Dublin’s Great Wars

For the first time, Richard S. Grayson tells the story of the Dubliners who served in the British military and in republican forces during the First World War and the Irish Revolution as a series of interconnected ‘Great Wars’. He charts the full scope of Dubliners’ military service, far beyond the well-known Dublin ‘Pals’, with at least 35,000 serving and over 6,500 dead, from the Irish Sea to the Middle East and beyond. Linking two conflicts usually narrated as separate stories, he shows how Irish nationalist support for Britain going to war in 1914 can only be understood in the context of the political fight for Home Rule and why so many Dubliners were hostile to the Easter Rising. He examines Dublin loyalism and how the War of Independence and the Civil War would be shaped by the militarisation of Irish society and the earlier experiences of veterans of the British army.

Professor Richard S. Grayson, of Goldsmiths, University of London, authored Belfast Boys: How Unionists and Nationalists Fought and Died Together in the First World War (2009), edited At War with the 16th Irish Division: The Staniforth Letters, 1914–18 (2012), and co-edited Remembering 1916: The Easter Rising, the Somme and the Politics of Memory in Ireland (2016). He is an associate member of the Northern Ireland WWI Centenary Committee, contributed to the BBC’s series Ireland’s Great War, co-edits www.irelandww1.org and works closely with community groups and museums on historical projects. He is both a British and an Irish citizen.
Dublin’s Great Wars
The First World War, the Easter Rising and the Irish Revolution
Richard S. Grayson
This book is produced with the generous assistance of a grant from Isobel Thornley's Bequest to the University of London.
## Contents

*List of Figures*  page ix  
*List of Maps*  xi  
*List of Tables*  xii  
*List of Abbreviations*  xiv

**Introduction**  1  

1. Prelude: Dublin and Conflict, 1899–1914  8  
2. Dublin Goes to War  23  
3. Outbreak, 1914  49  
4. Stalemate, 1915  69  
5. Gallipoli: Helles  85  
6. Gallipoli: Suvla Bay  98  
7. Preparations  113  
8. Rising  123  
9. Falling  142  
10. Consequences  163  
11. The Other 1916  177  
12. Success on the Somme  193  
13. Snow and Sand  206  
## Contents

15. Learning 238

16. Victory from the Jaws of Defeat 253

17. War of Independence 271

18. Crossovers 283

19. Civil War 300

20. Peace 315

21. Commemoration 326

Conclusion: Three Men 339

Appendix 1: Population 346
Appendix 2: Military Service 348
Appendix 3: Physical 353
Appendix 4: Occupation 355
Appendix 5: Recruitment 360
Appendix 6: Red Cross Service 370
Appendix 7: Death 373
Appendix 8: Sources 376
Acknowledgements 377
Notes 380
Bibliography 440
Index 458
Figures

1.1: The Howth gun-running, 26 July 1914. page 21
2.1: 1st Dublin Battalion, Irish Association of Volunteer Training Corps, autumn 1914. 35
2.2: Noël Drury, 6th Royal Dublin Fusiliers. 37
5.1: Sedd el Bahr fort photographed from the SS River Clyde. 89
8.1: Two unidentified Irish Volunteers inside the barricaded GPO during the Easter Rising. 128
8.2: British soldiers manning a street barricade during the Rising. 128
9.1: Sackville Street burns as the Rising draws to an end. 151
9.2: Pádraig Pearse surrendering to General William Henry Muir Lowe and his son John, on Moore Lane, Dublin, 29 April 1916. 158
10.1: Damage to Dublin city centre, in this case the Hibernian Bank, Abbey Street corner, became apparent as the public came out on to the streets after the Rising. 165
10.2: Michael Mallin (centre) under arrest with Constance Markiewicz. 169
14.1: Released republican prisoners surrounded by crowds on Westland Row, 18 June 1917. 233
15.1: After Messines. Royal Dublin Fusiliers and other troops of the 16th Division with souvenirs of the capture of Wytschaete. Near Bailleul, 11 June 1917. 241
15.2: The 8th/9th Royal Dublin Fusiliers at Ervillers, 27 October 1917. 249
16.1: Emmet Dalton with other members of D Company 2nd Leinsters in 1918. 265
18.1: Custom House, Dublin on fire after the attack by Republicans, 5 May 1921. 294
18.2: Republican prisoners outside the burning Custom House, 5 May 1921. 295
18.3: Protest outside Mountjoy prison, 23 July 1921, as prisoners were held during the Truce. 298
19.1: The Irish delegation leaves 10 Downing Street after meeting with the British government, October 1921. 301
19.2: Fighting in the area of the Four Courts, late June 1922, looking down Winetavern Street. 304
19.3: The Four Courts burning, 30 June 1922. 306
19.4: Ruins of the Gresham Hotel, O'Connell Street, Dublin, July 1922. 306
19.5: Staff officers at the funeral of Michael Collins, 28 August 1922. 308
21.1: Armistice Day, College Green, 11 November 1924. 328
A5.1: Daily Recruitment to British Military in Dublin Recruiting Area, 4 August 1915 to 4 May 1915. 364
A6.1: British Red Cross Society recruitment (Dublin residents) by month. 371
A6.2: British Red Cross Society recruitment (Dublin residents) by year. 371
Maps

1.1: Key locations of the South African War.  
2.1: County of Dublin – key places and areas for recruiting.  
3.1: Western Front 1914–18.  
3.2: Ypres, 1914–18.  
5.1: Gallipoli.  
8.1: Easter Rising – key locations.  
13.2: Middle East, 1917–18.  
15.1: Messines, June 1917.  
15.2: Ypres, 1917.  
15.3: Tunnel Trench, 20 November 1917.  
16.1: 16th Division, 21 March 1918.
Tables

A1.1: 1911 Census Data.  
A2.1: Service by Type of British Unit (first known unit of service).  
A2.2: Service by Irish Infantry Regiment.  
A2.3: Service by British Division of Service.  
A2.4: Battalion of First Known Service, where Service is in an Irish Infantry Battalion.  
A3.1: Average Height of British Military Recruits by Unit Type.  
A3.2: Body Mass Index of British Military Recruits by BMI Category.  
A3.3: Average Body Mass Index of British Military Recruits by Unit Type.  
A4.1: Occupation and Unit Type of British Military Recruits.  
A4.2: Occupation and Royal Dublin Fusiliers Battalions.  
A4.3: Occupation of Irish Volunteers and Irish Citizen Army, 1916.  
A5.1: Regular British Army Recruitment in Ireland, 1 October 1912 to 30 September 1913.  
A5.2: British Army Recruitment by Irish Recruiting Area, 4 August 1914 to 9 November 1918.  
A5.3: National and Ulster Volunteers Recruited to British Military in Dublin, 4 August 1914 to 15 January 1918.  
A5.4: Recruitment to Royal Dublin Fusiliers by Military Command, 24 January to 23 October 1915.  
A5.5: Recruitment of Dubliners to British Military by Place of Enlistment.  
A5.6: Recruitment of Dubliners to British Military by Denomination.  
A5.7: Recruitment Outside Dublin of non-Dublin Residents to Royal Dublin Fusiliers.  
A5.8: Home of British Military Recruits in County Dublin.  
A5.9: Membership of Republican Units During Easter Rising by Residence in Irish Volunteer Area.
List of Tables

A6.1: British Red Cross Society Occupations for Dublin Residents. 371
A6.2: British Red Cross Society Occupations for Dublin Women. 372
A6.3: British Red Cross Society occupations for Dublin men. 372
A7.1: War Deaths of Dubliners in British Military by Month, 1914–18. 373
A7.2: War Deaths of Dubliners in British Military by Theatre and Year, 1914–21. 375
A8.1: Location of Individual Dubliners in British Military by Source. 376
Abbreviations

ANZAC Australian and New Zealand Army Corps
ASC Army Service Corps
ASU Active Service Unit
BEF British Expeditionary Force
BET Belfast Evening Telegraph
BMH Bureau of Military History, Dublin
CWGC Commonwealth War Graves Commission
DCLA Dublin City Library and Archive
DCM Distinguished Conduct Medal
DEM Dublin Evening Mail
EH Evening Herald
ET Evening Telegraph
FJ The Freeman’s Journal
FS (Irish) Free State
GAA Gaelic Athletic Association
GPO General Post Office
GR Georgius Rex (Irish Association of Volunteer Training Corps)
HC Deb House of Commons Debates
HM His Majesty’s
HMS His Majesty’s Ship
HMT His Majesty’s Trawler
HS Hospital Ship
ICA Irish Citizen Army
List of Abbreviations

II The Irish Independent
IN Irish News
IPP Irish Parliamentary Party
IRA Irish Republican Army
IRB Irish Republican Brotherhood
IT The Irish Times
IV The Irish Volunteer
IWM Imperial War Museum Archive, London
LDV Loyal Dublin Volunteers
MA Military Archives, Dublin
MBE Member of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire
MC Military Cross
MP Member of Parliament
MSPC Military Service Pensions Collection
NAA National Archive of Australia
NAI National Archives of Ireland, Dublin
NAM National Army Museum, London
NAOIRA National Association of the Old IRA
NLI National Library of Ireland, Dublin
NV The National Volunteer
RAF Royal Air Force
RAMC Royal Army Medical Corps
RCS Royal College of Surgeons of England Archives, London
RDF Royal Dublin Fusiliers
RDFA Royal Dublin Fusiliers Association
RFA Royal Field Artillery
RFC Royal Flying Corps
RGA Royal Garrison Artillery
RIC Royal Irish Constabulary
RMS Royal Mail Ship
RNAS Royal Naval Air Service
SDU South Dublin Union
SF Sinn Féin
SH Saturday Herald
SI Sunday Independent
SS Steam ship
TCD Trinity College Dublin
TNA The National Archives, Kew
UB U-Boot (Unterseeboot)
# List of Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UCD</td>
<td>University College Dublin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UVF</td>
<td>Ulster Volunteer Force</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VAD</td>
<td>Voluntary Aid Detachment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VC</td>
<td>Victoria Cross</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WIT</td>
<td>Weekly Irish Times</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>