



Irish Free State 1921

MUNUC
Dominican Republic



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LETTER FROM THE CHAIR OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF THE IRISH FREE STATE, 1921

Dear Delegates,

Welcome to the Irish Free State! I will be your Chair for this committee, and I am beyond excited to see what ideas you will all bring to the table. I think the establishment of the Irish Free State is such an interesting time in history, and I am quite looking forward to taking on the role of Governor-General for the weekend. My hope is that, by studying this period of history, we can all learn more about what exactly it takes to make revolutionary movements for independence long-lasting and powerful.

I am currently a third year at the University of Chicago studying Neuroscience on a pre-med track, while also minoring in Health and Society. Along with MUNUC, I oversee committees for ChoMUN, our collegiate conference, as an Under-Secretary General and compete on our traveling team. Outside of MUN, I do research in an Alzheimer's lab, teach sex ed on campus as a Peer Health Advocate, and volunteer with the American Red Cross. In my spare time, I also thoroughly enjoy doing crossword puzzles, seeing plays downtown, and playing Wizard101 with Kelsey.

As your Chair I am thrilled to see what interesting ideas and solutions you'll come up with in the frontroom. While crisis is of course meant to be fun, I also believe that it is a fundamentally educational activity. I urge you to take this opportunity to really learn about the history at play here and use it in your approaches to solving any crises that come your way. We will be discussing potentially sensitive topics in committee, so please be considerate in the way that you decide to interact with crisis updates and take individual action through backroom notes.

Above all else, we here at MUNUC are committed to making Model UN as accessible as possible. MUN, especially crisis, can be very confusing at first, so if you are feeling confused, stuck, lost, or just want to send me pictures of your cats, please do not hesitate to reach out to me! I am looking forward to meeting all of you soon!

Best wishes,

Shayna Cohen

LETTER FROM THE CRISIS DIRECTOR OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF THE IRISH FREE STATE, 1921

Dear Delegates,

Shayna and I are ecstatic to welcome you to the Irish Free State committee at the first iteration of MUNUC Dominican Republic! We're excited to run this continuous crisis committee, and we look forward to seeing y'all approach this interesting microcosm of history.

A bit about me: I'm a third-year at the University of Chicago majoring in Molecular Engineering, Physics, and Creative Writing. I'm originally from the Washington DC area, and I have plans to continue to work there for the next few years. I do physics research, but I can't make up my mind on which field I enjoy the most, so over the past few years I've jumped from batteries to bug eyes to satellites to levitating particles. I've also been doing MUN for 9 years and it's a huge part of my life. I serve as Vice President of the UChicago MUN traveling team, as an executive for ChoMUN (our collegiate conference), and I'm running a committee at MUNUC in April. Outside of school and MUN, I love to write poetry and fiction, and I've recently gotten very into audiobooks, which I listen to while I cook and play mindless games on my phone. I also love spending time with my roommates.

I'm quite fascinated by the history of the British Isles, and while Irish history is not covered in most school curriculums, the island territory has long been marred with conflict as a result of English rule and interference. Ireland is commonly thought to be the first British colony, and the English expansion into Ireland marked the beginning of a contentious era of British history. To this day, Ireland is still split, and the impacts of English occupation are still widely felt. In this committee, we will look at decolonization from a different perspective, and, more importantly, explore and give visibility to a section of history that has long-since been ignored. I really encourage everyone to dig deep into the topic and I'm really looking forward to seeing delegates' visions for the committee's trajectory. I encourage everyone to develop expressive, bold arcs that they can get excited about.

If the idea of a crisis committee is at all daunting, no need to worry! We will be doing an overview of crisis at the beginning of committee, and over the course of the weekend, I'll be more than happy to talk or message with y'all.

I can't wait to meet you all in December over zoom!

Best regards,

Kelsey Gilchrist, Crisis Director

TOPIC: THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF THE IRISH FREE STATE, 1921

History of the Problem

December of 1921, a tumultuous period of conflict and war draws to a close with the completion and signing of the Anglo-Irish Treaty, which confirms not only the separation of Ireland and Great Britain but leaves open the possibility of a secessionist Northern Ireland. To understand why the Treaty and compromise are so important yet vexatious, it is necessary to understand key junctions in Irish and English history that led up to the conflict that, for years, blocked the same compromise.

Early History

Political Union

Anglo-Irish relations date back nearly a millennium and broadly represent both English cultural and penal suppression. Though political domination of **Gaelic** Ireland dates back to the late 1100s, formal political sovereignty of Ireland was vested in the King of England under the Crown of Ireland Act 1542.¹ King Henry VIII became King of Ireland through a personal union between England and Ireland. Under the previous, papal relationship, the Pope recognized the King of England as Lord of Ireland, though there were no formal political ties or alliances, since the nations were still considered separate kingdoms and governments. Ireland's Parliament was subordinated to Great Britain's (**Westminster**), giving the English limited but not inconsequential political rule over the Irish nation. The next important act of parliamentary legislation relating to the governing and governmental structure of the three nations was the Union of the Crowns in 1603, when King James VI of Scotland became the King of England through a personal and dynastic union, in addition to his role as King of Scotland, after the reigning queen, Elizabeth, died. Although this did not unite the two Kingdoms, the unification of the ruling position was a sign that future unification was to come.

¹ Finnegan, Richard. *Ireland: The Challenge of Conflict and Change*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1983.

It took another century for further integration, when in 1706 and 1707, respectively, the Union with Scotland Act and the Union of England Act were passed by the respective parliaments. These two agreements merged England and Scotland into a single kingdom, henceforth to be referred to as the Kingdom of Great Britain.² Formal unification of Ireland and England did not take place until the Acts of Union 1800, which combined both the political and religious powers of the nations.³ Previously the relationship of the nations had been largely a formality. Ireland was not considered a Dominion under the Kingdom of Great Britain, and as such retained separate leadership over infrastructure and legislation. Ireland was governed by the Parliament of Ireland based in Dublin and maintained separate religious leadership through the Church of Ireland. Ireland joined the Kingdom of Great Britain like the Scottish had done, gaining seats in the Parliament of Great Britain but forfeiting entirely their own Parliament's authority to levy taxes.

Religious Division

Central to Irish identity is the Catholic Church. Ever since Saint Patrick first arrived in the early 400s to Ireland, Ireland has been a Catholic nation. However, as English power slowly began to dominate Ireland, so did its new Church of England. Henry VIII instigated a break from the rule of the Catholic Church to guarantee, among other things, his divorce from Catherine of Aragon. All his domain followed suit, including Ireland, necessarily. While all but two bishops joined the new, Protestant Church of Ireland, almost none of the lower Catholic clergy followed suit.⁴ So the merging of the Churches did not necessarily reflect a wholesale unification of all parishioners, but a formality merging of the Protestant population of Ireland with like-minded individuals in the Church of England.

Just who were these like-minded individuals? The history and development of a Protestant minority concentrated almost exclusively in northern Ireland, are part-and-parcel of Ireland's history, once which began as a ruthless English campaign of pacification. When Henry VIII established the Church of Ireland in 1536, there was only an insignificant native English population in Ireland. However, as

² Davis, Leith. *Acts of Union: Scotland and the Literary Negotiation of the British Nation 1707-1830*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998.

³ Harkness, David. *Ireland in the Twentieth Century*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996.

⁴ William Maziere Brady, *The Irish Reformation, or the Alleged Conversion of the Irish Bishops at the Accession of Queen Elizabeth, and the Assumed Descent of the Present Established Hierarchy in Ireland from the Ancient Irish Church, Disproved* (London: Longmans, Green, & co., 1867), ix.

Henry and later Elizabeth began to evict disloyal Lords, they rearranged the whole of Ireland into **plantations**, comprised of several counties, in an attempt to pacify and Anglicize the population under English rule. Each plantation was meant to demonstrate Anglo-Scottish agricultural effectiveness and inspire the Irish to follow English enlightened rule. However, they legally could only be farmed by Anglo-Scottish workers.

The lords who managed them settled tenant farmers from their own estates in England to comply—English-speaking Protestants amid an armed, Catholic, Gaelic-speaking, and openly hostile Irish countryside. To protect them, the same lords constructed massive fortresses, adding to the hostile landscape. Though off to a rocky start, the Ulster plantation was the first successful Anglo-Scottish model agricultural community. The **Ulster** plantation was comprised of six counties: Armagh, Fermanagh, Cavan, Coleraine, Donegal, and Tyrone. However, these settlers did not manage to Anglicize the native Irish, but rather laid the foundations for further tension. By the 1630s, there were roughly 20,000 settlers and their families, meaning there were as many as 80,000. This number increased to 125,000 by 1641, though the native Catholic outnumbered their Anglo cousins 15 to 1.⁵ A poor harvest triggered open rebellion against the English, most viciously in Ulster. In 1649, Thomas Cromwell landed on Irish shores and put down the rebellion in three short but bloody years.

Under the terms of surrender and the **Act for the Settlement of Ireland 1652**, most Irish land was confiscated and handed over to Anglicans and Presbyterians, known hence collectively as the **Ulster Scots**. The **Penal Laws** later compounded this by codifying Catholic political and land-owning exclusion. Irish exclusion paralleled the development of Anglo permanent settlements in towns, whereas most Irish continued to live off the land. Domination took its course: the Irish language and culture slowly withered as English was made the official language, dominant in trade and the courts. This union, and of course the Anglo-Irish relationship as a whole, was one of debate and contention, making the further turmoil, and eventual war, an unsurprising event.⁶

⁵ Padraig Lenihan, *Confederate Catholics at War* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2000), 49.

⁶ Finnegan, Richard. *Ireland: The Challenge of Conflict and Change*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1983.

Early Modern Ireland

Although Ireland formally joined what became the United Kingdom in 1801, economic and social integration further laid the groundwork for Irish discontent. The first Industrial Revolution no doubt accelerated already growing disparities, but it left Ireland in a “perpetual state of malaise.”⁷ During the second half of the 18th Century, England underwent rapid economic growth through technological development, in which Ireland largely did not participate.

Textile production drove the early Industrial Revolution. Before the Act of Union, the Irish exported huge quantities of linen to Britain, as well as cotton and wool. Exports grew eighty-fold during this time.⁸ However, the Ulster Scots brought with them a long tradition of weaving and finishing, leading to its relative concentration there.⁹ Belfast became the dominant Irish hub of mechanized spinning, and soon cotton replaced linen as the dominant good in demand by 1800. Centralization devastated the rural poor—landless laborers, cottiers, and small tenant farmers who relied on spinning for extra income.¹⁰

Westminster’s interference furthered economic decline by shifting government largesse from South to North. Shipbuilding and other national economic projects were gradually shifted to Ulster to take advantage of both a loyal population and greater urban economic integration.¹¹ Moreover, Irish firms remained afloat before the Union largely because of tariffs, which were either done away with in 1801 or gradually faded away into the 1820s, exposing the niche Irish linen weavers to global cotton production.

Thus the North continued to benefit as trade came in and out of Belfast. However, the Anglo-Irish economies are inexorably intertwined. Behind the United States, Ireland is England’s largest trading

⁷ W. Allison Phillips, *The Revolution in Ireland, 1906-1923* (London: Longmans, Green & co., 1923), 31.

⁸ Eoin O’Malley, “The Decline of Irish Industry in the Nineteenth Century,” *The Economic and Social Review* 13 no. 1 (October, 1981), 28.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 30.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 33.

¹¹ Phillips, 33.

partner; because Ireland does not possess the capabilities for self-sustaining industry, it must import its goods from England.

Nationalist and Unionist Divisions

The most relevant pushes for realistic nationalist Irish separation from Great Britain began in the 1880s, when sentiment and discussion for **Home Rule** began in earnest. First of all, to clarify the actors, broadly the Irish Nationalists and the Liberal Party were pro-Home Rule and usually Catholic, while people who identified as Unionist also usually identified as conservative and Protestant.¹² Irish Nationalists argued that the dependence on Great Britain was ruining Ireland, and that it was time for a return to independence in every sense. The goal of the Irish Nationalists was a free republic. Unionists, citing the success of manufacturing in the north and agriculture in south, worried that separation from Great Britain would alienate them from major trading and economic support.¹³ No earnest action was taken on the Irish question between 1873 and 1911 despite widespread public support.¹⁴

Religion again reared its ugly head. Newly freed from fears of **Anglicanism**, Ulster Scots freely focused on the growing threat of Irish-Catholic nationalism, which they believed would quiet not only their political power but also their religious beliefs.¹⁵ Eighteenth century religious issues disappeared in Ulster as Westminster dropped the inadmissibility of non-Anglican denominations of Protestantism during the nineteenth, but Catholics were still largely suppressed as a group both by the English administrators in Dublin and in Westminster. In addition, since the majority of the Irish citizens were Catholics, the Protestants feared that a parliament that reflected a proportional representation would leave them in an uncontestable minority- a far different position than their current allegiance with Great Britain.¹⁶ Racist overtones colored early anti-Home Rule efforts and persist until today. Ulster **Presbyterians** were convinced that the Catholic Irish were a monolithic bogeyman, “ignorant and superstitious rabble,” and financially profligate.¹⁷ However, Conservatives

¹² Collins, Peter. *Nationalism and Unionism: Conflict in Ireland 1885-1921*. Belfast: W&G Baird Ltd., 1994.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Joseph M. Curran, *The birth of the Irish Free State, 1921-1923* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1980), 4.

¹⁵ Boyce, D. George. *Ireland 1828-1923, From Ascendancy to Democracy*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1992.

¹⁶ Collins, Peter. *Nationalism and Unionism: Conflict in Ireland 1885-1921*. Belfast: W&G Baird Ltd., 1994.

¹⁷ Curran, 5.

in Westminster, who were coalition partners in Liberal governments, opposed both Home Rule and special privileges for Ulster **Unionists**.

After the two failed votes on the Home Rule Bill of 1886, and the Second Home Rule Bill of 1893, William O'Brien, a key player in the fight for Irish independence, founded the **United Ireland League** (UIL) in 1898.¹⁸ The party campaigned mainly on land reform, seeking to equalize the holdings and profits between the major Irish landowners, who had snatched up land in previous centuries, and the poor, who had no room for growth or change in the social and economic stagnation, which was perpetuated by inherited holdings.¹⁹ While land reform was not directly related to the political turmoil over Home Rule Bills, the League's failure to pass legislation highlighted further the frustration that the Irish had with their representation in London. It reinforced the notion that it would be easier and more relevant for domestic Irish disputes to be solved by a Parliament based in Ireland, solely consisting of Irish citizens. Irish nationalists further contended that the British were either uninformed or unconcerned with unique Irish problems when they did not have consequences for the entirety of the parliamentary body. Home Rule was becoming a more popular opinion. At the same time, it became evident to those who sought independence that the Irish needed a stronger political force to convince the British to relinquish political control of Irish affairs.

Cultural **nationalism** bolstered more practical political concerns in the late nineteenth century to transform politics. By the 1890s, three hundred years of English rule had left the Irish language and Gaelic culture moribund. To fight Anglicization and revive the Irish nation, Douglas Hyde established the **Gaelic League** in 1893 to curb Anglo and Ulster encroachment.²⁰ It harkened back to a time of Irish self-sufficiency and hearty independence, raising up legendary historical figures and fitting them into a new context to rally the nation. Its motto was *Sinn Féin*, *Sinn Féin amháin*, which means "ourselves, ourselves alone."²¹ While the literary and linguistic figures were overtly non-political, their retelling and the idealization of the Gaelic people helped to plant the seeds of revolution in the

¹⁸ Finnegan, Richard. *Ireland: The Challenge of Conflict and Change*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1983.

¹⁹ Boyce, D. George. *Ireland 1828-1923, From Ascendancy to Democracy*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1992.

²⁰ Curran, 2.

²¹ Brian P. Murphy, *The Catholic Bulletin and Republican Ireland: with special reference to J. J. O'Kelly ('Scelig')*. (London: Athol Books, 2009) 51-53.

collective Irish breast. Moreover, linguistic and literary efforts proved immensely successful. By 1903 there were well over one thousand schools teaching Gaelic and Irish history.

UIL had one major success: in 1903, it petitioned the government in London to end landlord domination in Ireland. Vast sums of money were set aside to serve as loans to tenant farmers to buy their land back from the English lords under the **Wyndham Land Act 1903**.²² Three hundred sixteen thousand tenants would repurchase roughly half the land under the plantation system. However, this did little to lift the abysmal pall over the Irish countryside. In time, O'Brien became frustrated with the slow dealings and minimal progress of the UIL; and rather than attempt reform from within, he left in 1909 to form another political party, the **All-for-Ireland League (AFIL)** that focused on uniting the aims and efforts of the multiple political parties in Ireland to focus on what was now the common aim: independence for the Irish people and the Irish nation.²³

AFIL attracted supporters for both political and nationalistic reasons. While the AFIL was able to push for a third Home Rule Bill to face Parliament, it ultimately disagreed with the Ulster secession and independence from Ireland as one of the conditions for freedom of Ireland from Great Britain, the Northern Ireland counties of Ulster to secede from Ireland. Ulster could further align, if they wished, with Great Britain. Because of this disagreement, the seated members of parliament that affiliated with AFIL refused to vote on the Third Home Rule bill. The AFIL was firmly against the partitioning of Ireland and would not accept a bill that included the possibility for Northern Ireland to secede from Ireland as a whole. Although this Home Rule Bill ultimately passed, it was also immediately postponed due to the First World War and was not revived until a fourth Home Rule Bill was brought to the legislature in 1918. Ultimately, the All-for-Ireland League disbanded before the 1918 Fourth Home Rule Bill, due in part to the rise in popularity of Sinn Fein and their unwillingness to adopt their notorious violent tactics.

World War One

World War One put questions of Irish Independence on the back burner in favor of the combined war effort. The AFIL supported Irish involvement, because he saw it as an opportunity both for unity—

²² David W. Miller, *Church, State and Nation in Ireland 1898-1921* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1973), 77-94.

²³ Boyce, D. George. *Ireland 1828-1923, From Ascendancy to Democracy*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1992.

Protestant and Catholic fighting side-by-side—and the chance for the Irish to demonstrate capabilities fitting of a people ready for self-government. Two Irish regiments were quickly raised in the south and one in Ulster. The war further ground immense economic benefits for Ireland.²⁴ Shipbuilding in particular generated thousands of jobs and attracted sizeable waves of Catholics to Belfast’s dock. An agricultural nation, Ireland supplied a good deal of the meat that fed the Tommys. Still, separatists openly denounced Britain’s selfish and dishonest war aims, while the newly-created Irish Volunteers and Citizen Army frequently staged parades and open maneuvers. The 1915 stalemate on the Western Front sapped enthusiasm and stoked the fires of revolutionary nationalism, culminating in the Easter Uprising and the 1916 Rebellion, setting in motion Irish Independence.

The Easter Uprising

The story of the Rebellion cannot, though, be told without the Sinn Féin, yet another party rallying around the platform of a free, independent Irish republic, and Irish Volunteers.²⁵ Founded by Arthur Griffin, Sinn Féin rose steadily to become the dominant political force in Ireland; it struggled to gain traction, and might have died out after the First World War if not for the Easter Rising of 1916. While Sinn Féin dominated politics, the **Irish Volunteers** actively challenged British colonial rule. It is important to note that at this time, the then-moderate Sinn Féin and Irish Volunteers shared many members but no formal affiliation. Disparate Irish nationalist organizations, including the Irish Republican Brotherhood, lent arms to form the Volunteers. The IRB was a secret fraternal organization that charged itself with doing whatever necessary to secure a free Irish republic.²⁶ However, their political significance waned as the Volunteers blossomed and the IRB’s members transferred their energies into it. After political and social tides turned in their favor, the Irish Volunteers tried to capitalize on the growing support for nationalism by planning a coup. Although the Irish Volunteers was established in 1913, they lost many of their members to the National Volunteers in the First World War, putting their guerilla war on hold until 1916.

²⁴ Curran, 7.

²⁵ Harkness, David. *Ireland in the Twentieth Century*. New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1996.

²⁶ Ibid.

On 24 April 1916, a group of soldiers, consisting primarily of the Irish Volunteers and organized by the Irish Republican Brotherhood, staged the violent takeover over key government buildings from the British in Dublin, including Dublin Castle, and attempted to declare an Irish Republic.²⁷ However, poorly organized, poorly executed, and vastly outnumbered, the revolution lasted all of six days before total surrender before the British troops and police forces on 29 April 1916.²⁸ All of its organizers were tried and summarily executed in a military court. In a revolutionary sense, it was a failure, because it was unsuccessful in achieving its projected goals, but it served as a turning point in the return of violence to the efforts for separation from Great Britain.

The **Easter Uprising** also turned public opinion squarely to the Irish camp. It shocked Ireland, with most of the higher Irish clergy, including all but one bishop, remaining silent on the matter.²⁹ Britain's harsh crackdown through the mass internment of suspected Volunteers, who had disappeared into the Dublin population, engendered popular demonstration.³⁰ British PM Lloyd George in a fit of outrage permanently put on hold Irish Home Rule. Out of this rose three groups: Ulster Unionists, who were strongly opposed to any Irish split; the malleable Irish public; and Sinn Féin under Éamon de Valera, leader of the advanced nationalist movement.³¹

Although not directly involved with its planning and execution, Sinn Féin was blamed for the revolutionary Easter Rising actions by Westminster, and therefore received popular sympathy when the leaders of the uprising were executed.³² Shortly after, Éamon de Valera, a key actor in the uprisings and a strong advocate for violence in the fight for a free Ireland, took over the party from Griffin, merging efforts and followers of the movement for an Irish Republic. Later, in 1919, members from Sinn Féin self-declared the **Dáil Éireann**, the first government of Ireland.³³ Although not grounded in a binding legal framework with Great Britain, it was another important step in the establishment of the structure of a free Irish government.

²⁷ Walsh, Oonagh. *Ireland's Independence, 1880-1923*. New York: Routledge, 2002.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Curran, 11.

³⁰ Ibid., 13.

³¹ Ibid., 15

³² Knirck, Jason. *Imagining Ireland's Independence*. Plymouth: Rowman and Littlefield, 2006.

³³ Boyce, D. George. *Ireland 1828-1923, From Ascendancy to Democracy*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1992.

Post-Rebellion Ireland

Prolonged fighting largely played into Sinn Féin's hand by raising it among the collective Irish public conscience. People flocked to Sinn Féin, and De Valera machinated and maneuvered Sinn Féin onto the path of republicanism and away from incorporation into the United Kingdom on terms outlined in the Government of Ireland Act 1914. As the toll grew ever higher, the new government under **David Lloyd George** considered conscription in Ireland as a necessary tool to buttress the Allied war effort. Union struck Dublin in response, which proved extremely effective.³⁴ By the war's end, there were 100,000 Irish Volunteers.³⁵ Equally importantly, legislative progress on Home Rule was all but snuffed out by both the strains of war and the formation of a strong nationalist bloc in Parliament.

In just three years, a political splinter group became the largest party in Ireland and threw the Ulster Unionists into utter chaos in their efforts to secure an Ulster defense against Irish rule. In the 1918 parliamentary elections, Sinn Féin emerged as the dominant voice of Irish nationalist politics. It took 75 out of 105 available Irish seats in the House of Commons. Fatefully, they refused to take their seats and organized instead the Daíl Éireann in Dublin, setting up the first Irish administration in opposition to Westminster.³⁶ The Sinn Féin candidates who had placed themselves on the 1918 elections had declared their refusal to sit in Westminster even before the results had been announced, and that the five Sinn Fein candidates who had won seats in the 1917 elections had done the same.³⁷

The Daíl Éireann

The 1919 first Daíl Éireann refused to abide by legislation that would not yet grant Ireland political and religious independence from the British monarchy. Although seats had been granted also to the Unionist Party and the Irish Parliamentary Party, they had refused to join the rebel parliament, making the Daíl Éireann synonymous with Sinn Féin.³⁸ Moreover, many of the elected Sinn Féin were serving prison sentences for acts of wartime treason. This was not a spontaneous act of self-

³⁴ Curran, 19.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Knirck, Jason. *Imagining Ireland's Independence*. Plymouth: Rowman and Littlefield, 2006.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Walsh, Oonagh. *Ireland's Independence, 1880-1923*. New York: Routledge, 2002.

governance, but part of a planned, forced separation from the governance of Great Britain. When the Daíl Éireann recognized itself as the legitimate government of Ireland in 1919, they also adopted the Irish Volunteers as the official armed forces of the new Irish Republic. With the new backing, they fashioned themselves into **Irish Republican Army**, the IRA, and were the primary forces that engaged the British in the Irish War of Independence. The Irish Volunteers had been most active in 1916 with the events of Easter Rising, but had continued to wage a guerilla war against the pro-Great Britain forces, and were the main military face of Irish resistance. The formalization of the IRA, along with the act of resistance that was the establishment of the separate parliament led to the break out of the Irish War of Independence, although, as previously stated, violence had been brewing and instigated by both sides towards the others, so it had seemed like only a matter of time.³⁹

Ironically, peace for Ireland isolated it from its wartime allies, both real and imaginary, and drove it to conflict. Germany and Ireland historically shared an aversion for most things British, and not-

³⁹ Walsh, Oonagh. *Ireland's Independence, 1880-1923*. New York: Routledge, 2002.



inconsiderable shipments of arms found their way via German U-boats onto Irish shores during the war. Now that peace had broken out and Germany was on the losing end of it, Ireland lost its continental ally. The United States, a traditional friend with a sizeable Irish immigrant population, was not willing to expend political capital on the matter with Great Britain as it was in the throes of negotiating the Paris Peace. Without international political recourse to self-determination, the Dáil decided to act militarily and declared a republic amid a hail of bullets and blood. Cathal Brugha summed it up best when he noted in a speech to the Dáil that militants were not interested in practical considerations: “Deputies, you understand from what is asserted in this Declaration [of the Republic] that *we are done with England* [...] For come what may now, whether it be death itself, the great deed is done.”⁴⁰

Irish War of Independence

The Irish War of Independence is documented as beginning the same day, 21 January 1919, that the Dáil Éireann took power, when Irish forces killed two British officers of the **Royal Irish Constabulary** (RIC).⁴¹ Unlike a traditional war, most of the violence throughout 1919-1921 was fought in small, localized episodes with varying targets. Because the IRA had fewer forces than the British, they relied on innovative tactics, targeting first the barracks of the RIC to obtain weapons, focusing on the forces against them—the RIC and then the Black and Tans—although they did accidentally draw civilians into the crossfire.⁴² Social forces again tipped the balance in favor of the IRA during the early stages of the conflict. The rank- and-file of the RIC were largely Catholics under the supervision of Protestant officers, and the Catholics were meant to supply their superiors with intelligence and information. The Irish successfully were able to ostracize these men, halting the flow of information. While most Irish disapproved of the Volunteer’s **terrorism**, they did not betray their fellow countrymen.⁴³

Westminster continued to seek to grant democracy without real authority: under the final iteration of the Home Rule bill, it would partition Ireland into the six-county Ulster and the Catholic south. It

⁴⁰ Curran, 23 (emphasis added).

⁴¹ Walsh, Oonagh. *Ireland’s Independence, 1880-1923*. New York: Routledge, 2002.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Curran, 24.

would further shrink the electorate and strip and financial freedom within Ireland to keep it nominally free of the British crown. Another popular option was to grant Ireland Dominion status under the British Empire. A **Dominion** is an independent state within the United Kingdom, equal in status to all other countries in the British Empire, and free to conduct foreign and domestic affairs. The catch was that it must swear allegiance to the Crown. Ireland would join Canada, New Zealand, Australia, and the Union of South Africa as equals on the international stage.

Unfortunately, Lloyd George's cabinet had a vociferous minority opposed to any sort of dominion status for Ireland. Bonar Law, **Chancellor of the Exchequer** ruled out Dominion status because Sinn Féin would use the freedom it conferred to secede from the Empire and establish a republic in the south, thus quashing its popularity in the cabinet for the time.⁴⁴ Lloyd George in October, 1919 asserted that the Irish could not be trusted with control over their own armed forces; and Irish Dominion would be too great a menace to Britain and Ulster.⁴⁵ The IRA were recruited by love and loyalty, but the Black and Tans, and later the Auxiliaries, were recruited heavily and paid handsomely, and eventually outgrew the budget of Great Britain.⁴⁶

Westminster's inactivity played into the Daíl's hand. On 3 April 1920, the Irish Volunteer Army burned down 300 empty RIC buildings and 100 tax collection offices, bringing English administration to a halt in Ireland. Railway workers struck in solidarity and showed labor's support for Sinn Féin. By the end of the month, the British were convinced that military steps had to be taken. They reorganized a defeated and demoralized intelligence service and drafted two new bodies under army control: the **Black and Tans**, and the **Auxiliaries**. There were 5,200 of the former in Ireland by 1921 and 1,450 of the latter.⁴⁷ While on paper the IRA vastly outnumbered the combined British forces, there were perhaps only 8,000 active members at any one time, leveling the playing field significantly.

The Black and Tans were a curse to the English administration. The Black and Tans were a vicious bunch of former British soldiers who sought military life without the "discipline and boredom" of

⁴⁴ Ibid., 30.

⁴⁵ Curran, 31.

⁴⁶ Walsh, Oonagh. *Ireland's Independence, 1880-1923*. New York: Routledge, 2002.

⁴⁷ Curran, 36.

routine administrative work. The Auxiliaries, the counterinsurgency group ancillary to the Black and Tans, were worse: a “law” unto themselves.⁴⁸ Despite good wages and excellent supplies, they lacked counterinsurgency tactical training from the get-go. Unable to effectively track the IRA, they lashed out vengefully at the civilian population. There was little recourse to punish disorderly RIC and Auxies, since the administration constantly had its hands full. Thus, by the end of 1920, the police reprisals and the maelstrom of international and domestic opinion it whipped up hurt the British cause more than the Irish.



Surprisingly, Irish society reacted little to the unfolding civil war in the south—a testament to the Gaelic spirit. Men in bars often would continue laughing over a joke as a bomb went off outside or a flying column of RICs chased an IRA soldier. The Catholic hierarchy refused to recognize the Daíl out of a desire to maintain “normalcy,” but there was little discipline among the lower clergy who participated in the conflict.⁴⁹ It was a different story in Ulster: Protestant mobs attacked Catholics, especially in Derry City. In Belfast, Protestant ship builders drove out Catholic workers who had replaced them during the war. Violence continues to this day in the North, though it is sporadic at best.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 37.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 41.

April-May, 1920 marked a surprising tactical switch between the RIC and IRA. Frustrated at **positional warfare** and limited success, British forces began the first of many broad sweeps of the countryside, which often involved pillaging and unchecked sweeps of violence against the Irish. More dangerous were roving ununiformed RIC patrols that moved by night. In addition to sowing violence, these covert groups laid in ambush, without much command or communication with a centralized organization, which for IRA units, conducted more open training in the countryside. These proved immensely strategically successful, though they did not receive much publicity. In contrast, the IRA launched an ill-advised but popularly successful positional campaign against British administrative buildings in Dublin. On 25 May 1920, IRA men seized and burned Customs House, the administrative headquarters of British rule. A propaganda success, the IRA nonetheless lost nearly 80 men.

Equally importantly, the Irish established and legitimated their own government in opposition to Britain's administration. Throughout the war, the Second and Third Daíl Éireann were active as the governing body for Ireland, facing first the introduction of the Fourth Home Rule Bill, which established temporary Parliaments in both Southern and Northern Ireland, and eventually negotiated for the ceasefire in July, 1921, as well as the beginning of negotiations for the Anglo-Irish Treaty. Though branded an illegal organization in September, 1919, it continued to carry out the (often mundane) functions of government that the British were either unwilling or unable to do during the Irish Civil War. This included maintaining arbitration courts, which eventually went underground; collecting taxes and duties; and passing laws and statutes. Bravery in conflict won the hearts and minds of the Irish. In Westminster, political deadlock prevented any concrete action: the Liberals and Conservatives in Parliament were unwilling to acknowledge political realities in Ireland and emphasized the return to order over political settlement. As a result, Sinn Féin swept municipal and local-government elections in 1920 and swore their allegiance to the Daíl.

Fighting continued, though public opinion had swelled too much to be handled by June, 1921. Large reinforcements were arriving in Ireland and lent weight to the anti-IRA campaign and threatened to completely turn the tide against the Irish. However, this influx was met with profound denunciations of "Black and Tannery" and accompanying urges to settle the Irish question through Dominionhood within the British Empire. Lloyd George and the Daíl secretly communicated, establishing the terms under which the parties would negotiate. The de Valera camp strongly sought

complete control over Ireland, which Lloyd George rejected outright, though politics hampered both men. In the end, the two parties came together amid much fanfare in June, 1921 and hammered out a treaty. Their success, the British government's willingness to negotiate for a treaty, came from their efficiency and success in guerilla attacks, and was aided by the British inability to continue funding an expensive war. Thus, the Daíl elected to send peace envoys to Britain to reach a settlement for official recognition of a separate Irish Republic, which culminated in the creation of the Articles of Agreement for a Treaty Between Great Britain and Ireland, also known as the Anglo-Irish Treaty, the acceptance or rejection of which will be up to the committee at hand.

THE PROCLAMATION OF
POBLACHT NA H EIREANN.
THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT
OF THE
IRISH REPUBLIC
TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

IRISHMEN AND IRISHWOMEN: In the name of God and of the dead generations from whom she receives her old tradition of nationhood, Ireland, through us, summons her children to her flag and strikes for her freedom.

Having organised and trained her manhood through her secret revolutionary organisation, the Irish Republican Brotherhood, and through her open military organisations, the Irish Volunteers and the Irish Citizen Army, having patiently perfected her discipline, having resolutely waited for the right moment to reveal itself, she now seizes that moment, and, supported by her exiled children in America and by gallant allies in Europe, but relying in the first on her own strength, she strikes in full confidence of victory.

We declare the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland, and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies, to be sovereign and indefeasible. The long usurpation of that right by a foreign people and government has not extinguished the right, nor can it ever be extinguished except by the destruction of the Irish people. In every generation the Irish people have asserted their right to national freedom and sovereignty; six times during the past three hundred years they have asserted it in arms. Standing on that fundamental right and again asserting it in arms in the face of the world, we hereby proclaim the Irish Republic as a Sovereign Independent State, and we pledge our lives and the lives of our comrades-in-arms to the cause of its freedom of its welfare, and of its exaltation among the nations.

The Irish Republic is entitled to, and hereby claims, the allegiance of every Irishman and Irishwoman. The Republic guarantees religious and civil liberty, equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens, and declares its resolve to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation and of all its parts, cherishing all the children of the nation equally, and oblivious of the differences carefully fostered by an alien government, which have divided a minority from the majority in the past.

Until our arms have brought the opportune moment for the establishment of a permanent National Government, representative of the whole people of Ireland and elected by the suffrages of all her men and women, the Provisional Government, hereby constituted, will administer the civil and military affairs of the Republic in trust for the people.

We place the cause of the Irish Republic under the protection of the Most High God, Whose blessing we invoke upon our arms, and we pray that no one who serves that cause will dishonour it by cowardice, inhumanity, or rapine. In this supreme hour the Irish nation must, by its valour and discipline and by the readiness of its children to sacrifice themselves for the common good, prove itself worthy of the august destiny to which it is called.

Signed on Behalf of the Provisional Government,

THOMAS J. CLARKE,

SEAN Mac DIARMADA, THOMAS MacDONAGH,
P. H. PEARSE, EAMONN CEANNT,
JAMES CONNOLLY, JOSEPH PLUNKETT

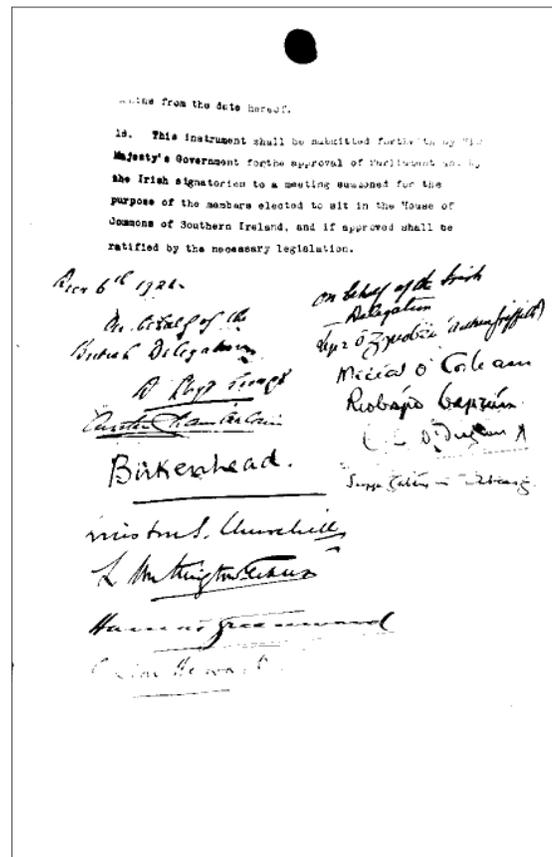
Copy of the 1916 Proclamation of the Irish Republic

Statement of the Problem

The committee that convenes on 6 December 1921 in Dublin will handle many issues of domestic and international importance, and the consequences that arise from their mixture. Made up of mostly members of the Second Dáil Éireann—it will become the Third once the treaty is ratified—the First Executive Council of the Governor-General of the Irish Free State also adds ambassadors to the United States, to England (specifically, the Court of St. James's), and representatives who speak to the interests of Northern Ireland. To that end, the many intricate and immediate problems that are set before the committee cannot be considered or decided from one point of view, but require substantive and far-sighted recommendations to have a positive impact on Ireland. In addition, the scope of issues that may arise before this governing body may be quite broad.

Ratifying the Anglo-Irish Treaty

The first issue set forth to the committee surrounds the question of acceptance and ratification or rejection of the Treaty negotiated for in London between the representatives from Ireland, and Lloyd George's government, which represents the interests of King George V and Great Britain. The **Anglo-Irish Treaty** signed on 6 December 1921, officially known as the Articles of Agreement for a Treaty between Great Britain and Ireland, agrees to a set of rights granted to Ireland and given by Great Britain that denotes a compromise between an independent republic and a client state of Great Britain.⁵⁰ However, the Treaty must be ratified by the Dáil. Before debating the document itself, the first decision that the committee must make is over the matter of open or closed debate.



Last Page of the Anglo-Irish Treaty

⁵⁰ Harkness, David. *Ireland in the Twentieth Century*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996.

While it is traditional for sessions of the Dáil Éireann to be open to the public, which allows citizens to see and note the actions of their representatives for policy's sake, the committee may choose to hold debates in a closed setting. Such a move would allow representatives greater liberty to debate and vote their conscience but may anger the public and engender hostility. However, while the process and manner of debate can be withheld, an affirmative or negative vote for the ratification of the treaty must be released to the public. Therefore, the decision and argument for or against closed debate has to do with the manner in which the Dáil wishes to present their interests to the public. Either way, the decision is a monumental one and deserves careful consideration. The reputation of the government is at stake throughout deliberations.

Once procedure is decided, debate moves to the main event: ratification of the Anglo-Irish Treaty. Ratification cedes the Executive Committee of the Governor-General control over a divided and combative territory. Division over the Treaty persists, because pro-Treaty forces see the negotiations and the Treaty itself as the acquisition of new freedoms, while anti-Treaty forces refuse to accept anything less than the terms laid out during the 1916 Easter Rising: a full, independent, unified Irish Republic. The Dáil remains extremely divided on the issue, and a close vote will carry its own problems. Although the Treaty includes many concessions and compromises on war debts, future alliances, as well as provisions for revisions of the Treaty itself, the articles most immediately affecting the committee detail the (future) political and economic relationship between Ireland and Great Britain and between Southern Ireland and Northern Ireland.

Article One of the Anglo-Irish Treaty elevates Ireland to the same constitutional status in the British Empire as Dominions such as Canada and New Zealand, emphasizing the submissive, yet domestically-independent nature of the future relationship. Specifically, the Treaty designated the new Irish Free State to be established as an independent governing body "with a parliament having powers to make laws for the peace and good government of Ireland and an executive



responsible to that parliament.”⁵¹ This is a point of contention in Treaty discussion because it still binds Ireland, legally and politically, to King George V and Great

Britain. In Article Three, the treaty also states that the Governor-General, the political head of the new governing body of Ireland will be chosen and appointed by the King, and that the members of the new Parliament of the Irish Free State will take an oath pledging allegiance to King and promise to adhere to the regulations of the Empire. This flies in the face of the republican goals and spirit of the war.

The Treaty also threatens to twain the new Irish Free State. Articles 11 and 12 detail the provision for the secession of Northern Ireland from the Irish Free State. From the date of effect of the treaty, 6 December 1922, the counties identifying as **Northern Ireland** (Antrim, Londonderry, Tyrone, Fermanagh, Armagh, and Down) and their representative Parliament of Northern Ireland will have one month to decide whether or not to secede from the Irish Free State.⁵² This was the compromise reached by the parties of negotiation to address the general discomfort felt in the North and in Great Britain.⁵³ Independence will be granted to Ireland as a unified body, but the dissenting state within will have the opportunity to withdraw from the treaty, free to negotiate a separate relationship with Great Britain. If Northern Ireland chooses to capitalize on Articles 11 and 12, the committee will then have to contend with the issues of a divided Ireland, a boundary commission, and a new, independent, and possibly hostile neighbor.

Any Irish **boundary commission** will be contentious, but it has most certainly its silver linings. Pursuant to Article 12, the Irish Free State may appoint a commissioner to fill one of the three seats on the commission—the other two will be filled by a Unionist and a representative of the Empire. Moreover, it is important to note that Ulster is not a monolith of Protestantism. Although the population is majority Anglican-Presbyterian, there are sizeable Catholic minorities in Counties Tyrone and Fermanagh.⁵⁴ Although this does not lift the plight of Belfast’s Catholic minority, it

⁵¹ Ibid., 137.

⁵² Walsh, Oonagh. *Ireland’s Independence, 1880-1923*. New York: Routledge, 2002.

⁵³ Harkness, David. Appendix B to *Ireland in the Twentieth Century: Divided Island*, 137-143. New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1996.

⁵⁴ Curran, 134.

preserves heterogeneity that otherwise would not exist in Ulster, thus strengthening the Free State's hand in bargaining.

Once the committee has gained an understanding of the treaty and the regulations it sets forth for the Irish Free State, the committeemen will be able to focus on ratification and debate of the Treaty. Although the team of negotiators sent to London signed the treaty into effect, the Executive Council of the Governor-General must also ratify the treaty to show home-government intent to honor the details. Ratification will be the next step towards the implementation of permanent Free State rule and the retraction of Great Britain's control. Although mostly a technicality, the document must be ratified by a majority of the Executive Council to take full executive control and power of the Irish Free State. At the point of Ratification, the Third Dáil becomes the provisional government and handles the changes in power and transfer of land and titles from the British to the Irish, until the date previously agreed upon, 6 December 1922, when the Irish Free State will officially take effect.

However, while legally the government can freely ratify and move forward with the process, it is a decision that has implications beyond the simple legal transition. It must prepare to deal with the public's reaction. Although the large majority of citizens in Southern and Northern Ireland are known to be pro-Treaty for many different reasons, there are those who wish to stay unified with England, and who will object to the fact that a decision affecting a majority is being decided by a minority. Of course, that is the consequence of all political decisions, but nonetheless something the committee will have to consider. At this time of political and nation turmoil, noting the recent tendencies towards guerilla violence, anything sure to provoke further contention is something to be handled carefully.

Lingering Violence in Irish Politics

Removing the gun from Irish politics must constantly be on the committee's mind. The Irish Republican Army, which previously aligned with Sinn Féin, now is split, and mutiny is a constant threat to the fledgling government. Growing numbers of the soldiers aligned with the IRA and the Irish Republican Brotherhood resent the Treaty because it departs from the wartime idealism for a free, independent Irish Republic, no matter the cost. Most of the officer corps is pro-Treaty and have a hell of a time reminding the Army that they must obey the Dáil, regardless of personal

opinion.⁵⁵ However, the IRA has already begun to split. Anti-Treaty “**Irregulars**,” while lacking substantial combat experience, still may disrupt the Treaty debate and allow the English to reassert influence. Excluded from the negotiating process, they feel it is their only recourse to making their voices heard. Ultimately, they serve to remind ordinary Irishmen of the horrors of the War of Independence. It is clear that a definite policy to guide Ireland’s security forces is needed, one within a constitutional and democratic framework.

Moreover, Great Britain must remove its colonial armies from Ireland, many of whom continue to rove the countryside and make havoc. Although many of the RIC officers knew that Britain had neither the coercive capacity nor the political will to carry the campaign of submission through to its conclusion, some officers during the period of martial law genuinely believed and continue to believe that they were on the verge of victory.⁵⁶ This minority remains dispersed throughout the countryside, lacking accountability and oversight from any military command and living generally off the land. The question remains who will either evict or kill them. Reengaging with the British would prove much more effective but would be politically disastrous. An all-Irish campaign to ferret them out and squash this insurrection would legitimate Irish self-government but could prove costly.

However, if negotiations prove successful, after the ratification of the treaty the recognized government would have the forces and assistance of Great Britain. In addition, it would then be in the best interests of Great Britain and the ambassadors to King George that have places and powers on the committee to aid the successful implementation of the Anglo-Irish Treaty. As **Éamon de Valera** and his supporters have shown, his contrary vision of an independent Ireland changes many of the provisions already laid out in the treaty.⁵⁷ In addition, as the fighting and violence extends north into the territories wishing to secede from Ireland and the Anglo-Irish conflict, the Parliament of Northern Ireland will also have to contend with the deployment of their own forces, aid they might also seek from Great Britain, and the after affects that the conflict will have on their politics and infrastructure. Although the counties have clear intent of aligning themselves as a separate from the

⁵⁵ Curran, 144.

⁵⁶ John S. Ainsworth, “British Security Policy in Ireland, 1920-1921: A Desperate Attempt by the Crown to Maintain Anglo-Irish Unity by Force,” http://eprints.qut.edu.au/6/1/British_Security_Policy_in_Ireland.pdf.

⁵⁷ Harkness, David. *Ireland in the Twentieth Century: Divided Island*. New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1996.

Irish Free State, the proximity of conflict forces the representatives on this committee to engage in the issues at hand in order to assure the future that the people of Northern Ireland are hoping for.

Economic Restructuring

Though Ireland recently pushed out the tyrannical English oppressors, England remains through centuries of trade Ireland's largest trading partner. Other than the United States, the British Empire consumes most of Ireland's goods. Ireland now faces a fundamental question: that of its economic future. Southern Ireland remains a relatively un-industrial country. Centuries of Westminster-driven policy shifted what little heavy industry existed in Ireland to Belfast and the rest of Ulster, leaving the south predominantly agricultural.⁵⁸ However, Ireland will not benefit from the extremely limited industrial subsidies and largesse bestowed on colonies. Currently, Ireland is on the downward spiral from a wartime-induced industrial boom.⁵⁹

Street politics may worsen the situation. Though localized, ardent nationalists have already begun to **boycott** Ulster goods.⁶⁰ Similar boycotts already occur in the North. And while trade with Ulster remains relatively small when compared with Great Britain, it remains a vital lifeline to the North and preserves informal ties. This will exacerbate an already fragile budget.⁶¹

Partition has also threatens to hurt the Counties that border Ulster. Arbitrary boundaries may cut Counties off from their economic centers, e.g., County Donegal would remain in the Free State and Derry, its seat, would join the North. Rail links, too, will surely be cut in the event of secession. The only sure way would be through the official capital-to-capital Dublin-Belfast rail link. Infrastructure threatens to go the way of the dodo, as well. Ireland is by and large dependent on expensive and inefficient coal-fired power plants and use steam as a primary source of power. The rest of the world is moving towards electrification, and Ireland may be lost in the flow if it does not move with the

⁵⁸ Richard B. Finnegan and Edward T. McCarron, *Ireland - Historical Echoes, Contemporary Politics* (Boulder: Westview Press, 2000), 93.

⁵⁹ Richard S. Grossman, Ronan C. Lyons, Kevin Hjortshøj O'Rourke, and Madalina A. Ursu, "A Monthly Stock Exchange Index for Ireland, 1864-1930" (130, Discussion Papers in Economic and Social History, Oxford University, Oxford), 1.

⁶⁰ Philip Ollerenshaw, "Business boycotts and the Partition of Ireland" in *Industry, Trade and People in Ireland: Essays in Honour of W.H. Crawford* (Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation: 2005), 223.

⁶¹ James Dorney, *Life and Debt – A short history of public spending, borrowing and debt in independent Ireland*," published 25 January 2011, http://www.theirishstory.com/2011/01/25/life-and-debt-%E2%80%93-a-short-history-of-public-spending-borrowing-and-debt-in-independent-ireland/#.VHf8fDHF_4J.

times. Moreover, the specter of socialism in Russia promises economic miracles, especially self-sufficiency, but is largely unpopular in Great Britain, which may intervene in any new revolution. What the government does to promote industry will most assuredly have a profound effect on Ireland and its place in the world.

Residual Unionist Sentiment and Religious Conflict

Land

In the 30 year lead-up to the Civil War, Westminster took pains, those some equivocal, to redistribute land and undo the Protestant hierarchy in Ireland. Though these policies sought to kill the nationalist spirit with kindness, they have halted emigration from the impoverished non-Ulster areas of northern Ireland. These projects are coming under threat, and something must be done to continue land enfranchisement.

Currently the London-directed **Congested Districts Board** for Ireland works to alleviate poverty and congested living conditions in the west and chunks of northwest Ireland.⁶² By the outbreak of Civil War, the commission had almost completed the process of redistributing 1,000 farms totaling approximately two million acres.⁶³ Most farmers currently live on roughly 20-30 acres, which has been a boon for small tenant farmers.⁶⁴ However, the British government has signaled that it will cease redistribution when the Treaty is ratified and is in now in the process of winding down purchases from wealthy Protestant landholders.

The **Irish Land Commission**, created in 1881, currently fixes rent and has transferred 13.5 million acres of land since its foundation. However, poor output persists due to limited acreage per farm. The



⁶² Ciara Breathnach, *The Congested Districts Board of Ireland, 1891-1923*, (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2005), 109.

⁶³ *Dictionary of Irish History, 1800-1900*, comp. D.J Doherty and J.E. Hickey, 2nd ed. (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1987), 87.

⁶⁴ Michael F. J. McDonnell, *Ireland and the Home Rule Movement* (Dublin: Maunsell, 1908) , 77.

break-up of grazing lands, which historically sustained many semi-nomadic Irish families, and which have by and large were not touched by the Commission, has restricted small-scale agricultural pursuits. Rural poverty arises from small farm sizes, but existing legislation has nearly institutionalized size. Larger commercial farms smack of Anglo landlordism, but they do provide economies of scale not available.

Both will ultimately wind down as Britain severs its administrative tendons in the Irish Free State, leaving open the question of land distribution. All such questions were tabled until the war reached its completion and the “national triumph” reached its logical conclusion.⁶⁵ Moreover, English landholders still control a sizeable portion of Ireland’s farms, including some of the most productive regions in the country. The ultimate land redistribution policies executed by the committee will have far-reaching economic as well as social implication for the Irish people.

Traditionalists place value on self-sufficiency of the Irish farming family and the opportunity for as many as possible to root themselves in the soil in an Arcadian dream of frugal comfort. However, these tenant farms are still required to pay annuities on their land that they maintain, even if tenants are ultimately subsidized to farm the land. Because of poor prospects, thousands of Irish are flocking to the United States in a second wave of migration that threatens the integrity of the Gaelic. With outflows, the relationship between Protestant and Catholic is fast changing and must be resolved to avoid all-out civil war.

Protestantism and Catholicism: an uneasy standoff

The Anglo-Irish Treaty conjures up profound cultural implications that compound the political restructuring of the island. While most Protestant Irish already live in Ulster, the Protestant minority that lives in the Free State is much tenser about its fate, since it faces marginalization at the hands of the government. In 1911, there were 311,000 in what would become the Free State, and currently constitute about 10 percent of the population.⁶⁶ They are balanced throughout the country between urban and rural. They are mid-level professionals and entrepreneurial. They make up roughly half of

⁶⁵ “DECREES. - CLAIMS TO LAND—DAIRY, AGRICULTURAL AND RESIDENTIAL HOLDINGS,” accessed 27 November 2014, <http://historical-debates.oireachtas.ie/D/DT/D.F.C.192006290071.html>.

⁶⁶ H.C., 1912-13, vol. 116, Cd. 6051, 38-39.

all barristers and solicitors, a fifth of all doctors, and half the bankers in the Free State. And, there are roughly 10,000 laborers.⁶⁷ Though the Anglo-Irish gentry has largely been bought out of its land, those that remain generate a good deal of noise, sticking out like a sore thumb. Therefore, the question becomes how to integrate them, if at all, into the Free State. Hundreds of years of government-sponsored oppression has sowed the seeds of distaste, to put it mildly, in the hearts and minds of the average Irishman. They may voluntarily leave Ireland of their own accord. Of the 65 families in Clare, over a third have already left.⁶⁸ However, they represent an immensely valuable economic class onto themselves.

Protestant disengagement—culturally, socially, and economically, both voluntarily and involuntarily— began decades before the Treaty. Their growing irrelevance both demonstrated their failure to assimilate as much as their stubborn insularity and the seeds of their survival.⁶⁹ They show little stomach to decided questions of land, local government, education, and matters ecclesiastical. They are almost completely withdrawn from politics, dropping the irredentism and aggressive attitude that defined them not 10 years ago. And now that political union is all but gone, there is little to unite them with the Free State. Though the Church of Ireland no longer is official Irish church, and Catholicism is digging deeply into the functions of the state, the question of the role of Protestant churches remains pressing. Though there is no state religion, the government can lavish favor and resources on the Catholic Church, which has deep roots in Irish society, to foster the nascent Irish Free State identity.

More pressing is their allegiance to the RIC or the Free State. As bands of residual RIC troops continue to stalk the countryside, they may provide material comfort on their campaign of terror; however, this is purely speculative. There is no evidence of such harboring activities, but they lack a clear understanding of how the Dáil feels about their presence within the Free State. Popular emotion may further put them in danger. Irregulars could potentially target high-concentration settler communities with a strong tradition of land management.

⁶⁷ Ian d'Alton, "'A Vestigial Population'?: Perspectives on Southern Irish Protestants in the Twentieth Century," *Éire-Ireland* 44 nos. 3&4 (Fall/Winter, 2009), 13.

⁶⁸ d'Alton, 28.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 24.

The Dáil could copy the English monarch Elizabeth, who appealed to the Catholic majority during the Spanish invasion three hundred years before, thus creating a modern, multicultural state. Or the Dáil could regard them as contaminants, couching them in terms of hostile foreign elements. Either path will have deep consequences for the future of Ireland.

Biographies

William T. Cosgrave was born and raised just outside the heart of Dublin, at the unassuming brownstone of 174 James St. to Mary and Éamon Cosgrave, a pub owner and housewife.⁷⁰ He showed his aptitude for politics at an early age, becoming involved in local Dublin politics when he turned 19, and subsequently making his way up the ranks of Sinn Féin.⁷¹ Four years later, he joined the newly established Irish Volunteers, a military group whose stated purpose was “to secure and maintain the rights and liberties common to the whole people of Ireland.”⁷² During the Easter Rising of 1916,⁷³ Cosgrave was a member of the 4th Battalion Division, which was stationed in the South Dublin Union warehouse and charged with fending off troops from the Curragh, the British military college. He was interned afterward by the British for a short time.⁷⁴

As a member of the majority party Sinn Féin in the Dáil Éireann during the Irish War of Independence, Cosgrave was appointed minister for local government. He served before on the Dublin Corporation—the government of Dublin—most recently on the finance committee, and therefore is very intimate with local, especially Dublin, politics.⁷⁵ He used his considerable talents for persuasion and organization to establish an alternate system of local government and administration during the war. Under his tenure, nearly all local governments elected Sinn Féin representatives and swore allegiance to the Dáil Éireann. He utilized his information networks throughout Dublin to keep him informed on the leanings of major corporations and businesses regarding the British Occupation. If he learned that one was considering providing assistance to the occupiers, Cosgrave ensured they reconsidered. At the conclusion of the Irish War of Independence and the creation of the Irish Free State, Cosgrave strongly supported the Anglo-Irish Treaty and therefore became an important ally of Michael Collins.⁷⁶ His contacts throughout the Sinn Féin party, especially its ringleaders like Michael Collins, chose to appoint their adept colleague Cosgrave to the

⁷⁰ “William Thomas Cosgrave,” *The Encyclopedia Britannica: Academic Edition*.
<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/139138/William-Thomas-Cosgrave>

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² “The Irish Volunteer Force/Irish Republican Army (IRA),” *BBC*. Accessed 26 September 2014.
<http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/easterrising/profiles/po16.shtml>.

⁷³ “The Pursuit of Sovereignty & the Impact of Partition, 1912–1949.” Multitext. Accessed September 26, 2014.
http://multitext.ucc.ie/d/William_T_Cosgrave.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Anthony Jordan, *WT Cosgrave 1880-1965 Founder of Modern Ireland* (Westport Books, 2006), 48.

⁷⁶ “William Thomas Cosgrave.”

President of the Executive Council.⁷⁷ They recognized within him the ability to coordinate and lead the body in its pursuit of stable and long-lasting peace in a post-war Ireland.

Michael Collins was born of the humblest origins, the seventh son of a seventy-year old farmer in West Cork. At the age of sixteen he moved to London with his older sister, where he took up a job as a Clerk in the Post Office.⁷⁸ His position allowed him to hone his ability to organize and lead people and to appreciate the importance of vigilant attention to detail in the successful execution of any operation.⁷⁹ His time spent in London meant that Collins understood like few of his future revolutionaries the ordinary lives that Londoners led, and their mundane similarity to their Irish brethren. From then on, he was able to focus his revolutionary struggle on the British Crown rather than the entirety of the British people, whom his Irish comrades often lumped together. Also while in London, he joined a **Gaelic Football League**, where his leadership skills were made obvious and recognized by his appointment to Club Secretary. The GAA League was a natural recruitment tool of the Irish Republican Brotherhood, which Collins joined at the age of 19.⁸⁰

His membership to the club meant that in 1916, at the age of 26, Collins returned to Ireland to participate in the Easter Rising, where he was put in charge of guarding a staircase in the General Post Office in Dublin.⁸¹ After that, Collins' dynamic personality and talent for leadership became an increasingly recognized within Irish revolutionary circles. He enjoyed a meteoric rise through the Sinn Féin and was elected to the Executive Committee of the party. He masterminded attacks against symbols of British Rule in Ireland and coordinated a squad who carried out assassinations of key British personnel. He further thrived during the periodic bouts of incarceration his fellow ministers underwent during the War for Independence. A charismatic and visionary leader, Collins inspired devout loyalty in his men and many of the men he encountered, and was able to establish an extensive system of spies and information throughout Ireland. He was ultimately, however, pragmatic, and knew when he led the peace mission to London that total independence was out of the question and a rebuke of the British offers on the table would result in a return to bloody warfare.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ "Michael Collins," History Learning Site, Accessed 26 September 2014.
http://www.historylearningsite.co.uk/michael_collins.htm.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid.

So, on 6 December 1921 he, along with Arthur Griffith, Michael Barton, and Éamon Duggan, signed the Anglo-Irish Treaty, establishing the Irish Free State.

As Minister of Finance, Collins is tasked with the herculean feat of keeping this new Irish State financially afloat, and in good standing with its' creditors. This requires him to utilize many of his overseas resources. He organized a national loan to fund the "new Irish Republic" during the war in direct violation of British orders. He raised almost half a million pounds in notes and gold.⁸² The Minister is responsible for all financial and monetary matters, including taxation and establishing a new and readily exchangeable currency. He works to defend economic stability, try to prevent vulnerability of the economy, and safeguard monetary and price stability.

Harry Boland was born into a life of political activism to his Irish Republican Brotherhood father James and mother Catherine in Dublin.⁸³ Athletic as a child, he was active in Dublin Gaelic Football Circles, which were natural recruitment outlets for Irish Revolutionaries.⁸⁴ He eventually joined the Irish Volunteers alongside his older brother Gerry, and the two of them played an active role in the Easter Rising of 1916.⁸⁵ It was during the preparation for this operation that Boland met and befriended Michael Collins, a fellow member of the Volunteers. He fought alongside Collins in the Irish War of Independence, and allowed his tailor shop in Dublin to be used by Collin's intelligence network as a drop point for notes. However, as the War came to a close and Collins signed the Anglo-Irish Treaty, the two friends went their separate ways.

Boland is extremely Anti-Treaty, and sides with Éamon de Valera in the national dispute.⁸⁶ Boland also proved himself to be a man of the people through democratic elections. In 1918, he won an MP Seat for South Roscommon by 72% of the popular vote.⁸⁷ As Ambassador to the Court of St James, Boland is in a singular position on the Governor-General's Council. He is directly responsible for maintaining a working relationship with the British Government in serious diplomatic channels. He is the point person for political inquires that the English Government may have regarding the progress

⁸² James MacKay, *Michael Collins: A Life* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 1997), 116.

⁸³ "Harry Boland," *Ancient Order of Hibernians*, Accessed 29 September 2014.
http://www.aoh61.com/history/Harry_Boland.htm.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ David Fitzpatrick, *Harry Boland's Irish Revolution* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2003), 11.

of the Irish Free State. He works with the Council to produce a unified and stable political face to the world and specifically the English Government. Because of his work in the English Government, Boland manages an extensive network of political informants and resources throughout the English Government and various public sectors within England, which he utilizes to achieve political goals.

Sean O’Kelly was born and raised in inner-city Dublin to an upper-middle class family, and attended the elite O’Connell Boys’ School, where he was classmate to many of his future fellow revolutionaries including Harry Boland and Joseph McGrath.⁸⁸ After school, he took up a job as an assistant at the National Library in Dublin, where he worked alongside future brain of the Irish Revolution, Arthur Griffith.⁸⁹ He became involved in Sinn Féin, serving as secretary, as well as the Gaelic League in Dublin, where he served as general secretary, before focusing his efforts on generating support and recruits for the Irish Volunteers.⁹⁰

In 1916 he participated in the Easter Rising, leading many of the men he personally recruited. After the Rising and during the Irish War for Independence, O’Kelly’s talent for communication became more apparent and utilized by Sinn Féin. In 1918 he was chosen to serve as the Dáil Éireann’s first ceann comhairle.⁹¹ This means that he ensures that votes that come to the Dáil Éireann’s floor have a serious consensus behind them and is thus practiced in corralling votes and support for initiatives. This gives him serious cache in deciding which bills will ultimately become laws, therefore affecting the whole functioning of the government and the country. He could in theory also upset and bring down the government by fermenting discontent and calls for new elections, though this is extremely risk. He also is renowned for knowing personally every member of the assembly and maintaining working relationships with an unprecedented number of Irish politicians throughout the country.

Patrick Hogan was born of humble circumstances in Country Clare and, like many Irish during the period, did not have his birth recorded. He became actively involved in Irish Resistance at a young age, joining his local Gaelic League and the Irish Volunteers. He was also on the British’s radar for his

⁸⁸ “Sean T. O’Kelly (President of Ireland).” *Encyclopedia Britannica Online*. Accessed 29 September 2014. <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/426469/Sean-T-OKelly>.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Ibid.

vigorous participating in these organizations, and was briefly deported to England as a result.⁹² He returned in time to fight in the Irish War of Independence, during which he led resistance efforts throughout County Clare, focusing efforts particularly against the Black and Tans.⁹³ Following the War, Hogan became a TD for the Labour Party.⁹⁴ He was known for being particularly inclined to the pastoral Irish tradition, unlike some of his Dublin born-and-bred colleagues. He was always vocal about his preference for the countryside, particularly his West Coast County Clare.

Though he could have easily been assigned a higher up position during the War of Independence, he never chose to accept promotions because they always involved moving closer to Dublin. His experience as a leader of the IRA in Clare during the War of Independence allowed him to get to know even more people across his treasured County and in the Counties that border Clare, Galway, Tipperary, and Limerick. The extensive acquaintances he made during the War of Independence, and his general ability to connect with people across the countryside made him an obvious choice for Minister of Agriculture and Lands in the Irish Free State. As Minister, he is responsible for overseeing Irish agrarian policy, including land redistribution and farm development. As such, he chairs the Irish Land Commission. He further works with the Foreign Office to broker deals with other countries, especially Great Britain, to purchase Irish Free State agricultural products.

Eoin MacNeill is regarded as one of the most influential of the Irish Revolutionaries, considering the wide reach of his intellectual projects, including numerous books, university lectures, and national history campaigns, and distinguished professorial positions held. He was a co-founder of the Gaelic League, whose members include Sean O’Kelly and Patrick Hogan, and the Irish Volunteers, to which most Irish Revolutionaries and members of the Governor-General Council belonged.⁹⁵ Born in County Antrim, in what would later be considered Northern Ireland, his life trajectory was highly intellectual, graduating top of his class from St. Malachy’s College and then Queen’s College, Belfast.⁹⁶ He had a deep love for Irish history and has been described as “the father of the modern

⁹² “The Irish Rising,” *Members of the Fourth Dáil*. Accessed 29 September 2014.
<http://theishrising.blogspot.com/2013/08/members-of-fourth-dail-patrick-hogan.html>.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ “Dáil Éireann Members Database,” *Members Database 1919*. Accessed 29 September 2014.
<http://www.oireachtas.ie/members-hist/default.asp?housetype=0&HouseNum=4&MemberID=526&ConstID=26>.

⁹⁵ “Eoin MacNeill and the Irish Volunteers.” *National Library of Ireland*, Accessed 30 September 2014
<http://www.nli.ie/1916/pdf/3.1.5.pdf>.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

study of early Irish medieval history."⁹⁷ As well as being a dedicated academic, MacNeill was deeply devoted to the political upheaval of early twenty-first century Ireland. Though the Gaelic League he formed was originally apolitical, MacNeill strongly supported a proposal to revise this position and allow the Gaelic League to officially recruit and lead Irish Revolutionaries.⁹⁸

He played an active organizational role during the War of Independence, and was a vocal supporter of the Anglo-Irish Treaty when it was signed.⁹⁹ In the war that pitted brother against brother, however, his family was not spared. His son, Brian, sided with Éamon de Valera and opposed the Treaty.¹⁰⁰ MacNeill continues to serve the Irish Free State as an intellectual heavyweight and unsurprisingly was made the influential Minister of Education.

As Minister of Education in the new Irish Free State, MacNeill is charged with the education system throughout Ireland. During English Rule, there was a fairly comprehensive system in place for Protestants, but education for Catholics is largely sporadic and local, lacking national unity. Catholic

⁹⁷ "Eoin MacNeill," *Princess Grace Irish Library (Monaco)*, Accessed 29 September 2014.

<http://web.archive.org/web/20081201121622/> http://www.pgil-eirdata.org/html/pgil_datasets/authors/Mac/MacNeill,E/life.htm

⁹⁸ "Eoin MacNeill and the Irish Volunteers."

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ "Eoin MacNeill," Easter 1916, Accessed 29 September 2014. <http://www.easter1916.ie/index.php/people/a-z/eoin-macneill/>.



education is particularly religious and traditional, and some in the new government would like to see a more useful system put in place, especially one that focuses on established Irish history the new state can use to foster Irish pride following a demoralizing series of guerilla wars. The Minister is also responsible for the physical maintenance of school buildings, of which the largest problem today is the leaky roof. Technical education has been a focus of MacNeill since he took office, despite setbacks in implementing a stable and far-sighted curriculum; reinvigorating technical education is crucial to generate new jobs and opportunities for students in an ever-changing interdependent economy, one largely dependent on agriculture. It is a difficult balancing act the Minister for Education performs to balance technical education with the more esoteric Irish nationalist subjects.

Joseph McGrath was born to upper-middle class parents Peter and Margaret McGrath in 1887 Dublin.¹⁰¹ He spent a short time putting his considerable talents for mathematics to work as an accountant with his brother George, a skill that he utilizes later in life. While in Dublin, McGrath became close friends with fellow future revolutionary Michael Collins. He also joined the Irish Republican Brotherhood, a secret fraternal organization committed to establishing an Irish Republic by use of force.¹⁰² McGrath fought with the brotherhood during the Easter Rising, and afterward was arrested and jailed in England. After his release, he ran and won election as a Sinn Féin **Teachta Dála** representing Dublin's St James's constituency.

He became known for staging a series of bank robberies for the Irish Republican Army, and was once again jailed for his activities. At the end of the War of Independence, McGrath accompanied his friend Michael Collins to London to negotiate a peace treaty, and when he returned, helped quietly organize support for the Anglo-Irish Treaty through his networks. As Ministry for Industry and Commerce, McGrath faces an uphill battle in the wake of a destructive period of war. Officially, the Ministry of Industry: formulates, regulates, monitors, and evaluates all national projects and industrial activities, develops, expands, modernizes and promotes industrial activity, zones the country, oversees private industry and ensures the coordination between private industry and the corresponding national authorities, works to promote international industrialization, works to

¹⁰¹ "Dáil Éireann Members Database."

¹⁰² "The Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB)," *BBC*, Accessed 30 September 2014.
<http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/easterrising/profiles/po17.shtml>.

prevent environmental pollution as a result of industrial activity, and obtains raw materials for industrial use, among other things.

Smaller, traditional industries throughout the Irish countryside have faced a period of instability, both from economic uncertainty in times of war and from fear of British and Ulster violence.

McGrath must consider ways to prop up these local Irish businesses and get the economy of the new Irish Free State moving again. He can also work to help build larger industries within the new Irish Free State. Northern Ireland is known to be an industrial powerhouse, and in the wake of their separation, Southern Ireland finds itself without serious industrial muscle. Moreover, maintaining trade with Great Britain is extremely important.

Ernie O'Malley was born in Castlebar, County Mayo to an upper middle class Roman Catholic family.¹⁰³ He was raised in a political household, and his father organized land reform in the west of Ireland.¹⁰⁴ An extremely bright student, O'Malley studied medicine at University College Dublin during the Easter Rising.¹⁰⁵ As Unionist students began defending the college from the "rebels," O'Malley realized where his loyalties lay and began firing on the British.¹⁰⁶ He became heavily involved in the Irish Republican Army (IRA), working as an organizer and displaying his leadership skills by commanding the Second Southern Division.¹⁰⁷ After the War of Independence came to a conclusion, O'Malley proved himself to be a vocal and prolific member of Éamon de Valera's Anti-Treaty effort.¹⁰⁸

He is distinguished from his colleagues by his incredible talent for writing; his skills far surpassed fellow revolutionaries who were also published. Irish culture is at the core of its national identity. He was asked to be Minister of Culture because of his passion and talent for Irish history and culture. He was known throughout revolutionary circles and unsurpassable in traditional Irish folklore and songs,

¹⁰³ "Ernie O'Malley." University College Dublin Archives. Accessed 30 September 2014.
<http://www.ucd.ie/archives/html/collections/omalley-ernie.htm>.

¹⁰⁴ "Census of Ireland, 1911." Accessed September 30, 2014.
<http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/reels/nai000038269/>.

¹⁰⁵ English, Richard. "English:Ernie O'Malley." Google Books. January 1, 1999. Accessed 30 September 2014.
<http://books.google.ie/books?i d=wW4YCXEUIG4C&pg=PR11&dq=ernie o'malley trinity#PPA7,M1>

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ "Ernie O'Malley."

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

and was assessed to have the unique ability to disperse that passion for Irish culture throughout society with the precision of a military leader.

Richard Dawson-Bates was born and raised in Belfast, Ireland, but moved to Donegal when he was eight years old. His family was torn between the nationalist and unionist cause: his mother's side was staunchly unionist while his fathers' was nationalist. Growing up, he found himself straddling the line between both futures for Ireland, but in his adolescence he developed and sustained the belief that an independent, unified Ireland was the best possible course of action. He helped to form the Irish Republican Army, which was in reaction to the creation of the Ulster Volunteers. Because the Ulster Volunteers operated mainly within Protestant, anti-Home Rule Counties such as Londonderry and Tyrone, Dawson-Bates' leadership of the IRA in Donegal was particularly important and notable. His men took part in a huge brunt of the fighting, and his tactics for assaulting both Ulster Volunteers and Black and Tans were widely adopted by other IRA County Leaders.

Though he chose the nationalist cause, one idea his mother successfully instilled in him was a belief that Catholics were traitors and ought not to be trusted.¹⁰⁹ As a vocal military and political leader, he was able to refrain from discussing this opinion in public, as his distrust of Catholics was often referred to as the worst kept secret in Irish political circles. A talented orator, he was known to attract large crowds whenever he traveled through the Irish countryside, either attempting to recruit new members for the IRA, garner support for the Anglo-Irish Treaty, or corral popular opinion for a Ministry of Home Affairs initiative. He corralled popular opinion on most of the issues with which he seriously involved himself.

As Under Secretary for the Ministry of Home Affairs, he works with Minister James Walsh to improve policy related to the maintenance of internal security and domestic policy. The Ministry was initially designed in such a way that delegated the task of internal security to the Under Secretary, so Dawson-Bates primarily focuses his efforts on ensuring that sporadic violence in the atmosphere of heightened tensions is either prevented, controlled, and/or quickly contained. To do this, he not only

¹⁰⁹ John Harbinson, *The Ulster Unionist Party, 1882-1973: its development and organization* (Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 1973) 51.

has the new and growing Ministry of Home Affairs under his authority, but also remains a member and in contact with leaders of the Irish Republican Army.

Éamon de Valera was a celebrated yet polarizing figure in Irish politics during the early part of the twentieth century. Compared to his revolutionary colleagues, he maintains a particularly had close tie with America because he was born there in 1882.¹¹⁰ He was raised by his grandmother in Limerick after his Spanish father died, and proved himself in National School to be an unparalleled student. He was especially interested in mathematics and Irish history and language, and taught those subjects in Tipperary and Dublin.¹¹¹ When not teaching, he was heavily involved in Rugby leagues and the Gaelic League, two organizations in which he met a variety of his fellow revolutionaries.¹¹²

Through these organizations, he met and was recruited by members of the Irish Volunteers, and by 1916 was senior enough to lead the Boland's Mills garrison during the Easter Rising.¹¹³ He was jailed in England following the revolt, and was released in 1919 in part thanks to his American birth.¹¹⁴ In 1917 he was elected President of Sinn Féin and in 1918, with Sinn Féin's majority, represented East Clare in the first meeting of the Dáil Éireann. In 1919 de Valera was elected President of the Dail.¹¹⁵ After the Anglo- Irish War, Éamon de Valera was exceptionally opposed to the Anglo-Irish Treaty, and in large part led the resistance to Collin's efforts and Treaty. As Minister of Information, de Valera is charged with organizing a network of spies and informants throughout the Irish Free State, America, Canada, and Great Britain. He is tasked with collecting all relevant information regarding the Irish Free State, including its ability to fund itself through non-governmental loans and assess possible means of acquiring weapons with which to arm the Irish Republican Army. His role often works in tandem with Ambassador's to these countries, as well as the Minister of External Affairs, because he and they also work to promote the Irish Free State's positive image abroad and ascertain whether their budding reputation is ever at stake.

¹¹⁰ "Eamon De Valera," *BBC*, Accessed 10 October 2014.

http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/historic_figures/de_valera_eamon.shtml.

¹¹¹ "Clare People: Eamon De Valera." *Clare People: Eamon De Valera*. Accessed October 10, 2014.

<http://www.clarelibrary.ie/eolas/coclare/people/eamon.htm>.

¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

Eamonn Duggan was born to a middle class family in Longwood, County Meath in 1874.¹¹⁶ His father was a member of the Royal Irish Constabulary, the English-run Irish Police force and his mother was a hedge school teacher.¹¹⁷ He passed the requirements for solicitor with flying colors and soon became a top lawyer on the East Coast.¹¹⁸ He was a specialist in older forms of Irish Law and their English-style equivalents, and mixed his profession with his interest in Irish Politics. He joined the Dublin Brigade of the Irish Volunteers and his leadership skills meant that he quickly rose to the rank of Adjutant Officer. He fought in the Easter Rising out of the North Dublin Union.¹¹⁹ He often expressed confliction over the Anglo-Irish Treaty.

His professional training means that he is quite aware of the legal legitimacy of the Anglo-Irish Treaty, but his strong nationalism means that he personally maintains a desire to see an independent, united Ireland. On the Governor-General's council, he will have to balance these two mindsets and endeavor to carefully guide the legal questions of the fledgling state. As Minister without Portfolio, Duggan is called upon by the Governor-General's Council to provide un-paralld legal expertise on all matters related the creation of the Irish Free State. As such, his words carry great weight. Despite not having a Portfolio, Duggan leads his team of lawyers and is a fully integrated part of any step the Council may consider taking.

Cathal Brugha was born in 1874 in Dublin to a family that straddled the religious tensions in Ireland. Born to a Protestant father and Catholic mother, he and his thirteen siblings were raised Catholic, and Cathal was particularly religious.¹²⁰ The household was fervently nationalist and Thomas Brugha, Cathal's father, was possibly a Parnellite or Fenian.¹²¹ Although small, Cathal was extremely athletic and excelled in boxing, swimming, and rugby. His rugby league contacts led him to join the Gaelic League, where he devoted himself to their doctrine and became a fluent Gaelic speaker.¹²² To sustain himself, Cathal worked as a traveling salesman stationed in Dublin.¹²³ After joining the Irish

¹¹⁶ "Eamon Duggan." *Navan and District Historical Society*. Accessed 10 October 2014. <http://www.navanhistory.ie/index.php?page=eamon-duggan>.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ *Dictionary of Irish Biography* 1, James Quinn eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), s.v "Cathal Brugha."

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Ibid.

Republican Brotherhood in 1908, he utilized the routes and people he knew from his trade to extend his IRB network throughout Ireland.¹²⁴

Brugha fought during the Easter Rising in the South Dublin Union and was badly injured. However, in the aftermath of the Rising, Brugha was a leader in the ashes, corralling moral and Volunteers and supporters in the wake of the tragedy. As the Irish War of Independence raged on, Brugha slowly took control of the Irish Republican Army, the militaristic arm of the Republican movement.¹²⁵ A disciplinarian, Brugha was uncomfortable with the decentralized nature of the IRA, but proved himself an extremely effective commander.¹²⁶ When Michael Collins led his diplomatic mission to London, he personally requested Cathal's presence. Cathal strongly declined. His nationalistic fervor meant that he was unhappy with the prospects, and ultimate outcome, of Collin's negotiation trip. Fixated on the goal of a Republic, Cathal simultaneously committed himself thoroughly to the idea of the Republic and his role as and Prime Minister.

As Prime Minister, Brugha is the face of the new Irish Government. As leader of the Sinn Féin party in the Dáil Éireann, he is constantly concerned with preserving the stability of the newly established government, and often interacts with other politicians on the Council to ensure that the Dail retains its legitimacy, through political and extra-political means if necessary. In the wake of the War of Independence and the signing of the Anglo-Irish Treaty, there is a host of strong, varying opinions within Irish politics. Brugha concerns himself with providing that these opinions do not cause the destabilization and the new government does not collapse upon itself. To do this, he must manage the opinions and actions of most Dail members, but particularly all Sinn Féin members, to ensure that lively debate does not descend into chaos.

John William Goff was born in New York City in 1848, but he moved at a young age with his family to County Wexford on the Southeast coast of Ireland. Goff came from humble beginnings but while working in the village pub, the Briar Rose, he attended night classes at the local National School, and eventually earned himself a place as a clerk in the office of Walshingham, Cooke, and Meredith, the notable Wexford law firm. After his time there, he took up a position there for a number of years,

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

before breaking off and forming his own firm, Goff and Co. His firm quickly became the sought after legal advice for British officers and landowners living in Ireland, because of its reputation for being highly efficient and competent.

However, Goff was secretly extremely nationalistic, a trait he managed to keep from his British clients. He worked covertly with revolutionary organizations within Ireland, such as the Irish Republican Brotherhood, the Gaelic League, and the Irish Republican Army to advance the cause of a free Irish State. In 1875, he organized a rescue of Irish rebels imprisoned in the infamous British penal colony, Fremantle Jail, in Australia.¹²⁷ Ten years later, Goff was appointed to the position of Judge, not unrelated to his connections within British society in Ireland. His judicial style was intensely focused on preventing corruption in the government, particularly in the police force. Goff had absolutely no tolerance for corrupt officers and did everything he could to see them put behind bars. However, Goff may have been a bit overzealous; he was described as the “cruellest, most sadistic judge in Ireland.” However, Goff’s passion did not get in the way of his superior reasoning abilities.

By 1915, he was widely considered to be one of the most esteemed and erudite legal scholars of his time. On the Executive Council of the Governor-General, he brings his extensive expertise regarding the Irish, British, and international legal system. As the Governor-General’s Council learns to operate with and within these systems, they will heavily rely on Judge Goff’s considerable skill. He was brought on to advise the Council, but also to provide a means of accessing his numerous networks throughout Great Britain and America. Goff and his family were a notable connection between the Irish revolutionary cause and efforts to fundraise for the cause in America. After the Anglo-Irish Treaty, Goff’s fundraising and information networks in America will be valuable assets to the new Irish Free State.

Hugh McDowell Pollock was born in 1852 in Bangor, Northern Ireland, the son of mariner James Pollock and small time poet Mary Pollock. He received a local education and went on to apprentice in a firm of Belfast shipbrokers. Pollock then worked at Mcllroy Flour Importers, and made his way up to the position of partner. Thanks to Pollock, Mcllroy grew to be the largest business of its kind in

¹²⁷ “The Catalpa Escape,” *Radio National*, Accessed 6 November 2014, <http://www.abc.net.au/radionational/programs/hindsight/the-catalpa/4806338>.

Ireland.¹²⁸ However, he decided to move to Dublin in 1914, in an attempt to conquer what was, compared to Belfast, a relatively less industrialized market. By 1917 he had become one of Dublin's most prominent businessmen and was named Director of Wheat Supplies under the food controller for Ireland. He was also elected President of the Dublin Chamber of Commerce, and attended the Irish Convention as a result.¹²⁹ Due to his financial acumen, he was appointed to the Inner Committee of Nine where he quickly revealed his strong ideals of fiscal conservatism by advising financial unity with Great Britain.

Many Irish Nationalists were not pleased by this viewpoint.¹³⁰ Given his highly successful background in both business and public policy, it is inevitable that he emerged in 1920 as a leading figure in Ireland. He came to hold the post of MP for South Dublin and the Undersecretary of Finance, along with his previous title of President of the Dublin Harbor Commission. In these roles he quickly became known as a strong proponent for the self-sufficiency of the Irish Free State. He disliked the opinions of James Craig, who viewed royal funding as a source of profit to be exploited, with which Pollock vehemently disagreed.¹³¹ He worked to balance the budget, a task that he considered both a fiscal and moral imperative.¹³² The province still faced economic depression largely due to the Irish Free State's sagging heavy industry.¹³³ However, Pollock was relentless in attempting to bring education, health, housing, and infrastructure services up to what he saw as necessary and beneficial levels.

James Craig was born to a Scottish whiskey millionaire and an upper class English mother in 1871.¹³⁴ Craig spent his early childhood on his family's estates in Northern Ireland before leaving Ireland in 1882 to attend Merchiston Castle School in Scotland.¹³⁵ Craig returned in 1892 to start his own stock

¹²⁸ *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, eds. Bridget Hourican (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), s.v. "Pollock, Hugh McDowell," Accessed 26 October 2014.

<http://dib.cambridge.org/quicksearch.do;jsessionid=38CEA2A5CD299D297CEDE4534D4114CA>.

¹²⁹ *Ibid*.

¹³⁰ Hourican, "Pollock, Hugh McDowell".

¹³¹ *Ibid*.

¹³² Harkness, "Pollock, Hugh McDowell".

¹³³ Peter Gray, "Economic Development in Ireland 1798-1921," *Queen's University Belfast*, Accessed 26 October 2014, <http://www.qub.ac.uk/sites/irishhistorylive/IrishHistoryResources/Articlesandlecturesbyourteachingstaff/EconomicDevelopmentinIreland1798-1921/>.

¹³⁴ "James Craig," *BBC*.

¹³⁵ D. George Boyce, "Craig, James, first Viscount Craigavon (1871-1940)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, Web, 23 Oct 2014.

broking firm in Dublin.¹³⁶ Despite his family's wealth and class, Craig enlisted in the Royal Irish Rifles when the South African War broke out in 1899.¹³⁷ He was sent to South Africa, where he was captured by the Boers in May 1900.¹³⁸ Upon his release later that year, Craig became deputy assistant director of the Imperial Military Railways. His experience in the war honed his organizing and recruiting abilities, skills that would serve him well in the Irish-Anglo War. Upon his father's death in 1901, Craig used his inheritance to launch a career in politics, and in 1906 Craig won the parliamentary seat for Dublin, which he held until 1921.¹³⁹

Craig was a devout nationalist, and brought his considerable military experience to his role in the Irish Republican Army. His zest for the cause ensured that he rose quickly through the ranks, meeting and befriending many fellow revolutionaries along the way. After the War of Independence, Craig returned to politics, utilizing the relationships he formed during the War to allow his quick ascendance to the upper echelons of the Sinn Féin party. By 1921, he was the leader of the party, which meant that, while not an elected member of the Dail Eirann, Craig organized the operations of the party within and without the Dail. The party, while in existence since 1905,¹⁴⁰ the formation of the Irish Free State meant that it was the first time that the party could work to control an actual government, pass laws, and legislate Ireland. This means that this period is an incredibly transformative period for the Sinn Féin party, and James Craig is charged with overseeing the party through the ups and down guaranteed to accompany the following years.

¹³⁶ "James Craig", BBC.

¹³⁷ Boyce, "Craig, James".

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ "Sinn Fein," BBC, Accessed 11 November 2014, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/easterising/profiles/po18.shtml>.

Glossary

Act for the Settlement of Ireland 1652: A piece of legislation passed after England successfully conquered Ireland under Oliver Cromwell's military leadership. The Act penalizes those that participated in the Irish Rebellion of 1641 by allowing for their land to be confiscated and for the rebels to be put to death.

All-for-Ireland League (AFIL): Nationalist, non-sectarian political party in Ireland, founded by William O'Brien to unite multiple existing parties under the umbrella goal of independence for Ireland from Great Britain.

Anglicanism: A branch of Christianity that combined Protestant and Roman Catholic ideas. It is also known as the Church of England, and is the state religion of England.

Anglo-Irish Treaty: Agreement, signed on 6 December 1921 and effective 31 March 1922, which officially ended the Irish War of Independence. Established the Irish Free State as a dominion within the British Commonwealth and gave Northern Ireland the option to opt out of the Irish Free State—an option that it exercised.

Black and Tans and the Auxiliaries: Black and Tans was the name given to temporary British recruits in the *Royal Irish Constabulary*. They were brought in as necessary manpower after Irish republican-led unrest caused a large proportion of the Irish police to resign after World War I. The Auxiliaries, in particular, were tasked with counterinsurgency operations. Both groups participated in the Burning of Cork in December 1920, a conflict in which the officers looted and set fire to Cork after an Auxiliary patrolman was killed by an IRA grenade.

Boundary Commission: The Anglo-Irish Treaty provided for the formation of the Irish Boundary Commission in the event of Ulster secession, which met from 1924-1925 to decide the precise border between the Irish Free State and Northern Ireland.

Chancellor of the Exchequer: Title of the economic and financial minister of a government, in particular those of Britain and of Ireland before the consolidation of the position with the British one. Equivalent to the American title of Secretary of the Treasury.

Congested Districts Board for Ireland: Established in 1891 to alleviate poverty in parts of Ireland. Later absorbed into the Department of Fisheries and Rural Industries.

Dáil Éireann: "Irish Assembly," a meeting in Dublin in which Irish republicans self-elected an eponymous government for Ireland in defiance of British rule. At the first meeting, the government declared the independence of the Irish people.

David Lloyd George: Chancellor of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom and Prime Minister at the time the Irish Free State was established. Partitioned Ireland into two territories: Northern Ireland (which remained part of the United Kingdom) and Southern Ireland (which became the independent Irish Free State).

Dominion: Autonomous, equally-ranking states within the British Empire that are subordinate to the Crown. Dominions had the privilege of legislative freedom in both domestic and foreign affairs. Modern-day examples include Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa.

Easter Rising (Easter Uprising, Easter Rebellion): An Irish republican coup attempting to secure Irish independence from Britain. Mostly planned by the Irish Republican Brotherhood and Irish Volunteers. Poorly organized, failed after six days. Occurred from April 24-29, 1916.

Gaelic: Of or pertaining to the *Gaels*, an ethnic group originating in Ireland that speaks a group of Celtic languages including Irish and Scots Gaelic.

Gaelic League: An organization dedicated to the promotion of Irish language and folklore. Established by Douglas Hyde et al. in 1892 to de-anglicize Ireland by preserving and spreading its language and culture.

Home Rule: A movement in the nineteenth century that attempted to allow Ireland to become a self-governing part of the British Empire. Began with the creation of the Home Government Association by Protestant lawyer Isaac Butt, further roused by MP and Irish Nationalist Charles Stewart Parnell.

Irish Land Commission: Created in 1881 to establish fair rent prices in Ireland. Later responsible for redistributing farmland in Ireland in 1923.

Irish Republican Army: Revolutionary military organization in Ireland deriving from the Irish Volunteers. Sought the independence from Britain of Northern Ireland and the reunification of Ireland as a republic. Founded in 1919.

Irish Volunteers: An Irish nationalist military organization, founded in 1913. Influenced by the Irish Republican Brotherhood and other nationalist organizations. Planned a failed coup in 1916 known as the Easter Rising.

Irregulars: Divided over the terms of the Anglo-Irish Treaty, the Irish Republican Army split into two factions, one of which was called the *Irregulars*. This group started an uprising, which culminated in the Irish civil war (1922-1923).

Nationalism: Loyalty to one's country, often linked with the belief in its superiority over other countries. Cultural nationalism, in particular, applies to nations that are united by a shared culture—language, traditions—as opposed to ethnicity, core values, or other characteristics.

Northern Ireland: Created in the partitioning of Ireland by the British government under David Lloyd George. Six of the nine counties in historic Ulster became part of Northern Ireland, which is now the region of the United Kingdom located on the northeastern part of the island.

Penal Laws: Passed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Penal Laws imposed limitations and penalties against Roman Catholics, up to and including death and exclusion from politics and landowning.

Plantations: Divisions of Irish land that were to be settled by Englishmen, first made in the sixteenth century under Queens Mary and Elizabeth I and continuing to be created until the English victory over Ireland in 1652. Plantations changed the sociopolitical makeup of Ireland by allowing a Protestant ruling class to take power.

Positional warfare: A style of warfighting characterized by mostly defensive tactics.

Presbyterians: A form of Christianity and church government established in the sixteenth century.

Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC): Armed Irish police force founded in 1836 and disbanded in 1922. Two RIC offices were killed by the IRA on the day of the First Dáil's initial meeting, 21 January 1919; this event touched off the Irish War of Independence.

Sinn Féin: "We Ourselves" in Irish. Motto of the Gaelic League and name of a radical Irish republican political party that sought independence from Britain by political means. Succeeded in gaining a political majority among Irish seats; shortly thereafter established the First Dáil (see *Dáil Éireann*).

Ulster Scots: An ethnic group of Lowland Scottish and Northern English people that settled in Ulster during its plantation.

Ulster: A province of Ireland. Site of a planned plantation, whose attempted settlement rallied Irish resistance and ultimately caused the queen to cancel the plans. The attempted plantation of Ulster continued for centuries, and the province became a major conflict site between the Irish and the English Colonialists.

Unionists: Followers of a political ideology in Northern Ireland favoring political union between Great Britain and Ireland. Contrast with Irish nationalism.

United Irish League (UIL): Nationalist political party in Ireland that began in 1898. Associated with agrarian reform.

Westminster: Refers to the government of Great Britain; named after its location in the City of Westminster, London.

Wyndham Land Act 1903: Attempting to assist Irish tenant farmers, the Act allowed the government to pay the difference between the price demanded by landowners for the purchase of their lands and the amount that could be afforded by tenant farmers.

Committee Rules

What to Expect from a Crisis Committee

1. Committee will operate under parliamentary procedure, similar to that of a standard General Assembly committee, but with adaptations to account for the nature of crisis elements, including:
 - a. Many rounds of short directives being introduced over the course of the weekend as opposed to large working papers
 - b. A shorter amendment and post-introduction paper debate process that is condensed into the voting procedure
 - c. More round robins and unmoderated caucuses
 - d. Infrequent question and answer (Q&A) periods (or none at all)
2. The committee, which is a meeting of top-ranking government officials and advisors of the Irish Free State, will engage with the outside world and respond to crisis updates through ***directives***, which use committee's collective power and influence to do things such as:
 - a. Communicate with other groups
 - b. Issue press releases
 - c. Raise money
 - d. Move soldiers
 - e. Generally, anything that the committee could reasonably expect to accomplish
3. Delegates (as individual members of the committee) are highly encouraged to use their character's personal powers to take action through ***private notes***, which:
 - a. Are sent directly to the crisis staff, and require no collaboration with other members of committee

- b. Typically are formatted as letters addressed to a person (real or plausibly real) that can take messages, gather information, or carry out actions
 - c. Are typically about 1 page in length
 - d. Can use pictures, illustrations, maps, etc. for emphasis or clarity
 - e. Lay the groundwork for and carry out plans that don't necessarily align with what the committee wants to do at any given moment
 - f. Can be collaborative if delegates want to work together, but must be signed by all involved parties and be within the scope of the delegates' combined personal powers; this type of note is called a **JPD (Joint Private Directive)**
4. Over the course of committee, delegates are highly encouraged to submit a series of private notes that come together in a **crisis arc**, which:
- a. Identifies one (or more) end goals of the character (these can be flexible)
 - b. Builds on the character's starting power to amass resources
 - c. Use the resources to accomplish the character's goals
 - d. Can disrupt, aid, or usurp the committee's actions or powers
 - e. Can (and most likely will) change depending on what committee is doing or what you're able to accomplish within the scope of the world

Suggested Sources

Augusteijn, Joost, ed. *The Irish Revolution, 1913-1923*. New York: Palgrave, 2002.

The Irish Revolution is a helpful work, detailing the lead up to the revolution, the creation of the Anglo-Irish Treaty, and the swift rise of Sinn Fein and the pro-treaty faction. Augusteijn also gives a helpful counterpoint and perspective to the many works that sensationalize the revolution and the revolutionaries by withholding the laudatory adjectives and focusing on solid statistics and facts. Although like many of my other books, it is probably inaccessible to delegates, it is and will be incredibly helpful in my research.

Finnegan, Richard B. *Ireland: The Challenge of Conflict and Change*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1983. Print.

Ireland: The Challenge of Conflict and Change is one of the more helpful resources that I have found. It covers a broad time period, from 350 and the period of the Celts to around 1980 when it was written, getting more and more detailed as it moves towards present day. It has less of a political, argumentative tone and explains in plain, but helpful detail the various political parties, their stances, and timelines of their movements. Although Northern Ireland is included in the explanations, Finnegan also details Northern Ireland as a separate section following their official break with the Irish Free State. This is helpful for the background guide because it gives very clear explanations of basic Irish history that is necessary to bring delegates up to speed to the context of their committee.

Mansergh, Nicholas M. "The Irish Free State; Its Government and politics." *The American Political Science Review* 29.6 (1935).

Although it is a brief article, Mansergh explains the structure and intent behind the format of the Executive Council of the Irish Free State. This is incredibly helpful in heightening the understanding of how the council was intended to work, and why the ministers, both with and without portfolio, were given the powers that they were. Although intended to create a tri-party system, preventing a monopoly of one political party, the issue of the treaty

dominated debate for years and gave power to the Sinn Fein party, because they had domineered the creation of the state and were the original driving force behind the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1922.

Hart, Peter. "The Social Structure of the Irish Republican Army, 1916-1923." *The Historical Journal* 42.1 (1999).

A huge influence on the Easter Rising, the Irish War for Independence and the Irish Civil War, the Irish Republicans Army was a guerilla army that fought for Irish independency, spurred on by individuals such as Eamon de Valera and Michael Collins, both of whom were also involved in the Irish Republican Brotherhood, an organization which had much crossover in membership with the IRA. Although some books gloss over the Irish wars, or treat them as a David-Goliath style miracle, it is important to have the facts and leave the biased judgments so that Elizabeth and I know how to structure the committee and assign leadership. It is also good to read about the IRA from a non-biased source because others gloss over the gruesome, underhanded tactics that the rebel forces used to win.

Peter Collins, *Nationalism and Unionism: Conflict in Ireland 1885-1921* (Belfast: W&G Baird Ltd., 1994).

Nationalism and Unionism covers a broad period of time, but provides the necessary information to flesh-out the period in Ireland when support was building for a republic. Before Easter Rising, before the Civil War, it is vital to understand how Sinn Fein came to be a major player on the political stage, when individuals like Michael Collins and Eamon de Valera gained traction as leaders, and what came before that. *Nationalism and Unionism* details the different factions that existed in Ireland for decades, if not centuries, and why the conflict came to a boiling point at this specific time.

Appendix I: Excerpts from the Anglo-Irish Treaty

1. Ireland shall have the same constitutional status in the Community of Nations known as the British Empire as the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa with a Parliament having powers to make laws for the peace order and good government of Ireland and an Executive responsible to that Parliament, and shall be styled and known as the Irish Free State.
2. Subject to the provisions hereinafter set out the position of the Irish Free State in relation to the Imperial Parliament and Government and otherwise shall be that of the Dominion of Canada, and the law, practice and constitutional usage governing the relationship of the Crown or the representative of the Crown and of the Imperial Parliament to the Dominion of Canada shall govern their relationship to the Irish Free State.
3. The representative of the Crown in Ireland shall be appointed in like manner as the Governor-General of Canada and in accordance with the practice observed in the making of such appointments.
4. The oath to be taken by Members of the Parliament of the Irish Free State shall be in the following form: I do solemnly swear true faith and allegiance to the Constitution of the Irish Free State as by law established and that I will be faithful to H.M. King George V., his heirs and successors by law, in virtue of the common citizenship of Ireland with Great Britain and her adherence to and membership of the group of nations forming the British Commonwealth of Nations.
5. The Irish Free State shall assume liability for the service of the Public Debt of the United Kingdom as existing as the date hereof and towards the payment of War Pensions as existing at that date in such proportion as may be fair and equitable, having regard to any just claim on the part of Ireland by way of set-off or counter claim, the amount of such sums being determined in default of agreement by the arbitration of one or more independent persons being citizens of the British Empire.

6. Until an arrangement has been made between the British and Irish Governments whereby the Irish Free State undertakes her own coastal defence, the defence by sea of Great Britain and Ireland shall be undertaken by His Majesty's Imperial Forces, but this shall not prevent the construction or maintenance by the Government of the Irish Free State of such vessels as are necessary for the protection of the Revenue or the Fisheries. The foregoing provisions of this article shall be reviewed at a conference of Representatives of the British and Irish governments, to be held at the expiration of five years from the date hereof with a view to the undertaking by Ireland of a share in her own coastal defence.
7. The Government of the Irish Free State shall afford to His Majesty's Imperial Forces
 - a. In the time of peace such harbour and other facilities as are indicated in the Annex hereto, or such other facilities as many from time to time be agreed between the British Government and the Government of the Irish Free State; and
 - b. In time of war or of strained relations with a Foreign Power such harbour and other facilities as the British Government may require for the purposes of such defence as aforesaid.
8. With a view to securing the observance of the principle of international limitation of armaments, if the Government of the Irish Free State establishes and maintains a military defence force, the establishments thereof shall not exceed in size such proportion of the military establishments maintained in Great Britain as that which the population of Ireland bears to the population of Great Britain.
9. The ports of Great Britain and the Irish Free State shall be freely open to the ships of the other country on payment of the customary port and other dues.
10. The Government of the Irish Free State agrees to pay fair compensation on terms not less favourable than those accorded by the Act of 1920 to judges, officials, members of Police Forces and other Public Servants who are discharged by it or who retire in consequence of the change of government effected in pursuance hereof. Provided that this agreement shall not apply to

members of the Auxiliary Police Force or to persons recruited in Great Britain for the Royal Irish Constabulary during the two years next preceding the date hereof. The British Government will assume responsibility for such compensation or pensions as may be payable to any of these excepted persons.

11. Until the expiration of one month from the passing of the Act of Parliament for the ratification of this instrument, the powers of the Parliament and the Government of the Irish Free State shall not be exercisable as respects Northern Ireland, and the provisions of the Government of Ireland Act 1920, shall, so far as they relate to Northern Ireland remain of full force and effect, and no election shall be held for the return of members to serve in the Parliament of the Irish Free State for constituencies in Northern Ireland, unless a resolution is passed by both Houses of the Parliament of Northern Ireland in favour of the holding of such elections before the end of the said month.
12. If before the expiration of the said month, an address is presented to His Majesty by both Houses of the Parliament of Northern Ireland to that effect, the powers of the Parliament and the Government of the Irish Free State shall no longer extend to Northern Ireland, and the provisions of the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, (including those relating to the Council of Ireland) shall so far as they relate to Northern Ireland, continue to be of full force and effect, and this instrument shall have effect subject to the necessary modifications. Provided that if such an address is so presented a Commission consisting of three persons, one to be appointed by the Government of the Irish Free State, one to be appointed by the Government of Northern Ireland, and one who shall be Chairman to be appointed by the British Government shall determine in accordance with the wishes of the inhabitants, so far as may be compatible with economic and geographic conditions the boundaries between Northern Ireland and the rest of Ireland, and for the purposes of the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, and of this instrument, the boundary of Northern Ireland shall be such as may be determined by such Commission.
13. For the purpose of the last foregoing article, the powers of the Parliament of Southern Ireland under the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, to elect members of the Council of Ireland shall after the Parliament of the Irish Free State is constituted be exercised by that Parliament.

14. After the expiration of the said month, if no such address as is mentioned in Article 12 hereof is presented, the Parliament and Government of Northern Ireland shall continue to exercise as respects Northern Ireland the powers conferred on them by the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, but the Parliament and Government of the Irish Free State shall in Northern Ireland have in relation to matters in respect of which the Parliament of Northern Ireland has not the power to make laws under the Act (including matters which under the said Act are within the jurisdiction of the Council of Ireland) the same powers as in the rest of Ireland, subject to such other provisions as may be agreed in manner hereinafter appearing.
15. At any time after the date hereof the Government of Northern Ireland and the provisional Government of Southern Ireland hereinafter constituted may meet for the purpose of discussing the provisions subject to which the last foregoing Article is to operate in the event of no such address as is therein mentioned being presented and those provisions may include:
- a. Safeguards with regard to patronage in Northern Ireland.
 - b. Safeguards with regard to the collection of revenue in Northern Ireland.
 - c. Safeguards with regard to import and export duties affecting the trade or industry of Northern Ireland.
 - d. Safeguards for minorities in Northern Ireland.
 - e. The settlement of the financial relations between Northern Ireland and the Irish Free State.
 - f. The establishment and powers of a local militia in Northern Ireland and the relation of the Defence Forces of the Irish Free State and of Northern Ireland respectively, and if at any such meeting provisions are agreed to, the same shall have effect as if they were included amongst the provisions subject to which the powers of the Parliament and the Government of the Irish Free State are to be exercisable in Northern Ireland under Article 14 hereof.

16. Neither the Parliament of the Irish Free State nor the Parliament of Northern Ireland shall make any law so as either directly or indirectly to endow any religion or prohibit or restrict the free exercise thereof or give any preference or impose any disability on account of religious belief or religious status or affect prejudicially the right of any child to attend a school receiving public money without attending the religious instruction at the school or make any discrimination as respects State aid between schools under the management of different religious denominations or divert from any religious denomination or any educational institution any of its property except for public utility purposes and on payment of compensation.

17. By way of provisional arrangement for the administration of Southern Ireland during the interval which must elapse between the date hereof and the constitution of a Parliament and Government of the Irish Free State in accordance therewith, steps shall be taken forthwith for summoning a meeting of members of Parliament elected for constituencies in Southern Ireland since the passing of the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, and for constituting a provisional Government, and the British Government shall take the steps necessary to transfer to such provisional Government the powers and machinery requisite for the discharge of its duties, provided that every member of such provisional Government shall have signified in writing his or her acceptance of this instrument. But this arrangement shall not continue in force beyond the expiration of twelve months from the date hereof.

18. This instrument shall be submitted forthwith by His Majesty's Government for the approval of Parliament and by the Irish signatories to a meeting summoned for the purpose of the members elected to sit in the House of Commons of Southern Ireland and if approved shall be ratified by the necessary legislation.

Appendix II: Map of Ireland, 1921, including Ulster border

