



Unit 8:

The Treaty and the Civil War

SENIOR CYCLE WORKSHEETS

PART I

CONTENTS

Lesson 1-3:

Re-Debating the Treaty

Background: The Truce and the Treaty [3](#)

Graphic: Treaty Mind Map [4](#)

Re-Debating the Treaty: **Task 1** [5](#)

Casting the Dail Template [6](#)

Personality Profile Template [7](#)

Lesson 4-5

The Pact Election 1922 and the IRA Split

Background: The Pact Election June 1922 and The IRA Split [11](#)

Documents A-H: February-June 1922 [13](#)

Photograph Analysis Worksheet [17](#)

Comprehension and Criticism Questions: Docs A-H [22](#)

Poster Template [25](#)

Reporting the Elections: **Task 2** [26](#)

Lesson 6

The Battle of Dublin, June-July 1922

Background: Phase I: June - July 1922 [27](#)

Photographs and Captions: The Battle of Dublin [28](#)

Documents I-M: The Battle of Dublin [29](#)

Comprehension and Criticism Questions: Docs I-M [34](#)

'Causes of the Irish Civil War': Task 3 [36](#)

UNIT 8: THE TREATY AND THE CIVIL WAR

THE TRUCE AND TREATY

After two and a half years of ambushes, reprisals, destruction of property and killings, a truce was declared on 11 July 1921. On 30 September, de Valera accepted Lloyd George's invitation to send a team of Irish negotiators to London "with a view to ascertaining how the association of Ireland with the community of nations known as the British Empire may be best reconciled with the Irish national aspirations".

Arthur Griffith headed the delegation which also included Michael Collins, Eamonn Duggan, Robert Barton and George Gavan Duffy with Erskine Childers as secretary. The negotiations began in London on 11 October 1921 and on 6 December, in the face of Lloyd George's 'threat of terrible and immediate war', the Irish plenipotentiaries signed the Articles of Agreement. The Free State would remain within the empire but on terms that gave it equality of status with the other dominions in the British Commonwealth.

The Treaty document revealed the divisions in the philosophy and leadership of Sinn Féin that had been festering since 1917. On returning to Ireland the delegates were met with hostile criticism from extreme republican members of the Dáil such as Cathal Brugha who viewed the Treaty as a betrayal of the men and women of 1916. Michael Collins, on the other hand, argued ...

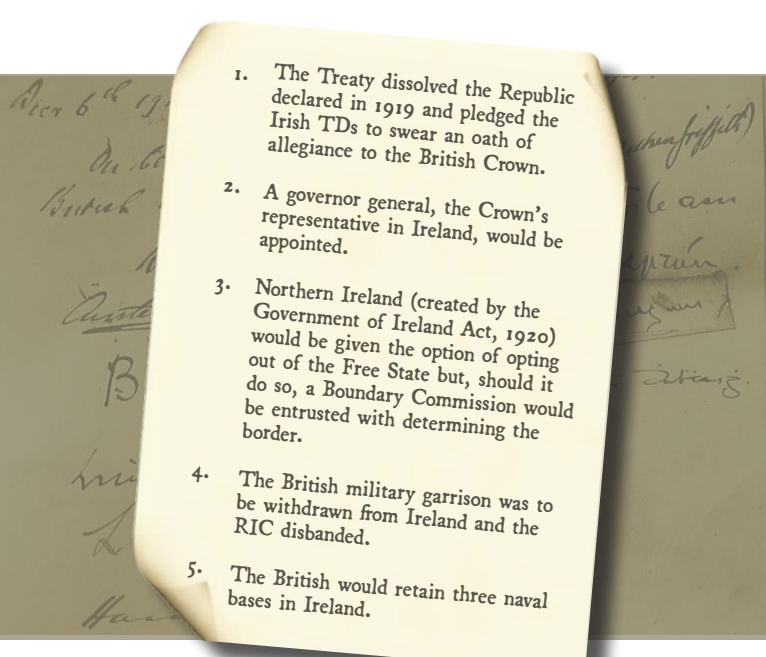
"IN MY OPINION [THE TREATY] GIVES US FREEDOM,
 NOT THE ULTIMATE FREEDOM THAT ALL NATIONS
 DESIRE AND DEVELOP TO, BUT THE FREEDOM TO
 ACHIEVE IT."

– Michael Collins, *Treaty Debates*, 19 December, 1921–

For Eamon de Valera, the Treaty was 'not a stepping stone, but a barrier in the way to complete independence'. He criticised the delegation for signing without first consulting the Dáil believing they acted beyond their designated role.

DÁIL DEBATES

After a series of highly-charged Dáil debates between 14 December 1921 and 7 January 1922, the parliament of the Irish republic ratified the Treaty by a slender 64–57 vote. The Treaty replaced the republic with a twenty-six-county Irish Free State governed by a parliament (later called the third Dáil) convened after a general election to be held in the near future. Until that time, a Provisional Government headed by Michael Collins would rule the country, while the Free State constitution would be written and approved by government negotiators in London and Dublin.

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1. The Treaty dissolved the Republic declared in 1919 and pledged the Irish TDs to swear an oath of allegiance to the British Crown.
 2. A governor general, the Crown's representative in Ireland, would be appointed.
 3. Northern Ireland (created by the Government of Ireland Act, 1920) would be given the option of opting out of the Free State but, should it do so, a Boundary Commission would be entrusted with determining the border.
 4. The British military garrison was to be withdrawn from Ireland and the RIC disbanded.
 5. The British would retain three naval bases in Ireland.

<http://treaty.nationalarchives.ie/document-gallery/>



ARGUMENTS IN FAVOUR OF THE TREATY



ARGUMENTS AGAINST THE TREATY



ARTICLES OF THE TREATY

STAGE 1

STAGE 2

STAGE 3

STAGE 4

STAGE 5

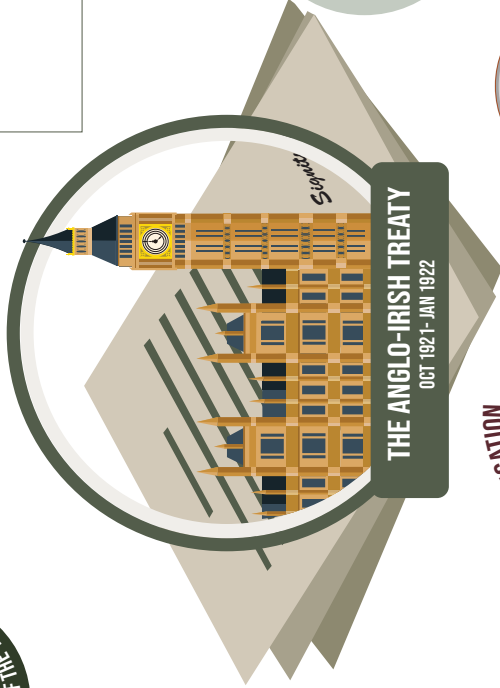
STAGE 6

STAGE 7



THE TREATY NEGOTIATIONS

7 MAJOR STAGES



THE ANGLO-IRISH TREATY

OCT 1921 - JAN 1922

6-8 DECEMBER 1921

8 DECEMBER 1921

14 DEC 1921 - 7 JAN 1922

DEBATING THE TREATY



THE IRISH DELEGATION



THE BRITISH DELEGATION

STRENGTHS OF THE BRITISH DELEGATION

WEAKNESSES OF THE IRISH DELEGATION

RE-DEBATING THE TREATY

The Anglo-Irish Treaty was signed in London on 6 December 1921 by Irish envoys with plenipotentiary powers and the coalition government of Lloyd George. Between 14 December 1921 and 7 January 1922, the elected members of Dail Éireann engaged in a series of highly charged debates. Some supported the Treaty and others opposed it. The Treaty was approved on 7 January 1922 by a narrow margin of 64 votes to 57. Your task is to re-enact the [Treaty Debates](#) using primary source material. This task is designed to reinforce your knowledge and understanding of the opposing arguments about the Treaty, to develop your research and writing skills and to provide an insight into the factors that led to civil war.



PART 1. THE PLANNING STAGES

Step 1: Your teacher will divide the class into groups of 3 students. Each group will be assigned a number between 1 and 8. These numbers correspond with the group numbers on the *Casting the Dáil Template* on the next page. Your teacher will also nominate two Coordinators and two Historical Stage Managers.

Step 2: The groups of 3 should come together and assign roles based on the role descriptions below:

Acting Coach	You will conduct research into the historical personality. You will also read extracts from his/her contributes to the Treaty Debates taking note of any personality traits that will help you to prepare your actor to take on the role convincingly. You will also help to prepare the costume.
Researcher Writer	Your responsibility is to read the text of the speech(es) delivered by your personality during the Treaty debates. Using bullet points, summarise the main points of his/her arguments for or against the Treaty. Note at least 2 (short) persuasive/effective quotations from the speech(es).
Actor / Historical Personality	You will take on the role of the historical personality and present your speech on the day of the re-enactment. You read the speech(es) delivered by your personality during the Treaty debates and collaborate with your team members to finalise the speech and prepare your performance.
Coordinators	Move between the groups discussing strategy and making sure that there is not too much repetition in the points made by different teams. Give advice based on your research into the Treaty debates. Liaise with your teacher on the progress and work the with Historical Stage Managers on the introduction. Act as Speaker of the House and Clerk to the Dáil during the reenactment.
Historical Stage Managers	Prepare a running order for the re-enactment and distribute it to the teams. Assign a time limit for speeches and act as timekeepers during the re-enactment. Create and distribute invitations to the teachers of other classes that may like to attend. Organise tables, chairs and other props for the performance. Write and deliver the introduction to the re-enactment, which should include a brief overview of the events that led to the Treaty Debates. Create the voting cards and organise the audience vote at the end of the debate.

Step 3: All team members work together to write a short speech based on your research into primary and secondary source material relating to your assigned character.

The speech will be in your own words, but **must** contain:

- a) The main argument(s) for or against the Treaty made by your assigned personality
- b) At least one direct quotation from the speech(s) made by your assigned personality

CASTING THE DÁIL



HISTORICAL STAGE MANAGERS

1. Name

2. Name

PRO-TREATY

COORDINATOR

1. Name

ANTI-TREATY

COORDINATOR

2. Name

Group 1: MICHAEL COLLINS

Actor Name

Researcher Name

Acting Coach Name

Group 2: EAMON DE VALERA

Actor Name

Researcher Name

Acting Coach Name

Group 3: RICHARD MULCAHY

Actor Name

Researcher Name

Acting Coach Name

Group 4: CATHAL BRUGHA

Actor Name

Researcher Name

Acting Coach Name

Group 5: ARTHUR GRIFFITH

Actor Name

Researcher Name

Acting Coach Name

Group 6: MARY MACSWINEY

Actor Name

Researcher Name

Acting Coach Name

Group 7: SEAN MCKEON

Actor Name

Researcher Name

Acting Coach Name

Group 8: COUNTESS MARKIEVICZ

Actor Name

Researcher Name

Acting Coach Name

An illustration of two men in business suits standing in front of a wall covered in text. The man on the left is wearing a dark green suit and has his arms crossed. The man on the right is wearing a blue suit and also has his arms crossed. The background is a wall with various words and phrases written on it, such as 'business', 'strategy', 'growth', 'innovation', and 'success'.

Pro-Treaty ☐

Distinguishing Physical or Personality Traits:

e.g. participation in the 1916 Rising and/or War of Independence, role as a plenipotentiary, imprisonment, political or personal connections to the struggle for independence.

Richard Mulcahy

[Source: *Dail Debates*, vol. T 7. 22 December 1921, cols 141-44]

None of us want this Treaty. None of us want the Crown. None of us want the representative of the Crown. None of us want our harbours occupied by enemy forces; and none of us want what is said to be partition ... The only alternative put before us is the alternative put forward by the President, [Document No. 2] ... I, personally, see no alternative to the acceptance of this Treaty. I see no solid spot of ground upon which the Irish people can put its political feet but upon that Treaty ... with the appreciation that this Treaty distinctly states that it does secure to Ireland the control in Ireland with full executive and administrative powers, and the Executive in Ireland responsible to that control.

I am not afraid of the influence of the King ... if we have control, it is full control over legislation, over order, over peace, over the whole internal life and resources of the country; and if we have executive responsibility to that Parliament I don't see the way ... the King or his representative could interfere with them.

As to our ports, we are not in a position of force, either military or otherwise, to drive the enemy from our ports. We have not... been able to drive the enemy from anything but from a fairly good-sized police barracks ... With regard to partition, I don't look upon the clause with regard to Ulster in this Treaty as prejudicing the Ulster position in any way. I see no solution of the Ulster difficulty or of the Six County difficulty at the present moment ... We have before us to-day in Europe the spectacle of France and Germany striving for supremacy over each other with military force, and we see the internal unhappiness, the waste of human life, sorrow, misery, and the degradation it all involved. The fact that these two countries had elected to struggle for supremacy with one another, involved, not only these two countries, but disturbed the peace of the whole world; by the weapon of war we see what it has brought these two countries to — and we now stand at a time when we have it in our power to take our choice. Shall we grow to equality of status with our old enemy by taking complete control of our own internal resources? ... or rather by taking the chances of war—not with anything like adequate military forces ...

Arthur Griffith

[Source: *Dail Debates*, vol. T, 19 December 1921, col.]

Does all this quibble of words—because it is merely a quibble of words—mean that Ireland is asked to throw away this Treaty and go back to war? So far as my power or voice extends, not one young Irishman's life shall be lost on that quibble. We owe responsibility to the Irish people. I feel my responsibility to the Irish people, and the Irish people ... must be our judges ...

We have come back from London with that Treaty—Saorstát na hEireann recognised—the Free State of Ireland. We have brought back the flag; we have brought back the evacuation of Ireland after 700 years by British troops and the formation of an Irish army [*applause*]. We have brought back to Ireland her full rights and powers of fiscal control. We have brought back to Ireland equality with England, equality with all nations which form that Commonwealth, and an equal voice in the direction of foreign affairs in peace and war. Well, we are told that that Treaty is a derogation from our status; that it is a Treaty not to be accepted, that it is a poor thing, and that the Irish people ought to go back and fight for something more, and that something more is what I describe as a quibble of words ...

I ask then this Dáil to pass this resolution ... to end this bitter conflict of centuries, to end it for ever, to take away that poison that has been rankling in the two countries and ruining the relationship of good neighbours. Let us stand as free partners, equal with England, and make after 700 years the greatest revolution that has ever been made in the history of the world—a revolution of seeing the two countries standing not apart as enemies, but standing together as equals and as friends. I ask you, therefore, to pass this resolution

Mary MacSwiney

[Source: *Dail Debates*, vol. T 5, 17 December 1921, cols 245-255]

The Germans who went to Versailles recently were called plenipotentiaries but they did not have the power to sign anything until they took it back to their Government, and I hold that our delegation, even if they had the power to sign technically, were in honour by paragraph 3 of the President's instructions not entitled to sign any document at all without their submitting it to An Dáil ...

We have been told that our delegation went [to London] without any terms of reference. I maintain that it is not true. They went first and foremost bound by their oath of allegiance to the Irish Republic ... I believe they honestly believed that Lloyd George meant immediate war. Granted. It was no excuse for them to sign that document ... Therefore I beg of you to take the decision to throw out that Treaty. Register your votes against it, and do not commit the one unforgivable crime that has ever been committed by the representatives of the people of Ireland ... You can only have a united Dáil by the rejection of the Treaty and I ask you in the name of our martyred dead to, at all events, take the risk. Do a brave thing, a noble thing. If we women who suffer most are willing to take the risk why should you men not do it?

SEAN MACKEON

[Source: *Dail Debates*, vol. T 5. 17 December 1921, cols 225-6]

I want everyone to understand me as a plain soldier who realises what it is to be at war ... We are told by the Minister of Defence [Cathal Brugha] that the army is in a much stronger position, indefinitely stronger now than it was before the Truce - well it may be stronger in some points ... I have charge of four thousand men. I do not here hesitate to say that number. But of that four thousand I have a rifle for every fifty [and...] there is about as much ammunition as would last them about fifty minutes for that one rifle. Now people talk lightly of when we are going to war. I hold they do not know a damn thing about it (Hear, hear).

Now I am facing facts as I know them. When we started operations before, we took particularly good care that nobody knew anything about us, and whatever we did, and whatever has been done, was done by bluff, pure bluff. Another thing that helped us to win was that the intelligence system and the information system of the enemy were smashed to the ground. Well why? Because the source of intelligence was with us and that was the people ... The next thing that helped us was that in every Irish homestead that we went to there was a hearty welcome for us ... The enemy know now every officer and man from one end of Ireland to the other. I do not care what end it is, Cork or Belfast. The very moment that war starts the people know better than the British Government that we are unable to protect them and in that case we lose our most valuable asset and that is the help and support of the civilian population.

Eamon De Valera

[Source: Dail Debates, vol. T, 14 December 1921, cols 24-27]

We were elected by the Irish people, and did the Irish people think we were liars when we said that we meant to uphold the Republic, which was ratified by the vote of the people three years ago, and was further ratified—expressly ratified—by the vote of the people at the elections last May? ... I am against this Treaty, not because I am a man of war, but a man of peace. I am against this Treaty because it will not end the centuries of conflict between the two nations of Great Britain and Ireland ...

I wanted, and the Cabinet wanted, to get a document we could stand by, a document that could enable Irishmen to meet Englishmen and shake hands with them as fellow-citizens of the world. That document makes British authority our masters in Ireland ...

When I was in prison in solitary confinement our warders told us that we could go from our cells into the hall, which was about fifty feet by forty. We did go out from the cells to the hall, but we did not give our word to the British jailer that he had the right to detain us in prison because we got that privilege ... I regard myself here to maintain the independence of Ireland and to do the best for the Irish people,” and it is to do the best for the Irish people that I ask you not to approve but to reject this Treaty ...

Does this assembly think the Irish people have changed so much within the past year or two that they now want to get into the British Empire after seven centuries of fighting? Have they so changed that they now want to choose the person of the British monarch, whose forces they have been fighting against, and who have been associated with all the barbarities of the past couple of years ... I am against the Treaty, because it does not do the fundamental thing and bring us peace ... Therefore, I am once more asking you to reject the Treaty for two main reasons, that, as every TD knows, it is absolutely inconsistent with our position; it gives away Irish independence; it brings us into the British Empire; it acknowledges the head of the British Empire, not merely as the head of an association, but as the direct monarch of Ireland, as the source of executive authority in Ireland. The Ministers of Ireland will be His Majesty's Ministers, the Army that Commandant MacKeon spoke of will be His Majesty's Army.

Arthur Griffith

[Source: Dail Debates, vol. T 15, 7 January 1922, col. 335-7]

Now, we have been in London as plenipotentiaries ... We came back. We thought, at all events, we had done something that was very good for the Irish nation ... From the day we came back; we were told that we let down the Republic... Sir, before I went to London I said at a Cabinet meeting—when every member of the Cabinet was here—that: “If I go to London I can't get a Republic; I will try for a Republic, but I can't bring it back.” And we tried for a Republic, though I knew we could not get it ... I hold that what we brought back from England frees us from aggression. It gives us the power to mould our own life, and it frees us from the only permanent form of aggression we can have—the occupation of Ireland by the army of another country ...

That Treaty is not an ideal thing; it has faults. I could draw up a Treaty—any of us could draw up a Treaty which would be more satisfactory to the Irish people ...but it is not going to be passed ... We have a Treaty signed by the heads of the British Government ... Does this Treaty give away the interests and the honour of Ireland? I say it does not. I say it serves the interests of Ireland; it is not dishonourable to Ireland It has no more finality than that we are the final generation on the face of the earth ... “no man can set bounds to the march of a nation.” ... Who is going to say what the world is to be like in ten years hence? We can make peace on the basis of that Treaty; it does not for ever bind us not to ask for any more.... This Treaty gives the Irish people what they have not had for centuries; it gives them a foothold in their own country.

AUSTIN STACK

[Source: Dail Debates, vol. T, 14 December 1921, cols 27-29]

I stand for what is Ireland's right, full independence and nothing short of it. It is easy to understand that countries like Australia, New Zealand and the others [dominions in the British Commonwealth] can put up with the powers which are bestowed on them, can put up with acknowledgments to the monarch and rule of Great Britain as head of their State ... Are they not children of England? Have they not been built up by Great Britain? Have they not been protected by England and lived under England's flag for all time? What other feeling can they have but affection for England, which they always regarded as their motherland? This country, on the other hand, has not been a child of England's, nor never was. England came here as an invader, and for 750 years we have been resisting that conquest If ever you want to travel abroad, to a country where a passport is necessary, your passport must be issued from the British Foreign Office and you must be described as a British subject on it ... Now I ask you has any man here the idea in his head, has any man here the hardihood to stand up and say that it was for this our fathers have suffered, that it was for this our comrades have died on the field and in the barrack yard. If you really believe in your hearts that it was vote for it. If you don't believe it in your hearts vote against it

MICHAEL COLLINS

[Source: Dail Debates, vol. T 14 December 1921, cols 30 -36]

We must look facts in the face. For our continued national and spiritual existence two things are necessary—security and freedom. If the Treaty gives us these or helps us to get at these, then I maintain that it satisfies our national aspirations ... I maintain that the disappearance of [British] military strength gives us the chief proof that our national liberties are established ... We are defined as having the [same] constitutional status of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa ... The only departure from the Canadian status is the retaining by England of the defences of four harbour ... But if England wished to re-invade us she could do so with or without these facilities. And with the [same] “constitutional status” of Canada we are assured that these facilities could never be used by England for our re-invasion ...

The Treaty was signed by me, not because they held up the alternative of immediate war. I signed it because I would not be one of those to commit the Irish people to war without the Irish people committing themselves to war

Deputies have spoken about whether dead men would approve of [the Treaty], and they have spoken of whether children yet unborn will approve of it, but few of them have spoken as to whether the living approve of it. ... There is no man here who has more regard for the dead men than I have (hear, hear). I don't think it is fair to be quoting them against us. I think the decision ought to be a clear decision on the documents as they are before us—on the Treaty as it is before us. On that we shall be judged, as to whether we have done the right thing in our own conscience or not ... and let us in God's name abide by the decision (applause)

Cathal Brugha

[Source: *Dail Debates*, vol. T, 7 January 1922, cols 325-26]

A Deputy from Tipperary and Waterford, one of my own colleagues, has sent me in a question which I will read. “In view of the fact that many members and several people are biased in favour of this proposed Treaty because the Minister of Finance is in favour of ratification, and in view of the fact that many of these people, and many of these members, are of opinion that Mr. Michael Collins is a leader of the army and has fought many fights for the Republic, I think it is of great importance that an authoritative statement be made (a) defining the real position Mr. Michael Collins held in the army, (b) telling what fights he has taken an active part in, provided this can be done without injustice to himself or danger to the country; or can it be authoritatively stated that he ever fired a shot at any enemy of Ireland?” ...

It is necessary for me to define Michael Collins’ position in the army. Now, I have my department divided up into sections. I have the ordinary Ministerial part of it; the civil part of it; the liaison part of it; and then the Head Quarters Staff. The Head Quarters Staff is divided up again; at the head is the Chief of Staff; and at the head of each section of the Head Quarters Staff is another man working under the Chief of Staff. One of those heads of the subsections is Mr. Michael Collins; and to use a word which he has on more than one occasion used, and which he is fond of using, he is merely a subordinate in the Department of Defence.

While the war was in progress I could not praise too highly the work done by the Head Quarters’ Staff. The Chief of Staff and each of the leaders of the subsections—the members of the Head Quarters’ Staff—were the best men we could get for the positions; each of them carried out efficiently, so far as I know, the work that was entrusted to him they worked conscientiously and patriotically for Ireland without seeking any notoriety, with one exception; whether he is responsible or not for the notoriety I am not going to say (cries of “Shame” and “Get on with the Treaty”). There is little more for me to say. One member was specially selected by the Press and the people to put him into a position which he never held; he was made a romantic figure, a mystical character such as this person certainly is not; the gentleman I refer to is Mr. Michael Collins——

MADAME MARKIEVICZ

[Source: *Dail Debates*, vol. T, 3 January 1922, col. 181-4]

I rise to-day to oppose with all the force of my will, with all the force of my whole existence, this so-called Treaty—this Home Rule Bill covered over with the sugar of a Treaty. My reasons against it are two-fold. First, I stand true to my principles as a Republican, and to my principles as one pledged to the teeth for freedom for Ireland. I stand on that first and foremost. I stand, too, on the common sense of the Treaty itself, which, I say, does not mean what it professes to mean ...

What I have against that oath is that it is a dishonourable oath. It is not a straight oath. It is an oath that can be twisted in every imaginable form. You have heard the last speaker explain to you that this oath meant nothing ... Mr. Winston Churchill in the House of Commons on the 15th December, 1921, said: “In our view they promise allegiance to the Crown and membership of the Empire.” ... Now, personally, I being an honourable woman, would sooner die than give a declaration of fidelity to King George or the British Empire.... Can any Irishman take that oath honourably and then go back and prepare to fight for an Irish Republic or even to work for the Republic? It is like a person going to get married plotting a divorce ...

Now there is one Deputy—not more than one, I hope— who charged that we rattled the bones of the dead. I must protest about the phrase of rattling the bones of our dead. Now I would like to ask where would Ireland stand without the noble dead? I would like to ask can any of you remember, as I can, the first time you read Robert Emmet's speech from the dock? ...

While Ireland is not free I remain a rebel, unconverted and unconvertible. There is no word strong enough for it. I am pledged as a rebel, an unconvertible rebel, because I am pledged to the one thing—a free and independent Republic.

Mary MacSwiney

[Source: *Dail Debates*, vol. T, 21 December 1921, cols 126-27]

I do not speak for those who spoke last night of a dead Republic and sobbed ... over it. I speak for the living Republic, the Republic that cannot die. That document will never kill it, never. The Irish Republic was proclaimed and established by the men of Easter Week, 1916. The Irish Republican Government was established in January, 1919, and it has functioned since under such conditions that no country ever worked under before. That Republican Government is not now going to be fooled and destroyed by the Wizard of Wales. We beat him before and we shall beat him again, and I pray with all my heart and soul that a majority of the Members of this assembly will throw out that Treaty and that the minority will stand shoulder to shoulder with us in the fight to regain the position we held on the 4th of this month. I pray that once more; I pray that we will stand together, and the country will stand behind us. I have no doubt of that. I know the women of Ireland, and I know what they will say to the men that want to surrender, and therefore I beg of you to take the decision to throw out that Treaty. Register your votes against it, and do not commit the one unforgivable crime that has ever been committed by the representatives of the people of Ireland (applause).

SEAN MACKEON

[Source: *Dail Debates*, vol. T 14 December 1921, cols 23-4]

I rise to second the motion, as proposed by the Deputy for West Cavan (Arthur Griffith) and Chairman of the Irish Delegation in London. In doing so, I take this course because I know I am doing it in the interests of my country, which I love. To me symbols, recognitions, shadows, have very little meaning. What I want, what the people of Ireland want, is not shadows but substances ... Furthermore, this Treaty gives Ireland the chance for the first time in 700 years to develop her own life in her own way, to develop Ireland for all, every man and woman, without distinction of creed or class or politics. To me this Treaty gives me what I and my comrades fought for; it gives us for the first time in 700 years the evacuation of Britain's armed forces out of Ireland. It also gives me my hope and dream, our own Army, not half-equipped, but fully equipped, to defend our interests ...

It may seem rather peculiar that one like me who is regarded as an extremist should take this step. Yes, to the world and to Ireland I say I am an extremist, but it means that I have an extreme love of my country. It was love of my country that made me and every other Irishman take up arms to defend her.

This Treaty brings the freedom that is necessary, ... that Ireland be allowed to develop her own life in her own way, without any interference from any other Government whether English or otherwise [applause].

EVACUATION OF BRITISH FORCES FROM IRELAND

Following the creation of the Provisional Government on 14 January 1922, the process of evacuating the Crown forces from the twenty-six counties began. Dublin Castle was handed over to the Provisional Government on 16 January, the Auxiliary Division of the RIC and the Black and Tans left in January and February, and the RIC itself began to disband (a process finally completed in August 1922). Empty barracks across Ireland were then taken over by the local IRA regardless of whether they were pro or anti-Treaty. The first army barracks to be handed over was that in Clogheen, County Tipperary on 25 January, and on 31 January Beggars Bush Barracks in Dublin was formally handed over to the Provisional Government in a public ceremony. It would become the headquarters of the new National Army, funded and armed by Great Britain and loyal to the Provisional Government.

PACT ELECTION, JUNE 1922

In order to avoid widening the split in Sinn Féin and ensure a peaceful election, Éamon de Valera and Michael Collins negotiated the 'pact' agreement for the upcoming general election on 16 June 1922, whereby Sinn Féin would run both pro- and anti-Treaty candidates without an indication of their stance on the Treaty. The returned candidates would form a coalition government with a pro-Treaty majority. The pact was widely criticised by Treatyites as undemocratic. The people were being asked to vote for the unity of Sinn Féin rather than pronounce the Treaty. The British declared that the pact was a breach of the Treaty with Churchill declaring that it was an 'arrangement full of disaster'. In the week of the election republicans complained that Treatyites issued propaganda for their own side of Sinn Féin rather than for the whole panel. In reality few were people in any doubt about

Kevin O'Higgins (leading) and Michael Collins leaving Dublin Castle following the symbolic handing over of the historic seat of British power in Ireland to the Provisional Government, 16 January 1922



[Photo: National Library of Ireland, NPA CIVP4]

the respective positions of the candidates on the issue of the Treaty. Two days later Collins himself violated the terms of the pact when he told his supporters in Cork to 'vote for the men you think best'. The pact broke down two days before the election. Republicans were also critical about the publication of the new Free State constitution which included reference to the Oath on the morning of the election.

The election returned pro-Treaty Sinn Féin as the largest party, with fifty-eight seats out of 128 (less than a majority), while the anti-Treatyites won thirty-six. The participation of other parties, notably Labour and the Farmers' Party, was crucial, since their combined first-preference vote of over 40 per cent, added to the vote for pro-Treaty Sinn Féin candidates, allowed the Provisional Government to claim a popular majority for the Treaty.

IRA REACTION TO THE TREATY

In 1919, after members of the IRA swore allegiance to Dáil Éireann. Many officers believed that the disestablishment of the Irish Republic by the Treaty relieved them of any further loyalty to the Dail and they called for an IRA convention to determine army policy. IRA Chief of Staff and Minister for Defence in the Provisional Government, Richard Mulcahy delayed approval for the convention, allowing time for the establishment of the National Army.

When Richard Mulcahy called off an IRA army convention scheduled for 26 March 1922 at the Mansion House, defiant anti-Treaty IRA officers attended anyway. They rejected the right of the Dáil to dissolve the Republic and declared its independence from the Ministry of Defence. The IRA Military Convention reconvened on 9 April and elected an

new army executive, which appointed Liam Lynch as chief of staff. At this stage the IRA began to be called the 'executive forces', or, in the pro-government press, 'Mutineers' or 'Irregulars'.

THE TWO DOMINANT FIGURES OF IRA GENERAL HEADQUARTERS STAFF, RICHARD MULCAHY AND MICHAEL COLLINS, ASSUMED TOP POSITIONS IN THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT. HOWEVER ... IT CAN BE ESTIMATED THAT UP TO 75 PER CENT OF IRA MEMBERS OPPOSED THE TREATY.

– John Bergonovo, *Atlas of the Irish Revolution*, 2017–

The anti-Treaty IRA was further divided into moderates and extremists. The majority, drawn largely from Liam Lynch's powerful 1st Southern Division, believed negotiations should continue. They sought a compromise that would avoid civil war but also undermine the Treaty. A radical minority of the anti-Treaty IRA wanted to block any further implementation of the Treaty and forcibly end the rule of the Provisional Government. Tensions within the IRA were increased by the contested occupation of vacated barracks in Limerick.

On 14 April 1922, 200 of these hard-line anti-Treaty forces under the command of Rory O'Connor and Liam Mellows, occupied the Four Courts and set up a Council of War. In the meantime the new Provisional Government of the Free State set up a Ministry of Defence at Beggar's Bush Barracks under Richard Mulcahy.



EVENING HERALD

VOL 31. No 13

DUBLIN, MONDAY, JANUARY, 16th, 1922

PRICE 3 HALFPENCE

DUBLIN CASTLE IN THE HANDS OF THE IRISH PEOPLE

HISTORIC SCENES

Huge Crowd Witnesses the Posting of the Last Guard

Historic scenes were witnessed at Dublin Castle today prior to the handing over of the building to the Provisional Government of the Irish Free State.

From an early hour crowds thronged the approaches and a vast assembly witnessed the posting of the last guard at one o'clock, the ceremony evoking considerable interest ... A stir was created at about 11.30 by the parade of a number of Auxiliaries of F Company who were addressed on parade by General Boyd prior to disbandment. There was a general air of breaking up about the place and lorries laden with documents, bedding accouterments etc., were constantly passing and re-passing.

Police officials of the RIC and DMP looked on at the preparations for handing over with fascinated interest, if not with a sense of bewilderment ... There were also to be seen military and Auxiliary officers who had taken a leading part in the recent Irish war.

In the lower Castle yard were groups of journalists representing the Press of the world and there was the usual small army of photographers ... As the forenoon wore on the crowd outside the Castle gates swelled to enormous dimensions, and thousands were packed along Dame street, Parliament street, and adjoining thoroughfares.

Promptly at 1.30 ... Mr. Collins, Mr. Hogan, and Mr O'Higgins in the first car drove through the gates of the Lower Yard. Crown forces about on duty stood to attention, whilst other members of the forces present as spectators joined in the cheering. Mr. Collins smiled broadly and agreeably as he passed along.

In a few seconds the other two cars containing the remainder of the Government Ministers were within the gates. The three vehicles stopped at the Chief Secretary's Office, and Mr Collins was the first to alight and enter the building ... The huge staff at the Castle were all obviously most eager to get a glimpse of Mr. Collins. As the Ministers left the taxis one could hear on all sides "Which is Collins?" being asked. In less than five minutes Lord FitzAlan arrived in a palatial motor. There were cheers by the crowd as he drove in, but many did not recognise him. Accompanied by two aides-de-camp, he at once entered the Chief Secretary's office and met Mr. Collins and his Government.



KEVIN O'HIGGINS (FRONT) AND MICHAEL COLLINS LEAVING DUBLIN CASTLE FOLLOWING THE SYMBOLIC HANDING OVER OF THE HISTORIC SEAT OF BRITISH POWER IN IRELAND TO THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.

Through the windows Mr. Collins could be seen smiling and looking absolutely self-possessed as he met the Viceroy. The formality of taking over control was begun. The ceremonies would have taken place earlier, but Mr. Collins had been in the country for the weekend, and did not arrive in town until the 12.25 train from the South ...

At about 2.30 o'clock the Provisional Government left the Castle in their motors ... loudly cheered by the large crowd that had gathered at the gate.

MR DE VALERA

ATTITUDE TO THE TREATY EXPLAINED

By the courtesy of the International News service, we are enabled to publish the following interview which Mr. D O'Connell, its staff correspondent in Dublin, had with Mr. De Valera yesterday:-

Mr. O'Connell writes:- To-day Mr. Eamon de Valera received me at his home and granted the first authentic interview since opening the [Treaty] negotiations.

My first question was why he would not accept the Anglo-Irish Treaty as a stepping stone to full freedom for Ireland. De Valera's reply was sharp: - "Because it is not a stepping stone but a barrier in the way to complete independence." If this Treaty [is] accepted by Ireland, it will certainly be maintained that a

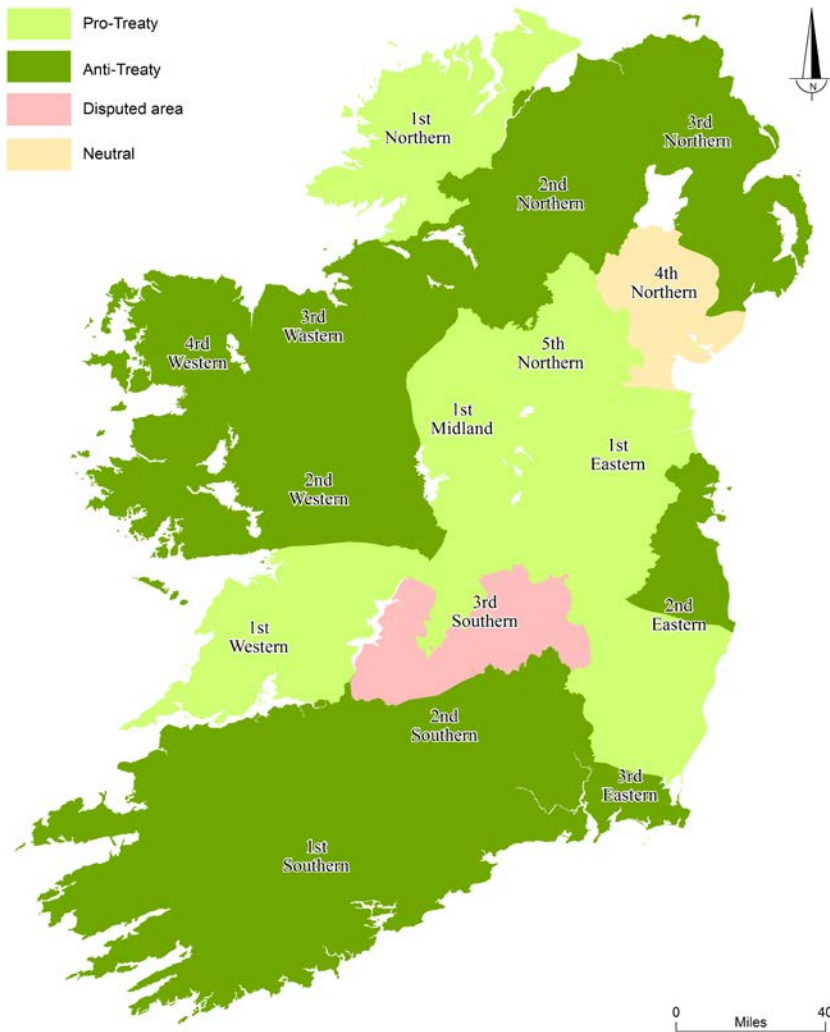
solemn binding contract has been voluntarily entered into by the Irish people, and Britain will seek to hold us to that contract.

A YEAR AGO.

A little over a year ago, when I sought official recognition from the Government of the United States, I was able to plead, as a basis for Ireland's right to free national self-determination, that the people of Ireland constituted a distinct and separate nation ... In Irish history there is not a single instance of the Irish people voluntarily bending the knee to British authority. Ireland's moral case was perfect. There had never been a spiritual surrender. Now this Treaty, if ratified by the Irish people, will determine our whole position ...

The plain people's uncritical summing up of the Treaty is that it will leave them as free from English interference as the peoples of Canada, Australia or South Africa. But Ireland is not three, six, nine thousand miles away from England ... nor are the historical relations between England and those countries, the same as the historical relations between Britain and Ireland - and he is a credulous person indeed who believes that the authority, which is but a symbolic shadow in Canada, Australia and South Africa is intended to remain a similar shadow in Ireland ... My ideal is now, as it has always been, that of an Independent Irish Republic.

- Document B -



(1) Map showing the division of the IRA on the Treaty issue in the spring of 1922

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, the most active parts of the pre-Truce IRA went anti-Treaty. 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. The 3rd Southern contained both pro- and anti-Treaty units and Frank Aiken's 4th Northern Division was neutral before and at the beginning of the Civil War.

(2) Oscar Traynor addressing a parade of Dublin City IRA Brigade units at Smithfield, Dublin on 2 April 1922

After IRA convention of 26 March 1922, senior anti-Treaty officers outlined their position to their units and appealed to members for assistance in defeating the Anglo-Irish Treaty.



WHAT THE I.R.A Crux in Limerick MEANS

The Minister of Defence of Dáil Éireann, Mr R. Mulcahy solemnly guaranteed at a meeting of Dáil Éireann to keep the Irish Republican army as such, intact till the Elections.

He has not kept his word.

1. He refused to allow the Mid-Limerick Brigade of the I.R.A to occupy the vacated Barracks in Limerick City because they would not take them over on behalf of the Provisional Government but insisted on maintaining their status as a part of the Irish Republican Army.
2. He drafted troops into Republican areas viz:- Limerick and Kilkenny, in the interest of the Free State Party. These areas were chosen because of their strategic strength.
3. He has officered these troops by men who will obey his instructions without questioning whether such instructions are a subversion of the Republic or not.

HE HAS NOT KEPT HIS WORD Because he seeks to ensure that no matter how the coming I.R.A. Convention decides, the Provisional Government will hold all areas for the Free State Party.

For the present situation in this City the Minister of Defence by his breach of trust is alone responsible.

The Republic still lives.

To Prevent this insidious attempt to subvert the Republic, units of the I.R.A. have come in from Counties, Tipperary, Kilkenny, Cork, Clare, Limerick, Kerry, Waterford, Galway, Mayo, Sligo and Roscommon.

(1) Republican propaganda leaflet, c. March 1922, explaining the introduction of anti-Treaty IRA forces into Limerick city

After the British evacuation in February 1922, the IRA agreed that local units would take possession of their nearest military and police posts, regardless of their stance on the Treaty. This arrangement was disregarded in Limerick city where pro-Treaty forces were unwilling to allow the local anti-Treaty IRA (ATIRA) take control of these barracks as they would provide an important strategic link between anti-Treaty strongholds in Connacht and Munster, isolating pro-Treaty forces in Athlone and Clare. Provisional Government Minister for Defence Richard Mulcahy drafted in pro-Treaty troops from outside Limerick to occupy city. In response, anti-Treaty IRA forces from Munster flooded into the city and prepared to forcibly retake the barracks.

The two sides eventually reached a settlement that saw the withdrawal of outside units from Limerick. The pro-treaty side agreed to compromise which gave control of the police stations to the Limerick Corporation, while a small force of ARIRA under Liam Lynch occupied the city's two military barracks. The events in Limerick highlighted the volatility of having two opposing armed forces in the country.

[Original Source: National Library Ireland, Erskine Childers Papers, MS 48,087]

(2)

The Freeman's Journal

Wednesday, March 8, 1922

[ONE PENNY]

IRA. HOLD LIMERICK

REINFORCEMENTS FOR LOYAL GARRISON

(From Our Special Representative),

Limerick city finds itself in a truly strange situation. Since Saturday afternoon armed parties have been arriving in the city who, in addition to occupying some of the principal city hotels, are also in a wing of the Mental Hospital, and the Municipal Technical Institute, recently vacated by British troops. Sentries are on guard at the entrances to these buildings and loaded rifles are visible in the rooms. The armed occupants in the hotels, apparently, have no intention of leaving.

Large forces of the regular [pro-Treaty] I.R.A. have arrived and are in occupation of William Street police barracks and five other barracks. The local gaol was also taken over today by these forces. British troops still occupy the Ordnance and New barracks. When off duty the Tommies patrol about the city as usual ... There is some speculation as to the ultimate



outcome of the situation, but the general feeling and hope is that an amicable ending will result. The attitude of the citizens is one of calmness and patience. There is an entire absence of any bitterness or hostility and men of the rival forces when off duty walk about the streets freely. Detachments of the I.R.A. moving to headquarters are now familiar and frequent spectacles in the streets.

REINFORCEMENTS ARRIVE

[On Tuesday night] a large column of the regular I.R.A. armed with rifles, marched into the city from Clare, accompanied by an armoured car from which floated a tricolour. The troops arrived about 9.30, and entered William Street barracks. A large crowd of the citizens witnessed their arrival, but there was no demonstration. The armoured car subsequently went to the headquarters at the Castle barracks. A large body of regular I.R.A. also arrived from East Limerick and entered one of the barracks. It is estimated that the total force of the regular I.R.A. in the city is now 1,000 and the others between 300 and 400. The commanders of the irregular forces, it is rumoured ask for possession of the Strand, and Castle barracks ... The Castle barracks, was built in the sixteenth century and figured in the siege of 1690, the walls of King John's Tower still indicating where they were struck by cannon-balls. ... The Strand Barracks, were formerly used by the staff of the Limerick militia.

In spring 1922 pro-Treaty government leaders strengthened their political position by holding rallies of supporters across Ireland. In April 1922 the anti-Treaty IRA tried to prevent Dáil Éireann president Arthur Griffith from speaking in Sligo town. Commandant General Liam Pilkington posted IRA units in strong locations across the town. Rather than surrender to the threat, the

Provisional Government dispatched a National Army 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.

- Document D -

(1) Arthur Griffith speaking at a pro-Treaty Rally in Sligo Town, April 1922



[Source: National Library of Ireland, INDH337]

(2) National Army (NA) Troops and Vehicles on Pound Street, Sligo Town, 1922



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

Photograph Analysis Worksheet

1. THE BASICS

Photograph Type: tick any boxes that apply

	Doc 1	Doc 2
Portrait	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Event	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Landscape	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Architecture	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Family	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

	Doc 1	Doc 2
Posed	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Unposed	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Selfie	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Action	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Aerial	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

	Doc 1	Doc 2
Colour	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Black & White	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Close-up	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Panoramic	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

2. FIRST IMPRESSIONS

Document 1

Document 2

Where and when was the photograph taken?		
List the people/ groups, objects in the photograph		
What actions / activities (if any) are taking place?		
What body language/ facial expressions, are captured on film?		
Three words that sum up your first impression		

3. ANALYSE

Document 1

Document 2

Why do you think this photograph was taken?		
What does the angle/frame/ perspective of suggest about the photographer's point of view about the subject?		
What 3 adjectives best describe the viewpoint of the photographer?		
Do you have any unanswered questions about the photograph?		

(1)

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NEW SERIES VOL VI - 16

CEANNANUS MOR, SATURDAY, APRIL 22nd, 1922

PRICE TWO PENCE

THE ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN

PUBLIC MEETING AT BAILIEBORO

On Sunday evening last, after a football match in Bailieboro', a Republican meeting was held on the Market Square. The speeches were delivered off a motor car, from which a specially prepared Republican flag bearing the words: "Irish Republic" floated. There was a fairly good crowd present, all of whom followed the addresses with keen interest. There was no interruption.

Mr. H. Rooney introduced Mr. J. Fegan, Organiser, who said:- The people are about to be asked to decide one of the most momentous questions ever fallen to the lot of Irishmen to decide. Unfortunately there is at present a sand storm raging throughout Ireland, particles of which are finding their way into the eyes of some of our people and blinding them to the real political issue.

We have come to a deplorable stage in our history when we find our one-time chosen leaders

on opposing platforms, preaching totally different doctrines, men who have sacrificed and bled together in a grand endeavour to overthrow a common enemy.

Let us examine the offer that is being made to us by those opposed to us ... They call upon us by a single stroke of our pen to do what all the fiendish Black and Tannery of England was unable to do. A parallel in history can scarcely be found for such inconsistency. Arthur Griffith told his hearers in Dublin recently that the treaty, for the first time in the history of the two countries recognises the nationhood of Ireland - and he never even smiled!

Are the six counties in the North of Ireland not in Ireland? ... If he had spoken correctly he would have said, for the first time in the history of Ireland, the people are asked to sign a treaty making a present of six counties in Ireland to England! England will also be in possession of our four important ports, and to prove our love and obedience we will have to take an oath of allegiance to her King.

When the delegates went to England as representatives of the Sovereign Irish State, they carried with them instructions from their Cabinet to sign nothing until they had sanction of the Cabinet. On their own admission they disobeyed the Irish people and now they ask us to sanction that act of disobedience ... It is now left to you, Bailieboro' people, to follow the lead and once and for all, free yourselves from England ... I ask you to reject this dishonourable Treaty. (Applause).

Mr. Gibbon, Republican Organiser, West Cavan, [... said] it was unnecessary for him to put the history of Easter Week before them. P. H. Pearse went out with a small band of soldiers behind him and he hoisted the three coloured flag. In 1918 you were called upon to decide and the Irish people gave their answer ... Why are you asked to change what you then did. I say look forward, don't pay any attention to the Dublin hostile Press [and...] consider what will be the state of our country under the treaty.

(2)

A MAGAZINE
AND HOME
JOURNAL

The Anglo-Celt,

LARGEST
CIRCULATION
OF ANY PUBLICATION
IN IRELAND

VOL I LXXXII NO. 5,896

CAVAN, SATURDAY, APRIL 15th, 1922

PRICE TWO PENCE

COOTEHILL TREATY MEETING

On Sunday last after 11 o'clock Mass in Cootehill, Messrs Arthur Griffith and Sean Milroy, T.D.s, on their way to Cavan, addressed their constituents on the Market Square ... Mr Griffith, who was received with cheers, said four years ago East Cavan elected him as its representative, and Cootehill took the lead in that fight. Three years ago he was in prison. Two years ago, when released from prison, he came to his faithful people in Cootehill to tell them the position as it then was. He came to them again to-day to know whether they thought he had been faithful to the trust they had placed in him, whether they were satisfied with his actions. ("We are", and cheers)

Speaking to them as his constituents, he would be frank. They had seen the statement that that (the delegates) were sent to England to bring back a Republic, and they had basely betrayed their trust. (A Voice:- "Nothing of the kind"). If that had been their mandate, it would have ended

ended the matter. But it was not. They were sent to London to see if they could make an arrangement honourable to the Irish people and safeguarding their interests ... under no circumstances would Lloyd George recognise an Irish Republic ... After 8 weeks fighting [we] brought back the treaty ...

Under the Treaty they had got the British Army out of Ireland; they had got an army of their own to defend the country; they had taken over control of Irish trade, commerce and taxes. Ireland was recognised as a separate nation with a seat in the League of Nations. She had the right to send representatives to any international conference ... They had the right and the power to make Ireland again a Gaelicised nation, speaking its own language and forming its own government in any way it liked.

They were going to have an election in June to find out whether the people were with them or not. He was sure that they would

stand as firmly against intimidation as the electors of Clare in the days of [Daniel] O'Connell, or the farmers of Ireland in the days of the Land League, and that they would use the argument of the ballot, not that of the bullet ... When the election came he hoped that they would stand as firms against the Black and Tanism of Rory O'Connor as they had against the Black and Tanism of England (cheers) ...

Mr Sean Milroy said that he spoke in Cork to a meeting of 50,000 people, and in that vast meeting there were about 50 disturbers, who, with the aid of their lungs and their revolvers, interrupted the proceedings as far as they could. Fifty out of 50,000 were a very small minority, and that was typical of the situation in Ireland today. The Irish people were not taking these disturbers seriously. They regarded them as so many cantankerous children ...

No man had the right to threaten free speech or a free Press [...and] they were not going to submit to military terrorism.

THE TREATY GIVES IRELAND

1.

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

[Sources: Cork City and County Archives]

SAORSTÁT na hÉIREANN.
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.
Maynooth at 11.15 a.m.
Dublin 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.

So Saoraid Dia Éire.

[Source: National Library of Ireland, ePH F27]

2.

**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	Walls
Ferocities	Oppression	X The final horrors
Gallows	Persecution	Y which words
Harassings	Questionings	Z cannot describe.
Internments	Raids	

to get

(perhaps)

Which way should a
Sane Man or Woman Go ?

DOCUMENT No. 2
(or others in later series)

NATIONAL
EXTERMINATION

Support the Treaty Candidates.

real leaders, Irish People & all Irish folk.

[Sources: National Library of Ireland, ePH G18]

As the 1922 Pact Election was only the second election under the proportional-representation system (the first being the local elections of 1920), clear instructions were necessary. The situation was complicated by the pact between Collins and de Valera, whereby both pro- and anti-Treaty Sinn Féin candidates were technically on a coalition panel and the Treaty was not to feature in the campaign. In reality, few were in any doubt about the pro or anti-Treaty positions of the candidates.

SPECTACLES AND EYEGLASSES
COMBINING
ALL THE LATEST IMPROVEMENTS.
W. K. Cahill, Optician, Late Mr P. Cahill
Optician 27,
T.C. The Pire.
46 Dawson Street, Dublin.

The Freeman's Journal
ESTD. 1763 IRELAND'S NATIONAL NEWSPAPER {ESTD. 68.
DUBLIN: TUESDAY, JUNE 13, 1922

OUR TEA
are the only of the market
and give the greatest satisfaction.
ESTD. 1878. 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

ADVERTISE IN THE
PAPERS THAT "FULL"
TYPE
FREEMAN TELEGRAPH
WEEKLY FREEMAN SPORT

MANY ELECTION MEETINGS IN THE COUNTRY

An extremely large and enthusiastic meeting was held on The Mall, Waterford last night, (wires our correspondent), in support of the panel candidates for Waterford and East Tipperary ... Mr. de Valera, who was received with prolonged cheers, said they were there - irrespective of the views they had on the Treaty question - to ask them all to vote for the Panel candidates, one and all ... They in the Dáil had not come together yet on the big issue, but, as they could not agree, they had done the next best thing. They agreed to differ upon it and put it aside and not seek a decision upon it for the moment...

It was necessary for both parties (pro- and anti-Treaty Sinn Féin) to enter into a Coalition Government [which ...] would have behind it the support of both sections ... Mr. de Valera read the agreement between Mr. Collins and himself. They disagreed, he said, on one word - the Treaty - but the points they agreed on would not be summed up in a volume. Both wanted a truly Irish Ireland and respected each other. He wanted a Government the people would respect.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

What it Means

Proportional Representation is a method of voting and counting votes. Under this system, parties, whether in a majority or in a minority, are represented in the result of the election according to the express desire of the people who voted:

When a candidate has been elected, and he has more votes than he requires, each surplus ballot paper is transferred to the candidate whom the voter likes next best.

If a candidate has received so few votes, that he cannot possibly be elected he is excluded from the count, but the votes are not lost. Each ballot paper is transferred to the candidate whom the votes likes next best.

For example—Suppose there were an Election for 5 Seats and there were 7 Candidates, A,B,C,D,E for one party, and F,G for another. The ballot papers are examined and the results found to be:

A	receives	1059	votes
B	"	1054	"
C	"	1041	"
D	"	922	"
E	"	910	"
F	"	703	"
G	"	562	"
Total		6251	

Under the former system, A,B,C,D,E would have been elected, BUT under Proportional Representation a quota (i.e. the number of votes necessary to secure the election of a candidate)

$$\text{is } \frac{\text{Number of valid votes}}{\text{Number of seats to be filled}} = \frac{6251}{5} = 1250.2$$

or $\frac{6251}{5+1} + 1 = \frac{6251+1}{6} = 1042$ Therefore 1,042 is the quota

The first step would be to exclude G. If all the voters who liked G best, liked F next best, the 562 votes for G would be transferred to F. He would then have 1265 votes - i.e. more than the quota. F is therefore, bound to be elected.

THEREFORE, it is well to indicate the order of your choice for practically all of the candidates, but there is a real safeguard that a paper will not be transferred from the candidate you mark as first choice so long as that candidate requires the vote.

How to Vote

No Ballot Paper at an Election held under Proportional Representation should be marked with an X. This will spoil it.

It is first of all necessary to

PLACE THE FIGURE 1 in the space on the left hand side of the ballot paper opposite the name of the candidate YOU LIKE BEST.

Then you should, if you wish,

PLACE THE FIGURE 2 opposite the name of the Candidate you like SECOND BEST

"	"	3	"	"	"	"	"	THIRD	"
"	"	4	"	"	"	"	"	FOURTH	"
"	"	5	"	"	"	"	"	FIFTH	"
"	"	6	"	"	"	"	"	SIXTH	"
"	"	7	"	"	"	"	"	SEVENTH	"

(SEE THE EXAMPLES OPPOSITE)

If anything else except the number is written or marked on the ballot paper the vote may be rejected as invalid. Any paper not having the figure 1 set opposite the name of some one candidate, or which is not marked at all, or in regard to which there is uncertainty, may be rejected and not counted at all. If you make a mistake in marking your paper, and spoil it, give it back to the Presiding Officer and ask for a fresh one.

When to Vote

Vote early. This saves endless trouble to the Presiding Officers. Electors who start out late on the day may not reach the polling station in time to vote.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION, 1922

CONSTITUENCY OF KIDARE AND WICKLOW

Polling Date: - Friday, 16th June, 1922

Hours of Polling: - 8 a.m. to 8 p.m. (new time)

Vote SINN FEIN

AND
Secure Peace & Unity

SPECIMEN BALLOT PAPER	
Mark order of Preference in spaces below	NAMES OF CANDIDATES
	BARTON
	BERGIN
	BUCKELY
	BYRNE
	CHILDERS
	COLOHAN
	EVERETT
	O'CONNOR
	PHELAN
	WILSON

INSTRUCTIONS TO VOTERS

Place the Figure 1 opposite the Name of the Candidate you LIKE BEST ...

VOTE FOR THE FIVE CANDIDATES WHOSE NAMES APPEAR ON THIS BILL IN HEAVY TYPE.

SINN FEIN ABU!

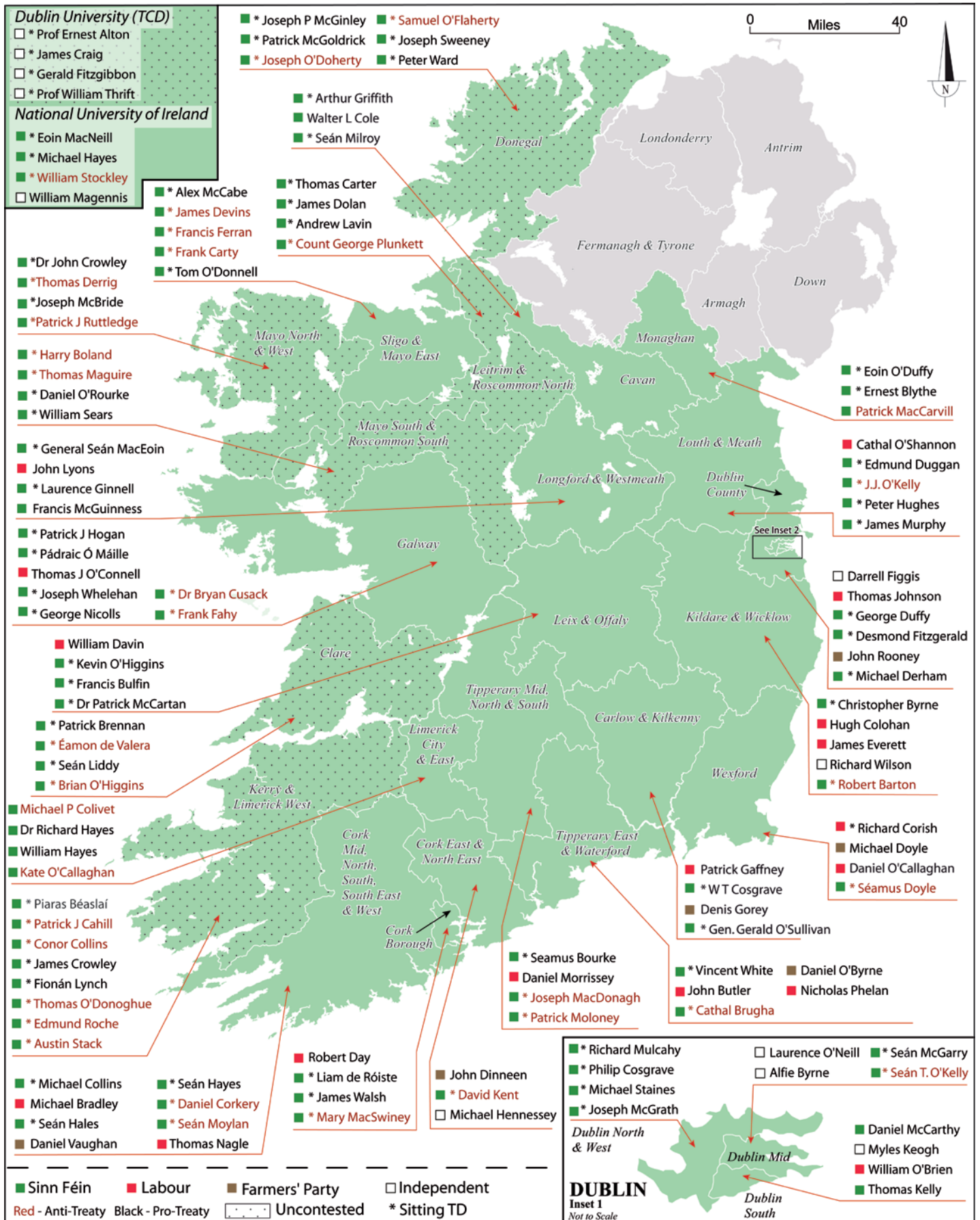
Printed by "The Leinster Leader, Ltd." Nass for the Election Agent of this Sinn Féin Candidates.

A SAMPLE BALLOT PAPER ISSUED BY SINN FÉIN for the Kildare-Wicklow constituency before the June 1922 'Pact' general election. The names in bold are the Sinn Féin candidates - Robert Barton, Daniel Buckley, Christopher Byrne, Erskine Childers and Art O'Connor - all anti-Treaty except for Byrne. Bergin, Phelan and Wilson were independents, while Colohan and Everett were the Labour Party candidates

-Document H -

Map showing the candidates returned for each constituency in the June 1922 general election

Just a few days before the election, Michael Collins broke the pact, but it had served its purpose of ensuring a relatively peaceful election campaign. The election returned pro-Treaty Sinn Féin as the largest party, with fifty-eight seats out of 128 (less than a majority), while the anti-Treatyites won thirty-six. The map shows names of the returned candidates listed in order of 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.



COMPREHENSION AND CRITICISM QUESTIONS

DOCUMENTS A-H

1. Based on evidence from the *Evening Herald*, describe the mood of (a) Michael Collins and (b) the crowd of spectators at Dublin Castle? (*Doc A*)

(a) -----

(b) -----

2. Why do you think the *Evening Herald* described the events at Dublin Castle as '**historic**'? (*Doc A*)

3. How does Eamon de Valera describe the Treaty during his interview with D. O'Connell? (*Doc A*)

4. Why does de Valera think that England's relationship with Ireland under the Treaty will be different to its relationships with its other dominions? (*Doc A*)

5. How many IRA divisions remained loyal to provisional government in 1922? (*Doc B1*)

6. In what way was the 3rd Southern division of the IRA different to the others? (*Doc B1*)

7. What were the two largest anti-Treaty divisions in 1922? (*Doc B1*)

8. What agreement was made between IRA members about the RIC and British Army barracks vacated after February 1922? (*Doc C1*)

9. Why was Limerick city of such strategic importance to the anti-Treaty IRA? (*Doc C1*)



10. According to the republican propaganda leaflet, what promise had Richard Mulcahy broken? (Doc C1)

11. What action did the anti-Treaty IRA take in response to Mulcahy's '*breach of trust*'? (Doc C1)

12. According to the *Freeman's Journal* what 3 armed groups occupied Limerick in March 1922, and where was each stationed? (Doc C2)

(1) -----

(2) -----

(3) -----

13. Can you find any evidence in the *Freeman's Journal* article about its position on the Treaty? (Doc C2)

14. Complete the *Photograph Analysis Worksheet* for Documents D1 and D2

15. Based on your examination of *Documents C - D* and their captions, briefly comment on the general atmosphere in Ireland in the Spring of 1922. Use evidence from the documents in your answer.

















PART II: THE PACT ELECTION

1. Why, according to Mr. J. Fegan had they come to a '*deplorable stage*' in their history? (Doc E1)

2. What aspects of the Treaty does J. Fegan highlight as being unacceptable to republicans? (Doc E1)



3. Imagine that you attended both meetings described in *Document E*. Write the text of two tweets you might have sent during each of the speeches. *Remember* you are limited to 140 characters and need to clearly communicate the *main message/atmosphere/ sound bites* to your interested followers.

Compose new Tweet	BAILIEBORO MEETING	Compose new Tweet
<div><div>I What's happening?</div><div></div><div>140 Tweet</div></div>		<div><div>I What's happening?</div><div></div><div>140 Tweet</div></div>
Compose new Tweet	COOTEHILL MEETING	Compose new Tweet
<div><div>I What's happening?</div><div></div><div>140 Tweet</div></div>		<div><div>I What's happening?</div><div></div><div>140 Tweet</div></div>

4. If you were a voter in 1922, which of the two pro-Treaty posters would you find most persuasive? Explain your answer with reference to both posters (*Docs F1 and F2*)

5. Taking note of the anti-Treaty arguments and persuasive techniques in Document E, design a poster asking voters to decide **against** the Treaty.





YOUR TASK; REPORTING THE ELECTIONS (DOCS F-H)

The elections of 1922 were complicated for many reasons. Firstly, as a result of the Collins-de Valera Pact, pro and anti-Treaty Sinn Fein candidates stood for election as members of the same Sinn Fein panel. Secondly, the proportional-representation system of electing candidates was very new to Irish people, and thirdly, many of the Sinn Fein panel candidates stood unopposed in their constituencies.

Using Documents F-H as source material, your job as a television news team is to explain and simplify the points below for a viewing audience in a 3-minute broadcast.

- (a) the election campaign
- (b) the system of voting
- (c) the results of the election nationally
- (d) The results of the election in your own constituency

Step 1: Your teacher will divide the class into groups of four students. Assign one of the following roles to each member of your group:

1. Newscaster
2. Video Editor
3. Script Writer
4. Elected Candidate

Step 2: Working together as a group, discuss and decide:

- When and how the news report will be recorded and what video editing software (if any) you will use
- The structure of the report (*beginning, middle, end*)
- If you will include old photographs and/or film footage in your report
- The identity of the elected candidate you will interview

Step 3. Working together, consult your sources to extract factual information for your **3-minute** news broadcast.

Step 4: Once the broadcasts are complete, share the video with the other members of your class.

In each case, the class should provide constructive feedback on the content, structure and level of clarity.



PHASE I: JUNE - JULY 1922

On 18 June 1922 the anti-Treaty IRA held a final convention at the Mansion House. Rory O'Connor and Liam Mellows walked out in protest at the proposals of the moderates, reconvened in the Four Courts and voted to replace the moderate Liam Lynch with Joe McKelvey as the new chief of staff. The anti-Treaty IRA had split in two.

When anti-Treaty IRA man Leo Henderson was arrested by pro-Treaty forces in Dublin, the Four Courts garrison responded by abducting Free State officer, J. J. 'Ginger' O'Connell. This action, combined with the assassination of British General Sir Henry Wilson in London, then serving as the Northern Ireland government's security adviser, meant that Michael Collins came under significant pressure from the British to respond with force.

The Free State ministers saw no alternative to military action. Collins issued an ultimatum to the Four Courts garrison that would expire at 4 a.m. on Tuesday 27 June 1922: surrender or be fired upon. Two eighteen-pound field guns were aimed at the Four Courts from across the Liffey and at 4.07 a.m. when the rebels remained inside, the free state forces fired. Knowing of the split in republican ranks, the leaders hoped fighting would be brief and confined to Dublin. However both moderate and militant anti-Treaty IRA officers considered the attack on Four Courts a declaration of war against the Irish republic. The Civil War had begun.

While the Four Courts was being bombarded with British artillery, republicans seized fourteen buildings on the east side of O'Connell (Sackville) Street, which became known as 'The Block'. Anti-Treaty IRA leader of the Dublin Brigade, Oscar Traynor established a new Headquarters in Hammam Hotel and Cathal Brugha was appointed O/C of its garrison of 100 men and women.



[Source: National Library of Ireland, ePH F292]

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 National Army now concentrated its efforts on Oscar Traynor's positions. Three armoured cars were put into action as well as an 18 pounder gun to attack 'The Block'.

On the night of Monday 3 July, Traynor ordered the majority of the garrison to evacuate the complex, leaving only a token force under the command of Cathal Brugha to hold 'The Block' which was bombarded for three days. When 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 18 pounder gun and a fire broke out. With the building burning around them Brugha ordered 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. Anti-Treaty forces evacuated the city and from Cork, Liam Lynch issued a statement affirming that he was chief of staff again. The first battle of the Civil War was over.



[Source: National Library of Ireland, NPA CIVP8]



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



[Source: National Library of Ireland HoG 134]

Letter from British Prime Minister David Lloyd George to Michael Collins, 22 June 1922, written in the aftermath of the killing of Sir Henry Wilson by IRA gunmen outside his London residence. Lloyd George demanded an immediate response from the Provisional Government. The Wilson assassination triggered the Provisional Government's attack on the IRA executive in the Four Courts five days later.

APPENDIX II

Downing Street
22nd June, 1922

Dear Mr, Collins,

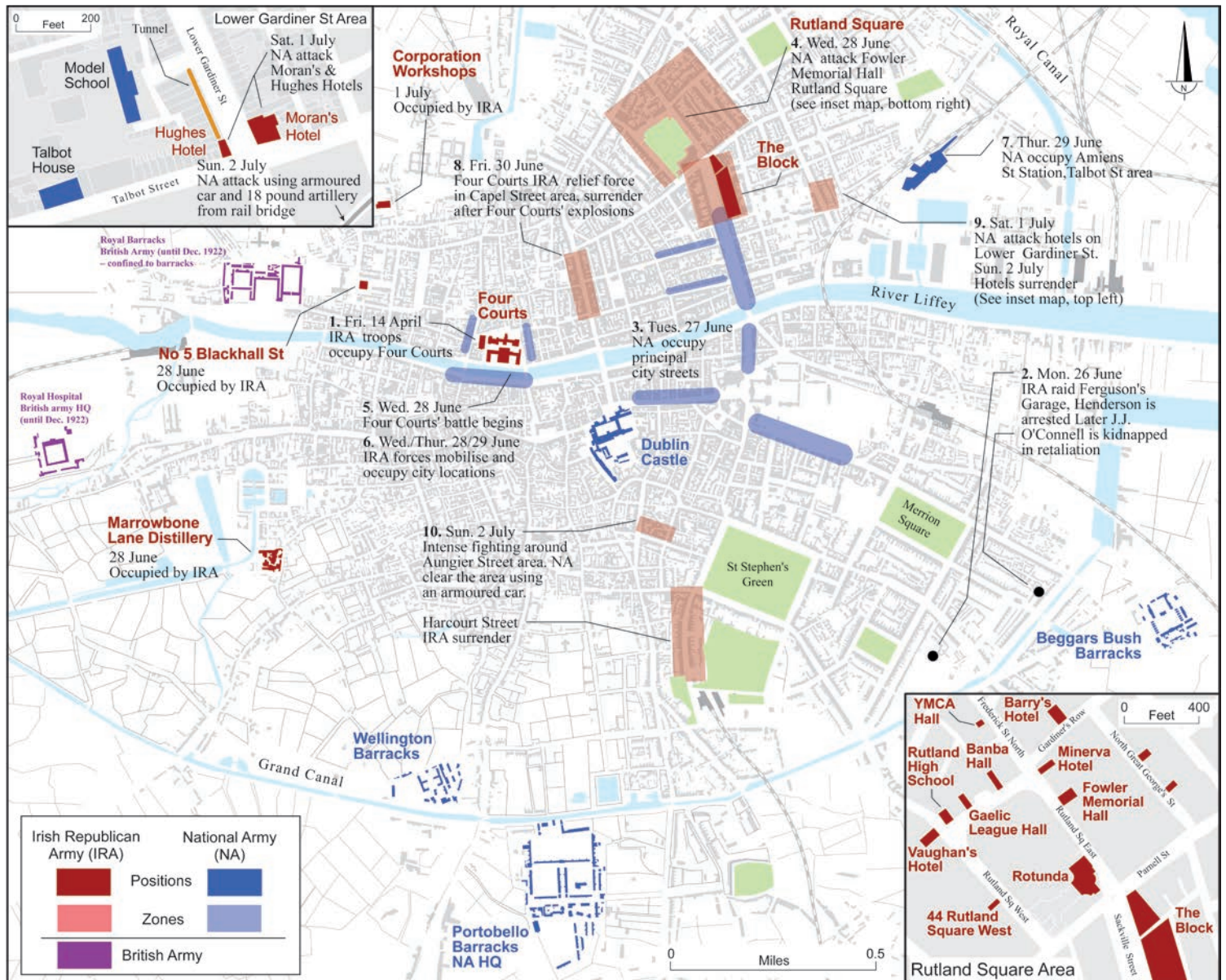
I am desired by His Majesty's Government to inform you that documents have been found upon the murderers of Field-Marshal Sir Henry Wilson which clearly connect the assassins with the Irish Republican Army, and which further reveal the existence of a definite conspiracy against the peace and order of this country. Other information has reach His Majesty's Government showing that active preparations are on foot among the irregular elements of the IRA to resume attacks upon the lives and property of British subjects both in England and in Ulster.

The ambiguous position of the Irish Republican Army can no longer be ignored by the British Government. Still less can Mr Rory O'Connor be permitted to remain with his followers and his arsenal in open rebellion in the heart of Dublin in possession of the Courts of Justice, organising and sending out from this centre enterprises of murder not only in the area of your Government but also in the six Northern Counties and in Great Britain. His Majesty's Government can not consent to a continuance of this state of things, and they feel entitled to ask you formally to bring it to an end forthwith.

Assistance has on various occasions been given to Dominions of the empire in cases where their authority was challenged by rebellion on their soil; and His Majesty's Government are prepared to place at your disposal the necessary of artillery which may be required, or otherwise to assist you as many be arranged. But I am to inform you that they regard the continued toleration of this rebellious defiance of the principles of the Treaty as incompatible with its faithful execution. They feel that now you are supported by the declared will of the Irish people in favour of the Treaty, they have a right to expect that the necessary action will be taken by your government without delay.

Yours etc.
(Sgd,) David Lloyd George.

The Events of the Battle of Dublin, June-July 1922



Caption: 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 Med-

ical 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 by Liz Gillis]

The weekly republican news sheet, *Poblacht na hÉireann* was first published during the attack on the Four Courts as a way of conveying news of the changing situation to journalists, supporters and the general public. It was edited mainly by Erskine Childers until his arrest (November 1922), and later by Frank Gallagher and others. The later editions convey news of day-to-day events in the Civil War from a republican perspective.

STOP PRESS

POBLACHT NA h=EIREANN.

WAR NEWS No. 6.

SUNDAY JULY 2

Seventh Year of the Republic

PRICE THREEPENCE

THE FIGHT GOES ON

LATEST INTELLIGENCE - OFFICIAL

The Republican forces operating in Dublin have been reinforced with both men and material.

For military reasons, no further information can be given on this subject at the present time.

I.R.A. Prisoners Treated as Criminals

DISPATCH FROM COMDT-GEN LIAM MELLOWES

Mountjoy Criminal Prison

11 p.m., 30/6/22

At 9 p.m. to-night 50 prisoners of the Irish Republican Army were brought under heavy escort to Mountjoy Criminal prison. On arrival there they demanded through the Chief of Staff, Comdt.-Gen Joseph McKelvey, that they be treated as prisoners of war. To this demand the officer in charge of the prison garrison troops of the so-called Provisional Government replied that ... they would be treated as criminals. Comdt.-Gen McKelvey ... then stated that they would refuse to enter the cells, and that they would have to be carried there by force.

After further parley, the O/C in charge of the prison garrison, decided not to use force ... The latest development of the situation is that at the moment of writing, 11 p.m. the orders issued to the O/C of the prison are:- "That the Republican prisoners are to enter the cells without any conditions being agreed to beforehand. Failing to [agree] to these terms the prisoners are to lie on the grass all night with machine-guns trained on them. ... The prisoners have accepted the alternative, and many of them are asleep on the grass. The soldiers of the Army of the Republic now incarcerated in Mountjoy Prison recognise only the authority of the Government of the Republic they fought to establish ... Here in this spot, sacred to the memory of Kevin Barry and other martyrs of the Republic, they deny the authority of any usurping Government that recognises the right of the British King in Ireland. With this principle clearly defined, they are prepared to carry on the fight or the Republic inside the Jail.

(Signed) LIAM MELLOWES

Comdt.-Gen, I.R.A., Camp Adjutant

"CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTY"

FALSE PROPAGANDA OF THE FREE STATE

In a Proclamation issued on the 30th the Provisional Government said: "We ask no man or woman to yield up any ideal or principle. Liberty will be secured to all under constitutional guarantees, but it will be constitutional liberty."

This is barefaced deception, meant to deceive the Irish people and the world. ... The first answer to that is that the Republic is not an ideal. It is a living fact ... They are destroying the Republic. We are upholding it.

The second answer is to point to the Free State constitution dictated at the point of a bayonet by Lloyd George and Churchill. Every loophole for the achievement of national independence is closed by this shameful document. Republicans are made outlaws by this so-called "Constitution". The Treaty and the Constitution compel all honest Republicans to deny and defy the authority of any Free State Government, and to give obedience and allegiance solely to the living and indestructible liberty.

Prisoner Shot in Mountjoy

At 5.10 p.m. at Mountjoy Prison to-day three shots were fired. Immediately afterwards some of the Republican prisoners shouted to their friends that one of their comrades was shot and wounded by a warder. A doctor arrived, but no information was given to the people.

LATER

Prisoner was shot by a Free State soldier, not by a warder.

THE WEST'S AWAKE

Galway Free State troops have sent a dispatch to the Free State GHQ appealing for reinforcements, as they are being strongly pressed by our troops and cannot hold out much longer. The West's Awake!

ESCAPED PRISONERS

Of the prisoners who escaped from Jameson's two are:- Comdt.-Gen Ernest O'Maille and Comdt.-Gen. Joseph Griffen, both Staff Officers of the Republican Army Executive.

FOUR COURTS NOTES

BY AN ESCAPED PRISONER

The Free State Press contains reports of the shooting by the 'Irregulars' at Red Cross officials. This is untrue.

On the other hand, a continuous fire was kept up on the hospital in the Four Courts ... It was necessary on this account to transfer all the hospital staff under fire...

Men fighting for the Republic were attacked at the Four Courts by some of those who fought with them for the Republic in the Custom House last year. The defenders of the Four Courts were fighting for the same cause. Their assailants took the place of the British.

The position of the men in the Four Courts at the time of the surrender was a hopeless one. They had retired to the last available quarters, the rest of the building having been blown in.

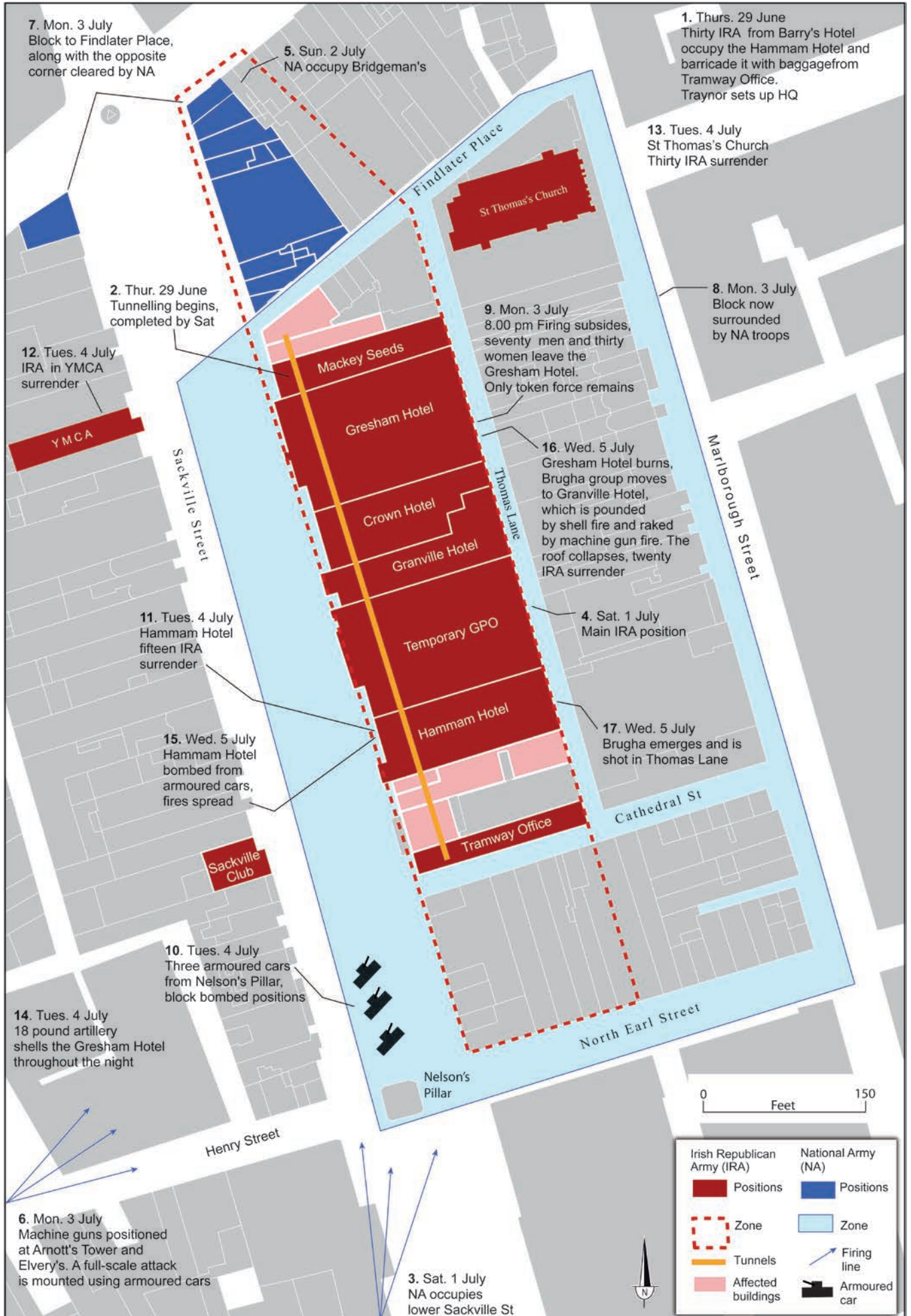
Shells then played on these quarters, while the only point of retreat was covered by armoured cars and machine gun emplacements. Free State officers expressed the belief that in such a retreat not a man could escape.

The men marched out with their heads up, not with their hands up, as stated in the daily Press.

During the fighting Comdt.-General O'Connell, of the Free State Army, was given the best possible treatment. As each position in which he was held became dangerous, he was transferred to the next safest position. After three hours of the siege General O'Connell expressed his amazement that the Republican troops had not already surrendered and that the place had not been taken.

After the last position became untenable and when the Republican soldiers were removed to the premises of Messrs. Jameson and Sons, Bow Lane, Comdt. Ernie O'Malley, Comdt. Joseph Griffen and other Republican officers and men succeeded in effecting their escape.

Events on O'Connell Street during the Battle of Dublin, June-July 1922



ASK FOR
CAIRNES'S DROGHEDA ALES
AGENT: John Dillon, 52 Hill Street, S.

Following the surrender of the Irregulars in their burning strongholds, the city, yesterday, enjoyed a period of comparative calm. Snipers were absent from the housetops. The machine gunners ceased their deadly activities. The National troops returned to barracks ... barricades were removed from many bridges. Trams were run on all the lines where the overhead wires were not damaged in the fighting. Many business houses in the centre of the city opened their doors for the first time for days, and although now and again the crack of rifles and revolvers resounded through the streets, crowds thronged into O'Connell Street to view the scene of destruction.



COMPREHENSION QUESTIONS

THE BATTLE OF DUBLIN JUNE- JULY 1922

1. Summarise the main message of Lloyd George's letter to Michael Collins on 22 June 1922? (*Doc I*)

2. How would you describe the tone of the letter? Refer to the document in your answer? (*Doc I*)

3. According to the map of the events in Dublin in June-July 1922, where was anti-Treaty IRA man Leo Henderson arrested on 26 June? (*Doc J*)

4. On 1 July, what two IRA positions in Lower Gardiner Street were attacked by the National Army? (*Doc J*)

5. According to *Poblacht na hÉireann* where were the members of the Four Courts garrison taken after the surrender? (*Doc K*)

6. How did Joseph McKelvey respond when the prisoners were not given prisoner-of-war status? (*Doc K*)

7. What information does *Poblacht na hÉireann* provide to **(a)** challenge newspaper reports about the surrender **(b)** demonstrate optimism and confidence **(c)** justify their fight against the Free State?

(a) -----

(b) -----

(c) -----

8. According to the map, how many days elapsed between the IRA's occupation of buildings in O'Connell Street and their surrender to the National Army? (*Doc L*)

9. Where was Cathal Brugha shot on 5 July? (*Doc L*)



10. Based on the map, do you think the IRA might have held out for longer before surrendering? (*Doc L*)

11. According to Art O'Connor's statement to the *Irish Independent*, what notable anti-Treaty figures managed to escape the Block before the surrender? (*Doc M*)

12. In what ways, according to *Document M*, did the Battle of Dublin affect the citizens of the city?

13. How would you describe the writing style of the *Irish Independent* journalist? Refer to Document M in your answer.

14. What are the strengths and weaknesses of Document M as a historical source?

Strengths-----

Weaknesses-----

YOUR TASK

Your teacher will organise the class into pairs.

Using the information in Documents A-M in this worksheet and your own research, complete the '**Causes of the Irish Civil War**' informative poster that accompanies this Unit.

For homework plan, edit and write the following essay:

H.L. : To what extent was the Anglo-Irish Treaty, 1921, responsible for the Irish Civil War?

O.L: What part did Michael Collins play in the treaty negotiations and the events which followed?

