *The Economic and Social Review*, I, No. 2, 244.
7. Brown, *Ireland: a Social and Cultural History*, p. 15. Denis Gwynn (1928) *The Irish Free State, 1922–1927* (London), pp. 34–5. Pyne, 'The Third S. F. Party, 1923–1926, Part II', 244.
8. Gwynn, *The Irish Free State*, pp. 34–5. Pyne, 'The Third S. F. Party, 1923–1926, Part II', 244.
9. Pyne, 'The Third S. F. Party, 1923–1926, Part II', 243–5.
10. Tables of prisoners and occupations for 'Tintown No. 1 Internment Camp' and 'Hare Park Internment Camp', Captured Documents, Lots 195 and 148, MA. Also see information on Cumann na mBan activists assembled for 'Unemployment Bureau', Captured Documents, Lot 139, MA.
11. Aiken memo No. 3, 2 July 1923, Captured Documents, Lot 139A, MA. And Point No. 14 on IRA Executive Meeting Minutes from 11–12 July 1923, P104/1264 (4), Aiken Papers, UCDA.
12. 'Letters to the Editor', *Irish Independent*, 20 December 1923.
13. 'Report on Battalion 2 Dublin 1 Brigade', 21 Jan. 1924, P69/20(261–262), Twomey Papers, UCDA.
14. 28 Dec. 1923 report from Commandant 'M.T.' to C/S, P69/39(85–86), Twomey Papers, UCDA.
15. Minutes of 27/28 Jan. 1924 IRA Executive Meeting, P104/1265, Aiken Papers, UCDA.
16. 10 Jan. 1924, Adjutant for Midland Division to C/S, P69/23(189); and 19 Jan. C/S to O/C Midland Division, P69/23(188), both Twomey papers, UCDA.
17. Pyne (1969) 'The Third Sinn Féin Party: 1923–1926, Part I', *The Economic and Social Review*, I, No. 1, 36–7. E. Rumpf and A. C. Hepburn (1977) *Nationalism and Socialism in Twentieth-Century Ireland* (New York), p. 88. On the futility of fundraising efforts see 29 Jan. 1924 correspondence from Máire Ni C[?] to the C/S IRA, P69/37(124), Twomey Papers, UCDA.
18. At the Army Convention at the end of 1925, a number of northern brigades proposed that GHQ 'impress upon the Committees set up to deal with unemployment the necessity of a vigorous effort on their part ... so as to stem the tide of emigration, especially amongst members of the IRA.' Report on General Army Convention, 14–15 Nov. 1925, P104/1337(6), Aiken Papers, UCDA.

19. Mossie Harnett (2002) (J. H. Joy, ed.) *Victory and Woe: the West Limerick Brigade in the War of Independence* (Dublin), p. 159.
20. The provision of railway vouchers is also mentioned in Tintown 'A' Internment Camp documents, 'Routine Orders', folder '3', in Civil War P/1 Box 1, MA.
21. Interview with Michael Flannery by N. Kersey, 18 March 1981, MS 41,928, Seán O'Mahony Papers, NLI.
22. E. O'Malley (2012) *The Singing Flame* (Cork), p. 369.
23. Cabinet Minutes for 4 and 11 October 1923 (C.2/7 and C.2/10), NAI. See also Tom Garvin (1996) *1922: the Birth of Irish Democracy* (Dublin), p. 121.
24. See Cabinet Minutes for 25 May 1923 on disbanding of CID (C.1/111), NAI.
25. Marie Coleman (2013) 'Military Service Pensions for Veterans of the Irish Revolution, 1916–1923', *War in History*, Vol. 20, No. 2, 202–3.
26. Coleman, 'Military Service Pensions for Veterans of the Irish Revolution, 1916–1923', 205–6.
27. Coleman, 'Military Service Pensions for Veterans of the Irish Revolution, 1916–1923', 208.
28. Marie Coleman (2014) 'Cumann na mBan and the Military Service Pensions', unpublished paper given at the Women's History Association of Ireland, 5 April 2014, pp. 11–12. (I would like to thank Dr Coleman for graciously sharing this essay as well as various pensions leads with me.)
29. 4 March 1923 Office of Adjutant General to Army Pensions Department, MSPC/1P724/13: Margaret Skinnider, Military Archives online. See also Coleman 'Cumann na mBan and the Military Service Pensions', p. 12.
30. Coleman 'Cumann na mBan and the Military Service Pensions', p. 7.
31. Terence Dooley (2003) 'IRA Veterans and Land Division in Independent Ireland, 1923–48' in F. McGarry (ed.) *Republicanism in Modern Ireland* (Dublin), p. 96.
32. Interview with Flannery, 18 March 1981, MS 41,928, NLI.
33. Coleman, 'Military Service Pensions for Veterans of the Irish Revolution, 1916–1923', 208.
34. Coleman, 'Military Service Pensions for Veterans of the Irish Revolution, 1916–1923', 211–12.
35. Calton Younger (1969) *Ireland's Civil War* (New York), p. 504. Eunan O'Halpin (1999) *Defending Ireland: the Irish State and its Enemies since 1922* (Oxford), p. 42. Michael Hopkinson (2004 edn) *Green against Green: the Irish Civil War* (Dublin), p. 265.
36. 'Emigration – a Protest', *Sinn Féin*, 9 May 1925.
37. Phrase taken from the *Free State*, 28 Oct. 1922. See also 'The Problem of the Irregular' and 'The Problem of the Student', *Free State*, 21 Oct. and 4 Nov. 1922.
38. See Min./Justice O'Higgins' 10 Jan. 1924 memo to Executive Council and Garda crime returns for 1 July–21 Dec. 1923 highlighting criminal cases involving (ex-)members of the National Army, P24/323, E. Blythe Papers, UCDA. Hopkinson, *Green against Green*, p. 265. David Fitzpatrick (1998) *The Two Irelands 1912–1939* (Oxford), p. 174.
39. Cabinet Minutes, 28 Oct. 1922, P.G. 48(a), NAI.
40. The documents discussed here are all collected in FIN/1/45, NAI.
41. The delivery of Old-Age Pensions was hampered elsewhere during the civil war, 'Old-Age Pensions Held Up Owing to Robberies', *Freeman's Journal*, 1 Dec. 1922.
42. John Regan (1999) *The Irish Counter-Revolution 1921–1936: Treatyite Politics and Settlement in Independent Ireland* (Dublin), p. 121.

43. 12 Jan. 1923 letter to Blythe with 15 January note from Minister for Local Government to the President, FIN 1/2435, NAI.
44. PD 3076 TX 1(A), NLI.
45. O'Malley, *The Singing Flame*, p. 367.
46. Editorial on 'County Rates', *Connaught Telegraph*, 25 Feb. 1922.
47. Fitzpatrick gives the figures 21,000 and 131 respectively, *The Two Irelands*, p. 156. The percentage cited comes from Alvin Jackson (1999) *Ireland 1798–1998: Politics and War* (Oxford), p. 276.
48. 'Civil Service in the Free State', *Irish Independent*, 7 Nov. 1922.
49. Charles Bewley (1989) *Memoirs of a Wild Goose* (Dublin), pp. 91–2.
50. 27 Oct. 1923, 2nd Executive Council Minutes, NAI.
51. Martin Maguire (2008) *The Civil Service and the Revolution in Ireland, 1912–38: 'Shaking the Blood-stained Hand of Mr. Collins'* (Manchester), Chapter 4 *passim*.
52. Blythe WS 939, pp. 164–5, BMH.
53. Cabinet Minutes, 21 July 1922 (P.G. 67), NAI.
54. Cabinet Minutes, 22 Nov. 1922 (P.G. 68(a)) and 14 April 1923 (C.1/83), NAI.
55. Cabinet Minutes, 25 July 1922 (P.G. 70), NAI.
56. Maguire, *The Civil Service and the Revolution in Ireland*, p. 137.
57. Promissory Oath Act, Northern Ireland, 1923. See 'Six-County Oath. Declaration of Loyalty for Civil Servants' and 'More Oaths in Belfast', *Freeman's Journal*, 16 March and 19 April 1923 respectively.
58. Cabinet Minutes for 21, 24, 25 Aug. and 15 Sept. 1922, NAI.
59. Cabinet Minutes, 26 Oct. 1922 (P.G. 46(a)), NAI. In response to a question in the Dáil, the Minister for Finance claimed that, as of 25 October, the government had reinstated 70 such employees and was looking into other cases. Dáil Debates, Vol. 1, 25 October 1922, 'Questions' section, D. E. website archive.
60. 3 Feb. 1923 report from Commandant Seán Gallagher to Commandant General Prout, G.O.C. Waterford Command, in MS 070 'Irregular Activity Wexford Situation', MA.
61. 18 Oct. 1923 letter from Benedict O'Sullivan to Margaret Collins O'Driscoll, P4/1387, Hugh Kennedy Papers, UCDA.
62. *Freeman's Journal*, 22 July, 1 Dec., 12 Dec. 1922 and 23–4 Jan. 1923.
63. Cabinet Minutes, 23 Jan. 1923 (C 1/35), NAI.
64. Cabinet Minutes, 27 Jan. 1923 (C 1/36), NAI.
65. Cabinet Minutes, 13 Nov. 1923 (C 2/18) and 17 Dec. 1923 (C 2/33), NAI.
66. *Freeman's Journal*, 24 March 1923.
67. Bill Kissane (2005) *The Politics of the Irish Civil War* (Oxford), p. 167–8.
68. 'Notes for Speakers', Fianna Fáil Publicity Department, P176/351(64), Fianna Fáil Party Archive, UCDA.
69. Tony Farmar (1991) *Ordinary Lives: Three Generations of Irish Middle Class Experience, 1907, 1932, 1963* (Dublin), p. 89.
70. Macardle, *The Irish Republic*, pp. 804–5. Other works that briefly mention this theme include Francis Blake (1986) *The Irish Civil War 1922–1923 and What It Still Means for the Irish People* (London), p. 63; J. Bowyer-Bell (1997 edn) *The Secret Army: the IRA* (Dublin), p. 50; Tom Garvin (2005 edn) *Nationalist Revolutionaries in Ireland 1858–1928* (Dublin), p. 32; Hopkinson, *Green against Green*, p. 274; K. Griffith and T. O'Grady (1999 edn) *Ireland's Unfinished Revolution: an Oral History* (Niwtot, CO), *passim*; Fitzpatrick, *The Two Irelands*, p. 215; and Pyne, 'The Third S. F. Party, 1923–1926' (Parts I and II), *passim*.

71. Bowyer-Bell, *The Secret Army*, p. 50.
72. 28 April 1925, Inspection report for Connemara area of Fourth Western Division, P69/34(17-19), Twomey Papers, UCDA.
73. 5 June 1926, O'Casey to de Valera, P176/27(1), UCDA.
74. See P176/25 1926-8 cash books and subscriptions from US, and miscellaneous correspondence in P176/27, FF Party Archive, UCDA.
75. Garvin, 1922, p. 168.
76. Director/Intelligence report on 'Irregular Activity Wexford Situation', c. January 1924, MS 070, MA.
77. 'Complaints RE: Employment of Irregulars in preference to ex-National Army men on Government Works', JUS/H280/9, NAI.
78. Comerford quoted in Mac Eoin, *Survivors*, p. 52.
79. Mac Eoin, *Survivors*, pp. 147-8.
80. Frank O'Connor (1994 edn) *My Father's Son* (Belfast), p. 11.
81. Seán Ó Faoláin (1963) *Vive Moi!* (Boston), pp. 217 and 337.
82. 21 June 1935 pension application statement, WMSF34REF14964: Martin Moloney, MA online collections.
83. Undated statement from Connie Neenan, MS 44, 064/3, pp. 111-12, Seán O'Mahony Papers, NLI.
84. Neenan interviewed in Mac Eoin, *Survivors*, p. 249. See also undated statement from Neenan, MS 44, 064/3, pp. 111-113, NLI.
85. MS 44, 064/3, p. 113, O'Mahony Papers, NLI.
86. Undated obituary for Connie Neenan, who died in Cork at age 87, by Paul O'Dwyer, MS 44,131/9, O'Mahony Papers, NLI.
87. Farmer, *Ordinary Lives*, p. 87-9.
88. Comerford quoted in Mac Eoin, *Survivors*, p. 52.
89. J. F. O'Connor (1989) *An Irish Civil War Exile* (New York), p. 15.
90. Interview with Michael Flannery by N. Kersey, MS 41,928, O'Mahony Papers, NLI.
91. MS 41,928, O'Mahony Papers, NLI.
92. J. Campbell (E. Ní Chuilleanáin, ed.) (2001) 'As I Was Among the Captives': *Joseph Campbell's Prison Diary, 1922-1923* (Cork), p. 115.
93. Quoted in Mac Eoin, *Survivors*, pp. 147-8.
94. Meda Ryan (2003) *Tom Barry: IRA Freedom Fighter* (Cork), p. 202.
95. Griffith and O'Grady (eds), *Ireland's Unfinished Revolution*, p. 332.
96. Griffith and O'Grady (eds), *Ireland's Unfinished Revolution*, p. 314.
97. Robert Briscoe (with A. Hatch) (1958) *For the Life of Me* (Boston), pp. 210-16.
98. C. S. Andrews (1982) *Man of No Property: an Autobiography (Volume Two)* (Cork), p. 47.
99. Andrews, *Man of No Property*, pp. 9 and 51.
100. Garvin, *Nationalist Revolutionaries in Ireland*, p. 32.
101. Andrews, *Man of No Property*, p. 52.
102. Andrews, *Man of No Property*, pp. 43-5, 53.
103. Mac Eoin, *Survivors*, p. 181.
104. Griffith and O'Grady (eds), *Ireland's Unfinished Revolution*, p. 338.
105. Laffan, *The Resurrection of Ireland*, pp. 444-5.
106. Uinseann Mac Eoin notes of conversation with Maurice Twomey (1980), p. 3, MS 44,126/5, Seán O'Mahony Papers, NLI.
107. Griffith and O'Grady (eds), *Ireland's Unfinished Revolution*, p. 316.

108. Andrews, *Man of No Property*, p. 26.
109. Fearghal McGarry (2002) *Frank Ryan* (Dublin), p. 5.
110. Comerford in Griffith and O'Grady (eds), *Ireland's Unfinished Revolution*, p. 314.
111. 'Emigration – a Protest', *Sinn Féin*, 9 May 1925.
112. Regan, *The Irish Counter-Revolution*, p. 102.
113. Along with the unarmed Civic Guard and Dublin Metropolitan Police, these included the Criminal Investigation Department, the Civil Defence Force, the Protective Officers' Corps, and the Railway Protection and Maintenance Corps.
114. Garvin, 1922, p. 122.
115. Cabinet Minutes, May 25 1923 (C.1/111), NAI.
116. Cabinet Minutes, 7 July 1923 (C.1/130), 4 Oct. 1923 (C.2/7), 16 Oct. 1923 (C.2/12), NAI.
117. Ristead Mulcahy (1999) *Richard Mulcahy (1886–1971): a Family Memoir* (Dublin), p. 192.
118. *Free State*, 28 Oct. 1922.
119. Memo from members of the disbanded Protection Corps to the government appealing for assistance in finding employment, Cabinet Minutes, 11 Oct. 1923 (C.2/10), NAI. See also 'Activities of ex-CID, Protection Corps, etc. 1923', JUS/H197/27, NAI. See also Minister for Justice O'Higgins to Executive Council, 10 Jan. 1924, and accompanying Garda crime returns for 1 July–21 Dec. 1923, P24/323, E. Blythe Papers, UCDA.
120. Cabinet Minutes, 11 Oct. 1923 (C.2/10), NAI.
121. 'President's appeal on behalf of ex-national Soldiers', DFA/ES P66, NAI.
122. 20 July 1922 letter from UCC, Student Redress Union to Dept. of Finance, and correspondence re: grants to resume studies from university students who were on active service in the IRA, FIN 1/708, NAI.
123. Seán Lester, Publicity Dept. to Gordon Campbell, Esq., Ministry of Industry and Commerce, 29 Nov. 1923, DFA/ES P66, NAI.
124. DFA A/ES P66, NAI.
125. 'Using Petrol to Put It Out' (cartoon), *Éire* (Glasgow), 15 Dec. 1923.
126. Andrews, *Man of No Property*, p. 14. Ó Faoláin, *Vive Moi*, p. 217.
127. Jeremiah Murphy (1998) *When Youth Was Mine: a Memoir of Kerry, 1902–1925* (Dublin), pp. 301–2.
128. For a labour perspective see 'Men in Dire Want', *Freeman's Journal*, 21 Oct. 1922. For the non-labour perspective on 'irregularism' being to blame, see 'unemployment' editorial, same issue.
129. 'The Problem of the Irregular', *Free State*, 21 Oct. 1922.
130. Griffith and O'Grady (eds), *Ireland's Unfinished Revolution*, p. 317.
131. Tom Garvin (2005 edn) *The Evolution of Irish Nationalist Politics* (Dublin), p. 215.
132. Tomas Ó Maoileoin quoted in Mac Eoin, *Survivors*, p. 100.
133. Along with Tomas Ó Maoileoin, Seán MacBride claims to have received 'a definite offer' of 'a very high position in the army' from Aiken. He refused the offer (and his IRA service pension some years later), C. Lawlor (ed.) (2005) *Seán MacBride: That Day's Struggle: a Memoir 1904–1951* (Blackrock, Dublin), pp. 194–5.
134. Rumpf and Hepburn, *Nationalism and Socialism*, pp. 90–1.

135. O'Halpin, *Defending Ireland*, pp. 116–17.
136. Dooley (2003) 'IRA Veterans and Land Division in Independent Ireland, 1923–48', p. 102.
137. Brian Hanley (2002) *The IRA 1926–1936* (Dublin), p. 140. Máire Comerford interviewed in Griffith and O'Grady (eds), *Ireland's Unfinished Revolution*, p. 315.
138. 22 April 1931, de Valera's Private Secretary to Rev. P. S. Doyle, St John's Priory, Dublin, re: Ms. K. Byrne, P176/30(56), FF Party Papers, UCDA.
139. See, for example, correspondence regarding Hugh Brady, a Donegal Volunteer who emigrated to the US in the mid-1920s, P176/30(108), UCDA.
140. 27 March 1931, reply from de Valera's private secretary to Miss Lizzie Coll, Knockmore, Kilmallock, P176/30(27); and 16 June 1926, Adelia Christy, Ben Franklin Pledge Council of the AARIR, Cleveland, Ohio to de Valera, P176/27(3), UCDA.
141. 6, 8, and 14 August 1931 correspondence between J. A. Nix and de Valera, P176/30(120), UCDA.
142. 14 August 1931, de Valera to John Healy, P176/30(131), UCDA.
143. 11 August 1931, letter from John Healy to de Valera, P176/30(131), UCDA.
144. Hanley, *The IRA 1926–1936*, p. 134. Garvin, *The Evolution of Irish Nationalist Politics*, p. 215.
145. 16 Sept. 1931, de Valera reply to P. J. Fox of Dublin, P176/30(164), UCDA.
146. 22 August 1927 speech at Blackrock Town Hall, Dublin, in M. Moynihan (ed.) (1980) *Speeches and Statements by Eamon de Valera 1917–73* (Dublin), p.151–2. Excerpts from this speech under the heading, 'No Job-Hunting and No Victimisation', were published in the 1927 election pamphlet, 'What Fianna Fáil Stands For', P176/827, UCDA.
147. Minutes of Party Meeting, 7 July 1932–11 May 1933, P176/444, UCDA.
148. The most notorious 'victim' of the change of power was Civic Guard Commissioner Eoin O'Duffy. Fearghal McGarry (2005) *Eoin O'Duffy: a Self-Made Hero* (Oxford), pp. 194–8.
149. Coleman, 'Military Service Pensions for Veterans of the Irish Revolution, 1916–1923', pp. 211–16. New Minister for Defence, Frank Aiken, stipulated that pension applicants who were in the field at the end of the civil war were required to provide evidence that they actively tried to elude capture in the ensuing months, Uinseann Mac Eoin (1997) *The IRA in the Twilight Years 1923–1948* (Dublin), p. 218. References to having 'dumped arms and evaded arrest' are indeed commonplace in pension applications from that period. See c.1940 pension application statements, West Limerick Brigade Committee, MS. 27,607(2), NLI.
150. Mac Eoin interview with Moss Twomey (1980), p. 10, MS 44,126/5, NLI.
151. 20 Dec. 1937, 'Old IRA Pensions – National Association Statement', *Irish Press* newspaper clipping, MS 44,067/5, S. O'Mahony Papers, NLI.
152. John Gibney (2014) 'The Military Service Pensions Collection', *History Ireland*, Vol. 22, No. 3 (May/June), 41–2.
153. Griffith and O'Grady (eds), *Ireland's Unfinished Revolution*, p. 329.
154. O'Connor, *An Irish Civil War Exile*, p.185–6.
155. Bill Kissane, "'Civil War Politics" in Inter-war Ireland 1923–1939' (draft of article made available by the author), p. 13.

8 IRA Emigration and the Social Outcomes of the Civil War

1. 'To Work Openly – Mr. De Valera's Attitude', *The Irish Independent*, 24 July 1923.
2. Others who have likened the republican exodus to the 'Flight of the Wild Geese' include Ernie O'Malley (2012 edn) *The Singing Flame* (Cork), p. 358 and Liam Deasy (1998 edn) *Brother against Brother* (Dublin), pp. 30–1.
3. The term 'revolutionary generation' comes from F. S. L. Lyons (1979) *Culture and Anarchy in Ireland 1890–1939* (Oxford), Chapter 4 *passim*. I borrow the phrase 'mini-diaspora' from C. S. Andrews (1982) *Man of No Property: an Autobiography (Volume Two)* (Cork), p. 14.
4. Frank O'Connor (1961) *An Only Child* (New York), p. 271.
5. The TWU's interwar leader was civil war veteran Mike Quill. See Brian Hanley (2009) 'Irish Republicans in Interwar New York', *Irish Journal of American Studies*, Vol. 1 (June), available online at <<http://www.ijasonline.com/BRIAN-HANLEY.html>>; Shirley Quill (1985) *Mike Quill, Himself: a Memoir* (Greenwich, CT); and L. H. Whittmore (1968) *The Man Who Ran the Subway: the Story of Mike Quill* (New York).
6. Máire Comerford in Uinseann Mac Eoin (1980) *Survivors* (Dublin), p. 52; Andrews, *Man of No Property*, p. 14. On Flannery see Dermot O'Reilly and Seán Ó Brádaigh (eds) (2001) *Accepting the Challenge: the Memoirs of Michael Flannery* (Dublin, 2001).
7. Brian Hanley (2002) *The IRA 1926–1936* (Dublin) and 'Irish Republicans in Inter-War New York'. Gavin Wilk (2012) 'Displaced Allegiance: Militant Irish Republican Activism in the U.S., 1923–39', PhD thesis (NUI Limerick).
8. Kerby Miller (1985) *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America* (New York), pp. 453, 555. Italics added.
9. Matthew J. O'Brien (2001) 'Irishness in Great Britain and the U.S.: Transatlantic and Cross-Channel Migration Networks and Irish Ethnicity, 1920–1990', PhD thesis (Madison, Wisconsin), p. 3.
10. Peter Hart (2003) 'The Protestant Experience of Revolution in Southern Ireland' in *The IRA at War 1916–1923* (Oxford), pp. 223–40; Andy Bielenberg (2013) 'Exodus: the Emigration of Southern Irish Protestants During the Irish War of Independence and the Civil War', *Past and Present*, 218 (1): 199–233; 'Kent Fedorowich (1999) 'Reconstruction and Resettlement: the Politicization of Irish Migration to Australia and Canada, 1919–1929', *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 114, No. 459 (Nov.), 1143–1178; Enda Delaney (2000) *Demography, State, and Society: Irish Migration to Britain, 1921–1971* (Liverpool), pp. 37–8, 42, and 69–83; Michael Farry (2000) *The Aftermath of Revolution: Sligo, 1921–1923* (Dublin), pp. 177–201; and David Fitzpatrick (1998 edn) *Politics and Irish Life 1913–1921: Provincial Experience of War and Revolution* (Cork), pp. 39, 67–8.
11. See, for example, Michael Hopkinson, 'Civil War and Aftermath, 1922–4' in Hill (ed.) (2003) *A New History of Ireland, VII, Ireland 1921–84* (Oxford), p. 55; J. Bowyer-Bell (1997 edn) *The Secret Army: the IRA* (Dublin), p. 50; Tony Farrow (1991) *Ordinary Lives: Three Generations of Irish Middle Class Experience, 1907, 1932, 1963* (Dublin), p. 89; Helen Litton (1995) *The Irish Civil War: an Illustrated History* (Dublin), p. 132; Bill Kissane (2002) *Explaining Irish Democracy* (Dublin), p. 11.

12. E. Rumpf and A. C. Hepburn (1977) *Nationalism and Socialism in Twentieth-Century Ireland* (New York), pp. 87–8.
13. David Fitzpatrick (1984) *Irish Emigration 1801–1921* (Dublin), pp. 1, 3; Kevin Kenny (2000) *The American Irish: a History* (Harlow, England), pp. 97, 131.
14. See for example, Tom Garvin (1996) *1922: The Birth of Irish Democracy* (Dublin), pp. 21–2; Fitzpatrick, *Irish Emigration 1801–1921*, p. 41; Fitzpatrick, *Politics and Irish Life*, p. 199; Diarmaid Ferriter, *The Transformation of Ireland, 1900–2000* (London), p. 472; and Enda Delaney (2002) *Irish Emigration Since 1921* (Dublin), p. 43.
15. Delaney, *Demography, State, and Society*, p. 57–8; 96; Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles*, pp. 456–8; and Ferriter, *The Transformation of Ireland*, p. 330.
16. See, for example, John Mitchel (Patrick Maume, ed.) (2005 edn) *The Last Conquest of Ireland (Perhaps)* (Dublin). Fitzpatrick, *Irish Emigration 1801–1921*, p. 16.
17. Tom Garvin (2005 edn) *Nationalist Revolutionaries in Ireland 1858–1928* (Dublin), p. 72. See also D. P. Moran (1905 edn) *The Philosophy of Irish-Ireland* (Dublin), pp. 16–17.
18. Table 1.1 in Delaney, *Demography, State and Society*, p. 22. Although lower than in the late nineteenth century, emigration from the 26 counties was averaging 26,000 per year between 1911 and 1926, David Johnson (1985) *The Interwar Economy in Ireland* (Dublin), p. 37.
19. David Fitzpatrick notes that in 1917 and 1918 Irish emigration was less than 1 emigrant per 1000 of the population in County Clare, down from its pre-war level of 13 per 1000, *Politics and Irish Life*, p. 199.
20. In a well-known comment during a 1920 interview with France's *Le Journal*, the Irish Lord Lieutenant Field-Marshal Lord French explicitly blamed Ireland's political unrest on the fact that 100,000–200,000 young men who ordinarily would have emigrated had been unable to do so, Dorothy Macardle (1968 edn) *The Irish Republic* (London), p. 308. See also Kissane, *Explaining Irish Democracy*, p. 11.
21. Peter Hart (1997) 'The Geography of Revolution in Ireland 1917–1923', *Past and Present*, Vol. 155, No. 1, 142–76, argued that British Army recruitment effectively took up the surplus. For both County Clare and Ireland as a whole, Fitzpatrick would appear to agree, *Politics and Irish Life*, p. 199. For a convincing rebuttal of Hart's argument, however, see Marie Coleman (2003) *County Longford and the Irish Revolution, 1910–1923* (Dublin), pp. 173–5. See also Michael Laffan (1999) *The Resurrection of Ireland: the Sinn Féin Party, 1916–1923* (Cambridge), pp. 188–9, and Michael Hopkinson (2002) *The Irish War of Independence* (Dublin), p. 20.
22. According to Arthur Mitchell, from a mere 3000 emigrants in 1919, Irish emigration (to the US and Britain combined) reached 30,000 in 1920, Arthur Mitchell (1995) *Revolutionary Government in Ireland: Dáil Éireann 1919–22* (Dublin), p. 240.
23. Michael Hopkinson (2004 edn) *Green against Green: the Irish Civil War* (Dublin), p. 10.
24. Pearse quoted in Laffan, *The Resurrection of Ireland*, p. 190.
25. Author(s) or editor(s) not cited (1929) *Austin Stack 1880–1929* (Dublin), p. 14.
26. Report on Kerry IRA's efforts to prevent local men of military age from leaving the country, *An tÓglach*, 15 July 1920. On Sinn Féin emigration policy more generally see Mitchell, *Revolutionary Government in Ireland*, pp. 240–1; Joost

- Augusteijn (1996) *From Public Defiance to Guerrilla Warfare: the Experience of Ordinary Volunteers in the Irish War of Independence 1916–1921* (Dublin), pp. 299–300; M. G. Valiulis (1992) *Portrait of a Revolutionary: General Richard Mulcahy and the Founding of the Irish State* (Dublin), pp. 63–4, 91; and Hart, *The IRA at War 1916–1923*, pp. 154–5.
27. Jonathan Bardon and Dermot Keogh, 'Ireland, 1921–84', in Hill (ed.), *N.H.I., Vol. VII*, p. lxxiii. Of course, 'all estimates of the numbers leaving the two Irelands after 1921 are exactly that, estimates', Delaney, *Irish Emigration Since 1921*, p. 3.
 28. Appendix 1, 'Emigration from Scotland and Ireland to the U.S., Canada, Australasia 1921–1938' in Angela McCarthy (2007) *Personal Narratives of Irish and Scottish Migration 1921–65: 'For spirit and adventure'* (Manchester), p. 227.
 29. Delaney, *Demography, State and Society*, p. 84. On the lack of reliable data for Irish migration to Britain in the interwar period, see pp. 39–46.
 30. See for example, David Fitzpatrick (1998) *The Two Irelands 1912–1939* (Oxford), pp. 214–15; Ferriter, *The Transformation of Ireland*, p. 330; and John A. Murphy (1975) *Ireland in the Twentieth Century* (Dublin), p. 153.
 31. Hopkinson, 'Civil War and Aftermath, 1922–4' in Hill (ed.), *N.H.I., Vol. VII*, p. 55; Kenny, *The American Irish*, p. 199; Robert Kee (2000 omnibus edn) *The Green Flag: a History of Irish Nationalism* (London), p. 749; Joanne Dempsey (1997) 'Irish Republican Women 1921–1923', MA Thesis (UCD); Meda Ryan (2003) *Tom Barry: IRA Freedom Fighter* (Cork), p. 202; Hopkinson, *Green against Green*, p. 274.
 32. Kissane, *Explaining Irish Democracy*, p. 11; Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles*, p. 453; Francis Blake (1986) *The Irish Civil War 1922–1923 and What It Still Means for the Irish People* (London), p. 63; Macardle, *The Irish Republic*, p. 805.
 33. Andrews, *Man of No Property*, p. 14.
 34. Hanley, *The IRA, 1926–1936*, p. 11.
 35. Hanley, *The IRA, 1926–1936*, pp. 11–12.
 36. On the initial Canadian destination of many Volunteers see March 1924 Army Intelligence report for Kerry, MS 175, Military Archives; and West Limerick Brigade member's 1941 pension application, Ms. 27.606(2), NLI. Seamus O'Connor (1987 edn) *Tomorrow Was Another Day: Irreverent Memories of an Irish Rebel Schoolmaster* (Dun Laoire, Co. Dublin), p. 121.
 37. Fitzpatrick, *The Two Irelands 1912–1939*, p. 215.
 38. Dudley Baines (1991) *Emigration from Europe 1815–1930* (London), pp. 58, 71.
 39. Delaney, *Demography, State, and Society*, p. 43. However, in the spring of 1923, Ireland and Britain had exhausted their combined annual quota before the 'immigration year' ended, *Freeman's Journal*, 8 May 1923.
 40. C. L. Bankston et al. (eds) (2006) *Immigration in U.S. History* (Pasadena), p. 347.
 41. Francesco Cordasco (ed.) (1990) *Dictionary of American Immigration History* (Metuchen, New Jersey), p. 372–3, 384–5, 397–8.
 42. James Ciment (ed.) (2001) *Encyclopedia of American Immigration* (Armonk, NY), p. 15.
 43. Delaney, *Demography, State, and Society*, p. 43.
 44. Michael Doorley (2005) *Irish-American Diaspora Nationalism: the Friends of Irish Freedom, 1916–1935* (Dublin), p. 154. On Irish-American reactions to quota adjustments see press extracts and commentary in P69/37(235), Twomey Papers, UCDA.

45. Macardle, *The Irish Republic*, p. 805 (footnote one).
46. Delaney, *Demography, State, and Society*, p. 43. See also press clippings and other materials in P69/37(235), Twomey Papers, UCDA
47. M. E. Daly (2006) *The Slow Failure: Population Decline and Independent Ireland, 1920–1973* (Madison, WI), pp. 140–1.
48. Delaney, *Irish Emigration Since 1921*, p. 7 and Delaney, *Demography, State, and Society*, p. 43. Daly, *The Slow Failure*, p. 141.
49. Daly, *The Slow Failure*, p. 140.
50. Hanley, 'Irish Republicans in Interwar New York', p. 18.
51. Delaney, *Irish Emigration Since 1921*, p. 10; Daly, *The Slow Failure*, p. 140; O'Brien, 'Irishness in Great Britain and the U.S.', p. 11.
52. O'Brien, 'Irishness in Great Britain and the U.S.', pp. 10–11, 14–15; Delaney, *Demography, State, and Society*, p. 43.
53. Daly, *The Slow Failure*, pp. 140–1; O'Brien, 'Irishness in Great Britain and the U.S.', pp. 15–21.
54. Jeremiah Murphy (1998) *When Youth Was Mine: a Memoir of Kerry, 1902–1925* (Dublin), pp. 282–3, 301; Seamus O'Connor, *Tomorrow Was Another Day*, p. 118, 121.
55. 'Our Duty in the Future', C/S circular to all officers, 28 May 1923, P104/1312(1–20), Aiken Papers, UCDA.
56. Hanley, *The IRA 1926–1936*, p. 161.
57. IRA Executive Meeting Minutes, 11–12 July 1923, P104/1264(4), Aiken Papers, UCDA. Also see: 2 October 1923 letter from C/S to Commandant Moylan in the U.S., P69/37(136–140), Twomey Papers, UCDA; 9 Feb. 1924 Midlands Division report on the 27–28 Jan. 1924 meeting of the IRA Executive (Captured Documents, Lot 202, MA) which refers to a decision to stand by 'Gen. Order 22'; C/S to O/C Dub.1 Bde, 3 Feb. 1924, refers to 'Emigration Order General Order #22, P69/20(250), Twomey Papers, UCDA.
58. See for example Volunteer P. Keegan's c.1925 application to emigrate, P69/8(329), Twomey Papers, UCDA.
59. IRA Executive Meeting Minutes, 11–12 July 1923, P104/1264(4), Aiken Papers, UCDA. 2 Oct. 1923 letter from C/S to Commandant Moylan, P69/37(136–40), Twomey Papers, UCDA.
60. 15 October 1924 to 'Commandant L.P. [Liam Pedlar?] in the U.S.', P69/37(116), Twomey Papers, UCDA.
61. Along with wholesome benefits, 'other resources' could include gambling and alcohol, the latter a prized commodity during Prohibition. See O'Connor, *Tomorrow Was Another Day*, pp. 123–4 and Hanley 'Irish Republicans in Interwar New York', pp. 10–12.
62. O'Malley, *The Singing Flame*, p. 350.
63. Republican prisoner's autograph book, Tintown No.1 Internment Camp, Curragh, 1922–1923 (20 MS 1C2305, Kilmainham Gaol Archive).
64. On prison officials' encouragement of this, see J. Campbell (E. Ní Chuilleanáin, ed.) (2001) *'As I Was Among the Captives': Joseph Campbell's Prison Diary, 1922–1923* (Cork), p. 115.
65. Hopkinson, *Green against Green*, p. 223.
66. Seán Moylan to the Chief of Staff, 12 Sept. 1923, and the C/S's 2 October reply rejecting Moylan's appeal, P69/37(136–42), Twomey Papers, UCDA.

67. Minutes of 27–8 Jan. 1924 IRA Executive Meeting, P104/1265, Aiken Papers, UCDA. And 9 Feb. 1924 Midlands Division report on 27–8 Jan. meeting, Captured Documents, Lot 202, MA.
68. Liam O'Dwyer, O/C 5th Battln, 5th Cork Brigade, letter of resignation, P69/27(92–5), Twomey Papers, UCDA.
69. 'Emigration', December 1923, P104/1324(1–2) and 11 Dec. 1923 article by 'Lamh Dearg' (Aiken's pen name), P104/1323, Aiken Papers, UCDA.
70. 2 July 1924 Aiken piece, P104/1326(1), Aiken Papers, UCDA.
71. 11 April 1924 C/S to O/C First Southern Division, P69/27(108), Twomey Papers, UCDA.
72. Hanley, 'Irish Republicans in Interwar NY', p. 6; 30 March 1924 report for the First Southern Division, P69/27(120–1), Twomey Papers, UCDA. Also see Waterford entry in FSA's 'General Survey for Fortnight Ending 11 Aug. 1923', P17a/210, O'Malley Papers, UCDA.
73. 28 Dec. 1923 C/S staff report to C/S IRA HQ, P69/39 (85–6); and 21–2 Jan. 1924 Battalion Reports, Dublin 1 Brigade, P69/20 (261–3; 269), both in Twomey Papers, UCDA. On the post-1923 timing of exodus see Rumpf and Hepburn, *Nationalism and Socialism*, p. 87.
74. Sept. 1923–May 1924 Western Division reports, P69/111, Twomey Papers, UCDA
75. For example, mid-1924 Limerick Brigade Inspection Reports, P69/113, and June 1924 report for 2nd Southern Division, P69/99(143, 145, 147, 152), both Twomey Papers, UCDA.
76. 'Report on Civil Organization and Civil Matters', 18 Jan. 1924, Third West. Div., P69/108(41–51), Twomey Papers, UCDA.
77. Minutes of Third Western Divisional Council Meeting, 2 March 1924, P69/108(28–29, 33–5), Twomey Papers, UCDA.
78. Report of Third Southern Divisional Council Meeting, 12 March 1924, P69/99(178), Twomey Papers, UCDA.
79. Report from HQ First Southern Division, 30 March 1924, P69/27(120–21), Twomey Papers, UCDA. March 1924 Free State Army Intelligence report on Kerry, MS 175, MA.
80. See O/C 5th Brigade, First Western Division, Martin Shanahan's 19 Feb. 1924 application for permission to emigrate, P69/102(20); Adjutant General's 29 Feb. 1924 letter denying both Shanahan and Casey's requests for permits, P69/102(24); and Seán Casey's (Division Adjutant, First Western Division) 6 March 1924 letter further arguing his case, P69/102(7–9). The case of Liam O'Dwyer can be found in P69/27(68) and P69/27(15–17). See also P69/102(4) and P69/27(15–17). All within Twomey Papers, UCDA.
81. 23 April 1924, P69/27(103), Twomey Papers, UCDA.
82. C/S to O/C First Southern Division, 11 April 1924, P69/27(108), Twomey Papers, UCDA.
83. Correspondence between the O/C First Southern Division and the C/S, 1 April and 16 April 1924, P69/27(106–107), Twomey Papers, UCDA.
84. De Valera to Liam Pedlar, 1 Sept. 1924, P69/37(120), Twomey Papers, UCDA.
85. 11 April 1924, C/S to O/C First Southern Division, P69/27(108). 23 April 1924, C/S to O/C First Southern Division, P69/27(103). 12 March 1924 Adjutant General to Adjutant Third Western Division, P69/108(31–2). All within Twomey Papers, UCDA.

86. Adjutant General 29 Feb. 1924 communication, P69/102(24), Twomey Papers, UCDA.
87. See C/S to O/C First Southern Division, 23 April 1924 (P69/27(103) and C/S to Inspection Officer in Cork 3 Brigade, 19 June 1925, P69/27(16), Twomey Papers, UCDA.
88. Phrase from 18 May 1925 Fourth Western Division Inspection Report, P69/34(9–14). On the idea of publishing articles against emigration see P69/34(62–74) and P69/99(54). All in Twomey Papers, UCDA. See also Aiken's articles, P104/1324(1–2) and P104/1326(1–2), Aiken Papers, UCDA.
89. Adjutant General's 12 March 1924 correspondence to Adjutant Third Western Division, P69/108(31–32), Twomey Papers, UCDA.
90. Fourth Western Division Inspection report for 10 Nov. 1924, P69/34(61–74), Twomey Papers, UCDA. On effects of 'passive resistance' policy see Report on General Army Convention 14–15 Nov. 1924, P104/1337, Aiken Papers, UCDA.
91. This, however, was not universally true. For mid-1924 reports with relatively low emigration figures see P69/99(143) re: Tipperary No. 2 Brigade; P69/99(145) re: Kilkenny No. 1 Bde; P69/99(101) re: 'Leix' Bde.; and P69/113s re: Limerick Bde. All in Twomey Papers, UCDA.
92. Murphy, *When Youth Was Mine*, p. 282.
93. Quoted in Mac Eoin, *Survivors*, pp. 359–60. O'Malley corroborates this, *The Singing Flame*, p. 367.
94. March 1924 Army Intelligence Report on Kerry, MS 175, MA.
95. Report of Kerry Command, 19 Jan. 1924, P69/99(2–13), Twomey Papers, UCDA.
96. First Southern Division Adjutant to C/S, c. June/July 1924, P69/27(91), Twomey Papers, UCDA.
97. Fourth Western Inspection report, 10 Nov. 1924, P69/34(61–74), Twomey Papers, UCDA.
98. Memo on Emigration from Chief of Staff Office to all Divisions and Independent Brigades (undated but content suggests c. June 1924), P69/8(323), Twomey Papers, UCDA. At its Aug. 1924 meeting, the IRA Executive discussed drawing up a list of all Volunteers who had emigrated without permits. Item 12, Minutes of Executive Meeting, 10–11 Aug. 1924, P104/1266, Aiken Papers, UCDA.
99. Moylan to C/S, 14 Sept. 1923, P69/37(142), Twomey Papers, UCDA. See also Liam O'Dwyer (O/C 5th Battalion, 3rd Cork Bde) arguing for similar relaxation of policy, P69/27(16) and P69/27(92–5), Twomey Papers, UCDA.
100. Correspondence in P69/37(99–100, 105–6, 113, 115, 221–3, and 232); and P69/27(92–5, 120–1), Twomey Papers, UCDA. And Moylan to Adjutant General, 29 Jan. 1925, Captured Documents, Lot 214, MA.
101. 29 July 1926 letter to Joseph McGarrity, MS. 17,421, reel 8184, McGarrity Papers, NLI.
102. Bowyer-Bell, *The Secret Army*, p. 50.
103. Inspection report on Connemara, 28 April 1925, P69/34 (17–19), Twomey Papers, UCDA.
104. Report on Fourth Western Division, 18 May 1925, P69/34(9–14), Twomey Papers, UCDA.
105. P69/27(18–22), Twomey Papers, UCDA.

106. Hanley, *The IRA, 1926–1936*, p. 161.
107. See for example Offaly Brigade member Joseph Reddin's 1927 application, P69/183(10), Twomey Papers, UCDA.
108. Hanley, *The IRA, 1926–1936*, p. 162.
109. 'For transfer to foreign reserve list – USA', 3 June 1927, P69/183(7), Twomey Papers, UCDA.
110. Report on General Army Convention 14–15 Nov. 1925, Aiken Papers, P104/1337, UCDA. The c.1924–7 periodization is also supported by Michael Flannery in O'Reilly and Ó Brádaigh (eds), *Accepting the Challenge*, p. 162 and Andrews, *Man of No Property*, p. 14.
111. Fitzpatrick, *The Two Irelands*, p. 215.
112. Irish outflows did not stop, but instead were redirected to Britain.
113. Hanley, 'Irish Republicans in Interwar NY', p. 8.
114. On high levels of IRA emigration in the west see: Report of Kerry Command, 19 Jan. 1925, P69/99(2–13); Fourth Western Division inspection reports of 10 Nov. 1924 and 18 May 1925, P69/34(61–74) and P69/34(9–14); Inspection report on Connemara, P69/34(17–19). On Cork, see 4 June 1925 Report on Cork, P69/27(30–32); 17 June 1925 correspondence from Cork Bde Inspection Officer to C/S, P69/27(18–22); First Southern Div. to C/S, undated, P69/27(91), and First South Div. to C/S, 30 March 1924, P69/27(120–121). All in Twomey Paper, UCDA.
115. See for example low emigration figures for Kilkenny, P69/99(145, 147), Twomey Papers, UCDA.
116. In general, midlands divisions reports indicate low levels of emigration, see P69/29s. But also see: 12 March 1924 report on 3rd South Division Meeting referring to inclination to emigrate in Offaly II, P69/99(178), and Offaly and Laois IRA leaders' concerns in December 1924 report, P69/99(54). On patchy nature of emigration from 'Leix' Brigade see P69/29(9–10) and P69/99(101). All in Twomey Papers, UCDA.
117. IRA emigration from the six counties of 'Northern Ireland' had more to do with partition than with the civil war and is thus not examined here.
118. On Connemara and south Offaly see above. On high emigration in the Third (West) Cork Brigade see 4 June 1925 'Report on Cork', P69/27(30–32). On emigration problem in Cork 5 Brigade see First South. Div. to C/S, 30 March 1924, P69/27(120–121). All in Twomey Papers, UCDA.
119. Report of Kerry Command, 19 Jan. 1925, P69/99(2–13), Twomey Papers, UCDA.
120. Murphy, *When Youth Was Mine*, pp. 281–2.
121. 4 Nov. Executive Council's resolution RE: 'Irregular Campaign Indemnity', P24/134, Blythe Papers, UCDA.
122. C. Lawlor (ed.) (2005) *Seán MacBride: That Day's Struggle: a Memoir 1904–1951* (Blackrock, Dublin), p. 105.
123. Hanley, 'Irish Republicans in Interwar NY', p. 6.
124. O'Connor, *Tomorrow Was Another Day*, p. 67, 70–3, 113–29.
125. 23 April 1924 correspondence between C/S and the O/C First Southern Div. re: ordering absent Volunteers to return in six months or be treated as deserters, P69/27(103), Twomey Papers, UCDA.
126. O'Reilly and Ó Brádaigh (eds), *Accepting the Challenge*, p. 118. Mac Eoin, *Survivors*, p. 250; Hanley, *The IRA 1926–1936*, p. 163.

127. Gavin Wilk (2014) ‘“No Hope for Him Unless He Can Be Got Out of the Country”: Disabled Irish Republicans in America, 1922–1935’, *New Hibernia Review*, Vol. 18, No. 1, 106–119.
128. Richard English (1998) *Ernie O’Malley: IRA Intellectual* (Oxford), p. 27. See also MacBride’s recollection of O’Malley in Paris, Lawlor (ed.), *Seán MacBride*, pp. 100–1.
129. Undated ‘Extract from a letter of Francis Joseph Cunningham, Tucson, Arizona’ forwarded by U.S. Military Attaché to C/S, P69/37(103), Twomey Papers, UCDA. Hanley, *The IRA 1926–1936*, p. 164.
130. Adjutant General to O/C 2nd Battalion First West. Div, 20 April 1924, P69/102(4), Twomey Papers, UCDA.
131. Minutes of 27/28 Jan. 1924 IRA Executive Meeting, P104/1265, Aiken Papers, UCDA. 21 Jan. 1924 Report of Battalion 2 Dublin 1 Brigade and 3 Feb. 1924 C/S to O/C Dublin 1 Brigade, P69/20(261–262) and P69/20(250), Twomey Papers, UCDA.
132. See 3 Feb. 1924 C/S to O/C Dublin 1 Brigade and 22 Oct. 1925 IRA slip referring to ‘employment in London’, P69/20(250) and P69/37(6), Twomey Papers, UCDA.
133. Chief of Staff to U.S.F.A. [?], 2 June 1925 RE: ‘Migratory Labour’, P69/37(47), Twomey Papers, UCDA.
134. 2 June 1925 RE: ‘Migratory Labour’, P69/37(47); Adjutant General to Army Units RE: ‘Employment in France’, 20 July 1925, P69/37(2–5), all Twomey Papers, UCDA. Also see Peter Pyne (1969) ‘The Third Sinn Féin Party: 1923–1926, Part I’, *The Economic and Social Review*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 38.
135. Kee, *The Green Flag*, p. 749; Murphy, *When Youth Was Mine*, p. 315. A degree of post-revolutionary disenchantment existed throughout southern Irish society. See Andrews, *Man of No Property*, p. 2; Charles Bewley (1989) *Memoirs of a Wild Goose* (Dublin), p. 88.
136. Mac Eoin, *Survivors*, p. 360.
137. O’Connor, *An Only Child*, p. 210.
138. Murphy, *When Youth Was Mine*, p. 315.
139. Murphy, *When Youth Was Mine*, pp. 299–300.
140. Murphy, *When Youth Was Mine*, pp. 282–319 and *passim*. Hanley, ‘Irish Republicans in Interwar NY’, p. 8.
141. 30 March 1924 First Southern Division report, P69/27(120–121), Twomey Papers, UCDA. Andrews, *Man of No Property*, p. 28.
142. 31 Dec. 1924 Staff Commandant (C/S office) to Mrs Maloney, P68/37(105–106), Twomey Papers, UCDA.
143. See P69/8(323), P69/99(2–13), P69/34(12), P69/34(61–74), P69/34(17–19), P69/27(120–121), P69/27(92–5), and P69/99(13), all in Twomey Papers, UCDA.
144. 19 Jan. 1925 Report of Kerry Command (p. 12) and 25 April 1925 Inspection Report on Connemara, P69/99(13) and P69/34(17–19), Twomey Papers, UCDA.
145. P. Keegan to (republican) ‘Minister for Home Affairs’ c.1925, P69/8(329), Twomey Papers, UCDA.
146. P69/102(7–9), Twomey Papers, UCDA.
147. Hanley, ‘Irish Republicans in Interwar NY’, p. 8.
148. For a rare explicit reference to blacklisting as the cause of local unemployment, see 28 April 1925, Inspection Report for Connemara, P69/34(17–19), Twomey Papers, UCDA.

149. Fitzpatrick, *Irish Emigration 1801–1921*, p. 9. For a contemporary perspective see Denis Gwynn (1928) *The Irish Free State, 1922–1927* (London), p. 35.
150. Kenny, *The American Irish*, p. 132.
151. Delaney, *Irish Emigration Since 1921*, pp. 50, 13.
152. On the poorer employment prospects in towns in Laois and Offaly compared to rural districts, see C/S report, 28 Dec. 1923, P69/39(85–86), Twomey Papers, UCDA.
153. Report of Divisional Council Meeting, Third Southern Division, 12 March 1924, P69/99(178), Twomey Papers, UCDA.
154. Report on ‘Leix’ Brigade, 2 Oct. 1925, P69/29(9), Twomey Papers, UCDA. In 1923 the Free State government floated a loan to the Wolfhill Colliery Co. The colliery’s closure in 1925 was the subject of much discussion in the Dáil. See Dáil debates, 11 March 1925, Vol. 10, ‘Private Business’, D. E. website archive.
155. On the social background of the average emigrant see Delaney, *Demography, State, and Society*, p. 49, and Delaney, *Irish Emigration Since 1921*, p. 14; and Peter Pyne (1970) ‘The Third Sinn Féin Party: 1923–1926, Part II’, *The Economic and Social Review*, I, No. 2, 245.
156. 30 March 1924 First Southern Division report, P69/27(120–1); 28 April 1925 inspection report on Connemara, P69/34(17–19); and 10 Nov. 1924 Fourth Western Division report, P69/34(61–74) *passim*. All in Twomey Papers, UCDA.
157. This was the case in Offaly II, P69/99(178), Twomey Papers, UCDA.
158. 10 Nov. 1924, report on Fourth West. Div., P69/34(61–74). This report also emphasizes this seasonal migration tendency in the NW Mayo area of the Division. See Third West Div. report of 11 July 1924 on seasonal migration within the Fifth (East Mayo) Brigade, P69/108(13–15). 3 Feb. 1924, C/S to O/C Dublin 1 Bde, explains that ‘General Order No. 22’ covers not only emigration but also temporary labour migration to England, P69/20(250). All in Twomey Papers, UCDA.
159. Richard English (1994) *Radicals and the Republic: Socialist Republicanism in the Irish Free State 1925–1937* (Oxford), p. 95. Michael McInerney (1974) *Peadar O’Donnell: Irish Social Rebel* (Dublin), p. 104.

Epilogue

1. *The Irish Times*, 28 Aug. 1973.
2. David Fitzpatrick (1998 edn) *Politics and Irish Life 1913–1921: Provincial Experience of War and Revolution* (Cork), p. 194.
3. Peter Hart (1998) *The IRA and its Enemies: Violence and Community in Cork, 1916–1923* (Oxford), pp. 156–7, 12, 147–50, 183.
4. An important work in this understudied area is Anne Dolan (2003) *Commemorating the Irish Civil War: History and Memory, 1923–2000* (Cambridge). My own current project uses oral history interviews with the children and other descendants of civil war participants to explore later-generation memory of the conflict.

Bibliography

Primary sources

National Archives of Ireland

Dáil Éireann and Local Government Records
Department of An Taoiseach Files
Department of Finance Records
Department of Foreign Affairs Records
Department of Justice Records
Free State Cabinet Minutes, 1922–1923

National Library of Ireland

Piaras Béaslaí Papers
May Bowen Prison Autograph Book, 1923
Childers Papers
'Description of life in County Kerry in the Civil War'
Gormanstown Camp Autograph Books, 1923
Niall C. Harrington Papers
John J. Hearn Papers
IRA West Limerick Brigade Committee, 1920–1922
Thomas Johnson Papers
Joe Leonard Papers
Letters of Liam Lynch
George A. Lyons Papers
Constance Markievicz (Republican Cartoons Civil War period)
Material on military report into Ballyseedy killings
Joseph McGarrity Papers
Seán Milroy Papers
Art Ó Briain Papers
Letters of Rory O'Connor and Related Material
Florence O'Donoghue Papers
Seán O'Mahony Papers
Count Plunkett Collection
Austin Stack Papers

University College Dublin Archives

Frank Aiken Papers
Todd Andrews Papers
Ernest Blythe Papers
Cowan Family Papers
Barry Desmond Papers
Éamon de Valera Papers
T. W. T. Dillon Papers

George Gavan Duffy Papers
Fianna Fáil Party Archive
Desmond FitzGerald Papers
Healy/Sullivan Family Papers
Sighle Humphreys Papers
Hugh Kennedy Papers
Seán MacEntee Papers
Seán MacEoin Papers
Mary MacSwiney Papers
Pat McGilligan Papers
Richard Mulcahy Papers
Lily O'Brennan Papers
Ernie O'Malley Papers
James Ryan Papers
Maurice Twomey Papers

Irish Military Archives

Bureau of Military History Statements (consulted variously at Cathal Brugha Barracks, the National Archives, and online at <<http://www.bureauofmilitary-history.ie/>>)
Captured Documents Collection
Civil War Prison Files (CW P/1 Boxes 1 and 2)
Department of Defence Miscellaneous Papers (DOD A/ series)
Military Secretary's Office, Chief of General Staff Papers (MS Files)
Military Service Pensions Collection at <<http://www.militaryarchives.ie/collections/online-collections/military-service-pensions-collection/>>
Special Infantry Corps Papers (S.I.C. Boxes 1 and 2)

Kilmainham Gaol (Archive)

Civil War Prisoner Autograph Books Collection

Other

Dáil Éireann, Parliamentary Debates, <<http://historical-debates.oireachtas.ie/>>
Irish Civil War Leaflets, P.S. O'Hegarty Collection, University of Kansas Libraries

Newspapers/periodicals consulted

An Long (War Sheet)
An tÓglach
Connaught Telegraph
Cork Weekly News
Daily Mirror
Daily Sheet
Donegal Democrat
Dublin News
Éire: the Irish Nation
The Fenian
Freedom

Freeman's Journal
Free State/An Saorstát
Galway Observer
Ireland Over All
Iris an Airm (the Army Bulletin)
Irish Independent
The Irish People (War Special)
Irish Times
Kerry People
Kilkenny Journal and Leinster Commercial and Literary Advertiser
The Land (An Talamh)
Leitrim Observer
The National Democrat (Páipéar na Munitire)
Nationalist and Munster Advertiser
The Nation (War Issue)
Plain People (Na Daoine Macánta)
Poblacht na hÉireann
Republican War Bulletin
Separatist
Sinn Féin
Sligo Champion
Southern Bulletin (Organ of the Southern Command)
Straight Talk
The Times
Truth (War Issue)
Tuam Herald
United Irishman
Voice of Labour
Westmeath Guardian and Longford News-Letter
Workers' Republic

Pamphlets/Contemporary Publications

The Drama of Eight Days, June 22 to June 29, 1922. How war was waged on Ireland with an Economy of English Lives (n.d.) (n.p.), UCDA, Andrews Papers, P91/91(1).
 Mellows, L. (c.1970) *Notes from Mountjoy Jail* (Irish Communist Group), NLI, IR 3359 P38.
 New York Clan na Gael and the Irish Republican Veterans of America (1967) *Annual Field Day September 1967* (New York) NLI, IR 300.
 Ó Gallchobhair, P. (n.d.) *By What Authority?* (n.p.), UCDA, Andrews Papers, P91/91(25).
 O'Higgins, K. (1922) *Civil War and the Events which Led to It* (n.p.).
 ——— (1924) *Three Years Hard Labour: an Address Delivered to the Irish Society of Oxford University on the 31st of October, 1924* (Dublin).
On the Proper Shoulders (n.d.) (Manchester), UCDA, Andrews Papers, P91/91(19).
A Painful Necessity (n.d.) (n.p.), UCDA, FitzGerald Papers.
The Responsibility: a statement issued by the Publicity Department of the IRA addressed to each TD on September 7, 1922 (1922) (n.p.), UCDA, Andrews Papers, P91/91(15).

The Truth about the Army Crisis (1924[?]) (Dublin: Irish Republican Army Organization).
Who Caused the Civil War? Extracts from some Speeches, Documents and Records, which Free State Ministers Forget (n.d.) (n.p.), UCDA, Andrews Papers, P91/91(8).

Secondary sources

Published material

- Andrews, C. S. (1982) *Man of No Property: an Autobiography (Volume Two)* (Cork: Mercier Press).
 ——— (2001 edn) *Dublin Made Me* (Dublin: Lilliput Press).
 Andrews, R. (1993) *The Columbia Dictionary of Quotations* (Columbia: Columbia University Press).
 Anonymous (1929) *Austin Stack 1880–1929* (Dublin: Fodhla Printing Co.).
 Arensberg, C. (1968 edn) *The Irish Countryman: an Anthropological Study* (Garden City, NY: Natural History Press).
 Augusteijn, J. (1996) *From Public Defiance to Guerrilla Warfare: the Experience of Ordinary Volunteers in the Irish War of Independence 1916–1921* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press).
 ——— (ed.) (2002) *The Irish Revolution, 1913–1923* (Basingstoke: Palgrave).
 Baines, D. (1991) *Emigration from Europe 1815–1930* (London: Macmillan).
 Baker, J. (1988) (Jarlath Duffy, ed.) *My Stand for Freedom: Autobiography of an Irish Republican Soldier* (Westport: Westport Historical Society).
 Bankston, C. L. III, D. A. Hidalgo and R. K. Rasmussen (eds) (2006) *Immigration in U.S. History, Vol. 1* (Pasadena, CA: Salem Press).
 Barry, T. (1995 edn) *Guerilla Days in Ireland: a Personal Account of the Anglo-Irish War* (Boulder, CO: Roberts Rinehart).
 Béaslaí, P. (1926) *Michael Collins and the Making of a New Ireland* (two volumes) (London: George G. Harrap and Co.).
 Berresford Ellis, P. (1985 edn; originally published 1972) *A History of the Irish Working Class* (London: Pluto Press).
 Bew, P. (1988) 'Sinn Féin, Agrarian Radicalism and the War of Independence, 1919–1921', in D. G. Boyce (ed.) *The Revolution in Ireland, 1879–1923* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan), pp. 217–34.
 ——— (2007) *Ireland: the Politics of Enmity 1789–2006* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
 Bew, P., E. Hazelkorn, and H. Patterson (1989) *The Dynamics of Irish Politics* (London: Lawrence and Wishart).
 Bewley, C. (1989) *Memoirs of a Wild Goose* (Dublin: Lilliput Press).
 Bielenberg, A. (2013) 'Exodus: the Emigration of Southern Irish Protestants during the Irish War of Independence and Civil War', *Past and Present*, CCXVIII, Issue 1, 199–233.
 Bierce, A. (1993 edn) *The Devil's Dictionary* (New York: Dover).
 Birmingham, G. (1914) *Irishmen All* (Edinburgh: T. N. Foulis).
 Blake, F. (1986) *The Irish Civil War 1922–1923 and What It Still Means for the Irish People* (London: Information on Ireland).
 Borgonovo, J. (2007) *Spies, Informers, and the 'Anti-Sinn Féin Society': the Intelligence War in Cork City, 1919–1921* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press).

- (2011) *The Battle for Cork July–August 1922 (Military History of the Irish Civil War Series)* (Cork: Mercier Press).
- (2013) *The Dynamics of War: Cork City, 1916–1918* (Cork: Cork University Press).
- Bowyer-Bell, J. (1997 edn) *The Secret Army: the IRA* (Swords, Co. Dublin: Poolbeg).
- Boyce, D. G. (ed.) (1988) *The Revolution in Ireland, 1879–1923* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan).
- Brady, C. (1994) “‘Constructive’ and ‘Instrumental’: the Dilemma of Ireland’s First ‘New Historians’”, in C. Brady (ed.) *Interpreting Irish History: the Debate on Historical Revisionism* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press), pp. 3–31.
- Breen, D. (1964 edn) *My Fight for Irish Freedom* (Tralee: Anvil Books).
- Briscoe, R. (with A. Hatch) (1958) *For the Life of Me* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co.).
- Brown, T. (1981) *Ireland: a Social and Cultural History 1922–1979* (London: Fontana).
- Browne, N. (1986) *Against the Tide* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan).
- Brownstone, D. M. and I. Frank (2001) *Facts about American Immigration* (New York: H. W. Wilson).
- Bulfin, W. (1907) *Rambles in Eirinn* (Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son).
- Burke, P. (1980) *Sociology and History* (London: G. Allen and Unwin).
- Campbell, F. (2004) ‘The Social Dynamics of Nationalist Politics in the West of Ireland 1898–1918’, *Past and Present*, No. 182, 175–209.
- (2005) *Land and Revolution: Nationalist Politics in the West of Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- (2009) *The Irish Establishment 1879–1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Campbell, J. (E. Ní Chuilleanáin, ed.) (2001) ‘As I Was Among the Captives’: *Joseph Campbell’s Prison Diary, 1922–1923* (Cork: Cork University Press).
- Ciment, J. (ed.) (2001) *Encyclopedia of American Immigration* (Armonk, New York: M. E. Sharpe).
- Clark, G. (2014) *Everyday Violence in the Irish Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Clarkson, J. D. (1925) *Labour and Nationalism in Ireland* (New York: Columbia University Press).
- Clifford, B. (1993) *The Irish Civil War: the Conflict that Formed the State: a Speech given to the Duhallow Heritage Centre on the 22nd April, 1992* (Millstreet, Cork: Aubane Historical Society).
- (1997) *Spotlights on Irish History* (Millstreet, Cork: Aubane Historical Society).
- Coleman, M. (2003) *County Longford and the Irish Revolution, 1910–1923* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press).
- (2013) ‘Military Service Pensions for Veterans of the Irish Revolution, 1916–1923’, *War in History*, Vol. 20, No. 2, 201–21.
- (2014) ‘Cumann na mBan and the Military Service Pensions’, Unpublished paper given at the Women’s History Association of Ireland, 5 April 2014.
- Collins, M. (1996 edn) *The Path to Freedom* (Boulder, CO: Roberts Rinehart).
- Collins, S. (1996) *The Cosgrave Legacy* (Dublin: Blackwater Press).
- Connolly, S. J. (2001 edn) *Priests and People in Pre-Famine Ireland, 1780–1845* (Dublin: Four Courts Press).

- Coogan, O. (1983) *Politics and War in Meath, 1913–23* (Dunshaughlin, Co. Meath).
- Coogan, T. P. (1994) *The IRA: a History* (Niwot, CO: Roberts Rinehart).
- (2000) *Wherever Green is Worn: the Story of the Irish Diaspora* (New York: Palgrave).
- Cordasco, F. (ed.) (1990) *Dictionary of American Immigration History* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press).
- Costello, F. (2003) *The Irish Revolution and its Aftermath, 1916–1923: Years of Revolt* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press).
- Coughlan, A. (1994) ‘Ireland’s Marxist Historians’, in C. Brady (ed.) *Interpreting Irish History: the Debate on Historical Revisionism* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press), pp. 288–305.
- Cronin, S. (1972) *The McGarrity Papers: Revelations of the Irish revolutionary movement in Ireland and America 1900–1940* (Tralee: Anvil Books).
- (1980) *Irish Nationalism: a History of its Roots and Ideology* (Dublin: Academy Press).
- Curran, J. M. (1980) *The Birth of the Irish Free State, 1921–23* (Mobile, AL: University of Alabama Press).
- Curtis, L. P. (1997 edn) *Apes and Angels: the Irishman in Victorian Caricature* (Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press).
- Dalton, C. (1929) *With the Dublin Brigade (1917–21)* (London: Peter Davies).
- Daly, M. E. (2006) *The Slow Failure: Population Decline and Independent Ireland, 1920–1973* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press).
- Davies, P. and D. Lynch (2002) *The Routledge Companion to Fascism and the Far Right* (London: Routledge).
- Davis, E. (1990) ‘The Guerilla Mind’, in Fitzpatrick (ed.) *Revolution? Ireland 1917–1923* (Dublin: Trinity History Workshop, 1990), pp. 43–59.
- Deasy, L. (1992 edn) *Towards Ireland Free: the West Cork Brigade in the War of Independence 1917–1921* (Cork: Royal Carbery Books).
- (1998) *Brother against Brother* (Cork: Mercier Press).
- Delaney, E. (2000) *Demography, State, and Society: Irish Migration to Britain, 1921–1971* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press).
- (2002) *Irish Emigration Since 1921* (Dublin: Economic and Social History Society of Ireland).
- de Vere White, T. (1967) ‘Social Life in Ireland 1927–1937’, in F. MacManus (ed.) *The Years of the Great Test* (Cork: Mercier Press).
- (1986 edn) *Kevin O’Higgins* (Dublin: Anvil Books).
- Dixon, R. (ed.) (1972) *Ireland and the Irish Question: a Collection of Writings by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels* (New York: International Publishers).
- Dolan, A. (2003) *Commemorating the Irish Civil War: History and Memory, 1923–2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Dooley, T. (2001) *The Decline of the Big House in Ireland: a Study of Irish Landed Families, 1860–1960* (Dublin: Wolfhound Press).
- (2003) ‘IRA Veterans and Land Division in Independent Ireland, 1923–48’, in F. McGarry (ed.) *Republicanism in Modern Ireland* (Dublin: University College Dublin Press), pp. 86–107.
- (2004) *The Land for the People: the Land Question in Independent Ireland* (Dublin: University College Dublin Press).
- Doorley, M. (2005) *Irish-American Diaspora Nationalism: the Friends of Irish Freedom, 1916–1935* (Dublin: Four Courts Press).

- Dorney, J., 'Casualties of the Irish Civil War in Dublin', *The Irish Story* [website], (theirishstory.com): <<http://www.theirishstory.com/2012/06/19/casualties-of-the-irish-civil-war-in-dublin/>>.
- Dougherty, J. I. (2010) "'Ocular Demonstration" or "Tremendous Treasure"?', *History Ireland*, Vol. 18, Issue 3 (May/June 2010) accessed at <<http://www.historyireland.com/20th-century-contemporary-history/ocular-demonstration-or-tremendous-treasure/>>.
- Durney, J. (2004) *The Volunteer: Uniforms, Weapons and History of the Irish Republican Army 1913–1997* (Naas, Kildare: Gaul House).
- (2011) *The Civil War in Kildare* (Cork: Mercier Press).
- English, R. (1994) *Radicals and the Republic: Socialist Republicanism in the Irish Free State 1925–1937* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- (1998) *Ernie O'Malley: IRA Intellectual* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- (2007) *Irish Freedom: the History of Irish Nationalism* (London: Macmillan).
- Fanning, R. (1983) *Independent Ireland* (Walkinstown, Dublin: Helicon).
- Farmar, T. (1991) *Ordinary Lives: Three Generations of Irish Middle Class Experience, 1907, 1932, 1963* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan).
- Farry, M. (2000) *The Aftermath of Revolution: Sligo, 1921–1923* (Dublin: University College Dublin Press).
- Fedorowich, K. (1999) 'Reconstruction and Resettlement: the Politicization of Irish Migration to Australia and Canada, 1919–1929', *The English Historical Review*, CXIV, No. 459, 1143–78.
- Ferriter, D. (2003) 'In Such Deadly Earnest', *Dublin Review*, No. 12, 36–64.
- (2004) *The Transformation of Ireland 1900–2000* (London: Profile Books).
- Finneran, R. J. (ed.) (1989 edn) *The Collected Poems of W.B. Yeats* (NY: Scribner).
- Fitzpatrick, D. (1978) 'The Geography of Irish Nationalism, 1910–1921', *Past and Present*, No. 78, 113–44.
- (1984) *Irish Emigration 1801–1921* (Dublin: Economic and Social History Society of Ireland).
- (ed.) (1990) *Revolution? Ireland 1917–1923* (Dublin: Trinity History Workshop).
- (1998 edn) *Politics and Irish Life 1913–1921: Provincial Experience of War and Revolution* (Cork: Cork University Press).
- (1998) *The Two Irelands 1912–1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- (2003) *Harry Boland's Irish Revolution* (Cork: Cork University Press).
- (2012) *Terror in Ireland 1916–1923* (Dublin: Lilliput Press).
- Fleming, D. (2008) 'Last Man Standing: Dan Keating', *History Ireland*, XVI, No. 3, 38–41.
- Forrest, A. (1999) *Worse Could Have Happened: a Boyhood in the Irish Free State 1922–1937* (Swords, Co. Dublin: Poolbeg).
- Foster, G. (2006) 'In the Shadow of the Split: Writing the Irish Civil War', *Field Day Review*, No. 2, 295–303.
- (2008) 'Class Dismissed? The Debate over a Social Basis to the Irish Civil War', *Saothar: Journal of the Irish Labour History Society*, No. 33, 73–86.
- (2008) 'Scotsmen, Stand by Ireland! John Maclean and the Irish Revolution', *History Ireland*, XVI, No. 1, 32–3.
- (2012) 'No "Wild Geese" this time? IRA Emigration after the Irish Civil War', *Éire-Ireland: an Interdisciplinary Journal of Irish Studies*, XLVII, 94–122.
- (2012) 'Res Publica na hÉireann? Republican Liberty and the Irish Civil War', *New Hibernia Review*, XVI, No. 3, 20–42.

- (2013) 'From "the Glorious Innocence and Intuition of Youth" to "Young Blackguards" and "Hooligans": the Death of Irish Revolutionary Youth Culture', in Kelly Matthews and John Countryman (eds) *The Country of the Young: Interpretations of Youth and Childhood in Irish Culture* (Dublin: Four Courts Press), pp. 51–69.
- Foster, R. F. (1988) *Modern Ireland, 1600–1972* (London: Penguin Books).
- (2006) 'The Red and the Green', *Dublin Review*, Vol. 24, 43–51.
- Fox, R. M. (1943) *History of the Irish Citizen Army* (Dublin: J. Duffy and Co.).
- Gallagher, F. (2005 edn) *The Four Glorious Years, 1918–1921* (Dublin: Blackwater Press).
- Gallagher, M. (1979) 'The Pact General Election of 1922', *Irish Historical Studies*, XXI, No. 84, 404–21.
- Garvin, T. (1986) 'The Anatomy of a Nationalist Revolution: Ireland, 1858–1928', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, XXVIII, No. 3, 468–501.
- (1996) *1922: the Birth of Irish Democracy* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan).
- (2004) 'Cogadh na nCarad: the Creation of the Irish Political Elite', in T. Garvin, M. Manning, R. Sinnott (eds), *Dissecting Irish Politics: Essays in Honour of Brian Farrell* (Dublin: University College Dublin Press), pp. 6–18.
- (2005 edn) *The Evolution of Irish Nationalist Politics* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan).
- (2005 edn) *Nationalist Revolutionaries in Ireland 1858–1928* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan).
- Gaughan, A. J. (ed.) (1996) *Memoirs of Senator Joseph Connolly (1885–1961): a Founder of Modern Ireland* (Blackrock, Co. Dublin: Irish Academic Press).
- Gibbons, L. (1995) 'Framing History: Neil Jordan's Michael Collins', *History Ireland*, 47–51.
- Gibney, J. (2014) 'The Military Service Pensions Collection', *History Ireland*, Vol. 22, No. 3 (May/June), 41–2.
- Gillis, L. (2011) *The Fall of Dublin (Military History of the Irish Civil War Series)* (Cork: Mercier Press).
- Gilmore, G. (1974 edn) *The Irish Republican Congress* (Cork: Cork Workers Club reprint).
- Gogarty, O. St John (1994 edn) *As I Was Going Down Sackville Street* (Dublin: O'Brien Press).
- Greaves, C. D. (2004 edn) *Liam Mellows and the Irish Revolution* (Belfast and London: An Ghlór Gafa).
- Griffith, K. and T. O'Grady (1999 edn) *Ireland's Unfinished Revolution: an Oral History* (Niwot, CO: Roberts Rinehart).
- Gwynn, D. (1928) *The Irish Free State, 1922–1927* (London: Macmillan and Co.).
- Hanley, B. (2002) *The IRA 1926–1936* (Dublin: Four Courts Press).
- (2003) 'The Rhetoric of Republican Legitimacy', in Fearghal McGarry (ed.) *Republicanism in Modern Ireland* (Dublin: University College Dublin Press), pp. 167–77.
- 'Irish Republicans in Interwar New York', *IJAOnline (Irish Journal of American Studies)*, Vol. 1 (June 2009), <<http://www.ijasonline.com/BRIAN-HANLEY.html>>.
- Harnett, M. (2002) (J. H. Joy, ed.) *Victory and Woe: the West Limerick Brigade in the War of Independence* (Dublin: University College Dublin Press).
- Harrington, N. (1992) *Kerry Landing: an Episode of the Civil War* (Dublin: Anvil Books).

- Hart, P. (1990) 'Youth Culture and the Cork IRA', in D. Fitzpatrick (ed.), *Revolution? Ireland 1917–1923* (Dublin: Trinity History Workshop), pp. 10–24.
- (1997) 'The Geography of Revolution in Ireland 1917–1923', *Past and Present*, Vol. 155, No. 1, 142–76.
- (1998) *The IRA and its Enemies: Violence and Community in Cork, 1916–1923* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- (1999) 'The Social Structures of the Irish Republican Army, 1916–1923', *The Historical Journal*, XLII, No. 1, 207–31.
- (2003) *The IRA at War 1916–1923* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- (2006) *Mick: the Real Michael Collins* (New York: Viking).
- Harvey, J. (2008) *Clothes* (Stocksfield: Acumen Publishing Ltd).
- Hickey, D. J. and J. E. Doherty (eds) (2005 edn) *A New Dictionary of Irish History from 1800* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan).
- Hill, J. R. (ed.) (2003) *A New History of Ireland, VII, Ireland 1921–84* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Hobson, B. (1968 edn) *Ireland Yesterday and Tomorrow* (Tralee, Co. Kerry: Anvil Books).
- Hopkinson, M. (2002) *The Irish War of Independence* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan).
- (2004 edn) *Green against Green: the Irish Civil War* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan).
- Horgan, J. (1997) *Seán Lemass: the Enigmatic Patriot* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan).
- Inglis, B. (1962) *West Briton* (London: Faber and Faber).
- Irish Songs of Resistance Vol. II* (n.d.) (n.p.).
- Jackson, A. (1999) *Ireland 1798–1998: Politics and War* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing).
- Jackson, T. A. (1970 edn) *Ireland Her Own: an Outline History of the Irish Struggle for National Freedom and Independence* (New York: International Publishers).
- Jaster, M. R. (2006) "'Out of All Frame and Good Fashion": Sartorial Resistance as Political Spectacle', *Irish Review*, Issue 34, 44–57.
- Johnson, D. (1985) *The Interwar Economy in Ireland* (Dublin: Economic and Social History Society of Ireland).
- Jones, G. S. (1983) *Languages of Class: Studies in English Working Class History, 1832–1982* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Joy, S. (2005) *The IRA in Kerry 1916–1921* (Cork: Collins).
- Joyce, P. W. (1997 edn) *English as We Speak It in Ireland* (Dublin: Wolfhound Press).
- Kee, R. (2000 omnibus edn) *The Green Flag: a History of Irish Nationalism* (London: Penguin).
- Kelly, L. (2005) *Kiltubrid, County Leitrim: Snapshots of a Rural Parish in the 1890s* (Dublin: Four Courts Press).
- Kennedy, S. (2005) 'Cultural Memory in Mercier and Camier: the Fate of Noel Lemass', in Marius Bunig et al. (eds) *Historicizing Beckett/Issues of Performance* (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi), pp. 117–29.
- Kenny, K. (2000) *The American Irish: a History* (Harlow, England: Longman).
- Kinsella, A. (1997) 'The Special Infantry Corps', *The Irish Sword: the Journal of the Military History Society of Ireland*, XX, No. 82, 331–45.
- Kissane, B. (n.d.) "'Civil War Politics" in Inter-war Ireland 1923–1939' (draft of unpublished essay made available by the author).
- (2002) *Explaining Irish Democracy* (Dublin: University College Dublin Press).

- (2004) 'Democratization, State Formation, and Civil War in Finland and Ireland: a Reflection on the Democratic Peace Hypothesis', *Comparative Political Studies*, 37/8, 969–86.
- (2005) *The Politics of the Irish Civil War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Knirck, J. (2014) *Afterimage of the Revolution: Cumann na nGaedheal and Irish Politics, 1922–1932* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press).
- Kostick, C. (1996) *Revolution in Ireland: Popular Militancy 1917 to 1923* (London: Pluto Press).
- Kotsonouris, M. (2004) *The Winding up of the Dáil Courts, 1921–1925* (Dublin: Four Courts Press).
- Laffan, M. (1999) *The Resurrection of Ireland: the Sinn Féin Party, 1916–1923* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Lafferty, P. (2006) *The Wind that Shakes the Barley: a Screenplay* (Cork: Galley Head Press).
- Lawlor, C. (ed.) (2005) *Seán MacBride: That Day's Struggle: a Memoir 1904–1951* (Blackrock, Dublin: Currach Press).
- Lawlor, S. (1983) *Britain and Ireland 1914–23* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan).
- Lee, J. J. (1989) *Ireland 1912–1985: Politics and Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Leeson, D. M. (2011) *The Black and Tans: British Police and Auxiliaries in the Irish War of Independence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Litton, H. (1995) *The Irish Civil War: an Illustrated History* (Dublin: Wolfhound Press).
- Longford, Lord (Frank Pakenham) and T. P. O'Neill (1971) *Eamon de Valera* (Boston: Houghton and Mifflin).
- Lynch, P. (1966) 'The Social Revolution That Never Was', in D. Williams (ed.) *The Irish Struggle 1916–1926* (London: Routledge).
- Lyons, F. S. L. (1973 edn) *Ireland since the Famine* (London: Collins/Fontana).
- (1979) *Culture and Anarchy in Ireland, 1890–1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Macardle, D. (1924) *Tragedies of Kerry, 1922–1923* (Dublin: n. p.).
- (1968 edn) *The Irish Republic: a Documented Chronicle of the Anglo-Irish Conflict and the Partitioning of Ireland, with a Detailed Account of the Period 1916–1923* (London: Corgi Books).
- Mac Eoin, U. (1980) *Survivors* (Dublin: Argenta Publications).
- (1997) *The IRA in the Twilight Years 1923–1948* (Dublin: Argenta Publications).
- Macready, General Sir N. (1924) *Annals of an Active Life, Vol. II* (London: Hutchinson and Co.).
- Mac Suain, S. (1993) *Republican Wexford Remembers 1922–1923* (Loch Garman, Ireland: R. Roche).
- Maguire, M. (2008) *The Civil Service and the Revolution in Ireland, 1912–38: 'Shaking the Blood-stained Hhand of Mr. Collins'* (Manchester: Manchester University Press).
- Manning, M. (2006) *The Blueshirts* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan).
- Markievicz, C. (1987 edn) (A. Sebestyen, ed.) *Prison Letters of Countess Markievicz* (London: Virago).
- Maume, P. (1999) *The Long Gestation: Irish Nationalist Life 1891–1918* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan).
- McCarthy, A. (2007) *Personal Narratives of Irish and Scottish Migration 1921–65: 'For Spirit and Adventure'* (Manchester: Manchester University Press).

- McCarthy, J. P. (2006) *Kevin O'Higgins: Builder of the Irish Free State* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press).
- McCarthy, K. and M.-B. Christensen (1992) *Cobh's Contribution to the Fight for Irish Freedom 1913–1990* (Cobh, County Cork: Oileánn Mór Publications).
- McCoole, S. (2003) *No Ordinary Women: Irish Female Activists in the Revolutionary Years 1900–1923* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press).
- McGarry, F. (2002) *Frank Ryan* (Dublin: Historical Association of Ireland).
- (2005) *Eoin O'Duffy: a Self-Made Hero* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- McInerney, M. (1974) *Peadar O'Donnell: Irish Social Rebel* (Dublin: O'Brien Press).
- Miller, J. I. (2007) 'Black Fashion as a Political Form', paper delivered at the 65th Annual National Conference of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, 13 April.
- Miller, K. (1985) *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America* (New York: Oxford University Press).
- Milotte, M. (1984) *Communism in Modern Ireland: the Pursuit of the Workers' Republic since 1916* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan).
- Mitchel, J. (2005 edn) (Patrick Maume, ed.) *The Last Conquest of Ireland (Perhaps)* (Dublin: University College Dublin Press).
- Mitchell, A. (1995) *Revolutionary Government in Ireland: Dáil Éireann 1919–22* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan).
- , and P. Ó Snodaigh (eds) (1985) *Irish Political Documents: 1916–1949* (Blackrock, Co. Dublin: Irish Academic Press).
- Moran, D. P. (1905 edn) *The Philosophy of Irish-Ireland* (Dublin: James Duffy and Co.).
- Mosse, G. (1985) *Nationalism and Sexuality: Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe* (New York: H. Fertig).
- Moynihan, M. (ed.) (1980) *Speeches and Statements by Eamon de Valera 1917–73* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan).
- Mulcahy, R. (1999) *Richard Mulcahy (1886–1971): a Family Memoir* (Dublin: Aurelian Press).
- Murphy, J. (1998) *When Youth Was Mine: a Memoir of Kerry, 1902–1925* (Dublin: Mentor Press).
- Murphy, J. A. (1975) *Ireland in the Twentieth Century* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan).
- Myers, K. (2008) 'Pity Those Poor Children – All Victims of Our Rising "Heroes"', *The Irish Independent*, 29 January 2008, independent.ie.
- Navickas, K. (2010) "'That sash will hang you': Political Clothing and Adornment in England, 1780–1840', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 49, Issue 3 (July), 540–65.
- Neeson, E. (1989 edn) *The Civil War 1922–23* (Swords, Co. Dublin: Poolbeg).
- Nic Dháibhéid, C. (2011) *Seán MacBride: a Republican Life, 1904–1946* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press).
- O'Brien, W. (1923) *The Irish Revolution and How it Came About* (Dublin: Phoenix Publishing).
- O'Callaghan, J. (2010) *Revolutionary Limerick: the Republican Campaign for Independence in Limerick, 1913–1921* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press).
- O'Casey, S. (1973 edn) *Three Plays* (Papermac: London).
- O'Connor, E. (1988) *Syndicalism in Ireland, 1917–23* (Cork: Cork University Press).
- (1992) *A Labour History of Ireland 1824–1960* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan).
- O'Connor, F. (1961) *An Only Child* (New York: Knopf).
- (1994 edn) *My Father's Son* (Belfast: Blackstaff Press).

- O'Connor, J. F. (1989) *An Irish Civil War Exile* (New York: Vantage Press).
- O'Connor, S. (1987 edn) *Tomorrow Was Another Day: Irreverent Memories of an Irish Rebel Schoolmaster* (Dun Laoire, Co. Dublin: R. O. C. Publications).
- O'Connor Lysaght, D. R. (1970) *The Republic of Ireland: an Hypothesis in Eight Chapters and Two Intermissions* (Cork: Mercier Press).
- O'Day, A. and J. Stevenson (eds) (1992) *Irish Historical Documents since 1800* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan).
- Ó Dónaill, N. (1992 edn) *Foclóir Gaelige-Béarla* (An Gúm: Dublin).
- O'Donnell, P. (1932) *The Gates Flew Open* (London: Jonathan Cape).
- (1963) *There Will Be Another Day* (Dublin: Dolmen Press).
- Ó Drisceoil, D. (2001) *Peadar O'Donnell* (Cork: Cork University Press).
- (2003) 'My Pen is Just a Weapon': Politics, History and the Fiction of Peadar O'Donnell', *Irish Review*, Vol. 30, 62–70.
- Ó Faoláin, S. (1963) *Vive Moi!* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co.).
- O'Farrell, P. (1997) *Who's Who in the Irish War of Independence and Civil War 1916–1923* (Dublin: Lilliput Press).
- O'Flaherty, L. (1929) *A Tourist's Guide to Ireland* (London: Mandrake).
- Ó Gadhra, N. (1999) *Civil War in Connacht 1922–1923* (Cork: Mercier Press).
- Óg Ó Ruairc, P. (2009) *Blood on the Banner: the Republican Struggle in Clare 1913–1923* (Cork: Mercier Press).
- O'Halpin, E. (1999) *Defending Ireland: the Irish State and its Enemies since 1922* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- O'Hegarty, P. S. (1998 edn) *The Victory of Sinn Féin: How It Won It and How It Used It* (Dublin: University College Dublin Press).
- Ó hEithir, B. (1986) *The Begrudger's Guide to Irish Politics* (Swords, Co. Dublin: Poolbeg).
- O'Higgins, B. (1962 edn) *Wolfe Tone Annual* (Dublin: n. p.).
- Ó Longaigh, S. (2006) *Emergency Law in Independent Ireland, 1922–1948* (Dublin: Four Courts).
- O'Malley, C. and A. Dolan (eds) (2007) *No Surrender Here! The Civil War Papers of Ernie O'Malley 1922–1924* (Dublin: Lilliput Press).
- O'Malley, E. (2012 edn) (2012) (C. K. H. O'Malley and T. Horgan, eds) *The Men Will Talk to Me: Kerry Interviews* (Cork: Mercier Press).
- (2012 edn) *The Singing Flame* (Cork: Mercier Press).
- (2013) (C. K. H. O'Malley and C. Ó Comhraí, eds) *The Men Will Talk to Me: Galway Interviews* (Cork: Mercier Press).
- (2013 edn) *On Another Man's Wound* (Cork: Mercier Press).
- Ó Muintir, D. (2000) *A Dictionary of Anglo-Irish: Words and Phrases from Gaelic in the English of Ireland* (Dublin: Four Courts Press).
- O'Reilly, D. and S. Ó Brádaigh (eds) (2001) *Accepting the Challenge: the Memoirs of Michael Flannery* (Dublin: Cló Saoirse – Irish Freedom Press).
- Ó Suilleabháin, M. (1965) *Where Mountainy Men Have Sown: War and Peace in Rebel Cork in the Turbulent Years 1916–21* (Tralee, Co. Kerry: Anvil Books).
- Ó Tuille, P. (n.d. [1966]) *Life and Times of Brian O'Higgins* (Navan, Co. Kildare: Brian O'Higgins Memorial Committee).
- Pašeta, S. (1999) *Before the Revolution: Nationalism, Social Change, and Ireland's Catholic Elite, 1879–1922* (Cork: Cork University Press).
- Patterson, H. (1997) *The Politics of Illusion: a Political History of the IRA* (London: Serif).

- Pinkman, J. A. (1998) (Francis E. Maguire, ed.) *In the Legion of the Vanguard* (Boulder, CO: Mercier Press).
- Prager, J. (1986) *Building Democracy in Ireland: Political Order and Cultural Integration in a Newly Independent Nation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Pyne, P. (1969) 'The Third Sinn Féin Party: 1923–1926, Part I', *The Economic and Social Review*, I, No. 1, 29–50.
- (1970) 'The Third Sinn Féin Party: 1923–1926, Part II', *The Economic and Social Review*, I, No. 2, 229–57.
- Quill, S. (1985) *Mike Quill, Himself: a Memoir* (Greenwich, Connecticut: Devin-Adair).
- Quinn, J. (ed.) (1958) *The Story of the Drumboe Martyrs* (Letterkenny, Co. Donegal: McKinney and O'Callaghan).
- Ramón-García, M. (2010) 'Square-Toed Boots and Felt Hats: Irish Revolutionaries and the Invasion of Canada, 1848–1871', *Estudios Irlandeses*, No. 5, 81–91.
- Reddin, K. (1936) *Somewhere to the Sea* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin).
- Regan, J. (1999) *The Irish Counter-Revolution 1921–1936: Treatyite Politics and Settlement in Independent Ireland* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan).
- (2001) 'Strangers in Our Midst: Middling People, Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Twentieth-Century Ireland', *Radharc*, II, 35–50.
- (2004) Review of Peter Hart, *The IRA at War 1916–1923* at <<http://www.history.ac.uk/reviews/paper/regan.html>>
- (2013) *Myth and the Irish State: Problems with Irish History* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press).
- Reynold, M. (1980) *Some Irish Fashions and Fabrics c. 1775–1928* (National Museum of Ireland, Dublin).
- Robbins, F. (1977) *Under the Starry Plough: Recollections of the Irish Citizen Army* (Dublin: Academy Press).
- Ross, R. (1990) 'The Top-Hat in South African History: the Changing Significance of an Article of Material Culture', *Social Dynamics*, XVI, No. 1, 90–100.
- (1999) *Status and Respectability in the Cape Colony, 1750–1870: a Tragedy of Manners* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Rumpf, E. and A. C. Hepburn (1977) *Nationalism and Socialism in Twentieth-Century Ireland* (New York: Barnes and Noble).
- Ryan, M. (2003) *Tom Barry: IRA Freedom Fighter* (Cork: Mercier Press).
- Ryle Dwyer, T. (2001) *Tans, Terrors and Troubles: Kerry's Real Fighting Story, 1913–1923* (Cork: Mercier Press).
- Skinner, L. (1946) *Politicians by Accident* (Dublin: Metropolitan Publishing).
- Smyth, J. (1998 edn) *The Men of No Property: Irish Radicals and Popular Politics in the Late Eighteenth Century* (London: MacMillan Press).
- Stephens, J. (1999 edn) *The Insurrection in Dublin: an Eyewitness Account of the Easter Rising, 1916* (Barnes and Noble Books).
- Strauss, E. (1951) *Irish Nationalism and British Democracy* (London: Methuen and Co.).
- Stuart, F. (1995 edn) *Black List Section H* (Dublin: Lilliput Press).
- Swedberg, R. (2005) *The Max Weber Dictionary: Key Words and Central Concepts* (Stanford, CA: Stanford Social Sciences).
- Thompson, F. M. L. (1988) *The Rise of Respectable Society: a Social History of Victorian Britain 1830–1900* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press).

- Tombs, R. (1999) *The Paris Commune, 1871* (London and New York: Longman).
- Toomey, T. (2010) *The War of Independence in Limerick 1912–1921: Also Covering Actions In the Border Areas of Tipperary, Cork, Kerry and Clare* (O'Brien-Toomey Publishers).
- Townshend, C. (1979) 'The Irish Republican Army and the Development of Guerilla Warfare, 1916–1921', *English Historical Review*, XCIV, No. 371, 318–45.
- (1983) *Political Violence in Ireland: Government and Resistance since 1848* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- Turner, B. (1988) *Status* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press).
- Twohig, P. (1994) *Green Tears for Hecuba: Ireland's Fight for Freedom* (Ballincollig, Co. Cork: Tower Books).
- Valiulis, M. G. (1992) *Portrait of a Revolutionary: General Richard Mulcahy and the Founding of the Irish State* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press).
- Varley, T. (1988) 'Agrarian Crime and Social Control: Sinn Féin and the Land Question in the West of Ireland in 1920', in M. Tomlinson, T. Varley and C. McCullagh (eds), *Whose Law and Order? Aspects of Crime and Social Control in Irish Society* (Belfast: Sociological Association of Ireland), pp. 54–75.
- Walsh, P. V. (1998) 'The Irish Civil War, 1922–1923: a Military Study of the Conventional Phase, 28 June–11 August, 1922', a paper delivered to NYMAS at the CUNY Graduate Center, New York, 11 Dec. 1998 (available online as a NYMAS Fulltext Resource).
- Walshe, P. (1994) *Irish Republicanism and Socialism: the Politics of the Republican Movement 1905–1994* (Belfast: Athol Books).
- Whittemore, L. H. (1968) *The Man Who Ran the Subway: the Story of Mike Quill* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston).
- Wilk, G. (2014) "'No Hope for Him Unless He Can Be Got Out of the Country": Disabled Irish Republicans in America, 1922–1935', *New Hibernia Review*, XVIII, No. 1, 106–19.
- Williams, D. (ed.) (1966) *The Irish Struggle 1916–1926* (London: Routledge).
- Williams, R. (1983 edn) *Keywords: a Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (New York: Oxford University Press).
- Wilson, T. (ed.) (1970) *The Political Diaries of C. P. Scott 1911–1928* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press).
- Wright, E. O. (1985) *Classes* (London: Verso).
- Wrigley, R. (2002) *The Politics of Appearance: Representations of Dress in Revolutionary France* (Oxford: Berg).
- Younger, C. (1969) *Ireland's Civil War* (New York: Taplinger Publishing).

Unpublished dissertations (consulted)

- Carty, P. (1980) 'Kevin O'Higgins in Government 1922–1927', MA, UCD.
- Dempsey, J. (1997) 'Irish Republican Women 1921–1923', MA, UCD.
- Lynch, J. E. (1996) 'Operations and Conduct of the Free State Army Kerry Command during the Irish Civil War', MA, UCD.
- McHugh, J. P. (1983) 'Voices of the Rearguard: a Study of *An Phoblacht*: Irish Republican Thought in the Post-Revolutionary Era, 1923–37', MA, UCD.
- Murphy, B. T. (2010) 'The Government's Executions Policy During the Irish Civil War 1922–1923', Ph.D., National University of Ireland Maynooth.

- O'Brien, M. J. (2001) 'Irishness in Great Britain and the U.S.: Transatlantic and Cross-Channel Migration Networks and Irish Ethnicity, 1920–1990', Ph.D., University of Wisconsin, Madison.
- O'Connor Lysaght, D. R. (1982) 'Class Struggle during the Irish War of Independence and Civil War, 1916–1924', MA, UCD.
- Stover, J. (2005) 'Reluctant Enemies: Republican Mentalities in post-Treaty Ireland 1922–1924', MA, UCD.
- Wilk, G. J. (2012) 'Displaced Allegiance: Militant Irish Republican Activism in the United States, 1923–39', Ph.D., University of Limerick.

Index

- 1798 Rising 84
1916 Easter Rising 1, 3–4, 30, 92–3,
161–2, 172
fiftieth anniversary of 116
- Act of Union (1800) 3
Act to Provide for the Better
Government of Ireland
(1920) 7
- administrative ability 74–6, 181–2,
208–9, 224
- agrarianism, agrarian unrest/violence,
see also anti-treaty IRA; Free
State Army; land; SIC;
and ‘spy farms’
1917–21 14, 118–20, 122
1922–3 13–14, 19, 117, 119,
121–2, 128, 130, 223
Free State concerns 56, 130–3,
135, 140
geography of 13–14
historiography 12, 119, 223–4, 226
Ireland as agrarian society 17, 86,
205
pre-revolution traditions 39, 84,
117, 137–8
victims 13, 122, 136–7
- agricultural labourers 84, 118, 131
unemployment 220
- Agriculture, Free State Department
of 56, 130, 136
- Aiken, Frank
IRA Chief of Staff 6, 144–5,
167–70, 198, 262 n60, 267
n151, 272 n133
IRA policies re: emigration 209–12
pension applications 273 n149
alcohol/drink 42, 244 n97, 277 n61
see also *poitín*; prohibition in US
- American Association for the
Recognition of the Irish
Republic (AARIR) 186, 210,
213, 237 n144, 273 n140
- An tÓglach* 30–1, 37–9, 44, 60–1, 65–6,
91–2, 94, 111, 275 n26, 284
- Ancient Order of Hibernians
(AOH) 92
- Andrews, C. S. (Todd) 36, 54, 58, 106,
115, 150, 158–9, 190–2, 207
- Anglican church 24, 91, 108
- Anglo-Irish Ascendancy 80–2, 85–7,
106
- Anglo-Irish ‘big house’ 81, 85
- Anglo-Irish Treaty
articles of agreement 4
limits on size of Free State
Army 193
negotiations 20, 137
split 1, 4, 9–10, 14–19, 23–6, 34,
38, 46, 49, 52, 66, 72, 74, 76,
83, 97, 120, 123, 173–5, 178,
222–3, 225–6, 245 n126
wealthy support for 9, 80
- Anglo-Irish Truce 1, 4, 24, 177
as ‘breathing space’ 101–2
- animosity 2, 43, 64, 73, 82
- anti-Semitism 47
- anti-state activities 19, 117, 121,
128–35, 223
see also agrarianism; anti-treaty IRA;
SIC
- anti-treaty IRA
connection to agrarian unrest 12,
121, 135–7
connection to labour
unrest 138–41
military tactics 14, 21, 26, 28,
37–8, 45–6, 50, 52, 63–4, 72,
75, 94, 102–4, 115, 119, 130,
136, 176–7, 207, 220, 224, 226
see also IRA (Irish Republican Army)
- anti-treaty movement 23, 26, 35,
48–9, 52, 113, 120, 137, 155,
173–4, 183, 220, 223
exclusion from Free State
compensation scheme 178

- anti-treaty soldiers
 criminal prosecution of 217
- anti-treaty TDs 14
- Apprentice Boys 92
- Army Mutiny Crisis (1924) 150–1,
 170, 177, 193
- Army Pensions Act (1923) 177
- arson, incendiarism 5, 33, 41, 81,
 105–6, 124, 130, 140–1, 167–8
- Auxiliaries, 'Auxies' 27, 253 n111
- Bagwell, Sir John 80
- banks, bankers 55–6, 80–1, 89, 113,
 137, 154, 194–5, 250 n40
- Barrett, Boyd, TD 84
- Barrett, Richard 55
- Barry, Denis
 death of on hunger strike 149
- Barry, Kevin 36
- Barry, Tom 38, 62, 86, 97, 99
 financial hardships post-civil
 war 189–90
- Barton, Robert
 on executions 156–7
- beards 84, 99, 101
- Béaslaí, Piaras 65
 Free State censor 30–1
- begrudgery 72–3, 111, 231 n60
- Belfast 61
- Belfast Boycott 34
- Belgium
 cooperative scheme as a model for
 Sinn Féin 176
- Bergin, Joe 158–9, 165, 266 n133
- Bewley, Charles
 critique of civil service under Free
 State 182
- Bierce, Ambrose 232 n6, 248 n4
- Bishop of Cork 187, 234 n50
- Bishop of Elphin 29, 33
- Black and Tans, 'Tans' 4, 25, 27–8,
 60, 104, 125–6, 139, 180, 242
 n39, 252–3 n111
- Black Panthers 84
- Bloody Sunday (November
 1920) 101–2
- Blueshirts (Army Comrades
 Association) 94, 115, 125,
 198, 251 n69
- Blythe, Ernest 56, 57, 65, 67, 110, 153,
 180, 182, 240 n206, 263 n81
- Boer War 47, 70, 92
- Boland, Harry
 death of 67, 74, 160
- Bose, Subhas Chandra 115
- Breen, Dan
 attendance at Noel Lemass
 funeral 165
 financial hardships post-civil
 war 97, 189
 release of from prison 147, 261 n27
- Brennan, Austin 179, 184
- Briscoe, Robert
 on emigration and return post-civil
 war 77, 81
 on police harassment of
 business 190
- Britain, Great Britain, England 1–4, 8,
 12, 17, 23–4, 36, 44, 61, 69, 77,
 91, 106–7, 113, 123, 143, 148,
 156, 172, 180, 182, 193–4, 205–9,
 217, 240 n206, 263 n87, 275
 n22, 276 nn29, 39, 280 n112
- British Army 104, 128
 demobilization 5, 46
 soldiers 52, 60–3, 92–3, 99, 174,
 195–6, 241 n1
 wartime recruitment in
 Ireland 275 n21
- British Empire 3–4, 47, 70, 263 n81
- Brosnan, Thomas 159, 264 n98
- Broy, Eamon 93
 'Broy Harriers' 115, 198
- Brugha, Cathal 74, 76
- Bureau of Military History
 (BMH) 153, 250 n40
- by-election (1917) 74–5
- Byrne, Alfie (Alderman) 163
- Campbell, Joseph 106
 on internment 189
- Canada
 Dominion Status of 4
 IRA immigration to 207, 209, 213
- capitalism, capitalist 38, 54–5, 81,
 241 n14, 256 n14
- Casey, Seán 218
 IRA officers' emigration 185, 278 n80

- Catholic Church 2, 24, 29, 58, 125
 Chamberlain, Austin 112
 Chamberlain, Neville 112
 Chandler, Raymond 203
 Childers, Erskine 45, 47–51, 240
 nn204, 206, 263 n83
 execution of 155, 263 n86
 Publicity Director for anti-treaty
 movement 155–7
 Churchill, Winston 79, 112
 CID, *see* Criminal Investigation
 Department
 Citroën motorcar plant 217
 City Hall, Dublin 162
 Civic Guard (Garda Síochána)
 early problems 68, 70–1, 73, 193,
 223, 256 n26, 267 n164
 formation of 141
 interaction with Irish Republican
 Army 39, 121–33, 152, 163–4
 Special Branch 170
 unarmed character of 19, 42, 121,
 123, 126–7, 141, 267 n164,
 272 n113
 Civil Defence Force
 Protection Officers Corps 272 n113
 civil rights movement, United States 84
 civil service
 dismissal of Sinn Féin activists
 from by Provisional
 Government 218–19
 grievances within pro-treaty
 camp 181
 investigation by Fianna Fáil of
 dismissals 183–4
 loyalty oaths 183–5
 retention of pre-treaty
 establishment 182
 role of Free State Cabinet
 in appointments and
 dismissals 182–3, 190
 victimization of Sinn Féin
 supporters by British
 Government 181–2
 Clann na nGael
 financial support for sick IRA
 immigrants 210–11, 213, 216
 class, classes
 bourgeoisie 9–11, 18, 50, 53–4, 111
 composition of anti-treaty IRA 10
 definitions of 2–3, 19, 23
 landless labourers 8
 large farmers 9, 58
 middle class 2, 9, 12, 15, 23, 51,
 53–4, 58, 87–91, 98, 100, 112,
 115, 179–80, 187, 220
 petite bourgeoisie 9
 quantitative approaches to 2–3,
 12, 222–3
 small farmers 8, 12, 38, 40, 50,
 136, 198, 220
 snobbery 78
 working class 9–10, 37, 50, 54, 56,
 59, 61–2, 220
 Clery, Arthur 191
 Cleeve's Milk Company 190
 clothing 19, 82, 83–116, 164, 175,
 223
 bowler hats 86, 87, 92, 110, 113
 'brood black brimmer' worn by
 IRA 95–6, 101–2
 as disguise 98–101
 Gaelic Revival 105
 galoshes 88
 IRA trench coats 95–6, 101–3, 110,
 124, 223, 253 n111
 plus-fours 87, 100
 Sam Browne belt 92–5, 127
 shawls 34, 92, 104, 250 n59
 square-toed boots 84
 striped trousers 86, 106
 Sunday suits 91, 113
 top hats 86–8, 99, 106–16, 223
 traditional Irish mantle 84, 110
 uniforms 84, 104, 123
 Co. Carlow 125, 127, 153
 Bagenalstown 125
 Co. Clare 15, 40, 42, 72, 118, 122,
 124, 127, 136, 146, 156, 214,
 222, 262 n56, 264 n96,
 275 nn19, 21
 Ennis 153, 156
 Co. Cork 13, 15, 26, 40–1, 62, 69,
 75, 79, 86, 99, 124–5, 129,
 136–7, 140, 150, 162, 187–90,
 211–14
 Bandon 128–9
 Berrings 129
 Drimoleague 99
 Kanturk 115

- Macroom 186
 Mitchelstown 183
 Skibbereen 126, 129, 136–7
 St. Finbarr's Cemetery, Republican
 Plot 261 n44
 Youghal 129
 Co. Donegal 29–30, 33, 34, 43, 46,
 128, 156, 211, 214, 220, 235 n95,
 273 n139
 Drumboe executions 116
 Gweedore 128
 Co. Dublin 15, 31–5, 40–1, 48, 59,
 61–5, 87–108, 140, 144, 185,
 198, 228 n10, 236 n119
 Co. Galway 25, 122, 127–30, 133,
 155, 179, 187, 213–14, 256
 n26–7, 264 n95
 Athenry 156, 187–8
 Derrybrien 127
 Tuam 128, 155–6
 Co. Kerry 6, 13, 15, 32, 40–3, 56, 61,
 80, 99, 102, 124–5, 127, 152–3,
 156–60, 186, 196, 201, 211–15,
 217, 256 n23, 264 nn91, 95,
 265 n105, 275 n26
 Ballyferriter 125
 Brosna 102
 Cahirciveen 152, 157, 264 n91
 Castleisland 264 nn91, 98
 Clashmealcon Caves 157
 Glenflesk 196
 Kenmare 32, 34, 48,
 Knocknagoshel 157, 264 n92
 Tralee 86, 157, 196, 264 n91
 Co. Kildare 13, 126, 176
 Castledermot 126
 Celbridge 127
 Kilberry 125
 Co. Kilkenney 124, 129, 158, 229
 n20, 280 n115
 Co. Laois 214, 280 n116, 282 n152
 IRA – Laois Brigade 219
 Portlaoise 219
 Co. Leitrim 42, 126, 132, 150,
 214
 Carrick-on-Shannon 168
 Carrigallen 136
 Co. Limerick 13, 40–1, 47, 72, 114,
 127, 140, 150, 175–6, 262 n56,
 273 n149, 276 n36
 Co. Longford 14–15, 30, 126, 134,
 152, 167, 176
 Drumlish 134
 Edgeworthstown 125
 Newtowncashel 167
 Co. Louth 13, 156
 Co. Mayo 13, 15, 25, 41–2, 73, 77,
 80, 97, 133–4, 211, 213–14, 220,
 235 n82, 238 n160, 282 n158
 Pontoon Lake 134
 Co. Meath 126
 Dunshauglin 126
 Co. Monaghan 42, 153, 168
 Co. Offaly 32, 156, 212, 214, 219, 280
 nn107, 116, 118, 282 nn152, 157
 Tullamore 219
 Co. Roscommon 124, 189
 Co. Sligo 13–15, 41, 132, 136, 150,
 157, 167, 211, 214, 260 n11
 Benbulbin Mountain 157
 Co. Tipperary 13, 15, 72, 125, 127,
 144, 156, 176, 262 n56
 Carrickbeg 126
 Clonmel 125, 152
 Knockmealdown Mountains
 (Tipperary portion) 144
 Co. Tyrone
 Omagh 86, 89, 108, 250 n40
 Co. Waterford 40–1, 121, 129, 131,
 138–41, 180, 242 n33, 258 n76
 agricultural strike 121
 agricultural strike curfew 139
 Dungarvan 129
 Portlaw 129
 Co. Westmeath 155, 214
 Mullingar 111
 Rathowen 125
 Co. Wexford
 Enniscorthy 218
 Co. Wicklow 29, 47, 80, 105, 111,
 158, 163–4
 Blessington 105, 163
 Greystones 111, 254 n142
 Collins, Michael 8, 237 n134, 237
 n143, 258 n68
 Commander-in-Chief, Free State
 Army 5, 28, 44, 50–1, 57, 62,
 65, 68–72, 97–8, 137, 182
 death of 38, 54, 79, 162
 dress and behavior 100, 105

- Collins, Michael – *continued*
 republican critique of 31, 54, 78
 ‘Squad’ 36, 101–2
- colonization, colonialism 17, 37,
 39, 46, 51, 108–10, 113, 116,
 181, 206
- Colum, Padraic 31
- Comerford, Máire 187–90
- commandeering 38, 104, 125, 137
- compensation 119, 136
 for damages from War of
 Independence 178–9, 193,
 250 n40
- Connacht Province 13, 40, 214, 219
- Connemara 42, 179, 185, 213–14,
 271 n72, 280 n118
- Connolly, James 2, 10, 55, 68, 70,
 119, 255–6 n14
see also James Connolly Pipers’
 Band
- Connolly O’Brien, Nora 146
- conscription crisis (1918) 25
- Constitution (Amendment No. 17)
 Act 171
- Cooney, Andrew (Chief of Staff
 IRA) 170, 191
- Cope, Andy 106–7
- Cork City 188
- Cork City Corporation 188
- Cork Harbour 190
- Corkery, Daniel 187
- cornerboys 37, 62, 93
- Cosgrave, William T. 31, 33, 44, 54,
 67–8, 74, 79–81, 145, 148, 169,
 171, 197, 199, 237 n124,
 237 n124, 247 n174, 254 n147,
 261 n47
 fashion sense 105–7, 110–13, 250
 n50
 response to Noel Lemass death 163
 use of airplane to attend election
 rallies (1923) 153
- counterrevolution 10–12, 74, 77
- courthouses
 condition of in civil war 168
- Coyle, Eithne 34, 235 n95
- Craig, James, Northern Irish Prime
 Minister 183, 191
- creameries 138–9
- Criminal Investigation Department
 (CID, Oriel House) 35, 76,
 111–12, 140–1, 163, 193,
 269 n24, 272 n113
 demobilization scheme 150, 174,
 176–8, 192, 262 n55
 implication in extrajudicial
 killings 5–6, 58, 154, 180
- criminality 23, 29, 39, 117, 135,
 150, 225
- criminalization of anti-treaty
 campaign 166
- criminal prosecution of anti-treaty
 soldiers 166–9
- croppy boys 84
- crown forces 4, 24, 60, 69, 94, 99,
 122, 128, 162
- cultural nationalism, *see* ‘Irish-Irelanders’
- Cumann na mBan 5, 79, 92, 101,
 105, 200
 employment problems of
 members 175, 187, 268 n10
 exclusion from revolutionary
 service pensions 177–8
- Cumann na nGaedheal 20, 40, 54,
 69, 81, 113–14, 152, 154, 166,
 171, 174, 184, 191, 197–9, 202,
 236 n115, 239 n177
- Cumann na Saoirse 79
- Dáil Éireann 4, 66–8, 94, 105, 122,
 168, 181, 183, 237 n124
- Dalton, Charles 36, 101–2
- Dalton, Patrick (Commander
 of SIC) 132, 139–40,
 259 n79
- Daly, Paddy 265 n293
 allegations of abuse and murder of
 Kerry prisoners 160
- Deasy, Liam 72, 74–5, 99
 internment of 148
- De Blacam, Hugh 48–9
- Defence of the Realm Act (1914) 93
- Department of Local
 Government 197–8
- Desart, Dowager Countess of 80
- de Valera, Eamon 8, 28, 30, 185, 192,
 228 n8, 240 n203, 243 n63, 246
 n148, 254 n155, 263 n70

- arrest of in Clare 146, 149, 153,
 155–6, 263 n71
 on emigration of republicans
 198–200, 212, 221
 external associations scheme 92
 hostility to patronage 197–202
 legacy 55–6, 70, 72, 75, 98–101,
 106, 113–16, 142, 170–1
 non-partisan, meritocratic state
 ideals 203, 241 n15
 President of the Irish Republic 5,
 6, 40, 43, 45, 47–51, 212
 retirement from politics 222
 Devoy, John 240 n203
 Dillon, John 68
 Dillon, T. W. T. 244 n92
 dog registration fee 126, 129,
 256 n33
 Donnelly, Eamon (Sinn Féin director
 of elections 1923) 153, 254
 n149
 Douglas, Senator James 145
 Dreyfus Affair 48
 Dublin Castle 26, 54, 69, 84, 86,
 106, 123, 170, 181–2
 Dublin City 13, 62–3, 214
 Dublin City Treasurer 184
 Dublin Corporation 162–3, 165
 Dublin Lockout 99
 Dublin Metropolitan Police (DMP)
 92–3, 163, 193, 272 n113
 detective bureau 170
 ‘G’ Division 111–12
 Duffy, George Gavan 237 n144
 Duggan, Ned 97
 dugouts 146, 161, 265 n105
 Dunraven, Earl of 80

 Easter Rising, *see* 1916 Easter Rising
 economy 15, 62–3, 134, 142, 172, 179,
 187, 196–7, 205–6, 219–20, 226
 post-First World War 118
 Education, Free State Department
 of 184–6
 Education Office 186
 Electoral Amendment Act
 (1927) 267 n169
 Emergency Powers Resolution
 (1923) 134–5

 emigration
 1920s 20, 143, 202, 204, 206–9,
 219–20, 224, 273 n139
 continuity of regional
 patterns 219
 First World War interruption of 206
 from midlands towns 214, 219–20,
 280 n116
 IRA – rates in Kerry Third
 Brigade 215
 nationalists on British culpability
 for 206
 numbers between 1850 and
 1923 172
 as perceived solution to ‘Irregular’
 problem 197
 post-1922 numbers 207
 post-Famine geographical
 patterns 19, 203
 push factors 20, 142, 204–5, 215,
 224
 emigration rates:
 in Dingle Peninsula Battalion 215
 in Kerry First Brigade, Third
 Battalion 215
 in Lixnaw Company 215
 in Ventry 215
 as safety valve for economic/
 employment problems 2, 197,
 205–6, 220–1, 224
 visa limits to United States 207–9
 England, *see* Britain
 English Civil War 84, 248 n4
 English Pale 84
 ethnicity
 ethnic essentialism 46–50, 78
 ethnic ‘othering’ 46
 ethnic violence 119
 Eucharistic Congress (1932) 114
 executions
 civil war 5, 154–6, 165–71, 180,
 263 nn81, 87
 in Clare 264 n96
 in Donegal 156
 in Easter Rising 4, 30, 90
 Free State amnesty offer before
 commencing 155
 Free State justification for 36, 58,
 81, 156, 168, 211

- executions – *continued*
 of Galway Volunteers in
 Westmeath 155–6
 in Kerry 156
 in Louth 156
 movement to Free State commands
 in provinces 5
 numbers 1922–3
 in Offaly 156
 protests against 156–7
 public opinion 156
 republican memory of 5, 116, 154
 republican reaction to 5–6
 of ‘Rory, Liam, Dick and Joe’ 155
 in Tipperary 156
 at Tuam Barracks 155
 use of military courts by Irish Free
 State 5, 155, 166, 169
 War of Independence 36, 155
 in Wexford 36, 156
- famine 175, 218
 famine (The Great Famine) 19, 63,
 91, 203, 205–6, 219
 Farmers’ Party, Farmers’ Union 57,
 138, 152, 154, 232 n18
 fascism, *fascisti* 43, 47, 51, 94, 194,
 240 n218
 Fenianism 3, 100
 Fenians
 ‘exile’ of 43, 84, 203
 Fianna Éireann 35, 64, 92
 Fianna Fáil 6–7, 23, 76–7, 113–16,
 142–3, 161, 174, 184–9, 197–202,
 214, 223, 254 n154
 abstentionist policy, dropping of 170
 expectation of government
 appointments for party
 members 171, 177–8, 198–201
 party executive 200
 reform of Military Pensions
 Act 200
 see also patronage
 Finance, Free State Department of 55,
 179–80, 270 n59, 272 n122
 Fine Gael 7, 23
 Finland 159
 Firearms (Temporary Provisions) Act
 (1924) 267 n160
- First World War 3, 86, 87
 agricultural boom 206
 impact on emigration 206
 Fisheries, Free State Department
 of 264 n89
 Flanagan, Luke, TD 84
 Flannery, Michael 178, 204
 as IRA organizer in USA 216
 ‘Flight of the Earls’ 203
 flogging, *see* Special Powers
 Forbes, Tadgh 191
 Ford Motors 188
 Four Courts 5, 26, 29, 75, 162
 ‘Four Glorious Years’ 4
 foxes 146
 Freemasons 81
 Free State Army, *see also* Special
 Infantry Corps
 age of members 3 4–5
 demobilization 46, 62–3, 150, 174,
 192, 262 n55
 demobilized troops’ political
 overtures to IRA 194
 economic problems of 63
 emigration of demobilized
 soldiers 46
 gratuity payments 177
 pensions 176–8
 preferential treatment of soldiers
 in post-civil war hiring 192
 social problems produced
 by 150, 192
 unemployment of soldiers
 post-civil war 62, 174
 desertions from 46
 discipline problems within 60
 drunkenness 60–1
 Dublin Guards 105
 intelligence, implicated in
 murders 140–1
 professionalization 160
 size 63, 192–3
 suppression of agrarian
 unrest 131–5, *see also* SIC
 Free State Public Safety laws 5, 58,
 150–1, 169, 180, 225
 Free State security forces
 post-civil war reorganization and
 downsizing 177, 193

- Freikorps* 194
 French Revolution 84
 French, Lord Lieutenant Field-Marshal 275 n20
 French, Lord and Lady 112, 275 n20
 Friends of Irish Freedom (FOIF) 276 n44
- Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA) 111
 Gaelic League 27, 71, 84, 90–1, 184
 Gallagher, Frank 4
 as Irish Press editor 198–9
 Garda Síochána, *see* Civic Guard
 gender 17, 23
 girls, Free State perceptions of in anti-treaty camp 29, 33–4, 235 n91
 women, clothing 84, 88, 92, 104, 115, 252 n107
 women, Free State perceptions of in anti-treaty camp 33–4, 45, 51, 252 n107
 women, republican attitudes towards 59, 61, 79, 115
 women, roles in revolution 5, 24, 64, 92, 101, 104, 148, 177, 185, 225, 226
 see also Cumann na mBan; Cumann na Saoirse
- General Elections
 1918 94
 1922 33, 143–4
 1923:
 electoral violence (August) 40, 152–4
 government role in intimidating opposition 152–3
 problems with interpreting results 154
 results (seats and percentage of vote) 154
 vote-tampering allegations 153
 voter turnout 33, 153
 1927 77, 114, 143, 170
 1932 73, 143, 185, 188, 197, 201–2
- gentility 17, 85, 87, 108
 gentry 9, 59, 80, 86–7, 249 n11
- geography
 of emigration 205, 214–15, 219–20
 of IRA violence 12–14
 social attitudes and 39–44
- Germany 60, 103
 as source of arms for UVF and Irish Volunteers 92
- Glasnevin Cemetery 164
 Glenavy, Lord 80
 Gogarty, Oliver St John 27, 38, 41, 81
 golf 87, 100, 111, 115
 gombeen men 55, 58
 Governor-General 4, 27, 67–8, 104, 106
 commutation of criminal sentences for republican internees 168–9
 Vice-Regal Lodge 78–80, 111–12
- Granard, Lord 80
 Grattan Esmonde, Sir Thomas 80
 graziers, grazing 117–18, 122, 133, 135–7
- Great Britain, *see* Britain
 Great Depression
 impact on emigration 188, 209, 214
- Great Southern Railway 162
 Gregory, Tony, TD 84
 Griffith, Arthur 8, 28, 38, 68–9, 78–80, 100, 137, 182
 economic ideals 57
- Guinness, Henry Seymour 80–1
- Hales, Seán
 assassination of 26, 155, 162, 265 n118
- Harnett, Mossie 105, 149, 176
 Harrison, Henry
 leading Free State civilian patrols 252 n106
- Hathaway, Reginald 240 n200
 Healy, Timothy (Governor-General) 27, 67, 239 n189
 Hobson, Bulmer 236 n103
 Hogan, Patrick (Minister for Agriculture) 56, 130–2, 135, 140
- Home Affairs, Free State Department of 37, 138, 163, 167, 193
 Home Rule 3–4, 9, 24, 31, 47, 67–8, 77, 92
 Third Home Rule Bill (1912) 3
- Humphreys, Sighle 235 n95

- hunger striking 31, 147–9, 176, 201, 261 n44
 Fall 1923 158
 numbers of prisoners participating in 1923 148
 Terence MacSwiney 1920
 death 78, 148
 Hyde, Douglas 91
- immigration
 to Britain 276 n39
 to British Dominions 207
 to United States 39, 43, 185
 US restrictions, impact on republicans 206–9
- Imperial Hotel 25, 99, 161
- Inch Fort 252 n108
- indemnity order re: prosecution of civil war fighting 169
- independent TDs 58, 152, 154
- intellectuals, anti-intellectualism 9–11, 23, 44–51
- internment 5, 58, 171, 180, 201, 204, 247 n157
 camps 104, 141, 166, 175, 179, 210
 The Curragh 61, 100–1, 149
 Gormanstown 71, 162
 Hare Park 35, 168, 218
 Newbridge 101, 149
 North Dublin Union 149
 Tintown Camp (Newbridge) 148, 165, 210
- continuation of after Irish Civil War 6, 133, 146–9
- estimates of prisoner numbers at end of civil war 146
- gradual release of POWs 146–7
- habeas corpus appeals of detention 146, 153, 170
- legal challenges to 146–9
- pace and timing of releases 149–52
- prisons, escapes from 71, 99–101, 147, 157, 162, 166–7, 215
- release of prisoners who agreed to emigrate 191
- releases 104, 106, 176
see also hunger striking
- IRA (Irish Republican Army)
 1920 emigration ban 212
 1922 order reinstating emigration ban 209, 216
 Adjutant General 71, 212
 age of members 34–6
 and agrarian unrest 12, 121, 135–7
 anti-treaty class makeup 220
 anti-treaty executive 144–5
 Army Council 71, 145, 210, 217
 ceasefire and dump arms order 6, 143–7, 158–62, 166, 169, 181, 186, 213–15
 commandeering of supplies 104, 125, 137
 decommissioning of armies, dump arms order (May 1923) 102, 140, 146
 dugouts 146, 161, 265 n105
- emigration:
 blacklisting as factor 115, 173–4, 184, 187–92, 219, 281 n148
 economic push factors 20, 142, 204, 215, 224, 268 n18
 geography 205, 214–15, 220
 historiographical debates 1, 7–8, 16, 22, 71, 118–19, 223
 impact on organization 25, 143, 185–6, 208–14, 218
 IRA General Order (No 22) 210, 216, 277 n57, 282 n158
 of members for health reasons 216
 numbers 214–15
 pace of departures 209–14
 permits 210–13, 16–18, 278 n80, 279 n98
 post-civil war 207–8, 212, 220
 rates in Kerry brigades 211–18, 275 n26
 reasons for members leaving country 216, 219
 as source of remittances 205
- employment opportunities:
 in England for members 209, 211, 216–17, 282 n158
 in France for members 217
- First Southern Division 167, 211–13

- First Western Division 278 n80
 'flying columns' 26, 62, 73, 75,
 95–7, 101–5, 125, 127, 158,
 167, 257 n48
 'Foreign Reserve' scheme 213–14,
 217
 General Headquarters (GHQ)
 209–10, 218, 268 n18
 assumption of responsibility
 for civil war actions of
 Volunteers 167
 IRB presence within 70
 tensions with local
 Volunteers 98
 guerilla campaign 4–5, 13, 15, 30,
 41–3, 62–6, 94–6, 102–4, 146,
 151, 160, 251 n67
 intelligence activities 98–104, 128,
 162, 194
 Knocknagoshel 157, 264 n92
 membership numbers 1920s 35,
 205–7
 men on the run 96, 100–1, 104,
 123, 146, 155, 160, 162, 172,
 207, 211
 neutrality, neutral members 10,
 26, 102, 177
 Northern Divisions 268 n18
 Offaly No 2 219
 official policy against recognition of
 Free State 146
 policy and general orders regulating
 emigration 210–14
 post-civil war military plans 65,
 73, 101, 171, 198–9, 201–6,
 212, 219, 226
 preoccupation with
 documentation 209
 propaganda against
 emigration 211–12
 reaction to Emergency Powers Act
 Bill (1922) 155
 recruitment 24–5, 73
 relations with police post-civil
 war 256 n23, 267 n164
 sociological analyses of 15
 Southern Divisions 167, 211–13
 Special Army Order (24 May
 1923) 145
 violence, activities post-civil
 war 13, 40, 167
 Western Divisions 185, 211, 213
 Irish in America 39, 43
 immigration 185
 visa limits to United States 207–9
 see also IRA (Irish Republican
 Army): emigration
 Irish Citizen Army (ICA) 2, 92–3, 177
 Irish Civil War
 aftermath 2, 18–20, 94, 125,
 142–74, 203–4, 224–5
 casualty figures 13
 compared to other civil wars 84, 159
 damages 43, 179
 debate over definition of 16
 ending of 20, 28, 53, 81, 111,
 120, 123, 134, 137–8, 142–74,
 189–93, 273 n149
 explanations of 8
 historiography 1, 7–8, 16, 22, 71,
 118–19, 223
 interpretations, socioeconomic 2,
 8–20, 23, 38–40, 49, 56, 62, 72,
 83, 119, 219
 justifications for waging 143
 negotiations to end 20, 137
 periodization 2–3, 280 n110
 politics 143, 152, 202, 223–5
 post-civil war security 141, 144,
 150, 158, 212
 possible class basis for 1–2, 9
 social conflicts in 117–41
 Irish Communist Party 55
Irish Destiny (1926 film) 100, 252 n94
 Irish Free State
 anti-intellectual rhetoric 51
 appeal to employers to reinstate
 demobilized soldiers 194
 'business as usual' ethos 109
 democratic performance of 159
 discourses on republican
 'irrationality' 42, 44, 135
 executions policy, *see* executions
 executive cabinet 193
 financial targeting of
 republicans 179–80
 interpretation of security conditions
 in 1924 150–1, 170, 177, 193

- Irish Free State – *continued*
 justification for economic campaign
 against republicans 180–1
 political stability post-civil war 7, 9
 relationship with business 9, 24,
 50, 55–8, 80–1, 195–6
 repression 19, 121, 142–73, 203–4,
 215, 224
 security and repression during
 elections 153
 state killings, *see* state killings
- Irish Free State Army, *see* Free State
 Army
- ‘Irish-Irelanders’, ‘Irish-Ireland’
 movement 49
- Irish labour movement
 anti-militarism 159
 criticism of Free State 10–11
 criticism of republicans 10–11
 neutrality on treaty split 9–10
- Irish Literary Revival 92
- Irish National Land League 117
- Irish Northern Aid Committee
 (NORAID) 204
- Irish Parliamentary Party (IPP) 4, 35,
 66, 68, 74, 94
- Irish Press* 198–9
- Irish Republic
 flag 93
 ‘legal establishment’ of 53
- Irish Republican Army Veterans
 Association (IRAVA) (US) 213
- Irish Republican Brotherhood
 (IRB) 28, 31, 34, 47, 61,
 69–71, 170, 177, 245 n111
- Irish republican movement
 employment schemes 197, 212
 labour exchanges 175
- Irish republicanism
 and democracy 51, 91, 154, 202,
 223
 employment networks 210
 employment obstacles in white-
 collar sector 101
 left-wing (socialists) 107
 legitimacy 10, 23, 28, 30, 52, 54, 77,
 147, 152, 167, 173, 175, 183
 lower-class support for 9, 15, 51,
 205, 224
 social conservatism 222
 social revolutionary tendencies 2
- Irish republicans
 boycotting of Free State
 institutions 173, 187, 191–2,
 196
 economic discrimination and
 victimization of 142, 173, 179,
 188–9, 197, 204–5, 218, 225
 involvement in land disputes 98,
 135, 137
 policing 118
- Irish Revolution 98, 220
 as conceptual issue 7, 10–12, 228 n5
 definitions of 7, 228 n5
 ‘new revolutionary history’ 1, 3–4
 periodization 2–3
 social geographical analyses of 7,
 10–12
- Irish stereotypes 34–5, 39, 78, 99
- Irish Transport and General Workers’
 Union (ITGWU) 138, 141,
 242 n37
- Irish Unionism 3, 92
- Irish Volunteers 3, 29, 65–6, 92, 94
- Irish War of Independence (Anglo-Irish
 War) 3, 11, 21, 25, 30–1, 36,
 50, 60, 65, 75, 94–8, 122, 128,
 155–6, 177
- Irishness (un-Irishness) 23, 46, 115
- Jacobites 203, 220
- James Connolly Pipers Band 164
- Jameson, Senator Andrew 145
- Jews 47, 61, 240 n203
see also anti-Semitism
- jobbery 53, 66–74, 225
- jobs
 blacklisting 115, 173–4, 184,
 187–92, 219, 281 n148
 boycotting government 138, 173,
 187, 191–2, 196
 grievances 52, 72, 128, 174, 185,
 196, 225
 purging enemies 197
see also unemployment
- Johnson, Thomas 59, 68
 refusal to support General Strike for
 ending internment (1923) 148

- Joyce, P. W. 78
 juvenile delinquency 23, 31–3, 36–7
- Keating, Seán 96
- Kennedy, Hugh (Free State Attorney General) 29, 44, 104–5, 110
- Kerry, Lord 80
- killings, extrajudicial 5, 58, 154
- Kilmainham Gaol 64, 148, 155
- King, Dr Reverend Martin Luther 84
- King's County, *see* Co. Offaly
- Knocknagoshel killing of Free State soldiers with booby trap 157
- labour
 strike curfew 133, 195
 strikes, workers' soviets 10, 117, 120–1, 131, 138–41, 174, 182, 195, 258 n76, 261 nn46–7
- Labour Party
 Irish 10, 24, 53, 56, 58–60, 68, 148, 174, 196–7
 United Kingdom 91, 109–10
- land
 annuities, campaign against payment of 130, 171
 allotment of 178
 to Free State Officers 197–8
 hunger 12, 118
 reforms and policies post-civil war 119, 152, 171, 178
 see also agrarianism, 'spy farms', patronage
- Land Commission 178, 201
- landlords 54, 56, 58, 87, 118, 132, 134
- land question 2, 39, 84, 117, 120–1, 226
- Land Settlement Commission 132, 136–7, 182–3
- 'Land War' (c.1879–82) 117, 130, 132
- Larkin, Jim 98–9
- Lansdowne, Lord 80, 248 n179
- Leinster Province 40, 155, 214
- Lemass, Noel 161–6
 abduction of 161, 163, 165
 allegation of government ministers' role in death of 165
 commemoration of death 165
 condition of body 164
 inquest into death of 161–5
 murder of 161, 165–6, 225
 role in 1916 Rising 161–2
 rumored role in Seán Hales' attack 162, 265 n118
 speculation about motives for murder of 161–2
- Lemass, Seán 116, 161
- Leonard, Joe 102
- Lester, Seán 262 n61
 Free State Director of Publicity 195
- liquor licensing 68, 128, 132–3
- Liverpool, England 102
- Lloyd George, David 44, 67
- Local Government
 administration 182
 elections (1920) 27–8
 Free State Department of 68, 105, 184–5, 190, 197–8, 237 n124
- London, England 25, 48, 55, 62, 88, 109, 112
- Lord-Lieutenant 86–7, 275 n20
- loyalists
 victimization of 119, 137
- Lynch, Liam (IRA Chief of Staff) 73, 75
 death of 6, 144–5
- Lyons, Dr Brigid 247 n162
 and Military Pension appeal 177–8
- Macardle, Dorothy 8, 185, 208, 229 n15
 critique of 1923 election 152–3
 'Tragedies of Kerry' 158
- MacBride, Seán 74, 215, 267 n166, 272 n133, 281 n128
- MacDonald, Ramsay 109–10
- MacNeill, Eoin 100, 191
- Macready, General 112
- MacSwiney, Mary 72, 78
 attendance at Noel Lemass funeral 165
- MacSwiney, Terence 78, 148
- Maguire, Tom 61, 150
- Markievicz, Constance 48–9, 67–9, 72, 77, 99, 106–7, 149, 181
 attendance at Noel Lemass funeral 165

- Marxism/ist
 historians 3, 11
 models 2–3, 10–12, 16–17, 54, 60
 neo- or revisionists 11–12, 202,
 242 n39
 masculinity 98
 Mayo, Lord 80
 McCorley, Roger 158
 McElduff, James 191
 McGuinness, Frank – TD
 Longford 152
 McKelvey, Joseph 55
 medical profession 57
 medical school 97
 Mellows, Liam 47, 55–6, 59,
 72, 74
 ‘Mountjoy Gaol Notes’ 236 n104
 memory, republican 5, 116, 154
 merchants, business 9, 15, 80, 89
 Merriman Summer School (Co.
 Clare) 222
 migration, seasonal 282 n158
 Military Customs Brigade 193
 military pensions
 problems with assessing
 eligibility 200–1
 public release of 200–1
see also pensions
 military police 158, 165
 Military Service Pensions Act
 (1924) 177–8
 Military Service Pensions Act
 (1934) 187, 200
 military tribunals 171
 Mitchel, John 275 n16
 Moore, Myles 183–4
 moral pessimism 43
 morality 17
 Moran, D. P. (and *The Leader*) 16,
 78–9, 87
 on emigration 206
 Mountjoy Gaol 36, 55, 68, 71, 77,
 148–9, 157, 164
 Moylan, Seán
 as IRA envoy to the United
 States 211
 Moynihan, Captain – CID Director 163
 Mulcahy, Richard (General) 31, 38, 45,
 63, 70, 132, 156, 180, 237 n135
 mummings 32
 Munster and Leinster Bank 137
 Munster Province 40–1, 119, 214,
 219
 Murphy, Humphrey 146
 Murphy, Jeremiah 160–3, 212–13,
 217–18
 Murphy, Thomas 122, 130
 Murphy, W. R. E. (Free State
 Commander of Kerry) 44,
 156
 Murray, Captain James (Free State
 Army)
 alleged role in Noel Lemass
 murder 165
 conviction of murder for Joseph
 Bergin 165, 266 n133
 National Irish Foresters 92–3
 National Land Bank 263 n86
 National Schools
 dismissal of teachers for republican
 activities and sympathies 218
 teachers 218
 Neenan, Connie 271 n86
 Ford Motors plant in Cork 188
 work for republican movement in
 US 188
 Neligan, David 265 n104
 allegations of abuse and murder of
 POWs 160
 as Head of Special Branch 170,
 201
 demotion to Land
 Commission 170
 Free State Army Intelligence Kerry
 command 170
 nepotism 68
 New York, United States
 birth of de Valera 47
 republican exile in 116, 186,
 188–9, 213
 Transport Workers’ Union 203
 Northern Ireland (NI)
 approaches to conflict 226
 borders of 4
 Catholic emigration 204
 loyalty oaths for civil
 servants 183–5

- Northern Irish 'Troubles'
 (post-1968) 84
 republican emigration 280 n117
see also Promissory Oath Act,
 Northern Ireland (1923)
- O'Boyle, Neil Plunkett 158
- O'Brien, William 228 n5, 247 n176
- O'Callaghan, Donal 79
- O'Casey, Seán
The Plough and the Stars 92–3
- Ó Coileain, Seán (Land Settlement
 Commission Inspector) 137
- Ó Conchubhair, Art 192
- O'Connor, Frank 96, 149, 187, 217
 on hunger strike's collapse 261 n46
- O'Connor, Rory 41, 75
 drawing government wages while
 imprisoned by Provisional
 Government 184
- O'Connor, Seamus 101, 186
- O'Donnell, Peadar
 on bourgeois character of Free
 State 54, 55, 58, 69–70, 222,
 251 n78
 on emigration 221,
- O'Duffy, Eoin 31, 39–42, 67, 70–1,
 123, 125, 256 n24, 257 n44
 loss of position upon Fianna Fáil
 coming to power 273 n148
- Ó Faoláin, Pax 187, 189, 246 n133
- Ó Faoláin, Seán 16, 187
- O'Hegarty, P. S. 8, 28, 46–7, 71, 229
 n15
- O'Higgins, Brian (*Wolfe Tone Annual*
 editor) 264 nn96–7
- O'Higgins, Kevin 110, 138, 142, 152–3,
 179–80, 261 n47, 262 n58
 assassination of 170–1
 response to Noel Lemass
 abduction 26, 163
 suspects in murder of 171
- old age pensions
 republican interference with/Free
 State withholding of 179, 182
- Old IRA 165, 170, 177, 273 n51
see also IRA (Irish Republican Army)
- Ó Loingsigh, Fionán 264 n89
- Ó Máille, Pádraig 155
- O'Malley, Ernie 9, 16, 25, 58, 79, 85,
 96–100, 181, 191, 216, 266 n146
- Ó Maoileoin, Tomas 272 nn132–3
- Orange Order, Orangemen 92
- O'Reilly, Ned
 IRA organization work in USA 216
- 'Oriell House Gang', *see* Criminal
 Investigations Department
- O'Shannon, Cathal 59
- O'Shiel, Kevin 86, 89–90, 250 n40
- Ó Suilleabháin, Micheál 75
- O'Sullivan, Gearóid 71
- Pact Election, *see* General Elections: 1922
- Pareto, Vilfredo 87, 249 n30
- Paris Commune 33
- patronage 78, 91, 173
 as Fianna Fáil recruitment
 tool 173–8
 land allotments by Free State 54,
 58, 66–71, 185
 pressures on Fianna Fáil 197–202
- Peace Preservation Force (nineteenth
 century) 132
- Pearse, Patrick 35
 on emigration 206
- pensions 175
 exclusion of anti-treaty veterans
 from military pensions 177
 military service 64, 176–87, 197–8,
 200–1
 old age 179, 182
 wounds 194
- picture houses 31
- Pilkington, Liam 146, 260 n11
- 'plain people', *see* populism; pro-
 treaty populist rhetoric
- Plunkett, Count George Noble 190
- Plunkett, Jack 190
- Plunkett, Mary Josephine 175
- poaching, poachers 29–30, 243 n46
- poitín* 19, 29, 42, 117, 121, 130, 223
 confiscation of supplies 128, 133–5
 and 'madness' 135
see also alcohol, drink
- politics, politicians, *see also* clothing;
 respectability
 republican contempt for 10, 53,
 68, 74–7, 96–7, 115

- Pope, papacy 114
- populism
 pro-treaty 49–50, 51
 anti-treaty 54
 Fianna Fáil 115
- postmasters 86, 179
- postcolonialism 37, 51, 109, 112
- press 5, 9, 27, 32–6, 45, 48, 50–1, 54–5, 65, 67, 75, 78, 99, 104, 112, 118, 126, 137, 148, 155, 162–3, 176, 195, 198–9, 235 n91, 239 n192, 240 n206, 256 n26, 262 nn60–1
- prisons, *see* internment camps;
 prisoners (POWs)
- prisoners (POWs) 5–6, 20, 26, 29, 35–6, 41, 45, 55, 64, 71, 73, 100–1, 104–6, 115, 124, 133, 146–51, 154–9, 164–71, 173–6, 180–2, 185, 189–91, 196–8, 210–12, 214–15, 218–19, 264 n98
 release of (1923–4) 147, 261 n28
 signed undertakings for
 release 167
- Pro-Cathedral, Dublin 164
- professional classes 9, 50, 62
- drapers 90
- publicans 24, 54, 68, 86, 129
- shopkeepers 34, 56, 62, 86, 138, 190
- tailors 90, 102
- traders 50, 89–90, 124, 134
- prohibition of alcohol in US 277 n61
- Promissory Oath Act, Northern Ireland (1923) 270 n57
- propaganda
 anti-treaty 29, 41, 65, 210–12, 243 n67
 British 31, 33, 194–5
 Irish Free State 42, 45, 54, 58, 60, 76, 104, 166, 192
- property interests 9–10, 38, 40, 55–6, 59, 80, 81, 85, 117–19, 122, 131, 135–9, 172, 179, 180, 183, 201, 220–4
- Protestants
 emigration of 47–9
 Protestantism 4, 39, 79–80, 85–7, 92, 99, 112, 187, 249 nn14, 24
- pro-treaty
 populist rhetoric 49, 50–1
 TDs 57, 84–5
 higher status of 24–8
- Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA)
 ‘Provos’ 84
see also IRA (Irish Republican Army)
- Public Safety Act, 1927 170
 repeal of (1928) 171
- Public Safety Acts, 1924 169–70
- Public Safety (Emergency Powers) Act, 1923 146, 169
- Public Safety Laws
 flogging provision 146, 260 n20
 post-civil war 5, 58, 150–1, 169, 225
- Public Safety (Powers of Arrest and Detention) Temporary Bill, 1924 267 n160
- Public Safety (Punishment of Offences) Act 169–70
- Public Safety (Punishment of Offences) Temporary Act, 1924 267 n160
- Public Safety (Emergency Powers) Bill, 1926 170
- public works 186–7, 196
- Queen’s County, *see* Co. Laois
- Quill, Michael 274 n5
- race 87
 racialized attitudes 42–3, 247 n162
- Railway Protection and Maintenance Corps 272 n113
- railways
 destruction of 48, 56, 67–8
 Sinn Féin deputation to companies to rehire ex-prisoners 175–6
 travel vouchers for
 ex-prisoners 269 n20
- rate collectors, rate collecting 167
- rates 117, 128, 129–30, 135, 138, 184, 197
- Radford, Mick
 killing of by Free State Army 159
- Reddin, Kenneth Sheils 100
- Redmond, John 66, 94, 100

- Remembrance Day 94
 poppy-wearing 94, 251 n69
 republican courts 27, 119
 Republican Dependents' Fund 181
 'republican itch' (lice) 101
 republican socialism 2, 10–12, 16,
 54, 92, 119, 221–2
 respectability 68, 76–7, 81
 definitions of 16–19, 23, 82
 middle-class character of 37, 50–1,
 53, 60
 politics of 19, 83, 107, 223
 Republican critique of 23, 53–8,
 63–6, 82
see also clothing
 revolution
 'revolutionary generation' 7, 18,
 36, 161, 172, 203, 274 n3
 revolutionary prestige 23–8
 Rhode Island, United States 185
 Ribbonmen 39
 Ring, Joseph 73
 Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC) 42,
 52, 73, 92, 99, 122–3, 125, 128,
 173, 187, 241 n1
 disbandment of 123, 204
 rural atavism 23, 39–44, 99, 135
 rural/rurality, *see also* urban; clothing;
poitín
 anti-treaty support from 40–3, 175
 class interests in revolution 9, 12,
 13, 15, 40, 57
 class and status connotations 17,
 38, 86, 127, 220
 clothing styles 88, 91, 95, 98, 104
 perceived vices of 13, 41–2, 49,
 134–5
 perceptions of urban society 61–2,
 97
 popular traditions 32, 137
 poverty 17, 38, 40, 91, 205,
 219–20
 valorization of 40, 62, 98, 220
 Russian Revolution 45, 159, 201
 Rutledge, P. J.
 as acting Sinn Féin president 149,
 262 n50
 meeting with railway directors 176
 Ryan, Frank 191–2, 267 n166
 Ryan, Paddy 'Lacken'
 IRA organization work in US 216
 Sackville Street (later O'Connell) 87,
 93
 Saorstát Éireann, *see* Irish Free State
 Scotland 189, 220
 sectarianism 13, 21, 108, 226, 247 n162
 sectarian violence 117–19
 Senate (Seanad)
 IRA attacks on homes of
 Senators 81
 nominees to 79–81, 247 n176
 Sheehy, John Joe 213, 217
 Sheehy-Skeffington, Hanna 31
 Shelbourne Hotel 54, 86, 112
 shoneenism (*seonín*) 53, 55, 59,
 64–5, 77–82, 88, 99, 115, 225,
 247 nn160, 162
 Sigerson, Dora 81
 Sinn Féin
 abstentionist policy 192
 campaign to end internment 147,
 149
 courts 118–22
 cross-class basis and outlook of 15,
 50, 111, 222, 225, 251 n78
 Executive 176
 marginalization of economic
 questions during
 revolution 66
 movement 1, 2, 8, 10–12, 16, 22,
 31, 34–8, 47, 52, 66, 68, 74–8,
 93, 97, 137, 172–3
 policies against emigration 175–8,
 206, 212, 275 n26
 post-civil war 26–28, 31, 58
 political party 4–6, 94, 99–100,
 105, 110, 152–4, 165, 170, 175,
 181–2, 191–2
 Skinnider, Margaret
 and denial of pension 177–8
 social class
 definitions of 16
 quantification of 2
 social conflict 11, 19–20, 117–41,
 223, 226
 social revolution 2, 12, 16, 19, 20,
 141, 225

- social-status consciousness 13–19,
24, 28, 35, 49, 53, 59, 78–88,
93, 100, 223, 226
- socialism 10, 119
red flag 119, 139, 258 n77
- South Africa 48, 109
- Southern Irish Parliament 80
- Spanish Civil War 159
- Special Infantry Corps (SIC)
activities of 121, 130–3, 193,
257 n35, 259 n78
disbandment 141
livestock seizures by 132–3,
135–7
origins of 130–3
poitin suppression 133–5
role of members in reprisals against
strike leaders 140–1
role in patrolling polling stations
(1923) 153
suppressing agrarian unrest
135–8
suppression of strike activity 133,
138–41
use of outside troops for 257 n44
- Special Powers Act (1922) 155
- spies, spying 266 n146
execution of, suspicions of 27, 48,
61–2, 136, 167–8
'spy farms'
IRA confiscation of 137
rent proceeds from 137
reoccupation of 121
sale of 137
- Stack, Austin 76
- state killings 154–61
Ballyseedy Cross 157
Cahirciveen, Co. Kerry 157
Countess Bridge, Co. Kerry 157
of Noel Lemass, *see* Lemass, Noel
numbers 154
perpetrators 166
post-civil war numbers 158
of republicans 158
shooting of Neil Plunkett
O'Boyle 158
of surrendered republican fighters
on Benbulbin Mountain 157
timing 161
- status
hierarchies 35, 85–7
interests 35, 40
- 'Stickies' (Official IRA) 84
- Strawboys 32
- strike area 133, 138–41
- strong farmers 40, 86
- Stuart, Francis 54
- students 1, 13, 36, 99, 269 n137,
272 n122
- suffragettes 84
- Sullivan, Andrew
death of on hunger strike 149
- Swing Riots, Britain 84
- syndicalism/syndicalist
practices 118–19
- Tailteann Games 111, 240 n203
- 'Tan War' 4, 25–8, 40, 60, 64, 69, 73,
95, 99, 136, 167–8, 177
- 'tattie-hookers', *see* migration,
seasonal
- teachers 182–5, 189
- tennis 41, 111, 115, 254 nn142–3
- Third French Republic 48
- Third Home Rule Bill 3
- 'tinkers'/'tramps'
hostility towards 37, 61
- Tobin, Liam 105
- Tone, Theobald Wolfe 55, 158
commemoration at
Bodenstown 142
- trade union, trade unionists 10, 59, 91
- Trades Union Council (TUC) 174,
261 n38
- Transport Workers' Union, New York
City 203
- Traynor, Oscar 198, 236 n104
- Treasonable Offences Act (1925) 170
- Treaty of Limerick (1691) 220
- Trinity College Dublin (TCD) 34
- Trucileers/Trucers 21, 23–8, 101,
232 n12
- turf 122
shortage of 174–5
- Twomey, Maurice (Moss) 192
- Ulster Province 3
- Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) 3, 92–3

- unemployment
 - agricultural sector 174
 - industrial sector 174
 - numbers in 26 counties 185
 - see also* jobs
- uniforms
 - crown forces 99
 - Free State Army 62–4, 84, 90, 102–4, 131, 193, 253 n114
 - Irish Citizen Army 62
 - Volunteers/IRA 25, 92–5, 102–4, 123–9, 140–1, 251 n69
- Union Army, United States 84
- Unionists, southern 24, 31, 204
- United Irishmen
 - exile of 203
- United Kingdom (UK)
 - Anglo-Irish Treaty clauses 4
 - Partition of Ireland 4–5, 7, 20, 68, 116, 247 n176, 280 n117
 - treaty ports 4, 206
 - visa quota under 1920s American immigration laws 208
- United States (US) 31, 108
 - as IRA emigrant destination 188–90, 203–4, 216
 - immigration restrictions in 1920s 206–9
 - impact of entry restrictions on republicans 207–14
- University College Cork (UCC) 187, 195
- University College Dublin (UCD) 58, 190–1
- urban, *see also* clothing; rural/rurality and class interests in revolution 9, 11, 15, 50, 88, 90
 - clothing styles 88, 97–8, 102, 106, 108
 - negative perceptions of rural Ireland 40–2, 49
 - republican hostility towards 61–2, 97
 - social divide with rural Ireland 17, 39, 40, 88, 97–8
- Valentia Island 48
- Vigilance Committees 56
- vigilantism 138
 - farmers during Waterford Strike 141
- Wallace, Mick, TD 84
- weather conditions 174–5
- Weber, Eugene
 - Weberian theory 17, 19, 83, 112
- West Briton, *see* shoneenism
- West of Ireland 88, 119, 135
 - poverty 88
- white-collar professionals 101
- Whiteboys 84
- Wicklow, Earl of 80
- Wicklow Hotel 163
- 'Wild Geese' 20, 189, 203–7, 211–14, 217–21, 224, 274 n2
- Williamite War 203
- Wilson, Woodrow (President of United States) 108–9
- Wolfhill Collieries 219
- workers' 'soviets' 11, 117, 120, 139
- working class 9–10, 50, 54, 56, 59, 61–2
 - unemployment 37, 220
- Wren Boys 32
- Wyndham Act (1903) 122
- Yeats, W. B. 30–1, 81, 90, 254 n147
- Young Irelanders 35, 203
- youth 236 n103
 - British perceptions of 28–33
 - discourses 23, 28–31, 34–8
 - moral superiority of 192
 - status hierarchies and 34–5
 - see also* juvenile delinquency