



Unit 6:

The Rise of Sinn Féin and the First Dáil

Part 2

SENIOR CYCLE WORKSHEETS

Contents

Lesson 5

Exhibiting 1917

Background: Irish Convention and Thomas Ashe

[3](#)

Docs I - L: The Death, Funeral and Inquest of Thomas Ashe

[4](#)

Comprehension Questions, Docs I, J, K, and L

[8](#)

Planning an Exhibition **Task 4**

[9](#)

Exhibition Design Template

[10](#)

Lesson 6

Conventions and Conscription

Background: Sinn Fein and Volunteers Conventions

[11](#)

Documents M-Q: 1917 Conventions and Conscription Crisis

[12](#)

Comprehension Questions, Docs M, N, O, P, Q

[17](#)

Lesson 7

A Political Revolution: The 1918 General Election

[19](#)

Background: German Plot and 1918 General Election

Documents R-X: Electioneering material and Maps

[20](#)

Comprehension Questions, Docs R,S,T,U,V,W and X

[25](#)

Writing an electioneering Speech **Task 5**

[26](#)

Additional Documents

[27](#)

THE IRISH CONVENTION 1917-1918

In July 1917 Lloyd George convened the Irish Convention in an attempt to introduce Home Rule on the basis of agreement between nationalists and unionists. The Prime Minister's priority that summer was to find a solution to the Irish question in order to satisfy public opinion in America - Britain's ally against Germany since April - and focus entirely on the war effort. In keeping with Woodrow Wilson's doctrine of self-determination, the convention provided a forum for all of the Irish political groups.

Over one hundred delegates representing various strands of Irish society met in Dublin between 25 July 1917 and 5 April 1918 to devise a future form of government for Ireland. The Labour Party and Sinn Féin, however, boycotted the Convention chaired by Sir Horace Plunkett. John Redmond made strenuous efforts to reach an agreement but Edward Carson and the Ulster Unionists would not compromise on the permanent exclusion of six counties from Home Rule. Redmond died in March 1918, and John Dillon succeeded him as leader of the IPP. The Irish Convention broke up in the following month without reaching an agreement. This further weakened the prestige of the Irish party and strengthened the position of Sinn Féin which benefited from not being associated with the failed conference.

THE DEATH OF THOMAS ASHE

The Unionist *Irish Times* published 'a very encouraging report on the progress of the Irish Convention' on the same day as an article appeared announcing the death of Thomas Ashe in Mountjoy Jail. The veteran commander of the Volunteers at Ashbourne in 1916, Ashe was released under the General Amnesty in June 1917. Tall and charismatic with a reputation as the only successful leader of the 1916 Rising, Ashe travelled to East Clare to campaign for de Valera and recruit for the

Volunteers. Rearrested in August 1917 for making seditious speeches, Ashe was charged under the Defence of the Realm Act (DORA) and imprisoned in Mountjoy jail. He joined a hunger strike by republican prisoners seeking 'political status' and was mortally injured during forcible feeding in September 1917.

Ashe's death caused national uproar and sparked protests and demonstrations across the country. Thirty thousand mourners filed through City Hall where Ashe lay in state, and his funeral on 30 September was the largest in Dublin since that of Fenian Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa two years before. Despite the fact that the government had banned civilians from wearing non-official military uniforms in August 1917, thousands of Irish Volunteers flooded into Dublin, wearing Volunteer uniforms and marching in military formation to Glasnevin Cemetery. The highly publicised funeral led to an increase in recruitment to the Volunteers.

"The circumstances of Ashe's death and funeral have made 100,000 Sinn Féiners out of 100,000 constitutional nationalists."

- The Daily Express, Sept 1917 -

Following Ashe's death, republicans used a transcript of the inquest proceedings as a powerful propaganda tool. The document undermined the British administration, outraged public opinion and further galvanized the independence movement. As a result, prison officials were discouraged from further force feeding of republican prisoners. Ashe's body became the emblem of a new public solidarity between the various strands of Irish nationalism, already coming together under the Sinn Féin banner.

- Document I -

Edited Extract from Bureau of Military History Witness Statement (353) submitted on 9 February 1950 by
James McGuill, Officer in Charge of the Dundalk Volunteers, 1918-1919

After the Frongoch prisoners were released at Xmas 1916, the efforts at a reorganisation of the volunteers were intensified. The successful results of the Sinn Féin candidates in the Bye-Elections of Roscommon, Longford and Kilkenny gave a great fillip [boost] to the Republican movement generally, and to the Sinn Féin organisation in particular.

The return of the sentenced leaders in June 1917, after the General Amnesty was the occasion of ... enthusiastic demonstrations of welcome, and they were looked on as National Heroes everywhere. The Clare Bye-Election where E. De Valera captured the seat had an astounding effect. This Election, which took place at the time the volunteers were making strenuous efforts to reorganise, provided an opportunity for the volunteers to parade openly in military formation, with many of their officers wearing uniform for the first time since Easter Week 1916. After this election, Public Meetings were held, principally under the auspices of Sinn Féin, at which volunteer officers made inflammatory speeches and as a result, the British made arrests in many widespread districts all over the country. Many of the leaders released at the General Amnesty were again arrested and all were confined in Mountjoy Prison.

After these arrests the prisoners put forward demands to the Prison Authorities in Mountjoy for proper Prisoner of War Treatment and, on their demands being turned down, all went on hunger strike ... Many of the prisoners were made to endure the ordeal of forcible feeding which resulted in the tragic death of Thomas Ashe. This event caused consternation and widespread indignation all over the country, and Ashe's funeral to the Republican Plot in Glasnevin Cemetery was attended by tens of thousands of volunteers from all over the country.

The magnitude of the Ashe funeral and the fine military bearing of the volunteers marching in the funeral procession, showed the world that the British Government's efforts to quench the flame of Republicanism in the Easter Week holocaust was a failure. The organisation of the volunteers for this funeral showed that the young men of Ireland could be organised on a more gigantic scale than was thought possible or attempted before the Rising in 1916.

EVENING HERALD

[Vol. 26 No. 235]

DUBLIN, MONDAY, OCTOBER, 1st, 1917

[WAR PRICE ONE PENNY]

30,000 MOURNERS

Incidents in Yesterday's
Mighty Funeral

FACTS AND FIGURES

3 Miles of Marchers in
Massed Formation

Thirty thousand mourners marched in organised disciplined ranks yesterday through the main streets of Ireland's capital to pay tribute to the memory of Thomas Ashe.

The magnificent procession extended without a break over the three-mile route from the City Hall to Queen Street Bridge on to O'Connell Bridge and up to the Cemetery Gates. The Irish Volunteer rear-guard passed the City Hall at 3.45, at almost the exact moment that the hearse reached Glasnevin.

Over 200,000 spectators and sympathisers thronged the route; roofs, windows, verandas - even lamp-posts, railings walls, hoardings, trees, statues, and monuments - every possible point of vantage was utilised by eager sightseers...

Thousands had travelled long journeys the previous night and early house of yesterday to take part. Though standing at apportioned stations of the route and assembling from 10 a.m. until 1.50, and marching from that hour until 7.30 p.m., they showed no fatigue...

Many who remember the Parnell public funeral agree that the procession yesterday was quite as representative of National sympathy and in point of size "half as large again."

None but an actual witness could understand the wonderful array, the great decorum, the colour and movement, and the dignity and solemnity that marked yesterday's event ... there was no shouting, there was no talking, there was no smoking, there was no smiling ...

The tricolour was worn in some form or other by every person participating in the procession, as well as by most people amongst the spectators. Nineteen bands, brass and reed, drum and fife and pipers took part in the funeral march...

Stalwart Tipperarymen wore placards with the words, "Will not forget, We must not forgive: Remember Ashe!"



One hundred and fifty priests marched immediately in front of the hearse. Such a large number of clergy was probably unprecedented in Ireland at the funeral of a layman... An impressive feature was the large contingent of National Teachers who marched with uncovered heads...

Though thousands of Irish Volunteers kept the approaches to City Hall clear for the funeral, there were still sufficient in the procession to form the largest, distinct, organised display. They marched about 9,000 strong, including city and provincial members of the I.V. forces ... despite all recent military orders under the Defence of the Realm Act ... a few Volunteers had bayonets fixed on their rifles, and some carried side arms in scabbards...

The Countess Markievicz, who headed companies of the Citizen Army was cheered at various points en route. She was in full uniform and carried a revolver at her belt ... Of the trades and labour bodies, the I.T.G.W.U., with the Women's Worker's Union formed the most numerous section - 8,000 members.

A few of the various other sections were: - Fianna Eireann (2,600), Schools Hurling and Football League (boys and girls), (600) N. City Ward Sinn Féin Club (200), O'Rahilly Sinn Féin Club (500), Sean Connolly Sinn Féin Club, (400), Sinn Féin Clubs from Nenagh (110), Thurles (200), Kildare (100), Blackrock (60), Wicklow (250), Wexford (230), Tipperary (130), Kilkenny (200), Roscommon (180), Kerry (700), Louth, (600), Bray (250), Westmeath, (250) ..

In almost every Catholic church in Ireland, prayers were publicly offered yesterday for the repose of the soul of the deceased, and in many cases the priest making the announcement alluded to "Thomas Ashe, a martyr and hero who died in Dublin as a result of prison treatment"...

About 500 beautiful wreaths were laid on and around the grave, and represented hundreds of Sinn Féin Clubs, Gaelic League branches, National associations and organisations, public bodies, trades organisations, and many individual friends and relatives.

Gregory Ashe, deceased's father, a splendid type of the sturdy Kerry peasant, could not restrain his grief, and when the remains were lowered into their last resting place, there was scarcely a dry eye present.

The firing party consisting of 8 picked Volunteers, under Capt. Liam Clarke took up position 10 yards in front of the grave, and fired three volleys over the freshly covered-in grave of their dead comrade. The 'Last Post' was sounded by the trumpeters; and Vice Commandant Michael Collins, standing at the head of the grave, speaking in Irish and then in English, said:-

"Nothing additional remains to be said.

That volley which we have just heard is the only speech which it is proper to make above the grave of a dead Fenian."

The splendid demonstration yesterday proved that all Ireland joined in a magnificent and record tribute to Thomas Ashe, whose death under such tragic circumstances touched the heart of the country as nothing has in the present generation.



Reproduction of a republican propaganda poster produced in the wake of Thomas Ashe's death in September 1917. It is directed particularly at supporters of the Irish Parliamentary Party who still believe in constitutional methods.

TO THE
“IRISHMEN”
IN THE
English Convention

Are you Irish and men that you can sit there and discuss measures for the **self-government** of **Ireland**, while men who were working for the **same cause** in a different way are **dying** for that cause in jail, tortured by your English employers. You say that you are Irishmen, and expect Ireland to **trust** you, while you look on with coldness and acquiescence at men dying for a cause for which you would not sacrifice a dinner. **You** are treating with the enemy, while that enemy is **murdering** your **fellow-countrymen**.

KATHLEEN - NI - HOULIHAN

Inquest on Thos. Ashe

THE VERDICT OF THE JURY

After deliberation, the Jury returned the following verdict :-

“We find that the deceased, Thomas Ashe, according to the medical evidence of Professor McWeeney, Sir Arthur Chance, and Sir Thomas Myles, died from heart failure and congestion of the lungs on the 25th September 1917 ; that **his death was caused by the punishment of taking away from the cell bed, bedding and boots, and allowing him to be on the cold floor for 50 hours**, and then subjecting him to forcible deeding in his weak condition after hunger-striking for five or six days.

“**We censure the Castle Authorities** for not acting more promptly, especially when the grave condition of the deceased and other prisoners was brought under their notice on the previous Saturday by the Lord Mayor and Sir John Irwin.

“That the hunger strike was adopted against the inhuman punishment inflicted and a refusal to their demand to be treated as political prisoners.

“We condemn forcible feeding and mechanical feeding as an inhuman and dangerous operation, and which should be discontinued.

“That the assistant doctor called in, having no previous practice, administered forcible feeding unskillfully.

“**We find that the taking away of the deceased’s bed, bedding, and boots was an unfeeling and a barbarous act, and we censure the Deputy-Governor** for violating the prison rules and inflicting punishment which he had no power to do.

“That we infer he was acting under instructions from the Prison Board and Castle, which refused to give evidence and documents asked for.

“We tender our sympathy to the relatives of the deceased.”



COMPREHENSION QUESTIONS

Documents I - L

1. According to James McGuill, what aspect of the East Clare by-election in 1917 was useful in to the reorganising Volunteers? (*Doc I*)

2. Why did the prisoners in Mountjoy go on hunger strike in September 1917? (*Doc I*)

3. Why, in James McGuill's opinion, was the funeral of Thomas Ashe so significant? (*Doc I*)

4. Is there any evidence of bias in James McGuill's account of the events of 1917 in Ireland? Refer to the document in your answer. (*Doc I*)

5. How does the journalist prove that the people who attended Ashe's funeral were (a) numerous (b) respectful? (*Doc J*)

6. How does the *Evening Herald* article support the statement that "Ashe's funeral brought together many different shades of Irish nationalism"? (*Doc J*)

7. For what purpose was Document K created in 1917?

8. How would you describe the language used in Document K? Give reasons for your answer.

9. Why do you think that particular sentences were highlighted in the version of the inquest printed by republicans for public distribution? (*Doc L*)

YOUR TASK

The Department of Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht has decided to create a new exhibition in Glasnevin Cemetery to mark the important events of 1917 in Ireland. Submissions are invited from exhibition designers for the sections dedicated to:

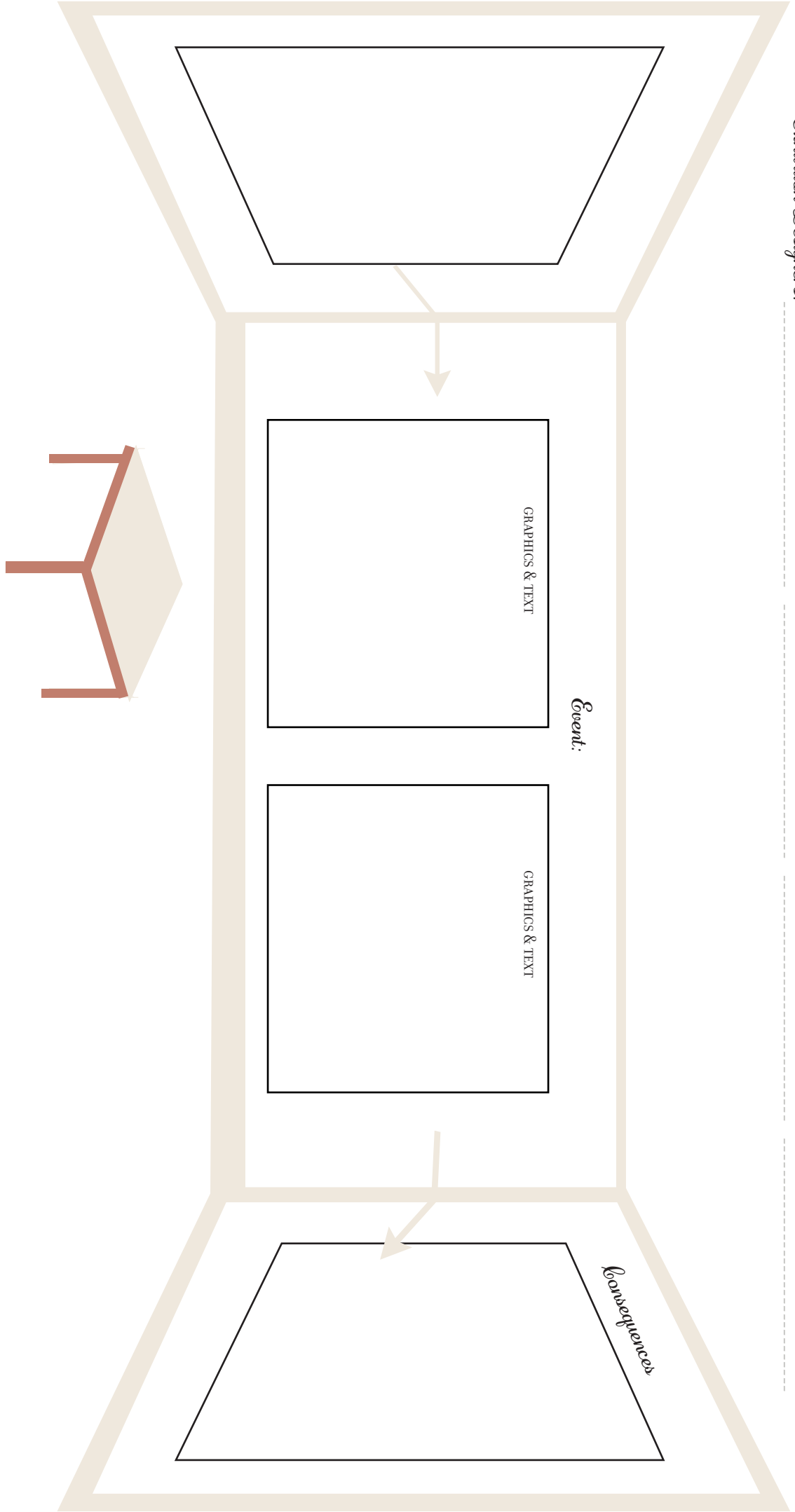
- (a) The release of the 1916 prisoners
- (b) The death and funeral of Thomas Ashe
- (c) The 1917 by-elections
- (d) The Irish Convention.

Each part of the exhibition must include information on the background to the event, the event itself and the consequences of the event. This may be presented using, for example, photographs, graphics, text, a sound or video installation, artefacts, dramatic reenactment, posters.

- Step 1:* Your teacher will organise the class into groups of three. Each group will be assigned a topic for their exhibition proposal.
- Step 2:* Using the documents A-L above and your own research, each group should discuss possibilities for their own exhibition space.
- Step 3:* Draft your ideas using the template on the next page making sure to clearly label all aspects of the exhibition.
- Step 4:* Each member of the group must write the text for one of panels in the exhibition space for submission to the department with your proposal.

Title of Exhibition: _____

Exhibition Designers: _____



ORGANISATION AT NATIONAL LEVEL - THE SINN FÉIN ARD-FHEIS 1917

Two thousand delegates of vastly differing views attended the Sinn Féin Ard Fheis on 26 October 1917. The purpose of the convention was to achieve unity among the moderate and extreme republicans. The Clare election led to the emergence of Eamon de Valera as a capable and intelligent leader. Prior to the convention he devised a formula to satisfy both determined republicans such as Cathal Brugha, and moderates such as Arthur Griffith. The new Sinn Féin Constitution stated that the aim of the organisation was to secure the international recognition of Ireland as an independent Irish Republic' and 'having achieved that status, the Irish people may by referendum freely choose their own form of government.' Arthur Griffith stood down as president in favour of de Valera and his monarchical programme was replaced by the objective of a republic.

THE VOLUNTEER CONVENTION 1917

On 27 October 1917 representatives of Volunteers units from across the county gathered for a secret convention in Dublin. Many had attended the Sinn Féin Ard Fheis the previous evening, reflecting the strong overlap between the political and paramilitary wings of the republican movement. A national Volunteer Executive was elected with Éamon de Valera as president. Administrative control of the Irish Volunteers rested with the newly formed 'resident executive' in Dublin, with Michael Collins, Richard Mulcahy and Dick McKee taking top posts. This group became the nucleus of Volunteer General Headquarters (GHQ) staff formed in March 1918, which managed the Irish Volunteers during the War of Independence. Over two days in October 1917, the political movement had consolidated and acquired a military wing under the same leader.

THE CONSCRIPTION CRISIS

The collapse of the Irish Convention in April 1918 coincided with the last great German offensive on the Western Front. Faced with alarming reports from France, the British War cabinet proposed extending conscription to Ireland. When the Military Service Act was passed in the House of Commons on 16 April 1918, Sinn Féiners, Volunteers, the Irish Labour Party, and Home Rulers were united in a campaign of resistance. At an all-party conference at the Mansion House in Dublin on 18 April a pledge was adopted 'Denying the right of the British Government to enforce compulsory service in this country,' and promising 'to resist conscription by the most effective means at our disposal'. The Catholic Church wholeheartedly endorsed the resistance movement and the Labour Party and the Trade Union Movement called a general strike on 23 April. On Sunday 21 April almost two million people signed the anti-conscription pledge outside church gates.



The Conscription Crisis was a landmark event for all concerned. The Irish Volunteers, Sinn Féin and Cumann an mBan experienced an influx of new recruits during the conscription crisis and Volunteer units intensified secret night-time drilling and the number of raids for arms and ammunition rose sharply. While the Conscription Crisis cemented the rise of Sinn Féin, the Irish Party under John Dillon was criticised for failing to defeat the Bill in Parliament in the first place.

EVENING HERALD

[Vol. 26 No. 256]

DUBLIN, THURSDAY OCTOBER, 25th, 1917

[WAR PRICE ONE PENNY]

SINN FEIN CONVENTION

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

A mild sensation was caused at today's Convention by the unanimous election of Mr DeValera as President of the Sinn Féin organisation.

Every foot of space in the Round Room of the Mansion House was occupied to-day when the Sinn Féin Convention was called to order ... A great amount of public interest attached to the event and a crowd gathered in the street outside to watch the arrival of the delegates ... from over 1,000 [Sinn Féin] Clubs.

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

At 10.30 Mr Arthur Griffith, President of Sinn Féin, took the chair amid loud applause. A report on the present position of Sinn Féin was read by Dr. Dillon, in which it was stated that the past eight months had been a period of unprecedented activity for National Independence. References were made to the recent Sinn Féin victories in the Irish consistencies ... and to the fact that twelve hundred clubs has been affiliated, representing a membership of over a quarter of a million. They had there that day 1,700 delegates, representing 1,009 clubs.

The President then delivered his address in the course of which he said ... In 1914 they witnessed the spectacle of a man whom Ireland had trusted as leader throwing away all traditions of Irish history ... and saying that the war that England had entered into was an

Irish war ... From that time Ireland veered towards Sinn Féin, but were it not for the martyrdom of the 16 men in Easter Week, Ireland would not have been won so entirely to the side of Sinn Féin as she was now ...

Continuing, the President said ... It remained for them to stand together and to show by discipline that they were determined, when the Peace Conference assembled, to claim from it the same rights that Belgium, Poland and Serbia claimed. If these countries are to receive their independence - and I believe they ought - we must receive our independence also.

A NEW CONSTITUTION

1. The name of this organisation shall be Sinn Féin.
2. Sinn Féin aims at securing the international recognition of Ireland as an independent Irish Republic. Having achieved that status, the Irish people may by referendum freely choose their own form of government.
3. This object shall be attained through the Sinn Féin Organisation, which shall, in the name of the sovereign Irish people, deny the right and oppose the will of the British Parliament and British Crown, or any other foreign government to legislate for Ireland. ...



WOMEN SPEAK

The prominent ladies present were Countess Markievicz (in uniform), Countess Plunkett and the Misses Plunkett. Dr Kathleen Lynn and Mrs Wyse Power. In the course of a speech Dr Kathleen Lynn recalled that the last occasion she was at a meeting in the Round Room, Thomas Ashe was one of the speakers. In a few eloquent sentences she bore testimony to the character of the deceased...

BOMBHELL OF THE DAY

There was an air of suppressed excitement followed by some cheering when Count Plunkett, coming from the front of the platform, announced his intention of withdrawing his name for the presidency of Sinn Féin in favour of Eamonn De Valera ... The bombshell of the day was when Mr Arthur Griffith announced in favour of De Valera whom he described as a statesman as well as a soldier. De Valera, amid great cheering was declared immediately elected.

Edited Extract from Bureau of Military History Witness Statement (#400) submitted on 28 June 1950 by Richard Walsh who was present at the Volunteer Convention on 26 October 1917 and elected representative for Connacht on the National Executive of the Volunteers

The whole political outlook at this time [1917] was in a liquid state. The great bond of agreement between all republicans was a united desire to get rid of the Irish Parliamentary Party as soon as possible. Amongst republicans themselves there were different interpretations of what freedom meant ...

[At the Sinn Féin Ard Fheis] Mr. de Valera made a very diplomatic speech on the lines that there was room for all organisations working in the same direction, but that as Sinn Féin seemed more popular and more associated in people's minds with 1916, Sinn Féin would have a better following, and that the new organisation should be known as Sinn Féin.

On the evening of the last day of the Sinn Féin Ard-Fheis a Volunteer Convention was held in Croke Park which lasted for at least 10 hours. All the delegates attending the Volunteer Convention had also been delegates at the Sinn Féin Convention.

The Volunteer Convention was held in a building in Croke Park known as the Pavilion, [the] end portion of this building was filled with hay. The large number of delegates which numbered about 1,100 seated themselves where convenient on portions of an open stand and around on the hay ... At the end of the building, a group of men assembled, of whom it could be said they were the men of destiny in the Ireland of our time. The Chairman of the Convention was Eamon de Valera. Behind him, lying on the pile of hay, were Michael Collins, Cathal Brugha, Austin Stack [and...] all the prominent men in the republican physical force movement of that time. I have no records to go on so I have to rely on my memory.

The business done at the Volunteer Convention was as follows: A National Volunteer Executive was formed, numbering 19 men selected as follows: 7 men resident in Dublin, named "resident members";

3 men from each province ... I was selected as one of the Connaught representatives.

The "resident members" were voted for and selected by the whole Convention:-

Rory O'Connor, Michael Staines, Cathal Brugha, Eamon de Valera, (Chairman); Eamon Duggan, (Deputy Chairman); William M. O'Reilly, Diarmuid O'Hegarty, Michael Collins and Richard Mulcahy

A decision by the Executive must be carried by a clear majority of the whole Executive. This was necessary to give a vital decision on matters of a serious nature, such as a decision on peace or war. ...

A copy of the anti-conscription pledge taken by hundreds of thousands of members of the public at church doors across the country on the Sunday 21 April 1918.

Extract from a Freeman's Journal report on the progress of the National Defence Fund, organised by the Mansion House Convention. Over £250,000 was collected in Ireland during the campaign.

(a)

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.”

[Source: National Library of Ireland, EPH E103]

(c)

ROINN COSANTA.

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY, 1913-21.

STATEMENT BY WITNESS

DOCUMENT NO. W.S. 1551 ...

Witness: Patrick McCabe, Castlepollard Coy., Co. Westmeath.

The young men of the country were now faced with being conscripted into the British Army by act of the British government and the country, almost to a person, opposed this act and resolved to fight it to the last. There was a great influx of men into the Volunteers now and our strength rapidly reached around one hundred. Parades were held regularly in the open and the services of ex-British army men were availed of to lick this new force into at disciplined unit. Anti-conscription meetings were held at which the Volunteers paraded. The Catholic clergy were the leading lights in the opposition to the conscription act, and when they gave the lead the crowd followed. The Volunteers collected for the anti-conscription fund [and] ... also had everyone sign the anti-conscription pledge.

The Freeman's Journal

VOL. CL1

DUBLIN, THURSDAY, APRIL 30, 1918

[ONE PENNY]

(b)

COUNTRY AND THE FUND

SUBSTANTIAL CONTRIBUTIONS IN MANY PARISHES

Nothing that has occurred has minimised the seriousness of the conscription menace, and it is therefore, necessary, the National Conference at the Mansion House warns the Irish public, to proceed at once with the perfection of defensive organisation. That the country realises the seriousness of the position can be seen from the spirited manner in which the people are contributing to the Defence Fund.

The collection was taken up after all the Masses in Armagh parish on Sunday and £600 was subscribed as a first installment. The collection at Dungravan realised over £500. This is considerably more than any other sum ever collected there before for any object. The people of Skibbereen responded generously to the appeal and on Sunday £250 was realised ... in Ballymote, Co Sligo £200 was subscribed as a first installment. In the half-parish of Caltra, Ballinasloe on Sunday £141 6s 6d was subscribed at the church gate. Caltra is a purely agricultural district where farmers holdings vary from two to twenty acres as a rule, with few large landowners. A collection at Claremorris on Sunday realised close on £600 including the contribution from Barnacarron, or lower part of the parish. The contributions varied from £20 down to £1.

Animated scenes were witnessed around the tables at which the collections were taken in Cork on Sunday. Sums varying from the pence of the very poor to £10 notes, as well as cheques for larger amounts were eagerly tendered and nobody was seen to pass the tables by without subscribing. The collectors had no occasion to solicit and their difficulty sprang from the general eagerness to give. It is believed that over £5,000 was subscribed.

At Castlereagh there was a generous response, the collection amounting to £800 and about £200 of outstanding promises. The subscriptions ranged from about £1 to £20 each.

Poster publicising a Cumann na mBan anti-conscription *aerideacht* (gathering) on 23 June 1918.

The campaign against conscription escalated in the early summer of 1918. In June republicans held gatherings across the country to raise anti-conscription funds. These cultural events combined speeches against conscription with singing, dancing, and sporting contests. A government crackdown on 3 July banned Sinn Féin, the Gaelic League, the Volunteers, Cumannna mBan and all public meetings held without a police permit. 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.

PROCLAMATION
NO CONSCRIPTION

— WE —

THE MEMBERS OF THE BALLAGHADERREEN CUMANN 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 BEIRNÉ**, 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 "BAN OFF" AT 2.30 O'Clock. OLD TIME.

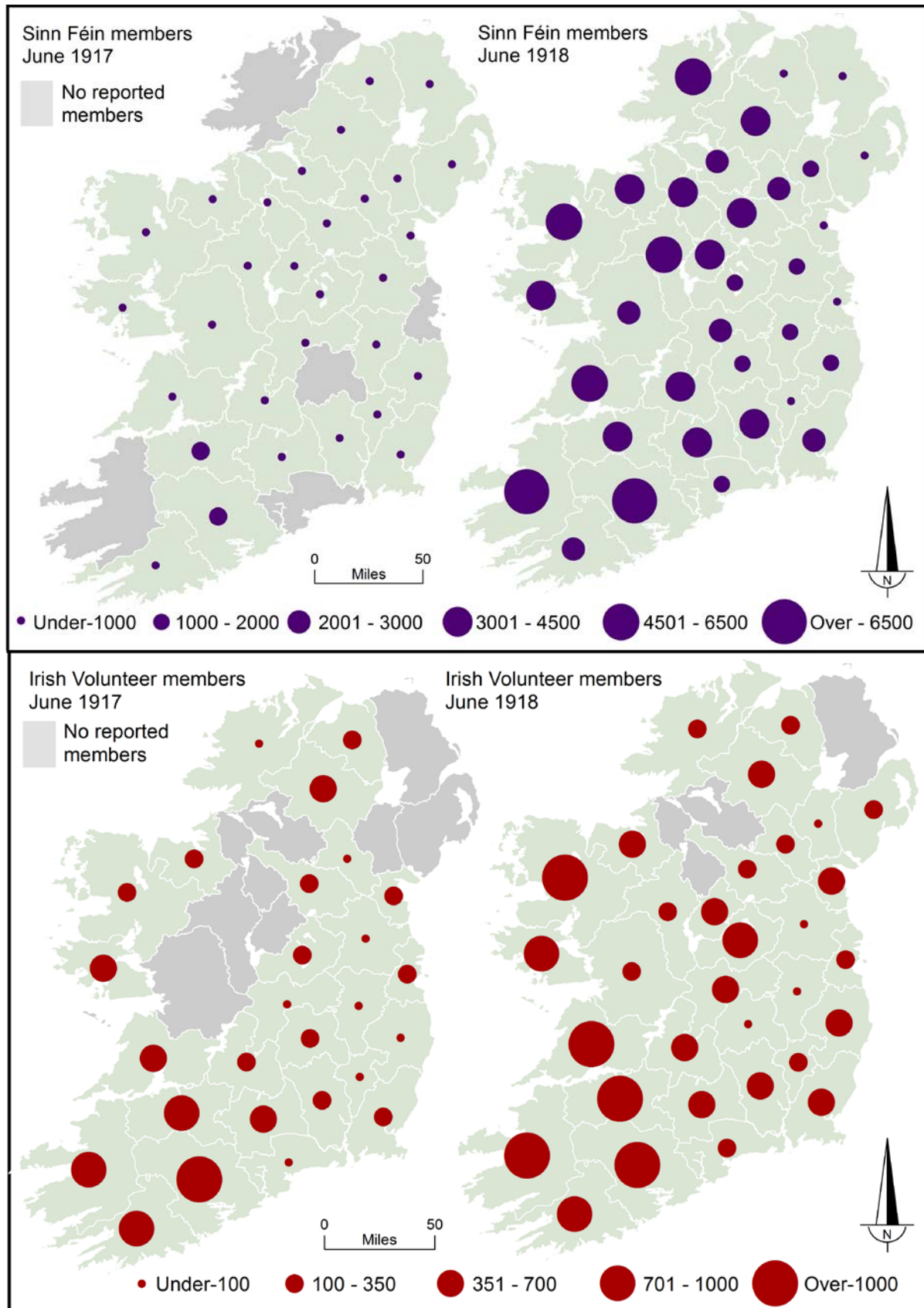
PRICE OF ADMISSION 1s. (Centre of Field). 6d. Side Line.

PROCEEDS IN AID OF THE LOCAL CUMANN NA MBAN.

Owen Garahan, Secy, Castlereagh. **A Dhia Saor Eire.**

- Document Q -

Sinn Féin blossomed after the October 1917 Ard Fheis, which unified the political party and clarified its republican goals. By the end of 1917 it boasted 1,300 registered clubs with a membership of 250,000. The police reported a 23 per cent increase in Sinn Féin membership between March and May 1918 and an even greater influx of recruits into the Volunteers, as young men anxious to avoid compulsory service rushed to join. The data in the maps, however, excludes Dublin city, and should be read critically. The membership figures were estimated by Royal Irish Constabulary county inspectors, who did not have access to membership records.



[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]



COMPREHENSION QUESTIONS

Documents M - Q

1. Where, according to the *Evening Herald*, did the Sinn Féin Convention take place? (*Doc M*)

2. How many Sinn Fein clubs were represented at the convention? (*Doc M*)

3. What, according Griffith, was the main reason for the popular support for Sinn Fein in 1917? (*Doc M*)

4. Based on your knowledge of the first Sinn Fein party formed in 1905 by Arthur Griffith, how were the aims of the new Sinn Fein party different?

5. When stepping down in favour of Eamon de Valera as president of Sinn Fein, how did Arthur Griffith describe his successor ? (*Doc M*)

6. Can you suggest any reason(s) why Arthur Griffith and Count Plunkett may have stepped aside to allow Eamon de Valera take the presidency of the new Sinn Fein in 1917?

7. According to Volunteer Richard Walsh's witness statement, why did all the different strands of Irish republicanism decide to unite under the name of Sinn Fein? (*Doc N*)

8. How many men were elected to Volunteer National Executive at the 1917 convention? (*Doc N*)

9. Who was appointed as Chairman of the National Executive and why was this significant?(*Doc N*)

10. Based on Patrick McCabe's witness statement, how were the Volunteers involved in the anti-conscription campaign? (*Doc Oc*)

11. How would you describe the language used in the anti-Conscription Pledge? (*Doc Oa*)

12. How does the *Freeman's Journal* prove its claim that the Irish public realises the seriousness of the British government extending conscription to Ireland? (*Doc Ob*)

13. Can you find any evidence in Documents Ob and Oc that the Catholic Church supported the anti-Conscription Campaign?

14. Can you identify any examples of humour in the poster advertising the Cumann na mban anti-Conscription event? (*Doc P*)

15. What can the people who attend the anti-conscription *aerideacht* (gathering) expect to see?. (*Doc P*)

16. Examine the maps showing the growth of the Volunteers and Sinn Fein Movements between 1917 and 1918 (*Doc Q*). Using the information in the maps and in documents A-R, complete the following essay question:

Explain the development of the Volunteers and/or Sinn Fein in your country between June 1917 and June 1918 and provide at least three reasons for that development.

THE GERMAN PLOT 1918

Despite very flimsy evidence of conspiring with Germany, seventy-three leading Sinn Féiners, including elected MPs Eamon de Valera, Arthur Griffith, Count Plunkett, Joseph McGuinness and William T. Cosgrave, were arrested on the night of 17–18 May 1918. These arrests in the wake of the government's failure to impose conscription led may to the conclusion that Sinn Féin could claim credit for the victory over Lloyd George's government. While in prison, Arthur Griffith's won the hotly-contested East Cavan by-election in June 1918, suggesting that the Irish Parliamentary Party was losing its dominant position in Ireland. De Valera famously escaped from Lincoln Jail in February 1919, and the remainder of the 'German Plot' prisoners were released in March 1919.

THE 1918 GENERAL ELECTION

The electorate had expanded hugely since the previous election in 1910. All men over twenty-one and women over thirty now had the right to vote. The number of voters in Ireland had almost trebled (1,931,588 in 1918 compared to 698,098 in 1910), and approximately two out of three of those on the register were first-time voters. The total poll on 14 December 1918 was 1,011,248. The Sinn Féin party won 46.9 per cent of the vote - seventy-three of the 105 seats across the island. 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 stood aside to allow Sinn Féin a clear run and Sinn Féin candidates were returned unopposed in twenty-five constituencies where its support was strongest. 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. Its leader, John Dillon, was defeated by de Valera in East Mayo. Constance Markievicz of Sinn Féin, one of only two female candidates was the first-ever woman elected to the UK parliament. Sinn Féin's victory was so decisive that its MPs could now plausibly claim the right to establish a Dublin-based parliament and government.

THE FIRST DÁIL 21 JANUARY 1919

On 21 January 1919 twenty-eight men who had been elected as Sinn Féin Members of Parliament in the general election of December 1918, met in public session in Dublin's Mansion House to proclaim Dáil Éireann as a legislative assembly for Ireland. Eamon de Valera was elected President of the Dáil, the symbolic head of the Irish Republic and the recognised public face of the independence movement. Like many of the sixty-eight Sinn Féin MPs – or Teachtaí Dála (TDs) – elected in 1918, de Valera was in prison in January 1919 and Cathal Brugha acted on his behalf. Other notable absentees included Michael Collins and Harry Boland, who were in England organising de Valera's escape from Lincoln prison.

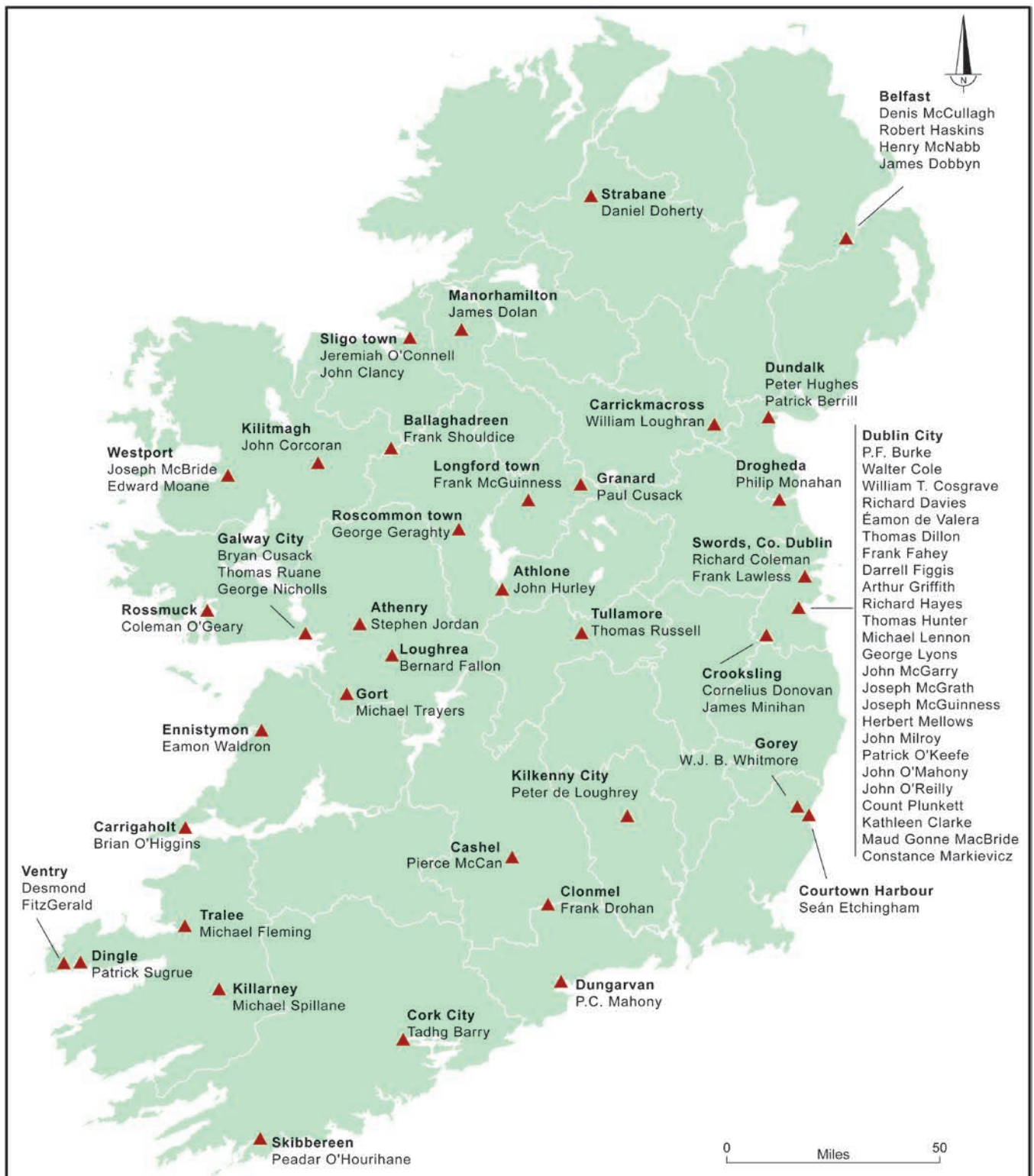


By the end of the session, the members had approved a short, provisional constitution, appointed three delegates to the post-war peace conference, and issued a Declaration of Independence, a message to the Free Nations of the World, and a Democratic Programme.

- Document R -

The 'German plot' arrests, 17 –18 May 1918.

On 12 April 1918, John Dowling was arrested after being landed on the Clare coast by a German U-boat. Dowling had been a prisoner of war in Germany in 1915 and a member of Roger Casement's Irish Brigade. The arrest provided the newly-appointed Lord Lieutenant, Sir John French with an opportunity to arrest seventy-three Sinn Féin activists on the flimsy charge of collaborating with Germany. The 'German Plot' arrests increased support for Sinn Féin candidates in the general election held on 14 December 1918.



IRISH PARTY MANIFESTO

APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE

We lay before the people of Ireland, these alternatives ... Either Ireland is to be given over to unsuccessful revolution and anarchy, or the Constitutional movement is to have the full support of the Irish people and go on till it has completed its work

After the revolutionary movement of the sixties, Isaac Butt proclaimed to the Irish people that a Constitutional movement was the only sure and certain method of obtaining their rights. Parnell renewed that policy and that hope. The people of Ireland accepted that policy, and that policy has never been seriously questioned by the Irish people ...

THE IRELAND OF TODAY

What is the record of the years which have passed since Butt founded the Home Rule and Constitutional movement?

- Rackrents, evictions ... and, to a large extent, the landlords have disappeared from the life of Ireland. Two thirds of the entire land of the country have passed into the hands of the people ...
- In so far as local government is concerned, it has been wrenched from the landlords and is now in the entire possession of the people, with chairmen and members freely chosen by the people ...
- In the region of higher education, the Irish Party have been enabled to bestow upon Ireland, a National University, through which the sons of Catholics can find access to the highest conquests of learning for the first time in their history since the beginning of the English connection.
- In Primary and Secondary education, the teachers and the schools have all received an enormous improvement in revenue and position.
- With England, Ireland has been enabled to share to the full, in all the programme of social reform. The Old Age Pension ... [and] the National Insurance Act...
- Finally, the Irish Party has achieved the last and the greatest of the objects of every Irish movement since the Union, by placing on the Statute Book the greatest and largest measure of Irish Self Government ever proposed and ever achieved.

THE PEOPLE'S DUTY

If, then, the Constitutional movement has triumphantly vindicated itself; if, on the other hand, a revolutionary movement has shown itself to be at once futile and disastrous, have we not a right to ask the people of Ireland to stand by the Constitutional movement and uphold it till its entire mission is accomplished? ... We will lead the Irish people into the Parliament House for which they have been praying and working for more than a century.

- Document S -

Extracts from the manifesto issued by the United Irish League in Jan 1918 outlining the work already done by the Irish Party and asking the people to continue supporting the constitutional movement.



- Document T -

Reproduction of an election advertisement which appeared in *The Northern Whig* on Saturday 14 December 1918

Duncarin FOR SIR EDWARD CARSON, Ulster's Unionist Leader.

WOMEN AND MEN ELECTORS,
THIS (SATURDAY) MORNING VOTE FOR
Sir EDWARD CARSON and for HIM ALONE
LET NOTHING PREVENT YOU FROM VOTING,
BECAUSE -

1. He will never submit to Home Rule.
2. He will promote our City's prosperity.
3. He will frustrate Sinn Féin ideals.
4. He will advance the cause of Temperance.
5. He will introduce legislation for better Housing Accommodation and an Improved System of Education.
6. He undertakes that the Claims of our Gallant Sailors and Soldiers receive the consideration they so well deserve from the Nation.
7. He deserves every Vote.
8. He has sacrificed all for You, and is worthy of Your Support Now.

WORK. WORK. WORK.
GOD SAVE THE KING

In 1918 British and Irish women over the age of 30 were given the right to vote and to stand for election to parliament. Women were singled out as an important new group of voters whose support was vital to the future of the country.

An Appeal to the Women of Ireland



Not without reason did the old time poets in Eirinn call the country they loved by a woman's name. To them, Ireland, for whose liberation they strove so heroically was a mystical woman in captivity, at the mercy of a brutal enemy. Their devotion to Dark Rosaleen and their love of her were both boundless, because in woman the ancient Gael saw the great glory of his race, the sure promise that the sacred tradition of the Gaelic people would be carried into the unnumbered generations of the future ...

In the days of the Land League the women were as valiant champions of the dispossessed race as the farmers themselves. And today, the voices of Sarsfield and Tone and Emmet and Mitchell and Parnell and Pearse - the grateful voices of the dead cry to the women of Ireland to stand by their tortured sister Rosaleen ...

You can save Ireland by voting as Mrs Pearse will vote ... The choice is largely with the women of Ireland. They can win for us the ancient ideal of our people. All their history, all their idealism, all their self-interest, all their common sense must prove to them that Sinn Féin is the one party meriting their support, that it is the only party worthy of the past, representing the heroic feeling of the present; having in it any hope for the future of the People of Ireland.

We appeal to the women voters all over Ireland to vote with Sinn Féin, because the physical safety of the race depends upon our immediate freedom; because Sinn Féin carries on the tradition of independence ... because in every generation Irishwomen have played a noble part in the struggle for Irish freedom, because finally, as in the past, so in the future, the womenfolk of the Gael shall have a high place in the Councils of the freed Gaelic nation.

Extracts from the manifesto issued by the Sinn Féin Party for the 1918 general election, outlining the party's intention to abstain from Westminster and establish a breakaway constituent assembly in Ireland

GENERAL ELECTION

Manifesto to the Irish People

THE coming general election is fraught with vital possibilities for the future of our nation. Ireland is faced with the question whether this generation wills it that she is to march out into the full sunlight of freedom, or is to remain in the shadow of a base imperialism that has brought and ever will bring in its train naught but evil for our race.

Sinn Féin gives Ireland the opportunity of vindicating her honour and pursuing with renewed confidence the path of national salvation by rallying to the flag of the Irish Republic.

- 1. By withdrawing the Irish Representation from the British Parliament and by denying the right and opposing the will of the British Government or of any other foreign Government to legislate for Ireland.**
- 2. By making use of any and every means available to render impotent the power of England to hold Ireland in subjection by military force or otherwise**
- 3. To establish a constituent assembly comprising persons chosen by the Irish constituencies as the supreme national authority to speak and act in the name of the Irish people, and to develop Ireland's social, political and industrial life, for the welfare of the people of Ireland.**
- 4. By appealing to the Peace Conference for the establishment of Ireland as an**

ISSUED BY THE STANDING COMMITTEE OF SINN FEIN

The Cork Examiner.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1918

NATIONALIST CANDIDATURE SUCCESSFUL MEETING

In the Hibernian Hall last night Major Talbot Crosbie and Mr R. O'Sullivan addressed a very large and successful meeting of their supporters ... The Chairman, who was received with cheers, said that [according to Sinn Féin], Ireland wanted a Republic. That was a very easy thing to say; but it was not quite so easy to accomplish.

They knew perfectly well that so long as the North East corner of Ireland was opposed to it, [an Irish Republic] could only be achieved by a military victory. Some of his opponents, he understood, were prepared to take that chance - they are prepared to see it out with Ulster. But he did not believe that the voters of Cork were going to endorse what to the mind of every thinking man was a mad undertaking. (hear, hear) ...

The object of the Nationalists standing in the present contest was to try, if they could not succeed, in welding and blending Ireland into one unanimous whole. That was their ambition. They did not war with anybody. There had been, God knows, enough of war in the world ... the effects of which would be felt for the longest day the present generation had to live. They wanted, above all things, peace in Ireland, and it was for that the men and women of Cork should vote for Major Crosbie and Mr O'Sullivan, the Nationalists candidates, on election day (cheers)...

EMPTY BENCHES

Are more eloquent at Westminster Parliament
than

EMPTY SPEECHES

The Peace Conference is SINN FEIN's immediate object.
You can get it there by swelling the majority for

COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE

BY

VOTING FOR STAINES

THE SINN FEIN CANDIDATE

- Document W -

Edited Extracts from newspaper coverage of
electioneering meetings in the week before the
General Election

Meath Chronicle

Saturday, December 14, 1918

MEETING AT WILKINSTOWN

A meeting was held at Wilkinstown in support of Liam Mellows at three o'clock on Sunday. There was a fairly large attendance of the Republican candidate's supporters ... Mr. Sean Mac Na Midhe ... traced the fact of Ireland's separate existence as a highly civilised and cultured nation back to the threshold of history, and appealed to those present to support the candidature of Liam Mellows, who, taking his stand on Ireland's nationhood, was working for her complete independence (applause).

Mr. M. J. Sweeney, B.Sc, who next addressed the meeting, referred to the dissolution of Empires on every side, and pointed out that Ireland's representatives would demand at the Peace Conference, in the words, of John Mitchel - "Not a local legislature, not a patchwork Parliament ... but an Irish Republic, one and indivisible" (applause). He therefore appealed to the electors to support the man, who, because he followed the teaching of Mitchel, was an exile beyond the seas (applause).

Mr. P. MacDonnell next addressed the meeting, and said that it was hard to realise that any Irishman would be found who did not desire the freedom of his own country (hear, hear). They had sent an Irish Party to Westminster with the green flag in their hands to secure Home Rule, but they came back bearing the Union Jack and a promise of Home Rule, (applause)...

The meeting concluded with the singing of the Republican National Anthem, after which ringing cheers were given for Commandant Mellows.

POINTS FOR ELECTORS

This is the greatest opportunity Ireland has had for more than a century—the opportunity of getting Europe to declare that the freedom of Ireland is necessary to the stability of the world."

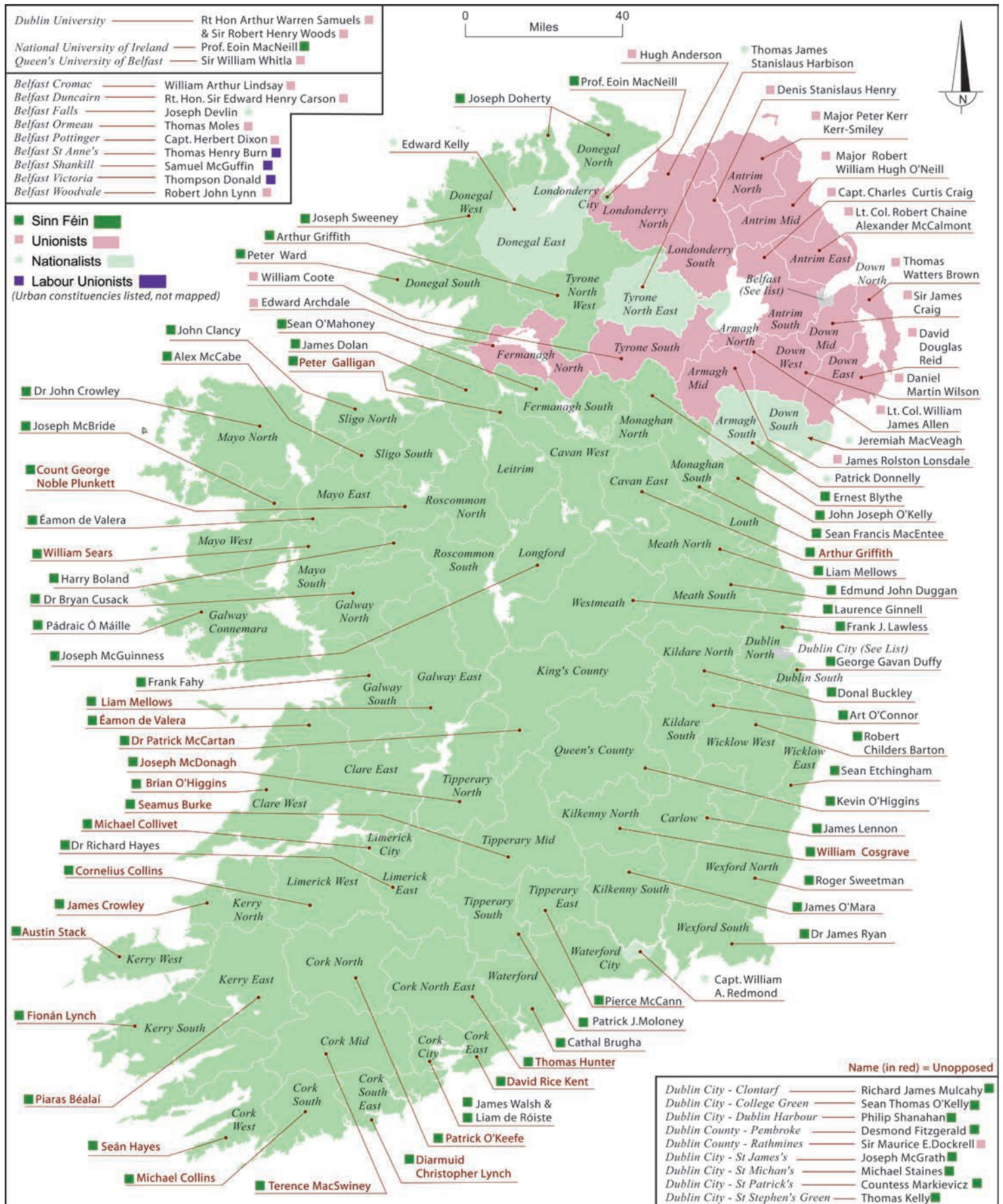
— Arthur Griffith, M.P.

* * * * *

Ireland has now a charter such as she never had before in all her history to make a declaration of independence. She can do it to-day (Dec 14th)
by VOTING SINN FEIN.

- Document X -

Returned candidates in Ireland in the general election, December 1918.





COMPREHENSION QUESTIONS

Documents R - W

1. How many Sinn Fein activists were arrested on suspicion of collaborating with Germany in May 1918?
(Doc R)
.....
.....
2. In what county in Ireland were most of the Sinn Fein activists arrested in May 1918? (Doc R)
.....
.....
3. Based on your knowledge of the 1916-18 period, name five of the most prominent members of Sinn Fein arrested in May 1918? (Doc R)
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
4. Can you suggest why the German Plot arrests increased public support for Sinn Fein before the 1918 general election?
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
5. In your own words briefly describe the method used in the Irish Parliamentary party (IPP) manifesto to convince the Irish electorate to vote for them in 1918. (Doc S)
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
6. In what ways is the election advertisement for Edward Carson clearly promoting a unionist candidate?
(Doc T)
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
7. Identify one persuasive technique used to convince the new female voters to vote for Sinn Fein?
(Doc U)
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

8. Identify two differences between the language used in the IPP Manifesto and the Sinn Fein Manifesto?
(Doc S and Doc V)

9. Comparing the information in maps R and X, identify the number of candidates that were elected to parliament while still in prison?

10. Essay Question: *What factors led to the success of Sinn Fein in the 1918 General Election?*

YOUR TASK:

You are the Sinn Fein candidate for a named constituency. It is the week before the general election and you are due to speak at a public meeting in your local town. Working with your campaign manager you must prepare your 3 minute speech in advance of the meeting.

Step 1: Your teacher will organise the class into pairs and assign a constituency to each pair.

Step 2: Find the name of the Sinn Fein candidate in your assigned constituency. Conduct some research into your candidate's background. (*If your candidate was arrested during the German Plot, he will be writing his speech from prison to be delivered at the meeting by one of his deputies.*)

Step 3: Working in pairs, read the newspaper accounts of the recent meetings in other constituencies [Document W], taking note of the main talking points and the arguments made by your opponents so that you can address them in your speech. You should also re-read the Sinn Fein manifesto and the other documents in the Student Worksheet to gather material for your speech.

Step 4: Write a draft of your speech. Remember to use persuasive language and to include:


☐

An opening statement introducing yourself and highlighting any relevant biographical information, e.g. 1916 Rising involvement, imprisonment, earlier campaigns etc.

☐

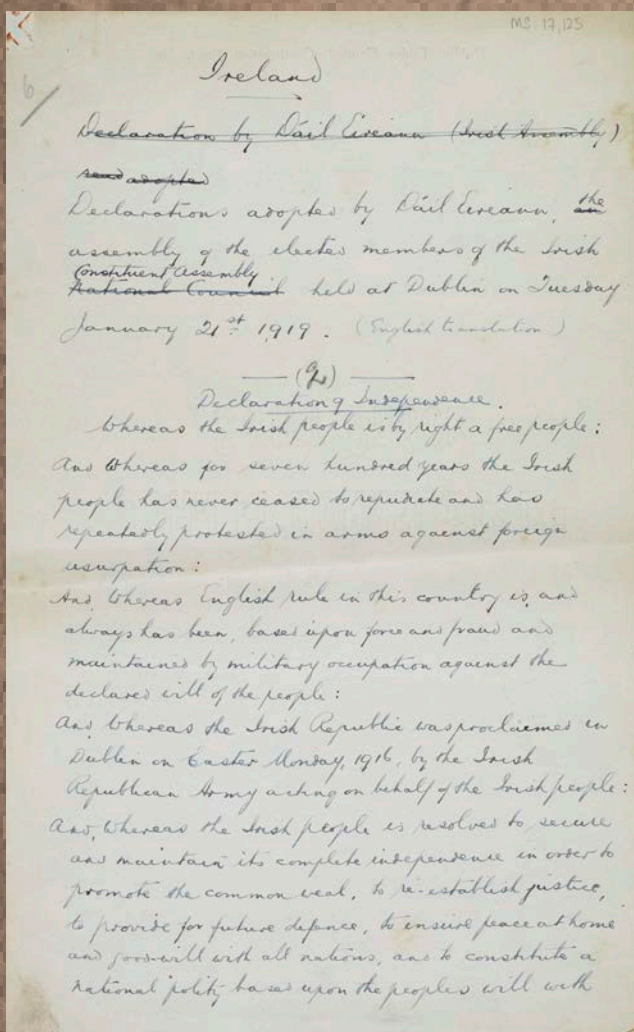
Outline at least three reasons why the constituents should vote for you as a Sinn Fein candidate.

☐

Address the arguments made by your Irish Parliamentary Party opponents

☐

A strong concluding point about the future of Ireland under Sinn Fein



- Document Y -

The handwritten first page of the Declaration of Independence, read at the inaugural session of the First Dáil, 21 January 1919. It reflected the Dáil's hybrid origins in revolution and in

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 insure peace at home and goodwill with all nations and to constitute a national policy based upon the people's will with equal right and equal opportunity for every citizen:

And Whereas at the threshold of a new era in history the Irish electorate has in the General Election of December, 1918, seized the first occasion to declare by an overwhelming majority its firm allegiance to the Irish Republic:

Now, therefore, we, the elected Representatives of the ancient Irish people in National Parliament assembled, do, in the name of the Irish nation, ratify the establishment of the Irish Republic and pledge ourselves and our people to make this declaration effective by every means at our command:

We ordain that the elected Representatives of the Irish people alone have power to make laws binding on the people of Ireland, and that the Irish Parliament is the only Parliament to which that people will give its allegiance:

We solemnly declare foreign government in Ireland to be an invasion of our national right which we will never tolerate, and we demand the evacuation of our country by the English Garrison:

We claim for our national independence the recognition and support of every free nation in the world, and we proclaim that independence to be a condition precedent to international peace hereafter:

In the name of the Irish people we humbly commit our destiny to Almighty God who gave our fathers the courage and determination to persevere through long centuries of a ruthless tyranny, and strong in the justice of the cause which they have handed down to us, we ask His divine blessing on this the last stage of the struggle we have pledged ourselves to carry through to Freedom.

EDITED EXTRACT FROM BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY WITNESS STATEMENT (586) SUBMITTED ON 27 SEPTEMBER 1951 BY KATHLEEN BOLAND, SISTER OF HARRY BOLAND ELECTED TD FOR ROSCOMMON SOUTH.

Shortly after [the 1918 general election] Mick Collins and Harry went over to Manchester, where they stayed with my aunt, to prepare plans for the rescue of de Valera from Lincoln Gaol. For this purpose, they obtained a fur-lined coat from Seamus Barrett, an old Fenian in Manchester, a friend of my father's who had a secondhand clothing shop there. The coat was for de Valera.

Before they went to England, they had asked my brother Gerry to make keys to the pattern of one that was sent out on a Christmas card from Lincoln Gaol. Gerry procured three blocks and cut out one, which he gave to Harry ... The other two blocks were sent to the prison in a Christmas cake, made by Mrs. Seán McGarry, and a file was also enclosed. Out of one of the blocks, de Loughrey, the Mayor of Kilkenny, who was a locksmith and was also a prisoner in Lincoln, made the actual key which fitted the lock and enabled de Valera to escape.

When at the appointed time Harry used his key in the lock and tried to turn it, it broke, and you can imagine the lurid language used by Mick and Harry when this last minute catastrophe happened. De Valera, who was waiting inside the gate, pushed in the key made by de Loughrey and, uttering a prayer, turned it in the lock and was free.

De Valera must have given the key to Harry, perhaps to mind it, because, when he came home, he handed the key to my mother, saying, "Take great care of this; when we get the Republic, it will be gilded and placed in the Museum" ...

Some time about the middle of May, 1919, Harry went over to Manchester and stayed with my aunt, to make preparations to go to America ... He succeeded in getting a job as a stoker on a boat ... When he arrived safely in America on the 8th June, he was met by Jim McGee and Jim Gleeson, who saw him safely through the Customs. He was carrying, in one of his specially made seaman's boots, the text of Ireland's claim to Independence. Both the boot and the text were afterwards given to the National Museum Harry was sent to America primarily to start a publicity campaign, I imagine, for the Dáil Loan and to blaze the trail for de Valera.



THE CABINET

Eamon de Valera escaped from Lincoln Jail on 3 February 1919 and when the remaining 'German Plot' prisoners were released in March, the President of the Dail was able to return to Ireland without danger of arrest. He presided at the second meeting of the Dail on 1 April at which Ministers were appointed to the Departments established since January 1919.

Arthur Griffith	- Minister for Home Affairs
Count Plunkett	- Minister for Foreign Affairs
Cathal Brugha	- Minister for Defence
Eoin MacNeill	- Minister for Industry
Countess Markievicz	- Minister for Labour
W.T. Cosgrave	- Minister for Local Government
Michael Collins	- Minister for Finance

A Distinct Department of Publicity was created in March 1919. The first Minister for publicity was Laurence Ginnell, replaced following his imprisonment by Desmond Fitzgerald. A veteran of 1916, Fitzgerald was successful in making contact with foreign journalists and encouraging them to publicise the work of the Dail and later, during the war of Independence, the 'acts of aggression by the police and military in Ireland.

Other than W.T. Cosgrave who had served on Dublin Corporation since 1908, few of the Ministers had any serious political experience. The constant harassment of the Dail and its members, particularly after it was suppressed in September 1919, also hampered its ability to work coherently. Many of its members had other civilian and revolutionary commitments. The survival and continuity of the revolutionary Dail owed much to the ability of its few permanent civil servants such as Diarmuid O'Hegarty, the secretary to the Dail cabinet and clerk of the Dail. He was responsible for taking the minutes of the Dail sittings, organising its secret meetings and facilitating correspondence between the ministers.

THE DÁIL LOAN

To finance Dáil Éireann and its ambitious foreign policy, government departments, republicans raised a national loan, whereby citizens could purchase bonds payable to be redeemed later by the newly-declared Irish Republic. Organised by Minister of Finance Michael Collins, the Dáil Loan sought to raise both badly-needed funds and public consciousness on behalf of the independence movement. Republicans launched a modern media campaign, incorporating slick newspaper advertisements, imaginative public events, door-to-door canvases, and even a short propaganda film covertly shown in Dublin cinemas. A bond drive was also launched in the US in January 1920. Collins hid the money and bonds in banks where the managers were sympathetic to the republican cause. From 1920 when the War of Independence intensified, most of the Dail's budget was sent on the Department of Defence.

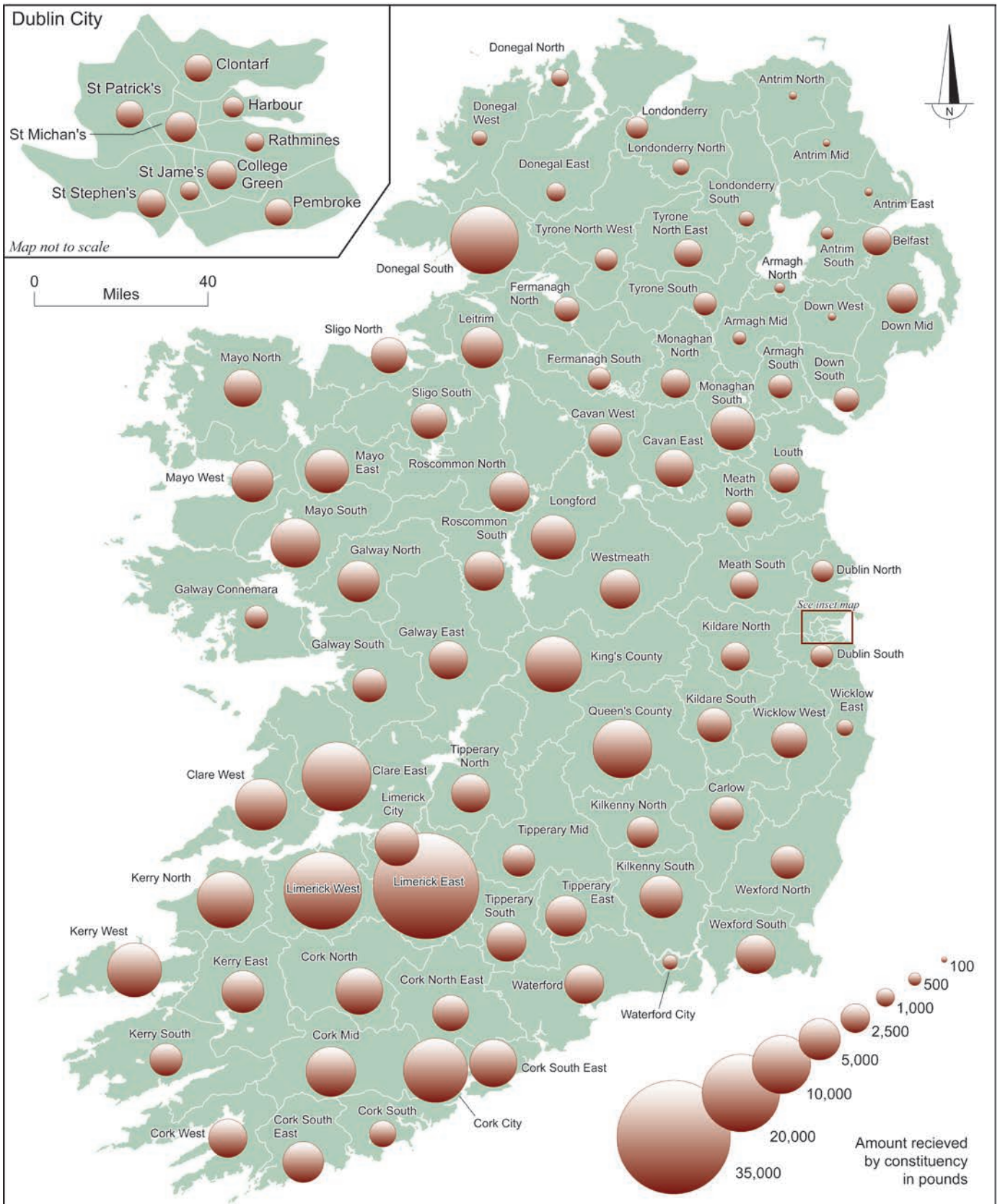
THE DÁIL COURTS

The fear that social unrest would detract from the national question led Sinn Féin to set up a system of arbitration courts. First suggested by Arthur Griffith in 1906, Sinn Féin began to set up arbitration courts in 1917 to settle land disputes. In 1919 they were brought under the jurisdiction of the Dail and extended beyond land to deal with all legal matters in an effort to replace the existing crown courts. The establishment of the Dail courts coincided with the decline of the RIC as an effective police force as a result of the IRA campaign of intimidation and assault. At the end of 1919 the RIC closed many of the small rural barracks and became increasingly unable to prosecute crimes or enforce judgments. The republican courts played an important role in maintaining law and order and made the Dail a reality in the minds of many proving itself capable of effectively governing the country.

- Document A1 -

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 TD and their Sinn Féin branches. RIC officer and magistrate, Alan Bell, was tasked by British intelligence to confiscate the Dail funds in an effort to cripple the revolutionary government. He was assassinated by Collins' Squad on 26 March 1920



THE PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE

The post-war Paris Peace Conference was convened at Versailles in January 1919 to redraw international borders and settle questions of national sovereignty at the end of the First World War. Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh and George Gavan Duffy served as the Irish Republic's uninvited representatives at the Palace of Versailles. They hoped to gain international recognition of Ireland's right to her Independence and her right to join the League of Nations as a constituent member.

US President, Woodrow Wilson, made it clear that the issue of an Irish republic was a British concern and not an international one. The conference refused to admit the republicans. Failure at the Paris Peace Conference removed the likelihood of a peaceful resolution to Irish independence aspirations.

DE VALERA IN AMERICA: June 1919 - Dec 1920.

After the failure to gain a hearing in Paris, the focus of the Dail's foreign policy shifted to America. In June 1919- four months after his escape from jail, de Valera travelled to the United States to gain support for Irish self-determination and to raise funds to bankroll the revolutionary government at home. Arthur Griffith was appointed acting president of Sinn Féin and the Dail in de Valera's absence, and Minister for Defence, Cathal Brugha, was acting president of the IRA.

De Valera's arrival in the US was followed by a highly-publicised fund-raising campaign which lasted eighteen months and collected a publicly-subscribed \$5.5m 'loan' for the cause. Criss-crossing the country he addressed a series of mass rallies, met with public

officials, and was received as a visiting dignitary at multiple state legislatures. 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, Montana, and San Francisco.

Apart from his success at fundraising, de Valera's ambitious plan for 1920 was a failure. The mission was hampered by personality clashes and power struggles within the Irish-American organisations and neither the Republican nor Democratic Parties in America supported Ireland's cause

- Document A2 -

Maps showing the places visited by Eamon de Valera's during his first and second tours of the United States.

