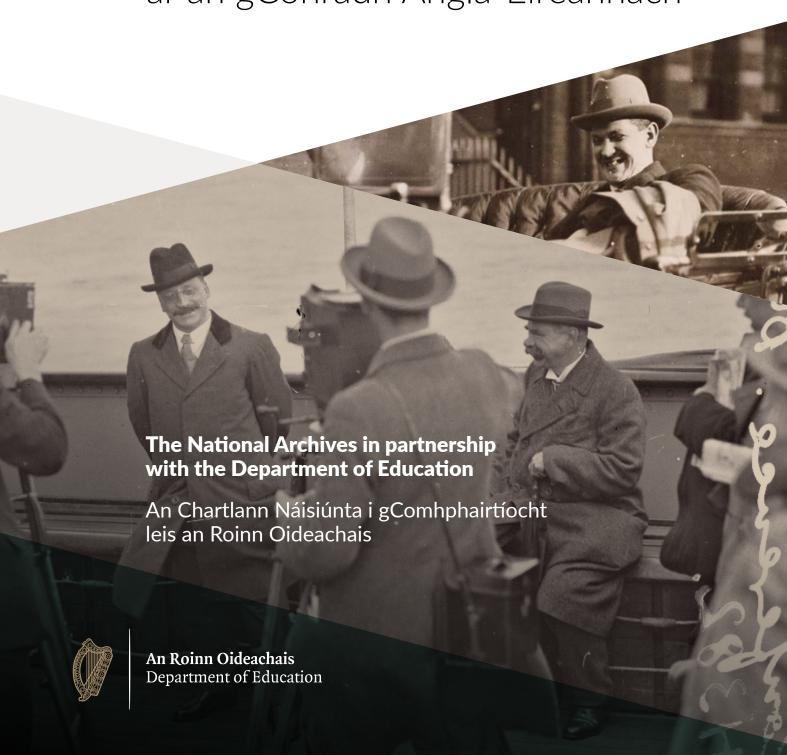


# **Anglo-Irish Treaty Document Resource Pack**

Paca Acmhainní Cáipéisí ar an gConradh Angla-Éireannach



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### Introduction

## Réamhrá

Welcome to the National Archives' resource pack on the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921. This document facsimile pack is produced in partnership with the Department of Education and is available as a downloadable resource on our website at <a href="www.nationalarchives.ie">www.nationalarchives.ie</a>. It is intended as a teaching tool and secondary source for use in the classroom by second-level educators and students. Its contents are mapped to the specifications for the Junior Cycle history programme and the Leaving Certificate Later Modern Ireland module as well as suggested activities for the Transition Year history programme.

Fáilte chuig paca acmhainní na Cartlainne Náisiúnta ar Chonradh Angla-Éireannach 1921. Tá an paca facsamhla curtha i dtoll a chéile i gcomhpháirtíocht leis an Roinn Oideachais agus tá sé ar fáil mar acmhainn in-íoslódáilte ar láithreán gréasáin na Cartlainne Náisiúnta ar <a href="www.nationalarchives.ie">www.nationalarchives.ie</a>. Uirlis teagaisc agus foinse thánaisteach d'oideoirí agus daltaí dara leibhéal le húsáid sa seomra ranga atá i gceist leis. Tá ábhar an phaca ag teacht le sonraíochtaí chlár staire na Sraithe Sóisearaí, le modúl Éire sa Nua-aois Dhéanach den Ardteist agus leis na gníomhaíochtaí molta do chlár staire Shraith na hIdirbhliana.

#### **About the National Archives**

The National Archives is the official archives of central government and holds the memory of the Irish State. It collects, manages and preserves the public record of Ireland, providing free access to archives and ensuring their availability as a resource for all. These records are rich in information about our history, people and the creation of our national identity. They relate to the social, cultural, economic and political history of the island of Ireland from the Middle Ages through to the establishment of the Irish Free State in 1922 and its subsequent development.

Amongst its holdings is the most famous document in modern Irish history, the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921. On the centenary anniversary of this seminal record in December 2021, the National Archives hosted in Dublin Castle 'The Treaty, 1921: Records from the Archives', an exhibition marking its role as the official repository of the records of the State, one hundred years since its formation. As part of the legacy of this milestone exhibition, its contents have been repurposed to produce this high-quality resource pack of documents reproduced from its Treaty-related archives.

#### Maidir leis an gCartlann Náisiúnta

Is í an Chartlann Náisiúnta taisclann oifigiúil an Rialtais Láir ina gcoinnítear cuimhní Stáit na hÉireann. Bailíonn an Chartlann Náisiúnta taifid phoiblí na hÉireann, déanann iad a bhainistiú agus caomhnaíonn iad, cuireann sí rochtain saor in aisce ar fáil do chách ar chartlanna agus cinntíonn sí go mbeidh fáil orthu mar acmhainn don uile dhuine. Tá na taifid sin lán d'eolas faoi stair na tíre agus faoi mhuintir na tíre chomh maith le heolas faoi mar a bunaíodh aitheantas náisiúnta na tíre. Baineann siad le stair shóisialta, chultúir, eacnamaíochta agus pholaitíochta oileán na hÉireann ón Meánaois go dtí bunú Shaorstát na hÉireann sa bhliain 1922 agus forbairt an Stáit ina dhiaidh sin.

I measc na mbailiúchán atá sa Chartlann Náisiúnta, tá an doiciméad is cáiliúla i nua-stair na hÉireann, An Conradh Angla-Éireannach 1921. Ar chomóradh céad bliain an taifid thábhachtaigh seo i mí na Nollag 2021, d'óstáil an Chartlann Náisiúnta 'An Conradh, 1921: Taifid ón gCartlann' i gCaisleán Bhaile Átha Cliath, taispeántas a rinne ról na Cartlainne Náisiúnta mar stór oifigiúil thaifid an Stáit, céad bliain ó bunaíodh é, a chomóradh. Mar chuid d'oidhreacht an taispeántais thábhachtaigh seo, tá úsáid eile bainte as ábhar an taispeántais chun an paca acmhainní d'ardchaighdeán seo de cháipéisí a chur i dtoll a chéile as cartlanna an taispeántais a bhaineann leis an gConradh.

### Introduction

## Réamhrá

#### How to use this pack

This teaching resource is based on Treaty records held in the National Archives and its contents are drawn mainly from the Dáil Éireann record series (DE/2-DE/4) and the papers of Treaty delegate and Minister for Economic Affairs Robert C. Barton. The DE/2 series consists of the administrative records of the Dáil Éireann Secretariat (1919–1922) relating to the Anglo-Irish Treaty negotiations while the DE/4 series contains the proceedings of the First and Second Dála (1919-1922) and papers relating to the peace negotiations of 1921.

The pack is intended for use as a supplementary source by teachers and students in parallel with their course work. It provides students with the opportunity to work with primary source material in the form of reproduction records relating to the negotiations and signing of the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921.

The resource pack is organised into the following units:

- 1. Biographies of the Irish and British delegates who negotiated the Anglo-Irish Treaty →
- 2. Eight key documents relating to the negotiations and signing of the Anglo-Irish Treaty (
- 3. Timeline of events in 1921 →
- 4. Explanation of the Treaty articles (-)
- 5. Research activity for Junior Cycle/ Transition Year students →
- 6. Glossary of terms (→)
- 7. Online resources and further reading (-)

These are self-contained units which can be explored either separately or in tandem with each other and teachers can decide which units and in what order to engage with in the classroom. The eight key documents are accompanied by associated questions and tasks which are categorised according to Junior Cycle, Transition Year and Leaving Certificate levels. These records are complemented by supporting material such as delegate biographies, a timeline and an explanation of the Treaty's content.

#### Conas an paca seo a úsáid

Tá an acmhainn teagaisc seo bunaithe ar thaifid an Chonartha atá á gcoimeád sa Chartlann Náisiúnta agus is ó shraith thaifid Dháil Éireann (DE/2-DE/4) is mó a thagann siad chomh maith le páipéir thoscaire an Chonartha agus an Aire Gnóthaí Eacnamaíocha, Riobárd C. Bartún. Cuimsítear taifid Rúnaíocht Dháil Éireann (1919–1922) a bhaineann le hidirbheartaíochtaí an Chonartha Angla-Éireannaigh i sraith DE/2 agus cuimsítear páipéir seisiún na Chéad Dála agus an na Dara Dála (1919-1922) agus páipéir a bhaineann le hidirbheartaíochtaí síochána 1921 i sraith DE/4.

Tá sé i gceist go n-úsáidfeadh múinteoirí agus daltaí an paca mar fhoinse bhreise in éineacht leis an obair chúrsa. Tugann sé deis do dhaltaí a bheith ag obair le foinsí príomha i bhfoirm macasamhlacha de thaifid a bhaineann le hidirbheartaíochtaí agus le síniú an Chonartha Angla-Éireannaigh sa bhliain 1921.

Tá an paca acmhainní eagraithe ina aonaid mar seo a leanas:

- 1. Beathaisnéisí thoscairí na hÉireann agus na Breataine a rinne idirbheartaíocht ar an gConradh Angla-Éireannach (--)
- 2. Ocht bpríomhcháipéis a bhaineann le hidirbheartaíochtaí agus le síniú an Chonartha Angla-Éireannaigh 🔾
- 3. Amlíne imeachtaí na bliana 1921 →
- 4. Míniú ar airteagail an Chonartha (-)
- 5. Gníomhaíocht taighde do dhaltaí na Sraithe Sóisearaí/na hIdirbhliana (--)
- Gluais na dtéarmaí →



Is aonaid astu féin iad agus is féidir iad a phlé astu féin nó i bpáirt lena chéile agus tá na múinteoirí ábalta na haonaid ar mhaith leo go nglacfadh an seomra ranga páirt iontu agus an t-ord a ndéanann siad sin a roghnú. Tá ceisteanna agus tascanna gaolmhara leis na hocht bpríomhcháipéis atá rangaithe de réir leibhéal na Sraithe Sóisearaí, Shraith na hIdirbhliana agus na hArdteistiméireachta. Tá ábhar tacaíochta amhail beathaisnéisí na dtoscairí, amlíne agus míniú ar ábhar an Chonartha ag gabháil leis na taifid seo.

## **Learning outcomes**

## Torthaí Foghlama

#### **Junior Cycle**

Using this resource pack at Junior Cycle level will assist students to:

- Consider a contentious issue from more than one perspective (L.O.1.2)
- Allow them to develop historical judgements based on evidence about issues and events in the past (L.O.1.7)
- Provide opportunities to investigate a repository of historical evidence – an exhibition (L.O.1.8)
- Examine the impact of nationalism and unionism in Ireland (L.O.2.4)

#### An tSraith Shóisearach

Trí úsáid a bhaint as an bpaca acmhainní seo ag leibhéal na Sraithe Sóisearaí cuideoidh sé le daltaí a leanas a dhéanamh:

- Breithniú a dhéanamh ar shaincheist chonspóideach bunaithe ar níos mó ná léargas amháin (L.O.1.2)
- É a chur ar a gcumas breithiúnais stairiúla a fhorbairt bunaithe ar fhianaise ar shaincheisteanna agus imeachtaí a tharla san am atá caite (L.O.1.7)
- Deiseanna a chur ar fáil dóibh taisclann d'fhianaise stairiúil a scrúdú – taispeántas (L.O.1.8)
- Tionchar an náisúnachais agus an aontachtais in Éirinn a scrúdú (L.O.2.4)

#### **Transition Year**

Using this resource pack in Transition Year will assist students to:

- Further develop their research, analytical and problem-solving skills as well as their communication and writing skills
- Enhance their knowledge on this topic
- Work and debate in collective groups

#### An Idirbhliain

Trí úsáid a bhaint as an bpaca acmhainní seo ag leibhéal na hIdirbhliana cuideoidh sé le daltaí a leanas a dhéanamh:

- A gcuid scileanna taighde, anailíse agus réitigh fadhbanna chomh maith lena scileanna cumarsáide agus scríbhneoireachta a fhorbairt tuilleadh
- Cur lena gcuid eolais ar an topaic seo
- Obair agus plé a dhéanamh i meithleacha

#### **Leaving Certificate**

Using this resource pack at Leaving Certificate level will assist students to:

- Gain a deep understanding of the Treaty negotiations and outcome along with the key personalities involved, all of which is an integral part of Topic 3: The pursuit of sovereignty and the impact of partition, 1912–1949 on the Leaving Certificate course
- Develop their analytical, writing and critical-thinking skills

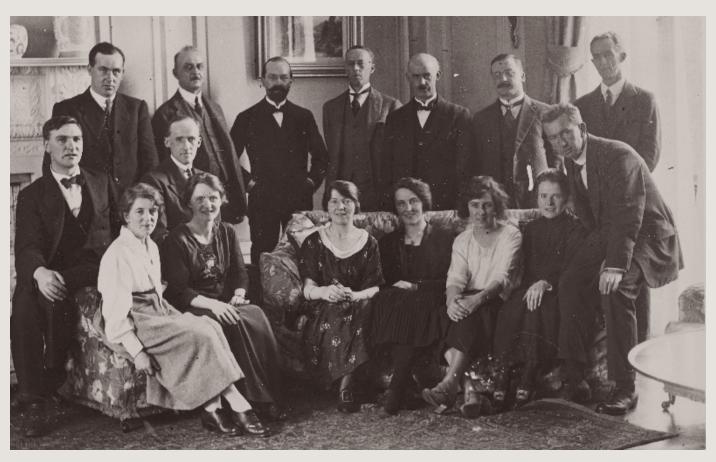
#### An Ardteistiméireacht

Trí úsáid a bhaint as an bpaca acmhainní seo ag leibhéal na hArdteistiméireachta cuideoidh sé le daltaí a leanas a dhéanamh:

- Tuiscint dhomhain a fháil ar idirbheartaíochtaí agus ar thoradh an Chonartha chomh maith leis na príomhphearsantachtaí a raibh baint acu leis, is cuid lárnach iad sin go léir de Thopaic 3: Ar thóir an fhlaithis agus tionchar na críochdheighilte, 1912–1949 atá ar shiollabas staire na hArdteistiméireachta
- A gcuid scileanna anailíse, scríbhneoireachta agus smaointeoireachta criticiúla a fhorbairt

## 1. Biographies of the Irish and British delegates

## Beathaisnéisí thoscairí na hÉireann agus na Breataine



Members of the Treaty delegation in 22 Hans Place, Knightsbridge, just after their arrival in London. Back row, left to right: Michael Knightly, John Chartres, George Gavan Duffy, Robert Barton, Éamonn Duggan, Arthur Griffith, Erskine Childers. Seated, far left: Joseph McGrath, D. L. Robinson. Leaning forward, far right: Fionán Lynch. Front, left to right: Lily O'Brennan, Ellie Lyons, May Duggan, Bridget Lynch, Kathleen McKenna, Alice Lyons.

Courtesy of the National Library of Ireland. MS 49 835/15/8

Comhaltaí thoscaireacht an Chonartha i 22 Plás Hans, Knightsbridge, díreach tar éis dóibh Londain a bhaint amach. Líne chúil, ó chlé go deas: Michael Knightly, John Chartres, Seoirse Gabhán Ó Dubhthaigh, Riobárd Bardún, Éamonn Ó Duagáin, Art Ó Gríofa, Erskine Childers. Ina suí, ar chlé ar fad: Seosamh Mac Craith, D. L. Mac Roibín. Cromtha chun tosaigh, ar dheis ar fad: Fionán Ó Loingsigh. Chun tosaigh, ó chlé go deas: Eibhlís Ní Bhraonáin, Eibhlís Ní Liatháin, Máirín Uí Dhuagáin, Bríd Uí Loingsigh, Caitlín Ní Chionnaith, Ailís Ní Liatháin. Leabharlann Náisiúnta na hÉireann.

Leabharlann Náisiúnta na hÉireann. MS 49 835/15/8

#### The Irish delegation

The Irish delegation that went to London in October 1921 was led by Arthur Griffith, Dáil Éireann's minister for foreign affairs. It also included a secretariat headed by Erskine Childers and other support staff. These men and women included political, legal, economic and military counsellors and publicity advisers along with housekeepers and cooks.

#### Toscaireacht na hÉireann

Ba é Art Ó Gríofa, aire gnóthaí eachtracha Dháil Éireann, a bhí i gceannas ar an toscaireacht a chuaigh as Éirinn go Londain i mí Dheireadh Fómhair 1921. Chomh maith leis sin, bhí rúnaíocht mar chuid de thoscaireacht na hÉireann, ar a raibh Erskine Childers i gceannas, agus baill foirne tacaíochta eile. I measc na bhfear agus na mban seo, bhí comhairleoirí polaitíochta, dlí, geilleagair agus míleata agus meán mar aon le coimeádaithe tí agus cócairí.



Courtesy of the National Library of Ireland. KE238 Le caoinchead ó Leabharlann Náisiúnta na hÉireann.





Courtesy of the National Library of Ireland. INDH94 Le caoinchead ó Leabharlann Náisiúnta na hÉireann.

Riobsja bsjamin

#### **Arthur Griffith**

Art Ó Gríofa

Arthur Griffith (1871–1922) was born in Dublin. He was a printer, journalist and prominent nationalist activist with a particular interest in economic independence. In 1905 he founded the political party Sinn Féin (Ourselves).

One of Griffith's key ideas was that Irish MPs should withdraw from Westminster and establish their own assembly in Ireland. Griffith was elected as abstentionist MP for Cavan East in a by-election in June 1918 and in April 1919 he became Dáil Éireann's minister for home affairs. In July 1921 he accompanied Éamon de Valera to London for preliminary discussions with the British. Griffith became the Dáil's minister for foreign affairs in August 1921 and in October, he was appointed chairman of the Irish delegation that was to negotiate the Treaty.

Rugadh Art Ó Gríofa (1871–1922) i mBaile Átha Cliath. Bhain sé cáil amach ina chlódóir, iriseoir agus ina ghníomhaí suntasach náisiúnach, a raibh spéis ar leith aige sa neamhspleáchas eacnamaíoch. I 1905 bhunaigh sé an páirtí polaitíochta

Ar cheann de phríomhsmaointe Uí Ghríofa bhí an moladh gur cheart d'Fheisirí Parlaiminte na hÉireann tarraingt amach as Westminster agus a dtionól féin a bhunú in Éirinn. Toghadh Ó Gríofa ina Fheisire neamhfhreastail don Chabhán Thoir i bhfothoghchán mhí an Mheithimh 1918, agus i mí Aibreáin 1919 rinneadh Aire Gnóthaí Baile de i nDáil Éireann. I mí Iúil 1921 bhí sé in éineacht le hÉamon de Valera nuair a chuaigh sé go Londain le haghaidh réamhchainteanna leis an mBreatain. I mí Lúnasa 1921 rinneadh Aire Gnóthaí Eachtracha de agus i mí Dheireadh Fómhair ceapadh é ina chathaoirleach ar thoscaireacht na hÉireann a bhí chun dul i mbun idirbheartaíochta ar an gConradh.

#### Robert C. Barton Riobárd C. Bartún

Robert Childers Barton (1881–1975) was born into a landed family in County Wicklow. Barton was a supporter of Home Rule joining the Irish Volunteers in 1913. During the First World War he enlisted in the Royal Dublin Fusiliers and served in Dublin during the Easter Rising, after which he resigned his commission and became involved in separatist politics. He was elected as abstentionist Sinn Féin MP for Wicklow West in the December 1918 election and took his seat as a TD in the first Dáil Éireann.

In February 1919 he was arrested for making a seditious speech at Carnew, County Wicklow; he escaped, but was rearrested in January 1920. He was released in July 1921 and accompanied Éamon de Valera to London. Barton was elected to the second Dáil for Kildare-Wicklow, becoming minister for economic affairs.

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Rugadh Riobárd Childers Bartún (1881–1975) do theaghlach a bhí go maith as i gContae Chill Mhantáin. Thacaigh Bartún le Rialtas Dúchais agus chuaigh sé isteach in Óglaigh na hÉireann i 1913. Nuair a bhris an Chéad Chogadh Domhanda amach liostáil sé i bhFiúsailéirí Ríoga Bhaile Átha Cliath agus bhí sé i mbun seirbhíse i mBaile Átha Cliath le linn Éirí Amach na Cásca. Ina dhiaidh sin d'éirigh sé as an arm agus chuaigh sé ag plé leis an bpolaitíocht scarúnaíoch. Toghadh é ina Fheisire neamhfhreastail do Shinn Féin le haghaidh Cill Mhantáin Thiar i dtoghchán mhí na Nollag 1918 agus ghlac sé a shuíochán ina Theachta Dála sa chéad Dáil Éireann.

I mí Feabhra 1919 gabhadh é as óráid réabhlóideach a thabhairt ag Carn an Bhua, i gContae Chill Mhantáin; d'éalaigh sé, ach gabhadh arís é i mí Eanáir 1920. Scaoileadh saor i mí Iúil 1921 agus chuaigh in éineacht le hÉamon de Valera go Londain. Toghadh Bartún chuig an dara Dáil ar son Chill Dara-Cill Mhantáin, agus ceapadh é ina Aire Gnóthaí Eacnamaíocha.

Courtesy of the National Library of Ireland. NPA POLF45 Le caoinchead ó Leabharlann Náisiúnta na hÉireann.



Courtesy of the Military Archives, Dublin.
Le caoinchead ón gCartlann Mhíleata,
Raile Átha Cliath

Michael Collins Mícheál Ó Coileáin

Michael Collins (1890–1922) was born in Woodfield, County Cork. He moved to London aged fifteen where he worked for nine years. While in London he joined the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA) and the Gaelic League and was sworn into the IRB in 1909. He joined the Irish Volunteers in 1914 and returned to Ireland in January 1916.

He served as aide-de-camp to Joseph Mary Plunkett during the Easter Rising and was interned in Frongoch, Wales. He sat as TD for Cork South in the first Dáil and became Dáil minister for finance in April 1919, overseeing the Dáil loan to raise funds for the independence movement. Later that year he became president of the supreme council of the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB), and succeeded Éamonn Duggan as director of intelligence of the IRA. He reluctantly accepted his appointment as one of the plenipotentiaries for the negotiations in October.

Rugadh Mícheál Ó Coileáin (1890–1922) i nDoire Luain i gContae Chorcaí. Bhog sé go Londain agus é cúig bliana déag d'aois, áit ar oibrigh sé ar feadh naoi mbliana. Le linn a thréimhse i Londain chuaigh sé isteach i gCumann Lúthchleas Gael (CLG) agus i gConradh na Gaeilge. Cuireadh faoi mhionn é san IRB i 1909. Chuaigh sé isteach in Óglaigh na hÉireann i 1914 agus d'fhill sé ar Éirinn i mí Eanáir 1916.

Bhí sé ina aide-de-camp ag Seosamh Máire Pluincéid le linn Éirí Amach na Cásca agus rinneadh é a imtheorannú in Frongoch sa Bhreatain Bheag. Bhí sé ina Theachta Dála do Chorcaigh Theas sa chéad Dáil. Rinneadh Aire Airgeadais Dála de i mí Aibreáin 1919 agus rinne sé maoirseacht ar iasacht na Dála chun airgead a bhailiú do ghluaiseacht na saoirse. Níos déanaí an bhliain chéanna ceapadh é ina uachtarán ar Ardchomhairle an IRB agus tháinig sé i gcomharbacht ar Éamonn Ó Duagáin ina stiúrthóir faisnéise don IRA. Is go drogallach a ghlac sé lena cheapachán mar dhuine de na hionadaithe a ghlac páirt san idirbheartaíocht i mí Dheireadh Fómhair.

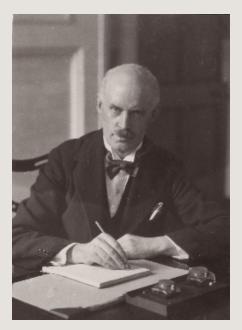
#### George Gavan Duffy Seoirse Gabhán Ó Dubhthaigh

George Gavan Duffy (1882–1951) was born in England. He qualified as a solicitor in London in 1907 and acted for Roger Casement during his trial for treason in 1916. The trial had an enormous impact on Duffy, and soon after, he moved to Ireland. He was called to the Irish Bar in 1917 and became heavily involved in Irish political life. He sat as Sinn Féin TD for Dublin County South in the first Dáil. His legal expertise was the basis for his appointment in October 1921 as one of the Irish plenipotentiaries in London.

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Rugadh Seoirse Gabhán Ó Dubhthaigh (1882–1951) in Rock Ferry, in Cheshire. Cháiligh sé ina aturnae i Londain i 1907 agus chosain sé Ruairí Mac Easmainn ag a thriail i 1916 nuair a cuireadh ina leith go raibh tréas déanta aige. Bhí an-tionchar go deo ag an triail ar Ó Dubhthaigh agus go luath ina dhiaidh sin bhog sé go hÉirinn. Glacadh leis mar abhcóide in Éireann i 1917 agus bhí baint mhór aige le saol polaitiúil na hÉireann. Bhí sé ina Theachta Dála do Shinn Féin do Chontae Bhaile Átha Cliath Theas sa chéad Dáil. Ba é a shaineolas ar chúrsaí dlí an bunús a bhí lena cheapachán i nDeireadh Fómhair 1921 mar dhuine de lánchumhachtaigh na hÉireann i Londain.

Signs Zabam m Jubisiz.



Courtesy of the Military Archives, Dublin.

Lumour S. Or Duran



Éamonn John Duggan (1874/9–1936) was born in County Meath. He became a solicitor and joined the Irish Volunteers in 1914. He fought in the Easter Rising and was imprisoned afterwards. He was released in June 1917 and resumed his legal practice. Duggan was a member of the IRB and became director of intelligence for the IRA in 1918. He sat as Sinn Féin TD for Meath South in the first Dáil and read the declaration of independence at its inaugural meeting in January 1919.

Duggan was arrested in November 1920 and was jailed in Mountjoy Prison in Dublin before being transferred to Brixton Prison in London. After his release in June 1921 Duggan was appointed chief Irish liaison officer with the British to oversee the truce. He accompanied Éamon de Valera to London in July 1921 before being appointed one of the Irish plenipotentiaries in October.

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Rugadh Éamonn (Edmund) Seán Ó Duagáin (1874/9–1936) i Maigh Dearmhaí, i gContae na Mí. Cháiligh sé ina aturnae agus chuaigh in Óglaigh na hÉireann i 1914. Throid sé in Éirí Amach na Cásca agus chaith sé tréimhse i bpríosún, ach scaoileadh saor é i mí Meithimh 1917. Bhí Ó Duagáin ina bhall den IRB agus rinneadh stiúrthóir faisnéise don IRA de i 1918. Bhí sé ina Theachta Dála do Shinn Féin don Mhí Theas sa chéad Dáil agus ba é a léigh dearbhú na saoirse ag an gcruinniú Dála i mí Eanáir 1919.

Gabhadh Ó Duagáin i mí na Samhna 1920 agus bhí sé i bpríosún Mhuinseo i mBaile Átha Cliath sular aistríodh é go Príosún Brixton i Londain. Nuair a scaoileadh saor é i mí Meithimh 1921 ceapadh Ó Duagáin ina phríomhoifigeach idirchaidrimh idir Éirinn agus Sasana chun maoirseacht a dhéanamh ar an sos cogaidh. Chuaigh in éineacht le hÉamon de Valera go Londain i mí Iúil 1921 sular ceapadh é mar dhuine de lánchumhachtaigh na hÉireann i mí Dheireadh Fómhair.



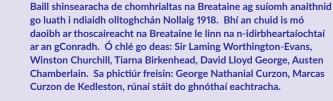
#### The British delegation

#### Toscaireacht na Breataine

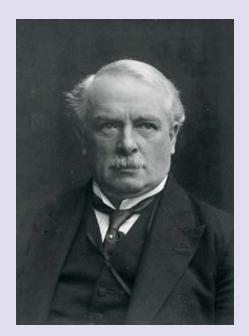


Senior members of the British coalition government at an unidentified location soon after the December 1918 general election. Most of those pictured were members of the British delegation during the Treaty negotiations. From left to right: Sir Laming Worthington-Evans, Winston Churchill, Lord Birkenhead, David Lloyd George, Austen Chamberlain. Also pictured is George Nathanial Curzon, Marquess Curzon of Kedleston, secretary of state for foreign affairs.

Private collection



Bailiúchán príobháideach



A thy brown

#### **David Lloyd George**

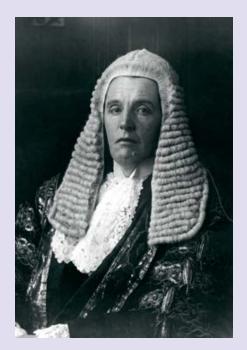
David Lloyd George (1863–1945) was born in Manchester to Welsh parents. His family returned to Wales and he was elected Liberal MP for Caernarvon Boroughs in 1890. He retained the seat until his death. Lloyd George was socially progressive, independent minded and ruthlessly ambitious. He was an exceptionally skillful and charismatic politician and his career flourished.

Becoming prime minister in December 1916, Lloyd George dominated the wartime and post-war Liberal-Conservative coalition governments he led. Internationally he was instrumental in the negotiating of the post-war peace treaties. He took an uncompromising stance against Sinn Féin and the IRA for much of the War of Independence before accepting the necessity for a settlement. Lloyd George was the key figure among the British negotiators.

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Rugadh David Lloyd George (1863–1945) i Manchain ach ba as an mBreatain Bheag a chuid tuismitheoirí. D'fhill a mhuintir ar an mBreatain Bheag, agus toghadh ina Fheisire Liobrálach é do Caernarvon Boroughs sa bhliain 1890. Choinnigh sé an suíochán sin go dtí gur bhásaigh sé. Duine a bhí in Lloyd George a bhí forásach go sóisialta, a bhí ina shaorsmaointeoir agus a raibh uaillmhian neamhthrócaireach aige. Polaiteoir carasmatach a bhí ann a raibh scil as an ngnáth aige agus d'éirigh go hiontach lena ghairmréim.

Toghadh é ina phríomh-aire i mí na Nollag 1916, agus bhí sé ina cheannaire ceannasach ar na comhrialtais Liobrálacha-Choimeádacha a bhí faoina stiúir in aimsir cogaidh agus ina diaidh. Ar bhonn idirnáisiúnta, bhí ról lárnach aige i dtaobh idirbheartaíocht a dhéanamh ar na conarthaí iarchogaidh. Ghlac sé seasamh neamhghéilliúil i gcoinne Shinn Féin agus an IRA ar feadh cuid mhaith de Chogadh na Saoirse, sular ghlac sé leis go raibh gá le comhréiteach a dhéanamh. Pearsa lárnach a bhí in Lloyd George i measc idirbheartaithe na Breataine.



Brikenhead.



#### Frederick Edwin Smith, Lord Birkenhead

Frederick Edwin Smith, Lord Birkenhead (1872–1930) was born in Birkenhead, Cheshire. He embarked on a highly successful legal career and was elected Conservative MP for Liverpool Walton in 1906. Smith was a staunch supporter of Ulster unionism during the Home Rule crisis of 1912–14 and an early advocate of partition.

In 1915 he was appointed solicitor-general and subsequently attorney general. In this latter capacity he led the prosecution of Roger Casement for treason in 1916. He was appointed lord chancellor in January 1919 and conferred with the title of Lord Birkenhead the following month. His credentials as a Tory unionist helped to ensure that the hostility of many in the Conservative Party towards Irish republicans did not undermine the negotiations.

.....

Rugadh Frederick Edwin Smith, Tiarna Birkenhead (1872–1930) in Birkenhead, Cheshire. D'fhreastail sé ar Choláiste Wadham, Oxford, sular bhain sé gairm le dlí amach a raibh an-rath uirthi. Toghadh é ina Fheisire Coimeádach do Liverpool Walton sa bhliain 1906. Tacadóir dílis aontachtas Uladh ab ea Smith le linn ghéarchéim an Rialtais Dúchais 1912-14 agus é ar dhuine de na chéad daoine a bhí ar son na críochdheighilte.

Ceapadh é ina ard-aturnae sa bhliain 1915, agus ina ard-aighne i ndiaidh sin. Is i ról an ard-aighne a stiúir sé ionchúiseamh Roger Casement de thoradh tréasa sa bhliain 1916. Ceapadh é ina ard-seansailéir i mí Eanáir 1919 agus tugadh an teideal Tiarna Birkenhead dó an mhí dár gcionn. Mar gheall ar a chuid dintiúr ina Aontachtaí Coimeádach, coinníodh naimhdeas chuid mhaith ball de Pháirtí na gCoimeádach i leith phoblachtaigh na hÉireann ó dhoras le nach mbainfeadh sé an bonn ón idirbheartaíocht.

#### Joseph Austen Chamberlain

Joseph Austen Chamberlain (1863–1937) was born in Birmingham. He was the son of Liberal Unionist politician Joseph Chamberlain and entered parliament in 1892 as Liberal Unionist (later Conservative) MP for East Worcestershire.

Chamberlain served as chancellor of the exchequer (1903–5) and secretary of state for India (1915–17), and was reappointed chancellor of the exchequer in in January 1919. In March 1921 Chamberlain became the leader of the Conservative Party in the House of Commons and was also appointed lord privy seal. Chamberlain's views on Ireland were more moderate than those of many in his party. He was a strong advocate of negotiating a settlement with Sinn Féin, and of the eventual Treaty.

.....

Rugadh Joseph Austen Chamberlain (1863–1937) in Birmingham. Ba mhac leis an bpolaiteoir Aontachtach Liobrálach Joseph Chamberlain é agus toghadh chun na parlaiminte é sa bhliain 1892 ina Fheisire Aontachtach Liobrálach (ina Choimeádaí ina dhiaidh sin) do East Worcestershire.

Chaith sé seal ina sheansailéir an státchiste (1903–5) agus ina rúnaí stáit don India (1915-17) agus athcheapadh é ina sheansailéir an státchiste i mí Eanáir 1919. I Márta na bliana 1921 bhí Chamberlain ina cheannaire ar Pháirtí na gCoimeádach i dTeach na dTeachtaí agus ceapadh é ina thiarna an tséala stáit. Bhí dearcadh níos measartha ag Chamberlain i dtaobh chás na hÉireann ná mar a bhí ag cuid mhór de bhaill a pháirtí. Bhí sé go mór i bhfabhar idirbheartaíocht a dhéanamh le Sinn Féin chun teacht ar chomhréiteach, agus i bhfabhar an Chonartha ar deireadh thiar.



histus . Cuntiell

#### **Winston Churchill**

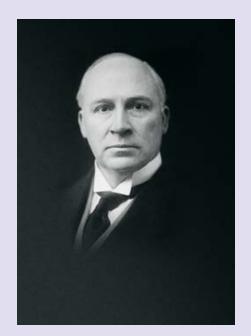
Winston Churchill (1874–1965), son of the Conservative politician Lord Randolph Churchill, was born at Blenheim Palace, Oxfordshire. He was commissioned as a cavalry officer and developed a lucrative parallel career as a war correspondent. In 1900 Churchill was elected to parliament as Conservative MP for Oldham. He defected to the Liberals in 1904, subsequently sitting as MP for North-West Manchester and later Dundee.

Churchill was appointed secretary of state for war and air in January 1919 and secretary of state for the colonies in February 1921. In both roles he played a major part in British policy towards Ireland. Having advocated harsh measures in Ireland during the War of Independence, by May 1921 he supported opening negotiations and would establish good relationships with the Irish delegation.

.....

Is i bPálás Blenheim, Oxfordshire a rugadh Winston Churchill (1874–1965), mac leis an bpolaiteoir Coimeádach an Tiarna Randolph Churchill. Coimisiúnaíodh é ina oifigeach den mharcshlua agus lena linn sin, bhain sé gairm bhrabúsach amach ina chomhfhreagraí cogaidh. Toghadh Churchill chun na parlaiminte ina Fheisire Coimeádach d'Oldham sa bhliain 1900. Thréig sé na Coimeádaithe chun dul leis na Liobrálaithe i 1904, agus chaith sé tréimhse ina Fheisire d'Iarthuaisceart Mhanchain ina dhiaidh sin, agus do Dundee tar éis sin arís.

Ceapadh Churchill ina rúnaí stáit cogaíochta agus aeir i mí Eanáir 1919, agus ina rúnaí stáit na gcoilíneachtaí i mí Feabhra 1921. Bhí páirt thábhachtach aige maidir le beartas na Breataine i leith na hÉireann mar chuid den dá ról sin. Tar éis dó bearta diana in Éirinn a mholadh le linn Chogadh na Saoirse, faoi mhí na Bealtaine 1921 bhí sé ag tacú le hidirbheartaíocht a chur ar bun agus bhí caidrimh mhaithe aige le toscaireacht na hÉireann ina dhiaidh sin.



## Harris greenward

#### **Hamar Greenwood**

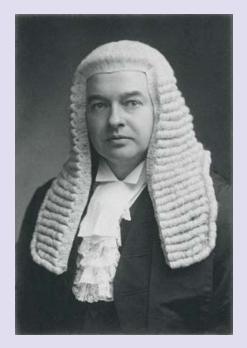
Hamar Greenwood (1870–1948) was born in Ontario, Canada. He emigrated to England in 1895 to pursue a legal career and entered politics, being elected Liberal MP for York in 1906 and Sunderland in 1910. He saw service on the western front during the First World War before resuming his political career. He became the last chief secretary for Ireland in April 1920.

As the British Cabinet minister responsible for Irish affairs, Greenwood supported the harsh policy that Lloyd George's government adopted towards the independence movement in Ireland. He became notorious for defending, indeed denying, the policy of official and unofficial reprisals carried out by British forces against civilians in Ireland during the War of Independence. He played a peripheral role in the Treaty negotiations.

.....

Rugadh Hamar Greenwood (1870–1948) in Ontario, Ceanada. Chuaigh sé ar imirce go Sasana sa bhliain 1895 chun gairm dlí a bhaint amach agus chuaigh sé leis an dlí ansin, nuair a toghadh ina Fheisire Liobrálach do York é in 1906 agus do Sunderland i 1910. Chuaigh sé i seirbhís mhíleata ar an bhfront thiar le linn an Chéad Chogaidh Dhomhanda, roimh dó a ghairm le polaitíocht a ghlacadh suas arís. Bhí sé ar an duine deireanach a raibh post phríomh-rúnaí na hÉireann aige, i mí Aibreáin na bliana 1920.

Ina aire i Rialtas na Breataine a raibh freagracht gnóthaí Éireannacha air, thacaigh Greenwood leis an mbeartas dian a ghlac rialtas Lloyd George i leith ghluaiseacht na saoirse in Éirinn. Bhí a cháil amuigh mar dhuine a chosnódh, agus a shéanfadh go deimhin, beartas fhórsaí na Breataine díoltas oifigiúil agus neamhoifigiúil a bhaint amach ar shibhialtaigh na hÉireann le linn Chogadh na Saoirse. Bhí ról imeallach aige i bpróiseas idirbheartaíochta an Chonartha.



#### **Gordon Hewart**

Gordon Hewart (1870–1943) was born in Bury, Lancashire. Following a legal career he worked in journalism. Entering politics, he was elected Liberal MP for Leicester in 1913.

Hewart was an 'advanced' Liberal, supporting causes including female suffrage and Home Rule for Ireland. Appointed attorney general in 1919, he became lord chief justice in 1921. As the chief legal officer to the British government, Hewart was an essential member of the British delegation.

.....

Rugadh Gordon Hewart (1870–1943) in Bury, Lancashire. Thosaigh sé ag obair i réimse na hiriseoireachta tar éis dó gairm le dlí a bheith aige. Chuaigh sé leis an bpolaitíocht, agus toghadh é ina Fheisire Liobrálach do Leicester sa bhliain 1913.

Liobrálach 'forásach' a bhí in Hewart, agus thacaigh sé le cúiseanna amhail ceart vótála na mban agus Rialtas Dúchais in Éirinn. Ceapadh ina ard-aighne é i 1919, agus ina thiarna príomh-bhreitheamh in 1921. Ina phríomhoifigeach dlí rialtas na Breataine, ba dhuine ríthábhachtach de thoscaireacht na Breataine é Hewart.



#### **Laming Worthington-Evans**

Laming Worthington-Evans (1868–1931) was born in Kent. A solicitor, he was elected Conservative MP for Colchester in 1910, holding the seat for nineteen years. Worthington-Evans held positions at the War Office in the early years of the First World War before moving to the Foreign Office. He became minister without portfolio with a Cabinet seat in April 1920, and from early that year was heavily involved in the post-war peace conference. He was appointed secretary of state for war in February 1921 and was a trusted confidante of Lloyd George.

.....

Rugadh Laming Worthington-Evans (1868-1931) in Kent agus cuireadh oideachas air i gColáiste Eastbourne. Aturnae a bhí ann ó thaobh gairme, toghadh é ina Fheisire Coimeádach do Colchester i 1910, suíochán a choinnigh sé ar feadh 19 mbliana. Bhí poist ag Worthington-Evans san Oifig Cogaidh le linn bhlianta tosaigh an Chéad Chogaidh Dhomhanda sular bhog sé ar aghaidh chuig an Oifig Gnóthaí Eachtracha. Ceapadh é ina aire pinsean i mí Eanáir 1919 agus ina aire gan phunann a raibh suíochan rialtais aige i mí Aibreán 1920 agus ón mbliain sin ar aghaidh bhí baint láidir aige leis an gcomhdháil síochána iarchogaidh. Ceapadh é ina rúnaí stáit cogaíochta i mí Feabhra 1921, rúnchara dílis Lloyd George ab ea Worthington-Evans.





# 2. Eight key documents on the negotiations and signing of the Anglo-Irish Treaty with questions and tasks

Ocht bpríomhcháipéis ar na hidirbheartaíochtaí agus ar shíniú an Chonartha Angla-Éireannaigh mar aon le ceisteanna agus tascanna

- 1. 'Instructions to Plenipotentiaries from Cabinet' and appointment of the Irish delegates, 7 October 1921 Ref: DE/4/5/1 and PRIV1093/4/52 →
- Letter from delegation chairman Arthur Griffith to President Éamon de Valera giving his impression of events after the first meeting of the Irish and British delegations on 11 October 1921 Ref: DE/2/304/1/10 (-)
- 3. Payment of staff salaries and wages, 12 October 1921
  Ref: DE3/1/7 →
- 4. Letters exchanged between President Éamon de Valera and the Irish delegates outlining the issues discussed so far during the negotiations, 25–27 October 1921 Ref: DE/2/308/1/50/6-8 →
- 5. Minutes of two sub conferences between the delegations discussing the key issues of partition and Ireland's future relationship with the British empire, 2 November 1921 Ref: PRIV1093/1/3 →
- 6. Minutes of the Dáil Cabinet meeting (including plenipotentiaries) at the Mansion House, Dublin, 3 December 1921

  Ref: DE/304/1/80 (-)
- Notes by Arthur Griffith of two sub conferences held between the British and Irish delegations at 10 Downing Street, 5–6 December 1921 Ref: DE/2/304/1/90 (-)
- 8. Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921 Ref: TSCH 2002/5/1 →

- 'Treoirlínte ón gComh-aireacht chuig Lánchumhachtaigh' ('Instructions to Plenipotentiaries from Cabinet') agus ceapachán thoscairí na hÉireann, an 7 Deireadh Fómhair 1921 Tag: DE/4/5/1 agus PRIV1093/4/52 (--)
- Íocaíocht tuarastail agus pá le baill foirne, 12 Deireadh Fómhair 1921
   Tag: DE3/1/7 (-)
- 4. Litreacha idir an tUachtarán Éamon de Valera agus toscairí na hÉireann ina dtugtar achoimre ar shaincheisteanna a pléadh go dtí sin le linn na n-idirbheartaíochtaí, 25-27 Deireadh Fómhair 1921 Tag: DE/2/308/1/50/6-8
- Miontuairiscí de chruinniú Comh-Aireachta (lena n-áirítear lánchumhachtaigh) i dTeach an Ardmhéara, Baile Átha Cliath, 3 Nollaig 1921 Tag: DE/304/1/80 →
- Nótaí Airt Uí Ghríofa ar dhá fho-chomhdháil a reáchtáladh idir toscairí na Breataine agus na hÉireann ag 10 Sráid Downing, an 5-6 Nollaig 1921
   Tag: DE/2/304/1/90 →
- 8. Conradh Angla-Éireannach na bliana 1921Tag: TSCH 2002/5/1 →



#### 'Instructions to Plenipotentiaries from Cabinet' and appointment of the Irish delegates, 7 October 1921

'Treoirlínte ón gComh-aireacht chug Lánchumhachtaigh' ('Instructions to Plenipotentiaries from Cabinet') agus ceapachán thoscairí na hÉireann, an 7 Deireadh Fómhair 1921



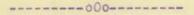
vail éireann.

oifis an Rûnarde Secretariat Department

7th October, 1921.

## INSTRUCTIONS TO PLENIPOTENTIARIES FROM CABINET.

- (1) The Plenipotentiaries have full powers as defined in their credentials.
- (2) It is understood however that before decisions are finally reached on the main questions that a despatch notifying the intention of making these decisions will be sent to the Members of the Cabinet in Dublin and that a reply will be awaited by the Flenipotentiaries before the final decision is made.
- (3) It is also understood that the complete text of the draft treaty about to be signed will be similarly submitted to Dublin and reply awaited.
- (4) In case of break the text of final proposals from our side will be similarly submitted.
- (5) It is understood that the Cabinet in Dublin will be kept regularly informed of the progress of the negotiations.



TO ALL TO WHOM THESE PRESENTS COME, GREETING:

In virtue of the authority vested in me by DAIL EIREANN, I hereby appoint

Arthur Griffith, T.D., Minister for Foreign Affairs, Chairman.

Michael Collins, T.D., Minister of Finance,

Robert C. Barton, T.D., Minister for Economic Affairs,

Edmund J. Duggan, T.D.,

George Gavan Duffy, T.D.

as Envoys Plenipotentiary from the Elected Government of the REPUBLIC OF IRELAND to negotiate and conclude on behalf of Ireland with the representatives of his Britannic Majesty, GEORGE V., a Treaty or Treaties of Settlement, Association and Accommodation between Ireland and the community of nations known as the British Commonwealth.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF I hereunto subscribe my name as President.

Done in the City of Dublin this 7th day of October in the year of our Lord 1921 in five identical originals.

3 - R.B.

Lamon de Valera

#### **Junior Cycle**

- Identify two ministers appointed by Dáil Éireann as envoys plenipotentiaries.
- 2. In what city was this document drawn up?
- 3. What type of powers were assigned to the plenipotentiaries by the Cabinet?
- 4. Where do the plenipotentiaries have to send a draft of the Treaty to before signing?
- 5. Is this a biased source? Explain your answer.
- 6. Apply the word 'plenipotentiaries' in a sentence unrelated to this topic.

#### An tSraith Shóisearach

- Tabhair ainm bheirt airí a cheap Dáil Éireann ina dtoscairí lánchumhachtach.
- 2. Cén chathair inar dréachtaíodh an cháipéis seo?
- 3. Cén saghas cumhachtaí a thug an Chomhaireacht do na lánchumhachtaigh?
- 4. Cé chuige a gcaithfidh na lánchumhachtaigh dréacht den Chonradh a sheoladh roimh é a shíniú?
- 5. An foinse chlaonta í seo? Mínigh do fhreagra.
- 6. Cuir an focal 'lánchumhachtaigh' in abairt nach mbaineann leis an ábhar seo.

#### **Transition Year**

- 1. Explain your understanding of the role of 'plenipotentiary'.
- Imagine you are one of the plenipotentiaries assigned to negotiate with the British.
   After reading these instructions what questions/ concerns might you have? In letter format, write your response to Cabinet outlining these questions/concerns.

#### An Idirbhliain

- 1. Tabhair míniú ar an tuiscint atá agat ar ról an 'lánchumhachtaigh'.
- 2. Samhlaigh gur tú duine de na lánchumhachtaigh atá le hidirbheartaíocht a dhéanamh le toscaireacht na Breataine.
  - Céard iad na ceisteanna/na hábhair imní a bheadh agat i ndiaidh na treoracha seo a léamh? I bhfoirm litreach, scríobh freagra chuig an gComh-aireacht ina dtugann tú achoimre ar na ceisteanna/na hábhair imní sin.

#### **Leaving Certificate**

#### Comprehension

1. 'Before the final decision is made', what did the plenipotentiaries have to do as outlined in document A?

#### Comparison

2. How does document A compare to document B in relation to the 'powers' bestowed on the Irish delegation? How might they have been interpreted differently?

#### Criticism

3. Are these objective sources? Explain your answer.

#### Contextualisation

4. Explain the other evident difficulties facing the Irish delegation in undertaking negotiations with the British delegation in 1921.

#### An Ardteistiméireacht

#### Tuiscint

 'Sula ndéantar an cinneadh deiridh', céard a bhí ar na lánchumhachtaigh a dhéanamh mar a leagtar amach é i gcáipéis A?

#### Comparáid

2. Maidir leis na cumhachtaí a bronnadh ar thoscaireacht na hÉireann, déan cáipéis A a chur i gcomparáid le cáipéis B. Arbh fhéidir iad a thuiscint ar bhealaí difriúla?

#### Critic

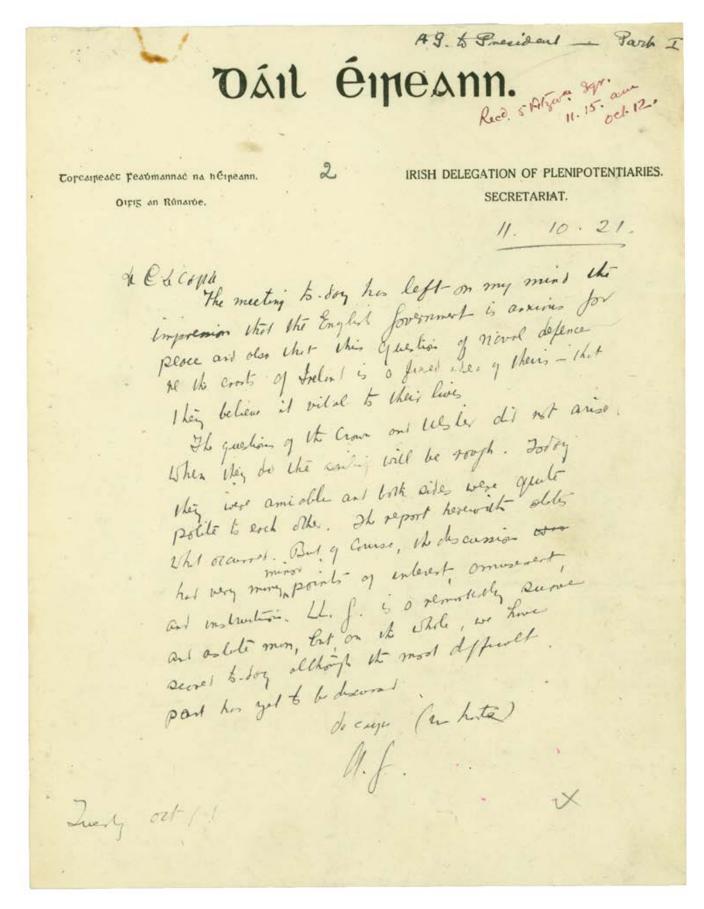
3. An foinsí oibiachtúla iad seo? Mínigh.

#### **Comhthéacs**

4. Tabhair míniú ar na deacrachtaí soiléire eile a raibh ar thoscaireacht na hÉireann aghaidh a thabhairt orthu nuair a bhí ag tabhairt faoi idirbheartaíochtaí le toscaireacht na Breataine i 1921.



Letter from delegation chairman Arthur Griffith to President Éamon de Valera giving his impression of events after the first meeting of the Irish and British delegations on 11 October 1921 Litir ó chathaoirleach na toscaireachta, Art Ó Gríofa, chuig Éamon de Valera ag tabhairt a chuid tuairimí ar imeachtaí a tharla i ndiaidh an chéad chruinnithe idir toscaireachtaí na hÉireann agus na Breataine ar an 11 Deireadh Fómhair 1921.



COPY/

No.2.

Rec.5, FitzWm.Sq., 11.15 a.m. October, 12.

IRISH DELEGATION OF PLENIPOTENTIARIES.
11-10-21.

A E, a Chara,

The meeting today has left on my mind the impression that the English Government is anxious for peace and also that this question of naval defence re the coasts of Ireland is a fixed idea of theirs - that they believe it vital to their lives.

The question of the Crown and Ulster did not arise. When they do the sailing will be rough. Today they were amiable and both sides were quite polite to each other. The report herewith states what occurred. But, of course, the discussion had very many minor points of interest, amusement and instruction. Ll.G. is a remarkably suave and astute man, but on the whole we have scored today, although the most difficult part has yeat to be discussed.

Do Chara (in haste)

(Intld) A.G.

Tuesday Oct. 11.

From Mr. Barton's file.

#### **Junior Cycle**

- According to Arthur Griffith, what is the English government anxious for?
- 2. What question did not arise?
- 3. How would you describe the mood of the author from this correspondence?
- 4. Is this a reliable source on the first meeting of the delegation teams? Explain your answer.
- 5. 'Although the most difficult part is yet to be discussed'. What would you imagine the most difficult part up for discussion was during the Treaty negotiations?

#### An tSraith Shóisearach

- 1. Dar le Art Ó Gríofa, céard a theastaigh ó rialtas Shasana?
- 2. Cérbh í an cheist nár ardaíodh?
- 3. Cén chaoi a gcuirfeá síos ar ghiúmar an údair bunaithe ar an gcomhfhreagras seo?
- 4. An foinse iontaofa í maidir le chéad chruinniú foirne na toscaireachta? Mínigh do fhreagra.
- 5. 'Cé go bhfuil an chuid is deacra le plé fós' ('Although the most difficult part is yet to be discussed'). Cérbh é an chuid ba dheacra a bhí le plé le linn idirbheartaíochtaí an Chonartha dar leat?

#### **Transition Year**

Task: 'Although the most difficult part is yet to be discussed'

- Recall with a classmate the most contentious issues up for discussion during the Treaty negotiations.
- 2. Pool your recollections with the class.
- Divide the class into two debate teams (Irish and English delegations – perhaps assign each student a personality from the profiles).
- 4. Each debate team must argue the contentious issue considering their own delegation's perspective.
  - \*Remember that when studying history, we must always consider everyone's position and point of view.

#### An Idirbhliain

Tasc: 'Cé go bhfuil an chuid is deacra le plé fós'

- I dteannta duine eile sa rang cuimhnigh ar na saincheisteanna ba chonspóidí a bhí le plé le linn idirbheartaíochtaí an Chonartha.
- 2. Roinn do chuid cuimhní le cuimhní do ranga.
- 3. Roinn an rang ina dhá fhoireann díospóireachta (toscaireacht na hÉireann agus toscaireacht na Breataine d'fhéadfadh gach dalta bheith ina p(h)earsantacht ar leith ó na beathaisnéisí).
- **4.** Ní mór do gach aon fhoireann cás a dhéanamh ar son na saincheiste is conspóidí ó thaobh a dtoscaireacht féin de.
  - \*Cuimhnigh, nuair atáimid i mbun staidéar a dhéanamh ar an stair ní mór dúinn seasamh agus dearcadh gach uile dhuine a bhreithniú.

#### **Leaving Certificate**

#### Comprehension

1. A) What question did the British believe was 'vital to their lives'?

B) Why do you think this question was of the utmost importance to the British when considering the status of Ireland?

#### Criticism

2. How would you describe Griffith's mood in this letter? Refer to the document in your answer.

#### Contextualisation

Explain the most contentious issues up for discussion during the Treaty negotiations during October-December 1921.

#### An Ardteistiméireacht

#### Tuiscint

1. A) Cérbh í an cheist ar chreid muintir na Breataine a bheith 'ríthábhachtach dá saol' ('vital to their lives')?

B) Cén fáth a gceapann tusa go raibh an cheist sin thar a bheith tábhachtach do mhuintir na Breataine agus stádas na hÉireann á bhreithniú.

#### Critic

2. Cén chaoi a gcuirfeá síos ar ghiúmar an Ghríofaigh bunaithe ar an gcomhfhreagras seo?

#### **Comhthéacs**

 Mínigh na saincheisteanna ba chonspóidí a bhí le plé le linn phléití an Chonartha ó Dheireadh Fómhair go Nollaig 1921.





DECISIONS of the Cabinet Members of the Delegation October 12th, 1921.

- 1. Members of regular staff to be paid weekly by us .Amounts to be refunded later by Departments.
- 2. Payment of Domestic staff to be arranged by J. McGrath.
- 3. Salaries of Special Staff :-

Fionan Lynch per month £50.

J.McGrath " " £50.

D.McCarthy " " £40.

D.Robinson " " £45. 5/-

M. Knightley £ 2.2.0 per day from Monday Oct 17th, as retainer. £5 now by way of gratuity.

- 4. £10 to be given each Delegate for Personal Expenses on Oct.14th
- 5. £10 per week to be paid to Mrs Duggan and expended at her discretion in providing entertainment and amusement for the Lady staff.

#### **Junior Cycle**

- 1. Who was to arrange the payment of domestic staff?
- 2. £10 in 1921 was worth £521.59. With this knowledge calculate the cost of the salaries of special staff outlined in this source as it would be today.
- 3. Mrs Duggan was given £10 to arrange 'entertainment and amusement for the Lady staff'.

Research and make a list of what entertainment was popular during this era in history for women. Discuss with a classmate how this has changed over time.

#### An tSraith Shóisearach

- 1. Cé a bhí le híocaíochtaí leis an bhfoireann tí a shocrú?
- 2. Ba bhfiú £521.59 £10 sa bhliain 1921. Ó tharla sin anois ar eolas agat, áirigh an méid a chosnódh tuarastail na foirne speisialta a bhfuil achoimre tugtha ina leith sa bhfoinse seo sa lá atá inniu ann.
- 3. Tugadh £10 do Bhean Uí Dhuagáin i gcomhair 'siamsaíochta agus caithimh aimsire don fhoireann mná'.

Déan taighde agus liosta den saghas siamsaíochta a thaitin go mór le mná ag an am. Déan an t-athrú atá tagtha air sin le himeacht aimsire a phlé le duine eile sa rang.



Letters exchanged between President Éamon de Valera and the Irish delegates outlining the issues discussed so far during the negotiations, 25–27 October 1921 Litreacha idir an tUachtarán Éamon de Valera agus toscairí na hÉireann ina dtugtar achoimre ar shaincheisteanna a pléadh go dtí sin le linn na n-idirbheartaíochtaí, 25–27 Deireadh Fómhair 1921

0 0 P Y

No. 7

October Twenty-Fifth

Memo to A. G. from President

I received the minutes of the Seventh Session and your letter of the 24th. We are all here at one that there can be no question of our asking the Irish people to enter an arrangement which would make them subject to the Crown, or demand from them allegiance to the British King. If war is the alternative, we can only face it, and I think that the sconer the other side is made to realise that the better.

As time is so pressing the Ulster question should be pushed ahead at once, and the moment they can be sounded upon that the big question should be put up to them at once. It ought to come, I think, before the end of this week.

MUNITIONS: We had a chat with the M.P. on Saturday and Sunday - I suppose he told you the result. We agreed that an undertaking might be given that in order to meet them we would not import munitions during the continuance of the negotiations, altho' we did not consider ourselves bound to do this in accordance with the truce terms.

MY COINC TO LONDON: The M.F. told us that there was a general desire amongst the members of the Delegation that I should hold myself in readiness to go to London. You understand fully the considerations of tactical advantage which determined me in holding the view that I should remain here. If any new considerations arise it would be well that we should know them exactly so that we may weigh all them and if possible secure unanimity for whatever action is taken. My owj position is that I am loth to go unless the situation imperatively calls for it, and I am keeping an open mind. I have asked the others to do the same.

(signed) E. de V.

P.S. I hope to receive text of the counterproposals put forward by our side tomorrow.





# Oáil Éineann.

9.

Corcaineact Featmannac na hÉineann.

OIFIS an Rúnaróe.

IRISH DELEGATION OF PLENIPOTENTIARIES.

SECRETARIAT.

October 26th, 1921.

A. E. A Chara,

Your letters reached me this evening. It is impossible for me, with the engagements we have this evening and the time at my disposal to deal with all the matters.

I have got a meeting of the delegates and secretaries. The delegates regard the first paragraph of your letter No. 7 as tying their hands in discussion and as inconsistent with the powers given them on their appointment and Nos 1 and 2 of "Instructions to Plenipotentaries from Cabinet" dated 7th October.

Obviously any form of association negessitates discussion of recognition in some form or other of the head of the association. Instruction 2 conferred this power of discussion but required before a decision was made reference to the members of the Cabinet in Dublin.

only be withdrawn or varied by the Cabinet as a whole and can only be withdrawn or varied by the Cabinet as a whole. Having regard to the stage discussions have reached now, it is obvious that we could not continue any longer in the Conference and should return to Dublin immediately if the powers were withdrawn.

We strongly resent, in the position in which we are placed, the interference with our powers. The responsibility, if this interference breaks the very slight possibility there is, of settlement, will not and must not rest on the plenipotentaries.

As to your coming to London, we think, if you can come without being known, it is most important you should do so immediately. But if you count come privately do not come publicly unless we send you a message that in our opinion it is enseated \_ a.f.

Robsia bapun

Mreial 10 Con com

October Twenty-Sixth.

Memo to A.G. From President.

Despatch No. 7 from the Secretary received with the accompanying memoranda; also your memo on the Sub-Conference on Ulster.

The main thing now, it seems to us, is to clinch with them on the "Ulster" question without delay, and get the basis for representation in the All-Ireland Parliament agreed upon definitely. - And after that, the "make or break" question.

B. de V.

P.S. I think we should avoid any agreement which would compel Tyrone and Fermanagh, etc. etc. to remain in the Northern Parliament without a definite vote of the people.

No. 9

October Twenty-Seventh
1 9 2 1

Memo to A. G. from President

Yours of October 26th received. There is obviously a misunderstanding. There can be no question of tying the hands of the Plenizotentiaries beyond the extent to which they are tied by their original instructions. Of course a Cabinet decision cannot be withdrawn or varied except by the Cabinet as whole.

It is because this should go without saying that I am surprised any misunderstanding has arisen.

The Delegates must understand these memos of mine, except I explicitly state otherwise, are nothing more than an attempt to keep you in touch with the views of members of the Cabinet here on the various points as they arise. I think it most important that you should be kept aware of these views, for when the Delegation returns there will be a question of a Cabinet decision as to policy.

MY GOING TO LOWDON I am glad that your view agrees with my own on the matter. You may take it that going privately is impossible.

(signed) E. de V.

#### **Junior Cycle**

- What could President Éamon de Valera not ask the Irish people to do? (4A)
- 2. What would de Valera not do while the negotiations continued? (4A)
- How would you describe the opening tone of the letter on 26 October? (4B)
- 4. What do the plenipotentiaries strongly resent? (4B)
- 5. Studying document 4A, how many days had passed between the delegates leaving for London (8 October) and receiving de Valera's letter?
- 6. In your own words, explain the controversy between de Valera and the delegates evident in these sources. (4A-4D).
- 7. What are the weaknesses of these documents as historical sources?
- 8. De Valera's non-attendance in London during the Treaty negotiations was a controversial issue. Discuss with a classmate the possible reasons why he decided not to go.

#### An tSraith Shóisearach

- 1. Céard nach bhféadfadh an tUachtarán Éamon de Valera a iarraidh ar mhuintir na hÉireann a dhéanamh? (4A)
- 2. Céard nach ndéanfadh de Valera fad a bhí na hidirbheartaíochtaí ag leanúint ar aghaidh? (4A)
- 3. Cén chaoi a gcuirfeá síos ar thuin tosaigh na litreach ar an 26 Deireadh Fómhair? (4B)
- 4. Céard a ghoill go mór ar na lánchumhachtaigh? (4B)
- 5. Agus 4A á staidéar agat, cé mhéad laethanta a d'imigh thart ón uair a d'fhág na toscairí Éire chun dul go Londain (8 Deireadh Fómhair) go bhfuair siad an litir ó de Valera?
- I do chuid focal féin, mínigh an chonspóid idir de Valera agus na toscairí atá soiléir sna foinsí meamraim seo. (4A-4D).
- 7. Céard iad laigí na ndoiciméad seo mar fhoinsí stairiúla?
- 8. Ba cheist chonspóideach é nár fhreastail de Valera ar Londain le linn idirbheartaíochtaí an Chonartha. Déan na cúiseanna a d'fhéadfadh a bheith i gceist gur shocraigh sé gan dul ann a phlé le duine eile sa rang.

#### **Transition Year**

- Group work: Study the documents and make a list of the evident controversies/misunderstandings between the plenipotentiaries and the President/Dáil.
- 2. Historical empathy: Consider the following statement in document A and discuss in your group if it is justified: 'If war is the alternative, we can only face it'.

Consider the era, the context and who said it.

 Investigate the details of the 'Ulster Question' referred to in document C. What had to be decided in relation to this matter? Summarise your findings.

#### An Idirbhliain

- Obair ghrúpa: Déan staidéar ar na cáipéisí agus déan liosta de na hábhair chonspóideacha/na míthuiscintí idir na lánchumhachtaigh agus an tUachtarán/an Dáil.
- 2. Bá stairiúil: Déan machnamh ar an ráiteas a leanas i gcáipéis A agus pléigh é i do ghrúpa an bhfuil údar leis: 'Más é cogadh an dara rogha, ní mór dúinn aghaidh a thabhairt air'.

Cuir an ré agus an comhthéacs san áireamh, agus an té a dúirt é.

 Scrúdaigh sonraí 'Cheist Uladh' dá dtagraítear i gcáipéis C. Céard a bhí le socrú maidir leis an gceist sin? Déan achoimre ar do chuid torthaí.

#### **Leaving Certificate**

#### Comprehension

- 1. Explain why the delegates regard de Valera as 'tying their hands in discussion' in the first paragraph of his letter no 7, document A.
- 2. In document C, how did de Valera want to determine the fate of Tyrone and Fermanagh in relation to the 'Ulster Question'?

#### Comparison

3. In relation to de Valera going to London, compare the view of the President in document A to the view of the delegation in document B on the matter. Refer to the documents in your answer.

#### Criticism

- Describe the tone of documents B and D. Refer to the documents in your answer.
- 5. Are these valuable documents in trying to understand the relationship between the President and the plenipotentiaries at that time? Explain your answer.

#### Contextualisation

6. Outline and explain the position of Ulster at the time of the negotiations in 1921.

#### An Ardteistiméireacht

#### Tuiscint

- Mínigh i do chuid focal féin an t-údar a bhraith na toscairí go raibh de Valera 'á bhfágáil gan chumhacht sa phlé' ('tying their hands in discussion') sa chéad alt dá litir uimh. 7, cáipéis A.
- 2. I gcáipéis C, conas gur mhian le de Valera cinniúint Thír Eoghain agus Fhear Manach maidir le 'Ceist Uladh' a chinneadh?

#### Comparáid

3. Maidir le himeacht de Valera go Londain, déan comparáid idir dearcadh an Uachtaráin i gcáipéis A agus dearcadh na toscaireachta i gcáipeis B maidir leis an gceist. Déan tagairt do na cáipéisí i do fhreagra.

#### Critic

- Déan cur síos ar thuin na gcáipéisí B agus D. Tagair do na cáipéisí
- An cáipéisí luachmhara iad seo maidir le tuiscint a fháil ar an gcaidreamh idir an tUachtarán agus na lánchumhachtaigh ag an am sin? Mínigh do fhreagra.

#### Comhthéacs

 Tabhair forléargas ar staid Uladh agus mínigh í nuair a bhí na hidirbheartaíochtaí ar bun i 1921.



Minutes of two sub conferences between the delegations discussing the key issues of partition and Ireland's future relationship with the British empire, 2 November 1921

Miontuairiscí dhá fho-chomhdháil idir na toscaireachtaí inar pléadh na príomhshaincheisteanna a bhain le críochdheighilt agus caidreamh na hÉireann le hImpireacht na Breataine sa todhchaí, an 2 Samhain 1921



Corcameact readmannac na héineann.

IRISH DELEGATION OF PLENIFOTENTIARIES

R.C. Baston Z.D.

CHAIRMAN'S MINUTES OF SUB-CONFERENCES

on Novr. 2nd at Noon, and at 6.45 p.m.

Sub-Conference at noon Novr 2nd at Lord Birkenhead's room- House of Lords.

Present: Mr. Michael Collins Lord Birkenhead.

Mr.Collins and myself met Lord Birkenhead by arrangement in the forencon at his rooms to hand him my letter. addressed to Mr. Lloyd George confirming my personal assurances to the latter in my conversation on Sunday

Lord Birkenhead asked whether I could not change the word "with" to within in the phrase about Association with the British Commonwealth. I stated it could not be done. He also pointed out my phrase about "local powers" for an Ulster area and said this would be read by the Ulstermen to mean a detraction from their present powers if they come under an All-Ireland Parliament.
He reminded me that I had stated we did not wish to
detract from their powers in such an event. I agreed
that my phrase might be altered to make my meaning clear
to them, since, in his opinion, it was not sufficiently 80. us

He then asked me to meet himself and Lloyd George later. We agreed to do so and parted.

Sub-Conference 6.45 p.m. ovr. 2nd at Downing Street.

#### Present :

Mr.Arthur Griffith ) Mr.Lloyd George) Mr.Michael Collins ) Lord Birkenhead)

Mr. Austin Chamberlain subsequently came in.

In the evening we met Lloyd George and Birkenhead by arrangement at 10 Downing Street. Chamberlain subsequently came in. They had a typewritten re-draft of my letter. They stated they thought copies of this had been sent some time before to me at Hans Place. I think they were quite genuine about this and that it was through an error it had not been done.

The first alteration suggested "with the other States associated within the British Commonwealth", I accepted as it did not alter the essence of the formula. They had omitted the word "a" before "recognition of the Crown". This we had restored. The formula on Naval Defence they desired to alter by the omission of "agreed to be". We had a long conflict over this and matters approached a dead-lock. Finally the whole thing was re-drafted in a suggestion from Mr. Collins who secured the embodiment of the quotation from their Memo., and we agreed on it as it now quotation from their Memo., and we agreed on it as it now stands.

(1) IN IN EPOLY LAFT

In the penultimate paragraph I pointed out that as they had altered it. it might be read to imply that I accepted the six-county area as the area of a sub-ordinate Parliament. It was altered to ensure that it could not be so constructed.

Throughout they insisted that they intended this letter of mine as an answer to the arguments the Craig party would put up in their conversations with them.

We left Downing Street about 8 p.m. or and after discussing the matter with my co-delegates I signed the letter and had it forwarded to Lloyd George at 11 p.m. On the following morning (See Minutes of Sub-Conference Nov 3rd) Birkenhead stated that they would be now enabled to face the Ulster Die-hard position.

PRIV 1093/1/11(2)

#### **Junior Cycle**

- 1. Where was the sub conference at noon held on 2 November?
- 2. Who was present at the sub conference at 6.45pm?
- 3. What word did Lord Birkenhead want Arthur Griffith to change in the phrase about association with the British Commonwealth?
- 4. What phrase did Griffith ultimately accept in relation to the association with the British Commonwealth? Why do you think this was accepted?
- 5. Who is 'Craig' that this document refers to?
- 6. Is this an objective source? Explain your answer.

#### An tSraith Shóisearach

- 1. Cár reáchtáladh an fho-chomhdháil a bhí ar siúl ag meán lae ar an 2 Samhain?
- 2. Cé a bhí i láthair ag an bhfo-chomhdháil ag 6:45pm?
- 3. Cén focal a bhí an Tiarna Birkenhead ag iarraidh ar Art Ó Gríofa a athrú san fhrása maidir le caidreamh na hÉireann leis an gComhlathas Briotanach?
- 4. Cén frása ar ghlac Ó Gríofa leis sa deireadh maidir le caidreamh na hÉireann leis an gComhlathas Briotanach? Cén fáth a gceapann tusa gur glacadh leis?
- 5. Cé hé 'Craig' a dtagraítear dó sa cháipéis seo?
- 6. An foinse oibiachtúil í seo? Mínigh do fhreagra.

#### **Transition Year**

Alternative perspectives

- 1. Why was it important to the British delegation to adjust 'with' to 'within' when formulating Ireland's association with the British Commonwealth?
- 2. Why was it important to the Irish delegation to keep 'with' rather than 'within' when formulating Ireland's association with the British Commonwealth?
- 3. In your opinion, which delegation if any, compromised/ conceded on this point? Explain your answer.

#### An Idirbhliain

Dearcthaí eile

- 1. Cén fáth a raibh sé tábhachtach do thoscaireacht na Breataine go n-athrófaí 'le' ('with') go 'laistigh' ('within') nuair a bhíothas ag leagan amach caidreamh na hÉireann leis an gComhlathas Briotanach?
- 2. Cén fáth a raibh sé tábhachtach do thoscaireacht na hÉireann go gcloífí le 'le' ('with') seachas 'laistigh' ('within') nuair a bhíothas ag leagan amach caidreamh na hÉireann leis an gComhlathas Briotanach?
- 3. I do thuairim, cé acu toscaireacht a chomhghéill/ghéill maidir leis an bpointe seo, nó ar chomhghéill/ghéill toscaireacht ar bith? Mínigh do fhreagra.

#### **Leaving Certificate**

#### Comprehension

- 1. What phrase did Griffith propose for authority in the Ulster area?
- 2. What was the final decision taken regarding the phrasing of Ireland's association with the British Commonwealth?

#### Criticism

3. What are the strengths and weaknesses of this document as an historical source?

#### Contextualisation

4. What would be the outcome for the 'six-county' area in the North of Ireland, agreed by the delegates?

#### An tSraith Shinsearach

#### Tuiscint

- 1. Cén nath a mhol an Gríofach don údarás i limistéar Uladh?
- 2. Cérbh é an cinneadh deiridh a glacadh maidir leis an bhfoclaíocht i dtaobh chaidreamh na hÉireann leis an gComhlathas Briotanach?

#### Critic

3. Céard iad laigí na ndoiciméad seo mar fhoinsí stairiúla?

#### Comhthéacs

4. Cén toradh a bheadh ar limistéar na 'sé chontae' i dTuaisceart na hÉireann, arna gcomhaontú ag na toscairí?



## Minutes of the Dáil Cabinet meeting (including plenipotentiaries) at the Mansion House, Dublin, 3 December 1921

Miontuairiscí de chruinniú Comh-aireachta (lena n-áirítear lánchumhachtaigh) i dTeach an Ardmhéara, Baile Átha Cliath, 3 Nollaig 1921



#### MERTING OF CABINET. 25th NOVEMBER, 1921.

- (a) The following formula was unanimously approved:-
  - "That Ireland shall racognize the British Crown for the purposes of the Association as symbol and accepted heaf of the combination of Associated States".
- (b) Vote of annual voluntary sum to Civil List unanimously approved.

\_\_\_\_\_\_

#### MEETING OF CABINET AND DELEGATION.

3r4 DECKMESE, 1921.

#### VIEWS OF DELEGATES.

- (a) Mr. Griffith in favour of Treaty. Refused to break on question of Grawn and thereby hand to Ulster the position from which she had been driven.
- (b) Mr. Barton of opinion that England's last word had not been reached and that she could not declare war on question of Allegiance. The Treaty would not give Dominion Status nor any guarantee re Ulster. Would vote against acceptance.
- (c) Mr. Gavan Duffy agreed with Mr. Barton that England was bluffing and that the Irish proposals, with small reservations on Defence etc., could be obtained. Would like the Treaty to be rejected by An Dail and sent back amended. Said "No" definitely to Treaty.
- (d) Mr. Duggan agreed with Mr. Griffith. Believed Treaty to be Rngland's last word and would not take responsibility of saying "No".
- (e) Mr. Gollins was in substantial agreement with Messrs. Griffith and Duggar. The non-acceptance of Treaty would be a gamble as England sould arrange a war in Ireland within a week. Sacrifices to N.R. Ulater made for sake of essential unity and justified. With pressure further concessions could be obtained on Trade and Defence. Cath Allegiance would not come into force for 12 months question was, therefore, would it be worth while taking that 12 months and seeing how it would work. Would recommend to 2 Dail go to country on Treaty, but would recommend non-acceptance of Oath.
- (f) Mr. Childers of opinion that Par. 5 of Treaty would give Ireland no national status. Sec. 7 (b) was important also as it meant that when England went to war she would bring Ireland with her.
  - (g) In reply to a question by Minister of Deferce as to who was responsible for the splitting of the Delegation so that two Members (Messrs. Griffith and Collins) did most of the work

and that the other members were not in rossession of full information it was stated that the British Government was responsible for the arrangement but it had the approval of the whole "elegation.

The Minister of Defence here remarked that the British Government selected its men.

On the motion of Mr. Griffith this remark was withdrawn.

#### MITITING OF CABINET.

#### 3rd DECEMBER, 1921.

- (a) In the course of a lengthy discussion of the Treaty the President gave it as his opinion that it could not be accepted in its then form. He personally could not subscribe to the Oath of Allegiance nor could be sign any document which would give N.E. Ulster power to vote itself out of the Irish State. With modifications, however, it might be accepted honourably, and he would like to see the plenipotentiaries go back and secure peace if possible. He believed the Delegates had done their utmost and that it now remained to them to show that if document not amended that they were prepared to face the consequences war or no walke would deal with present document exactly as with that of 20th July say it cannot be accepted and put up counter proposals.
- (b) Mr. Griffith did not like the document but did not think it dishonourable. It would practically recognise the Republic and the first allegiance would be to Ireland. If it were rejected the people would be entitled to know what the alternative is. The country would not fight on the question of allegiance and there would be a split. He would not recommend the Government to accept but would say that the Plenipotentiari should sign and leave it to President and Dail to reject.
- President, the only matter upon which he could disagree would be the question of recognising the King of England as Head of the Associated States.
- (4) Document does not guarantee essential unity of Ireland.

## MEATING OF CABINET AND DELEGATION. 3rd DECEMBER, 1921. (resumed)

- (a) Mr. Griffith would not take the responsibility of breaking the the Crown. When as many concessions as possible conceded, and when accepted by Craig, he would go before the Dail. The Dail was the body to decide for or against war.
- (b) The President took his stand upon last Irish proposals which meant external connection with the Crown-He suggested the following amendment to the Oath of Allegiance:-

"I.....do solemnly swear true faith and allegiance to the constitution of the Irish Free state, to the Treaty of Association and to recognise the King of Great Britain as Head of the Associated States."

- (c) Delegates to carry out their original instructions with same powers.
- (d) Delegation to return and say that Cabinet wont accept
  Oath of Allegiance if not amended and to face the consequences, assuming that England will declare war.
- (e) Decided unanimously that present Oath of Allegiance could not be subscribed to.
- (f) Mr. Griffith to inform Mr. Hoyd George that the document could not be signed, to state that it is now a matter for the Dail, and to try and put the blame on Ulster.
- (g) On a majority vote it was decided that the Delegation be empowered to meet Sir James Craig if they should think necessary. The following voted for and against:-

FOR: President, Finance, Foreign Affairs, Economics and Local Government.

AGAINST : Defence and Home Affairs.

(h) It was decided that the Fresident would not join the Delegation in London at this stage of the Negotiations.

Colm O Murchadha.

ar son Runaidhe na hAireachta.

# **Junior Cycle**

- 1. What date did the meeting of the Cabinet and delegates take place?
- 2. In your own words, explain the views of de Valera and Griffith in relation to the draft Treaty.
- 3. What were the delegates instructed to say on their return to London?
- 4. What are the weaknesses of this document as an historical source?

# An tSraith Shóisearach

- 1. Cén dáta ar tharla an cruinniú den Chomh-aireacht agus na toscairí?
- 2. I do chuid focal féin, mínigh tuairimí de Valera agus an Ghríofaigh maidir le dréacht an Chonartha.
- 3. Céard a dúradh leis na toscairí a rá ar fhilleadh go Londain dóibh?
- 4. Céard iad laigí na cáipéise seo mar fhoinse stairiúil?

# **Transition Year**

- 1. How was the British Crown to be recognised by Ireland according to the approved formula?
- Compare the views of delegates Griffith and Duggan in comparison to Barton and Gavan Duffy in relation to the Treaty.
- 3. What was Collins' view in relation to the Treaty?
- 4. What was Erskine Childers' opinion on the Treaty?
- 5. What might the Minister of Defence have meant by his remark 'the British government selected its men'?
- 6. What issues did the President have with the Treaty agreement?
- Considering the various views outlined in the document, conclude your view on the Treaty draft. Write a speech aiming to convince the Dáil to support your view.

# An Idirbhliain

- 1. Conas mar a bhí Éire chun aitheantas a thabhairt do Choróin na Breataine de réir na foirmle ceadaithe?
- 2. Déan comparáid idir tuairimí an Ghríofaigh agus an Duagánaigh agus tuairimí Bhardúin agus Uí Dhubhthaigh faoin gConradh.
- 3. Cén dearcadh a bhí ag an gCoileánach ar an gConradh?
- 4. Cén dearcadh a bhí ag Erskine Childers ar an gConradh?
- 5. Cén bhrí a d'fhéadfaí a thabhairt leis na focail 'the British government selected its men' ('roghnaigh rialtas na Breataine a gcuid fear')?
- 6. Cérbh iad na fadhbanna a bhí ag an Uachtarán leis an gConradh?
- 7. Agus na dearcthaí éagsúla a leagtar amach sa cháipéis á gcur san áireamh, cuir do bharúil ar dhréacht an Chonartha le chéile. Scríobh aitheasc chun cur ina luí ar an Dáil tacaíocht a thabhairt do do bharúil.

# **Leaving Certificate**

## Comprehension

- 1. What was Mr Barton's view as outlined in this document?
- 2. What was Mr Duggan's view as outlined in this document?

## Comparison

3. Compare President Éamon de Valera's view and that of Arthur Griffith in relation to the draft Treaty and how they wished to continue/end the negotiations with Britain.

#### Criticism

4. How valuable is this source for an historian in understanding the growing tensions within the Dáil in relation to the Treaty? Explain your answer.

### Contextualisation

How might the course of the Treaty negotiations have affected the Irish delegation personally at that time? Explain your answer.

# An Ardteistiméireacht

#### Tuiscint

- 1. Cérbh é dearcadh Bhardúin mar a leagtar amach sa cháipéis é?
- 2. Cérbh é dearcadh an Duagánaigh mar a leagtar amach sa cháipéis é?

## Comparáid

3. Déan comparáid idir an tuairim a bhí ag an Uachtarán de Valera agus ag Art Ó Gríofa maidir leis an Dréachtchonradh agus maidir leis an mbealach a mba mhaith leo leanúint leis na hidirbheartaíochtaí leis an mBreatain/deireadh a chur leis na hidirbheartaíochtaí leis an mBreatain.

#### Critic

4. Cé chomh luachmhar agus atá an fhoinse seo do staraí chun tuiscint a fháil ar an teannas a bhí ag méadú laistigh den Dáil maidir leis an gConradh? Mínigh do fhreagra.

#### Comhthéacs

5. Cén tionchar a bhféadfadh sé a bhí ag na hidirbheartaíochtaí ar thoscaireacht na hÉireann go pearsanta? Mínigh do fhreagra.



Notes by Arthur Griffith of two sub conferences held between the British and Irish delegations at 10 Downing Street, 5-6 December 1921 Nótaí Airt Uí Ghríofa ar dhá fho-chomhdháil a reáchtáladh idir toscairí na Breataine agus na hÉireann ag 10 Sráid Downing, an 5-6 Nollaig 1921



TOPUMPEACE POADMANNAC NA HÉMEANN.

CONFERENCE ON IRELAND.

SECRET.

MR. GRIFFITH'S NOTES OF TWO SUB - CONFERENCES HELD ON December 5th/December 6th. 1921 at 10, DOWNING STREET.

No.1 - at 3 p.m.

No.11 - at 11.30 p.m. to 2.30 a.m.

# Present:

#### BRITISH REPRESENTATIVES

Mr.Lloyd George Mr.Chamberlain Lord Birkenhead Mr.Churchill

#### IRISH REPRESENTATIVES

Mr.A.Griffith Mr.M.Collins Mr.R.C.Barton

The following is the barest outline of what happened on Monday- 5th. December. We were there all day and probably half the night - with a couple of breaks.

Mr.Barton is making, at my request, a long Memo. of events, which we shall bring with us for you to-morrow night.

Things were so strengons and exhausting that the sequence of conversation is not in many cases clear in my mind to-day.

Mr.Barton, Mr.Collins and myself were on our side. Mr.Lloyd George, Birkenhead, Churchill and Chamberlain on theirs.

The Conference opened with the British Delegates in a bad mood. They had had a full Cabinet meeting pre-viously and apparently had had a rough time.

Lloyd George began by suggesting we had let him down over the Ulster proposals.

We denied this and argued we must have a reply from Craig refusing or accepting these proposals before we proceeded.

The others pointed out that as they were prepared to go shead with their proposals irrespective of Graag there was no ground for our contention.

We went on this line of argument for a while when Lloyd George declared we were trying to bring about a break on Ulster. The question was, would we or would we not come within the community of nations known as the British Empire. The question must be answered because it was the question of peace or ware

(1)

I was determined not to let them break on the Crown as I told you at the Cabinet meeting. The decision of peace or war had to be made.

I said, provided we came to agreement on other points, I would accept inclusion in the Empire on the basis of the Free State. After that they went on and gave way on Fiscal autonomy wholly, yielded more on defence and some minor matters.

Then they asked me whether I spoke for myself or for the delegation. I said I spoke for myself. They then said they were standing together as a unit. We should do the same. We adjourned.

Later on we met again. We had discussed the matter and decided our course.

We returned and proposed other amendments. They accepted most of them when we said we spoke as a united delegation, that we were willing to recommend inclusion with the other States in the Empire. It was on this basis, by the way, that they altered the oath of allegiance.— earlier in the day.

At 2.15 a.m. we signed the document.

This is a very hasty and imperfect sketch of what happened in a prolonged conference on four occasions during which it was on the point of bursting to fragments.

5-9/12/2

# **Junior Cycle**

- 1. When and where did these sub conferences take place?
- 2. What words did Arthur Griffith use to describe how things were?
- 3. Who accompanied Griffith to these sub conferences?
- 4. From whom did the Irish delegates want a reply before proceeding?
- 5. What was the question of 'peace or war'?
- 6. What matters did the British delegation give way on?
- Is this source an accurate account of the ultimate signing of the Treaty? Explain your answer.

# An tSraith Shóisearach

- 1. Cén uair agus cén áit a reáchtáladh na fo-chomhdhálacha seo?
- 2. Cérbh iad na focail a d'úsáid Art Ó Gríofa chun cur síos a dhéanamh ar chúrsaí mar a bhí?
- 3. Cé a bhí i dteannta an Ghríofaigh ag na fo-chomhdhálacha seo?
- 4. Cé uaidh a bhí toscairí na hÉireann ag iarraidh freagra sula leanfadh siad ar aghaidh?
- 5. Cérbh í an cheist a bhain le 'síocháin nó cogadh' ('peace or war')?
- 6. Cérbh iad na ceisteanna ar ghéill toscaireacht na Breataine ina leith?
- An dtugtar cuntas beacht sa bhfoinse seo ar shíniú an Chonartha ar deireadh? Mínigh do fhreagra.

# **Transition Year**

- From your reading of this source, could it be argued that the finalised Treaty was ultimately a rushed conclusion to the negotiations? Explain your answer with reference to the source.
- 2. Historical judgements:
- a. Was the Irish delegation left with no choice but to sign?
- **b.** Which delegation conceded more, the British or the Irish?

Write an objective article responding to these questions.

# An Idirbhliain

- I ndiaidh an fhoinse seo a léamh, an bhféadfaí a rá gur tugadh na hidirbheartaíochtaí chun críche faoi dheifir leis an gConradh deiridh? Mínigh do fhreagra agus tagair do na foinsí.
- 2. Breithiúnais stairiúla:
- a. An raibh aon rogha ag toscaireacht na hÉireann ach an Conradh a shíniú?
- b. Cé acu toscaireacht is mó a ghéill, toscaireacht na Breataine nó toscaireacht na hÉireann?

Scríobh alt oibiachtúil agus freagair na ceisteanna sin.

# **Leaving Certificate**

## Comprehension

- 1. Why was the sequence of conversation not clear in Arthur Griffith's mind?
- 2. What question did Lloyd George declare was one of peace or war?

#### Criticism

3. Is this a subjective or objective source? Explain your answer.

#### Contextualisation

4. How did the outcome of the Treaty negotiations result in controversy among the Dáil Cabinet members and the IRA between 1921–1923?

# An Ardteistiméireacht

#### Tuiscint

- 1. Cén fáth nach raibh ord an chomhrá soiléir in intinn Airt Uí Ghríofa?
- 2. Cérbh í an cheist a ndearbhaigh Lloyd George go raibh síocháin nó cogadh fite fuaite léi?

#### Critic

**3.** An foinse suibiachtúil nó oibiachtúil í seo? Mínigh do fhreagra.

#### Comhthéacs

4. Conas a d'éirigh conspóid idir comhaltaí Chomhaireacht na Dála agus an IRA idir 1921 agus 1923 de bharr thoradh idirbheartaíochtaí an Chonartha?





SECRET.

#### FROM ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

- 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.

1,

- 5. The Irish Free State shall assume liability for the service of the Public Debt of the United Kingdom as existing at 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 claims 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 time of peace such harbour and other facilities as are indicated in the Annex hereto, or such other facilities as may from time to time be agreed between the British Government and the Government of the Irish Free State; and

2.

- (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 Servents 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 election 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 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.
- as is mentioned in Article 12 hereof is presented, the Parliament and Government of Northern Ireland shall continue to exercise as respects Northern Irelandthe 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 power to make laws under that 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.
- 18. 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:

5.

- (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 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.

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# ANNEX ...

1. The following are the specific facilities required.

# Dockyard port at Berehaven.

(a) Admiralty property and rights to be retained as at the date hereof. Harbour defences to remain in charge of British care and maintenance parties.

#### Queenstown.

(b) Harbour defences to remain in charge of British care and maintenance parties. Certain mooring buoys to be retained for use of His Majesty's ships.

# Belfast Lough.

(c) Harbour defences to remain in charge of British care and maintenance parties.

# Lough Swilly.

(d) Harbour defences to remain in charge of British care and maintenance parties.

# Aviation.

(e) Facilities in the neighbourhood of the above Ports for coastal defence by air.

# Oil Fuel Storage.

- (f) Haulbowline ) To be offered for sale to commercial companies ) under guarantee that purchasers shall maintain ) a certain minimum stock for Admiralty purposes.
- 2. A Convention shall be made between the British Government and the Government of the Irish Free State to give effect to the following conditions:-
  - (a) That submarine cables shall not be landed or wireless stations for communication with places outside Ireland be established except by agreement with the British Government; that the existing cable landing rights and wireless concessions shall not be withdrawn except by agreement with the British Government; and that the British Government shall be entitled to land additional submarine cables or establish additional wireless stations for communication with places outside Ireland.
  - (b) That lighthouses, buoys, beacons, and any navigational marks or navigational aids shall be maintained by the Government of the Irish Free State as at the date hereof and shall not be removed or added to except by agreement with the British Government.
  - (c) That war signal stations shall be closed down and left in charge of care and maintenance parties, the Government of the Irish Free State being offered the option of taking them over and working them for commercial purposes subject to Admiralty inspection, and guaranteeing the upkeep of existing telegraphic communication therewith.

3. A Convention shall be made between the same Governments for the

regulation of Civil Communication by Air.

8.

3

# **Junior Cycle**

- What constitutional status was Ireland to have as stated in Article 1?
- 2. How was the Crown to be represented in Ireland?
- 3. Who was to assume liability for the service of the public debt of the United Kingdom?
- 4. Why might it have been important to Britain to defend the coasts of Ireland?
- In your own opinion, which of these articles would you imagine to have caused the most discontent among the members of Dáil Éireann? Explain your answer.

# An tSraith Shóisearach

- Cén stádas bunreachtúil a bhí le bheith ag Éire de réir a bhí luaite in Airteagal 1?
- 2. Cén ionadaíocht a bhí le bheith ag an gCoróin in Éirinn?
- 3. Cé a bhí le dliteanas a ghlacadh ar sheirbhís fhiachas poiblí na Ríochta Aontaithe?
- 4. Cén fáth meas tú a mbeadh sé tábhachtach don Bhreatain cósta na hÉireann a chosaint?
- I do thuairim féin, cé acu de na hairteagail seo a gceapfá is mó a chothódh aighneas i measc chomhaltaí Dháil Éireann? Mínigh do fhreagra.

## **Transition Year**

1. Read the Articles of Agreement presented and discuss with a classmate which one or more would have upset members in Dáil Éireann and which may have upset the Irish taxpayer?

## An Idirbhliain

 Léigh na hAirteagail Chomhaontaithe atá i láthair agus pléigh le duine eile sa rang cé acu airteagal nó cé na hairteagail a chuirfeadh as do chomhaltaí Dháil Éireann agus cé acu a chuirfeadh as d'íocóirí cánach na hÉireann?

# **Leaving Certificate**

#### Comprehension

- From reading Articles 1 and 2, explain the constitutional status Ireland would now have.
- Investigate who was the first Governor-General of Ireland.

#### Contextualisation

- 3. In your opinion, how might the Oath of Allegiance have been phrased differently to appease those Dáil members who opposed it?
- 4. Explain how Articles 5–7 would have affected the Irish public and some organisations in Irish society?

# An Ardteistiméireacht

# Tuiscint

- 1. I ndiaidh Airteagal 1 agus 2 a léamh, mínigh an stádas bunreachtúil a bheadh ag Éire anois.
- 2. Fiosraigh cérbh é chéad Seanascal Éireann.

# Comhthéacs

- 3. I do thuairim, cén chaoi a bhféadfaí an Mionn Dílseachta a bheith curtha ar bhealach eile chun na comhaltaí Dála a bhí ina aghaidh a cheansú?
- 4. Mínigh an tionchar a bheadh ag Airteagal 5-7 ar mhuintir na hÉireann agus ar roinnt eagraíochtaí i sochaí na hÉireann?

# 3. Timeline of events in 1921

# Amlíne imeachtaí na bliana 1921

0	January-June: Eanáir – Meitheamh:	The War of Independence enters its third year with much of the worst fighting occurring in the southern and western counties.	Is í seo an tríú bliain as a chéile atá Cogadh na Saoirse ar bun agus tarlaíonn an troid is measa i gcontaetha an deiscirt agus an iarthair.
\ 	19 May: 19 Bealtaine:	A general election is held for the Southern Parliament in which Sinn Féin wins 124 of the 128 seats but its elected members do not take their seats.	Reáchtáiltear olltoghchán do Pharlaimint an Deiscirt ina n-éiríonn le Sinn Féin 124 as 128 suíochán a bhaint amach ach ní ghlacann comhaltaí tofa Shinn Féin a gcuid suíochán.
0	25 May: 25 Bealtaine:	IRA attack on the Custom House, the centre of local government.	Ionsaíonn an IRA an Teach Custaim, Iárionad an rialtais áitiúil.
\ 	26 May: 26 Bealtaine:	The British Cabinet decides that if the Southern parliament is not in operation by 12 July, martial law will be extended across the island, excepting the new state of Northern Ireland.	Socraíonn Comh-aireacht na Breataine mura mbíonn Parlaimint an Deiscirt i bhfeidhm faoin 12 Iúil go gcuirfear síneadh le dlí míleata ar fud an oileáin, seachas i stát nua Thuaisceart Éireann.
\ 	May-June: Bealtaine - Meitheamh:	Unofficial contacts are made between the Irish and British Cabinets to establish a basis for talks on a solution to the current political and military impasse.	Déantar comhfhreagrais neamhoifigiúla idir Comh-aireacht na hÉireann agus Comh- aireacht na Breataine chun bunús a bhunú i gcomhair cainteanna ar réiteach a fháil ar an tsáinn pholaitiúil agus mhíleata reatha.
 	22 June: 22 Meitheamh	Opening of the Northern Ireland parliament by King George V.	Osclaíonn an Rí Seoirse V parlaimint Thuaisceart Éireann.
	24 June: 24 Meitheamh	British Prime Minister David Lloyd George writes to the President of Dáil Éireann Éamon de Valera inviting him to a conference in London 'in the company of Sir James Craig, to explore to the utmost the possibility of a settlement'.	Scríobhann Príomh-Aire na Breataine David Lloyd George chuig Uachtarán na hÉireann Éamon de Valera ag tabhairt cuireadh dó chuig comhdháil in Londain 'i gcuideachta an Tiarna James Craig, chun gach iarracht a dhéanamh le go bhféadfaí teacht ar réiteach' ('in the company of Sir James Craig, to explore to the utmost the possibility of a settlement').
0	11 July: 11 Iúil:	The truce ending hostilities in the War of Independence/Anglo-Irish War agreed on 9 July comes into force.	Tagann feidhm leis an sos cogaidh chun deireadh a chur le cogaíocht Chogadh na Saoirse/an Chogaidh Angla- Éireannaigh a aontaíodh ar an 9 Iúil.

12 July: 12 Iúil:	An Irish delegation headed by President Éamon de Valera travels to London for preliminary discussions with Lloyd George in advance of the opening of formal negotiations.	Téann toscaireacht as Éirinn faoi cheannas an Uachtaráin Éamon de Valera chuig Londain i gcomhair réamhchainteanna le Lloyd George sula gcuirtear tús le hidirbheartaíochtaí oifigiúla.
14-21 July: 14-21 Iúil:	A series of four one-to-one meetings between de Valera and Lloyd George takes place which ends inconclusively.	Reáchtáiltear ceithre chruinniú aghaidh ar aghaidh idir de Valera agus Lloyd George ach ní bhíonn aon toradh ar na cruinnithe.
10 August: 10 Lúnasa	Rejection by both the Irish Cabinet and Dáil Éireann of the British proposals of dominion status with further restrictions on defence, trade, payment of war debt and no ending of partition.	Diúltaíonn Comh-aireacht na hÉireann agus Dáil Éireann araon le tograí na Breataine maidir le stádas tiarnais agus bíonn srianta breise i gceist i ndáil le cosaint, trádáil, fiachas cogaidh a íoc agus gan deireadh a chur le críochdheighilt.
August: Lúnasa:	Exchange of letters between de Valera and Lloyd George exploring ways to break the impasse.	Cuireann de Valera agus Lloyd George litreacha ag a chéile ina gciorraíonn siad bealaí chun teacht as an tsáinn.
26 August: 26 Lúnasa:	De Valera is elected President of the Irish Republic by the Dáil.	Toghann an Dáil de Valera ina Uachtarán ar Phoblacht na hÉireann.
14 September: 14 Meán Fómhair:	The Dáil accepts de Valera's nominations for a team of plenipotentiaries to negotiate a settlement with the British.	Glacann an Dáil le hainmniúcháin de Valera i gcomhair foireann lánchumhachtach chun comhréiteach a shocrú le muintir na Breataine.
	The negotiation team is composed of Arthur Griffith; Michael Collins; Robert Barton; George Gavan Duffy and Éamonn Duggan.	Tá Art Ó Gríofa; Mícheál Ó Coileáin; Riobárd Bartún; Seoirse Gabhán Ó Dubhthaigh agus Éamonn Ó Duagáin ar an bhfoireann idirbheartaíochta.
30 September: 30 Meán Fómhair:	De Valera accepts the formal invitation to London from Lloyd George for comprehensive talks with the British 'with a view to ascertaining how the association of Ireland with the community of nations known as the British Empire may best be reconciled with Irish national aspirations'.	Glacann de Valera leis an gcuireadh foirmeálta ó Lloyd George chuig Londain chun tabhairt faoi chainteanna cuimsitheacha le muintir na Breataine 'lena fháil amach cén bealach is fearr le caidreamh na hÉireann leis an bpobal náisiún, a dtugtar Impireacht na Breataine air, a réiteach chun bheith ag teacht le huaillmhianta náisiúnta na hÉireann' ('with a view to ascertaining how the association of Ireland with the community of nations known as the British Empire may best be reconciled with Irish national aspirations').

# 7 October: 7 Deireadh Fómhair:

The Irish delegation is ratified by the Cabinet and supplied with credentials to 'negotiate and conclude...a Treaty or Treaties of Settlement, Association and Accommodation between Ireland and the community of nations known as the British Commonwealth'.

Daingníonn an Chomh-aireacht toscaireacht na hÉireann agus cuireann cáipéisí aitheantais ar fáil dóibh chun 'idirbheartaíocht a dhéanamh agus a thabhairt i gcrích maidir le... Conradh nó Conarthaí Réitigh, Caidreamh agus Socrú idir Éire agus an pobal náisiún, a dtugtar an Comhlathas Briotanach air' ('negotiate and conclude...a Treaty or Treaties of Settlement, Association and Accommodation between Ireland and the community of nations known as the British Commonwealth').

# 8 October:

8 Deireadh Fómhair:

The Irish delegation and key support staff arrive in London and takes up residence at 22 Hans Place and 15 Cadogan Gardens in Kensington. Tagann toscaireacht na hÉireann agus an phríomhfhoireann tacaíochta go Londain agus cuireann fúthu ag 22 Hans Place agus 15 Cadogan Gardens in Kensington.

# 11 October:

11 Deireadh Fómhair:

The opening of formal negotiations between both delegations at 10 Downing Street.

The British delegation consists of David Lloyd George; Austen Chamberlain; Lord Birkenhead; Winston Churchill; Sir Laming Worthington-Evans; Sir Hamar Greenwood and Sir Gordon Hewart. Tosaíonn na hidirbheartaíochtaí foirmeálta idir an dá thoscaireacht ag 10 Sráid Downing.

Ar thoscaireacht na Breataine tá David Lloyd George; Austen Chamberlain; Tiarna Birkenhead; Winston Churchill; an Ridire Laming Worthington-Evans; an Ridire Hamar Greenwood agus an Ridire Gordon Hewart.

# 11-24 October:

11-24 Deireadh Fómhair:

Seven sessions of the plenary conference take place in Downing Street with all the Irish delegates present at each.

The plenary conference appoints three committees on naval and air defence, financial relations and observance of the truce. Seacht seisiún den chomhdháil iomlánach ar fad a reáchtáiltear i Sráid Downing agus bíonn toscairí na hÉireann i láthair acu go léir.

Ceapann an chomhdháil iomlánach trí choiste ar chosaint chabhlaigh agus aeir, ar chaidrimh airgeadais agus ar chomhlíonadh an tsosa cogaidh.

# 24 October:

24 Deireadh Fómhair:

Seventh and final session of the plenary conference takes place between both delegations and the first set of Irish draft proposals is presented. After this date, negotiations are conducted through sub conferences.

Reáchtáiltear an seachtú seisiún arb é sin an seisiún deiridh den chomhdháil iomlánach idir an dá thoscaireacht agus cuirtear an chéad shraith de dhréacht-thograí na hÉireann i láthair. I ndiaidh an dáta sin, is trí fho-chomhdhálacha a reáchtáiltear idirbheartaíochtaí.

# 2 November:

2 Samhain:

Meetings between Collins and Griffith and Lord Birkenhead, Lloyd George and Chamberlain regarding Irish recognition of the Crown. Cruinnithe idir Ó Coileáin agus Ó Gríofa agus Tiarna Birkenhead, Lloyd George agus Chamberlain maidir le haitheantas na hÉireann don Choróin.

# 12 November: 12 Samhain:

Meeting between Griffith and Lloyd George on the matter of Ulster where a boundary commission was mooted officially for the first time. Cruinniú idir Ó Gríofa agus Lloyd George ar Ulaidh inar cuireadh coimisiún teorann chun cinn go hoifigiúil den chéad uair.

þ	Mid-late November: Lár-deireadh mhí na Samhna:	Further discussions on the drafting of an agreement.	Tuilleadh cainteanna ar chomhaontú a dhréachtú.
   	22 November: 22 Samhain:	The Irish delegation's memorandum is submitted for consideration, repeating the demand for 'external association' (de Valera's alternative formula to dominion status) with concessions on trade and naval defence.	Cuirtear meamram thoscaireacht na hÉireann ar aghaidh lena bhreithniú, inar éilíodh 'caidreamh seachtrach' ('external association') arís (cur chuige malartach de Valera ar stádas tiarnais) agus inar géilleadh ar chosaint trádála agus chabhlaigh.
\ 	24 November: 24 Samhain:	The British response to the Irish memorandum rejects any settlement which does not acknowledge some role for the Crown in Ireland.	Diúltaíonn toscaireacht na Breataine le haon chuid de mheamram na hÉireann nach dtugann aitheantas do ról de shaghas éigin don Choróin in Éirinn.
\ 	1-3 December: 1-3 Nollaig:	Counter proposals are presented by the British and brought back to Dublin for full consideration by the Cabinet in Dublin on 3 December.	Cuireann toscaireacht na Breataine fritograí i láthair agus tugtar ar ais go Baile Átha Cliath iad lena mbreithniú go huile agus go hiomlán ag an gComh-aireacht i mBaile Átha Cliath ar an 3 Nollaig.
		External association is re-emphasised as the plenipotentiaries' default position and the oath of allegiance is rejected while it is reiterated that no document can be signed without reference back to the Dáil.	Leagtar béim arís ar chaidreamh seachtrach mar sheasamh réamhshocraithe na lánchumhachtach agus diúltaítear don mhionn dílseachta agus deirtear arís nach féidir aon cháipéis a shíniú gan sin a chur faoi bhráid na Dála.
\ \	3 December: 3 Nollaig:	De Valera visits counties Clare and Galway and makes speeches defining his republican position.	Tugann de Valera cuairt ar chontae an Chláir agus ar chontae na Gaillimhe chun óráidí a thabhairt chun a sheasamh poblachtánach a dheimhniú.
0	4 December: 4 Nollaig:	Discussion by both sides of the written Irish counter proposals.	Pléann an dá thaobh fritograí scríofa na hÉireann.
\   	5 December: 5 Nollaig:	A meeting is held between Lloyd George and Collins which discusses the proposed boundary commission in more detail.	Cruinniú idir Lloyd George and Ó Coileáin chun plé níos mionsonraithe a dhéanamh ar an gcoimisiún teorann beartaithe.
	6 December: 6 Nollaig:	An ultimatum is delivered by Lloyd George to the delegates in which they are faced with the option of either signing the Treaty as it stands or refusing to sign and face an immediate resumption of war. The 'Articles of Agreement for a Treaty Between Great Britain and Ireland' are signed by both delegations shortly after 2am.	Tugann Lloyd George foláireamh deiridh do na toscairí ina dtugtar rogha dóibh an Conradh mar atá a shíniú nó diúltú an Conradh a shíniú agus aghaidh a thabhairt láithreach ar chogadh arís. Tamall gairid i ndiaidh 2am síníonn an dá thoscaireacht na 'hAirteagail Chomhaontaithe do Chonradh idir an Bhreatain Mhór agus Éire'.

# 4. Explanation of the Treaty articles

# Míniú ar airteagail an Chonartha

#### The 18 articles of the Treaty cover six main areas:

- The Treaty, more properly called the 'Articles of Agreement', gave Ireland a form of independence as the Irish Free State, a self-governing dominion in the British empire with the same status as Canada. It became a member, along with Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa of a grouping of states within the empire that were now officially called the British Commonwealth of Nations.
- Dominion status was a considerable step forward from the Home Rule demanded by Irish nationalists before the First World War but it was not the fully independent republic sought by many who had fought for Irish independence.
- The Treaty ended 120 years of direct British rule over 26 of Ireland's 32 counties. Technically the Treaty established a 32-county state but Ireland had been partitioned into two jurisdictions by the Government of Ireland Act, 1920. Northern Ireland had been formally established on 3 May 1921 and was ruled by a devolved government.
- The Treaty permitted Northern Ireland to opt out of the jurisdiction of the Irish Free State which it did. Provisions in the Treaty to establish a boundary commission and a north-south Council of Ireland in which the parliaments in Belfast and Dublin could meet gave Irish nationalists hopes for unity. The Council of Ireland was never established and such hopes were ultimately unfulfilled.
- The Treaty also addressed Anglo-Irish trade,
   British military and naval requirements, financial
   obligations and the right of the new Irish state to
   establish some limited military and naval forces.
- Ultimately views of the Treaty revolved around the question of sovereignty, of who had the ultimate power of governance in Ireland: the British monarch or the people of Ireland.

Clúdaítear sé phríomhréimse in ocht n-airteagal déag an Chonartha:

- Faoin gConradh, ar a dtugtar na hAirteagail
   Chomhaontaithe mar is ceart, tugadh leagan
   neamhspleáchais d'Éirinn mar Shaorstát Éireann, a bhí
   ina thiarnas féinrialaitheach laistigh d'Impireacht na
   Breataine leis an stádas céanna le Ceanada. D'éirigh an
   tír, in éineacht le Ceanada, an Astráil, an Nua-Shéalainn
   agus an Afraic Theas, ina ball de ghrúpa náisiún ar tugadh
   Comhlathas Briotanach na Náisiún orthu go hoifigiúil.
- Bhí stádas tiarnais ina chéim shuntasach chun cinn ar an Rialtas Dúchais mar a bhí á éileamh ag náisiúnaigh roimh an gCéad Chogadh Domhanda, ach níorbh é an phoblacht iomlán neamhspleách a bhí á lorg ag go leor daoine a throid ar son neamhspleáchas na hÉireann.
- Faoin gConradh, cuireadh deireadh le 120 bliain de riail dhíreach na Breataine ar 26 den 32 contae in Éirinn. Go teicniúil, bunaíodh stát 32 contae faoin gConradh ach bhí Éire críochdheighilte ina dhá dhlínse faoin Acht um Rialú na hÉireann, 1920. Bunaíodh Tuaisceart Éireann go hoifigiúil an 3 Bealtaine 1921 agus bhí an stát á rialú faoi rialtas cineachta.
- Tríd an gConradh, tugadh cead do Thuaisceart Éireann roghnú gan bheith i ndlínse Shaorstát Éireann, agus rinne sé amhlaidh. Bhí ábhar dóchais ag náisiúnaigh go n-aontófaí an tír mar gheall ar fhorálacha sa Chonradh maidir le coimisiún teorann agus Comhairle na hÉireann a bhunú ina bhféadfadh na parlaimintí i mBéal Feirste agus i mBaile Átha Cliath teacht le chéile. Níor bunaíodh Comhairle na hÉireann, agus níor baineadh amach ábhar dóchais dá leithéid ar deireadh thiar.
- Sa Chonradh, tugadh aghaidh ar thrádáil Angla-Éireannach, riachtanais mhíleata agus chabhlaigh na Breataine, oibleagáidí airgeadais agus an ceart ag stát nua na hÉireann roinnt fórsaí teoranta míleata agus cabhlaigh a bhunú.
- Ar deireadh thiar, bhain tuairimí maidir leis an gConradh le ceist an fhlaithis, agus cé aige a raibh cumhacht rialachais in Éirinn: monarc na Breataine nó muintir na hÉireann.

# **Understanding the Treaty**

# An Conradh a thuiscint

#### Article 1:

The new state would be called the 'Irish Free State' and would have the same constitutional status within the British empire as Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa (informally known as the 'white dominions').

#### Airteagal 1

Thabharfaí 'Saorstát Éireann' ar an stát nua agus bheadh an stádas bunreachta céanna ag an stát laistigh d'Impireacht na Breataine agus a bhí ag Ceanada, an Astráil, an Nua-Shéalainn agus an Afraic Theas (ar tugadh 'tiarnais bhána' orthu go neamhfhoirmiúil).

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.

#### Article 2

The status of the Irish Free State within the British empire was specifically designated to be the same as that of Canada which was a concession intended to reassure the Irish negotiators.

# Airteagal 2

Rinneadh stádas Shaorstát Éireann taobh istigh d'Impireacht na Breataine a ainmniú go sonrach a bheith mar an gcéanna leis an gcaidreamh le Ceanada. Bhí sé sin ina lamháltas chun caibidleoirí na hÉireann a chur ar a suaimhneas.

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.

#### Article 3

The representative of the Crown in Ireland was to be appointed in the same way as the governor-general of Canada.

### Airteagal 3

Bhí ionadaí na Corónach in Éirinn le ceapadh ar an mbealach céanna inar ceapadh ard-ghobharnóir Cheanada. 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.

Members of the Irish Free State's parliament were to swear an oath pledging allegiance to its constitution and fidelity to the monarch (this article contains the first official use of the term 'British Commonwealth of Nations'). The oath of fidelity to the monarch, popularly known as the 'oath of allegiance', was a significant cause of discontent in Ireland.

#### Airteagal 4

Bhí ar chomhaltaí pharlaimint Shaorstát Éireann mionn a thabhairt ina ngeallfaí géillsine dá bhunreacht agus dílseacht don mhonarc (is san airteagal seo ar baineadh úsáid oifigiúil as an téarma Comhlathas Briotanach na Náisiún den chéad uair). Bhí an mionn dílseachta go coitianta ina chúis mhór míshástachta in Éirinn. 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 ellegiance 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.

#### Article 5

The Irish Free State was to assume an agreed liability for Britain's public debt and some war pensions.

#### Airteagal 5

Bhí ar Shaorstát Éireann dliteanas comhaontaithe a ghlacadh i ndáil le fiachas poiblí na Breataine agus i ndáil le roinnt pinsean cogaidh. 5. The Irish Free State shall assume liability for the service of the Public Debt of the United Kingdom as existing at 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 claims 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.

## Article 6

The Royal Navy would retain responsibility for Irish coastal defence for at least the next five years, though the Irish Free State could possess revenue or fisheries protection vessels. This and subsequent articles reflected British concerns about their maritime security and naval power

## Airteagal 6

Bheadh an Cabhlach Ríoga freagrach as cósta na hÉireann a chosaint don chéad chúig bliana eile ar a laghad, cé go bhféadfadh Saorstát Éireann árthaigh ioncaim nó cosanta iascaigh a choimeád. Bhí sé sin agus airteagail ina dhiaidh sin ina léiriú ar ábhar imní na Breataine maidir lena slándáil mhuirí agus cumhacht chabhlaigh. 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.

The Royal Navy would retain defended anchorages around the Irish coastline (specified in the annex) and were entitled to the use of further facilities during wartime or in periods of international tension.

#### Airteagal 7

Choinneodh an Cabhlach Ríoga ancaireachtaí cosanta timpeall chósta na hÉireann (a shonraítear san iarscríbhinn) agus bhí sé i dteideal úsáid a bhaint as saoráidí eile le linn aimsir chogaidh nó le linn tréimhsí ina raibh teannas idirnáisiúnta i gceist.

- 7. The Government of the Irish Free State shall afford to His Majesty's Imperial Forces:-
  - (a) In time of peace such harbour and other facilities as are indicated in the Annex . hereto, or such other facilities as may 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.

#### Article 8

The Irish Free State could establish its own military forces, though their size relative to the population could not exceed that of their British equivalents.

#### Airteagal 8

Bhunódh Saorstát Éireann a chuid fórsaí míleata féin, ach ní fhéadfadh a méid i gcoibhneas leis an daonra dul thar fóir na bhfórsaí comhionanna sa Bhreatain.

Article 9

British and Irish ports were to remain open to each country's shipping traffic on payment of port dues.

# Airteagal 9

Bhí calafoirt na Breataine agus na hÉireann le fanacht oscailte do thrácht loingseoireachta a chéile ach táillí calafoirt a íoc.

- 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.

The Irish Free State was to pay compensation to any public servants who might retire or lose their jobs due to the handover of power. This did not apply to members of the paramilitary 'Black and Tans' or Auxiliary Cadets.

#### Airteagal 10

Bhí Saorstát Éireann le cúiteamh a íoc le haon fhostaithe sa tseirbhís phoiblí a d'fhéadfadh dul ar scor nó a bpost a chailleadh mar thoradh ar an aistriú cumhachta. Níor bhain sé sin le baill den ghrúpa míleatach na 'Dúchrónaigh' ná leis na Póilíní Cúnta.

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 Servents 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.

#### Article 11

The jurisdiction of the Irish Free State would not apply to Northern Ireland until one month after the Treaty was formally ratified.

#### Airteagal 11

Ní chuirfí dlínse Shaorstát Éireann i bhfeidhm i dTuaisceart Éireann go ceann míosa i ndiaidh an Conradh a dhaingniú go foirmiúil. 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 election before the end of the said month.

If Northern Ireland chose to opt out of the Irish Free State before this month had passed, a boundary commission would be appointed to determine the final border between the Irish Free State and Northern Ireland.

#### Airteagal 12

Dá roghnódh Tuaisceart Éireann diúltú a bheith páirteach i Saorstát Éireann sular imigh an mhí sin thart, cheapfaí coimisiún teorann chun teorainn deiridh idir Saorstát Éireann agus Tuaisceart Éireann a shocrú. 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 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.

4.

#### Article 13

Should Northern Ireland opt out of the Irish Free State, the north-south 'Council of Ireland' that was proposed by the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, could still be established.

# Airteagal 13

Dá ndiúltódh Tuaisceart Éireann a bheith páirteach i Saorstát Éireann, d'fhéadfaí 'Comhairle na hÉireann' thuaidh-theas a moladh san Acht um Rialú na hÉireann, 1920, a chur ar bun fós. 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.

If Northern Ireland chose to remain in the Irish Free State, the Northern Ireland parliament established by the 1920 act would retain its original powers within the Irish Free State.

#### Airteagal 14

Dá roghnódh Tuaisceart Éireann fanacht i Saorstát Éireann, choinneodh parlaimint Thuaisceart Éireann a bunaíodh faoi acht 1920 na cumhachtaí bunaidh a bhí aici laistigh de Shaorstát Éireann. as is mentioned in Article 12 hereof is presented, the Parliament and Government of Northern Ireland shall continue to exercise as respects Northern Irelandthe 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 power to make laws under that 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.

#### Article 15

This allowed the government of Northern Ireland and the proposed 'provisional government' that was to be established under article 17 to meet in order to discuss matters of common concern.

#### Airteagal 15

Trí sin, cuireadh ar chumas rialtas Thuaisceart Éireann agus an 'rialtas sealadach' a bunaíodh faoi airteagal 17 (féach thíos) bualadh le chéile chun ceisteanna comhchoiteanna a phlé.

- 18. 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 Government of the Irish Free State are to be exercisable in Northern Ireland under Article 14 hereof.

Neither parliament in either the Irish Free State or Northern Ireland were to pass laws favouring any one religion or discriminating on the grounds of religious belief, especially in relation to education.

16.

#### Airteagal 16

Ní raibh ceachtar den dá pharlaimint, bíodh sí ina parlaimint Shaorstát Éirinn nó ina parlaimint Thuaisceart Éireann, chun dlí ar bith a rith a bheadh i bhfabhar aon chreideamh amháin nó a dhéanfadh leatrom ar fhorais chreidimh, go háirithe maidir le hoideachas.

# 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.

#### Article 17

A 'provisional government' was to be established to act as a transitional authority until the Irish Free State formally came into existence on 6 December 1922.

#### Airteagal 17

Bhí 'rialtas sealadach' le bunú chun gníomhú mar údarás idirthréimhseach go dtí go dtiocfadh Saorstát Éireann chun cinn go foirmiúil an 6 Nollaig 1922. 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 accordancetherewith, 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.

The Treaty was to be approved by the British parliament and by an assembly of the members elected to the 'House of Commons of Southern Ireland' established by the 1920 act, though this would not officially be a meeting of the 'House of Commons of Southern Ireland'. Most of those elected to the 'Parliament of Southern Ireland' had instead convened as the second Dáil Éireann earlier in 1921, but the British did not officially recognise the Dáil as having any legal standing.

# Airteagal 18

Bhí an Conradh le ceadú ag parlaimint na Breataine agus ag comhthionól de na comhaltaí a toghadh chuig 'Teach na dTeachtaí Dheisceart Éireann' a bunaíodh faoi acht 1920, cé nach mbeadh sé sin ina chruinniú oifigiúil den 'Teach na dTeachtaí Dheisceart Éireann'. Tháinig an chuid ba mhó de na daoine a toghadh chuig 'Teach na dTeachtaí Dheisceart Éireann' le chéile mar an dara Dáil Éireann ina ionad sin níos túisce sa bhliain 1921, ach níor aithin na Briotanaigh go raibh aon seasamh dlíthiúil ag an Dáil.

ANNEX Section 1

Details the specific naval facilities required by the British government under article 7.

#### IARSCRÍBHINN Cuid 1

Tugtar mionsonraí maidir leis na saoráidí cabhlaigh faoi leith a bheadh ag teastáil ó rialtas na Breataine faoi airteagal 7. 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.

# ANNEX . .

1. The following are the specific facilities required.

# Dockyard port at Berehaven.

(a) Admiralty property and rights to be retained as at the date hereof. Harbour defences to remain in charge of British care and maintenance parties.

#### Queenstown.

(b) Harbour defences to remain in charge of British care and maintenance parties. Certain mooring buoys to be retained for use of His Majesty's ships.

# Belfast Lough.

(c) Harbour defences to remain in charge of British care and maintenance parties.

#### Lough Swilly.

(d) Harbour defences to remain in charge of British care and maintenance parties.

#### Aviation.

(e) Facilities in the neighbourhood of the above Ports for coastal defence by air.

#### Oil Fuel Storage.

(f) Haulbowline ) To be offered for sale to commercial companies ) under guarantee that purchasers shall maintain Rathmullen ) a certain minimum stock for Admiralty purposes.

#### ANNEX Section 2

Outlines a convention to be made between the Irish Free State and the British government in relation to the regulation of maritime communications.

#### IARSCRÍBHINN Cuid 2

Leagtar amach coinbhinsiún a bhí le déanamh idir Saorstát Éireann agus rialtas na Breataine i ndáil le cumarsáid mhuirí a rialú.

- 2. A Convention shall be made between the British Government and the Government of the Irish Free State to give effect to the following conditions:-
  - (a) That submarine cables shall not be landed or wireless stations for communication with places outside Ireland be established except by agreement with the British Government; that the existing cable landing rights and wireless concessions shall not be withdrawn except by agreement with the British Government; and that the British Government shall be entitled to land additional submarine cables or establish additional wireless stations for communication with places outside Ireland
  - (b) That lighthouses, buoys, beacons, and any navigational marks or navigational aids shall be maintained by the Government of the Irish Free State as at the date hereof and shall not be removed or added to except by agreement with the British Government.
  - (c) That war signal stations shall be closed down and left in charge of care and maintenance parties, the Government of the Irish Free State being offered the option of taking them over and working them for commercial purposes subject to Admiralty inspection, and guaranteeing the upkeep of existing telegraphic communication therewith.

# ANNEX Section 3

Confirms that a similar convention will be made between the Irish Free State and the British government regarding the regulation of civil communication by air.

#### IARSCRÍBHINN Cuid 3

Tugtar dearbhú go ndéanfar coinbhinsiún den chineál céanna idir Saorstát Éireann agus rialtas na Breataine maidir le cumarsáid shibhialta san aer a rialú.

3. A Convention shall be ma	ie between the sam	e Governments	for the
regulation of Civil Communic	ation by Air.		a.f.
Q REG. 13.	8.	m	Mo
ac		f 8 0. J.	us. K!

<b>Article(s)</b> Airteagal/Airteagail	Content Ábhar
1-4	The relationship of the Irish Free State to the British monarch and British Empire Caidreamh Saorstát na hÉireann le Monarcaí na Breataine agus le hImpireacht na Breataine
5	Public finances Airgeadas Poiblí
6-9	Military, naval and trade issues Saincheisteanna Míleata, cabhlaigh agus trádála
10	Compensation Cúiteamh
11-16	Northern Ireland, the boundary commission and cross-border relations Tuaisceart Éireann, coimisiún na teorann agus caidrimh trasteorann
17-18	Transitional provisions Forálacha idirthréimhseacha

# 5. Research activity for Junior Cycle/Transition Year

# Gníomhaíocht taighde do dhaltaí na Sraithe Sóisearaí/ na hIdirbhliana

The National Archives' exhibition 'The Treaty, 1921: Records from the Archives'

- 1. Visit the 'The Treaty, 1921: Records from the Archives' exhibition via a virtual tour at <a href="www.nationalarchives.">www.nationalarchives.</a> ie/2021commemorationprogramme/treaty-virtual-tour.
- 2. Make your way to 'Life in London'/ISDL section.
- 3. Research and investigate what the delegates and their entourage did in London when they were not working.
- 4. What purchases did they make?
- 5. Who did they correspond with?
- 6. What leisure activities did they take part in?
- 7. Write a detailed account on your findings.

Taispeántas na Cartlainne Náisiúnta 'An Conradh, 1921: Taifid ón gCartlann'

- Téigh chuig an taispeántas 'An Conradh, 1921: Taifid ón gCartlann' trí thuras fíorúil ag www.nationalarchives. ie/2021commemorationprogramme/treaty-virtual-tour.
- 2. Téigh chuig an gcuid 'An saol i Londain/ISDL.
- Déan taighde agus fiosraigh an méid a rinne na toscairí agus an lucht coimhdeachta fad a bhí siad in Londain nuair nach raibh siad ag obair.
- 4. Céard a cheannaigh siad?
- 5. Cé leis a raibh siad i dteagmháil?
- 6. Cé na caithimh aimsire a ghlac siad páirt iontu?
- 7. Scríobh mionchuntas ar an méid a fuair tú amach trí do chuid taighde.

# 6. Glossary of terms Gluais na dtéarmaí

# Terms used in the negotiations

Téarmaí a úsáideadh le linn na n-idirbheartaíochtaí

Cabinet: High-ranking state officials

Comh-aireacht: Oifigí stáit ardchéimiúla

**Compromise:** Agreement or settlement of a dispute that is reached by each side making allowances

**Comhréiteach:** Dhá thaobh ag teacht ar chomhaontú nó réiteach ar dhíospóid trí aird a thabhairt ar a chéile

Concede: The act of surrendering to an opposing point of view

Géilleadh: Géilleadh do thuairim chontrártha

Memorandum: Written message outlining a position in

Meamram: Teachtaireacht scríofa ina dtugtar cuntas ar

negotiations

sheasamh sna hidirbheartaíochtaí

Ministries: Office/duties of a government minister

Aireachtaí: Oifig/dualgais aire rialtais

**Plenipotentiaries:** Diplomats/ambassadors invested with the full power of independent action on behalf of their government,

Lánchumhachtaigh: Taidhleoirí/ambasadóirí a bhfuil cumhacht iomlán neamhspleách acu gníomhú thar ceann a rialtais, i dtír

typically in a foreign country

thar lear de ghnáth

Sub-conference: Subcommittee of a congressional conference

Fo-chomhdháil: Fo-choiste comhdhála

# Terms used when working with sources

Téarmaí a úsáidtear nuair atáthar ag obair le foinsí

Accurate: Correct in all details

Beacht: Ceart i dtaobh na sonraí go léir

**Ambiguous:** Mixed feelings or contradictory ideas about something

**Débhríoch:** Tuairimí nó smaointe nach bhfuil ag teacht le chéile faoi ní éigin

Bias: One-sided perspective

Claonadh: Dearcadh leataobhach

**Objective:** Not influenced by personal feelings or opinions in considering and representing facts

**Oibiachtúil:** Níl faoi thionchar tuairimí nó dearcthaí pearsanta nuair atáthar ag breithniú fíricí nó ag cur fíricí i láthair

Reliable: Able to be trusted/an accurate account

lontaofa: Is féidir muinín a bheith as/cuntas beacht

**Subjective:** Based on or influenced by personal feelings or

Suibiachtúil: Bunaithe ar mheon nó ar thuairimí pearsanta nó tá

opinions

faoi thionchar meoin nó tuairimí pearsanta

Valuable: Useful information in trying to understand the past

Luachmhar: Faisnéis úsáideach agus muid ag iarraidh tuiscint a fháil ar an am atá caite

# 7. Online resources and further reading

# Acmhainní ar líne agus léitheoireacht bhreise

- NAI virtual exhibition tour: <u>www.nationalarchives.ie/2021commemorationprogramme/</u> treaty-virtual-tour
- 'The Treaty, 1921: Records from the Archives' exhibition brochure: www.nationalarchives.ie/ wp-content/uploads/2022/02/21.12.03-Treaty-Exhibition-Catalogue-Web.pdf (English)
- Royal Irish Academy Leaving Certificate case study The Treaty negotiations, October-December 1921 www.ria.ie/sites/default/files/difp\_anglo\_irish\_treaty.pdf
- PDST booklet The Treaty negotiations, October-December 1921 www.pdst.ie/sites/default/files/ treatynegotiationsbookletfinal.pdf
- Articles by Dr John Gibney on the Anglo-Irish Treaty negotiations and signing

Explainer: Negotiating the Treaty, October-December 1921 www.rte.ie/centuryireland/index.php/articles/explainer-negotiating-the-treaty-october-december-1921

On this day: the signing of the Anglo-Irish Treaty, 6 December 1921 www.irishcentral.com/roots/history/anglo-irish-treaty-1921

- Turas fíorúil ar thaispeántas an NAI: www.nationalarchives.ie/2021commemorationprogramme/ treaty-virtual-tour
- 'An Conradh, 1921: Taifid ón gCartlann' bróisiúr an taispeántais: www.nationalarchives.ie/wp-content/ uploads/2022/02/21.12.03-Treaty-Exhibition-Catalogue-Gaeilge-Web.pdf (Gaeilge)
- Cás-staidéar Ardteistiméireachta Acadamh Ríoga na hÉireann The Treaty negotiations, October-December 1921 www.ria.ie/sites/default/files/difp\_anglo\_irish\_treaty.pdf
- Leabhrán PDST The Treaty negotiations, October-December 1921 www.pdst.ie/sites/default/files/ treatynegotiationsbookletfinal.pdf
- Ailt leis an Dr John Gibney ar idirbheartaíochtaí an Chonartha Angla-Éireannaigh agus ar shíniú an Chonartha Angla-Éireannaigh

Explainer: Negotiating the Treaty, October-December 1921 www.rte.ie/centuryireland/index.php/articles/explainer-negotiating-the-treaty-october-december-1921

On this day: the signing of the Anglo-Irish Treaty, 6
December 1921
www.irishcentral.com/roots/history/anglo-irish-treaty-1921

# **Acknowledgements**

# Nótaí Buíochais

The National Archives would like to thank Patrick Coffey, Maeve Price, Karen Murtagh and the inspectorate in the Department of Education for their contribution to this resource pack. Particular thanks are due to Karen Brady for her assistance and expertise with the document questions and tasks section of the pack.

Ba mhaith leis an gCartlann Náisiúnta buíochas a ghabháil le Patrick Coffey, Maeve Price, Karen Murtagh agus leis an gcigireacht sa Roinn Oideachais as an méid a rinne siad chun cur leis an bpaca acmhainní seo. Tá buíochas ar leith le gabháil le Karen Brady as a cuidiú agus as a cuid saineolais maidir le cuid na gceisteanna agus na dtascanna sa phaca.

December , 1921.





An Chartlann Náisiúnta National Archives

# **National Archives**

Bishop Street, Dublin 8 D08 DF85, Ireland www.nationalarchives.ie

@ @narireland 

Phone: +353 (0)1 407 2300 Lo Call: +353 1890 252424 Fax: +353 (0)1 407 2333 Email: query@nationalarchives.ie

# An Chartlann Náisiúnta

Sráid an Easpaig, Baile Átha Cliath 8 D08 DF85, Éire www.nationalarchives.ie

@narireland

@NARIreland

Fón: +353 (0)1 407 2300 Lo Call: +353 1890 252424 Facs: +353 (0)1 407 2333

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