



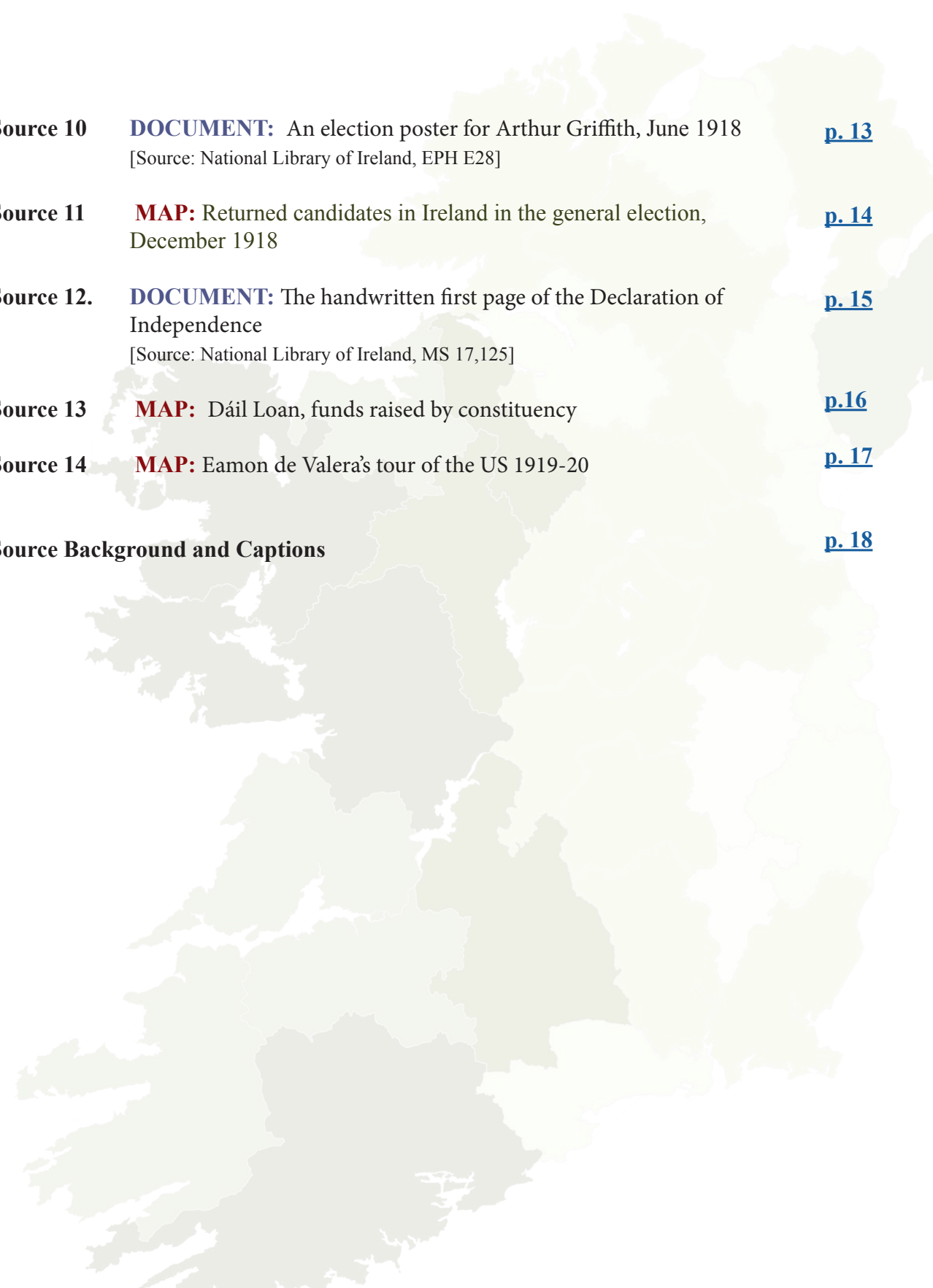
Unit 6:

*The Rise of Sinn Féin and the First Dáil
1916-1919*

Document Pack

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DR. O'DWYER,

At Limerick, 14th Sept., 1916:

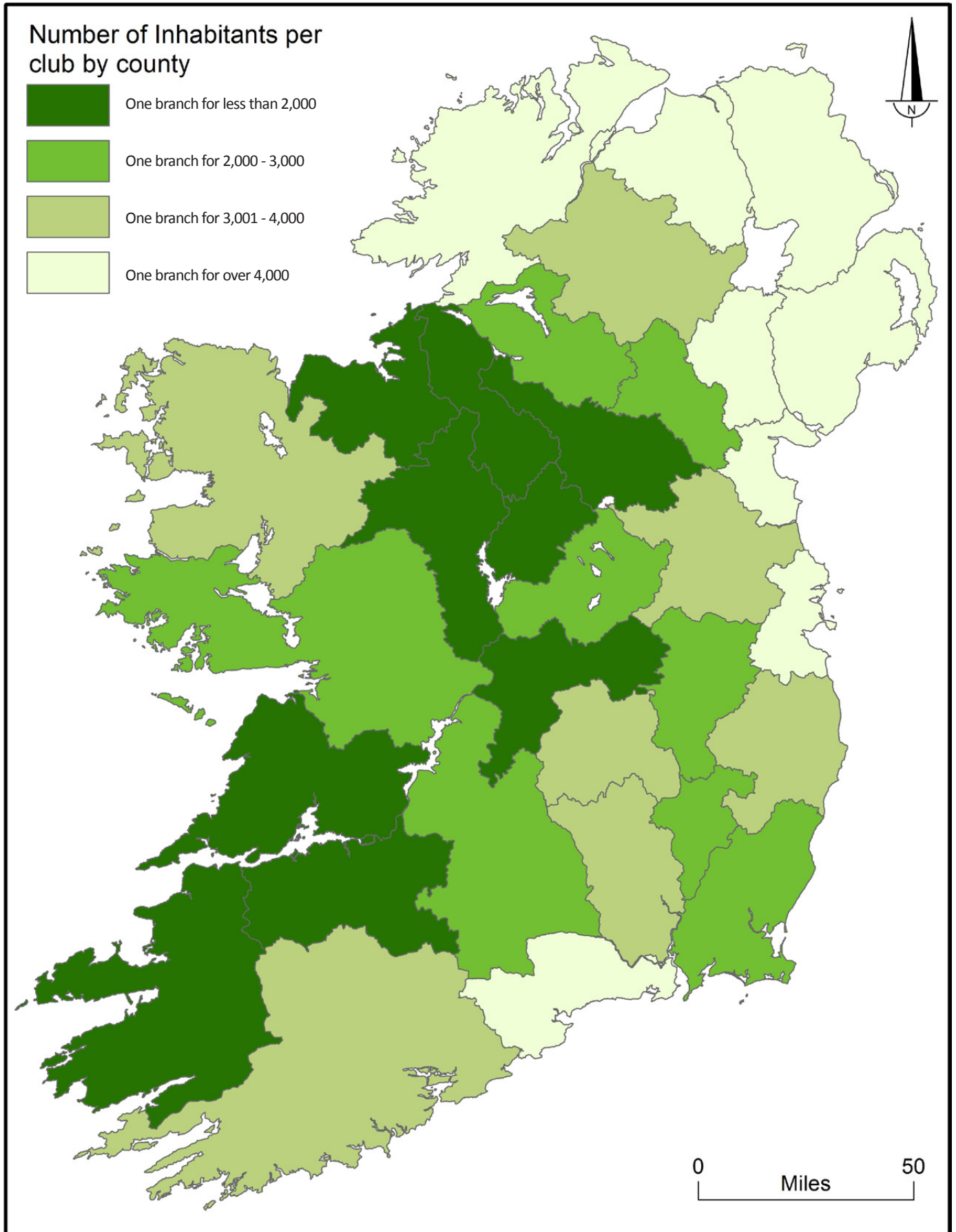
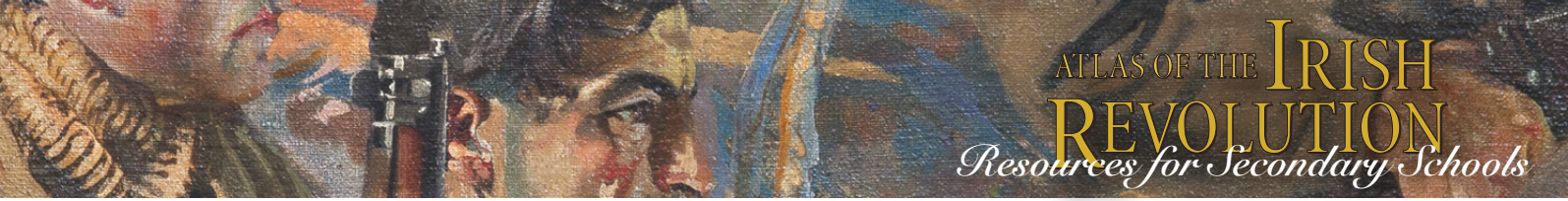
"There has not been much poetry in the history of England in Ireland. The gratitude of Conquerors is not worth much. **Sinn Fein is, in my judgment, the true principle,** and alliance with English politicians is the alliance of the Lamb and the Wolf, and it is at this point precisely that I differ from the present political leaders, and believe they have led, and are leading, the National Cause to disaster."

**LYNCH STANDS FOR THAT
ALLIANCE.**

**DE VALERA STANDS FOR
IRELAND.**

**VOTE FOR
DE VALERA**

Issued for Edward De Valera by his authorised Election Agent, H. B. O'Brien Moran,
Limerick, and printed at the Gaelic Press, 30 Upper Liffey Street, Dublin.



ANTI-CONSCRIPTION PLEDGE.

The following is a copy of the Pledge:—

“Denying the right of the British Government to enforce Compulsory Service in this Country ***we pledge ourselves solemnly to one another to resist Conscription*** by the most effective means at our disposal.”

PROCLAMATION NO CONSCRIPTION



THE MEMBERS OF THE BALLAGHADERREEN CUMAN NA mBAN hereby PROCLAIM that we will NOT CONSCRIPT any person who does not wish to COME VOLUNTARY TO OUR MONSTER

AERIDEACHT

Consisting of Choral Recitals, Irish Songs, Dances and Recitations, to be Held in

Sports Field, Ballaghaderreen.
ON SUNDAY, JUNE 23RD INST.

AT WHICH

COUNTESS PLUNKETT.

And Other Prominent Speakers.

Who have kindly Consented to Attend, will Deliver Short Addresses.

The above Programme will be preceded by the following Athletic Events :

1. 220 Yds. Race, Boys under 16 (Free entry)
2. 100 Yds Race, Open Handicap,
3. 220 Yds. Race, Open Handicap,

4. High Jump, Open,
5. Obstacle Race, Open,
6. Old Age Pensioners' Race.

Entrance Fee for Each of the above Events is 6d. General Entry 1s. Valuable Prizes will be Given to Winners [First and Second] of above Events. To Conclude the Athletic Part of the Programme the Strength of our Manhood will be Tested by a

TUG OF WAR (Open to any Team in the West). Teams to be Limited to 10 Men. A Splendid Set of **SILVER MEDALS**, with Gold Centre and Scroll, will be Presented to the Winning Team. Entrance Fee for Tug of War Teams is 5s. N.B.--Entry for the Tug of War must be made through the Secretary of the Club. Intending Competitors should, if possible, send in their entries to **JOSEPH BEIRNE**, or **THOMAS F. O'HARA** (Flannery's), Receivers of Entries, before Saturday, 22nd Inst. Entries will also be taken on the Field.

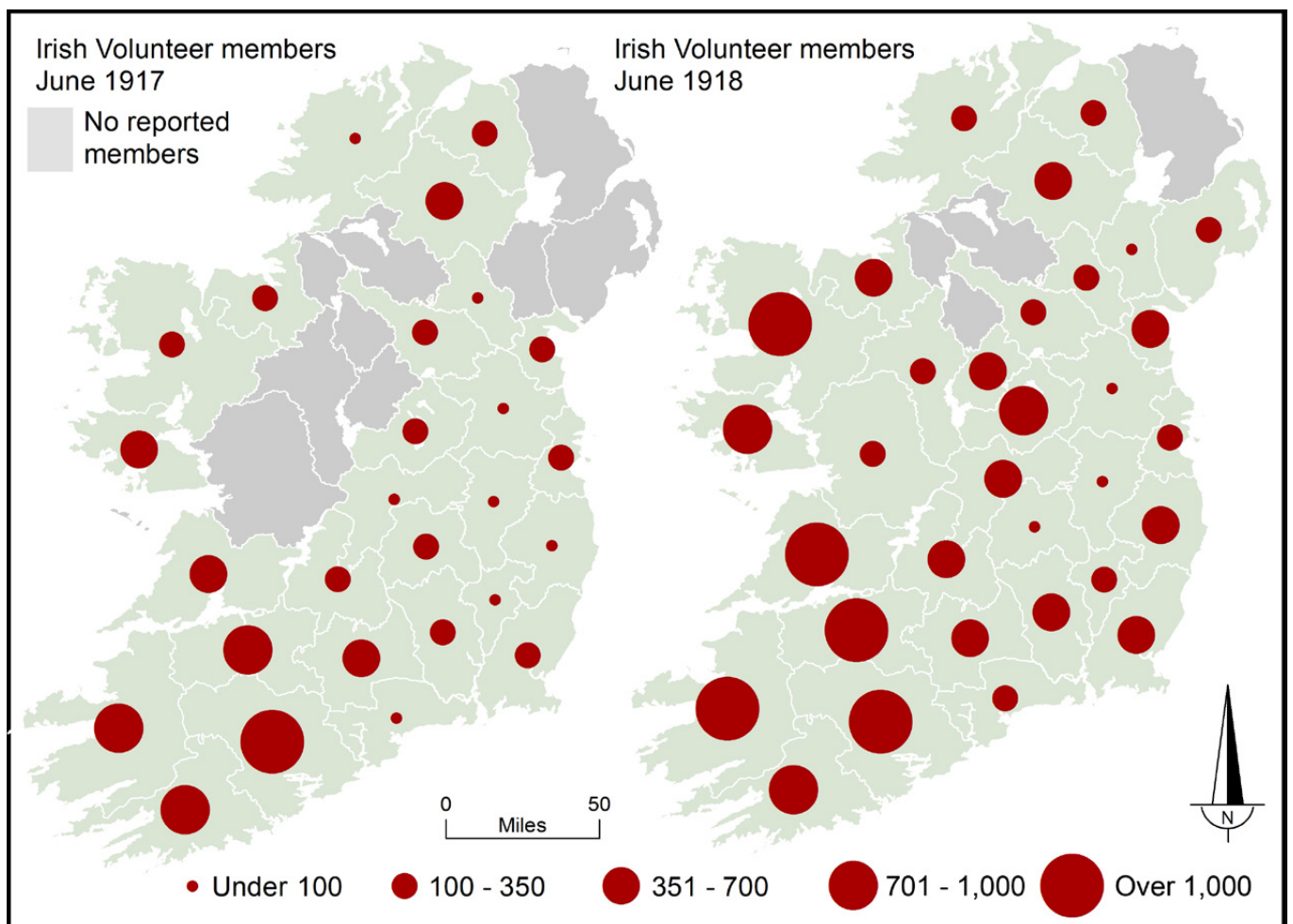
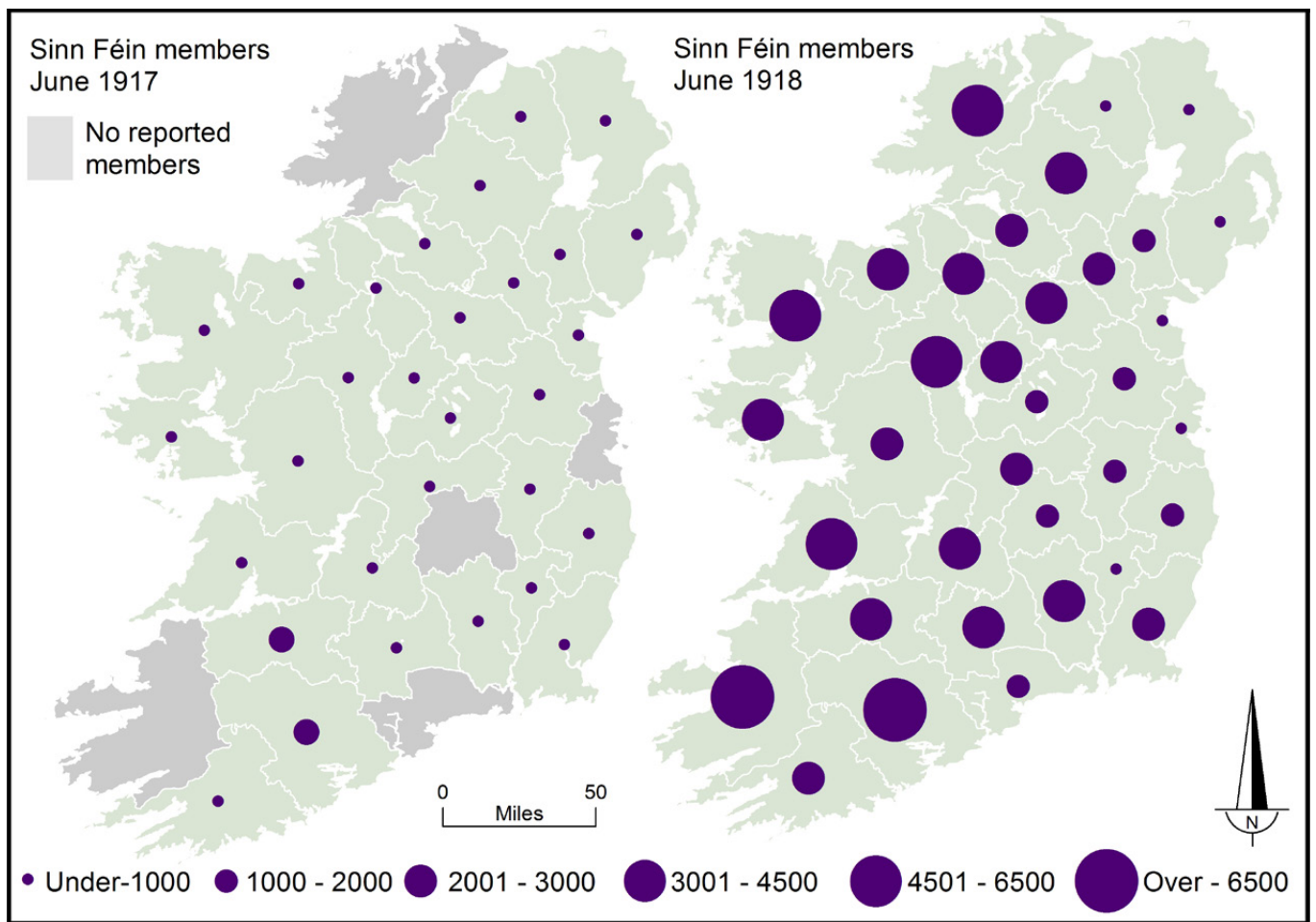
FIRST ITEM WILL BE "RAN OFF" AT 2.30 O'Clock. OLD TIME.

PRICE OF ADMISSION - 1s. (Centre of Field). - 6d. Side Line.

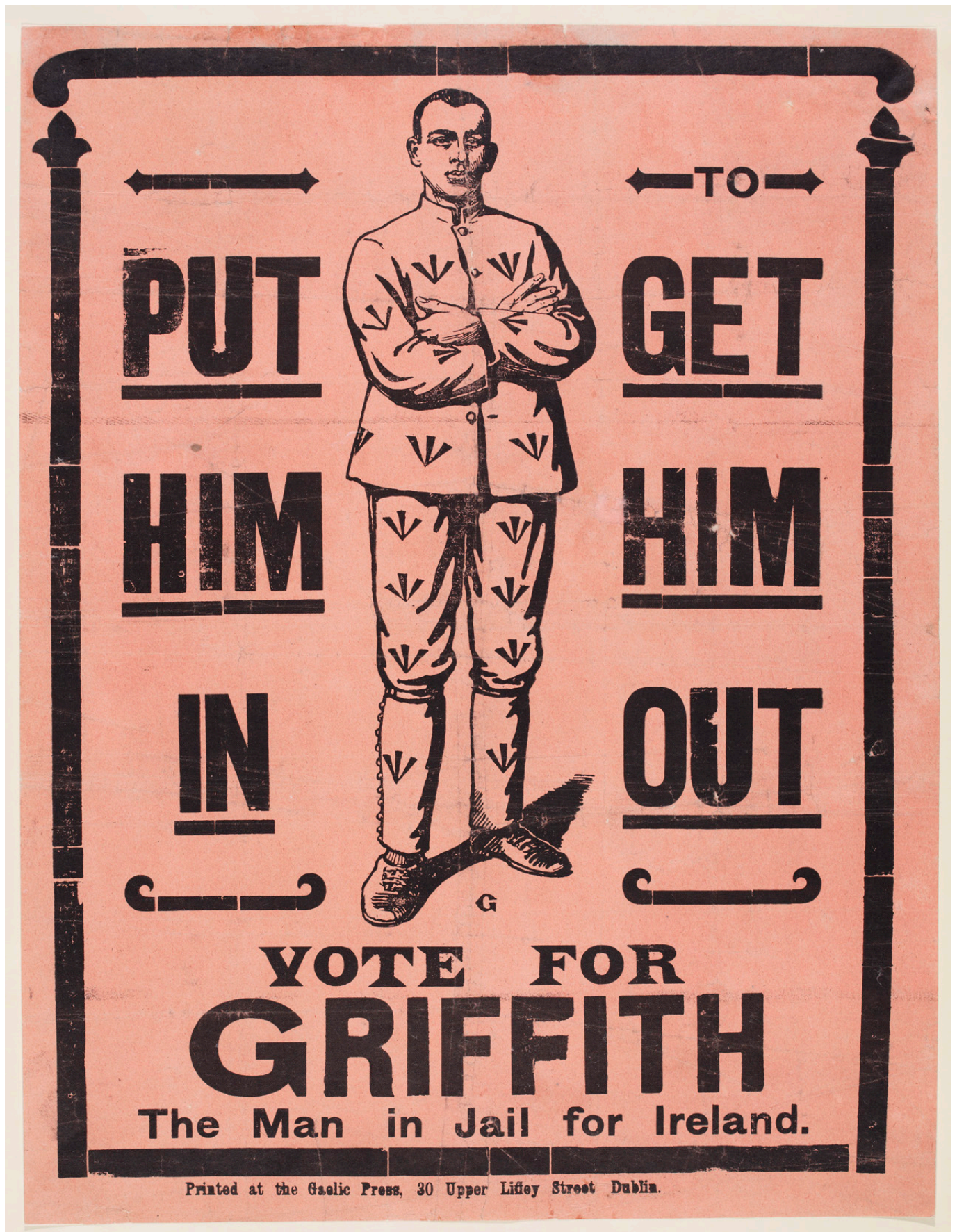
PROCEEDS IN AID OF THE LOCAL CUMAN NA MBAN. :: :

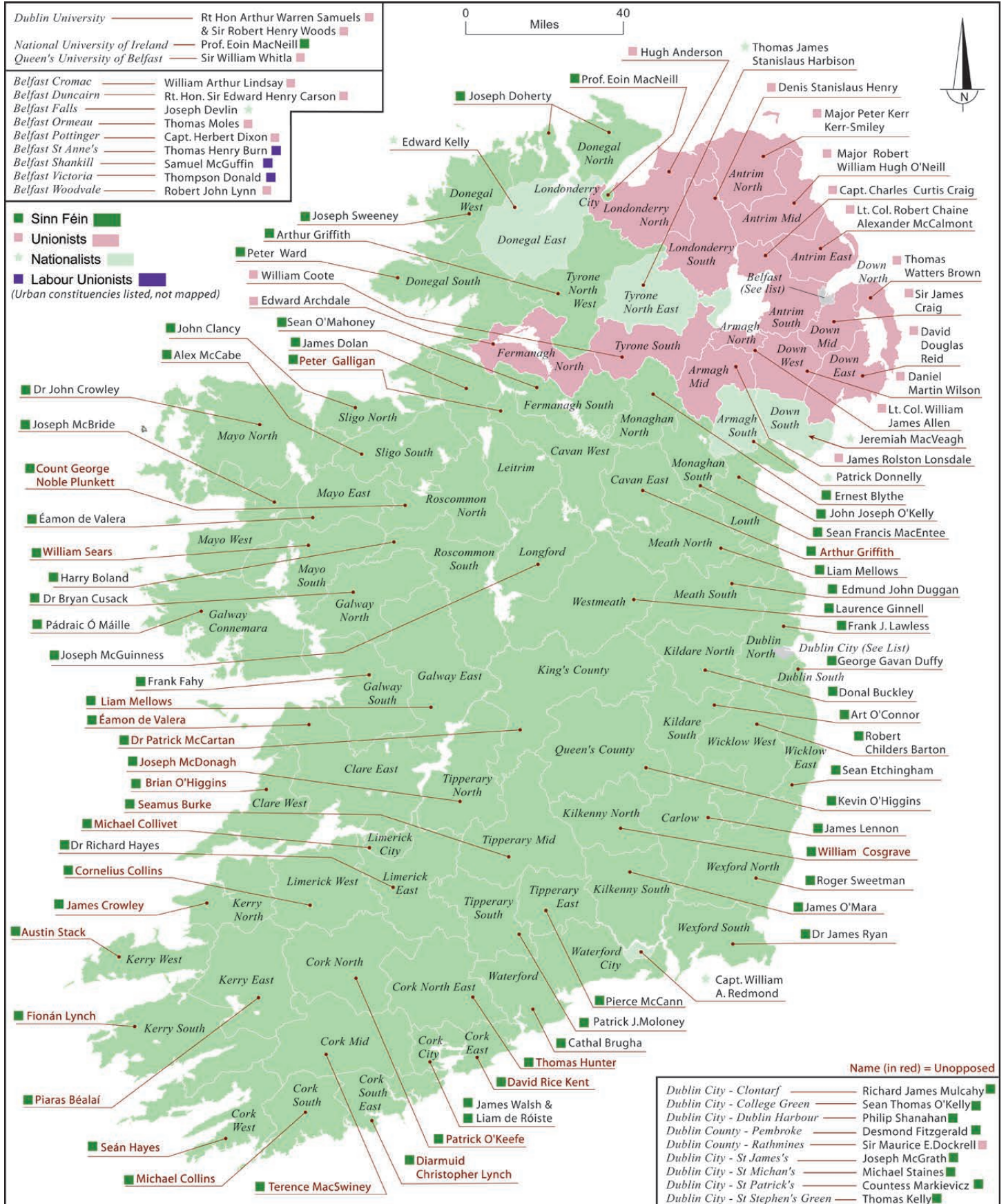
Owen Mearns, Minister, Castleroa.

A Dhia Saor Fire.









MS 17,125

Ireland

Declaration by Dáil Éireann (Irish Assembly)

~~read~~ adopted

Declarations adopted by Dáil Éireann, ~~an~~ the
assembly of the elected members of the Irish
~~Constituent Assembly~~
~~National Council~~ held at Dublin on Tuesday
January 21st 1919. (English translation)

— (2) —

Declaration of Independence.

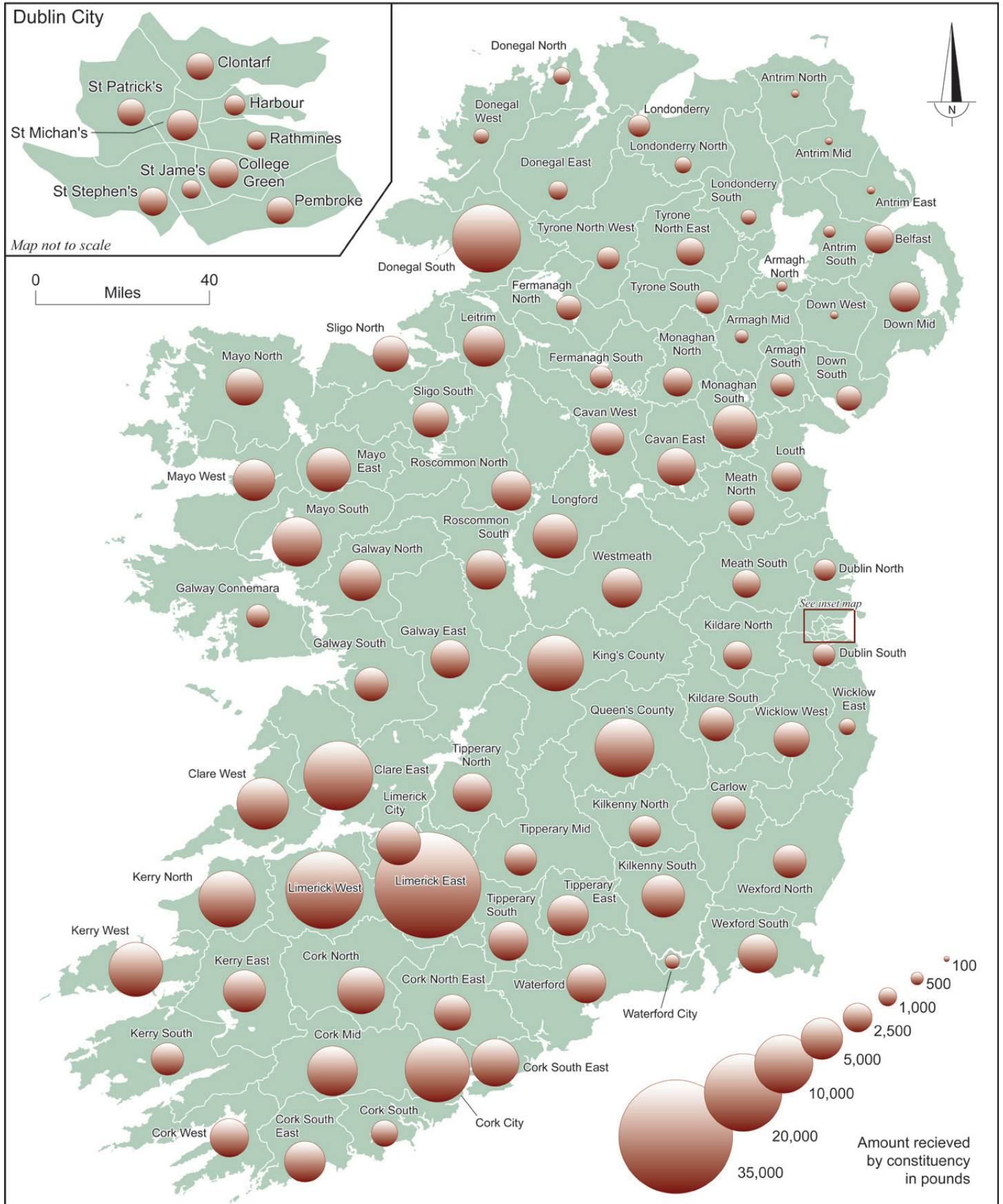
Whereas the Irish people is by right a free people:

And Whereas for seven hundred years the Irish
people has never ceased to repudiate and has
repeatedly protested in arms against foreign
usurpation:

And Whereas English rule in this country is, and
always has been, based upon force and fraud and
maintained by military occupation against the
declared will of the people:

And Whereas the Irish Republic was proclaimed in
Dublin on Easter Monday, 1916, by the Irish
Republican Army acting on behalf of the Irish people:

And Whereas the Irish people is resolved to secure
and maintain its complete independence in order to
promote the common weal, to re-establish justice,
to provide for future defence, to ensure peace at home
and good-will with all nations, and to constitute a
national policy based upon the peoples will with





Context and Captions

Source 1. PHOTOGRAPH: Large crowds in Westland Row in Dublin on 18 June 1917, awaiting prisoners released under the general amnesty

[Source: National Library of Ireland, Ke 125]

Source 2. PHOTOGRAPH: Éamon de Valera in Volunteer uniform addressing Sinn Féin supporters from the steps of Ennis Court House, 11 July 1917

[Photo: National Library of Ireland, Ke 131]

Source 3. PHOTOGRAPH: W.T. Cosgrave and Laurence Ginnell, M.P., surrounded by Sinn Féin supporters during the election campaign in Kilkenny

[Photo: National Library of Ireland, Ke 141]

Source 4. DOCUMENT: 1917 Election poster in support of de Valera

De Valera's victory in the East Clare by-election was achieved with the backing of the Catholic Church. This was not surprising given his astute courtship of the Church and local clergy during the campaign. The election poster compares Dr O'Dwyer's (bishop of Limerick) support for the 'Sinn Féin principle' with his criticism of the Irish Parliamentary Party's (IPP) failed alliances at Westminster. The poster presents Patrick Lynch, the IPP candidate, as a symbol of these failed alliances.

[Source: National Library of Ireland, EPH A319]

Source 5. MAP: Ratio of inhabitants to each Sinn Féin club, December 1917

By the end of 1917 Sinn Féin's rapid expansion was reflected in its c. 120,000 members. Regionally the party was strongest in the south-west and in north-east Connacht, together with neighbouring Cavan and Longford. It tended to flourish in areas which were distant from Dublin, had a recent tradition of agrarian unrest or political confrontation, and had a high percentage of population working on small farms. In the list of clubs compiled by the executive in December 1917 the figures for the provinces were Munster (435), Leinster (293), Connacht (267) and Ulster (245). If the figures are adjusted to take account of population size, three of those counties where electoral contests had taken place during the year (Roscommon, Longford and Clare) feature among the four where the party was strongest (the other is Leitrim which had been contested in 1908 and had long been a stronghold of radical nationalism). Kilkenny came twentieth out of the thirty-two counties but there the by-election was brief and confined to the city. Recent activity, excitement and publicity (which were all the result of a random feature, parliamentary vacancies) form a pattern which matched the prevalence of clubs. There was no correlation between arrests after the Rising and membership in late 1917.

The ten counties where the ratio was lowest were all in Ulster or on the east coast. The figure for Dublin is probably misleading since the density of population would necessitate fewer clubs than in rural districts. Cork's low total seems anomalous in the light of its radical traditions, its subsequent support for Sinn Féin and the fact that it was heavily over-represented in the leadership of Sinn Féin and the Volunteers. Perhaps this discrepancy can be explained, at least in part, by the fact that Cork was the only area outside unionist Ulster where the Parliamentary Party had faced serious opposition in the recent past. At the last general election, in December 1910, William O'Brien's All-for-Ireland League won eight out of ten seats in Cork city and county ... To an extent which was comparable with parts of Ulster, Sinn Féiners in Cork encountered an opponent whose complacency had been punctured and whose efficiency had been improved by recent combat. The All-For-Ireland League still held the loyalties of many Cork opponents of the Parliamentary Party in 1917, as proved by the combined votes of its two rival by-election candidates in November 1916, but it did not take long for the county to "fall into line".

[Source: M. Laffan, *The Resurrection of Ireland: the Sinn Féin party, 1916–1923* (Cambridge, 2005, pp. 185–8)]

Source 6. DOCUMENT: Copy of the Anti-Conscription Pledge, April 1918

A copy of the anti-conscription pledge taken at the church doors across the country on the Sunday following the Mansion House Conference, Dublin, 18 April 1918. Echoing the mass signings of the Ulster Covenant in 1912, nationalists organised an anti-conscription pledge taken by hundreds of thousands of members of the public in late April 1918. Many swore the pledge oath directly following Catholic Masses of intercession held across the country on 21 April to pray for the halt of conscription. At protest meetings and demonstrations, Cumann na mBan members organised tables of pledge-petition books, to be signed by those in attendance. The wording of the pledge reflected tensions within the anti-conscription movement between physical force republicans, constitutional nationalists and the Catholic hierarchy. The phrase 'to resist conscription by the most effective means at our disposal' did not explicitly approve of armed resistance but kept open the possibility that it could be used in the future. A women's pledge was also issued, whereby they promised to refrain from taking the job of any man conscripted into the British forces.

Source 7 DOCUMENT: Poster publicising a Cumann na mBan anti-conscription aerideacht (gathering) on 23 June 1918

Poster publicising a Cumann na mBan anti-conscription aerideacht (gathering) on 23 June 1918, at which there were several speakers and a sports programme, including items such as a tug of war, high jump and an old-age pensioners' race, with 'proceeds in aid of the local Cumam [sic] na mBan'. The campaign against conscription escalated in the early summer of 1918, when fine weather traditionally permitted political and cultural organisations to host outdoor events, which often drew thousands of attendees. In June republicans held gatherings across the country to raise anti-conscription funds and mobilise public opposition. Often held under the Gaelic League banner, these cultural events combined speeches against conscription with singing, dancing, recitations and

sporting contests. A government crackdown on 3 July specifically targeted these gatherings. Dublin Castle proclaimed not only Sinn Féin, the Irish Volunteers, and Cumann na mBan, but also the Gaelic League. It also banned all public meetings held without a police permit, including sporting and cultural events such as the one advertised above. Republicans continued to organise such gatherings in defiance of the ban, though they were usually held in secret locations to avoid police and army search parties.

[Source: National Library of Ireland, EPH F23]

Source 8. MAP: Maps showing the Growth in Membership of (a) Sinn Féin and (b) The Irish Volunteers, June 1917-June 1918

The Irish independence movement experienced steady growth in 1917–18, with the greatest support evident in the province of Munster, followed by Connacht. Sinn Féin blossomed after the October 1917 organising convention, which unified the political party under the leadership of Éamon de Valera and clarified its republican goals. The party received a second boost during the 1918 Conscription Crisis, as the movement mobilised mass public support to oppose mandatory military service. Like other elements of the Irish independence movement, the Irish Volunteers organisation enjoyed strong growth from the summer of 1917 to the 1918 Conscription Crisis and its aftermath. Particular strength can be seen within counties Cork, Kerry and Limerick, which all boasted vibrant pre-1916 Irish Volunteers units that survived the turbulence of the Easter Rising. The Conscription Crisis produced a mass influx into the organisation. Though many of these recruits dropped out, enough remained to push the Irish Volunteers into virtually every parish in the country. The figures on which the maps are based come from police estimates submitted to Dublin Castle, which were usually compiled without access to republican records. The membership numbers should be viewed with caution. The figures reflect only a rough estimate by the relevant Royal Irish Constabulary authorities on the ground.

[Source: National Archives, UK, Royal Irish Constabulary County Inspectors' Reports of Political Organisations, June 1917, CO 904/103; December 1917, CO 904/104; June 1918, CO 904/106]

Source 9. MAP: 'German Plot' arrests, 17 – 18 May 1918

The appointment of Sir John French as Lord Lieutenant in May 1918 saw a hardening of attitude towards separatists. The arrest of Joseph Dowling (Dowling had joined Roger Casement's Irish Brigade in March 1915 while a prisoner of war in Limburg Camp in Germany) on 12 April on the Clare coast, after being landed by a German U-boat, provided French with an opportunity to arrest suspect separatists on the grounds of collaborating with Germany, despite the fact that Sinn Féin had adopted a policy of neutrality following the entry of the US into the war.

Source 10. MAP: An election poster for Arthur Griffith, Cavan East by-election June 1918

An election poster for Arthur Griffith, who contested the Cavan East by-election in June 1918 while incarcerated in Gloucester Prison following the German Plot' arrests of leading Sinn Féiners in May 1918. Griffith defeated the Irish Party candidate John F. O'Hanlon, securing just under 60 per cent of the vote. Sinn Féin also used the '*Put Him In To Get Him Out*' poster for jailed candidates in the December 1918 general election. In the by-elections in East Clare and Kilkenny City in the summer of 1917, won respectively for Sinn Féin by former prisoners Éamon de Valera and W.T. Cosgrave, a variation was used: '*We Got Him Out To Put Him In*'.

Source 11. MAP: Returned candidates in Ireland in the general election, December 1918

The electorate had expanded hugely since the previous election in 1910 and was much more diverse. Women (over thirty) voted in a parliamentary election for the first time, and almost all men over twenty-one were on the register. The number of voters in Ireland had almost trebled (1,931,588 compared to 698,098 in 1910), and it is estimated that two out of three of those on the register were first-time voters. The biggest constituency was Cork City, with 45,017 voters (almost four times the number in 1910), which elected two members – J.J. Walsh and Liam de Róiste of Sinn Féin. The latter party won seventy-three of the 105 seats across the island. Its percentage share of the vote was 46.9 per cent. Unionists secured 28.5 per cent (twenty-six seats) and the Irish Parliamentary Party (IPP) won six seats with 21.7 per cent of the votes. Labour had stood aside to allow Sinn Féin a clear run. Arthur Griffith, Éamon de Valera, Eoin MacNeill and Liam Mellows of Sinn Féin were elected for two constituencies. Sinn Féin candidates were returned unopposed in twenty-five constituencies where its support was strongest; had these been contested, the party's percentage share of the vote would have been much higher. Unionists secured twenty-three of the thirty-seven Ulster seats, and gained the Dublin district of Rathmines. The IPP won four seats in constituencies where Sinn Féin candidates withdrew in order to prevent a unionist victory. It defeated Sinn Féin only in Belfast Falls and Waterford City, and lost to it in forty-three other constituencies. There were only two female candidates – Winifred Carney and Constance Markievicz of Sinn Féin. The latter was successful, the first-ever woman elected to the UK parliament.

[Source: B. Walker (ed.) *Parliamentary Election Results in Ireland, 1918–92* (Dublin, 1992)]

Source 12. DOCUMENT: The handwritten first page of the Declaration of Independence

The handwritten first page of the Declaration of Independence, read at the inaugural session of the first Dáil, 21 January 1919. This was the first of three key texts produced; the other two were the Message to the Free Nations and the Democratic Programme. The Press Censorship prohibited publication of the Declaration and the Democratic Programme.

[Source: National Library of Ireland, MS 17,125]

Source 13. MAP: Dáil Loan, funds raised by constituency.

The Dáil Loan raised £371,000 in Ireland to finance the new Dáil Éireann counter-state. Effective fundraising usually required sympathetic public opinion and sound organisation from the constituency TDs and Sinn Féin branches. Striking success was achieved in constituencies such as East Limerick, Donegal South and Clare East.

[Source: G. Evans, 'The Raising of the First Internal Dáil Éireann Loan and the British Response to it, 1919–1921', unpublished M.Litt thesis, NUIM, 2012, pp. 151–5]

Source 14. MAP: Eamon de Valera's tour of the US 1919-20

The main objective of de Valera's visit to the US in 1919–20 was to gain formal recognition of the Irish Republic and to raise funds in support of the newly established Dáil Éireann. Criss-crossing the country, he addressed mass rallies, met with public officials, helped sell Dáil Éireann bonds, and attended multiple state legislatures as a visiting dignitary. He filled major venues such as Madison Square Garden (New York), Fenway Park (Boston) and Wrigley Field (Chicago), but also visited less obvious Irish communities of the period, such as Scranton, Savannah, New Orleans, Kansas City, Butte and San Francisco. However, it was not all plain sailing, as the tour coincided with rising American anti-immigration, anti-Catholic nativism, and the first 'red scare'. A small number of counter-demonstrations were organised by right-wing Americans, including the Ku Klux Klan and the American Legion (in Birmingham, Alabama, for example). Despite the large attendances and enthusiastic receptions, de Valera's period in the US was also marred by disputes with leading figures in Irish-America, principally Justice Daniel Cohalan, head of the Friends of Irish Freedom, and the influential Fenian John Devoy. The uneasy relationship first emerged in relation to the wording of the Dáil bond, and deteriorated further over the administration and collection of funds. Asserting himself as the leader of the Irish Republic, de Valera challenged the authority of Cohalan and Devoy, who did not spare him when the opportunity arose. For example, they denounced de Valera's reference to the Monroe Doctrine in an article published in the *New York Globe* on 6 February 1920 that deliberated on the future relationship between Britain and Ireland. Tensions also existed over de Valera's support for the League of Nations, which undermined Cohalan's use of the Irish-American lobby to stop American participation in the league. Notwithstanding internal wrangling, the issuing of Dáil bonds in the US proved a significant success, raising c. \$5 million for the independence movement.

[Source: UCD Archives, de Valera Papers, P150/741. See R. Fanning, *Éamon de Valera: a will to power* (London, 2015), pp. 70–8, and D. Hannigan, *De Valera in America* (New York, 2008), pp. 115–25]