“OUR DAY WILL COME”: CONTESTED MEMORY SITES, COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT, AND PUBLIC HISTORY PRACTICE

by

Michael J. Fletcher

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy in Public History

Middle Tennessee State University

December 2019

Dissertation Committee:

Dr. Carroll Van West, Chair

Dr. Mark Doyle

Dr. Kathryn Sikes

Dr. Brendan Martin

This dissertation is gratefully dedicated to Lydia, who convinced me to choose this path. Whenever I had doubts, she knew I would succeed.

And to Malone. A father could not ask for a more wonderful daughter. I love you.

Acknowledgements

This dissertation is the end of one long journey and the beginning of another, hopefully, longer journey. Fortunately, I have not taken this journey alone. Along the way, I have been surrounded by people, like Dr. Brian Ingrassia, who have gone to sometimes extraordinary lengths to make my path somewhat smoother. Friends, professors, fellow graduate students and family have all sacrificed time, money, and, most likely, some of their sanity for me to succeed. I would that I had space to mention them all, every one. Alas, this short list will have to suffice.

First, I must acknowledge my instructors and colleagues in the History department and the Public History program at Middle Tennessee State University. I will never regret my time with such a fine and talented group of scholars. Dr. Stacey Graham deserves special praise for all her help. Most especially in this list are my two mentors, Dr. Louis Haas, and Dr. Carroll Van West, each of whom embodies the qualities most people reserve for superheroes. I can never thank them enough. Ever.

My six months in Ireland introduced me to new "chosen" family. For hospitality, friendship, and generally making sure a stranger in a strange land did not go astray, I have to send love and thanks to Patrick "Waxer" Mulcahy. Colm Moloney, Berni Carney, Jonski, and everyone at Rubicon Heritage were the essence of welcome and support. Special mention goes to Gavin Hughes, Michael Cahill, Ronan McArthy, Anthony Colbert, Jackie Shea, and Louise Baker for their help and friendship. The staff of my local pub, J.J. Coppinger's, went above and beyond whenever I stepped in the door (quite often, actually). I can safely say I found a home in Midleton. I will be back.

Abstract

This dissertation takes a two-fold approach examining the subject of field surveys. First, we explore the ground-breaking Irish survey, Landscapes of Revolution. Second, using the Landscapes experience, we offer something of a "how to" guide to help small organizations with little to no budget conduct similar surveys.

The Landscapes of Revolution Archaeology Project is the first ever survey of the existing Irish War of Independence (1918-1921) landscape. Focusing on East County Cork, Landscapes of Revolution was conceived by Damian Shiels, an archaeologist based in Midleton, Co. Cork to draw attention to the precarious state of much of Ireland's nineteenth and twentieth century, built heritage. The project was designed and executed with community engagement as a top priority. With both a limited budget, and personnel, the community members' roles were to help identify and photograph potential structures and landscapes.

The field survey is one of the fundamental activities in many preservation projects. Nevertheless, because of their cost and manpower needs, some surveys might seem beyond the reach of smaller organizations such as local historical societies. The second part of this dissertation draws upon my experience with the Landscapes project. With virtually no budget or full-time staff, Damian Shiels and I designed a survey in which we successfully carried out all parts of the process, from research to field work, using community volunteers with a vested interest in their own history. In addition to outlining our process, from the methodology to public programs, the work includes

pointers and recommendations designed to help these groups conduct their own surveys utilizing community support.

Table of Contents

Page

List of Figures

Page

Preface

Lessons from the American Civil War to the Irish War of Independence

At the beginning of my pursuit of a PhD in Public History, I became fascinated with landscapes and their role in culture and history through both classes and field study. In my classes, Henry Glassie's work was particularly influential at first. In *Folk Housing in Middle Virginia*, Glassie argues that it is not enough to describe a particular structure in isolation. One should regard a structure's context in the landscape. The physical environment in which a structure resides can tell us as much about that structure, its uses and its history, as a detailed examination of the structure itself.[1] Later, W. G. Hoskins's *The Making of the English Landscape* added new layers of understanding. Hoskins' seminal work brings home how England's geography influenced everything from settlement patterns to industrial development.[2]

Then came field study and projects at the Center for Historic Preservation where I held a graduate research assistantship. One of my early projects was a new one for the Center—developing a countywide GIS for historic cemeteries in Rutherford County. My budding interest in landscapes served me well during the Rutherford County Cemetery Survey. In the field, I learned how to utilize clues in the land, to read the land, to help me locate many "lost" cemeteries. Most cemeteries are situated on higher ground, avoiding flood plains and valuable arable land. Family burial grounds are generally located either

---

[1] Henry Glassie, *Folk Housing in Middle Virginia* (Knoxville, Tn.: UT Press, 1975), pgs.3-7.
[2] WG Hoskins, *The Making of the English Landscape*, revised ed. (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1988), pgs. 15-17.

near the old homestead, or towards the back of the former property. Vegetation, such as cedar trees or a carpet of *vinca minor* (Periwinkles) are also indicators that a cemetery is nearby. Months in the field allowed me to develop and refine my process with a high degree of success.

Next came technology combined with decades long architectural inventories. Between 2012 and 2015, I worked in the university GIS lab supervised by Zada Law. I took on the assessment of the Tennessee Historic Structure Survey.[3] Some of my work here consisted of simple data entry, transferring information from the original survey sheets onto a county's spreadsheet. Most important for my education, however, were those counties in which I would have to identify and locate sites missing from the original survey. The process of using visual clues from what were often old photographs and comparing them to the modern landscape via Google Earth, noting, for instance, that many changes in the overall landscape are very small versus big changes in our built environment. This fact taught me much in terms of reading the landscape.

My experience in the GIS lab was beneficial in other ways. As I moved from county to county, I noticed how many factors shaped the built environment, including settlement patterns, architectural designs, urban planning and natural features and barriers. I also noticed how conflict—in particular the American Civil War—left lasting imprints.

[3] The Survey was challenging in more than one way. I was also dealing with individual county surveys that went back decades, some as early as 1976. In these cases, survey forms and terminology were all different, not to mention the passage of so many years on the physical landscape.

All the time the Center for Historic Preservation at Middle Tennessee State University continued to introduce me to the strategy of community engagement as central to any successful historic preservation or public history project. Coming from an academic background, I will admit to a suspicion towards the concept. After all, wasn't it a historian's place to interpret history? Even as I fell in love with the *Annaliste's* concept of bottom up history, there was no role for the amateur in my belief system. Fortunately, my work at the Center quickly disabused me of these notions. I began to really see the idea that "all history is local" in action. One of my earliest projects at the Center was helping to develop a preservation plan for the African American Rosemount Cemetery in Columbia, Tennessee.[4] The preservation plan was a part of a larger project including the adjoining white Rose Hill Cemetery, whose organization was looking for a historic Civil War site marker.

Rather than take each project separately, the Center chose to wrap them up into one. The nature of the site was one reason for this. Adjoining white and African American cemeteries have a specific historical connotation in many Southern cities, speaking to issues of segregation, Jim Crow laws, and the bigger issue of "race" relations into the twentieth century.[5] In this case, neither of the cemeteries had any contact with the other for several decades. Ultimately, the role of the community members as advisors,

---

[4] The "Rosemount Cemetery Preservation Plan" is available for inspection at the Center for Historic Preservation, Middle Tennessee State University.

[5] Carroll Van West, "Sacred, separate places: African American cemeteries in the Jim Crow South," Stanley Brunn, ed., *The Changing World Religion Map: Scared Places, Identities, Practices* (New York: Springer, 2014).

sources of information, and as audience members, in each part of the project forced them to work together to realize their goals for each of the cemeteries.

I have seen the value of community engagement in other projects as well. During the cemetery survey, community response to publicized queries exceeded expectations and led to the location and identification of a large number of cemeteries. Additionally, many property owners donated their time by showing us cemeteries on their land. Throughout my time at the Center, I have noticed how readily communities can come together when their heritage, their history, is under threat. Whether it is preserving a historic baseball field in Chattanooga, regenerating heritage tourism potential in a Memphis neighborhood, or simply working with a family to document and preserve an ancestral cemetery, community engagement is a vital part in preservation.

The issue of contested memory is one of the more difficult aspects of community engagement. Contested memory lies in the intersection between heritage, identity, and history. Historian David Blight has written extensively on the public's perception of the American Civil War. He argues persuasively that for many, today's general perception of the war downplays slavery in favor of the well-known "Lost Cause" myth. This myth, which couches the Southern origins of the war in terms like "heritage," "culture," and preserving a way of life, ignores the reality of a Confederacy fighting desperately to maintain slavery.[6]

[6] David Blight, *Beyond the Battlefield: Race, Memory, and the American Civil War* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002), pgs. 102-108.

The Lost Cause was a popular justification in the South for its actions. By the late nineteenth century, the rest of the nation began to accept this narrative, nominally, at least, as a way to heal the long simmering ill-will and resentment still festering a quarter of a century after the war's end. This narrative was given popular credence into the 1920s through newsreel and newspaper accounts of soldier's reunions, popular literature, as well as history books. Movies such as *Gone With The Wind* further solidified the Lost Cause as the mainstream reality.[7]

We still feel the implications of this narrative today. Slogans such as "Heritage not Hate" still resonate with many. At Middle Tennessee State University, the ongoing debate about Forrest Hall, named after slave trader and Confederate General Nathan Bedford Forrest, is a local example of contested memory.[8] Other universities have similarly removed the names of those associated with the Confederacy or the slave trade from campus buildings. Across the nation, we see controversies surrounding everything from flying the Confederate battle flag as a symbol of heritage, to the decisions on whether or not to remove Civil War statues and memorials. Contested memory remains a compelling issue in both academic literature and in public discussion.

For twenty years, the Center has administered the Tennessee Civil War National Heritage Area as a partnership unit of the National Park Service. The Heritage Area has worked with non-profits, governments, and property owners to research, preserve, and

---

[7] Tara McPherson, *Reconstructing Dixie: Race, Gender, and Nostalgia in the Imagined South* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003).

[8] A useful website for the Forrest Hall dispute is at Forrest Hall Protest Collection, www.digital.mtsu.edu.

interpret a broad, inclusive understanding of the Civil War era. It has looked beyond battles to explore the significance of occupation, homefront, Emancipation, and Reconstruction during this period. It has explored the solider as much as the general, the enslaved person as much as the plantation mistress. In this work, the Heritage Area has welcomed new ideas and concepts from many allied disciplines.[9] Here is where the work of the Heritage Area has intersected with the work and scholarship of Damien Shiels of the history/archaeology firm of Rubicon Heritage.

In the ten-year protect to identify, preserve, and interpret the Franklin battlefield, the Heritage Area became acquainted with the work of Shiels, who was particularly focused on the major role played by Irishmen in the American Civil War, and what that meant for his nation of Ireland. In 2013, the Heritage Area discussed with Shiels the possibility of an exchange trip, where Shiels, who had never been to Tennessee, could explore primary sources and the actual battlefield landscape associated with the Battle of Franklin of November 1864. The Heritage Area was particularly interested in learning more about the approach of conflict archaeology that Shiels and his colleagues had been using in Ireland and the United Kingdom.

In the fall of 2014, the Heritage Area contracted with Shiels to come to Middle Tennessee, where he spoke to a large public audience in Franklin and then held an open seminar for MTSU students on conflict archaeology at the Heritage Area's headquarters in Murfreesboro. At that time, Shiels and the Heritage Area director discussed the

[9] The management plan for the Tennessee Civil War National Heritage Area is available at www.tncivwar.org.

possibilities of a partnership between MTSU and Rubicon Heritage to encourage scholarship and graduate student development. The possibilities of that partnership have framed the development of this dissertation project, providing a platform for experiential learning in another country for its graduate students.

The Heritage Area, for example, was very eager to learn more about the international context of the Civil War in Middle Tennessee. From various community-centered projects, it had focused on soldiers and civilians and their stories of war and homefront. An international perspective from Ireland was of significant value to the Heritage Area. In Ireland, Shiels and Rubicon shared that same interest in international contexts but their interests also aligned with current issues in practice in the field. The economic downturn of 2008 led to massive layoffs in the heritage/historic preservation sector. The lack of public history professionals affects both the quality and number of projects the remaining professionals can complete. Currently, the period around the War of Independence/Civil War is underserved from a preservation perspective. The Irish countryside is dotted with memorials remembering the events from this era with little attention given to place. There are no national parks commemorating War of Independence sites and local communities, especially rural ones, are losing the public memory associated with the locations of significant but small-scale events of the period as the population ages or moves to the larger cities. Thus Shiels and his colleagues were very interested in sponsoring research centered on the Heritage Area's community engagement model as a way to cost effectively consider ways in identifying and interpreting their Irish War of Independence/Civil War landscapes.

Like much of the conflict of the American Civil War in Tennessee, the Irish War of Independence and the subsequent Civil War were in many respects guerilla wars, conflicts of ambush and small engagements generally fought out in or right outside urban areas.[10] Like so many rural communities in Tennessee during the American Civil War, rural Irish communities served as a "rear area" of operations. Here, they would store arms and ammunition, plan campaigns, manufacture explosives, hold prisoners, and send the wounded to recover. Many of the conflict's "safe houses," hiding places for those on the run from the British, were located in the country as well. This area, then, played a substantial role in both wars. That said, the nature of these conflicts, often neighbor versus neighbor or family member against family member, as well as the conflicts' sheer violence makes this a prime example of "difficult history." Nevertheless, the current centenary commemorations of the 1916 Easter Rising and World War One, as well as the War of Independence and the Civil War will last until 2023, hopefully creating a new atmosphere of reflection and interest.[11]

These different strands of experience and academic training have coalesced around the topic of this dissertation—how do we survey and document the places and landscapes that matter to the Irish War of Independence?

The issue of contested memory in a foreign setting became very real to me during my research in Ireland. During a brief visit to Northern Ireland, still a part of the United

---

[10] For example, on the Tennessee side, see Noel C. Fisher, *War at Every Door: Partisan Politics and Guerrilla Violence in East Tennessee, 1860-1869* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997).

[11] Mark McCarthy, *Ireland's 1916 Rising: Explorations of History-Making, Commemoration & Heritage in Modern Times* (London: Routledge, 2012).

Kingdom, several people asked me about my work in the Republic of Ireland. I would tell them about the project concerning the Irish War of Independence. Those from the Republic or out of country would usually nod, ask some questions, and mention that it sounded very interesting. Those from Northern Ireland, by contrast, would usually seem suddenly distant and ask why I would want to involve myself in something like that. Old wounds run deep.

In September, 2016, I left for an extended six-month stay in Ireland to carry out the research and extend the already existing partnership between the Tennessee Civil War National Heritage Area and Damian Shiels. The research question was clear and concise. How much of the Irish War of Independence landscape survives? We decided to start with a survey of existing sites in east County Cork. Even though Shiels hopes to eventually roll out the project on a national scale, we considered east County Cork a small enough area in which to develop and test our survey methodology. Still, our area is just a bit smaller than Rutherford County, Tennessee, and east County Cork was one of the main areas of activity throughout the War of Independence. This east project area presented us with the potential for a large number of sites of different types. While we could never survey so much territory alone, our goal was to use the community to help identify and, in many cases, give us more history of these sites.

Community engagement was vital to our project in more ways than one. First, we were attempting an ambitious survey over a fairly large area with just two people and little budget, and because of his job, Damian could only devote part of his time to the work. Second, while the war was not in living memory, it was only a generation or two

away from that. Descendants or residents of this area were sure to have some knowledge of the conflict and, oral history is still strong in Ireland, knowledge of many of the locations we were seeking. Finally, even though the war and its aftermath is still controversial, we hoped that the project, and the resulting publicity might start a dialogue over this chapter of history. Recent commemorations of the 1916 Easter Rising, however, had pushed this period back into the spotlight with television programs, books- fiction and non-fiction, newspaper and magazine articles, as well as large numbers of public gatherings, lectures, and remembrance events. Perhaps, then, the time is right to begin a wider conversation including the War of Independence.

Introduction

2019-2021 marks the centenary of the Irish War of Independence. Unlike the then recently ended Great War, the Irish War had no set-piece battles, no large armies, and no trenches. It was mainly a guerilla war, fought by ambush, sometimes in very close quarters. Casualties for this war were counted in the thousands, not the millions of lives lost that highlighted the Great War. Those that fought for independence from Britain faced long odds, even with their fellow Irish, many of whom just wanted peace. The Irish War of Independence eventually led to a free Ireland, but not before an Irish Civil War brought more death and chaos to the island.

In the aftermath came the memorials. Memorials are requisite for any people or nation to reflect on, commemorate, and mourn those lost in war. Most nations also preserve sites of significance associated with wars, such as battlefields. Just think of the Gettysburg National Battlefield in Pennsylvania. This, however, is not the case in Ireland. In a country with thousands of memorials, protected War of Independence sites number in the handful, and those are mostly the homes and birthplaces of political leaders such as Michael Collins and Eamon De Valera. Consequently, no one knows how many of these War of Independence sites still exist.

How many of these sites are left? A survey project counting the existing sites in Knockraha, a village in County Cork, led archaeologist Damian Shiels to ask that question about the nation. He conceived a project called Landscapes of Revolution to help answer that question. Rather than begin on a national level, Shiels decided on Landscapes as a pilot project to survey sites in East County Cork.

In part, this dissertation is about that project and my participation in it. Between 2016 and 2017 I spent six months in Ireland working on Landscapes of Revolution. I was first tasked with developing a methodology, a way to conduct the survey utilizing community help. I worked with Shiels to prepare public programs designed to explain the project and teach potential volunteers survey techniques based on my methodology.

Chapter one contains some necessary background on the Irish War of Independence, including something of the massive historiography written on the subject. When I began the project, I knew very little of the War's history, much less the war's progression in East County Cork, where I would be working on the Landscapes of Revolution Project. To remedy this, I, of course, began reading as much about the conflict as I could. I also began seeking out as many primary sources as possible, including secondary sources and primary sources such as eyewitness statements collected by the Irish Government, newspaper articles from the period, city directories, film clips, and field work- walking those areas where actions took place.

With these I was able, initially for my own benefit, to put together a basic narrative of the Midleton Company's activities during the war. As the project progressed, this work became more useful in helping me to draw a picture of the places and people involved. I have included this short narrative in chapter one. It is the first narrative I have seen that specifically compiles the work of the Midleton Company into a cohesive story.

Chapter two introduces the Landscapes of Revolution project describing its purpose. It provides more of an introduction to Damian Shiels' previous work as well as

some of my experience in the field. The chapter continues by discussing some of the technology used in modern survey work and its potential in the future.

The chapter concludes with discussion of Moore Street in Dublin, and its importance to Irish history. Moore Street played a role in the 1916 Easter Rising not only as a battlefield, but as the location where the Irish surrendered after a week of bloody conflict. At present, Moore Street's future is precarious as both developers and the government seek to tear down large portions of the site. A group of descendants of those who fought on Moore Street are seeking to gain national monument status for the entire neighbourhood. This story is valuable in that it illustrates both the government's attitude towards later War of Independence sites and the problems preservationists will face as they try to save Ireland's revolutionary heritage.

Chapter three discusses the disconnect between memorialization and preservation. Irish preservation law sets out guidelines determining what sites are "worthy" of preservation. As we shall see, a misapplication of the law has resulted in very few sites from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries receiving protection, including most of the sites associated with the War of Independence. The Irish countryside is marked with thousands of memorials, the fruits of the labours of county councils and local organizations.

While each of these memorials commemorates the lives of those lost in the war, most, explicitly or implicitly, reflect one or the other of biased political narratives, in much the same way Confederate monuments reflect the American Civil War "lost cause" myth. Quoting Damian Shiels, "culturally and politically, memorials and graveside have

become the two major site types associated with the physical memory of the revolutionary period. They have usurped the surviving elements of the conflict's landscape as the people's primary mode of connection to past events."[12]

Chapter four goes into detail on how I utilized my own experience in developing a methodology for the Landscapes survey. Particularly, I discuss the Rutherford County Cemetery Survey and the components that went into making that such a successful project. Many of those components appear in the last part of the chapter as I describe my own experience in creating the components for the Landscapes survey.

Chapter five is called Experiential Learning. This chapter details some of the unforeseen problems that cropped up during the project and how we dealt with them. Time and manpower, neither of which did we have, are the two most pressing issues on a project such as this. Eventually, time became so short that Shiels and I had to change our focus from East Cork to Midleton.

This dissertation does focus on a particular project in a particular context. It is, first and foremost, about the Landscapes of Revolution project. There is, though, a secondary goal with this dissertation. It is my hope that within this dissertation the public historian can find practical advice and, hopefully, practical solutions to issues and problems they encounter in their own work

[12] Damian Shiels, "Place vs. memory: Forgetting Ireland's sites of independence?" in *Making 1916: Material and Visual Culture of the Easter Rising* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2015), 221.

CHAPTER I:

THE IRISH WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

The Irish War of Independence, 1918-1921, was the culminating event of what many Irish saw as centuries of British misrule and oppression.[1] The island's history under the British is punctuated with rebellions, including those of 1798 and 1867, the latter of which involved several Irish veterans of the American Civil War who returned home. The Easter Rising of 1916 presaged the War of Independence. During Easter week of that year, bands of Irish freedom fighters attempted a takeover of key strategic points in Dublin, including most famously the General Post Office. By the end of the week, over 10,000 British troops brutally ended the Rising. Almost 300 civilians lost their lives, caught in the crossfire between the Irish and British forces.[2]

Though the Rising failed, the aftermath galvanized much of the Irish public against the British. While most of the surviving participants were taken to prison in England, the leaders of the Rising were executed in a series of actions lasting from May 3-12. The executions themselves were not public, but they were well publicized, and they began swaying public opinion against the British presence in Ireland.[3] Additionally, the British government was criticized for their handling of efforts to compensate those who

---

[1] For representative overviews of the war, see: William H. Kautt, *The Anglo-Irish War, 1916-1921: A People's War* (London: Praeger, 1999); Charles Townshend, *The Republic: The Fight for Irish Independence, 1918-1923* (London: Allen Lane, 2013); Peter Cottrell, *The War for Ireland: 1913-1923* (London: Osprey, 2009); Michael Hopkinson, *The Irish War for Independence* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004).

[2] Joe Duffy, "Child Casualties, Easter 1916," in John Crowley, Donal Ó Drisceoil, et al, eds., *Atlas of the Irish Revolution* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2017), 260.

[3] Diarmaid Ferriter, *A Nation and Not A Rabble* (London: Profile Books, 2015), 162-163.

had lost loved ones or suffered property damage during the Rising. Many wealthy business owners received full compensation for property damage to their businesses or homes. Most poor Irish who applied for compensation due to the death of the family member were given a pittance, certainly not enough to replace what in most cases was the family breadwinner.[4]

Historians continue to argue over the exact role the Rising played leading up to the War of Independence, but most agree it aided the Republican cause. The British response after the Rising became a tipping point in the public's opinion of both the British and the Irish calls for independence. While the British over-reaction did not change the minds of many die-hard Unionists, those who wanted to remain part of the UK, it certainly swung the minds of large numbers of Irish who had not previously had an opinion one way or the other.[5]

Even so, it was not until April 1918 that the anti-British movement reached critical mass. In that month, the British government expanded conscription from Britain, where it was introduced in 1916, into Ireland. Although the British never imposed conscription, the threat "reinvigorated the Volunteers," uniting several anti-British groups who otherwise fought as much among themselves as they did against the British.[6] The

---

[4] Ibid., 164.
[5] Ibid., 162-163; also see, Townshend, *The Republic*.
[6] Ferriter, *A Nation and Not a Rabble*, 173-174.

Mansion House Conference on April 18, 1918 brought together representatives from Sinn Fein, Irish Labour, the Irish Parliamentary Party, and the Catholic Church.[7]

This rising tide of Republicanism was reflected almost immediately in the material culture that appeared after the Easter Rising. Those participants in the Rising who were killed or captured achieved the status of martyrs, and their sacrifice was illustrated and publicized through the printing and manufacture of a variety of items and photographs. Trinkets, such as lockets containing photographs of Republican victims of the Rising, were meant to elicit a sympathetic response to the Republican cause, and their public display showed support for that cause. The wearer of the locket felt the image of the soldier—and therefore his memory—close to their heart. These lockets today are viewed as valuable collectibles.[8]

The same can be said for the post cards, badges, and ribbons, and other material that appeared in large numbers after the Rising. Those impacted by the War for Independence preferred the personal, the direct connection to the past rather than the efforts to build monuments and designate historic sites that became one of the most immediate legacies of the American Civil War in the late nineteenth century.[9]

In spite of the increased support for Republicanism, the political back and forth between the various parties from 1917 to the elections in 1918 illustrates the variety of

---

[7] Francis Costello, *The Irish Revolution and its Aftermath 1916-1923* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2003), 30.

[8] Michael Parsons, "Locket commemorating soldier killed in Rising fetches £850 at auction," *Irish Times*, February 23, 2011.

[9] Karen Cox, *Dixie Daughters: the United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003).

thought among the Irish public. Sinn Fein, the new political arm of the Republicans stood to gain the most from the public's response to British actions after the Rising. Other parties in the election, some of which leaned Republican, were hobbled by differing strategies in dealing with the British. Some wanted more negotiations with the British, while others took a "wait and see" approach, hoping that the UK would eventually live up to promises made at the start of World War One.

Few of these diverse strategies envisioned armed rebellion, even Sinn Fein was vague about how, exactly, they would free Ireland from the UK, and few caught the eye of the general public.[10] Nevertheless, the election's outcome surprised many as Sinn Fein won 73 out of 105 seats in the Parliament at Westminster.[11] As a way to protest British treatment of Ireland, as well as bringing publicity to the Irish cause, Sinn Fein announced that they would seat the Irish MPs not in Westminster, but in Dublin, thus creating the first Dáil, the Irish legislative body.

The Dáil met for the first time in Dublin's Mansion House on January 21, 1919. Even though they won the majority of the Irish seats, however, Sinn Fein was sparsely represented in that first meeting. Many of those elected to seats were incarcerated, serving sentences handed down by British courts, and were unavailable to take up their new posts. Only 28 men took their seats in Dublin that afternoon.[12] January 21, 1919 is significant for more than just that initial meeting of the Dáil. Many historians, indeed,

---

[10] Michael Hopkinson, *The Irish War of Independence*, (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2002), 14.

[11] Ferriter, *A Nation and Not a Rabble*, 184.

[12] Mary Daly, "The First Dáil," in John Crowley, et als. eds. *Atlas of the Irish Revolution* (New York: NYU Press, 2017), pg. 334.

most Irish, agree that the first shots of the War of Independence were fired on the same day the Dáil met in Dublin for the first time.[13]

The ambush was small, yet its impact was felt across Ireland. Four Volunteers ambushed two RIC constables and a civilian as they were delivering a shipment of gelignite to a quarry outside the town of Soloheadbeg, in County Tipperary.[14] Both constables were killed in the action, which lasted a matter of seconds. In the aftermath, the IRA claimed the ambush was unsanctioned while three of the four volunteers argued they never meant to kill the constables.[15]

If Soloheadbeg was the beginning of a revolution, in many ways it was anticlimactic. The action was unsanctioned by the IRA, who, at that time felt they were ill prepared for the conflict having neither arms or overwhelming public support. From here, things moved slowly and many still hoped for a peaceful resolution ending in Irish independence. Little military action occurred in the months following Soloheadbeg. Nevertheless, by 1920, Ireland found itself in a savage guerilla war.

The combatants fought the Anglo-Irish war in hundreds of places across Ireland, but County Cork was one of the most active areas of conflict. Between 1919 and 1921, the Cork IRA accounted for one out of every three men killed in the conflict, and over one thousand IRA, British, and civilians were killed or wounded in this county alone.[16]

---

[13] Hopkinson, *The Irish War of Independence*, 26.

[14] Ferriter, *A Nation and Not a Rabble*, 30.

[15] Joost Augusteijn, "Military Conflict in the War of Independence," in John Crowley, et als. eds. *Atlas of the Irish Revolution* (New York: NYU Press, 2017), pg. 351.

[16] Peter Hart, introduction to Brian Ó Conchubhair (ed.) *Rebel Cork's Fighting Story 1916-1921* (Cork: Mercier Press, 2010), 17-18.

Cork City, the third largest city on the island, and the port city of Queenstown (now named Cobh), home of one of the largest natural harbours in the world, made the area strategically vital to the British, who stationed large garrisons of troops in several forts around the port.

The County was also home to some of the war's most well-known figures. Tom Barry was born to a loyalist family in west Cork, and grew up in the towns of Rosscarbery and Bandon. He served in the British Army during World War I, seeing action at Ypres and Mesopotamia.[17] In 1920, Barry joined the West (3rd) Cork Brigade. His experience in the British Army was valuable to an organization whose members needed training in weapons, drill, and tactics. Eventually, Barry commanded the 3rd Brigade's Flying column, a core mobile unit of around twenty men (they could add or subtract soldiers as the situation warranted) designed and trained for quick strikes. Under Barry's command, the 3rd Brigade Column found both military and popular success with actions at Kilmichael and Crossbarry. Barry became one of the best known IRA soldiers during and after the Anglo-Irish War.

Arguably the most iconic person in Ireland's struggle for independence, Michael Collins, was also from County Cork. Born in Woodfield, near Clonakilty in west Co. Cork, Collins lived in Clonakilty most of his young life. After moving to London at 16, he returned to Ireland for the Easter Rising in 1916. Sentenced to prison after the Rising, Collins had a part in reorganizing the Irish Republican Brotherhood, precursor to the

[17] Peter Hart, *The IRA & Its Enemies: Violence and Community in Cork, 1916-1923* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 30-31.

IRA, while serving time in Frongnoch Prison. Returning to Ireland in 1917, he served in several prominent posts within the Republican movement and in the election of 1918, Collins won a seat in what would become the first Dáil.[18]

During the War of Independence, Collins served as the director of organization of the Volunteers with the rank of adjutant general. He further started an intelligence unit much noted for its ferocity in eradicating both Irish police and British intelligence units. At war's end, Collins was on the team negotiating a truce with Ireland and after the treaty was signed he became the commander in chief of the new Free State National Army. During the Irish Civil War, even as he commanded the army, Collins hoped to negotiate peace with his former allies in the anti-treaty IRA. On August 22, 1922, while touring West Cork in his capacity as Dáil minister, Collins small convoy was ambushed and Collins killed near Béal na Blá. After a large funeral, with thousands in attendance, he was buried in Dublin's Glasnevin Cemetery.

Known as the "rebel county," Cork has a long history of opposing the British. It first received it's "rebel" appellation in the middle ages when its citizens backed Perkin Warbeck in his ill-fated attempt to wrest the English throne from the first Tudor ruler, Henry VII. In fact, Warbeck's rebellion begins in Cork City, where Perkin was living at the time.

Even today Corkonians, as natives of Cork are called, take special pride in the city and its participation in many of Irelands wars and rebellions against the British. The

[18] "Michael Collins," in Crowley, *Atlas of the Irish Revolution*, 426; Anne Dolan and William Murphy, *Michael Collins: The Man and the Revolution* (Cork: The Collins Press, 2018).

second largest city in the Republic, Corkonians have a rather dim view of Dublin, the capital city and Cork's larger neighbour to the north. It is only half-jokingly that they refer to themselves as "The People's Republic of Cork."

The literature on the War of Independence in Cork is extensive but problematic. In most cases, studies are not comprehensive for the county as a whole, with Cork City and the actions in West Cork receiving the lion's share of the press. Tom Barry is a favorite for biographers and military historians, as are Barry's famous ambushes at Kilmichael and Crossbarry. Similarly, Michael Collins receives much attention from biographers and historians. Collins, though, spent very little time in Cork during the conflict.

Historically speaking, West Cork was the site of some of the fiercest fighting during the war. Nevertheless, East Cork was a hotbed of conflict, and the site of several famous actions. For example, East Cork was the site of the first official reprisals against civilians as, in January 1921, the British military burned several houses in and around the village of Midleton in response to an IRA ambush that took place in the middle of the town on December 29, 1920. The reprisals outraged even British observers. The British attack on the East Cork flying column at Clonmult, in February, 1921, cost the Irish 14 lives, the deadliest attack against IRA forces of the entire war. Additionally, the attack on the RIC barracks at Carrigtwohill was one of the conflict's first such attacks.

In spite of its relative absence in the secondary literature, there are many sources from which we can draw a picture of the Anglo-Irish War in East Cork. Newspapers, both Republican and Loyalist, reported on most of the incidents in the region. For bigger

events, such as the first reprisals, newspapers as far afield as London and New York filed stories. Additionally, we have hundreds of eyewitness statements collected by the Irish government in the 1930s-1950s. Used critically, these statements, written by former IRA soldiers, can help build a much clearer picture of events on the ground during the war. Future scholars can look forward to even more easily accessible source material as, over the next few years, the Irish government continues to digitize the pension files of those who took part in the war.

While a complete history of the war in East County Cork would be valuable and worthwhile, that is beyond the scope of this study. It is important, however, to take a short look at one of the current historiographical trends concerning the war, overturning old myths and examining the war outside of the "romantic" simplicity of the poor, patriotic Irish taking on the nasty Brits. Many modern scholars are already taking advantage of those "new" sources mentioned above, and if they are not writing broad histories, their work is most effective in those smaller, local studies.

In the historian's sometimes obsessive penchant for periodization, most histories of the Irish War of Independence include both the preceding Easter Rising and the subsequent Civil War, calling the whole the Irish Revolution. A look at some recent titles seems to bear this out.[19] In his review of Michael Hopkinson's *The Irish War of Independence*, Paul Townsend notes a possible (probable) cause for this. "The short

[19]For a small sampling note: Diarmaid Ferriter, *A Nation and Not A Rabble: The Irish Revolution 1913-1923 (2015),* Francis Costello, *The Irish Revolution and its Aftermath 1916-1923 (2003)*, Peter Hart, *The I.R.A. and its Enemies: Violence and Community in Cork 1916-1923 (1998)*, Joost Augusteijn (ed.), *The Irish Revolution, 1913-1923 (2002)*.

duration, relatively low casualty rolls, and intensely local character of the struggle" all conflict with the historian's "preference" to look at "longer term causes and consequences."[20] Amazingly, given the volumes written, Joost Augusteijn claims that Hopkinson's book is the "first narrative account of the 1919-1921 period in Irish history since…1937."[21]

It is with monographs and local studies that those who want to examine the war in isolation find firmer footing. In many cases, the authors of these works are trying to break through the myths and propaganda one finds disseminated by earlier, more biased histories. In terms of sources, much has occurred to warrant a scholarly reexamination of the war, including a number of local histories such as Peter Hart's work on Cork. Within the past few years, the Irish Bureau of Military History has made hundreds of eyewitness statements publicly available online. Additionally, within the past two years, they have also made the pension applications filed by the veterans and widows of the War of Independence available for online inspection. Within the past twenty years or so, scholars such as Peter Hart, D.M. Leeson, and William Sheehan, among others, have written works aimed at overturning accepted historical beliefs.

William Sheehan's *A Hard Local War* is, as the title suggests, focused on the war in a specific locale, in this case, Cork. Sheehan's study is a response to what he sees as an inherent Irish bias in the historiography. He claims that any attempt to reexamine the war,

---

[20] Paul Townsend, review of *The Irish War of Independence* by Michael Hopkinson, *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* Vol. 36, No. 1 (Spring, 2004): 192.

[21] That book was Dorothy McArdle's *The Irish Republic*. Joost Augusteijn, review of *The Irish War of Independence* by Michael Hopkinson, *The American Historical Review* Vol. 108, No. 4 (Oct. 2003): 1218.

especially in an era with so many new sources, such as the opening of the Bureau of Military History files, is met with criticism and cries of "revisionism." Some Irish critics even claim that such historians are British agents.[22] Utilizing British sources that he claims are not used in Irish histories, Sheehan builds a picture of the war in Cork from the British perspective.

Similarly, with *The Black and Tans: British Police and Auxiliaries in the Irish War of Independence, 1920-1921*, D.M. Leeson is trying to resuscitate the reputation of the Black and Tans in Irish historiography. The Black and Tans were British auxiliaries who mainly served alongside the Royal Irish Constabulary. Many of them were veterans of the Great War. In the Irish public eye, they were (are) seen as brutal thugs whose actions in the war were criminal. The Black and Tans have been accused of murder, rape, burglary, and vicious "unofficial" reprisals against innocent civilians. They are hardly treated any better in Irish historiography where, historians say, their numbers are drawn not only from traumatized Great War veterans, but also the dregs of British society.[23]

One of Leeson's greatest contributions with this work is his analysis of the backgrounds of those who served with the Black and Tans. He finds that most of those recruited come from rather normal families with no background of previous violence and criminal activity. Likewise, veteran recruits showed no indication of trauma or PTSD.

---

[22] William Sheehan, *A Hard Local War: The British Army and the Guerilla War in Cork, 1919-1921* (Stroud: The History Press, 2011), 12.

[23] Mark Doyle, review of *The Black and Tans: British Police and Auxiliaries in the Irish War of Independence, 1920-1921* by D.M. Leeson, *Journal of British Studies* Vol. 51, No. 4 (Oct. 2012), 1059.

That said, one must still explain the numerous verified brutalities that the Black and Tans committed during their service in Ireland. Leeson does this by citing the pressures of a guerilla war where the police are mainly on the defensive, and the influence of an undisciplined and angry Royal Irish Constabulary. Besides, he points out, truthfully, the RIC participated in the violence as well. Only future studies will help to verify Leeson's claims.

Peter Hart's work is perhaps the most relevant to our project. If the Irish had their myths about the British that served in Ireland, the British had their own myths concerning the typical IRA volunteer as coming from the lower and criminal classes. Even the Irish public saw the stereotypical IRA volunteers as "idle, no account fellows," "ignorant country boys," and "raw country bogcutters."[24] As Hart finds, this myth does not hold in the face of research.

The IRA and Its Enemies is really a local study, focusing on County Cork, including the project area for Landscapes of Revolution. Cork is an ideal area for Hart's study as it was the most violent county in the war. Depending on whom one asked, criticism shifted from the lower class of the cities and towns, to the lower class of rural Ireland. Nevertheless, in the minds of many, it was the lower classes joining the IRA, the corner boys, farm hands, and the idle.[25] This attitude, in some cases, outlasted the war. Writing of the Irish combatants in 1925, Sir James O'Connor noted that they were "nearly all of them of a low grade of society."[26] This view of the IRA allowed many

[24] Peter Hart, *The IRA and Its Enemies* (Oxford:OUP, 1998), 135.
[25] Ibid., 136.
[26] Quoted in Ibid., 139.

people to minimize Republican efforts. Considering those involved, the violence was nothing more than the lower class making sectarian trouble and committing murder in the name of independence.

Using a wide variety of sources, including oral histories, memoirs, newspapers, city directories, and government documents (Irish and British), among other sources, Hart puts together a complicated socio-economic analysis of those who joined the IRA. He finds that, far from being a lower-class phenomenon, a large percentage of IRA volunteers came from the middle-classes. In the county the middle-class was overrepresented. Though middle-class tradesmen only represented one-fifth of units, they composed less than ten percent total of the work force.[27] In 1920-1921, the war's most violent period, 53% of the IRA officers were from the middle-class.[28]

We can see this trend in the Midleton company of the IRA. Tadhg Manley was a teacher. Diarmuid Hurley was a trained mechanic. He worked with several other volunteers, including John Kelleher who attended a technical school in Dublin, at the Midleton Garage and Machine Works. While there were a number of farm workers in the company from the surrounding townlands, there were also shopkeepers and assistants, public employees, and other professionals.

Nevertheless, the war in this region is the basis for the Landscape of Revolution project, so this section will include significant information on the war's progress here. As our work focused on that segment of East County Cork centered on Midleton, this section

[27] Ibid., 156.
[28] Ibid., 155.

will examine those companies most active in the area. These events are, however, representative of actions in East Cork as a whole.

The aftermath of the Easter Rising saw an increase in the formation of Volunteer (IRA) companies across Ireland. This trend continued during the Conscription crisis in 1918 when, rather than face conscription into the British Army, many Irishmen joined Volunteer units. In any event, Britain never carried out their conscription plans and many who had joined Volunteer companies eventually left.

The operational area of the IRA's Cork no. 1 Brigade included East Cork. The brigade's boundaries extended from Youghal in the east, moving westward through the central part of the county, to Bantry, on Cork's northwest coast. The companies of the brigade's 4th Battalion operated in most of East Cork. By the end of the war, the battalion nominally included nineteen companies.

On the ground, the situation was a little more complicated. Several companies were understrength, with only a handful of members. Others, such as the Knockraha Company, served mainly in a support capacity. Rural Knockraha had no British presence, so the IRA saw it as a rear area base. Knockraha had two grenade factories and a small prison which the IRA called "Sing-Sing."[29] The village was also used as a location to treat IRA wounded and included a number of "safe-houses" for any IRA member on the run.[30] To help prevent the village from drawing unwanted British attention, the IRA

[29] Damian Shiels, *Heritage Centenary Sites of Rebel County Cork*, (Cork: Heritage Unit of Cork County Council, 2016), 175.

[30] Ibid., 178 and pers. comm.

forbade military action in the immediate area. Most of the actions in East Cork were undertaken by a handful of companies, including those in Cobh, Midleton, Carrigtwohill, Aghada, and Cloyne. The other companies generally served in different capacities, such as look-out or reconnaissance. Typically, these companies did not have the manpower necessary to actively fight the British.

Almost all the eyewitness reports make some mention of the IRA's lack of firepower as the war begins. Some companies had nothing but a couple of shotguns and a handful of revolvers with which to face the British and their allies. In Midleton, for example, as late as 1919, Diarmuid Hurley, Captain of the Midleton Company, was the only person with a revolver.[31] For this reason, most companies began the conflict by raiding private homes and businesses in their search for weapons. The Cobh Company began house raids as early as late-1917.[32]

Because of the town's proximity to a series of strongly garrisoned forts, as well as the harbor, Cobh had a large pro-British population. Initially, these were prime targets for the company's house raids. Generally, these "Gentry types," as Michael Leahy calls them, possessed nothing but shot guns used for hunting, although the company managed to make off with a few revolvers.[33] While these weapons added to the IRA's overall store, they were only useful in the type of guerilla warfare that would eventually become the war's hallmark.

---

[31] Irish Military Archives (MA), MA/BMH/WS/ 1456, 3. John Kelleher.
[32] Irish Military Archives (MA), MA/BMH/WS/ 1421, 2-3. Michael Leahy.
[33] Ibid, 3.

Local businesses were not immune to IRA "raids." In his eyewitness report, Michael Leahy describes the April, 1918 burglary of a gunsmith's shop in Cobh. Men from the Cobh Company entered the premises at night, through a skylight in the roof. During the theft, a British patrol passed the building several times. The burglars made away with "assorted weapons and ammunition."[34] Members of the Cobh Company eventually buried the cache in a wooden box in a field outside of the town.[35]

The Midleton Company also carried out raids on local residents. Like Cobh, their targets were mainly loyalists, including the District Inspector of the Police at Ballinacurra, a village about a mile south of Midleton.[36] Also like Cobh, the results were mostly the same, with the company procuring a number of sporting rifles in addition to a few revolvers. Eventually, Hurley contacted a group of Volunteers in Belfast and purchased "three or four" revolvers for company use.[37]

As in other regions, actions in East Cork tended to follow a general pattern. After a period of raiding for guns, the East Cork companies moved to attacking military and police targets. For the military targets, it was typical for several different companies to cooperate with each other. In these cases, each company would have a specific duty, such as look out, main attack force, or sabotaging roadways in an effort to prevent or slow down possible reinforcements.

---

[34] Ibid.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Irish Military Archives (MA), MA/BMH/WS/ 1456, 3. John Kelleher.
[37] Ibid.

What follows is a brief chronology of some of the campaigns carried out in or near the Midleton Company's area of operation. This compilation is by no means a full list, and it does not cover all of the operations undertaken in East Cork, but it is representative of activity in the wider area. Most of these actions were carried out in conjunction with other companies. Midleton and Cobh were especially active in joint operations. The events in this chronology are built from eyewitness statements written years after the war. For this reason, some lack certain details, be it the names of participants, exact dates, locations, or other pieces of information. I have only used those operations that can be cross checked between two or more reports. In addition to the eyewitness reports, I have also used newspaper accounts and secondary sources to round out the descriptions of certain events.

After an initial period of IRA companies raiding private homes searching for arms and ammunition, East Cork companies moved on to attacking military and police targets. In July and November, 1919, several companies, including Cobh and Midleton, undertook two unsuccessful attacks on the Ballyquirke Aerodrome. Ballyquirke Aerodrome was a relatively new facility, constructed during World War One for the use of dirigibles, though it was never actually used in that capacity. By the War of Independence, the base was home to a small number of British troops.

The July attack was planned and commanded by the commander of the Cork City Volunteers, Terence McSwiney, the Lord Mayor of Cork, who would later die in prison

while undertaking a hunger strike.[38] The Midleton Company was ordered to assist by blocking roads and cutting telegraph wires in the area.[39] A small group of men from the Cobh Company were stationed a little north of the aerodrome in order to ambush any troops coming down from the village of Killeagh. The Cork City contingent, chosen to lead the attack, did not arrive until close to dawn, at which time the attack was called off.

In November, 1919, officers in the Midleton and Cobh Companies decided to attack the base without cooperation from the Cork City Company. Limited to seven or eight revolvers, which were distributed to company officers, and a number of ash truncheons, the group planned to disarm the guards, sneak into the barracks, and, using the truncheons, to disable the soldiers as they slept.[40] Several members of the Cobh Company volunteered to cut telegraph wires. The night was dark and drizzly as they carried out their duties. Such conditions forced them, after they were through, to return to the assembly area via the paved roads. The resulting footfalls were heard by the British sentries who raised the alarm. The Irish forces retreated a second time.

Through the first half of 1920, the Midleton Company participated in a series of attacks on Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC) barracks in the East Cork area. The strategy come down from IRA General Headquarters (GHQ) in Dublin in January, 1920.[41] GHQ's initial order called for the simultaneous attacks on three barracks across the Cork No. 1 Brigade area.

---

[38] Irish Military Archives (MA), MA/BMH/WS/ 1367, 3. Joseph Aherne.
[39] Irish Military Archives (MA), MA/BMH/WS/ 1456, 4. John Kelleher.
[40] Irish Military Archives (MA), MA/BMH/WS/ 1367, 3. Joseph Aherne.
[41] John Borgonovo, "Cork," in *Atlas of the Irish Revolution*, ed. by John Crowley, et al. (New York: NYU Press, 2017), 562.

Fig. 1. On Jan. 3 1920, the Midleton Company attacked the barracks at Carrigtwohill.[42] (photo source *Irish Examiner*)

On January 3, 1920, the Carrigtwohill Barracks was the Midleton Company's first target. Carrigtwohill is a village between Midleton and Cork City. The assault was led by Mick Leahy, the commander of the Cobh Company, who had been detailed with cutting the telephone lines and helping with the attack. After receiving instructions, men from both companies occupied and took up firing positions in houses adjacent to and across the street from the barracks. The fighting was fierce and brief. While men from the Cobh Company kept the RIC occupied with gunfire from the buildings rear, Diarmuid Hurley set about blowing a hole in the gable end of the barracks with explosives. After the dust from the explosion cleared, Joseph Aherne reports that he and Hurley entered the building through the hole.

[42] *Irish Examiner*, January 1920, pg. n/a.

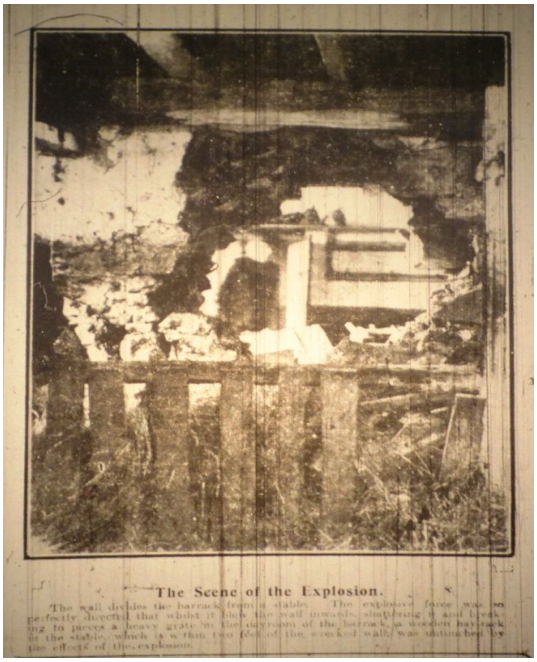


Fig. 2. The hole used by Aherne and Hurley at the Carrigtwohill Barracks.[43] (photo source *Irish Examiner*)

Inside the building, Aherne and Hurley made their way across the day room of the barracks. After a short volley of fire from each side, Hurley urged the garrison to surrender, as the IRA had them surrounded. From upstairs, where the RIC had fled, a woman's voice asked if she might safely pass out of the building. As she came downstairs, the woman, the wife of one of the RIC officers, wondered how the officers might be treated if they surrendered. Hurley assured her of their safety and the answer was quickly relayed to the men upstairs.

[43] *Irish Examiner*, January 1920, pg. n/a.

After the surrender, the RIC officers were ferried several miles out of town and released to make their own way back.[44] The Midleton Company collected guns and ammunition from the barracks, loading them in the back seat of a car confiscated for the purpose. According to Joseph Aherne, he and another company member, Tadhg Manly, transported the arms to a hiding place in the townland of Tubbernamine (sic).[45] Finished with the car, Aherne abandoned it outside Midleton and returned home. Within a few days, Aherne and several others of the Midleton Company were pulled into the Midleton RIC station. Although placed in a line up, no one from the company was identified by the Carrigtwohill officers.

Carrigtwohill RIC barracks after the attack on January 3rd 1921.

Fig. 3. Carrigtwohill Barracks after the January attack. (photo courtesy of Carrigtwohillgaa.ie)

[44] Irish Military Archives (MA), MA/BMH/WS/ 1421, 6. Michael Leahy.

[45] There is no townland with this name. Other witness statements mention a Tubbereenmire as a location for storing arms and ammunition. Perhaps this is where Aherne meant. See: WS1675, Joseph O'Shea.

Across Ireland, the barracks attacks continued through that winter, into the spring. Some of the attacks, such as Carrigtwohill, were planned. Others were simply targets of opportunity. The Midleton Company carried out two barracks attacks between February and May, in Castlemartyr and Cloyne.

Chance certainly played a role in the attack on the Castlemartyr barracks on February 9, 1920. While observing RIC patrols in Midleton, IRA volunteers noticed the presence of two officers from Castlemartyr. Soon after, this information was reported to company commander, Diarmuid Hurley, who quickly set in motion a plan to capture the men and use them to attack the barracks at Castlemartyr. Around six o'clock, the two officers were captured on the road to Castlemartyr. Transported the rest of the way, the officers were urged to help the IRA gain entrance to the barracks. Both steadfastly refused. Hurley decided to go ahead with the attack anyway and approached the front door while the rest of the men took positions behind a short wall surrounding the building.[46]

After Hurley knocked on the door, from the other side a voice enquired "who's there?" Hurley answered, attempting to imitate the voice of Sgt. O'Brien, one of the captured constables. Held by a chain, the door only partly opened. Blocking the door with his foot, Hurley tried to force it open. On the other side, the RIC constable, identified by Mick Leahy as Constable Lee, had drawn his gun and while pushing back, fired it

[46] In his own witness statement, Cobh commander Mick Leahy states that another volunteer accompanied Hurley to the barrack's front door. WS 1421, pg. 19.

through the opening. Hurley returned fire through the opening with his own pistol, firing until he was out of bullets. Miraculously, neither man was injured.

His weapon empty, Hurley, with the butt of his gun, began hammering at the chain, which he eventually shattered. As he entered the building, Hurley and Lee fought, using their empty pistols to bludgeon each other. Hurley wounded Lee in the eye, ending the fight. With this, other volunteers rushed inside the barracks, quickly subduing the two other constables.

For the IRA, the haul was several rifles, pistols, and a large cache of ammunition. While the prisoners were handcuffed inside the barracks, Hurley arranged for a doctor and a priest to treat the injured Constable Lee. Again, unnamed volunteers transported the confiscated weapons to a rural hiding place.

According to Patrick Whelan's witness statement, the next few months were spent reorganizing the companies in the 4th battalion area. The few weeks after the Castlemartyr attacks saw increased RIC and British military activity in an effort to stymy or capture IRA volunteers. For their part, the area IRA companies continued with secret training sessions while those at the top continued planning future operations.

For some weeks, the IRA had been planning an assault on the barracks in Cloyne, a village about five miles south of Midleton. The date for the attack was set for May, 8, and was set to coincide with a live variety show arranged by the local Gaelic League.[47] The IRA would use the show as cover under which they could transport the weapons

[47] Irish Military Archives (MA), MA/BMH/WS/ 1367, 13. Joseph Aherne.

used in the attack into town. The small hall in which the show would take place could also serve as the staging area for the assault.

Because of their successes at Carrigtwohill and Castlemartyr, members of the Cobh and Midleton companies knew that the attack on Cloyne's barrack would be difficult. Indeed, the RIC had been busy at Cloyne, strengthening the building, installing steel blast shutters to all the windows, and increasing the numbers of the garrison housed within the barracks.[48] They were certainly ready to defend their post.

In addition to using the Gaelic League show as cover, the IRA drafted several other companies for the purpose of blocking roads, lookout, cutting telephone and telegraph wires, and essentially isolating Cloyne from the rest of the world. Though this was their usual strategy when attacking a barracks, for Cloyne, the IRA were much more careful that these tasks were satisfactorily carried out. For the attack, Irish forces planned to occupy the buildings on either side of the barracks. Both pubs, these buildings shared walls with the RIC post and the plan was to use explosives to breach these walls and gain entrance to the barracks. Additionally, men were stationed in the upper floors of a warehouse across the street from which they could give covering fire. One group occupied their building without incident, while the other had to force their way in and evacuate and old woman and a little girl hiding inside. Once inside, each group began chipping their way through the walls with crowbars and sledge hammers.[49]

[48] Irish Military Archives (MA), MA/BMH/WS/ 1449, 18. Patrick Whelan.
[49] Irish Military Archives (MA), MA/BMH/WS/ 1367, 13. Joseph Aherne.

Outside, meanwhile, Diarmuid Hurley, Tadhg Manly, Mick Leahy and the rest of the Cobh and Midleton companies were in a ferocious firefight with the constables locked inside the barracks. At one point, Manly shimmied to the barracks roof, dropping grenades down the building's chimney. On the street, the building was surrounded with gunfire coming from all sides. Most of the fire was ineffective against such a secure structure yet, before entering a pub on one side of the barracks, Hurley fired his revolver between the slats on the steel blast shutters over the windows. On either side of the barracks, volunteers worked frantically to break through the walls, so far frustrated by the thick stone. When one side did make a breakthrough, a small hole through which no one could fit, the RIC responded by firing directly into the breach, sending volunteers diving for cover.

Fig. 4. Aerial view of Cloyne. The barracks is circled. (photo courtesy of Eircom.net)

On one side, volunteers used gelignite to blow a series of holes into the wall separating the pub from the barracks. In the initial blasts none of the holes were big enough for the men to climb through, so they repeated the process.[50] Hurley, in the other building, had successfully blown a hole through his wall, but again, it was too small for entry. Apparently out of explosives, Hurley poured a bucket of gasoline through the small hole and set it on fire, igniting the inside of the barracks. The building occupied by Hurley and his men also caught fire and the resulting flames forced the man to abandon the place.[51]

As the buildings burned, the constables retreated to the barracks' upper floor. After entreaties shouted upstairs by the attackers, they signaled their surrender by throwing a white pillow or towel out of the window. In the aftermath of the attack, the volunteers discovered no guns and only empty ammunition cases downstairs. One of the captured constables revealed that as soon as they saw defeat, the men had thrown all the ammunition into one of the burning rooms. The resulting heat and exploding ordnance prevented the IRA from capturing either ammunition or guns. Nevertheless, though they went home empty handed, the Cloyne barracks was soon abandoned.

Throughout Ireland, the IRA's barracks strategy was working. In Cork alone, 80 of the county's 123 barracks were closed by January, 1921, including Carrigtwohill,

[50] Irish Military Archives (MA), MA/BMH/WS/ 1421, 23. Michael Leahy.
[51] Irish Military Archives (MA), MA/BMH/WS/ 1367, 15. Joseph Aherne.

Castlemartyr, and Cloyne.[52] The barracks that remained were mainly in the larger towns, and their personnel grew as constables from closed barracks were transferred to these open stations.[53] The Midleton Company would, in fact, only plan one more barracks attack, an ultimately aborted attempt to raid the station at Ballycotton. Whether by earlier design or increasing IRA pressure, the British closed the Ballycotton barracks three weeks after the failed attack. For Midleton, and most of the other Cork companies, the barracks strategy was over. The remainder of 1920 saw the Midleton Company take more "guerilla" type actions rather than coordinated attacks on specific sites.

In June, for instance, under the guise of playing bowls, a traditional Irish game, several company volunteers ambushed and disarmed a British military bicycle patrol.[54] They also ambushed a few motorized patrols using landmines. Nevertheless, by the end of the summer, the IRA was coming under increasing pressure as the British increased their presence in the area by bringing in military troops and "Black and Tan" auxiliaries.[55] The British mounted more patrols, arresting several volunteers, including Tadhg Manley. At least one (non-active) volunteer was shot while in custody while his brother was paralyzed from the waist down.[56]

By late July or early August, with Diarmuid Hurley and others of the Midleton Company in hiding, the company decided to reduce coordinated company attacks in favor

---

[52] John Borgonovo, "Cork," in *Atlas of the Irish Revolution*, ed. by John Crowley, et al. (New York: NYU Press, 2017), 560.

[53] Ibid., fig.3, 560.

[54] Irish Military Archives (MA), MA/BMH/WS/ 1367, 18. Joseph Aherne. In a game of bowls, contestants throw a metal ball along a road with a pre-chosen start and finish line. The player that makes it to the finish line in the fewest throws wins.

[55] Irish Military Archives (MA), MA/BMH/WS/ 1456, 19. John Kelleher.

[56] Irish Military Archives (MA), MA/BMH/WS/ 1367, 23. Joseph Aherne.

of forming a “flying column.” Because of their roles in the barracks campaign, several members of the company were already in hiding or on the run. These men were chosen first for the column whose purpose was to live rough, constantly moving, taking any opportunity to conduct a savage guerilla war on the British and loyalist Irish forces.

The new column stayed on the move, either bunking with sympathizers or making do with abandoned buildings. They stayed in rural areas, places rarely patrolled by the British, such as Knockraha and Shangarry. After a couple of months, the column moved south, to the small village of Aghada. During this period the group sought opportunities to ambush the British, but they were rarely successful. Nevertheless, they continued in their efforts, and even decided to try to capture Castlemartyr barracks a second time, with tragic results.

Diarmuid Hurley, Joseph Aherne, William Heffernon and Michael Murnane were on a reconnaissance mission in the town. Two RIC men approached them as the four waited in a car to leave town. As RIC Sgt. Curley questioned Heffernon, Constable Quinn became suspicious, drawing his gun. At this point, Aherne drew his own revolver causing a startled Sgt. Curley to draw as well. The firefight was brief but, at such close quarters, deadly. Aherne fired first, mortally wounding Quinn. He then fired at Curley, but his gun jammed, allowing Curley to duck behind the car. From his new position, Curley fired, hitting Heffernon, the car’s driver, in the head. As Aherne struggled to replace Heffernon in the driver’s seat, Hurley shot at Curley, shattering his arm. Curley retreated, allowing the volunteers to escape. Both Quinn and Heffernon died of their wounds.

Following the Castlemartyr debacle, the column moved to Cloyne where they stayed at B. Walshe's house.[57] Walshe was the local company commander and on the run himself, making his house a certain target for a British raid. On Sunday, December 9, the British did raid the house, but the sound of their lorries (trucks) gave the column plenty of warning and after a brief gunfight, the column escaped.

For the next three weeks, the flying column moved to various places in East Cork. From Cloyne, they moved to Glennagare, to the north-east of Cloyne. After Glennagare, the column moved south-west, to Aghada. Here, they hoped to ambush a military patrol that regularly visited the area.[58] In any event, the patrol never showed so the group returned north-east, to the small village of Kilmountain. On Christmas Eve, Hurley announced his plan to attack the patrol at Midleton.

On December 29, 1920, the East Cork Flying Column laid an ambush in the town of Midleton.[59] While not the first ambush of the war, and not the most famous, the Midleton action would have dire consequences for several local families. In response to the ambush, the British military carried out the conflict's first civilian reprisals. The successful ambush also added urgency to British efforts at finding and destroying the column. In Clonmult, just a few months later, the British would have their revenge.

---

[57] Ibid., 37.

[58] Irish Military Archives (MA), MA/BMH/WS/ 1456, 21. John Kelleher.

[59] Some of the eyewitness statements give the date of the attack as December 28. These statements, however, were written up to 35 years after the event. Newspaper reports, dated December 30, all state that the attack happened on December 29. I have used both newspaper accounts and statements to piece together the following account. In those instances where the statements disagree, I have tried to rely on the newspaper. Barring that, I use qualifying language for anything unverifiable in the textual record.

Sometime around Christmas, 1920, Diarmuid Hurley, captain of the East Cork Flying Column, received information concerning the regular patrols of a group of RIC and Black and Tans stationed in Midleton. At the time, the column was hiding in a rural area called Kilmountain, a few miles from Midleton.[60] It is possible that the group initially considered attacking the barracks where the troops were stationed. Eventually, however, the barracks was considered too strong for an attack by a force lacking explosives and high powered rifles.[61] Given this information, Hurley decided to attack the patrol and set the ambush for the evening of December 29.

The evening of the 29th, the column entered Midleton from the east after traveling the backroads from Kilmountain. They converged at a saw-mill located on Charles (now Connolly) St. owned by a family, the Wallace's, sympathetic to the Irish cause. Hurley instructed two of the column's members, Paddy Whelan and Jack Aherne, to move to Main Street, down which the patrol would travel, in an effort to learn their disposition from some Volunteers posted on the street.[62]

Around 8 p.m., Whelan and Aherne returned to the saw-mill. From them, Hurley learned that the patrol consisted of roughly nine men in groups of three each, staggered one either side of the road, two groups on one side, one group on the other, with gaps between each group.[63] Hurley decided to split the column into groups, posting the men in

---

[60] Irish Military Archives (MA), MA/BMH/WS/ 1456, 21. John Kelleher.
[61] Irish Military Archives (MA), MA/BMH/WS/ 1367, 40. Joseph Aherne.
[62] Ibid., 40.
[63] Though there is some inconsistency as to the numbers in the patrol, the majority of the eyewitness reports specify nine men. All the reports agree on their staggered displacement on both sides of the road. On the 30th of December, the Dublin Evening Herald reported that the patrol consisted of 10 men.

doorways on either side of the street. At his signal, the men were to attack the patrol by splitting it up, with members of the column between each patrol group. Hurley posted himself at the southern end of Main Street, in the doorway of the Midleton Arms Hotel, and waited for the patrol to return north, toward the RIC barracks at the other end of the street.

As the last patrol member passed the Midleton Arms, Hurley fired the first shot, stepping out from the hotel's doorway and raising his pistol into the air. Jack Aherne and Dan Cashman had been stationed in the doorway of a house belonging to one Paul McCarthy, located a couple doors down from the Midleton Arms. As the patrol passed, both Aherne and Cashman feigned inebriation and fell in between two patrol groups.[64] At the signal, Aherne immediately turned and fired on the men behind him, hitting one and capturing the other. He then fired at the two men following behind, hitting one. The other fled.[65]

Fig. 5. McCarthys, today Midleton Chiropody Centre. Before this building was burned, the IRA Volunteers launched their attack here during the Midleton Ambush.
(photo by Author)

[64] Irish Military Archives (MA), MA/BMH/WS/ 1523, 8. Daniel Cashman.
[65] Ibid., 8.

Here, the divergence of the eyewitness accounts attest to the battle's chaos. With the column relying mainly on revolvers at close quarters, the fight quickly devolved into a violent combination of small arms fire and hand to hand combat. Several of the patrol fell quickly, while others fled north to the barracks, running a gauntlet of gunfire and IRA ambushers. Three patrol members raced down an alley lane, only to be shot by waiting Volunteers.[66] Other officers, not on the patrol, but stationed outside the barracks about 160 yards away from the fight, raced to help their comrades. They were either pinned down by gunfire or shot. Accounts differ. During the fighting, members of the column confiscated the revolvers and rifles of the captured and wounded.

The number of RIC and Black and Tan casualties is unclear. No two sources agree. There were, however, at least one dead patrol member and, considering those police who ran into the fight from the barracks, 6-14 wounded. The next day, the Dublin *Evening Herald* named a Sgt. Mullens as the fatally wounded RIC man. On January 4, 1921, another paper, the *Liberator*, updated the casualty numbers noting the later deaths of Constables Thorpe and Dray, both initially wounded in the ambush.[67] The IRA column got off relatively lightly. Column member Jim McCarthy was shot in the wrist. Dan Cashman, when he was shot in the chest, credited his survival to a cigarette case in his jacket's breast pocket that stopped the bullet.[68] They had no other injured members. As

[66] Irish Military Archives (MA), MA/BMH/WS/ 1456, 22. John Kelleher.
[67] N/A, *Liberator*, Jan. 4, 1921. Pg. 1.
[68] Ibid.

the fight ended, the column collected all their confiscated weapons and moved from Midleton to the south to avoid RIC reinforcements.

Even though none of the eyewitness reports examined so far mention this, later in the evening another ambush took place close to Midleton. This assault was almost certainly planned in conjunction with the Midleton attack. Both the *Cork County Eagle* and the Dublin *Evening Herald* report that a column of military and police vehicles from Cork City were ambushed about 1 ½ miles outside of Midleton near a place called the Glebe House. The convoy was responding to the ambush in Midleton, having been contacted by the Midleton RIC. Sometime between 11 pm and 12 am, the convoy encountered several trees felled across the road. As the convoy slowed to a halt, the IRA began shooting. The British and RIC forces returned heavy fire in what one paper described as a "hail of lead."[69] Apparently the volleys of fire were heavy enough that they forced the IRA to retreat. After clearing the road, the convoy made it to Midleton with one member, a Sgt. Nolan, seriously wounded.[70]

Midleton's citizens waited nervously through the night for the inevitable reprisals. Across Ireland, reprisals against civilians constituted a tit for tat approach to the guerilla style of conflict utilized by the IRA. The RIC, Black and Tans, Auxiliaries, and the British military all used reprisals as revenge for IRA ambushes, raids, and executions and during the summer and fall of 1920, the numbers of reprisals increased greatly.[71] They

---

[69] N/A, *Cork County Eagle*, Dec. 30, 1920. Pg. 1

[70] Ibid.

[71] David Leeson, *Black and Tans* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 161.; Peter Hart, *The IRA and Its Enemies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 80

normally took the form of destruction of property; burning houses, for instance, as well as farm buildings, crops, and the killing of livestock.[72] Still, however, many civilians were killed or wounded in some of the most extreme cases.

Fig. 6. Edmond Carey's house was burned during the reprisal.[73] (left photo courtesy of the Freeman's Journal, right photo by Author)

[72] Ibid., 161.

[73] *The Freeman's Journal*, January 6 1921, pg. 3.

Reprisals were not the exclusive province of British forces, though. The IRA undertook reprisals as well. Typically, unionists and other Irishmen they considered traitors to the cause were targeted. The IRA executed civilians suspected of spying or cooperating with the British. They also burned houses and raided farms. Often, in response to British reprisals, the IRA would kidnap soldiers and police, placing them in makeshift prisons before holding a "trial" against the prisoner, or, in some cases, executing them outright. Many of these prisoners were buried in shallow graves in bogs. Even today, several sites in Ireland are deemed "off-limits" by locals still fearing the discovery of remains.[74]

The issue of reprisals continues to be a source of controversy. One of the fiercest recent debates revolves around the work of historian Peter Hart. Much Irish on Irish violence has traditionally been seen as reprisals for spying, aiding the enemy, and other forms of "treason." Hart, in his book *The IRA & Its Enemies*, takes a different view when he asserts that at least some of these killings were not reprisals, but sectarian murders of innocent civilian Irish Protestants.[75]

While reprisals occurred with increasing frequency before December 1920, they were never sanctioned by the British. The military often investigated reprisals, whether conducted by the British or the IRA, and these investigations, while generally exonerating the accused, still resulted in several convictions of British soldiers and

---

[74] The Village of Knockraha has such a location. Pers. Comm. with Damian Shiels.

[75] William Sheehan, *A Hard Local War: The British Army and the Guerilla War in Cork, 1919-1921* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Spellmount, 2011), 14.

police. The Midleton reprisal, which took place on January 1, 1921, is the first reprisal in the Anglo-Irish War sanctioned by the British government.

Sometime between 3 and 5 o'clock on that Saturday afternoon, numbers of British soldiers and RIC police arrived in Midleton in a convoy of trucks. The personal dispersed throughout the town, searching everyone not in their homes.[76] British authorities closed all businesses and ordered everyone to return to their houses and lower there curtains. Soon afterwards, soldiers began breaking down doors to three buildings on Main Street. The residents of these buildings were forced out, some carrying bags of transportable valuables. Police then entered the buildings and placed mines. The explosions in each building caused extensive damage.[77] After leaving Midleton, the soldiers fired and destroyed four farms near the site where the IRA ambushed the relief column on December 29. In all, seven houses were either totally or partially destroyed. In Midleton, they include the houses of John O'Shea, Edward Carey, and Paul McCarthy.[78] A Mr. Cotter and Mr. Donovan were burned out in the townland of Ballyadam, while in Knockgriffin, police burned the homes of a Mr. Dorgan and Mr. Aherne.[79]

Soon after the action, Cork's Brigade-Major released a statement to the press acknowledging British government responsibility for the reprisals. The British

---

[76] *Liberator*, January 4 1921, pg. 1.

[77] Irish Military Archives (MA), MA/BMH/WS/ 1456, 23. John Kelleher.

[78] Most accounts, including newspapers and most eyewitness reports, vouch for the destruction of the McCarthy house. However, at least one eyewitness report and two local historians, Tony Harpur and John Fenton, claim that as soldiers entered McCarthy's home, his mother became hysterical at the thought of the home's destruction. She was distraught and refused to leave the building. Instead of destroying the house, claim Harpur and Fenton, the British carried all the family's furniture into the middle of Main Street and set it on fire. Pers. Comm.

[79] *Liberator*, January 4 1921, pg. 1.

government went further in excusing the reprisals, claiming that the victims surely knew of the ambush, yet did nothing to stop it.[80] This is a spurious claim, as no evidence bears it out. Aside from column members using Paul McCarthy's stoop as an observation post, almost certainly without his knowledge, none of those who had homes burned took any part in the ambush. Further, no eyewitness account, some of which go into great detail, notes any communication with the reprisal victims. And ultimately the British government responsible for the reprisal neither arrested any of the victims, nor did they offer any evidence to substantiate their claim. The reprisal, like so many other actions in the war, was simply an act of vengeful terrorism.

Reaction in the press was swift and to a large degree, critical of the action. An opinion piece in the *Irish Independent* notes that several English newspapers considered the reprisal "a monstrous act," and a "diabolical persecution and a terrible action."[81] The paper singles out the *Times* of London for doubting if "this element of justice guided the official reprisals."[82]

On the ground in Ireland, official reprisals did not have the effect that perhaps the British envisioned. Even though the policy of official reprisals lasted only until June 1921, the British destroyed more than 191 homes.[83] British reprisals also brought about

[80] *The Irish Independent*, January 4 1921, pg. 4.
[81] *Irish Independent*, 1921.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Michael Hopkinson, *The Irish War of Independence* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2002), 93.

the expected IRA reprisals against loyalist homes and businesses.[84] In the end, the reprisals turned many of Irish public against Britain.[85]

By January 1921, the column moved into an abandoned farmhouse outside the village of Clonmult. One thing that recommended the house as a hideout was its isolation. The house was virtually invisible as it lay about six hundred yards from the main road down a long, winding drive. It was also surrounded by a high fence, and protected by a field of heather between the house and the road.[86] Additionally, the people of Clonmult and the surrounding area were very much pro-IRA.

Fig. 7. The house at Clonmult after the attack. (photo courtesy of the Imperial War Museum)

Even though the local IRA Company were required to set their own watch while the column was nearby, the column themselves also set a watch, with two members at

[84] Ibid., 110.
[85] Ibid., 93.
[86] Irish Military Archives (MA), MA/BMH/WS/ 1449, 49. Patrick Whelan.

sentry while two others patrolled the roads adjacent to the property. Nevertheless, in spite of its isolation, the column could do very little to defend the house in the event of an attack. In this case, they depended on the locals and their own sentries to warn them if trouble came.

Fig. 8. The East Cork flying column, several of whom died at Clonmult. (photo courtesy of the Irish Military Archives)

For the next few weeks, things were quiet, and the men were able to relax and shed some of the weariness caused by months of constant movement. The column spent time planning future operations, and were joined by four new members from the Cobh Company, Jack O'Connell, James Aherne, Paddy O'Sullivan, and Maurice Moore.[87] Earlier in the week of the nineteenth, the column received instructions to attack a

[87] Irish Military Archives (MA), MA/BMH/WS/ 1367, 51. Joseph Aherne.

munition convoy travelling between Cork City and Cobh. On the morning of February the twentieth, Diarmuid Hurley, Patrick Whelan, and Joseph Aherne left the farm to reconnoiter an ambush site. Leaving Jack O'Connell in charge, Hurley left orders for the rest of the column to rendezvous with him at Leamlara, just north of the Cork-Cobh road, at 6 p.m. The column would stay there until Tuesday, when they would attack the convoy.

By 4 p.m., the men had eaten their mid-day meal and almost finished packing for their trek to Liamlara. In anticipation of the journey, the two sentries were withdrawn. Two other men from the column walked across the farm yard to the well, to fill water bottles for the rest of the men. Inside the house, another member of the column just happened to notice British soldiers moving just outside the yard-gate.[88] From there, things happened quickly.

Immediately after sounding the alarm inside the house, the British forces, who managed to surround the farm, began firing. After a brief strategy session, the column decided to face the attack with a sortie of their own and distributed ammunition and grenades. Leading the sortie out the door, O'Connell quickly became separated from the men behind. Under constant fire, backtracking towards the house, he was stopped short behind a shed by the withering volleys flying across the farm yard.[89]

At the house, the situation was dire. The four men assigned to follow O'Connell, Diarmuid O'Leary, Michael Hallahan, Richard Hegarty, and Jim Aherne were

---

[88] Irish Military Archives (MA), MA/BMH/WS/ 1444, 9. John P. O'Connell.
[89] Ibid., pg. 10.

immediately exposed to savage enemy fire as they left the house. Hallahan was killed almost in the doorway, while Hegarty was fatally shot as he dashed across the farmyard. Aherne made it about two hundred yards, into a nearby field, before he, too, was killed, leaving O'Leary. Realizing his dangerous position, O'Leary ran back inside the house.[90]

Back inside the house, the defenders tried to make sense of their situation. At least two members of the column were still outside, the men from the well, and Jack O'Connell was missing. Soon, one of the men from the well, Joyce, injured, crawled to the back of the house telling the men through the window that they were surrounded. His companion, Desmond, was found dead in the farmyard after the fight.

O'Connell, meanwhile, decided to break through the British line to find help from the local company. He found his way to a small farm road, a "boreen." Creeping down the small road, he came under fire. Leaving the boreen, O'Connell utilized the landscape of boreen, hills, and hedgerows to go to the nearest houses, looking for a bicycle he could use to ride for aid. Failing this, he continued down the boreen and emerged at a crossroads. Here, he found two volunteers attracted by the fight. When O'Connell suggested one of the men accompany him to the house, to see what was happening, the man refused. O'Connell decided to send them both to a nearby farmhouse to retrieve the shotguns stored in that place.

At one point, as O'Connell was returning to the house, he met a volunteer, later confirmed to be the captain of the Clonmult Company, on a bicycle. After conferring, the

[90] Irish Military Archives (MA), MA/BMH/WS/ 1589, 6. Diarmuid O'Leary.

bicyclist rode to find help while O'Connell continued to wait for the volunteers with the guns. By 5:30. He noticed that the thatch roof on the house was ablaze.[91]

The eleven men trapped inside the house defended themselves as well as they could. The British forces, however, were overwhelming. As they waited in vain for rescue their enemies moved closer and closer, eventually setting fire to the house's thatch roof. Inside the burning house, there was little choice but to surrender. The men from the column threw their remaining weapons into a burning room and filed out of the house, hands aloft. Two of the eleven, Diarmuid O'Leary and Captain Patrick Higgins, were injured. The other nine men were lined up against an outbuilding wall under guard by accompanying Black and Tans. Seven men were summarily executed by the Black and Tans before a British military officer forcefully called a halt to the killing. As O'Connell sadly made his way to Knockraha, not knowing of all the deaths, the four survivors were placed in lorries for transport to the gaol in Cork City.

In all, twelve men were killed the day of the ambush. Of the four survivors, besides O'Connell, two were later executed by the British. The two wounded survivors, O'Leary and Higgins, dodged execution only because they were in hospital until the truce was signed in July. The shock was felt throughout Ireland as the Clonmult victims reached near martyr status. The attack was the largest single day loss for the IRA during the war. No Black and Tan involved in Clonmult was ever prosecuted for the summary executions of the seven members of the column.

---

[91] Irish Military Archives (MA), MA/BMH/WS/ 1444, 11-12. John P. O'Connell.

For the surviving members of the East Cork flying column the war was essentially over except for a small handful of actions. In April, under Hurley's direction, the column blew up a British lorrie using a landmine. On May 28th, 1921, after hearing about the British shooting up Carrigtwohill, Hurley decided to investigate. Taking a revolver and a grenade, Hurley ran into an RIC and Black and Tan patrol about a mile outside Midleton. As they drew their weapons, Hurley fired his gun and threw the grenade at the patrol, then, jumping a ditch, tried to escape through a field. When the patrol opened fire, Hurley was hit in the back and died instantly. Eventually, Hurley was buried in the Republican section at Midleton cemetery, near to the graves of the Clonmult victims. Both the Midleton Company and the remnants of the flying column remained silent through the rest of the war in July, 1921.

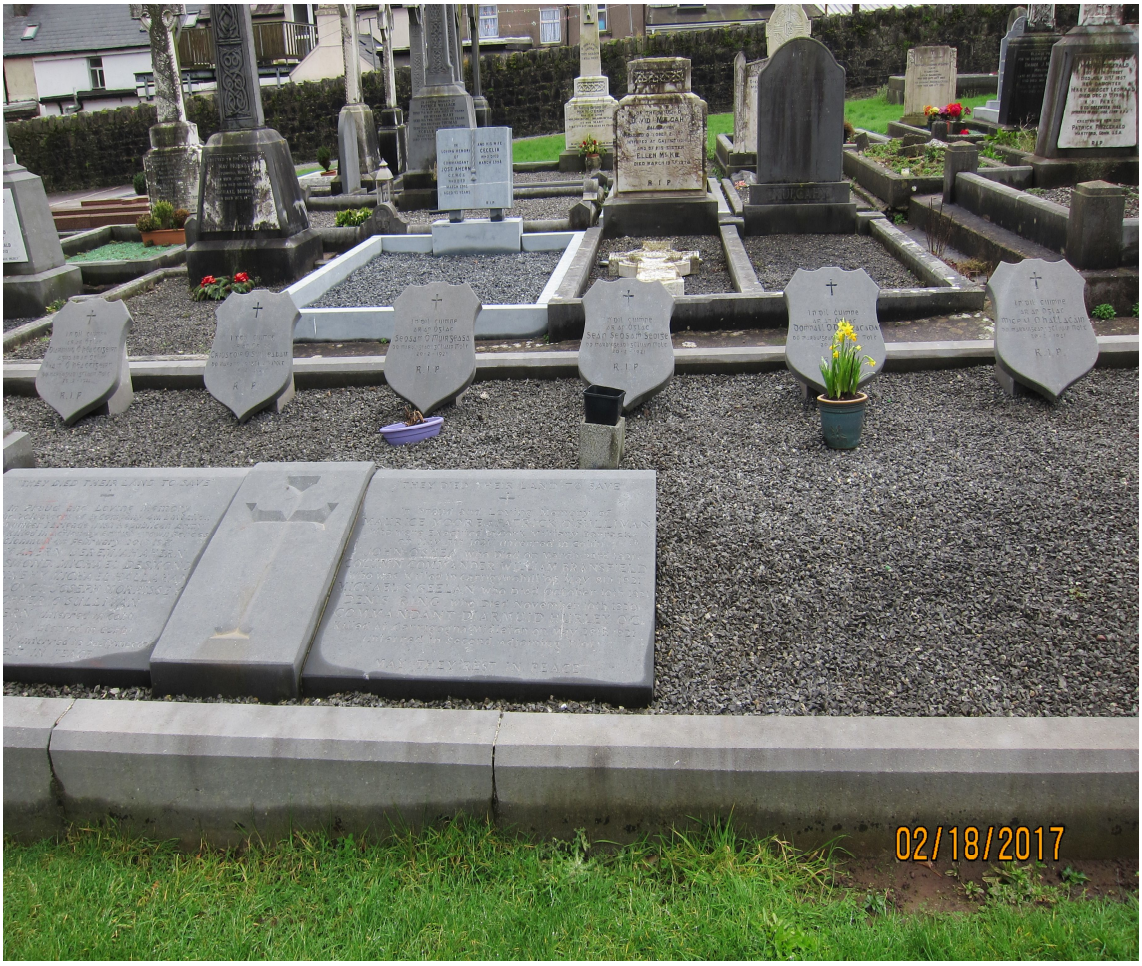


Fig. 9. The IRA Clonmult dead in Midleton Cemetery. (photo by Author)

Fig. 10. Diarmuid Hurley's funeral in Midleton, 1921. (photo courtesy of John Fenton and Dick Cashman)

CHAPTER II:

LANDSCAPE AND MEMORIALIZATION

The Landscapes of Revolution Archaeology Project is the first ever survey of the existing Irish War of Independence landscape in east County Cork. Damian Shiels, an archaeologist based in Midleton, Co. Cork, conceived Landscapes of Revolution as a community engagement project to make people aware of the important historical sites in their area, and also to draw attention to the precarious state of much of Ireland's nineteenth and twentieth century heritage.[1]

My own involvement in the project was the result of a partnership established between Mr. Shiels, as a director of Rubicon Heritage, and Dr. Van West, director of the Tennessee Civil War National Heritage Area, which is a partnership unit of the National Park Service administered through a cooperative agreement by Middle Tennessee State University's Center for Historic Preservation (CHP). The seeds of this partnership were sown as early as 2014, when the Heritage Area sponsored Mr. Shiels as a guest speaker at a program commemorating the Civil War sesquicentennial of the Battle of Franklin. In addition to archaeology, Shiels is a noted scholar of the Irish in the American Civil War whose books, *Irish in the American Civil War* and *The Forgotten Irish: Irish Immigrant Experiences in America* explore the American end of the Irish diaspora. He also runs the award winning website irishamericancivilwar.com, which won the Best Arts and Culture Blog award in Ireland.[2] At the Franklin program, Shiels spoke about the Confederate

[1] Damian Shiels, pers. comm.

Major General, Patrick Cleburne, a former soldier in the British Army and a native of County Cork, Ireland.

In addition to his work on the American Civil War, Shiels served as a curator for the National Museum of Ireland exhibit "Soldiers & Chiefs."[3] As a director for Rubicon Heritage, Damian directed or worked on many important archaeological projects in Ireland, including the first excavations on a former British fort located on Bere Island, off the coast of Co. Cork. A practitioner of conflict archaeology, Shiels worked extensively at famous Irish battle sites such as Kinsale (1601), and the Battle of Vinegar Hill (1798) in Enniscorthy.

For my part, I brought significant survey experience to the project. In 2010, I was one of the field researchers on the Rutherford County Historic Structure survey where I photographed and documented almost twenty five hundred structures throughout the county. From 2012-2015, I worked at the Middle Tennessee State University Geographic Information Systems (GIS) lab on the statewide historic structure survey. My tasks included data entry, digital mapping, and identification of previously unverified structures across the state.

One of our main goals for the Rutherford County Historic Structure Survey was to map site locations using a GIS platform. To this end, in the field we carried a handheld 3G GPS unit capable of transmitting a location directly to the main project server, onto a

[2] http://irishamericancivilwar.com/2015/10/23/irish-in-the-american-civil-war-named-best-arts-culture-blog-at-blog-awards-ireland/

[3] Damian Shiels, Pers. Comm.

GIS platform. This allowed us to check our sites in real time using the internet on the laptop, though we would often lose signal in rural areas. When this happened, we could simply save our position into the GPS unit's memory. Later, it could be easily loaded onto the GIS map.

With this equipment, we were able to map around four thousand sites across the county. In addition to mapping, we photographed each site from the direct front, and diagonally, to catch the building's profile. If the original structure no longer existed, we photographed the site as is for comparative purposes.

After the field work concluded, I spent three months examining digital photographs and doing data entry for an informational layer on the GIS map. I was also in charge of picking the photos that would appear in the map. I picked one new photo from each site and one from an older survey from 1979-1980. These were added as another map layer.

Our final product was an interactive GIS map hosted by the county on the Rutherford County Archives website. When opened, the viewer is presented with a satellite map of the county overlain with small "houses." Each house represents a site. By clicking on a house, a viewer unlocks several layers of site information, including the site's address, age, photographs, and other information. The map and the physical materials from the survey are both important repositories of the county's economic development, growth, architectural, and cultural history as well as a snapshot of the county's historic fabric.

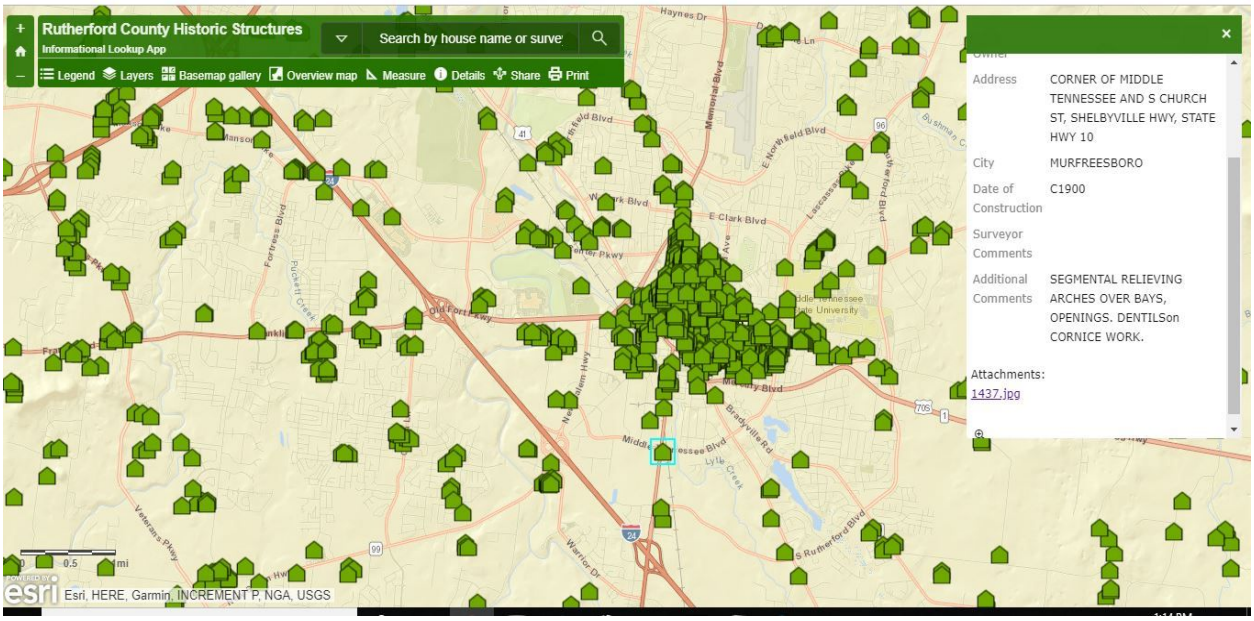


Fig. 11. Screen shot of the Rutherford County Historic Structures GIS map. (Screen shot courtesy of Rutherford County Archives)

Between 2012 and 2015, I worked in the university GIS lab supervised by Zada Law. I moved from the county survey to working on the statewide Tennessee Historic Structure Survey. Some of my work here consisted of simple data entry, transferring information from the original survey sheets onto a county's spreadsheet. Most important for my education, however, were those counties in which I would have to identify and locate sites missing from the original survey, doing, essentially, virtual field work using Google Maps to "drive" the counties. The process of using visual clues from what were often old photographs and comparing them to the modern landscape via Google Maps, noting, for instance, that many changes in the overall landscape are very small versus big changes in our built environment, taught me much in terms of reading landscapes.

My experience in the GIS lab was beneficial in other ways. As I moved from county to county, I noticed how our built environment, our artificial landscape, was influenced by many factors. These could include the time of settlement, influencing architectural styles or city planning and development, but it also includes the natural landscape. Memphis, for example, is a response to a landscape dominated by the Mississippi River. Likewise, West Tennessee escaped much urban development in part because of its location in the Mississippi River floodplain, creating a landscape rich in arable land. We could analyze East Tennessee, Middle Tennessee, or any other location, such as East Cork in a similar manner.

Geographic Information Systems is possibly one of the most exciting avenues of collaboration for public historians. GIS provides us with the ability to layer many types of information in large amounts on a spatial grid. On a digital map, this allows historians to see patterns in motion. One project involved mapping the voting patterns across the nation in presidential elections.[4] David Bodenhamer states that GIS "promises to re-invigorate our description of the world through its manipulation and visualization of vast quantities of data previously beyond the reach of most scholars."[5]

There are many potential uses for GIS in the field of public history. Its portability makes it easier to collect data in the field. Through GIS, we also have the ability to design and construct interpretive products, such as maps for driving tours. This tool is

---

[4] Edward L. Ayers, "Turning Toward Place, Space, and Time," in *The Spatial Humanities: GIS and the Future of Humanities Scholarship*, ed. by David J. Bodenhamer, John Corrigan, and Trevor M. Harris (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), 9.

[5] David J. Bodenhamer, "The Potential for Spatial Humanities," in *The Spatial Humanities*, ed. by Bodenhamer, Corrigan and Harris, 17.

also indispensable for city planners and organizations responsible for historic properties or districts.

The software's portability makes it perfect for field work. The program can be downloaded to a laptop, tablet, or a smartphone. With its accuracy, GIS can even be used to map graves in a cemetery. Coupled with the writing and photographic capabilities of today's laptops and smartphones, this method brings everything needed together in one package. Photos, notes, and location data can all be directly transmitted from the field directly to the project server.

One of the benefits of GIS is its ability to develop a real time picture of an area, complete with all the data one might wish to include about that area and its structures, geography, and its geology, among other information. City planning departments have used GIS for years in a variety of ways. One of the most important for us is that they use the program in part to identify areas prime for development, redevelopment, and also to help in maintaining important civic infrastructure such as power and sewer lines.

GIS can further help identify potential historic districts and track their changes over time. Field surveys and mapping can locate "clusters" of historic structures that might later be deemed a historic district or noted by city planners as possible historic sites. For existing districts, the data capabilities of GIS can store public access information on any renovations, additions, or other changes made to current structures. Essentially, the entire history of a district can be held in one place and easily revised as needed. This helps to maintain an accurate, up to date inventory of the district and its structures and landscape.

Aside from collecting and storing data for analysis and information, public historians using this tool can also create interpretive products. For instance, for our recent Rutherford County Cemetery survey, we created an accessible, web-based map of the county (http://rutherfordcountytn.gov/archives/cemetery.html). Icons noted the location of all the verified cemeteries in the county. By clicking on the icon a visitor to the site can reveal layers of information about a particular cemetery, including photographs. Genealogists in particular have found this map to be incredibly useful in researching family history. To add public value to the project, we also created a four stage driving tour to some of the publically accessible, historic cemeteries. For this, we created and printed a run of pamphlets using GIS maps, including short histories of each cemetery. As finances limited the number of pamphlets we could produce, we bolstered the tour's reach by using an ArcGIS product called Story Board. With this program, we could recreate our pamphlet in an interactive web-based platform. In an era with 4G wireless data and easily portable tablets and smartphones, such web-based products are more practical for visitors to use in the field.

Fig. 12. Cover of the Rutherford County Cemetery Tour Pamphlet. (courtesy of Author)

We also created a GIS-based interactive map for the structure survey (http://rutherfordcountytn.gov/archives/). Again, point and click icons bring up added information on the sites. This data includes pictures from 1979 and 2010, as well as the structure's age, ownership, and, when we can, a bit of the structures historical significance.

Still, though, we should proceed with caution when recommending GIS to some partners. At present, GIS is wonderful for handling large amounts of data and quantifying it. While data collection, including the program's price, might be relatively cheap, for the public to fully benefit, there must be a system in place dedicated to project maintenance. The project's sustainability is important for any number of technical reasons, but most important is the idea that the information on the site be maintained, changed as needed, and kept up to date. Such maintenance might be cost prohibitive for many smaller historical societies or sites.

In addition to the maps created for the Rutherford County structure and cemetery surveys, the Tennessee Civil War National Heritage Area partnered with the Tennessee State Library and Archives (TSLA) to create two other GIS products, the Tennessee Civil War GIS Project, and a sister site, Landscapes of Liberation.

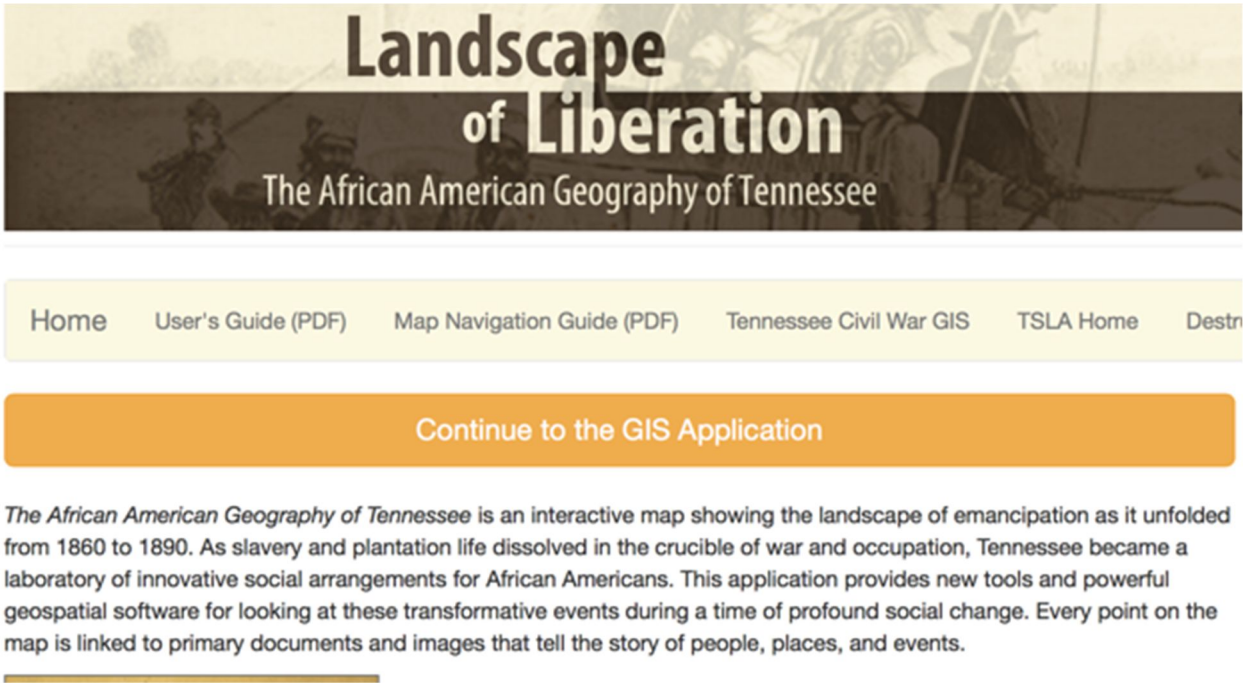


Fig. 13. Screenshot of the Landscapes of Liberation title page. (Screenshot courtesy of the Tennessee State Museum)

Using primary source material such as Civil War unit histories, as well as the Tennessee Civil War Sourcebook and *Dyers Compendium*, both of which are compendiums of primary sources for the war, the Tennessee Civil War GIS Project (https://tnmap.tn.gov/civilwar/) locates all the military engagements on a map of the state via GIS.

As noted above, Landscapes of Liberation is a companion site to the TCW GIS Project. In fact, it is linked on the Project website. Using a GIS platform, Landscapes of Liberation locates all the known contraband camps throughout the state, as well as other sites important to the emancipation of Tennessee's enslaved during the Civil War such as

Freedman's Bureau locations. Many of these sites were identified using Union unit histories. Other sources included newspaper accounts and official war records.

Shiels' time in Tennessee proved productive as new partnership arrangements were identified and discussed, especially his idea of Landscapes of Revolution. I expressed an interest in working on the project to Dr. West knowing of his desire for the Heritage Area to carry though the vast majority of projects as reciprocal, grassroots-centered partnerships to ensure that community engagement shaped these potentially controversial projects from the beginning and not just at the end. Dr. West agreed and introduced Damian and me through email. After several email conversations, we decided that I would spend six months in Ireland, helping Mr. Shiels to spearhead the project. From there, we negotiated the terms of the partnership between the CHP and Damian's firm, Rubicon Heritage, including such things as my responsibilities for the Landscapes project, travel, and living arrangements while I was in Ireland.

Landscapes of Revolution is important in that it fills a serious gap in Irish heritage preservation. The Office of Public Works is the government department that oversees the two main heritage offices, the Heritage Council and the Department of Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht. To date, these departments have done little to conserve significant sites from the war beyond listing the General Post Office (GPO) and considering the listing of the Moore Street area in Dublin. Both of these sites are associated with the 1916 Easter Rising, an action in which Irish separatists took over a series of government buildings around Dublin.

The GPO has special significance in the Rising's story and is generally the epicenter of its commemoration. It was used as the headquarters for the Irish rebels. Additionally, it was from the GPO that Patrick Pearse, one of the Rising's leaders, read a document, the Proclamation of the Republic, proclaiming Ireland's independence from Britain. In the minds of many Irish, the GPO is the ultimate symbol of the Rising. Still a working post office, in its basement, the GPO houses a popular museum to the Rising called GPO Witness History.

The status of the GPO as a strategic site is logical on several counts. As a hub of communication between Dublin and Britain, to many Republicans at the time, taking the Post Office represented a blow against British imperialism. Its location in the middle of Dublin's main commercial district also insured maximum visibility for those following the struggle. Further, it was a landmark known to every citizen of Dublin.

Again I was struck with the parallels with the early history of preservation of the American Civil War. At first, government officials placed focus on places such as Gettysburg and national cemeteries. Not until a generation later would communities begin the process of marking their own stories, especially with battlefield creation and monument building between 1890 and 1930. [6]

As the headquarters for the Rising, the GPO's prominence as a National Monument was sealed forever with the Irish victory in the War of Independence. Nevertheless, the memorialization of other sites associated with the Rising have met with

---

[6] Timothy B. Smith, *Altogether Fitting and Proper: Civil War Battlefield Preservation in History, Memory, and Policy, 1861-2015* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2017).

more complications. If the GPO represents the epicenter of Easter Rising memorialization, Moore Street, where the Rising in Dublin effectively ended, was long neglected.

Fig. 14. The Moore Street battleground and its environs. (map courtesy of Ordnance Survey Ireland)

Just north of the GPO, Moore Street was the location of the final dramatic hours of the Easter Rising in Dublin. In 1916, Moore Street was a short thoroughfare connecting Henry Street to the south to Great Britain Street (now Parnell Street) to the north. To the east and west, a warren of short streets and alleys surrounded Moore Street. Moore Street is, in fact, one of the oldest and most popular market streets in Dublin. A 1968 government report, citing unhygienic conditions in the market, led to the demolition of most of the structures on the west side of the street. Today, the west side of Moore Street is a shopping center, the Ilac Center, with a variety of ethnic food shoppes and small stores. Fortunately, the eastern side of the street has changed little in the past century. Most of the buildings standing in 1916 are still there. Still, the Moore Street buildings, and the lanes and alleys immediately to the east, are under threat of development.

In 2010, development firm Chartered Land received planning permission to develop a shopping center on the site. National Monument status protected four buildings on Moore Street, numbers 14-17. These buildings were listed as a monument in 2007 by the Minister of Arts and Heritage. In spite of this, plans called for the destruction of several city blocks, including those areas associated with the Rising, Henry Place, Moore Lane, and Sackville Lane. According to development plans, these historic sites were to be replaced with a 110 unit shopping center, 108 residential units in a 13 story tower, as well as restaurants, bars, and a tourist attraction called Skylift.[7]

[7] Olivia Kelly, *Irish Times*, June 7, 2016.

Fig. 15. Moore St. no. 14-17, the fronts covered in scaffolding. (photo by Author)

On the 28th of April 1916, Irish revolutionaries fled the burning GPO through a side door on the north side of the building. Exact numbers are impossible to ascertain because of the confusion of the primary source material, but some scholars estimate as many as 200-300 insurgents may have used the route in small groups, eventually occupying the Moore Street structures.[8] Those fleeing included Nurse Elizabeth O'Farrell, who later wrote, detailing the events. Several of the Irish Republican leadership, the Provisional Government, also escaped with this group, including Patrick Pearse, a wounded James Connolly, and others.

[8] N/A, Crowley, et al., eds., *Atlas of the Irish Revolution* (Cork: CUP, 2018), 255, fig. 17.

Crossing Henry Street, the groups raced into Henry Place, a cramped L-shaped street, the short part beginning at Henry Street. The sound of constant gunfire and smoke from the burning GPO left many of those evacuating thirsty and panicked, looking for a way out of Henry Place. Several of the rebels broke into a water factory, O'Brien's, on the elbow of Henry Place, looking both for drink and a reprieve from the conditions outside.[9]

After a left turn, the longest limb emerges halfway up Moore Street (see map). Parallel to the east of Moore Street, Moore Lane runs south from Parnell Street, ending at Henry Place. It was here that the Irish came under fire from a machine gun emplacement located at the head of Moore Lane, aiming south. Most of the bullets whizzing down Moore Lane impacted on the façade of a whitewashed warehouse at the southern end of the lane. Known to history as the "white house," shrapnel from the bullets was fierce enough that several fleeing Republicans thought British troops were actually firing from inside the building. Under the advice of Commander Sean McLoughlin, a group attacked the White House, charging across the open south end of Moore Lane under British fire. Once inside the building, finding no British, the men set about barricading the windows facing Moore Lane.

While his men attacked the White House, McLoughlin tasked another group to take care of the Moore Lane opening. After breaking into a stable next to O'Brian's mineral water factory, the men pulled from it a cart with which they blocked most of the

[9] Barrett's Decision, 42.

junction at Moore Lane.[10] This gave those following more protection from British bullets. By the time all the insurgents crossed, only around 18-20 were injured by the British.[11]

At the start of the evacuation, the plan was to move west in an effort to hook up with the Republican garrison holding the Four Courts. At the west end of Henry Place, where it intersects with Moore Street, the Republican leaders decided that it would be impossible to cross Moore Street and continue heading west. Initially, they sent Diarmuid Lynch with a small detachment to enter No. 9, on the south corner of Moore St. and Henry Place. Lynch was tasked with the job of tunneling through the buildings south, eventually to emerge at Henry St. However, the heat and smoke from the burning GPO quickly made such a task untenable. After an uncomfortable night, Lynch and his group would rejoin the main force the next day across Henry Place at No. 10, Moore St.

Meanwhile, under constant fire from British positions on Moore Street, Moore Lane, and the tower of the Rotunda, a birthing hospital to the north of the site, the Republicans entered No. 10, on the north corner of Moore St. and Henry Lane. They entered the building, Cogan's Provision Dealers, by digging through the façade on Henry Place.[12] The Risings' commanders, including Patrick Pearse and a wounded James Connolly, sheltered upstairs at No. 10, along with the twenty-odd wounded. By this time, as many as three hundred people occupied No. 10, spilling out into the protected areas behind it and other Moore Street buildings.

---

[10] Ibid., 43.
[11] Ibid., 43.

[12] Ibid., 44.

In an effort both to deal with the increasing number of Republicans seeking indoor shelter, and an attempt to move closer to British forces at the north end of Moore Street, small groups began tunneling between the buildings. Coming as they were from the south, the men would tunnel into a building from the top floor, then, out of the northern wall on the bottom floor. Simultaneously, they barricaded doors and windows.

The Republicans spent an uncomfortable night on Moore Street. Patrick Pearse and his brother, Willie, slept on a table upstairs at No. 10.[13] The rest of the evacuees, possibly numbering up to 300, used the tunnels to spread throughout the buildings on Moore Street's east side. Dr. James Ryan and several nurses administered to around two dozen wounded, including at least one British soldier rescued from the deadly gunfire down Moore Street.[14]

There were several civilian casualties during the battle at Moore Street. Many residents took shelter in basements or back rooms, hoping to escape the gunfire from both sides, as well as the occasional incendiary bomb thrown by British forces. By late Friday evening the flames from the GPO spread to the south side of Moore Street. In the end, five buildings on the south-east side of the street burned completely. Out of panic, some civilians tried to escape the battlefield. A few waved pieces of white linen or handkerchiefs in the hope the British would not fire on them. British forces, however, fired on anything or anyone that moved on Moore Street, killing a number of innocent

[13] Ibid., 45.
[14] Ibid., 46.

civilians. Patrick Pearse himself witnessed three such deaths. It is possible these deaths in part led to Pearse's ultimate decision to surrender.

On Saturday morning, Pearse and the rest of the Provisional Government moved their headquarters from No. 10 to No. 16 Moore Street. Because of James Connolly's wounds, the group met in a back bedroom, where Connolly was placed on a bed, and began a council of war. One of the first plans they discussed was an attempted breakout, using rifles and bayonets in the hopes of forcing their way through one of the British blockades, eventually to link up with the Four Courts garrison. Pearse, almost certainly thinking of the civilian dead, quickly vetoed the plan, citing the possible costs in Irish lives.[15]

By mid-morning, the Provisional government decided that surrender was the best option. Pearse ordered Nurse Elizabeth O'Farrell to take a message to the British cordon at the junction of Moore and Parnell streets. O'Farrell's safety was not guaranteed as the British had already indiscriminately killed several civilians, some of whom were waving white flags or handkerchiefs. In order to prepare the British, the Irish hung a white sheet or flag out of a window and armed O'Farrell with a small white flag. In this instance, the British held their fire.

On first contact with the British, O'Farrell noticed the body of O'Rahilly, shot in an earlier engagement, in a doorway at the top of the street. Later accounts would accuse the British of failing to render medical aid to O'Rahilly, instead, letting him die in the

[15] Crowley, *Atlas of the Irish Revolution,* 255, fig. 17.

street. After this first contact, Miss O'Farrell spent the rest of the morning and afternoon shuttling back and forth between the lines, carrying out negotiations among the two sides.

By the late afternoon, O'Farrell had moved between the lines several times taking and receiving messages from both sides. Around three o'clock, the British commander, Brigadier-General Lowe, met to treat with Pearse in person on Parnell Street. It was here, amidst the carnage and destruction of the previous two days that Pearse, representing the Irish Provisional Government, agreed to surrender. Lowe's son, acting as his father's aid de camp, accepted Pearse's surrender. In an interesting side note, Lowe's son went on to have a successful career in the movies. In 1941, he appeared in the Film version of "How Green was My Valley" alongside actor Arthur Shields. While Lowe was accepting Pearse's surrender, Shields was among the almost three hundred Republicans sheltering in the Moore Street buildings.

The inclusion of Moore Street and its environs as a National Monument would create a larger context in which to interpret the entire story of the Rising in Dublin. Aside from the GPO, Moore Street is one of the most significant sites connected to the event. Much of the Irish leadership were present as the events on Moore Street unfolded, and it was the site of the Irish surrender. Though the west side of the street has since been demolished, many of the structures on the east still bear traces of the Rising. It is important, then, to recount the story of Moore Street at the end of the Easter Rising.

The difficulty of the campaign to establish a more cohesive, contextual National Monument around Moore Street is emblematic of Ireland's larger attitude towards its later heritage. In this case, economic development seems to be the government's sticking

point to the Moore Street listing. In other cases, however, the problem appears to be simple indifference to the state's historic sites of revolution.

The establishment of Moore Street as a national monument has a long and complex story. As noted above, so far only a few structures on Moore Street have achieved national monument status. Nevertheless, for the past few years, a group of Easter Rising descendants, whose leadership might imply a motivation as much political as preservation oriented, have campaigned to name the entire urban landscape associated with this part of the Rising a national monument. This proposed designation would include not only the Moore Street structures, but also Henry Place, Moore Lane, and Sackville Lane (now O'Rahilly Parade), where one of the Rising's leaders, The O'Rahilly, who died on the street during the surrender.

As it stands now, the Moore Street controversy is a long way from its conclusion. The project has switched developers, from Chartered to Hammerson. Hammerson is already a 50% stakeholder in Moore Streets existing shopping center, Ilac. A High Court ruling in 2016 finding for the preservationists was overturned several months later with the state calling the ruling "a bridge far too far."[16] Since then, the minster for heritage has established a Moore Street Advisory Group to negotiate between the various stakeholders, including the city government, traders from the marketplace, relatives of 1916 veterans, and the developer.[17]

---

[16] Mary Carolan, "Moore Street 'battlefield' site declared national monument,' *Irish Times*, March 18, 2016. ; Carolan, "State calls Moore Street national monument declaration a 'bridge far too far," ibid., December 19, 2017.

[17] Lois Kapila, "What's Happening Now With Plans for Moore Street," *Dublin InQuirer*, January 9, 2019.

While these talks are slow, but underway, the different groups hope for an outcome that can please all parties. Hammerson, for its part, has recognized the area's historic value. In March 2018, the company announced the appointment of a German architectural firm, Acme, to head the redevelopment project.[18] Early plans discard the original "shopping mall" concept in favor of a mixed-use "historic quarter" development. Under this plan, the marketplace would be improved and the buildings on the east side of Moore Street would be kept. Also, the street would switch from cars to pedestrian only.

Fortunately, none of the parties involved seem to be in a rush. Hammerson's zoning permission does not expire until 2022. As of this writing, Acme plans to have their final design for the site sometime in the autumn of 2019. From there, all sides will certainly have their say.

Local governments and historical societies have supplied the public with a steady barrage of memorial plaques and stones, but neither they nor the national government have done much in the way of site preservation, interpretation, or placing their memorials in a larger historical context. The Irish heritage sector has conducted surveys of prehistoric, medieval, and early modern sites several times, yet, to date, no one knows exactly how much of the War of Independence landscape survives. Without protection, historic landscapes, especially contested ones such as those of the Irish War of

[18] Conor Pope, "Leading architectural firm Acme to oversee Moore St. redevelopment," *Irish Times*, March 29, 2018.

Independence, are in danger of disappearing because of neglect, development, or the simple ravages of time.[19]

In Ireland, 2015 began a series of Centenary commemorations scheduled to last until 2023. World War I, the 1916 Easter Rising, the War of Independence, and the Irish Civil War all took place during an eight year period at the beginning of the twentieth century. In 2016, the centenary of the Easter Rising was commemorated with the publication of several books detailing the Rising, as well as a proliferation of television documentaries, public lectures and events, and, across the country, local remembrances. These events were very successful, drawing large numbers of people. Likewise, the one hundredth anniversary of the beginning of the First World War, during which thousands of Irish joined the British army, was met with a similar proliferation of publications, television specials, and public observances.

2019 marks the centennial of the beginning of the Irish War of Independence. Again, we can expect the requisite publications, television programs, and public observances, but what about preservation? Will this centenary be the jumping off point for a real effort at preserving those historic landscapes remaining from the war? So far, the outlook is not optimistic.

Ireland is full of memorials. From simple plaques on buildings, large stone memorials on roadsides, to monuments in town and village centers, the nation, like many other nations, has a sense of its own history. Large numbers of these memorials

---

[19] Damian Shiels, "Place versus memory: forgetting Ireland's sites of independence?," in Lisa Godson & Joanna Brück, eds., *Making 1916* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2015), 225.

commemorate people or events associated with the Irish War of Independence. The war certainly looms large in Irish memory.

Memorials are often as political as they are commemorative and Ireland's memorials are no exception to this pattern. Throughout the twentieth century Irish memorials have helped construct Ireland's "history" by reflecting, illustrating, and for the viewer, helping to internalize its historic political and religious divisions. Northern Ireland versus the south, Catholic versus Protestant, these are the divisions against which modern Irish history runs. For the period immediately after the War of Independence, we can even add pro-treaty, those who supported the treaty with Britain making Ireland a dominion with independent rule, versus anti-treaty, those who wanted complete independence from Britain and who felt the treaty was a stab in the back, a main cause of the Irish Civil War, to the list of political division in Irish society. All of these divisions are mirrored in Irish memorialization.

What is missing, however, in this memorialization, is a sense of place. As we shall see, while much of the War of Independence landscape remains, its importance is diminished. As Damian Shiels notes, "Both culturally and politically, memorials and gravesides have become the two major site types associated with the physical memory of the revolutionary period."[20] Rather than remember the war through the physical

[20] Damian Shiels, "Place versus memory: forgetting Ireland's sites of independence?," in Lisa Godson & Joanna Brück, eds., *Making 1916* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2015), 221.

landscape, a battlefield, for instance, memorials are the Irish public's primary connection with the past.

We can best explore the politics of memorialization by examining both northern and southern Irish efforts at memorializing those Irish who served and died in World War I and the War of Independence. After that, we will more closely explore the disassociation of place from memory utilizing examples from County Cork.

Participation in World War I was a contentious issue for the Irish public. Many felt that fighting for Britain flew against the movement for Irish independence. Unionists, of course, saw volunteering as a duty to king and country. Opinion was split along several different fault lines. Protestants generally supported the British war effort, while many Catholics were against the British. Protestant sentiment was stronger in the north, where they represented a larger percentage of the population while the south was, to a large degree, Catholic and nationalist. Nevertheless, in spite of nationalist sentiment, large numbers of Catholic Irish, as well as both Unionists and Nationalists, volunteered for the British army. In some cases men joined for the employment, in other cases, they joined out of a real sense of duty.

In spite of their success in signing up Irish for military service, by 1918, the British army was having a manpower crisis. In April of that year Parliament passed the Military Service Bill. Great Britain had lived under conscription since 1916, but the new act extended the practice to Ireland. Irish condemnation was quick and the bill strengthened the nationalist cause by, for a time, bringing together various nationalist

groups who traditionally opposed each other.[21] On April 23, trade unions called for a general strike to protest conscription. Most of the island crawled to a standstill as factories closed and public transport halted.[22] In the face of such fierce opposition, in May, 1918, the British government decided not to enforce conscription in Ireland.[23]

Given the instability of the times, the numbers of Irish in the war is staggering at over 200,000. True casualty figures are difficult to come by. In the 1920s, the Irish Free State counted 27,000 dead. More recent work using a variety of different sources, including local newspapers and burial records, gives us numbers between 30,000-40,000 dead, a much higher casualty rate.[24]

After World War I ended, the political and religious divisions in Ireland staked various claims on the meaning of the Irish war dead. The most obvious difference in memorialization was that between the six northern counties, divided from the rest of Ireland by the Government of Ireland Act of 1920, and the 26 southern counties which, in 1921, became the Irish Free State.

In the north, memorialization was driven by Unionists wanting to celebrate their service and sacrifice to Great Britain. In the initial phase of memorialization in the 1920s, out of a total of 38 public memorials on the island, 24 were commissioned in Northern Ireland.[25] Most of these memorials were situated in Protestant communities with the

---

[21] Ferriter, *A Nation and Not a Rabble*, 174.

[22] Francis Costello, *Irish Revolution and its Aftermath, 1916-1923* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2003), 31.

[23] Ibid., 33.

[24] Ferriter, *A Nation and Not a Rabble*, 383.

[25] Máire Byrne and Rita Larkin, "War Memorials," in Andrew Carpenter and Paula Murphy, eds., *Art and Architecture of Ireland, Vol. III* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 2015), 533.

support of local governments.[26] The memorials quickly became the focus of Armistice Day ceremonies complete with Unionist speeches. In many cases, in an affront to area Catholics, memorials centered on those Irish killed in the Battle of the Somme, whose massive casualties were mainly Protestant. In some cases, discrimination against Catholics was less subtle. In Belfast, wreath laying services at the memorial did not include Catholics.

In the counties located in the Irish Free State, memorialization was more muted. Unlike the north, the government did not play a role in any of the 14 memorials placed in the south.[27] The new government, of course, did not want to appear to condone the actions of anyone who fought for the British. Consequently, Ireland seemed to develop a sort of institutionalized amnesia about Irish participation in the World War I.[28]

Even though Dublin observed Armistice Day throughout the 1920s, government participation was minimal. In other parts of the Free State, memorials were raised through public subscriptions, organized by local committees.[29] Most memorials in the south took the form of the Celtic cross. Though the cross had obvious Christian connotations, its design also reflected a Gaelic heritage while eschewing any association with imperial Britain.[30]In other, more protestant, parts of the south, such as Birr and Tullamore, obelisks were used as memorials.

---

[26] Ibid., 533.
[27] Ibid., 533.
[28] Ferriter, *A Nation and Not a Rabble*, 376.
[29] Byrne and Larkin, "War Memorials," 534.
[30] Ibid.

Unlike the north, memorials in the south were never sites of community focus or commemoration. Additionally, many Protestant communities in the south chose private memorials over public ones.[31] Private memorials typically appeared in Protestant schools, churches, and community centers. They were generally funded by relatives of those who served and died, or by one or two prominent Protestant families from the area.

The initial phase of the memorializing of the War of Independence went hand in hand with the establishment of the Irish Free State. Even here there was controversy as those who opposed the Anglo-Irish treaty, which made Ireland, like Canada and Australia, a dominion of Great Britain, argued that the Irish Free State was not the republic for which they fought. In their eyes, Ireland was not fully independent.

With a few exceptions discussed below, the Irish government lacked a policy on memorials.[32] In fact, most early memorials were the result of individual initiatives, former IRA men who sought both to tell their stories and commemorate their lost comrades. A common memorial of this type is a simple stone or concrete slab on which the information is engraved. These slabs are usually located at the spot of an event, either freestanding or set within a stone wall (see below). To this day, the government does not protect any memorial or monument as a historic site. Upkeep for the memorials are the responsibility of. In the main, community groups.[33]

---

[31] Ibid.

[32] Ibid., 534.

[33] Sean O'Riordan, "War of independence monuments not protected as historic sites," *Irish Times*, May 4, 2015.

Even though the Irish government had no official policy regarding constructing memorials, during the twentieth century, they did play a role in commissioning or organizing a few significant projects.

The new Irish Free State government erected The Cenotaph outside Leinster House in 1923. This monument memorializes only two people, Michael Collins and Arthur Griffith, both leaders of the movement who died in 1922. Significantly, they were both pro-treaty after the war, and allied to Eamon De Valera's government, which, at the time, was fighting a civil war against anti-treaty Republicans.

In the 1940s, the government commissioned a memorial dedicated to those who fought and died for the cause of Irish freedom, a much more inclusive memorial than the Cenotaph. Designed by architect Daithi Hanley, the Garden of Remembrance in Dublin's Parnell Square, combines Christian motifs with Celtic symbolism. A cross-shaped pool contains motifs illustrating the pagan Celtic custom of warriors placing their weapons in lakes or pools after a battle.

Fig. 16. An example of a homemade private memorial found on Inishmore Island. (photo by Author)

CHAPTER III:

DISCONNECTS BETWEEN MEMORIALIZATION AND PRESERVATION

As the Landscapes project evolved the question became how to best secure the preservation of those properties that the community deems the most important. As a professional steeped in the historic preservation laws and processes of the United States, the prospect of designation and preservation in Ireland was a steep learning curve.

Among the various types of heritage assignations, from local to nationwide, National Monument status affords the greatest protection for Ireland's heritage sites. Administered by the Office of Culture, Heritage, and Gaeltacht and maintained by the Office of Public Works (OPW), the status derives from the National Monuments Act of 1930. The Act was last amended in 2004. Properties given this status are owned or under the guardianship of the OPW. Until 2016, Planning and legislation for National Monuments sites fell under the rubric of the Department of Environment, but that department has since been abolished. While the national government still administers the program, it is up to local governments to protect and maintain these sites. Even here, however, local governments are only responsible for those treasures that pre-date 1819.[1] Memorials and monuments post-dating 1819 are still under private stewardship.

Currently, the status covers an array of sites from prehistoric stone circles and ring forts to manor houses, castles and battlefields. In theory, discussed further below,

[1] Sean O'Riordan, *Irish Examiner*, May 4, 2015.

any structure or landscape deemed of historical or archaeological significance, no matter what the date, is eligible for registry. In reality, however, proportionately fewer nineteenth and twentieth century sites are represented in the census of National Monument sites. Here is one of the marked differences with the process and practice of designation in the United States, where the majority of properties listed in the National Register of Historic Places date to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[2]

In Ireland, the pattern of largely ignoring properties significant in the last two hundred years comes not exclusively from a cultural preference for the deep past, but, in part, the fault lies with the wording of the 1987 amendment to the *National Monument Act*. In the amendment, the definition for a historic monument contains the phrase "all monuments in existence before 1700 AD."[3] While this statement implies that historic monuments must pre-date 1700, we find something quite different when we read the full definition, "includes a prehistoric monument and ANY (author emphasis) monument associated with the…history of the place where it is situated or of the country…"[4] A similar confusion often comes about in practice in the United States where the regulations for the National Register of Historic Places state that a property should be at least 50 years old but elsewhere they emphasize that when a property of less than 50 years old is extraordinarily significant, it can be listed in the National Register.

---

[2] "National Register of Historic Places" website at www.nps.gov.

[3] Rachel Moss, "Architecture," in Neil Buttimer, et al, eds., *The Heritage of Ireland* (Cork, Ireland: The Collins Press, 2000), 67.

[4] National Monuments (Amendment) Act, 1987, section 1.

Though Irish law does not exclude nineteenth and twentieth century properties or sites, practice does. The dearth of such protected nineteenth and twentieth century sites is difficult to explain, except through misinterpretation of the existing law. Tellingly, in my personal conversations with various Irish heritage professionals and archaeologists, I was told more than once that the 1700 AD limit was the law whenever I asked why later structures were not listed. Others I spoke with correctly observed that no such limit is in place. In general terms, the lack of nineteenth and twentieth century listings was blamed on lack of interest and/or political will on the part of both the national and local governments. Could the lack also reflect an unwillingness to address an era that is so controversial, an era that, in some cases, pitted brother against brother, Protestant against Catholic, and finally, most dangerously, Irish against the Irish? Even a century on, the history of the War of Independence can be a contentious issue.

Another preservation issue encountered in the Landscapes project was defining a place of combat and conflict in a war that did not have the large landscapes of pitched battle one typically considers in documenting a "war for independence." From small country lanes to wide urban streets, in isolated farmsteads and large manor houses to the townhomes and businesses of towns and cities both large and small, the Irish War of Independence ranged over a vast number of landscapes and environments. Outside of Dublin, perhaps, few if any of these sites have undergone archaeological examination specifically to investigate the revolutionary period from 1918-1923. Furthermore, to date, no entity, public or private, has carried out a full-scale national survey of War of Independence sites, so we know little about which sites remain, much less their condition.

Rarely are these sites afforded any kind of protection and all are endangered. Depending on their location, urban or rural, these sites are threatened for a variety of different reasons.

In much of rural Ireland, the overall landscape has changed little in the past one hundred years. For centuries the country maintained an agricultural/pastoral economy. Even during the "Celtic Tiger," a period of unparalleled economic growth in Ireland that lasted from roughly 1995-2008, the boom was felt less outside the major cities and towns as many rural residents looked for opportunities in Ireland's urban areas. For this reason, and others, much of this rural landscape, the exact landscape in which a significant portion of the War of Independence was fought, is increasingly under threat.

As prices drop for agricultural commodities, the effects on rural Ireland are stark. Large numbers of towns and villages are dealing with issues related to depopulation. While agricultural declines in rural Ireland and job opportunities in the city drive some of the exodus, many are moving because of the overall "convenience" of city life. This migration has, in part, led to deserted farms and vacant buildings throughout the Irish countryside. Many of these farms are over a century old, and the landscape has changed little.

Rural Ireland played an important role in the War. It was here that IRA companies created weapons caches in fields, hedgerows, and even prehistoric souterrains. Rural farms served as safe houses for IRA flying columns. Outbuildings often served as grenade factories and "jails" for British prisoners. Country lanes and roadways such as that at Kilmichael became battlefields as opposing forces used them for ambushes.

The placement of plaques or large memorials, most of which were placed by local governments or groups in the last few decades, identify a number of rural properties associated with the war. Driving through rural Ireland, one notices these memorials dotting roadsides without much in the way of explanation or interpretation of the events they commemorate. Some, like the large memorial at Kilmichael, a famous ambush site in West County Cork, have become tourist attractions in their own right.

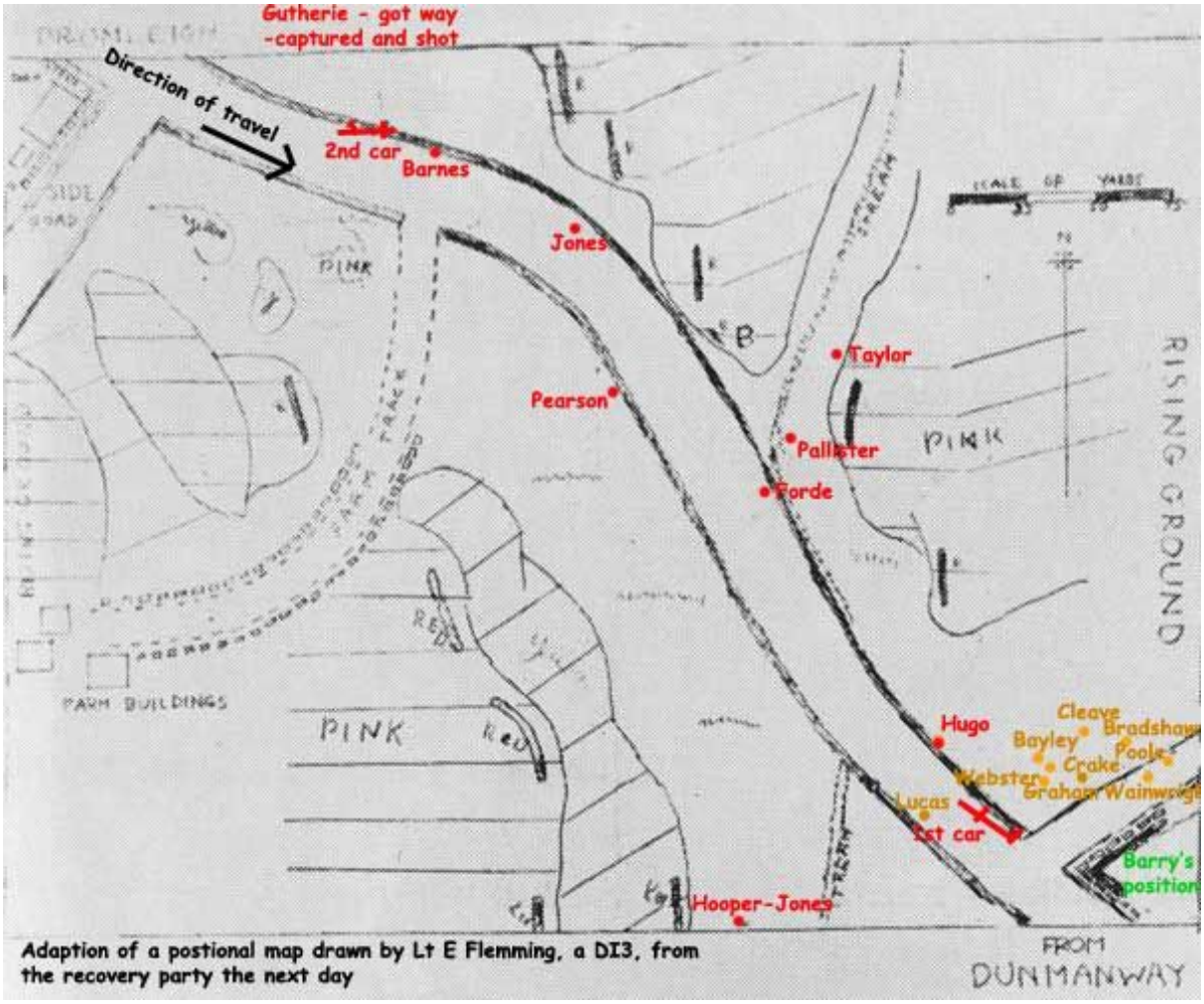


Fig. 17. Map of the Kilmichael ambush site based on a map drawn by a British soldier the next day. (courtesy of the Imperial War Museum)

On November 28, 1920, the Cork 3rd Brigade flying column, under the command of Tom Barry, attacked a British convoy at a place called Kilmichael. The ambush site was a straight section of road located between two sharp right angle turns. The attack resulted in the death of all 18 British auxiliaries against 2 of Barry's column. Because of the British death toll and the ambush's description in Barry's memoir, *Guerilla Days in Ireland*, Kilmichael is one of the best-known incidents from the War in Irish memory.

Indeed, the memorial at Kilmichael, placed in 1966, was becoming so iconic that local and county officials renovated the area, adding paths, interpretive signage, and parking, much to the detriment of the surviving ambush landscape due to grading and construction. As the site map above suggests, the monument remains in the middle of a quite involved landscape associated with the ambush. One of the (at that time proposed) project's critics suggested the 100,000 euro budget would be better spent renovating a nearby cottage, itself a witness to the ambush, into a small museum/visitor centre to better interpret the events at Kilmichael. As it now stands, the lone monument has become the "event" or "site" rather than the larger ambush landscape that could provide both an Irish and British perspective on the event.

Fig. 18. Kilmichael Memorial, West Cork. (photo courtesy of Damian Shiels)

The example at Kilmichael underscores the subtle threat to War of Independence sites where memorialization takes precedence over preservation.[5] Rural sites, however, are subject to other dangers. As the rural population decreases, a host of destructive forces may come to bear against vacant farms and houses. Absentee ownership of vacant structures increases the likelihood of neglect. The effects of weather and the presence of livestock can lead to the deterioration and destruction of structures and stone field walls. Rural landscapes are also threatened. In an effort to monetize their empty land, absentee

[5] Damian Shiels, "Place versus memory: forgetting Ireland's sites of independence?," in Lisa Godson & Joanna Brück, eds., *Making 1916* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2015), 223,224.

owners might opt to lease formerly cultivated land to lumber concerns, changing the face of the landscape. Likewise, infrastructure development, such as roads and wind farms, might forever alter the area. In the eastern part of County Cork, Clonmult is instructive in illustrating the danger other sites face.

On February 20, 1921, British forces attacked a farmhouse near Clonmult, in East County Cork. At the time, members of the IRA Cork No. 1 Brigade flying column were using the location as a safe house. The action, described in chapter one, resulted in the deaths of twelve of the IRA column. Two more members were executed after trial. Following the attack, the British burned the farmhouse down to its foundations.

Fig. 19. The Clonmult Memorial. (photo courtesy of Damian Shiels)

A memorial placed within the farmhouse's foundations commemorates the event. Even here, though, we should recognize that the attack and subsequent battle took place over a wider range of the landscape. Eyewitness reports note the use of the farm's hedgerows, fields, and outbuildings during the fighting. One of the outbuildings is particularly significant in that it was here that several IRA were summarily executed after the attack. Site preservation here would include this entire landscape. Without protection, however, Clonmult has suffered. While much of the landscape is still intact, the outbuilding that was the location of executions was torn down several years ago for a more modern barn.[6]

Unfortunately, Clonmult illustrates all too clearly the dangers that threaten these rural historic sites. The memorial at Clonmult gets large numbers of visitors every year, yet the site itself is afforded no protection. The memorial is taken care of, cleaned and landscaped with flowers, but the important outbuilding was razed without a word from the government or the community. Neglect and deterioration play prominent roles in the destruction of rural historic landscapes, but apathy and a disconnect between memorialization and preservation are just as dangerous.

Needless to say, memorials have their place in remembrance and commemoration. In many cases, memorials are a perfectly acceptable method of marking a site. Such cases might include places where the original structures or landscape have been destroyed or drastically changed. Additionally, they might include smaller, less significant sites.

---

[6] Damian Shiels, "Place versus memory: forgetting Ireland's sites of independence?," 220.

Memorials in conjunction with site preservation are also desirable. Eventually, for the preservation of War of Independence sites to be broadly successful, we must confront, and mitigate, disconnect between memorialization and preservation.

Urban landscapes can face similar dangers to rural landscapes, including neglect and deterioration, but they are much more likely jeopardized in other ways. Development is the leading danger in an urban context. Changes in preferred architectural styles, gentrification, and urban renewal are all potential threats to a city's historic fabric. The review below of the Moore Street story from the previous chapter chillingly illustrates the forces occasionally mustered against preservation.

In April 1916, Irish forces evacuated the burning General Post Office, a building they had occupied for a week during Easter. Around 300, including several of the Irish leadership, evacuated north, into a warren of alleys and short lanes. Under constant fire from British troops, the Irish battled their way to a row of terrace houses on the east side of Moore St. After spending two days trapped in these houses, the Irish forces surrendered to the British.

In 2007, government officials gave three of the terrace houses National Monument status. In 2010, developers announced plans to demolish the blocks around Moore Street for a new shopping/entertainment complex. Faced with the destruction of an important heritage site, a group comprised of descendants of the Rising began a years long effort to preserve the battlefield and have it named a National Monument. Though the developer has agreed to integrate the existing National Monument structures into the development, both they and the Irish government have resisted efforts to extend National

Monument status to the surrounding neighborhood, a move that the Irish government calls "a bridge too far,"[7] meaning that it stretched preservation too broadly. As of this writing, the case is making its way through the court system.

As noted above, migration from rural areas has helped to create a housing shortage in urban Ireland. Officials estimate that by 2040, the Irish population will increase by one million people. To keep pace, Ireland will need to construct around 30,000 new homes each year.[8] Realistically, some of the new homes will be constructed in areas of urban renewal, where older, substandard housing has been torn down.

The long-term effects of rural flight and urban renewal can be disastrous to heritage preservation. Unless the heritage sector takes drastic measures, Ireland stands to lose a significant number of historic sites, sites that, so far, they don't even know exist. It needs to be reiterated that, to date, no one has undertaken an official, nationwide survey of the existing War of Independence landscape.

Building consensus for the preservation of Moore Street, and similar significant places associated with the War of Independence, will not succeed from a top down strategy. Support has to emerge from the effected neighbourhoods and communities. Strategic engagement in the goals and process of designation and preservation is a must.

Stakeholder cooperation is particularly important in surveys of this size. Including the community serves several purposes. It can help build awareness of the project and its

---

[7] *Irish Times,* Dec. 19, 2017.
[8] *Irish Times*, Jan. 3, 2018.

importance. Engagement allows stakeholders a chance to have a voice in how their heritage assets are used or interpreted. Community volunteers, properly guided, can fill gaps in project manpower. Finally, including community members helps to leverage local knowledge and memory concerning the locations and history of potential survey sites. Project members should work closely with the community. Stakeholders should be involved in most, if not all, stages of the project. After all, we are looking at their story.

Fig. 19. Community members listen to Damian Shiels and the author at a lecture in the Midleton Library. (photo by Author)

In my experience, nothing can bring public awareness to a project like community engagement. Participating stakeholders are eager to tell others about a project and in this

era of social media, a few Facebook posts can have the reach of a newspaper article. Nevertheless, local and regional traditional media have a substantial role to play. Interviews with volunteers can help a community understand the project's importance as well as its potential benefits.

Community engagement is more than recruiting volunteers for project work. All community members, whether or not they participate in a project, are stakeholders, with vested interests in a project's outcome. They have invested time and money in their neighborhoods, and they deserve a voice in the process. Public meetings, lectures, and forums are the best way to get stakeholder input on a project or its ultimate goals. [9]

Any organization undertaking a public history project, be it a historic structure, cemetery, or landscape survey, or any other medium or large scale project faces some immediate challenges such as budget and staffing. Unfortunately, heritage preservation costs money. In spite of this, there are ways to somewhat mediate the expense of some projects, one of which is to utilize community volunteers. Properly trained and supervised, volunteers can be a valuable manpower resource.

By utilizing volunteers in various capacities, we can tap in to their expert knowledge of the area, its residents, and its history. Training volunteers to conduct field work in their community can benefit a survey, likewise, so can placing volunteers in charge of gathering information or tips from the at large population.

---

[9] Andrew Hurley, *Beyond Preservation: Using Public History to Revitalize Inner Cities* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2010).

CHAPTER IV:

PROJECT SCOPE AND DEVELOPING A METHODOLOGY

As my colleague, Damian Shiels, and I worked through the planning for the identification and interpretation of the contested landscape of the Irish Revolution, we discussed the need and context of a survey. As public historians use several different types of surveys in their work, we understood the necessity of being precise about the goals and methodology of this survey. After all, we were entering an uncharted and potentially controversial new area. I had earlier carried out surveys that focused on the details. When I took part in the Rutherford County survey of historic cemeteries, for example, one of our goals was to locate and inventory African American cemeteries that previous surveyors ignored. Additionally, we used the Esri ArcMap GIS platform to map over 800 county cemeteries.

Another earlier experience was working with an architectural/historical survey form created and administered by the Tennessee State Historic Preservation Office. Created exclusively for structural surveys, this form includes a wide variety of details for building examinations. This form includes interior and exterior elements like design features such as roof-type, architectural style, and decorative elements. There is also a section for an evaluation of the buildings physical condition such as the roof, walls, foundation, etc. Usually around five pages in length, the SHPO form is comprehensive in its detail.

Finally, in some of my prior work with the Center for Historic Preservation on historic structure or landscape studies, particularly the Tatham House in North Carolina, I understood in that context of the need for field researchers to take measurements, drawings, and collect other data on the site. The Tatham House is located in Andrews, in south west North Carolina. Its original construction dates to around 1834 and it has remained in the family for nearly 200 years.[1] Our job was to write a historic structure survey for the family to assist them in deciding their course of action with the house. The family wished to conserve the structure and open it as a local attraction or house museum. Our structure survey would help answer important questions over whether or not the house could be saved.

In 2015, with the cooperation of the NC State Historic Preservation Office, the Center for Historic Preservation was asked to complete a historic structure report for the house. Originally a one and a half story, two pen dog-trot log cabin, the house was altered several times, including walling in the central breezeway. At one point covered with wood siding, much of the siding had been removed, returning the structure to its log appearance. At the time, the house had been empty for several years and was in an advanced state of disrepair and in danger of complete collapse.

The building is historic for more than its age. The Tatham family was one of the first white families to settle in what was still, in 1834, Cherokee territory. Later, members of the family were responsible for much of the new road construction in the area. In 1838,

[1] Amy Kostine, "Tatham House History," Tatham House File, Center for Historic Preservation.

in preparation for the Cherokee removal, General Winfield Scott commissioned James Tatham to survey and construct a road from Fort Delaney, in Andrews, to Fort Montgomery, in present-day Robbinsville, North Carolina. This road was the first leg of the Trail of Tears in the area.[2]

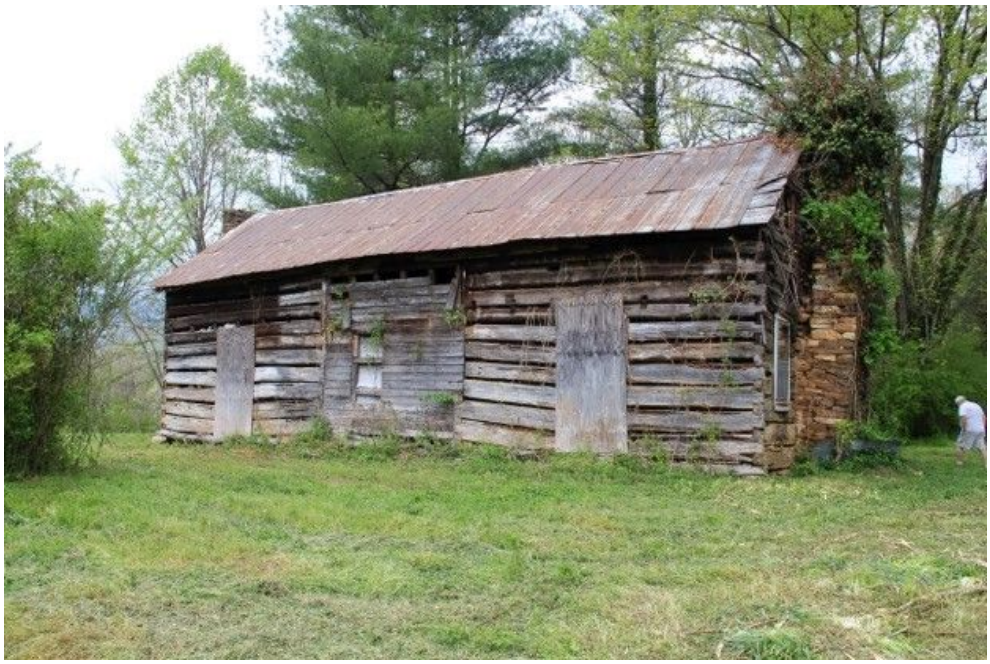


Fig. 20. The Tatham House. (photo courtesy of the MTSU Center for Historic Preservation)

Ultimately, our experience with the Tatham House was short lived. The property belonged to multiple family members with different ideas. While one group pushed for the building's rescue, others felt the property could be best utilized without the building.

[2] Ibid.

Eventually, the family broke contact with CHP and the North Carolina state government authorities. A copy of the report is available at the Center for Historic Preservation in Murfreesboro, Tennessee.

While Shiels and I discussed our approach to the project, we decided to go in a different direction. Before we could argue for the preservation of Irish Revolution sites, we needed some understanding of the range of historic properties and landscapes associated with the conflict. We developed a survey tool, in the parlance of recent historic preservation practice, a "reconnaissance" survey tool, that would largely be a visual survey based on a "boots on the ground" field study and discussions with community members. The survey sought to verify and count the location and number of historic properties sites associated with the War for Independence in a specific area.

Since many of these sites would be structures, our objective was to highlight as well the role the landscape played in the war. Our sources speak, of course, of the dwellings, barracks, warehouses, and other buildings where they undertook their operations. They also, however, describe the roadways, fields, hedges, waterways, and the natural locations that further served as battlegrounds. Any honest appraisal of existing War of Independence sites should include the entire landscape, natural and man-made.

My own experience with multiple site field surveys begins in 2010 with the Rutherford County (TN) Historic Structure Survey. I was hired as a member of one of two field work teams for the project, undertaken as a cooperative between the Rutherford County Archives and MTSU's Center for Historic Preservation. In one sense, our project was straightforward as we were working off a similar survey conducted in 1979-1980.

Because of this, we already had addresses, photographs, and structure survey sheets. As Rutherford County had undergone a high rate of growth over the past couple decades, our goal here was to ascertain how much of this earlier historic fabric in the county survived. Additionally, we hoped to create a digital map of these sites throughout the county using GPS and GIS technology.

Fig. 21. Old City Cemetery Murfreesboro and adjacent neighborhood. (photo by Author)

In the field, we carried an array of equipment, some technical, some not so technical. We navigated with a set of US Geological Survey quad topographic maps. The location of each house was marked on the maps based on the information provided from the previous survey. In general, this worked well except on those occasions roads had changed and the streets were renumbered. We also carried a laptop equipped with 3G

capability. In the field, we found the ability to use Google Maps particularly valuable in aiding navigation, especially in those instances where roads or numbering had changed during the last thirty years. Google maps afforded us the capacity to virtually "drive" to a particular house and compare it with the 1980 site photograph stored in the laptop's file. Unfortunately, 3G dropped out in a number of rural areas, a problem that really affected our GPS unit.

In some ways, my next project, the Rutherford County Cemetery Survey, was more ambitious than the structure survey. As before, we were retracing a previous survey. In the early 1970s, members of the Rutherford County Historical Society located and inventoried around 730 county cemeteries. The results were published as a reference book, *Cemeteries and Grave Yards of Rutherford County* which we used as our main source. The new survey, however, had an additional goal. Very few of the previously surveyed cemeteries were African American in origin. We would locate as many African American cemeteries as we could, inventory them, and add them to the overall list of county graveyards.

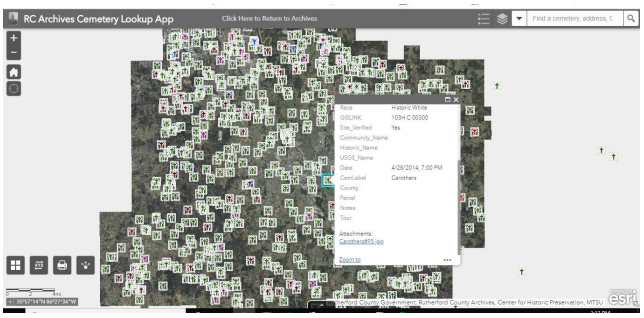


Fig. 22. Screenshot of the Rutherford County Cemetery GIS map. (courtesy of the Rutherford County Archives)

As a student at the Center for Historic Preservation, I learned the importance of community engagement in a project, and this one was no different for a number of reasons. Only appeals to the community could help us find those African American cemeteries, or any other "missing" graveyards. Further, we would need the permission of land owners to access any cemeteries not already publically accessible. Finally, these cemeteries ultimately belong to the community, whose story we are trying to help tell.

Before we began field work, we started a community outreach campaign. We first made an announcement on the archives' Facebook page, explaining the project and how community members can help. We asked if they might know of any cemeteries on their property or in their neighborhood. In all cases, from the Facebook page to newspaper articles, we added contact information. In those cases where we had addresses, locations, and probable locations for cemeteries, we sent letters to property owners, again, explaining the project and asking for permission to either meet the owner or to enter their property to find the site.

In addition to the Facebook query and the letter campaign, project head John Lodl, the Rutherford County archivist, filmed a short informational piece to run on the county government's local access television channel and website. In the piece, again, Lodl publicized the project and asked for community help, giving the contact name and number. Videos from the access channel are also posted on the county YouTube channel. In this way several people shared John's video piece on their own Facebook pages, increasing the clip's reach.

After field work began, we were accompanied one day by a reporter and photographer from the local newspaper. The resulting article and pictures illustrated our work and showed the public exactly what we were doing. The article brought the project to the public in a way a simple post on Facebook couldn't. It was very successful and led to numerous contacts and several new cemetery finds.

The article highlighted pictures of myself and my field partner, Catherine Hawkins. As a result, we were recognized often as we went about our work. Many people were curious about the project and frequently asked questions about some of the cemeteries we surveyed. Most people would ask about the best way to care for their cemetery, or perhaps ask how they might find an organization willing to clean up a long-neglected burying ground.

At least once or twice a week, we would encounter people who had information on graveyards in their area or neighborhood. Several times these tips led to the "discovery" of a cemetery not on our list. Community engagement was working. Nevertheless, not everyone we met or contacted was happy about the project.

Even though our letter campaign to land owners was successful, with a 90% response rate, some people had issues with the project. Most of those who did not reply might have done so for a variety of reasons, but several of our responses were outright refusals for us to visit their property. Even in the field we would occasionally meet people who questioned the project's motives.

Most of those who objected tended to be suspicious of a government entity (we were using a marked county vehicle) doing surveys of this type. They were afraid the county might possibly try to take their land for some reason, or that, since there was a historic cemetery on their property, somehow their property rights were going to be diminished. Preservationists see the same sort of complaints when dealing with National Register sites. The public gives NR status much more power than it really has. In the end, after careful conversation, we were able to bring some of these people around so we could finish our job.

In the field, our process changed somewhat in the years since the structure survey. We still used maps. In this case, however, we used USGS topographic maps which included the location of many of the cemeteries. The USGS system broke the county into quads, smaller territories than the ones we used for the structure survey, when we broke the county into four equal quarters. For the cemetery project, we began in the northern part of the county and worked our way south, through each quad map. We chose to use older quad maps, from the 1930s and the 1940s, because they contained the highest number of cemeteries. Consequently, our task was occasionally made more difficult because of the intervening county growth such as new roads, subdivisions, interstates, and industry.

Fig. 23. Field training for the cemetery survey with Rutherford County GIS tech, Bethany Gwen Hall. (photo courtesy of John Lodl)

The technology we carried also changed significantly. Rather than a GPS unit and a laptop, we scaled down to a simple iPhone. The phone was 3G enabled and loaded with the Esri Arc GIS program. Again, this allowed us to transmit location information to the server, but, for the first time we could also check the results, i.e. the county wide map, in real time. Like before, we tended to lose signal in the rural areas of the county. If that happened, we would save the sites and download them later.

By project's end we accomplished a considerable amount of work. We visited over eight hundred cemeteries in the county, inventorying those missing from the previous survey. Most of these were historical African American cemeteries. We again produced an interactive GIS map housed on the Rutherford County Archives website containing photographs, location, and other pertinent information on each cemetery.

Additionally, we produced a published driving tour brochure highlighting representative and interesting historic cemeteries throughout the county. We limited the tour to fifty cemeteries, trying to choose those with the most historic, scenic, or architectural value. A few factors made the task more difficult. We had to choose from those places already accessible to the public. Second, there needed to be sufficient parking either at the cemetery, or within close walking distance. And finally, either the cemetery itself, or some of the people buried there, needed to be significant in the county's history. Considering the county's size, we divided it into quadrants, each with 12-15 sites. If one did not wish to drive the long tour, the quadrant system offered four shorter, but equally interesting variations, easily drivable in an afternoon. We published the tour as a hard copy booklet and in digital form on the Rutherford County Archives website.

While other survey types require the participation of trained professionals, the visual survey is rather simple in design and execution, allowing for greater community participation. The goal of the visual survey is to see, verify, and photograph a structure or site. If possible, those in the field might give an initial condition assessment based on

visual observation. If any additional information is needed, professional members of the project team can go back into the field to collect that data.

Such a survey can be a valuable tool in preservation/ interpretation efforts. For instance, structure surveys can reveal areas of historic interest within a community. This information is important to developers and government officials as they seek to balance new development and the maintenance of a community's historic fabric. It also allows the investigation of historic trends in urban development, migration, and other aspects of urban and suburban culture.

Organization is the key to a successful survey project. To maximize efficiency, the project team must maintain clear boundaries of responsibility from the project leader down to field teams and data entry people. Organization, however, depends on a clear, concise plan of operation, beginning with the decision for the project scope and continuing through the development of a methodology. Simply put, the project scope should outline exactly what you wish to accomplish. This goal could be something as simple as surveying all the structures of a specific age or older in a pre-defined area just to have a count of, say, potential historic structures. It could also include something much more complex including detailed schematics, archaeology, Geographical Information Systems, or other digital mapping or data systems. "Methodology" means those procedures put in place that allow for the collection of data and project completion. Everything from survey forms to training to transportation in the field are included under the rubric of methodology.

The scope of the project should be clearly defined before developing a methodology. In most cases, the project scope will be limited by the research question. For the Landscapes of Revolution project, our research question was simple. How much of the Irish War of Independence landscape still existed. While a national survey to answer this question was off the table due to its sheer scale, we felt we might be able to form some kind of idea of a nationwide percentage by surveying a much smaller area. In the end, we decided to restrict our efforts to the eastern part of County Cork.

As our project scope always included a vigorous community engagement element, we had to consider this in our methodology. We anticipated much of our field work being conducted by a volunteer public, so the field paperwork needed to be relatively simple to understand and fill out. Again, our goal for this phase of the project was simply to verify, or "true," the site based on research and community knowledge. To this end, we designed a field work sheet that a volunteer could use with only a couple hours training at a workshop (see appendix).

To design our worksheet, we needed to decide on parameters for site reports. How were we going to define "landscapes?" During the war, both sides used a variety of built structures for various purposes. How were we going to describe them? Here, one might consider designating different structures with different site types. The most obvious would be something like commercial and residential types. As you will see, we chose to distinguish between civilian and military types of structures.

Because most of them would be filled out by community members, we included simple instructions on assessing a structure's condition. First, we asked for the structure's

type and location. This is followed by a brief description of the structure and the event with which it was associated. Next came the buildings condition. Here, we tried to verify that this was the original structure. If not, when (generally) was it replaced? If it was the original structure, we asked for a visual assessment of the building's condition; good, fair, or poor. We concluded the simple 1 ½ page sheet by asking for owner contact information, if available, and references. Could it be verified by photographic, textual, or oral evidence? If so, what evidence is available?

In addition to filling out the survey sheet, we requested that the teams photograph the site. Rather than using cell phones or low quality cameras, we asked our volunteers to use high quality digital cameras. In the workshop we conducted, volunteers were instructed to take two shots of the structure, if possible. They should take one photo from the direct front of the structure, while the other would be from the right-front, allowing us to see the structure's profile. On the sheet, we included our email address for the pictures. It seemed much more efficient to email them.

Site numbers are the easiest way to organize ones findings. Such a number system can easily be inserted into a spreadsheet along with the information gathered in the field report. However, site numbering can get complicated, especially when one is dealing with many sites and multiple teams. If not carefully organized and monitored, the project can find itself facing such problems as repeating site numbers, multiple numbers for one site, missing site numbers, as well as other issues.

One way to help avoid these issues is to divide the survey area into smaller, more reasonable plots according to the estimated number of field teams. Give each plot a letter,

such as “A,” then “B,” etc. From here, the field teams can begin each plot with the number “1,” for a site number 1A and continuing. As each team finishes a plot, simply drop the letters and adopt the next consecutive number from the previous plot. For instance, plot A has 327 sites. When the next plot is finished, final numbering begins at 328.

In September, 2016, I left for my residency, including a six month stay in Ireland. Damian Shiels, an archaeologist with Rubicon Heritage in Midleton, Co. Cork, was my sponsor/mentor. Our research question was clear and concise. How much of the Irish War of Independence landscape survives? We decided to conduct a survey of existing sites in east County Cork. Even though Mr. Shiels hopes to eventually roll out the project on a national scale, we considered East Co. Cork a small enough area in which to develop and test our survey methodology. Still, our area is just a bit smaller than Rutherford Co., and Co. Cork was one of the main areas of activity throughout the War of Independence. This presented us with the potential for a large number of sites of different types. While we could never survey so much territory alone, our goal was to use the community to help identify and, in many cases, give us more history of these sites.

After deciding on our survey area, we separated the different kinds of sites we might encounter into “site types” and further, into “sub-types.” Our site types are “conflict” and “support.” Under conflict, the sub-types include “raids,” “ambush,” “execution,” assassination,” etc. Support sub-types would include “safe houses,” “arms caches,” “bomb factories,” and others. This allows us both to quantify and categorize

these sites in an eventual database. For now, we will enter the sites by type and sub-type onto an excel spreadsheet.

Community engagement was vital to our project in more ways than one. First, we were attempting an ambitious survey over a fairly large area with just two people and no budget, and because of his job, Damian could only devote part time work. Second, while the war was not in living memory, it was only a generation or two away from that. Descendants or residents of this area were sure to have some knowledge of the conflict and, oral history is still strong in Ireland, knowledge of many of the locations we were seeking. Finally, even though the war and its aftermath is still controversial, we hoped that the project, and the resulting publicity might start a dialogue over this chapter of history. Recent commemorations of the 1916 Easter Rising, however, had pushed this period back into the spotlight with television programs, books- fiction and non-fiction, newspaper and magazine articles, as well as large numbers of public gatherings, lectures, and remembrance events. Perhaps, then, the time is right to begin a wider conversation including the War of Independence.

We initially envisioned the survey in two different phases. The first phase was driven by community engagement. To this end, we began preparing a multi-purpose methodology. We wanted a relatively simple survey method, one which could not only be used by amateurs, but one which would also be easy to teach and hand on to other potential groups who wanted to conduct their own surveys. I created two types of survey sheets. One of these was a general information sheet for community members to use. It basically asked for location, association with the war, type of site, and a general

statement of condition. It also included an area for the volunteer to cite any information that might prove the site's validity. The second sheet was more detailed, to be used either by Damian and I, or a trained field team. This sheet was for particularly historic sites, or sites which we felt warranted a follow-up visit. I further designed a spreadsheet for data entry and, with the help of Rubicon staff, set the groundwork for a GIS map to serve as a "product" for the public.

Publicity is a key factor in community engagement projects. One must capture the public's interest in a project, and then keep that interest with regular updates on the project's progress. In addition to the press, modern social media affords the cheapest, most efficient way to spread one's message. Platforms such as Facebook, WordPress, and twitter create the potential to reach thousands of people at almost no cost.

As our goal was to reach as many people as possible, we opened a project blog, Twitter account, and Facebook page (https://landscapesofrevolution.wordpress.com/) (https://www.facebook.com/Landscapes-of-Revolution-Archaeology-Project-1616873631950083/). Damian Shiels wrote the initial blog post, describing the project. We tried to update the blog every couple of weeks, but we weren't always successful. Still, we each made regular contributions, notifying the public on various aspects of the project. My own blog contributions include blogs publicizing the lecture (published Nov. 11 2016) and the workshop (published Dec. 6 2016) as well as the workshop follow-up report (Jan. 2 2017). I also published blogs on the John Fenton/Dick Cashman collection of historic Midleton photographs, maps, and written remembrances (Jan. 23 2017) and an

update on our progress in researching the Midleton Ambush locations (Feb. 28 2017 & March 3 2017).

The project Facebook page was linked to the blog. Our Facebook posts would typically provide an abstract of sorts about the blog posts. Damian also linked the Twitter feed to Facebook, posting blog links onto Twitter. Initially, our numbers were small, however, we sent the blog and Facebook links to several local historians as well as posting the Facebook page on our personal pages. Within a couple of weeks of our first post, we received almost one thousand "hits" as well as over one hundred "likes." We also planned a series of lectures and workshops in different communities in the area.

After a couple of weeks field testing our methodology, we turned our attention to compiling kits for training volunteers. These kits contained instructions on how to use the digital sources and fill out the survey sheets, information on how to avoid trespassing, as well as the importance of citing any evidence proving the site.

A public lecture, held on November 17 at the Midleton Public Library, helped to introduce the project to the citizens of East Co. Cork. Around 35 people attended the event, indicating good public interest in the project. Damian's lecture included some of the local War of Independence history, such as the presence of a bomb factory in nearby Knockraha as well as the story of a violent ambush that occurred on Midleton's main street in December, 1920. He also highlighted the project's importance, noting the disappearance of many of these sites due to development or neglect.

Even though a couple of attendees voiced their concerns about the project, in the vein of "Why bring up the past?" the overall response was positive. One respondent commented on the lack of historical knowledge in today's youth.[3] Others welcomed the opportunity to explore their community's past. Many feel that the men who served in the IRA had received little in the way of accolades from the Irish government. These residents believe that saving these sites as historic places is important for the future. This seems to validate our argument that now is the time to conduct this survey, and hopefully begin a dialogue about these events. Those concerned about the project worried mostly that celebrating the IRA might lead to trouble. For some, the events of the Irish Revolution are still too close. A couple of the older gentlemen had fathers who had fought in the conflict.

In mid-December, we held our first workshop for potential volunteers, again at the Midleton Public library. Due to space constrictions at the library, we asked for reservations in advertisements on all our social media platforms, a project Facebook page, blog and twitter account. At the workshop, the 14 attendees learned our survey methodology and filling out the survey forms for each site. We focused much of our effort on the importance of verifying the accuracy of each site through research. Here, we covered the various types of sources, digital or otherwise, that the volunteers might find particularly useful. The online census records end with the 1911 count. Nevertheless, this resource can give us valuable information concerning the living arrangements of many of

[3] This is an issue that is only going to get more controversial as the Irish Government just cut mandatory Irish history classes from all public secondary schools in July, 2018.

the people involved in the war, as well as the addresses of those who had not moved by 1918. The information from the census can be compared with another source, the digitized city and county directories from 1921. Printed before the treaty, the directories provide the names and addresses of not only IRA members, but they identify government officials as well as members of the Royal Irish Constabulary, the Irish police force. This is important because the IRA often raided the houses of RIC officers.

The online site for the Ordnance Survey, the Irish counterpart to the USGS, provides a wealth of historic maps under a program called Geohive, which are overlaid onto current satellite imagery. Geohive provides imagery and statistics on several topics, from environmental information to population, geology, and the economy. The historic maps also include building footprints, allowing us in many cases to compare the early 20th century built landscape with its modern day counterpart.

We struggled over how much to weigh oral tradition in verifying sites. Ireland is seen as a land of story tellers and the oral tradition is still very strong. Generally, people know much of the history of their community. That said, like the game of telephone, we had to confront the possibility that stories change as time goes on. We decided that if oral tradition was the only source for a site, we would mark it, but add it to the separate list for “unverified” sites.

Eyewitness reports, however, are the most valuable resource in our investigations to date. Collected by the British military in the 1940s and 1950s, these reports cover the spectrum of participants, from British military to IRA soldier. Though they were written down 20-30 years after the events they describe, if used critically, they are invaluable to

our research. These reports provided us with most of our locational clues. Participants would typically mention houses belonging to specific people, on a specific road or street. Descriptions of rural activities likewise included mentions of landmarks on or near the site. Additionally, we depend heavily on the Irish Newspaper Database, a digital repository for regional and national newspapers. Local papers frequently added details that are missing from other sources.

Within the next year or so, researchers will have an exciting new tool as the Irish government releases thousands of pension applications online. In the 1930s, the Free Irish government accepted the applications from former Volunteers and IRA soldiers. As part of the process, applicants were required to detail their involvement during the War of Independence in an effort to justify their pension. Many more veterans filled out pension applications than eyewitness reports, so, again, used critically, we have the potential to learn much more about IRA operations, names, and locations, than before.

The December workshop was a success in that our methodology, as we designed it, was simple, concise, and easily understood. A newspaper article in the *East Cork Journal* garnered us a fresh round of publicity. It was an important gathering for other reasons as well. In group discussions following the workshop, we learned the locations of two sites important to the Midleton Ambush story about which Damian had lectured in November. One of these was the sawmill building which served as the IRA headquarters for the operation, while the other was the location of one of the five buildings burned by the British in reprisal for the attack.

The workshop also resulted in the acquisition of a collection of historic Midleton photographs. The photographs were graciously loaned by local resident and workshop attendee John Fenton. Many of the pictures were collected by John's uncle, noted bandleader and local historian, the late Dick Cashman, and they include Cashman's valuable annotations concerning Midleton's historic buildings and people.

While the collection covers about 75 years of Midleton history, several photos represent the town as it was during the War of Independence. These photographs allow us to more easily imagine what Midleton looked like during this pivotal period in history. Of particular importance are two photographs showing a number of people, possibly former IRA, in the yard of the former RIC barracks (the current Garda station), probably very soon after the treaty. Unfortunately, none of the people in the photographs are named and later calls for help proved fruitless.

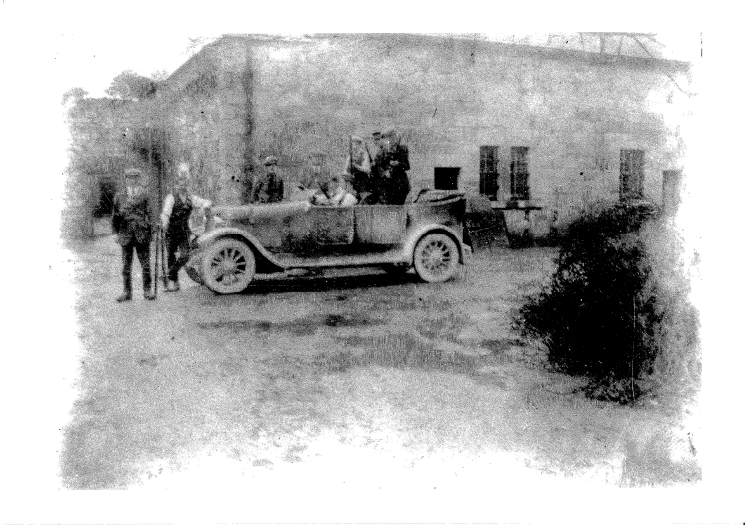


Fig. 24. Armed men, possibly IRA, outside of the RIC Barracks, now the Garda Station in Midleton. (photo courtesy of John Fenton and Dick Cashman)

Another valuable photograph shows the funeral procession of Midleton IRA commander, Diarmuid Hurley on September 14, 1921. We scanned and annotated this collection for inclusion in a possible future database of the material culture of the War of Independence.

The New Year brought some real challenges to Damian and me. An increase in archaeological excavations limited even further the amount of time Damian could dedicate to the project. I continued my research, expanding our area from Midleton to another village about 10 kilometers west, Carrigtwohill. I was successful in discovering new details about the war in Carrigtwohill, and I managed to map several locations. With my limited knowledge of the wider region, however, I could not move much further afield alone. With time running down until my departure, we decided to concentrate on producing a final product for the Midleton sites.

I spent my last few weeks in Ireland documenting Midleton sites, and trying to locate those still unverified. Damian and I agreed that a GIS map documenting all the verified Midleton sites would be an effective product to present to the public. Additionally, we would produce a second, area wide map including all the sites, verified or unverified, we had found so far. This map, however, was not for the public. It would be placed in the project files for future use.

Looking back, I think maybe Shiels and I were a bit too ambitious in our early assessment of what we could get done. Still, in six months, we accomplished much. The methodology we developed laid the foundation for future study and analysis.

Additionally, we brought some much-needed attention to the plight of the War of Independence landscape and the potential dangers of development and neglect in destroying this important heritage. The large number of people who contacted us, attended our public meetings, and/or engaged with our social media outlets showed that there is substantial public interest in saving and preserving many of these sites. By the time I flew back to America, our Landscapes Facebook page had over 10,000 hits. The response to the social media and good attendance at our public forums proves there are great possibilities for community engagement in this project. The results of our workshop, and the cooperation of the volunteers proves it can work.

As I left Ireland, the project's future is up in the air. Shiels does not have the time to coordinate Landscapes alone, and there is no budget for an employee. Nevertheless, we both consider that Landscapes is not done, just on a hiatus. A project of this size must be adaptable to new ideas. For example, the history department at the University College, Cork has shown an interest in the project, and while any participation will be in the future, we cannot rule out the idea that university colleagues and students might have an important role to play. One idea is that students undertake an oral history project, interviewing the children and grandchildren of those who lived through or participated in the war to investigate if and how stories of the conflict have been passed down through the generations. If the university colleagues were to become involved, they could hold a series of "outreach" events focused on the public bringing in artifacts and material culture from the period. The Fenton collection of photographs is a fine beginning to this effort,

but perhaps other people possess letters, guns, uniforms, or other items associated with the conflict that we might see.

If the project moves forward, communities will then be able to decide how they want to use the information at a local level. Some might commemorate these sites with plaques and some interpretive signage, perhaps written by university historians, while other communities might turn this heritage into a local walking tour. There are, of course, other options, including regional driving tours and guided walking tours through a "War of Independence" landscape. Ultimately, though, we hope this project will help to inform the Irish people themselves about a subject long memorialized, but whose locations are neglected by the heritage sector. In the process, some of these communities might benefit from the increased tourist traffic as both native and foreigner alike learn about the men and events of the Irish War of Independence from a local perspective.

In a nation where its own history is, at best, an elective for a senior certification, at worst, not in the curriculum at all, this type of public history is indispensable. The recognition and interpretation of some of these War of Independence sites, even on a local level, would make this period of the nation's history accessible in a way that books do not. It is one thing to read about the Midleton ambush, but, with the aid of signage and location markers, walking the actual street in an urban landscape that has not changed a lot in the past century, can bring the story to new life.

Regional driving tours bringing together numbers of War of Independence sites can enhance and expand the story told by memorials dedicated to individuals or companies. "Battlefields enable visitors to visualize conflict in a way that shrines cannot.

Stone monuments etched with the names of lives spent … belie the traumas of war."[4] Such tours can give context to the written word, offering a sense of distance, landscape, privations, and the hardship men on both sides faced. Preservation offers a way for those who fought to be more than just pictures and names written in a book or carved on a memorial.

Fig. 25. Midleton's Main Street Looking South Towards the Ambush Site. (courtesy of John Fenton and Dick Cashman)

[4] George Boge and Margie Holder Boge, *Paving Over The Past* (Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 1993), 8.

CHAPTER V:

EXPERIENTIAL LEARNING

Shiels and I knew the project was experimental. No one had attempted to survey Irish War of Independence sites, much less survey the landscape on which much of the fighting took place. With that in mind, we anticipated a certain amount of problem solving. Things occasionally break down, from technological issues to personal problems and beyond. For all that we did accomplish, Landscapes had its share of problems and setbacks. This chapter explores our efforts at troubleshooting these problems. Some of these issues arose from circumstances beyond our control, while others, even though we should have seen them coming, took us by surprise. Nevertheless, we had to face, and, if possible, solve each one.

On reflection, our two biggest challenges ended up being manpower and time constraints, so we will discuss these first. Next comes cultural awareness, but even in a culture so like our own, the project's speedbumps can be surprising. Finally, the chapter will conclude with a discussion of smaller issues, those unforeseen variables that are both frustrating and headache inducing.

Designing and planning a project this big takes commitment and many hours even with a dedicated team. Creating forms, preliminary field work, research, putting together workshop and lecture materials, and maintaining social media are all time consuming tasks. Unfortunately for our project, circumstances intervened and Shiels was only able to work on the project part time, leaving the author as the sole full-time staffer. A project of

this size needs at least two full-time staffers, especially in the planning stages. They should be professionally trained public historians with specialist skills to match the project such as, in our case, perhaps a landscape archaeologist or an architectural historian. Such a division of labour would decrease planning time, a plus for time sensitive projects. It would also allow for a quicker, more efficient, system of checks as each staffer can run his or her work by their fellow staff member.

In our case, our six month time limit created some problems that might have been solved with an extra person. In addition to developing a methodology, I had to continue my own research into the war's history, as well as familiarizing myself with the geographical area in which I would work. Shiels, for his part, had to maintain his full time position with Rubicon, working on the project in his spare time. Lacking my own car, I relied on public transport and maps to explore the region. Unfortunately, the bus system could not take me to the more rural places mentioned in our sources.

Though often eschewed for more urban work, rural areas were important to our project. More often than not public history is practiced in towns and cities. Here we will find the neighborhood surveys, the historic districts, and preservation projects that are our bread and butter. There is much less work taking place in the "country," although the Center for Historic Preservation at MTSU has long participated in a Century Farm project mostly relegated to rural Tennessee. For Landscapes, rural Ireland is where much action took place. Raids and ambushes, not to mention hideouts and weapons caches are often found in the countryside, away from the cities and larger towns.

We do, however, have a comparable area of study in the United States, the American Civil War. The Tennessee Civil War GIS Project, and interactive GIS map detailing every engagement in the state, is an initiative sponsored by the Tennessee State Library and Archives and the Tennessee Civil War National Heritage Area which is managed by the Center for Historic Preservation. A quick study of this map (https://tnmap.tn.gov/civilwar/) highlights the large number of engagements that took place in rural Tennessee.

While most of the "major" Tennessee battles like Nashville, Chattanooga, and Stones River took place in or near towns and cities (Shiloh is an obvious exception), the map shows that the war was mainly a rural affair fought by relatively small numbers of troops in each action. Further, guerilla activity played a large role in the violence seen in areas of the state, especially East Tennessee, a major region of Union sympathizers, as well as states bordering the Confederacy, such as Kentucky.[1] In many cases, the violence and local nature of guerilla action, basically neighbor against neighbor, caused resentment and anger palpable years after the war.

[1] Noel C. Fisher, *War at Every Door* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1997)

Fig. 26. The Champ Ferguson Grave Site, White County, Tennessee. (photo courtesy of the MTSU Center for Historic Preservation)

Nevertheless, the transit system did give me access to several of the towns and villages where some sites are located. The topographic maps I used filled in many of the gaps left by the limits of public transport. Not only did they show all the townlands and villages, but the maps also contained the structural footprints of all area buildings and structures. The topographical representation of the landscape proved useful in identifying geographical features described in the textual evidence.

Success, however, does not necessarily depend on the number of personnel. Six months is a short turnaround time for any project, and Shiels and I designed an ambitious program, surveying an entire region. We knew there would be problems. Some of these were foreseen, other issues took us by surprise. It is easier, though, to scale back a project then it is to add to it, and eventually we decided that we were just going to concentrate on completing the Midleton ambush and a couple of the surrounding towns.

Including our prep work, though, we accomplished much more. In addition to our survey sample we produced a spreadsheet detailing most of the actions in East County Cork, who was involved in each, and their locations per the sources. We also mapped those locations using the Ordnance Survey topographic maps. We created files for various units and built personnel charts for the region's different IRA companies. In essence, we built a foundation that we or others might follow if the project continues. That seems like a success in itself.

Time is also a factor in community involvement. As important as our community volunteers are, they do have their own lives to lead and we should be adaptable to their needs as far as possible. Most volunteers will be amenable to a regular time or schedule. Some, however, will want to participate, even though they might not have a schedule perfect for us. In that case, we should not balk if we can only hold an occasional meeting or information session after "office hours." Likewise, community members that simply want to pass us information will typically do so in the evenings, when it is convenient for them. In that case, any contact information should include an available number for the evening hours. One valuable lesson gained about the community engagement strategy is that it takes time, patience, and commitment.

One must also be aware of time in cultural terms. What I mean by that is, the cultural calendar can significantly affect a project's momentum. In our case, after an exciting October and November, highlighted by the large numbers who attended our public programs, December was going to be a very slow month. Preparations for Christmas, including shopping, religious observances, and socializing, meant that

volunteers had little time left to participate in Landscapes. As the month progressed, our project started losing momentum. Visits to our social media outlets dropped, and we received fewer emails expressing interest in the project.

In spite of the holidays, Shiels and I moved forward. In mid-December, we held our first workshop for potential volunteers, again at the Midleton public library. Due to space constrictions, through our social media outlets we asked interested parties to make reservations for the workshop in advance. Reservations make sense even in those workshop situations where space is not a pressing concern. They naturally limit the number of people attending an event, keeping the class size manageable for instruction. If demand is high, simply add extra workshops.

The rest of the month, Shiels and I continued conducting research on the eyewitness statements, adding possible locations and IRA personnel to our spreadsheet. I moved ahead with my examination of the regional countryside using Google maps and the OSI topographic maps. When I had a possible site identified, I would mark it on the map for further investigation.

Even though the drop in community interest initially surprised us, we eventually realized the cause. By continuing our own work, we felt we would be in a much stronger position when interest picked up again after the holiday. Don’t give up in these cases. Identify the problem and figure a way to work around it. If necessary, redouble your public outreach, all the while continuing with your own work. Inconvenient they may be, but such setbacks are usually short-term.

January saw an uptick in public interest as we figured it would. Nevertheless, an increase in the firm's archaeological excavations further limited the time that Shiels could dedicate to the project. After consulting with Shiels, I continued my research, expanding my area from Midleton and its environs to Carrigtwohill, a village a few kilometers west of Midleton. I was successful in discovering new details about the war in Carrigtwohill, including a robbery at the local train station, and I managed to map several new locations.

By the end of January, we had about six weeks of project time left. We had accomplished much in setting up a foundation with which the actual survey could continue. As of yet, however, other than the public lectures, workshop, and the donation of an important document and photograph collection, we had little community engagement. On one hand, this was fine since we were not quite ready to send volunteers into the field. On the other hand, if we were ever going to consider continuing the project at some point, we would have to regain that public support that makes community involvement sustainable. We needed some sort of "finished product" we could use to illustrate our goal to future volunteers.

We decide to concentrate on using GIS to map the Midleton ambush as a final product. This map would track the movements of both the IRA and the British/RIC before and during the ambush, and for the first time, we would identify those houses in town burned during the first "official" reprisals. Our original plan called for a GIS map of all the sites, so a "practice" run using the ambush as a subject would be a good trial for later work. Such a map would also be a win for the community engagement aspect of our project. Several significant sites associated with the ambush, including the site of a saw-

mill the IRA used as a headquarters during the action, were pointed out to us by volunteers during a walk around Midleton after our December workshop. At that time, neither Shiels nor I had been able to locate some of these sites.

When we decided to pursue the map as our product, we had to take stock of our knowledge of the events of the ambush. With the additional information provided by our volunteers, which we verified by research and further discussion with the community, Shiels and I felt we had a good account of the actual ambush. Nevertheless, to tell the entire story of the ambush and its tragic aftermath, we needed more research into the reprisal locations in town.

Earlier work informed us that three houses in Midleton were burned or ransacked during the first official British reprisals during the Irish War of Independence. We had an idea where a couple of these houses were located, but this we needed to verify in addition to finding the other house. For instance, eyewitness accounts note that one of the lookouts was stationed at house near the Midleton Arms on the same side of the street, but none of them specified a location.

Newspaper accounts, which covered the reprisals extensively, never mentioned specific street addresses. They did, however, include post-reprisal photographs of the structures. From here, a bit of field work was necessary to compare the photos with existing buildings on the street. A short afternoon excursion allowed us to positively identify the structures, all of which are extant. Cross referencing the buildings with addresses from the 1921 County Cork Postal guide revealed that sometime in the intervening years, town or postal officials had renumbered the street. Beginning with a

known location, we were able to re-reference the street numbers, giving us the modern addresses of these buildings.

Initially we wanted to include the rural victims of the British reprisals in our map. After all, the tactics the IRA used, hit and run guerilla ambushes, brought much of the war out of the city and into Cork's rural farmsteads. Some of these farms also served the IRA in support capacities such as safe houses and providing storage for weapons. It is easy to see why the British would commit reprisals against suspect rural citizens.

Newspapers from the period gave us addresses for several of these farms. We found, however, that at some point the government had moved from a system of numbering rural roads to naming them. Our maps, lacking even the old numbers, were useless. Finding these locations will take concentrated field work using maps and other sources, something for which we had no time. Eventually, however, we hope to be able to locate those rural farms devastated by the reprisals.

As a finished product, the map represents a few "firsts." This effort is the first time that the ambush and subsequent reprisals have been detailed on a map. It is also the first time that historians have definitively identified Midleton's urban reprisal sites. The map tells a story, it adds to our understanding of the ambush by finally visualizing an important event in Midleton's, if not Ireland's history. The discovery of the location of the mill, used as a command post by the IRA, as well as the discovery of the reprisal sites help to fill in a gap in the overall historiography of Ireland's War of Independence, as well as adding another layer to that conflict's history in East County Cork.

Tourism indeed is a factor in Midleton, unlike many smaller Irish towns. Midleton is the home of the Jameson whisky distillery, and town for years has been a popular tourist destination. In 2015, around 125,000 people visited the distillery.[2] Unfortunately, the town itself does not benefit from these tourists as the overwhelming majority do not leave the distillery grounds to explore other parts of the community. In our initial plans, the map is a first step towards a larger project in Midleton (See map in Appendix 2).

Our goal for Midleton is to help increase foot traffic through the town from those who visit the distillery. Midleton is a quiet place, but it does have much to offer. Devoted foodies can find a fantastic meal at the Sage restaurant, which sources all of its ingredients from within a 15 kilometer radius of the town. Midleton, in fact, sits in the middle of an increasingly popular "foodie district," just a few kilometers from the famous Ballymaloe cooking school. Similar locally sourced restaurants in town include the popular Farmgate and Ferrit & Lee. With Midleton's proximity to the fishing vessels at Ballycotton, Farmgate offers fresh seafood as well as other locally sourced fare.

History, however, is Midleton's biggest selling point. Eventually, by working with the town council, we hope to establish a historic walking tour of Midleton. The tour would focus on the town's War of Independence history. The ambush site, of course, but also the graves of the Clonmult victims in the Catholic cemetery. Aside from the War of Independence, Midleton has other historical attractions. One of these is the Choctaw

[2] http://www.failteireland.ie/Footer/Media-Centre/Top-Visitor-Attractions-in-2015-Revealed.aspx

sculpture, dedicated in 2015. The sculpture, a series of silver feathers arranged in a bowl shape, celebrates the Native American nation's donation of food and money to the Irish during the Famine of 1845-1849, despite the fact the Choctaw themselves were suffering their own famine.

Fig. 27. The Choctaw Monument in Midleton, Ireland. (photo by Author)

Even though we chose a map as or "product," we could easily have chosen any number of things in its place. We were only limited by time and imagination. Time, in fact, was our biggest constraint. Taking into consideration my imminent departure, and the increasing pace of Shiels' "day job," we were not sure when, or if, the project would continue without us. We wanted to bring this phase to some satisfying conclusion. A conclusion we could show to others to say, yes, this is possible, even with limited

resources. We considered, for instance, going ahead and mapping the sites we located and placed on our spread sheet, but decided against it because we wanted something more complete. In that same vein, we might have forgone a finished product and continued searching for those rural reprisal sites.

CONCLUSION

From its beginnings, the Landscapes of Revolution project was a leap of faith. Our question was simple enough. How much of the Irish War of Independence landscape survives? We could not survey the entire country, but we could start with East County Cork. To do this, we knew we needed community support and, most importantly, help. With limited resources, could a community engagement centered group accomplish a regional survey of an endangered landscape? Would the community be interested in undertaking such a project? We had no idea how they would respond.

In her article, "The Politics of Community Heritage: Motivations, Authority, and Control," Elizabeth Crooke compares interpretive exhibits at two museums in Northern Ireland, one with state participation and one without. She analyzes community engagement within the exhibits looking at issues of motivation and authority and how each of these change with the varying stakeholder groups.[1] Our project never got to the interpretive stage, we were only gathering information, yet we were aware of those issues

[1] Elizabeth Crooke, "The politics of community heritage: motivations, authority, and control," in *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, vol. 16, nos. 1-2 (Jan.-March, 2010), pg. 27.

that motivated community members to engage with the project, mainly ancestral participation in the war, an interest in history, or a strong belief in the justness of the Irish cause.

Only a couple of decades outside of living memory, the Irish War of Independence is still a contentious issue driven in many cases by political and religious fault lines, but in general, our project was met with complete support. It was only during a short trip to Northern Ireland that I felt, more than witnessed, any negative reaction to the project. Nevertheless, given the contested nature of the subject, had we reached the point of helping these communities interpret the information, to achieve balance and historical accuracy, to tell the WHOLE story as much as possible, issues of motivation, authority, and control would have played a larger part.

We can include in this positive response not just our day to day interactions with the public, but also the response to our social media. Our Facebook page, for instance, has thousands of "hits" and over four hundred "likes." Similarly, the attendance at our public lecture and workshop exceeded our expectations. The lecture was standing room only, with over sixty audience members. Reservations for the work shop, where we limited attendance to twenty people, filled up quickly on a first come, first serve basis, and we had twice as many requests as we did seats for the workshop. As this is the first time anyone has attempted such a survey in Ireland, it would be a test case for any future surveys of the War of Independence landscape.

In many ways, East County Cork was the perfect location for a survey of this type. County Cork was the scene of much of the war's conflict, including the famous

Kilmichael ambush, the burning of Cork City on December 11, 1920, and the first official British reprisals against citizens in January 1921 in Midleton, a small town in East Cork. Cork saw more violence than most other areas of Ireland and the East Cork IRA Brigade was particularly active in attacking Royal Irish Constabulary barracks and British military patrols. One East Cork town, Queenstown (now Cobh), was the site of a substantial British military base as well as the location of one of the world's largest natural harbours, constantly busy with British naval traffic as well as trade. Tempting targets, indeed.

In "The Contested Interpretation of Heritage Landscapes in Northern Ireland," Brian Graham, writing before the Belfast Agreement, examines the Ulster Folk and Transport Museum and its role in creating a "Northern Irish" identity and heritage as opposed to an overall "Irish" heritage which, he argues, has been co-opted by the Republic.[2] One might similarly look at rural Ireland's War of Independence sites and the cultural hegemony of the Irish in interpreting those sites as places of conflict. East Cork includes many British strategic and military sites such as the Port, an aerodrome, and the various forts and bases located in the area. East Cork is perfectly situated to interpret the entire war from multiple perspectives.

The war in East Cork has never been written about or analysed to the extent of that in West Cork. But, then, East Cork does not have associations with Michael Collins and Tom Barry, two of the most notable, and in Barry's case, notorious personalities of

[2] Brian Graham, "The Contested Interpretation of Heritage Landscapes in Northern Ireland," in *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, vol. 2, nos. 1-2 (Jan.-March, 1996), pg. 11.

the war. Collins, born is West Cork, near where he was assassinated in 1923, is, like George Washington in America, almost deified for his roles in the Easter Rising, the War of Independence, and the subsequent Irish Civil War, where he split with his IRA allies. Barry, also a West Corkonian by birth, was a storied commander of the West Cork Flying Column during the war. After, he wrote an adventurous (and some would say self-serving) memoir of his experiences that brought him much fame and recognition. There are no similar personalities in East Cork to help publicize the actions there. Nevertheless, a survey of East Cork sites would be an important addition for historians, developers, the public, and, most important, the government charged with protecting Ireland's heritage.

Early on in my six months in Ireland, my primary role was to develop a methodology that would allow us to carry out the survey. For the roles that Damian Shiels and I would play, this methodology meant consideration of everything from dividing the region to more manageable survey sizes to developing the paperwork, spreadsheets, and research methods we would use. It also meant putting together a training program for community volunteers to do their own survey work. This had to be rigorous enough to collect usable data, but simple enough for members with no survey experience to use after a few hours training.

In terms of full-time staff, I was it, as Damian Shiels, out of necessity, had to work full-time at the archaeological firm, Rubicon Heritage, LLC. Still, he worked on Landscapes at night and weekends, putting in plenty of hours of his own time. As my mentor, Shiels was an invaluable colleague. As an Irish archaeologist who doubles as a respected historian of the Irish in the American Civil War, Shiels understood how my

experience in documenting the Tennessee Civil War and landscape could bring potential value and insight to his endeavors. Shiels was responsible for creating the social media outlets that would allow us to reach the wider community—which took me to new, fruitful avenues of audience engagement. The social media tools included a Twitter account, a project Facebook page, and a blog where we could post small stories from the war, publicize public lectures and meetings, as well as reporting our own progress. The blog garnered numerous comments from readers with each post. The Facebook page allowed us to interact with those who had questions or comments. A few of these were even queries asking how they might get involved.

I depended on the lessons I learned at Middle Tennessee State University's Center for Historic Preservation. I leaned especially on the lessons gleaned from the various projects I worked on during my time at the Center. By the time I went to Ireland, I was experienced in the planning and execution of survey work. In 2010, I was part of the field team for the Rutherford County Historic Structure survey, where I also continued for several months choosing photographs and preparing a spreadsheet for the survey data. In 2014, I led the field work for the Rutherford County Cemetery survey, visiting over 800 cemeteries in the county. Additionally, I worked on the interactive GIS map for the survey as well as helping to assemble a county-wide driving tour of historic local graveyards. I also worked on a much smaller survey of significant African American sites in Maury County for the Center and the Maury County African American Historical Society. This also resulted in the development of a driving tour.

Our goal was to bring to the public's attention the endangered status of these War of Independence sites. Development and neglect are the two biggest factors threatening the war's landscape. While memorials to the fallen dot the countryside, the Irish government is failing in its duty to preserve these sites, and the stories they tell. Aside from a few places associated with the Irish leaders of the war, there are no protected Irish War of Independence sites.

In November we held our first public lecture. Attendance was high and included Dr. Stacey Graham, research professor for the Center for Historic Preservation. In December, Damian and I hosted our first workshop for community volunteers. Again, we had a good turnout, and a walking tour of the Midleton Ambush sites yielded unexpected results as some of the attendees gave us new information about a couple of the as-yet undiscovered locations associated with the ambush. One of the volunteers, John Fenton, would later loan us, and allow us to digitize, a large collection of historic Midleton photographs and historic information collected over years by his uncle, a local historian.

After the new year, time constraints forced us to scale back our survey ambitions. Combining our research with the information we received from community members, we decided to focus our efforts on producing a "product," a GIS map detailing the Midleton ambush. We continued researching War of Independence sites throughout East Cork, however, saving the data for the future.

Looking back on my Irish experience, I can see the success that I thought so elusive at that time. We might not have completed the survey from our initial plan, but we proved that community engagement can produce valuable results. Our finished

product for the ambush was a combination of historical research and community engagement. The numbers responding to our public programs and our social media outlets show the community's interest in helping to preserve this part of the nation's heritage.

Preservation starts with the community, and they need to be part of the plan in any preservation project. We are, after all, helping to tell their story. Engaging fully and deeply with the community is useful and valuable, especially in areas of contested history, with all its nuance and complexity. In 2005, Elizabeth Crooke compared post-Apartheid museums in South Africa to post-Belfast museums Northern Ireland. It is unclear at this time how these communities will interpret our information, whether in a museum, or within the landscapes themselves. What is clear, however, from Crooke's work is the need to proceed deliberately, with participation from all the stakeholders in the community. As she says, "careful critique should be used to expose any partisan or political tendencies and force us to ask what the consequences are for the meaning of history…and heritage."[3]

Likewise, any interpretation should include the War's effect on the non-combatants. How did military activity influence the day-to-day life of the average citizen? Collecting oral histories would be a necessity. Most of all, any interpretation of the war's events must be balanced, avoiding traditional political, social, and religious

[3] Elizabeth Crooke, "Dealing With the Past: Museums and Heritage in Northern Ireland and Cape Town, South Africa," in *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, vol. 11., no.2 (May 2005), pg. 140.

biases. Meeting this standard will require constant dialogue and compromise between and among the community, but it is vital.

In Ireland, the truth is that these War of Independence sites are disappearing only a century after the events that tied them to national history. In another century, they could easily be gone.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources:

Irish Military Archives (MA), Bureau of Military History (BMH). Eyewitness statements. http://www.bureauofmilitaryhistory.ie/index.html (accessed May 07, 2019).

National Archives, Ireland. "Census 1911." http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/ (accessed May 19, 2017).

National Inventory of Architectural Heritage. *An Introduction to the Architectural Heritage of East Cork*. Dublin: Department of the Environment, Heritage And Local Government, 2009.

Ordnance Survey Ireland. "Geohive." Ordnance Survey Ireland. http://map.geohive.ie/mapviewer.html (accessed May 07, 2019).

Newspapers and Periodicals:

Dublin InQuirer

Freeman's Journal

Irish Examiner

Irish Independent

Irish Times

The Liberator

Public Presentations and Programs:

November 2016

December 2016

Secondary Sources:

Appleby, Catrina, Wayne Cocroft, and John Schofield, eds. *The Home Front in Britain: An Archaeological Handbook*. Botham, York: Council for British Archaeology, 2015.

Augusteijn, Joost. Review of *The Irish War of Independence* by Michael Hopkinson. *American Historical Review* 108, no. 4. (Oct. 2003). 1218-1219.

Blight, David W. *Beyond the Battlefield: Race, Memory, and the American Civil War*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002.

_____. *American Oracle: The Civil War in the Civil Rights Era*. Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 2011.

Boge, George and Margie Holder Boge. *Paving Over the Past: A History and Guide to Civil War Battlefield Preservation*. Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 1993.

Brunn, Stephen, ed. *The Changing World Religion Map: Sacred Places, Identities, Practices*. New York: Springer, 2014.

Buttimer, Neil, Colin Rynne, and Helen Guerin. *The Heritage of Ireland*. Cork: The Collins Press, 2000.

Costello, Francis. *The Irish Revolution and Its Aftermath, 1916-1923*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2003.

Crooke, Elizabeth. "Dealing With the Past: Museums and Heritage in Northern Ireland and Cape Town, South Africa." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 11 (May 2005). 131-142.

_____. "The Politics of Community Heritage: Motivations, Authority, and Control." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 16 (Jan.-Mar. 2010). 16-29.

Crowley, John, Donal Ó Drisceoil, and Mike Murphy, eds. *Atlas of the Irish Revolution*. New York: NYU Press, 2017.

Doyle, Mark. Review of *The Black and Tans: British Police and Auxiliaries in the Irish War of Independence* by D.M. Leeson. *Journal of British Studies* 51 no. 4 (Oct. 2012). 1059-1061.

Duffy, Patrick J. *Exploring the History and Heritage of Irish Landscapes*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007.

Ferriter, Diarmaid. *A Nation and Not A Rabble*. London: Profile Books, 2015.

_____. *The Transformation of Ireland: 1900-2000.* London: Profile Books, 2004.

Fisher, Noel C. *War at Every Door: Partisan Politics and Guerilla Violence in East Tennessee, 1860-1869*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.

Godson, Lisa and Joanna Brück, eds. *Making 1916: Material and Visual Culture of the Easter Rising*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2015.

Graham, Brian. "The Contested Interpretation of Heritage Landscapes in Northern Ireland." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 2 (Jan.-Mar. 1996). 10-22.

Hart, Peter. *The I.R.A. and Its Enemies: Violence and Community in Cork, 1916-1923*. Oxford, OUP Press, 1998.

Higgins, Roisin. *Transforming 1916: Meaning, Memory and the Fiftieth Anniversary Of the Easter Rising*. Cork: Cork University Press, 2012.

Hopkinson, Michael. *The Irish War of Independence*. Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2002.

Hoskins, W.G. *The Making of the English Landscape*, rev. ed. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1988.

Hurley, Andrew. *Beyond Preservation: Using Public History to Revitalize Inner Cities*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2010.

Kautt, W.H. *Ambushes and Armour: The Irish Rebellion, 1919-1921*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2010.

Kyvig, David E., & Myron A. Marty. *Nearby History: Exploring the Past Around You*, 2nd ed. Walnut Creek, Ca.: Alta Mira, 2000.

Leeson, David. "Death in the Afternoon: The Croke Park Massacre, 21 November 1920." *Canadian Journal of History*, Vol. 38 (April, 2003): 43-67.

_____. *The Black and Tans: British Police and Auxiliaries in the Irish War of Independence, 1920-1921*. Oxford: OUP, 2011.

McCarthy, Mark. *Ireland's 1916 Rising: Explorations of History Making, Commemoration and Heritage in Modern Times*. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2012.

McKenna, Joseph. *Guerilla Warfare in the Irish War of Independence, 1919-1921*. Jefferson, NC.: McFarland & Co., 2011.

McPherson, Tara. *Reconstructing Dixie: Race, Gender, and Nostalgia in the Imagined South*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2003.

Ó Conchubhair, Brian, ed. *Rebel Cork's Fighting Story 1919-1921: Told by the Men Who Made It*. Blackrock, Co. Dublin: Mercier Press, 2010.

Sheehan, William. *A Hard Local War: The British Army and the Guerilla War in Cork 1919-1921*. Stroud, Gloucestershire: The History Press, 2011.

Shiels, Damian. *Heritage Centenary Sites of Rebel County Cork*. Cork: Heritage Unit of Cork County Council, 2016.

Smith, Timothy B. *Altogether Fitting and Proper: Civil War Battlefield Preservation in History, Memory, and Policy 1861-2015*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2017.

Stephens, James. *The Insurrection in Dublin*. Los Angeles: HardPress Publishing, 2013.

Tolbert, Lisa C. *Constructing Townscapes: Space and Society in Antebellum Tennessee*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999.

Appendix I

Project Survey Sheets.

Appendix I

The following documents illustrate the design and finished product of our survey sheets for community volunteers. Damian and I had to weigh the inexperience of a community volunteer with the need for certain kinds of data pertaining to the site. I had examples of survey sheets from the Center for Historic Preservation and the state of Tennessee. The final version of our sheet is, of course, less detailed than my examples. The idea was that the community survey was an early stage. Surveyors with much more training would follow up by doing a more detailed analysis of sites of particular interest, or those sites where questions remained.

Sheet 1 is a mock up of a potential survey sheet.

Sheet 2 is the final design.

Sheet 3 has been filled out as an example. We used this sheet in our December workshop.

Survey Information Form

Name:

Contact Information:

Site and Location: (Building, landscape, streetscape, etc.)

Is building original?

Condition of site: (Well maintained, altered, poor, developed)

Site Type: (see back)

Owner's Name and Contact Information

Photo: Please attach or email to LandscapesofRevolution@gmail.com

We have broken the sites into “types” and “sub-types.” The site types are “conflict” and “support.”

Conflict:

Raid- Any building associated with a raid.

Ambush- Roadside, building, street, etc…

Execution- Gaol, RIC Barrack, Summary executions at other sites.

Assasination

Support:

Safe houses

Landscapes- Places for weapons caches, bomb manufacturing

Houses of IRA or RIC members

Sheet 2

LANDSCAPES OF REVOLUTION
RECORD SHEET

RECORD SHEET NUMBER:
NAME:
CONTACT DETAILS: Phone, email, Address
SITE TYPE: (see reverse of sheet)Conflict/Civilian
SITE LOCATION: (6 figure NGR)
SITE DESCRIPTION: (describe building/landscape/streetscape and associated event)
SITE CONDITION: (comparison with historic mapping, is building original, landscape altered etc., is site well maintained, in poor condition, developed) Original structure. No modifications on outside. Well maintained.

PLEASE TURN OVER
SITE OWNER: (include contact information) Name and contact info.
REFERENCES: (cite sources for event at this site, e.g. witness statements, newspaper account, local history publication, oral tradition etc.) Cork examiner (date) Patrick Whelan eyewitness report (with report number, e.g. WS1466 and page numbers).
PHOTOGRAPH: (digital image captured yes/no) Yes
NOTES/COMMENTS: Any additional notes or information on the site.

Sheet 3

LANDSCAPES OF REVOLUTION RECORD SHEET

RECORD SHEET NUMBER: Mton 001 (example)

NAME: Michael Fletcher

CONTACT DETAILS: Phone, email, Address

SITE TYPE: (see reverse of sheet)Conflict/Civilian
Popular public house and associated with Midleton Ambush December 29, 1920.

SITE LOCATION: (6 figure NGR
588206, 573450

SITE DESCRIPTION: (describe building/landscape/streetscape and associated event)

Formerly known as the Midleton Arms, the building anchors the southern end of Midleton's Main Street at the Broderick St. intersection.
Its stone construction dominates surrounding structures.
The site is listed with the National Inventory of Architectural Heritage- 20830049

SITE CONDITION: (comparison with historic mapping, is building original, landscape altered etc., is site well maintained, in poor condition, developed)

Original structure. No modifications on outside. Well maintained.

PLEASE TURN OVER

SITE OWNER: (include contact information)
Name and contact info.

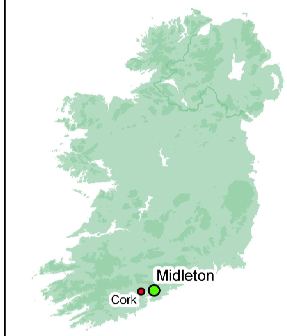
REFERENCES: (cite sources for event at this site, e.g. witness statements, newspaper account, local history publication, oral tradition etc.)
Cork examiner (date)
Patrick Whelan eyewitness report (with report number, e.g. WS1466 and page numbers).

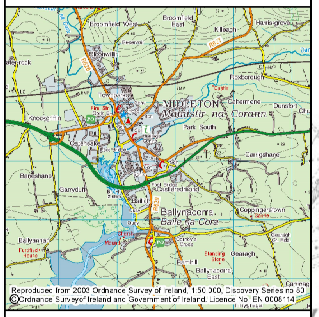
PHOTOGRAPH: (digital image captured yes/no) Yes

NOTES/COMMENTS:
Any additional notes or information on the site.

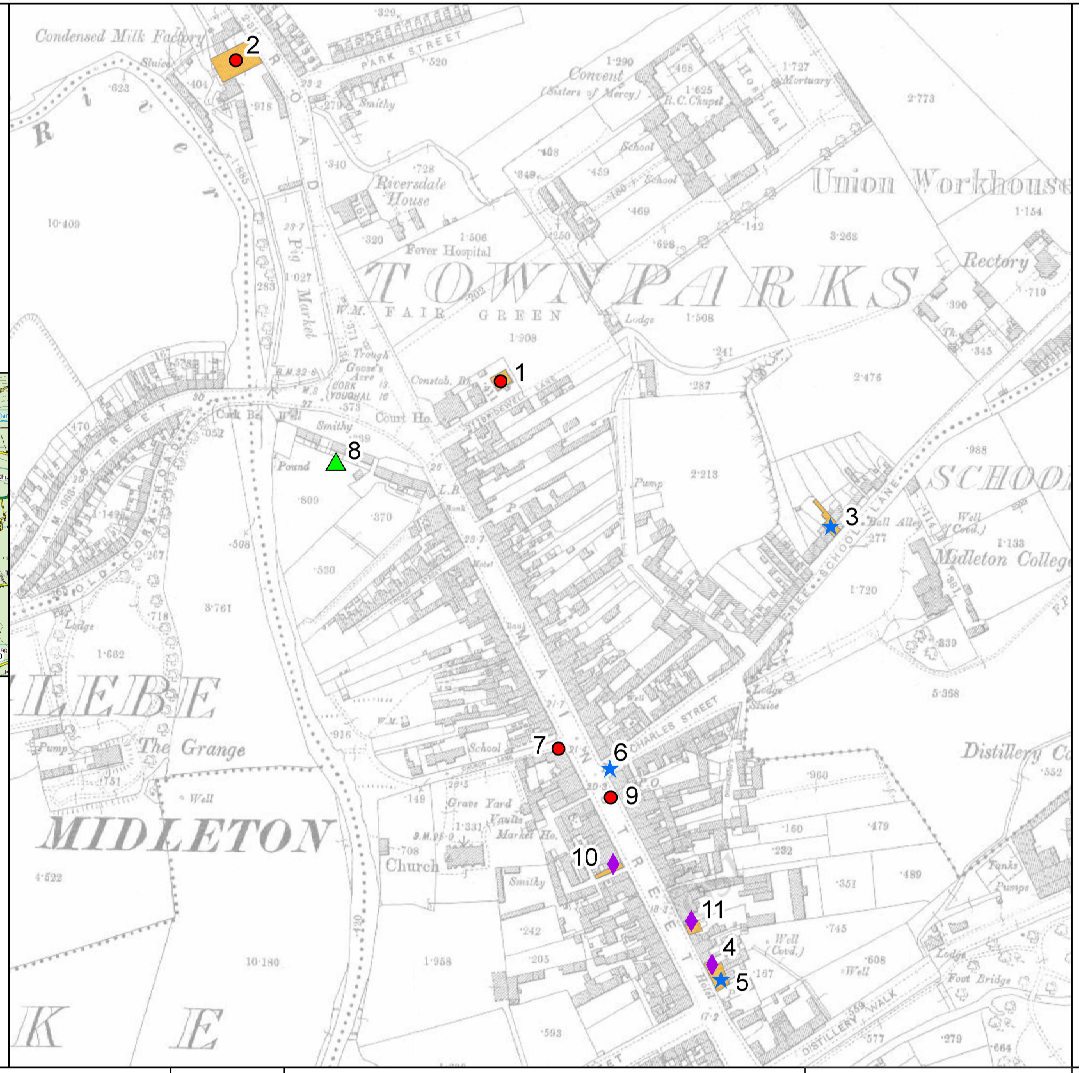
Appendix II

The finished Midleton Ambush GIS map.





Midleton Ambush and Reprisal Landscape



Legend

- Civilian
- IRA
- Military
- Reprisal
- Important Structures

Site Key

Site 1: RIC Barracks, now Garda Station
Company of RIC and Black and Tans began patrol from here

Site 2: Mill Building/British Barracks

Site 3: Sawmill/Ambush Headquarters Site
Ambush column met here and sent out reconnaissance elements.
Regrouped here before the ambush

Site 4: Paul McCarthy Building/Reprisal Site/
Doorway used by Dan Cashman during ambush

Site 5: Midleton Arms Hotel, now J.J. Coppinger's
After waiting for patrol to pass north, O'Hurley signalled the beginning of the ambush by firing from Hotel's doorway.
Southern end of IRA position

Site 6: Corner of Charles and Main St.
Site of reconnaissance by volunteer Patrick Whelan before attack.
Northern end of IRA position

Site 7: Corner of Church Lane
Some RIC retreated to here, returning fire south down Main St.

Site 8: Southern Star Cinema
Civilians sheltered here during ambush

Site 9: Approximate location of Constable mortally wounded in the fighting, spoken to by Patrick Whelan

Site 10: John O'Shea House
Burned during reprisals

Site 11: Edmond Carey's House
Burned during reprisals

Midleton, Co. Cork
December 29, 1920-January 3, 1921

N

Study area: Midleton, Cork
Assessment of Midleton's Ambush and Reprisal Sites.

Project Code:LORS16

0 125 m

RUBICON HERITAGE

Midleton's Ambush and Reprisal Sites

Landscapes of Revolution Project

Drawn by:Sims & Fletcher 3/17	1st edit by:
2nd edit by:	Signed off:

APPENDIX III

Midleton War of Independence Sites

Name	HISTORIC ASSOCATION	INCIDENT DATE	SITE LOCATION (TOWNLAND)	SITE LOCATION (COMPANY AREA)	SOURCE DETAILS	SOURCE LOCATION	Type/Subtype	Condition	Address
O'Shea House	B Company Safe House of O'Shea Family		BALLINACURRA	MIDLETON COMPANY	John Murphy, Midleton IRA	WITNESS STATEMENT WS134	Safe House		
RIC Barracks		44198	CARRIGTWOHILL	MULTIPLE COMPANIES	Varions, John Murphy IRA, newspaper report Cork Examiner	WITNESSS STATEMENT WS 134, Cork Examiner 5/2/21		Demolished	
Courthouse	Mine explosion/British held site		MIDLETON	MIDLETON COMPANY			Support	Original	Main St.
RIC Barracks/Garda Station			MIDLETON	MIDLETON COMPANY			Military	Modified	
Mill Building	Barracks for British troops		MIDLETON	MIDLETON COMPANY			Military	Modified/Apartments	Mill St.
Midleton Arms Hotel/J.J. Coppinger's	Ambush	29/12/20	MIDLETON	MIDLETON COMPANY		WITNESS STATEMENT, Cork Examiner	Ambush	Modified	Main St.
Sawmill site	IRA headquarters for ambush	29/12/20	MIDLETON	MIDLETON COMPANY	Various	WITNESS STATEMENT	Ambush	Demolished/Ruins	Free School Rd./Charles Street
O'Shea House	Reprisal site		MIDLETON	MIDLETON COMPANY	newspaper report, pers. Communication		Reprisal	Rebuild/Burned. Next to Midleton Arms	76 Main St.
Original Post Office	Raid		MIDLETON	MIDLETON COMPANY	Witness Statement		Raid	Original	Main St.
Midleton Railway Station	Raid		MIDLETON	MIDLETON COMPANY	Witness Statement	WS 1418	Raid	Original	Mill St.
Southern Star Cinema	Used by civilians during ambush	29/12/20	MIDLETON	MIDLETON COMPANY	Witness Statement		Civilian	Modified	Main St.
Midleton Garage and Engineering Works	Civilian/Employed several IRA		MIDLETON	MIDLETON COMPANY	Various		Civilian	Burned, possibly in reprisal.	Main St.
Town Hall	Volunteers raised tri color/ Blocked RIC	Easter, 1916	MIDLETON	MIDLETON COMPANY	Witness Statement	WS 1456		Modified	Main St.
Cahermore Castle	Volunteer drilling ground		CAHERMORE	MIDLETON COMPANY	Witness Statement			Ruins	
McCarthy building	Reprisal site	7672	MIDLETON	MIDLETON COMPANY	Freeman's Journal. Jan. 6, 1921	Freeman's Journal	Reprisal	Modified	46 Main St.
Carey's house	Reprisal site	7672	MIDLETON	MIDLETON COMPANY	Freeman's Journal. Jan. 6, 1921	Freeman's Journal	Reprisal	Modified	50 Main St.