

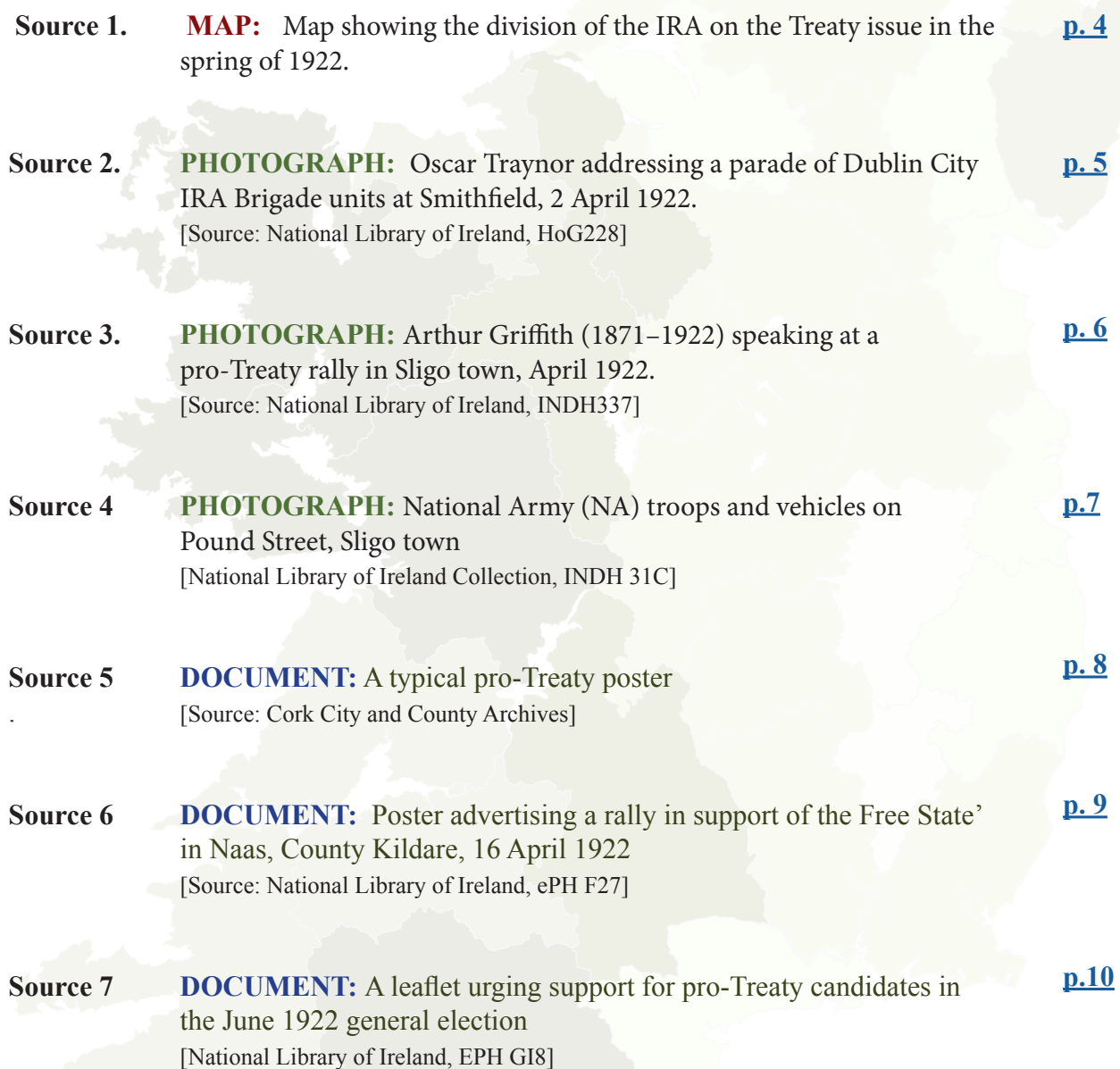
## Unit 8:


### *The Treaty and the Civil War*

#### *Part 1*

## *Document Pack*

# Contents

- 
- Source 1.**     **MAP:** Map showing the division of the IRA on the Treaty issue in the spring of 1922.     [p. 4](#)
- Source 2.**     **PHOTOGRAPH:** Oscar Traynor addressing a parade of Dublin City IRA Brigade units at Smithfield, 2 April 1922.  
[Source: National Library of Ireland, HoG228]     [p. 5](#)
- Source 3.**     **PHOTOGRAPH:** Arthur Griffith (1871–1922) speaking at a pro-Treaty rally in Sligo town, April 1922.  
[Source: National Library of Ireland, INDH337]     [p. 6](#)
- Source 4**     **PHOTOGRAPH:** National Army (NA) troops and vehicles on Pound Street, Sligo town  
[National Library of Ireland Collection, INDH 31C]     [p.7](#)
- Source 5**     **DOCUMENT:** A typical pro-Treaty poster  
[Source: Cork City and County Archives]     [p. 8](#)
- Source 6**     **DOCUMENT:** Poster advertising a rally in support of the Free State’ in Naas, County Kildare, 16 April 1922  
[Source: National Library of Ireland, ePH F27]     [p. 9](#)
- Source 7**     **DOCUMENT:** A leaflet urging support for pro-Treaty candidates in the June 1922 general election  
[National Library of Ireland, EPH GI8]     [p.10](#)



**Source 8**     **MAP:** The candidates returned for each constituency in the June 1922 general election in order of the seats won     [p. 11](#)

**Source 9**     **MAP:** The Battle of Dublin, June-July 1922     [p. 12](#)

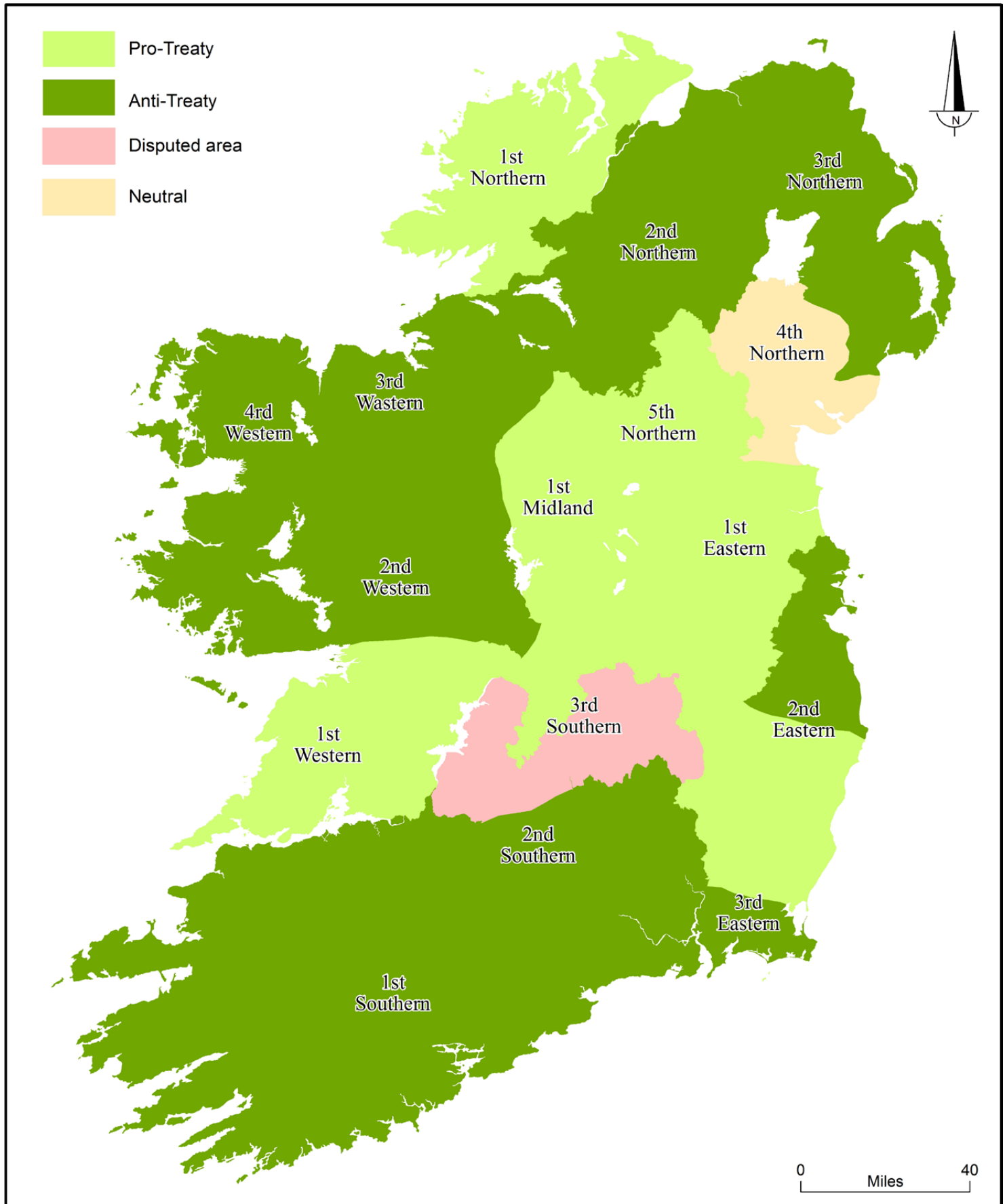
**Source 10**     **PHOTOGRAPH:** Explosion at Four Courts, 30 July 1922     [p. 13](#)  
[Source: National Library of Ireland, NPA CIVP8]

**Source 11**     **PHOTOGRAPH:** National Army (NA) artillery in action on O'Connell (Sackville) Street during the Battle of Dublin 1922     [p. 14](#)  
[Source: National Library of Ireland Collection, INDH224]

**Source 12.**     **PHOTOGRAPH:** National Army armoured car at Henry Street near Nelson's Pillar during the Battle of Dublin in 1922.     [p. 15](#)  
[Source: National Library of Ireland, HOG 134]

**Source 13**     **MAP:** Events on O'Connell Street during the Battle of Dublin, June-July 1922     [p. 16](#)

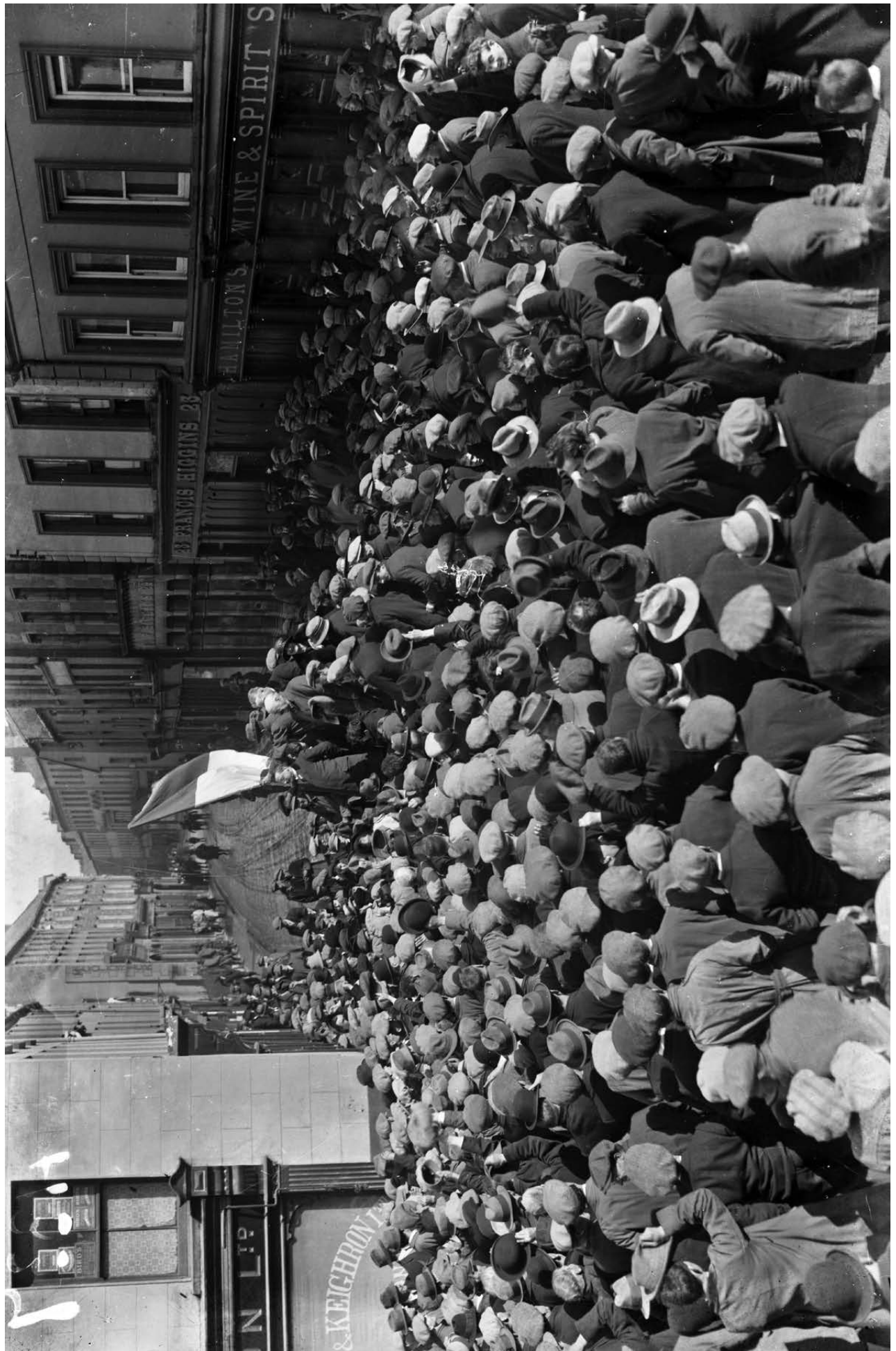
**Sources and Captions**     [p. 17](#)















# THE TREATY GIVES IRELAND

1. A PARLIAMENT RESPONSIBLE TO THE IRISH PEOPLE ALONE.
2. A GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBLE TO THAT PARLIAMENT.
3. DEMOCRATIC CONTROL OF ALL LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS.
4. POWER TO MAKE LAWS FOR EVERY DEPARTMENT OF IRISH LIFE.
5. AN IRISH LEGAL SYSTEM CONTROLLED BY IRISHMEN.
6. AN IRISH ARMY.
7. AN IRISH POLICE FORCE.
8. COMPLETE FINANCIAL FREEDOM.
9. A NATIONAL FLAG.
10. FREEDOM OF OPINION.
11. COMPLETE CONTROL OF IRISH EDUCATION.
12. COMPLETE CONTROL OF HER LAND SYSTEMS.
13. POWER AND FREEDOM TO DEVELOP HER RESOURCES AND INDUSTRIES.
14. A DEMOCRATIC CONSTITUTION.
15. A STATE ORGANISATION TO EXPRESS THE MIND AND WILL OF THE NATION.
16. HER RIGHTFUL PLACE AS A NATION AMONG NATIONS.

**DUBLIN CASTLE HAS FALLEN !  
BRITISH BUREAUCRACY IS IN THE DUST !  
IS THIS VICTORY OR DEFEAT ?**

---

# SUPPORT THE TREATY



**SAORSTÁT na  
h-ÉIREANN.**

**COME TO THE  
GREAT LEINSTER RALLY  
IN SUPPORT OF THE  
FREE STATE,**

**AT**

**NAAS**  
**On SUNDAY, APRIL 16th,**  
**At 3 p.m. (Summer Time).**

**MR. MICHAEL COLLINS**

**WILL SPEAK; also**

**Mr. JOSEPH McGRATH, T.D.; Alderman M. J. STAINES,  
T.D.; Mr. C. M. BYRNE, T.D.; Mr. KEVIN C. HIGGINS, T.D.;  
Mr. GEAROID O'SULLIVAN, T.D.**

Special Trains for Naas, at greatly Reduced Fares, will leave:--

**Tullow at 11.15 a.m.**

**Maryborough at 11.5 a.m.**

**Bagenalstown at 11.10 a.m.**

Calling at intermediate Stations.

Return Trains will leave Naas at about 7 p.m. For full time-tables see Railway Company's posters.

**Go SAORAIÓ Dia Éire.**

"The Leinster Leader Ltd." Printing Works



# YOU CAN GET TO THE REPUBLIC FOR ALL IRELAND

Through the safe and sure road of the Treaty  
or

**YOU CAN TRY ANOTHER ROUND**

## Through the Alphabet of Miseries

Auxiliaries	Jails	Spies
Black and Tans.	Knoutings	Threats
Commandeerings	Licence	Usurpation
Deaths.	Murders	Vandalism
Executions	Nerve Strain	Wails
Ferocities	Oppression	X. The final horrors
Gallows	Persecution	Y } which words
Harassings	Questionings	Z cannot describe.
Internments	Raids	

to get

**(perhaps)**

**DOCUMENT No. 2**  
(or others in later series)

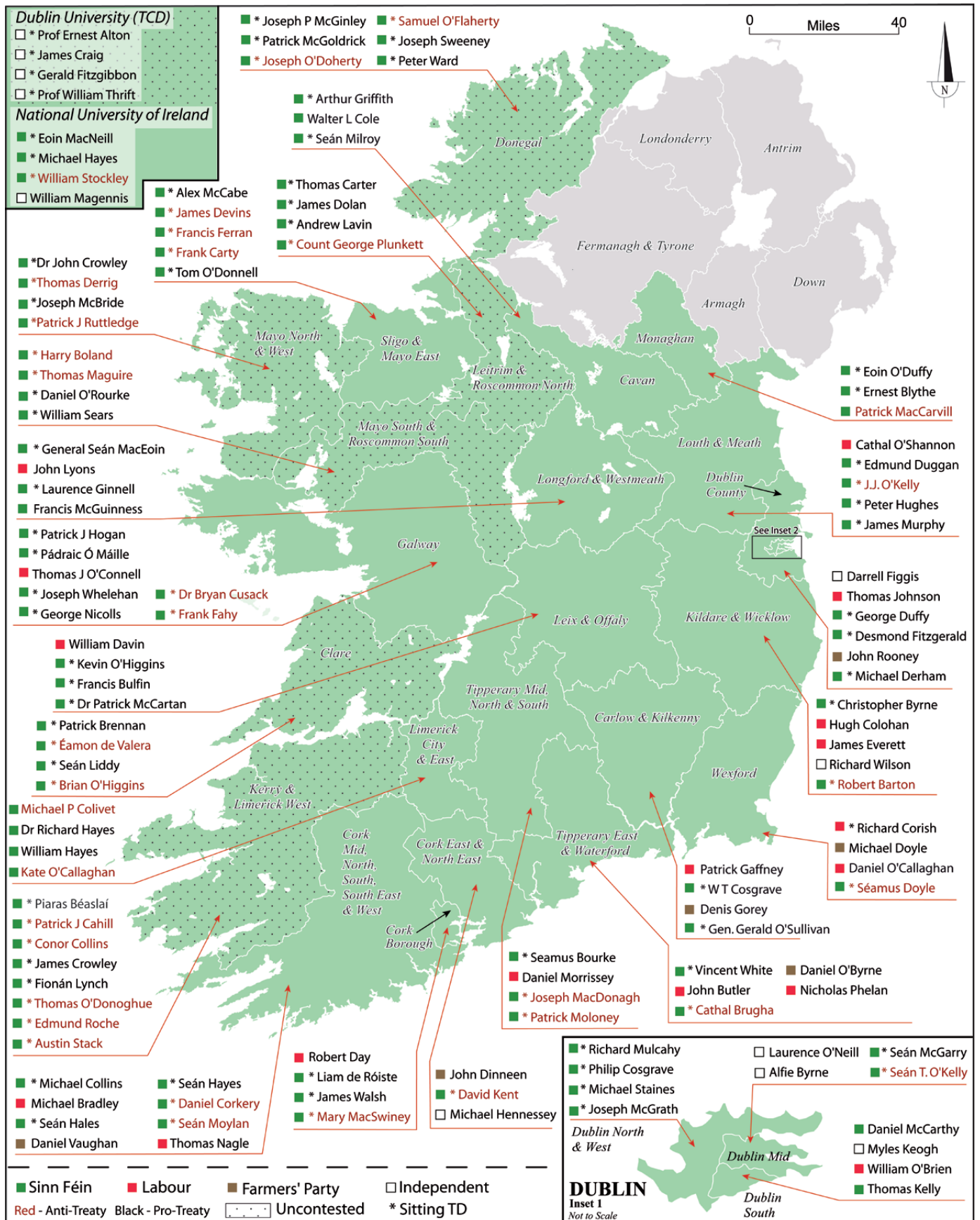
Which way should a  
Sane Man or Woman Go ?

**NATIONAL  
EXTERMINATION**

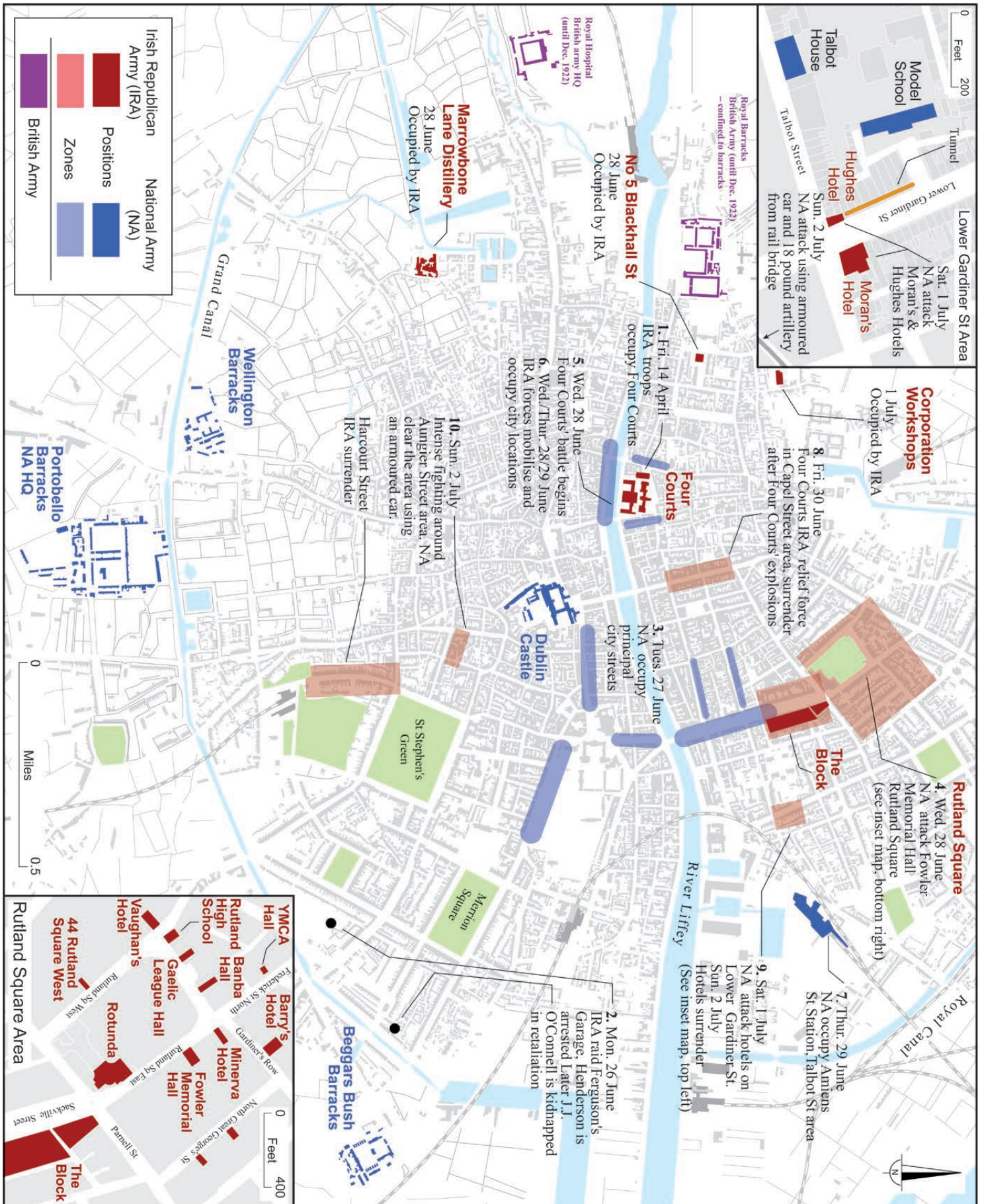
## Support the Treaty Candidates.

Irish Labour, Irish Paper and Irish Ink.

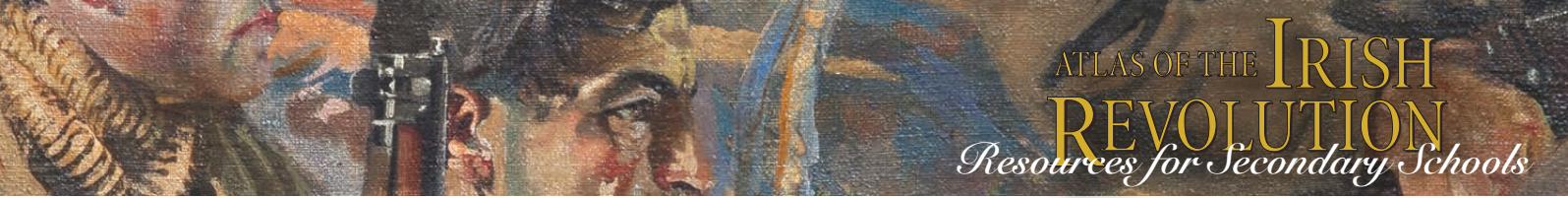








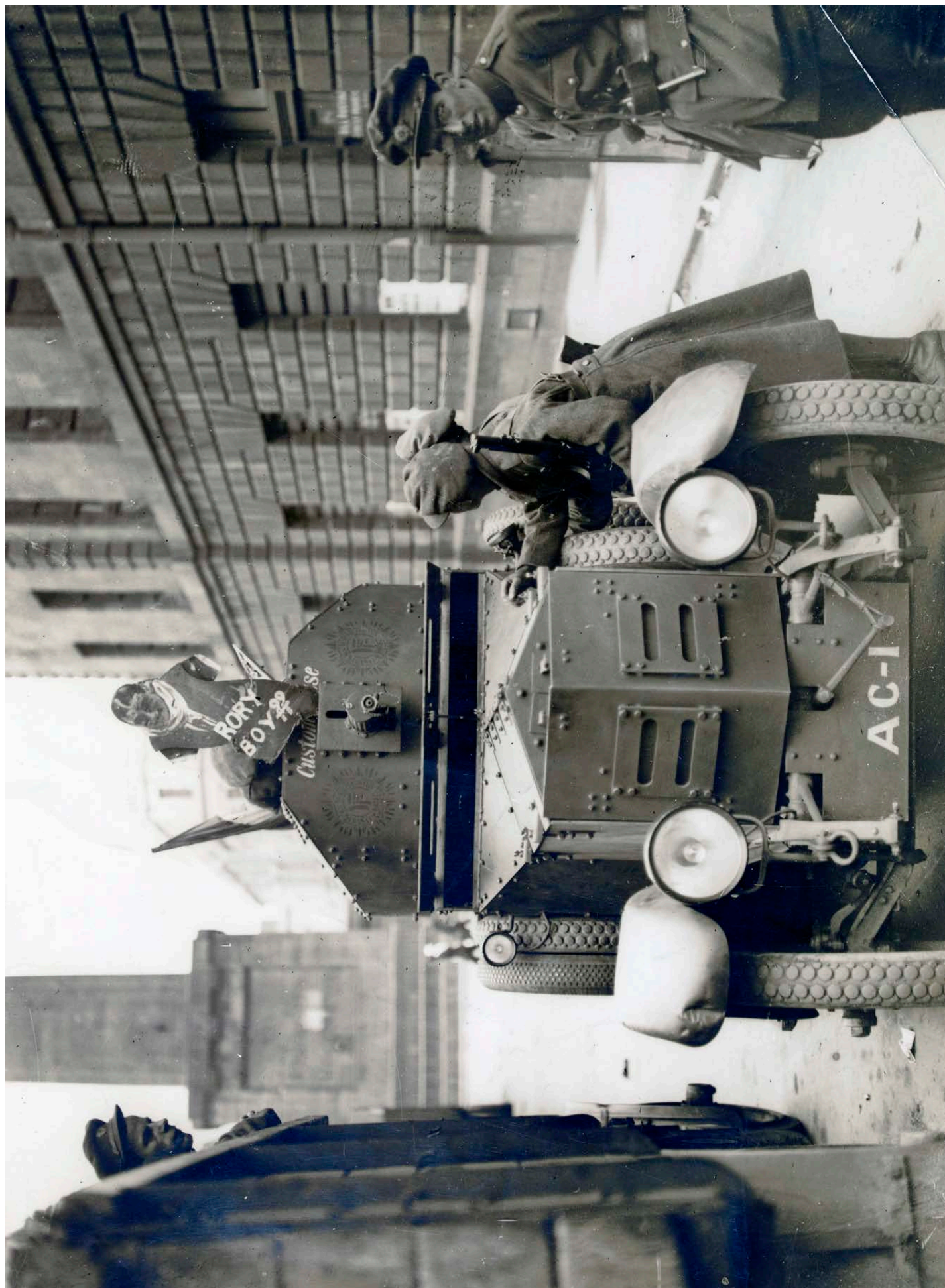




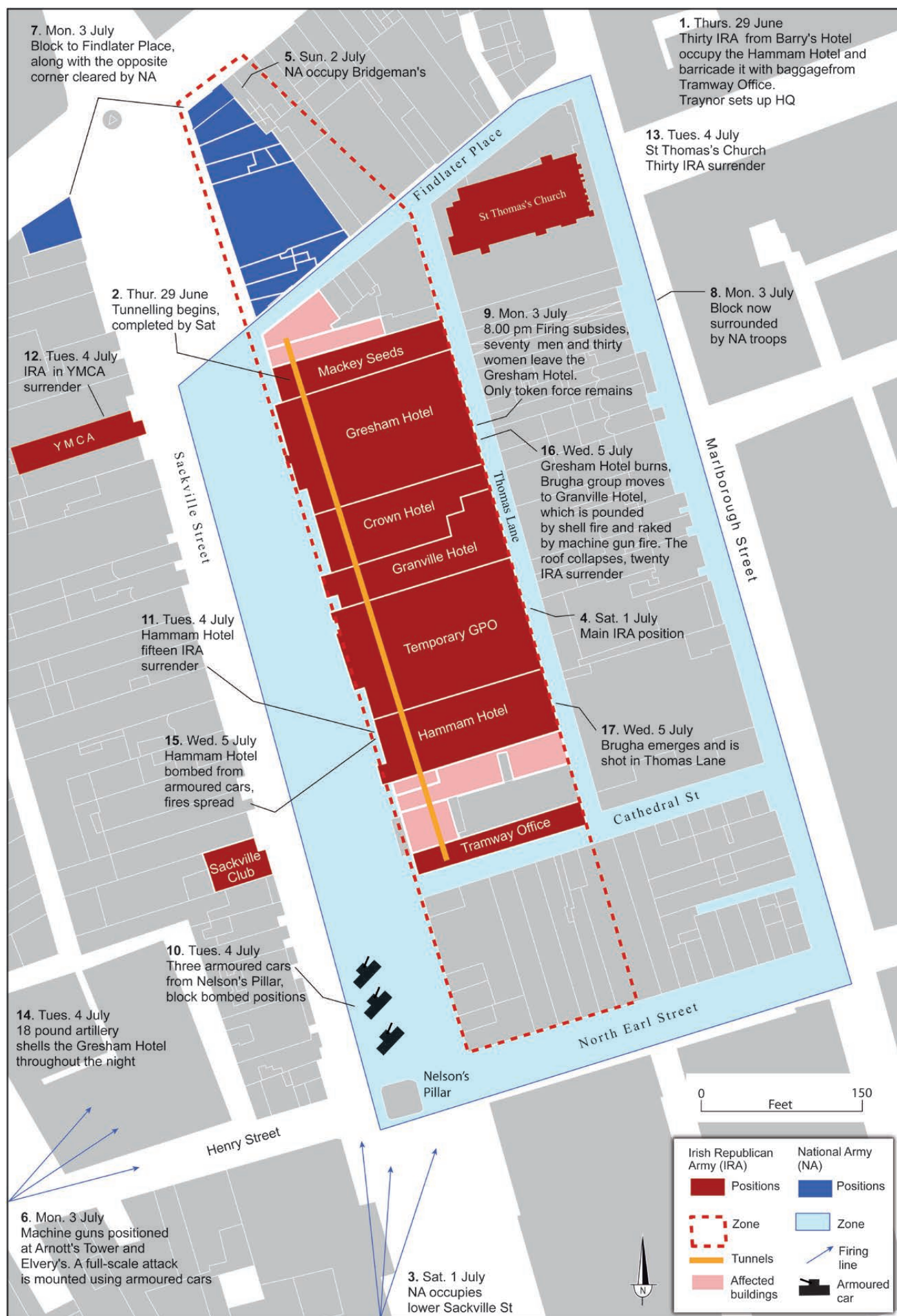














## *Context and Captions*

**Source 1.      MAP: Map showing the division of the IRA on the Treaty issue in the spring of 1922**

Seven out of a total of sixteen IRA divisions remained loyal to the pro-Treaty General Headquarters (GHQ), but the two largest – the 1st and 2nd Southern Divisions under Liam Lynch and Ernie O'Malley respectively, which contained approximately one third of the entire force – were anti-Treaty (although the latter and the 3rd Southern contained both pro- and anti-Treaty units; see 'Disputed area'). The most active parts of the pre-Truce IRA went anti-Treaty, with the exception of Clare (under the influence of Michael Brennan), Longford (under the influence of Seán Mac Eoin) and a minority of the Dublin No. 1 Brigade. Frank Aiken opposed the Treaty, but his 4th Northern Division was neutral before and at the outset of the Civil War. The vacated British army barracks in Listowel, County Kerry and Skibbereen, County Cork were the only ones in Munster occupied by Volunteers loyal to the Provisional Government/GHQ

**Source 2.      PHOTOGRAPH: Oscar Traynor addressing a parade of Dublin City IRA Brigade units at Smithfield, Dublin on 2 April 1922**

The IRA convention held on 26 March 1922 in Dublin repudiated Dáil Éireann's control of the IRA, established a new army executive, and vowed to defend the Irish republic from the new Irish Free State. In the aftermath senior anti-Treaty officers appealed to their unit members for assistance in defeating the Anglo-Irish Treaty. This photograph shows one such effort, on 2 April 1922, as top IRA officers explain their position to a parade of Dublin City Brigade units at Smithfield. The Dublin Brigade commander, Oscar Traynor, is seen addressing the Dublin Volunteers. Rory O'Connor, the outspoken militant leader of the anti-Treaty IRA, also spoke. According to the *Irish Independent* (3 April 1921), O'Connor 'told the men that they were not asked to take any oath at the gathering, but were there to declare that they would defend the Irish republic against its enemies, whether foreign or domestic.'

[Source: National Library of Ireland, HoG228]

**Source 3.      PHOTOGRAPH: Arthur Griffith (1871–1922) speaking at a pro-Treaty rally in Sligo town, April 1922**

[Source: National Library of Ireland, INDH337]

**Source 4.      PHOTOGRAPH: National Army (NA) troops and vehicles on Pound Street, Sligo town**

In spring 1922 pro-Treaty government leaders strengthened their political position by holding rallies of supporters across Ireland. These events raised tensions in areas where anti-Treaty IRA forces dominated. On numerous occasions local republican commanders banned pro-government meetings and threatened to disperse them with force. In other

the IRA harassed or intimidated government supporters. One of the most fraught episodes occurred in Sligo town on 16 April 1922. A planned visit by Dáil Éireann President Arthur Griffith sparked a prohibition order from the IRA commander, Commandant General Liam Pilkington, who posted IRA units in strong locations across the town. Rather than surrender to the threat, the Provisional Government dispatched a NA force to Sligo under the command of General Seán Mac Eoin. While gunfire was briefly exchanged and a tense stand-off ensued, Arthur Griffith's meeting ultimately went ahead without major violence. The government considered this a victory given the volatile state of Irish public life during April 1922.

[Source: Independent Newspapers Ireland/National Library of Ireland Collection, INDH 31C]

**Source 5. DOCUMENT: A typical pro-Treaty poster**

A typical pro-Treaty poster, listing sixteen ways it had contributed to Irish freedom and hailing the 'fall' of Dublin Castle as symbolising the 'victory' for Irish nationalism that the Treaty represented.

[Source: Cork City and County Archives]

**Source 6. DOCUMENT: Poster advertising a rally in support of the Free State' in Naas, County Kildare, 16 April 1922**

The 'Great Leinster' rally was addressed by Michael Collins and five other pro-Treaty TDs. A crowd of 2,000–3,000 heard Collins denounce de Valera's 'veil of sanctity' and challenge the Treaty's opponents to set out a pragmatic alternative: 'It is not now a question of whether a better peace could have been got. It is what we could hope to get now if we were to throw away the Treaty ... It is a question now between ordered government and anarchy ... What is the cause of [de Valera's] departure from constitutional ways? Why has he taken the ways of anarchy? Because you, the people of Ireland, have not to allow him to think for you and to decide for you.' on his return to Dublin from Naas that night, gunshots were reportedly fired at Collins and his party, but they escaped uninjured.

[Source: National Library of Ireland, EPH F27. Quotation: Kildare Observer, 22 April 1922]

**Source 7. DOCUMENT: A leaflet urging support for pro-Treaty candidates in the June 1922 general election**

The electorate is presented with a choice between taking the 'safe and sure' Treaty route to a republic, or returning to the violence and 'miseries' of the recent past in order to end up (perhaps) with either 'National extermination' or de Valera's compromise Document No. 2.

[National Library of Ireland, EPH GI8]



**Source 8.        MAP: The candidates returned for each constituency in the June 1922 general election in order of the seats won**

Party affiliation (if any) and whether the candidate was a sitting TD is indicated, as well as the pro- or anti-Treaty stance taken by Sinn Féin 'panel' candidates. Of the 124 Sinn Féin TDs in the second Dáil, 118 were reelected as candidates. Two pro-Treaty TDs had died and Richard Corish stood for Labour. Paul Galligan in Cavan was replaced by pro-Treaty candidate Walter Cole due to his confused voting record (having supported the Treaty and then voted for de Valera as president), while Frank Drohan in Waterford–east Tipperary had resigned his seat as he opposed the Treaty but felt the majority of his constituents supported it. Dan Breen (anti-Treaty) stood instead as the sole 'Joint Panel' candidate, but failed to be elected, despite having, according to himself, 'succeeded in inducing the Farmers' candidates to withdraw'. In Monaghan Seán MacEntee was replaced by Patrick McCarvill, apparently due to MacEntee's broken promise to resign rather than vote against the Treaty. Sinn Féin won sixty of the ninety seats it was forced to contest by the candidature of rivals, and 73 per cent of the seats overall. Labour won seventeen seats, the Farmers' Party seven, and independents ten (including four unopposed).

[Sources: B. Walker, *Parliamentary Election Results in Ireland, 1918–1992* (Dublin, 1992); contemporary newspaper reports; and M. Gallagher, 'The Pact General election of 1922', *Irish Historical Studies*, vol. xxii, no. 84 (Sept. 1979), pp. 404–21; quotation: D. Breen, *My Fight for Irish Freedom* (Tralee, 1964), p. 168]

**Source 9.        MAP: The Battle of Dublin, June-July 1922**

The National Army (NA) decided that the best way to limit the fighting in Dublin was to isolate the Four Courts from the other anti-Treaty IRA garrisons. On 27 June NA troops took up positions in O'Connell (Sackville) Street, Middle Abbey Street and Dame Street, effectively cutting any link between the anti-Treaty IRA positions. At the same time, from his headquarters in Barry's Hotel Oscar Traynor ordered the rest of the Dublin Brigade to mobilise. At the Four Courts the NA blocked the front gates with Lancia cars. Two eighteen-pounder guns were placed on the south side of the Liffey, firmly fixed on the building. The NA occupied the Medical Mission and the Four Courts Hotel, covering both flanks of the Four Courts and the Bridewell prison to the rear. NA snipers were placed in the tower of St Michan's church and Jameson Distillery in Smithfield. The Four Courts were completely surrounded.

The IRA garrison in the courts numbered roughly 180, divided into six sections scattered throughout the complex. The orderlies Section, made up of Na Fianna Éireann, was in the Public records office (PRO), while the headquarters block was at the rear of the courts. Both were isolated from the central building and dominated by the NA positions in the Bridewell and later Hammond Lane. A tunnel had been created between the headquarters block and the main building, but the IRA did not have enough material to complete it. An escape tunnel was dug leading to Patterson's match factory, but again was not completed. The reluctance of the IRA executive to seize the initiative when it had the chance was a fatal mistake. The NA had the upper hand. For three days the courts were bombarded by



eighteen-pounder guns, machine-gun fire and rifle fire. on the afternoon of 30 June two massive explosions occurred. The PRO and the central building lay in ruins. At 4 p.m. the garrison had no other option but to surrender. [Caption, Liz Gillis]

**Source 10.      PHOTOGRAPH: Explosion at Four Courts, 30 July 1922**

The destruction of the Four Courts on 30 July 1922 signalled an end to the three-day siege of the building. The IRA executive surrendered shortly afterwards, as the Four Courts began to collapse. The massive explosion sent a mushroom-cloud high above Dublin, and ash showered the city centre. The detonation occurred inside the Public records office block of the Four Courts, which the IRA garrison used to store munitions. The destruction of the National Archives' priceless records and manuscripts was initially described by the pro-Treaty press as an intentional act of cultural vandalism by republican extremists. In recent years, historians have debated whether the explosion whether the explosion was deliberately set or if it was accidentally triggered by fires caused by National Army artillery.

[Source: National Library of Ireland, NPA CIVP8]

**Source 11.      PHOTOGRAPH: National Army (NA) artillery in action on O'Connell (Sackville) Street during the Battle of Dublin 1922**

Just prior to the assault on the Four Courts, the British army loaned field artillery to the Free State forces. These reliable eighteen-pounder guns enabled the NA to tackle strong IRA positions within barricaded buildings. Here, NA soldiers prepare to fire a field gun on Sackville (O'Connell) Street next to Nelson's Pillar. The kneeling soldier is sighting the weapon, sheltered by two armoured lorries parked on either side. Civilian bystanders look on curiously, while two soldiers sit inside the armoured lorry painted with the word 'Ashtown'. Throughout the conventional phase of the Civil War, artillery and armoured cars gave the NA a critical advantage over its republican opponents.

[Source: Independent Newspapers Ireland/ National Library of Ireland Collection, INDH224]

**Source 12      PHOTOGRAPH: National Army armoured car at Henry Street near Nelson's Pillar during the Battle of Dublin in 1922**

Attached to the car is an effigy of anti-Treaty IRA leader Rory O'Connor, reading derisively 'Rory Boy'. The British army gave thirteen of these rolls royce armoured cars to the Provisional Government in early 1922. Impervious to small-arms fire, they carried a Vickers machine gun in a rotating turret. Soldiers named them after songs, patriotic heroes or separatist victories. In the case of this armoured car, the name 'Customs House' celebrates the burning of that structure by the IRA's Dublin Brigade in May 1921, an operation many National Army officers had participated in.

[Source: National Library of Ireland HOG 134]



**Source 13.      MAP: Events on O'Connell Street during the Battle of Dublin, June-July 1922**

When the bombardment of the Four Courts began on 28 June, a simultaneous attack took place on Fowler Hall. The anti-Treaty IRA withdrew after setting the building alight. From his headquarters in Barry's Hotel, Oscar Traynor had ordered the Dublin Brigade to seize a number of buildings. They were in position in York Street/Aungier Street, Gardiner Street/Talbot Street, Blackhall Place and the Tramway office on the corner of O'Connell (Sackville) Street/Cathedral Street.

On 29 June Traynor ordered John Hanratty of the Irish Citizen Army to take thirty men and occupy the Hammam Hotel, Sackville Street. Once secure, Traynor and the rest of his garrison – roughly 100 men and women – followed to where he established a new headquarters. Fourteen buildings in all were occupied on the east side of the street, and became known as 'The Block'. To secure the complex, holes were bored through each building. Cathal Brugha was appointed officer commanding. Opposite 'The Block', the IRA had occupied the young Men's Christian Association building as well as St Thomas's church at the rear of 'The Block'. It had also taken over Hughes's and Moran's Hotels in Gardiner Street and Talbot Street. By occupying the east side of O'Connell (Sackville) Street, Traynor cut himself off from the Four Courts. The National Army (NA) set up command on the west side of the street, severing any possible connection.

After the courts had fallen, the NA concentrated its efforts on Traynor's positions. It took over Amiens Street Station and the railway bridge covering Hughes's and Moran's. The positions fell on Sunday 2 July. Three armoured cars were put into action as well as an eighteen-pounder gun to attack 'The Block'. On Monday night 3 July Traynor ordered the majority of the garrison to leave the complex, leaving only a token force under the command of Brugha to hold 'The Block'. Over the next three days the complex was bombarded. Traynor sent word that Brugha was to surrender. He refused. By Wednesday the small garrison had retreated to the last tenable position, the Granville Hotel. The building was hit by a shell from the eighteen-pounder gun and a fire broke out, leading Brugha to order his garrison to surrender. NA troops were in position in Thomas Lane at the rear of 'The Block'. That evening Brugha emerged from the burning building. Called on to surrender, he refused and was fatally wounded. The first battle of the Civil War was over. [Liz Gillis]